

Maternal Appeals in Politics: Their Effectiveness and Consequences

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

BY

Grace Deason

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Dr. Eugene Borgida

Dr. Christopher Federico

July 2011

Acknowledgements

Each day of graduate school I have been grateful to someone who helped me, encouraged me, or made something possible that otherwise wouldn't have been. I am happy to seize the opportunity to thank those people here.

First, thanks to my advisors, Eugene Borgida and Christopher Federico, who I first encountered as names and impressive lists of accomplishments on a webpage and since then, have molded my mind in ways that have fundamentally changed me. Gene, your pioneering research on gender and political psychology made this project possible, and your commitment to linking research to social issues keeps social psychology fascinating and relevant. Your careful attention to the process and presentation of my research has improved this dissertation, and your support of my career pursuits has meant the world to me. Chris, I used to think that by the end of graduate school, I would know as much as you do about statistics and politics. Since that won't happen, I am especially fortunate to have benefited from your unparalleled expertise over the past six years. Your practical, considered suggestions have greatly enriched this project.

I am thankful to Marti Hope Gonzales, who graciously served as chair of my dissertation committee. Marti, your kind encouragement has helped me through many a rough day, and your expertise in content analysis has enriched my methodological toolbox. Like countless students before me, I expect to spend years aspiring to your level of writing prowess. Thanks also to Joanne Miller, who introduced me to political psychology in her graduate seminar, and served as my outside committee member. Joanne, I'm so pleased to have your input on this project.

I was blessed to receive time and attention from other faculty who assisted at various stages with valuable advice and resources: Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, Alice Eagly, Laurel Elder, John Geer, Sally Kenney, Phyllis Moen, Virginia Sapiro, Abigail Stewart, Dan Wackman, and David Winter. Kjersten Nelson generously organized and shared her data from the 2004 campaigns, which made Study 1 possible. Library specialists Kim Clarke, Rafael Tarrago, and Suzanne Thorpe helped me obtain materials for Study 1. Monica Schneider and Angie Bos organized a fantastic gender and political psychology conference that injected energy into my work at the perfect time. I am particularly fortunate to have received research funding and professional guidance from Ellen Berscheid, whose healthy respect for simple experimental design has stuck with me throughout this project. I'm also grateful for suggestions and feedback I received from the Political Psychology Proseminar and Christopher Federico's lab group, and for generous funding from the Political Psychology Minor and the University of Minnesota Graduate School.

When I planned to create artificial campaign ads for this project, I had no idea what a massive task I had taken on. Thanks to my talented, tech-savvy friends Matty Tucker and Heather Pedersen and editing experts Laura Cervin and Michael Olson, my amateur campaign ads were not laughed out of the lab. Research assistants Erin Darsow, Alanna Hjortland, and Sandra Stenerson helped me write engaging and believable campaign ad scripts. Actors Sarah Guyer Brown, Robert Harmaan, Leander Dennison, Cleo Murphy, and Christy, Katie, and Joe Mahan played starring roles in exchange for little money and in one case, free chai. Erin Darsow, Jenna Heath, Alanna Hjortland, Dan Rump, Amanda Sesker, Sandra Stenerson, and Ariel Ward did the hard

work of the project, reading and coding thousands of ad storyboards to create the dataset for Study 1; Jenna Heath also assisted with experimental data collection. John Easton staffed the Social and Behavioral Sciences lab where I collected data, and Pernu Menheer assisted with programming. Their help throughout the project was invaluable, and having their company in the lab was wonderful, too.

I am thankful for the companionship of Paula Chesley, Emily Fisher, and Corrie Hunt, who met with me each week to evaluate our writing progress. Their friendship and the bottles of wine we shared made the process more fun. Thanks to Erik Girvan for keeping the ball rolling on our collaborative work and for stepping in to run participants in an emergency. Thanks also to Brad Lippmann, who keeps me informed about the political world through his facebook commentary, and to Damla Ergun and Anita Kim, my good friends and erstwhile workout buddies, for leading the way.

My own unique family would never be confused with the idealized versions portrayed in political campaign ads, but I wouldn't have it any other way. The gifted individuals who have surrounded me with love and inspiration for the past 29 years have shaped me and my work. My mother, Kristine Holmgren, is my ultimate role model. Her courage, creativity, and astounding talent form the backbone of my identity as a woman and a feminist. My father, Gary Deason, inspired me with his enthusiasm for interdisciplinary scholarship and paved the intellectual path for me to earn the fourth Ph.D. in our family (legend has it that he holds the other three). My sister, Claire Deason, is a passionate attorney who can break the maternal wall and bust through the glass ceiling with one firm kick of her Coach spike heel. Her love and support cross long distances undiluted. My partner in life, Alex Hiller, sets goals for himself that no

sane person would pursue and exceeds them every time, making everything from remodeling a basement to running a marathon look easy. His ambition and persistence inspire me, and I'm grateful for his calming presence, goofy sense of humor, and fantastic French toast.

Finally, thanks to the five amazing women who generate the stream of stories, parties, vacations, drama, and unadulterated glee that propel me through my life and my work: Elizabeth Braaten Palmieri, Heather Pedersen, Catherine Sheppard, Jessie Stepanek, and Aubry Walch. I couldn't have done it without them.

Dedication

For Alex, who promised to read the whole thing.

Table of Contents

	Page
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	ix
List of Appendices	xi
Chapter 1: The Psychology of Maternal Appeals in Politics	1
Chapter 2: Candidates' Use of Maternal Appeals in the 2004 Election	65
Chapter 3: Responses to Maternal Appeals	103
Chapter 4: Do Maternal Appeals Perpetuate Gender Stereotyping?	179
Chapter 5: Maternal Appeals in Politics: Theory and Practice	213
References	242
Appendices	267

List of Tables

Number	Title	Page
2-1	Mean number of times candidates aired maternal appeals	90
2-2	Correlations between variables used to test <i>Hypotheses 1 and 2</i>	91
2-3	Correlations between variables used to test <i>Hypothesis 3</i>	92
2-4	Correlations between variables used to test <i>Hypothesis 3</i>	93
2-5	Visual maternal appeals as a function of candidate gender, party, and feminine issues	94
2-6	Verbal maternal appeals as a function of candidate gender, party, and feminine issues	95
2-7	Winning the election as a function of candidate gender, party, and visual maternal appeals	96
2-8	Winning the election as a function of candidate gender, party, and verbal maternal appeals	97
3-1	Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables	153
3-2	Correlations between variables used to test <i>Hypotheses 3 and 5</i>	154
3-3	Correlations between variables used to test <i>Hypothesis 4</i>	155
3-4	Correlations between variables used to test <i>Hypothesis 6</i>	156
3-5	Feminine issue competence as a function of gender, party, and maternal appeals	157
3-6	Masculine issue competence as a function of gender, party, and maternal appeals	158
3-7	Candidate competence as a function of gender, party, and maternal appeals	159
3-8	Candidate warmth as a function of gender, party, and maternal appeals	160

3-9	Likelihood of voting for the candidate as a function of gender, party, and maternal appeals	161
3-10	Gender schematicity and the effect of maternal appeals on the likelihood of voting for the candidate	162
3-11	Benevolent sexism and the effect of maternal appeals on the likelihood of voting for the candidate	163
3-12	Authoritarianism and the effect of maternal appeals on the likelihood of voting for the candidate	164
3-13	Social dominance orientation and the effect of maternal appeals on the likelihood of voting for the candidate	165
3-14	Maternal appeals and the weighting of feminine traits in vote choice	166
3-15	The effect of maternal appeals on social and political attitudes	167
3-16	The effect of maternal appeals on nurturant parent morality	168
3-17	Gender schematicity and the effect of maternal appeals on social and political attitudes	169
3-18	Benevolent sexism and the effect of maternal appeals on social and political attitudes	170
4-1	Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables	202
4-2	Correlations between variables used to test <i>Hypotheses 7 and 8</i>	203
4-3	The effect of maternal appeals on gender stereotype activation	204
4-4	The effect of maternal appeals on ratings of job applicant's commitment	205
4-5	The effect of maternal appeals on ratings of job applicant's competence	206
4-6	The effect of maternal appeals on recommendations to hire job applicant	207

List of Figures

Number	Title	Page
1-1	The theory of maternal politics	64
2-1	Visual maternal appeals as a function of feminine issues and candidate party	98
2-2	Visual maternal appeals as a function of candidate gender, party, and opponent gender	99
2-3	Verbal maternal appeals as a function of candidate gender, feminine issues, and opponent gender	100
2-4	Verbal maternal appeals as a function of candidate gender, party, and feminine issues	101
2-5	Visual maternal appeals and the probability of winning the election	102
2-6	Verbal maternal appeals and the probability of winning the election	102
3-1	Maternal appeals and judgments of competence on feminine issues	171
3-2	Maternal appeals and judgments of competence on masculine issues	172
3-3	Maternal appeals and the likelihood of voting for the candidate	173
3-4	Gender schematicity, maternal appeals, and the likelihood of voting for the candidate	174
3-5	Authoritarianism, maternal appeals, and the likelihood of voting for the candidate	175
3-6	Maternal appeals and the weighting of warmth in vote choice	176
3-7	Gender schematicity, maternal appeals, and social/political attitudes	177
3-8	Benevolent sexism, maternal appeals, and social/political attitudes	178

4-1	Average response time by word type	208	^x
4-2	Reaction time difference scores by participant party ID, candidate gender, and maternal appeals	209	
4-3	Ratings of job applicant commitment by candidate gender and maternal appeals	210	
4-4	Ratings of job applicant competence by participant party ID and maternal appeals	211	
4-5	Recommendation to hire job applicant by participant party ID and maternal appeals	212	

List of Appendices

Number	Title	Page
A	Study 1 Data Sources and Coding	267
B	Study 1 Coding Taxonomies	271
C	Study 2 Measures	274
D	Study 2 Pilot Studies	280
E	Study 2 Stimuli	286
F	Study 3 Pilot Study	289
G	Study 3 Stimuli	291
H	Study 3 Measures	297

Chapter 1: The Psychology of Maternal Appeals in Politics

“It is especially this sacred function of mother, which some insist is incompatible with the exercise of a citizen's rights, that imposes on woman ... the right to intervene in all the activities not only of civil life but of political life as well.” –Jeanne Deroin, 1849

Throughout history, women have made “maternal appeals” in which they invoke popular ideas of motherhood to justify their right to take political action (Jetter, Orleck, & Taylor, 1997; Koven & Michel, 1993; Ruddick, 1989, 1997). In Argentina, the “mothers of the disappeared” adorned themselves with photos of their missing children and marched each week to demand information about citizens who disappeared during the military dictatorship of 1976-1983 (Fisher, 1989). In Kenya in 1992, a group of mothers invoked traditional maternal symbols and imagery to protest their sons’ incarceration by the regime of President Daniel arap Moi (Worthington, 2001). In the Middle East, maternal activism played a key role in establishing one of the first Jewish settlements in the West Bank during the 1970s (Neuman, 2004). In each case, women with little or no power in the political sphere presented themselves as mothers—moral authorities on issues of peace and safety—who deserve respect and a chance to have their concerns heard.

Mothers in the United States are also channeling their maternal role into political activism. A group of powerful mothers, including Nancy Pelosi, Cindy Sheehan, and Anna Quindlen, make the argument that “the maternal is political” in a 2007 collection of essays by the same name (Strong, 2007). The internet is also an important platform

for mothers to organize and to speak their minds. MomsRising, a political organization and blog founded in 2006, aims to use the priorities and values of motherhood to “build a more family-friendly America” (www.MomsRising.org). The Mothers Acting Up movement, founded in 2002, calls mothers “the most powerful lobby for children on earth” and aims to “stretch traditional mothering roles to include advocating for the world’s children” (www.mothersactingup.org). Mothers’ online activities have come to be known as “mommy blogging” and are actively redefining motherhood in the U.S. (e.g., Belkin, 2011; Lopez, 2009).

Women have also used maternal appeals to run for office. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the president of Liberia, is the first and only elected female head of state in Africa. During her 2005 campaign, she invoked traditional images of mother and caregiver, portraying herself as the ideal healer for a country that had been through a terrible period of violence (Eagly & Carli, 2007, p. 95). She argued that a maternal president was uniquely qualified to bring peace and stability, and she was right: *The Economist* later called her “the best president the country has ever had” (The Economist, 2010). Michelle Bachelet, the former president of Chile, navigated the masculine norms of politics in her country to make the argument that a mother’s strengths would be an asset (Eagly & Carli, 2007, p. 95). During her presidency, she drew on her own experiences raising a family while attending medical school to expand the number of nurseries and child care centers available and to win women the right to breastfeed at work (Clift, 2010).

In U.S. campaigns, female candidates seem to be more and more comfortable “going maternal.” In 1992, Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) distinguished herself as a

leader on women's issues during her campaign with the slogan, "Just a mom in tennis shoes." House Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) is a mother of five and grandmother of seven, and once remarked that "there is no more important responsibility than raising a family" (Kiely, 2007). Senator Kirsten Gillibrand's (D-NY) website states that "as the mother of two young children, Senator Gillibrand knows exactly what working families are facing in this difficult economy," bringing the Senator's maternal experience to bear on her ability to govern (gillibrand.senate.gov).

Democrats may have led the charge in running maternal campaigns, but Republican women have not been far behind. In her 2008 vice presidential run, Sarah Palin generated a lot of enthusiasm by branding herself a "hockey mom," and emphasizing her commitment to family as one of her core credentials. The "Mama Grizzly" movement put a new spin on political maternity during the 2010 election cycle, arguing that conservative mothers are unique in their "common sense" and willingness to "rise up" to protect their children when they are endangered by policies in Washington. Political pundits and Palin herself bestowed the Mama Grizzly title on a handful of conservative Republican candidates in 2010, including South Carolina candidate for governor Nikki Haley, California Senate candidate Carly Fiorina, and tea party members Michelle Bachman, a congressional candidate from Minnesota, and Christine O'Donnell, who ran for senate in Delaware.

Maternal appeals have served many purposes for women as activists and candidates. Women may choose maternal appeals because they believe that the rhetoric of motherhood has a special power to capture the hearts and minds of citizens and to garner support for their political activities or candidacy (Ruddick, 1997). The

MomsRising website states, “we may not all be mothers, but we all have or have had a mother,” indicating their belief that the concerns of mothers should be important to all of us. Maternal appeals may have the potential to unite people for a common cause across party lines. Writer and activist Shari MacDonald Strong sees her motherhood as something “more primal, more global, more far-reaching and intuitive, than a political loyalty.” She writes: “I’ll back any politician, any bill or measure that I believe to be in the best interests of the children” (2007, p. 5). Women have also used maternal appeals to advance a set of values that is an alternative to the selfishness and corruption they see in mainstream politics (Ruddick, 1997). For example, claims that women’s more gentle and caring natures would change the face of politics were central to women’s fight for suffrage in the early 20th century United States (Baird, 2008). Moreover, in contexts in which women’s identities remain tied to their maternity, maternal appeals allow women to speak out without being criticized; women’s connection to the maternal legitimizes their right to take part in political action (Hayden, 2003; Koven & Michel, 1993).

Maternal appeals may serve women’s political purposes in some circumstances, but scholars of feminist politics charge that maternal activist movements are based essentialist claims about gender, and have doubts about whether an emphasis on motherhood allows women to meet their broader political goals (Dietz, 1985; hooks, 1984; Koven & Michel, 1993; Stearney, 1994). This tension is evident in modern political campaigns in the U.S., in which female candidates are often both rewarded and punished for their status as mothers. With more mothers working outside the home, a female candidate who is also a working mother can make the argument that she shares women’s concerns (Elder & Greene, 2009). Female voters who work may look to

female candidates to prioritize such issues as sexism in the workplace and balancing work and family, but female voters also recognize that candidates' gender alone is not a guarantee that their needs will be met (Bynoe, 2007; O'Rourke, 2006; Sullivan, 2008; Traister, 2010). A female candidate who emphasizes her maternity may be able to overcome lingering doubts about her commitment to issues that are of concern to women. In this vein, social-psychological research indicates that power-seeking women in politics and other leadership domains provoke moral outrage and backlash, but that a woman's status as a mother enhances perceptions of her warmth and communality, which in turn deflects negative evaluations (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Okimoto & Brescoll, 2010; Rudman, 1998).

In the eyes of some voters, however, a candidate's emphasis on feminine characteristics like motherhood may seem at odds with her choice to run for office; the common wisdom is that women in politics need to appear tough, not maternal. As the first female vice presidential candidate in 1984, Geraldine Ferraro had to overcome the public's doubts that she could fulfill the duties of the office, fielding gender-specific interview questions like "Are you tough enough to press the button?" (Vacca, 2011). In fact, political women are held to a double standard, in which they are expected to perform the duties of a masculine political role while continuing to pay homage to the traditional feminine arts. As first lady, Hillary Clinton was widely criticized for her comments that she couldn't be bothered to bake cookies and host tea parties (Benz, 1992). Importantly, there is sexism on both sides of the partisan divide. Sarah Palin's critics on the left, for example, wondered whether she would have enough time to fulfill the duties of the vice-presidency while caring for her newborn son (James, 2008; Rubin,

2008). The experiences of Palin and other female candidates with children are in line with social-psychological research in organizational contexts, which finds that *mothers* are particularly vulnerable to gender bias in leadership domains. They are seen as less competent than men and childless women, and are held to higher standards of performance (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004; Fuegen, Biernat, Haines, & Deaux, 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008).

The evidence that there are incentives for candidates to portray themselves as maternal figures, and pitfalls for female candidates who do so, raises the possibility that *male* candidates might be ideally positioned to reap the benefits of maternal appeals. Although maternal strategies by men in politics have been less common, changing expectations of men and women and voters' preferences for a candidate who is both tough and warm might make maternal appeals a viable option for contemporary male candidates. During their 2008 presidential campaign, Barack Obama and Joe Biden portrayed themselves as caring fathers, with an emotional connection to their children and an active role in hands-on caregiving. In a debate, Biden described himself as a "single parent" and disputed the implicit belief that "because I'm a man, I don't know what it's like to raise two kids alone," refusing to concede the maternal turf to his female opponent, Sarah Palin (Vice Presidential Debate, October 2, 2008). The week after his inauguration, Obama published a letter to his daughters in *Parade* magazine that echoed the maternal tone of his campaign. He wrote: "I realized that my own life wouldn't count for much unless I was able to ensure that you had every opportunity for happiness and fulfillment in yours. In the end, girls, that's why I ran for President: because of what I want for you and for every child in this nation" (Obama, 2009). Like

many maternal activists, Obama's hopes for his own children expanded to include others, and provided a platform from which he could express values of selflessness and nurturance. Because male candidates are already assumed to be sufficiently tough and competent, they may have more leeway to make maternal appeals without inciting criticism. Indeed, social-psychological research indicates that fatherhood can give men a boost in workplace evaluations: Fathers are seen as equally competent and warmer than childless men (Cuddy, et al., 2004; Deason, Girvan, & Borgida, 2010).

Despite the prevalence of maternal appeals by political activists and candidates, no empirical research has examined the effects of maternal appeals on candidate evaluation and political attitudes, or the implications of such appeals for continued gender stereotyping.¹ Research on the related topic of gender stereotyping in politics indicates that female candidates fare as well in elections as their male counterparts, but that gender stereotypes continue to play a role in voters' impressions of candidates (Darcy, Welch, & Clark, 1994; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Lawless, 2004; Leeper, 1991; McDermott, 1998; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Theory and research in social psychology further suggest that women are less likely than men to be seen as good candidates for leadership positions, particularly when they exhibit characteristics like motherhood that increase their perceived similarity to the prototype of the female gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 1983; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Nonetheless, political candidates of both genders publicly claim to draw inspiration from their experiences as parents, and feminist political theories argue that appeals to nurturance and the family have the unique ability to usher in a new kind of politics built

¹ But see Stalsburg (2010) for an experimental study of the effect of *parental status* on evaluations

on fundamental values of compassion, generosity, and interpersonal connectedness (Elder & Greene, 2009; Hayden, 2003; Lakoff, 1996, 2002; Ruddick, 1989, 1997). With more women and mothers entering politics and family rhetoric a popular choice among candidates, it is time for a systematic examination of maternal appeals in politics in order to better understand the role of gender and the family in political thinking and electoral outcomes. To this end, this project addresses the following research questions about maternal appeals in politics:

- (1) For which issues are maternal appeals used most frequently?
- (2) Which candidates are most likely to use maternal appeals?
- (3) For which candidates are maternal appeals most effective?
- (4) Which audiences are most receptive to maternal appeals?
- (5) What impact do maternal appeals have on how voters evaluate candidates?
- (6) Do maternal appeals promote an “alternative” set of values and policies?
- (7) Do maternal appeals perpetuate stereotypes of women and mothers?

To address these questions, I propose a psychological theory of maternal politics that integrates insights from psychology, political science, sociology, and feminist theory to illuminate the role of motherhood in individual political attitudes and behavior. A review of literature from disciplines outside psychology suggests a new perspective on motherhood and political power. Social science research focused on mothers' low status position in the home (e.g., Ridgeway & Correll, 2004) has missed an important dimension of motherhood as a *symbol*. In contrast, essentialist feminist theories are echo older political traditions in which motherhood was imbued with power and a distinct set of values and political priorities (e.g., Hayden, 2003; Ruddick, 1993,

1997). Integrating these perspectives, this project is the first empirical test of the claim that motherhood is a position of political power, with a unique ability to set a liberal agenda.

The Theory of Maternal Politics

The theory of maternal politics posits that maternal power can be invoked by candidates in campaigns to connect the positive associations with mothers in the private sphere to impressions of political candidates as potential “parents” of the nation. However, prior research in social and political psychology highlights an important caveat to the power of motherhood. In the current U.S. political environment, there is a mismatch between stereotypes of mothers and the characteristics that are considered important in a leader: The traits and values associated with mothers are seen as secondary to the more masculine characteristics considered vital for political leadership (Dolan, 2010; Eagly & Karau, 2002; McDonagh, 2009; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). In line with these insights, the theory of maternal politics predicts that in the current socio-cultural context, female candidates who make maternal appeals are likely to be evaluated negatively. Further, the theory holds that by activating stereotypes of women as naturally caring and nurturing, maternal appeals will lead to increased gender prejudice and discrimination in other leadership domains.

Recent scholarship in political science examines the possibility that gender and the family have broader effects on the political landscape than merely increasing politicians’ chances of electoral success (Barker & Tinnick, 2006; Deason, Lippman, Gonzales, & Filson, 2008; Lakoff, 1996, 2002; Winter, 2008), and suggests that gender

and the family are linked to specific values and political priorities at an implicit level. The theory of maternal politics, in turn, argues that despite the electoral disadvantages that maternal political candidates may incur, maternal appeals are uniquely positioned to support a liberal policy agenda. Further, by advancing a more feminine image of political leadership, maternal appeals in campaigns may ultimately have the potential to increase women's representation in politics and other leadership domains.

In the sections below, I review a diverse range of literature to propose seven specific hypotheses that follow from the theory's propositions. First, I present theory and research on the meaning of motherhood in contemporary U.S. culture, its origins in historical events and social trends, and the contentious role of motherhood in feminist politics. This body of literature provides a basis for conceptualizing maternal appeals in political campaigns, specifying the ways in which they are uniquely tied to motherhood, and understanding their meaning in the current socio-cultural context. Second, I draw on social-psychological theory and research on gender stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination, including studies that focus specifically on women and mothers in leadership domains. This literature sheds light on how stereotypes about women and mothers guide evaluations of leaders, and provides an empirical basis for the theoretical framework and hypotheses. Third, I discuss theory and research from the political domain on voters' impressions of men, women, and parents in campaigns, candidates' strategies for negotiating gender stereotypes, and the possibility that gender and family-related campaign strategies influence individual political attitudes. This research establishes the foundation of social-scientific knowledge about gender stereotyping in

the political context and raises novel possibilities about how appeals to motherhood may affect politics and society.

The Cultural Meaning of Motherhood

Literature on motherhood from a variety of disciplines addresses the questions: What does it mean to be a mother in the U.S.? What characteristics do mothers share, if any, and what expectations are placed on them? Despite familiarity with mothers—our own mothers, sisters, wives, and friends—we know surprisingly little about motherhood as an identity. Perhaps because it appears simply biological, or because it is assumed to be a universal and distinguishing feature of *women's* identity, motherhood seems obvious and hardly worth examining closely. There is, however, an extraordinariness to motherhood—the creation of another human being—that is considered private and personal, and is perhaps actively suppressed in our culture (Bernard, 1982; Woodward, 1997). Radical feminists of the 1970s called attention to the paradox of the “power and powerlessness of mothers in patriarchal society” (Rich, 1976). Feminist psychoanalytic theorist Luce Irigaray called motherhood the “dark continent,” and argued that society functions “on the basis of a matricide,” an abolishment of the feminine that was necessary to establish political order and obedience (1991, p. 35-36). Motherhood as an identity is largely hidden from the public aspects of society, but is still present in the form of idealized femininity: the virgin mother, the perfect wife. Where it does appear, motherhood is often defined by experts, television shows, movies, magazines, and novels rather than by mothers themselves. Through these and other symbolic avenues,

people come to understand motherhood in a given time and place, and reconstruct it through their own experiences and behavior (Woodward, 1997).

*The Ideology of Intensive Mothering*²

In an empirical study of mothering norms and practices, Hays (1996) analyzed expert childrearing advice, conducted interviews, and surveyed a diverse group of mothers to determine what we as a society believe about motherhood. In line with Irigaray's claim that motherhood has been banished to the sidelines of our culture, Hays (1996) argued that an "ideology of intensive mothering" is present in our culture that is directly opposed to mainstream, capitalist notions of the pursuit of self-interest and economic efficiency. Her empirical research revealed three cultural beliefs that are central to the ideology of intensive mothering: (1) The mother is the irreplaceable, central caregiver for the children; (2) appropriate childrearing involves excessive time and devotion, putting all the child's needs above your own, and responding to all the child's desires in an expert-informed, developmentally appropriate manner; and (3) children are outside the realm of market valuation—you can't put a "price tag" on time spent with your kids, and the idea of doing so is ludicrous. Hays (1996) further argued that this set of beliefs affects ideas that the general public holds about what mothers should be like, what they should do, and how they should do it.

Over the past decade, authors have chronicled manifestations of the ideology of intensive mothering in the media and U.S. cultural practices. Self-described "mothers

² Douglas and Michaels (2004) use the terms "The Mommy Myth" and "The New Momism" and Warner (2005) adopts "The Mommy Mystique," all terms that refer to a similar set of cultural beliefs about and expectations for mothers in the U.S. I choose to use Hays's term here because it is conceptualized as an ideological counterpart to mainstream capitalist beliefs and values and is more firmly grounded in empirical data.

with an attitude problem,” Douglas and Michaels (2004), expose “the myth— shamelessly hawked by the media—that motherhood is eternally fulfilling and rewarding, that it is *always* the best and most important thing you do, that there is only a narrowly prescribed way to do it right, and that if you don’t love each and every second then there is something really wrong with you” (pp. 3-4). They argue that portrayals of celebrity moms by the media plunge mothers into a state of constant anxiety in their quest to meet impossible standards. The authors track media coverage of Kirstie Alley as she makes the transition from movie star to down-to-earth mom. *InStyle* Magazine profiles in 1994 and 1997 emphasized Alley’s eclectic and whimsical decorating style, perfect and supportive partner, her consistently healthy food choices, and beauty regime. Such profiles create “an undertow of inferiority and envy” that reinforces the ideology of intensive mothering (p. 114). In contrast to celebrity profiles of the 1980s, in which celebrity moms acknowledged the challenges of balancing family and a demanding career and charted a path for “doing it all,” by the 1990s, celebrity moms were merely gushing about the joys of at-home motherhood (Douglas & Michaels, 2004).

In her own observations on the cultural construction of motherhood in the U.S., based on a series of interviews, Warner (2005) emphasizes the breakdown of boundaries between mothers and children that the ideology of intensive mothering requires. In France, “taking time for herself was equally considered to be a mother’s right—indeed, a mother’s responsibility—as was taking time for romance and a social life” (p. 10). In contrast, mothers in the U.S. felt pressured to accept the “boundary breakdowns of ‘attachment parenting’—baby-wearing, co-sleeping, long-term

breastfeeding and the rest of it—[that were] cruelly insensitive to mothers’ needs as adult women” (p. 15). In the upper-middle classes of the 21st century U.S., this self-dissolving version of motherhood is considered normal, noble, and is thought to be freely chosen (Douglas & Michaels, 2004; Hirschman, 2006; Moe & Shandy, 2009; Stone, 2007; Warner, 2005).

How the Ideology of Intensive Mothering Affects Mothers

Although it is socially constructed and historically recent, the ideology of intensive mothering exerts a strong influence on mothers’ sense of proper parenting practices through cultural channels like childrearing manuals and social networks, whether mothers choose to adhere to their prescriptions or not (Douglas & Michaels, 2004; Hays, 1996; Warner, 2005). Cultural expectations placed on mothers can have a strong impact on how they are perceived by others: Social-psychological research confirms that mothers who do not adhere to behavioral practices consistent with the ideology of intensive mothering are punished in a variety of ways (e.g., Cuddy, et al., 2004; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). The plight of mother-authors who do not admit to being conflicted about motherhood provides a compelling example. In her controversial parenting memoir, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, Chua (2011) reveals herself as a “Chinese mother” who rejects Western norms of child-centered parenting in which parents respond selflessly to the child’s requests. Instead, she imposes her will on her two daughters, transforming them into musical prodigies before age 10. Her book created an uproar; mothers, news commentators, and psychologists alike rushed to condemn her harsh methods (Choi, 2011; Emerson, 2011). The characteristics of a good mother are clear, and it is evident that noncompliance will be punished.

The challenges of acting in line with the ideology of intensive mothering are perhaps most evident in the “double-bind” that women face when they attempt to achieve success at work and as a parent; the behaviors required of a good mother (e.g., being available 24 hours a day to meet children’s needs) and the behaviors required of a valued employee (e.g., putting in long hours at the office) are impossible to perform simultaneously (Hays, 1996; Williams, 2001, 2010; Williams & Segal, 2003). Williams (2001) argues that the trouble stems from workplace schedules and expectations that are constructed around the “ideal worker,” a young man free of caregiving responsibilities (see also Cantor, 1977). The masculine norms of the workplace create a situation in which mothers and other caregivers, even when given equal opportunity to pursue demanding careers, are disproportionately unable to meet the unspoken requirements of the job (Williams, 1991, 2000, 2010). Contrary to the “mommy wars” storyline, in which stay-at-home mothers’ interests are pitted against those of working mothers (e.g., Darnton, 1990), evidence suggests that mothers hold themselves to a similar standard of parenting, whether they work or stay home (Hays, 1996; Michaels & Douglas, 2004; Moe & Shandy, 2009; Warner, 2005). Thus, mothers who pursue demanding careers attempt to fulfill the requirements of two full-time jobs, which for many becomes a pressure cooker of stress and anxiety (Moe & Shandy, 2009; Stone, 2007; Warner, 2005).

Why do so many mothers continue to buy into cultural prescriptions that they take sole responsibility for childcare, respond selflessly to children’s needs, and regard the experience of childrearing as the ultimate in personal fulfillment? Although it would seem that with more women working, the ideology of intensive mothering would lose

its core base of adherents and disappear, Hays (1996) observes instead that “the more powerful and all-encompassing the rationalized market becomes, the more powerful becomes its ideological opponent in the ideology of intensive mothering” (p. 97). The time demands placed on high-earning couples are higher than ever, with many couples working 100 hours or more per week between them (Moe & Shandy, 2009; Moen, 2003). Faced with few options for affordable childcare, upper-middle-class mothers are more likely than are their husbands to curtail their work commitments (Blair-Loy, 2005; Mason & Goulden, 2004; Moe & Shandy, 2009; Stone, 2007). Amid increasing demands on professional couples, the ideology of intensive motherhood provides a compelling rationale for women’s constrained “choice” to prioritize childrearing, and imbues their new role with respect and higher meaning (Hays, 1996; Moe & Shandy, 2009; Warner, 2005). In turn, the news media claim that women are “opting out” of demanding jobs in favor of full-time parenting reinforces the belief that this intense form of motherhood is freely chosen and personally fulfilling (Belkin, 2003; Boushey, 2008; Stone, 2007; Williams, 2010).

Working-Class and Minority Mothers

There is always a gap between motherhood as a social ideal, as captured in the ideology of intensive mothering, and the everyday reality of motherhood (Woodward, 1997); however, the gap is likely to be wider for some mothers than for others. The image of motherhood that is promoted in U.S. culture is specific to a particular race and class; it is more accurately described as an idealized version of white, upper-class motherhood. Second-wave feminists who first challenged the biologically determinist assumptions about motherhood and women’s position in the family worked to dismantle

the private, nuclear family household in which the mother is responsible for childrearing (e.g., Firestone, 1971; Friedan, 1963; Millett, 1970; Rich, 1976). Black feminists later pointed out the race- and class-specific focus of white feminists' perspective (Hill Collins, 2000; hooks, 1984; Lorber, 2010; Williams, 2010). The version of motherhood promoted by the mainstream media and expert advice books, and epitomized in the lifestyles of suburban soccer moms, has long been more attainable for white women than for black women; racial oppression has made it difficult for black families to support private nuclear family households. The division of labor in the household in which men are breadwinners and women are homemakers was never a common feature of African-American families, and so the belief that "good mothers" are full-time mothers is not common among African-American women (Barnes, 2008; Hill Collins, 2000). Thus, the ideology of intensive mothering originated and is likely to be stronger among white, upper-middle-class women than among African-American women. For immigrant Latina women, cultural norms against employed mothers are particularly strong; this is also likely to affect their experience of motherhood in a unique way (Williams, 2010).

Despite its upper-middle-class origins, however, Hays (1996) presents evidence that the ideology of intensive mothering operates similarly for women from different class backgrounds. She notes that working-class and poor mothers tend to focus more on children's education and teaching obedience, whereas middle-class and upper-middle-class mothers promote self-esteem and choices. Mothers from different socioeconomic backgrounds have different standards of "good" mothering and different means to achieve their goals; however, they share the belief that their children's needs

come first and are similarly committed to doing what they can to meet them. Warner (2005) also notes that in interviews with mothers she observed few differences in the attitudes and experiences of women from different classes and racial groups. It is, perhaps, not surprising that mothers from diverse backgrounds recognize the upper-middle-class version of ideal motherhood, given that “it is upper-middle-class homes that we see in movies, upper-middle-class lifestyles that are detailed in our magazines, upper-middle-class images of desirability that grace the advertising destined for us all” (Warner, 2005, p. 20). Further, male and female political leaders, who make decisions on policies that affect women and children around the country, tend to be white and well off, and so the norms for mothering in the upper-middle-class directly affect the reality of mothering for all women in the U.S., for better or worse. Thus, understanding upper-middle-class ideas of motherhood is most crucial to understanding the role of the family in politics (Warner, 2005). Regardless, our understanding of the cultural meaning of motherhood in the U.S. will be incomplete until we know more about the ideals and reality of motherhood among racial minority and working-class women. Research is beginning to fill this gap (e.g., Barnes, 2008; Glauber, 2007; Kennelly, 1999; Williams, 2010), but more work is needed.

Motherhood in Feminist Politics

Despite the constraints placed on contemporary mothers by the ideology of intensive mothering, and their marginalized position outside public life, feminist essentialist theories hold out hope that the power of motherhood, long obscured in patriarchal society, can be recaptured and transformed into political power (Bernard, 1982; Irigaray, 1991; Rich, 1976; Ruddick, 1989; see also Gilligan, 1982). Throughout

history, many cultures viewed motherhood as powerful and sacred, with a unique potential to initiate change (Evans, 2006). The goddess Demeter of ancient Greece and her Egyptian counterpart, Isis, were worshipped for their fertility and their commitment to protecting women and children (Evans, 2006; Tobin, 1991). Cleopatra, arguably the most powerful female political leader of all time, declared herself Isis reincarnated and was actively worshipped as a goddess in Egypt (Schiff, 2011). Giving birth to the children of two prominent Roman leaders—Julius Caesar and Mark Antony—only enhanced her power and influence. Roman culture, however, held a different view of women's place in society: Roman women were obedient, subservient, and were named after their fathers. With the Roman triumph over Egypt, the concept of maternal power was largely lost in the forward march of Western civilization (Schiff, 2011).

In more recent history, Hays (1996) describes how the development of the masculine concept of self-interest aided in the creation of the ideology of intensive mothering. As capitalist markets expanded dramatically and the means of production moved outside the household, distinct public and private spheres emerged; for the first time, men acted as the sole financial providers in the family and women tended the home. This economic and cultural situation gave birth to what has been called the “cult of domesticity,” in which women, protected within the haven of the home, provided their husbands and children with moral sustenance and a respite from the corrupt outer world. Although mothers' participation in the temperance movement and other social movements was allowed, women in general were discouraged from engaging with the public sphere (Hays, 1996). Charged with building the moral character of the next generation of citizens, mothers soon had a full-time job on their hands. Fertility and

childrearing—and to some degree, maternal power—are protected and valued in the circumscribed arena of the private sphere, but their influence in the public world of politics has been limited.

Despite the development of a culture in which women's stereotypical caring attributes and women's traditional work as mothers and caregivers are marginalized (Crittenden, 2001; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004), feminist psychoanalytic theories claim that all people have a deep desire to be "mothered" and that we continue to value the unique qualities of the private sphere that is thought of as "women's world" (Bernard, 1982; Woodward, 1997). Irigaray argues that desire for a mother's love and care is forbidden by the "law of the father," but that "men can no more, or rather no less, do without it than can women" (1991, p. 35-36). The desire to be mothered may appear in our culture's longing for the nostalgic family arrangements of the 1950s. It is evident in magazine coverage that portrays mothers and children in an "imaginary community" free of male influence, similar to the "female genealogy" that Irigaray describes—a "pre-Oedipal longing for a culture which is 'beyond the phallus'" (Woodward, 1997, p. 281). These feminist perspectives suggest a different reason for women's embrace of the ideology of intensive mothering: It is one of the last vestiges of traditional femininity in our culture, and mothers may see themselves as the vital, if reluctant, keepers of an important realm (Moe & Shandy, 2009).

The desire to reclaim the hidden power of motherhood, and to create a culture in which the caring attributes associated with women hold sway, is the driving force behind maternal appeals in politics. The unique value that mother-activists bring to the public sphere stems from their perceived difference from mainstream capitalist norms

and practices. The logic of the cult of domesticity is that women and men *naturally* possess different traits and competencies that equip them for different societal roles and tasks, beliefs that are still reflected in social and political stereotypes today (Eagly, 1987; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). Echoing these gender-stereotypic beliefs, essentialist feminist theories conceptualize a universal dimension of female identity, arguing that motherhood is an important aspect of women's experience that is a necessary component of feminist political consciousness (Jetter et al., 1997; Koven & Michel, 1993; Ruddick, 1989, 1997). Essentialist feminist approaches can be construed as dangerously close to those of the most ardent critics of feminism, who also take the position that differences between men and women are important and undeniable (e.g., Venker & Schlafly, 2011). In some ways, essentialist feminism reflects "cult of domesticity" notions of women as moral authorities with the unique power to cure social ills, but in other ways, it represents a new reclamation of the mothering role that many believe holds promise for women's political interests (Hayden, 2003; Jetter et al., 1997; Koven & Michel, 1993; Ruddick, 1989, 1997).

Of course, feminists who are critical of gender essentialism are likely to see maternal appeals in a different light. Indeed, most feminists of the past five decades argue that there is nothing "natural" or "essential" about motherhood. When Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* launched the second-wave feminist movement in 1963, her "problem without a name" was diagnosed as the outcome of limiting women's horizons to the home and family: Traditional motherhood was little more than a stifling trap. Radical feminists' critiques of the biological determinism of maternal identity were quick to expose the inaccuracy and danger of the belief that all women are mothers (as

well as the dangers of believing that all women are married, heterosexual, or anything else; Firestone, 1971; Millett, 1970). They emphasized the interconnections between the structure of the family and the capitalist patriarchy, motherhood, household labor, and women's oppression (Dietz, 1985; Stearney, 1994). In the years since the second wave, feminists have been hesitant to embrace women's maternal identities, and in politics and the media, "feminism" and "family" have come to be regarded as warring, mutually exclusive camps (Freeman, 1994). Instead of providing a unique advantage, mothers' perceived distance from the norms of the public sphere may set them apart as outsiders and compromise their chances for success in the political arena (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Heilman, 1983).

Motherhood and the Sameness/Difference Debate

Feminists' disagreement over whether maternal appeals will advance feminist goals is one example of a broader dispute over feminist political strategy that has left its mark on U.S. policy, legal theory, and society: The debate over whether men and women are the same or different (Suk, 2010; Williams, 1991). In discussions of the sanctity of the traditional family and the best way to help women advance in the workplace, motherhood continues to be emphasized as the most important "true" difference between women and men (Letherby, 1994; Suk, 2010). Of course, not all women share the experience of motherhood; however, motherhood is a feminist issue because current research on gender disparities in salary and workplace achievement indicates that parenthood acts as a trigger for gender inequality. Whereas childless men and women earn similar income, fathers' salaries exceed those of mothers (Budig & England, 2001; Correll et al., 2007; Williams, 2000, 2010).

Williams (1991) attributes disparities between fathers' and mothers' salaries to workplace policies that systematically disadvantage mothers "by treating them the same as others in contexts where they cannot live up to the expected norm, as when a person in a wheelchair is treated as if she could walk" (p. 298). She is also quick to point out, however, that "they can also be disadvantaged if they are treated as different in a way that reinforces traditional stereotypes" (Williams, 1991, p. 298). Ultimately, the dispute over whether men and women should be treated the same or differently at work is tangential to the broader and more useful question of how to transform society to create *true* equality by transforming institutions (Williams, 1991). Part of this larger effort is to understand how political arguments about sameness and difference are received by audiences and when each strategy is likely to receive support or achieve feminists' broader political outcomes.

Motherhood is the cornerstone of the persistent belief that men and women are different, and that these differences cannot and should not be erased. Feminist essentialist theories hold out hope that women's unique characteristics can be politicized to create change. With respect to the current project, the debate raises the question: What impact will difference arguments that focus on women's (and men's) maternal identities have on individual psychology in a given political context? This is a question that research in social psychology can address. Such research would also help feminist political scholars and activists evaluate the utility of maternal appeals in a specific situation. The theoretical perspectives and research on the meaning of motherhood outlined above support such research by providing a basis for conceptualizing "maternal appeals" in political campaigns and understanding their

meaning in the current socio-cultural context. The ideology of intensive mothering delineates the meaning of motherhood in today's society: It is intensive, emotionally draining, child-centered labor that is devalued relative to mainstream society, but still holds a psychological pull for people in our culture (Douglas & Michaels, 2004; Hays, 1996; Warner, 2005; Woodward, 1997). Historically, most feminists believed that an emphasis on motherhood would serve women poorly, but essentialist feminist perspectives suggest that maternal appeals may hold a unique power that women can harness to advance a new vision for politics (Ruddick, 1989; Hayden, 2003). Whether an emphasis on the maternal serves women's goals as citizens and feminists is an empirical question that this project aims to address, informed by these multidisciplinary perspectives on motherhood.

Social-Psychological Research on Gender Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination

In this section, I turn to empirical research in social psychology that can inform the theory of maternal politics. Extant social-psychological theory and research on gender stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination provide insight into how maternal appeals are likely to affect individual attitudes, beliefs, and behavior. Research on the content of stereotypes of women and mothers establishes an empirical basis for understanding what personal characteristics are considered typical of men, women, and mothers, and therefore which personal characteristics, when invoked in a campaign, should qualify as a "maternal appeal." Research on gender prejudice in leadership domains can help us understand why mothers are beloved at home, but disadvantaged at work, and to predict when each distinct attitude will manifest itself. Research examining

individual differences in gender schemas and attitudes indicates which voters will be most susceptible to a gender-based campaign strategy. By delineating the ways stereotypes about women and mothers guide individual attitudes, this work provides an empirical basis for the theory of maternal politics.

Content of Stereotypes of Men and Women

Despite decades of economic and social progress for women, social-psychological research shows that stereotypes of women remain intricately connected to the ideology of intensive mothering and family economic arrangements that arose in the nineteenth century. According to social role theory (Eagly, 1987), the content of gender stereotypes is rooted in men and women's traditional roles in the family, the "cult of domesticity" described above, in which men are employed in the paid workforce and women are homemakers. Because people observe men and women engaging in particular behaviors, the theory argues, they are likely to believe that the abilities and personality traits suitable to carry out those activities are typical of those groups of people (Eagly, 1987). In line with this, the stereotype of "housewives" is similar to the stereotype of women in general, indicating that housewives are seen as prototypical women (Eckes, 1994). Thus, stereotypes of women as a group arise from their assumed role as mothers; women are thought to possess traits and abilities necessary to do the time-intensive, selfless, and emotionally draining work of mothering.

In accordance with social role theory predictions, decades of research have shown that men are stereotyped to be more agentic (i.e., assertive, masterful) and women are thought to be more communal (i.e., selfless, concerned with others; Eagly, 1987; Eagly, Wood, & Diekmann, 2000). Further, evidence from cross-cultural studies

suggests that the content of stereotypes of men and women is similar across cultures (Williams & Best, 1990). However, social role theory also implies that as social roles for men and women change, so will the content of gender stereotypes. Indeed, there is some evidence that people are seeing women as increasingly agentic and competent. In one study, college and community participants rated various characteristics of women and men in 1950, in present times, and projecting to 2050. Consistent with past and expected changes in women's social roles, ratings of women's agency increased at each time point. Notably, ratings of men's communality or warmth were not consistently affected (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000). In short, stereotypes of contemporary women are more similar to those of men, but stereotypes of men are not changing at similar rate.

Social role theory claims that women's departure from homemaking roles is producing the gradual change in the content of stereotypes. The more that people see women engaging in public activities that were formerly reserved for men, the more they come to believe that the abilities and personality traits suitable to carry out those traditionally masculine activities are typical of women, as well (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000). Despite highly visible changes in the structure of the nuclear family, however, women in the U.S. are still underrepresented at the highest levels of corporations and government (Center for American Women and Politics, 2011; Soares, Combopiano, Regis, Shur, & Wong, 2010). Social-psychological research suggests that greater representation of women in powerful leadership positions would produce more rapid and more pronounced changes in gender stereotypes and reductions in resulting prejudice (Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; also see McDonagh, 2009). Thus, research supports the initiative to increase women's representation in politics, not only as an end

to itself, but because empirical evidence shows that greater descriptive representation carries with it a reduction in stereotyping and prejudice.

More recently, Fiske and colleagues (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002) have developed the stereotype content model (SCM), a pan-cultural theory of stereotype content that proposes that stereotypes of all groups can be parsimoniously classified along two primary dimensions: warmth and competence. Rather than a theory of gender stereotyping, in particular, the stereotype content model purports to catalogue the content of stereotypes of all social groups; however, the dimensions of warmth and competence map closely onto the traits of communality and agency described above, which are central to gender stereotypes. Consistent with social role theory findings, men are judged to be more competent (i.e., intelligent, knowledgeable, creative, efficient, skilled), and women judged to be more warm (i.e., friendly, helpful, sincere, trustworthy, moral). Both dimensions have been shown to guide impressions of people in a wide variety of domains, including presidential candidates and other leaders (Abelson, Kinder, Peters, & Fiske, 1982; Chemers, 1997; Kinder, Peters, Abelson, & Fiske, 1980; Wojciszke & Klusek, 1996).

The SCM also proposes a distinct origin of stereotype content. In contrast to social role theory, which places the origin of gender stereotypes in the cult of domesticity, the SCM posits that the content of all stereotypes depends on two factors: the group's social status and the degree of inter-group competition. The social status of a given outgroup predicts evaluations of the group's competence, whereas the degree of competition between the rater's group and the target's group predicts evaluations of warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006). In other words, the warmth dimension captures

perceived intent, and the competence dimension captures perceived ability.

According to the SCM, judgments of warmth are primary: Warmth is evaluated before competence, and warmth judgments carry more weight in affective and behavioral reactions to a target. From an evolutionary standpoint, a target's good or ill intent toward a perceiver is more important for survival than the ability to act on those intentions, making warmth the primary dimension. Given men's and women's traditional gender roles, men's lives are more affected by competence traits, whereas women's lives are more affected by warmth (Abele, 2003). Consistent with this, women show a stronger ability for detecting warmth (Wojciskze, Dowhyluk, & Jaworski, 1998).

The SCM places particular emphasis on the content of *ambivalent* stereotypes, which characterize groups as high on one of the dimensions and low on the other; for example, in the U.S., Asians are rated high in competence, but low in warmth, and the elderly are rated high in warmth, but low in competence (Fiske, et al., 2006). Its focus on ambivalent stereotypes distinguishes the SCM from older formulations of stereotype content that assumed that stereotypes of low-status groups are uniformly negative (e.g., Allport, 1954). Rather than a single out-group that elicits only negative evaluations from others, the SCM defines three distinct types of out-groups that are consistent across cultures (Fiske et al., 2006). Members of the favored "in-group" (e.g., whites, men, and Christians in the U.S.) are typically perceived as high in both competence and warmth, whereas out-groups fall into one of the other three combinations of warmth (high/low) and competence (high/low). Research indicates that different subtypes of women fall into different out-groups of the SCM; specifically, working women are seen

as competent, but not warm, whereas homemakers and working mothers are seen as warm, but not competent (Bridges, Etaugh, & Barnes-Farrell, 2002; Cuddy et al., 2004; Fiske et al., 2002).

Prejudice and Discrimination against Women and Mothers

Understanding the content of stereotypes about women and mothers is necessary, but not sufficient, for predicting whether women will experience prejudice and discrimination in a given situation. At first glance, one might assume that men's agentic qualities, which are associated with success in the domain of paid employment, would be more positively evaluated than the characteristics stereotypically ascribed to women, characteristics associated with low-status care work. A large body of research, however, has challenged this idea. Eagly and Mladinic (1989; 1994; Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991) have demonstrated that people have a strong positive bias toward women, a phenomenon known as the "women are wonderful" effect. Male and female respondents both rate women more favorably than men on general attitude measures. In addition, the stereotypical characteristics associated with women are evaluated more positively than are the stereotypical characteristics associated with men. This body of research shows that women, in general, are not the targets of prejudice; however, closer examination reveals that there is an important qualification to the "women are wonderful" effect. Eagly and Mladinic (1991) determined that people evaluate women more positively than men because the positive qualities associated with nurturance and a communal orientation are assigned to women much more frequently than to men. Thus, people evaluate women positively because they think about them in traditional ways (i.e., as homemakers and nurturers). Research also suggests that mothers, who are believed to

have many feminine characteristics and traits, are seen as more wonderful than women in general (Ganong & Coleman, 1995). Other subtypes of women tend to be seen more negatively (Bridges, et al., 2002; Cuddy, et al., 2004).

Research conducted within the framework of the SCM shows that women are especially likely to experience prejudice and discrimination *at work*. According to the SCM, stereotypes of a group's warmth and competence predict emotional reactions to groups and distinct patterns of discriminatory behavior toward individual members of those groups (Fiske et al., 2002; Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Because working women and homemakers receive different ratings of warmth and competence, they are also expected to provoke distinct affective and behavioral responses. The theory distinguishes between actively helpful or harmful behaviors, which explicitly aim to benefit or hurt a group, and passive facilitation and harm, which involve passive cooperation or neglect of a group (Cuddy et al., 2007). Because working women are seen as competent, but not warm, they are expected to provoke envy, passive cooperation with them, and active harm against them. Stay-at-home women, for their part, are seen as warm, but not competent, a combination that is expected to elicit pity, along with active help and passive harm, such as neglect and avoidance (Cuddy et al., 2007). In line with the SCM predictions, research has shown that mothers face barriers in the workplace relative to men and childless women: Managers are less interested in hiring and promoting them, and they are held to higher standards of performance (Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen, et al., 2004). Competence, not warmth, was found to predict positive workplace outcomes, and discrimination against mothers

at work is likely the result of perceptions that they are less competent than other workers (Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008).

Because prejudice toward women is ambivalent instead of wholly negative, patterns of discrimination are complex, and women do not uniformly encounter antagonism as they strive to attain success in male leadership domains. Instead of hitting a single “glass ceiling,” women are forced to navigate a “labyrinth” of unforeseen obstacles that relate to a woman’s individual characteristics, the characteristics of the work she pursues, and the characteristics of the perceiver (Eagly & Carli, 2007). The dynamic interplay of these factors has been chronicled in research on stereotyping and leadership. Experiments showed that attractive women were evaluated less favorably than their unattractive counterparts when applying for a managerial job, but were evaluated more favorably when they were candidates for a non-managerial job (Cash, Gillen, & Burns, 1977; Heilman & Saruwatari, 1979). In other research, self-promoting behavior made women, but not men, appear less likable, and female employees who used tentative speech were more influential when speaking to a male audience of co-workers, but not when addressing a female audience (Carli, 1990; Rudman, 1998). In another study, women were less likely to be hired as the proportion of the women in the applicant pool decreased, and a meta-analysis of such results indicated that women are disadvantaged when they compete for male sex-typed jobs, but actually have an advantage when applying for female sex-typed jobs (Davison & Burke, 2000; Heilman, 1980).

Evidence that prejudice toward women in the workplace is dependent on seemingly minor behaviors and subtle situational differences is not consistent with a

conceptualization of prejudice that posits that negative evaluations arise directly from the content of the stereotypes associated with a social group (Eagly & Koenig, 2008). For example, following from the results of the research described above, a physically attractive working mother will be evaluated more positively when she is applying for a secretarial job than when she is applying for a management job, although the stereotype that her social group is warm but not competent has not changed. Similarly, although men as a social group enjoy a position of higher status and respect, women are the preferred candidates for female sex-typed jobs. Such findings indicate that stereotypes, including ambivalent stereotypes, have different implications in different social contexts. In some contexts, judgments of competence may be weighed most heavily in an overall evaluation of a target person, whereas in other contexts, warmth may play a stronger role. The question becomes: *When* will each aspect of an ambivalent stereotype affect evaluations of a target?

Eagly and Karau (2002) proposed role congruity theory (RCT) to account for the fact that although many women pursue higher education and work in mid-level positions, few women attain top leadership positions. They argue that women's chances of obtaining employment and succeeding in the workplace is lower for high status and male sex-typed jobs because of gender prejudice. RCT extends Eagly's (1987) social role theory of gender stereotype content to consider the match *between* gender roles and leadership roles; therefore, in addition to the content of gender stereotypes, information about the characteristics of leadership roles is also relevant to gender prejudice. Research in multiple countries indicates that stereotypes of managers overlap with stereotypes of men, and do not overlap with stereotypes of women (Schein & Mueller,

1992). Given the “mismatch” between stereotypes of women and stereotypes of managers, RCT holds that perceived incongruity between the female gender role and leadership roles leads to two forms of gender prejudice: (1) Women are perceived to be less suitable than men for leadership roles, and (2) behavior that fulfills the expectations of the leadership role will be evaluated more negatively when it is performed by a woman. As a result, women are less likely to attain leadership positions and more likely to be negatively evaluated when they perform successfully in a leadership role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). RCT synthesizes prior research findings, showing that prejudice against women occurs in some situations but not others, into a coherent framework that allows for better interpretation of findings and leads to predictions of when women will experience prejudice.

Despite the elegance and utility of RCT for explaining patterns of gender prejudice in context, the theory’s predictions for *mothers* in leadership domains remain somewhat ambiguous. One hypothesis is that negative evaluations of women in leadership domains are particularly likely when conditions that highlight incongruity with the work role, including motherhood, are present (Eagly & Karau, 2002). In an experimental study in which job applicants applied for promotions to male sex-typed positions, competence expectations were uniquely low for mothers, and the effect was explained by mothers’ heightened association with the female gender stereotype (Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Another study of pregnant and non-pregnant women working in an assessment center showed a stronger bias against pregnant women among male perceivers (Halpert, Wilson, & Hickman, 1993). Consistent with these findings and the research on the SCM described above, mothers who pursue leadership positions

may appear to be a particularly poor fit for such roles, and may experience stronger prejudice than childless women.

Mothers, however, have fulfilled one of the central duties of “good” womanhood by bearing children, and a variety of positive traits are likely to be ascribed to them; mothers, after all, are thought to be more “wonderful” than other women. Women who violate the prescriptions of the female gender role by successfully performing the duties of a leadership role are evaluated more negatively than women who conform to gender stereotypes (Brescoll & Okimoto, 2010; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Koenig, 2008; Rudman, 1998). Motherhood may temper these negative responses by providing evidence of agentic women’s communality. Consistent with this hypothesis, one study found that negativity directed at highly successful female managers was mitigated when they provided an indication that they were communal by being a mother or by exhibiting communal behavior (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Thus, the effect of motherhood on judgments of women in leadership domains also depends on judgments of women’s competence: Women who are unquestionably competent and who become mothers may benefit, but those who are not seen as competent suffer from increased incongruity with the work role that may heighten prejudice.

Another insight from RCT is that men can also be the targets of gender prejudice under certain circumstances. Fewer men try to enter female-dominated professions, but when they do, the prejudice that they experience follows the same logic – men sometimes experience prejudice when they try to occupy roles that are incongruent with stereotypes for men (Davison & Burke, 2000; cf. Budig, 2002). This includes the job of parenting; in divorce cases, judges are more reluctant to award custody to fathers than

to mothers, and fathers who leave work to stay home with their children experience social sanctions from others (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005). Further, research shows that men are punished when they exhibit behaviors that are consistent with the female gender role stereotype (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Men who take on feminine roles at the expense of exhibiting traditional masculine characteristics experience social sanctions that are different from those that women experience, but also stem from the dynamics of role incongruity.

Role congruity theory and the stereotype content model illustrate the importance of considering the *context* of a judgment when attempting to predict or explain prejudice and discrimination against women, men, and mothers. Although women in general are considered “wonderful,” gender stereotypes—and stereotypes of mothers, in particular—can compromise women’s chances for success in the workplace and in leadership domains. In addition to the content of stereotypes of a target’s group and the context of a social judgment, research on gender prejudice in leadership also indicates that characteristics of the perceiver help to determine whether gender prejudice and discrimination will occur. For example, several studies described above found stronger gender bias among men than among women, perhaps because of a difference between men’s and women’s gender-related attitudes (Carli, 1990; Halpert et al., 1993; Schein & Mueller, 1992). To the extent that male and female political candidates, or Democratic and Republican candidates, are addressing audiences that differ on these dimensions, stereotypes may affect political candidates in distinct ways.

Individual Differences in Gender Stereotyping and Prejudice

In addition to general patterns of gender prejudice and discrimination, social-psychological research shows that some individuals are more prone than others to gender prejudice. One factor that may lead to differences in gender prejudice is individual differences in gender-based schematic processing, or gender schematicity. Gender schema theory posits that the phenomenon of sex-typing derives in part from a cognitive readiness to process information on the basis of the associations that constitute a gender schema, or stereotype (Bem, 1981). The salience of the gender schema is thought to be the result of assimilating the self-concept into the gender schema; individuals who are themselves strongly sex-typed are expected to process information more readily in terms of the gender schema. Following from this tenet of the theory, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) was developed to identify sex-typed individuals on the basis of their own ratings of their personal attributes (Bem, 1974). In a series of studies testing the theory's basic claims, sex-typed participants recalled more gender-related words than neutral words and showed shorter response latencies when making gender schema-consistent judgments about the self, indicating a readiness to process information in terms of gender schemas (Bem, 1981). Sex-typed individuals also subscribe more strongly to prescriptive stereotypes for men and women, to attend to the gender of job applicants, and to devalue the performance of female job applicants (Frable, 1989; cf. Spence & Helmreich, 1981).

The research on gender schema theory links the “cold” cognitive tendency for gender-based schematic processing to gender stereotyping and prejudice, but social psychology also posits individual differences in gender prejudice that are characterized

by “hot” motivational processes. Following from the ambivalent stereotypes central to the SCM, ambivalent sexism theory identifies three separate motivations underlying attitudes toward women: (1) paternalism, which refers to a tendency to deal with women as if they were children; (2) gender differentiation, which pertains to a motivation to make distinctions between men and women; and (3) heterosexuality, which refers to the tendency to view relationships between men and women as different from other relationships (Fiske & Glick, 1995). Each of these three motivations can be either *hostile* or *benevolent*. Hostile sexism involves "antipathy toward women based on an ideology of male dominance, male superiority, and a hostile form of sexuality (in which women are treated merely as sexual objects)" (p. 98). In contrast, benevolent sexism involves "subjectively positive, though sexist, attitudes that include protectiveness toward women, positively valenced stereotypes of women (e.g., nurturance), and a desire for heterosexual intimacy" (p. 98). Hostile sexism is correlated with negative stereotypes and attitudes about women (especially nontraditional women), whereas benevolent sexism is correlated with positive stereotypes and attitudes about women (especially traditional women; Glick, Diebold, Bailey-Werner, & Zhu, 1997). Although hostile and benevolent motivations are distinct, research has shown that they tend to co-occur, such that individuals who hold generally positive or benevolent attitudes toward traditional women are also likely to subscribe to hostile sexism (Fiske & Glick, 1996). Thus, individuals who are high on either type of ambivalent sexism are particularly likely to subscribe to stereotypes that are detrimental to women.

Individual differences in political orientation also have implications for gender attitudes, and therefore may affect responses to maternal appeals. One of the most

politically relevant psychological predispositions is authoritarianism, which reflects one's orientation toward conventional authorities and social conformity (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Altemeyer, 1996; Stenner, 2005; Hetherington & Weiler, 2009). Research on authoritarianism suggests that a stronger tendency towards conformity or deference toward authorities leads to a greater preference for inequality and traditionalism. Authoritarians tend to organize their world in terms of power hierarchies, dividing in-groups and out-groups, and are particularly prone to prejudice (Adorno et al., 1950). Individuals high in authoritarianism are also more likely to endorse traditional gender-role identity and attitudes and traditional family structures, and to rate political events concerning women as unimportant (Altemeyer, 1988; Duncan, Peterson, & Winter, 1997). Feldman and Stenner (1997; Feldman, 2003; Stenner, 2005) measured authoritarianism using items about childrearing preferences, a simple indicator of one's orientation toward authority and conformity that has validity across a wide range of social contexts (Barker & Tinnick, 2006; Martin, 1964; Kohn & Schooler, 1983). Their family-based measure of authoritarianism may have particular relevance in the context of political messages involving gender and the family.

Although theorists long believed that authoritarianism was the single psychological predisposition underlying political ideology and intergroup prejudice, recent research suggests a second important dimension: Social dominance orientation (SDO) is a "general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical" (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 742). SDO and authoritarianism are distinct

dimensions that are often independent of one another, express different motives, and predict distinct outcomes (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2009; Duriez, Van Hiel, & Kossowa, 2005). The dual roles of authoritarianism and SDO also have implications for gender attitudes. Research by Sibley, Wilson, and Duckitt (2007) showed that individual differences in men's hostile sexism were the result of SDO, suggesting that men's endorsement of hostile sexism is at least partly motivated by the desire to subjugate women. Men high in SDO are highly reactive to competitiveness in gender relations, resulting in negative attitudes toward women because they are perceived as competitively challenging male dominance within society. In contrast, Sibley et al. (2007) found that men's endorsement of benevolent sexism was the result of authoritarianism, and stemmed in part from the motivation to maintain social cohesion and to establish clear boundaries for the prescriptive roles that men and women should perform within society. Thus, individuals high in either authoritarianism or SDO are likely to be motivated to maintain gender inequality, albeit for different reasons.

Extending Social-Psychological Findings to Political Contexts

Although social-psychological research spans a variety of domains, including politics, most of the research on stereotypes of mothers and prejudice toward mothers in leadership contexts has been conducted within organizational contexts. Research on gender stereotyping in organizational leadership may generalize to the political domain, but it may not. Political campaigns are a context like and unlike other leadership positions that social psychologists study. Political roles are leadership roles, and thus, women and mothers may face hostility and other obstacles as candidates and after they

are elected. Politics is a stereotypically masculine domain, and women face role incongruity in politics as they do at work; therefore, the “fine line” that women have to walk is similar– they must be communal, but also competent. For these reasons, research findings on motherhood in the workplace are expected to generalize to politics. But there are also some important differences between organizational and political contexts. Politics is a leadership domain in which the gatekeepers are not managers and are not accountable for their decisions; they are voters who are allowed to vote on the basis of whatever criteria they choose, including stereotypes. Stereotypes may have particularly potent effects under these conditions. In politics, there is also more opportunity for impression management: Candidate’s images can be carefully crafted, and they are not as limited by the reality of who they are (see Leary & Kowalski, 1990). The effects of gender stereotypes in politics may be less potent when candidates, as masters of impression management, excel at navigating gender stereotypes to their advantage.

Beyond the generalizability of previous research findings, studying gender and the family in the domain of politics offers insights into the psychology of gender above and beyond prior research on women in leadership domains. Motherhood is not only an identity and a social category, but can be invoked in politics as a *symbol*. Mothers and children are associated with the private sphere, uncorrupted by self-interest, and represent a set of values that is powerful for many people. Understanding how motherhood operates as a symbol in our culture may provide important insights into how gender stereotypes continue to shape our views of women and mothers, and when and how these views will lead to prejudice. Studying maternal appeals in politics also

allows us to consider the role of the family in forming citizens' political attitudes and ideology. Recent work in political psychology suggests that conceptions of the family guide our choice of political ideology (Barker & Tinnick, 2006; Deason et al., 2008; Federico, Fisher, & Deason, in press; Lakoff, 1996, 2002), thus, an understanding of how family symbols like motherhood operate in politics may also be important for the psychological study of political ideology, and help us to understand why gender attitudes and political ideology are interrelated. In the next section, prior research on gender stereotyping and prejudice in the political domain sets the third and final foundation for the theory of maternal politics.

Gender and the Family in Politics

In this section, I review theory and research from the political domain to inform the theory of maternal politics. This body of literature examines ways that maternal appeals may relate to candidate evaluations, candidate strategies, and political attitudes. Research on gender and candidate appraisal shows the complex ways that gender stereotypes affect voters' evaluations of candidates. Research on candidates' strategies for navigating gender stereotypes in their campaigns establishes that male and female candidates respond to gender stereotypes in distinct ways. Finally, Lakoff's (1996, 2002) theory of moral politics raises the possibility that gender and family-related campaign strategies influence individual political attitudes by injecting the values of the private sphere into politics. This research establishes a foundation of knowledge about gender in the political context, in particular, and provides information about how maternal appeals may affect support for various policies.

Gender and Voters' Evaluations of Candidates

Although research indicates that female candidates are no less likely than their male counterparts to win elections, the evidence also suggests that gender stereotypes create unique challenges for women running for office (Darcy, et al., 1994). In the same way that people make assumptions about others based on their social category membership in everyday life, voters make different assumptions about male and female candidates, based on stereotypes (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). Stereotypes create expectations for a candidate's traits, abilities, and issue positions that are likely to influence voters' impressions of candidates in complex but systematic ways (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). Women are seen as warmer and more compassionate, and better able to handle issues that require those traditionally feminine traits, like education, health care, and social issues. Men are seen as tougher, more competitive, and better able to handle military and defense, the economy, and crime (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Lawless, 2004; Leeper, 1991; McDermott, 1998; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Candidates' gender also guides voters' impressions of their ideological positions. Female candidates and office-holders are generally seen as more liberal than male candidates of the same party (Alexander & Andersen, 1993; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009).

Gender stereotypes are likely to have an impact on how men and women are evaluated when they run for office; however, most theories of candidate appraisal and choice do not explicitly incorporate gender stereotypes into their models. Theories of vote choice generally assume that the selection of a candidate reflects the comparison of

evaluations of several candidates (Page & Jones, 1976; Rahn, Aldrich, Borgida, & Sullivan, 1990). Candidate evaluations, in turn, are generally thought to reflect the comparison of a candidate to some stable ideal (e.g., ideology, personal issue positions, character traits; Downs, 1957; Rahn et al., 1990). A more recent model of candidate appraisal articulates one method by which gender stereotypes may affect voters' selection of a candidate. In contrast to models that assume a set comparison point, Moskowitz and Stroh (1996) proposed the situational standards hypothesis, which posits that individual voters vary the standards by which they evaluate different candidates. Situational cues such as race, gender, and partisanship create expectations for a candidate's attributes, which in turn influence the interpretation and weighting of candidate information in forming an impression. Although Moskowitz and Stroh (1996) do not specifically examine the effect of candidate *gender* on appraisal, it is likely to be a powerful situational cue; once voters know a candidate's gender, they are able to use their knowledge of gender stereotypes to generate initial expectations about the candidate (McDermott, 1998). A candidate's gender may change the weighting of identical information about him or her, such that female candidates are compared to a different standard than male candidates.

Research on *partisan* cues suggests that candidates alter the standards of evaluation in an election using strategic campaign communications: They tell voters which issues and personal characteristics are most important in a given election. Research on political priming has shown that when candidates focus on certain issues and personal traits, voters increase the weight that they place on those issues and traits in their choice of candidate (Funk, 1999; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Krosnick & Kinder,

1990). It follows that candidates will emphasize issues and traits on which they are advantaged (Kahn, 1993; Petrocik, 1996; Petrocik, Benoit, & Hansen, 2003). If gender-related campaign strategies serve a priming function, then when candidates emphasize feminine issues and traits, voters should weigh those issues and traits more heavily in their vote choice (Herrnson, Lay, & Stokes, 2003; Schneider, 2007). However, recent research has shown that priming effects may operate differently in response to candidates' image strategies than they do for issue positions (Druckman & Holmes, 2004). An experimental study examining gender-related trait cues found the reverse effect for traits, such that when a female candidate emphasized stereotypically feminine traits (i.e., empathy), masculine traits were weighted more heavily in voters' final decision, and that when a female candidate presented herself in a stereotypically masculine way (i.e., as a leader), feminine traits were weighted more heavily (Schneider, 2007). This finding suggests that compared to male candidates, female candidates may be more limited in their ability to determine the standards of evaluation that are applied to them during campaigns.

In addition to being subjected to different standards of evaluation than their male counterparts, female candidates may experience gender prejudice in campaigns because stereotypes of political leaders, although they vary from one political office to another, reflect stereotypical characteristics of men more than those of women (Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Following from role congruity theory, a mismatch between stereotypes of women and stereotypes of political leaders is likely to make it difficult for women to compete with male candidates under certain conditions (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Lawless, 2004; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). For example, Lawless (2004) found that stronger

preferences for men's stereotypical characteristics and issue competencies after September 11, 2001 explained a drop in the percentage of citizens willing to support a female candidate for president. This result suggests that women fare as well as men when the political climate is dominated by issues that play to women's stereotypical strengths, but are disadvantaged when "men's issues" dominate the political agenda (Lawless, 2004).

The centrality of masculine characteristics in the image of a political leader also means that on average, masculine traits and issues tend to be weighed more heavily in candidate evaluations, particularly evaluations of Republican candidates (Dolan, 2010; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Studies show that people believe that masculine presidential tasks (e.g., dealing with terrorism) are more important than feminine presidential tasks (e.g., solving problems in the educational system; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Further, research shows that competence, one of the two central dimensions of the stereotype content model, is the most important factor in assessments of political candidates (Kinder, 1986). Unfortunately for female candidates, whereas white men are likely to be seen as both competent and warm, only some subtypes of women are perceived to be competent (Cuddy et al., 2004; Fiske et al., 2002). As a result, female candidates have much to gain from bolstering their masculine image: The belief that candidates possessed masculine traits increased ratings of their competence on a wider variety of issues than did the belief that they had feminine traits (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; cf. Herrnson et al., 2003). One study showed that the belief that a female candidate was equipped to handle masculine issues was the most important predictor of willingness to support her (Dolan, 2010). Therefore, although particular

electoral conditions may be more compatible with women's stereotypical strengths than others, overall, men's stereotypical strengths are seen as a better match for political roles and are weighed more heavily in voting decisions.

Further, the evidence that competence is the most important trait dimension in politics may present a particular challenge for *mothers* running for office. Evidence from social psychology finds that employees who are mothers are seen as less competent than men and childless women (Cuddy et al., 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008; Fuegen et al., 2004), which suggests that mothers would be subject to greater prejudice in the political domain. However, the only study to systematically examine voters' evaluations of mothers as political candidates suggests that mothers may have a better chance of winning elections than their childless female counterparts. Stalsburg (2010) experimentally manipulated the gender and parental status of a fictional political candidate and measured the likelihood of voting for the candidate and perceptions of his or her competence on masculine and feminine issues. Results showed that overall, student participants were more likely to vote for male candidates, but were also more likely to vote for mothers than for childless female candidates. In addition, male and female parents and female candidates in general were seen as better able to handle feminine issues. This first look at the role of parental status in candidate evaluations raises the possibility that women may benefit from motherhood in the political domain.

The finding that mothers fare better than childless women in a political contest is surprising, considering the conventional wisdom that political careers are more incompatible with women's family lives than with those of men (Sapiro, 1982). In role congruity terms, a woman's status as a mother is likely to make her appear a poorer

match for a leadership role, and thus, more likely to experience prejudice. However, women in politics face backlash as they do in other leadership domains. Female political candidates may be seen as power-seeking and self-promoting at baseline, and need to counter those agentic qualities with communal traits: In the same way that a competent female manager can prove her communality by becoming a mother, a competent female candidate may be able to offset backlash through parenthood (Brescoll & Okimoto, 2010; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). In addition, political leadership roles may be different from organizational leadership roles in ways that are important for predicting the occurrence of gender prejudice. Research shows that candidates can gain an advantage by trespassing on the “trait territory” of their opponents—that is, by appearing as well-rounded as possible (Hayes, 2005). Thus, evaluations of female candidates may depend not only on the match between leadership roles and stereotypes of women, but also on the candidate’s ability to *balance* masculine and feminine traits in her image.

Partisan Stereotypes and Partisan Voters

In addition to gender stereotypes, political candidates must grapple with the stereotypes that come with their party membership (Rahn, 1993). Democrats are seen as empathetic, and better able to handle policy areas like education, the environment, and health care; Republicans are seen as strong leaders, more moral, and better equipped to deal with the military, defense, and taxes (Hayes, 2005; Petrocik, 1996; Sides, 2006). Party stereotypes combine with gender stereotypes to guide expectations of what a candidate will be like. Although few studies have examined how the combination of gender and party stereotypes affect evaluations of candidates, the research suggests that

the effects of gender stereotypes may be different in each party. For example, female Democrats are seen as more competent than their male counterparts on issues central to the party, such as education, whereas Republican women are seen as less able to handle core Republican issues, such as the military (Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009). Gender stereotyping of female candidates as more liberal than their male counterparts also affects candidates' relative likelihood of winning primaries, in which more extreme ideological tendencies are rewarded, and general elections, in which more moderate candidates are preferred. In particular, the belief that female candidates are more liberal may make it more difficult for female Republicans to win Republican primary contests (Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009).

Perhaps in part because most women in office are Democrats, there is considerable overlap between stereotypes of Democrats and stereotypes of women, on the one hand, and between stereotypes of Republicans and stereotypes of men, on the other. In fact, research shows that implicit gender stereotypes are activated in response to the party labels (Winter, 2010). By implication, female Republicans and male Democrats must deal with a "mismatch" between stereotypes of their gender and their party label, which may make it particularly difficult for them to avoid violating expectations of either social category during a campaign. In one of the first studies to directly compare the predictive effects of gender and party stereotypes, Bos and Schneider (2011) found that male Republicans were seen as uniquely qualified to handle the masculine issues that are seen as most important for leadership, and particularly incapable of handling feminine issues that are not as crucial to voters. Male Democrats, female Democrats, and female Republicans were all viewed similarly on

these dimensions. Two traits were uniquely used to describe female Republicans—family-oriented and relentless—and three traits were uniquely used to describe male Democrats—reformer, knowledgeable, and competent on civil rights issues—suggesting that candidates with mismatched party and gender stereotypes are sub-typed.

Because the effects of gender stereotypes depend in part on party stereotypes, candidates' appeals to motherhood and the family may have different effects on candidate evaluation, depending on candidates' party membership. The only experimental study to examine the effects of parental status on evaluations of male and female candidates (Stalsburg, 2010) did not manipulate candidates' party affiliations, but other research on the meaning of motherhood in politics indicates that party is likely to matter. Many claim that the two parties differ sharply in their ideologies of the family (Freeman, 1993; Lakoff, 1996, 2002). Republicans aim to preserve the traditional nuclear family and its gendered division of labor, which may be one reason that Republicans, in general, are less likely to support female candidates for office. They may be particularly unlikely to do so when female candidates' traditional maternal roles and traits are emphasized. Maternal appeals may also have a particular appeal for Democrats because of their connections to a view of the family in which connectedness and nurturing are central (Hayden, 2003; Ruddick, 1989). Thus, voters' party identification is likely to affect their evaluations of male and female candidates who use family-related campaign strategies in distinct ways that have yet to be explored.

Gender and Candidates' Campaign Strategies

Because gender stereotypes are applied to political candidates as they are applied to men and women in daily life, campaigning candidates may try to use

stereotypes to their advantage in a variety of ways. Research on political campaign communications has examined the impact of candidates' gender on their campaign strategies. This research shows that male and female candidates focus on similar issues during their campaigns, and that most differences in issue coverage are attributable to candidates' party membership, rather than gender (Dolan, 2005). Male and female candidates were equally likely to focus on policy, raise money, and assemble professional staff (Dabelko, La Cour, & Herrnson, 1997; Kahn, 1993). When research has found differences, female candidates give more attention to stereotypically feminine issues than do male candidates, whereas differences in male and female candidates' emphasis on masculine issues were less pronounced (Dabelko et al., 1997; Dolan, 2005; Kahn, 1993). Candidates' decisions to focus on feminine issues appears to be dependent on the year of the campaign, the gender of voters, and the presence or absence of a gender gap in voting (Herrnson et al., 2003; Schaffner, 2005). Media coverage of campaigns tended to focus on masculine issues, which more closely mirrored male candidates' campaign strategies than those of female candidates (Kahn, 1993).

Schneider (2007) reasons that in order to capitalize on favorable expectations for their gender, men and women running for office would be expected to adopt "gender-congruent" strategies (see also Petrocik, 1996). Women, who are assumed to be more competent at handling compassion issues, should set the agenda in their election to focus on those issues that favor their stereotypical strengths. She found in an analysis of campaign websites, however, that the picture was more complex: Male candidates adopted gender-congruent strategies, whereas female candidates, particularly Republicans, were more likely to use gender-incongruent strategies. Rather than

emphasizing their stereotypical strengths, then, female candidates trespassed on the “trait territory” of their opponents to appear well-rounded (Hayes, 2005; also see Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Leeper, 1991). Male candidates may not feel the need to bolster beliefs that they can handle feminine issues, but may do so under certain circumstances, such as an election that emphasizes feminine issues (see Hernnson et al., 2003). The few studies to examine the appearance of family in campaigns found that male candidates were much more likely than female candidates to feature family in their ads (Bystrom, Banwart, Kincaid, & Robertson, 2004; Stalsburg, 2011). For female candidates, whose stereotypical traits are less predictive of electoral success, gender-bending strategies may provide an important advantage by helping them appear “tough” on the masculine issues that are most important to voters. Whatever the rationale, female candidates appear to be especially unlikely to use a gender-congruent strategy in their campaigns.

Candidates’ gender-based campaign strategies also suggest an opportunity for increasing women’s representation in the upper levels of government. In organizational contexts, the feminization of leadership roles has coincided with increasing numbers of women entering upper-level positions in organizations, and paves the way for women following in their footsteps by making leadership roles more congruent with the female gender role (Eagly & Carli, 2007). When male or female candidates emphasize feminine traits and issues in their campaigns, they infuse political leadership roles with stereotypically feminine characteristics. If a leadership role is seen as a better “match” with traditionally feminine characteristics and abilities, women who pursue the role may

be evaluated more positively (Diekmann & Eagly, 2000; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Herrnson et al., 2003).

Gender, the Family, and Political Attitudes

Feminists disagree about the effectiveness of maternal appeals in politics, but they tend to agree that appeals to motherhood represent a distinct set of values: connections with others, selflessness, empathy, and nurturance. Hayden (2003) draws a connection between this set of maternal values and nurturant parent morality, which is one component of Lakoff's (1996, 2002) broader theory of moral politics. The theory of moral politics holds that liberal and conservative policy positions stem from differences in liberals' and conservatives' views of the ideal family. A metaphor of the nation as a family, in which the government figuratively plays the role of the "parent" and the citizens the role of adult "children," simplifies complex aspects of politics by relating them to the operations of the family, an institution that is familiar to everyone. Regardless of citizens' political knowledge or interest, conceptualizing the nation as a family provides insight into how government and citizens should relate to one another. In this way, ideas about how a family should operate are thought to dictate beliefs about how the political world should be structured (Barker & Tinnick, 2006; Deason, et al., 2008). The strict father view of the family is the basis of conservative political ideology and its valorization of hierarchy and traditionalism. In the strict father family, good parents set rules and apply harsh punishments so that children will learn self-discipline and obedience, which will help them to compete and to succeed. In contrast, the nurturant parent view of the family is the basis of political liberalism and its emphasis on equality and openness to change and diversity. The priorities in this view of the

family are nurturance, generosity, and interpersonal connectedness. Rather than relying on strict rules and punishments, the nurturant parent family focuses on mutual respect and open communication between parents and children, practices that are central to current intensive mothering norms (Hayden, 2003; Hays, 1996).

Like essentialist feminist theories before it (e.g., Ruddick, 1989), the theory of moral politics identifies an important role for traditional maternal values in the political domain. Despite his argument that views of the family are central to political cognition and policy attitudes, Lakoff (1996) does not explicitly acknowledge the resemblance between nurturant parent morality and maternal values; however, the two views of the family suggest fundamentally different roles for mothers within the structure of the family, and thus, fundamentally different possibilities for incorporating the maternal into politics (Hayden, 2003). In the hierarchical strict father family, the mother is naturally subordinate to the father; thus, maternal appeals interpreted in the context of the strict father moral system may not be successful because the maternal role does not carry enough power to challenge the “father/government” (Hayden, 2003). The gender-neutral label “nurturant parent” reflects Lakoff’s claim that the nurturant parent family assigns comparable roles to mothers and fathers: Both men and women can nurture, and the structure of the family, including parent-child relationships, is explicitly egalitarian. In the context of the nurturant parent system, then, maternal appeals may have more power. By explicitly acknowledging and emphasizing the maternal values inherent in the nurturant parent/liberal worldview, politicians may be able to increase the salience of this worldview to a broader audience and expand the caring role of “mother” to men and non-parents as well (Hayden, 2003).

The challenge of expanding traditional maternal roles and values to politics is the lasting legacy of the cult of domesticity, which dictates that strict father values govern the public sphere and that nurturant parent values rule the home (Hays, 1996). Empirical tests of the theory suggest that the two dimensions are independent rather than opposed to one another, and that individuals may shift between the strict father and nurturant parent moral systems in different contexts (Deason et al., 2008; Deason & Gonzales, 2011; Moses & Gonzales, 2011). Although an individual may have a chronic tendency to operate on the basis of strict father morality at work, she may also act as a nurturant parent in the home. Therefore, the extent to which strict father or nurturant parent morality guides judgments in the political domain is likely to be a product of which orientation is salient at the time, a claim that is central to Lakoff's (2004) efforts to restructure progressive candidates' political communication strategies. The malleability of family-based views of morality provides some indication that maternal appeals, with their nurturant parent connotations, may be able to act as a political persuasion tool, reframing political messages to support liberal policy positions.

Theories and previous research on the operation of gender stereotypes in politics provides the foundation for the theory of maternal politics. To the extent that motherhood is central to stereotypes of women, previous research on gender stereotyping in campaigns is relevant to this new theoretical framework. Candidates' appeals to nurturance and selflessness can be characterized as an emphasis on feminine traits: Maternal appeals constitute a congruent strategy for women and an incongruent strategy for men. Previous research on the effects of gender and party stereotypes on candidate evaluation indicates that maternal appeals may affect male and female

candidates, and Republicans and Democrats, in distinct ways. Lakoff's (1996, 2002) theory of moral politics raises the possibility that the effects of maternal appeals will extend beyond candidate impressions to policy positions.

In the next section, the theories and research reviewed above are used to further develop the theory of maternal politics and to articulate seven specific empirical hypotheses that follow from the theory's propositions. In following chapters, these hypotheses are tested in three empirical studies.

The Theory of Maternal Politics

Prior empirical research, which considered motherhood to be a low-status position, has missed an important dimension of motherhood in which it is construed as a position of political power. The theory of maternal politics posits that motherhood can be invoked in campaigns to connect the positive associations with mothers in the private sphere to impressions of political candidates. In the current U.S. political environment, however, the traits and values associated with mothers are seen as a poor match for political leadership roles. As a result, the theory of maternal politics predicts that female candidates who make maternal appeals will be evaluated more negatively than their non-maternal counterparts. Further, by activating stereotypes of women as naturally caring and nurturing, maternal appeals may lead to immediate increases in gender prejudice and discrimination. Despite the electoral disadvantages that maternal political candidates may incur, however, maternal appeals have the potential to promote a liberal policy agenda. Moreover, by altering images of political leadership to be more

feminine, maternal appeals by political candidates may ultimately increase women's representation in politics and other leadership domains.

Maternal Appeals as a Distinct Political Campaign Strategy

The first task for an empirical test of the theory of maternal politics is to define a maternal appeal in the context of a political campaign. Maternal appeals are related to feminine campaign strategies examined in prior research (e.g., Herrnson et al., 2003; Schneider, 2007). In contrast to the way gender-based campaign strategies have been operationalized in the past, however, maternal appeals do not emphasize feminine *issues*; instead, they are statements that indicate a candidate's *commitment to maternal values* and the possession of *traits* stereotypically associated with mothers: warmth, kindness, and selflessness. In some cases, maternal appeals capitalize on a candidate's personal experience with family, drawing on impressions of competence in the private domain of the home to make an argument that selfless nurturance is a component of successful political leadership. Maternal appeals also capitalize on voters' experience of family, drawing on strong positive associations with mothers and popular notions of the moral sphere of the private home, where love, rather than profit-maximizing, governs individual actions.

Issue Context Predicts Use of Maternal Appeals

Although maternal appeals are a qualitatively different campaign strategy than an emphasis on gender- or party-owned issues, because maternal appeals are associated with stereotypes of women, prior research can inform predictions about which candidates are likely to use maternal appeals in their campaigns, and when they are likely to do so. As described above, prior research has shown that male and female

candidates are presumed to have distinct issue competencies. Because characteristics like warmth and empathy are associated with the female gender role, women are seen as better able to handle issues that require those traits, such as education, health care, and social welfare (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Maternal appeals are likely to enhance the belief that either a male or female candidate has stereotypically feminine traits, and consequently, the belief that they are competent to handle feminine issues. Thus, candidates are expected to use maternal appeals more often in the context of feminine issues than when feminine issues are not discussed (*Hypothesis 1*).

Candidate Gender Predicts Use of Maternal Appeals

In addition, maternal appeals are likely to be used more often by male candidates than by female candidates (*Hypothesis 2*). Male candidates, who already appear tough and competent, are more likely than female candidates to benefit from cultivating a more compassionate image using a maternal appeal (Hayes, 2005). Female candidates, in contrast, are already believed to be warm and compassionate, and are less likely to benefit from enhancing this part of their image. Instead, women are likely to avoid maternal appeals and to try to enhance voters' beliefs that they can handle masculine issues, especially because masculine traits are seen as more important for political leadership. Thus, men, but not women, will have the incentive and the leeway to expand their trait profile using maternal appeals.

Although maternal appeals are a gender-based strategy, gender stereotypes overlap with partisan stereotypes that may also affect candidates' strategic self-presentations. Previous research has shown that candidates are likely to emphasize

issues that are “owned” by their party (Petrocik, 1996); therefore, if maternal appeals are used more in conjunction with feminine issues, they may also be used more frequently by Democrats. However, the intersection of party and gender stereotypes is also important to consider. Female candidates of both parties are seen as more liberal than their male counterparts (Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009), and maternal appeals that emphasize candidates’ feminine characteristics may further polarize judgments of female candidates’ ideology. Thus, female Republicans may need to avoid maternal appeals in order to avoid appearing too liberal for Republican voters.

Maternal Appeals Affect Evaluations of Candidates

Role congruity theory posits that due a mismatch between stereotypes of women and the characteristics of a leadership role, female political candidates are likely to be subjected to two types of prejudice—if they appear too communal, they are a poor fit for the office, but if they appear too agentic, they experience backlash (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Candidates whose social roles do not match can engage in behavior to reduce the incongruity: Evidence in both organizational and political domains suggests that women who balance manifestations of masculine and feminine traits are subjected to less prejudice (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Hayes, 2005; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Female candidates already appear warm and competent at handling feminine issues, and are unlikely to be evaluated more positively when they cultivate a maternal image (Hayes, 2005; Schneider, 2007). However, research suggests that although masculine traits are thought to be more important, men may also be evaluated more positively when they appear communal (Cuddy et al., 2004). Men who are assumed to be competent on the important issues and agentic enough to hold a leadership position are likely to be

evaluated more positively when they portray themselves as nurturant, caring, and selfless using a maternal appeal. Thus, in the gender stereotype context of a political campaign, maternal appeals are likely to help male candidates, whereas female candidates are likely to be negatively affected by maternal appeals (*Hypothesis 3*).

Candidates who make maternal appeals in their campaigns may not only be violating gender stereotypes, but also may need to worry about violating party stereotypes. Female candidates of both parties are seen as more liberal than their male counterparts, and therefore, maternal appeals that emphasize candidates' feminine characteristics may carry liberal connotations that violate stereotypes of Republicans. Thus, Republicans may be evaluated more negatively when they make maternal appeals. In particular, female Republicans may already appear to violate stereotypes of Republicans, and maternal appeals are unlikely to remedy this situation (Bos & Schneider, 2011).

Maternal Appeals will be more Persuasive among Some Voters than Others

Voters' individual psychological predispositions are also likely to affect their responses to maternal appeals (*Hypothesis 4*). Individuals who are gender-schematic process incoming information in terms of gender role schemata, assimilating information into masculine and feminine categories (Bem, 1981). Thus, they are likely to respond more positively than others to behavior that conforms to traditional gender norms. Gender schematics are expected to evaluate a female candidate making a maternal appeal more positively, and a male candidate making a maternal appeal more negatively than non-maternal candidates (*Hypothesis 4a*). Individuals high in benevolent sexism put women on a pedestal, and believe that they are morally superior

to men (Fiske & Glick, 1996). Maternal appeals by women present an image of women as especially moral and virtuous, which benevolent sexists will be eager to endorse. Therefore, benevolent sexists are expected to evaluate female candidates who make maternal appeals more positively than other candidates (*Hypothesis 4b*).

Authoritarianism and SDO are the general dimensions underlying political ideology and intergroup prejudice (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2009; Duriez, Van Hiel, & Kossowska, 2005). Because liberals and conservatives have fundamentally different views of the family, authoritarianism and SDO are also expected to moderate the relation between maternal appeals and candidate evaluations. Authoritarians endorse traditional gender roles and are in favor of strong, uncompromising leadership, and are therefore expected to evaluate candidates who make maternal appeals more negatively than other candidates (*Hypothesis 4c*). Similarly, individuals high in SDO see feminine characteristics as unsuitable for leadership positions and are motivated to maintain gender hierarchy; thus, individuals high in SDO are also expected to evaluate candidates who use maternal appeals more negatively than other candidates (*Hypothesis 4d*).

Maternal Appeals Affect How Candidates are Evaluated

Despite the negative consequences that a maternal appeal may have for a candidate in the present political environment, maternal appeals may also alter the image of a good leader to which political candidates are compared. Previous research on political priming has shown that when candidates focus on certain issues, voters increase the weight that they place on those issues in their choice of candidate (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Thus, when male or female candidates emphasize the stereotypically

feminine role of a selfless, nurturant parent, associated feminine traits are expected to be weighted more heavily in voters' final decision (*Hypothesis 5*). Thus, an emphasis on the maternal reduces the incongruity between stereotypes of women and leadership roles in a different way, by altering the desired characteristics of a leader.

Maternal Appeals Affect Political Attitudes

In addition to candidate evaluations, maternal appeals may also indirectly affect individual political attitudes. Maternal appeals are expected to bring to mind a view of the family in which parents and children are equals, emotionally connected, and mutually responsible to one another. In turn, this image of the family should guide individuals' political and social issue positions (Lakoff, 1996, 2002). Thus, maternal appeals, with their emphasis on selflessness and nurturance, are expected to make nurturant parent morality more salient, and subsequently lead to more liberal policy attitudes (*Hypothesis 6*). Despite the negative outcomes that maternal appeals may have for women in campaigns, by increasing support for liberal policies, they may indirectly support a feminist political agenda.

Maternal Appeals Perpetuate Gender Stereotyping and Prejudice

Unfortunately, maternal appeals are also likely to perpetuate gender stereotypes of women and mothers. Because they emphasize traits and behaviors that are central to the female gender role, maternal appeals are expected to activate stereotypes of women and mothers (*Hypothesis 7*), and to increase the likelihood that such stereotypes will be used in a subsequent judgment of a target woman (*Hypothesis 8*). Further, prejudice may be especially strong in response to maternal female candidates, who portray themselves in a manner that is consistent with gender stereotypes.

Overview of Proposed Research

The hypotheses derived from the theory of maternal politics will be tested in three related studies that were designed to complement one another. Figure 1-1 illustrates the theoretical framework and indicates which study tests each hypothesis.

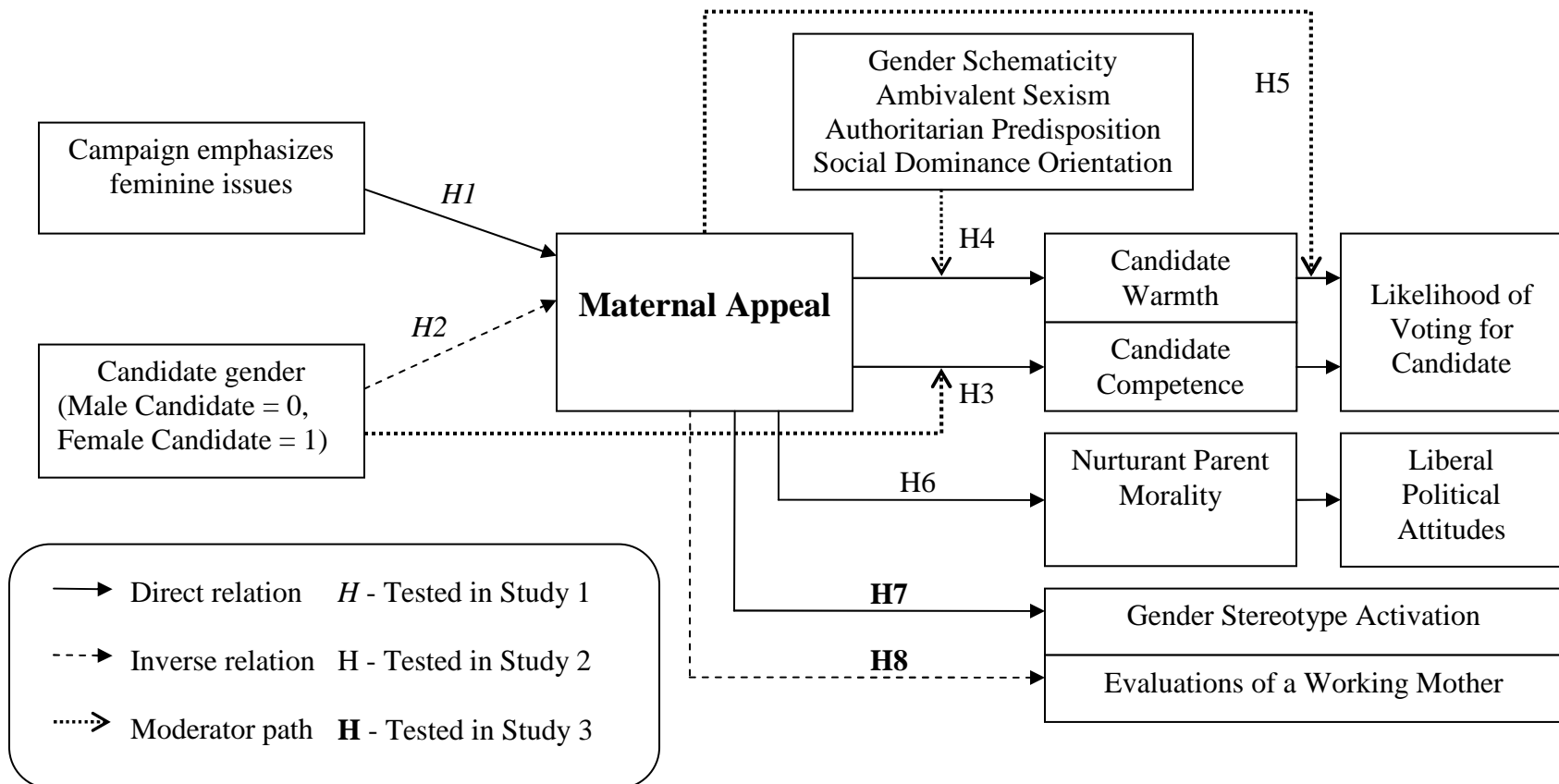
Study 1 is a content analysis of television advertisements from the 2004 U.S. House, Senate, and gubernatorial elections, and provides information about what maternal appeals look like and the contexts in which they are used by men and women running for office. Its purpose is to examine which issues maternal appeals are used to discuss and which candidates are more likely to use maternal appeals in real political contests. Thus, Study 1 will test *Hypotheses 1 and 2*. Study 1 allows a descriptive examination of campaign advertising, but does not provide any information about whether maternal appeals have the desired effect on voters' evaluations of candidates. Thus, two experiments will investigate whether maternal appeals are an effective strategy for male and female candidates, and examine their effect on gender stereotyping more generally. These experiments have the benefit of isolating particular variables, such as the presence or absence of a maternal appeal, in order to examine their causal effects. The findings of Study 1 were used to inform the development of realistic materials for use in Study 2 and 3, and help to establish the generalizability of the experimental findings.

Study 2 is an experiment designed to examine the consequences of a maternal appeal for evaluations of political candidates and voters' policy positions: *Hypotheses 3, 4, 5, and 6*. Unlike Study 1, Study 2 will experimentally control for a wide variety of

other variables that are present in a real election, and will provide a focused assessment of voters' reactions to candidate strategies. Participants will be exposed to identical campaign ads, with only the candidates' gender, party, and the presence of a maternal appeal varied. Although this is unlike a real electoral context in many ways, Study 2 will provide a wealth of information about the potential for maternal appeals to shape voters' impressions and attitudes.

Despite these benefits, Study 2 will not answer a broader question raised by critics of essentialist feminist politics: What are the implications of maternal appeals for continuing gender stereotyping and prejudice against mothers? Because of the strong connection between the maternal role and other characteristics of the female gender role, maternal appeals are expected to activate gender expectations that go beyond motherhood. These gender expectations may, in turn, perpetuate stereotyping of women and mothers beyond the immediate political context. Study 3 will investigate whether maternal appeals activate stereotypes of women and mothers, *Hypothesis 7*, and increase their use in subsequent judgments, *Hypothesis 8*. Participants will be exposed to a maternal appeal by a male or female political candidate, and immediately thereafter, the activation of stereotypes of women will be assessed using a lexical decision task. Next, participants will be asked to make a judgment about a subsequent target woman. The method to be used in each of these three studies is described in greater detail in each section below.

Figure 1-1. The Theory of Maternal Politics



Chapter 2: Candidates' Use of Maternal Appeals in the 2004 Elections

The theory of maternal politics argues that motherhood can be construed as a position of political power, and can be invoked by candidates in campaigns to connect the positive associations with mothers in the private sphere to impressions of political candidates. If this is the case, then U.S. political candidates would be expected to emphasize their maternal traits, roles, and values to some extent during their campaigns. Statements that indicate candidates' commitment to maternal values, portrayals of personal traits that are stereotypically associated with mothers, and claims that experience in the family informs candidates' political actions all constitute maternal appeals. However, maternal appeals are not likely to be used indiscriminately: Candidates will use maternal appeals when they have the potential to enhance their image and their overall electoral chances.

This chapter presents the method and results of Study 1, a content analysis of campaign advertisements from the 2004 U.S. House, U.S. Senate, and gubernatorial elections. Its purpose was to establish that maternal appeals occur in real campaign contexts, and to test three hypotheses derived from the theory of maternal politics about which candidates use maternal appeals, which issues maternal appeals are used to address, and the effects of maternal appeals on male and female candidates' electoral outcomes. First, Study 1 tested the hypothesis that candidates will tend to use maternal appeals in the context of feminine issues (*Hypothesis 1*). Because characteristics like warmth and empathy are associated with the female gender role, women are seen as better able to handle issues that require those traits, such as education, health care, and social welfare (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Rosenwasser & Dean, 1989). Maternal

appeals are likely to enhance perceptions of stereotypically feminine traits in either a male or female candidate. Consequently, candidates who use maternal appeals will be seen as better able to handle feminine issues.

In the current U.S. political environment, the stereotypical characteristics of women and mothers are seen as a poor match for leadership roles; therefore, female candidates may need to pursue a different campaign strategy than will men. The theory of maternal politics predicts that female candidates who make maternal appeals will be evaluated more negatively than their non-maternal counterparts. Female candidates already appear warm and competent at handling feminine issues, and are unlikely to be evaluated more positively when they cultivate a maternal image (Hayes, 2005; Schneider, 2007). However, research suggests that men may be evaluated more positively when they appear warm as well as competent (Cuddy et al., 2004). Study 1 tested the hypotheses that maternal appeals would be used more often by male candidates than by female candidates (*Hypothesis 2*), and that male candidates would increase their chances of winning their election when they use maternal appeals, whereas female candidates will not (*Hypothesis 3*).

Gender stereotypes overlap with partisan stereotypes that may also affect candidates' strategic self-presentations. Although the theory of maternal politics does not make specific predictions with regard to partisan stereotypes, Study 1 examined the intersection of party and gender stereotypes in candidates' decisions to use maternal appeals and in their electoral consequences. Candidates who make maternal appeals in their campaigns may need to worry about violating party stereotypes (see Rahn, 1993). Female candidates of both parties are seen as more liberal than their male counterparts,

and therefore, maternal appeals that emphasize candidates' stereotypically feminine characteristics may carry liberal connotations that violate stereotypes of Republicans. Thus, Republicans, especially female Republicans, may need to be especially cautious about using maternal appeals.

To test these hypotheses derived from the theory of maternal politics, the data for Study 1 were drawn from televised campaign advertisements. Campaign advertisements are a way for political candidates to communicate their policy positions and personal governing philosophies to the voting public; given these functions, they are likely to be a source of messages about the traditional maternal values of nurturance and selflessness, as well as the relationship between government and citizens more generally. Unlike communications by elected representatives after they have taken office, campaign communications occur before most voters have made a decision, and are constructed to create a favorable impression of the candidate and to persuade voters to give their support. Thus, communications at this stage of a politician's career potentially have a strong influence on his/her electoral and career success.

Method

The materials for Study 1 were storyboards of 2,798 political advertisements from the 2003 and 2004 U. S. House, U.S. Senate, and gubernatorial elections obtained from the University of Wisconsin Advertising Project (WiscAds)³. WiscAds has collected data from all elections beginning in 1996; the present research uses data from the 2004 election, which were the most recent data available for analysis at the time this

³ The Wisconsin Advertising Project was sponsored by a grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts. The opinions expressed in this chapter are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Wisconsin Advertising Project, Professor Goldstein, Joel Rivlin, or The Pew Charitable Trusts.

study was conducted. The WiscAds data originated from the Campaign Media Analysis Group (CMAG), a commercial firm that uses advanced technology to monitor television advertising. The monitoring includes screen shots of every fourth second of the advertisement and a complete transcript of the audio portion. WiscAds provided a dataset with information about the content of each ad, ranging from the spot's main objective to its tone, the issues discussed, and the characterizations used to describe candidates. Relevant information about the elections was obtained from outside sources, which are described in detail in Appendix A, and added to the main dataset. Undergraduate research assistants coded additional content of the ads in order to test hypotheses about maternal appeals.

The data used in the present study derived from the transmissions of the national networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox), 25 national cable networks (such as CNN, ESPN, and TBS), and from local advertising in the country's top 100 media markets in 2004, reaching about 86 percent of the population.⁴ The 2004 data included ads aired on behalf of 87 U.S. Senate, 323 U.S. House, and 54 gubernatorial candidates from 44 states: 32 Republican and 42 Democratic women, and 210 Republican and 166 Democratic men. According to data from the Center for American Women and Politics, in 2004, there were 151 women running for Congress and 3 women running for governor; in 11 Congressional races both the Republican and Democratic candidate were women. Thus, the Wisconsin Advertising Project data provided a unique opportunity to examine the operation of gender-related processes across a variety of

⁴ For more information on the data and technology, see Goldstein and Freedman (2002), and for more discussion of the data quality, see Ridout, Franz, Goldstein, and Freedman (2003).

states and electoral contexts, and included a sufficient number of female candidates to have some confidence about the generalizability of the findings.

Coding Taxonomy and Procedure

The WiscAds data file contained information about candidates' political party membership, whether they were running in a Senate, House, or gubernatorial race, and a code for the specific races in which candidates were running. The year of the election, candidates' gender, the gender of candidates' opponents, incumbency status, whether candidates were running for an open seat, running against an incumbent (i.e., were challengers), the competitiveness of the elections, and whether candidates won were obtained from outside data sources. Levels of these variables were indicated with dummy codes. In addition, the percentage of women and the percentage of Democrats in candidates' state legislatures in 2004 were added to the dataset. Additional details about the data sources and coding can be found in Appendix A.

The results of further content analysis of the individual television advertisements provided additional information for the dataset. In order to capture the content of the ads, I created a coding taxonomy composed of general categories (e.g., "appearance of family member," "feminine issue," "masculine issue") that was further divided into subordinate categories (e.g., "appearance of candidate's child or children," "education," "crime"). The maternal appeals section of the coding taxonomy was developed based on Hays's (1996) description of the ideology of intensive mothering.⁵ The final maternal

⁵ The three central tenets of the ideology of intensive mothering (i.e., mothers are expected to be the central, irreplaceable caregiver for children, to selflessly contribute excessive time and energy to childrearing, to respond immediately and appropriately to each of the child's self-defined needs) were elaborated to be more specific to the political context (e.g., the idea of the mother as the central caregiver may translate into a political representative who is physically present and active in the district).

appeal codes were divided into four general categories. *Visual maternal appeals* codes indicated that the candidates' family members and/or parents and children unrelated to the candidate were featured in the ad. *Family focus* codes indicated that candidates were family-focused or relationship-oriented; for example, a candidate might state, "family is the most important thing to me," or ask for voter support "as a wife, mother, sister, and friend." *Family experiences* codes indicated that candidates use family experiences as a justification or guide for their political decisions and policy positions; for example, a candidate might state that "as a mother of six, I have what it takes to lead," or that "coming from a military family, I will always support our troops." *Maternal traits* codes indicated that candidates' personal characteristics are similar the stereotypical characteristics of mothers; for example, some candidates made the case that they understand people because they have personally experienced what they are going through, or claim to provide mother-like hands-on assistance to constituents.

The political issue topics in the coding taxonomy were based on Sulkin, Moriarty, and Hefner's (2007) issue code categories and Dolan's (2004) categorization of men's and women's issues, which are in line with other research on the gendered nature of political issue topics (e.g., Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Nelson, 2009; Schneider, 2007). *Masculine issues* include those issues that men are seen as more competent to handle, including the budget, taxes, crime, and terrorism. *Feminine issues* include those that women are seen as more competent to handle, including education, health, and social security. The coding taxonomies were further refined based on test

Undergraduate research assistants read a random 5% sample of the ad storyboards and identified content that related to the ideology of intensive mothering (e.g., appearance of children in the ad, endorsement of the candidate by a mother). The coding categories that resulted from these two processes constituted the first draft of the coding taxonomy.

coding of a random 10% sample of the ads. Both taxonomies are available in Appendix B.

Ad storyboards constituted the units for coding. For each storyboard, an undergraduate coder blind to study hypotheses independently determined whether each type of maternal appeal was used. In addition, for each ad storyboard, coders recorded whether each issue topic was mentioned.⁶ Variables to be used in analyses were constructed as follows: First, specific codes were combined into their superordinate categories. For example, the number of “maternal traits” appeals was constructed by summing the codes for the subordinate categories “understanding,” “empathetic,” and “concrete helping”; an ad that mentioned all three of these candidate qualities would receive a 3. Next, the variables for each ad were multiplied by the total number of times that the ad aired and were aggregated across each candidate; these variables represent the number of times a candidate aired a particular type of ad content (e.g., a maternal traits appeal). Finally, these values were divided by each candidate’s total number of ad airings to create variables representing the average number of mentions of a particular type of ad content in each ad airing (e.g., the average number of maternal traits appeals per ad airing).

Results

The mean number of times that candidates aired each type of maternal appeal is shown in Table 2-1. The appearance of a candidates’ family members or other parents

⁶ Inter-coder agreement was calculated using the formula $C = 2(C_{1,2}) / (C_1 + C_2)$, where C is the concordance between coders for each ad, $C_{1,2}$ is the number of identical categories assigned by both coders, and C_1 and C_2 are the total number of categories assigned by first and second coders, respectively (see Holsti, 1969). Coder disagreements were resolved by the author prior to data analysis. Average inter-coder agreement for the codes discussed here was adequate: 81.6% for maternal appeal codes and 75.1% for issue codes.

and children in the visual content of the ads (i.e., visual maternal appeals) were the most common type of maternal appeal ($M = 997$; $SD = 2,102$), followed by family focus appeals ($M = 82$; $SD = 300$). Relative to these more common themes, family experience appeals ($M = 28$; $SD = 136$) and maternal traits appeals ($M = 32$; $SD = 139$) were less common. Because of the rare occurrence of some of the content in the campaign ads, family focus, family experience, and maternal traits appeals were combined into a broader category: verbal maternal appeals ($M = 142$; $SD = 424$). Unlike visual maternal appeals, verbal maternal appeals were coded from the verbal content of the ads, and are therefore more explicit and conceptually distinct from visual maternal appeals.

The correlations between the variables in this study are shown in Table 2-2, Table 2-3, and Table 2-4. The average number of visual maternal appeals was significantly correlated with verbal appeals ($r = .28$, $p < .001$). The average number of visual maternal appeals per ad airing was significantly correlated with the average number of feminine issues, although the magnitude of this correlation was small ($r = .15$, $p < .05$). Candidates who aired more verbal maternal appeals were no more likely than other candidates to discuss feminine issues. Feminine issues were correlated with party ($r = -.19$, $p < .001$), indicating that Democratic candidates were more likely than Republicans to address feminine issues in their ads. In addition, candidate gender was correlated with party, reflecting the fact that more women run as Democrats than as Republicans ($r = -.09$, $p < .05$). Incumbency was correlated with open seat ($r = -.56$, $p < .001$) and challenger status ($r = -.40$, $p < .001$), as expected, and all were correlated with winning the election ($r = .69$, $-.29$, and $-.37$, respectively, all $ps < .001$). In addition, opponent gender was positively correlated with open seat status ($r = .21$, $p < .001$), and

negatively correlated with incumbency ($r = -.10, p < .05$) and challenger status ($r = -.10, p < .05$), indicating that candidates were more likely to face off against one or more female opponents if they are competing for an open seat.

First, I address the hypothesis that maternal appeals will be used more often in the context of feminine issues (*Hypothesis 1*), and that male candidates will use more maternal appeals than female candidates in their campaigns (*Hypothesis 2*). These hypotheses were tested using a series of zero-inflated negative binomial regression models. Such models are appropriate for count data with a greater standard deviation than would be predicted by a poisson distribution and a larger number of zero values than would be predicted by a negative binomial distribution, both characteristics of the maternal appeals count variables in this study (Long, 1997; Vuong, 1989).⁷

The number of airings of visual maternal appeals and the number of airings of verbal maternal appeals were each regressed on the candidate's gender and the average number of feminine issues per ad airing. The election year, candidates' party, the gender of candidates' opponents, and the percentage of women and Democrats in the candidates' state legislatures were included in each model as controls. Each of these factors may independently affect the number of maternal appeals that candidates decided to include in ads, and are controlled in the models in order to eliminate alternative explanations for the results. The candidate gender x % women interaction

⁷ The zero inflated negative binomial regression assumes that there are two separate processes that determine the value of the count variable – one that determines whether any maternal appeals are aired, at all (the inflation model), and a second process that determines how many maternal appeals are aired (the count model) – and estimates separate regression equations to account for each of these processes. The factors determining the number of maternal appeals is of primary interest here; therefore, the reported coefficients are from the count model. The same variables were entered into the inflation model that appear in the count model, along with the total number of ads aired during the campaign. The coefficients of the inflation models either mirrored the count model results, or were not statistically significant.

and candidate party x % Democrats interaction were also included in the models, in order to control for the effects of candidates' gender and party membership in the context of their home states. The total number of ads that candidates aired during their campaigns was entered into the inflation model to prevent candidates who could afford a large number of ad spots from having a disproportionate influence on the results. Finally, in order to account for the fact that some of the candidates in the dataset competing against one another in the same elections, cluster-robust standard errors were used in all models, with the specific election contest as the cluster variable.

Feminine Issues, Candidate Gender, and Visual Maternal Appeals

The results of the analysis of visual maternal appeals are presented in Table 2-5. Model 1 examined the effects of feminine issues and candidate gender on visual maternal appeals, controlling for the variables listed above.⁸ Contrary to *Hypothesis 1*, feminine issues were not significantly associated with visual maternal appeals ($b = .21, ns$). Contrary to *Hypothesis 2*, male candidates were no more likely than female candidates to use visual maternal appeals ($b = -.62, ns$).

Social-psychological theories of gender stereotyping indicate that the effects of gender on social judgment are context-specific. Thus, a candidate's gender may affect the number of maternal appeals under some conditions, but not others (e.g., Eagly & Koenig, 2008). Likewise, the number of feminine issues in a candidate's ads may guide the use of maternal appeals more in some situations than in others. Indeed, previous research suggests that partisan stereotypes (Bos & Schneider, 2011; Rahn, 1993) and

⁸ Control variables were year, candidates' party membership, gender of opponent, % Democrats in the state legislature, % women in the state legislature, party x % Democrat, and candidate gender x % women (See Table 2-5).

the gender of a candidate's opponent (Nelson, 2009) might moderate the relation between candidate gender and maternal appeals. To explore the possibility of a more nuanced relation between candidates' gender, feminine issues, and the use of maternal appeals, the candidate gender x opponent gender x party, candidate gender x feminine issues x party, and candidate gender x feminine issues x opponent gender interactions were added to the basic model, along with all lower-order interactions. These results are presented in the right-hand columns of Table 2-5 as Model 2.⁹

The party x feminine issues interaction was significant in Model 2 ($b = -1.73$, $p < .001$). Feminine issues were systematically related to maternal appeals when candidates' party membership was considered. To further examine this interaction, I calculated the expected number of visual maternal appeal airings for Democrats and Republicans at the 25th percentile (.1932) and the 75th percentile (1.0) of feminine issues.¹⁰ The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 2-1. Results revealed that Democrats, but not Republicans, used more visual maternal appeals in the context of feminine issues (Expected count = 1,729) than in non-feminine issue ads (Expected count = 624). Republicans showed a more modest trend in the opposite direction: They used more visual maternal appeals in ads that did not discuss feminine issues (Expected count = 1,489) than in ads that did (Expected count = 1,136).

⁹ Variables in the model were year, candidate gender, feminine issues, candidate party, opponent gender, % Democrats in state legislature, % women in state legislature, party x % Democrats, candidate gender x % women, candidate gender x opponent gender, candidate gender x candidate party, opponent gender x candidate party, candidate gender x feminine issues, opponent gender x feminine issues, candidate party x feminine issues, candidate gender x opponent gender x party, candidate gender x opponent gender x feminine issues, and candidate gender x candidate party x feminine issues (see Table 2-5); the total number of ads aired was included in the inflation model.

¹⁰ Because the count variable representing the average number of feminine issues per ad is not normally distributed, percentiles were used to calculate conditional effects, rather than +/- 1 standard deviation as recommended by Aiken and West (1991).

The candidate gender x opponent gender interaction was also significant in Model 2 ($b = -2.53, p < .01$), and this finding was further qualified by a candidate gender x opponent gender x party interaction ($b = 1.78, p < .05$). Candidate gender was systematically associated with visual maternal appeals when opponent gender and the candidates' party were taken into account. To further examine this interaction, I calculated the expected number of visual maternal appeal airings at each level of candidate gender, opponent gender, and party. The results of this analysis are pictured in Figure 2-2. Female Democrats used more visual maternal appeals against a male opponent (Expected count = 2,468) than against a female opponent (Expected count = 324), whereas male Democrats used about the same number of visual maternal appeals against a male opponent and a female opponent (Expected counts = 1,051 and 1,133, respectively). Female Republicans used fewer visual appeals than did other candidates, but like female Democrats, they used more visual maternal appeals against a male opponent (Expected count = 980) than against a female opponent (Expected count = 626). Like male Democrats, male Republicans' use of visual maternal appeals against a male opponent (Expected count = 1,347) was similar to their use of visual maternal appeals against a female opponent (Expected count = 1,306).

Feminine Issues, Candidate Gender, and Verbal Maternal Appeals

The results for verbal maternal appeals are presented in Table 2-6.¹¹ Model 1 shows findings for the predictive effect of candidate gender and feminine issues on verbal maternal appeals, controlling for year, candidates' party, gender of candidates'

¹¹ The size and distribution of the sample were insufficient to test complex models for each subtype of verbal maternal appeals (i.e., family focus, family experiences, maternal traits). Exploratory analyses of these subtypes indicated that gender and party have a similar relation to all three types of verbal maternal appeals.

opponents, % Democrats in the state legislature, % women in the state legislature, party x % Democrat, and candidate gender x % women. Results indicated that feminine issues were not significantly associated with verbal maternal appeals ($b = .48, ns$), contrary to *Hypothesis 1*. A significant negative coefficient for opponent gender indicated that candidates who were running against a man were more likely to use verbal maternal appeals than those running against at least one woman ($b = -.51, p < .05$). As in the analysis of visual maternal appeals, candidate gender alone did not predict the frequency of verbal maternal appeals ($b = .11, ns$), contrary to *Hypothesis 2*.

As described above for visual maternal appeals, the candidate gender x opponent gender x party, candidate gender x feminine issues x party, and candidate gender x feminine issues x opponent gender interactions were added to the basic model, along with all lower-order interactions. These results are presented in the right-hand columns of Table 2-6 as Model 2.¹² The interaction between candidate gender and opponent gender was significant ($b = -8.07, p < .001$), and was further qualified by a candidate gender x opponent gender x feminine issues interaction ($b = 8.53, p < .001$). When considered in combination with the gender of the candidate's opponent, candidate gender and feminine issues were systematically associated with verbal maternal appeals. To further investigate this interaction, I calculated the expected number of verbal maternal appeal airings for all combinations of candidate gender and opponent gender at the 75th and 25th percentile of feminine issues. The results of this analysis are

¹² Variables included in the model were year, candidate gender, feminine issues, candidate party, opponent gender, % Democrats in state legislature, % women in state legislature, party x % Democrats, candidate gender x % women, candidate gender x opponent gender, candidate gender x candidate party, opponent gender x candidate party, candidate gender x feminine issues, opponent gender x feminine issues, candidate party x feminine issues, candidate gender x opponent gender x party, candidate gender x opponent gender x feminine issues, and candidate gender x candidate party x feminine issues (see Table 2-6); the total number of ads aired was included in the inflation model.

presented in Figure 2-3, and show that female candidates who did not emphasize feminine issues, and ran against a male opponent, were much more likely than other candidates to include verbal maternal appeals in their ads (Expected count = 1,097 compared to Expected counts < 200 for all other candidates).

The interaction between candidate gender and party is also significant in Model 2 ($b = 4.43, p < .05$), and is further qualified by a significant candidate gender x party x feminine issues interaction ($b = -7.34, p < .001$). When considered in combination with candidate party membership, candidate gender and feminine issues were systematically associated with verbal maternal appeals. To further investigate this interaction, I calculated the expected number of verbal maternal appeal airings for male Democrats, male Republicans, female Democrats, and female Republicans at the 75th and 25th percentiles of feminine issues. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 2-4. Among Democratic candidates, there was a trend in the direction predicted by *Hypothesis 1*. Male Democrats used slightly more verbal maternal appeals in the context of feminine issues (Expected count = 142) than in non-feminine issue ads (Expected count = 53). This trend was more pronounced among female Democrats, who also used more verbal maternal appeals in the context of feminine issues (Expected count = 327) than in non-feminine issue ads (Expected count = 69). Male Republicans also followed this trend: They tended to use more verbal maternal appeals when discussing feminine issues (Expected count = 197) than in non-feminine issue ads (Expected count = 128). Female Republicans alone diverged from this pattern. They used many more verbal maternal appeals in ads that did not address feminine issues (Expected count = 886) than in ads that did (Expected count = 49).

Maternal Appeals, Candidate Gender, and Winning the Election

Next, I turn to the hypothesis that the relation between maternal appeals and winning will be stronger for male than for female candidates (*Hypothesis 3*). This hypothesis was examined using a series of logistic regression models. In each model, a dummy variable indicating whether candidates won or lost their elections was regressed on candidates' gender and the centered average number of maternal appeals per ad airing. Of course, in addition to gender and maternal appeals, a variety of other factors are likely to affect candidates' chances of winning elections. The total number of ads aired during the campaign, candidates' incumbency and challenger status, whether candidates' were running for an open seat, the election year, candidates' party membership, the competitiveness rating of the election, the percentage of women and Democrats in candidates' state legislatures, the gender of candidates' opponents, and the average number of feminine issues per ad airing were included in each model as controls. Once again, the candidate party x % Democrat and candidate gender x % women interactions were added to the models, to control for any advantage that state electoral contexts might offer candidates of a certain gender or party. As in the previous analyses, cluster robust standard errors were used in all models, with the specific election contest as the cluster variable.¹³

¹³ Another variable that is likely to affect candidates' probability of winning is the amount of money they spent on their campaigns. All models were also run on only the candidates who competed in general elections, controlling for the candidate's proportion of the campaign expenditure. Limiting the analysis to general election candidates reduced the sample size to 286 observations and 181 clusters, often with only one candidate per cluster. Interactions were not significant in these models. This difference in results may be due to the inability to detect interactions in a smaller sample of elections, but it also raises the possibility that maternal appeals have a stronger impact in primaries than they do in the general election, or that the effect of maternal appeals on winning disappears when the amount of money spent on the campaign is taken into account.

The results of the analysis of visual maternal appeals and winning are presented in Table 2-7. Model 1 tested the relations among candidate gender, visual maternal appeals, and winning the election, controlling for other variables as previously described.¹⁴ The results indicate that incumbency status, challenger status, and running for an open seat were all independently and significantly associated with winning ($b = 17.36, 13.65, \text{ and } 12.23$, respectively, all $ps < .001$). A significant main effect for candidate gender indicated that male candidates were more likely to win their elections than were female candidates ($b = -2.94, p < .05$), although female candidates benefited from a higher percentage of female representatives in their state legislature, as indicated by a significant candidate gender x % women interaction ($b = -.12, p < .05$). Visual maternal appeals were not associated with winning ($b = .42, ns$).

Model 2 added the visual maternal appeal x candidate gender interaction to the basic model. Because the analyses described in the previous section indicated that candidates' party membership also predicted their use of maternal appeals, the candidate gender x party and visual maternal appeal x party interactions were also included in the model.¹⁵ The visual maternal appeal x party interaction was negative and significant ($b = -1.67, p < .01$), indicating that visual maternal appeals were more

¹⁴ Control variables were the total number of ad airings, incumbent status, challenger status, open seat status, year, candidate party, competitiveness rating of the election, % Democrats in the state legislature, % women in the state legislature, opponent gender, feminine issues, party x % Democrat, and candidate gender x % women (see Table 2-7).

¹⁵ Variables in the model were the total number of ad airings, incumbent status, challenger status, open seat status, year, candidate gender, candidate party, competitiveness rating of the election, % Democrats in the state legislature, % women in the state legislature, opponent gender, feminine issues, visual maternal appeals, party x % Democrat, candidate gender x % women, candidate gender x visual maternal appeal, candidate gender x party, and party x visual maternal appeal (see Table 2-7). The candidate gender x party x visual maternal appeal interaction was not significant and was dropped from the final model. Adding each of the two-way interactions separately to the model does not change the pattern of results.

strongly associated with winning among Democrats than among Republicans. To further investigate this significant interaction, I calculated the predicted probability of winning the election for Democrats and Republicans at the 75th percentile (.38) and 25th percentile (-.58) of visual maternal appeals. The predicted probabilities are presented in Figure 2-5. Republicans were more likely to win their elections when they aired few visual maternal appeals: The predicted probability of winning the election was 48% for Republicans who aired many visual maternal appeals and 64% for Republicans who aired few. Democrats' chances of winning, however, improved when they aired more visual maternal appeals in their ads. Democrats who aired many visual maternal appeals had a 52% predicted probability of winning their elections, whereas those whose ads contained few visual maternal appeals had 29% chance of winning.

The results of the analysis of verbal maternal appeals and winning are presented in Table 2-8. Model 1 examined the relations among candidate gender, verbal maternal appeals, and winning the election, controlling for the relevant variables.¹⁶ As for visual maternal appeals, incumbency, challenger status, and running for an open seat were significantly related to winning ($b = 17.35, 13.72, \text{ and } 12.28$, respectively, $ps < .001$), male candidates were more likely to win ($b = -3.10, p < .05$), and women's chances improved when their gender was well-represented in the state legislature ($b = .13, p <$

¹⁶ Control variables were the total number of ad airings, incumbent status, challenger status, open seat status, year, candidate party, competitiveness rating of the election, % Democrats in the state legislature, % women in the state legislature, opponent gender, feminine issues, party x % Democrat, and candidate gender x % women (see Table 2-8).

.05). Verbal maternal appeals did not predict a candidate's chances of winning ($b = .59, ns$).¹⁷

Model 2 added the candidate gender x verbal maternal appeal, candidate gender x party and party x verbal maternal appeal interactions to the basic model.¹⁸ The candidate gender x verbal maternal appeal interaction was marginally significant ($b = -2.90, p < .10$), indicating that verbal maternal appeals may show a different relation to winning for male versus female candidates. To further investigate the nature of the significant interaction, I estimated the probability of winning the election for male candidates and female candidates at the 75th percentile (-.05) and the 25th percentile (-.11) of verbal maternal appeals. The results, pictured in Figure 2-6, indicated that male candidates who used many verbal maternal appeals had a higher probability of winning their election (56%) than male candidates who used few verbal maternal appeals (41%). In contrast, female candidates who avoided verbal maternal appeals had a higher probability of winning their elections (42%) than female candidates who used many verbal maternal appeals (15%). Although this interaction is marginally significant, the results show the pattern predicted in *Hypothesis 3*: Verbal maternal appeals are associated with winning for men, but not for women.

¹⁷ Exploratory analyses revealed that one of the subtypes of verbal maternal appeals, maternal traits appeals, was positively related to winning. This relation was not moderated by candidate gender or party.

¹⁸ Variables in the model were the total number of ad airings, incumbent status, challenger status, open seat status, year, candidate gender, candidate party, competitiveness rating of the election, % Democrats in the state legislature, % women in the state legislature, opponent gender, feminine issues, verbal maternal appeals, party x % Democrat, candidate gender x % women, candidate gender x verbal maternal appeal, candidate gender x party, and party x verbal maternal appeal (see Table 2-8). The candidate gender x party x verbal maternal appeal interaction was not significant and was dropped from the final model. Adding each of the two-way interactions separately to the model did not change the pattern of results.

Discussion

The goal of Study 1 was to document the dynamics of maternal appeals in real campaigns, to examine candidates' use of maternal appeals in elections, and to test hypotheses derived from the theory of maternal politics about which candidates use maternal appeals, which issues maternal appeals are used to address, and the effects of maternal appeals on male and female candidates' electoral outcomes. Specifically, this study tested *Hypothesis 1*, which stated that maternal appeals would be used more often in the context of feminine issues, *Hypothesis 2*, which stated that maternal appeals would be used more often by male than by female candidates, and *Hypothesis 3*, which stated that maternal appeals would be more strongly associated with winning for male than for female candidates. To address these questions, I turned to the most complete source of campaign television advertisements available, collected by the Wisconsin Advertising Project. Presumably, candidates choose to use or avoid maternal appeals in their campaign ads in order to persuade voters of their character credentials, competence on the most important issues, and to garner votes.

A variety of maternal appeals were present in political campaign advertising. Candidates used the appearance of children or other family members in their ads most frequently, perhaps to communicate a commitment to family or to children's needs. Verbal maternal appeals in which candidates asserted their commitment to family or explained how experiences in the family have shaped their policy positions were also present in the ads. The presence of maternal appeals in real political campaign advertising provides some evidence that candidates believe that the traits, roles, and values associated with motherhood have power in the political domain. The feminine

issue focus of a candidate's campaign ads and a candidate's gender played a systematic, but nuanced role in the decision to "go maternal." Further, candidates chose to use visual maternal appeals and verbal maternal appeals in different electoral contexts, suggesting that the two maternal strategies are used to serve different purposes in the ads.

Feminine Issues and the Use of Maternal Appeals

The results of this study provided support for *Hypothesis 1* among Democratic candidates: Democrats used maternal appeals more often in campaign ads that discussed feminine issues. Republicans' use of maternal appeals, especially female Republicans' use of verbal maternal appeals, showed a trend in the opposite direction: Republicans used more maternal appeals in ads that did not emphasize feminine issues. Thus, candidates' party membership, in addition to their gender and the feminine issue focus of their campaigns, emerged as an important factor in determining the amount of maternal content in candidates' ads. Democrats' issue priorities overlap with the feminine issues examined in this study, and are therefore a natural candidate for maternal framing. An emphasis on feminine issues and maternal roles and values are in line with both stereotypes of Democrats and Democratic voters' typical preferences. Republicans, in contrast, must strive to balance maternal content with the gendered nature of the issues discussed in the ad. Feminine issues paired with a maternal appeal may send the message that Republican candidates are too warm, too soft, or too liberal, and may consequently compromise perceptions of their competence on the masculine issues that are important to Republican voters. Republican women, who are already

judged more liberal than their male counterparts, may need to be particularly wary of including both maternal content and feminine issues in their campaigns.

Results also point to the possibility that Democrats and Republicans are using maternal appeals for different purposes in their campaigns. Democrats may appear in ads with children and families in order to reinforce their commitment to such issues as education and health care, as previous literature on liberal maternal politics would predict. Female Republicans, however, tend to use a different kind of maternal appeal: A verbal declaration that their candidacy is legitimate because of some aspect of their family life. Such verbal maternal appeals have the potential to be used in the service of a variety of issues, not only feminine issues. For example, the Republican “mama grizzly” movement that appeared in the 2010 election invoked a tough form of motherhood to reinforce female candidates’ commitment to limited government and second amendment rights. Republicans may also use verbal maternal appeals as a way to communicate their personal character or conservative credentials, as in the “family values” focus of the Bush years. Choosing a distinct verbal medium for their maternal message allows Republican women to distance themselves from Democratic issue positions without surrendering maternal territory to the opposition.

Candidate Gender and the Use of Maternal Appeals

The results of this study did not support *Hypothesis 2*, which stated that maternal appeals would be used more often by male candidates. Gender was systematically associated with the use of maternal appeals, but contrary to prediction, it was female candidates who tended to air more maternal appeals during their campaigns, albeit under certain conditions. Female Democrats used more *visual* maternal appeals than

other candidates, but only when they were running against a male opponent. Female Democrats and female Republicans who ran against men used more *verbal* maternal appeals than other candidates, but not in the context of feminine issues.

Female candidates' use of maternal appeals varied a great deal based on their party membership, the gender of their opponent, and the issue focus of their campaigns. This pattern suggests that female candidates used maternal appeals carefully and strategically, adjusting the amount of maternal content in their ads based on their party membership, issue priorities, and characteristics of the election. By comparison, male candidates' use of maternal appeals was more consistent, which suggests that men's strategies were less reactive to party membership, issue focus, and the gender context of the race. Although the overall number of maternal appeals used by men and women in their campaigns did not differ as hypothesized, the results of this study may well point to a political reality in which maternal appeals are more central, and perhaps more problematic, in women's campaigns.

Maternal Appeals and Winning the Election

Consistent with *Hypothesis 3*, candidate gender affected the relation between *verbal* maternal appeals and winning: Male candidates who used verbal maternal appeals were more likely to win, whereas women who used maternal appeals were less likely to win than their non-maternal counterparts. However, the results for candidate gender and *visual* maternal appeals failed to show the gender difference predicted in *Hypothesis 3*. Instead, candidates' party membership, not gender, was the most important determinant of the relation between visual maternal appeals and winning. Democrats who used many visual maternal appeals in their campaigns held a significant

advantage over Democrats who did not, whereas Republicans who aired many visual maternal appeals were more likely to lose than Republicans who did not.

This correlational study does not afford causal conclusions about the effect of maternal appeals on winning elections. However, considering the variations in candidates' use of maternal appeals described above, the results suggest that some candidates use maternal appeals more effectively than others. The finding that *visual* maternal appeals raise Democrats' chances of winning by more than 20% suggests that Democrats *must* use visual maternal appeals in order to be competitive in their elections. In the 2004 elections, Democrats used visual maternal appeals in conjunction with feminine issues, and female Democrats used visual maternal appeals more often against male opponents. Visual maternal appeals employed in this manner were associated with a sharp increase in Democrats' probability of winning their elections, which suggests that visual maternal appeals can be a successful Democratic strategy.

As predicted, *verbal* maternal appeals were associated with male candidates' victories: Men who used many verbal maternal appeals in their campaigns were 15% more likely to win their elections than those who did not. By using verbal maternal appeals in conjunction with feminine issues, male candidates in 2004 may have successfully boosted their electoral chances. Perhaps more notably, women who used many verbal maternal appeals were over 25% *less* likely to win their elections. Despite evidence that verbal maternal appeals hurt female candidates at the polls, female candidates who ran in 2004 did not avoid verbal maternal appeals, but instead, used many of them against male opponents, and in the context of non-feminine issues. These

patterns suggest that women may have compromised their chances in 2004 by using verbal maternal appeals too much, or in the wrong contexts.

Because there were few female Republicans who ran ads in the 2004 elections, I am hesitant to draw any firm conclusions about female Republicans from this initial study. Future research will be able to examine the use of maternal appeals by female Republicans in more detail, given that 2010 saw record numbers of women competing in the Republican primaries. As in past elections, women in the Republican party did not fare as well as their Democratic counterparts in the primary elections; however, verbal maternal appeals may have operated differently for Republican women in 2010 after Sarah Palin's heavily maternal campaign for the vice presidency popularized the strategy.

Conclusion

To my knowledge, this is the first study to examine the use of maternal appeals in campaign communications by political elites. As such, it has provided a valuable first look at which candidates use maternal appeals, which issues maternal appeals are used to address, and the effects of maternal appeals on male and female candidates' electoral outcomes. The results of this study paint a nuanced picture of the role of gender and feminine issues in crafting a maternal campaign and suggest that female candidates, more than male candidates, carefully navigate the electoral context to determine whether and how often to use maternal appeals. Party emerged as an important factor, and affected the association between maternal appeals and feminine issues, and between visual maternal appeals and winning. Democrats used visual maternal appeals to their advantage in 2004, choosing to employ them in the context of feminine issues and

against male candidates in a way that may have increased Democrats' probability of winning. However, female candidates of both parties appear to have used verbal maternal appeals in a way that may have compromised their electoral chances.

Despite these valuable contributions to our understanding of maternal appeals in election campaigns, Study 1 also has some important limitations. It is a case study of a single election cycle, which was the first presidential election since the 9/11 terrorist attacks and which focused largely on the war in Iraq. In a year focused on masculine issues like terrorism and the military, female candidates faced a particularly difficult challenge (Lawless, 2004). It is also likely that feminine issues and maternal strategies were received differently in 2004 than they may have been in other years. Examinations of a broader range of elections are needed in order to assess the generalizability of this study's findings.

As a correlational study, the conclusions of Study 1 are also limited by its inability to draw causal conclusions about the effect of maternal appeals on evaluations of candidates and vote choice. The purpose of experimental Study 2, therefore, is to examine the causal effect of maternal appeals on voters' evaluations of a candidate's character traits and issue competencies, their likelihood of voting for the candidate, and the potential for maternal appeals to change voters' policy positions.

Table 2-1. Mean Number of Times Candidates Aired Maternal Appeals

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Maximum
Visual maternal appeals	997	2,102	16,677
Verbal maternal appeals	142	424	3,814
Family Focus	82	300	3,691
Family Experiences	28	136	1,946
Maternal Traits	32	139	1,410

Note. N = 465.

Table 2-2. Correlations Between Variables Used to Test *Hypotheses 1 and 2*

Variable	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Candidate Gender	--								
2. Opponent Gender	-.01	--							
3. Year	-.01	-.12*	--						
4. Party	-.09*	.07	.04	--					
5. % Dem	-.04	-.06	-.30***	-.05	--				
6. % Women	.06	.11*	.09	-.06	-.09	--			
7. Feminine Issues	.16***	-.08	.01	-.19***	-.02	.08	--		
8. Visual Maternal	.00	-.03	-.14**	-.01	.01	-.07	.03	--	
9. Verbal Maternal	.03	-.07	-.08	.01	.00	-.05	.02	.52***	--

Note. N = 465. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat. Feminine issues variable reflects the average amount of such content per airing. Maternal appeal variables reflect the total number of airings of each type of maternal content.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2-3. Correlations Between Variables Used to Test *Hypothesis 3*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Candidate Gender	--								
2. Opponent Gender	-.01	--							
3. Incumbent	-.10*	-.10*	--						
4. Open Seat	.05	.21***	-.56***	--					
5. Challenger	.07	-.10*	-.40***	-.47***	--				
6. Party	-.09*	.07	.02	.03	-.04	--			
7. Visual Maternal	.00	.05	.03	.06	-.07	.06	--		
8. Verbal Maternal	.02	.02	.04	.03	-.08	-.02	.28***	--	
9. Feminine Issues	.16***	-.08	.03	-.08	.04	-.19***	.15***	.04	--
10. Winner	-.07	-.12**	.69***	-.29***	-.37***	.08	.09	.08	-.01

Note. N = 465. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat. Feminine issues and maternal appeals variables reflect the average amount of such content per ad airing.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2-4. Correlations Between Variables Used to Test *Hypothesis 3*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Candidate Gender	--								
2. Year	-.02	--							
3. Toss-up	-.05	.04	--						
4. % Democrat	-.04	-.30***	-.01	--					
5. % Women	.06	.09	.03	-.09	--				
6. Visual Maternal	.00	.03	-.03	-.06	-.03	--			
7. Verbal Maternal	.02	.05	-.06	-.07	.00	.28***	--		
8. Feminine Issues	.16***	.01	.01	-.02	.08	.15***	.04	--	
9. Total Ad Airings	.01	-.17***	.35***	.02	-.06	.01	-.04	-.01	--
10. Winner	-.07	.11*	-.11*	-.02	.02	.09	.08	-.01	.09

Note. N = 465. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat. Feminine issues and maternal appeals variables reflect the average amount of such content per ad airing.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2-5. Visual Maternal Appeals as a Function of Candidate Gender, Party, and Feminine Issues

Predictor	Visual Maternal Appeals			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Year	-.61	(.40)	-.51	(.38)
Party	1.23	(.81)	2.53**	(.87)
% Democrat	.01	(.01)	.01	(.01)
Party x % Democrat	-.03	(.02)	-.02	(.02)
Candidate Gender	-.62	(.55)	1.61	(.89)
% Women	-.02	(.02)	-.02	(.02)
Cand. Gen. x % Women	.03	(.02)	.01	(.02)
Opponent Gender	-.22	(.23)	-.27	(.52)
Feminine Issues	.21	(.32)	1.35**	(.47)
Cand. Gen. x Opp. Gen.	--	--	-2.53**	(.91)
Cand. Gender x Party	--	--	-1.44	(.79)
Opp. Gender x Party	--	--	-.11	(.42)
Cand. Gen. x Fem. Issues	--	--	-1.33	(.73)
Opp. Gen. x Fem. Issues	--	--	.46	(.62)
Party x Feminine Issues	--	--	-1.73***	(.48)
Cand. Gender x Opp. Gender x Party	--	--	1.78*	(.81)
Cand. Gender x Opp. Gender x Feminine Issues	--	--	.60	(1.0)
Cand. Gender x Party x Feminine Issues	--	--	.35	(.88)
Constant	7.82***	(1.00)	6.59***	(.96)
Wald χ^2 (df)	12.98 (9)		100.03 (18)***	
<i>N</i>	423		423	

Note. Entries are unstandardized zero-inflated negative binomial regression coefficients and cluster-robust standard errors adjusted for nesting of candidates within elections. Coefficients of all inflation models are excluded from the table.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2-6. Verbal Maternal Appeals as a Function of Candidate Gender, Party, and

Feminine Issues

Predictor	Verbal Maternal Appeals			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Year	-.41	(.28)	-.24	(.30)
Party	.05	(1.27)	1.23	(1.4)
% Democrat	-.01	(.01)	-.01	(.01)
Party x % Democrat	.00	(.02)	-.01	(.02)
Candidate Gender	.11	(.81)	1.73	(1.3)
% Women	-.01	(.02)	-.01	(.02)
Cand. Gen. x % Women	-.01	(.04)	-.03	(.05)
Opponent Gender	-.51*	(.23)	-.06	(.85)
Feminine Issues	.48	(.23)	.88	(.79)
Cand. Gen. x Opp. Gen.	--	--	-8.07***	(1.3)
Cand. Gender x Party	--	--	4.43*	(2.3)
Opp. Gender x Party	--	--	-1.01	(.58)
Cand. Gen. x Fem. Issues	--	--	-.54	(1.0)
Opp. Gen. x Fem. Issues	--	--	.37	(1.1)
Party x Feminine Issues	--	--	-.21	(1.1)
Cand. Gender x Opp. Gender x Party	--	--	1.83	(2.09)
Cand. Gender x Opp. Gender x Feminine Issues	--	--	8.53***	(2.06)
Cand. Gender x Party x Feminine Issues	--	--	-7.34***	(2.0)
Constant	7.70***	(.91)	6.08***	(1.47)
Wald χ^2 (df)	15.06 (9)		259.83 (18)***	
<i>N</i>	423		423	

Note. Entries are unstandardized zero-inflated negative binomial regression coefficients and cluster-robust standard errors adjusted for nesting of candidates within elections. Coefficients of all inflation models are excluded from the table.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 2-7. Winning the Election as a Function of Candidate Gender, Party, and Visual Maternal Appeals

Predictor	Winning the Election			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Total ad airings	.00***	(.00)	.00***	(.00)
Incumbent	17.36***	(.81)	16.68***	(.83)
Open Seat	13.65***	(.77)	12.63***	(.78)
Challenger	12.23***	(.81)	11.25***	(.87)
Year	-.63	(1.0)	-.73	(1.0)
Party	2.98	(1.5)	4.08*	(1.7)
Toss-up	-.50	(.30)	-.53	(.32)
% Democrat	.03	(.02)	.05*	(.02)
Party x % Democrat	-.05	(.03)	-.07*	(.03)
Candidate Gender	-2.94*	(1.4)	-2.41	(1.4)
% Women	.01	(.02)	-.01	(.02)
Cand. Gen. x % Women	.12*	(.06)	.12	(.06)
Opponent Gender	-.59	(.39)	-.54	(.40)
Feminine Issues	-.23	(.20)	-.22	(.20)
Visual Maternal Appeal	.42	(.23)	1.62***	(.44)
Candidate Gender x Party	--	--	-.86	(.90)
Candidate Gender x Visual Maternal Appeal	--	--	-.53	(.66)
Party x Visual Maternal Appeal	--	--	-1.67**	(.55)
Constant	-15.7***	(1.9)	-15.5***	(1.9)
Pseudo R^2		.48		.51
<i>N</i>		375		375

Note. Entries are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients and cluster-robust standard errors adjusted for nesting of candidates within elections.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$

Table 2-8. Winning the Election as a Function of Candidate Gender, Party, and Verbal Maternal Appeals

Predictor	Winning the Election			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Total ad airings	.00***	(.00)	.00***	(.00)
Incumbent	17.35***	(.94)	15.49***	(.93)
Open Seat	13.72***	(.86)	11.78***	(.89)
Challenger	12.28***	(1.0)	10.29***	(.94)
Year	-.67	(1.0)	-.47	(1.1)
Party	2.96	(1.5)	3.84*	(1.7)
Toss-up	-.51	(.31)	-.46	(.31)
% Democrat	.03	(.02)	.04	(.02)
Party x % Democrat	-.05	(.03)	-.06	(.03)
Candidate Gender	-3.10*	(1.32)	-2.38	(1.3)
% Women	-.01	(.02)	-.01	(.02)
Cand. Gen. x % Women	.13*	(.06)	.13*	(.05)
Opponent Gender	-.58	(.39)	-.66	(.40)
Feminine Issues	-.17	(.18)	-.14	(.18)
Verbal Maternal Appeal	.59	(.56)	1.30	(.74)
Candidate Gender x Party	--	--	-1.23	(.87)
Candidate Gender x Verbal Maternal Appeal	--	--	-2.90 ⁺	(1.6)
Party x Verbal Maternal Appeal	--	--	-.74	(1.2)
Constant	-15.5***	(2.0)	-14.5***	(2.3)
Pseudo R^2	.48		.49	
<i>N</i>	375		375	

Note. Entries are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients and cluster-robust standard errors adjusted for nesting of candidates within elections.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 2-1. Visual Maternal Appeals as a Function of Feminine Issues and Candidate

Party

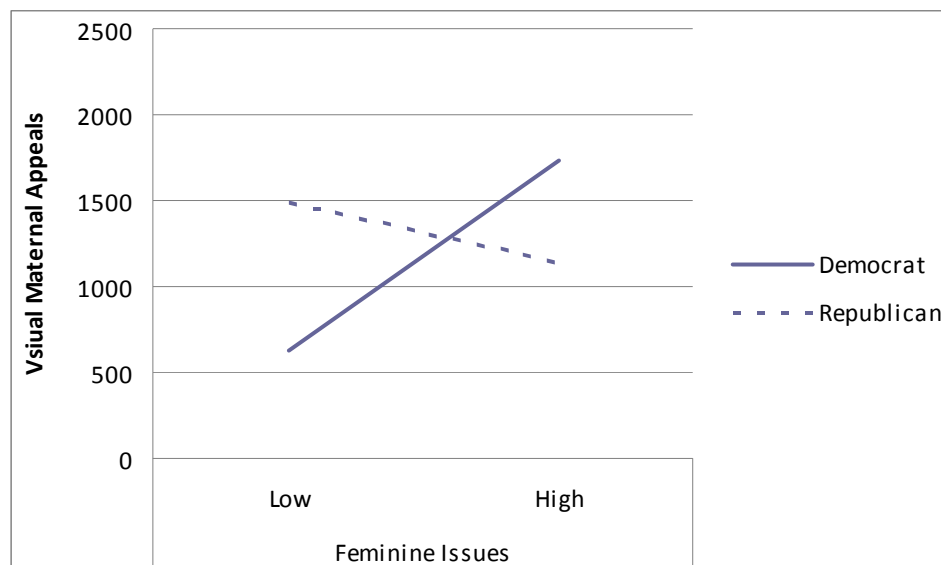


Figure 2-2. Visual Maternal Appeals as a Function of Candidate Gender, Party, and

Opponent Gender

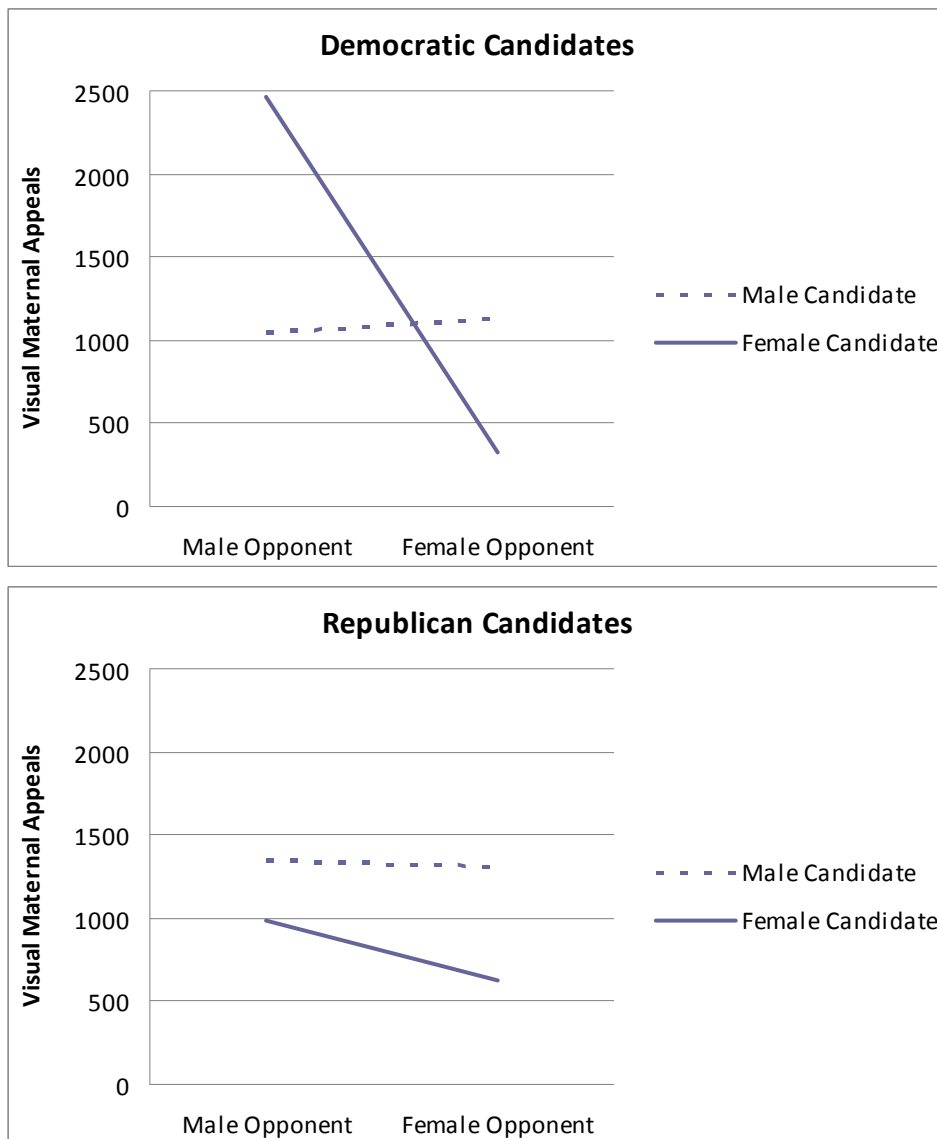


Figure 2-3. Verbal Maternal Appeals as a Function of Candidate Gender, Feminine Issues, and Opponent Gender

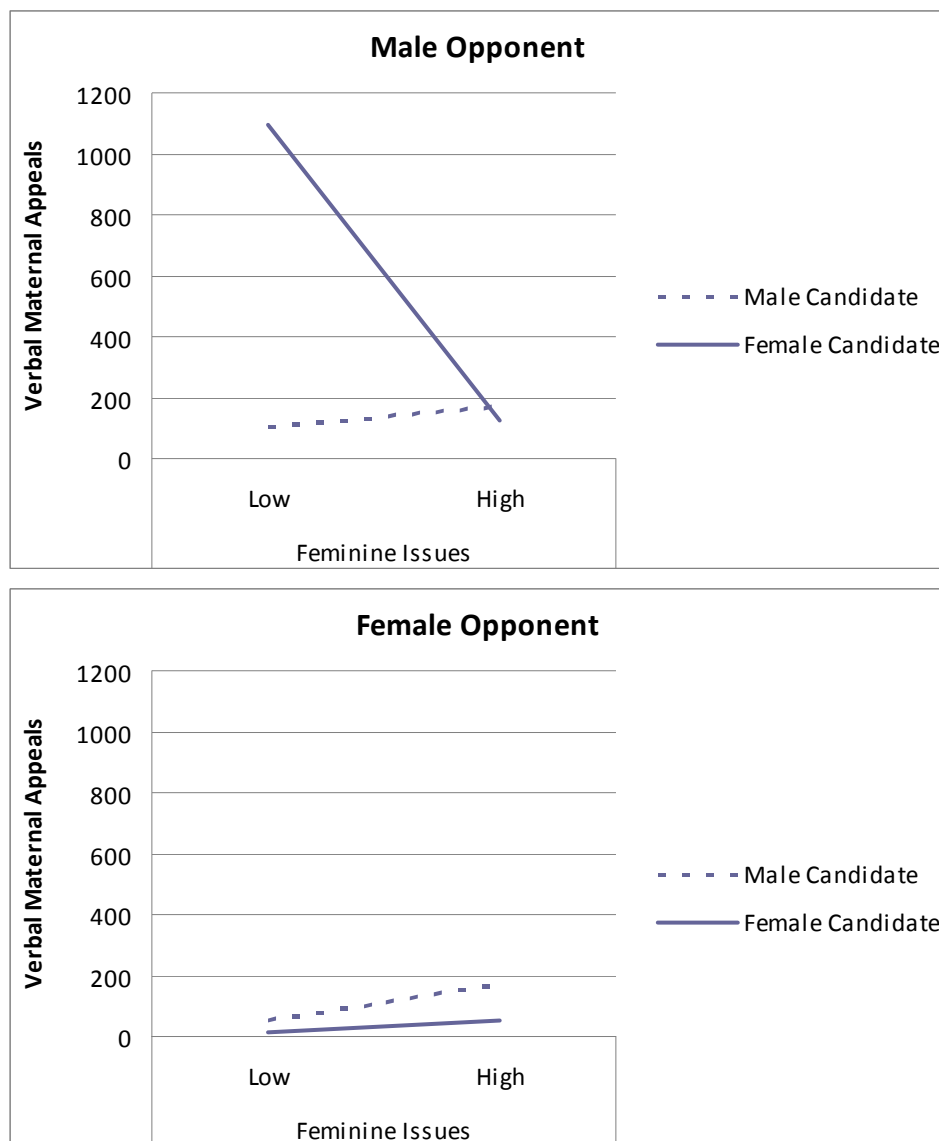


Figure 2-4. Verbal Maternal Appeals as a Function of Candidate Gender, Party, and

Feminine Issues

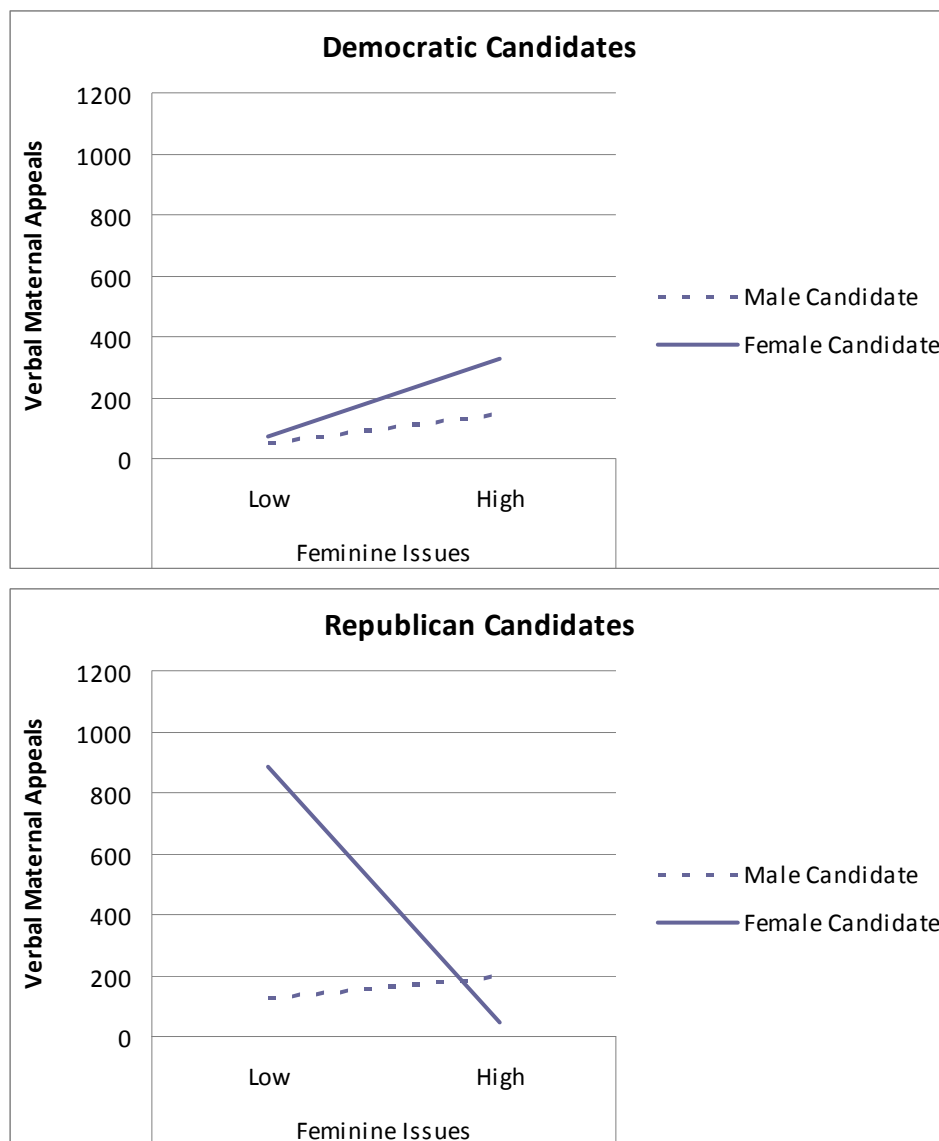


Figure 2-5. Visual Maternal Appeals and the Probability of Winning the Election

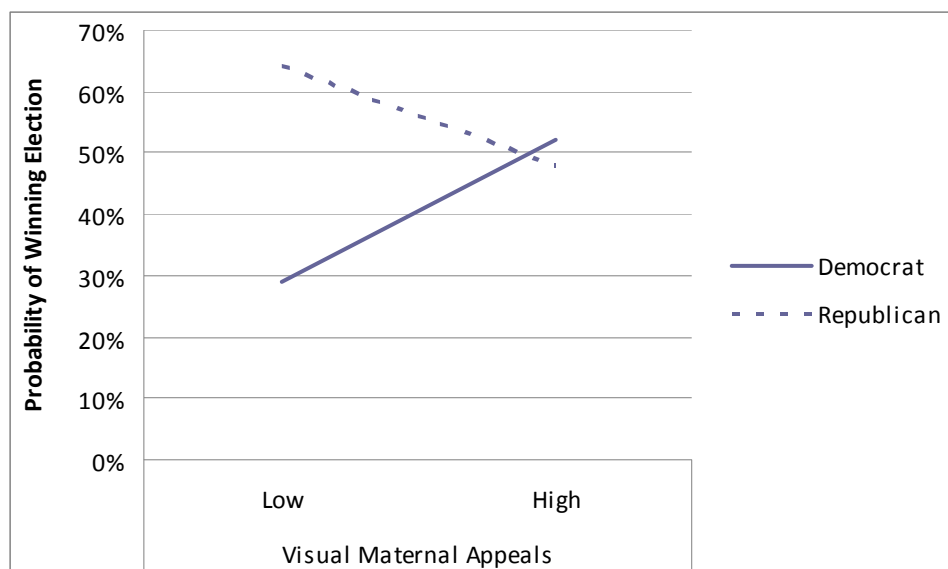
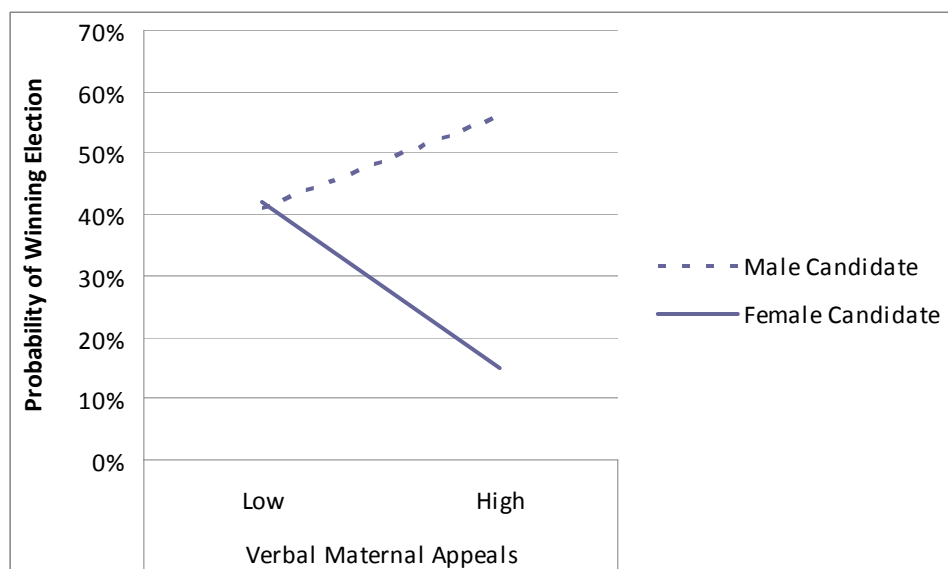


Figure 2-6. Verbal Maternal Appeals and the Probability of Winning the Election



Chapter 3: Responses to Maternal Appeals

The theory of maternal politics holds that candidates can invoke motherhood in their campaigns to connect the positive associations with mothers in the private sphere to voters' impressions of political candidates. Study 1, discussed in the previous chapter, provided the first empirical examination of maternal appeals in real election contests and found evidence that under certain circumstances, candidates emphasize maternal roles, traits, and values in their campaign ads. This evidence suggests that candidates *believe* that appeals to motherhood hold some persuasive power in the political domain. If this is the case, then maternal appeals should affect voters' evaluations of candidates and political attitudes. Consistent with the theory's predictions, Study 1 found that *verbal* maternal appeals were more strongly associated with winning for male than for female candidates. However, as a correlational study, Study 1 did not warrant causal conclusions about the effect of maternal appeals on evaluations of candidates and political attitudes. Moreover, using real election data, it was not possible to test hypotheses derived from the theory of maternal politics about how exposure to maternal appeals affects individual psychology.

This chapter discusses the method and results of Study 2, a computer-based experiment conducted among undergraduate student participants. Its purpose was to test four hypotheses derived from the theory of maternal politics about the effects of maternal appeals on evaluations of political candidates and on individual social and political attitudes. First, Study 2 tested the theory's claim that maternal appeals will provide an advantage for male candidates, but not for female candidates (*Hypothesis 3*). The theory of maternal politics predicts that female candidates who make maternal

appeals will be evaluated more negatively than their non-maternal counterparts.

Female candidates already appear warm and competent at handling feminine issues, and are unlikely to be evaluated more positively when they cultivate a maternal image (Hayes, 2005; Schneider, 2007). However, research suggests that men may be evaluated more positively when they appear warm as well as competent (Cuddy et al., 2004). As in Study 1, party stereotypes may also affect individual impressions of candidates who make maternal appeals. Although the theory of maternal politics does not articulate specific predictions regarding party stereotypes, prior research shows that female candidates of both parties are seen as more liberal than their male counterparts, and so maternal appeals that emphasize candidates' feminine characteristics may be particularly problematic for female Republicans (Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009).

Second, Study 2 tested the theory's hypotheses regarding individual differences in responses to maternal appeals. Because maternal appeals draw on admiration for women's traditional role in the family, the theory of maternal politics predicts that maternal appeals will be received more positively by some viewers than by others (*Hypothesis 4*). Individuals who are gender-schematic are likely to respond more positively than others to behavior that fits into traditional gender norms (Bem, 1981). Individuals high in benevolent sexism put women on a pedestal, and believe that women are morally superior to men (Fiske & Glick, 1996). The theory of maternal politics predicts that individuals high in these predispositions will evaluate a female candidate making a maternal appeal more positively, and a male candidate making a maternal appeal more negatively, than non-maternal candidates (*Hypothesis 4a* and *Hypothesis 4b*). The two major psychological antecedents of political conservatism and

intergroup prejudice, authoritarianism and social dominance orientation (SDO), have implications for gender attitudes, and are also expected to affect viewers' responses to maternal appeals. Authoritarians endorse traditional gender roles and are in favor of strong, uncompromising leadership (Altemeyer, 1988; Duncan et al., 1997). Individuals high in SDO see feminine characteristics as unsuitable for leadership positions and are motivated to maintain the gender hierarchy (Pratto et al., 1994; Sibley et al., 2007). The theory of maternal politics predicts that individuals high in these predispositions will evaluate candidates who use maternal appeals more negatively than other candidates (*Hypothesis 4c and 4d*).

Third, Study 2 tests the prediction, derived from the theory of maternal politics, that maternal appeals will alter the image of a good leader to which political candidates are compared. Previous research on political priming has shown that when candidates focus on certain issues, the public increases the weight that they place on those issues in their vote choice (Funk, 1999; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Krosnick & Kinder, 1990). Similarly, when male or female candidates emphasize the stereotypically feminine role of a selfless, nurturant parent, associated feminine traits (i.e., warmth) are expected to be weighted more heavily in voters' evaluations of candidates (*Hypothesis 5*).

Finally, Study 2 examines the theory's claim that maternal appeals have broader effects on the political landscape than merely increasing politicians' chances of electoral success. Maternal appeals are expected to bring to mind a view of the family in which parents and children are equals, emotionally connected, and mutually responsible to one another (Hayden, 2003); in turn, this image of the family should sway individuals

toward more liberal social and political attitudes (*Hypothesis 6*; Barker & Tinnick, 2006; Deason et al., 2008; Federico et al., in press; Lakoff, 1996, 2002).

Method

Participants

359 University of Minnesota undergraduates participated in this study in exchange for extra credit in psychology courses. 331 completed Part 1 of the study, and 284 completed Part 2; 250 participants completed both parts of the study, were able to answer the manipulation check items described below, and are included in all analyses. Of these, 64.8% were women, and 35.2% were men. They were roughly similar in age ($M = 20.1$, $SD = 4.2$), ethnicity (78.8% white, 3.6% Latino/Hispanic, 12.0% Asian/Pacific Islander, 5.2% African American, 0.8% Native American), and citizenship status (89.2% U.S. citizens) to other undergraduate samples.

Study Procedure

Participants completed the study in two parts to ensure valid measurement of individual differences, independent of the experimental manipulation. First, students eligible to receive credit for research participation received an email inviting them to participate in a two-part study about first impressions of political candidates. After giving their informed consent, participants completed a series of questionnaires to measure gender schematicity, authoritarianism, SDO, and benevolent sexism (predicted moderator variables). The order of items was randomized within each questionnaire. Participants also provided information about their political ideology, political party preference, age, gender, and racial/ethnic group membership (demographic and control variables).

After completing the online survey, participants completed the second portion of the study in a computer lab.¹⁹ Upon their arrival in the lab, participants watched a one minute and 40 second television advertisement by a political candidate. The ad was described as a “political advertisement from a campaign somewhere in the United States” that was a “draft version of an ad that will be further edited and polished before airing on television.” Unbeknownst to participants, the campaign ads contained the manipulation of the key independent variables: Candidate gender, party, and presence or absence of a maternal appeal. After watching the campaign ad, participants completed measures of their overall evaluations of the candidate and wrote a brief statement endorsing the candidate. They then completed ratings of the candidate’s warmth and competence, open-ended measures of the candidate’s positive and negative characteristics, and their perceptions of the candidate’s competence on masculine and feminine issues (dependent variables). Participants responded to four factual items about the video as a manipulation check. Next, they shared their emotional reactions to the candidate, completed a measure of Nurturant Parent morality, and a measure of Bardi and Schwartz’s (2003) values (mediator variables), and responded to items about a variety of political and social issues (dependent variable). Participants also reported their party preference and political ideology, were debriefed as to the real purpose of the study, and thanked for their participation. Further description of these measures is provided in the sections below; the specific items in each scale are also included in Appendix C.

¹⁹ The number of days that elapsed between Part 1 and Part 2 of the study ranged from -1 day (for one participant who completed Part 2 before Part 1) to 60 days. The average number of days that elapsed between Part 1 and Part 2 was 5.89 ($SD = 8.65$).

Individual Difference Moderator Variables (Measured in Part 1)

Gender schematicity. Gender schematicity was measured using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). This scale measures the extent to which an individual describes himself/herself in accordance with sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and women. Additional research has shown that sex-typed individuals have a greater readiness to process information in terms of gender schemata (Bem, 1981); that is how the measure is used here. Participants judged how well each of 20 masculine, 20 feminine, and 20 neutral personality characteristics described themselves on a 1 (Never true or almost never true) to 7 (Always or almost always true) response scale. Responses to masculine characteristics were averaged to form a masculinity scale ($\alpha = .85$, $M = 4.9$, $SD = 0.6$), and responses to feminine characteristics were averaged to form a femininity scale ($\alpha = .82$, $M = 4.8$, $SD = 0.6$). Men who scored high in masculinity and low in femininity and women who scored high in femininity and low in masculinity were classified as gender-schematic and coded as 1; all other participants were classified as gender aschematic and coded as 0, as described in Schmitt and Millard (1988). Following this method, 94 of the 250 participants in the sample (37.6%) were classified as gender-schematic.

Authoritarianism. Authoritarian predispositions were measured by asking participants about their child-rearing values (1992 National Election Studies; also see Stenner, 2005). Respondents were given a series of three paired qualities (e.g., independence or respect for elders; obedience or self reliance) and asked to indicate which, in their opinion, was more important for a child to have. Responses to each item were coded as 1 (consistent with authoritarian predispositions), 0 (inconsistent

with authoritarian predispositions), then summed to create a scale ($\alpha = .41$, $M = 1.1$, $SD = 0.9$).²⁰

Social dominance orientation. Participants responded to 16 items designed to measure Social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Participants indicated their endorsement on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree) scale, and responses were averaged to form a scale ($\alpha = .90$, $M = 2.8$, $SD = 1.0$).

Benevolent sexism. Participants completed 11 items developed by Fiske and Glick (1996) to measure benevolent sexism. They indicated their agreement with this series of statements on a 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 9 (Strongly Agree) scale, and responses were averaged to create a scale ($\alpha = .81$, $M = 4.7$, $SD = 1.3$).²¹

Demographic and control variables (Measured in Part 1)

Participants indicated their political ideology on a 7-point scale from 1 (Very liberal) to 7 (Very conservative; $M = 3.5$, $SD = 1.5$). Participants also selected their political party preference on a scale that included 1 (Strong Democrat), 2 (Weak Democrat), 3 (Lean Democrat), 4 (Moderate), 5 (Lean Republican), 6 (Weak Republican), and 7 (Strong Republican; $M = 3.6$, $SD = 1.9$), and reported their gender,

²⁰ The scale's reliability was considerably lower than the statistics reported in other work. For example, Feldman and Stenner (1997) reported an α of .66 in a much larger sample of National Election Study (NES) phone survey respondents. Low α may be the result of the scale's brevity and forced-choice format, but there may also be theoretical reasons for low α when it comes to measures of authoritarianism: Stenner (2005) presented evidence that α ranges from .19 to .67, depending on the level of normative threat in the environment (p. 285). The low internal consistency of the authoritarianism scale in my sample suggests that the results I report may underestimate the effects of authoritarian predispositions in my analysis. As an additional precaution, I modified the scale by dichotomizing the scores into two groups labeled high authoritarian (2 or 3 "consistent" responses; 33.6% of participants) and low authoritarian (0 or 1 "consistent" responses; 66.4% of participants); the same results obtained when this simpler form of the scale was used in all analyses.

²¹ Participants also completed 11 items developed by Fiske and Glick (1996) to measure hostile sexism ($\alpha = .83$, $M = 4.3$, $SD = 1.4$); together the two scales measure ambivalent sexism ($\alpha = .86$, $M = 4.5$, $SD = 1.2$). The theory of maternal politics does not make specific predictions regarding these variables; however, all analyses conducted using participants' benevolent sexism scores were also performed using hostile sexism scores and ambivalent sexism scores; there were no significant results to report.

age, race/ethnicity, citizenship status, number of semesters on a college campus, and their annual household income.

Manipulation of Independent Variables (Part 2)

The independent variables for this study were manipulated in a fully-crossed, between-subjects design: gender of the political candidate (man/woman), party affiliation of the political candidate (Democrat/Republican), and whether he/she used a maternal appeal (maternal/control).²² The manipulations were embedded in a realistic video of a television campaign advertisement by a fictional candidate for Congress. To create this video, two trained actors were hired to portray the male and female political candidates. Through pilot testing in a separate sample of 83 participants from the population under study, the actors were chosen to match one another in valence of initial reaction, perceived partisanship, competence, warmth, and physical attractiveness. The method and results of this pilot study are described in detail in Appendix D.

The campaign advertisements portrayed the political candidate alone in an office and in an outdoor setting interacting with his/her family (in the maternal appeals condition) or with other adults (in the control condition). They provided some personal information about the candidate (e.g., that he/she is married), his/her positions on taxes

²² Important differences emerged in Study 1 between visual and verbal maternal appeals, but the videos constructed for Study 2 include both visual and verbal maternal appeals as part of the manipulation. In reviewing the real campaign ads from 2004, it was clear that visual and verbal maternal appeals often appeared together in a candidate's ads; indeed, Study 1 results showed that visual and verbal maternal appeals were positively correlated ($r = .28, p < .001$). Thus, the visual/verbal distinction was dropped in Study 2 in order to create a maternal ad that closely resembled those used in real campaigns. However, Study 1 indicated that visual maternal appeals may be more typical of female Democrats, and verbal maternal appeals may be more typical of female Republicans, which may affect how viewers interpret the "hybrid" maternal appeal ad used in Study 2. Examining the differential effects of visual and verbal maternal appeals by Democratic and Republican candidates would be a fruitful avenue for future research.

and health care, and an endorsement by a female constituent that included some information about the candidate's governing philosophy (e.g., "helping children means helping all of us"). The presence or absence of a maternal appeal was manipulated in the videos in two ways: Maternal candidates, but not control candidates, appeared with their children and were endorsed by a mother and her children (visual maternal appeals). Second, maternal candidates, but not control candidates, discussed issues in terms of family and children and used family to justify their political positions (verbal maternal appeals). Control candidates appeared with other adults, were endorsed by a woman who appeared alone rather than with her children, and used neutral language without reference to families, children, nurturing, and selflessness. The actor's gender and the candidate's name (Rebecca or Charles) served as the manipulation of candidate gender. A banner that appeared at the end of the ad indicated the candidate's party affiliation ("Republican for Congress" on a red banner or "Democrat for Congress" on a blue banner). All eight of the advertisements contain the same number of words (298) and are the same length (1:40). The full text of the maternal and control campaign advertisements is available in Appendix E.

The campaign advertisements were pilot tested in a separate sample of 25 participants from the population under study to ensure that they appeared realistic. The pilot study indicated that participants reacted meaningfully to the campaign ads, but did not believe that they portrayed a real political candidate due to the amateur quality of the staging, filming, and editing. To address this issue, the text of the introduction to the campaign ad was modified to describe the campaign ad as a "draft version of an ad that will be further edited and polished before airing on television." Manipulation check

items indicated that participants perceived the key differences between the experimental conditions. The method and results of the second pilot study are described in detail in Appendix D.

Dependent Variables (Measured in Part 2)

Likelihood of voting for the candidate. Participants indicated the likelihood that they would vote for the candidate on a scale from 1 (Not at all likely) to 7 (Very likely; $M = 4.2$, $SD = 1.8$).²³

Trait evaluations. Participants rated the candidate on traits constituting scales of competence and warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). Ratings of the candidate's warmth and competence were embedded in a list of 30 traits, rated on seven-point bipolar scales ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 7 (Extremely). Each item was phrased, "How _____ is the candidate?" with a trait word inserted into the blank, and responses were averaged to form warmth and competence scales. Warmth was measured using seven items taken from Cuddy et al. (2004) and Bridges et al. (2002): good-natured, sincere, warm, and trustworthy, and reverse-coded items: unsympathetic, selfish, and unaffectionate ($\alpha = .85$, $M = 5.2$, $SD = 0.9$). Competence was measured using four items taken from Cuddy et al. (2004): capable, efficient, organized, skillful, and two additional reverse-coded items: incompetent and ineffective ($\alpha = .81$, $M = 4.7$, $SD = 0.9$).²⁴

²³ As alternative measures of candidate evaluation, participants reported their feeling thermometer rating of the candidate on an 11 – point scale from 1(negative) to 11(positive; $M = 7.2$, $SD = 1.8$). They also indicated the likelihood that they would tell a friend about the candidate on a scale from 1 (Not at all likely) to 7 (Very likely; $M = 3.4$, $SD = 1.6$). As an open-ended measure of attitudes toward the candidate, participants also wrote a brief statement about the candidate for the purpose of "encouraging other students to volunteer for his/her campaign." These measures did not scale with the main dependent variable reported in this study, and are not included in these analyses.

²⁴ Participants also indicated the percentage of the candidate's policies with which they would agree on a 1 (0%) to 11 (100%) scale ($M = 5.1$, $SD = 1.9$), and listed up to 10 positive and 10 negative characteristics of the candidate. These measures were included to test for the presence of shifting standards in

Perceptions of candidate ideology, party, and issue competence. Participants reported their beliefs about the candidate's ideology on a 1 (liberal) to 7 (conservative) scale ($M = 4.1$, $SD = 1.5$), and their beliefs about the candidate's party affiliation on a 1 (Democrat) to 7 (Republican) scale ($M = 4.0$, $SD = 1.8$). Ratings of the candidate's ability to handle issues associated with the male or female gender role (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Schneider, 2007) were embedded in a list of issues, rated on seven-point bipolar scales ranging from 1 (Not at all well) to 7 (Extremely well). Each item was phrased, "How well would this candidate handle _____?" with an issue inserted into the blank. Responses for health care, education, and social programs were averaged to form a scale of feminine issue competence ($\alpha = .76$, $M = 4.7$, $SD = 1.3$). Responses for crime, the economy, and the military were averaged to form a scale of masculine issue competence ($\alpha = .72$, $M = 3.6$, $SD = 1.1$).

Manipulation check questions. Participants answered four factual questions about the video, to be sure that they had watched it. Three of the questions were open-ended: "What is the name of the candidate?", "What state is the candidate from?", and "What issues were discussed in the ad?" One question was multiple-choice: "How many children does the candidate have?" Response options were 0, 2, 4, "Don't know," or "No Response." Six participants who were not able to answer at least two of these questions correctly were excluded from all analyses.

Social and political attitudes. Participants indicated their attitudes toward contemporary social and political issues using 19 items taken from previous research on Lakoff's theory of moral politics (Deason et al., 2008). These items assess attitudes on a

evaluations of the candidates (Kobryniewicz & Biernat, 1997), an analysis that will be reported in a future paper.

range of issues that are relevant to nurturant parent morality, including estate taxes, religious freedom, and foreign policy. Items included “Getting a job and getting ahead are the responsibility of individual citizens, and should not require help from the government,” and “In general, I favor affirmative action in industry, business, and education.” Participants responded to each item on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 9 (Strongly agree). Liberal items were reversed and all items were averaged to form a scale such that higher scores indicate more conservative issue positions ($\alpha = .84$, $M = 4.0$, $SD = 1.1$).

Mediator variable (Measured in Part 2)

Nurturant Parent morality. Participants indicated their endorsement of nurturant parent morality using 10 items developed by Lippmann, Gonzales, Deason, and Senstad (2007) and used in previous research (Deason et al., 2008). Items included “True moral strength is reflected in our willingness to nurture others,” and “To have a healthy community, social ties must be regularly mended and maintained.” Participants responded to statements on a scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 9 (Strongly agree). These items were averaged to form a scale ($\alpha = .84$, $M = 2.9$, $SD = 1.0$).²⁵

²⁵ To test the possibility that emotions, rather than nurturant parent morality, mediated a shift toward liberal policy attitudes after exposure to a maternal appeal, participants reported their emotional reactions to the candidate using measures of emotion developed by Miller (2007). Participants used a 5-point scale (1 = Not at all; 5 = Extremely) to indicate the extent to which they felt angry, sad, proud, hopeful, happy, and afraid while viewing the campaign ad. To test the possibility that values mediated the relation between exposure to a maternal appeal and more liberal political attitudes, participants responded to a series of items taken from previous research by Schwartz (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Bardi & Schwartz, 2003). Participants used a 9-point scale (-1 = I am opposed to this value; 0 = No importance; 7 = Very important) to indicate the extent to which each value is “important as a guiding principle in your life.” Because the conditions for mediation did not hold, analyses using these variables are not reported here.

Results

Manipulation Checks

A preliminary analysis was conducted to ensure that participants had interpreted the key manipulations correctly – candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals. Thirty percent of participants responded “I don’t know” to the open-ended question, “What is the candidate’s name?”, but of those who volunteered a name, 100% guessed a name of the correct gender, indicating that the gender manipulation was effective. Independent-samples *t*-tests revealed that the male and female candidate were rated equally warm ($t = 1.0, ns$), competent ($t = .35, ns$), and had equivalent feeling thermometer ratings ($t = 1.9, ns$). Although the male and female actors were rated equally attractive in pilot testing, the male candidate was rated more physically attractive than the female candidate in this study ($M = 4.6$ versus $M = 3.2, t = 8.2, p < .001$). To eliminate any confounding effects of this difference, candidate attractiveness ratings were included as a control variable in all analyses.

To determine whether the party manipulation was successful, independent-samples *t*-tests compared participants’ judgments of the Democratic candidate’s ideology and partisanship to those of the Republican candidate. As expected, the Democrat was judged to be significantly more liberal ($M = 3.2, SD = 1.2; t = 12.2, p < .0001$) and more likely to be a Democrat ($M = 2.6, SD = 1.2; t = 20.1, p < .0001$) than the Republican ($M = 5.1, SD = 1.2$ and $M = 5.5, SD = 1.1$, respectively). In addition, candidates who made a maternal appeal were judged significantly more family-oriented ($M = 6.5, SD = 0.8$) than candidates who did not ($M = 5.4, SD = 1.1; t = 8.0, p < .0001$), indicating that the maternal appeal manipulation was effective.

Pairwise Correlations

The pairwise correlations between the variables used in this study are a backdrop against which the substantive findings can be better understood and interpreted. These correlations are presented in Table 3-2, 3-3, and 3-4. Aside from the correlation between candidate attractiveness ratings and candidate gender that was observed in the manipulation check results ($r = -.47, p < .001$), the experimentally manipulated variables—candidate gender, party, and the presence or absence of maternal appeals—were not correlated with the other variables used in the study, with the exception of a few significant correlations that were small in magnitude. The candidate's party membership was correlated with ratings of his or her competence on feminine issues, such that Democrats were perceived to be more competent at handling feminine issues ($r = -.24, p < .01$). This likely reflects the overlap between stereotypically feminine issues and those that are traditionally associated with the Democratic Party. Maternal appeals were negatively correlated with ratings of candidates' masculine issue competence, indicating that candidates' emphasis on maternal roles and traits had implications for perceptions of their ability to handle the "tough" issues like war and crime ($r = -.15, p < .05$).

Participants' party identification was also correlated with ratings of candidates' competence on masculine issues: Republican participants were less likely than Democrats to see the candidate as competent on masculine issues ($r = -.14, p < .05$). Participant gender was unexpectedly correlated with evaluations of the candidate; female participants tended to rate candidates as warmer ($r = .15, p < .05$) and more competent ($r = .15, p < .05$), and were more likely to vote for them ($r = .23, p < .01$). As

one would expect, ratings of candidates' feminine issue competence ($r = .53, p < .01$), masculine issue competence ($r = .43, p < .01$), warmth ($r = .50, p < .01$), competence ($r = .48, p < .01$), and attractiveness ($p = .26, p < .001$) were all significantly correlated with the likelihood of voting for them.

The individual-difference variables were correlated with one another and with participant demographics as would be expected on the basis of prior research (See Table 3-3 and 3-4). Gender schematicity scores were significantly correlated with benevolent sexism scores, indicating that participants who saw themselves as typical of their gender were somewhat more likely to endorse benevolent sexism ($r = .13, p < .05$). Benevolent sexism scores were also positively correlated with participants' authoritarianism ($r = .29, p < .01$) and SDO scores ($r = .36, p < .01$); individuals high in benevolent sexism also tended to show a preference for the authoritarian childrearing options and to endorse SDO. Authoritarianism and SDO scores showed a positive correlation ($r = .24, p < .05$). Female participants were, on average, lower in SDO ($r = -.17, p < .01$), and Republican participants tended to be higher in benevolent sexism ($r = .31, p < .01$), authoritarianism ($r = .31, p < .01$), and SDO ($r = .54, p < .01$).

Individual-difference variables and participant demographics also showed the expected relations with endorsement of nurturant parent morality and with social and political attitudes (see Table 3-4). Female participants tended to more strongly endorse nurturant parent morality ($r = .24, p < .01$). Democrats showed higher levels of nurturant parent morality ($r = -.40, p < .01$) and more liberal social and political attitude positions ($r = .69, p < .01$) than did Republicans. SDO scores were significantly associated with nurturant parent morality scores ($r = -.49, p < .01$), and more

conservative social and political attitude positions ($r = .60, p < .01$).

Authoritarianism scores were negatively correlated with nurturant parent morality scores ($r = -.17, p < .01$), and authoritarians also showed more conservative social and political attitude positions ($r = .33, p < .01$). Participants who endorsed nurturant parent morality also tended to hold more liberal social and political attitudes ($r = -.46, p < .01$).

Do Maternal Appeals Help Male Candidates More than Female Candidates?

First, Study 2 tested the prediction, derived from the theory of maternal politics, that maternal appeals will lead to more positive evaluations of male candidates, and more negative evaluations of female candidates (*Hypothesis 3*). Female candidates already appear warm and competent at handling feminine issues, and are unlikely to be evaluated more positively when they cultivate a maternal image (Hayes, 2005; Schneider, 2007). However, research suggests that men may be evaluated more positively when they appear warm as well as competent at handling masculine issues (Cuddy et al., 2004). Study 2 also investigated the effect of candidates' political party membership on voters' reactions to maternal appeals.

To test *Hypothesis 3*, a series of ordinary least-squared (OLS) regressions was conducted, with a variety of measures of candidate evaluation as the dependent variables: the candidate's competence on masculine issues and feminine issues, ratings of the candidate's warmth and competence, and the likelihood of voting for the candidate. In the first step of each model, dummy variables representing candidates' gender, party, and the presence or absence of maternal appeals were entered into the analysis, along with several control variables that are also likely to affect candidate

evaluation: candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, and participant party identification. To control for the effects of party affinity between the participant and the candidate, the participant party x candidate party interaction was also added as a control. In the second step, the candidate gender x party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, and candidate party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the model. In a third step, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was added.²⁶

If *Hypothesis 3* is supported, participants who saw a male candidate make a maternal appeal should rate the candidate more highly on feminine issue competence, rate the candidate more highly on personal traits of competence and warmth, and be more likely to vote for him, compared to other candidates. Participants who saw a female candidate make a maternal appeal should rate the candidate lower on personal trait competence and be less likely to vote for her, compared to other candidates. I expect that masculine issue competence will show a different pattern, but one that still favors men: Women, but not men, will be seen as less competent on masculine issues when they make a maternal appeal. Thus, I predict significant candidate gender x maternal appeal interactions in these models. I also test for the possibility that the candidate's party membership will moderate the effect of gender and maternal appeals on candidate evaluations, by testing the significance of the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction in each model.

²⁶ I also tested models that included the participant gender x candidate gender and participant gender x maternal appeal interactions as predictors; adding these interactions did not change the substantive interpretation of the results.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals on Ratings of Issue Competence

The results of the analysis of ratings of candidates' feminine issue competence are presented in Table 3-5. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals on ratings of feminine issue competence, after controlling for the variables previously described.²⁷ As expected, participant party ID ($b = -.33, p < .001$) and the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .55, p < .001$) were both significant predictors of feminine issue competence ratings. Republican party identification was negatively associated with ratings of Democratic candidates' feminine issue competence ($b = -.33$), whereas for Republican candidates, the relation was positive ($b = .22$), likely due to participants' tendency to rate candidates of their own party more positively on all dimensions. In addition, participant gender was a strong predictor of ratings of feminine issue competence ($b = .41, p < .01$); female participants tended to rate all candidates as more competent at handling feminine issues.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the main effects model.²⁸ Consistent with *Hypothesis 3*, the candidate gender x maternal appeals interaction was significant ($b = -.71, p < .05$). Model 3 added the candidate gender x maternal appeals x party interaction, which was also significant ($b = -1.19, p < .05$). To investigate the nature of the significant interaction, I calculated predicted ratings of feminine issue competence for male and female Democrats and male and female

²⁷ Control variables included in the model were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-5).

²⁸ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals (see Table 3-5).

Republicans in the maternal appeal and control conditions, along with 95% confidence intervals for each point estimate; predicted ratings that lay outside one another's confidence intervals were judged to be significantly different from one another. The results of this analysis are pictured in Figure 3-1.

Male and female Democrats who used maternal appeals were rated equally competent at handling feminine issues, whereas among non-maternal Democrats, female candidates were rated more competent on feminine issues (Predicted value = 5.05) than were male candidates (Predicted value = 4.62). Male Democrats were able to close the gender gap on feminine issue competence by using maternal appeals. For Republican candidates, results were more dramatic. Male Republicans who used maternal appeals were rated more competent on feminine issues (Predicted value = 4.76) than non-maternal male Republicans (Predicted value = 3.89). For female Republicans, the trend was the opposite: Maternal candidates were rated less competent to handle feminine issues (Predicted value = 4.08) than were non-maternal candidates (Predicted value = 4.55). Consistent with *Hypothesis 3*, male candidates can garner an advantage on feminine issues by using maternal appeals, whereas for women, maternal appeals make no difference, at best, and compromise ratings of feminine issue competence, at worst.

Results of the analysis of ratings of masculine issue competence are presented in Table 3-6. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals on ratings of candidates' competence on masculine issues, after control

variables were taken into account.²⁹ Participant party identification ($b = -.25, p < .001$) and the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .42, p < .001$) were significantly associated with ratings of masculine issue competence. In addition, the main effect of maternal appeals was significant ($b = -.36, p < .05$): Candidates who used maternal appeals were seen as less competent at handling masculine issues. In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeal, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeal interactions were added to the basic model.³⁰ The candidate gender x maternal appeals interaction was not significant ($b = -.22, ns$), indicating that the effect of maternal appeals on masculine issue competence ratings was the same for both male and female candidates. In Model 3, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was added to the model, and was not significant ($b = -.79, ns$). *Hypothesis 3* predicted that ratings of female candidates' competence on masculine issues would suffer when they use maternal appeals; instead, both male and female candidates who use maternal appeals were seen as less competent at handling masculine issues.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals on Ratings of Candidates' Competence and Warmth

Results of the analysis of ratings of candidate competence are presented in Table 3-7. Model 1 tests the main effects of candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals on trait ratings of the candidate's competence, with control variables taken into account.³¹ The participant party x candidate party interaction predicted ratings of competence ($b =$

²⁹ Control variables included in the model were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-6).

³⁰ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals (see Table 3-6).

³¹ Control variables included in the model were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-7).

.15, $p < .05$). The main effects of the experimental conditions were not significant.

To test the key prediction that maternal appeals help male candidates more than female candidates, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model; the results of this analysis are presented as Model 2.³² The predicted candidate gender x maternal appeals interaction was not significant ($b = -.13$, *ns*). In Model 3, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was added to the model, and was significant ($b = -1.09$, $p < .05$), indicating that, in addition to gender and maternal appeals, candidates' party membership determined how maternal appeals were received by an audience.

To further investigate the significant interaction, I calculated predicted competence ratings for the male Republican, the male Democrat, the female Republican, and the female Democrat in the maternal appeal and control condition, along with 95% confidence intervals for each point estimate. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 3-2. Male and female Democrats, as well as male Republicans, were rated equally competent, regardless of whether they used maternal appeals. However, maternal appeals did have a negative effect on the competence ratings of female Republicans: They were rated less competent when they made maternal appeals (Predicted value = 4.47) than when they did not (Predicted value = 5.17). In fact, the female Republican who did not make a maternal appeal was rated significantly more competent than all other candidates. Although maternal appeals did not improve ratings

³² Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals (see Table 3-7).

of male candidates' competence, as predicted in *Hypothesis 3*, they did have detrimental effect on ratings of *some* female candidates' competence: female Republicans.

The results of the analysis of ratings of candidates' warmth are presented in Table 3-8. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals on ratings of a candidate's warmth, after control variables were taken into account.³³ Again, participant gender was a significant predictor ($b = .19, p < .05$), indicating that female participants tended to see the candidate as warmer; the participant party x candidate party interaction was also significant ($b = .20, p < .001$), indicating that participants rated candidates from their own party as more warm. The main effects of candidate gender was also significant ($b = .49, p < .001$), indicating that female candidates were rated warmer than male candidates. To test the key prediction that maternal appeals help male candidates more than female candidates, once again, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the main effects analysis in Model 2.³⁴ The predicted candidate gender x maternal appeals interaction was not significant ($b = -.36, ns$). In Model 3, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was entered into the model, and was also not significant ($b = -.61, ns$). Candidate gender remained a significant predictor ($b = .54, p < .05$), indicating that female candidates were

³³ Control variables included in the model were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-8).

³⁴ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals (see Table 3-8).

consistently rated warmer than male candidates, regardless of their use of maternal appeals.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals on the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

The results of the analysis of participants' likelihood of voting for the candidate are presented in Table 3-9. Model 1 examines the main effects of candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals on the likelihood of voting for the candidate, controlling for the variables previously described.³⁵ Participant gender ($b = .46, p < .001$), party identification ($b = -.31, p < .001$), and the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .69, p < .001$) were all significant predictors of vote choice, as expected. In addition, candidate gender affected the likelihood of voting for the candidate ($b = .40, p < .05$): Participants were more likely to vote for female than male candidates. In order to test the key prediction that maternal appeals help male candidates more than female candidates, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model in Model 2.³⁶ The predicted candidate gender x maternal appeals interaction was not a significant predictor of the likelihood of voting for the candidate ($b = -.18, ns$). In Model 3, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was added to the model, and this interaction was significant ($b = -1.32, p < .05$), indicating that candidates' gender and party membership also determined how a maternal appeal was received by an audience.

³⁵ Control variables included in the model were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-9).

³⁶ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals (see Table 3-9).

To investigate the nature of this interaction, I calculated the predicted likelihood of voting for the male Republican, the male Democrat, the female Republican, and the female Democrat in the maternal appeal and control conditions, along with 95% confidence intervals for each point estimate. This analysis is presented in Figure 3-3. The likelihood of voting for a female Republican who made a maternal appeal (Predicted value = 3.94) was significantly lower than the likelihood of voting for a female Republican who did not (Predicted value = 4.64), whereas the predicted likelihood of voting for a male Republican did not differ between the maternal appeal and control conditions. For Democratic candidates, maternal appeals polarized evaluations of male and female candidates in the opposite direction: Male and Female Democrats were equally likely to receive votes when they did not use maternal appeals, but the likelihood of voting for a maternal male Democrat (Predicted value = 3.94) was significantly lower than the likelihood of voting for a maternal female Democrat (Predicted value = 4.45). Contrary to *Hypothesis 3*'s prediction that maternal appeals would help male candidates, maternal appeals did not increase the likelihood of winning for any of the candidates. However, maternal appeals did have the predicted detrimental effect on *some* female candidates: female Republicans.

Are Maternal Appeals Received More Favorably by Some Voters than Others?

Next, Study 2 addressed the hypothesis that maternal appeals will be received more positively by some viewers than by others (*Hypothesis 4*). Individuals who are gender-schematic are likely to respond more positively than others to behavior that fits into traditional gender norms (Bem, 1981), and individuals high in benevolent sexism

put women on a pedestal, and believe that women are morally superior to men (Fiske & Glick, 1996); thus, individuals high in these predispositions are expected to evaluate a female candidate making a maternal appeal more positively, and a male candidate making a maternal appeal more negatively, compared to non-maternal candidates (*Hypothesis 4a* and *Hypothesis 4b*). Authoritarians endorse traditional gender roles and are in favor of strong, uncompromising leadership, and individuals high in SDO see feminine characteristics as unsuitable for leadership positions and are motivated to maintain the gender hierarchy; therefore, individuals high in these predispositions are expected to evaluate candidates who use maternal appeals more negatively than other candidates (*Hypothesis 4c* and *4d*).

To test these predictions, a series of OLS regressions was conducted with the likelihood of voting for the candidate as the dependent variable. In each model, the likelihood of voting for the candidate was regressed on dummy variables representing candidates' gender, party, whether they made a maternal appeal, and one of the individual-difference variables of interest (i.e., gender schematicity, benevolent sexism, authoritarianism, or SDO). Control variables were also included in the models to rule out other factors that are also likely to affect participants' likelihood of voting for the candidate: participant gender, party identification, and ratings of candidate attractiveness. In order to control for the tendency for participants to rate candidates of their own party more positively, the participant party x candidate party interaction was also included in all models. In a second step, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to each model, along with the candidate

gender x individual difference and maternal appeals x individual difference interactions for the variable of interest. In a third step, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x individual difference interaction was added to the model.

If *Hypothesis 4a* and *4b* are supported, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x individual difference interaction will be significant, such that maternal appeals will have a stronger positive effect on the likelihood of voting for a female candidate among gender-schematic individuals and among individuals high in benevolent sexism. Gender-schematic and benevolent sexist individuals are also expected to evaluate maternal male candidates more negatively than non-maternal male candidates. If *Hypothesis 4c* and *4d* are supported, the maternal appeals x individual difference interactions will be significant, such that the likelihood of voting for the candidate is particularly low among authoritarians and individuals high in SDO who saw a maternal appeal.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals and Gender Schematicity on the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

The results of the analysis of gender schematicity are presented in Table 3-10. Participants' gender schematicity was indicated by a dummy variable, which was coded 1 if participants rated themselves high in characteristics typical of their gender, and low in characteristics typical of the other gender; otherwise, this variable was coded 0. Model 1 tests the main effects of candidate gender, party, maternal appeals, and gender schematicity on the likelihood of voting for the candidate, with control variables

included in the model.³⁷ Participant party identification ($b = -.31, p < .001$), the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .69, p < .001$), and participant gender ($b = .46, p < .01$) were all significant predictors of the likelihood of voting for the candidate. In addition, candidate gender was a significant predictor ($b = .40, p < .05$). The main effects of candidate party ($b = -.22, ns$), maternal appeals ($b = -.24, ns$), and the main effect of gender schematicity ($b = .00, ns$) were not significant.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model, along with the candidate gender x gender schematicity and maternal appeals x gender schematicity interactions.³⁸ As in the previous analysis, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was significant ($b = -1.31, p < .05$), indicating that the effect of maternal appeals on the likelihood of voting for the candidate was conditioned by candidates' gender and party membership. The candidate gender x gender schematicity interaction was also significant ($b = .62, p < .05$), indicating that gender-schematics evaluated male and female candidates differently than did gender-aschematics. In Model 3, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x gender schematicity interaction was added to the analysis; the interaction was a significant predictor of the likelihood of voting for the candidate ($b = 1.72, p < .05$).

To investigate the nature of the significant interaction, I calculated the predicted likelihood of voting for male and female candidates who made maternal appeals and

³⁷ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-10).

³⁸ Variables included in the model were candidate gender, maternal appeals, candidate party, gender schematicity, candidate attractiveness rating, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x gender schematicity, and maternal appeals x gender schematicity (see Table 3-10).

male and female candidates who did not, separately for gender schematics and gender aschematics, along with a 95% confidence interval for each point estimate. Predicted ratings that lay outside one another's confidence intervals were judged to be significantly different from one another. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 3-4. Gender schematics were equally likely to vote for female candidates, whether they made maternal appeals or not, but they were less likely to vote for maternal male candidates (Predicted value = 3.39) than for non-maternal male candidates (Predicted value = 4.11). Among gender aschematics, maternal appeals instead affected evaluations of female candidates: The female candidate who did not make a maternal appeal (Predicted value = 4.50) was preferred over the maternal female candidate (Predicted value = 3.91), whereas male candidates were equally likely to get votes, whether they made maternal appeals or not. Thus, maternal appeals did not increase the likelihood that gender schematics would vote for female candidates as expected; however, as predicted in *Hypothesis 4a*, gender-schematic individuals were particularly *unlikely* to vote for maternal male candidates.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals and Benevolent Sexism on the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

The results of the analysis of benevolent sexism are presented in Table 3-11. Benevolent sexism scores were centered in all analyses. Model 1 examines the main effect of candidate gender, party, maternal appeals, and participants' benevolent sexism scores on the likelihood of voting for the candidate, with control variables included in

the model.³⁹ Again, participant party identification ($b = -.32, p < .001$), the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .68, p < .001$), participant gender ($b = .47, p < .001$), and candidate gender ($b = .41, p < .05$) were significant predictors of the likelihood of voting for the candidate. The main effects of candidate party ($b = -.23, ns$), maternal appeals ($b = -.24, ns$), and the main effect of participants' benevolent sexism scores ($b = .07, ns$) were not significant.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the analysis, along with the candidate gender x benevolent sexism and maternal appeals x benevolent sexism interactions.⁴⁰ As before, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was significant ($b = -1.27, p < .05$). The candidate gender x benevolent sexism interaction ($b = .08, ns$) and the maternal appeals x benevolent sexism interaction ($b = .14, ns$) were not significant. In Model 3, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x benevolent sexism interaction was added to the model; this interaction was not significant ($b = .19, ns$). The relation between maternal appeals and the likelihood of voting for the candidate was similar among participants high and low in benevolent sexism.

³⁹ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-11).

⁴⁰ Variables included in the model were candidate gender, maternal appeals, candidate party, benevolent sexism, candidate attractiveness rating, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x benevolent sexism, and maternal appeals x benevolent sexism (see Table 3-11).

The Effect of Maternal Appeals and Authoritarianism on the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

The results of the analysis of authoritarianism (i.e., the childrearing items designed to measure the authoritarian predisposition) are presented in Table 3-12. Participants' authoritarianism scores were centered in all analyses. Model 1 tests the main effect of candidate gender, party, maternal appeals, and participants' authoritarianism scores on the likelihood of voting for the candidate, with control variables included in the model.⁴¹ Again, participant party identification ($b = -.32, p < .001$), the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .68, p < .001$), participant gender ($b = .46, p < .01$), and candidate gender ($b = .41, p < .05$) were significant predictors of vote choice. The main effects of candidate party ($b = -.21, ns$), maternal appeals ($b = -.24, ns$), and participants' authoritarianism scores ($b = .08, ns$) were not significant.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the model, along with the candidate gender x authoritarianism and maternal appeals x authoritarianism interactions.⁴² Again, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was a significant predictor of the likelihood of voting for the candidate ($b = -1.23, p < .05$). Neither the candidate gender x authoritarianism interaction ($b = -.23, ns$) nor the predicted maternal appeals x authoritarianism

⁴¹ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-12).

⁴² Variables included in the model were candidate gender, maternal appeals, candidate party, authoritarianism, candidate attractiveness rating, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x authoritarianism, and maternal appeals x authoritarianism (see Table 3-12).

interaction ($b = -.06$, *ns*) were significant. In Model 3, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x authoritarianism interaction was added to the analysis; this interaction was significant ($b = .62$, $p < .05$).

To examine the nature of the significant interaction, I calculated the predicted likelihood of voting for male and female candidates who made maternal appeals and male and female candidates who did not among high and low authoritarians, along with a 95% confidence interval for each point estimate. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 3-5.⁴³ High authoritarians were equally likely to vote for female candidates, whether they made a maternal appeal or not, but were less likely to vote for the maternal male candidate (Predicted value = 3.87) than the non-maternal male candidate (Predicted value = 4.37). Among low authoritarians, maternal appeals decreased the likelihood of voting for female candidates, but not male candidates: Low authoritarians were equally likely to vote for the maternal and non-maternal male candidates, but were less likely to vote for female candidates who made a maternal appeal (Predicted value = 4.08) than female candidates who did not (Predicted value = 4.58). Thus, maternal appeals did not decrease high authoritarians' likelihood of voting for both male and female candidates, as predicted in *Hypothesis 4c*; however, maternal appeals did decrease the likelihood that high authoritarians would vote for *male candidates*.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals and SDO on the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

The results of the analysis of SDO are presented in Table 3-13. Participants' SDO scores were centered in all analyses. Model 1 examines the main effects of

⁴³ To estimate these predicted values, I substituted ± 1 *SD* into the regression equation in place of the authoritarianism scale variable; $SD = .96$.

candidate gender, party, maternal appeals, and participants' SDO scores on the likelihood of voting for the candidate, with control variables included in the model.⁴⁴ Again, participant party identification ($b = -.28, p < .001$), the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .68, p < .001$), participant gender ($b = .43, p < .001$), and candidate gender ($b = .41, p < .05$) were significant predictors of the likelihood of voting for the candidate. The main effects of candidate party ($b = -.23, ns$), maternal appeals ($b = -.26, ns$), and the main effect of SDO ($b = -.13, ns$) were not significant.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the model, along with the candidate gender x SDO and maternal appeals x SDO interactions.⁴⁵ Again, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was significant ($b = -1.34, p < .05$). The candidate gender x SDO interaction was negative and significant, indicating that individuals high in SDO were less likely than those low in SDO to vote for a female candidate. The predicted maternal appeals x SDO interaction was not significant ($b = -.05, ns$). In Model 3, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x SDO interaction was added to the analysis; this interaction was not significant ($b = -.07, ns$). The relation between maternal appeals and the likelihood of voting for the candidate was similar for individuals high and low in SDO.

⁴⁴ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-13).

⁴⁵ Variables included in the model were candidate gender, maternal appeals, candidate party, SDO, candidate attractiveness rating, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x SDO, and maternal appeals x SDO (see Table 3-13).

Do Maternal Appeals Increase the Weighting of Feminine Traits in Vote Choice?

Next, Study 2 tests the hypothesis, derived from the theory of maternal politics, that maternal appeals will alter the image of a good leader to which political candidates are compared. Previous research on political priming has shown that when candidates focus on certain issues, the public increases the weight that they place on those issues in their vote choice (Funk, 1999; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Krosnick & Kinder, 1990). Similarly, when male or female candidates use maternal appeals, associated feminine traits (i.e., warmth) should be weighted more heavily in the likelihood that voters will vote for a candidate (*Hypothesis 5*).

To test this prediction, an OLS regression analysis was conducted, with participants' self-reported likelihood of voting for the candidate as the dependent variable. In the first step, dummy variables representing candidates' gender, party, and the presence or absence of a maternal appeal, and the centered ratings of candidate warmth and competence were entered into the model. Control variables were also included in the model to rule out other factors that are also likely to affect participants' likelihood of voting for the candidate: participant gender, party identification, and ratings of candidate attractiveness. In order to control for the tendency for participants to rate candidates of their own party more positively, the participant party x candidate party interaction was also included in all models. In a second step, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model, along with the warmth x maternal appeals and competence x maternal appeals interactions. If *Hypothesis 5* is supported, the warmth x maternal appeals interaction will be significant,

such that among participants who saw a maternal appeal, warmth ratings will be more strongly positively associated with the likelihood of voting for the candidate.

Maternal Appeals and the Weighting of Feminine Traits in Vote Choice

The results of the analysis are presented in Table 3-14. Model 1 examines the main effects of candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals, and the main effects of participants' ratings of candidate warmth and competence, after control variables are taken into account.⁴⁶ Participant party identification ($b = -.27, p < .001$), the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .56, p < .001$), and participant gender ($b = .33, p < .05$) were significant predictors of the likelihood of voting for the candidate.

Participants' ratings of candidate warmth ($b = .38, p < .001$) and competence ($b = .36, p < .001$) were both significant predictors of the likelihood of voting for the candidate.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the model, along with the warmth x maternal appeal and competence x maternal appeal interactions.⁴⁷ The predicted warmth x maternal appeals interaction was marginally significant ($b = .34, p = .052$), indicating that the relation between participants' ratings of candidate warmth and the likelihood that participants would vote for the candidate differed, depending on whether participants had seen a maternal appeal.

⁴⁶ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-14).

⁴⁷ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, warmth, competence, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party x maternal appeals, warmth x maternal appeals, and competence x maternal appeals (see Table 3-14).

To investigate the significant interaction, I calculated the predicted likelihood of voting for maternal and non-maternal candidates at high and low ratings of warmth, along with 95% confidence intervals of each point estimate.⁴⁸ The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 3-6. Simple slopes analyses indicated that the relation between ratings of candidate warmth and the likelihood of voting for the candidate was stronger for candidates who used maternal appeals (simple slopes $b = .56$) than for those who did not (simple slopes $b = .22$). As predicted by *Hypothesis 5*, when candidates use maternal appeals, ratings of candidates' warmth is weighed more heavily in the decision to vote for them.

Can Maternal Appeals Change Social and Political Attitudes?

Finally, Study 2 examined the claim advanced by the theory of maternal politics that maternal appeals have broader effects on the political landscape than merely increasing politicians' chances of electoral success. Maternal appeals are expected to bring to mind a view of the family in which parents and children are equals, emotionally connected, and mutually responsible to one another; in turn, this image of the family will guide individuals' political and social issue positions to more liberal social and political attitudes (*Hypothesis 6*).

To test this hypothesis, a mediation analysis was conducted using a series of OLS regressions (Baron & Kenny, 1986). First, participants' social and political attitude scores were regressed on candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals, along with control variables: ratings of candidate attractiveness, participant gender, participant

⁴⁸ To estimate these predicted values, I substituted +/- 1 SD into the regression equation in place of the warmth ratings; $SD = .93$.

party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction. In a second step, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model. In a third step, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was added to the analysis. Next, the same analysis was conducted using participants' nurturant parent morality scores as the dependent variable.

If *Hypothesis 6* is supported, 1) exposure to a maternal appeal will lead to more liberal social and political attitudes; and 2) exposure to a maternal appeal will lead to higher levels of nurturant parent morality. If these conditions hold, participants' nurturant parent morality scores will be entered into the regression model predicting participants' social and political attitude scores, and 3) the relation between maternal appeals and social and political attitudes is expected to be significantly reduced, and 4) nurturant parent morality is expected to be associated with more liberal social and political attitudes. Although the theory of maternal politics does not make specific predictions regarding candidate gender and party, the analysis also tested the possibility that candidate gender and party also play a role in the relation between maternal appeals and social and political attitudes.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals on Social and Political Attitudes

The results of the analysis of participants' social and political attitude scores are presented in Table 3-15. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals, after control variables were taken into account.⁴⁹ Participant party identification ($b = .45, p < .001$) was significantly related to participants' social and

⁴⁹ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-15).

political attitude scores, such that Republicans were more likely to endorse politically conservative issue positions. The main effect of maternal appeals was not significant ($b = .00$, ns), indicating that maternal appeals did not have a significant effect on participants' social and political attitude scores.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model, to examine the possibility that the effect of maternal appeals on social and political attitudes differed by candidate gender and party.⁵⁰ None of the interactions were significant ($-.29 \leq \text{all } bs \leq -.11$, all ns), indicating that maternal appeals did not affect participants' social and political attitude scores, regardless of candidates' gender and party identification.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals on Nurturant Parent Morality

The results of the analysis of participants' nurturant parent morality scores are presented in Table 3-16. Model 1 examined the effect of candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals on nurturant parent morality scores, after control variables were taken into account.⁵¹ Participant gender ($b = .40$, $p < .01$) was significantly associated with nurturant parent morality, such that women showed stronger endorsement of nurturant parent morality than did men. Participant party identification ($b = -.27$, $p < .001$) and the participant party x candidate party interaction ($b = .13$, $p < .05$) were also significant predictors of nurturant parent morality, indicating that the relation between participants' party identification and their nurturant parent morality scores was stronger among those

⁵⁰ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals (see Table 3-15).

⁵¹ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-16).

who saw a Democratic candidate than among those who saw a Republican candidate. The effect of maternal appeals was not significant ($b = .04$, ns), indicating that candidates' maternal appeals did not have a significant effect on participants' endorsement of nurturant parent morality.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model.⁵² None of these interactions were significant ($.04 \leq \text{all } bs \leq .31$, all ns). In Model 3, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was added to the model. This interaction was not significant ($b = -.61$, ns), indicating that maternal appeals did not have an effect on participants' nurturant parent morality scores, regardless of candidates' gender or party membership.

Gender Schematicity and the Relation between Maternal Appeals and Social and Political Attitudes

The results described in the previous section indicated that maternal appeals by male and female candidates of either party do not influence social and political attitude positions or endorsement of nurturant parent morality. However, given that maternal appeals produced stronger effects among some participants—namely, those who were gender schematic—another set of analyses examined the possibility that maternal appeals influence social and political attitude positions among gender-schematic individuals. Although gender-schematic participants were no more likely to vote for female candidates who used maternal appeals, they did distinguish more sharply

⁵² Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, and candidate party x maternal appeals (see Table 3-16).

between male maternal and non-maternal candidates. Gender-schematic individuals interpret the world in terms of gender schemata; therefore, gender-schematic participants may be particularly attuned to the connection between the female gender role and maternal values. Consequently, maternal appeals may be especially likely to shift gender-schematics' social and political attitudes in a liberal direction.

To examine this possibility, a series of OLS regression models was conducted in which participants' social and political attitude scores were the dependent variable. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 3-17. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender, party, maternal appeals, and gender schematicity on participants' social and political attitude scores, after the control variables were taken into account.⁵³ Candidate gender ($b = .00, ns$), party ($b = -.18, ns$), and maternal appeals ($b = -.10, ns$) did not predict social and political attitude scores. Once again, participant party identification was a significant predictor of social and political attitude scores ($b = .45, p < .001$). The main effect of participants' gender schematicity was not significant ($b = .06, ns$), indicating that gender-schematic participants were no more likely to express conservative political attitudes than were other participants.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, candidate party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model, along with the candidate gender x gender schematicity and maternal appeals x gender schematicity interactions.⁵⁴ The maternal

⁵³ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 3-17).

⁵⁴ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, gender schematicity, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x

appeals x gender schematicity interaction was significant ($b = -.53, p < .05$), supporting the prediction that maternal appeals have different effects on social and political attitudes, depending on participants' gender schematicity. In Model 3, the candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interaction was added to the model; this interaction did not reach significance ($b = .10, ns$).

To further investigate the significant maternal appeals x gender schematicity interaction, I graphed the predicted social and political attitude scores for gender schematic and gender aschematic participants at each level of maternal appeals, along with a 95% confidence interval for each point prediction. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 3-7. As expected, among gender-schematic participants, those who saw a maternal appeal reported attitudes that were significantly more liberal (Predicted value = 3.80) than the attitudes of those who saw a non-maternal ad (Predicted value = 4.24). Among gender aschematics, the trend was in the opposite direction: Participants who saw a maternal appeal reported more conservative attitudes (Predicted value = 4.02) than participants who saw a non-maternal ad (Predicted value = 3.86). Although the full sample of participants failed to show the predicted liberal shift in attitudes in response to a maternal appeal, among participants who were particularly attuned to the gender content of a maternal message—gender schematics—*Hypothesis 6* received partial support.⁵⁵

maternal appeals, candidate gender x party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x gender schematicity, and maternal appeals x gender schematicity (see Table 3-17).

⁵⁵ The possibility that nurturant parent morality mediates the relation between maternal appeals and social and political attitudes among gender schematic participants was examined by re-running the same regression models with nurturant parent morality as the dependent variable; the maternal appeals x gender schematicity interaction was not a significant predictor. Thus, the conditions necessary for mediation also failed to hold among gender-schematic participants.

Benevolent Sexism and the Relation between Maternal Appeals and Social and Political Attitudes

Like gender schematics, benevolent sexists may also be particularly attuned to the gender content of maternal appeals. Individuals high in benevolent sexism value women's traditional role in the family and the characteristics stereotypically associated with mothers. Although benevolent sexist participants were no more likely than other participants to vote for candidates who used maternal appeals, it is possible that maternal appeals may be particularly likely to influence benevolent sexists' social and political attitudes in a liberal direction.

To examine this possibility, a series of OLS regression models was conducted in which participants' social and political attitude scores were the dependent variable. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 3-18. Benevolent sexism scores were centered in all analyses. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender, party, maternal appeals, and participants' benevolent sexism scores on social and political attitude scores, once control variables were taken into account.⁵⁶ Candidate gender ($b = .03, ns$) and maternal appeals ($b = -.11, ns$) did not significantly affect social and political attitudes. The main effects of candidate party ($b = -.22, p < .05$) and party identification ($b = .41, p < .001$) were significant in this model, in which benevolent sexism scores were included. Benevolent sexism scores were also a significant predictor of social and political attitude scores ($b = .21, p < .01$), indicating that individuals high in benevolent sexism also tended to hold more conservative social and political attitude positions.

⁵⁶ Control variables were candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction.

In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, and candidate gender x party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model, along with the candidate gender x benevolent sexism and maternal appeals x benevolent sexism interactions.⁵⁷ The interaction between benevolent sexism and maternal appeals was significant ($b = -.20, p < .05$), supporting the prediction that maternal appeals have different effects on social and political attitudes, depending on participants' benevolent sexism scores. In Model 3, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x benevolent sexism interaction was added to the analysis; this interaction failed to reach significance ($b = -.17, ns$).

To further investigate the significant maternal appeals x benevolent sexism interaction, I calculated the predicted social and political attitude scores for participants with high and low benevolent sexism scores at each level of maternal appeals, along with a 95% confidence interval for each point prediction. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 3-8. As expected, among benevolent sexist participants, those who saw a maternal appeal reported attitudes that were significantly more liberal (Predicted value = 4.04) than the attitudes of those who saw a non-maternal ad (Predicted value = 4.44). Among participants low in benevolent sexism, those who saw a maternal appeal reported more conservative attitudes (Predicted value = 3.79) than participants who saw a non-maternal ad (Predicted value = 3.65), although this difference was not significant. The full sample of participants failed to show the predicted liberal shift in attitudes in

⁵⁷ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, candidate attractiveness ratings, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, benevolent sexism scores, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party, party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x party x maternal appeals, candidate gender x benevolent sexism, and maternal appeals x benevolent sexism (see Table 3-18).

response to a maternal appeal; however, *Hypothesis 6* received partial support among benevolent sexists.⁵⁸

Discussion

The theory of maternal politics holds that candidates can invoke motherhood in their campaigns to connect the positive associations with mothers in the private sphere to voters' impressions of political candidates. In the contemporary socio-cultural environment, however, the traits and values stereotypically associated with mothers are incongruent with the characteristics that are believed to be important in a political leader. Therefore, female candidates who make maternal appeals are likely to experience prejudice. Yet, despite the electoral disadvantages that maternal political candidates may incur, maternal appeals have the potential to promote a liberal policy agenda. Further, by priming traditionally feminine characteristics, maternal appeals in campaigns may ultimately have the potential to change the current masculine image of leadership that prevents women from pursuing political leadership roles.

The purpose of Study 2 was to test hypotheses derived from the theory of maternal politics about the effects of maternal appeals on individual psychology. Specifically, this study tested *Hypothesis 3*, which predicted that maternal appeals would positively affect evaluations of male candidates and negatively affect evaluations of female candidates, and *Hypothesis 4*, which predicted that the effects of maternal appeals would be more consequential among gender-schematic individuals and those

⁵⁸ The possibility that nurturant parent morality mediates the relation between maternal appeals and social and political attitudes among participants high in benevolent sexism was examined by running the same regression models with nurturant parent morality as the dependent variable; the maternal appeals x benevolent sexism interaction was not a significant predictor. Thus, the conditions for mediation also failed to hold among benevolent sexist participants. Similar analyses were conducted to examine the possibility that the relation between maternal appeals and social and political attitudes was different among participants high and low in authoritarianism and SDO; there were no significant results.

high in benevolent sexism, authoritarianism, and SDO. Study 2 also tested the theory's predictions regarding more nuanced effects of maternal appeals on the weighting of masculine and feminine traits in vote choice and on social and political attitudes: *Hypothesis 5* predicted that maternal appeals would increase the weighting of feminine traits in vote choice, and *Hypothesis 6* predicted that maternal appeals would instigate a shift toward nurturant parent morality and liberal attitudes. To address these hypotheses, a controlled laboratory experiment was conducted, in which student participants watched a fictional campaign video that experimentally varied candidates' gender, party, and the presence of maternal appeals. Study 2 builds on the findings of Study 1 by directly examining the causal effects of maternal appeals on evaluations of candidates and individual social and political attitudes.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals on Evaluations of Candidates

Study 2 provided partial support for *Hypothesis 3*, which predicted that maternal appeals would positively affect evaluations of male candidates and negatively affect evaluations of female candidates. In general, maternal appeals did not improve evaluations of either male or female candidates. However, male Republicans were able to benefit from maternal appeals on one dimension of evaluation: perceptions of their competence on feminine issues. Male Republicans, who are expected to be competent at handling stereotypically masculine issues such as war, the economy, and crime, can establish through maternal appeals that they also have the ability to handle such feminine issues as education, health care, and social programs. Male Democrats may already be assumed to be competent at handling feminine issues; maternal appeals did not affect ratings of male Democrats on this dimension. However, male Democrats who

made maternal appeals were rated as competent on feminine issues as were female Democrats. Maternal appeals may be another way that male candidates are able to trespass on the trait territory of female candidates, establishing a well-rounded trait profile by using a gender-bending strategy (Hayes, 2005; Schneider, 2007).

In contrast, maternal appeals did not affect perceptions of female Democrats' competence on feminine issues, and negatively affected perceptions of female Republicans' ability to handle such issues. Because female Democrats are already assumed to be competent on feminine issues, maternal appeals may simply be confirming participants' prior expectations, consistent with prior research in which female candidates chose to emphasize their masculine traits, rather than relying on traditional feminine roles, during their campaigns (Schneider, 2007). Further, candidates of both genders were seen as less competent to handle masculine issues when they made a maternal appeal. Thus, male candidates have the option to trade perceptions that they are able to handle masculine issues in favor of appearing more competent on feminine issues, a strategy that could be useful if a particular election is focused on issues typically associated with women. Consistent with *Hypothesis 3*, this potential benefit of maternal appeals is available to male, but not to female candidates.

Hypothesis 3's prediction that maternal appeals would negatively affect evaluations of female candidates received support in Study 2, particularly with regard to evaluations of female Republicans. Female Republicans who used maternal appeals were rated less competent, and were less likely to receive votes, than their non-maternal counterparts. In contrast, female Democrats were rated equally competent, and were equally likely to receive votes, regardless of whether they used maternal appeals. The

findings for Republican candidates are therefore consistent with *Hypothesis 3*, in that maternal appeals improved evaluations of male Republicans on one dimension, and had detrimental effects for female Republicans. Notably, however, the detrimental effects of maternal appeals on women's campaigns appear to outweigh the positive effects of maternal appeals on men's campaigns.

Individual Differences in Responses to Maternal Appeals

Study 2 also provided support for *Hypothesis 4*: The effects of maternal appeals on candidate evaluation depended in part on viewers' individual psychological characteristics. Gender-schematic viewers, who spontaneously evaluate information using gender as an organizing category, preferred male candidates who displayed traits consistent with their gender role: They were more likely to vote for the more "manly" control man than a maternal man. Individuals high in authoritarianism tend to hold conservative gender role attitudes and to prefer traditional family structures. Like gender schematics, authoritarians were more likely to vote for male candidates when they avoided maternal appeals. Participants likely interpreted the candidates' maternal appeals in gendered terms, and brought their gender-related schemas and attitudes to bear on their evaluations of the candidate.

Contrary to *Hypothesis 4*, however, gender-schematic participants were no more likely to vote for female candidates who made maternal appeals than for non-maternal female candidates. Perhaps female candidates violate gender schematics' expectations for women simply by running for political office; if their behavior appeared too inconsistent with the traditional female gender role, gender schematics may be unlikely to vote for female candidates, regardless of whether they make maternal appeals.

Hypothesis 4 also predicted that authoritarian viewers would be less likely to vote for female candidates when they made maternal appeals; instead, authoritarians were equally likely to vote for maternal and non-maternal female candidates. Authoritarians' preference for traditional family structures, in which women take on a maternal role, may counterbalance their tendency to support strong, masculine leaders.

Maternal Appeals and the Weighting of Feminine Traits in Vote Choice

Study 2 also provided support for *Hypothesis 5*, which predicted that maternal appeals would alter the image of a good leader to which political candidates are compared by increasing the weight placed on feminine traits in vote choice. As predicted, among perceivers who saw a maternal appeal, warmth was more strongly associated with the likelihood of voting for the candidate. Consistent with theories of issue priming in political science, which show that when candidates focus on certain issues, the public increases the weight that they place on those issues in their vote choice (Funk, 1999; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Krosnick & Kinder, 1990), when male or female candidates emphasize the stereotypically feminine role of a selfless, nurturant parent, viewers weigh warmth more heavily in evaluations of the candidate. This held true for both male and female candidates, indicating that warmth contributed to votes for maternal men as much as it did for maternal women.

The Effect of Maternal Appeals on Social and Political Attitudes

Study 2 also provided partial support for *Hypothesis 6*, which predicted that maternal appeals would produce a shift toward more liberal policy attitudes that would be mediated by nurturant parent morality. Although the full sample of participants failed to show the predicted liberal shift in attitudes in response to a maternal appeal,

among participants who were particularly attuned to the gender content of a maternal message—gender schematics and benevolent sexists—maternal appeals did have the predicted liberalizing effect. These findings indicate that only a subset of viewers will respond to the gendered, value-laden information that is present in a maternal appeal, allowing the maternal appeal to influence their attitude positions.

Conclusion

To my knowledge, this is the first experimental evidence of the potential for maternal appeals in campaigns to shape voters' impressions of candidates.⁵⁹ It has illuminated the direct and indirect effects of maternal appeals on two aspects of individual psychology: candidate evaluations and social and political attitudes. Further, Study 2 provides the first empirical support for several tenets of the theory of maternal politics. In the current socio-cultural environment, in which stereotypes of mothers are incongruent with the desired characteristics of political leaders, especially Republican leaders, female Republican candidates who made maternal appeals were evaluated more negatively, whereas male Republicans were able to take advantage of maternal appeals to increase perceptions that they were competent on feminine issues. Further, maternal appeals caused viewers to weigh personal warmth more heavily in evaluations of candidates. The effects of maternal appeals also extended beyond candidate evaluations: Among viewers who were particularly attuned to gendered message content, maternal appeals led to more liberal social and political attitudes.

Despite the advances in knowledge that this study has provided, it also has some important limitations. In order to maximize internal validity and establish causal claims,

⁵⁹ But see Stalsburg, 2010 for an experiment examining the effects of *parental status* on evaluations of candidates.

Study 2 was a laboratory experiment conducted on a convenience sample of students. Creating identical television advertisements in which the content was controlled was essential to the research goal, but also compromised the external validity of the findings. The ad featured in this experiment—both the maternal and control versions—had a more feminine or maternal tone than many ads featured in real campaigns: It was not an attack on an opponent, and it focused on the candidate's sense of community and helpfulness. In addition, Study 1 showed that male Democrats, male Republicans, female Democrats, and female Republicans are likely to use different kinds of maternal appeals in different contexts during their campaigns; thus, the television advertisement designed for this study was more typical of some candidates than of others. In particular, the ad may be less representative of those aired by female Republicans in real campaigns; a possible alternative explanation for the negative responses to female Republicans' maternal appeals that were observed in this study. Future research should examine a broader range of candidates, campaign materials, and specific maternal communication strategies in order to establish the generality of these findings.

Significantly, Study 2 did not address one of the most fascinating and important controversies surrounding maternal appeals in feminist politics (e.g., Ruddick, 1989; Hayden, 2003), one that is of premier interest to social and political psychologists as well: Do maternal appeals by female candidates, and other essentialist portrayals of women in the media, contribute to gender stereotyping and prejudice? The theory of maternal politics argues that maternal appeals will lead to increased gender stereotyping in non-political leadership contexts. Therefore, the next chapter describes Study 3,

which examined the theory's claim that maternal appeals perpetuate stereotypes of women and mothers.

Table 3-1. Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Scale Minimum	Scale Maximum
Participant Party ID	3.6	1.9	1	7
Participant Political Ideology	3.5	1.5	1	7
Perceptions of Candidate Attractiveness	4.1	1.4	1	7
Perceptions of Candidate Ideology	4.1	1.5	1	7
Perceptions of Candidate Party ID	4.0	1.8	1	7
Feminine Issue Competence	4.7	1.3	1	7
Masculine Issue Competence	3.6	1.1	1	7
Candidate Warmth	5.2	0.9	1	7
Candidate Competence	4.7	0.9	1	7
Likelihood of Vote	4.2	1.8	1	7
Gender Schematicity Masculine	4.9	0.6	1	7
Gender Schematicity Feminine	4.8	0.6	1	7
Benevolent Sexism	4.7	1.3	1	9
Authoritarianism	1.1	0.9	0	3
SDO	2.8	1.0	1	7
Nurturant Parent Morality	2.9	1.0	1	9
Social/Political Attitudes	4.0	1.1	1	9

Note. Political variables were scored such that higher numbers indicated more conservative responses.

Table 3-2. Correlations Between Variables Used to Test *Hypotheses 3 and 5*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Candidate Gender	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Candidate Party	.01	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. Maternal Appeal	-.02	-.03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4. Participant Gender	.10	-.04	-.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5. Participant Party ID	-.01	-.10	.09	-.08	--	--	--	--	--	--
6. Attractiveness	-.47**	-.07	.02	.08	.12	--	--	--	--	--
7. Fem Issue Competence	-.06	-.24**	.08	.22**	-.10	.27**	--	--	--	--
8. Masc Issue Competence	-.06	.12	-.15*	.11	-.14*	.16**	.40**	--	--	--
9. Candidate Warmth	.06	-.08	.02	.15*	.12	.31**	.47**	.24**	--	--
10. Candidate Competence	.02	-.07	-.11	.15*	-.02	.23**	.40**	.40**	.52**	--
11. Likelihood of Vote	.01	-.10	-.09	.23**	-.01	.26**	.53**	.43**	.50**	.48**

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 3-3. Correlations Between Variables Used to Test *Hypothesis 4*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1. Candidate Gender	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Candidate Party	.02	--	--	--	--	---	--	--	--	--
3. Maternal Appeal	-.02	-.03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4. Participant Gender	.10	-.04	-.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5. Participant Party ID	-.01	-.09	.09	-.08	--	--	--	--	--	--
6. Attractiveness	-.47**	-.07	.02	.08	.12	--	--	--	--	--
7. Gender Schematicity	.02	-.10	.03	-.07	.04	.00	--	--	--	--
8. Benevolent Sexism	-.08	.02	.05	-.04	.31**	.11	.13*	--	--	--
9. Authoritarianism	-.07	-.06	.04	-.05	.31**	.08	.08	.29**	--	--
10. SDO	-.00	-.08	-.07	-.17**	.54**	.10	-.02	.36**	.24*	--
11. Likelihood of Vote	.01	-.10	-.09	.23**	-.01	.26**	.02	.11	.08	-.04

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 3-4. Correlations Between Variables Used to Test *Hypothesis 6*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
1. Candidate Gender	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
2. Candidate Party	.02	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3. Maternal Appeal	-.02	-.03	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4. Participant Gender	.10	-.04	-.00	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5. Participant Party ID	-.01	-.09	.09	-.08	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6. Attractiveness	-.47**	-.07	.02	.08	.12	--	--	--	--	--	--
7. Gender Schematicity	.02	-.10	.03	-.07	.04	.00	--	--	--	--	--
8. Benevolent Sexism	-.08	.02	.05	-.04	.31**	.11	.13*	--	--	--	--
9. Authoritarianism	-.07	-.06	.04	-.05	.31**	.08	.08	.29**	--	--	--
10. SDO	-.00	-.08	-.07	-.17**	.54**	.10	-.02	.36**	.24**	--	--
11. Nurturant Parent Morality	-.05	.08	-.03	.24**	-.40**	.06	.02	-.07	-.17**	-.49**	--
12. Social/Political Attitudes	-.01	-.12	.04	-.06	.69**	.08	.04	.41**	.33**	.60**	-.46**

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 3-5. Feminine Issue Competence as a Function of Gender, Party, and

Maternal Appeals

Predictor	Feminine Issue Competence					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.18	(.16)	.72*	(.25)	.43	(.29)
Candidate Party	-.60***	(.14)	-.41	(.25)	-.73*	(.29)
Maternal Appeal	.18	(.14)	.56*	(.24)	.27	(.27)
Attractiveness	.21	(.06)	.21***	(.06)	.22***	(.08)
Participant Gender	.41**	(.15)	.43**	(.15)	.43**	(.15)
Participant Party ID	-.33***	(.05)	-.33***	(.05)	-.33***	(.05)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.55***	(.08)	.53***	(.08)	.53***	(.08)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	-.71*	(.28)	-.14	(.38)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	-.37	(.28)	.23	(.39)
Party x Mat App	--	--	-.03	(.28)	.60	(.40)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	--	--	-1.19*	(.55)
Constant	5.35***	(.27)	5.07***	(.29)	5.23***	(.30)
<i>F</i> (df)	16.50 (7, 223)***		12.63(10, 220)***		12.09(11, 219)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.320		.336		.347	
<i>N</i>	231		231		231	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-6. Masculine Issue Competence as a Function of Gender, Party, and

Maternal Appeals

Predictor	Masculine Issue Competence					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.10	(.16)	.05	(.26)	-.15	(.29)
Candidate Party	.23	(.14)	.09	(.25)	-.13	(.30)
Maternal Appeal	-.36*	(.14)	-.20	(.24)	-.40	(.28)
Attractiveness	.13*	(.06)	.13*	(.06)	.13*	(.06)
Participant Gender	.17	(.15)	.18	(.15)	.18	(.15)
Participant Party ID	-.25***	(.05)	-.24***	(.05)	-.25***	(.05)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.42***	(.08)	.42***	(.08)	.41***	(.08)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	-.22	(.28)	.15	(.39)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.32	(.28)	.72 ⁺	(.40)
Party x Mat App	--	--	-.07	(.28)	.35	(.41)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	--	--	-.79	(.57)
Constant	4.04***	(.27)	4.02***	(.30)	4.12***	(.31)
<i>F</i> (df)	7.56 (7, 221)***		5.48 (10, 218)***		5.78 (11, 217)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.168		.164		.168	
<i>N</i>	229		229		229	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-7. Candidate Competence as a Function of Gender, Party, and Maternal

Appeals

Predictor	Candidate Competence					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.26 ⁺	(.13)	.13	(.24)	-.14	(.24)
Candidate Party	-.06	(.11)	-.07	(.20)	-.37	(.24)
Maternal Appeal	-.20 ⁺	(.11)	.05	(.20)	-.22	(.22)
Attractiveness	.17***	(.04)	.17**	(.05)	.17***	(.05)
Participant Gender	.19	(.12)	.20	(.12)	.20 ⁺	(.12)
Participant Party ID	-.09*	(.04)	-.09*	(.04)	-.09*	(.04)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.15*	(.06)	.16*	(.06)	.15*	(.06)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	-.13	(.23)	.39	(.31)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.35	(.23)	.90**	(.32)
Party x Mat App	--	--	-.37	(.23)	.21	(.33)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	--	--	-1.09*	(.45)
Constant	5.27***	(.22)	5.20***	(.24)	5.34***	(.25)
<i>F</i> (df)	4.17 (7, 222)***		3.51 (10, 219)***		3.80 (11, 218)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.088		.099		.118	
<i>N</i>	230		230		230	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-8. Candidate Warmth as a Function of Gender, Party, and Maternal Appeals

Predictor	Candidate Warmth					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.49***	(.22)	.69**	(.21)	.54*	(.24)
Candidate Party	-.06	(.11)	.16	(.20)	-.01	(.24)
Maternal Appeal	-.02	(.11)	.36 ⁺	(.19)	.21	(.22)
Attractiveness	.26***	(.05)	.26***	(.05)	.26***	(.05)
Participant Gender	.19*	(.12)	.20 ⁺	(.12)	.20 ⁺	(.12)
Participant Party ID	-.05	(.04)	-.05	(.04)	-.05	(.04)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.20**	(.06)	.20**	(.06)	.20**	(.06)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	-.36	(.22)	-.07	(.31)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	-.07	(.22)	.24	(.32)
Party x Mat App	--	--	-.39 ⁺	(.22)	-.07	(.33)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	--	--	-.61	(.45)
Constant	5.89***	(.22)	5.67***	(.24)	5.75***	(.24)
<i>F</i> (df)	8.49 (7, 223)***		6.60 (10, 220)***		6.19 (11, 219)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.186		.196		.199	
<i>N</i>	231		231		231	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-9. Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate as a Function of Gender, Party,
and Maternal Appeals

Predictor	Likelihood of Voting for Candidate					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.40*	(.17)	.39	(.28)	.06	(.31)
Candidate Party	-.22	(.15)	-.26	(.27)	-.63 ⁺	(.32)
Maternal Appeal	-.24	(.15)	-.07	(.26)	-.39	(.30)
Attractiveness	.25***	(.06)	.24***	(.06)	.25***	(.06)
Participant Gender	.46**	(.16)	.47**	(.16)	.48**	(.16)
Participant Party ID	-.31***	(.05)	-.31***	(.05)	-.31***	(.05)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.69***	(.08)	.69***	(.08)	.68***	(.08)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	-.18	(.30)	.45	(.41)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.19	(.30)	.86*	(.43)
Party x Mat App	--	--	-.14	(.30)	.57	(.44)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	--	--	-1.32*	(.60)
Constant	4.93***	(.29)	4.88***	(.32)	5.05***	(.33)
<i>F</i> (df)	16.46(7, 222)***		11.52(10, 219)***		11.10(11, 218)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.321		.315		.327	
<i>N</i>	230		230		230	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-10. Gender Schematicity and the Effect of Maternal Appeals on the

Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

Predictor	Likelihood of Voting for Candidate					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.40*	(.17)	-.19	(.34)	.19	(.36)
Candidate Party	-.22	(.15)	-.68*	(.32)	-.59 ⁺	(.32)
Maternal Appeal	-.24	(.15)	-.35	(.33)	.07	(.36)
Attractiveness	.25***	(.06)	.25***	(.06)	.26***	(.06)
Participant Gender	.46**	(.16)	.52**	(.16)	.54**	(.16)
Participant Party ID	-.31***	(.05)	-.31***	(.05)	-.32***	(.05)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.69***	(.08)	.69***	(.08)	.69***	(.08)
Gender Schematicity	.00	(.16)	-.32	(.28)	.19	(.33)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.42	(.41)	-.33	(.48)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.93*	(.43)	.83 ⁺	(.42)
Party x Mat App	--	--	.57	(.44)	.42	(.44)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	-1.31*	(.60)	-1.12 ⁺	(.59)
Schem x Cand Gen	--	--	.62*	(.31)	-.27	(.44)
Schem x Mat App	--	--	-.05	(.31)	-.99*	(.45)
Schem x Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	--	--	1.72**	(.61)
Constant	4.92***	(.30)	5.18***	(.35)	4.99***	(.35)
<i>F</i> (df)	14.34 (8, 221)***		9.05 (14, 215)***		9.25 (15, 214)	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.318		.330		.351	
<i>N</i>	230		230		230	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-11. Benevolent Sexism and the Effect of Maternal Appeals on the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

Predictor	Likelihood of Voting for Candidate					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.41*	(.17)	.07	(.32)	.05	(.32)
Candidate Party	-.23	(.15)	-.63 ⁺	(.32)	-.64*	(.32)
Maternal Appeal	-.24	(.15)	-.41	(.33)	-.40	(.30)
Attractiveness	.24***	(.06)	.24***	(.06)	.24***	(.06)
Participant Gender	.47**	(.16)	.50**	(.16)	.49**	(.16)
Participant Party ID	-.32***	(.05)	-.33***	(.05)	-.33***	(.05)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.68***	(.08)	.68***	(.08)	.68***	(.08)
Benevolent Sexism	.07	(.06)	-.03	(.10)	.02	(.11)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.46	(.42)	.47	(.42)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.85 ⁺	(.43)	.87*	(.43)
Party x Mat App	--	--	.57	(.44)	.58	(.44)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	-1.27*	(.60)	-1.28*	(.60)
Benev x Cand Gen	--	--	.08	(.12)	-.01	(.16)
Benev x Mat App	--	--	.14	(.12)	.03	(.17)
Benev x Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	--	--	.19	(.23)
Constant	4.90***	(.29)	5.00***	(.33)	5.01***	(.33)
<i>F</i> (df)	14.59 (8, 221)***		8.93 (14, 215)***		8.37 (15, 214)	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.322		.326		.325	
<i>N</i>	230		230		230	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-12. Authoritarianism and the Effect of Maternal Appeals on the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

Predictor	Likelihood of Voting for Candidate					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.41*	(.17)	.09	(.32)	.12	(.31)
Candidate Party	-.21	(.15)	-.54 ⁺	(.32)	-.47	(.32)
Maternal Appeal	-.24	(.15)	-.35	(.30)	-.33	(.30)
Attractiveness	.25***	(.06)	.24***	(.06)	.25***	(.06)
Participant Gender	.46**	(.16)	.49**	(.16)	.47**	(.16)
Participant Party ID	-.32***	(.05)	-.31***	(.05)	-.32***	(.05)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.68***	(.08)	.67***	(.08)	.68***	(.08)
Authoritarianism	.08	(.08)	.22	(.14)	.39*	(.16)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.41	(.41)	.40	(.41)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.77 ⁺	(.43)	.68	(.43)
Party x Mat App	--	--	.47	(.44)	.42	(.44)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	-1.23*	(.60)	-1.14 ⁺	(.60)
Auth x Cand Gen	--	--	-.23	(.16)	-.53*	(.22)
Auth x Mat App	--	--	-.06	(.16)	-.38 ⁺	(.23)
Auth x Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	--	--	.62*	(.31)
Constant	4.92***	(.29)	5.00***	(.33)	5.01***	(.33)
<i>F</i> (df)	14.52 (8, 221)***		8.94 (14, 215)***		8.72 (15, 214)	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.321		.327		.336	
<i>N</i>	230		230		230	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-13. Social Dominance Orientation and the Effect of Maternal Appeals on the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate

Predictor	Likelihood of Voting for Candidate					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.41*	(.17)	.13	(.32)	.13	(.32)
Candidate Party	-.23	(.15)	-.64*	(.32)	-.63*	(.32)
Maternal Appeal	-.26	(.15)	-.40	(.30)	-.40	(.30)
Attractiveness	.25***	(.06)	.25***	(.06)	.25***	(.06)
Participant Gender	.43**	(.16)	.48**	(.16)	.49**	(.16)
Participant Party ID	-.28***	(.06)	-.29***	(.06)	-.29***	(.06)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.68***	(.08)	.68***	(.08)	.68***	(.08)
SDO	-.10	(.09)	.11	(.14)	.09	(.16)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.40	(.41)	.41	(.42)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.80 ⁺	(.43)	.81 ⁺	(.43)
Party x Mat App	--	--	.59	(.44)	.59	(.44)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	-1.34*	(.60)	-1.35*	(.61)
SDO x Cand Gen	--	--	-.30*	(.15)	-.27	(.21)
SDO x Mat App	--	--	-.05	(.15)	-.01	(.22)
SDO x Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	--	--	-.07	(.30)
Constant	4.98***	(.30)	5.06***	(.33)	5.06***	(.33)
<i>F</i> (df)	14.58 (8, 221)***		9.16 (14, 215)***		8.51 (15, 214)	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.322		.333		.333	
<i>N</i>	230		230		230	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-14. Maternal Appeals and the Weighting of Feminine Traits in Vote Choice

Predictor	Likelihood of Voting for Candidate			
	Model 1		Model 2	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	-.12	(.16)	-.02	(.29)
Candidate Party	-.17	(.13)	-.48 ⁺	(.29)
Maternal Appeal	-.16	(.13)	-.36	(.27)
Attractiveness	.09	(.06)	.09	(.06)
Participant Gender	.33*	(.14)	.34*	(.14)
Participant Party ID	-.27***	(.05)	-.27***	(.05)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.56***	(.07)	.57***	(.08)
Warmth	.38***	(.09)	.22 ⁺	(.12)
Competence	.36***	(.09)	.47***	(.12)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.21	(.37)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.41	(.39)
Party x Mat App	--	--	.50	(.39)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	-.58	(.55)
Warmth x Mat App	--	--	.34 ⁺	(.17)
Competence x Mat App	--	--	-.25	(.18)
Constant	4.44***	(.27)	4.53***	(.30)
<i>F</i> (df)	23.18 (9, 219)***		14.33 (15, 213)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.467		.468	
<i>N</i>	229		229	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-15. The Effect of Maternal Appeals on Social and Political Attitudes

Predictor	Social and Political Attitudes					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.00	(.13)	.20	(.20)	.35	(.23)
Candidate Party	-.19	(.11)	.02	(.20)	.19	(.23)
Maternal Appeal	-.10	(.11)	.01	(.19)	.16	(.22)
Attractiveness	.01	(.05)	.01	(.05)	.01	(.05)
Participant Gender	.05	(.12)	.05	(.12)	.04	(.12)
Participant Party ID	.45***	(.04)	.45***	(.04)	.45***	(.04)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	-.07	(.06)	-.07	(.06)	-.07	(.06)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	-.11	(.22)	-.40	(.31)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	-.29	(.22)	-.60	(.31)
Party x Mat App	--	--	-.12	(.22)	-.45	(.32)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	--	--	.60	(.44)
Constant	4.03***	(.21)	3.92***	(.23)	3.84***	(.24)
<i>F</i> (df)	30.82 (7, 223)***		21.72 (10, 220)***		20.00 (11, 219)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.476		.474		.476	
<i>N</i>	231		231		231	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-16. The Effect of Maternal Appeals on Nurturant Parent Morality

Predictor	Nurturant Parent Morality					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	-.06	(.14)	-.25	(.23)	-.40	(.26)
Candidate Party	.18	(.12)	-.01	(.22)	-.18	(.26)
Maternal Appeal	.04	(.12)	.00	(.21)	-.16	(.24)
Attractiveness	-.05	(.05)	-.05	(.05)	-.05	(.05)
Participant Gender	.40**	(.13)	.41**	(.13)	.41**	(.13)
Participant Party ID	-.27***	(.11)	-.26***	(.05)	-.27***	(.04)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	.13*	(.07)	.14*	(.07)	.13*	(.07)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.07	(.25)	.36	(.34)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	.31	(.25)	.62	(.35)
Party x Mat App	--	--	.04	(.25)	.36	(.36)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	--	--	-.61	(.49)
Constant	-3.07***	(.24)	-2.98***	(.26)	-2.90***	(.27)
<i>F</i> (df)	9.23 (7, 223)***		6.59 (10, 220)***		6.15 (11, 219)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.200		.196		.198	
<i>N</i>	231		231		231	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3-17. Gender Schematicity and the Effect of Maternal Appeals on Social and Political Attitudes

Predictor	Social and Political Attitudes					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.00	(.13)	.37	(.25)	.39	(.27)
Candidate Party	-.18	(.11)	.25	(.23)	.26	(.24)
Maternal Appeal	-.10	(.11)	.40	(.24)	.42	(.27)
Attractiveness	.01	(.05)	.00	(.05)	.00	(.05)
Participant Gender	.05	(.12)	.06	(.12)	.06	(.12)
Participant Party ID	.45***	(.04)	.44***	(.04)	.44***	(.04)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	-.07	(.06)	-.07	(.06)	-.07	(.06)
Gender Schematicity	.06	(.11)	.36 ⁺	(.21)	.39**	(.25)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	-.42	(.30)	-.46	(.36)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	-.64*	(.31)	-.65*	(.32)
Party x Mat App	--	--	-.53	(.32)	-.54	(.33)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	.65	(.44)	.66	(.44)
Schem x Cand Gen	--	--	-.02	(.23)	-.07	(.33)
Schem x Mat App	--	--	-.53*	(.23)	-.59 ⁺	(.34)
Schem x Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	--	--	.10	(.46)
Constant	4.00***	(.22)	3.68***	(.26)	3.67***	(.26)
<i>F</i> (df)	26.92 (8, 222)***		16.33 (14, 216)***		15.18 (15, 215)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.474		.483		.480	
<i>N</i>	231		231		231	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

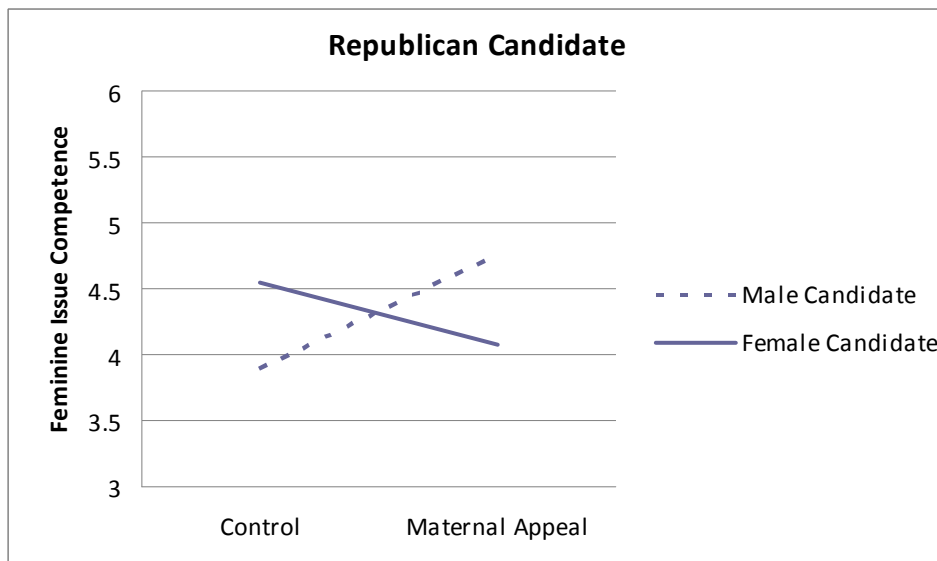
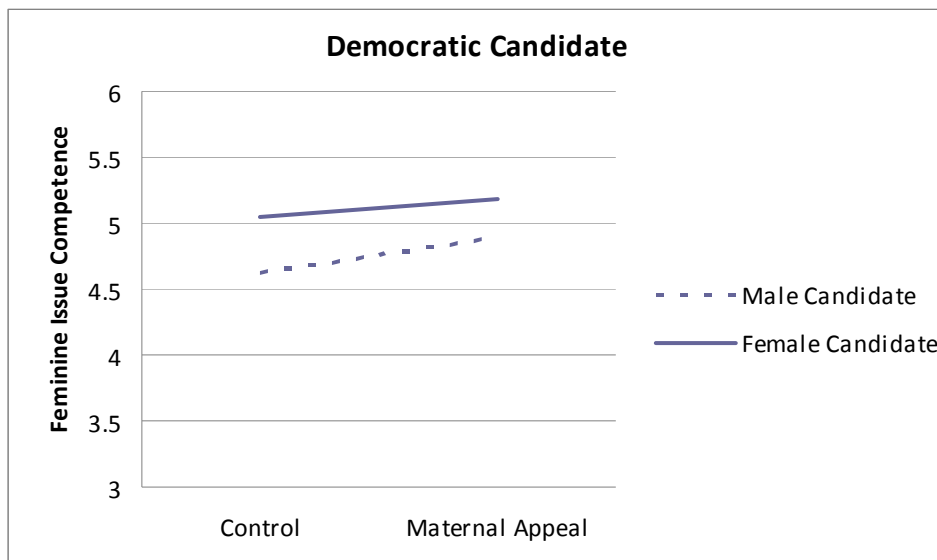
Table 3-18. Benevolent Sexism and the Effect of Maternal Appeals on Social and Political Attitudes

Predictor	Social and Political Attitudes					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.03	(.12)	.41 ⁺	(.25)	.43 ⁺	(.22)
Candidate Party	-.22*	(.11)	.13	(.22)	.13	(.22)
Maternal Appeal	-.11	(.11)	.11	(.20)	.11	(.21)
Attractiveness	.02	(.04)	.00	(.04)	.00	(.04)
Participant Gender	.07	(.11)	.04	(.11)	.05	(.11)
Participant Party ID	.41***	(.04)	.41***	(.04)	.42***	(.04)
Part Party ID x Cand Party	-.09	(.06)	-.08	(.06)	-.09	(.06)
Benevolent Sexism	.21***	(.04)	.26***	(.07)	.22**	(.08)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	-.43	(.29)	-.44	(.29)
Cand Gen x Party	--	--	-.63*	(.30)	-.64*	(.30)
Party x Mat App	--	--	-.36	(.30)	-.37	(.30)
Cand Gen x Party x Mat App	--	--	.62	(.41)	.62	(.42)
Benev x Cand Gen	--	--	.08	(.08)	.16	(.11)
Benev x Mat App	--	--	-.20*	(.08)	-.12	(.12)
Benev x Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	--	--	-.17	(.16)
Constant	3.97***	(.20)	3.89***	(.23)	3.88***	(.23)
<i>F</i> (df)	32.94 (8, 222)***		20.14 (14, 216)***		18.89 (15, 215)***	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.543		.566		.569	
<i>N</i>	231		231		231	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

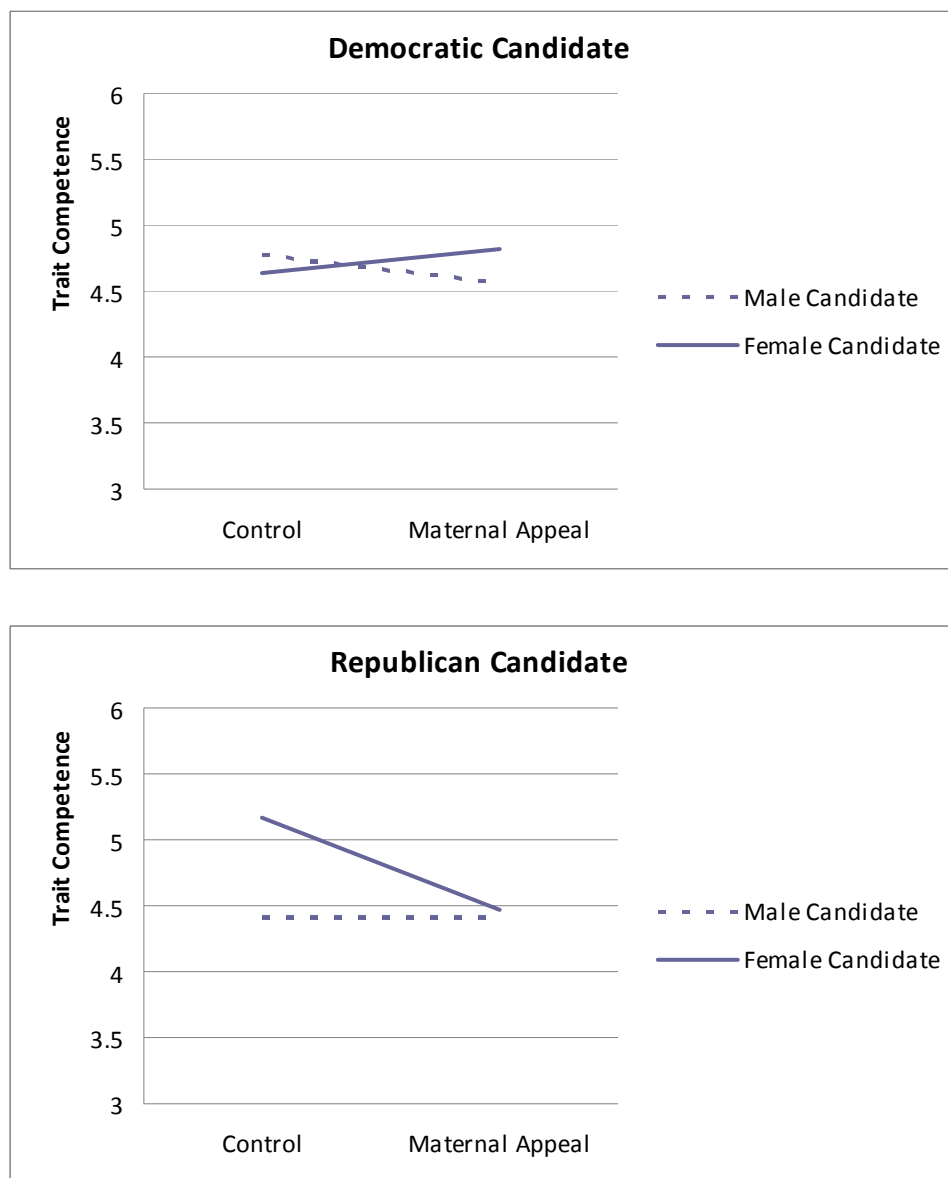
⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 3-1. Maternal Appeals and Judgments of Competence on Feminine Issues



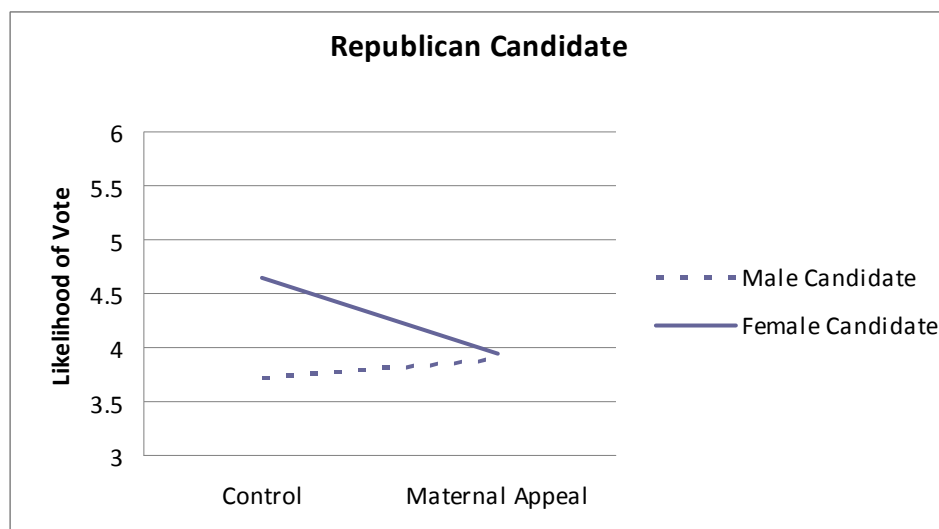
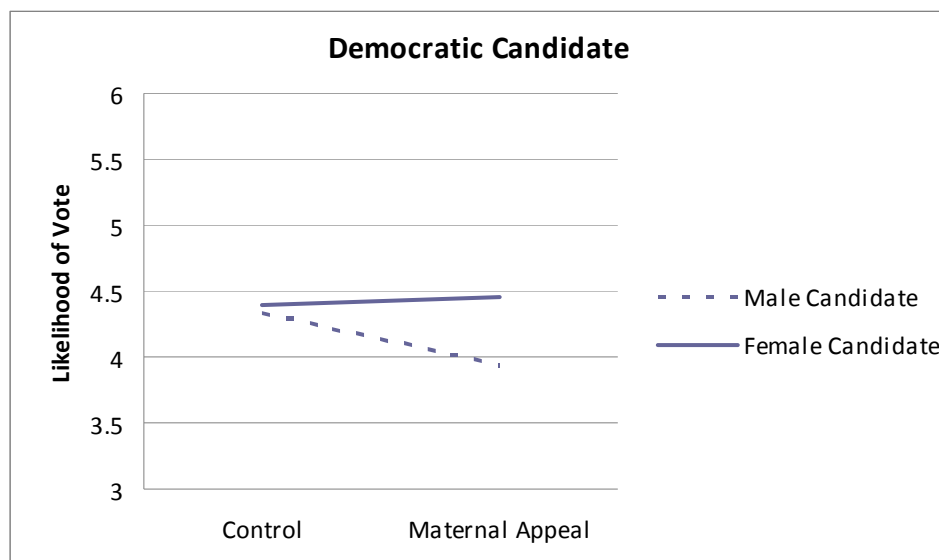
	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Male Democrat	4.62(4.23, 5.01)	4.89(4.50, 5.28)
Female Democrat	5.05(4.66, 5.44)	5.18(4.82, 5.53)
Male Republican	3.89(3.47, 4.31)	4.76(4.37, 5.16)
Female Republican	4.55(4.19, 4.90)	4.08(3.68, 4.49)

Figure 3-2. Maternal Appeals and Judgments of Candidate Trait Competence



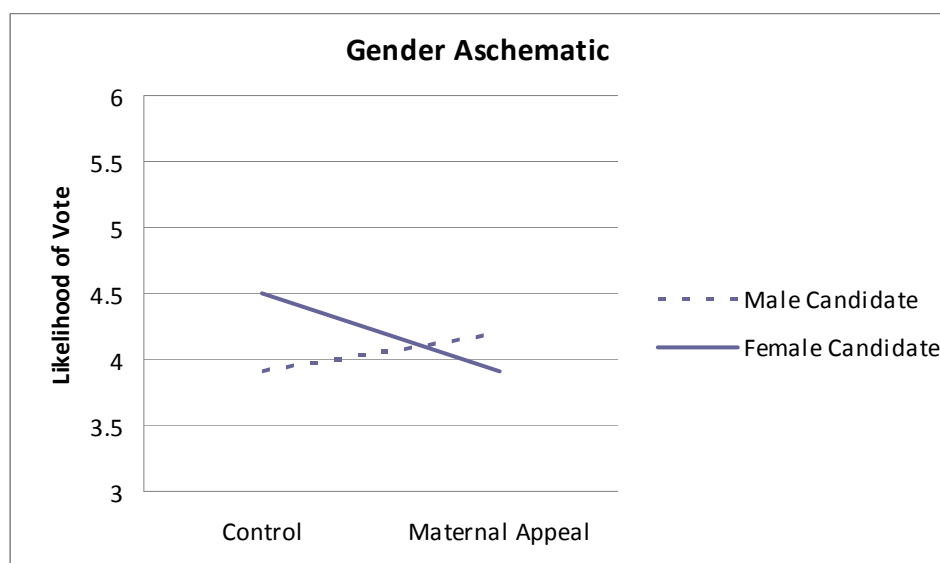
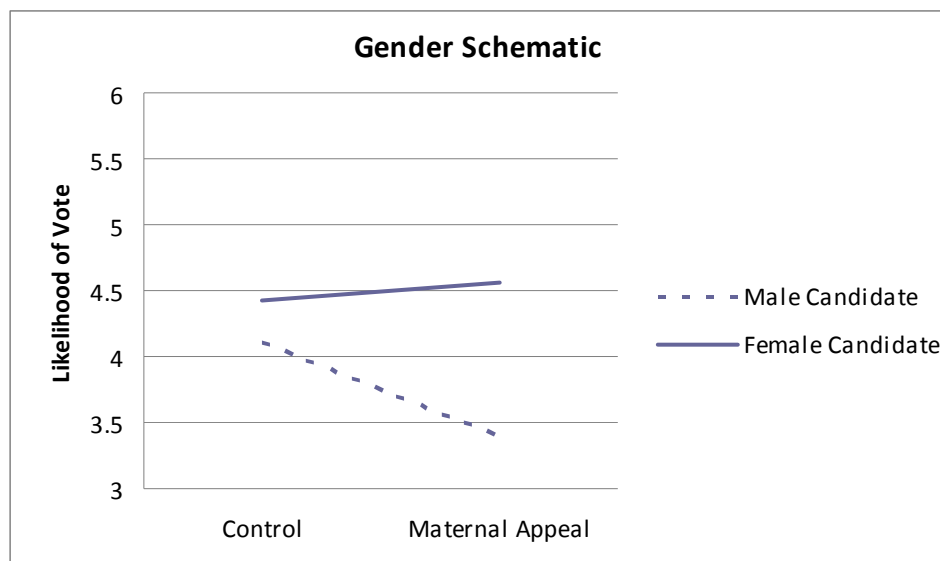
	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Male Democrat	4.78(4.46, 5.10)	4.56(4.24, 4.88)
Female Democrat	4.63(4.32, 4.96)	4.82(4.52, 5.11)
Male Republican	4.41(4.06, 4.75)	4.41(4.08, 4.73)
Female Republican	5.17(4.88, 5.46)	4.47(4.14, 4.80)

Figure 3-3. Maternal Appeals and the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate



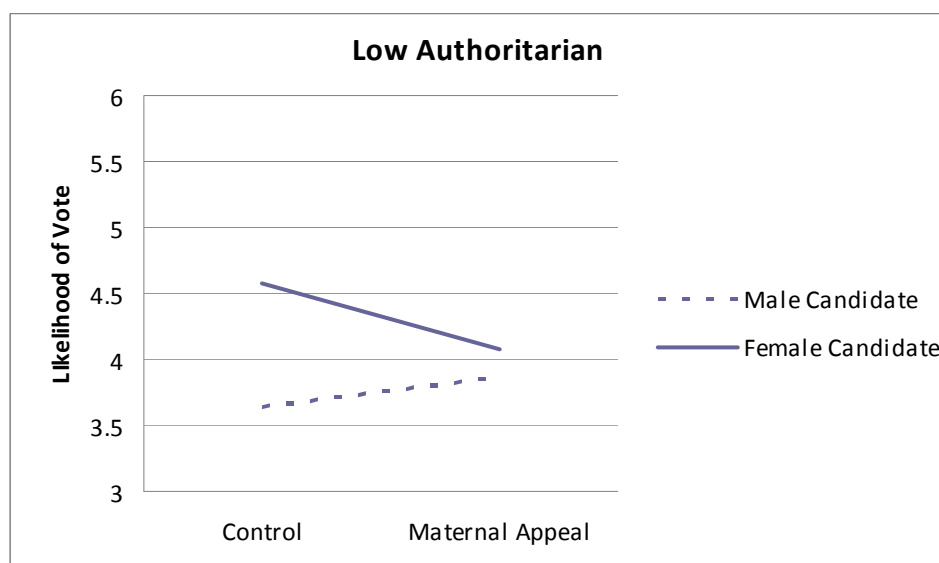
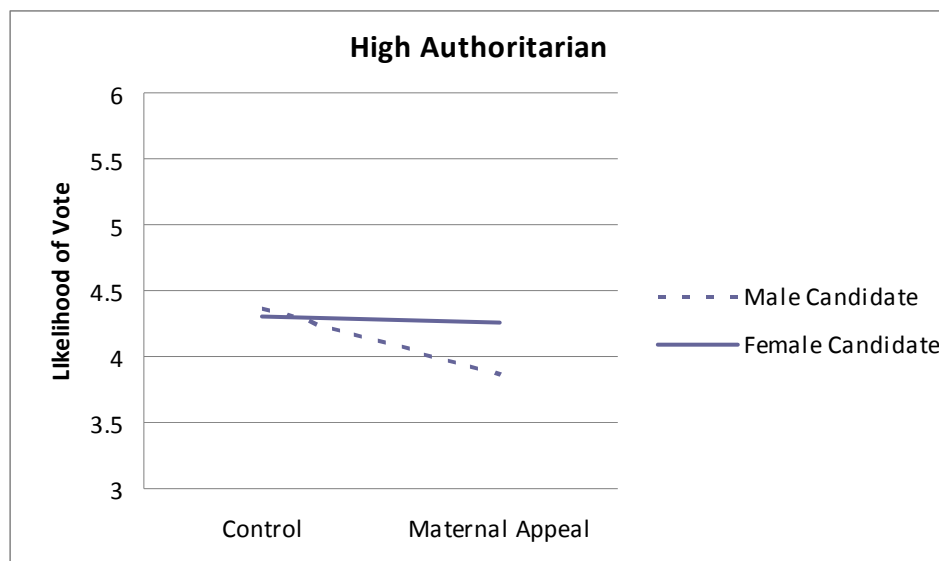
	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Male Democrat	4.33(3.91, 4.76)	3.94(3.51, 4.37)
Female Democrat	4.40(3.97, 4.82)	4.45(4.07, 4.83)
Male Republican	3.72(3.23, 4.18)	3.89(3.46, 4.32)
Female Republican	4.64(4.25, 5.03)	3.94(3.50, 4.38)

Figure 3-4. Gender Schematicity, Maternal Appeals, and the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate



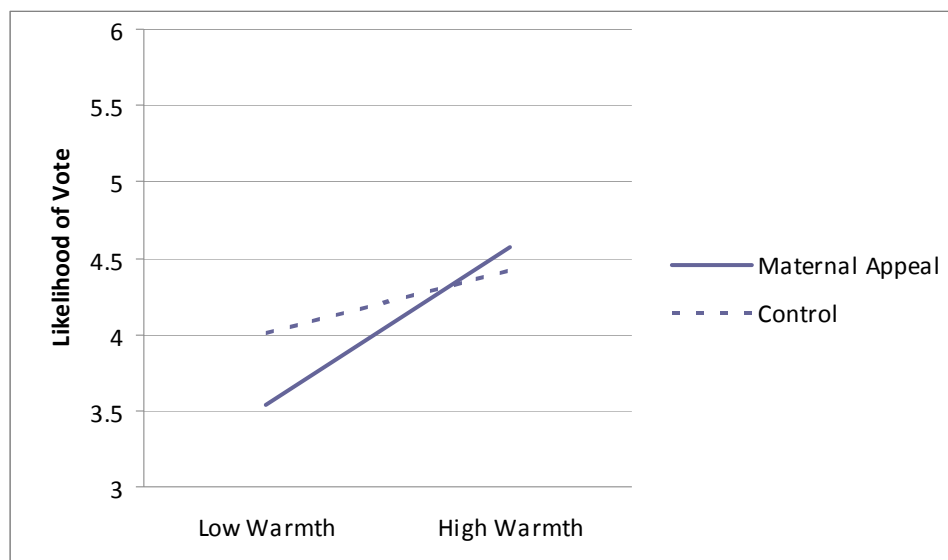
	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Gender Schem: Male	4.11(3.58, 4.63)	3.39(2.92, 3.86)
Gender Schem: Female	4.43(3.97, 4.89)	4.56(4.11, 5.02)
Gender Aschem: Male	3.91(3.52, 4.30)	4.19(3.80, 4.58)
Gender Aschem: Female	4.50(4.14, 4.86)	3.91(3.54, 4.28)

Figure 3-5. Authoritarianism, Maternal Appeals, and the Likelihood of Voting for the Candidate



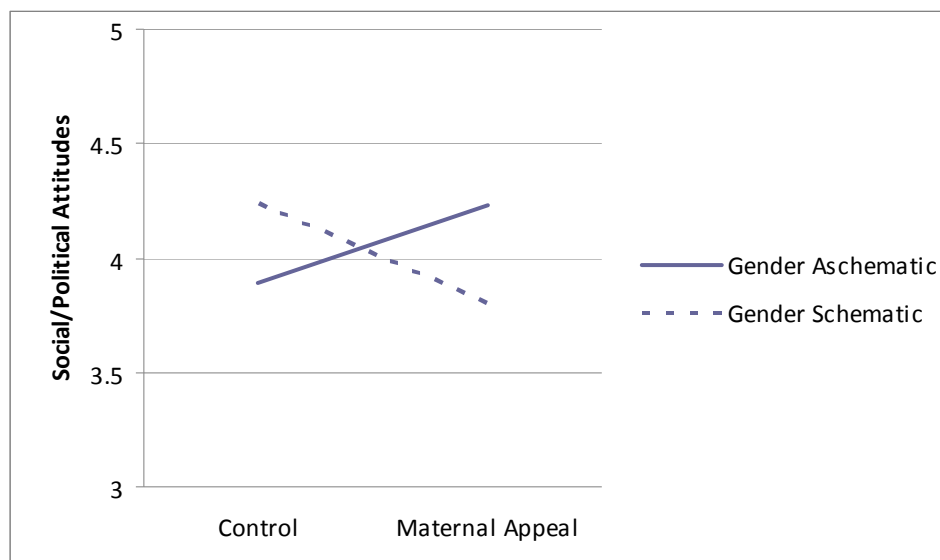
	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
High Auth: Male	4.37(3.93, 4.81)	3.87(3.43, 4.31)
High Auth: Female	4.30(3.87, 4.74)	4.26(3.82, 4.69)
Low Auth: Male	3.63(3.19, 4.06)	3.86(3.44, 4.29)
Low Auth: Female	4.58(4.21, 4.95)	4.08(3.68, 4.49)

Figure 3-6. Maternal Appeals and the Weighting of Warmth in Vote Choice



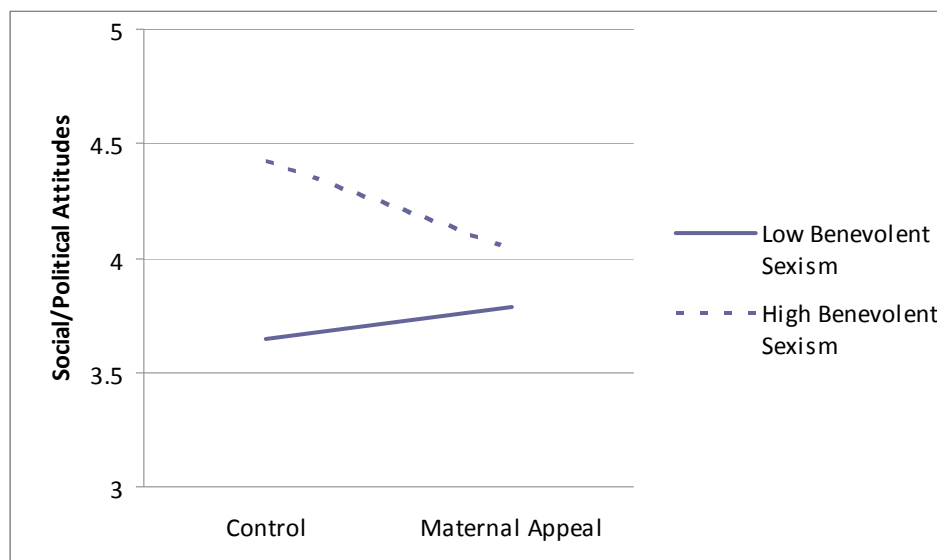
	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Low Warmth	High Warmth
Maternal Appeal	3.54(3.24, 3.85)	4.57(4.28, 4.85)
Control	4.01(3.73, 4.29)	4.41(4.11, 4.72)

Figure 3-7. Gender Schematicity, Maternal Appeals, and Social/Political Attitudes



	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Gender Aschematic	3.89(3.70, 4.08)	4.23(3.86, 4.61)
Gender Schematic	4.24(3.98, 4.49)	3.80(3.56, 4.04)

Figure 3-8. Benevolent Sexism, Maternal Appeals, and Social/Political Attitudes



	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Low Benevolent Sexism	3.65(3.46, 3.85)	3.79(3.57, 4.01)
High Benevolent Sexism	4.44(4.23, 4.65)	4.04(3.83, 4.26)

Chapter 4: Do Maternal Appeals Perpetuate Gender Stereotyping?

Study 1 and Study 2, described in previous chapters, have provided evidence in support of the theory of maternal politics, which holds that candidates can invoke motherhood in their campaigns to connect positive associations with mothers in the private sphere to voters' impressions of political candidates. In contrast to modern conceptualizations of motherhood as a low-status position, the theory of maternal politics draws on older political traditions, in which motherhood was imbued with power, to argue that maternal appeals can advance a distinct set of values and political priorities. Indeed, Study 2 found that viewers who were attuned to the gender content of maternal appeals tended to adopt more liberal social and political attitudes in response to a maternal appeal by a candidate. This property of maternal appeals is good news for essentialist feminist activist movements that use maternal appeals to promote a progressive political agenda.

However, the concerns of feminists critical of gender essentialism raise the possibility that there will be unintended side effects of maternal appeals. These feminists argue that there is nothing "natural" or "essential" about motherhood, and that claiming that all women share one set of value priorities undermines gender equality. Second-wave feminists identified motherhood, in particular, as problematic for women, and argued that interconnections between the structure of the family and the capitalist patriarchy contribute to women's oppression (Dietz, 1985; Firestone, 1971; Stearney, 1994). Consistent with these perspectives, social-psychological research shows that positive evaluations of women who adopt stereotype-consistent roles and behaviors do

not constitute a commitment to gender equality, and are associated with gender stereotyping and prejudice (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Fiske & Glick, 1996).

The current chapter describes the methods and results of Study 3, an experiment designed to test the hypothesis, derived from the theory of maternal politics, that maternal appeals activate stereotypes of women as mothers and nurturers (*Hypothesis 7*) and increase the use of such stereotypes in subsequent judgments (*Hypothesis 8*). Because they emphasize traits and behaviors that are central to the female gender role, maternal appeals are expected to bring to mind stereotypes of women and mothers, and consequently to increase the likelihood that such stereotypes will be used in a subsequent judgment of a target woman. Further, these effects may be stronger in response to female candidates' maternal appeals, which are consistent with stereotypes of women, compared to male candidates' maternal appeals.

In addition to predictions derived from the theory of maternal politics, the findings of Study 1 and Study 2 suggest that maternal appeals may have distinct effects among Republican viewers. Study 1 found that female Democrats and female Republicans use different types of maternal appeals, and choose to employ them in different contexts. To the extent that participants have learned that elites of each party tend to present different images of family, Democratic and Republican participants may respond to maternal messages in distinct ways, fitting the candidate's message into a pre-existing schema of the meaning of family in the political domain. Further, Study 2 found that authoritarian and benevolent sexist participants, who are also likely to identify as Republican, were particularly responsive to the gender and family content of maternal appeals. Mothers in the Republican strict father family are subordinate to the

father, whereas mothers in the Democratic nurturant parent family are the father's equal (Hayden, 2003; Lakoff, 1996, 2002); therefore, Republicans may be more likely to respond to maternal appeals with increased gender stereotype activation and prejudice against women who pursue a stereotypically masculine job.

Method

Participants

146 University of Minnesota undergraduates participated in this study in exchange for extra credit in psychology courses. Data from 3 participants were not recorded due to a technical error, leaving 143 participants included in analyses. Of these, 65% were women, and 35% were men. They were roughly similar in age ($M = 20.6$, $SD = 3.2$), ethnicity (82.5% white, 1.4% Latino/Hispanic, 14.0% Asian/Asian American, 2.8% black/African American, 1.4% Native American), and citizenship status (90.9% U.S. citizens) to other undergraduate samples.

Study Procedure

Upon their arrival in the lab, participants watched the campaign advertisements by a political candidate that were used in Study 2. Once again, the campaign ads contained the manipulation of the key independent variables: Candidate gender, party, and presence or absence of a maternal appeal. After watching the campaign ad, participants completed measures of their overall evaluations of the candidate and a computerized lexical decision task designed to measure the activation of stereotypes of women as mothers and caregivers (dependent variable). Next, participants read that the researchers were also interested in their first impressions of other people who are not political candidates, and that hiring decisions are one area in which first impressions are

particularly important. Participants then saw a description of a job opening that emphasized leadership abilities, and reviewed an application for the job submitted by a woman who was a mother. Next, participants evaluated the job applicant's commitment, competence, and hireability. After completing these measures, participants responded to factual items about the campaign ad and about the job applicant as a manipulation check and provided information about their political ideology, political party preference, age, gender, and racial/ethnic group membership. They were then debriefed as to the real purpose of the study and thanked for their participation. Further description of the measures included in this study is provided in the sections below; the specific items in each scale are also included in Appendix H.⁶⁰

Manipulation of Independent Variables

Three independent variables were manipulated in Study 3 in a fully-crossed, between-subjects design: the gender of the political candidate (man/woman), party affiliation of the political candidate (Democrat/Republican), and whether he/she used a maternal appeal (maternal/control). The manipulations were embedded in the same television campaign advertisements used in Study 2. The scripts of the maternal and control ads are available in Appendix E.

⁶⁰ In order to replicate the results of Study 2, participants in Study 3 also completed the online survey that was administered to Study 2 participants. In Study 3, 164 participants completed Part 1 and 167 completed Part 2; the 146 participants completed who both parts of the study were retained for analysis. Students who were eligible to receive credit for research participation received an email inviting them to participate in a two-part study about first impressions of political candidates. After giving their informed consent, participants completed a series of questionnaires to measure gender schematicity, benevolent sexism, authoritarianism, social dominance orientation (SDO). Study 3 does not include specific hypotheses concerning these individual difference variables; thus, they are not included in the analyses reported in this chapter. After completing the online survey, participants completed the second portion of the study in a computer lab.

Dependent Variables

Activation of gender stereotypes. The activation of stereotypes of women as nurturers and caregivers was measured using a lexical decision task. After completing a brief practice task, participants each saw 80 letter strings and indicated as quickly as possible, using a keystroke, whether the string of letters formed a word. Previous research in social cognition has indicated that such measures can capture individual variation in the activation of stereotypes (e.g., Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 2001). Of the 80 stimuli presented, 40 were words, and of those, 20 were words that related to the stereotype of women as nurturers and caregivers (e.g., sincere, nurse, warm, loving).

The target words for the lexical decision task were drawn from a separate study of 70 participants designed to examine the content of stereotypes of mothers and women. Participants saw a question of the form “to what extent is a typical mother/woman _____?” and rated a series of 38 traits on a 1(not at all) to 7 (extremely) scale. The full results of this pilot study are described in Appendix F. The words selected for inclusion in the lexical decision task were trait words for which mothers and/or women were rated significantly higher than the midpoint and significantly different from men and/or fathers (i.e., target words). Study 3 also included several words that invoke the category “woman” (e.g., waitress, secretary) that were used by Banaji and Hardin (1996) in similar research. Nontarget words were drawn from a list of personal trait adjectives to match the target words in length and valence (e.g., serious, calm, focused; Posner, 2011). All nontarget words were unrelated to gender. Forty nonwords of equal length and with the same letters as the words in this

study were created by scrambling the letters of each of the 20 target and 20 nontarget words using an online word scrambler (e.g, nesecri, resnu, awrm, golvni; Teach-nology, 2011). Complete lists of the letter strings included in each category are provided in Appendix G. Participants responded to each letter string, and their reaction times were recorded to the nearest millisecond.

Application of gender and mother stereotypes. To determine whether participants use stereotypes of women as nurturers and caregivers to guide subsequent interpersonal judgments, participants read a description of a job opening for “Vice President of Finance” that was created based on a description of materials used by Heilman and Okimoto (2008) in a similar study, and job postings in the accounting section of an online employment website (www.monster.com). The job description emphasized the masculine leadership and analytical aspects of the job, and included the phrases “synthesizes complex or diverse information,” “willingness to make decisions,” and “strong leadership and managerial abilities” in the job description. Next, participants saw a female accountant’s application for the job of Vice President of Finance, which was based on previous research on gender and motherhood stereotyping in organizational contexts (Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008) and information about the accounting profession from an online employment website (www.monster.com). The application indicated that “Debra” was an experienced accountant. Her status as a mother was indicated by a qualification listed under the heading “other relevant activities”: “Parent-Teacher Association Fundraising Coordinator” (see Correll et al., 2007 for a similar

manipulation of parental status). The job description and job application are provided in Appendix H.

After reviewing the job description and applicant description, participants responded to three items about the applicant's job commitment on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree) scale (e.g., "If hired as Vice President of Finance, the applicant would be very committed to the company"; see Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Participant responses to these items were averaged to form the commitment scale ($M = 6.3$, $SD = 1.4$, $\alpha = .86$).⁶¹ Next, they used three 9-point scale bipolar scales to assess the applicant's competence (e.g., "If hired, the applicant would be competent/not competent"); these items were averaged to form the competence scale ($M = 7.7$, $SD = 1.1$, $\alpha = .91$). Next, participants used a 9-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 9 = strongly agree) to indicate whether the applicant should be considered further for the position, and whether the applicant should be eliminated from consideration; These items were averaged to form the hiring decision scale ($M = 7.6$, $SD = 1.3$, $\alpha = .77$).⁶²

Manipulation Checks

Participants answered four factual questions about the political campaign ad, to be sure that they had watched it. Three of the questions were open-ended: "What is the name of the candidate?", "What state is the candidate from?", and "What issues were

⁶¹ To test for the possibility that participants used shifting standards when evaluating the job applicant, participants also completed three open-ended items about the applicant's job commitment (e.g., "If hired, this applicant would probably take about ___ sick days per month"; see Güngör & Biernat, 2009). Results of the analysis using this variable will be reported in a separate paper.

⁶² In order to replicate the findings of Study 2, Study 3 participants also reported their feeling thermometer rating of the candidate on an 11 – point scale from 1(negative) to 11(positive; $M = 7.5$, $SD = 1.7$). They indicated the likelihood that they would vote for the candidate on a scale from 1 (Not at all likely) to 7 (Very likely; $M = 4.5$, $SD = 1.4$). As an additional measure of attitudes toward the candidate, participants used a 12-point scale from 0 (0%) to 11 (100%) to report the percentage of the candidate's decisions with which they thought they would agree; $M = 7.1$, $SD = 1.8$).

discussed in the ad?” One question was multiple-choice: “How many children does the candidate have?” Response options were 0, 2, 4, “Don’t know,” or “No Response.” Participants also answered four factual questions about the job applicant, to ensure that they had read the application materials. Two of the questions were open-ended: “What is the applicant’s first name?” and “In what state was the applicant educated?” Two questions were multiple choice: “What employment position was the applicant seeking?” with response options Vice President of Finance, Marketing Director, Accounting Clerk, Senior Accountant, Don’t know, and No response; and “Does the applicant have any children?” with response options Yes, No, Don’t know, and No response. Three participants answered only two or three of these items correctly; upon further inspection, these low scores were due to greater unwillingness to guess the answers. Thus, data from all 143 participants were retained for analysis.

As a check on the candidate party manipulation, participants reported their beliefs about the candidate’s ideology on a 1 (liberal) to 7 (conservative) scale ($M = 4.0$, $SD = 1.6$), and their beliefs about the candidate’s party affiliation on a 1 (Democrat) to 7 (Republican) scale ($M = 3.8$, $SD = 1.8$).

Demographic and Control Variables

Participants indicated their political ideology concerning social issues on a 7-point scale from 1 (Very liberal) to 7 (Very conservative; $M = 3.0$, $SD = 1.7$), and their political ideology concerning economic issues on a scale from 1 (Very liberal) to 7 (Very conservative; $M = 4.1$, $SD = 1.6$). Participants also selected their political party preference on a scale that included 1 (Strong Democrat), 2 (Weak Democrat), 3 (Lean Democrat), 4 (Moderate), 5 (Lean Republican), 6 (Weak Republican), and 7 (Strong

Republican; $M = 3.7$, $SD = 1.6$), and reported their gender, age, race/ethnicity, and citizenship status.

Results

Manipulation Checks

A preliminary analysis examined whether participants had interpreted the key manipulations correctly – candidate gender, party, and maternal appeals. Of the participants who volunteered a candidate’s name, 100% guessed a name of the correct gender, indicating that the gender manipulation was effective. To determine whether the party manipulation was successful, participants’ judgments of the Democratic candidate’s ideology and partisanship were compared to those of the Republican candidate using independent-samples t -tests. As expected, Democratic candidates were judged to be significantly more liberal ($M = 3.0$, $SD = 1.1$; $t = -9.7$, $p < .0001$) and more likely to be a Democrat ($M = 2.4$, $SD = 1.0$; $t = -13.2$, $p < .0001$) than were Republican candidates ($M = 5.0$, $SD = 1.3$ and $M = 5.1$, $SD = 1.5$, respectively). A χ^2 test of independence indicated that participants in the maternal appeal condition were significantly more likely than participants in the control condition to mention “family” as one of the issues addressed in the ad ($\chi^2 = 28.9$, $p < .0001$). Further, 96% of participants who saw a candidate make a maternal appeal reported that he or she had children, compared to 25% of participants in the control condition, indicating that the maternal appeal manipulation was effective.

Preparing Lexical Decision Data for Analysis

The full set of lexical decision task data included 80 lexical decision judgments by each of the 143 participants—20 target word trials, 20 nontarget word trials, and 40

nonword trials—for a total of 11,440 trials. To prepare these data for analysis, 806 trials with extremely fast (i.e., less than 150 ms) and extremely slow (i.e., greater than 1500 ms) reaction times, which are likely to represent a participant error, were deleted from the dataset (see Wittenbrink et al., 2001). These trials constituted 7.0% of the total number of trials. Next, 814 trials in which the participant gave the incorrect response (e.g., a word that was judged to be a nonword) were deleted from the dataset. These trials constituted an additional 7.1% of the total number of trials. After deleting these errors, one participant had only six valid trials remaining; this participant's data were dropped from all subsequent analyses of stereotype activation.

Participants' reaction times for the remaining trials were aggregated across word type (i.e., target, nontarget, and nonword) to calculate an average reaction time for each type of word, for each participant. Participants' reaction times in response to target words ($M = 351.99$, $SD = 94.77$), nontarget words ($M = 354.22$, $SD = 93.21$), and nonwords ($M = 396.52$, $SD = 119.99$) were normally distributed. The average reaction times for words in each category are shown in Figure 4-1. As in prior research (Rudman & Borgida, 1995), a repeated-measures ANOVA and follow-up linear contrasts revealed that participants responded more quickly to word stimuli than to nonword stimuli ($F = 49.86$, $p < .0001$ for target words, and $F = 37.29$, $p < .0001$ for nontarget words). Participants' average reaction times in response to nontarget words were subtracted from their average reaction time for target words to create a difference score for each participant. Participants' difference scores were normally distributed ($M = -2.23$, $SD = 41.02$), and represented the speed with which participants responded to gender stereotypic words, relative to control words: Negative difference scores

indicated faster responses to gender-stereotypic words than to control words. The difference score variable was used as the dependent variable in the analyses described below.

Pairwise Correlations

The pairwise correlations between the variables in Study 3 are presented in Table 4-2. Candidate gender and candidate party were not significantly correlated with any other variables, but the dummy variable representing whether a candidate made a maternal appeal was negatively correlated with the reaction time difference score ($r = -.18, p < .05$) and ratings of the target woman's competence ($r = -.16, p < .05$). Although the correlations were not large, they indicated that participants who saw a maternal appeal responded more quickly to gender-stereotypic words and rated the target woman as less competent than did participants who saw the control ad, consistent with *Hypothesis 7*. Participant party identification was also correlated with ratings of the target woman's competence: Republican participants gave lower ratings of competence than did Democrats ($r = -.18, p < .05$). Participants' party identification was also correlated with participant gender, indicating that female participants were more likely than male participants to identify with the Democratic party ($r = -.18, p < .05$). Finally, ratings of the target woman were correlated with one another, as might be expected: Participants who rated the target woman as highly committed were also likely to rate her as highly competent ($r = .44, p < .01$) and recommend that she be hired ($r = .34, p < .01$), and participants who rated the target woman highly competent were considerably more likely to recommend that she be hired ($r = .73, p < .01$).

Do Maternal Appeals Activate Gender Stereotypes?

First, this study examined the hypothesis that maternal appeals activate stereotypes of women as nurturers and caregivers (*Hypothesis 7*). To examine this claim, an ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression was performed in which the difference in reaction times between gender-stereotypic words and control words was the dependent variable. Participants' party identification scores were centered in all analyses. A preliminary model was run to identify participants who were outliers on Cook's *D* (see McClelland, 2000). Four participants whose Cook's *D* scores were further than three standard deviations from the mean were excluded from the analysis.

In a first step, dummy variables representing candidates' gender and the presence or absence of maternal appeals were entered into the regression model, along with control variables that are also likely to be associated with gender stereotype activation in response to the candidates: candidate party, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction. To examine the possibility that the effect of maternal appeals was stronger in response to female candidates' maternal appeals than to male candidates' maternal appeals, or was stronger among Republican participants than among Democratic participants, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x participant party, and maternal appeals x participant party interactions were entered into the model in a second step, and the candidate gender x maternal appeals x participant party interaction was entered in a third step.⁶³ Were *Hypothesis 7* supported, the main effect of maternal appeals would be

⁶³ Another series of regression models tested the possibility that maternal appeals activated gender stereotypes among gender-schematic, benevolent sexist, authoritarian, and/or high SDO participants by testing the maternal appeals x individual difference and candidate gender x maternal appeals x individual

negative and significant in the model, indicating that participants who saw a maternal appeal responded more quickly to gender stereotypic words than to control words.

The results of the analysis of gender stereotype activation are presented in Table 4-3. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender and maternal appeals with control variables taken into account.⁶⁴ The main effect of participant gender was significant ($b = -16.62, p < .05$), indicating that female participants responded more quickly to gender-stereotypic words than did male participants. In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeal, candidate gender x participant party, and participant party x maternal appeal interactions were added to the basic model.⁶⁵ None of these interactions were significant predictors of gender stereotype activation ($2.17 \leq b \leq 5.39$, all *ns*). In Model 3, the candidate gender x maternal appeal x participant party interaction was added to the model. This interaction was significant ($b = -24.54, p < .01$), as were the candidate gender x participant party ($b = 13.77, p < .05$) and participant party x maternal appeals ($b = 18.23, p < .05$) interactions.

To further investigate the significant interactions, I calculated the predicted value of the gender activation difference score variable for Democratic and Republican participants at each level of candidate gender and maternal appeals, along with 95%

difference interactions. In cases in which there were significant effects of these individual-difference variables, the effects dropped to non-significant when the maternal appeal x participant party interaction was added to the model. Another set of analyses examined the role of candidate party by testing the candidate gender x candidate party, maternal appeals x candidate party, and candidate gender x candidate party x maternal appeals interactions; all interactions with candidate party were not significant.

⁶⁴ Control variables were candidate party, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 4-3).

⁶⁵ Variables in the model were candidate gender, maternal appeals, candidate party, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x participant party, participant party x maternal appeals (see Table 4-3).

confidence intervals for each point prediction.⁶⁶ Predicted scores that lay outside one another's confidence intervals were judged to be significantly different. The results of this analysis are pictured in Figure 4-2.

For Democratic participants who did not see a maternal appeal, gender stereotypes were activated to the same degree in response to male candidates (Predicted value = 15.02) as they were to female candidates (Predicted value = 2.31). Maternal appeals by a female candidate did not increase gender stereotype activation among Democratic participants (Predicted value = 3.73); however, Democratic participants who saw a maternal appeal by a male candidate responded more quickly to the gender-stereotypic words (Predicted value = -27.25). Republican participants who did not see a maternal appeal showed more gender stereotype activation in response to male candidates (Predicted value = -17.71) than they did in response to female candidates (Predicted value = 13.91). Maternal appeals eliminated the difference between male and female candidates: Maternal appeals by male candidates led to less stereotype activation (Predicted value = -1.29), and maternal appeals by female candidates led to more stereotype activation (Predicted value = -4.96) than did the non-maternal controls. Consistent with *Hypothesis 7*, maternal appeals increased gender stereotype activation under some circumstances, although not those that were predicted: Among Democratic participants, gender stereotypes were activated in response to *male candidates'* maternal appeals.

⁶⁶ To estimate these predicted values, I substituted +/- 1 *SD* into the regression equation in place of the participant party identification variable; 1 *SD* = 1.61.

Do Maternal Appeals Lead to Gender Prejudice?

Next, Study 3 tested the hypothesis, derived from the theory of maternal politics, that maternal appeals would increase the likelihood that gender stereotypes would be applied in a subsequent judgment of a mother in a leadership domain (*Hypothesis 8*). A series of OLS regressions was conducted in which participants' ratings of the job applicant's commitment and competence, and their recommendations for hiring the applicant were the dependent variables. A preliminary model was run to identify participants who were outliers on Cook's *D* (see McClelland, 2000), and participants whose Cook's *D* scores were further than three standard deviations from the mean were excluded from analyses.⁶⁷

Dummy variables representing candidate gender and the presence or absence of maternal appeals were entered into the regression model, along with control variables: candidate party, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction. To examine the possibility that maternal appeals increased prejudice more dramatically when presented by a female candidate, or among Republican participants, the candidate gender x maternal appeal, candidate gender x participant party, and participant party x maternal appeals interactions were entered into the model in a second step.⁶⁸ The candidate gender x maternal appeal x participant party

⁶⁷ Five participants were excluded from the analysis of applicant commitment ratings, 3 were excluded from the analysis of applicant competence ratings, and 7 were excluded from the analysis of hiring recommendations, on the basis of their Cook's *D* scores.

⁶⁸ Another series of regression models tested the possibility that maternal appeals led to greater prejudice among gender schematic, benevolent sexist, authoritarian, and/or high SDO participants by testing the maternal appeals x individual difference and candidate gender x maternal appeals x individual difference interactions. For cases in which there were significant effects of these individual-difference variables, the effects dropped to non-significant when the maternal appeal x participant party interaction was added to the model. Another set of analyses examined the role of candidate party by testing the candidate gender x

interaction was entered in a third step. Were *Hypothesis 8* supported, the main effect of maternal appeals would be negative and significant in each model, indicating that participants who saw a maternal appeal evaluated the job applicant more negatively than did participants who saw the control ad.

Ratings of Job Applicant's Commitment

The results of the analysis of the job applicant commitment ratings are presented in Table 4-4. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender and maternal appeals, after control variables were taken into account.⁶⁹ Candidate gender ($b = .06, ns$) and maternal appeals ($b = .20, ns$) did not significantly affect ratings of the job applicant's commitment. Participant gender was a marginally significant predictor of commitment ratings ($b = -.52, p < .10$), such that female participants tended to give higher ratings than male participants. In addition, participants who identified as Republican tended to give lower commitment ratings ($b = -.24, p < .05$). In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x participant party, and participant party x maternal appeals interactions were added to the basic model.⁷⁰ The candidate gender x maternal appeals interaction was marginally significant ($b = .92, p < .10$). Model 3 added the candidate gender x maternal appeals x participant party interaction to the analysis; this interaction was marginally significant ($b = .62, p < .10$),

candidate party, maternal appeals x candidate party, and candidate gender x candidate party x maternal appeals interactions; all interactions with candidate party were not significant.

⁶⁹ Control variables were candidate party, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 4-4).

⁷⁰ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeal, candidate gender x participant party, and maternal appeal x participant party (see Table 4-4).

and the candidate gender x maternal appeals interaction was significant ($b = 1.03, p < .05$).

To further examine the significant candidate gender x maternal appeals interaction, I calculated the predicted job applicant commitment rating for each level of candidate gender and maternal appeals. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 4-3. Participants who watched the non-maternal ads gave similar ratings of the job applicant's commitment, regardless of whether they saw a female candidate (Predicted value = 6.07) or a male candidate (Predicted value = 6.44). Participants who watched the maternal ad, however, gave higher ratings of the applicant's job commitment in response to female candidates (Predicted value = 6.69) than they did in response to male candidates (Predicted value = 6.14). Rather than universally depressing job applicant commitment ratings, as predicted by *Hypothesis 8*, maternal appeals polarized participants' responses to male and female political candidates, such that exposure to female maternal candidates led to *less* prejudice toward the female target than did exposure to male maternal candidates.

Ratings of Job Applicant's Competence

Results of the analysis of job applicant competence ratings are presented in Table 4-5. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender and maternal appeals on participants' ratings of the job applicant's competence, after control variables were taken into account.⁷¹ None of the variables in this model were significant predictors of competence ratings ($-.20 \leq b \leq .20$, all *ns*). In Model 2, the candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x participant party, and participant party x maternal appeals

⁷¹ Control variables were candidate party, participant gender, participant party identification, and the participant party x candidate party interaction (see Table 4-5).

interactions were added to the model.⁷² The participant party x maternal appeals interaction was significant ($b = -.23, p < .05$). In Model 3, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x participant party interaction was added to the model; the three-way interaction was not significant ($b = .32, ns$).

To further examine the significant participant party x maternal appeals interaction, I calculated the predicted job applicant competence ratings for Democratic and Republican participants at each level of maternal appeals, along with 95% confidence intervals for each point estimate.⁷³ The results of this analysis are pictured in Figure 4-3. For Democratic participants, competence ratings did not differ, regardless of whether candidates made maternal appeals. Among Republican participants, however, those who saw candidates make a maternal appeal gave lower ratings of the applicant's competence (Predicted value = 7.35) than did those who saw the non-maternal ad (Predicted value = 7.93). Consistent with *Hypothesis 8*, maternal appeals increased prejudice toward a female job applicant, but only among Republican viewers.

Recommendations to Hire the Applicant

Results of the analysis of participants' recommendations to hire the applicant are presented in Table 4-6. Model 1 examined the main effects of candidate gender and maternal appeals on recommendations to hire the applicant, after control variables were taken into account.⁷⁴ None of the variables in Model 1 were significant predictors of hiring recommendations ($-.15 \leq b \leq .30$, all *ns*). Model 2 added the candidate gender x

⁷² Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, participant gender, participant party identification, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeal, candidate gender x participant party, and maternal appeal x participant party (see Table 4-5).

⁷³ To estimate these predicted values, I substituted $\pm 1 SD$ into the regression equation in place of the participant party identification variable; $1 SD = 1.61$.

⁷⁴ Control variables were candidate party, participant gender, participant party identification, and participant party x candidate party (see Table 4-6).

maternal appeals, candidate gender x participant party, and participant party x maternal appeals interactions to the basic model.⁷⁵ The participant party x maternal appeals interaction was significant ($b = -.32, p < .05$). In Model 3, the candidate gender x maternal appeals x participant party interaction was added to the model; this interaction was not significant ($b = .05, ns$).

To investigate the nature of the significant participant party x maternal appeals interaction, I calculated the predicted value of applicant hireability ratings for Democratic and Republican participants, at each level of maternal appeals, along with 95% confidence intervals for each point estimate.⁷⁶ The results of this analysis are pictured in Figure 4-5. Among Democrats, maternal appeals increased ratings of the job applicant's competence (Predicted value = 8.14), compared to the non-maternal ad (Predicted value = 7.69). Once again, among Republican participants, those who saw the maternal appeal ad gave lower ratings of the job applicant's competence (Predicted value = 7.29) than those who saw the non-maternal ad (Predicted value = 7.86). Consistent with *Hypothesis 8*, maternal appeals increased prejudice toward a female job applicant, but only among Republican viewers. Among Democratic viewers, maternal appeals were associated with more positive hiring recommendations.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Variables in the model were candidate gender, candidate party, maternal appeals, participant gender, participant party, participant party x candidate party, candidate gender x maternal appeals, candidate gender x participant party, and participant party x maternal appeals (see Table 4-6).

⁷⁶ To estimate these predicted values, I substituted $\pm 1 SD$ into the regression equation in place of the participant party identification variable; $1 SD = 1.61$.

⁷⁷ Given that maternal appeals activated gender stereotypes and increased prejudice among some participants, it is possible that gender stereotype activation acts as a mediator of the effect of maternal appeals on gender prejudice. A series of OLS regressions were run to test the possibility that the effects of the maternal appeals x participant party interactions on ratings of applicant competence and hiring recommendations were mediated by gender stereotype activation. No evidence for mediation was found. The findings reported here indicate that maternal appeals led to stereotype activation among some participants (i.e., Democrats who saw maternal male candidates) and to prejudice toward the job applicant among other participants (i.e., Republicans who saw maternal appeals by candidates of either gender);

Discussion

Study 1 and Study 2, described in previous chapters, provided initial support for the theory of maternal politics, which holds that political candidates can use maternal appeals in their campaigns to connect the positive associations with mothers in the private sphere to voters' evaluations of candidates, and to advance a liberal policy agenda. The theory also warns, however, that maternal appeals may be accompanied by some unintended side effects. Second-wave feminists argued that there is no fundamental, unified experience of motherhood, and that claiming that all women share one set of value priorities undermines gender equality (Dietz, 1985; Firestone, 1971; Stearney, 1994). Consistent with these perspectives, social-psychological research shows that positive evaluations of women who adopt stereotype-consistent roles and behaviors does not constitute a commitment to gender equality, and is associated with gender stereotyping and prejudice (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989; Fiske & Glick, 1996).

Therefore, the purpose of Study 3 was to test the hypotheses, derived from the theory of maternal politics, that maternal appeals activate stereotypes of women as mothers and caregivers (*Hypothesis 7*) and increase the use of such stereotypes in subsequent judgments (*Hypothesis 8*). Because they emphasize traits and behaviors that are central to the female gender role, maternal appeals are expected to bring to mind stereotypes of women and mothers, and to consequently increase the likelihood that stereotypes would color evaluations of a female applicant for a traditionally masculine job. Further, these effects may be stronger in response to female candidates' maternal appeals, which are consistent with stereotypes of women, than to male candidates'

thus, the lack of evidence for mediation is likely a result of differential effects of maternal appeals on these subsets of participants.

maternal appeals. They may also be stronger among Republican participants, who are more likely to hold an image of the ideal family in which the mother is subordinate to the father (Barker & Tinnick, 2006; Deason et al., 2008; Hayden, 2003; Lakoff, 1996, 2002). To test these predictions, student participants watched a fictional campaign video in which the candidate's gender, party, and the presence of absence of maternal appeals were experimentally manipulated, and then completed a reaction time measure of gender stereotype activation and evaluated a job applicant who was a mother.

Study 3 provided some support for *Hypothesis 7*: Maternal appeals increased gender stereotype activation under some circumstances. Whereas the theory of maternal politics predicts that maternal appeals by *female candidates* were especially likely to activate gender stereotypes, however, Study 3 found that among Democratic participants, gender stereotypes were activated in response to *male candidates'* maternal appeals. The theory predicted that a stereotype-consistent portrayal of a female candidate would bring stereotypes of women and mothers to mind; instead, the results suggest that gender stereotype activation occurred when male candidates acted in stereotype-inconsistent ways, by emphasizing their maternal roles and traits.

Consistent with *Hypothesis 8*, maternal appeals were associated with a greater tendency to discriminate against a mother applying for a traditionally masculine job, albeit only among Republican participants. Republicans, on average, tended to give lower ratings of the female job applicant's workplace commitment, and Republicans who saw a maternal appeal gave lower ratings of the applicant's competence and were less likely to recommend her for hire. In contrast, Democrats were *more likely* to recommend the applicant for hire after watching a maternal appeal ad, and their ratings

of the applicant's competence were similar in the maternal appeal and control conditions. Democrats and Republicans may respond to maternal messages in distinct ways based on different images of the family presented by the elites in each party, fitting the candidate's message into a pre-existing schema of the meaning of family in the political domain. Perhaps because the Republican Party advocates adherence to traditional gender roles, particularly by mothers (Freeman, 1993; Venker & Schlafly, 2011), Republicans responded to maternal appeals with increased prejudice against a mother pursuing a traditionally masculine job.

In a departure from their ratings of the job applicant's competence and hireability, Republican and Democratic participants who saw maternal appeals by female candidates gave *higher* ratings of the job applicant's commitment than did participants who saw maternal appeals by male candidates. Though they may be judged to be as committed to the job as their male counterparts, women who are mothers are often seen as less competent; competence, not commitment, tends to drive decisions about hiring and promotion (Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004). Consistent with prior work, in the current study, ratings of the applicant's competence were strongly correlated with hiring recommendations ($r = .73$), whereas ratings of her commitment were a weaker predictor of hiring ($r = .34$). Thus, although maternal appeals by female candidates were associated with more positive commitment ratings, maternal appeals also led to greater prejudice in competence judgments, and evaluations of competence were weighted more heavily than evaluations of commitment in workplace decisions.

Conclusion

Study 3 provides the first evidence of the claim, articulated in the theory of maternal politics, that the effects of maternal appeals go beyond interpersonal judgments of the candidates who make them. Evidence from this study indicates that maternal appeals have implications for gender stereotyping and prejudice outside the political arena, and that maternal appeals have the potential to perpetuate harmful stereotypes of women and mothers. As predicted by the theory, maternal appeals were associated with gender stereotype activation under some conditions. Further, maternal appeals led to increases in prejudice toward a female job applicant among Republican participants. Taken together, these three studies represent a substantial first look at the psychological dynamics of maternal appeals in political campaigns, and provide support for the central tenets of the theory of maternal politics.

Table 4-1. Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Scale Minimum	Scale Maximum
Participant Party ID	3.7	1.6	1	7
Participant Political Ideology - Social	3.0	1.7	1	7
Participant Political Ideology - Economic	4.1	1.6		
Perceptions of Candidate Ideology	4.0	1.6	1	7
Perceptions of Candidate Party ID	3.8	1.8	1	7
Reaction Time Differential	-2.2	41.0	N/A	N/A
Job Applicant Commitment	6.3	1.4	1	9
Job Applicant Competence	7.7	1.1	1	9
Job Applicant Hiring Recommendation	7.6	1.3	1	9

Note. Political variables were scored such that higher numbers indicated more conservative responses.

Table 4-2. Correlations Between Variables Used to Test *Hypotheses 7 and 8*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Candidate Gender	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Maternal Appeal	.01	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Candidate Party	-.06	-.02	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. Participant Gender	.15	-.08	-.06	-	-	-	-	-
5. Participant Party	.09	.11	.13	-.18*	-	-	-	-
6. Reaction Time Differential	.05	-.18*	.09	-.09	-.03	-	-	-
7. Commitment	.02	.05	-.12	-.10	-.15	.04	-	-
8. Competence	.01	-.16*	-.01	.12	-.18*	.08	.44**	-
9. Hiring Recommendation	-.04	-.06	.08	.13	-.12	.12	.34**	.73**

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Table 4-3. Effect of Maternal Appeals on Gender Stereotype Activation

Predictor	Reaction Time Differential					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	10.33	(7.26)	7.22	(10.17)	9.46	(9.97)
Candidate Party	7.53	(7.18)	7.50	(7.26)	6.06	(7.11)
Maternal Appeal	-11.02	(7.14)	-14.24	(10.50)	-12.92	(10.27)
Participant Gender	-16.62*	(7.71)	-16.89*	(7.78)	-18.53*	(7.63)
Participant Party ID	-.196	(3.15)	-4.33	(4.72)	-8.67 ⁺	(4.89)
Cand Party x P. Party	-2.67	(4.53)	-1.69	(4.62)	-2.84	(4.53)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	5.39	(14.40)	4.20	(14.06)
Cand Gen x P. Party	--	--	2.17	(4.77)	13.77*	(6.40)
P. Party x Mat App	--	--	4.63	(4.72)	18.23**	(6.91)
Cand Gen x Mat App x P. Party	--	--	--	--	-24.54**	(9.29)
Constant	5.37	(8.77)	6.66	(9.59)	7.93	(9.38)
<i>F</i> (df)	1.52 (6, 125)		1.20 (9, 122)		1.83 (10, 121) ⁺	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.023		.013		.059	
<i>N</i>	130		130		130	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Candidate party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4-4. Effect of Maternal Appeals on Ratings of Job Applicant's Commitment

Predictor	Job Applicant Commitment Rating					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	.06	(.25)	-.37	(.35)	-.46	(.35)
Candidate Party	-.24	(.25)	-.23	(.25)	-.21	(.24)
Maternal Appeal	.20	(.25)	-.31	(.36)	-.40	(.36)
Participant Gender	-.52 ⁺	(.26)	-.54*	(.26)	-.51 ⁺	(.26)
Participant Party ID	-.24*	(.11)	-.19	(.16)	-.07	(.17)
Cand Party x P. Party	.12	(.16)	.11	(.16)	-.14	(.16)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.92 ⁺	(.50)	1.03*	(.49)
Cand Gen x P. Party	--	--	.01	(.17)	-.30	(.24)
P. Party x Mat App	--	--	-.13	(.17)	-.48 ⁺	(.25)
Cand Gen x Mat App x P. Party	--	--	--	--	.62 ⁺	(.34)
Constant	6.64***	(.30)	6.88***	(.33)	6.89***	(.33)
<i>F</i> (df)	1.69 (6, 124)		1.56 (9, 121)		1.77 (10, 120) ⁺	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.031		.037		.056	
<i>N</i>	131		131		131	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Candidate party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4-5. Effect of Maternal Appeals on Ratings of Job Applicant's Competence

Predictor	Job Applicant Competence Rating					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	-.06	(.18)	-.25	(.24)	-.28	(.24)
Candidate Party	.20	(.17)	.21	(.17)	.22	(.17)
Maternal Appeal	-.20	(.17)	-.47 ⁺	(.25)	-.50*	(.25)
Participant Gender	.05	(.19)	.03	(.19)	.05	(.19)
Participant Party ID	-.13 ⁺	(.08)	-.04	(.11)	.02	(.12)
Cand Party x P. Party	.07	(.11)	.05	(.11)	.07	(.11)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.48	(.34)	.51	(.34)
Cand Gen x P. Party	--	--	.04	(.11)	-.12	(.16)
P. Party x Mat App	--	--	-.23*	(.11)	-.40*	(.16)
Cand Gen x Mat App x P. Party	--	--	--	--	.32	(.22)
Constant	7.79***	(.21)	7.93***	(.23)	7.91***	(.23)
<i>F</i> (df)	1.18 (6, 126)		1.44 (9, 123)		1.52 (10, 122)	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.008		.029		.038	
<i>N</i>	133		133		133	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Candidate party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 4-6. Effect of Maternal Appeals on Recommendations to Hire Job Applicant

Predictor	Job Applicant Hireability Rating					
	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>b</i>	SE
Candidate Gender	-.15	(.21)	-.24	(.29)	-.24	(.29)
Candidate Party	.20	(.21)	.20	(.20)	.20	(.21)
Maternal Appeal	-.05	(.21)	-.19	(.30)	-.20	(.30)
Participant Gender	.30	(.22)	.30	(.22)	.31	(.22)
Participant Party ID	-.15	(.09)	.05	(.14)	.06	(.14)
Cand Party x P. Party	.08	(.13)	.03	(.13)	.04	(.13)
Cand Gen x Mat App	--	--	.25	(.41)	.26	(.41)
Cand Gen x P. Party	--	--	-.03	(.14)	-.05	(.19)
P. Party x Mat App	--	--	-.32*	(.13)	-.35 ⁺	(.20)
Cand Gen x Mat App x P. Party	--	--	--	--	.05	(.27)
Constant	7.53***	(.25)	7.61***	(.27)	7.61***	(.27)
<i>F</i> (df)	0.48 (6, 122)		1.04 (9, 119)		0.95 (10, 118)	
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.009		.037		.029	
<i>N</i>	129		129		129	

Note. Table entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients and standard errors. Gender variables are coded 1 for woman and 0 for man. Party variable is coded 1 for Republican and 0 for Democrat.

⁺ $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Figure 4-1. Average Response Time by Word Type

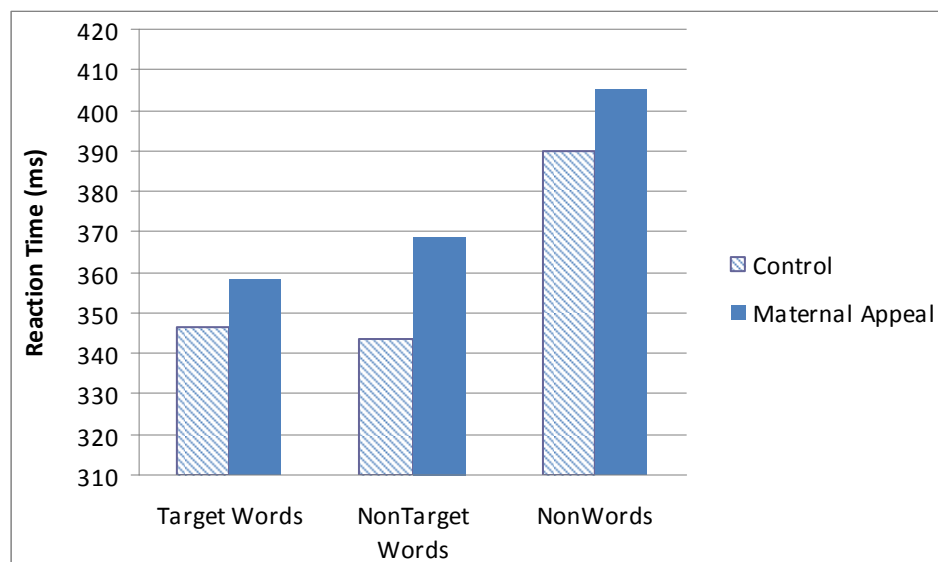
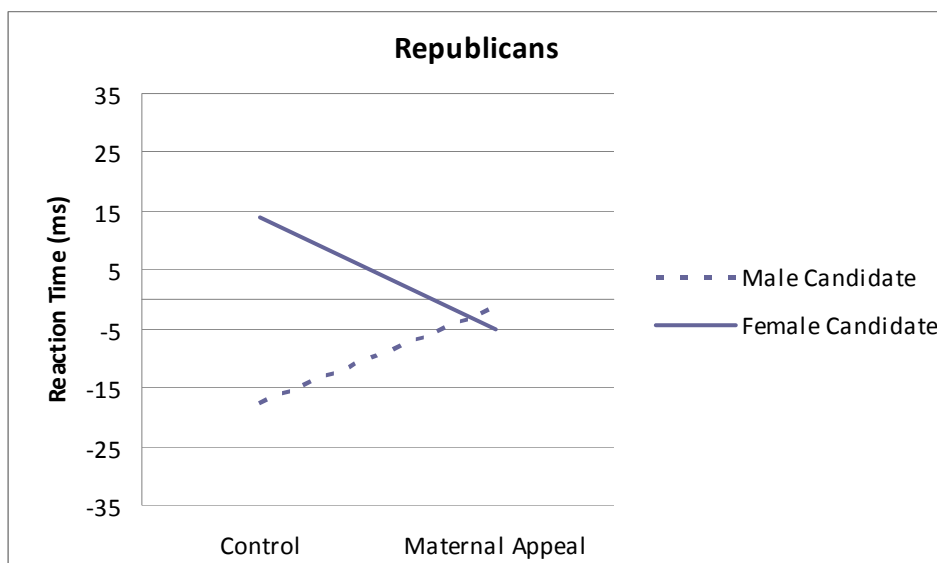
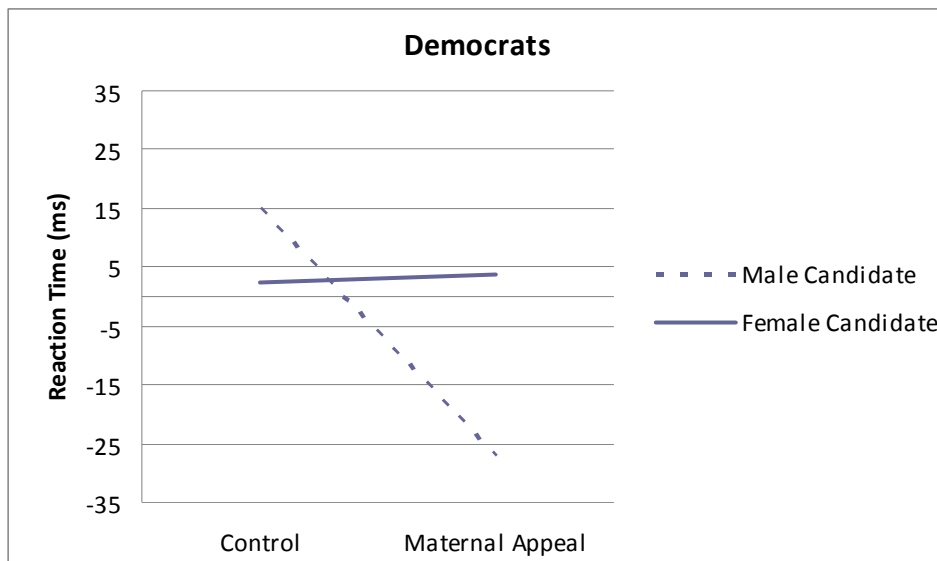


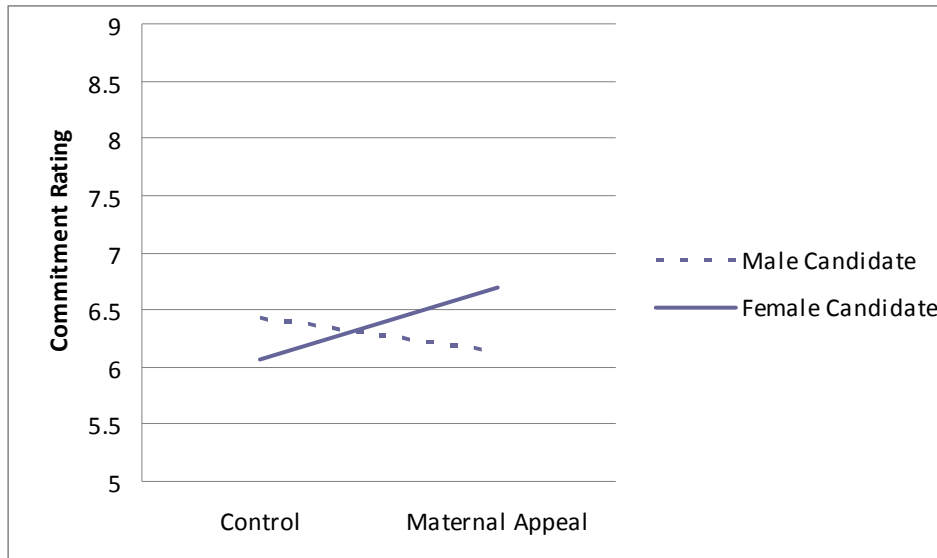
Figure 4-2. Reaction Time Difference Scores by Participant Party ID, Candidate

Gender, and Maternal Appeals



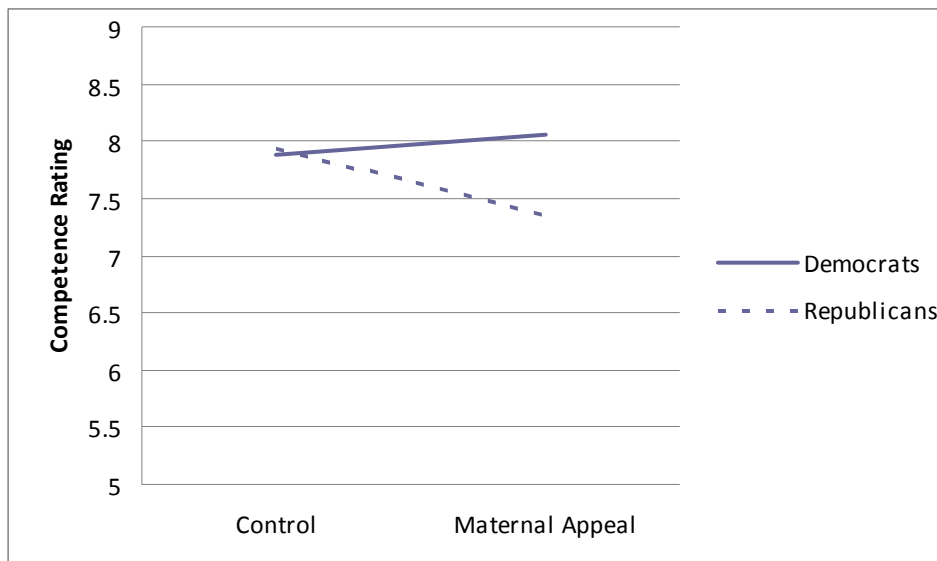
	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Democrats: Male	15.02(-3.33, 33.37)	-27.25(-49.41, -5.09)
Democrats: Female	2.31(-16.43, 21.06)	3.73(-16.43, 23.89)
Republicans: Male	-17.71(-37.85, 2.43)	-1.29(-25.21, 22.64)
Republicans: Female	13.91(-8.09, 35.91)	-4.96(-20.61, 10.69)

Figure 4-3. Ratings of Job Applicant Commitment by Candidate Gender and Maternal Appeals



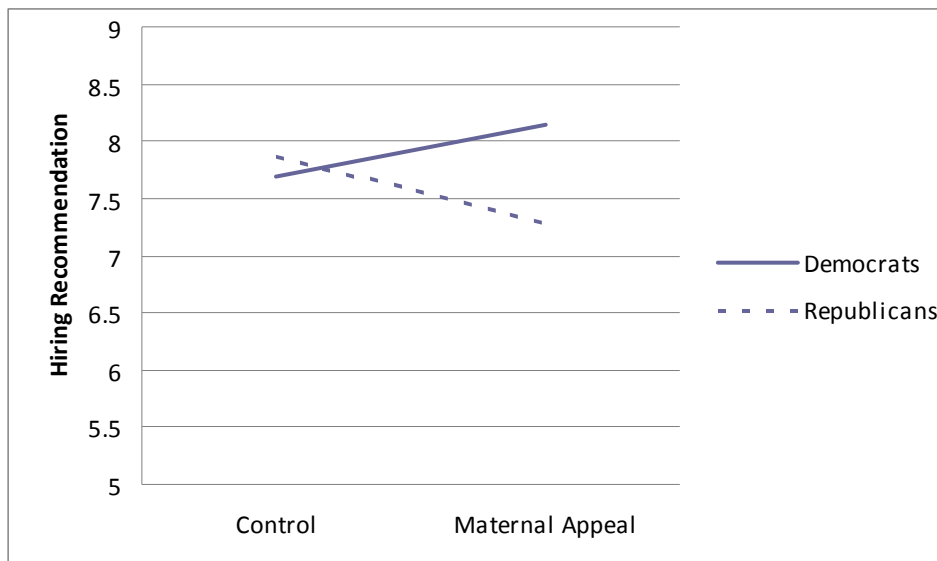
	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Male Candidate	6.44(5.95, 6.93)	6.14(5.62, 6.65)
Female Candidate	6.07(5.59, 6.55)	6.69(6.23, 7.14)

Figure 4-4. Ratings of Job Applicant Competence by Participant Party ID and Maternal Appeals



	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Democrats	7.89(7.57, 8.21)	8.05(7.69, 8.40)
Republicans	7.93(7.56, 8.29)	7.35(7.02, 7.68)

Figure 4-5. Recommendation to Hire Job Applicant by Participant Party ID and Maternal Appeals



	Predicted Value (95% C.I.)	
	Control	Maternal Appeal
Democrats	7.69(7.30, 8.07)	8.14(7.72, 8.57)
Republicans	7.86(7.43, 8.29)	7.29(6.90, 7.69)

Chapter 5: Maternal Appeals in Politics: Theory and Practice

This project revisited an historic perspective on motherhood that has been neglected in recent psychological theories and research: The idea that motherhood has hidden power that can be harnessed to advance a political agenda using a “maternal appeal.” Specifically, the studies described in prior chapters tested a novel theory of the psychological dynamics of maternal appeals in politics. The findings of this research provide support for some of the central tenets of the theory of maternal politics: Candidates do attempt to channel the power of motherhood for political gain, and in the contemporary political environment, male candidates have more leeway to make maternal appeals than do female candidates. Although they compromised political candidates’ chances of electoral success, maternal appeals also changed the standards by which leaders were evaluated such that feminine characteristics were weighted more heavily in the decision to vote for a candidate. Moreover, maternal appeals had effects beyond voters’ evaluations of candidates: Maternal appeals increased support for liberal policies among some individuals, suggesting that maternal messages can contribute to a liberal political agenda. However, maternal appeals also led to prejudice toward a mother in a non-political leadership context, with implications for the ethics of using maternal appeals as a political persuasion tool. Taken together, the findings of these studies support the claim that maternal appeals have a unique power, but in the current socio-cultural environment in which motherhood is devalued and separate from the public sphere, the effects of its power are limited.

Conceptualizing Maternal Appeals

Before testing specific hypotheses about maternal appeals in campaigns, this project made the unique contribution of defining and quantifying maternal appeals in the political arena. Mothers are expected to be the central, irreplaceable caregivers for their children, to selflessly contribute excessive time and energy to childrearing, and to respond immediately and appropriately to each of their children's self-defined needs. Further, the maternal realm exists outside the rational capitalist marketplace, and is ruled by love rather than money; putting a price tag on time spent with children is thought to be incomprehensible (Hays, 1996). Recent social-scientific research has found that motherhood is a low-status position: Mothers earn less income than similarly situated men and childless women over the course of their working lives, are seen as less competent, and are less likely to be interviewed, hired, and promoted (Budig & England, 2001; Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004; Fuegen et al., 2004). Psychoanalytic and essentialist feminist theories, however, view motherhood as a position of unique power; this perspective is reflected in the history of female political leadership and in contemporary maternal activism (Evans, 2006; Hayden, 2003; Irigaray, 1991; Ruddick, 1989; 1997; Schiff, 2011; Strong, 2007).

Despite considerable reflection on maternal identities and stereotypes in the psychological literature and beyond, this project is one of the first empirical studies to examine the dynamics of motherhood in politics. To do so, I drew parallels between the cultural image of motherhood described in the literature and campaign messages from the 2004 election cycle (Study 1, see Chapter 2). Findings revealed that maternal appeals are present in political campaigns. Candidates most often used visual maternal

appeals, including the appearance of children or other family members in their ads, to communicate a commitment to family or to children's needs. Verbal maternal appeals in which candidates asserted their commitment to family or explained how experiences in the family have shaped their policy positions were also present.

Candidates' decision to invoke traditional maternal traits, roles, and values in campaign advertisements is evidence of political candidates' belief that maternal qualities have power in the political domain.

Maternal Appeals and Candidates' Issue Priorities

If candidates believe that maternal traits and values hold political power, they are likely to try to use this power in the service of specific political goals. The personal traits associated with motherhood are believed to instill competence to handle stereotypically feminine issues (i.e., issues that women are seen as better able to handle by virtue of their stereotypical strengths, e.g., education, health care, social welfare; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). Consequently, the first prediction articulated by the theory of maternal politics was that candidates would be more likely to use maternal appeals in ads that were focused on feminine issues (*Hypothesis 1*, Study 1). Because motherhood is central to stereotypes of women, maternal appeals should enhance perceptions of stereotypically feminine traits in either a male or female candidate, which in turn should lead them to be seen as more competent at handling feminine issues. Findings revealed that Democrats, but not Republicans, tended to use maternal appeals in the context of feminine issues, which overlap considerably with the Democratic Party's issue priorities. Republicans, particularly female Republicans, showed the opposite trend:

They were more likely to use maternal appeals in ads that were not focused on feminine issues.

The rift between Democrats' and Republicans' maternal strategies can be understood in the context of liberal maternal activism. Feminist political theories hold that there is an essential quality of motherhood that speaks to a liberal morality of caring for others (Hayden, 2003; Ruddick, 1989). If motherhood has an intrinsic connection to liberal ideology, then it makes sense that Democrats and Republicans would invoke the traits and values associated with motherhood in different situations. The essential nature of motherhood can be used to promote Democrats' liberal policy agenda, but among Republicans, motherhood must be used in a different way that minimizes its liberal connotations.

Given the association of maternal appeals and liberal politics, it is perhaps most surprising that Republicans use maternal appeals at all. This project did not examine associations between maternal appeals and other political issues, and the *lack* of attention to feminine issues in some candidates' ads did not provide any information about which issues such campaigns *did* emphasize. If they are used more often in the context of other issues that were not examined in Study 1, then Republicans may be using maternal appeals to solidify their commitment to a completely different set of issue priorities, calling into question the claim that maternal appeals are intrinsically related to feminine issues. If Republicans' use of maternal appeals is not systematically related to any specific issue priorities, however, then perhaps Republicans advance traditional maternal roles, traits, and values to complement or balance a conservative

policy agenda, or to legitimize Republican women's candidacy in a party that prefers women in traditionally feminine roles.

Candidate Gender and Maternal Appeals

Although the presence of maternal appeals in real campaigns provides some evidence of candidates' belief that motherhood has a place in the political domain and can enhance a candidate's image and garner voter support under some circumstances, voters' *reactions* to maternal appeals are not likely to be universally positive. Role congruity theory in social psychology provided guidance for the theory of maternal politics to formulate hypotheses about voters' reactions to maternal appeals by male and female candidates. Because motherhood itself is viewed in contemporary society as a low-status position that is incongruent with political leadership, female candidates who present themselves as maternal figures are likely to be seen as a particularly poor match for a political role. Male candidates, however, who are already seen as competent on the masculine issues presumed most important in American politics, may be able to enhance their image using a maternal appeal.

The study's second prediction, therefore, was that in the current socio-cultural environment, male candidates would anticipate voters' prejudicial reactions, and use more maternal appeals than would female candidates in their campaign ads (*Hypothesis 2, Study 1*). Contrary to expectation, men were *not* more likely to use maternal appeals in their campaigns; overall, men and women were equally likely to make maternal appeals in their campaigns. The findings from the 2004 election cycle also showed, however, that there was a systematic relation between candidate gender and maternal appeals when other aspects of the electoral environment were considered: Female

Democrats tended to use visual maternal appeals against a male opponent, whereas female Republicans used verbal maternal appeals in campaigns that were not focused on feminine issues.

Although the examination of candidates' maternal strategies in the 2004 election cycle did not reveal the predicted gender difference in the use of maternal strategies, it showed greater *variation* in female candidates' use of maternal appeals than that of male candidates. This finding suggests that women running for office use maternal appeals carefully and strategically, adjusting the amount of maternal content in their campaigns based on characteristics of the election, including their party membership, the gender of their opponent, and the issue focus of the campaign. By comparison, male candidates' use of maternal appeals was more consistent across different electoral contexts. The relative stability of maternal appeals among male candidates suggests that they have an easier time employing maternal appeals to their advantage, consistent with the theoretical framework. Further, this result and interpretation is consistent with prior work showing that female candidates must more carefully manage displays of feminine characteristics and family life during their campaigns (Schneider, 2007; Stalsburg, 2010). These results may well point to a political reality in which maternal appeals are more problematic in women's campaigns.

Also following from role congruity theory, the third prediction derived from the theory of maternal appeals in politics was that maternal appeals would garner an advantage for men's campaigns, and would be a disadvantage in women's campaigns (*Hypothesis 3*, Study 1 and Study 2). Findings from real campaigns showed that, consistent with expectation, male candidates' *verbal* maternal appeals were associated

with winning their elections; however, *visual* maternal appeals were associated with winning among Democrats only, regardless of candidate gender. In the experimental study, maternal appeals did not significantly increase the likelihood of voting for any candidate, male or female. There was support for *Hypothesis 3*, however, in the findings for Republican candidates. Republican men were able to use maternal appeals to their advantage, as predicted: Maternal appeals enhanced perceptions of male Republicans' competence at handling feminine issues. Republican women who used maternal appeals were seen as less able to handle feminine issues, less competent, and were less likely to receive votes than their non-maternal counterparts.

Party-based differences in candidates' use of maternal appeals and voters' reactions to them may reflect differences in how the parties approach gender and family. Maternal appeals may be tantamount to a requirement for Democrats during their campaigns; Study 1 showed that visual images of candidates' family and children in campaign ads are a particularly common strategy among both male and female Democrats. The popularity of showcasing maternal roles, traits, and values in Democrats' campaigns, and favorable impressions of female Democrats who do so, speak to Democrats' greater endorsement of women taking on leadership roles and embracing the feminine characteristics of political leadership in the roles and traits of their leaders. In contrast, female Republicans who make maternal appeals may be evaluated particularly harshly due to their party's more conservative views on the gendered division of social roles. Indeed, only female Republican candidates suffered from the maternal competence gap found in other research, and were evaluated less favorably than all other maternal candidates in Study 2.

Taken as a whole, then, the model's predictions regarding candidate gender and maternal appeals were not unequivocally supported; in particular, the effects predicted by the model were qualified by candidates' party membership. Although maternal appeals did not consistently enhance male candidates' chances of electoral success as predicted, on the whole, men did fare better than women across Study 1 and Study 2. Male candidates who made *verbal* maternal appeals were more likely to win elections in 2004, and male Republicans who made maternal appeals fared better than their female counterparts in the experiment. Further, although male candidates were unable to take advantage of maternal appeals to increase their vote share, maternal appeals reduced the gender gap in perceptions of candidates' competence on feminine issues, which could garner an advantage for men in some campaigns. Maternal appeals also decreased male and female candidates' perceived competence to handle masculine issues, an area in which female candidates are more vulnerable. Thus, male candidates were able to glean some advantages from maternal appeals that were not available to female candidates. Although the benefits of maternal appeals for men were not as robust as was expected, taken as a whole, the findings across Study 1 and Study 2 are consistent with the theory of maternal politics: Male candidates were better able than female candidates to use maternal appeals to their advantage.

Individual Differences in Responses to Maternal Appeals

Maternal appeals had particularly potent effects among gender-schematic and authoritarian viewers. Gender-schematic viewers tend to process information using gender schemata, and prefer to see men and women act in ways that are consistent with those schemata (Bem, 1981). Individuals high in authoritarianism tend to hold

conservative gender role attitudes and to prefer traditional family structures (Altemeyer, 1988; Duncan et al., 1997; Sibley et al., 2007). Accordingly, the theory of maternal politics predicted that among gender-schematic viewers, the power of motherhood would be more readily recognized and channeled into political support, particularly when maternal roles and values were invoked by a female candidate. The theory also predicted that among authoritarian viewers, who prefer strong and uncompromising leadership, candidates who make maternal appeals would receive less political support (*Hypothesis 4, Study 2*).

As expected, gender-schematic viewers were more likely to vote for male candidates who did *not* make maternal appeals. Counter to prediction, however, gender-schematics were no more likely to vote for maternal female candidates than for non-maternal female candidates. As hypothesized, authoritarian viewers were also more likely to support non-maternal male candidates than maternal male candidates; however, they were equally likely to vote for maternal and non-maternal female candidates. These findings suggest that any advantage that male candidates could gain from using maternal appeals is not likely to hold among gender-schematic and benevolent sexist viewers.

Maternal Appeals and Conceptions of Political Leadership

Candidates believe that maternal roles, traits, and values can be an asset in politics, as evidenced by their use of maternal messages in the 2004 elections. Viewers, including gender-schematic and authoritarian viewers, picked up on the gender content of maternal messages, and in turn, maternal appeals had distinct effects on evaluations of male and female candidates, and on evaluations of Democrats and Republicans. Role

congruity theory predicts that prejudice against women in leadership domains stems from a mismatch between stereotypes of women and the characteristics that are desirable in a leader; therefore, by emphasizing women's stereotypical qualities, maternal appeals may exacerbate prejudice against female candidates. The findings of these studies provide additional evidence that an emphasis on the roles, traits, and values associated with motherhood are seen as a poor fit for contemporary political leadership roles in American politics, particularly political leadership roles in the Republican Party.

Role congruity theory also suggests an avenue by which stereotypes of women and the characteristics of political leaders can become more congruent: By changing the current image of a leader to one that is more feminine. Indeed, empirical research has shown that as more women have come to hold management positions, the image of organizational leadership has expanded to include more stereotypically feminine traits, and countries in which feminine strengths are seen as central to governing tend to elect more women to political office (Eagly & Carli, 2007; McDonagh, 2009). In the political domain, maternal appeals may send a normative message to viewers about the importance of certain values that are neglected in the current socio-cultural environment, but are nevertheless desirable in a political leader, such as nurturance and care for others. Thus, the fourth prediction derived from the theory of maternal politics was that maternal appeals by political candidates would increase the weighting of feminine traits (i.e., warmth) in vote choice (*Hypothesis 5*, Study 2). Consistent with theories of priming in political science, which show that when candidates focus on certain issues the public increases the weight that they place on those issues in their vote

choice (Funk, 1999; Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Krosnick & Kinder, 1990), the theory of maternal politics holds that when personal warmth is emphasized in a campaign, voters see that trait as more important in a successful candidate, and weigh warmth more heavily in the decision to vote for that candidate.

Consistent with the theory's prediction, warmth was a stronger predictor of voting for the candidate among viewers who saw a maternal appeal than among those who watched a non-maternal campaign ad. After seeing a maternal appeal, the importance of a cornerstone maternal trait—personal warmth—was more apparent to participants, and was used to a greater extent to guide their level of support for the candidate: Maternal appeals successfully made the importance of feminine qualities more relevant to a political leadership role. Over time, exposure to maternal appeals from candidates of either gender may make the connection between stereotypically feminine traits and desirable characteristics of political leadership stronger. Through this process, maternal appeals have the potential to change the image of a political leader to be more stereotypically feminine, and thus, more congruent with stereotypes of women.

Maternal Appeals and Political Attitudes

Historically, maternal appeals have been linked to a distinct set of values and political priorities. Over the course of the 20th century, motherhood was typically invoked by progressive activists who held the belief that motherhood had a unique ability to set a liberal policy agenda and would usher in an era of peace and interpersonal connectedness. This history raises the question of whether maternal appeals support a particular set of political attitudes and policy positions. The theory of

maternal politics predicts that an emphasis on roles, traits, and values traditionally associated with motherhood will make the liberal values of interpersonal connectedness and nurturance more salient to voters (Hayden, 2003), which will in turn lead to a liberal shift in policy positions (*Hypothesis 6*, Study 2; Barker & Tinnick, 2006; Deason et al., 2008; Federico et al., in press; Lakoff, 1996, 2002). Thus, despite the electoral disadvantages that maternal candidates may incur, maternal appeals may yet have the ability to promote a “politics of care” (Ruddick, 1989).

Findings indicated that in the full sample of participants, maternal appeals were not systematically related to nurturant parent morality or to political attitudes. Among those viewers who were best able to discern the gender content of a maternal appeal, however, maternal appeals led to more liberal policy positions, consistent with the theory’s predictions. Gender-schematic and benevolent sexist viewers expressed more liberal political attitudes after watching a maternal appeal. Identifying individuals for whom gender-based appeals are likely to have substantive effects on political attitudes is an important contribution of this project. Importantly, such voters were distinguished by their tendency to organize the social world according to their gender schemata, rather than by their pre-existing political orientations.

Maternal Appeals and Continuing Prejudice Toward Mothers

As a campaign strategy that depends on positive stereotypes of women as warm, nurturing, and caring, maternal appeals may also have effects that extend beyond the political domain. Indeed, one feminist critique of maternal appeals is that they have the potential to perpetuate the very negative stereotypes that keep women out of leadership domains in the first place (Dietz, 1985; Stearney, 1994). Prior psychological research

bears out this claim, showing that when gender stereotypes are activated, they are more likely to be applied in subsequent interpersonal judgments (Rudman & Borgida, 1995). Thus, the theory of maternal politics predicts that maternal appeals will activate stereotypes of women as caring and nurturing (*Hypothesis 7*, Study 3), and will increase prejudice toward female targets in leadership domains outside of politics (*Hypothesis 8*, Study 3). Further, these effects may be stronger in response to female candidates' maternal appeals, which are consistent with stereotypes of women, than to male candidates' maternal appeals. They may also be stronger among Republican participants, who are more likely to hold an image of the ideal family in which the mother is subordinate to the father (Deason et al., 2008; Hayden, 2003; Lakoff, 1996, 2002).

Consistent with the theory's predictions, in Study 3, participants who saw maternal appeals evidenced activation of stereotypes of women as caring and nurturing, under some circumstances. Contrary to expectation, however, maternal appeals by *male candidates* activated gender stereotypes among Democratic viewers. The theory of maternal politics predicted that a stereotype-consistent portrayal of a female candidate would bring stereotypes of women and mothers to mind; instead, the results suggest that gender stereotype activation occurred when male candidates acted in stereotype-inconsistent ways, by emphasizing their maternal roles and traits. In addition, Republicans were particularly likely to generalize the stereotypes of women captured in maternal appeals to judgments in a non-political context. Republicans, on average, tended to give lower ratings of a female job applicant's workplace commitment, and Republicans who saw a maternal appeal gave lower ratings of the applicant's

competence and were less likely to recommend her for hire. Importantly, maternal appeals by male candidates were as likely as maternal appeals by female candidates to lead to increases in Republicans' gender prejudice.

The finding that maternal appeals can lead to increased activation of gender stereotypes and gender prejudice provides partial support for the theory of maternal politics, and also raises an interesting question. Although the results of Study 2 gave no indication that Republicans were particularly responsive to maternal appeals, Study 3 indicates that Republicans are particularly likely to discriminate against a mother after seeing a maternal appeal. This may be because Republicans interpret a maternal appeal in a unique way, following from conservative Republicans' preference for women to take primary responsibility for childrearing in lieu of a demanding career (see Venker & Schlafly, 2011). Maternal appeals may carry an implicit message that traditional motherhood should be preserved by reverting to traditional gender roles. Such a message may resonate more strongly with Republicans, and is more relevant to hiring decisions, like the one examined in Study 3, than for the candidate evaluations and political attitudes examined in Study 2. Thus, the results of this project have revealed some important differences in the effects of maternal appeals among members of different political parties.

Implications for Social-Psychological Theories of Gender Stereotyping and Prejudice

The claim advanced in the theory of maternal politics that the unique qualities associated with motherhood can be harnessed to enhance candidates' political fortunes is a question that depends on voters' stereotypes of and reactions to candidates who

make maternal appeals. Therefore, an examination of how maternal appeals operate in political campaigns must consider the psychological processes underlying prejudice that voters may express toward leaders. Drawing on the role congruity theory of gender prejudice in leadership domains, the theoretical model tested in this research presumes that evaluations of candidates are guided by the *match* between stereotypes of a social group and the characteristics of a leadership role. Role congruity theory, however, focuses on stereotypes of women, and these are not always the dominant stereotypes operating in the political domain. Given the evidence that female candidates use maternal appeals strategically in their campaigns, there may be instances in which a female candidate may want to use a maternal appeal to shift the focus from stereotypes of her *as a woman* to stereotypes of her *as a mother* in order to appear a better match for a political leadership role. Further, the findings of Study 1 and Study 2 indicated that candidates' political party membership, in addition to their gender, guided viewers' evaluations of candidates and their voting decisions. Thus, considering the findings of this study in conjunction with role congruity theory also suggests some intriguing prospects for stereotype change and prejudice reduction.

Stereotypes of Mothers

This project addressed the question of whether invoking women's traditional role as mothers—and the traits and values presumed to be associated with that role—offers any benefit for women in politics. Despite recent interest in “maternal wall” stereotyping and prejudice in social psychology (Williams & Segal, 2003), the content of stereotypes about mothers and the dynamics of prejudice toward them remain somewhat mysterious. Social-psychological research has documented the content of

stereotypes of mothers by surveying student participants about their perceptions of mothers. In one study on the stereotype content of mothers, participants equated mothers with “married mothers,” and ascribed a long list of positive personal traits to mothers, relative to women in general or to the neutral midpoint of the rating scale (Ganong & Coleman, 1995). The overwhelmingly positive tone of stereotypes of mothers is undercut by research that documents the negative outcomes of stereotype-based praise: Women and mothers are not regarded positively when they stray from their traditional roles (Eagly & Koenig, 2008; Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Research shows that non-traditional mothers are evaluated more negatively than traditional mothers (Brescoll & Uhlmann, 2005; Bridges, et al., 2002). Overall, mothers are a low-status group, liked but not respected, and their roles continue to be circumscribed by prescriptive stereotypes that are freely expressed in the workplace (Cuddy et al., 2004; Williams & Segal, 2003).

Maternal wall prejudice is important because although childless women have achieved parity with men in many ways, motherhood continues to present challenges for women’s earning potential and career success. Recent research shows few gender disparities between childless men and women, and wider gaps between fathers and mothers (Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2004; Mason & Goulden, 2004). In the political arena, research shows that family responsibilities, not gender, are a greater barrier for women than for men when deciding to seek political office (Carroll, 1989; Sapiro, 1982; Thomas, 2002). Research in economics documents a maternal wage penalty, and experimental studies in the lab and the field reveal prejudice against mothers in white-collar jobs (Budig & England, 2001; Correll et al., 2007; Cuddy et al.,

2004; Fuegen et al., 2004). However, other research indicates that motherhood can *reduce* backlash against successful female leaders, political candidates, and blue-collar workers (Deason et al., 2010; Güngör & Biernat, 2009; Heilman & Okimoto, 2007; Stalsburg, 2010). If motherhood is a “status characteristic” that downwardly biases evaluations of mothers, as some theorists have claimed (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004), it makes sense that mothers would be seen as a better fit for low-status jobs, and that mothers pursuing such jobs would experience less prejudice (Rudman, Phelan, Moss-Racusin, & Nauts, 2010). The tendency to see mothers as low-status does not explain, however, why mothers are sometimes judged a particularly *good* match for a leadership position—or at least, a better match than their childless female counterparts.

The theory of maternal appeals in politics raises the possibility that stereotypes of mothers may include a unique set of characteristics not previously identified in social-psychological research. For this project, the social expectations of mothers were examined in a new way, by combining insights from the psychological research with older psychoanalytic theories, examples of maternal activist movements, and societal trends reflected in mothers’ own experiences and in the media. The theory of maternal politics argues that beyond contemporary debates over working mothers and stay-at-home mothers (e.g., Bynoe, 2007; Darnton, 1990; O’Rourke, 2006) and the ideology of intensive mothering lurks a broader and more enduring concept of motherhood: It has a power that was actively suppressed, and now lies dormant in our culture (Bernard, 1982; Irigaray, 1991; Rich, 1976). The powerful component of motherhood may explain why in some circumstances, mothers are better able than childless women to lay claim to leadership positions.

In contrast to perspectives that see motherhood as fundamentally incompatible with the white-collar workplace and leadership positions as they exist today, research on gender stereotyping in political campaigns and increasingly, theory and research on gender and leadership in organizational psychology approach gender stereotypes as aspects of the social world that one can navigate to one's advantage (e.g., the concept of the "labyrinth," see Eagly & Carli, 2007; Herrnson et al., 2003). If gender stereotypes can be navigated, then prejudice toward mothers should be conceived as a specific set of expectations that operate for better or for worse, depending on the social context. The theory of maternal politics adopts this dynamic approach, making the claim that although appeals to motherhood have their disadvantages in the current socio-cultural environment, maternal traits and characteristics have an underlying power that makes maternal figures desirable candidates for leadership positions under some circumstances.

In a parallel example from organizational psychology, Cheung and Halpern (2010) found in qualitative studies of highly successful female caregivers in Hong Kong, China, and the United States that such women did not become successful in their professions by behaving "like men in a male environment," but by embracing and integrating traditional female qualities like tenderness and caring (p. 184). They also redefined their roles as "good family members" and "successful employees" by combining the two into a cohesive identity that was more than the sum of its parts. By redefining roles and rejecting societal expectations that did not mesh with their view of success, the women were able to "make more time" to overcome the seemingly rigid demands of a 24/7 career and family life. Unlike studies of women who "opted out" or

who are in the throes of work/life conflict (e.g., Blair-Loy, 2005; Stone, 2007), studies like Cheung and Halpern's can illuminate a path through the labyrinth of professional advancement for women (see also Moe & Shandy, 2009). Maternal appeals in which candidates—male and female—integrate their family commitments into their campaigns may ultimately serve a similar purpose, allowing maternal candidates to stand out from the crowd, and altering the landscape of political leadership to be more inclusive of women's stereotypical strengths. The possibility to navigate and challenge stereotypes presents a variety of avenues for change.

Considering Multiple Stereotypes

Like stereotypes of mothers and fathers, partisan stereotypes are gendered. Patterns and expectations established in previous campaigns have created robust stereotypes of Democrats and Republicans, such that Democrats are seen as having feminine traits and issue competencies, and Republicans are seen as more masculine (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). Recent research in political science suggests that this association runs deeper than was previously supposed, and operates at an implicit level. Specifically, the Democratic Party label activates implicit stereotypes of women, and political issues that are not explicitly related to gender can be framed such that gender schemas affect attitudes toward them (Winter, 2008, 2010). Because the parties themselves are gendered, any effects of gender stereotypes are likely to be influenced by candidates' party membership: A "female Republican" is not the same as a "female Democrat" – the latter is more "feminine" via the additive or multiplicative effects of her social category memberships (Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009). Gender-party subtypes

may also have unique characteristics that are more than the sum of their group memberships (Bos & Schneider, 2011).

According to role congruity theory, the content of a stereotype about a group is one factor that determines whether prejudice will be directed toward members of that group. In order for the theory to make predictions about if and when prejudice will arise, knowledge of *which* stereotypes are operating in a given context is essential. The results of the current research suggest that the stereotypes most relevant to prejudice in the political domain are not gender or party stereotypes alone, but a combination of gender and party stereotypes, a finding that is echoed in other studies of stereotyping in politics (Bos & Schneider, 2011; Dolan, 2005, 2008; King & Matland, 2003; Matland & King, 2002; Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2009). In order to understand reactions to male and female candidates in each party, then, research must examine the content of stereotypes of gender-party subtypes in order to gain a full understanding of how role congruity processes operate in the political domain.

More broadly, the findings of this project can provide guidance for social-psychological research on prejudice in leadership domains. The findings can, at times, be fickle: In meta-analyses of the psychological research on gender prejudice in workplace and leadership, overall effect sizes are small, and are moderated by aspects of a target's behavior and the context of decisions (Davison & Burke, 2000; Eagly, Makhijani, & Klosky, 1992). In addition to the moderators that have already been documented, a target's other social group memberships may also affect the expression of gender prejudice in profound ways. In contrast to studies that examine gender in the absence of other social categories, this project underscores the importance of

considering multiple stereotypes in studies of gender prejudice in leadership domains. In politics, the intersection of candidates' gender and party membership guide voters' expectations, and ultimately influence candidate evaluations. Although the importance of partisan stereotypes is specific to studies of political leadership, the findings of the current research affirm that the intersection of multiple stereotypes (e.g., race, class, parental status) in leadership domains is an important avenue for future research on gender prejudice.

Changing Images of Leadership to Reduce Gender Prejudice

Role congruity theory holds that the characteristics presumed to be important for a leader also affect the dynamics of gender prejudice: Changing images of leadership can reduce incongruity between stereotypes and roles, and thereby attenuate prejudice. The results of the current research suggest that political leaders' appeals to maternal roles, traits, and values is one way that such a change could occur. Maternal appeals have the potential to change the image of a political leader to include more stereotypically feminine characteristics, and thus, to be more congruent with stereotypes of women. Comparative political research supports the notion that changing the characteristics of a political leadership role can increase women's representation in politics. McDonagh (2009) showed in an interesting series of studies that public policies that represent maternal traits—social welfare provisions, gender quotas, or a hereditary monarchy—were associated with citizens' beliefs that women are suited to govern. Accordingly, nations that embraced such policies and political systems tended to elect a larger proportion of women into office. By acknowledging that traditional maternal

characteristics can be part of a political leadership role, an emphasis on the maternal in political campaigns may serve a similar role in increasing women's representation.

The findings of the current project also suggest that different images of an ideal leader may prevail in the Democratic and Republican parties, images that in turn affect how female candidates and maternal candidates are evaluated in each party. As described above, the effect of maternal appeals on evaluations of a candidate depended not only on the gender of the candidate, but also on his or her party membership. Party-based differences in expectations of political leaders have been further documented in political science research showing that Republican elected officials are expected to excel at handling masculine issues, whereas Democrats are expected to handle both feminine and masculine issues competently (Dolan, 2010). Perhaps because they have learned their party's specific conception of an ideal leader, maternal appeals exacerbated gender prejudice among Republican viewers, who judged a mother less competent and less hireable after exposure to a maternal appeal. In line with their more conservative gender ideology and the party's "family values" rhetoric, Republican conceptions of leadership roles appear to be less congruent with stereotypes of mothers. Clearly, maternal appeals are not a panacea for eliminating gender prejudice in politics: They have the potential to perpetuate discrimination against mothers in other domains.

Balancing maternal appeals' potential to change stereotypes against the danger that they may perpetuate them is at the center of the feminist debate over essentialist political strategies. On the one hand, second-wave feminists have been criticized for attempting to eradicate women's family responsibilities and encouraging women to assimilate to the masculine norms of public life (see e.g., Venker & Sclafly, 2011). On

the other hand, essentialist feminists who promote motherhood as a way to advance a “politics of care” argue that mothering activities unite all women, a claim that strikes many as biologically deterministic and offensive (Ruddick, 1989; Letherby, 1994; Stearney, 1994). From maternal activists’ more pragmatic perspective, however, the aim is not to replace a masculine image of leadership with a feminine one, or to claim that motherhood is a universal female experience, but to affirm the importance of the values and activities stereotypically associated with women (e.g., Strong, 2007; see also McDonagh, 2009). If maternal appeals consistently produced this effect, it is possible that the tendency for maternal appeals to increase prejudice would gradually dissipate. Like the generally negative evaluations of maternal candidates in the current research, the link between maternal appeals and prejudice against mothers may be the result of current socio-cultural images of leadership, most prevalent in the Republican Party, in which an emphasis on the feminine characteristics of leaders is uncommon. As the first empirical examination of maternal appeals in politics, the current project has illuminated some aspects of the debate over essentialist feminist political strategies, but the potential for the prejudice-attenuating effects of maternal appeals to overpower the tendency for maternal appeals to exacerbate prejudice remains an open question.

Practical Implications for Campaigns

The theory of maternal politics and the findings of this project can also inform practical recommendations for political candidates considering a maternal campaign strategy. By combining data from real elections in 2004 with experimental studies using a realistic stimulus, the research reported here minimizes the pitfalls, and maximizes the

benefits, of each research strategy in an attempt to accurately document the dynamics of maternal appeals. Politicians, however, are masters of impression management, and each electoral environment is different in ways that may affect the generalizability of the findings. Therefore, candidates hoping to glean practical lessons from this project should consider whether the strategy they are considering is similar to or different from the types of maternal appeals defined and created in this project. The recommendations for candidates in the following section articulate the practical implications of the research for real political campaigns. Next, the possible implications of a newer type of maternal appeal are discussed.

Recommendations for Candidates

The clearest recommendation that can be gleaned from the research is that maternal appeals are not a reliable way to garner voter support and should be used with caution during campaigns. With few exceptions, maternal appeals did not improve and sometimes harmed candidates' chances of winning. Beyond a simple consideration of vote choice, however, maternal appeals had some specific effects on a candidate's image. Male candidates may want to use maternal appeals to enhance the belief that they are competent to handle stereotypically feminine issues, but this benefit also comes at a cost: Male and female candidates who make maternal appeals are likely to be seen as less competent on the masculine issues that are considered most important for political leadership. Thus, the take-away message for candidates is that in the masculine environment of U.S. politics, maternal appeals are not likely to improve a candidate's electoral prospects in most cases.

Beyond the overall recommendation that maternal appeals should be used with caution, the candidate's gender and party affiliation are both important factors to consider when making the decision to "go maternal." Maternal appeals are likely to have more positive effects for Democrats than for Republicans. Democrats who used visual maternal appeals in the 2004 elections had better chances of winning, and the experimental results showed that Democratic candidates were able to avoid many of the pitfalls of maternal appeals. Verbal maternal appeals in which candidates explicitly state their commitment to family appear to be more effective for male candidates than for female candidates. Male Republicans, in particular, had little to lose by using maternal appeals, and may benefit in some elections from enhanced competence on feminine issues, since at baseline they are seen as uniquely unqualified in this area (Bos & Schneider, 2011). Female Republicans, in particular, should avoid maternal appeals: The maternal female Republican alone was rated significantly less competent and was less likely to attract votes than her non-maternal counterpart. Moreover, the negative effects of maternal appeals are likely to be particularly detrimental to female Republicans' campaigns: Already seen as more liberal than Republican men, Republican women are at a disadvantage in their party when they use strategies like maternal appeals that undermine the belief that they are competent at handling masculine issues.

Another implication of the research is that it is important for candidates to consider the psychological characteristics of their audience when making the decision whether to use maternal appeals. In particular, if viewers are gender-schematic or authoritarian, they will be particularly likely to reject a maternal appeal from a male

candidate. In addition, maternal appeals may perpetuate prejudice among Republican audiences. Republicans who saw a maternal appeal evaluated a female job applicant more negatively than other viewers, an ethical consequence of maternal appeals of which candidates should be aware.

Finally, candidates should be mindful that maternal appeals—at least, the “traditional” maternal appeals examined here—might be considered a *liberal* campaign strategy. Beyond simply getting a candidate elected, maternal appeals aired during the course of a campaign may change constituents’ views on various political issues. Perhaps because of their history as a progressive activist strategy, maternal appeals are likely to shift gender-schematic and benevolent sexist viewers toward more liberal policy stances, though the shift may be a modest and short-lived one. If a candidate desires such a shift among these viewers, then a maternal message may be a good choice, but if a liberal shift would be detrimental to the campaign, maternal appeals of the type studied here might best be avoided. The current research does not rule out the possibility, however, that by crafting a different kind of maternal message, candidates may be able to shift voters in a conservative direction.

Conservative Maternal Appeals: Rise of the “Mama Grizzlies”

Following from essentialist feminist theories that link traditional motherhood with liberal values (e.g., Hayden, 2003; Ruddick, 1989), the current research conceptualized and designed fictional maternal appeals based on their history in progressive political movements of the 20th century. Historically, maternal appeals have been used to promote values and policies associated with liberal ideology, such as peace, interpersonal connectedness, and social welfare initiatives (Jetter et al., 1997;

Koven & Michel, 1993; Ruddick, 1989, 1997). Consistent with this history, the current project found that maternal appeals caused a liberal shift in some viewers' political attitudes. Since this project began, however, maternal appeals have become a more important phenomenon in the political realm, and in a departure from their history, maternal messages are becoming increasingly popular among Republican women (Elder, Frederick & Burrell, 2011). Around the time that data were collected for this project, the 2010 election cycle included a record number of female Republican candidates, many of whom worked to actively redefine the "maternal" over the course of their campaigns. The prominence of conservative maternal appeals since Sarah Palin's 2008 vice presidential run calls the assumed association between maternal appeals and liberal policies into question.

In contrast to the maternal appeals examined in this project, female Republicans' maternal appeals may lead viewers toward more conservative ideological positions. As described above, the Republican Party has cultivated a distinct perspective on women's role in society and within the family; in the conservative view of the family, women's value lies in their maternal role (see Venker & Schlafly, 2011). A conservative maternal appeal by a female Republican may be interpreted within the Republican Party's established image of the family. Consequently, future research using a "Mama Grizzly" campaign ad may find that such maternal appeals shift the policy positions of viewers who are receptive to gendered messages in a *conservative* direction.

The apparent popularity of conservative maternal appeals also raises the question of whether they are an *effective* strategy for conservative women. Female Republican candidates face a particularly difficult struggle to succeed in their

campaigns: The requirement that Republican elected officials be tough and competent on masculine issues, along with assumptions that female Republicans are more liberal than their male counterparts, work together to give female Republicans the lowest probability of being elected (Dolan, 2010; King & Matland, 2003). Further, unlike female Democrats, female Republicans do not reap the benefits of organizations like Emily's list that exist to increase women's representation (Elder et al., 2011). Thus, female Republicans are still in search of a campaign strategy that appeals to their target audience.

The current research showed that although female Republicans tended to use more verbal maternal appeals than did other candidates under some conditions, they were also evaluated more negatively than other candidates when they did so. Although the scope of the project is limited to more "traditional" liberal maternal appeals, it is conceivable that among female Republicans, whose candidacies are less common and more novel than those of women in the Democratic Party, maternal appeals may make them more likable, but not more electable. Mothers hold a specific status in conservative gender ideology, and although they are revered, they hold little power—a shaky foothold on which to base women's entrance into party politics. Women—maternal or not—have a more established foothold in the Democratic Party, and with time, female Republicans and conservative maternal appeals may gain traction on the right as well; however, Republicans' fundamental lack of interest in increasing the number of women who hold leadership roles is likely to continue to limit women's power within the party.

Conclusion

By presenting roles, traits, and values that have traditionally been associated with women as desirable qualities that are important in political leadership, maternal appeals fulfill some of the hopes that activists have held of them over the past century: They shift the image of a leader to be more feminine, with positive implications for the future of women's representation, and they persuade gender-schematics and benevolent sexists to adopt more liberal political attitudes. These gains come at a price: Maternal appeals were associated with more negative evaluations of candidates, and perpetuated gender prejudice among Republican viewers. In the current socio-cultural climate, candidates should use maternal appeals with caution. The study of maternal appeals also reveals a distinct meaning of gender and family in the Democratic and Republican Parties, and the continuing influence of family roles on women's chances of success in politics and other leadership domains. Theories and research in political psychology have yet to fully address the complex meaning of gender and the family in politics; the current study of maternal appeals in politics provides a rich starting point.

References

- Abele, A. E. (2003). The dynamics of masculine-agentic and feminine-communal traits: Findings from a prospective study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 85*, 768-776.
- Abelson, R. P., Kinder, D. R., Peters, M. D., & Fiske, S. T. (1982). Affective and semantic components in political person perception. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42*, 619-630.
- Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. Oxford: Harper's.
- Aiken, L. S. & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interaction*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Alexander, D. & Andersen, K. (1993). Gender as a factor in the attribution of leadership traits. *Political Research Quarterly, 46*, 527-545.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Altemeyer, B. (1988). *Enemies of freedom*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Altemeyer, B. (1996). *The authoritarian specter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Baird, J. (2008, September 13). From Seneca Falls to...Sarah Palin? *Newsweek*, 31-36.
- Banaji, M. R. & Hardin, C. D. (1996). Automatic stereotyping. *Psychological Science, 7*, 136-141.
- Bardi, A. & Schwartz, S. H. (2003). Values and behavior: Strength and structure of relations. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 29*, 1207-1220.

- Barker, D. C. & Tinnick, J. C. (2006). Competing visions of parental roles and ideological constraint. *American Political Science Review*, *100*, 249-263.
- Barnes, R. J. D. (2008). Black women have always worked: Is there a work-family conflict among the Black middle class? In E. Rudd & L. Descartes (Eds.), *The changing landscape of work and family in the American middle class: Reports from the field*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Baron, R. M. & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *51*, 1173-1182.
- Belkin, L. (2003, October 26). The opt-out revolution. *The New York Times Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/10/26/magazine/26WOMEN.html>
- Belkin, L. (2011, February 23). Queen of the mommy bloggers. *The New York Times Magazine*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/27/magazine/27armstrong-t.html?_r=2&src=me
- Bem, S. (1974). The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *42*, 155-162.
- Bem, S. (1981). Gender schema theory: A cognitive account of sex-typing. *Psychological Review*, *88*, 354-364.
- Benz, D. (1992, October/November). The media factor behind the "Hillary Factor." *Extra!* Retrieved from www.fair.org/index.php?page=1206
- Bernard, J. (1982). *The female world*. New York: Free Press.

- Beyle, T. & Jensen, J. M. (2003). Of footnotes, missing data, and lessons for 50-state data collection: The gubernatorial campaign finance project, 1977-2001. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 3, 203-214.
- Blair-Loy, M. (2005). *Competing devotions: Career and family among women executives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bos, A. L. & Schneider, M. C. (2011). The intersection of party and gender stereotypes in evaluating political candidates. Paper presented at the New Research on Gender in Political Psychology Conference, March 3-5. Retrieved from http://genderandpolipsych.com/files/newresearch/ckfinder/files/Bos%20and%20Schneider_Final.pdf.
- Boushey, H. (2008). Opting out? The effect of children on women's employment in the United States. *Feminist Economics*, 14, 1-36.
- Brescoll, V. L. & Okimoto, T. G. (2010). The price of power: Power seeking and backlash among female politicians. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36, 923-936.
- Brescoll, V. L. & Uhlmann, E. (2005). Attitudes toward traditional and non-traditional parents. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29, 436-445.
- Bridges, J. S., Etaugh, C., & Barnes-Farrell, J. (2002). Trait judgments of stay-at-home and employed parents: A function of social role and/or shifting standards? *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 140-150.
- Budig, M. E. (2002). Male advantage and the gender composition of jobs: Who rides the glass escalator? *Social Problems*, 49, 258-277.

- Budig, M. E. & England, P. (2001). The wage penalty for motherhood. *American Sociological Review*, 66, 204-225.
- Bynoe, Y. (2007, October 11). Presidential candidates ignore working mothers. *AlterNet*. Retrieved from <http://www.alternet.org/story/64712/>
- Bystrom, D. G., Banwart, M. C., Kincaid, L. L., & Robertson, T. A. (2004). *Gender and candidate communication*. New York: Routledge.
- Cantor, R. M. (1977). *Men and women of the corporation*. New York: BasicBooks.
- Carroll, S. J. (1989). The personal is political: The intersection of private lives and public roles among women and men in elective and appointive office." *Women & Politics* 9, 51-67.
- Carli, L. (1990). Gender, language, and influence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 941-951.
- Cash, T. F., Gillen, B. & Burns, D. S. (1977). Sexism and beautyism in personnel consultant decision making. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 62, 301-310.
- Center for American Women and Politics (2011). Women in Elective Office 2011. Retrieved from http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/levels_of_office/documents/elective.pdf
- Chemers, M. M. (1997). *An integrative theory of leadership*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Cheung, F. M. & Halpern, D. F. (2010). Women at the top: Powerful leaders define success as work + family in a culture of gender. *American Psychologist*, 65, 182-193.

- Choi, C. Q. (2011, January 18). Does science support the punitive parenting of “tiger mothering”? *Scientific American*. Retrieved from <http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=tiger-mother-punitive-parenting>
- Chua, A. (2011). *Battle hymn of the tiger mother*. New York: Penguin.
- Clift, E. (2010, June 10). Michelle Bachelet moved Chilean government from macho to maternal. *Politics Daily*. Retrieved from: <http://www.politicsdaily.com/2010/06/10/michelle-bachelet-moved-chilean-government-from-macho-to-materna/>
- Correll, S., Benard, S., & Paik, I. (2007). Getting a job: Is there a motherhood penalty? *American Journal of Sociology*, 112, 1297-1338.
- Crittenden, A. (2001). *The price of motherhood: Why the most important job in the world is still the least valued*. New York: Holt.
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T. & Glick, P. (2004). When professionals become mothers, warmth doesn't cut the ice. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60, 701-718.
- Cuddy, A. J. C., Fiske, S. T. & Glick, P. (2007). The BIAS map: Behaviors from intergroup affect and stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 92, 631-648.
- Dabelko, K. & Herrnson, P. S. (1997). Men's and women's campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives. *Political Research Quarterly*, 50, 121-135.
- Darcy, R., Welch, S. & Clark J. (1994). *Women, elections, and representation*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Darnton, N. (1990, June 4). Mommy vs. Mommy. *Newsweek*. Retrieved from

<http://www.newsweek.com/1990/06/03/mommy-vs-mommy.html>

- Dasgupta, N. & Asgari, S. (2004). Seeing is believing: Exposure to counterstereotypic women leaders and its effect on automatic gender stereotyping. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 40*, 642-658.
- Davison, H. K. & Burke, M. J. (2000). Sex discrimination in simulated employment contexts: A meta-analytic investigation. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 56*, 225-248.
- Deason, G. & Gonzales, M. H. (2011). Moral politics in the 2008 presidential convention acceptance speeches. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Deason, G., Girvan, E. J. & Borgida, E. (2010). Employment arbitration decisions: Why are parents more likely to prevail? Presentation given at the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues 8th Biennial Convention, June 24-27, New Orleans, Louisiana.
- Deason, G., Lippmann, B., Gonzales, M. & Filson, J. (2008). Exploring Uncle Sam: The role of family metaphors in political attitudes. Paper presented at the International Society for Political Psychology 31st Annual Scientific Meeting, July 9-12, Paris, France.
- Diekmann, A. & Eagly, A. H. (2000). Stereotypes as dynamic constructs: Women and men of the past, present, and future. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 26*, 1171-1188.
- Dietz, M. (1985). Citizenship with a feminist face: The problem with maternal thinking. *Political Theory, 13*, 19-37.

- Dolan, K. (2004). The impact of candidate sex on evaluations of candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. *Social Science Quarterly*, 85, 206-217.
- Dolan, K. (2005). Do women candidates play to gender stereotypes? Do men candidates play to women? Candidate sex and issues priorities on campaign websites. *Political Research Quarterly*, 58, 31-44.
- Dolan, K. (2008). Is there a 'gender affinity effect' in American politics? Information, affect, and candidate sex in U.S. House Elections. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61, 79-89.
- Dolan, K. (2010). The impact of gender stereotyped evaluations on support for women candidates. *Political Behavior*, 32, 69-88.
- Douglas, S. J. & Michaels, M. W. (2004). *The mommy myth: The idealization of motherhood and how it has undermined all women*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An economic theory of democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Druckman, J. N. & Holmes, J. W. (2004). Does presidential rhetoric matter? Priming and presidential approval. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 34, 755-817.
- Duckitt, J. (2001). A dual-process cognitive-motivational theory of ideology and prejudice. In M. P. (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, Vol. 33. San Diego, CA: Academic.
- Duckitt, J. & Sibley, C. G. (2009). A dual-process motivational model of ideological attitudes and system justification. In J. T. Jost, A. C. Kay, and H. Thorisdottir (Eds.), *Social and Psychological Bases of Ideology and System Justification*.

New York: Oxford University Press.

- Duncan, L. E., Peterson, B. E., & Winter, D. G. (1997). Authoritarianism and gender roles: Toward a psychological analysis of hegemonic relationships. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 41-49.
- Duriez, B., Van Hiel, A. & Kossowska, M. (2005). Authoritarianism and social dominance in western and eastern Europe: The importance of the socio-political context and of political interest and involvement." *Political Psychology*, 26, 299-320.
- Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Eagly, A. H. & Carli, L. (2007). *Through the labyrinth*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Eagly, A. H. & Karau, S. (2002). Role congruity theory of prejudice toward female leaders. *Psychological Review*, 109, 573-598.
- Eagly, A. H. & Koenig, A. M. (2008). Gender prejudice: On the risks of occupying incongruent roles. In E. Borgida & S. T. Fiske (Eds.) *Psychological science in court: Beyond common knowledge*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Eagly, A. H., Makhijani, M. G. & Klosky, B. G. (1992). Gender and the evaluation of leaders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 111, 3-22.
- Eagly, A.H. & Mladinic, A. (1994). Are people prejudiced against women? Some answers from research on attitudes, gender stereotypes, and judgments of competence. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 5, 1-35.

- Eagly, A.H. & Mladinic, A. (1989). Gender stereotypes and attitudes toward women and men. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 15, 543-558.
- Eagly, A. H., Mladinic, A., & Stacey Otto. (1991). Are women evaluated more favorably than men? An analysis of attitudes, beliefs, and emotions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 15, 203- 216.
- Eagly, A. H., Wood, W. & Diekmann, A. (2000). Social role theory of sex differences and similarities. In T. Eckes, T. & H. M. Trautner (Eds.), *The developmental social psychology of gender*. Mahway, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Eckes, T. (1994). Features of men, features of women: Assessing stereotypic beliefs about gender subtypes. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 107-123.
- Economist (2010, May 20). Liberia's feisty president: Another round for Africa's iron lady. *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/16168384>
- Elder, L., Frederick, B. & Burrell, B. (2011). Liberal feminists, mama grizzlies, and business tycoons: Democratic and Republican women candidates in the 2010 elections. Paper presented at the 69th annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, March 31 – April 3, Chicago, IL.
- Elder, L. & Greene, S. (2009). The politics of parenthood in the 2008 electoral campaign: The use of parent and family themes in party appeals and election coverage. Paper presented at the 67th annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2 - 5, Chicago, IL.
- Emerson, B. (2011, January 19). Tiger mother's roar causes interest, criticism. *The*

Atlanta Journal-Constitution. Retrieved from <http://www.ajc.com/lifestyle/tiger-mothers-roar-causes-809149.html>

Evans, N. (2006). Diotima and Demeter as mystagogues in Plato's symposium.

Hypatia, 21, 1-27.

Federico, C. M., Fisher, E. L. & Deason, G. (in press). Expertise and the ideological consequences of the authoritarian predisposition. *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

Feldman, S. (2003). Enforcing social conformity: A theory of authoritarianism.

Political Psychology 24, 41-74.

Feldman, S. & Stenner, K. (1997). Perceived threat and authoritarianism. *Political*

Psychology, 4, 741-770.

Moses, J. & Gonzales, M. (2011). Strong dad, nurturant dad: Moral politics across 30 years of presidential campaign ads. Manuscript in preparation.

Firestone, S. (1971). *The dialectic of sex: The case for feminist revolution*. London:

Women's Press.

Fisher, J. (1989). *Mothers of the disappeared*. New York: South End Press.

Fiske, S. T. & Glick, P. (1995). Ambivalence and stereotypes cause sexual harassment:

A theory with implications for organizational change. *Journal of Social Issues*, 51, 97-115.

Fiske, S. T. & Glick, P. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating

hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 70, 491-512.

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C. & Glick, P. (2006). Universal dimensions of social

cognition: Warmth and Competence. *TRENDS in Cognitive Sciences*, 11, 77-83.

- Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P. & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 878-902.
- Frable, D. E. S. (1989). Sex typing and gender ideology: Two facets of the individual's gender psychology that go together. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56, 95-108.
- Freeman, J. (1993). Feminism vs. family values: Women at the 1992 Democratic and Republican Conventions. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 26, 21-28.
- Friedan, B. (1963). *The feminine mystique*. New York: Dell.
- Fuegen, K., Biernat, M., Haines, E. & Deaux, K. (2004). Mothers and fathers in the workplace: How gender and parental status influence judgments of job-related competence. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60, 737-754.
- Funk, C. L. (1999). Bringing the candidate into models of candidate evaluation. *Journal of Politics*, 61, 700-720.
- Ganong, L. H. & Coleman, M. (1995). The content of mother stereotypes. *Sex Roles*, 32, 495-512.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Glauber, R. (2007). Marriage and the motherhood wage penalty among African

- Americans, Hispanics, and Whites. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 69, 951-961.
- Glick, P., Diebold, J., Bailey-Werner, B. & Zhu, L. (1997). The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 1323-1334.
- Goldstein, K. & Freedman, P. (2002). Lessons learned: Campaign advertising in the 2000 elections. *Political Communication*, 19, 5-28.
- Güngör, G. & Biernat, M. (2009). Gender bias or motherhood disadvantage? Judgments of blue collar mothers and fathers in the workplace. *Sex Roles*, 60, 232-246.
- Halpert, J. A., Wilson, M. L., & Hickman, J. L. (1993). Pregnancy as a source of bias in performance appraisals. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 14, 649-663.
- Hayden, S. (2003). Family metaphors and the nation: Promoting a politics of care through the Million Mom March. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 89, 196-215.
- Hayes, D. (2005). Candidate qualities through a partisan lens: A theory of trait ownership. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49, 908-923.
- Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Heilman, M. E. (1980). The impact of situational factors on personnel decisions concerning women: Varying the sex composition of the applicant pool. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 26, 386-395.
- Heilman, M. E. (1983). Sex bias in work settings: The lack of fit model. In B. Staw and

L. Cummings (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 5). Greenwich, CT: JAI.

Heilman, M. E. & Okimoto, T. (2007). Why are women penalized for success at male tasks?: The implied communality deficit. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92, 81-92.

Heilman, M. E. & Okimoto, T. G. (2008). Motherhood: A potential source of bias in employment decisions. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93, 189-198.

Heilman, M. E. & Saruwatari, L. R. (1979). When beauty is beastly: The effects of appearance and sex on evaluations of job applicants for managerial and nonmanagerial jobs. *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance*, 23, 360-372.

Hernnson, J., Lay, J. C., Stokes, A. K. (2003). Women running "as women": Candidate gender, campaign issues, and voter-targeting strategies. *The Journal of Politics*, 65, 244-255.

Hetherington, M. & Weiler, J. D. (2009). *Authoritarianism and polarization in American politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hill Collins, P. (2000). Work, family, and Black women's oppression. In P. Hill Collins (Ed.), *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*, 2nd Edition. New York: Routledge.

Hirschman, L. (2006). *Get to work: A manifesto for women of the world*. New York: Viking Press.

Holsti, O. R. (1969). *Content analysis for the social sciences and humanities*. Reading,

MA: Addison-Wesley.

hooks, b. (1984). *Feminist theory: From the margin to the center*. Boston, MA: South End.

Huddy, L. & Terkildsen, N. (1993). Gender stereotypes and the perception of male and female candidates. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37, 119-147.

Irigaray, L. (1991). This sex which is not one. In M. Whitford (Ed.), *The Irigaray reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

James, S. D. (2008, September 3). Sarah Palin's parenting choices under fire. *ABC News*. Retrieved from <http://abcnews.go.com/Business/story?id=5710888&page=1>

Jetter, A., Orcleck, A., & Taylor, D. (1997). *The politics of motherhood: Activist voices from left to right*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Kahn, K. F. (1993). Gender differences in campaign messages: The political advertisements of men and women. *Political Research Quarterly*, 46, 481-502.

Kennelly, I. (1999). That single mother element: How white employers typify Black women. *Gender & Society*, 13, 168-192.

Kiely, K. (2007, May 9). Nancy Pelosi speaks about being a mom. *USA Today*. Retrieved from http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2007-05-09-pelosi-mothers-day_N.htm

Kinder, D. R. (1986). Presidential character revisited. In R. R. Lau and D. O. Sears

- (Eds.), *Political Cognition: The 19th Annual Carnegie Symposium on Cognition*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Kinder, D. R., Peters, M. D., Abelson, R. P. & Fiske, S. T. (1980). Presidential prototypes. *Political Behavior*, 2, 315-338.
- King, D. C. & Matland, R. E. (2003). Sex and the Grand Old Party: An experimental investigation of the effect of candidate sex on support for a Republican candidate. *American Politics Research*, 31, 595-612.
- Kobrynowicz, D. & Biernat, M. (1997). Decoding subjective evaluations: How stereotypes provide shifting standards. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 33, 579-601.
- Kohn, M. & Schooler, C. (1983). *Work and personality: An enquiry into the impact of social stratification*. New York: Ablex.
- Koven, S. & Michel, S. (1993). *Mothers of a new world: Maternalist politics and the origins of welfare states*. New York: Routledge.
- Krosnick, J. A. & Kinder, D. R. (1990). Altering the foundations of support for the president through priming. *American Political Science Association*, 84, 497-512.
- Lakoff, G. (1996). *Moral politics: What conservatives know that liberals don't*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2002). *Moral politics: How liberals and conservatives think*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2004). *Don't think of an elephant: Know your values and frame the debate*.

Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing.

Lawless, J. (2004). Women, war, and winning elections: Gender stereotyping in the post-September 11 era. *Political Research Quarterly*, 57, 479-490.

Leary, M. R. (1990). Impression management: A literature review and two-component model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 107, 34-47.

Leeper, M. S. (1991). The impact of prejudice on female candidates. *American Politics Research*, 19, 248-261.

Letherby, G. (1994). Mother or not, mother or what? Problems of definition and identity. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 17, 525-532.

Lippmann, B., Gonzales, M. H., Deason, G. & Senstad, A. (2007). Conceptions of the family: An empirical measure. Poster presented at the Association for Psychological Science 19th Annual Convention, Washington, DC.

Long J. S. (1997). Regression models for categorical and limited dependent variables. *Advanced quantitative techniques in the social sciences*, Number 7. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lopez, L. K. (2009). The radical act of 'mommy blogging': Redefining motherhood through the blogosphere. *New Media & Society*, 11, 729-747.

Lorber, J. (2010). *Gender inequality: Feminist theory and politics*. Los Angeles: Roxbury.

Marcus-Newhall, A., Casad, B. & Thompson, S. (2005). When stereotypes collide: The working mother subgroup. Final report the Gender and Women's Studies Research grant. Retrieved from <http://www.scrippscollege.edu/academics/>

mellon-grant/reports/working-mother-subgroup.pdf

- Martin, J. G. (1964). *The tolerant personality*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Mason, M. A. & Goulden, M. (2004). Marriage and baby blues: Redefining gender equity in the academy. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 596, 86-103.
- Matland, R. E. & King, D. C. (2002). Women as candidates in Congressional elections. In Cindy Simon Rosenthal (Ed.), *Women Transforming Congress*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- McClelland, G. H. (2000). Nasty data: Unruly, ill-mannered observations can ruin your analysis. In H. T. Reis & C. M. Judd (Eds.), *Handbook of research methods in social and personality psychology* (pp. 393 – 411). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McDermott, M. L. (1998). Race and gender cues in low-information elections. *Political Research Quarterly*, 51, 895-918.
- McDonagh, E. (2009). *The motherless state: Women's political leadership and American democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, J. (2007). Examining the mediators of agenda setting: A new experimental paradigm reveals the role of emotions. *Political Psychology*, 28, 689-718.
- Millett, K. (1970). *Sexual politics*. New York: Doubleday.
- Moe, K. & Shandy, D. (2009). *Glass ceilings and 100-hour couples: What the opt-out phenomenon can teach us about work and family*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.

- Moen, P. (2003). *Careers and couples: It's about time*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Moskowitz, D. & Stroh, P. (1996). Expectation-driven assessments of political candidates. *Political Psychology, 17*, 695-712.
- Nelson, K. R. (2009). If you can't say something nice: The gender dynamics of negative messaging (Doctoral dissertation). Available from Dissertations and Theses database (AAT 3371886).
- Neuman, T. (2004). Maternal "anti-politics" in the formation of Hebron's Jewish enclave. *Journal of Palestine Studies, 33*, 51-70.
- Obama, B. (2009). A letter to my daughters. *Parade Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.parade.com/news/2009/01/barack-obama-letter-to-my-daughters.html>
- Okimoto, T. G. & Brescoll, V. L. (2010). The price of power: Power seeking and backlash against female politicians. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 36*, 923-936.
- O'Rourke, M. (2006, June 26). A working girl can win. *Slate Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.slate.com/id/2144505/>
- Page, B. I. & Jones, C. C. (1976). Reciprocal effects of policy preferences, party localities, and the vote. *American Political Science Review, 73*, 1071-1089.
- Petrocik, J. R., Benoit, W. L. & Hansen, G. J. (2003). Issue ownership and presidential campaigning, 1952-2000. *Political Science Quarterly, 118*, 599-626.
- Petrocik, J. R. (1996). Issue ownership in presidential elections, with a 1980 case

- study. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40, 825-850.
- Posner, R. (2011). Traits of human consciousness. *Growth Online*. Retrieved from <http://www.gurusoftware.com/gurunet/personal/factors.htm#Attributes>
- Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. & Malle, B. (1994). Social dominance orientation: A personality variable predicting social and political attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 741-763.
- Prentice, D. A. & Carranza, E. (2002). What women and men should be, shouldn't be, are allowed to be, and don't have to be: The contents of prescriptive gender stereotypes. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26, 269-281.
- Rahn, W. (1993). The role of partisan stereotypes in information processing about political candidates. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37, 472-496.
- Rahn, W., Aldrich, J., Borgida, E. & Sullivan, J. (1990). A social-cognitive model of candidate appraisal. In J. A. Ferejohn & J. H. Kuklinski (Eds.), *Information and democratic processes*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Rich, A. (1976). *Of woman born: Motherhood as experience and institution*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Ridgeway, C. L. & Correll, S. J. (2004). Motherhood as a status characteristic. *Journal of Social Issues*, 60, 683-700.
- Ridout, T. N., Franz, M., Goldstein, K., & Freedman, P. (2003). Measuring the nature and effects of campaign advertising. Unpublished manuscript. Retrieved from <http://wiscadproject.wisc.edu/pdf/MeasuringExposureToCampaignAdvertising.pdf>

- Rosenwasser, S. M. & Dean, N. G. (1989). Gender role and political office: Effects of perceived masculinity/femininity of candidate and political office. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 13, 77-85.
- Rubin, J. (2008, September 6). Obama finance chieftan slams Palin parenting. *Commentary Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/2008/09/06/obama-finance-chieftan-slams-palin-parenting/>
- Ruddick, S. (1989). *Maternal thinking: Toward a politics of peace*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Ruddick, S. (1997). Rethinking “maternal” politics. In A. Jetter, A. Orleck, & D. Taylor (Eds.), *The politics of motherhood*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Rudman, L. & Borgida, E. (1995). The afterglow of construct accessibility: The behavioral consequences of priming men to view women as sexual objects. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 31, 493-517.
- Rudman, L. (1998). Self-promotion as a risk factor for women: The costs and benefits of counterstereotypical impression management. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 629-645.
- Rudman, L., Phelan, J. E., Moss-Racusin, C.A. & Nauts, S. (2010). Status incongruity and backlash effects: Defending the gender hierarchy motivates prejudice toward female leaders. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Sanbonmatsu, K. & Dolan, K. (2009). Do gender stereotypes transcend party? *Political Research Quarterly*, 62, 485-494.

- Sapiro, V. (1982). Private costs of public commitments or public costs of private commitments? Family roles versus political ambition. *American Journal of Political Science*, 26, 265-279.
- Scammon, R. M., McGillivray, A. V. & Cook, R. (2006). *America Votes #26*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Schaffner, B. (2005). Priming gender: Campaigning on women's issues in U. S. Senate elections. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49, 803-817.
- Schein, V. E. & Mueller, R. (1992). Sex role stereotyping and requisite management characteristics: A cross cultural look. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 13, 439-447.
- Schiff, S. (2011). *Cleopatra: A life*. New York: Little, Brown, and Company.
- Schmitt, B. H. & Millard, R. T. (1988). Construct validity of the Bem sex role inventory (BSRI): Does the BSRI distinguish between gender schematic and gender aschematic individuals? *Sex Roles*, 19, 581-588.
- Schneider, M. C. (2007). Gender bending: Candidate strategy and voter response in a marketing age. (Doctoral dissertation). Available from Dissertations and Theses database (AAT 3269023).
- Schwartz & Bilsky (1987). Toward a universal psychological structure of human values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 550-562.
- Sibley, C. G., Wilson, M. S., & Duckitt, J. (2007). Antecedents of men's hostile and benevolent sexism: The dual roles of social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33, 160-

172.

Sidanius, J. & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sides, J. (2006). The origins of campaign agendas. *British Journal of Political Science*, 36, 407-436.

Soares, R., Combopiano, J., Regis, A., Shur, Y. & Wong, R. (2010). 2010 Catalyst census: Fortune 500 women executive officers and top earners. Retrieved from http://www.catalyst.org/file/412/2010_us_census_women_executive_officers_and_top_earners_final.pdf

Spence, J. T. & Helmreich, R. L. (1981). Androgyny versus gender schema: A comment on Bem's gender schema theory. *Psychological Review*, 88, 365-368.

Stalsburg, B. L. (2010). Voting for mom: The political consequences of being a parent for male and female candidates. *Politics & Gender*, 6, 373-404.

Stearney, L. M. (1994). Feminism, ecofeminism, and the maternal archetype: Motherhood as a feminine universal. *Communication Quarterly*, 42, 145-159.

Stenner, K. (2005). *The authoritarian dynamic*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stone, P. (2007). *Opting out? Why women really quit careers and head home*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

Strong, S. M. (2007). *The maternal is political: Women writers at the intersection of motherhood and social change*. Berkeley, CA: Seal Press.

Suk, J. C. (2010). Are gender stereotypes bad for women? Rethinking

antidiscrimination law and work-family conflict. *Columbia Law Review*, 110, 1-69.

Sulkin, T., Moriarty, C. M. & Hefner, V. (2007). Congressional candidates' issue agendas on- and off-line." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12, 63-79.

Sullivan, A. (2008, June 5). Why didn't more women vote for Hillary? *Time*. Retrieved from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1812050,00.html>

Teach-nology (2011). Word Scramble. Retrieved from <http://search.teach-nology.com/cgi-bin/scramble.pl>

Thomas, S. (2002). The personal is the political: Antecedents of gendered choices of elected representatives. *Sex Roles*, 47, 343-353.

Tobin, V. A. (1991). Isis and Demeter: Symbols of divine motherhood. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 28, 187-200.

Traister, R. (2010). *Big girls don't cry: The election that changed everything for American women*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Vacca, D. (2011, March 30). Geraldine Ferraro helped me crack my glass ceiling. *Women's Voices for Change*. Retrieved from <http://womensvoicesforchange.org/geraldine-ferraro-helped-me-crack-my-glass-ceiling.htm>

Venker, S. & Schlafly, P. (2011). *The flipside of feminism: What conservative women know- and men can't say*. New York: Midpoint Trade Books.

Vice Presidential Debate (October 2, 2008). Transcript available at <http://elections.nytimes.com/2008/president/debates/transcripts/vice-presidential-debate.html>

- Vuong, Q. H. (1989). Likelihood ratio tests for model selection and non-nested hypotheses. *Econometrica*, 57, 307–333.
- Warner, J. (2005). *Perfect madness: Motherhood in the age of anxiety*. New York: Penguin.
- Williams, J. C. (1991). Dissolving the sameness/difference debate: A post-modern path beyond essentialism in feminist and critical race theory. *Duke Law Journal*, 1991, 296-323.
- Williams, J. C. (2001). *Unbending gender: Why work and family conflict and what to do about it*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, J. C. (2010). *Reshaping the work-family debate: Why men and class matter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Williams, J. C. & Segal, N. (2003). Beyond the maternal wall: Relief for family caregivers who are discriminated against on the job. *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, 26, 77-162.
- Williams, J. E. & Best, D. L. (1990). *Measuring sex stereotypes: A multination study*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Winter, N. (2008). *Dangerous frames: How ideas about race and gender shape public opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Winter, N. (2010). Masculine Republicans and feminine Democrats: Gender and Americans' explicit and implicit images of the political parties. *Political Behavior*, 32, 587-618.
- Wittenbrink, B., Judd, C. M. & Park, B. (2001). Evaluative vs. conceptual judgments

in automatic stereotyping and prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37, 244-252.

Wojciszke, B. & Klusek, B. (1996). Moral and competence-related traits in political perception. *Polish Psychological Bulletin*, 27, 319-324.

Wojciszke, B., Dowhyluk, M. & Jaworski, M. (1998). Moral competence-related traits: How do they differ? *Polish Psychological Bulletin*, 29, 283-294.

Woodward, K. (1997). Motherhood: Identities, myths, and meanings. In K. Woodward (Ed.) *Identity and difference*. London: SAGE Publications.

Worthington, N. (2001). A division of labor: Dividing maternal authority from political activism in the Kenyan press. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 25, 167-187.

Appendix A: Study 1 Data Sources and Coding

Variables included in the WiscAds dataset

Political party membership. Candidates' party membership was represented by a dummy variable in all analyses. Candidates running as Republicans were assigned a 1, and candidates running as Democrats were assigned a 0. Other party memberships were marked as missing.

Senate, House, or gubernatorial election. Senate, House, and gubernatorial dummy variables were coded 1 if the candidate was running for the relevant office, and 0 otherwise.

Specific election. A unique numeric code was generated for each election represented in the dataset. All candidates who ran in the same election were assigned the same code.

Candidate-level variables added to the WiscAds dataset

Candidate gender. I obtained data on the gender of U.S. House and Senate candidates who won their primaries from Kjersten Nelson (see Nelson, 2009). I coded the gender of all remaining election candidates based largely on the candidates' first names. Ambiguities about candidate gender were resolved using an internet search. Candidate gender was represented using a dummy variable and coded 1 for a female candidate and 0 for a male candidate.

Opponent gender. I obtained data on the gender of opponents who ran in general U.S. House and Senate elections from Kjersten Nelson (see Nelson, 2009). I coded the gender of the remaining candidates' opponents based on election reports published in *America Votes* (Scammon, McGillivray, & Cook, 2006), once again using the

opponents' first names and resolving ambiguities through an internet search.

Opponent gender was represented using a dummy variable that was coded 1 if the candidate ran against one or more women, and 0 if the candidate ran against a man or men only.

Election year. The year of each election in the dataset was obtained from *America Votes* (Scammon et al., 2006). Years represented in the data include 2003 and 2004, with the majority of elections occurring in 2004. Election year was represented by a dummy variable; candidates running in 2003 were given a 0 and candidates running in 2004 were assigned a 1.

Incumbency, open seat, and challenger status. The incumbency, open seat, and challenger status of U.S. House and Senate candidates who won their primaries was obtained from Kjersten Nelson (see Nelson, 2009). Incumbency, open seat, and challenger information about the remaining candidates was obtained from *America Votes* (Scammon et al., 2006). Incumbent status was represented by a dummy variable that was coded 1 if the candidate was the incumbent, and 0 otherwise. Open seat was represented by a dummy variable that was coded 1 if the office for which the candidate was running was not currently occupied by an incumbent (e.g., the previous officeholder was not seeking re-election). Primary candidates who did not go on to the general election were coded a 1 if there was no incumbent running in their party's primary election. All other candidates were coded 0. Challenger status was represented by a dummy variable that was coded 1 if the candidate was running against an incumbent. Primary candidates who did not go on to the general election were assigned

a 1 if they were running against an incumbent in their party's primary election. All other candidates received a 0.

Competitiveness of the race. The competitiveness of the race was determined using the competitiveness rankings assigned to each election by *Congressional Quarterly Weekly* ("GOP Confident of Holding the House," 2004). These are prospective competitiveness measures, typically issued two to four weeks before the elections, and they represent the conventional wisdom upon which the candidates and campaigns are basing their strategies. *CQ Weekly* ranks the competitiveness of the race on a four-point scale, ranging from "Safe" on one extreme to "Toss-Up" on the other. I converted this ranking into a dummy variable in which "toss-up" races were coded 1 and all other rankings were coded 0.

Proportion of women and democrats in the candidate's state legislature. I obtained the proportion of women and democrats in the candidate's state legislature from Kjersten Nelson (see Nelson, 2009).

Winning the election. I obtained information about who won and lost each election from *America Votes* (Scammon et al., 2006). The outcome of each candidate's election was represented by a dummy variable that was coded 1 if the candidate won the election and 0 if the candidate lost.

Candidate's proportion of expenditures. Expenditure data for U.S. House and Senate candidates who won their primaries was obtained from Kjersten Nelson (see Nelson, 2009). I obtained comparable information about gubernatorial candidates' expenditures from the gubernatorial campaign finance database, compiled by Beyle and

Jensen (2003).⁷⁸ The expenditures of the two major-party candidates in each race were combined to obtain the total expenditures for the race, and the candidate's proportion of expenditures was calculated using this number. Reliable data on primary candidates' expenditures were not available, and so all analyses using this variable were limited to general election candidates.

⁷⁸ Available for download at: <http://www.unc.edu/~beyle/guber.html>.

Appendix B: Study 1 Coding Taxonomies

Issue Coding Taxonomy

<i>Feminine issues</i>	<i>Description/Examples</i>
1. Family	Family law (adoption, child support, etc.)
2. Education	Schools, teachers
3. Environment	Any environmental issues unless it is about energy policy (if so, code as “energy”)
4. Health	Insurance, long term care, prescription drug prices, etc.
5. Medicare	Any Medicare only mentions, including the prescription drug benefit
6. Social Security	
7. Abortion	
8. Other Social Issues	Cloning, same-sex marriage/unions, etc.
9. Welfare	Child nutrition, public housing, SSI for people with disabilities, TANF, etc.
<i>Masculine issues</i>	<i>Description/Examples</i>
1. Budget	Balancing it, cutting spending
2. Taxes	Raising, lowering, only in reference to personal taxes
3. Corporate Regulation	Antitrust, corporate welfare, encouraging business (including lowering taxes on businesses)
4. Employment	Good/bad-paying jobs, addressing unemployment, union-related issues
5. Crime	Drugs, controlled substances, death penalty, trafficking, police and firefighters (general), criminal procedure, obscenity, voting rights of felons
6. Terror	Increased border security, punishing offenders, preventing future attacks, preparing first-responders, victim compensation, Victory Bonds
7. Defense/Foreign Policy	Foreign aid and assistance, treaties, military matters, base closings, human rights, veterans’ affairs
8. Agriculture	Subsidies, most agricultural trade, food safety

Maternal Appeal Coding Taxonomy

<i>Visual Maternal Appeals</i>	<i>Description/Example</i>
1. Candidate's children appear	
2. Candidate's spouse appears	
3. Candidate's parents appear	
4. Other candidate family member appears	e.g., brother, sister, grandmother
5. Children appear in the ad (unrelated to the candidate)	Ages 0-12, don't include teens
6. Another family appears in the ad (unrelated to the candidate)	Parents and children of any age
<i>Family Focus</i>	<i>Description/Example</i>
1. Taking care of children as an important personal value or policy goal	Must say explicitly that this is a primary focus or goal for the candidate. E.g., "I am an advocate for the children of this state"
2. Candidate portrayed as a family man or woman or primarily as relationship-oriented	"As a wife, mother, sister, and friend, I ask for your support"
3. Family as an important personal value to the candidate	"Family has always been the most important thing to me" (NOT empty mention of "family values")
<i>Family Experiences</i>	<i>Description/Example</i>
1. Family is presented as a reason why the candidate would make a good representative	"As a mother of six children, I have what it takes to lead"
2. Personal experiences as a parent in a family as a reason for a particular policy position	"As a mother, I know that you need someone who understands how hard it is to lose a child in an unjust war"
3. Personal experiences as a child or other role in a family as a reason for a particular policy position	"I come from a military family, and that's why I support the troops"
<i>Maternal Traits</i>	<i>Description/Example</i>
1. Candidate understands people because he/she has personally experienced what they are going through	Expertise about constituents' values, priorities that is based on personal experience. Must be a specific example, not a general statement.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 2. Candidate empathizes with people because he/she sees things through others' eyes | Expertise about constituents' values, priorities, etc. that is not based on personal experience, but on listening to others. |
| 3. Candidate helps people in a hands-on, concrete way | Must be in a personal context, not political, and explicitly stated in the ad. E.g., "Dr. Tom diagnosed my cancer. I'm so grateful to him." |
-

Appendix C: Study 2 Measures

Gender schematicity

<i>Masculine items</i>	<i>Feminine items</i>	<i>Neutral items</i>
Acts as a leader	Affectionate	Adaptable
Aggressive	Cheerful	Conceited
Ambitious	Childlike	Conscientious
Analytical	Compassionate	Conventional
Assertive	Does not use harsh language	Friendly
Athletic	Eager to soothe hurt feelings	Happy
Competitive	Feminine	Helpful
Defends own beliefs	Flatterable	Inefficient
Dominant	Gentle	Jealous
Forceful	Gullible	Likable
Has leadership ability	Loves children	Moody
Independent	Loyal	Reliable
Individualistic	Sensitive to others' needs	Secretive
Makes decisions easily	Shy	Sincere
Masculine	Soft-spoken	Solemn
Self-reliant	Sympathetic	Tactful
Self-sufficient	Tender	Theatrical
Strong personality	Understanding	Truthful
Willing to take a stand	Warm	Unpredictable
Willing to take risks	Yielding	Unsystematic

Benevolent sexism

No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

Women should be cherished and protected by men.

Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

Men are complete without women.

A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Hostile sexism

Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

Women are too easily offended.

Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

Authoritarianism

It's more important for children to show: Independence/Respect for Elders

It's more important for children to show: Curiosity/Good Manners

It's more important for children to be: Considerate/Well-behaved

Social dominance orientation

Some groups of people are just more worthy than others.

In getting what your group wants, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.

Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.

To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.

If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.

Inferior groups should stay in their place.

Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.

It would be good if all groups could be equal.

Group equality should be our ideal.

All groups should be given an equal chance in life.

We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

Increased social equality.

We would have fewer problems if we treated different groups more equally.

We should strive to make incomes more equal.

No one group should dominate in society.

Social and political issues

The government should set a minimum wage for all workers, rather than relying on the free market to determine workers' wages.

Wealthy people who have earned more should pay more taxes than those who have earned less.

Getting a job and getting ahead are the responsibility of individual citizens, and should not require help from the government.

In terms of the federal government's budgetary priorities, higher priority should be given to defense spending than to social programs.

When it comes to protecting the environment, competition among companies alone will yield more environment-friendly products and practices.

All people who live in the United States—no matter what their religion or ethnic heritage—should conform to American norms and practices.

It is useless to try to negotiate with rogue states that flout international law.

In general, I favor affirmative action in industry, business, and education.

Gay people who live together should be given the same rights as heterosexual married couples.

The government has the right to dictate that ownership of some kinds of firearms should be restricted to law enforcement and the military.

By criticizing the government, anti-war protesters are a threat to our country.

Victims of natural disasters (e.g., hurricanes, earthquakes) deserve federal assistance.

Protecting the rights of the accused is just as important as protecting the rights of victims.

Business and industry cannot be trusted to protect the environment, so government regulations are essential.

I do *not* support the death penalty, however serious the crime.

Civil juries are awarding excessive damages to people who sue companies for harm done to people or to the environment.

Companies would be more responsive to workers' needs if they could deal directly with workers rather than with unions.

It is important to talk with countries that have violated international law, to determine whether they have understandable grievances.

A diversity of traditions, values, and practices—multiculturalism—is important for the health of our democracy.

Nurturant parent morality

True moral strength is reflected in our willingness to nurture others.

The most important kind of self-development involves empathy, helping others, and nurturing social ties.

The key to a moral life is empathy for others.

The *most important characteristic* in a person is *empathy*, the ability to see and experience the world from other people's perspective.

The willingness to empathize with and to nurture others—especially those with different values—is a key component of moral strength.

To behave morally requires that we make sacrifices to help those in need.

To have a healthy community, social ties must be regularly mended and maintained.

First and foremost, people should always work to maximize fairness, in their families and in their communities, whatever form that fairness takes.

People's morality is not fixed; moral growth is possible through help from others or through work.

Self-nurturance—seeking happiness, taking care of our health, making a living, maintaining relationships with others—is essential for ourselves and our society.

Values

Power: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources (social power, authority, wealth)

Achievement: Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards (successful, capable, ambitious, influential)

Hedonism: Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself (pleasure, enjoying life)

Stimulation: Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life (daring, a varied life, an exciting life)

Self-direction: Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring (creativity, freedom, independent, curious, choosing own goals)

Universalism: Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection of the welfare of all people and of nature (broadminded, wisdom, social justice, equality, a world at peace, a world of beauty, unity with nature, protecting the environment)

Benevolence: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact (helpful, honest, forgiving, loyal, responsible)

Tradition: Respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self (humble, accepting my portion in life, devout, respect for tradition, moderate)

Conformity: Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms (politeness, obedient, self-discipline, honoring parents and elders)

Security: Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships, and of self (family security, national security, social order, clean, reciprocation of favors)

Appendix D: Study 2 Pilot Studies

Pilot Study 1: Casting the Male and Female Actors

The man and woman who portrayed the candidate in the fictional campaign ad were selected from a pool of professional actors recruited via Craigslist. In March 2010, a Craigslist ad was placed that asked actors to submit a photo and resume to be shown to a group of undergraduate students. Actors who were not selected received empirical feedback on the headshots, and the actors who were selected to portray the candidates were compensated with hourly pay. Actors' headshots were cropped to be as similar as possible to one another in composition and size, and in some cases alternate photos were requested, in order to make the headshots look sufficiently political. Headshots from 14 actors (nine men and five women) were included in the final online pilot survey.

Eighty-three undergraduate student participants completed the online survey in exchange for extra credit in psychology courses. Each participant saw one of two versions of the survey, in which the 14 actors' photos were presented in different random orders. The study was described as a "study of first impressions," and each page of the survey consisted of an actor's photo, followed by a series of questions. First, participants were asked, "How do you feel about this man/woman?" and responded on a scale from 0 (Extremely Negative) to 10 (Extremely Positive; $M = 6.6$, $SD = 2.1$). Next, participants responded to an open-ended questions about the actor's age ($M = 40.5$, $SD = 8.5$) and were asked to guess the actors' partisanship (28.7% Democrat, 24.1% Republican, 42.0% Can't tell). Participants then responded to a series of items about the

actor's personal traits, presented in random order. Participants responded to each trait on a seven-point scale with endpoints "Not at all" (1) and "Extremely" (7). Items were phrased: "How _____ is he/she?" and included the traits Family-oriented, Likable, Nurturing, and Trustworthy (Warmth scale, $M = 4.4$, $SD = 1.2$, $\alpha = .87$), Competent, Ambitious, and Hard-working (Competence scale, $M = 4.8$, $SD = 1.0$, $\alpha = .84$), and Attractive ($M = 3.7$, $SD = 1.6$). Finally, participants completed three items about how they might interact with the actor, one of which was a measure of potential political support: "If he/she were running for political office, would you support him/her?" (31.9% Yes, 28.1% No, 35.3% Don't know).

For each actor, I calculated the mean and 95% confidence interval of participants' responses to each item, in order to select a male and female actor who did not differ from one another on initial reaction, age, partisanship, warmth, competence, and attractiveness. Two of the five female actors with the most positive ratings were selected as finalists, and two male actors were selected to match each of them on as many dimensions as possible. The average responses for these six finalists are presented in the table below.

Response	Finalist Group 1			Finalist Group 2		
	Sarah (F)	Robert (M)	Anthony (M)	Michelle (F)	John (M)	Dana (M)
Can't tell partisanship	36.7%	33.0%	38.5%	54.4%	29.9%	37.2%
Would give political support	53%	43%	39%	46%	53%	30%
Age (mean)	35.5	33.5	37.4	40.4	48.3*	40.1
Initial Reaction (mean)	8.2	7.4	6.5*	6.7	6.6	6
Warmth (mean)	4.9	4.9	3.7*	4.9	4.7	4.3*
Competence (mean)	5.5	4.7*	5.2	4.8	5	4.7
Attractiveness (mean)	4.7	4.1	4.2	3.3	3.1	3.2

Note. * $p < .05$

In each case, the male actors who best matched the female actors differed from them on at least one dimension. Although ratings of their competence differed, Sarah and Robert were similar on every other dimension, and were rated more positively overall than the other actors, and so they were selected to portray the candidates in this study. Their headshots are included below.



Pilot Study 2: Participants' Responses to Campaign Ads

A second pilot study was conducted in order to assess the realism of the fictional campaign ads used in Study 2 and Study 3. Twenty-three undergraduate students completed the pilot study in exchange for extra credit in psychology courses. Each participant visited the lab to complete part 2 of Study 2 as described in Chapter 3. At the end of the study, pilot participants answered additional open-ended questions about the videos and their experience in the study. First, participants were asked to guess the hypotheses of the research. Next, they answered the questions: “What did you think of the video—boring, exciting, or somewhere in between? Please explain,” “Was the video informative?” “Did the video look like other ads you’ve seen?” and “Did you think anything in the video seemed strange?” Participants’ open-ended comments were assessed qualitatively, to examine any trends of response that might indicate necessary changes to the study materials.

Overall, participants thought that the videos were boring and unengaging. This is not surprising, since the quality of much of the media college-age participants consume is of a much higher production value than a home movie. Approximately 30% of the participants stated that the video was poorly made and/or the script and acting were forced and unnatural. Two students interpreted the poor quality to mean that the videos were not from a real campaign, others attributed the poor quality to low budgets, older video methods used in the past, or the candidate’s incompetence. However, two participants mentioned that despite the poor quality and low entertainment value, they did think that the ad was realistic because they find most campaign videos boring and “unimpressive.”

Despite the negative evaluations of the quality of the video, all participants seemed to engage with the videos and had substantive, relevant reactions to the content, as indicated by the responses to the measures used in the study. Further, evaluations of video quality were consistent across the experimental conditions, indicating that video quality would not be an alternative explanation for any effects found in Study 2 and 3. In order to give participants a consistent attribution for the poor quality of the video, however, I altered the introductory text of the experiment to indicate that the video that participants would be watching in the study was an early mock-up of a campaign ad that would be further refined before airing on television.

Most participants did not see anything strange or unusual about the video, besides the statements about poor quality. Among participants who did note something unusual about the video, there was no consistent pattern of responses. Three participants in the maternal appeals conditions said that the ad was not like others they had seen because it had more family content than real ads. Two other participants, however, indicated that the video was like other ads they had seen, because real candidates also emphasize family. These reactions have implications for the generalizability of the results of this project, because the fictional ads used in the study do have more maternal appeal content than most ads that air on television. While the specifics of the ad used in this study will inevitably place some limits on the generalizability of the results of the experiments, I chose to keep the strong maternal appeal manipulation in the videos in this first examination of maternal appeals, in order to establish the phenomenon of maternal appeals and to assess both strong and subtle effects.

Approximately 70% of the participants who watched the maternal ad (especially the female candidate's maternal ad) listed "family" as the first or only "issue" that was discussed in the ad, compared to 0% of the participants in the control condition. Only one participant saw the control ad as family-oriented, and one other participant thought that the woman endorsing the candidate was his wife. Thus, overall, a very small number of participants indicated through their comments that they had misconstrued or misinterpreted the family content of the ad, indicating that the maternal appeal manipulation was effective. Further, none of the participants' guesses about the hypotheses of the study mentioned gender or family, although some mentioned the candidate's values, empathy, and morals. The hypotheses and true purpose of the study appeared to be well-concealed from the participants.

Appendix E: Study 2 Stimuli

Maternal Appeal Ad Script

(SETTING: AT OFFICE DESK WITH LAMP AND OFFICE WALL BEHIND)

CANDIDATE: Hi. I'm Rebecca Streeter, a Pennsylvanian born and raised. This state is not just the place I live, it's my home, and I wouldn't change that for anything.

I'm running for Congress because I **understand** the people of Pennsylvania and the challenges they face. **I really care about the people of this state.** I'd be honored to serve you **and your family** in office. But first, I'd like for you to know a little bit about me.

(CUT TO MONTAGE OF PHOTOS OF CANDIDATE AND FAMILY)

I have been married to my husband Charles for 15 **wonderful** years, and together we've **raised two precious children.** **My family** reminds me every day how important it is to **listen** to others and **help** in whatever way you can.

(CUT BACK TO CANDIDATE IN OFFICE, ZOOM IN FOR CLOSE UP)

CANDIDATE: In Congress I will work to keep this state great, and the only way to do that is to **listen to families** like **yours**, to make sure you get what you need from government.

That's why I'll fight to cut taxes for working **families** and provide basic healthcare for **our children** and our **sons and daughters in the military.**

(CUT TO SHOT OF KIDS PLAYING)

CANDIDATE: In these tough times, we need to focus on the things that matter most.

(CUT TO WOMAN IN A SCHOOL OR DAYCARE SETTING WITH A CHILD)

WOMAN: Rebecca Streeter believes that **helping children means helping all of us.** As **a mother**, she has the skills and the **compassion** to solve the tough problems we're facing. When funds for education ran low last year, **she was right here, fighting alongside other parents** to keep our schools open and class sizes small. It's not every day that you see a politician really working for the people like that. That's the kind of representative that I want in Congress.

(CUT TO CANDIDATE IN OUTDOOR SETTING)

CANDIDATE (HOLDING CHILD): I approved this message, because in times like these, we need to come together not as Democrats or Republicans, but as **mothers and fathers, daughters and sons.**

(BANNER AT THE BOTTOM READS REBECCA STREETER,
DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN FOR CONGRESS)

Control Ad Script

(SETTING: AT OFFICE DESK WITH LAMP AND OFFICE WALL BEHIND)

CANDIDATE: Hi. I'm Rebecca Streeter, a Pennsylvanian born and raised. This state is not just the place I live, it's my home, and I wouldn't change that for anything.

I'm running for Congress because I **am a strong advocate for** the people of Pennsylvania and **I know** the challenges they face. I'd be honored to serve you in office. But first, I'd like for you to know a little bit about me.

(CUT TO MONTAGE OF PHOTOS OF CANDIDATE WITH OTHER ADULTS-
WORKING IN THE COMMUNITY, DIGGING A GARDEN, VISITING A
BUSINESS, ETC.)

I have been married to my husband Charles for 15 years, and together we've helped Pennsylvania grow. **He** reminds me every day how important it is to **work hard** for others and **fight for their needs** in whatever way you can.

(CUT BACK TO CANDIDATE IN OFFICE, ZOOM IN FOR CLOSE UP)

CANDIDATE: In Congress I will work to keep this state great, and the only way to do that is to **continue fighting for people like you**, to make sure you get what you need from government.

That's why I'll fight to cut taxes for working **people** and provide basic healthcare for **the people of this state** and our **men and women in the military.**

(CUT TO SHOT OF ADULTS IN HEALTH CARE ENVIRONMENT)

CANDIDATE: In these tough times, we need to focus on the things that matter most.

(CUT TO WOMAN IN A SCHOOL)

WOMAN: Rebecca Streeter believes that **stronger citizens will create a stronger Pennsylvania. As a longtime resident of our state**, she has the skills and the **persistence** to solve the tough problems we're facing. When funds for education ran

low last year, **she worked hard to get legislation passed** to keep our schools open and class sizes small. It's not every day that you see a politician really working for the people like that. That's the kind of representative that I want in Congress.

(CUT TO CANDIDATE IN OUTDOOR SETTING)

CANDIDATE: I approved this message, because in times like these, we need to come together not as Democrats or Republicans, but as **a community for a better Pennsylvania.**

(BANNER AT THE BOTTOM READS REBECCA STREETER,
DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN FOR CONGRESS)

Appendix F: Study 3 Pilot Study

To choose words for the lexical decision task that capture the category “women as mothers and nurturers,” data that were collected as part of a separate study on the content of stereotypes of mothers were analyzed as part of this project. Seventy undergraduate student participants completed the study in February 2010 in exchange for extra credit in psychology courses. Participants were recruited after an introduction to psychology lecture, and asked to complete a paper-and-pencil survey about their impressions of various social groups in society. Participants were randomly assigned to complete one of four questionnaires, each targeting a different group: Women, Men, Mothers, or Fathers. Participants saw questions of the form “to what extent is a typical woman/man/mother/father _____?” and rated each of 38 traits on a 1(not at all) to 7 (extremely) scale. Trait words were drawn from previous studies of gender stereotype content (Cuddy et al., 2004a; Marcus-Newhall, Casad, & Thompson, 2005).

The mean ratings of each trait were compared across conditions in order to identify trait words for which mothers were rated above the midpoint of the scale and significantly higher than fathers, men, or women in general. Such traits reflect unique characteristics of mothers that are likely to be part of the stereotype of women as mothers and nurturers. The traits for which such differences emerged are presented in the table below. These traits were selected for inclusion in the lexical decision task.

Trait	Target Group				<i>M (SD)</i>
	Mothers	Women	Fathers	Men	
sincere	6.1*	5.0* _A	5.2* _A	3.8	5.0 (1.2)
sympathetic	6.0* _A	5.2* _{A,B}	4.4 _{B,C}	3.9 _C	4.8 (1.3)
selfless	6.4*	3.8 _A	4.8*	3.5 _A	4.6 (1.5)
nurturing	6.5* _A	5.6* _{A,B}	4.9* _{B,C}	4.1 _C	5.3 (1.5)
good-natured	5.9* _A	5.5* _{A,B}	5.5* _{A,B}	4.9* _B	5.5 (1.0)
loving	6.6* _A	5.5* _{B,C}	5.8* _{A,B}	4.7* _C	5.6 (1.2)
affectionate	6.3* _A	5.5* _{A,B}	5.2* _B	4.6* _B	5.4 (1.2)
warm	5.8* _A	5.4* _{A,B}	4.6* _{B,C}	4.2 _C	5.0 (1.3)
emotional	6.2* _A	5.5* _A	3.7 _B	3.6 _B	4.7 (1.7)
sensitive	5.7* _A	5.5* _A	3.7 _B	3.4 _B	4.5 (1.4)

Note. * Mean is significantly greater than the scale midpoint at $p < .05$. Means that share a subscript are not significantly different at $p = .05$.

Appendix G: Study 3 Stimuli

Lexical Decision Task Stimuli

Practice Trial Words	Practice Trial Nonwords
alphabet	etbalpha
milkshake	skkheimla
film	lifm
window	onwwdi
crystal	rscylat

Note. Practice trial words chosen from a list to be of varying length. Nonwords are the practice trial words with letters scrambled.

Target Words	Nontarget Words	Nonwords
sincere	serious	nesecri
sympathetic	interesting	eytimthapcs
selfless	reliable	ellssfes
nurturing	optimistic	utgurnrni
good-natured	self-confident	endoduarogt
loving	focused	golvni
affectionate	impressive	fcotateefni
warm	calm	awrm
emotional	truthful	iolmoeant
sensitive	punctual	tnieivses
compassionate	conscientious	eaotspscnamio
feminine	creative	eiefnnim
gentle	candid	ltegne
tender	mature	rdeent
understanding	conventional	erndidtsangun
mother	baker	ohmrte
waitress	designer	awitsres

nurse	editor	resnu
secretary	reporter	earrcytse
woman	agent	amwon
		sesorui
		tgeerinstni
		lribeale
		tmisictpio
		fctsodnefenil
		scfeodu
		vimpsreeis
		malc
		ulufhtrt
		ncuutlpa
		ctousneiisnoc
		critveea
		dcidan
		mraute
		oaceovnnltni
		rbkea
		sngredei
		rdotie
		rotrepre
		ganet

Note. Nontarget words are non-gender-related traits chosen to approximately match the target words in length and valence. Nonwords are the words that were selected for inclusion in the study, with the order of the letters scrambled.

*Job Description***POSITION INFORMATION**

- > **Location:** [REDACTED]
- > **Job Category:** Accounting/Finance
- > **Type:** Full Time Employee
- > **Minimum Education:** Bachelor's Degree

VICE PRESIDENT of FINANCE**OVERVIEW**

- This position will assist the CFO with the financial affairs of the organization and with preparation of financial analyses of operations, including interim and final financial statements with supporting schedules, for the guidance of the management team.

ROLE PRIORITIES

- Oversee the activities of the corporate accounting department for the accurate and timely dissemination of financial management reports including, but not limited to, internal and external monthly financial statements, and annual audits and annual budgets.
- Prepare reports that summarize and forecast company business activity and financial position in areas of income, expenses, and earnings based on past, present, and expected operations.
- Recommend long-term investment strategies based on analysis.
- Responsibilities include interviewing and training employees; planning, assigning and directing work; appraising performance; rewarding and disciplining employees; addressing complaints and resolving problems.

RESPONSIBILITIES

- Analytical—the individual synthesizes complex or diverse information.
- Problem solving—the individual identifies and resolves problems in a timely manner and gathers and analyzes information skillfully.
- Oral communication—the individual speaks clearly and persuasively in positive or negative situations, demonstrates group presentation skills and conducts meetings.
- Delegation—the individual delegates work assignments, gives authority to work independently, sets expectations and monitors delegated activities.
- Management skills—the individual includes staff in planning, decision-making, facilitating and process improvement; provides regular performance feedback; and develops subordinates' skills.
- Quality management—the individual looks for ways to improve and promote

quality and demonstrates accuracy and thoroughness.

- Judgment—the individual displays willingness to make decisions, exhibits sound and accurate judgment and makes timely decisions.
- Planning/organizing—the individual prioritizes and plans work activities, uses time efficiently and develops realistic action plans.
- Safety and security—the individual actively promotes and personally observes safety and security procedures, and uses equipment and materials properly.

REPORTING TO THIS POSITION ARE

- Finance Manager
- Financial Analysts
- Finance Specialists
- Ultimate responsibility for 6 employees, this will change as the company grows.

ESSENTIAL SKILLS AND EXPERIENCE

- Strong leadership and managerial abilities.
- Strong general ledger, accounts payable, accounts receivable, payroll, income tax and banking working knowledge.
- Bachelor's degree in Accounting or Finance plus CPA certification required.
- Must have at least 10 years of hands-on accounting experience.
- Ability to communicate with co-workers, management, clients, and others in a courteous and professional manner.
- Very computer friendly -- spreadsheet proficient (hardware and software) MAS 90/MAS200 experience required.

*Applicant Description***APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT****PERSONAL INFORMATION**DATE OF APPLICATION: **12/10/2010**

Name: _____ **Debra** _____ **Jane** _____
 _____ Last First Middle

Date of Birth: **1/28/1974**

Address: **414 Orchard Street** _____ _____
 Street City/State Zip

Contact Information: _____ **460** _____ **debr** _____ **@gmail.com**
 Cell Phone Email

Position Sought: **Vice President of Finance**Are you currently employed? **Yes****EDUCATION**

Name and Location	Degree/Certification	Major / Subjects of Study
Illinois Board of Examiners Chicago, IL	C.P.A.	Accounting
College of Business at Illinois Champaign, IL	M.B.A.	Business
University of Illinois Chicago, IL	B.A.	Accounting

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Dates Employed	Company	Role/Title
3/07 - present	_____	Finance Manager

Responsibilities, tasks performed, and reason for leaving:

Develop and execute operational objectives with the finance team, prepare weekly and monthly financial reports to corporate headquarters, manage assets including hands-on cash, receivables, and inventory, manage accounts payable, manage a staff of four, review and manage payroll processing for all employees.

Dates Employed	Company	Role/Title
6/02 – 3/07	[REDACTED]	Senior Accountant

Responsibilities, tasks performed, and reason for leaving:

Organize the reporting of financial information, research and resolve accounting problems, prepare information for presentation at meetings, supervise office operations and personnel including. Left to take position as finance manager.

Dates Employed	Company	Role/Title
5/99-6/02	[REDACTED]	Accounting Clerk

Responsibilities, tasks performed, and reason for leaving:

Review invoices, enter and review data on capital projects, maintain corporate asset reports, assist with account reconciliation. Left to take position as senior accountant.

OTHER RELEVANT ACTIVITIES

- Parent-Teacher Association Fundraising Coordinator, 2007-present
Coordinate two annual fundraising events and monthly dinners, recruit business sponsors, manage volunteer staff.
- Semi-finalist, Illinois MBA Strategy Case Competition, 2005
Worked with team to explore a business problem and design a solution, presented strategy and recommendation to industry executive judges.

Appendix H: Study 3 Measures

Commitment

If hired as Vice President of Finance, the applicant would be very committed to the company.

If hired, the applicant would be willing to make sacrifices for the job.

If hired, the applicant would make work a top priority.

Objective Commitment

If hired, this applicant would probably take about ____ sick days per month.

If hired, this applicant would probably arrive late or leave early about ____ days per month.

If hired, this applicant would be more committed than about ____ % of other employees.

Competence

The applicant's job performance if hired as Vice President of Finance would be:

Competent/Not Competent

Productive/Not Productive

Ineffective/Effective

Hiring Recommendation

I think this applicant should be considered further for the position of Vice President of Finance.

This applicant should be eliminated from consideration for the job.