THE IRON LADY: GENDER OWNERSHIP IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

by

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(Under the Direction of Jamie Carson)

ABSTRACT

Through a re-examination of the women's suffrage movement and modern female candidacy, patterns regarding conformity to specific gender expectations becomes noticeable leading to questions regarding the political viability of gender association. The purpose of this research was to develop a method of measuring ownership of the concept of gender among political candidates. Gender, much like traits and issues, is a concept that can be associated with a candidate in an attempt to connect with voters. This research sought to quantify this previously unquantified attribute and then identify trends regarding the level of ownership among candidates for elections at the gubernatorial, House, and Senatorial levels for the years 2006-2014 by coding 9,860 unique candidate advertisements.

To determine whether candidates are conforming to gender expectations, a new gender ownership index was developed. It quantifies a candidate's willingness to be associated with gender expectations. For the purposes of this research, gender ownership was calculated using a candidate's apparent sex, mentioning of gender-assumed issues, mentioning of gender-assumed qualities, and audio/visual associations with members of the public and gender-assumed visuals. This index provides for a more synergistic understanding of gender, rather than a sex-based value or focusing separately on individual aspects of the concept of gender.

The findings are indicative of an overall trend that candidates do associate themselves with their gender's assumptions in campaign advertisements. Specifically, female candidates are increasingly associating themselves with their gender's assumptions, whereas male candidates are decreasingly associating themselves with their gender's assumptions, both meeting the levels for significance. Gender Ownership does not seem to be based purely upon electoral contest nor party, but is a combination of electoral contest, party, and perceived sex. The findings are significant in the positive direction for the sample sets: all female, specifically all female: Democratic, Republican, Democratic gubernatorial, overall House, Democratic House, overall senatorial, Democratic senatorial, Republican senatorial, overall federal, Democratic federal, Republican federal, and male Republican senatorial. The findings are significant in the negative direction for the sample sets: all male, specifically all male: Democrat, all gubernatorial, Republican gubernatorial, all House, Democratic House, and Democratic federal.

INDEX WORDS: Gender Ownership, Women's Suffrage, Issue Ownership, Trait Ownership

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my mother, my grandmothers, my great-grandmothers, and my great-great grandmothers who lived it.

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I would be truly ungrateful if I did not take a moment to acknowledge the contributions of others to the process that has led to this work and helped make it what it is.

I am grateful to my committee, especially my chair, Dr. Jamie Carson, for their insights, encouragement, and patience. Their efforts have helped to make this work possible and the quality product it is.

Dr. Maren Clegg-Hyer provided the best advice when I started this endeavor; the elephant has been eaten, one bite at a time.

I have had so much community support from my religious communities and fellow graduate students in my apartment complexes. Their prayers, their understanding, and their encouragement helped me get through the rougher days of this project. While most people never consider the efforts required to keep everything humming, I appreciate the efforts of the maintenance staff, especially Ms. Debra and Mr. Melvin, at my apartment complex that consistently fixed problems so I would not have to be distracted by them.

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doctorate and completing my dissertation would not have been possible without her consistent, reliable, loving help and sacrifice. Lastly, my son has sacrificed time with his mother to embark on a difficult journey. He has had to move, make new friends, and sacrifice personal comforts because of me going to school for a better future for us. The journey has not always been easy, but he has handled it well, sometimes better than me. He has been encouraging and caring throughout the difficult times and joyous during the easy times. While I did this for a better life for both of us, this would not have been accomplished without him. I am not sure I can ever express the depth of my gratitude.

Finally, I acknowledge the inspiration and help of God throughout this endeavor. Faith manages.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Margaret Thatcher. Golda Meir. Some even include Nancy Pelosi in this esteemed cadre. Women who have earned the appellation “The Iron Lady.” These are women who have held high-level executive office and displayed both strength and femininity. While strong women are not new, strong women in politics are. In the ever-changing dynamics of society, the definition of what is acceptable in politics has likewise changed over time. Previously, women were expected to behave like men to succeed in politics, now women may succeed while embracing the gender assumptions of being a woman. Whereas women had to eschew the trappings and gender assumptions of being a woman; now, women can own what it means to be a woman. But women, particularly in politics, have struggled with what it means to be a woman and what being a woman means in politics.

While the process of political gender identity did not start in 1920, the political landscape of the United States changed at that time. The United States had been incrementally heading in this direction for more than a century. Women gained the right to vote at the federal level, and with that the right to run and hold public office. The inclusion of approximately half the human population in political discourse as full participants was met with both fear and jubilation. But the story of women in politics does not begin nor end with women gaining the right to vote. The story is both in the fight to have the right to be part of the political discourse and how that participation has been used since its acquisition. Women have struggled with how they fit in political discourse both before and since gaining suffrage. The role of women in the political

process was a matter of significant debate in Congress prior to suffrage and has continued as women have struggled for their place in Congress. Since the acquisition of suffrage, women have found that not all obstacles disappeared with the Nineteenth Amendment. Indeed, women have found that additional obstacles have appeared in the forms of questions of political competency, limited political interests, and unsupported ambitions. Such political difficulties seem discouraging to female politicians and underscore the question of whether being a woman is politically beneficial.

Early in the debate regarding women's suffrage, the diversity of women was noted by political commentators. While initial discussions had encouraged the idea that certain morally undesirable aspects of politics would be eliminated with the inclusion of women, time told the tale that women were as politically diverse with as diverse political interests as their male counterparts such that the ills of politics were neither bettered nor worsened with the addition of women in the electorate. Women do not all agree on any issue, even issues that are deemed to be important to women. Women do not all have the same attributes. Women are as diverse in their capabilities and sensibilities as men. The only commonality is a shared perceived biological sex, though sex alone is not all that it takes for a female to connect with women in the electorate.

Political science has focused on the perceived sex of a candidate, the traits a candidate associates with him/herself, and the issues a candidate associates him/herself with. However, these qualities are often examined separately to identify what issues and traits a candidate or party owns. This research seeks to examine gender in political campaigns. This dissertation argues that it is not enough to examine the elements separately because gender is not a single element. Both perceived sexes have associated gendered assumptions about traits and issues based solely upon the perceived sex. Research needs to examine the totality of the concept of

gender to understand its influence in campaigns. While each piece has been identified as being of use to a candidate in campaigning, the totality has not been examined for its influence in connecting with the electorate. Additionally, historically, the assumptions assigned to the male gender were preferred for political position. The mere fact that this discussion can be had indicates that the gender assumptions associated with the perceived sex of female are now sufficiently acceptable by the electorate for candidates of political office. Because of the progress made in the political realm, the field can now discuss the important role of gender in politics. To address these issues, this research seeks to create an index that measures a candidate's association with his/her gender based upon the candidate's perceived sex. This index is defined as gender ownership.

In this gender-fluid socio-political landscape, it furthers the field to examine how and whether candidates associate themselves with their gender, in much the way the field has studied candidate association with traits and issues in previous studies. To further the field, this study creates an index that measures the degree to which a candidate associates or disassociates him/her-self from his/her gender, and then examines trends of this gender ownership variable over time utilizing candidate advertisements as the unit of measure for a candidate's message ownership. The findings of this research hope to encourage further examination in the understanding of the role gender plays in the message a candidate crafts and presents to the public.

CHAPTER 2

BREAKING INTO POLITICS

Historically the Nineteenth Amendment is seen as an important demarcation in women's involvement in politics. While previously women had participated in government through indirect means, such as rallies, marches, and editorials in newspapers; women could participate directly in voting and law-making after the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment. While historically and politically the process of passing this amendment is recognized as laborious, it behooves the field to examine the undercurrent of gender and political identities that continues today. The process of passing the Nineteenth Amendment tested the political process, the definition of citizenship, and shaped the idea of American Democracy. In this chapter, not only will the amendment process be examined, but also the gender role expectations that existed and changed over time. In doing so, the purpose is to better understand the role gender has played and does play, particularly for women, in the political process.

The actual passage of the Nineteenth Amendment is an example of legislative brevity. The final bill that became the Susan B. Anthony Amendment was introduced on 19 May 1919. The final bill passed both houses of Congress and was sent to the states for final ratification on 4 June 1919, just two weeks after introduction. The law was ratified on 18 August 1920, fourteen months later. The relative alacrity with which this final bill passed belies the long and winding road suffrage took to become law.

The United States Constitution does not explicitly forbid citizenship or political involvement to women, but it also does not explicitly grant women these same rights. Abigail

Adams is often cited as the one who gave one of the first expressions of women's political rights with her request "In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire you would remember the ladies, and be more generous to them than your ancestors" (Kernell, et al., 56). While many agree now that this statement had more to do with rights within marriage than rights in the political sphere, marriage rights are often an important step in the evolution of political rights (Kernell et al., 56). As noted by McConnaughy, "most states decided to tie voting rights to property rights" (29). Thus, Abigail Adams's plea in regards to marital rights, including property rights, had political implications. New Jersey would grant voting rights to widows if they owned a sufficient amount of property (McConnaughy, 21). Though, in time, this right for women in New Jersey would disappear. This was only the beginning of the complicated story of women gaining the right to vote. Property rights and voting rights would be tied together in the pursuit of women's suffrage.

The Women's Rights Convention in the summer of 1848 held in Seneca Falls, New York, is generally regarded as the starting point for the women's suffrage movement in the United States. Among the sentiments included in the Declaration were statements regarding franchise for women and political oppression related to the lack of franchise. Also included were sentiments regarding property rights of women, both married and single. Thus, political rights and property rights continued to be tied together. Approximately sixty years after the ratification of the Constitution, a significant portion of the population began to actively labor in the arduous task of amending that same Constitution. While in 1848 there were twelve amendments to the Constitution, only two proposed amendments had succeeded in being ratified since the Bill of Rights. Consequently, the task of adding an amendment to the federal Constitution would be a daunting endeavor. However, the ideas codified in the Declaration of Sentiments, Grievances,

and Resolutions written in Seneca Falls, New York, though diverse and divisive, would be "persistent…among women in Congress and women's rights activists" both before and after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment (Wasniewski, et al., 20).

This daunting task was not one that would or could be easily won. While suffrage was initially only one of many concerns, including property rights and education, suffrage became the primary concern of activists for women. Even from the beginning, the success of women's suffrage was not due to women being seen as a single political bloc that would easily be incorporated into the electoral considerations of special interests. Rather, suffrage was seen as "a real constituent demand" with "real electoral consequences" (McConnaughy, 10). Being a woman was not considered a politically essential category, rather there was "as much political diversity in 'women' as" was seen in men (McConnaughy, 10). This was a factor recognized by those pushing the movement forward. Women were not all the same, yet they did share gender similarities; a fact that male politicians felt precluded women from politics. Additionally, these similarities did not translate into a single voting bloc in the same manner other constituent groups might. This limited the political advantage of supporting suffrage. As a result, instead of initially pursuing a national approach which would have demanded for an amendment immediately, they pursued a state strategy wherein a national amendment would be implemented after a certain number of states adopted suffrage (McConnaughy, 2). Suffragists faced the common expectations that women, if given the right to vote, would vote the same way as the men in their respective families, thus giving rise to "the family vote" (McConnaughy, 11). This critique would continue even after the 2016 Presidential elections wherein claims were made that women were pressured to vote the same as their husbands, counter to their interests. Yet suffrage leaders wanted to ameliorate the female vote by emphasizing that "women would make electoral

choices based upon criteria other than their status as 'women'"; their gender would be subordinate to other concerns (McConnaughy, 11).

While the idea of women gaining the right to vote, along with property rights, gained traction in 1848, the matter would not be discussed in Congress until January 1866. Upon completion of the Civil War, several amendments were vigorously discussed in Congress regarding the future situation of former slaves, including the matter of suffrage for former slaves in the former slave states and colored freemen in the free states. In response to the matter of African-American suffrage, Senator John Brooks Henderson (R-MO) of the opposition cited that African-American suffrage would lead to suffrage for women in the North and East, "for which they [women] were not prepared" (Congressional Globe, 39th Congress, 14 February 1866, Appendix 116). This attitude regarding the preparedness of the fairer sex for the responsibilities incumbent upon those who were enfranchised would be a long-term hindrance to suffrage for women. Indeed, while there were discussions that giving the newly freed slaves the right to vote would necessarily mean giving women the right to vote, the determination of Congress was that the newly freed slaves were better prepared than all women to exercise the duties incumbent with enfranchisement. As a result, the suffrage of women was tabled at this time and women were excluded from suffrage because of gender assumptions.

The matter of women's suffrage would return to Congress multiple times after 1866. While many bills are born, live, and die during a single session of Congress, other bills return through multiple Congressional sessions before either a final death or passage. The initial death of women's suffrage in 1866 was not the end of the multiple lives of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment prior to final passage in 1920. While Congress refuted women's suffrage in 1866, suffragettes turned to the courts for relief. Susan B. Anthony registered to vote in New York, but

was fined for doing so. Newspapers of the time depicted a masculine Susan B. Anthony, mocking that a woman would try to vote (Lange, 1). After the first Congressional consideration and refutation in 1866, the matter would be resurrected in 1887 and summarized as follows by Senator Joseph Emerson Brown (D-GA): "the joint resolution…is one of paramount importance, as it involves great questions far reaching in their tendency, which seriously affect the very pillars of our social fabric, which involve the peace and harmony of society, the unity of the family, and much of the future success of our Government" (*Congressional Record,* 4th Congress, 25 January 1887, 980). He would further recommend that "the question should therefore be met fairly and discussed with firmness, but with moderation and forbearance" (*Congressional Record,* 4th Congress, 25 January 1887, 980). This moderation and forbearance would mean thirty-three years of deliberation and delay.

As a national amendment was not forthcoming, the issue of women's suffrage would start appearing on state referendums. While women wanted to influence legislation, the challenge, according to McConnaughy, "was to find a way to give woman suffrage political meaning that entailed consequence for party success" (50). Political parties needed a politically beneficial reason to bring women into the political system. Politicians noted that "women…were far too diverse a group to hold promise as a voting bloc" (McConnaughy, 51). While some hoped that the introduction of women into politics would "purify politics" through more "civilized" conduct and support of reform policies, "politicians had ample evidence that women were…just as politically heterogeneous as [men]" (McConnaughy, 51). Women were as diverse as men, thus, making promises of a politically cohesive voting bloc to re-election minded politicians was a political unreality. The inability to promise a cohesive voting bloc would continue to hinder

suffrage for women as politicians were pursuing politically beneficial avenues rather than moral avenues.

In 1890, three years after Senator Brown's call for forbearance and moderation, Wyoming would become a state and include in its state constitution equal voting rights for women (McConnaughy, 53). Additionally, Wyoming had included equal voting rights for women in its territorial constitution in 1869. The inclusion in the state constitution was a continuation of the status quo for the state rather than a change, as other states would have to perform. As equal suffrage was included in the territorial constitution, there was no protracted campaign for suffrage in the territory prior to Wyoming becoming a state. This was unique compared with the experiences in the rest of the country, in that the other states would require changes to state constitutions, and, thus, experienced more strenuous campaigns. Indeed, Senator John Kendrick (D-WY) would note that the Wyoming legislature would "remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than go in without woman suffrage" because the men had learned to "depend upon the courage, judgment, and initiative of their women" (*Congressional Record,* 65th Congress, 30 September 1918, 10924). Women had owned gender assumptions and had been partners with men in building Wyoming, which had led to suffrage and a political place.

On the other hand, the state of Colorado would grant equal suffrage to women in 1893 through an amendment process. Equal suffrage was granted through a ballot initiative that would change the state constitution of Colorado. As such, for the suffrage movement, Colorado was a training ground for the fights in other states and at the national level. There were ballot initiatives in 1870, 1875-1876, 1877, 1881, and 1891, in addition to the successful attempt of 1893. Two common patterns emerged, according to McConnaughy: "First, it kept the debate about women's voting rights in the realm of principles and attitudes, with the invocation of gender norms as

common grounds for resistance to woman suffrage and republican principles of representation as the central reason to support the idea of women as voters. Second, it enabled politicians to essentially have the issue of woman suffrage both ways by choosing to send the issue to the polls" (McConnaughy, 54).

When women gained the right to vote in Colorado, *The Delta Independent* dedicated prime newspaper real estate (front page, above the fold) to the questions and expectations regarding the newly enfranchised female voter. Among the questions were "How will they vote? What per/cent will vote?" and "Will they want office?" (15 November 1893, 1). *The Delta Independent* had varied expectations regarding the female voters of Colorado; among them were: "Many of the women…will be eager and active in political matters and to be contrary will vote exactly opposite to their husbands and brothers," but "others will pay but little attention to the study of which party is right or wrong but will vote just as 'hubby' does" (15 November 1893, 1). Furthermore, *The Delta Independent* included queries female voters may have, such as: "Does he come home late at night?...Is he good to his family?...Does he drink," in addition to the other political concerns of the time (15 November 1893, 1). *The Delta Independent* concluded that "[female voters] will manifest more interest in [councilman and mayoral elections] and school elections than in national elections" (15 November 1893, 1). Thus, the second state to grant suffrage to women laid out several of the concerns, expectations, and long-term issues of women, as a gender, having the right to vote in all elections.

However, it would not be an immediate switch from suffrage being granted in Colorado to all women in the country having the right to vote; that was another twenty-seven years, a world war, and significant domestic effort away. The story of suffrage in Colorado became a story that the nation would continue to look to for information about women voters. As

McConnaughy repeatedly notes, “women did not become a voting bloc” (86). The elections of 1894 in Colorado suggested that “women voted in much the same way their male counterparts did, and that they certainly did not cohere politically just because of their sex, nor because of some gendered political interest” (McConnaughy, 86). Parties, therefore, had little immediate political incentive to pursue women’s suffrage, as, based upon Colorado’s experience, it was unlikely that women would vote as a political bloc, and therefore would be of little use to the political parties, nor did women exhibit any party loyalty to the party who succeeded in enfranchising women (McConnaughy, 87).

The Supreme Court of the United States had ruled in *Minor v. Happersett* (1875) that voting was not inherently a right of citizenship, therefore states could limit or expand suffrage as they so pleased. Even as states were enfranchising women, the federal government maintained that this concern was a state issue and the federal government had no role in it. In 1902, Mississippi Representative Andreas Fuller (D) referred to the Supreme Court case *Minor v. Happersett* (1875) in stating that the Constitution did not inherently grant suffrage to all citizens. Logically, therefore, the matter of granting suffrage was a matter for state governments, not the federal government to decide (*Congressional Record,* 35th Congress, 17 December 1902, 340). Members of Congress felt the matter closed on this point.

By 1906, four states had fully enfranchised women: Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho. Colorado was still regarded as the location for useful information regarding the voting behavior of women voters, as the data from Colorado indicated the “types of women who voted” and that “the groups made different political choices” reflecting their diverse group interests; affirming that while women were a gendered group, women were not all the same (McConnaughy, 88). In 1906, congressional hearings were held regarding women’s suffrage. At

this time women expressed the situation to the politicians. One notable experience was relayed by Mrs. Lucretia Blackenburg (PA), "One of my colleagues, after she had explained the ticket to a man, said to him: 'Some of these days you will be asked perhaps to vote for woman suffrage, and I want you to promise me today that you will do it.' He looked at her and said: 'Why, madam, I don't think women know enough to vote.' That was one of our experiences" (Hearings before the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives on H.J. Res. 86 *Congressional Record,* 59th Congress, 15 February 1906, 3). The same hurdles that had blocked women's suffrage from the beginning continued to plague the efforts to gain suffrage for women. The gender assumption that women were not capable of making political decisions hindered progress towards suffrage. Congress would continue to hold hearings and discuss the matter of women's suffrage. During this time period, women's suffrage was discussed in the House Judiciary Committee, where the matter had to compete with other important legislation. Until 1917, all proposals, statements, hearings, evidence, letters, requests, and constituent and legislator petitions on the matter of women's suffrage were directed to the House Judiciary Committee, if the matter was sent to the House. The House had no dedicated committee to review the matter of women's suffrage, nor make proposals regarding the resolution of the matter until 1917. On the other hand, the Senate had established a special committee regarding women's suffrage in 1882, which would gain full committee status in 1909.

In 1909, an article attributed to a Denver politician stated:

> "the woman voter is a political power to be reckoned with. In the state of Colorado fifty-one percent of the registered voters are women and, in many districts, such as certain wards in Denver, the women voters outnumber the men at the ratio three to two. The woman voter then, if she were a social unit, could do pretty much what she pleased, and the popular conception is that she is a social unit. 'If women had the vote,' we often hear, 'the saloons would be closed' or 'child labor would be abolished,' or some other evil would be checked. If the women of Denver voted as one woman plenty of good things would be done. But

> does she? Bless you, of course not! There are just as many different kinds of women voters as there are men voters (McConnaughy, 88-89)."

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, four US states had granted full suffrage to women and two countries (New Zealand and Austria) had followed suit. While universal suffrage seemed inevitable to Alexander de Toqueville, the movement seemed less certain.

In the next decade, ten states of the United States and four countries, eventually including the United States as a whole, would grant women's suffrage. The next decade would also see its first female federally-elected officeholder. Clearly the efforts of the next decade were successful, but the victory was not easily won. The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) was the primary lobbying organization for women's rights and suffrage, and had been advocating women's suffrage for decades. The NWSA continued to encourage peaceful efforts and diplomatic negotiation through education in the efforts to gain rights and suffrage for women. However, the NWSA was not the only women's suffrage organization. Peaceful education was countered by more demanding activities. Whereas prior efforts had not incorporated the president in accomplishing the goal of women's suffrage, with the newly-elected president, NWSA and other similar organizations would actively involve the president in their efforts. On 13 March 1913, Woodrow Wilson's first inauguration was overshadowed by a parade of suffragists. Newspapers of the time reported over 5,000 marchers in the parade, many clad in yellow, the color of the cause. *The Christian Science Monitor* stated that "all professions and classes were represented" (5), and *The New York Times* noted that "in the educational division thirty-two colored women from Howard University, Washington in caps and gowns" marched (5). The parade included floats depicting countries without suffrage and where the fight for suffrage was occurring. The parade depicted every aspect of life in which women could be found including education, labor, housework, government services, and farming. According to

newspapers, the marchers were met with about 500,000 spectators who frequently halted the parade's progress. The inability of the police to keep the spectators from hindering the march led to accusations of police incompetence, which led to a petition and Congressional inquiry as to why there was inadequate protection for the parade. *The New York Times* reported on 16 March 1913 that a delegation from the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) would meet with President Wilson on the subsequent Monday to ask him to recommend a constitutional amendment to Congress regarding woman's suffrage (12). Additionally, *The New York Times* reported that the minor committee of the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage was being revived, enlarged, and chaired by a Senator from the suffrage state of Colorado (12). Whereas previously the leadership of the NWSA and the NAWSA had focused primarily on state-focused efforts, at this moment, the organizations pursued a national effort that included the U.S. Congress and the President.

President Wilson was reticent to directly support a national answer to suffrage in 1913 (Lunerdini and Knock, 658). He had avoided a national answer to the woman suffrage movement during the campaign season, supporting instead a state-focused response (Lunerdini and Knock, 657). The appeals of Mrs. Stone, wife of Representative Stone of Illinois, and Miss Alice Paul would not yield a suffrage amendment in 1913, but did promote progress, as the delegation from NAWSA had hoped. By 1913, four additional states had granted suffrage to women, with another two in 1914. In 1917, New York was added to the list of suffrage states. The subsequent debates from 1917 through 1919 regarding women's suffrage were both more fervent and more productive.

Several bills were proposed in the 64th and 65th Congressional sessions regarding women's suffrage. Each one was requested to be referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage,

usually sparking a debate on women's suffrage. In 1917, the debate focused on harmonizing qualifications for citizenship and suffrage among the states, primarily among those who had already granted woman's suffrage (*Congressional Record,* 64th Congress, 13 February 1917, 3178), whether to include or exclude the women of Puerto (Porto[sic]) Rico (*Congressional Record,* 64th Congress, 17 February 1917, 3475-3476), and the negative response to granting suffrage because of the "Silent Sentinels" placing a banner at the White House gate "inscribed" with "Kaiser Wilson" (*Congressional Record,* 65th Congress, 15 September 1917, 7187). In April of 1917, President Woodrow Wilson had turned to Congress for a Declaration of War against Germany that would, in turn, involve the United States in The Great War (later called World War I). In his appeal to Congress, he asked to "make the world safe for democracy" (Wasniewski, et al., 37). The war effort and his appeal would be instrumental in furthering the cause of suffrage because many domestic issues were tabled until the end of the war. By presenting women's suffrage as a war measure, the matter could be considered with alacrity. By this point in time, President Woodrow Wilson was more involved in the effort to gain suffrage for women, though mostly behind the scenes. In response to the growing interest in regards to women's suffrage, on 15 December 1917, Representative John Edward Raker (D-CA) motioned to move resolutions regarding woman suffrage from the House Judiciary Committee to the House Committee on Woman Suffrage (*Congressional Record,* 65th Congress, 15 December 1917, 345). Finally, both the House and Senate had committees dedicated to the discussion and resolution of women's suffrage.

On 10 January 1918, the newly formed House Committee on Woman Suffrage delivered a privileged report regarding women's suffrage. The debate that followed this report, while not the final debate on the matter, did expose many of the questions and concerns the politicians of

the time had regarding the extension of suffrage. House Resolution 200 became House Joint Resolution 1 during the course of the debate on whether to grant woman suffrage. Representative Jeanette Rankin (R-MT), the first and only female member of Congress at that time, opened the debate by pointing out the hypocrisy of going to war to make the world safe for democracy with "How shall we answer the challenge, gentlemen? How shall we explain to them the meaning of democracy if the same Congress that voted to make the world safe for democracy refuses to give this small measure of democracy to the women of this country?" (Wasniewski, et al., 38). Representative Rankin (R) was from Montana, a state that had granted suffrage to women in 1914. She was also a strong pacifist and had voted against the Declaration of War. She was a member of the House Committee on Woman Suffrage and spoke in defense of the resolution:

> "Is it not possible that the women of the country have something of value to give the Nation at this time? It would be strange indeed if the women of this country through all these years had not developed an intelligence, a feeling, a spiritual force peculiar to themselves, which they hold in readiness to give to the world. It would be strange if the influence of women through direct participation in the political struggles, through which all social and industrial development proceeds, would not lend a certain virility, a certain influx of new strength and understanding and sympathy and ability to the exhausting effort we are now making to meet the problem before us" (*Congressional Record,* 64th Congress, 10 January 1918, 771).

In this speech, Representative Rankin (R-MT) supported the premise that women, as a gender, had something unique to provide the political sphere, and that quality was desirable. While women may be as diverse as men, Rankin was proposing that women were similar in a way peculiar to women. Rather than something to be excluded, these qualities that were unique to all women were desirable to include in democracy. Rankin proposed that women could be women and be an asset to Democracy. This resolution would have two proposed amendments: the Moores Amendment and the Gard Amendment. The Moores Amendment proposed that the suffrage amendment be ratified through state conventions and require ratification by three-

quarters of the states to become law. The Gard Amendment proposed a time limit of seven years wherein if the proposal had not been ratified, it would become inoperative. Both amendments were proposed on 10 January 1918. The Moores Amendment failed with 131 yeas to 273 nays. The Gard Amendment failed 158 yeas to 247 nays. House Joint Resolution 1 was voted upon, unchanged, in the House on 10 January 1918. The resolution passed the House with 274 yeas to 136 nays (*Congressional Record,* 64th Congress, 10 January 1918, 810). The resolution, having passed in the House, proceeded to the Senate. Due to the rules of the Senate, the resolution was first considered in committee and did not appear for debate until September of 1918. The suffragists had endeavored to educate and convert Wilson in hopes that his influence as both President and Democrat would lead to the passage of the suffrage amendment. This effort had succeeded in bringing Wilson to their cause, which led to Wilson addressing the Senate on 30 September 1918. In his address, Wilson requested that the Senate "remove every obstacle" to winning the war (*Congressional Record,* 65th Congress, 30 September 1918, 10928). Furthermore, Wilson appealed:

> "Through many, many channels I have been made aware what the plain, struggling, workaday folk are thinking upon whom the chief terror and suffering of this tragic war falls. They are looking to the great, powerful, famous Democracy of the West to lead them to the new day for which they, have so long waited; and they think, in their logical simplicity, - that democracy means that women shall play their part in affairs alongside men and upon an equal footing with them. If we reject measures like this, in ignorance or defiance of what a new age has brought forth, of what they have seen but we have not, they will cease to follow or to trust us." (*Congressional Record,* 65th Congress, 30 September 1918, 10928).

Wilson was not only supporting the measure, he was framing it as a necessary war measure. Senator William Fosgate Kirby (D-AR), in support of the amendment stated that "with women being allowed to vote, that it not only had not been injurious to her as an institution, but her participation in the affairs of government has been proved beneficial to the State in

improving the conditions where it has been allowed" (*Congressional Record*, 65th Congress, 30 September 1918, 10932). Senator Ellison DuRant Smith (D-SC) countered that "the fundamental principles upon which democracy rests is local self-government, the power of self-determination" (*Congressional Record*, 65th Congress, 30 September 1918, 10932). With such division among the Democratic party, Senate victory was far from assured, even with strong support from the Republican party. According to Lunerdini and Knock, Wilson repeatedly communicated with members of his party in the Senate on behalf of passage of the amendment (667). Even with his efforts and political pressure, there was concern that the vote would be short in the Senate on 1 October 1918, the day of the vote. On 30 September 1918, Senator James Duval Phelan (D-CA) stated that:

> "There are two classes of men who oppose woman suffrage: Those who do not believe in it in itself, and those who do not believe that *by* -amendment of the Federal Constitution women should be granted suffrage, but that they should be granted suffrage, -if- at all by the States.
>
> "It seems to me a late day to discuss in this body the desirability of granting suffrage to women, -and yet there are those, who, doubtless in good faith, believe that if women were given the suffrage it would in some way act to the detriment of the State. That certainly grows out of the ancient prejudice which comes down from the dim past, where force was the principal weapon used and where man dominated by reason of his superior strength. That was the period, as described by John Stuart Mill, of the subjection of women. But since that time — due, doubtless, to Christian civilization — women have steadily advanced until, in the arts and sciences and professions, they are in most respects equal to men. In the great universities they very often excel men. They are engaged everywhere in the practice of the professions of law and medicine. In my own city, a woman is United States district attorney to-day. So there is nothing strange now in women assuming the work for which they have capacity; and if they have not shown capacity in the past it is because men have withheld from them the rewards, the allurements of fame, the honors and the distinction that come from industry and study. They have been relegated to a place by themselves, and man has proudly assumed the right to represent them upon all occasions.
>
> "But if woman has attained the position of taking care of herself in the industries and in the professions, certainly she has a right, under the spirit of our laws today, to have representation.

> "We tax her in her industry and in her property, and we deny her representation, which is contrary to one of the cardinal principles of our institutions. If we require that she obey the laws, it follows inevitably that she must be given a voice in making the laws. So the great principles of our Government have today in spirit conferred upon her this right, and all we ask is that it be expressed in law so that it will have binding effect; and the appeal is made to men because they control the ballot. (*Congressional Record,* 65th Congress, 30 September 1918, 10942).

Senator Phelan (D-CA) presents that women have attained an equal footing with men in many areas, yet women are distinct from men. There is a qualitative difference that many of the men circumspectly address between men and women; a gender quality that had previously disqualified women from politics. By this time, politicians argued that this qualitative difference was an asset rather than a liability.

Though Senator Phelan (D-CA) made a powerful case for granting suffrage to women, Senator John Sharp Williams (D-MS) was equally powerful in his views against suffrage as it would mean the suffrage of all women:

> "I do not want the slightest misunderstanding of my position upon this question to go abroad. There is just one thing that I love better than the Democratic Party; there is just one thing that I love better than the United States; there is just one thing that I love better than I love my wife or my children or myself, and that is the hope of the purity and the integrity and the supremacy of the white race everywhere, but, so far as I am concerned, especially in my own native State.
>
> "When I think of the past, and the mistakes we have made, and the mistakes I have made, I feel a degree of intellectual humility that I can hardly express; but, notwithstanding all that, in some essential things we were right, and we are right now; and I cannot for the life of me see why a Senator from the State of Colorado — bought with the money and the service and the blood of the South in gaining the Revolution and in fighting the Mexican War—merely bought territory with no original sovereignty of any sort—should rise and ignore as if it were hardly worth mentioning a proposition which I have made, which is not in limitation of the suffrage but which is in extension of the suffrage.
>
> "My amendment, when it is analyzed, means that we enfranchise every white woman in the United States, and that we do not enfranchise any Japanese, Chinese, or negro woman in the United States, but that we leave to each State the question as to whether or not it shall do that. If California wants to enfranchise

> the Chinese and Japanese women, let her do it; if Mississippi wants to enfranchise the negro women, let her do it; but do not force upon California and Mississippi the enfranchisement of those women who are not of our race, who are not of our aspirations, who are not of our Ideals, who are not of anything that makes an essential part of us" (*Congressional Record,* 65th Congress, 1 October 1918, 10981).

After the vigorous debate, there were three amendments proposed to the 1918 resolution. Senator Williams (D-MS) contended that the resolution be amended to include the word "white" before women. This proposal was laid on the table with 61 yeas, 22 nays, and 13 not voting. The second amendment was to limit national elections to citizens only. This amendment was likewise laid on the table with 50 yeas and 33 nays. The third amendment would have limited non-discrimination to federal elections only; state-level elections could still prohibit women. This amendment was likewise laid on the table with 65 yeas and 17 nays. At last the joint resolution was voted upon, unchanged. The result was 53 yeas and 31 nays, with 12 not voting. If the resolution had required a simple majority, the measure would have passed. However, because it was an amendment to the US Constitution, the resolution required a two-thirds majority (or 56 votes) for passage. Thus, the resolution failed in October 1918. Immediately upon failure of the resolution, Senator Andrieus Aristieus Jones (D-NM) gave notice of a future move to reconsider the vote, in case there was a change in the Congress, but that there would be ample notification of the reconsideration (*Congressional Record,* 65th Congress, 1 October 1918, 10987-10988). The motion to reconsider was passed so that the bill could be reconsidered in November. However, the bill was not reconsidered in November and therefore failed at that time in 1918.

While it would seem that the story of women's suffrage would end with the failure of 1918, such was not the case with this tenacious and persistent proposal. Though the loss was reported with little fanfare in the *Wall Street Journal, The New York Times* followed up the failure with the Women's Party, strong supporters of women's suffrage. According to *The New*

York Times, "the suffragists insist that they are not discouraged over the outcome yesterday, and that they expect a reversal in the Senate in the next Congress" (3 October 1918, 12). Furthermore, the Women's Party presented a plan for replacing senators who voted against the amendment with more sympathetic senators. *The New York Times* reported that "blame for the defeat of the suffrage amendment was put upon the Democrats" further stating that in the Senate, "27 Republicans and 26 Democrats" supported the amendment to "10 Republicans and 21 Democrats" against, compared with "172 Republicans and 99 Democrats" for suffrage in the House with "103 Democrats and 33 Republicans" against (3 October 1918, 12). This report was in part designed to hold the politicians accountable for their voting choices. While the Democrats controlled the Senate and the Republicans narrowly controlled the House in 1918, the November elections changed the party in power and provided the amendment with the needed support to succeed. Additionally, with the November elections of 1918, three more states granted suffrage to women, bringing the total to 14 out of 48 states. Women could vote in all elections in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington (state), California, Kansas, Oregon, Montana, Nevada, New York, Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota. With the addition of New York, women's suffrage was no longer limited to west of the Mississippi River; countering the earlier statement that women of the North and East were ill-prepared for the duties of enfranchisement.

The Great War (World War I) ended on 11 November 1918. President Woodrow Wilson was in his second term and negotiating the peace treaty among the world powers. After the elections, Republicans controlled both houses of Congress with 240 to 192 in the House and 49 to 47 in the Senate. Prior to the beginning of the new legislative session, two additional states (Texas and Tennessee) had granted full suffrage to women (*Congressional Record,* 66th Congress, 21 May 1919, 84). While President Wilson was no longer part of the party in power,

the Republicans did not have a sufficient majority as to not need his influence if the Susan B. Anthony Amendment was to be passed. While President Wilson was in Europe negotiating the peace treaty, he delivered the 1919 State of the Union Address by letter. In his address, Wilson stated "[t]he least tribute we can pay [women] is to make them the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themselves their equals in every field of practical work they have entered, whether for themselves or for their country. These great days of completed achievement would be sadly marred were we to omit that act of justice" (*Congressional Record,* 66th Congress, 20 May 1919, 42). Newspapers had concluded that passage of the suffrage amendment was inevitable and that the country was better off accepting the measure than fighting it (*Christian Science Monitor* 21 May 1919, 4).

The debate for the Susan B. Anthony Amendment occurred primarily on 21 May 1919 in the House. Whereas prior debate had focused on suffrage being a state matter or the incapability of women to carry out the duties related to suffrage, much of the discussion in 1919 was in regards to women's efforts during the war. Many House members reflected that the efforts of women during the war, both at home and abroad, warranted some compensation in the form of suffrage. Regrettably the first woman elected to Congress, Jeanette Rankin, had not been re-elected in the November 1918 elections and was not present on the floor for the debates. While she was no longer able to fight for women's suffrage in committee, the House Committee on Woman Suffrage had a new ally in Representative James Robert Mann (R-IL). The established representative James Mann, first elected to Congress in 1897, had previously served as the minority leader of the past four Congressional sessions. He would utilize his seniority and experience to press for the almost immediate consideration of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment at the beginning of the new legislative session with the retort, "Mr. Speaker, hearings have been

had on this resolution for more than fifty years. Hearings have been had on similar resolutions in the House of Representatives for a number of Congresses. There has been no hearing had on House joint resolution No. 1 in this Congress, nor is there anything new to be said on a hearing" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 21 May 1919, 78).

When debate began, those in favor of the amendment referenced men as a counter-example to the objections to women gaining the right to vote. Rep. Edward Campbell Little (R-KS) stated:

> "They tell us that woman should not vote merely because she is a female. No other reason has been advanced except that form which says that she can not bear arms. Every mother who bears a son to fight for the Republic takes the same chance of death that the son takes when he goes to arms. The fact that she is a woman is a reason for, not against, the utilization of every force for the advancement of society. Ninety-nine per cent of the murderers in the world are men. Ninety-nine per cent of the burglars are men. Ninety-nine per cent of the gamblers are men. Ninety-nine per cent of the counterfeiters are men. Ninety-nine per cent of all the thieves, outlaws, forgers, pick- pockets, bank robbers, train robbers, pirates, and drunkards in the world are men. Ninety-nine per cent of all criminals are men. Ninety-nine per cent of all diseases inherited by reason of evil lives of parents come down from the male side. For every courtesan there is a seducer and panderer and a thousand customers. When one considers the character of the two sexes, he better appreciates the power of the instinct of race preservation which nature has planted in the human kind, which certainly is all that has induced women to remain on the same continent with man for 60 centuries" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 21 May 1919, 80).

To counter that women were incapable, Clark (D-MO) stated:

> "Now, another argument in favor of it, and I think it is founded on justice, is I think my wife and my daughter are as capable of voting as most men in this country are— [Applause.]
>
> Mr. MANN (IL): More.
>
> Mr. CLARK (MO). And I would be ashamed to have raised a daughter who was not" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 21 May 1919, 88).

In these speeches, both members pled to an inherent character quality that was unique to women, as a gender, not limited to a mere few, but the gender as a whole. Repeatedly,

politicians had noted the issues that were of concern to women. At the time the issues of concern included alcohol, child labor, education for women, and property rights. Repeatedly, supporters note the courage, strength, initiative, morality, compassion, and civilizing nature of women. To be a woman was more than issues, and more than traits; being a woman was a character difference from men that was unique to all of the gender. This gender quality was what had prohibited women from the halls of government for decades, though it was the very quality that was deemed desirable by 1919.

Representative Clark (D-FL) presented much of the opposition with his speech wherein he stated:

> "Thomas Jefferson, the father of the Democratic Party, did not favor woman suffrage. I have not time to read his statement, but it is in the minority report, and gentlemen can read it, and I shall incorporate it in my remarks. And Grover Cleveland did not, and Woodrow Wilson did not. And when you come to the Republican thought on this question, the Hon. Elihui Root, the brainiest man in the Republican Party to-day, is not in favor of it, and William Howard Taft was not in favor of it. I believe he has seen the light, too, that my friend from Illinois [Mr. MANN] spoke of. A lot of these people have been traveling the road to Damascus lately. [Applause and laughter.]
>
> A MEMBER: The present Speaker voted against it the last time.
>
> Mr. CLARK (FL): Ah, Mr. Speaker, the Speaker of this House is loyal to his convictions and loyal to his declarations. A Member on the floor says that the present Speaker voted against it the last time, and my prediction is that he is going to vote against it this time. I am opposed to submitting this amendment to the States for several reasons, Mr. Speaker, and one is because the franchise is not a right which attaches or belongs to any person of any sex or race. It is a privilege to be granted or withheld at the pleasure of the States. The power to control and regulate the suffrage was not delegated in the Constitution to the Federal Government, but was expressly retained by the several States, and these States have exclusively exercised this power ever since the Union was established. No member of the convention which framed our Federal Constitution suggested that the power should be delegated to the Federal Government, but by unanimous consent it was left as a reserved right to the respective States. Why should the States now delegate to the General Government a power which in the unanimous judgment of the fathers of the Republic it was deemed wise to retain when the organic law was written? I respectfully submit, Mr. Speaker, that a radical change

> in the structure of a great government should not be made unless it should be indisputably established that the proposed change is not only for the betterment of mankind, but that it is necessary for the welfare of the people" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 21 May 1919, 88).

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment would not get passed without an attempt to modify it. The Clark Amendment was submitted on 21 May 1919. It proposed that the amendment would not be valid unless three-fourths of the state legislatures ratified the Nineteenth Amendment within seven years. The Saunders Amendment was also submitted on 21 May 1919. It proposed that the amendment would not be valid unless passed by a three-fourths majority of the popular vote. Both amendments were verbally voted upon and both amendments received a majority "no" vote.

After debate and voting on amendments, House Joint Resolution 1 was voted on by yeas and nays. It passed 304 for to 90 against, 1 "present," and 33 not voting (*Congressional Record,* 66th Congress, 21 May 1919, 93). Newspapers reported the passage factually, including the names of those who had voted against the amendment. *The Atlanta Constitution* gave the party breakdown of "200 Republicans and 102 Democrats voted for the resolution – 19 Republicans and 70 Democrats against" (22 May 1919, 1). The newspapers had been in this position previously where the amendment had passed the House but did not pass the Senate. Some newspapers seemed cautious regarding whether the amendment would soon be law, though quotes from Representatives and Woman's Suffrage organizers indicated hope for Senate passage. *The New York Times* indicated that with Senator Hale (R-ME) changing his stand, the suffrage amendment would carry in the Senate (23 May 1919, 4).

With passage of the amendment in the House, all eyes turned to the Senate. Previous bills had passed the House but the vote in the Senate failed in the previous Congress not once, but twice and the last time by only a few votes.

The Senate had proposed a separate joint resolution on the matter (S.J. Res 1) on 20 May 1919 by Sen. Andrieus Aristieus Jones (D-NM). The proposal stated: "an amendment to the Constitution of the United States conferring upon women the right of suffrage" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 20 May 1919, 40). It was read twice and referred to the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Senators Hiram Warren Johnson (R-CA) and Oscar Wilder Underwood (D-AL) would debate whether the Resolution would be sent to committee or placed upon the calendar. Unanimous consent was required for the resolution to go straight to the calendar. Senator Jones (D-NM) then inquired as to whether the committees were still properly organized as to not delay consideration of the Resolution. The Vice President had determined the committees duly constituted, which was argued by Senator Lodge (R-MA). This debate led to the Resolution not only being sent to committee, but also consideration being delayed within the committee.

Later in the session, Sen. Lawrence Yates Sherman (R-IL) submitted S. J. Res 21 that proposed a Constitutional amendment granting universal suffrage. The proposal was referred to the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage. The Senate adjourned until Monday.

On Monday, 26 May 1919, Sen. James Eli Watson (R-IN) called up the motion to discharge the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage from the further consideration of H. J. Res. 1 and place it on the calendar. There was objection. To which, Jones (D-NM) continued, "The Senator from Washington made this motion on Friday and let it lie over under the rule, so that it can be acted upon at this time, and as representing the Committee on Woman Suffrage I desire to support the motion of the Senator from Washington" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 227). There were further objections and attempts at delay.

Sen. William Edgar Borah (R-ID) asked "if it is his purpose to proceed at once to a vote to-day?" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 227). Sen. Watson (R-IN) responded, "I think so, if we can reach it on the calendar. My understanding is that a motion to discharge a committee, if carried, carries a bill to the calendar, and if, under the rules, it could be taken up to-day, I should be very glad. I have not consulted the Vice President to know whether or not that is in order" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 227).

Sen. Underwood (D-AL) stated:

> "Mr. President, this body has been called in extraordinary session at an unusually early date. There are nearly two years before under the Constitution the life of the Congress will expire. This particular resolution came over here without any lengthy consideration by the House of Representatives. It was sent through without any extended debate. It is a matter of grave interest to the American people, whether it be decided in the affirmative or the negative. I recognize that under the rules of the Senate there is a provision for the discharge of a committee, but I also recognize that under the rules of the Senate committees are organized to aid in the transaction of the business of the Senate. You may say in answer to that that whether there is a two-thirds majority of the Senate in favor of the joint resolution or not, there is unquestionably a majority in favor of the joint resolution, and a majority determines. All of which is true. But there is an orderly way of doing business, and there is a way to conduct business under the rules of the Senate" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 227).

There was significant debate as to whether the motion to discharge for the purpose of expediting the debate and vote on the resolution was in order. Smith (D-GA) repeatedly motioned to prevent the resolution from consideration with a number of dilatory tactics. The discharge was not completed and the measure was placed onto the calendar for consideration later in the day.

Sundry other bills were introduced until after one o'clock, at which point the matter of women's suffrage was again discussed. The suffrage motion was then presented for debate after 1 o'clock, which led to a debate under the rules as to whether the matter could be debated, until

when, and whether the previous determination that it could not be debated at the time was legitimate. After several questions regarding whether suffrage could be debated, the Vice President responded: "we might as well go ahead and talk a little while on suffrage" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 230). The Vice President was the Chair for this debate and was brought into the debate by both sides.

After this ordeal, debate regarding the motion to discharge the committee was resumed. The methods of the committee being discharged and H.J. Res 1 being moved to the calendar were debated further.

At this point, Smith (D-GA) opened the debate with:

> "I wish to disclaim any purpose of delaying action upon the proposed constitutional amendment. I think action should be had in a few days, and I certainly would be the last simply to consume time in order to prevent a vote upon this question after a reasonably decent opportunity had been given to those of us who are opposed to it to express ourselves. The little delay that I helped to cause, from half past 12 until 1 o'clock, was due to a conviction upon my part that Senators who intended to vote against this notion to discharge the committee ought to have an opportunity to express themselves. By consuming a half hour's time of the Senate I was sure they would have the opportunity to say why they desired some little delay on the adoption of this motion to discharge the committee, as after 1 o'clock the Chair had said debate would be in order" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 231).

Sen. Thomas Pryor Gore (D-OK) stated:

> "The tactics proposed are somewhat revolutionary in their character. The friends of this constitutional amendment might justify those revolutionary tactics in this particular instance; perhaps I could overlook it myself; but I do not like to have a revolutionary procedure established so early In [sic] the session, just after the change in the control of the Senate-a revolutionary method which might hereafter be invoked as a precedent, and there might be universal objection on this side" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 232).

Sen. Furnifold McLendel Simmons (D-NC) suggested: "in order to give every Senator an opportunity to be recorded upon this very important matter, that the proponents of this joint resolution ask for unanimous consent to vote at a certain time, making that sufficiently far in the

future to enable Senators to be present if they desire" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 232). There were further tactics and other business that delayed the discharge of the committee that prevented the discussion of women's suffrage. The matter was discussed further as Johnson (R-CA) returned. Johnson (R-CA) allowed his unfinished business to be supplanted, temporarily, by the motion to discharge the committee.

Gore (D-OK) suggested:

> "It seems to me the difficulty could be met if the chairman of the Woman Suffrage Committee, if there be such a committee, would call a hurry-up meeting of the committee in the cloakroom. It would not take two minutes for that committee to report the resolution, and it would then take its place on the calendar properly and obviate this discussion. It would have to go over for a day in either case, and it would facilitate the consideration of the constitutional amendment, which I favor. I do not think we should adopt a method which some regard as revolutionary" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 26 May 1919, 233).

The matter was not further discussed on Monday. Some newspapers of the time called the procedural discussion a filibuster and stated that the filibuster indicated the weakness of the anti-suffragists (*The Atlanta Constitution* 27 May 1919, 2; *The New York Time* 27 May 1919, 17, *The Christian Science Monitor* 27 May 1919, 1).

Though many newspapers expected the Senate to discuss Woman Suffrage when it reconvened on Wednesday and Thursday (28 and 29 May), the Senate did not do so. At the end of the day on 28 May, Watson (R-IN) of the Committee on Woman Suffrage asked to report, out of order, favorably regarding House Joint Resolution 1 and asked for unanimous consent to set the day for debate to be 3 June 1919 and for it to be the only business until the matter was resolved (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 28 May 1919, 343). Unanimous consent was given to fix the day of debate, but the day of the vote could not be fixed due to the lack of a quorum. Notice was to be given on Thursday, 29 May 1919 regarding the vote and that H.J. Res 1 would be called up on Monday, 2 June. Watson (R-IN) gave notice on Thursday, 29 May

1919, that House Joint Resolution 1 would be called up, after the morning business, and would be pressed until final disposition (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 29 May 1919, 399).

On 2 June 1919, Sen. Frank Bosworth Brandegee (R-CT) offered S.J. Res 41 to amend the Constitution. The resolution had been favorably reported in the last Congress, but had not made it to the calendar. He was re-reporting it.

The amendment stated:

> "[P]roposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows: Resolved, etc., That Article V of the Constitution of the United States is hereby amended to read as follows, to wit "ARTICLE V. "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified within six years from the date of their proposal by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three- fourths thereof, or by the electors in three-fourths thereof, as the mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: Provided, That no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."
>
> Mr. BRANDEGEE: Mr. President, if the Senate will pardon me for a minute, I want to state that the resolution just read proposes to change the present constitutional provision in two respects only. It fixes a limit of six years within which a proposed amendment to the Constitution must be acted upon by the States in order to be valid, and it provides that in addition to the methods provided by the Constitution at present— to wit, the submission to legislatures or to conventions—if Congress desires to do so, it may submit the amendment to the electors of the States themselves" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 2 June 1919, 499)

The resolution would be important in that it would provide an alternative method for the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, if S.J. Res 41 passed. However, this proposal would not be resolved until after the Susan B. Anthony Amendment had passed.

The Senate would not debate the matter of the resolution until 3 June. At the conclusion of the morning business, Watson (R-IN) moved to have House Joint Resolution 1 considered.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate acted as a Committee of the Whole during the consideration. Watson (R-IN) opened the debate stating: "What is needed now is action and not speech" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 3 June 1919, 557). The resolution was then open for amendment.

Sen. Byron Patton (Pat) Harrison (D-MS) suggested an amendment to the resolution that would change the wording to be "white citizens" rather than just citizens (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 3 June 1919, 557). Harrison (D-MS) clarified that he desired to have the amendment voted on, but not debated. During the amendment discussion, there were repeated attempts to delay the process. The amendment to change the wording from "citizens" to "white citizens" failed, 16 yeas to 59 nays (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 3 June 1919, 557).

At two o'clock, the unfinished business regarding the Peace Treaty for World War I was called. Johnson (R-CA) asked that it be laid aside to finish the unfinished business in regards to Woman Suffrage. Borah stated "I do not desire to object, but before the order is entered I wish to say that it is now an established fact that the treaty which this resolution is calling for is public to the people of Europe, particularly those with whom we were lately engaged in war" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 3 June 1919, 558). Eventually, Johnson (R-CA) was able to press the matter and get the Peace Treaty laid aside for the further discussion of Woman Suffrage. At this point there were no pending amendments. Sen. Robert Marion La Follette (R-WI) called for the vote, at which point, Sen. William Edgar Borah (R-ID) started the debate in opposition.

He stated:

> "The enterprise has failed time after time by reason of the fact that the men who were called upon to take the leadership in such a movement were not fitted either in poise, experience, judgment, or wisdom to carry forward the work… But the American Revolution was a success, as the subsequent 150 years have

> demonstrated, because of the remarkable capacity and the leadership of the men who came out of the different Colonies to take hold of that great affair. Where did they get their training? From what university had they graduated? In what school was it that they had been trained to assume these responsibilities? The university of the different Colonies, in the town meetings of New England, in the burgesses of Virginia, In the legislatures of the various Colonies. Under the principle of local self-government and home rule these men had been trained so that they were prepared when the task came to take on the work which was before them. Realizing the great worth of the principle, when they came to organize the Government and to write the Constitution they were very careful to preserve self-government or home rule for local affairs and to provide a national government and a national constitution for national affairs" (*Congressional Record*¸ 66th Congress, 3 June 1919, 561).

During the debate, Borah (R-ID) and Sen. John Sharp Williams (D-MS) debated the Fifteenth Amendment and whether African-Americans could and did vote in the South. Borah (R-ID) further stated:

> "Democracy carries in its system every hour of its existence the germs of autocracy. The tendency is always toward centralization. And only a brave and self-reliant and vigilant people can hold it within reasonable and proper bounds. There is, after all, only one guaranty for the success of popular government, and that is the worth and capacity of the individual citizen, and self-government is the only school in which he can be trained to his task" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 3 June 1919, 562).

Sen. Irvine Luther Lenroot (R-WI) countered:

> "Mr. President, because I believe in popular government, because I believe in the right of the people to rule, because I believe in their right to secure any amendment to the Constitution that they desire if they go about it in an orderly way by using the methods provided by the Constitution, I can not subscribe for a moment to the theories or the arguments advanced by the Senator from Idaho; and in this connection it might not be out of place to read just a paragraph from the Declaration of Independence: we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are Instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. I believe that is good doctrine to-day. Mr. President, and I believe that when the people of the United States form deliberately a

> judgment as to an amendment or change in the Constitution it is our duty to permit them, in the form provided by the Constitution, to act upon it" (*Congressional Record*, 66th Congress, 3 June 1919, 565).

Sen. Underwood (D-AL) raised S.J. Res 41 for debate as a response to the problem of states' rights and popular judgment. The amendment was called for a vote, with yeas and nays, but was not voted upon. Other matters were raised, and the Senate was then recessed. Some newspaper coverage complained of the opposition's "dilatory tactics" of preventing the amendment's passage (*The Christian Science Monitor* 4 June 1919, 5).

On Wednesday, 4 June 1919, Sen. Reed Smoot (R-UT) opened the Senate with the suggestion of the absence of a quorum, similar to the tactics used previously. Roll was called and a quorum was found. The first order was the proposal by Underwood (D-AL) to change the process for all Constitutional amendments. An absence of a quorum was repeatedly suggested followed by a quorum found, followed by debate. After which, Sen. James Duval Phelan (D-CA) proposed an amendment to the amendment: that conventions would be an acceptable method of ratifying the constitutional amendment rather than legislatures. There was a voice vote on the amendment to the amendment, which failed; there was no yea/nay. There followed a yea/nay vote on Underwood's amendment. Roll was called, and Underwood's amendment was rejected with 28 yeas to 55 nays.

Subsequently, Sen. Edward James Gay (D-LA) offered a substitution for House Joint Resolution 1 currently before the Senate. He stated:

> "It is not my intention to attempt to delay this legislation, but I do desire to present here and now an amendment which I believe would be ratified by the necessary 36 States at the next meeting of their legislatures. I present this as a substitute for the amendment which is now before you. The amendment which I am about to present was drafted by the former first assistant attorney general of Louisiana and by the Democratic national committeemen from that State when this matter was under discussion during the last session of Congress. It meets the objection that many have to the Susan B. Anthony Amendment and is more

> liberal perhaps than the amendment which I have already presented for your consideration.
>
> Section 2 reads that the several States shall have the authority to enforce this article by necessary legislation, but if any State shall enforce or enact any law in conflict therewith, then Congress shall not be excluded from enacting appropriate legislation to enforce it. This, Mr. President, gives to the various States the right to enact and enforce laws giving women the right to vote. It does not leave all questions to Congress, but puts the matter where those who believe in State rights consider the power should be vested" (*Congressional Record,* 66th Congress, 4 June 1919, 634).

There was a roll call vote on the substitution which was denied, 19 yeas to 62 nays. There were no further amendments.

At the end of the day, the joint resolution was read for a third time and the yea/nay vote was taken. The House Joint Resolution 1 was passed 56 yeas to 25 nays with applause from the gallery.

The morning newspapers declared "Political Chains Stricken from Women after Battle that Lasts Forty Years" and jubilation parties were expected throughout the country by various women's organizations at the close of the Senate passing the resolution (*The Atlanta Constitution* 5 June 1919, 1).

Per procedure and finalization of the legislative process, on Thursday, 5 June 1919, the Senate received word that: "The message also announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the enrolled joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women, and it was thereupon signed by the Vice President" (*Congressional Record,* 66th Congress, 5 June 1919, 669).

As the matter was a Constitutional amendment, the matter was sent to the states for final ratification. President Wilson was not required to sign the proposed Constitutional Amendment. Thirty-six states were needed for ratification. Several states, including Iowa, Illinois, Michigan,

Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire and Wisconsin, notified Congress of the ratification of the amendment before the end of the session. Tennessee ratified on 18 August 1920, the thirty-sixth state to do so. When Harry T. Burn (R), "the youngest member of Tennessee's legislature" and deciding vote, was asked why he voted for ratification, he stated, "I know a mother's advice is always safest for her boy to follow, and mother wanted me to vote for ratification" (*The Atlanta Constitution* 20 August 1920, 5). Burn (R) continued, "I believe we had a moral and legal right to ratify. I appreciated that an opportunity such as comes to mortal man" (*The Atlanta Constitution* 20 August 1920, 5). Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby certified the ratification on 26 August 1920, at which point, women's suffrage became law of the land.

Passage of the Nineteenth (Susan B. Anthony) Amendment was a highlight in women's struggle in the political sphere, but it was not the end. Passage of women's suffrage did not prevent women from being denied suffrage due to a lack of property, often a qualification for voting. A woman's right to vote was limited by all the same rules that limited other individuals. The barriers that kept African-Americans and other "undesirable" individuals from voting could be used against a woman as well. The poll tax existed in many states as a barrier that was particularly difficult for women. For many, property was in a husband's name, thus she had no property of her own with which to pay the tax or qualify for voting privileges. Removing this barrier through repeal became a major political concern to women, but "poll tax repeal through the political process was difficult since the tax disfranchised the very women who would vote for repeal" (Podolefsky, 185).

During the process of appealing for suffrage, women had united for a common cause, if not a common methodology. With the cause met, women now found themselves in the position

of asking: were women purely politically equal, or were women inherently different and require special advocacy (Wasniewski, et al., 31)? With the common cause attained, there was nothing to unite the broad and diverse constituency of women. Women returned to their divergent interests and concerns and spent their energies in these competing programs that dissipated their political power. Carrie Chapman Catt, a leader in the suffragist movement, pointed out that "in winning the vote reformers lost the single unifying cause that appealed to the broad constituency of women" (Wasniewski, et al., 23).

National voter participation declined in the post-war years (Wasniewski, et al., 23). National political issues were increasingly "defined by special-interest groups and lobbies" (Wasniewski, et al., 23). While women had expected to form a cohesive voting bloc after gaining suffrage, no such voting bloc appeared during this time. Firebaugh and Chen (1995) attribute this low turn-out to the prior conditioning of women in the generation who gained the right to vote in 1920 (990). After all, not all women had advocated for the right to vote. However, this-less-likely-to-vote generation was replaced over time by a generation of women who were conditioned to vote (Firebaugh and Chen, 990). Political involvement by women was "shaped by the relative friendliness and hostility of the political, social, and economic environment of the mid-twentieth century" (Podolefsky, 185). Rather than the anticipated political bloc and involvement, women were "split over party affiliation, key issues, and parochial politics" (Wasniewski, et al., 24). In the subsequent elections, women did not have the anticipated high turnout, and their voting patterns reflected the family vote of the men in their lives (Wasniewski, et al., 24). During these early years, women struggled to find their political identity individually and as a social group.

While these first post-passage years may have been a disappointment, there were subsequent successes on issues important to women at the time. The Cable Act of 1922 provided married women citizenship independent of their husbands, allowing them to enjoy the privileges and immunities of citizenship regardless of their husbands' status. The Lehlbach Act of 1923 improved the merit system for the civil service, "making it easier for women to secure federal jobs" (Wasniewski, et al., 28-29). Additionally, women pursued political office, including in Congress. In 1893 the Colorado newspaper *The Delta Independent* asked, "when women run for office will they buy cigars or tu-ti fru-ti?" (8 November 1893, 4). This question indicated an assumed gender difference: men smoked, women did not. Even as women were elected to positions of political power, the struggle was in defining the role of women in political power. While reformers had the same goal of franchising women, some "had sought to liberate women by making them politically equal to men, whereas others fought…believing that women's interests were inherently different from men's" (Wasniewski, et al., 31). Women who had gained an elected political position, especially early on, questioned whether there was "a responsibility to advocate for all women" or to faithfully represent their districts over their gender (Wasniewski, et al., 31). Early elected women struggled with whether to be a woman or to be a man. The early Congresswomen tended to focus on the concerns of their districts, even as Representative Ruth Baker Pratt (R-NY) proclaimed, "sex had no place whatever in politics" (Wasniewski, et al., 32). Representative Pearl Oldfield (D-AR) agreed that "No one should seek or expect public office simply because of her sex, but she has an equal right to appeal to voters for support on the basis of her comparative ability to render public service" (Wasniewski, et al., 32). Representative Mary Norton (D-NJ) encapsulated the perspective of the early Congresswomen with her rebuff, "I'm no lady, I'm a Member of Congress and I'll proceed on

that basis" (Wasniewski, et al., 32). Senator Rebecca Felton (D-GA), the first woman to serve in the Senate, noted in her single address to the Senate, "When the women of the country come in and sit with you, though there may be but a very few in the next few years, I pledge you that you will get ability, you will get integrity of purpose, you will get exalted patriotism, and you will get unstinted usefulness" (Wasniewski, et al., 55). Her service in Congress was the shortest in duration, and she was the eldest member upon her swearing in. However, her Senatorial service was a highlight in a career of public service, both direct and indirect.

For decades, women would continue to be elected and serve in the houses of Congress, as well as state-level positions, often bringing a "domestic perspective" to the political debates (Wasniewski, et al., 146). The women themselves insisted "that the men treat the women as 'Congressmen'" (Wasniewski, et al., 148). Representative Frances Bolton (R-OH) "chafed at the term 'Congresswoman.' It doesn't exist in the dictionary. We've had Congressmen here for a good many generations. But we've never had Congresswomen. You're a woman Congressman" (Wasniewski, et al., 149). During this early time period, women in political office pursued more masculine approaches in the carrying-out of their business. They may have been women, but they presented the attributes and qualities of men, and expected to be treated as men. The feeling was that to be a man was to have the respect of those also in power. Being a woman was not politically beneficial.

As demonstrated in the voting patterns of Colorado, women did not vote as a political bloc, and that included party loyalty. The Populist Party was an early supporter of women's suffrage, but received no political support from women in states where suffrage was granted. With the fall of the Populist Party, the Republican Party took up the cause of women's suffrage through the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Initially, the Republican Party did enjoy a

stronger showing among woman delegates. However, women in Congress tended to reflect the party in power, with occasional deviation, until 1994. By 1994, women delegates had shifted from being reflective of the party in power (which had been predominantly the Democratic Party since 1935) to remaining with the Democratic Party despite the balance of power shifting. From 1994, women were maintaining a cohesive party affiliation separate from Congressional majorities. This distinct party affiliation is reflective of a trend noticed by political scientists following the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan. After 1980, "scholars began to detect a gender gap" that "has appeared in subsequent presidential elections with women more likely than men to support the Democratic candidate" (Schmidt, et al., 192). Women were maintaining a consistent party affiliation in the population of voters as well as in Congress. This consistent voting preference had electoral consequences: "because more women are registered to vote and more women vote than men, as a result of the gender gap female voters can reasonably claim to have delivered victories in many electoral contests" (Schmidt, et al., 193). Additionally, at this point women had become a more cohesive voting bloc. Women were defining themselves by their gender and utilizing it as a political asset.

As women became more common in Congress, initially there were women delegates in both parties. However, the early delegates largely "eschewed a narrow focus on women's issues," hampering the development of cross-party resources available in caucuses (Wasniewski, et al, 2). Additionally, there were originally few female members in either the House or the Senate. By 1977, women in Congress had become more numerous — if not common — and more regular. Following Polsby's process of institutionalization (1968), the women of Congress formed a bipartisan caucus that would act as a mechanism to promote legislation important to American women and affect "virtually every facet of American life" (Wasniewski, et al., 2). In

1992, an until then unprecedented number of women entered Congress as delegates. As part of her campaign, then future Representative Lynn Schenk (D-CA) stated, “If people truly want someone to be an agent of change, I’m that person. And being a woman is part of that” (Wasniewski, et al., 554). Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) stated “In previous years, when I have run for office, I always had to overcome being a woman. All I’ve ever wanted was an equal chance to make my case, and I think we’re getting to that point – and that’s the victory” (Wasniewski, et al., 557). As being a woman in Congress became more common, being a woman became more common in Congress, including debating issues important to women with a woman’s perspective. Finally, women were reaching the point that they could be a woman and still have an elected political position. Women did not have to downplay that they were women and play-up their masculinity to be successful in politics. Gender not only was important, but both genders were becoming acceptable in elected office.

Since the 1980s, “women’s political action committees (PACs) played a critical role in raising money for candidates” (Wasniewski, et al., 549). Female candidates have regularly faced the challenges of raising sufficient money to wage a successful campaign. While the Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues worked on policy and education from within Congress, groups like EMILY’s List worked to get money in the hands of potential female candidates. But female candidates have still faced an uphill battle in more than financial areas. Fox and Lawless, and Lawless separately, have repeatedly addressed the issues female candidates face in running for political office, including perceived candidate quality, and the normative and social expectations of women in the United States. Female candidates still face the daunting task of the perception of a lack of qualifications and defining whether she should be an advocate for women’s issues or an advocate of constituent issues. These identity and issue

questions have complicated the roles of women as voters and elected representatives from the beginning of the suffrage movement. Women continue to struggle with a political identity in a realm that has been long-held by men.

The discussion of gender ownership by women in politics would be incomplete without a discussion of the historical struggle of women to be included in the political discussion. More than the struggle for inclusion is the continuing struggle for acceptance, not as men in skirts, but as bringing a quality unique to women to the political realm. The generations-long struggle for a place in society beyond "the social norms" (Lawless, 2004) is a continuing struggle that frequently is underdiscussed in political discussions regarding the political disparity between men and women. Women have struggled with an acceptable gender identity in any position of power, whether the boardroom or the White House. Women have struggled with the female gender assumptions of staying home and baking cookies and the male gender assumptions of having a full career and being a leader. History has shown that women frequently have been seen as incompetent and incapable in managing their own affairs, let alone the affairs of a nation. To overcome this perception, women have presented themselves as "one of the guys" rather than "as a lady". The role of women in society has fluctuated in the one hundred years since women have been granted the federal right to vote and have a more direct say in their world. In that time women have served in combat, in local and state political offices, as lawyers, jurists, and judges, and in Congress. Women have repeatedly run for the Presidency, though none have succeeded…yet. Women have performed all of these duties, and in recent years, performed them not as men in skirts but as women. As women have gained and utilized the right to vote, political concerns of import to women have been addressed and debated in laws both locally and nationally. Women have fulfilled their duties as enfranchised citizens in ways

counter to the expectations presented in opposition statements. While the most hoped for positive results supplied by proponents did not happen, the worst supplied by the opposition also did not happen. In conclusion, women have acted as co-partners in democracy, but still struggle to define what a woman is in the political realm.

This discussion of the historical struggle of women in the political realm serves the purpose of presenting the situation of women into the modern period. As women have increasingly become directly involved in the political realm political science has become intrigued by the disparity between male and female candidates. Political science has focused on the disparity from several angles. However, the foci have largely been on aspects of the gendered environment in which the candidates exist. While incomplete in the understanding of the role of gender in politics, the political science literature provides an important foundation for understanding the aspects in which gender expresses itself in the political realm.

CHAPTER 3

BREAKING THE GLASS CEILING

Women entered the national political realm in 1917 with Jeannette Rankin (R-MT). Subsequently, women were admitted fully to the political realm in 1920. However, as Firebaugh and Chen (1995) noted, women did not take to the political realm immediately, individually or collectively. In the 100 years since full admittance, women across the country hold varying levels of elected political office. Though women, on average constitute approximately 50% of the adult population in the United States, women do not constitute 50% of elected offices. As women have struggled to define themselves politically, political science has struggled to explain the lack of parity in politics. There has been extensive research into many aspects of possible explanations and possible remedies for the disparity, which are as varied as they are numerous.

Some of the highlights of this research includes: focusing on the gender gap in politics, voter participation (Manza &Brooks, 1998), the gender gap in partisan voting (Mattei & Mattei, 1998), and interest level or the knowledge gap (Dow, 2009). From the perspective of women being engaged in politics or not voting their interests, research examined the candidates — including factors such as perceived candidate quality (Lawless, 2004) — and the progressive ambition of women (Fulton, et al, 2006). From this research, there was a progression to an examination of potential factors in such areas regarding roadblocks for women obtaining elective office (Fox & Lawless, 2014), media attention of women in politics (Duerst-Lahti, 2006), campaigning (Kahn, 1993), female incumbency (Palmer & Simon, 2005), and, in general, why women are not found in political office (Fox & Lawless, 2004). Political science has

researched aspects of the differences in candidates without addressing the fundamental character differences between the genders. Frequently, the research does not distinguish between gender and sex for male and female candidates alike. This chapter will review some of the research that has been done and examine where there is room for further research.

One area of focus has been a lack of attention by women to politics. It has been noted that women seem less knowledgeable and less attentive to politics. Research questioned the causes of this knowledge gap as to whether it was an inherent predisposition due to gender or whether there were other causes. Dow (2009) focused his studies on the potential causes of the gender knowledge gap in regards to politics. Of specific interest was how much of the gap was based upon observable characteristics like education or employment, and how much was the result of returns on equivalent characteristics (118). As women typically score as being less knowledgeable in politics compared with men, understanding the cause of this gap is important for understanding female involvement in the political system. Based upon Dow's research, characteristics have the same impact for men and women, but only account for a third of the gap. The other two-thirds are the result of returns on socialization and education (119). Women do not gain as much in socialization as men gain in education with regard to political knowledge. Women are not socialized, typically, to be attentive to politics, whereas men are. However, it has been found that women pay more attention to politics when a woman is involved (High-Pippert and Comer, 2008). Women may not vote for a female candidate simply because she is a female, but they will pay more attention to what she has to say. The gender knowledge gap, in this situation, narrows. This additional attention can be mobilized for electoral support and political action. Unfortunately, women are late to the political game and have fewer candidates running,

thus women still have less of an incentive to pay attention compared with men. While inattention may not be gender inherent, gender of the candidates does affect attention.

Since having female candidates improves attention to politics, then the gender knowledge gap can be reduced by having more female candidates. This remedy to lack of parity has led to research regarding the reasons as to why there are not more female candidates; thus, examining what obstacles may hinder female candidates. Jennifer Lawless has worked both individually and with Richard Fox to discuss many of the issues that face female candidates. One obstacle is the recruitment of female candidates; namely, that party leadership recruits male candidates but does not recruit female candidates with the same enthusiasm, particularly in the Republican Party (Fox and Lawless, 2010). As female candidates recognize that the party has resources that are not as available to an individual candidate, female candidates are less likely to run without the support of the party. According to prior research, women do not exhibit the same political ambition as men (Costantini, 1990). Conventional wisdom has placed the cause of the lower ambition on familial responsibilities, according to Fox and Lawless's (2014) research, other obstacles are more likely the cause of the lower ambition, though familial responsibilities may account for the underrepresentation of eligible women in the candidate pool.

As candidates, in general, and female candidates specifically struggle to raise sufficient money to campaign, a lack of party support can effectively end a campaign before it starts. As was noted earlier, this has led to several PACs that are specifically geared toward funding female candidates. Lack of party support is often aided by a perception of a lack of qualification. The perception is based upon gender-based assumptions. These gender-based assumptions have often hindered women, who early on had to present themselves as having the more masculine attributes to be seen as qualified candidates. Women are seen, and see themselves, as being less

qualified for office, even if they have the same credentials as a male candidate (Fox and Lawless, 2014). Additionally, female candidates are often perceived as not being as adept in the areas of leadership, economics, and defense as compared with male candidates (Lawless, 2004), though they are often regarded as having more compassion and being more competent in the areas of women's issues, education, and healthcare (Lawless, 2004). Gender-based assumptions regarding qualification and adeptness have reduced party recruitment that has led to fewer female candidates running, particularly women running on their gender. Masculinity has been perceived as preferable in politics as masculinity is perceived as being indicative of desirable traits in leadership, economic knowledge and strength in defense.

Like all political candidates, once the decision to run is made, the next step is in communicating a message to the electorate. For female candidates, this has often meant overcoming the gender assumptions associated with being a woman, as noted by Senator Hutchison (R-TX). When campaigning, the candidate crafts the campaign message deemed desirable for political success. Fortunately, modern campaign methods can provide a more complete picture of candidate campaigns through television advertisements. Candidates are able to provide visual and verbal cues to constituents in a condensed manner. Television advertisements contain more than just words about issue stances or candidate traits. They include images, music, and words designed to help viewers make associations between the candidate and their desired message. According to Goss (1995), "information is defined as any input that the person attends to for the purpose of reducing uncertainty or confirming prior knowledge" (30). Information can be "facts, feelings, statistics, or whatever" (Goss, 32). Viewers incorporate "knowledge, feelings, and expectations as we react and think" about the campaign advertisements viewed (Goss, 31). Furthermore, Goss states that "as you perceive something,

you decide not only what it means, but how you feel about it as well …[Y]our meanings and feelings create expectations. Thus, you see what you expect to see" (39). This information is then processed into opinions about the candidates. However, what the constituents perceive is not necessarily the message the candidate intended.

This message, for women, will need to focus on issues and traits that can overcome the predisposed assumption of incompetence. While Kahn (1993) found that male and female candidates largely campaign in a similar manner, there were some differences. Both genders try to focus on issues, though without specifics. Naturally, both genders focus on their own personal strengths. Women focus more on issues in their ads compared with men. Additionally, the spotlighted issues are different: male candidates focus on the economy, while female candidates focus on social issues. This is a common breakdown. Finally, the media coverage presents female candidates in a stereotypical fashion, ignoring many of the female candidate's trait appeals regarding competency and leadership. Dabelko and Herrnson (1997) support many of these results by finding that male and female candidates have similar reasons for running, accumulate comparable resources, and apply similar strategies. The primary difference is in the issues. Herrnson, Lay and Stokes (2002) provide the strategic advice that female candidates who have succeeded have utilized the gender stereotype as an asset rather than a liability by stressing issues that are seen favorably by voters.

Issue ownership is an important aspect to political campaigns as issues can be important differentiating factors among politicians. Issue ownership is nuanced, as noted by Walgrave, Lefevere, and Tresch (2012). Issue ownership has both a competence and associative dimension, both of which affect voter choice; though in different ways (Walgrave, et al, 779). They define associative ownership as "the spontaneous association between issues and parties in the minds of

voters resulting from a history of attention" (Walgrave, et al., 779). Competence issue ownership, the more commonly studied, is "the belief that a party is best placed to tackle the issue" (Walgrave, et al., 779). Additionally, issue ownership or distancing can be affected by agenda setting decisions by candidates, as noted by Damore (2004). Candidates make decisions on whether to own issues or distance themselves from issues based upon campaign success and voter interest (Damore, 396). Thus, candidates may choose to address issues that are atypical for their party because it may increase electoral success (Damore, 396).

While candidates can control the message they create, they cannot completely control what media outlets do once the message has been sent. Duerst-Lahti (2006) discusses how media play an important role of enhancing the visibility of women in political campaigns. Media outlets mention who might be running, who could run, and who could win. By discussing certain candidates, media present the aspirant as a potential candidate, a potential nominee, and a potential President. Mentioning the candidate presents them as being a *viable* candidate. Failure to speak of women is to present female aspirants as not being an actual candidate, even if highly qualified (Duerst-Lahti, 2006). Meanwhile, Lawless, Hayes and Baitinger present that what a candidate wears does matter in elections. Negative commentary by media outlets leads to the electorate evaluating the candidate as less professional. Both male and female candidates pay this price (Lawless, Hayes, Baitinger, 2014), though if a female candidate does not get mentioned frequently by the press and those few mentions are critical of her attire, then one might wonder if her electorate support may be affected. Thus, while a candidate may be qualified and have an excellent campaign message, media outlets can make a candidate appear less viable, and this seems to particularly affect female candidates.

While parties may not recruit female candidates at the same level as male candidates, partisanship still plays an important role in the campaign. Manza and Brooks (1998) examined the causes of the gender gap, particularly in relation to partisanship. They noted that prior research indicated that female voting turnout was lower than male voting turnout until 1980, wherein the situation reversed such that women have a higher voter turnout compared with men. Additionally, the female voters were voting for Democratic candidates. However, they wanted to know the causes for the support of females for Democratic candidates. Their results were that both the rise of feminist consciousness and the increase of females in the paid labor force, as well as the incumbent obstacles, led to support of Democrats who supported policies that were beneficial in reducing the workforce difficulties. Mattei and Mattei (1998) likewise conclude that sex does influence partisan identification, namely that females are more likely to support the Democratic Party. This trend has become more polarized, with women identifying more strongly as Democrat while men identify more strongly as Republican in the elections of 1994 and 1996.

With females being more likely to identify as Democrat, they are also more likely to run as Democrats. While the literature has supported the result that "when women run, they win as often as men," there is an incomplete picture regarding the environment in which a woman competes. Palmer and Simon (2005) examined the environment in which female candidates, particularly incumbents, compete. The results are noteworthy in that female incumbents may win as often as male incumbents, but their environment is different. Female incumbents will inspire women from both parties to run for the incumbents' seats, which leads to increased competition for those seats. The fact that there is a female incumbent for a seat indicates that the district is willing to vote for a female candidate, motivating women to compete where they perceive an opportunity for success. Thus, a female incumbent faces a more competitive environment that

includes more women. This can already be seen in anticipation of the campaign for 2020. In Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's (D-NY) home district, there is already a female Republican who has indicated that she will run against incumbent Rep. Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY). Whether the oppositional candidate(s) is viable is less of an issue as compared with the fact that her presence will create a more competitive environment compared with the environment male incumbents face, particularly among women in the electorate as they struggle with the question of how to cast their ballots.

While the results of prior research conclude there is a disparity in all of these areas, no single aspect seems to conclusively answer the questions regarding female candidates. While it is clear that there is a strong bias against women in public office and that female candidates have obstacles to overcome, the results have been largely inconclusive for the central question. The answers seem to indicate that the differences in success are the result of normative and social expectations of women in the United States (Lawless, 2004).

The social norms and expectations for women, particularly in politics, are that women are more concerned with social issues, such as education, health care, women, equity, poverty, children, and family (Lawless, 2004). Historically, there is support for these assumptions, as Congresswomen during the Cold War argued that "improved economic and educational opportunities would best protect Americans' freedoms" (Wasniewski, et al., 146). Additionally, women in Congress have routinely been on committees related to education, healthcare, and women and children. This tendency confirms the perception and creates a similar expectation that women are adept in these areas, but less adept in areas including economics, national defense, and crime (Lawless, 2004). These are perceptions and expectations that female candidates have to both work with and work against during campaigns. The Democratic Party

over the last fifty years has positioned itself as the party of equity, social justice, reducing poverty, and championing education. Because of the preconceptions of the domain of women, many women identify as Democrat, finding the positioning of the Democratic Party to be complementary with their own positions and expectations. Women then mobilize support for these Democratic issues throughout the campaign season. Therefore, many successful female candidates have found success through the Democratic Party over the last twenty years.

There is an expectation that candidates will embrace and emphasize those issues that are generally identified as strengths for their party, their gender, and themselves. For female candidates, who are often Democratic, the issues of party frequently align with the issues of gender. Furthermore, Koch (2000) found that citizens do "infer candidates' issue positions, personality traits, and issue competencies, in addition to their ideological orientations" based upon their gender (427). Thus, gender does play a part in the interplay between candidates and the electorate. While issue ownership has been studied, there is a question of whether women own their gender, separate from the issues; and whether owning their gender is beneficial. With an increasing number of women running for elected office from both parties, there is the possibility of testing whether women actually own their gender and how ownership may be done.

According to prior research, women are just as strategic as men are when they run for elected office (Lawless, 2004). While political scientists would expect women to run a different campaign from men, due to prior research, there has been little opportunity to test these expectations because of a general lack of female candidates running for public office. On a national stage, women would likely want to utilize any potential strategic advantage, including their gender. Typically, women are more likely to vote than men are in recent years, and since women comprise approximately fifty percent of the national population, gender could be an

advantage to a female candidate if there is a gender-specific voting bloc or if the female candidate can connect with a sufficient number of women in the electorate. While specific information regarding issues may not be expected, candidates are expected to take stances on the various issues that are seen as relevant during the campaign cycle (Kahn, 1993). A candidate is also expected to present credentials and qualities relevant to the position being sought. Meanwhile, visual symbols can cue the viewers as to stances that the candidate is taking on issues or connect a candidate with a certain concept. Additionally, candidates are likely to engage in attack behavior (Kaid and Boydston, 2009).

As an example, for candidates the issue that is usually discussed the most in any election is the economy. Candidates are likely to discuss their perspective on the economy, and their plan for it. Then the candidates are likely to attack the current economic policy and the opposition's proposed plan. Indeed, the economy is an issue that can make or break a candidate. Unfortunately for female candidates, gender stereotypes have identified women as being less competent or knowledgeable in economics and financial matters than men (Lawless 2004). This can handicap the female candidate. Therefore, candidates will focus on and embrace those issues that are strategically advantageous, whether by party, gender, issue, or particular to the candidate's constituents. For female candidates, perceptions of women and party often align advantageously through the Democratic Party. Prior research has indicated that women who accentuate women's issues during the campaign gain a strategic advantage (Herrnson, Lay, Stokes, 2003). Additionally, women would want to accentuate many of the same elements as men, if they are advantageous to the woman (Dabelko and Herrnson, 1997). However, a female candidate may be constrained by expectations for women, particularly as those expectations apply to public office (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Alexander and Andersen, 1993). Huddy and

Terkildsen (1993) further noted that traits alone do not account for perceptions of competency; gender was involved.

Issue ownership can be an important element when the gender gap is involved. Since 1980, there has been a noticeable difference in how men and women vote, generally referred to as the gender gap. While the cause and aspects of the gap has been extensively studied, of note in this situation is that this difference in voting behavior can have a defining effect on who wins an election. Therefore, it behooves candidates to mind the gap and campaign accordingly. Schaffner (2005) found that when the gender gap was significant, then candidates, particularly Democratic candidates, were more likely to campaign on women's issues, therefore owning the women's issues and connecting with women in the electorate. Since Democratic candidates were more likely to incorporate women's issues into their campaigns, women were more likely to vote for Democratic candidates even while the vote choice of men was unaffected (Schaffner, 815).

Huddy and Terkildsen (Gender Stereotypes, 1993) examined the issue of perceived competency and found that much of the perception is based upon gender-trait stereotypes and that masculine traits were of greater benefit in a broader range of issues compared with feminine traits. Additionally, when there is a lack of knowledge about the candidates, the electorate will utilize gender role attitudes in evaluating a candidate, based upon research by Alexander and Andersen (1993). Along this line, voters attribute certain leadership qualities and issue skills based upon gender, if there is little known about the candidates.

However, these aspects have been studied as separate components rather than parts of a larger dynamic. Herrnson, Lay, & Stokes (2003) examined the interplay of gender and issue ownership by female candidates. This effort is a valuable base for understanding the interaction of gender and issues, making this examination noteworthy and valuable in understanding female

candidates' campaign strategies. Like many other prior research studies, it focuses on issues and whether women own women's issues in their campaigns. The researchers specifically state that the study was not to examine the impact of gender, and gender was removed as a variable. The finding that women are more successful running as women focuses on only one aspect of being a woman: issues that are assumed to be gender relevant. As was seen in Colorado in the 1890s, women do not always agree on issues. Thus, a focus on issues for female candidates is an incomplete but beneficial picture.

Several studies have examined the constituent perceptions of candidates, sometimes addressing the interactive quality gender has on the aspects of traits and issues. Frequently the research focuses on two of the qualities of traits and issues, even to the exclusion of gender. Those same studies focus on the voters' perceptions of the candidates in relation to issues and/or traits. The prior research has focused on the processed message and the effect on electoral success. The prior research has defined trait and issue ownership by what a candidate says during the course of the campaign and how the candidate associates him/her-self with traits and issues. Subsequently, the research examines how voters perceive the association, and thus connect the association with the candidate. This connection between the candidate and the issue/trait is then defined as the candidate owning the trait/issue. However, gender is not defined this way. Gender has been defined purely as the perceived sex of the candidate. Research, thus far, has not examined how or whether candidates make similar associations between themselves and their gender. The candidate makes that connection in much the same way as with issues and traits, with a similar possible effect of whether the voters perceive the candidate as the gender associated with his/her perceived sex.

While prior research indicates that perceived sex, typically defined as gender, plays a role in opportunities a candidate is afforded, perceived competence by voters, and assumptions regarding traits and issues, there has not been an examination on whether candidates connect with the assumed gender associated with their perceived sex. Considering that candidates need to connect with voters to mobilize voters to vote for them, gender can be an element that can help candidates connect with voters that transcends traits and issues.

This study examines the unprocessed message or the initially crafted message of the candidate through traits, issues, and gender presented in the advertisements to better understand the totality of the message the candidate is sending rather than focusing on the message as it is received by voters. While future research should examine the success of these messages, a comprehensive examination of the candidate's ownership of issues, traits, and gender is thin in political science research. This study aims to bridge the gap.

Previous research of candidates has examined issues and trait ownership, often from the perspective of the voting population, followed by delving into whether or not the candidate was successful in gaining elected office. Trait ownership is the "connection between the issues 'owned' by a political party" and "the public perceptions of the personal attributes of the party's candidates" (Hayes, 909). These trait perceptions are "created and reinforced by issue ownership campaigning" (Hayes, 909). Hayes (2005) states that "trait ownership provides a baseline for expectations, and trait trespassing can yield an electoral benefit" (909). When the research examines female candidates, it's often in regards to why female candidates have not achieved parity with their male counterparts. The concept of gender is often limited to the sex of the candidates. If discussed any further, gender is examined through the lens of traits the candidate owns or issues the candidate discusses, particularly in relation to expectations due to the

candidate's sex. However, there is an aspect that bears further consideration: whether candidates "own" their gender. Politics had been dominated by men until the last hundred years, yet in those hundred years, women have not reached parity with men in the political realm, either as candidates or elected officials. Early female candidates were praised for not making a point of being a female candidate or overly focusing on women once elected. In the early years, women were verbally — if not electorally — rewarded for distancing themselves from their gender, if not their sex. Yet as female candidates pursue parity in politics, the question lingers as to whether candidates, female and male alike, benefit from owning their gender, not just their sex, in their campaign messages.

Gender, in many ways, is a shortcut for many voters. Gender assumptions give voters a preconceived idea about the ideology of a candidate, the traits of the candidate, the capabilities of the candidate, and issue preferences of that candidate; all without knowing any more than the perceived sex of that candidate. Frequently, gender assumptions are addressed in current literature as gender stereotypes. While stereotype may be an appropriate term, the word stereotype frequently has a negative connotation and could obscure both the positive and negative ideas, traits, issues, and connections that a person may attempt to utilize; whereas, the word assumption may allow greater cognitive ease regarding a broader array of associations. Additionally, gender ownership allows the candidate to connect with others who identify with the same gender by expressing an experiential quality of understanding that gender because of being that same gender. Gender ownership is an examination of whether candidates lean into those assumptions and whether those assumptions are sufficiently acceptable to the electorate to grant electoral success.

Gender ownership is perceived by voters based upon the message crafted and communicated by the candidate. It is a synergistic quality that is more than the sum of the individual qualities, traits, and issues of a candidate. Previous research typically focused on parts of the whole: traits, sex, issues. This research posits that a candidate owns his/her gender much as parties or candidates own issues or traits through association with and utilization of all of these components in a campaign message. Through television advertisements, candidates can utilize verbal messages to communicate character traits or stances on political issues that the candidate wants voters to remember. Since television advertisements include a visual component, candidates can include visual cues to associate themselves with traits or issues. The medium allows a candidate to communicate a complex message through both verbal and visual cues. The associations made through the verbal and visual messages help the candidate to own issues and traits in the minds of voters. The visual image confirms the verbal message. If the candidate shows him/herself helping a child in a classroom while a verbal message speaks about education, then the candidate has not only associated him/herself with the issue of education, they have shown the trait of helpfulness and caring. These same associations can have a gender component. Prior research supports a gender component in how candidates are perceived, yet there has been no examination in how a candidate associates him/herself with his/her gender as opposed to treating sex and gender as the same attribute.

Candidates can present themselves on-screen in ways associated with a certain sex, whether born that sex or not. However, the perceived sex is not necessarily the same as owning the related gender. Through the messages and associations the candidate crafts, the candidate can either draw closer to expectations connected with the candidate's own presented sex, or create distance from it and draw closer to the expectations of the other sex. This creates a measure of

gender ownership, namely whether the candidate owns the expectations of their presented sex or not. This measure may fluctuate for each candidate based upon the candidate's determination of what is strategically beneficial. A candidate can choose to present a message to be observed as owning traits and issues that are different from the expectations of his/her own gender and sex because doing so is seen as politically advantageous. For female candidates during much of the past hundred years, that has meant being perceived in a more masculine way, such as being "tough on crime" and "strong on defense" rather than "compassionate" or "caring." An example of this would be candidate Tammy Duckworth emphasizing her military service as credentials for understanding national defense and leadership capability. It behooved female candidates to distance themselves from being overly feminine, such as not wearing "frillies or hats on the House Floor" (Wasniewski, et al., 148). They may have been women, but they were firstly Congressmen. In recent years, female candidates have been more willing to address issues important to women, such as abortion, education, and healthcare in more nuanced ways. Women have presented themselves as more compassionate, and have found political success in running "as women." A cursory glance supports that how women have run for political office has changed such that women appear to be more comfortable and successful than previously when they run "as women," which leads to an important underlying question: what does it mean to run "as women" and "as men."

Currently there is no way to quantify the level of association a candidate creates between themselves and gender, as usually studies are limited to an examination of traits and issues, which are quantifiable as to whether a candidate mentions them. Previous research has limited itself to defining gender as the sex of a candidate. A gender ownership variable needs to account for the presented sex of the candidate, namely whether the candidate presents him/herself as

male or female based upon sex expectations, but it also needs to account for issues, traits, and the gendered expectations to capture the greater nuance modern candidates face in campaigns. Women have utilized masculine talking points to be viewed as the preferred candidate, while men have emphasized feminine traits and issues for similar reasons, all depending upon what was strategically beneficial. Women may have dressed like women, but they talked like men. Gender ownership theory addresses the nuance of a candidate being perceived as a certain sex and fulfilling the expectations of the same or opposite gender.

The choice to craft a message that either owns or disowns the expected gender of a candidate, based upon presented sex, likely depends on the individual constituency the candidate is addressing, including party influences. Certain issues are more relevant to certain constituents, such as immigration and border control for states that border other countries. As parties have owned certain issues or traits, candidates of those parties may feel compelled to mirror those traits and own those issues. For example, since the Democratic Party has positioned itself as the party of social justice and compassion, a Democratic candidate may feel it necessary to appear compassionate in advertisements to appeal to Democratic voters.

Perhaps in an ideal world, gender would be irrelevant in the decision theory of both voters and candidates. However, as prior research has found that there are sex-related effects to having women in political positions and on political success, this is not an ideal world. Previous research (Boyd, et al., 2010) indicates that having women provides a woman's voice to a situation, like a judicial panel. The addition of a woman's voice can alter policy or judicial outcomes. Additionally, voters may find certain sex-related effects desirable, particularly once a candidate is in office. Therefore, candidates may find advantage in promoting a perceived gender, according to the strategic desirability to the constituents. Candidates can promote the

desired gender perception through having members of that sex in their advertisements, speaking about issues that are associated with that sex, and emphasizing the expected traits of the desired sex. This process can be performed by both female and male candidates. The voting population would then describe the candidate in terms of the gender-expected associations, such as "strong" or "compassionate," often regardless of the presented sex. The voters then vote based upon these perceptions and associations. If the candidate wins, then the candidate has crafted a successful message for his/her constituents. This research seeks to address whether, and how, candidates craft a gendered message, regardless of success. The expectations of this research are:

H_1: As time increases within the time frame 2006-2014, we should expect gender ownership for female candidates to increase.

C_1: Gender Ownership scores are expected to be higher for male candidates, on average, as compared with female candidates, on average.

C_2: Gender Ownership scores are expected to be different for candidates depending upon candidate party. Democratic Party female candidates are expected to have higher gender ownership scores, on average, compared with female Republican Party candidates, on average.

Much of the supporting literature focuses on issue ownership. With gender ownership being the focus of this research, an initial examination of candidate behavior could provide cursory support of further investigation. In this time frame, there are few examples of female candidates exemplifying progressive ambition. However, Hillary Clinton does display progressive ambition that bookends the time period of interest. She runs for, and wins, a Senate seat in 2006. In 2008, though not examined, she runs for President. In 2016, she runs for President again, wins the support of a major party, but loses the election. In the candidate of Hillary Clinton, the field has an opportunity to examine the change in campaign messages for a

female candidate over time. This candidate provides an excellent opportunity for an initial test case. If gender ownership exists, it would likely exist in this candidate; additionally, if gender ownership has changed, it would likely show with this candidate as her campaigns are at the two ends of the time frame of interest. In this case study, the level of associative gender ownership for a female candidate can be, at least roughly, determined for both political campaigns in the two years, 2006 and 2016. Additionally, the two quantities, and messages, can be compared to identify if and how the messages have changed over time.

To start, the Senatorial run of Hillary Clinton was examined with the methodology utilized in the subsequent examination of gender ownership. To determine her gender ownership score, half of her campaign advertisements were randomly selected and viewed. The advertisements were viewed for messages, issues, traits, and appeals that would either connect or disconnect the candidate with her sex-assumed gender. Using a formula that accounts for the additional attentiveness of the electorate, $GO_f = [1+((FA*2)-MA)+((FT*2)-MT)+((I_w*2)-I_m)]$, a gender ownership score was calculated for each of Hillary Clinton's Senatorial advertisements. A similar formula, $GO_m = [0+((MA*2)-FA)+((MT*2)-FT)+((I_m*2)-I_w)]$, was used to calculate gender ownership for male candidates for the purpose of comparison.

Based upon a review of a representative random sample of her advertisements run during the 2006 Senatorial campaign, Hillary Clinton's average score was 5.75. Her range was -3 to 18. This means that, in the campaign advertisements sampled, Hillary Clinton had advertisements that disassociated herself from her assumed gender and appealed to the opposite gender (-3) on one end of her range, and had strongly associated with her assumed gender (18) on the other end. Her average score, and her overall scores, are, on average, low for a female Democratic candidate. With the low score of 5.75, Hillary Clinton was presenting messages that were close

to gender-neutral, on average. A 5.75 is a weak association score, meaning that Clinton was not trying to associate herself with her assumed gender, but was trying to also appeal to the opposite gender. The average annual score for all female candidates of all parties and for all positions was 10.83234 in 2006. The average for female Senatorial candidates (all parties) for 2006 was 10.14894. The average score for female Democratic Senatorial candidates (including Clinton) was 10.6. When Clinton was excluded from the pool for female Democratic Senatorial candidates, the average score went up to 11.13889. This means that, on average, a female Democratic Senatorial candidate is almost twice as likely as Senatorial candidate Clinton to present female gender-assumed aspects in her advertisements and present them as acceptable for an elected position. The low scores are indicative that, as a candidate, Clinton felt that the most electorally advantageous message was a message that distanced herself from the assumptions associated with her gender and reduced the overall perceived connection between her and the women in the electorate. In general, the closer a number is to zero, the less a candidate is owning his/her gender. When the number is zero, the candidate is perceptually gender neutral. When the number is negative, the candidate has crafted a message that disowns the candidate's own gender and owned the other gender; the further the number is from zero in the negative direction, the greater the disowning. With a score of 5.75, Hillary Clinton crafted a message that created a sense of distance from her own gender, while still appealing to a limited number of gender-assumed aspects. Based upon this score, Hillary Clinton, when running for Senate in 2006, ran a campaign that focused less upon gender-assumptions and more on other elements.

To provide comparison, and context, male Senatorial candidates (all parties) in 2006 had an average gender ownership score of 19.55652. Comparatively, this means that male Senatorial candidates were almost twice as likely as female candidates to present their gender-assumed

aspects as acceptable for an elected position. This means that, compared with female candidates, on average, male candidates included twice as many elements that conveyed masculinity and connected with the men in the electorate as men. Male Democratic Senatorial candidates did not shy away from being men in their advertisements. On average, male Democratic Senatorial candidates had a score of 20.27397. This is a high positive number, and almost twice that of their female colleagues. One would expect male and female Democratic candidates to be closer, on average, because the Democratic Party is strongly connected with women's issues. Yet, male Democratic Senatorial candidates may feel that they need to express, strongly, on average, their masculinity to connect with male voters as part of a successful electoral campaign.

Comparatively, female Republican Senatorial candidates, on average, score a 7.571429 for gender ownership. This score is closer to Hillary Clinton and is about 70% of the average score for all female Democratic Senatorial candidates. So, this comparison helps us to understand that female Republican Senatorial candidates do not see an advantage to emphasizing female gender-assumptions in their campaigns. Indeed, based upon these averages, Hillary Clinton's campaign was more aligned with the average female Republican Senatorial campaign. To give further comparison, one would expect that the average male Republican Senatorial candidate would have a high gender ownership score due to the strong connection of male gender-assumed traits and issues connected to the Republican Party (like national defense). However, the average gender ownership score for male Republican Senatorial candidates is 18.77457. This score is actually lower than male Democratic Senatorial candidates, though almost two and a half times greater than female Republican Senatorial candidates. This may be a situation wherein because of party issue ownership, individual candidates may or may not feel the need to emphasize gender-assumed aspects to connect with their gender. In the case of male Democratic Senatorial

candidates, they may feel the need to emphasize their masculinity to overcome the party expectations in regards to issue ownership, given that the Democratic Party is frequently connected with women's issues. Male Democratic Senatorial candidates may feel the need to emphasize their leadership capabilities and strength in national defense to be considered a viable candidate. Whereas Republican male candidates may not feel such pressure because the Republican Party is already strongly connected with the men's issues of national defense; rather they can focus a little more on connecting with women. Hence, male Democrats have higher gender ownership scores compared with male Republicans. These values are only in relation to 2006, the start of this study; and are, therefore, only a snapshot of the trends at work.

For women, the women of the Democratic Party gain a boost from party connection to women's issues and can capitalize on their gender to a greater degree compared to women of the Republican Party. In this instance, the scores reflect that for women, the situation is opposite compared with the men. Democratic women can emphasize and embrace their gender in their campaigns; in contrast, Republican women need to deemphasize their gender and show a greater connection with Republican Party issues that are typically men's issues. However, overall, on average, female Senatorial candidates in 2006 were not owning their gender to the same degree that male Senatorial candidates in 2006 were. Female candidates appealed to men to a greater degree and appealed to masculine aspects to a greater degree than male candidates appealed to women and feminine aspects. For women, it was more electorally beneficial to be perceptually closer to gender neutral compared to men.

A previous examination of the 2016 Presidential election revealed a slightly different approach for Hillary Clinton. Whereas the methodology for the previous examination was not as refined as the current gender examination, the results are telling. In the ten years that passed,

Hillary Clinton chose a different approach compared with her Senatorial campaign. The methodology for the prior research focused more on duration and quantity as opposed to developing an index and examining trends. The methodology for the prior research involved viewing each advertisement in totality initially. Then, each campaign advertisement was viewed only with audio silenced. Then, each campaign advertisement was listened to, without viewing the visual. The audio was recorded as faithfully and completely as possible. Visual images presented during the video were recorded as faithfully, objectively and completely as possible. The audio was then coded according to mentions into each category, namely "How many times did the candidate mention the economy or another issue in this campaign advertisement?" Then each advertisement was again viewed so that the duration of each image element could be determined and properly categorized. As some images have multiple meanings or had multiple elements, a single duration could be recorded in multiple categories and multiple times. For example, if a single duration included the image of a woman, then that would be categorized as "Gender". If the woman was African-American, then the duration would be included in both "Gender" and "Symbol". If the image included children along with the African-American woman, then the duration would be recorded in "Gender" once for the woman, and again for the duration of the children, and "Symbol" for diversity. For a more explicit example of an advertisement and its subsequent coding, please refer to the appendix.

Once all of the coding was completed, the quantities were totaled for each candidate, separately. As each image may represent multiple categories, the percentage duration is the category total in relation to the total video time. As such, the total value of all categories may exceed 100%. Additionally, the candidate totals were aggregated by gender. As this situation is a pilot study and the data set is not a linear relationship, a linear regression was not appropriate at

this time. With the information available, descriptive statistics provide the initial and appropriate information. Thus, significance, at this time, cannot be discussed in this context. The results provided a snapshot of Clinton's campaign strategy, particularly regarding gender.

In 2006, Clinton chose to downplay gender assumptions; in 2016, Clinton visually focused on gender for 42.23% of her advertisement time and mentioned gender, on average, 3.08 times per advertisement. This meant that during the course of her advertisements, she included women and children in her advertisements for 42.23% of the duration. She mentioned women and children, on average, 3.08 times per advertisement. While this is a crude measure of gender ownership, these elements attempted to quantify the associative quality of ownership, whether trait, issue, or gender. During the course of Clinton's presidential campaign, Clinton crafted a message that capitalized on associating Clinton with women as a woman. Thus, the ten-year gap and the change in electoral race both may have contributed to the change in electoral strategy from one that barely associates gender with the candidate to one highly focused on gender association. By 2014, the average score for all female candidates of all parties and for all races had moved up to 13.71467, indicating that female candidates, on average, overall had been increasingly presenting female aspects as positive for elected positions. One could potentially extrapolate that the average would be higher by 2016, again indicating that female candidates of all parties in all races felt that it was electorally advantageous to connect with and present female gender-assumptions in a positive manner. During the course of Clinton's presidential campaign, Clinton focused on issues that appealed to both male and female voters, focused on qualities over qualifications, and focused on gender association. However, her qualities frequently included "fighter", a masculine quality. This is a stark contrast with her Senatorial campaign that presents a low gender ownership value, namely, when all elements are combined (issues, traits, visual

associations, etc.) the average message is closer to zero, and individual messages even disown the candidate's gender. In her Senatorial campaign, Clinton took the focus away from her gender and tried to present a closer to gender-neutral message. In her presidential campaign, Clinton crafted a message that put gender in the forefront. By the 2016 election, assumptions related to the female gender were deemed more acceptable for politicians to have than in 2006. Ten years of social change resulted in a change in campaign strategy.

Comparatively, Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump had very different electoral strategies for the Presidency. Donald Trump mentioned gender (namely women and children, in this study), on average, .35 times per advertisement and dedicated 11.34% of total advertising time to visual gender cues. For Donald Trump, connecting with female voters was not an electoral strategy. Rather, based upon the issues Trump focused on, Trump connected more with male gender-assumptions. Trump also frequently included American flags, a masculine gender cue, in his advertisements. Whereas, based upon the aforementioned statistics, for Hillary Clinton, connecting with women, and focusing on her gender, was the crux of her electoral strategy.

Party also plays a role in this situation. Donald Trump ran as a Republican whereas Hillary Clinton ran as a Democrat. Many issues that are associated with the Democratic Party also appeal to women; therefore, it is advantageous for a Democratic candidate to emphasize those issues and associations to gain electoral votes from women. However, for Republican candidates, there is less association between the party and issues that appeal directly to women; therefore, Republican candidates have less incentive to appeal to those issues and appeal directly to women. This party difference is exhibited in how the party candidates ran their campaigns, in addition to personal campaign preferences. Donald Trump focused frequently on issues, particularly men's issues that are also strongly connected with the Republican Party, namely the

economy and national defense. Donald Trump ran on being an outsider and a Republican. Hillary Clinton chose to capitalize on being both the first major party female nominee and a Democrat. She focused on issues including education and healthcare. For Hillary Clinton, gender focus was important as a campaign strategy but was insufficient for electoral success. It is possible that her lack of connection to the female electorate in 2006 weakened her ability to connect with the female electorate in 2016; the 2016 campaign may not have fit her existing brand.

CHAPTER 4

BREAKING EXPECTATIONS: BEING A WOMAN

Historically women have had a complex relationship with politics. While women have, throughout time, participated in the political realm, their participation has primarily been supporting men. Even as women gained the opportunity for more direct involvement, they have had difficulty navigating a culture that has been focused on male gender-assumptions. Even as society as a whole has increasingly accepted women into positions that have been predominantly male, politics has been an area slow to change. Political science has studied this disparity extensively, but focused on aspects of the differences between male and female candidates without considering the totality of gender.

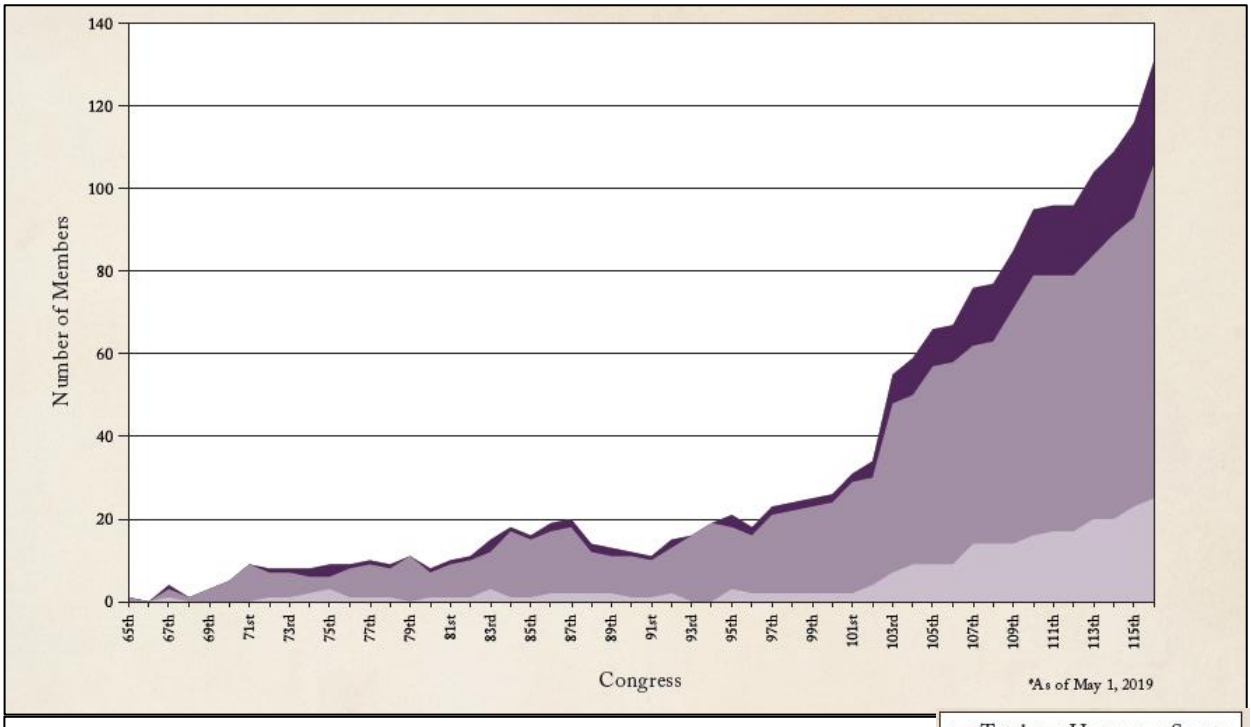

Figure 4.1: Number of Women in Congress 65th to 116th Congresses
Source: Lofgren, Zoe, *Women Must Be Empowered*, History, Art, & Archives: United States House of Representatives, May 2019.

Much of the change in the political culture has occurred in the past thirty years, as evidenced by the larger numbers of women who have gained political office, as shown in the accompanying graph.

In the ninety years in which women have been elected to Congress (1917-2006), sixty-seven percent of the women elected have been elected since 1970. As of 2005, almost half of the of the elections of women since 1970 have occurred from 1990 — 1999. The elections of the 1990s constitute 32% of the overall elections of women to Congress. For the timeframe 1917 — 2006, while there was a steady increase before the 1990s in the election of women to Congress, the percentage decreased to pre-1990s levels for the time period 2000 — 2005. From 2006 to 2019, the number of women who were in Congress increased from 85 to 130. Most of the women who have been elected to Congress have been elected in the past thirty years. As evidenced by the case study, just within the last ten years, female candidates are increasingly comfortable connecting themselves with female gender-assumptions. As the pool of candidates has increased dramatically, the field of political science has the opportunity to examine how female candidates are navigating the political realm and how that is changing over time.

Political science has examined this change by focusing on the lack of parity between men and women in politics. Issue and trait ownership have been a focus for explaining the disparity. Much of ownership (trait or issue) research relies on survey data from either candidates or potential voters. Potential voters are asked about their perceptions of candidates, either presented in recently viewed campaign advertisements in a laboratory or during a campaign season. Survey data from ANES provides a sense of whether a candidate is relatable to the voting population and addresses the received message of the candidate. Candidates are frequently viewed through their advertisements for perceived traits or stated issues. The totality of the advertisement as a crafted

message is infrequently considered. This research considers the totality of the message of the advertisement. Advertisements produced by PACs or parties exclusive of the candidate's approval are created based upon the desires of those groups and may not include in the message any elements the candidate deems desirable for his/her constituency. At times, these messages may be counter to the messages the candidate is sending in his/her approved advertisements. As these messages are not crafted by them and may not be desirable to the candidate, these PAC advertisements were excluded from this research. These advertisements are more beneficial for understanding party or PAC ownership of issues than understanding the candidate's ownership of issues, traits, or gender. Thus, for the purposes of this research, only advertisements produced and approved by the candidate are considered, as in these cases the candidate has direct control over the message being sent. The Wesleyan Advertising Project and the Wisconsin Ad Project codified advertisements to indicate whether they were produced by the candidate, the party, another organization, or the candidate and party together. This codification allowed for immediate exclusion of all advertisements not produced and approved by the candidate. This research approaches the situation by examining the messages crafted by the candidate rather than focusing on the response of the voters.

This perspective necessitated the utilization of both established datasets and the addition of data to obtain a calculated gender ownership variable. The established datasets and advertisements were obtained from the Wesleyan Media Project and the Wisconsin Advertising Project. In the case of the Wesleyan Media Project, the advertisements were in the form of audio/visual motion picture advertisements. For the Wisconsin Advertising Project, the advertisements were in the form of storyboards with text replacing the audio. The Wesleyan Media Project had data for 2006, 2010, 2012, and 2014. No data were available for 2008 from

this project. The additional campaign years of 2016 and 2018 were not available at the time of this research and writing. The Wisconsin Advertising Project filled the gap for 2008. As additional campaign years were not available through these sources, only the campaign years of 2006–2014 were examined in this study. For the campaign years of 2006–2014, data were available for the elected positions of governor, House Representative and Senator through both projects. Presidential campaign data were only available during the years of interest for two campaign years: 2008 and 2012. As those years lacked in quantity female candidates, and due to the limited sample set, study of gender ownership — particularly for female candidates— would be better served at a future date when the available dataset is larger. Based upon the available datasets, the gubernatorial races will serve to inform both state-level campaigns and executive-level campaigns. Additionally, the gubernatorial and senatorial races provide an area of comparative interest as they have the same constituency: the entire state.

Both sources were found to be missing some of the primary source advertisements, even though the advertisements had been coded. The advertisements were occasionally corrupted for the Wesleyan Media Project, while the Wisconsin Advertising Project frequently had corrupted storyboards. While these missing advertisements were included for the total of advertisements both overall and per candidate, they were excluded from the sample set. Overall, the total number of advertisements produced and approved by the candidates over the time frame was 17,916 advertisements. Each candidate that produced television advertisements was included in the overall sample. For all of the television advertisements produced by a candidate, half (rounded up) of the advertisements were randomly selected to be included in the study This totaled 9,860 advertisements for the sample set. Not all candidates who run for elected office run television advertisements, particularly in House races. Candidates with particularly small

districts, such as a single city, may find television advertisements to be an ineffective use of campaign monies and, therefore, do not produce television advertisements. Additionally, as many minor party candidates may only produce a single advertisement, the entirety of the candidate's body of advertisements would be included in the sample set. Given the general popularity of television advertisements, there is still national representation even with the self-exclusion of those individuals who did not produce television advertisements. The inclusion of the additional advertisements from less prolific candidates ensures broader representation. The advertisements ranged in length of 10 seconds to 2 minutes (120 seconds), the mode being 30 seconds.

To maintain consistency and validity among the campaign years, only issues and traits that were included in every year were included in the sample set from the existing dataset. This meant that gender-relevant issues that arose during the 2012 and 2014 campaign years were not utilized in the calculations to prevent incomparability of yearly values. The two projects, while coding the same material, did differ in their binary coding scheme. Some years were coded with [0,1] to indicate whether the issue was mentioned [0= no, 1=yes], while others were coded with a [1,2] scheme [1=no, 2=yes]. To adjust for this difference, years that utilized the binary [0,1] scheme had their values transformed to a [1,2] binary coding scheme. This prevented under/over-valuation depending upon the year and provided inter-year comparability.

The 9,860 uncorrupted advertisements were then viewed individually for additional coding. Most of the advertisements in the sample were in English. However, on average, approximately 3% of the advertisements were in Spanish in each campaign year. The largest proportion of these advertisements were from House campaigns, particularly from areas that expectantly had a higher population of Spanish speakers. In 2008, the storyboards were

translated in English, though they would indicate that they were aired in Spanish. Some Spanish-language advertisements were additionally aired in English. In these cases, the Spanish and English advertisements were compared to determine whether the two were, in fact, the same. However, most of the Spanish-language advertisements did not have an English-language counterpart. To code these advertisements, Google Translate was utilized to translate the Spanish-language advertisements into English. The advertisements that were aired in both English and Spanish were used to calibrate the accuracy of the translations. To ensure that each candidate was represented in the final analysis, half (rounded up) of each candidate's uncorrupted television advertisements were randomly selected and viewed for both traits stated by the candidate regarding him/herself and gender-expectation appeals and associations. The presented sex of the candidate was noted. The presented sex of the candidate was not calculated in gender-expected appeals or associations, nor was the presented sex of the opposition calculated as part of the gender-association.

To the existing dataset, six columns of data were added: Presented Sex of the candidate, Female-Expected Gender Appeals [FA], Male-Expected Gender Appeals [MA], Female-Expected Traits [FT], Male-Expected Traits [MT], and the calculated value Gender Ownership. For Presented Sex, the coding was Male/Female; no numeric value was given. Presented Sex is based upon how the candidate verbally and visually presents him/herself. This also allows the candidate to present his/her preferred gender to the voting population. As only the advertisements were utilized to determine the Presented Sex, unless the candidate stated otherwise, Presented Sex was based upon the visual appearance and pronouns utilized by and for the candidate. For FA, MA, FT, and MT, the values had the lower bound of 0 but no upper bound. The calculated value of Gender Ownership was a scaled value wherein negative

calculated values reflected a candidate that distanced him/herself from the expected gender and positive calculated values reflected a candidate that connected him/herself with the expected gender, based upon presented sex in his/her advertisement.

For example, Senator Susan Collins in her 2014 advertisement "Always There" has a score of -8. During the course of her advertisement, Susan Collins is repeatedly seen with men, but she is the only woman in the advertisement. Sen. Collins shows men working, but never shows a woman or child. While she emphasizes the hard work of Maine residents, she fails to recognize women in the process. This creates a distance between herself and women in the electorate while connecting with men in the electorate. For this value, there is neither a lower bound nor an upper bound, as it reflects the unique desires of the candidate to either create greater perceived proximity with their own gender or create greater perceived distance from their own gender. The formula for the calculated variable was adjusted to reflect the perceived sex of the candidate; thus, female candidates had one formula and male candidates had a similar but male-focused formula. The two formulas allowed for a direct connection to be made between the calculated variable and the level of gender ownership of the candidate. A calculated value of zero indicated a gender-neutral candidate in the advertisement. A value of zero could be attained in two possible ways: either the candidate made no appeals regarding themselves, or the candidate had an equally balanced number of appeals over the course of the advertisement[1]. Candidates with negative scores further from zero were distancing themselves to a greater degree from their expected gender in the advertisement; whereas, candidates with advertisements with a higher positive number are associating themselves to a greater degree with their expected gender.

[1] Of the 9,860 advertisements viewed, 44 had a calculated index score of zero, accounting for .4% of all advertisements. The advertisements cross year, sex, party, and electoral contest. Of these advertisements 36, or 82%, were advertisements with balanced appeals as opposed to advertisements that made no direct appeal for the candidate. As can be noted, a final calculated index score of zero is exceptionally rare.

For the FA/MA values, the advertisements were viewed to determine how many visual/ auditory expected gender associations were made in the course of the advertisement. Female/Male Gender Expectation Appeals are those visual appeals in a camera cut of the advertisement that associates or connects the candidate with a gender. A camera cut was determined when either the camera angle changed or the overall content of the scene in the camera had significantly changed. A candidate may have a single camera cut for the entire duration of the advertisement, or a candidate may have multiple camera cuts. Duration was not utilized as an element in this study. A camera cut may have multiple elements that work together for a single scene or multiple elements that work for separate, smaller scenes. Additionally, a camera cut can have multiple elements that work together for a single expected-gender appeal and/or elements that separately appeal to the different gender expectations between men and women. For example, a woman in a military uniform appeals to the male gender expectation of national defense and the female gender appeal of being a woman. In cases where the elements work for a single appeal, this is counted singularly in the appropriate gender appeal column. In those cases, where there are separate and simultaneous gender appeals, the appeals are counted in both gender columns. For these values, the candidate him/herself was not included as a gendered appeal, nor was the opposition candidate(s). Expected gender appeals did include associations with same gender or opposite gender based upon the apparent sex of the individuals included.

For the FT/MT columns, a similar process to FA/MA coding was utilized. However, both audio and visual elements were utilized for these values. Candidate statements and visual reinforcement were both counted in the appropriate columns based upon gender-expected traits. As previous studies examined traits from the voter's perspective, this study utilizes a different list of words and visual images that reflect the messages the candidate is communicating.

Additionally, each instance of a trait was coded to reflect the repetitive quality a message might utilize to ensure the voter receives the appropriate message. Given the differences in idiomatic phrases nationally, connotative meanings were utilized when exact words did not match. The advertisements were viewed in their totality and coded based upon the totality of the scene in a camera cut. The appendix includes the lists of the Gender-Expected Appeals in Appendix C and Gender-Expected Traits in Appendix B.

Previous research (Koch (2000); Huddy and Terkildesen (1993); Kahn (1994); Petrocik (1996); Leeper (1991); Matland (1994); and Sapiro (1982)) has already identified gender associations that voters and candidates utilize during the campaign process. Voters are predisposed to consider candidates as competent in the issue based upon whether the candidate is male or female and whether the issue is considered a woman's issue or a man's issue. Additionally, prior research (Koch, 2000) identified that women are perceived as more liberal, regardless of party; whereas men are perceived as being more conservative. Prior research has already determined that voters perceive issues like abortion, healthcare, education, and environmental concerns as women's issues (Koch, 2000). Alternatively, issues like economics, military, national defense, terrorism, and crime, are perceived as being men's issues (Koch, 2000). Primarily, these issues are seen as being more competently resolved by individuals of those identified genders. Prior research has also identified certain traits as being perceived as either more masculine or feminine. Women are perceived as being more caring and compassionate. Women are perceived as the caretakers and homemakers, the nurturers of society. Men are perceived as the warriors, the breadwinners, and the leaders of society. Men are perceived as logical and rational (Koch, 2000). Utilizing the previously identified issues areas, comparable issues included in the datasets from Wisconsin and Wesleyan were sorted as either

male or female in their gender appeal. For the traits' values, visual and auditory elements that appealed to the perceived expected traits like statements of caring, mother, and helping were identified as female appealing. For male traits, elements that appealed to the associated male traits like military service or militaria, fighter, and leading were sorted for male. Visual elements likewise were selected because of their association with the traits and issues that are gender connected. Additionally, the genders of the individuals included could either associate or disassociate the candidate with his/her own gender. By including the same gender in the advertisement, the candidate is reaffirming the message that the candidate understands others of the same gender because he/she is of that gender. By including members of the other gender, the candidate is presenting the message that he/she crosses his/her own gender and understands the other gender. The totality of the message conveys a willingness or unwillingness to be associated with the assumptions connected with the candidate's gender, or gender ownership.

The issues that each dataset included were compared to determine: 1) which issues were common among all of the datasets and 2) whether the issue was a male- or female- expected issue. For the list of issues utilized and their gender determination, refer to Appendix D.

Each candidate advertisement had values for issues, appeals, and traits. An example of this type of coding can be found in Appendix E. Using existing understanding that female candidates benefit from added interest by female voters, but male candidates receive no such bonus, female candidates were granted a +1 to their advertisement's calculated value. On the premise that gender-expected traits, issues and appeals would have a greater positive effect than the gender atypical ones, the gender- expected traits, issues, and appeals were multiplied by a value of 2. To further explain, candidates would gain a greater sense of connection with members in the electorate of the same gender when the candidate makes an appeal to the same

gender in the electorate. Comparatively, making a cross-gender appeal would not have as strong of an effect of connecting with the cross-gender, but would reduce connection with the candidate's own gender. For example, a female candidate making a female gender appeal would have a stronger connection with women in the electorate. If the same female candidate made a male gender appeal, then she would suffer some loss of connection with women, and not gain as much with men as her female gender appeal among women. To account for the stronger positive connection of same gender appeal, the same gender appeals were multiplied by two. The final formulas utilized were:

$GO_f = [1+((FA*2)-MA)+((FT*2)-MT)+((I_w*2)-I_m)]$

$GO_m = [0+((MA*2)-FA)+((MT*2)-FT)+((I_m*2)-I_w)]$

These variables represent the subsequent values:

GO_f = Gender Ownership-Female

GO_m = Gender Ownership-Male

FA = Female-Expected Gender Appeals

MA = Male-Expected Gender Appeals

FT = Female-Expected Traits

MT = Male-Expected Traits

I_w = Women's Issues

I_m = Men's Issues

Individually these values provide limited understanding to campaign methods of male and female candidates, as they reflect the gender ownership of each individual advertisement. However, when these values are compiled for a single candidate or combined for a single

campaign year for an electoral race, trends over time become visible. The average range for the annual calculated values for all candidates was approximately 15 – 20. This means that, on average, a candidate had 7 – 10 more instances of positively presenting gender-assumed aspects than the candidate had of non-gender-assumed aspects. This means that a candidate felt it was more electorally advantageous to present gender-assumed elements (issues, traits, gender connection) 7 – 10 times more frequently compared with trying to connect themselves with non-gender-assumptions (issues, traits, or gender connection not with their own assumed gender).

The calculations were modeled linearly over time. The independent variable was time and the dependent variable was the calculated gender ownership variable. The results were then sorted and modeled for presented sex and party based upon electoral race.

Since gender ownership is potentially strategic for both men and women, in the overall analysis, both presented sexes were considered for significance both overall and by party. Special attention to female candidates was given in the analysis to determine trends regarding female gender ownership over time.

Of the 9,860 sampled advertisements, 2,268 advertisements were for the position of governor, and 7,592 were for federal positions (5,277 House advertisements, 2,315 Senate advertisements). From the entire sample set, 1,796 advertisements were for female candidates, constituting less than 20% of the sample set, while the remaining 8,064 advertisements were for male candidates. At the gubernatorial level, 322 advertisements out of 2,268 were for female candidates. At the federal level, 1,474 advertisements of the 7,592 were for female candidates. Of the total 9,860 advertisements, 4,481 were for Democratic candidates while 5,101 were for Republican candidates and 278 were for Minor Party candidates. All candidates that were neither Democrat nor Republican were combined for the Minor Party analysis. While the minor parties

that were combined to create the Minor Party set do not necessarily share talking points, individually the population for these minor parties was too small for analysis. By combining, there was the potential for analysis, or at least determining whether the sample set was still too small for proper analysis. Additionally, by removing the minor parties into a single set, the Minor Party candidate advertisements would not skew the analysis for the major parties. Each party fielded female candidates for whom advertisements were aired. While 18.2% of all candidate advertisements were for female candidates, Democrats had the highest percentage of advertisements for female candidates compared with the other parties. There were 1,048 advertisements for female Democratic candidates at all levels, comprising approximately 23.4% of all advertisements for Democratic candidates. While Minor Party candidates had the lowest number of advertisements at 278, 40 of which were for female candidates, approximately 14.4% of Minor Party advertisements. Republicans had the highest volume of advertisements at 5,101, 708 of which were for female candidates, approximately 13.9% of all Republican advertisements.

The averages were initially calculated to determine general trends for candidate advertisements. Averages for Female Minor Party candidate advertisements could not be modeled due to the lack of any female candidates for multiple years. The available averages are included without a graph. The trends themselves provided visual interest and verification that change over time had occurred and pointed at possible avenues for elements that influence the level of ownership in candidate advertisements, such as sex, electoral position, and party.

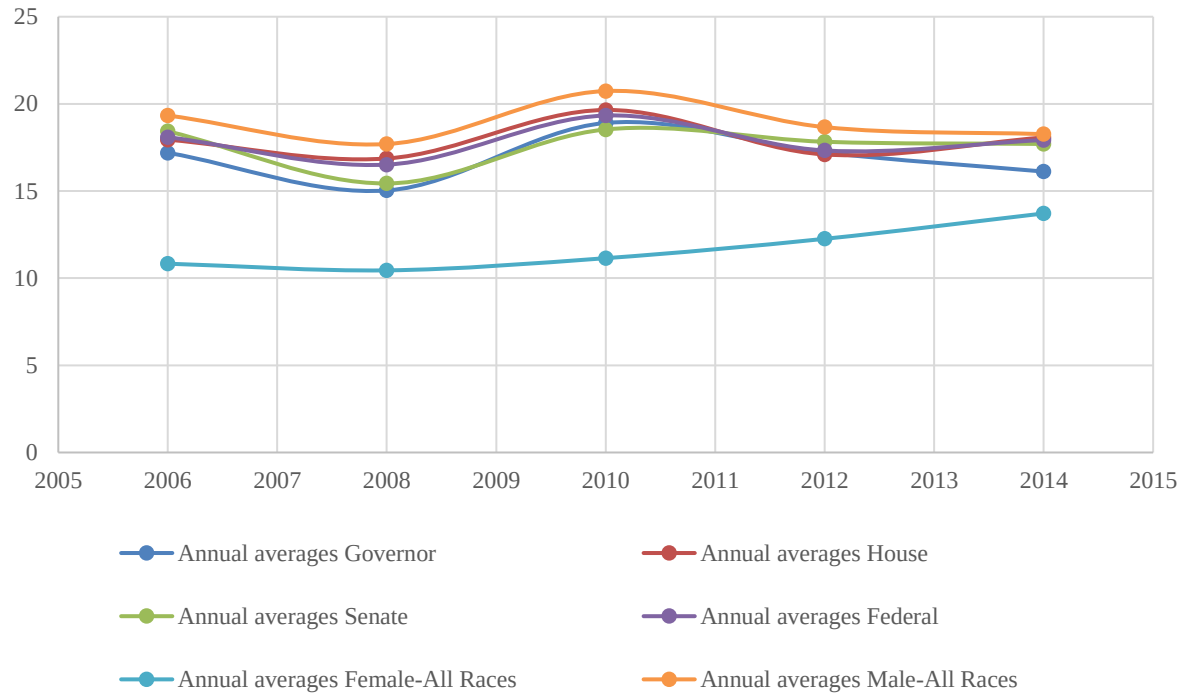

Figure 4.2: Annual Averages for All Candidates

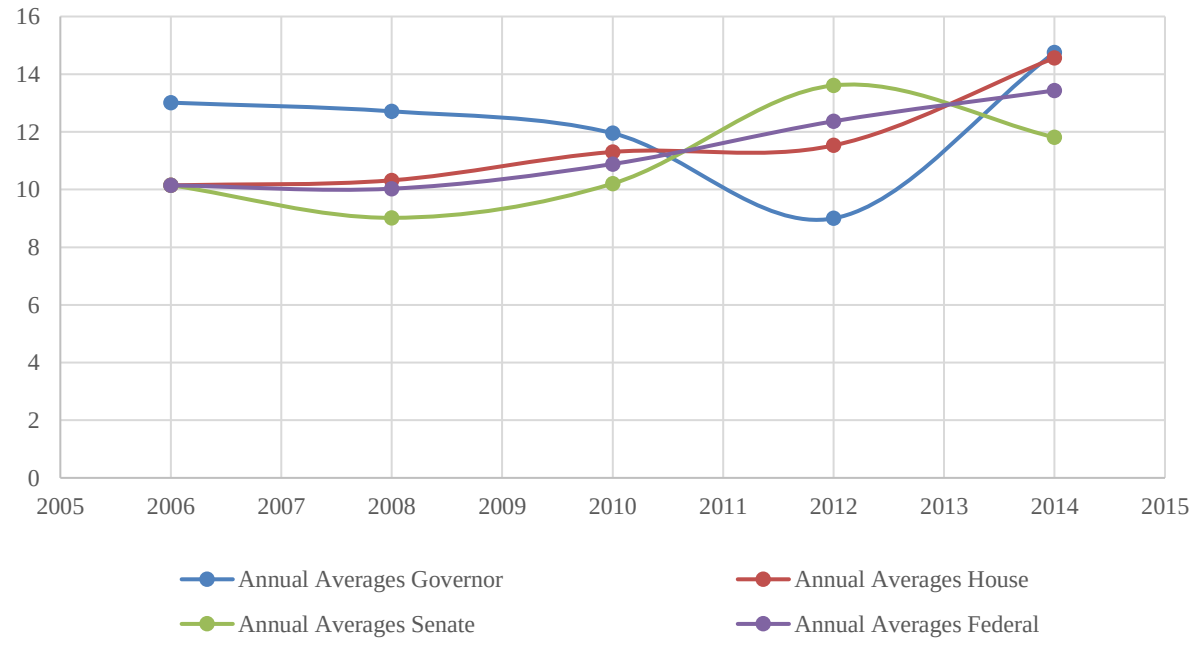

Figure 4.3: Annual Averages for All Female Candidates

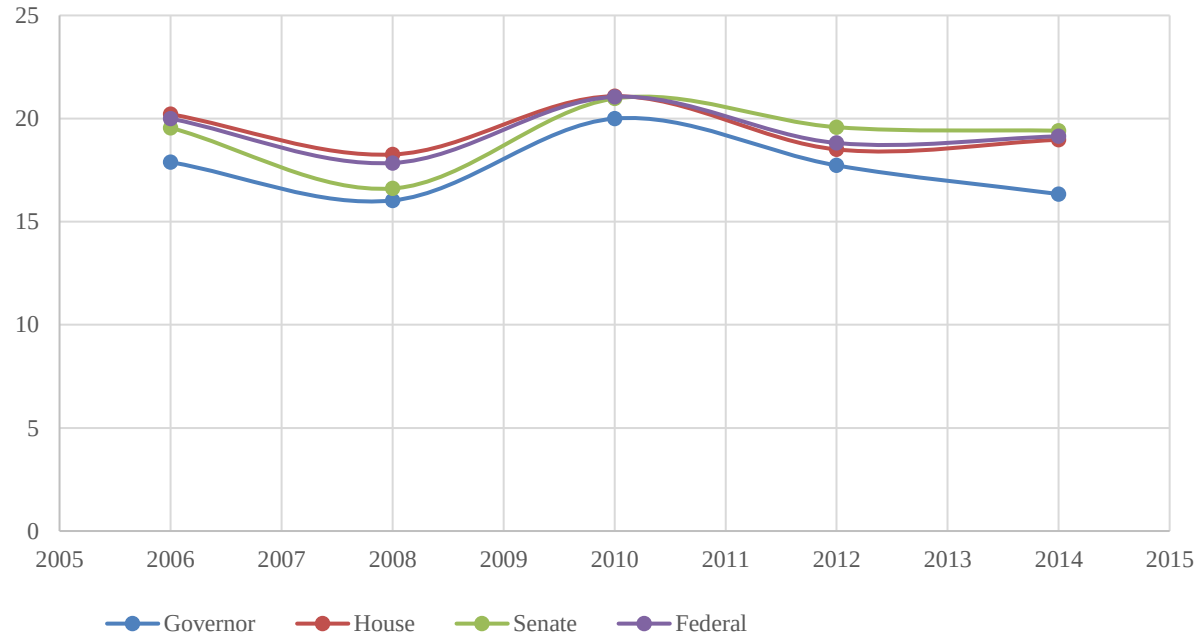

Figure 4.4: Annual Averages for All Male Candidates

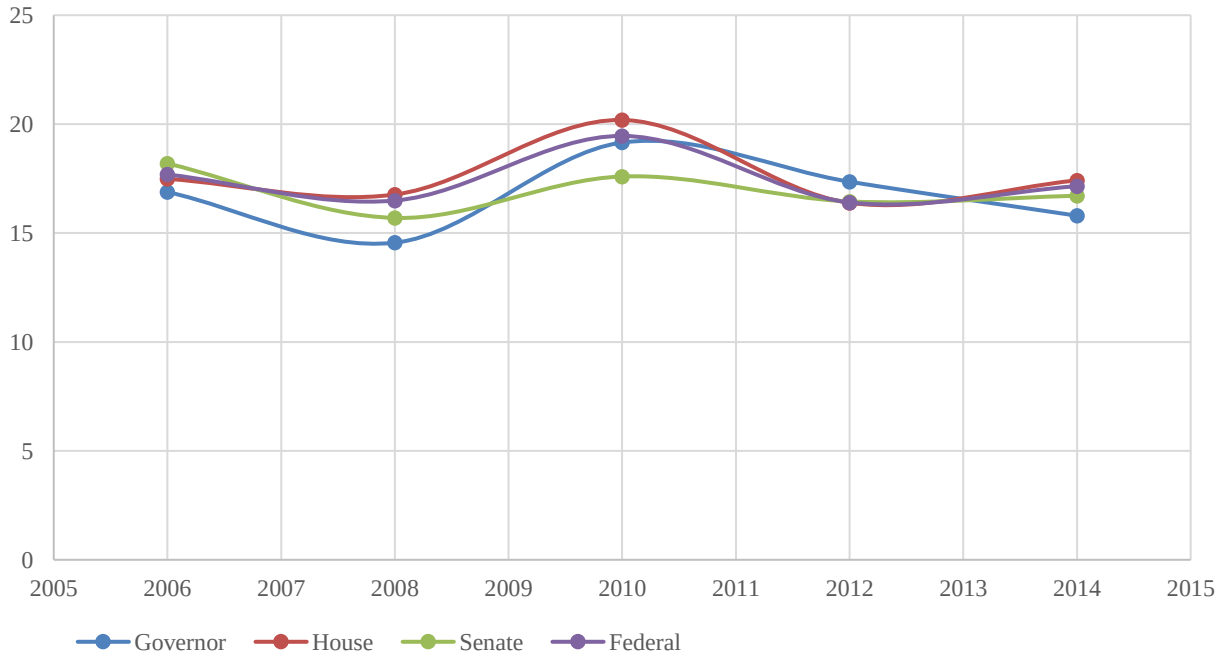

Figure 4.5: Annual Averages for All Democratic Candidates

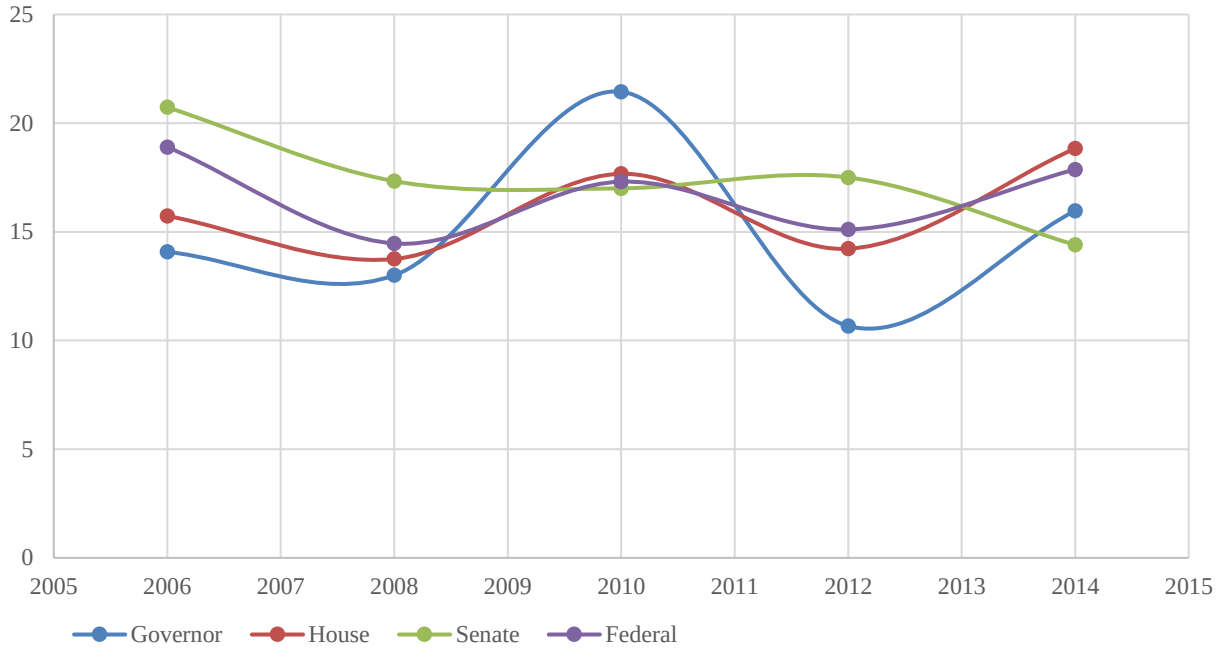

Figure 4.6: Annual Averages for All Minor Party Candidates

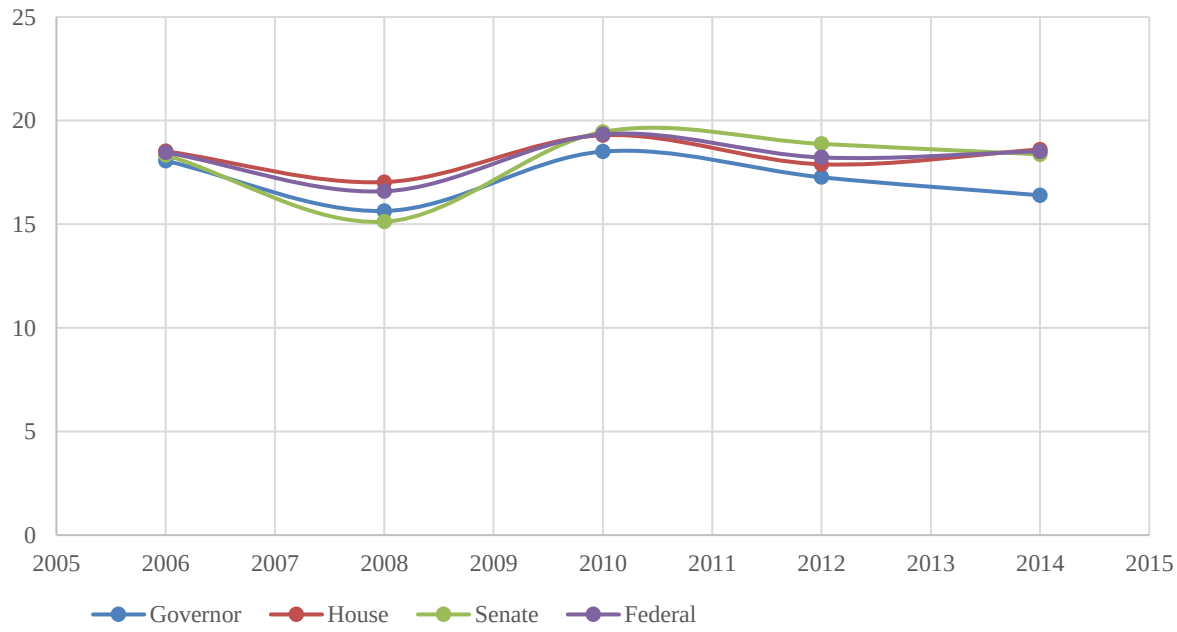

Figure 4.7: Annual Averages for All Republican Candidates

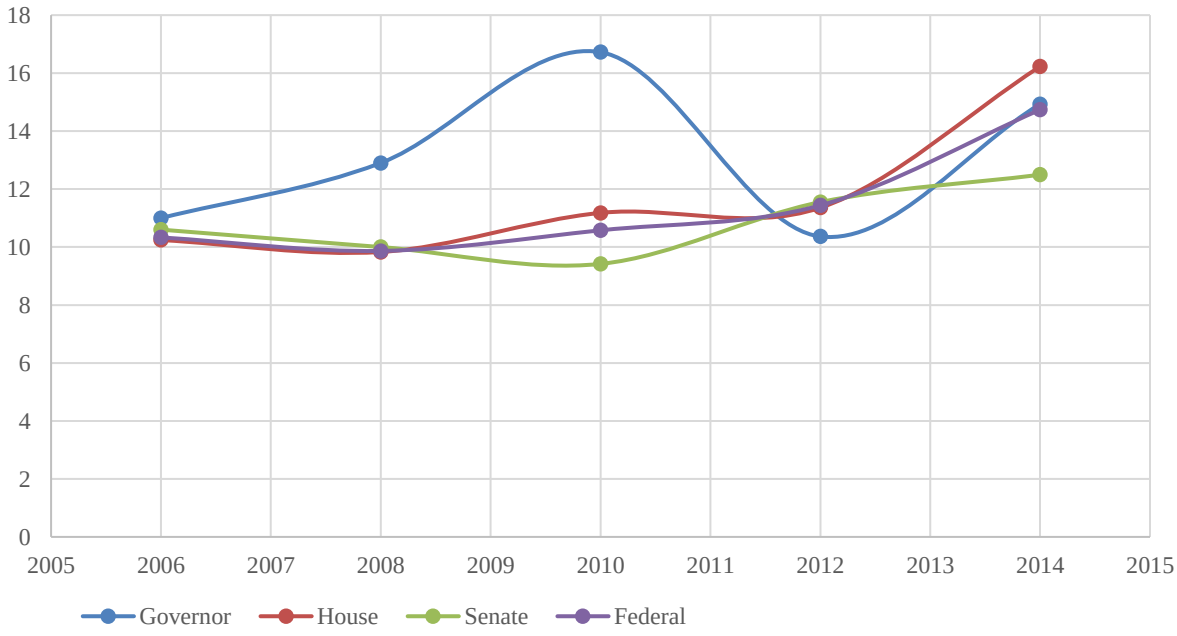

Figure 4.8: Annual Averages for Female Democratic Candidates

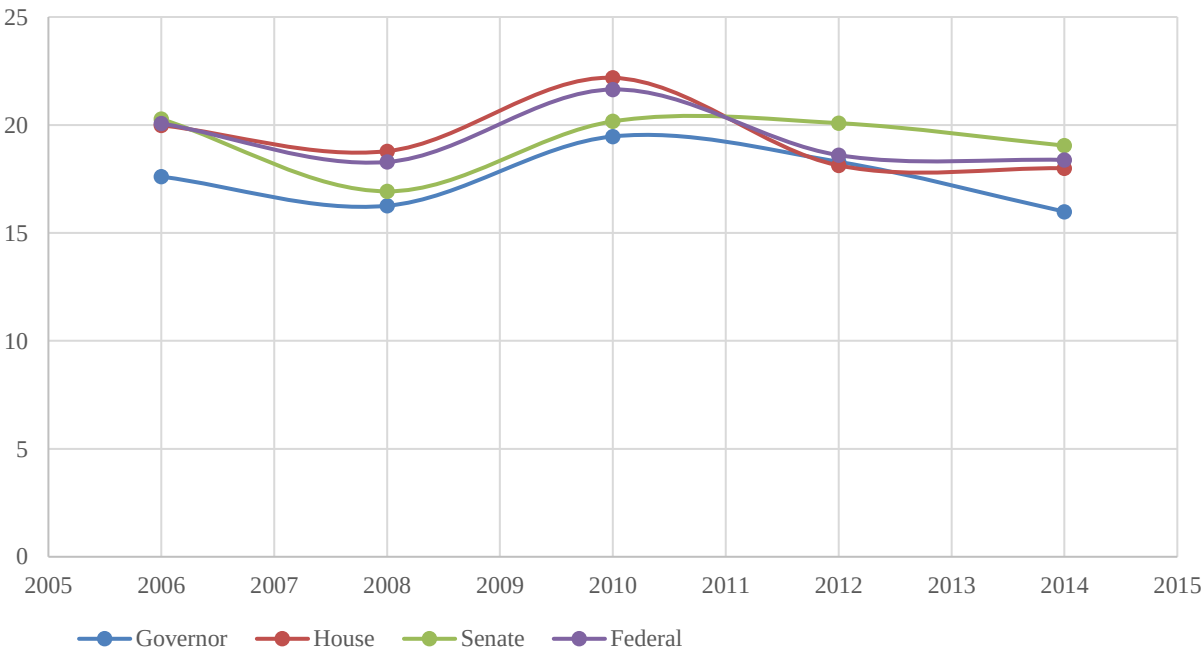

Figure 4.9: Annual Averages for Male Democratic Candidates

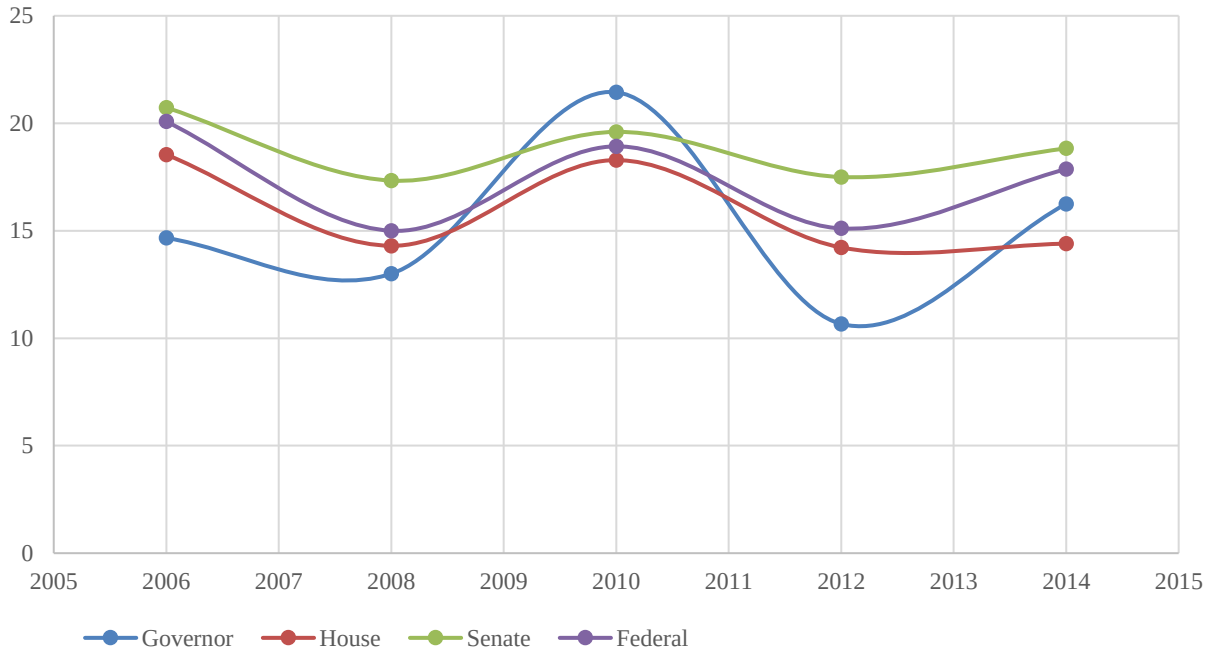

Figure 4.10: Annual Averages for Male Minor Party Candidates

*Note: An Annual Average for Female Minor Party Candidates was not possible due to the lack of data.

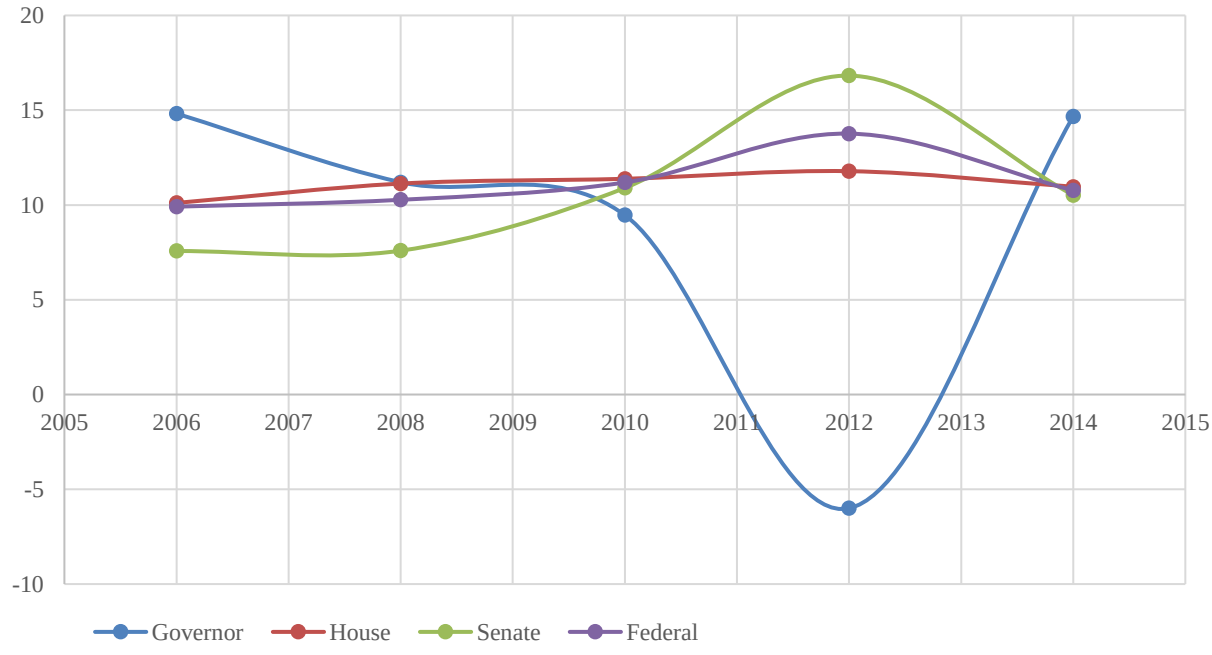

Figure 4.11: Annual Averages for Female Republican Candidates

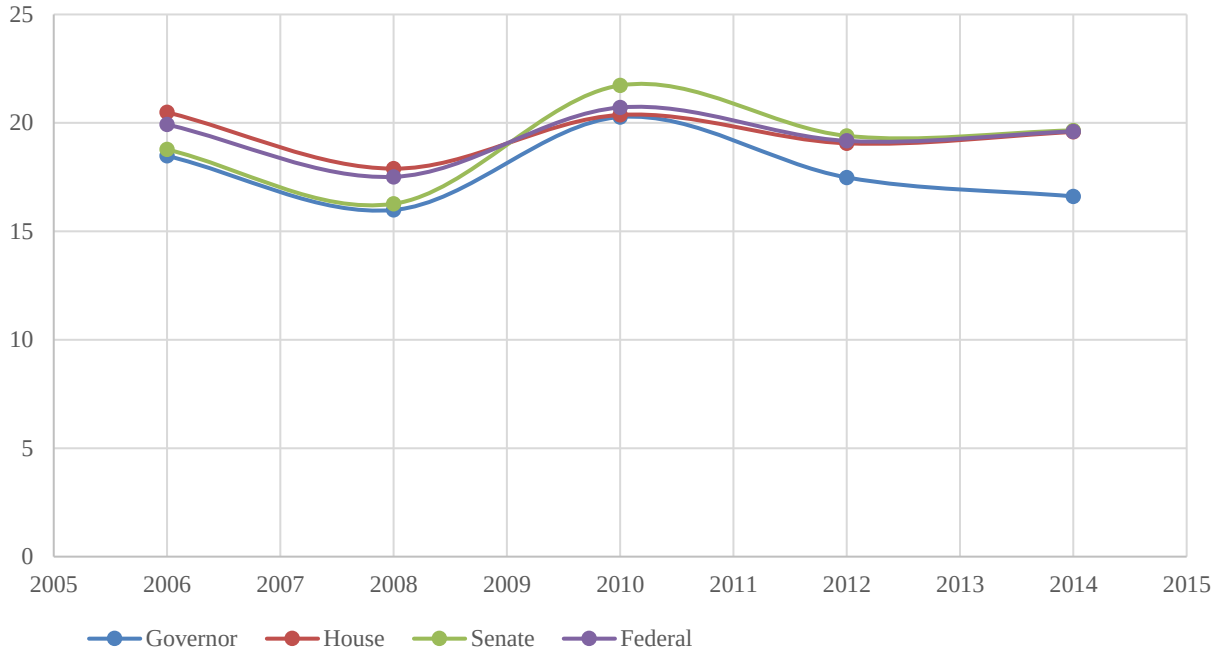

Figure 4.12: Annual Averages for Male Republican Candidates

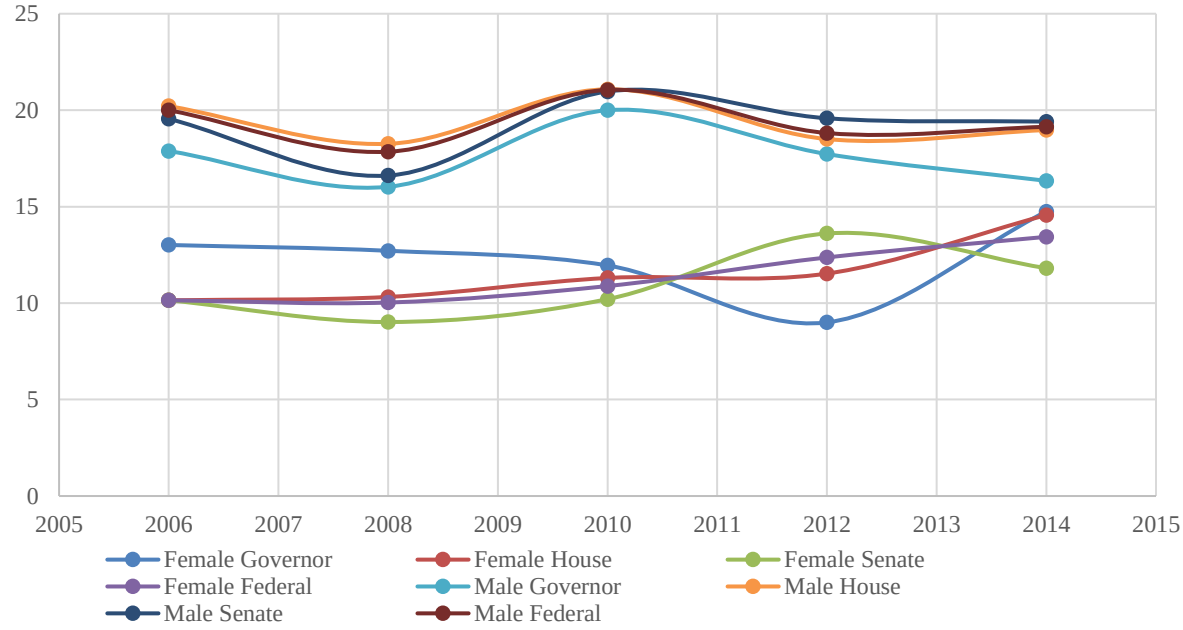

Figure 4.13: Annual Averages for All Candidates Divided by Sex

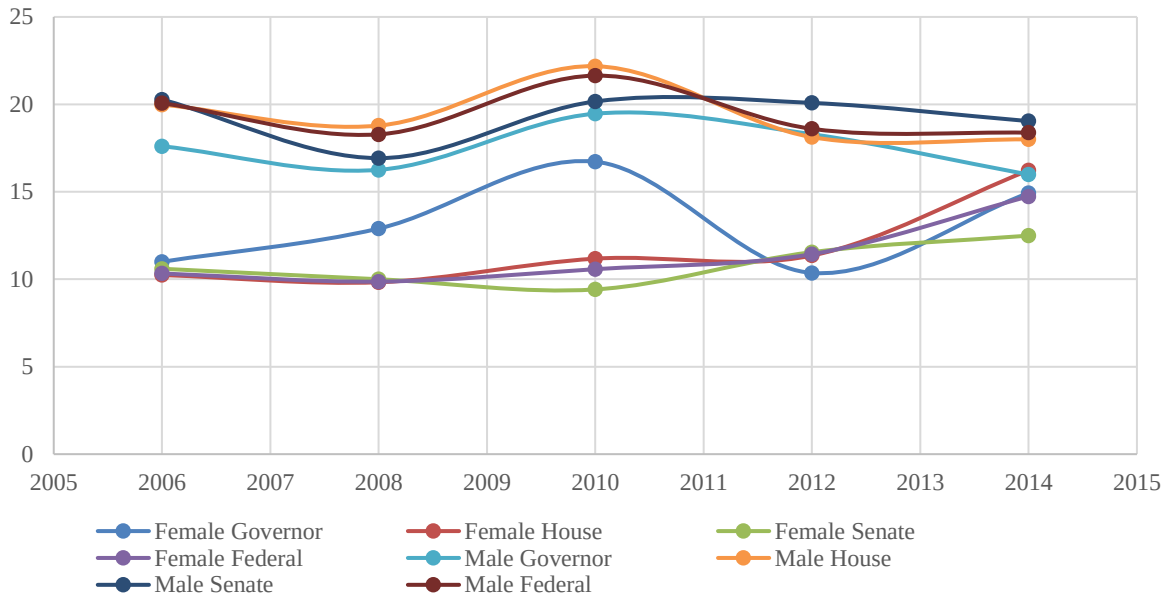

Figure 4.14: Annual Averages for All Democratic Candidates Divided by Sex

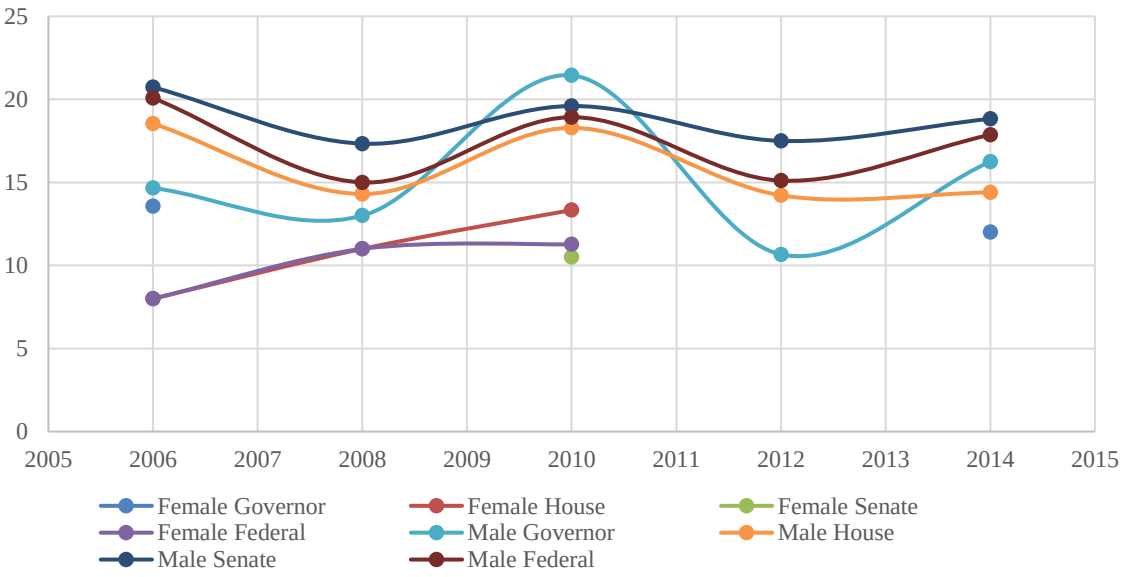

Figure 4.15: Annual Averages for Minor Party Candidates Divided by Sex

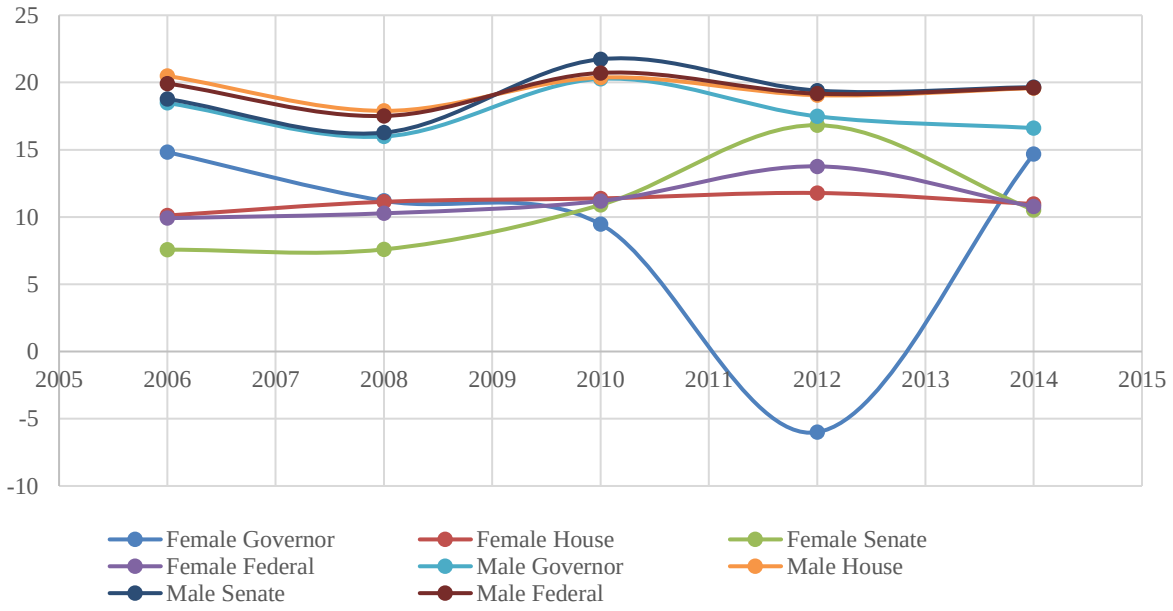

Figure 4.16: Annual Averages for All Republican Candidates Divided by Sex

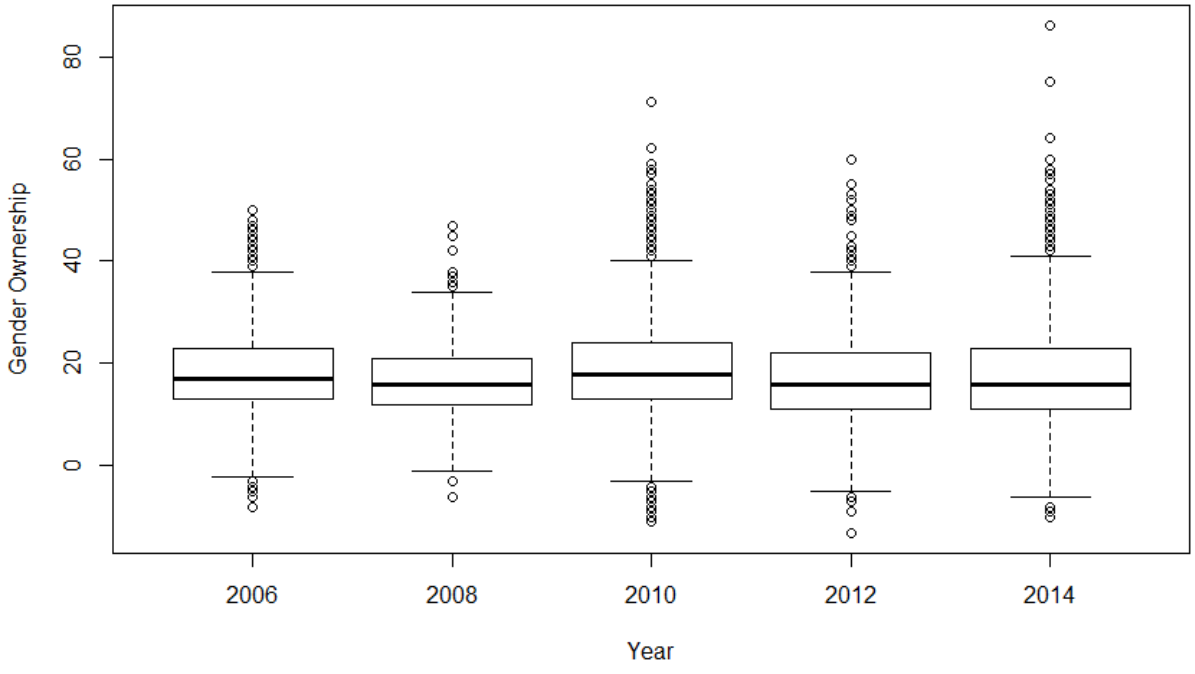

Figure 4.17: Gender Ownership for All Candidates

Table 4.1: Gender Ownership for All Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	32.836856	year	-0.007486	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-30.776	-5.791	-.0821	5.194	68.239
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	32.836856	67.208849	0.489	0.625	
year	-0.007486	0.033436	-0.224	0.823	
Residual standard error: 9.148 on 9858 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 5.084e-06, Adjusted R-squared: -9.636e-05					
F-statistic: 0.05012 on 1 and 9858 DF, p-value: 0.8229					

The initial test for gender ownership was to test for all candidates, both male and female, of all parties over time. The sample size was 9,860 candidate advertisements over the five election cycles. There was some expectancy of change in gender ownership, and some expectation of significance for the coefficient of gender ownership over time (represented by year in the table). However, with this first test, there was no significance in change over time. This was both disappointing and potentially troubling for the theory. However, gender ownership could be significant for one group of candidates and not another. Therefore, even though the initial test was disappointing, further analysis was conducted to determine what, if anything, was significant.

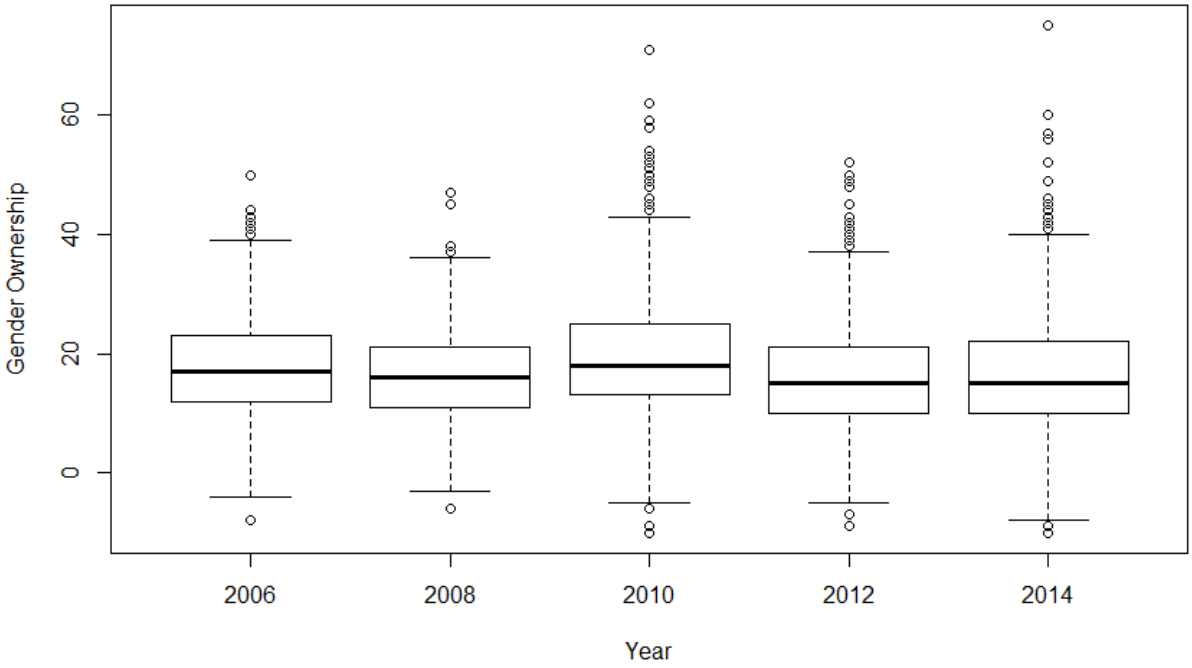

Figure 4.18: Gender Ownership for All Democratic Candidates

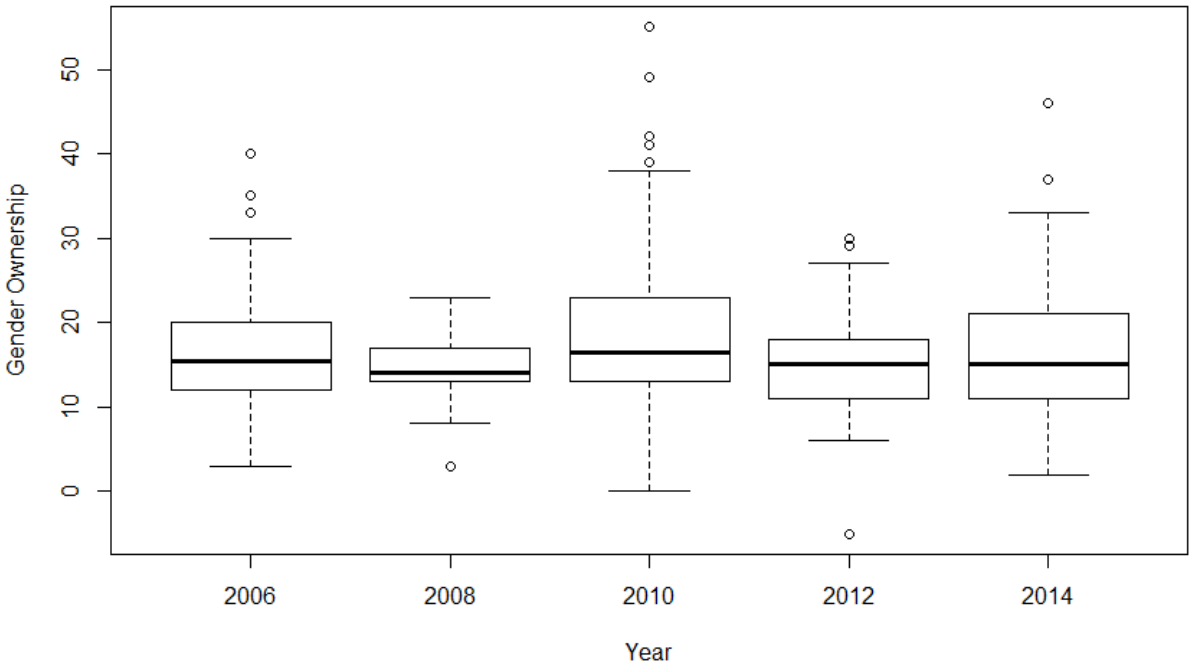

Figure 4.19: Gender Ownership for All Minor Party Candidates

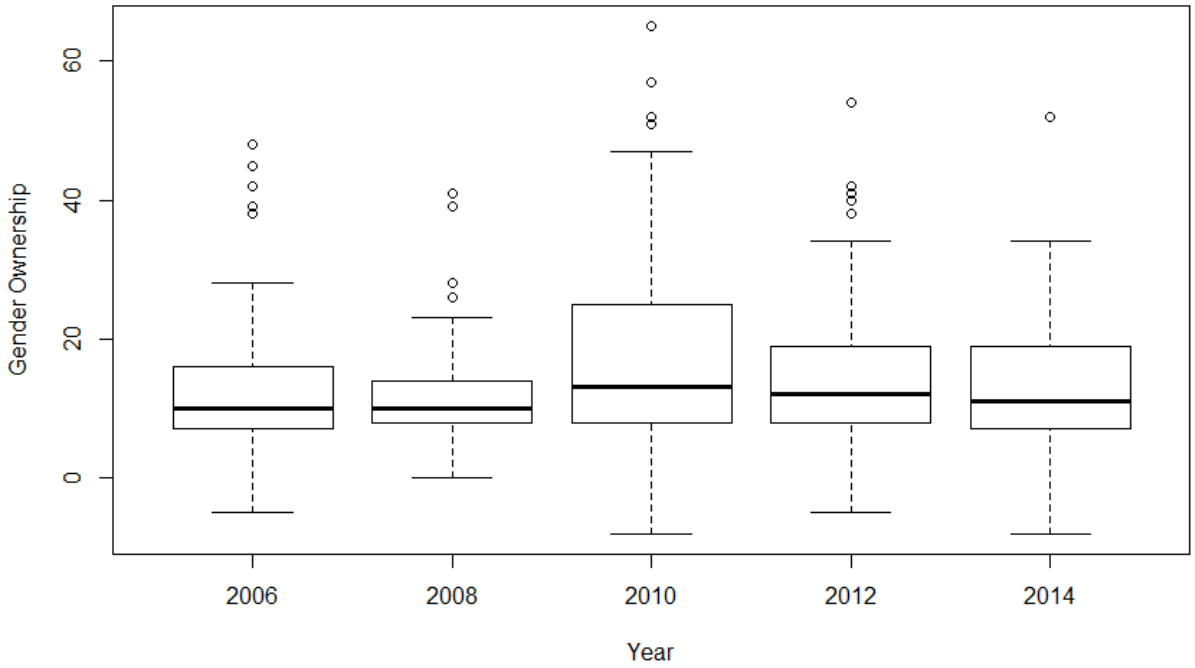

Figure 4.20: Gender Ownership for All Republican Candidates

Table 4.2: Gender Ownership for All Democratic Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	134.57894	year	-0.05828	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-27.431	-6.198	-1.315	5.335	57.802
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	134.57894	101.08455	1.331	0.183	
year	-0.05828	0.05029	-1.159	0.247	
Residual standard error: 9.353 on 4479 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0002997, Adjusted R-squared: 7.655e-05					
F-statistic: 1.343 on 1 and 4479 DF, p-value: 0.2466					

Table 4.3: Gender Ownership for Minor Party Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	6.113e+00	year	5.406e-03	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-21.990	-4.980	-1.958	4.020	38.020
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	6.113e+00	3.480e+02	0.018	0.986	
year	5.406e-03	1.732e-01	0.031	0.975	
Residual standard error: 8.38 on 276 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 3.531e-06, Adjusted R-squared: -0.00362					
F-statistic: 0.0009746 on 1 and 276 DF, p-value: 0.9751					

Table 4.4: Gender Ownership for Republican Party Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-309.5197	year	0.1610	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-22.741	-6.097	-2.775	4.581	50.903
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-309.5197	286.2652	-1.081	0.280	
year	0.1610	0.1424	1.131	0.259	
Residual standard error: 9.988 on 706 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.001807, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0003934					
F-statistic: 1.278 on 1 and 706 DF, p-value: 0.2586					

Knowing that party can play a significant role on how a candidate campaigns, namely which issues and which traits are emphasized during the course of the campaign, the dataset was separated by party: Democrat, Minor-Party, and Republican. These groupings included both male and female candidates within the party and all electoral races to determine if party alone determined whether candidates owned their genders or not.

The dataset was divided among the party groupings, and each party grouping was tested for significance. Even though the major parties provided large sample sets (4,481 for Democrats, 5,101 for Republicans), no statistical significance was found for gender ownership over time at the overall party level. While the values do not meet the statistical requirements for significance, they do raise questions as to why this would occur, and potentially could be indicative of the more nuanced elements of gender ownership.

While Minor Party candidates constitute a small pool of the overall sample, to ignore their candidates would be to potentially ignore the possibility that being a minor party candidate may influence gender ownership. Minor parties campaign differently from the major parties, and therefore, may focus on gender and gender-related issues in ways not exhibited among major party candidates. Additionally, by separating minor party candidates from the rest of the pool, the major parties maintain validity. Unfortunately, the number of minor party candidates, even

including all races and both males and females, is small. As expected, there is no significance for the change in gender ownership over time for Minor Party candidates. However, should the pool of minor party candidates expand, this lack of significance may be corrected to something significant. Currently, examining the minor party candidates may simply be a problem of too small a sample set to be indicative of anything further.

As the results for the change over time is not significant for any party, party alone is not the determining element as to whether candidates own their gender or not.

The Minor Party candidates sample set is consistently small. While the sample was tested for significance at each level, the results consistently suffered from too small a sample set to adequately test for statistical significance. The graphs and tables for the significance tests for the Minor Party candidates are included in Appendix A. The results for the Minor Party candidates will not be discussed further in the body of this paper. Should the sample set for Minor Party candidates be expanded, either through extending the years analyzed or by expanding the pool of advertisements through additional candidates, then the sample set should be reevaluated for significance.

While party alone may not be significant, the previous empirical analyses combined all electoral races: gubernatorial, House, Senatorial, and a broader federal category. As it is possible that party might not be significant, it is potentially possible that the electoral race may be a factor in how a candidate presents gender in campaign advertisements. As such, the electoral races were examined, first for all candidates in a race, and then by race and party, as these groupings could be factors in how a candidate executes a campaign.

Gubernatorial contests are interesting as candidates are appealing to the entire state's electorate. Additionally, as executive of the state, the candidate will need to focus on the interests

and needs of the state. This may minimize the focus on broader electoral concerns, as those issues may be seen as federal matters rather than state matters. However, based upon the previous examinations, it may be difficult to find significance in a mixed-gender grouping; though, gender may be an important factor at the state level.

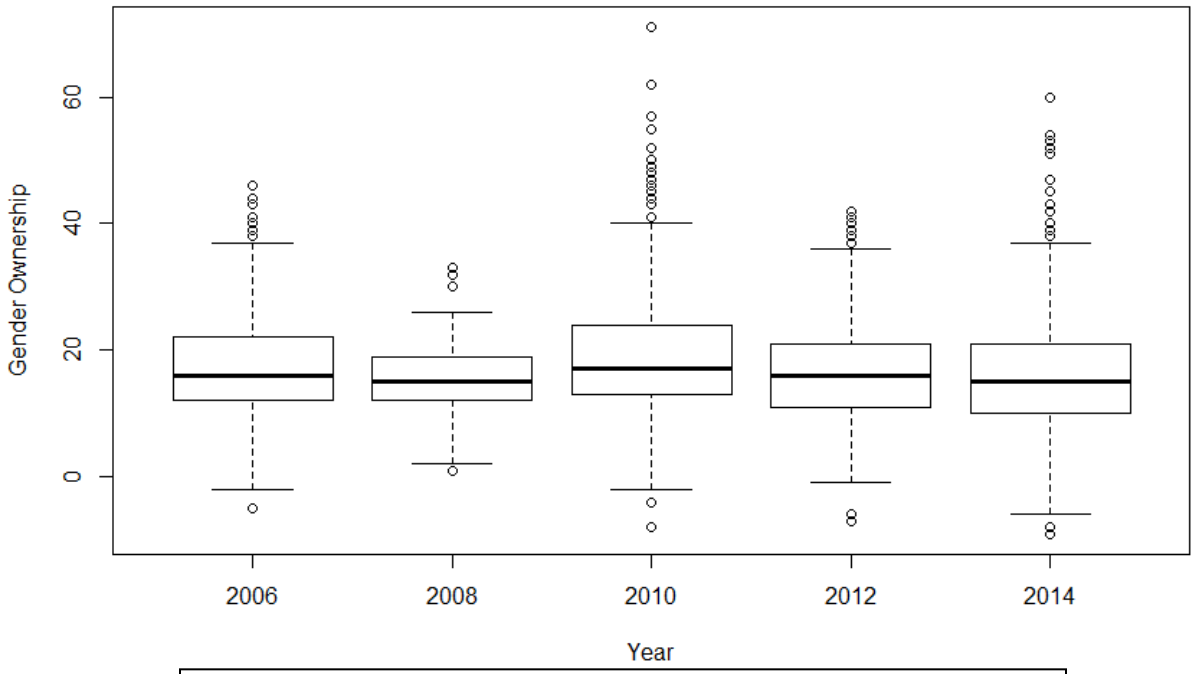

Figure 4.21: Gender Ownership for All Gubernatorial Candidates

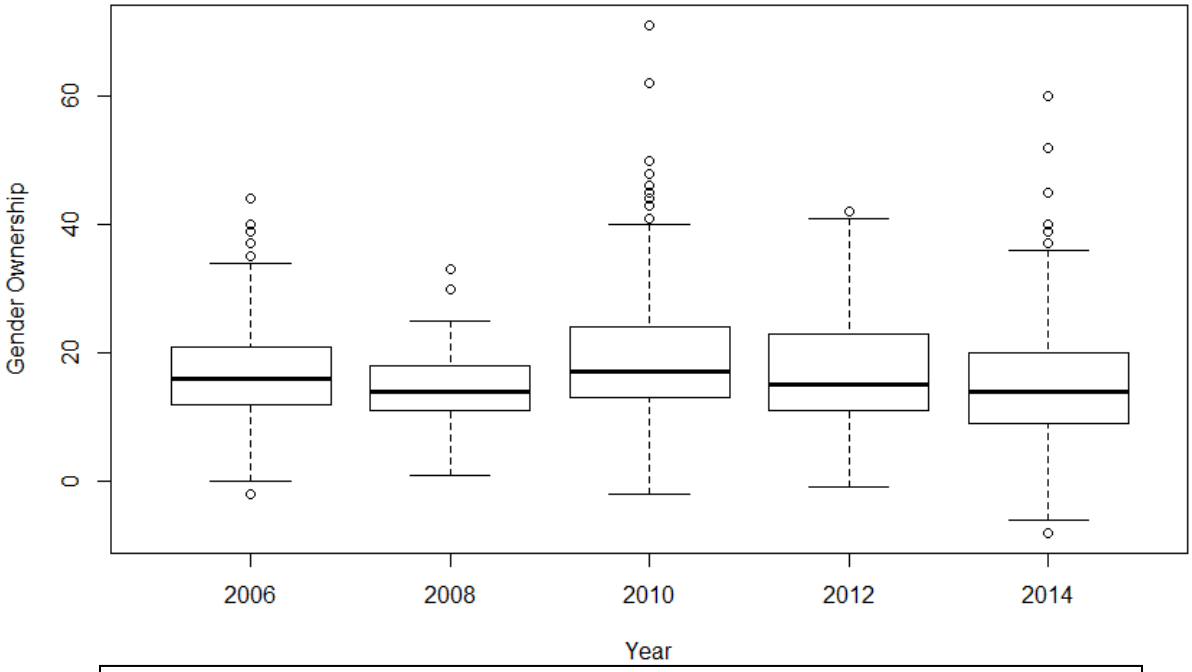

Figure 4.22: Gender Ownership for All Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates

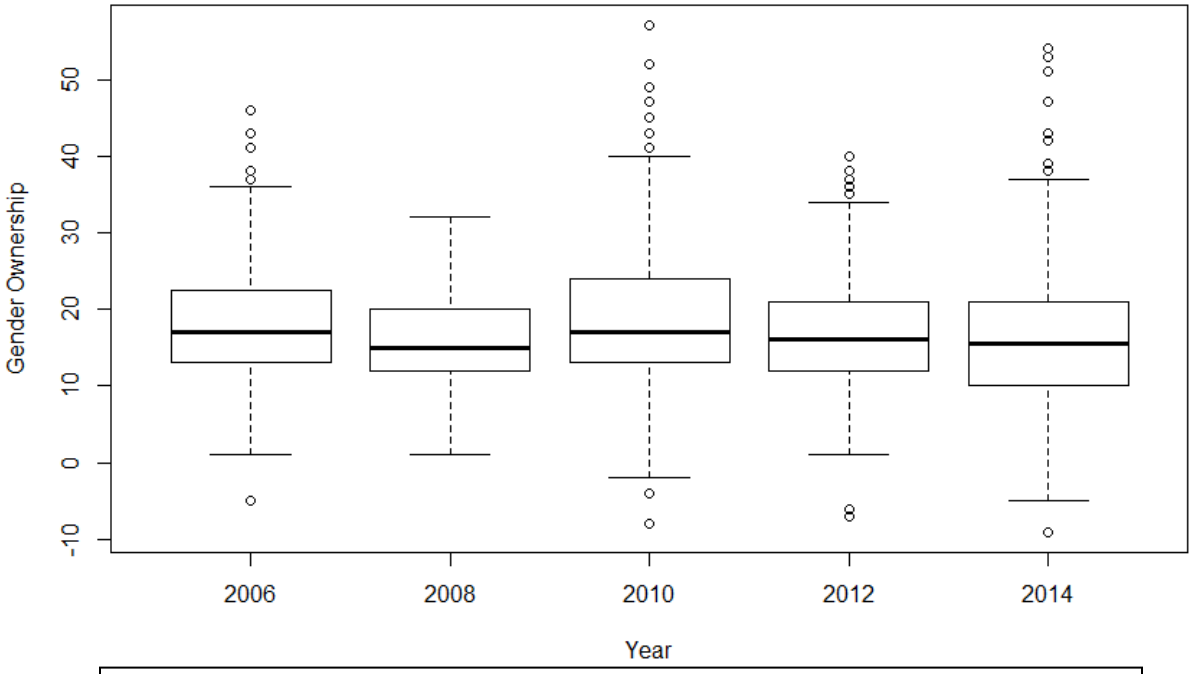

Figure 4.23: Gender Ownership for All Republican Gubernatorial Candidates

Table 4.5: Gender Ownership for All Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	207.15387	year	-0.09442	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-25.992	-5.558	-1.370	4.630	53.630
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	207.15387	129.59262	1.599	0.110	
year	-0.09442	0.06447	-1.465	0.143	
Residual standard error: 9.042 on 2266 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0009456, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0005047					
F-statistic: 2.145 on 1 and 2266 DF, p-value: 0.1432					

Table 4.6: Gender Ownership for All Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	143.33416	year	-0.06276	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-24.931	-5.433	-1.433	4.069	53.818
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	143.33416	191.31589	0.749	0.454	
year	-0.06276	0.09519	-0.659	0.510	
Residual standard error: 9.091 on 1014 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0004286, Adjusted R-squared: -0.0005572					
F-statistic: 0.4347 on 1 and 1014 DF, p-value: 0.5098					

Table 4.7: Gender Ownership for Republican Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	381.5849	year	-0.1811	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-25.888	-5.337	-0.888	4.663	39.388
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	381.5849	187.7647	2.032	0.0424*	
year	-0.1811	0.0934	-1.939	0.0528.	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 9.025 on 1140 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.003286, Adjusted R-squared: 0.002412					
F-statistic: 3.759 on 1 and 1140 DF, p-value: 0.05278					

The sample set for gubernatorial candidate advertisements was noticeably smaller compared with federal levels. The total number of advertisements was 2,268 across the five campaign years. The highest number of gubernatorial advertisements was in 2010 with 778 campaign advertisements. The range of advertisements overall was 150 (2008) – 778 (2010).

One would expect that campaign advertisements for gubernatorial races would be higher in Presidential campaign years in order to ride Presidential coattails. Instead, the opposite appears true in that gubernatorial candidates produce more advertisements in Presidential off-years. Additionally, 2010 may have enjoyed an increase due to the ruling of *Citizens United*, which has reduced limitations on campaign finance. Candidates who would otherwise not have funding may have enjoyed additional monies as a result of *Citizens United*. With the influx of monies, candidates may have been better able to afford television advertisements or more television advertisements. This would have increased the sample size for 2010.

Due to the nature of the sample set, it is not unexpected that there was no significance in change in gender ownership over time at the overall level. The sample set includes both male and female candidates from all parties. Due to the difference in how the different parties conduct campaigns, this could dilute any possible significance. As such, examining the party level at the gubernatorial level may provide clarity and significance.

While gubernatorial candidate advertisements constitute approximately 23% of all candidate advertisements, of this, 1,016 are Democratic gubernatorial candidates. Again, this sample set is for both male and female candidates. There are 1,142 Republican gubernatorial candidates, so, if gender ownership is significant, statistical significance could be found.

There is no statistical significance found for the change in gender ownership over time for the Democratic Party candidates when including both male and female candidates.

Counter to the previous examinations, including for the Republican Party as a whole, there is some significance for Republican gubernatorial candidates, including both male and female candidates. The intercept value is significant, though not particularly meaningful. The coefficient for gender ownership over time, while not meeting the standard threshold for

statistical significance, is the first coefficient to approach significance. Interestingly, this coefficient is negative. This means that Republican gubernatorial candidates, both male and female, find it electorally beneficial to not appeal to their own gender, but appeal to the gender-assumptions of the other gender. Thus, for Republican gubernatorial candidates, male candidates are appealing to female gender-assumptions, and female candidates are appealing to male gender-assumptions to a greater degree than they are appealing to their own gender-assumptions. This is an interesting find in that it indicates that both male and female Republican gubernatorial candidates are behaving in the same way.

For all parties, gubernatorial candidates have to appeal to a whole state. Male candidates and female candidates may wish to focus on different aspects to be able to connect with a state as a whole. This may be true beyond party elements. Therefore, the significance that appeared at the party level is weak, thus the significance may not be at the party level, nor possibly at the contest level.

House candidates have an advantage that neither gubernatorial nor Senatorial candidates enjoy in that House candidates have a narrow constituency that they need to connect with. This means that they can communicate a direct message to a particular audience rather than trying to send a broad message to several, competing audiences. Gender ownership at a party level may be more noticeable with House districts rather than when the candidate has to focus on a state-wide audience.

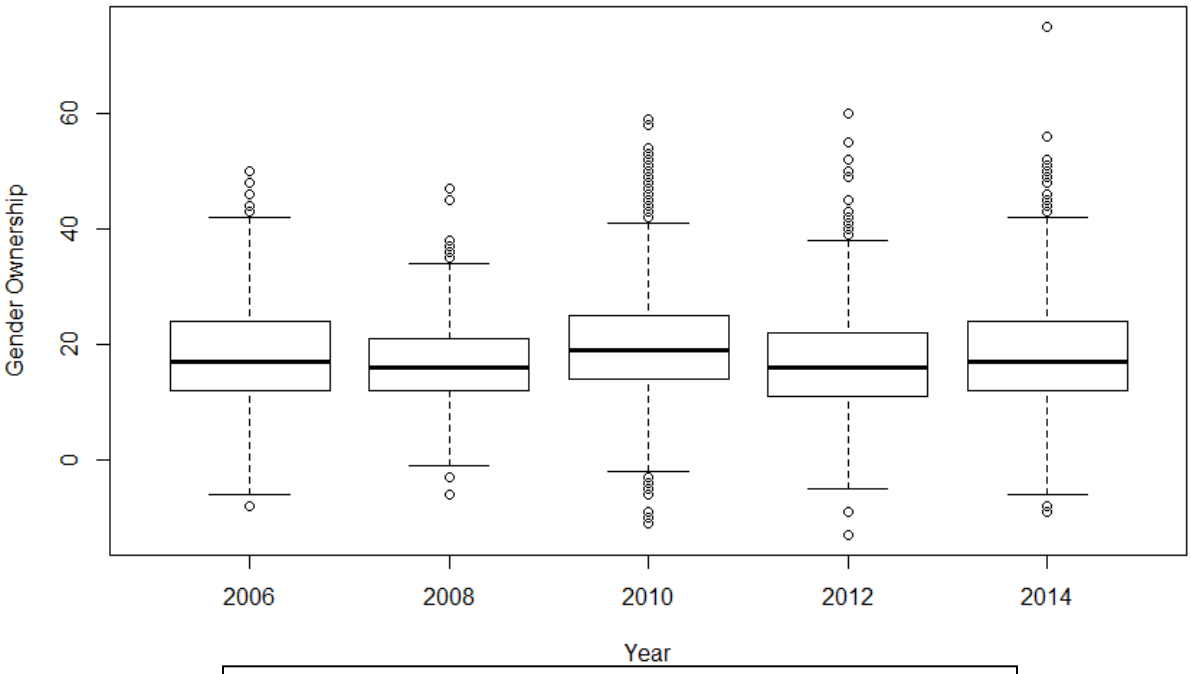

Figure 4.24: Gender Ownership for All House Candidates

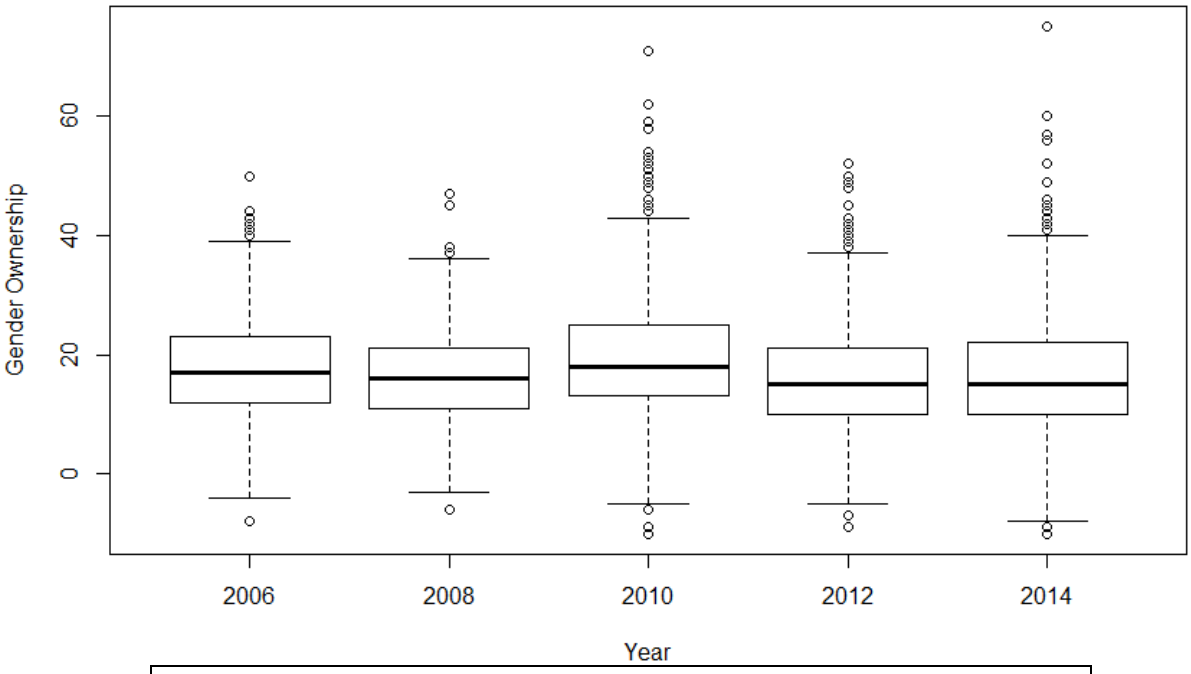

Figure 4.25: Gender Ownership for All Democratic House Candidates

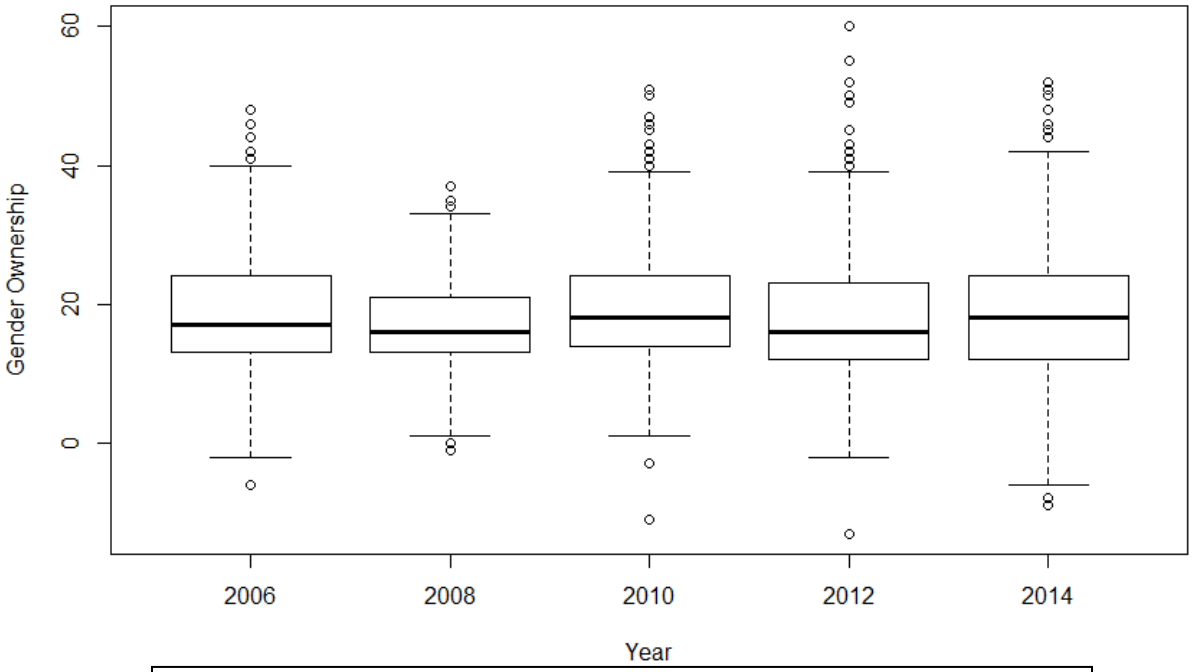

Figure 4.26: Gender Ownership for All Republican House Candidates

Table 4.8: Gender Ownership for All House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-32.72706	year	0.02524	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-31.063	-5.912	-1.063	4.987	56.886
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-32.72706	93.82262	-0.349	0.727	
year	0.02524	0.04668	0.541	0.589	
Residual standard error: 8.974 on 5275 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 5.544e-05, Adjusted R-squared: -0.0001341					
F-statistic: 0.2925 on 1 and 5275 DF, p-value: 0.5887					

Table 4.9: Gender Ownership for All Democratic House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	57.51948	year	-0.01979	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-27.742	-5.781	-0.821	5.258	57.338
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	57.51948	143.19862	0.402	0.688	
year	-0.01979	0.07125	-0.278	0.781	
Residual standard error: 9.375 on 2436 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 3.167e-05, Adjusted R-squared: -0.0003788					
F-statistic: 0.07715 on 1 and 2436 DF, p-value: 0.7812					

Table 4.10: Gender Ownership for All Republican House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-100.8714	year	0.0593	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-31.439	-5.439	-1.202	4.798	41.561
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-100.8714	125.4305	-0.804	0.421	
year	0.0593	0.0624	0.950	0.342	
Residual standard error: 8.621 on 2754 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0003278, Adjusted R-squared: -3.519e-05					
F-statistic: 0.9031 on 1 and 2754 DF, p-value: 0.342					

As noticeable in the All House Candidates graph, the line for gender ownership over time is almost straight, indicating that there is very little change in gender ownership over time. Additionally, as seen thus far, there is no significance for all House candidates. While significance was expected, given that the total sample for House candidates includes both men and women, as well as Democrats, Minor Parties, and Republicans, it is possible with all of those variables included, significance was diluted. So, the next step is to break up the sample set to determine whether party is the defining element for significance, irrespective of gender.

Since the expectation is that Democratic candidates are more connected with women's issues, one could expect that Democratic House candidates would have significant gender ownership, possibly in the positive direction. While there is a slight curve to the line, once again there is no statistical significance.

Unsurprisingly, there is no significance for Republican House candidates, including both men and women in the sample set. The graph is fairly linear, which is different from the Democratic Party which had a little more curve to them.

While there was a theoretical expectation that since House candidates have narrower constituencies, the significance of gender ownership could become more apparent; clearly, party and electoral contest are not the whole or sole explanations in this situation.

House candidates are different from Senatorial candidates in several, important ways: House candidates tend to have a more compact constituency compared with Senators, they run every two years compared with every six years, and, with a more compact constituency, they can have more directed campaign efforts. While television advertisements are necessary for Senatorial candidates to reach the entire state constituency, House candidates have the luxury of not producing television advertisements if their constituency is more compact, such as located in a single city. In these ways, Senatorial candidates have more in common with gubernatorial candidates. As such, the expectation would be to find similar results between Senatorial candidates and gubernatorial candidates. Additionally, the total number of advertisements for gubernatorial and Senatorial candidates is comparable. At the surface, the expectation of relative comparability is met. With 2,315 advertisements, approximately 23.48% of the total advertisements and 30.5% of all federal advertisements, one could expect to find significance. Advertisements extended through the entire timeframe. Additionally, with the extended timeframe, re-election campaigns were seen for some candidates.

While Senatorial candidates would be expected to campaign in much the same manner as gubernatorial candidates, Senators do need to address issues that are of national importance rather than exclusively state matters. Additionally, Senators have the ability to influence legislation that governors may have to implement. Thus, Senators can campaign on issues that governors cannot campaign on as effectively. While similarity in results are expected, there is the possibility of differences.

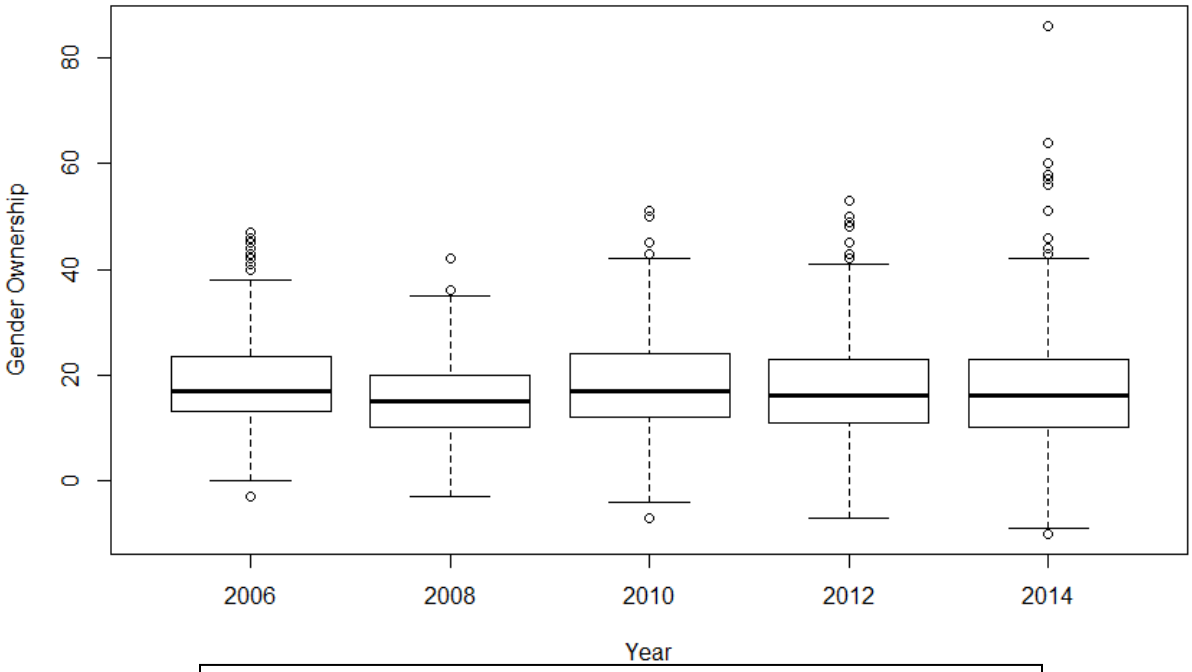

Figure 4.28: Gender Ownership for All Senatorial Candidates

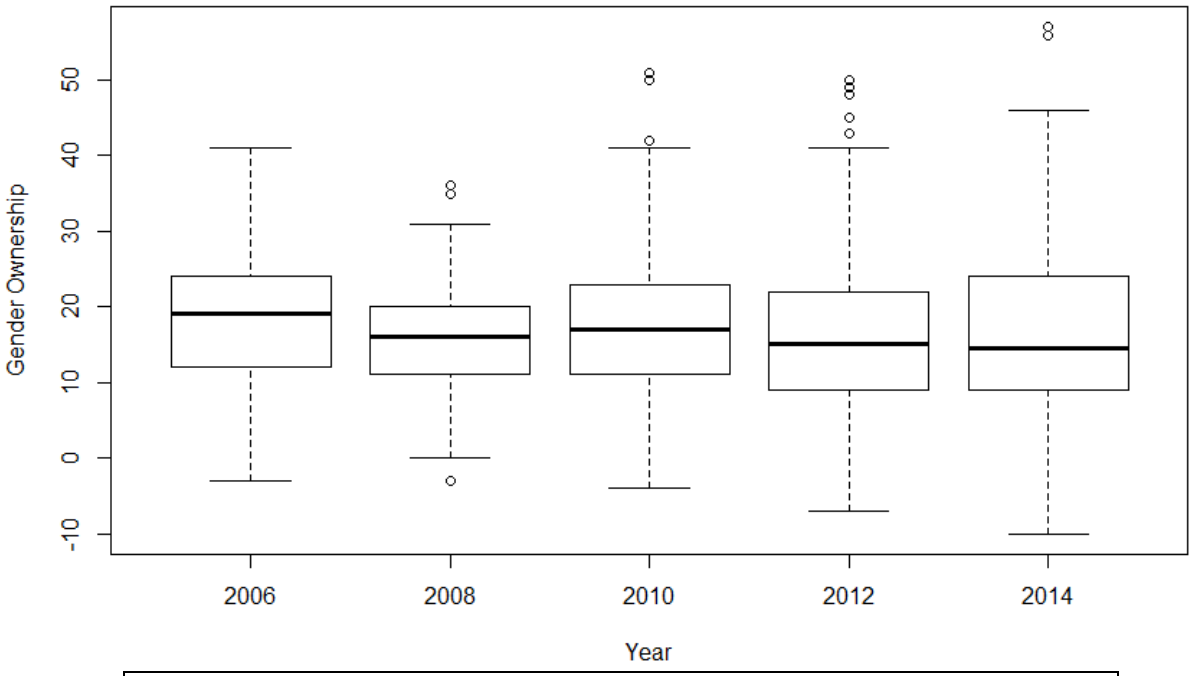

Figure 4.29: Gender Ownership for All Democratic Senatorial Candidates

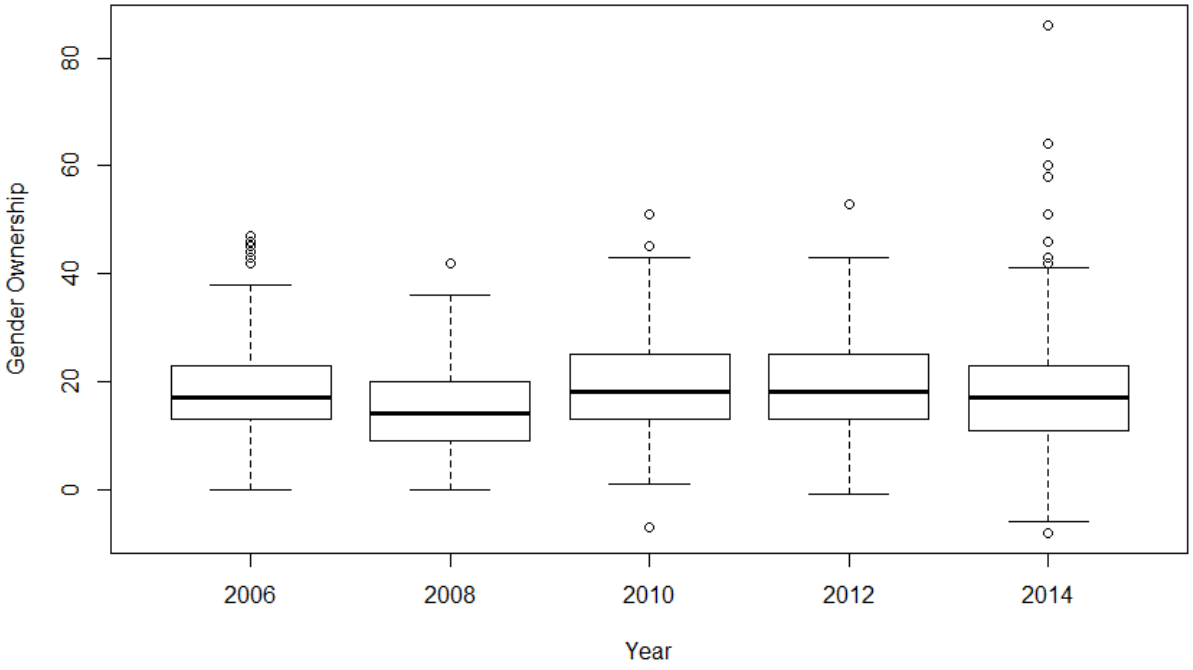

Figure 4.30: Gender Ownership for All Republican Senatorial Candidates

Table 4.11: Gender Ownership for All Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-45.39794	year	0.03139	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-27.817	-6.692	-0.817	5.308	68.183
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-45.39794	144.41719	-0.314	0.753	
year	0.03139	0.07184	0.437	0.662	
Residual standard error: 89.619 on 2313 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 8.253e-05, Adjusted R-squared: -0.0003498					
F-statistic: 0.1909 on 1 and 2313 DF, p-value: 0.6622					

Table 4.12: Gender Ownership for Democratic Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	240.1453	year	-0.1110	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-26.524	-6.524	-0.968	5.476	40.476
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	240.1453	213.8958	1.123	0.262	
year	-0.1110	0.1064	-1.043	0.297	
Residual standard error: 9.543 on 1025 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.001061, Adjusted R-squared: 8.662e-05					
F-statistic: 1.089 on 1 and 1025 DF, p-value: 0.297					

Table 4.13: Gender Ownership for Republican Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-302.2885	year	0.1594	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-26.832	-6.513	-1.195	5.168	67.168
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-302.2885	205.9229	-1.468	0.142	
year	0.1594	0.1024	1.557	0.120	
Residual standard error: 9.728 on 1201 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.002014, Adjusted R-squared: 0.001183					
F-statistic: 2.424 on 1 and 1201 DF, p-value: 0.1198					

While there was the possibility of significance for gender ownership over time, there is no significance found for all Senatorial candidates, including all parties, and men and women. While the overall results are not significant, this broad sample set could be confounded by the gender of the candidates and the parties. As such, the broad sample set will be broken down next by party.

While in line with the findings thus far, the results are insignificant for both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. The graph for the Democratic Party indicates a slight slope to the line, but in the negative direction. This is still a curious finding as it is unexpected given that the Democratic Party would seem the most likely to have strong gender ownership for women and there is no obvious reason that male candidates would disown their gender to the level that it would result in negative gender ownership results. There seems to be more happening in this relationship than just party.

Overall, there was no significance for the variable of interest at the Senatorial level, based upon party alone.

As federal races are often campaigned in a manner different from state-level races, examining the federal level as a whole might provide some significance and understanding of how parties operate for federal races, as a whole.

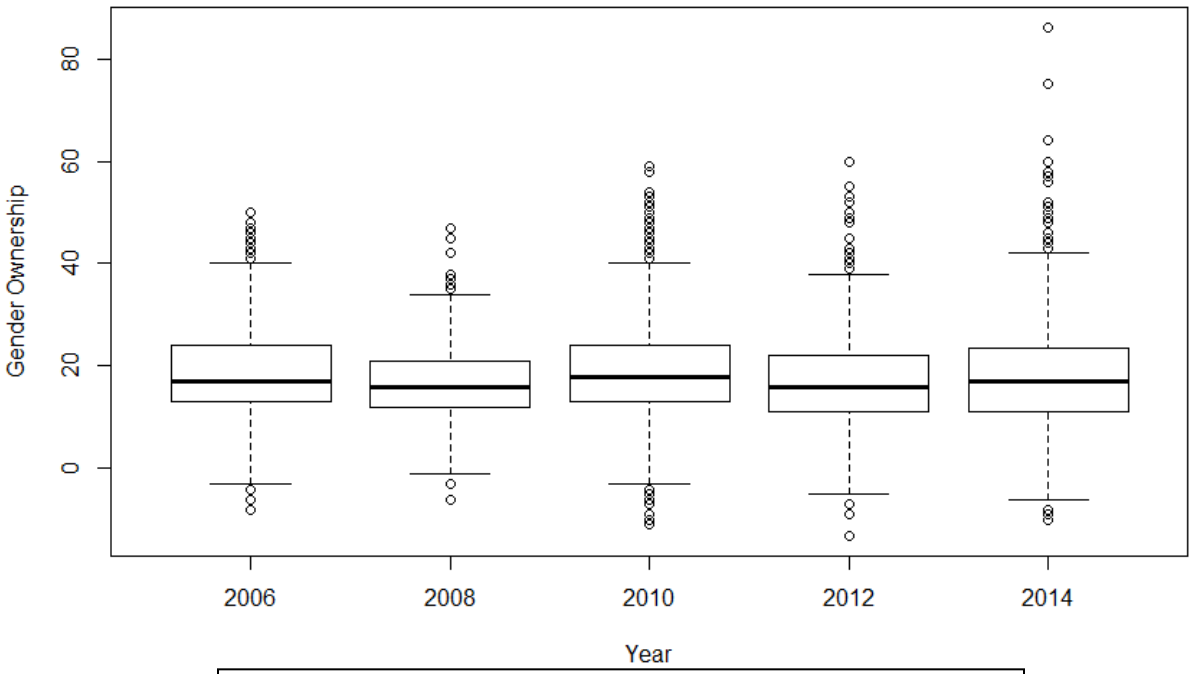

Figure 4.31: Gender Ownership for All Federal Candidates

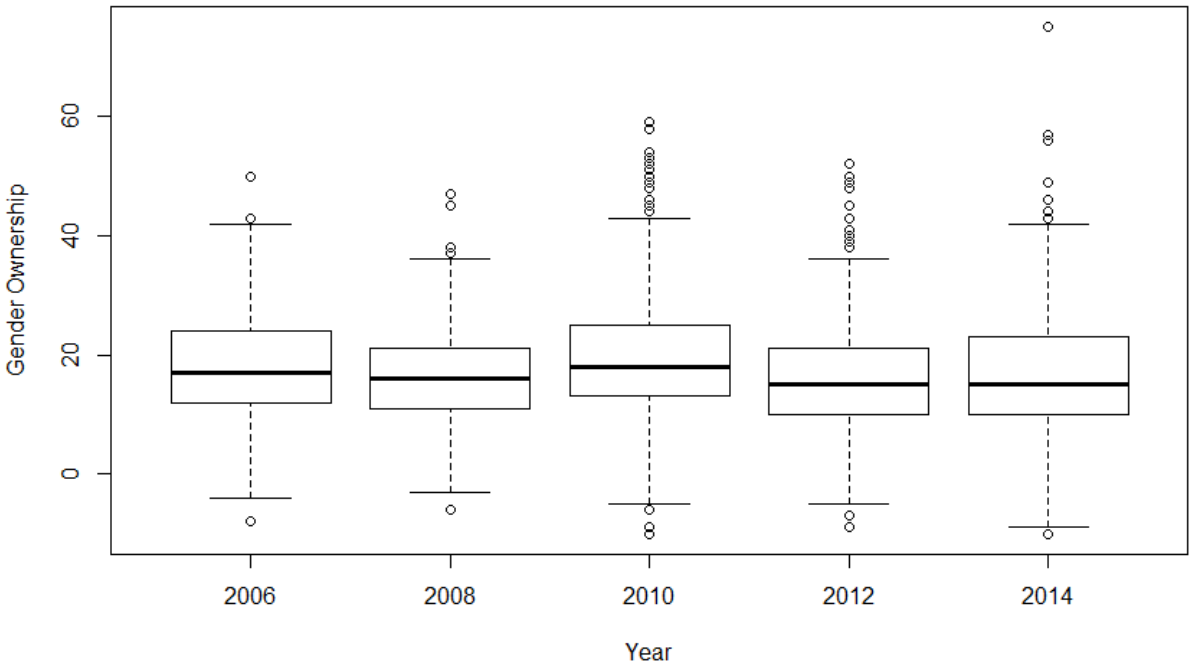

Figure 4.32: Gender Ownership for All Democratic Federal Candidates

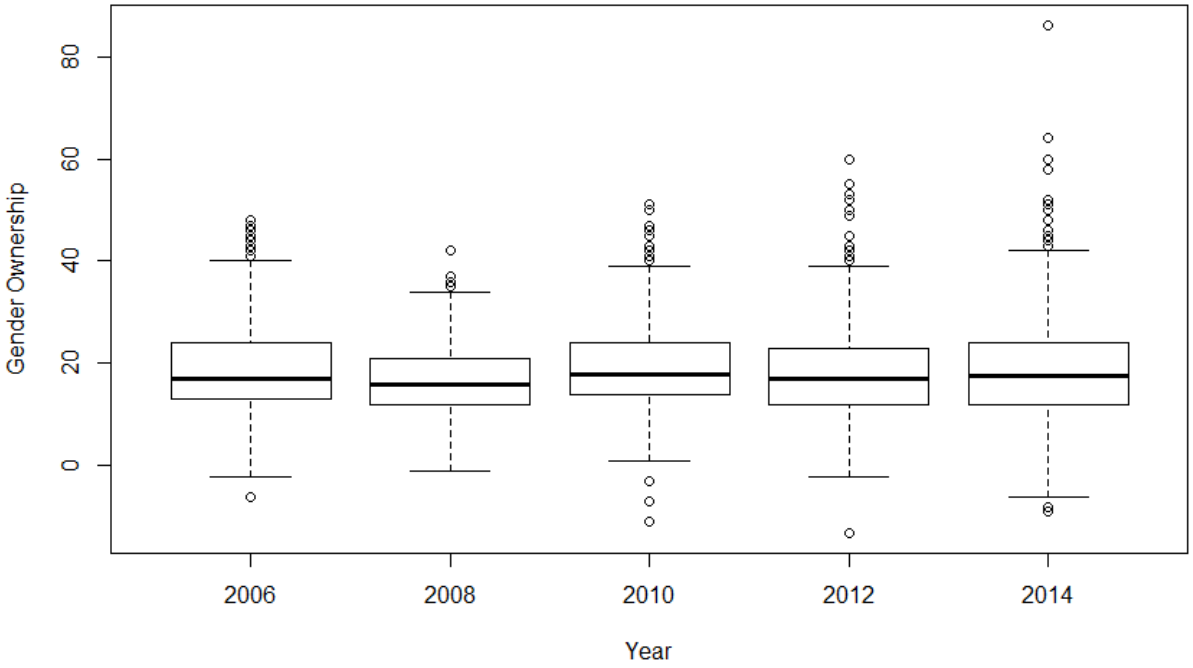

Figure 4.33: Gender Ownership for All Republican Federal Candidates

Table 4.14: Gender Ownership for All Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-28.81284	year	0.02325	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-30.962	-5.916	-0.962	5.084	67.991
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-28.81284	78.50916	-0.367	0.714	
year	0.02325	0.03906	0.595	0.552	
Residual standard error: 9.175 on 7590 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 4.668e-05, Adjusted R-squared: -8.507e-05					
F-statistic: 0.3543 on 1 and 7590 DF, p-value: 0.5517					

Table 4.15: Gender Ownership for Democratic Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	132.43284	year	-0.05718	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-27.504	-6.276	-1.390	5.381	57.724
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	132.43284	118.77830	1.115	0.265	
year	-0.05718	0.05910	-0.968	0.333	
Residual standard error: 9.43 on 3463 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0002703, Adjusted R-squared: -1.843e-05					
F-statistic: 0.9362 on 1 and 3463 DF, p-value: 0.3333					

Table 4.16: Gender Ownership for Republican Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-162.97820	year	0.09018	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-31.473	-5.653	-1.293	4.888	67.347
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-162.97820	107.14691	-1.521	0.1283	
year	0.09018	0.05330	1.692	0.0907.	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: 8.97 on 3957 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.000723, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0004704					
F-statistic: 2.863 on 1 and 3957 DF, p-value: 0.09073					

The graph itself at the overall level is remarkably linear. The fact that the line is so straight is telling. Not unexpectedly, there is no significance for the coefficient for gender ownership over time. Thus, when including all parties, and both men and women, gender ownership may be confounded at the race level, even at the overall federal level.

However, the examination would be incomplete if the federal races were not considered by party.

While not entirely unexpected based upon the findings for the individual races, the overall values for Democratic Federal candidates, including both men and women, is similar to the previous results. The coefficient for gender ownership over time is still not significant, and it is negative.

Thus far, the Republican Party is the only party in which significance for the variable of interest has been found. Remarkably, the Republican Party displays significance just below the standard threshold for significance for candidates at the federal level, including both men and women. More interestingly, the coefficient for gender ownership over time is positive. This indicates that both male and female candidates are utilizing gender-assumptions for their gender at an increasing rate over the timeframe. While the significance for this coefficient does not meet

the standard threshold for statistical significance, as this is among the very short list of situations wherein any significance was found, the finding is worth note. However, as the Republican Party is not where one would expect to find statistical significance for gender ownership, let alone in the positive direction, the findings present more questions than answers.

Based upon the findings to this point, gender ownership does not seem to be based upon party alone, electoral contest, nor electoral contest by party. The remaining factor that has not been accounted for is perceived sex.

Since the interest of this study was to examine if female candidates, primarily, were more willing over time to present female gender-assumptions in a positive manner, the next area of analysis was to look at the totality of the female candidate population. The sample size at this point was 1,796 female candidate advertisements over the five electoral cycles. This constitutes approximately 18% of the total advertisements in the sample set. The expectation was not only to see significance in the change over time, but, hopefully, that it was in the positive direction. Based upon the yearly averages, the expectation of positive change over time seemed reasonable.

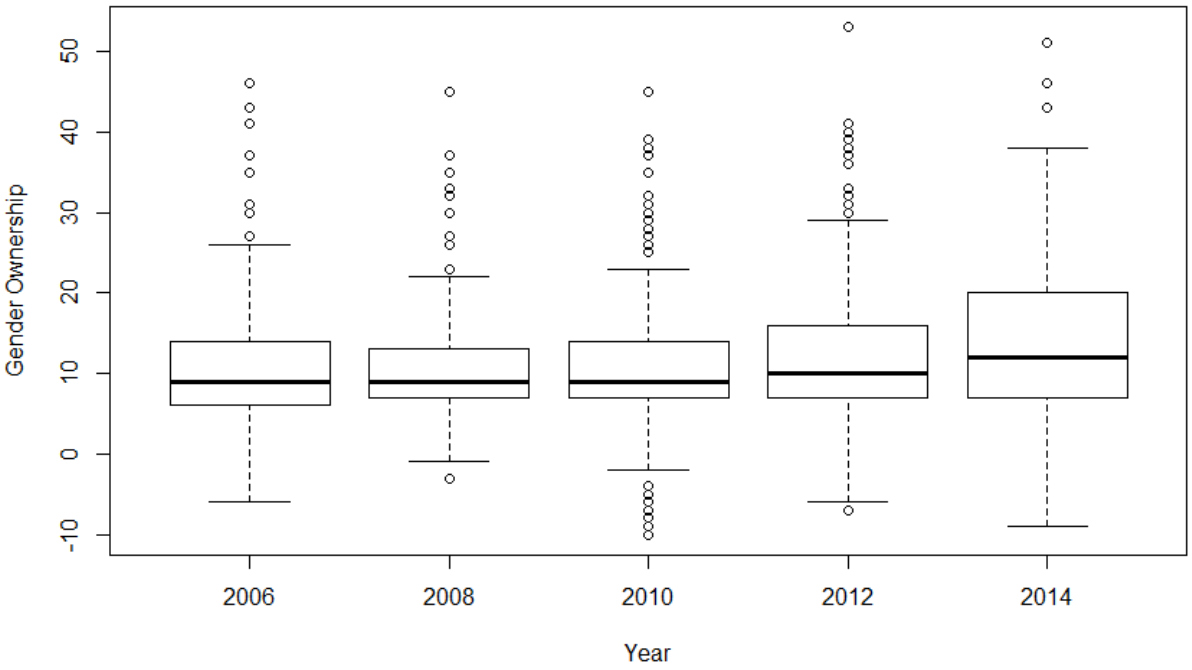

Figure 4.34: Gender Ownership for All Female Candidates

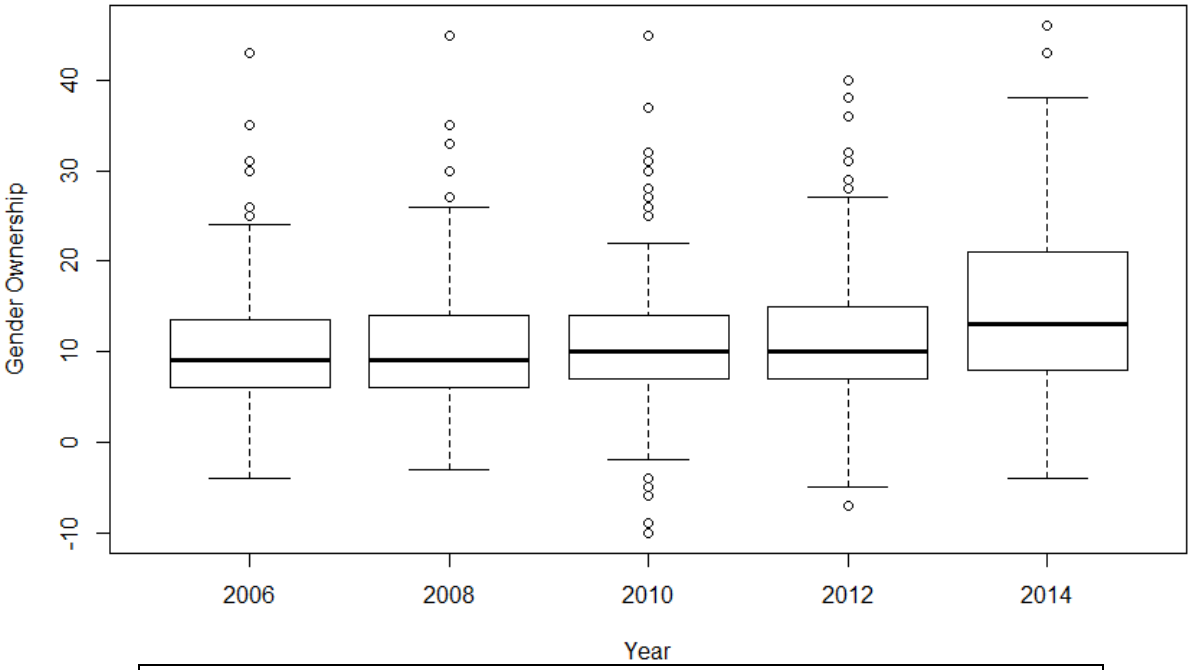

Figure 4.35: Gender Ownership for All Female Democratic Candidates

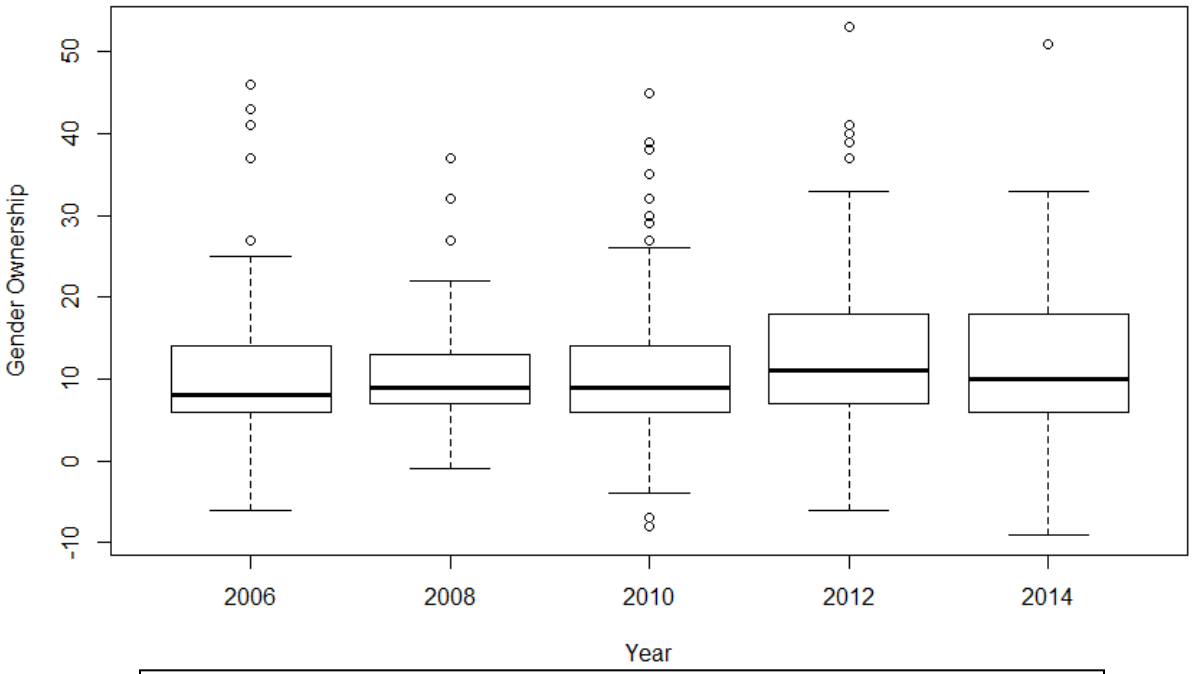

Figure 4.36: Gender Ownership for All Female Republican Candidates

Table 4.17: Gender Ownership for All Female Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-753.57162	year	0.38072	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-22.196	-5.151	-1.673	3.815	40.565
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-753.57162	139.34577	-5.408	7.23e-08 ***	
year	0.38072	0.06932	5.492	4.54e-08 ***	
Residual standard error: 8.181 on 1794 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.01654, Adjusted R-squared: 0.01599					
F-statistic: 30.16 on 1 and 1794 DF, p-value: 4.536e-08					

Table 4.18: Gender Ownership for all Female Democratic Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-975.79013	year	0.49132	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-21.763	-4.798	-1.745	4.202	34.220
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-975.79013	176.54714	-5.527	4.11e-08 ***	
year	0.49132	0.08782	5.594	2.82e-08 ***	
Residual standard error: 8.108 on 1046 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.02905, Adjusted R-squared: 0.02812					
F-statistic: 31.3 on 1 and 1046 DF, p-value: 2.825e-08					

Table 4.19: Gender Ownership for All Female Republican Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-478.1312	year	0.2436	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-21.421	-4.940	-1.959	4.047	41.067
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-478.1312	240.2664	-1.990	0.0470*	
year	0.2436	0.1195	2.038	0.0419*	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: 8.383 on 706 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.005848, Adjusted R-squared: 0.00444					
F-statistic: 4.153 on 1 and 706 DF, p-value: 0.04194					

The linear model and the statistics provided do indicate that there is positive change in gender ownership over time, and that the value is significant at the overall and party levels. Therefore, while the overall gender ownership for all candidates is not significant, for female candidates, gender ownership is significant. This seems indicative that female candidates, over time, are increasingly willing to present gender-assumed aspects as positive during the course of their campaigns. Female gender-assumptions are increasingly electorally beneficial, based upon the willingness of female candidates to present them during the course of their campaign advertisements. The subsequent question was whether the willingness to present gender assumptions differed according to party.

Since, the majority of female candidates are Democrats, according to existing political science research, the expectation would be that if there would be any change in gender ownership over time and that it was significant, it would be found in this group. Of the 1,796 female candidate advertisements, 1,048 are for Democratic female candidates. Approximately 58% of all of the female candidate ads were for female Democratic candidates.

Existing political theory supports that female candidates are better supported in the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party has owned women's issues and tends to promote

ambitious female candidates. Thus, one would expect that female Democratic candidates would have an easier time presenting female gender-assumptions as positive because doing so aligns with assumptions regarding the Democratic Party. While the results fit existing political science theory, it is important to note that these values are significant for two reasons. One, the values are statistically significant. Second, the value is approximately a half a point increase each election cycle. While this may seem modest, this means that Democratic candidates at all electoral levels are including more gender-assumptions as positive at a rate of one more presentation per two election cycles. In examining the graphs, there is a steeper curve, thus indicating a greater increase, with the 2014 election cycle. This could be indicative, that in more recent years, female Democratic candidates are even more willing to present female gender-assumptions in a positive manner and as acceptable for elected office. Additionally, this data further strengthens existing political science research regarding the relationship between the Democratic Party and female candidates.

Republican candidates were the only candidates to show any significance in the overall examinations; therefore, one would expect to potentially find some significance. For female Republican candidates, gender ownership over time shows statistical significance. While the level of significance is not the same as for female Democratic candidates, the coefficient still meets the threshold for statistical significance. This indicates that female Republican candidates are increasingly presenting female gender-assumptions as positive elements and even desirable elements for political office. Additionally, female candidates have been doing so at an increasing level over the timeframe. While one would expect this from Democratic candidates, finding it among Republican candidates is an interesting finding in that it means that female candidates of both major parties are participating in the same behavior.

Based upon these findings, significance appears to occur based upon gender, and also appears based upon party. The next question is whether electoral contest, and contest along with party, has any influence on whether gender ownership is statistically significant.

The first electoral contest to consider was gubernatorial as this is a state level race, but at the executive level. Additionally, this contest can possibly give hints as to what might be found in Senatorial races.

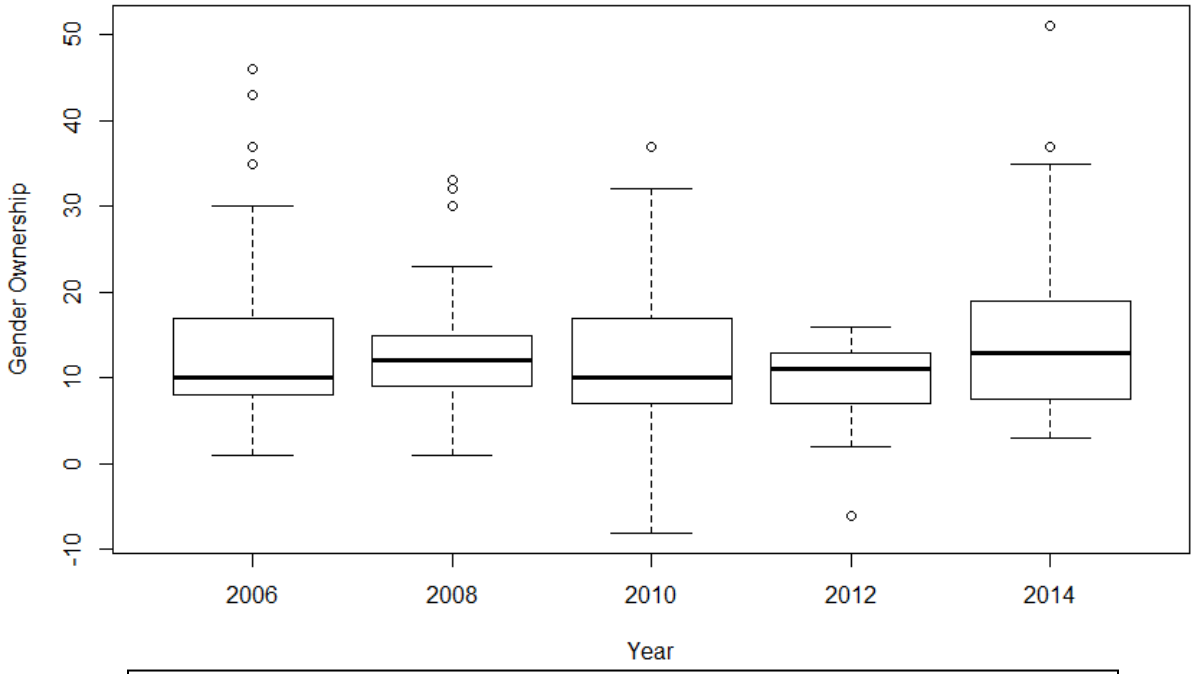

Figure 4.37: Gender Ownership for All Female Gubernatorial Candidates

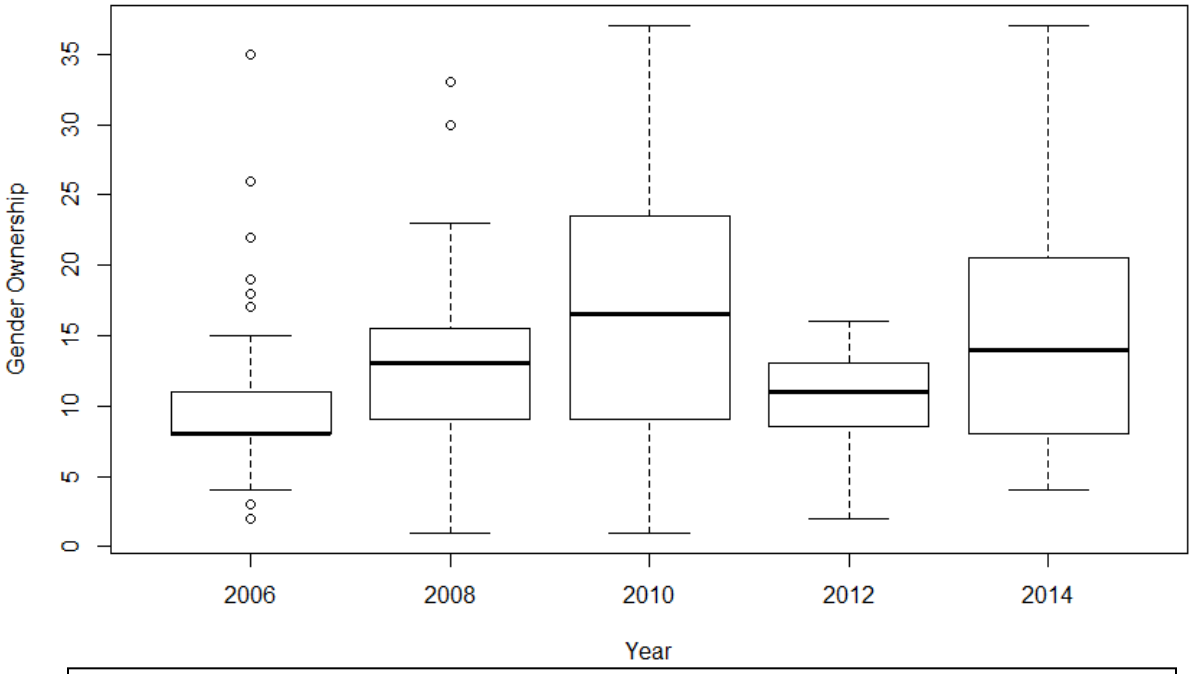

Figure 4.38: Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates

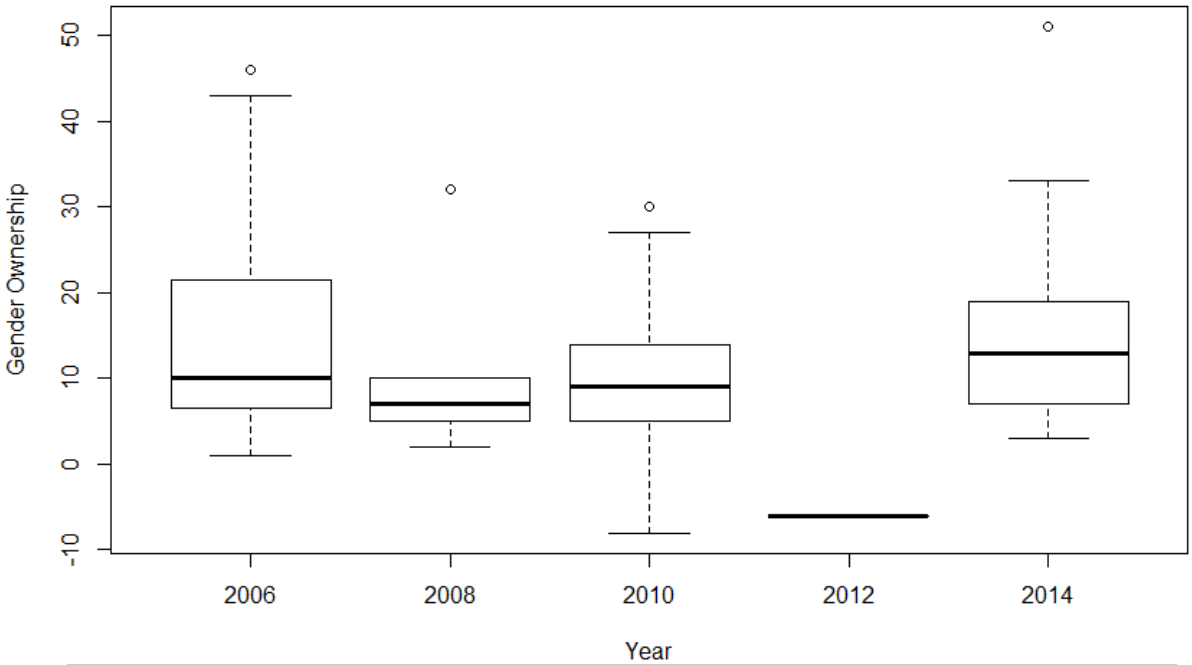

Figure 4.39: Gender Ownership for Female Republican Gubernatorial Candidates

Table 4.20: Gender Ownership for All Female Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-334.6916	year	0.1730	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-20.942	-5.625	-1.942	4.289	37.366
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-334.6916	328.4114	-1.019	0.309	
year	0.1730	0.1634	1.058	0.291	
Residual standard error: 8.607 on 320 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.003489, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0003745					
F-statistic: 1.12 on 1 and 320 DF, p-value: 0.2907					

Table 4.21: Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-763.1318	year	0.3865	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-12.780	-5.063	-1.780	4.561	23.220
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-763.1318	419.4489	-1.819	0.0707.	
year	0.3865	0.2087	1.852	0.0658.	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 7.819 on 160 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.02099, Adjusted R-squared: 0.01487					
F-statistic: 3.431 on 1 and 160 DF, p-value: 0.06584					

Table 4.22: Gender Ownership for Female Republican Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-34.08936	year	0.02283	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-19.800	-5.892	-2.800	4.200	39.108
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-34.08936	613.79120	-0.056	0.956	
year	0.02283	0.30535	0.075	0.941	
Residual standard error: 9.724 on 135 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 4.141e-05, Adjusted R-squared: -0.007366					
F-statistic: 0.00559 on 1 and 135 DF, p-value: 0.9405					

For female gubernatorial candidates, the overall sample size is 322 candidate advertisements over the five campaign years, approximately 14.2% of all gubernatorial candidate advertisements. The first concern is that this may be too small a sample size to adequately test for significance. Indeed, future research may need to include the entire population of female gubernatorial candidate advertisements or include additional campaign years to have an

adequately sized sample set to sufficiently test for significance. No significance was found exclusively among female gubernatorial candidates. While this finding is not surprising, given the previous findings, it is somewhat unusual in that statistical significance was found for gender ownership over time for female candidates overall, even by party. Therefore, there are some possible explanations: the sample size is potentially too small to find significance; as the sample size includes all parties, party does influence significance and grouping them all together is confounding the significance at the overall level; or, gender ownership is not significant for female candidates in gubernatorial contests, regardless of party. While the sample size was not increased to determine whether sample size was the problem, the sample set was divided among parties to determine if significance is based on party.

For the Democratic Party, there were 1,016 gubernatorial candidate advertisements. Of these, 162 were for female candidates, or 15.94%. The advertisements did extend over the entire timeframe. There is potential that the sample size may be too small to properly test for significance. However, significance was found at a level below the standard threshold for statistical significance. It is possible that if the sample size were expanded, the significance would strengthen. The coefficient for gender ownership over time is positive and comparatively sizable. This is indicative that female Democratic gubernatorial candidates feel that appealing to the various gender-assumptions regarding women is determined to be an effective electoral strategy. The graphic model seems to indicate a gradual increase over time, with what appears to be a leveling off in recent years.

As Republican party candidates have shown gender ownership to be significant in some instances, the examination of female Republican gubernatorial candidates provides an

opportunity to see the interaction between electoral race, party, and gender for a party that has shown some gender ownership of statistical significance.

For female Republican gubernatorial candidates, there is no significance found for the coefficient for gender ownership for Republican candidates over time. It is possible that the lack of identifiable significance is the result of a low sample size. Of the 2,268 gubernatorial candidate advertisements sampled, 1,142 were for Republican candidates, approximately 50.35% of the gubernatorial sample. Of the 1,142 Republican candidate advertisements, 137 were for female candidates, approximately 12% of the Republican candidate advertisements. While Republican candidates had the highest volume of advertisements, they had the lowest percentage of advertisements for female candidates. This is not unexpected due to the likelihood of female candidates running in the Democratic Party. Therefore, it is possible that if the sample size were extended, significance may become apparent. Fortunately, the candidate advertisements extended through the entire timeframe, thus, should significance be found, the results would have general applicability.

In summation, while there is gender ownership at the overall female candidate level, there is extremely limited gender ownership for female gubernatorial candidates. Based upon this initial examination, party and electoral contest seem to play a role in whether a candidate emphasizes gender-assumptions, or not. As this is an executive-level electoral position, one could expect some similarity between results found at this level and results found for Presidential races. However, based upon the limited research, there does seem to be a difference in how candidates own their gender at the state and federal level.

A potential confounding element may be that the number of advertisements for female gubernatorial candidates is just insufficient to properly test for significance. Expanding the

sample population to either include more years and/or the entire advertisement population potentially would resolve this question. Though, the sample size for male gubernatorial candidates is larger, and may be able to provide insight on whether sample size may be an important element in finding significance.

The number of House female candidates has been increasing in recent years. This is highly beneficial as this increases the overall sample population wherein one could hope to find significance. While the number of candidates per individual party may preclude an adequate discussion due to too small a population for significance, the overall House sample may be large enough to provide the broad strokes of what is occurring.

House candidates have the benefit of being able to tailor their messages to specific geographic areas. Candidates are more likely to know their constituents and what messages will be successful with their constituents. This may also mean that if the sample sizes are large enough to warrant significance, then there will likely be greater variation among the parties. The House level is the most probable place for finding a gender ownership effect at statistically significant levels.

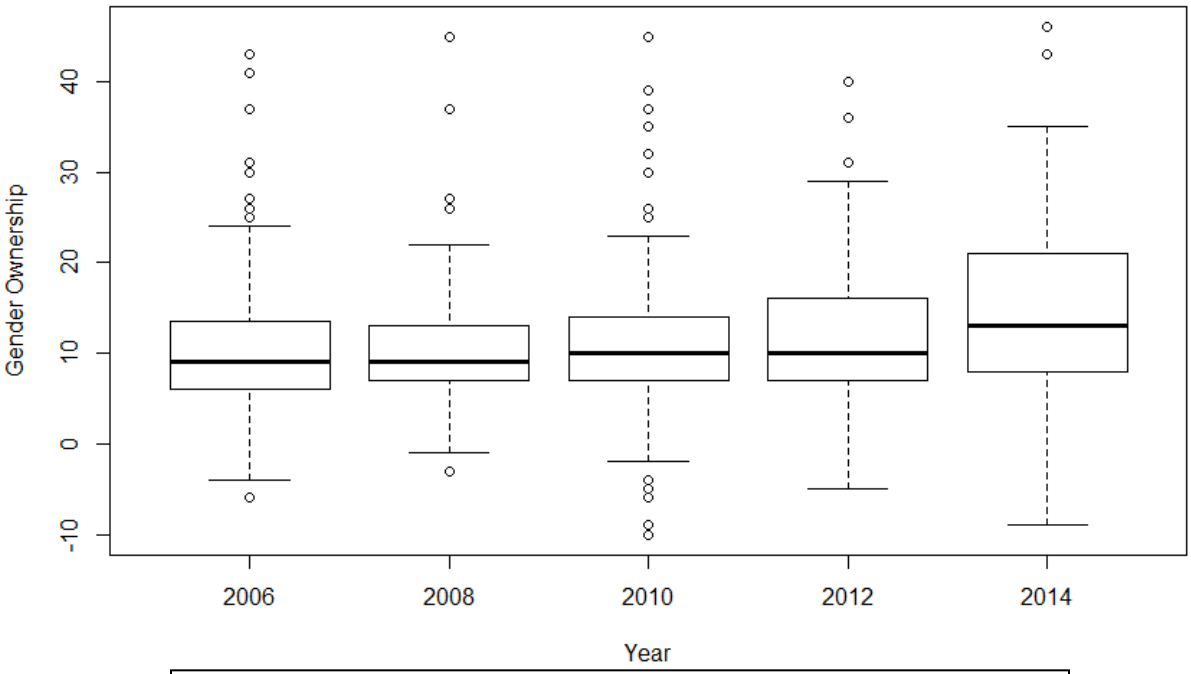

Figure 4.40: Gender Ownership for All Female House Candidates

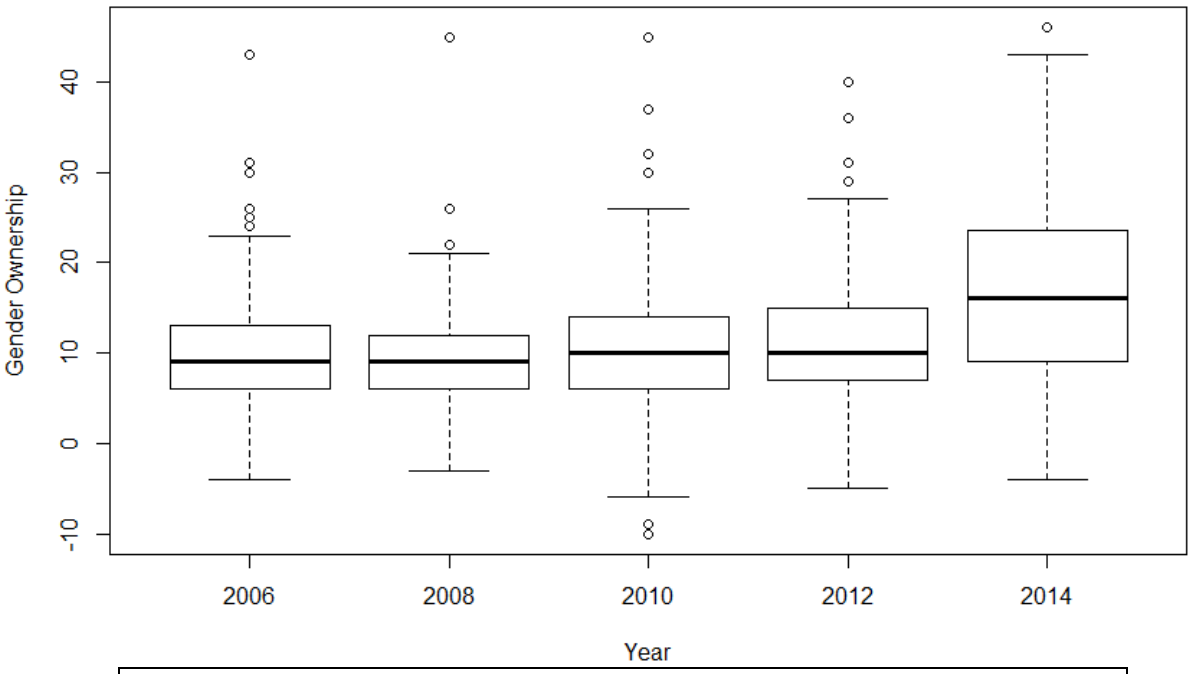

Figure 4.41: Gender Ownership for Female Democratic House Candidates

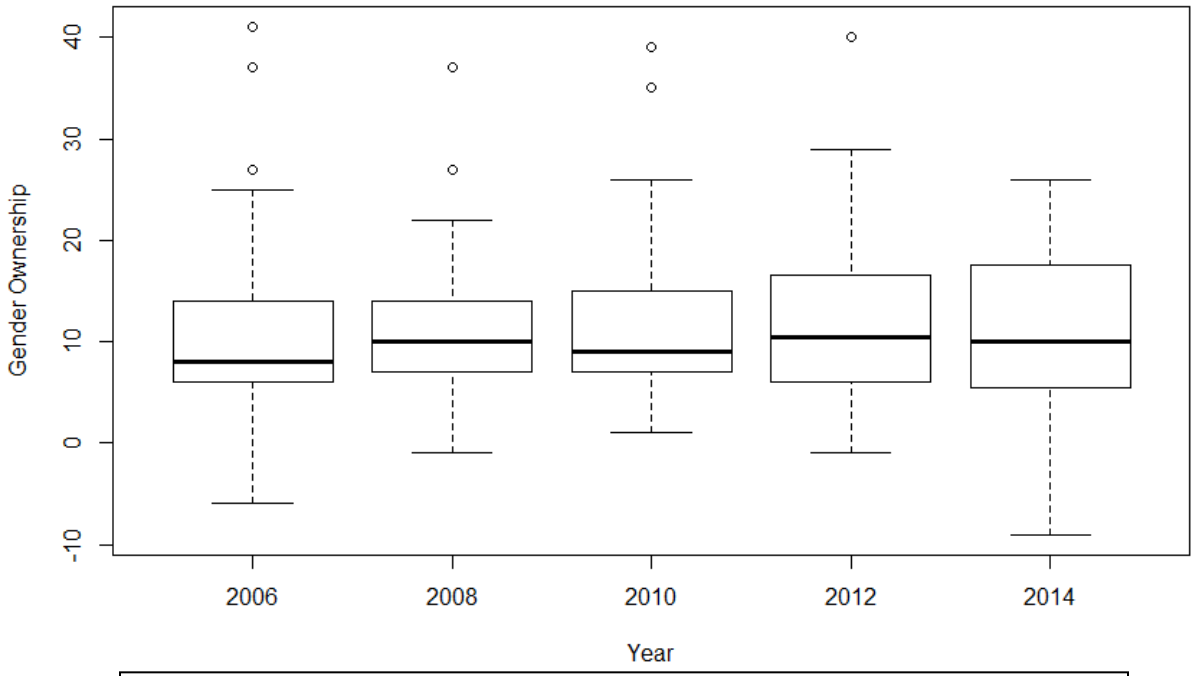

Figure 4.42: Gender Ownership for Female Republican House Candidates

Table 4.23: Gender Ownership for All Female House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-955.83120	year	0.48128	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-22.459	-4.572	-1.534	4.391	34.428
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-955.83120	180.76316	-5.288	1.53e-07 ***	
year	0.48128	0.08994	5.351	1.09e-07 ***	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 7.897 on 982 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.02834, Adjusted R-squared: 0.02735, Adjusted R-squared:					
F-statistic: 28.64 on 1 and 982 DF, p-value: 1.087e-07					

Table 4.24: Gender Ownership for Female Democratic House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-1327.2361	year	0.6662	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-21.754	-4.754	-1.419	3.912	34.578
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-1327.2361	240.5864	-5.517	5.18e-08 ***	
year	0.6662	0.1197	5.566	3.97e-08 ***	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: 8.299 on 589 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.04996, Adjusted R-squared: 0.04835					
F-statistic: 30.98 on 1 and 589 DF, p-value: 3.971e-08					

Table 4.25: Gender Ownership for Female Republican House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-284.4489	year	0.1471	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-20.710	-4.416	-1.710	4.172	30.466
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-284.4489	273.3387	-1.041	0.299	
year	0.1471	0.1360	1.081	0.280	
Residual standard error: 7.224 on 382 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.003051, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0004412					
F-statistic: 1.169 on 1 and 382 DF, p-value: 0.2803					

The sample for all House candidate advertisements was 5,278 candidate advertisements. Of this sample population, 984 were advertisements for female candidates, approximately 18.6% of all House advertisements. With there being approximately a thousand female House candidate advertisements, the sample size is sufficient to warrant confidence in findings of statistical significance. As the advertisements extended through the entire timeframe, significant findings can be applied more generally and are not limited to a discussion of a single year or election. The model is generally increasing, but the curve appears to be steeper with the 2012 electoral cycle. It is possible that following the 2010 election, female House candidates felt the female gender assumptions were electorally beneficial. At the overall House level, a positive significant coefficient for gender ownership over time was found. This finding indicates that female

candidates for House seats, regardless of party, increasingly own their gender by presenting female gender assumptions as positive over time in their advertisements. Since significance was found at the overall House level, further investigation by party was warranted to determine whether party plays a role in whether House candidates own their gender.

The Democratic Party has the highest percentage of female advertisements. Additionally, the Democratic Party, theoretically, would be most likely to support female gender assumptions due to party ownership of women's issues. In the sample set, there were 591 female Democratic House candidate advertisements out of 2,438 total House Democratic advertisements, or approximately 24.2%. This is the highest percentage of female candidates by party and the highest volume of female candidates by party; though both are expected given the likelihood of women to run as Democrats. While the sample size is under a thousand, the level of significance found is indicative that the sample size is probably sufficient. Additionally, the sample is over half of the sample set for all female House candidates. The sample size could be expanded to include the entire population, but the results would likely strengthen the existing results. As the female Democrat candidate advertisements extended through the entire timeframe, there is confidence in the general applicability of the findings. As expected, based upon existing political science research, significance was found for gender ownership over time with a positive coefficient, indicating an increasing of gender ownership over time. Namely, female Democratic House candidates increasingly find electoral benefit in positively presenting female gender-assumptions in their campaign advertisements. Additionally, the value for the coefficient is over half a point in each election cycle. This is a significant increase. Furthermore, the graph itself seems to have a steeper curve with the 2012 electoral cycle. This may be indicative that gender

ownership is potentially increasing at a greater rate in the last two election cycles compared with the first three.

While the Republican Party is not usually associated with women's issues, and women do not always run as Republicans, the Republican Party is a major party and women do, at times, run as Republicans. Female Republican House candidate advertisements comprised 384 advertisements out of 2,756 House Republican candidate advertisements, approximately 13.9%. The sample set is potentially too small for significance. The volume was lower than anticipated and increased the risk of being unable to find significance. However, the sample set is closer in volume to the Democratic Party. Therefore, if gender ownership is truly significant to Republican female candidates, then it would likely still show up. As the advertisements extended through the entire timeframe, results are likely to be generally applicable. No statistical significance was found for gender ownership over time in female Republican House candidate advertisements. The graph is practically straight, which may indicate that female Republican House candidates may have found an electorally effective strategy wherein gender is not a significant or strong factor.

Overall, House female candidates displayed strong and significant gender ownership. When the sample set was divided among the parties, significance only appeared for the Democratic party. Thus, it is easy to deduce that the overall significance may be carried by the Democratic Party.

While House and Senate are both federal positions that have similar broad concerns with national legislation, House and Senatorial candidates are unlikely to campaign in the same manner. Senatorial candidates are more likely to have campaign methods similar to gubernatorial candidates as Senatorial candidates will likewise need to reach a broad audience regarding a

broad range of topics. Senatorial candidates will differ from gubernatorial candidates in that Senators are still legislators rather than executives, as well as needing to address national concerns not just state concerns.

So, while one would expect Senatorial campaigns to display similarities with both House and gubernatorial candidates, Senatorial candidates should display some differences. To gauge the overall impact of gender in senatorial campaigns, regardless of party, the whole sample set of female senatorial candidates was examined.

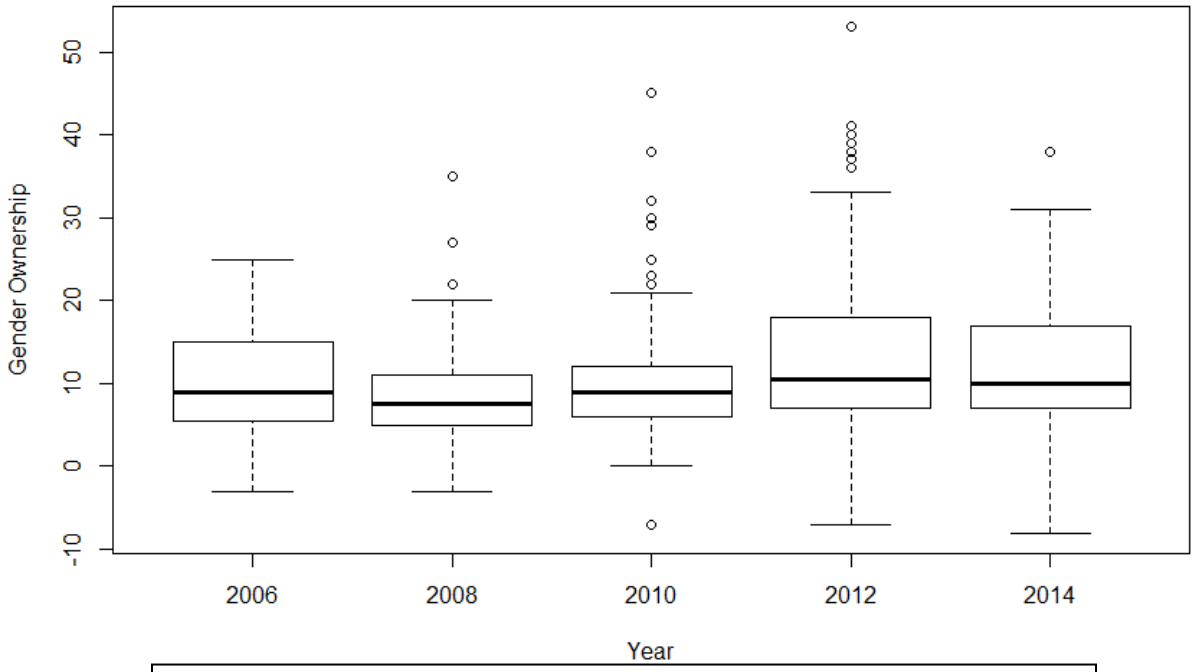

Figure 4.43: Gender Ownership for All Female Senatorial Candidates

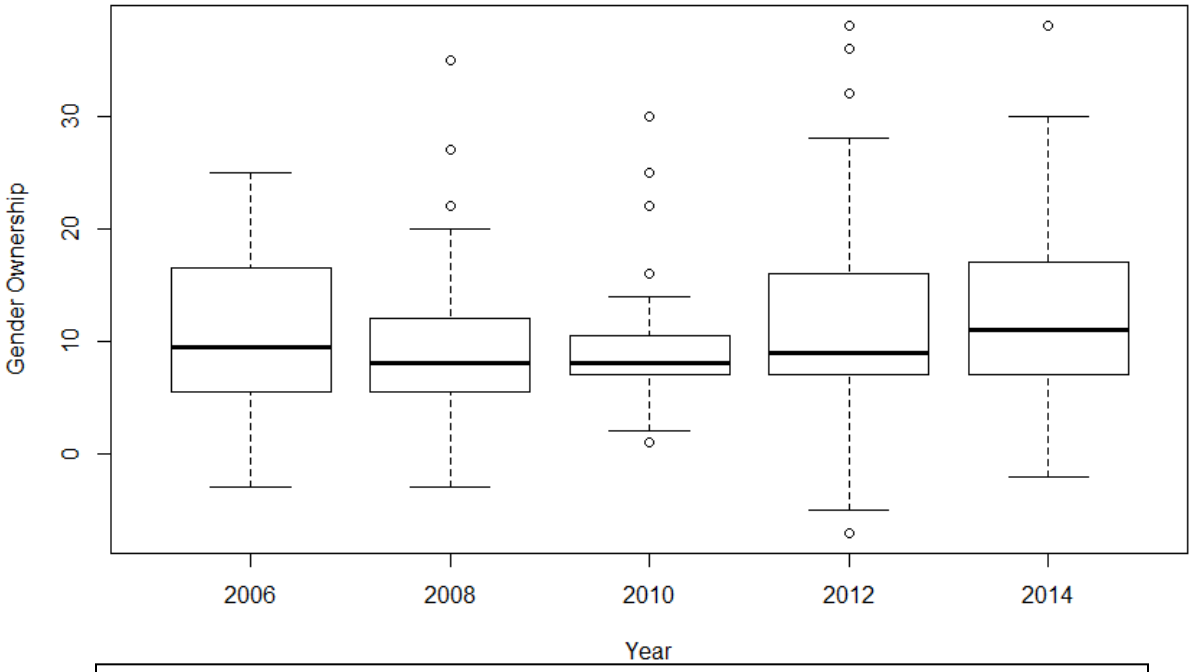

Figure 4.44: Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Senatorial Candidates

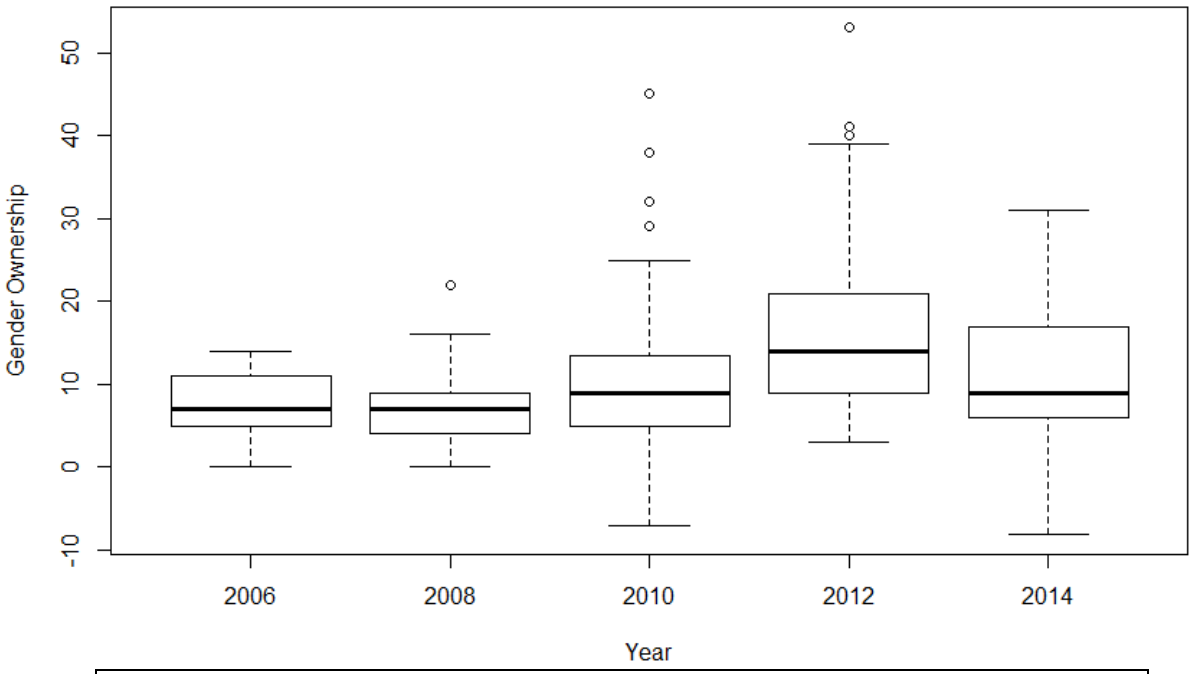

Figure 4.45: Gender Ownership for Female Republican Senatorial Candidates

Table 4.26: Gender Ownership for All Female Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-853.3374	year	0.4300	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-20.779	-5.058	-2.058	3.221	41.082
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-853.3374	306.3569	-2.785	0.00555**	
year	0.4300	0.1523	2.823	0.00495**	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: 8.369 on 488 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.01607, Adjusted R-squared: 0.01405					
F-statistic: 7.969 on 1 and 488 DF, p-value: 0.004953					

Table 4.27: Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-617.0080	Year	0.3124	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-18.447	-4.823	-2.072	3.553	26.553
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-617.0080	332.6164	-1.855	0.0646.	
year	0.3124	0.1654	1.888	0.0600.	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: 7.653 on 293 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.01202, Adjusted R-squared: 0.008653					
F-statistic: 3.566 on 1 and 293 DF, p-value: 0.05996					

Table 4.28: Gender Ownership for Female Republican Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-1378.5050	year	647.7490	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-22.096	-5.830	-2.565	3.287	40.287
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-1378.5050	647.7490	-2.128	0.0346*	
year	0.6915	0.3221	2.147	0.0331*	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: Residual standard error: 9.468 on 185 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.02431, Adjusted R-squared: 0.01903					
F-statistic: 4.609 on 1 and 185 DF, p-value: 0.03311					

Female senatorial candidate advertisements constitute 490 advertisements, approximately 21.17%, of all senatorial advertisements. This is both a higher percentage and higher volume of

advertisements, compared with gubernatorial candidates. The number of senatorial advertisements is approximately half the number of advertisements for female House candidates. This is not entirely surprising as there are fewer senatorial seats compared with the House, and they do not come up for re-election as frequently as House candidates. Contrary to female gubernatorial candidate advertisements, significance was found for gender ownership over time. Additionally, the finding of significance is more aligned to the findings at the House level. This may indicate that federal campaigning methods do differ from gubernatorial methods, and gender ownership is a more viable strategy at the federal level compared with the state level. This sample set includes all parties, which is interesting in that, at this point, this indicates that all female candidates, regardless of party, have increasingly presented female gender-assumptions as an electoral benefit during the campaign process. As the sample set covers the entire timeframe, the results are more generalizable. Of note, graphically, is that there was a steeper increase between 2010 and 2012. Like previous years, this may indicate a greater willingness to own gender in the last two electoral cycles of the timeframe compared with the first three electoral cycles.

To determine the impact of party, the female senatorial candidate advertisements were separated by party. The total sample set for female senatorial candidate advertisements was only 490 advertisements. In dividing this sample set among the parties, the possibility of finding significance becomes problematic. However, if party and gender are important factors, then significance may still be found.

There were 295 Democratic female senatorial candidate advertisements, approximately 28.72% of all senatorial Democratic candidate advertisements. Over half of the female senatorial candidate advertisements were for female Democratic candidates. As Democrats have the highest

volume, significance is most likely to occur with this grouping. As is seen, there is slight significance found with female Democratic senatorial candidates, but the value is not quite to the standard threshold for significance. Though significance is questionable, the coefficient for gender ownership over time is positive, indicative that female senatorial candidates are increasingly presenting female gender-assumptions as electorally beneficial in their political advertisements. While the graph indicates a decreasing value to 2010, after 2010 the graph seems to be steadily increasing. As the advertisements extended through the entire timeframe, the results are more generalizable that the increase may continue due to the change in direction with the 2010 electoral cycle.

For female Republican Senate candidate advertisements, there were 187 advertisements, approximately 15.5% of all Republican senatorial candidate advertisements. The percentage and volume of advertisements for female candidates are lower than for Democratic senatorial candidate advertisements, and lower than anticipated. Though the sample was small, and potentially problematic, significance was still tested. The advertisements extend through the entire timeframe, increasing the generalizability of the findings. Remarkably, even with the small sample set, significance was found. While expanding the sample set may provide greater strength to the significance, the finding of significance for the Republican Party candidates is interesting. Additionally, the significant variable, gender ownership over time, is positive and larger than the coefficient found for the Democratic Party candidates. This is indicative that female Republican senatorial candidates are increasingly, at a rate greater than the Democratic Party candidates, presenting female gender-assumptions as politically positive in their campaign advertisements over time. This is unexpected in that the Republican Party is not known for being associated with women's issues, or female-assumed gender traits, or female candidates. Graphically, it is

interesting to note that the curve peaked in 2012 and appears to be decreasing to the 2014 electoral cycle. Additional years would help to understand the state of the trend after 2014. Additionally, finding significance at the senatorial level is unexpected as no significance had been found at the gubernatorial nor the House electoral levels. Significance had been found overall for Republican female candidates, regardless of electoral race, but at the individual race level had not been found until the senatorial level. Apparently, the significance of gender ownership over time is concentrated at this level.

At the senatorial level, significance was found for both of the major parties with the coefficient for gender ownership over time being positive. Therefore, based upon this information, female candidates from both parties are embracing their gender by presenting gender-assumptions as politically beneficial.

While the overall federal level may not provide additional information, the overall federal campaign advertisements for female candidates by party was analyzed to determine whether examining the federal level provided any further understanding.

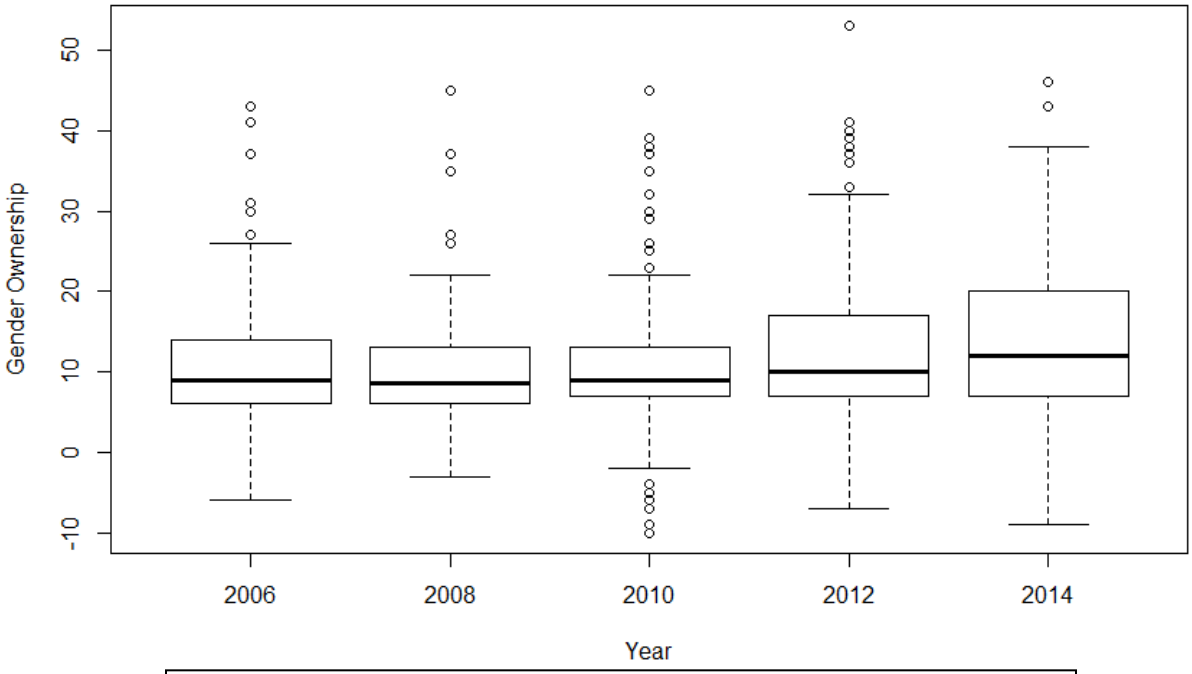

Figure 4.46: Gender Ownership for All Female Federal Candidates

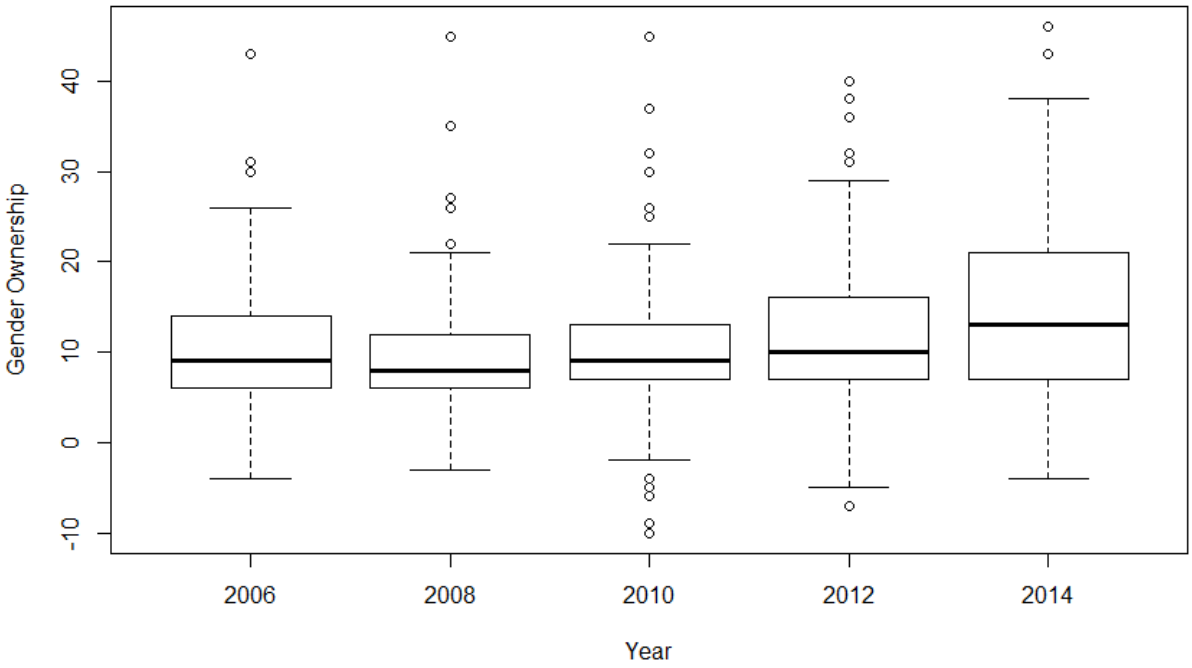

Figure 4.47: Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Federal Candidates

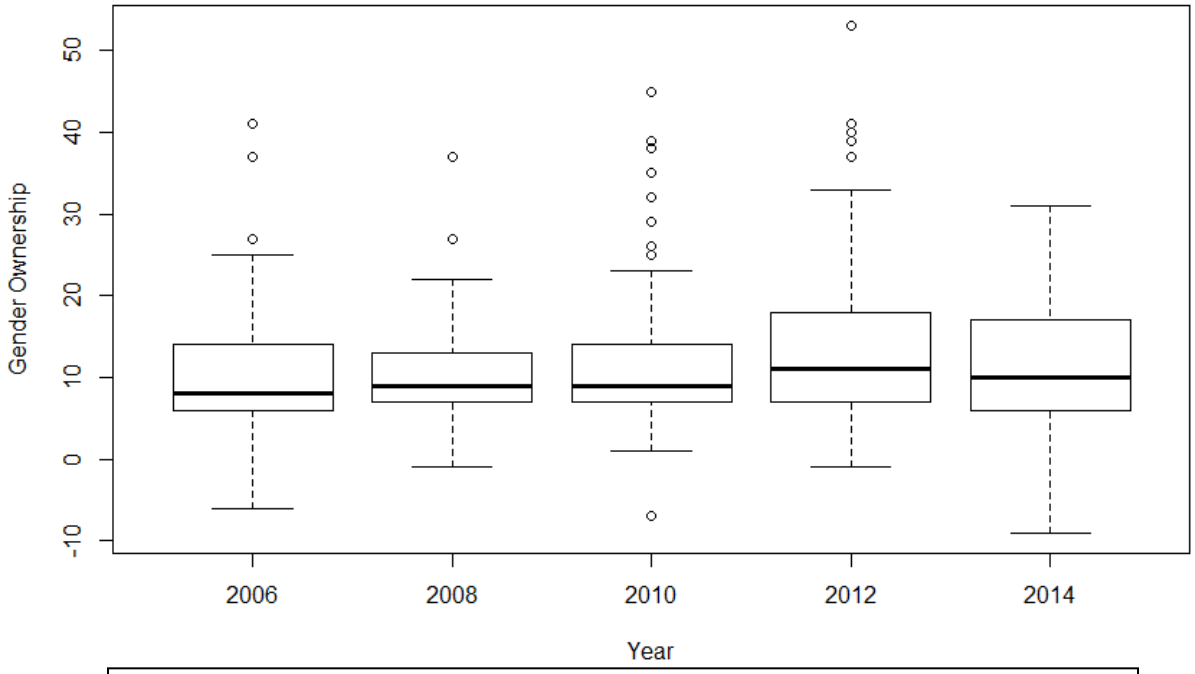

Figure 4.48: Gender Ownership for Female Republican Federal Candidates

Table 4.29: Gender Ownership for All Female Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-895.09455	year	0.45098	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-22.172	-5.172	-1.564	3.804	40.730
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-895.09455	153.74987	-5.822	7.14e-09 ***	
year	0.45098	0.07648	5.897	4.60e-09 ***	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 8.055 on 1472 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.02308, Adjusted R-squared: 0.02241					
F-statistic: 34.77 on 1 and 1472 DF, p-value: 4.597e-09					

Table 4.30: Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-1.052e+03	year	5.288e-01	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-21.381	-5.266	-1.381	3.677	34.677
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-1.052e+03	1.935e+02	-5.434	7.13e-08 ***	
year	5.288e-01	9.626e-02	5.494	5.15e-08 ***	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 8.112 on 884 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.03301, Adjusted R-squared: 0.03192					
F-statistic: 30.18 on 1 and 884 DF, p-value: 5.152e-08					

Table 4.31: Gender Ownership for Female Republican Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-596.3014	year	0.3023	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-21.563	-4.749	-1.958	3.949	41.042
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-596.3014	258.6417	-2.350	0.0215*	
year	0.3023	0.1287	2.350	0.0191*	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 8.039 on 569 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.00961, Adjusted R-squared: 0.007869					
F-statistic: 5.521 on 1 and 569 DF, p-value: 0.01913					

The sample population for the federal sample is a compilation of the sample sets of the House and Senate candidate advertisements with the purpose of identifying any significance at a federal level by taking advantage of the larger sample size. Of the 9,860 candidate advertisements, 7,592 candidate advertisements are at the federal level, accounting for approximately 77% of the total sample. Of the 7,592 candidate advertisements, 5,277 advertisements were for House campaigns and 2,315 were for Senate campaigns. At the federal level, candidate advertisements for female candidates comprised 1,474 candidate advertisements, approximately 19.4% of the total candidate advertisements. With over 1,000 female candidate advertisements, there was a reasonable expectation of finding significance, if significance was to

be found. The advertisements extend through the entire timeframe, making results generally applicable. Graphically, the curve has a steady increase, especially after the 2010 electoral cycle. The significance found for the coefficient for gender ownership is strongly significant.

Significance was found with a positive coefficient indicating an increase in gender ownership in female candidate advertisements over time. This is noteworthy as this indicates that gender ownership exists at a significant level, and increasing, at the federal level. With the larger sample size, there is more confidence in the results. As significance for all female candidates at the federal level was found, further investigation as to whether party made a difference was warranted. While dividing the larger sample size among the parties may decrease the likelihood of finding significance due to the risk of the sample sizes being too small, it may help us to better understand the party effect on gender ownership.

There were 886 Democratic female candidate advertisements, or approximately 25.57% of the total federal-level Democratic advertisements. The advertisements extend through the entire timeframe, so the results are generalizable. By expanding the sample set to include all of the federal candidates, significance has a better chance of being identified. Significance was found with a positive coefficient for all federal female Democratic candidates. Thus, for female Democrats at the federal level, gender ownership increases over time.

Graphically, the curve appears to steepen with the 2010 electoral cycle. This appears to indicate that female Democratic candidates may have increased the presentation of female gender-assumptions as positive in campaigns after the 2010 electoral cycle.

Federal female Republican candidate advertisements constituted 571 advertisements, approximately 14.42% of federal Republican candidate advertisements. By including both House and senatorial candidates, the sample set is larger such that significance has a better chance of

being found. Additionally, as the advertisements extend through the entire timeframe, applicability is expanded. The total volume and the percentage of female Republican candidate advertisements are lower compared with female Democratic candidate advertisements at the federal level. While a smaller sample than desired, significance was expected, though the previous two analyses provided mixed results. Statistical significance was found at the overall federal level for Republican candidates. Additionally, the coefficient for gender ownership over time is positive. This is indicative that Republican female candidates at the federal level are increasingly presenting female gender-assumptions as positive in political campaign advertisements. As the Republican Party is not as well-known as the Democratic Party for supporting women's issues and similar gender-assumptions, this is a significant find.

Overall, the findings of this research are indicative of the nuance of gender ownership in political campaigns. Furthermore, overall, gubernatorial campaigns indicate no significance in gender ownership over time, meaning that, overall, gubernatorial female candidates are not owning their gender in the candidate advertisements. However, when the party level is examined, female Democratic Gubernatorial candidates do show slight significance in gender ownership over time, whereas the other parties do not. At the House level, overall for female candidates, there is an increase in gender ownership, but primarily among Democratic candidate advertisements. Whereas at the Senate level, overall there is significance in gender ownership over time, for both Democratic and Republican candidates. Both parties display an increasing and significant change in gender ownership over time. The difference between the findings for female gubernatorial candidate advertisements and female senatorial advertisements is particularly noteworthy as their constituencies are very similar. This indicates that while there are similarities in constituencies, the execution of campaigns is different between gubernatorial

and senatorial candidates. Furthermore, as House and Senate campaigns are federal-level, there is an expectation of some similarity. While the Democratic party does show similarity at all levels, namely there is positive and significant change in gender ownership over time at all levels examined, Republicans display more nuance in that there is only significance at the senatorial level and the overall federal level.

Party alone does not tell the whole story. Neither does the office for which the candidate is running. Even presented sex does not tell the whole story. The nuance is in all three. Whether a candidate owns his/her gender in candidate advertisements depends upon the office for which the candidate is running and the party to which the candidate belongs. Democratic candidates are most likely to own their gender, regardless of electoral race. However, such ownership is not to the same degree of significance, nor the same coefficient regardless of electoral race. Female candidates may be strategic in presenting their gender-assumptions as positive, even if it aligns with their party.

While the primary focus of this study was to examine the behavior of female candidates, there were elements of curiosity in the earlier examinations when both male and female candidates were included. These elements were not resolved with the examination of the female candidates alone. As such, an examination of the male candidates seemed warranted to better understand the negative coefficients that were noted earlier.

The first area of interest was to gauge significance of gender ownership for all male candidates, namely, to understand if there is anything that warrants further investigation. As female candidates did have significance, with how gender ownership is calculated, it was possible that male candidates also display gender ownership.

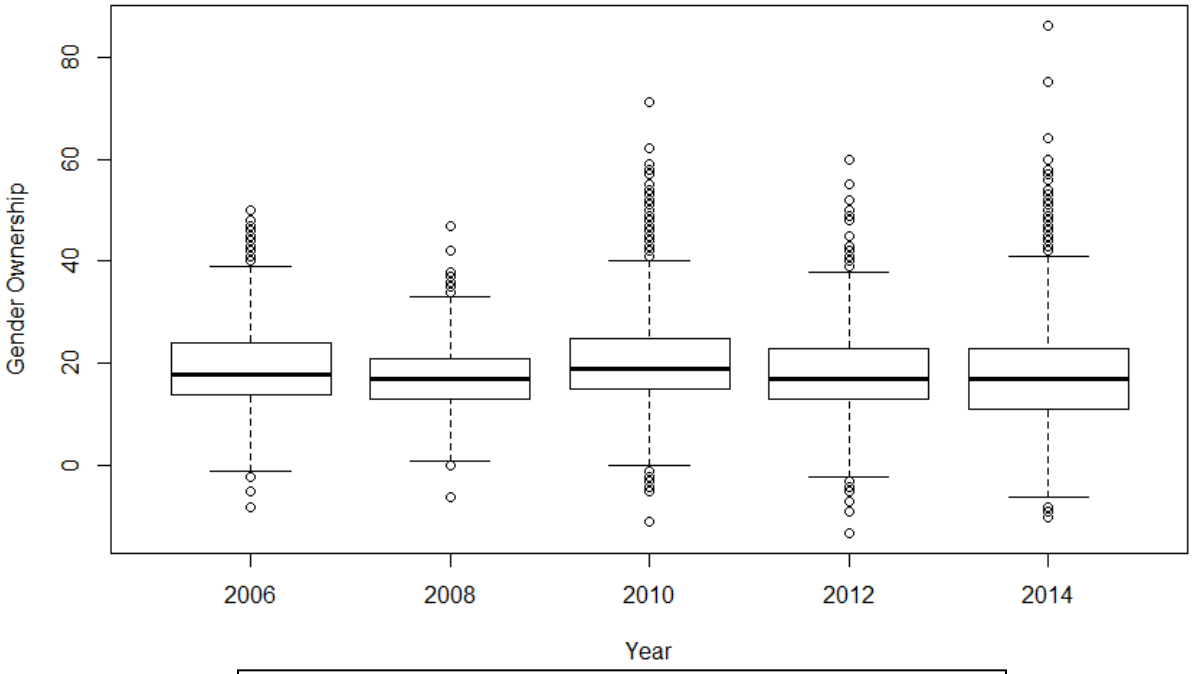

Figure 4.49: Gender Ownership for All Male Candidates

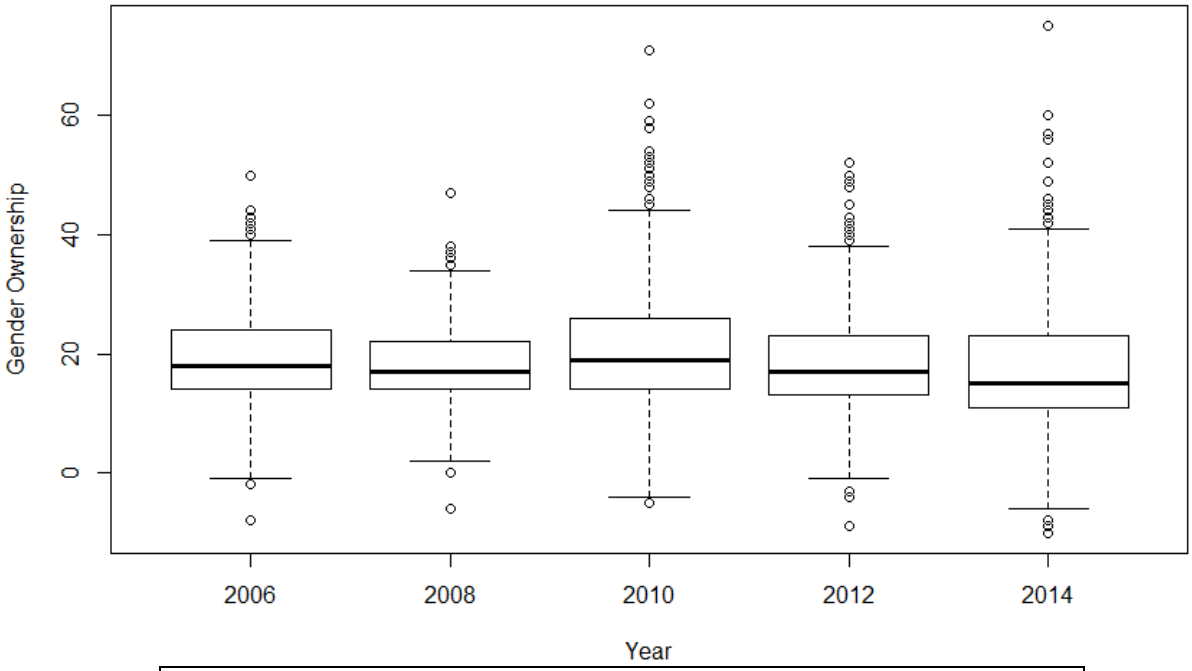

Figure 4.50: Gender Ownership for All Male Democratic Candidates

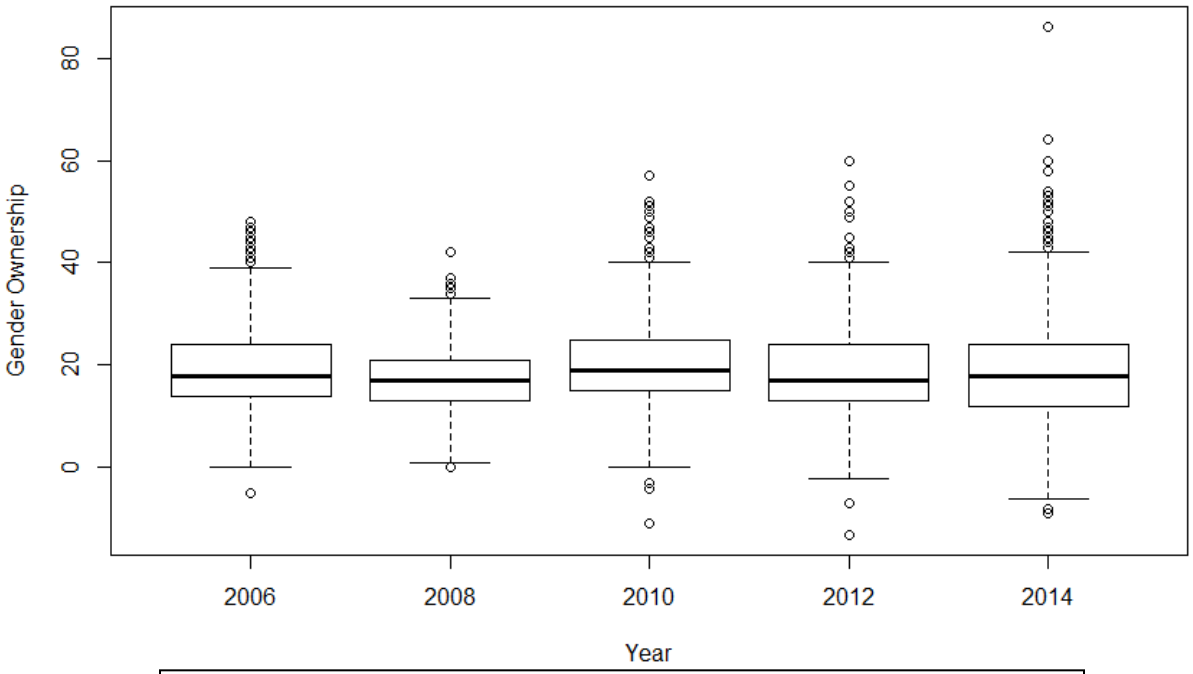

Figure 4.51: Gender Ownership for All Male Republican Candidates

Table 4.32: Gender Ownership for All Male Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	163.91707	year	-0.07203	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-31.996	-5.996	-1.284	4.716	67.148
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	163.91707	71.56333	2.291	0.0220*	
year	-0.07203	0.03560	-2.023	0.0431*	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 8.786 on 8062 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0005074, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0003835					
F-statistic: 4.093 on 1 and 8062 DF, p-value: 0.04309					

Table 4.33: Gender Ownership for All Male Democratic Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	292.39764	year	-0.13597	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-28.558	-5.830	-1.558	4.626	56.442
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	292.39764	112.56477	2.598	0.00943**	
year	-0.13597	0.05601	-2.428	0.01525*	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: 9.012 on 3431 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.001715, Adjusted R-squared: 0.001424					
F-statistic: 5.894 on 1 and 3431 DF, p-value: 0.01525					

Table 4.34: Gender Ownership for All Male Republican Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	48.78023	year	-0.01471	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-32.190	-6.161	-1.220	4.780	66.839
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	48.78023	95.73360	0.510	0.610	
year	-0.01471	0.04762	-0.309	0.757	
Residual standard error: 8.617 on 4391 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 2.172e-05, Adjusted R-squared: -0.000206					
F-statistic: 0.09537 on 1 and 4391 DF, p-value: 0.7575					

Female candidates, overall, displayed a statistically significant coefficient for gender ownership over time, in the positive direction. All candidates, overall, did not display a statistically significant coefficient for gender ownership over time. By separating the male and female candidates, one is able to see that the gender ownership variable for men is statistically significant but displays some important distinctions from female candidates. The statistical significance for gender ownership over time is present and meets the threshold for statistical significance, but it is not as strong as compared with gender ownership among female candidates. Additionally, the significant coefficient for gender ownership over time is negative. This indicates that male candidates are presenting male gender-assumptions as positive at a decreasing rate and are more likely to present female gender-assumptions as positive in their

campaign advertisements. This is very noteworthy as one would not expect men to be distancing themselves from male gender-assumptions as historically, male gender-assumptions have been perceived as preferable in politics. Therefore, the decreasing curve as seen in the graph, is an important change in campaign behavior for male candidates.

While male candidates exhibit a negative coefficient overall, the results may differ based upon party and electoral contest, as seen with female candidates. Therefore, dividing the sample set among parties and electoral contest will provide clarity as to the appearance of the negative coefficient.

Since significance was most apparent with female Democratic candidates, male Democratic candidates would provide an interesting comparison, especially as the Democratic Party is frequently associated with women's issues. The association with women's issues could negatively impact male gender ownership, and could account for the negative coefficient.

At the overall level, the Democratic Party does not exhibit significance in the coefficient for gender ownership over time. Individually, female and male candidate sample sets do exhibit significance for gender ownership over time. Perhaps the reason this significance was not detected at the overall party level was because the coefficients are in opposite directions. Male Democratic candidates exhibit a trend in decreasingly presenting male gender-assumed aspects in a positive manner during campaigns. As seen graphically, the rate of presenting male-gender assumptions decreased at a greater rate after the 2010 electoral cycle. Based upon these findings, male Democratic candidates are presenting male gender-assumed aspects less as compared with presenting female gender-assumptions. Male Democratic candidates appear to be disowning their gender-assumptions rather than owning them. This partially the result of party ownership of women's issues. However, issue ownership by itself would likely be insufficient to create a

statistically significant negative coefficient. Male Democratic candidates know that women tend to politically identify as Democratic, therefore, male candidates recognize the need to appeal to female gender-assumptions to be appealing to the female demographic. This seems more reasonable with male Democratic candidates based upon trait and issue ownership for the Democratic Party.

As male gender-assumed aspects are often associated with the Republican Party, a positive coefficient would be expected. Male Republican candidates, regardless of electoral race, would likely be connected with issues that are seen as men's issues and male traits. This would bolster a male gender ownership score. While female Republican Party candidates did display significance, male Republican Party candidates, regardless of electoral race, do not exhibit significance. Though the sample size is reasonably large enough to expect to find statistical significance, statistical significance in this situation is not found. This is perhaps indicative that the male Republican Party candidates do not view gender ownership as a relevant or effective campaign strategy.

As has been noted, whereas party and electoral race alone do not provide statistical significance for gender ownership over time, the introduction of perceived sex into the considerations of party and electoral race does provide statistical significance to the variable of interest. Overall, the male candidates do involve gender in campaign advertisements. Party alone provides significance for only one party. However, as was seen with female candidates, party is not the only relevant factor, electoral race additionally seems to impact whether there is statistical significance.

As noted previously, the gubernatorial race helps one understand state-level politics as well as understand campaigning for the executive position. As the bulk of the advertisements

were for male candidates, even dividing the sample set among party and electoral race will likely not hamper the finding of significance.

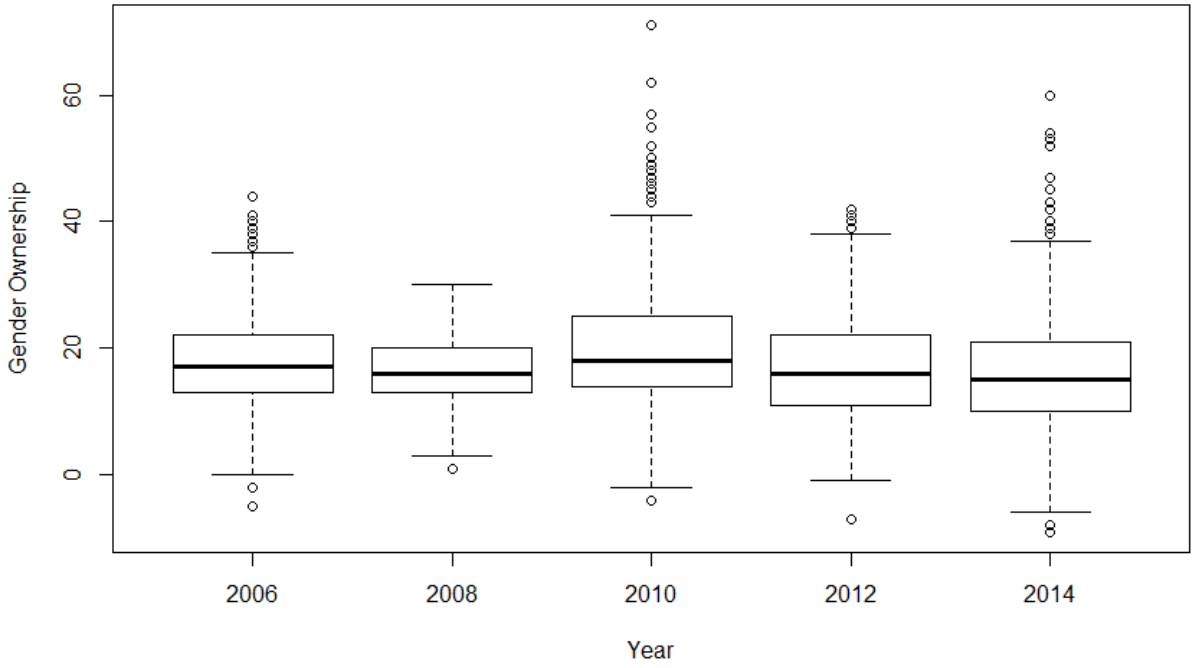

Figure 4.52: Gender Ownership for All Male Gubernatorial Candidates

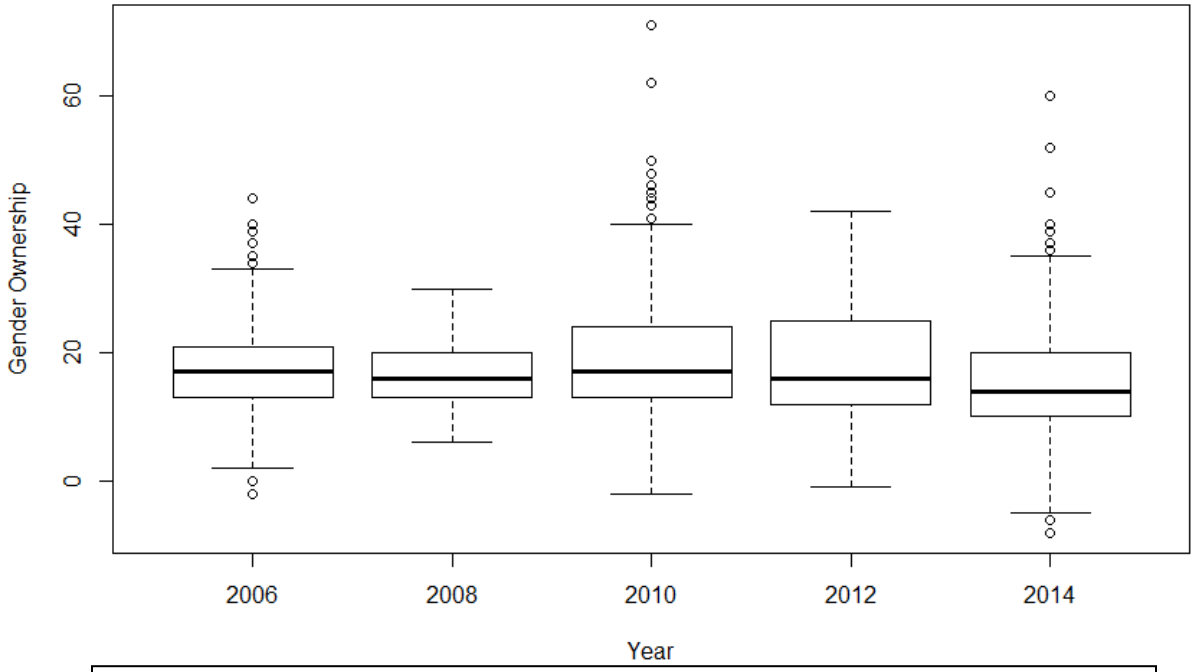

Figure 4.53: Gender Ownership for Male Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates

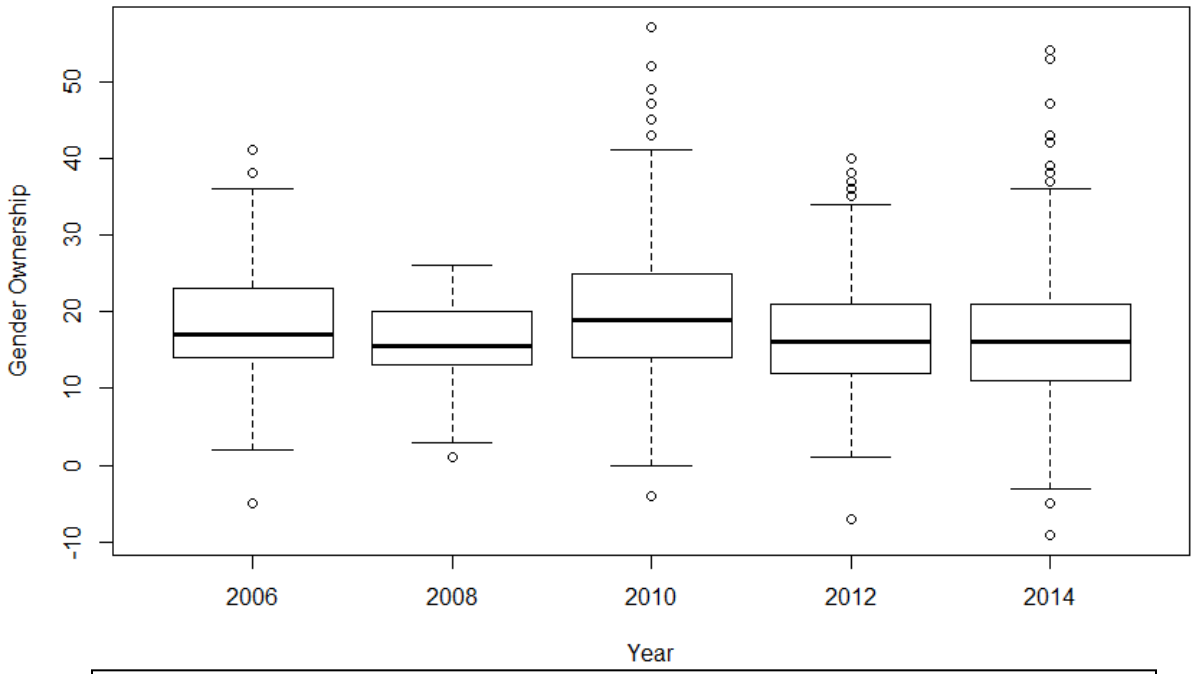

Figure 4.54: Gender Ownership for Male Republican Gubernatorial Candidates

Table 4.35: Gender Ownership for All Male Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	350.81866	year	-0.16552	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-26.457	-5.457	-1.119	4.219	52.881
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	350.81866	137.63758	2.549	0.0109*	
year	-0.16552	0.06847	-2.417	0.0157*	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 8.893 on 1944 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.002997, Adjusted R-squared: 0.002484					
F-statistic: 5.844 on 1 and 1944 DF, p-value: 0.01573					

Table 4.36: Gender Ownership for Male Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	293.6802	year	-0.1372	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-25.272	-5.546	-1.546	4.179	53.179
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	293.6802	209.5188	1.402	0.161	
year	-0.1372	0.1042	-1.317	0.188	
Residual standard error: 9.157 on 852 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.00203, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0008589					
F-statistic: 1.733 on 1 and 852 DF, p-value: 0.1883					

Table 4.37: Gender Ownership for Male Republican Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	466.03335	year	-0.22270	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-26.523	-5.413	-1.304	4.587	38.587
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	466.03335	190.36380	2.448	0.0145*	
year	-0.22270	0.09469	-2.352	0.0189*	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: 8.636 on 1003 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.005484, Adjusted R-squared: 0.004492					
F-statistic: 5.531 on 1 and 1003 DF, p-value: 0.01888					

Since the sample size for all male gubernatorial candidates is 1,946 candidate advertisements over the five electoral cycles, if significance is found, then the results would be reliable. Male gubernatorial candidates do exhibit significance at the standard for statistical significance. In examining the sample set as a whole, the coefficient for gender ownership over time is negative in addition to being statistically significant. This indicates that over the examined timeframe male gubernatorial candidates were less likely to present male gender-assumptions as being positive and were increasingly presenting female gender-assumptions as positive compared to their presentation of male gender-assumptions. This reinforces the earlier findings for male candidates. Graphically, it appears that the decrease is most noticeable after the 2010 electoral cycle. After the 2010 electoral cycle, male candidates may have identified the need to present themselves as being more appealing to women in the electorate by emphasizing female gender-assumptions and de-emphasizing male gender-assumptions.

The sample set includes all parties, therefore, it is possible that on the party level significance or the direction of the coefficient may differ. As was seen with female candidates, party may influence the gender ownership coefficient in ways other than what is seen at the

overall level. Therefore, to determine the precise effect of gender ownership for male candidates, party is examined as well as electoral contest.

As the Democratic Party is most associated with women's issues and female gender-assumed aspects, male Democratic gubernatorial candidates were considered first to better understand the impact of party ownership on a candidate's gender ownership. While statistical significance was expected for male Democratic gubernatorial candidates, significance was not found. As either negative or positive coefficients can be significant in this situation, the lack of significance is noteworthy, especially as the Democratic Party has thus far had significance throughout the study. If the coefficient for gender ownership over time had been significant, then the coefficient would be in the expected negative direction. With a sample set of 854 candidate advertisements, lack of significance is not likely due to the sample set being too small. It is possible that male gubernatorial candidates from the Democratic Party see no electoral advantage to either promoting their personal male gender-assumptions or emphasizing female gender-assumptions.

Considering the Republican Party's connection to issues and traits that could be considered masculine, the probability is that if significance is found, it would likely be in the positive direction. Men's issues of national defense and security are highly associated with the Republican Party, so it could easily be emphasized in campaigns. With a sample size of 1,005 advertisements spread over the entire timeframe, significance and generalizability of results are likely to be found. It appears that gender ownership over time is significant for male Republican Party gubernatorial candidates. Counter to expectations, the coefficient is negative. While the intercept is usually not worth noting, the intercept may provide some insight as to why the coefficient for gender ownership is negative. The intercept is very large and positive. This

indicates that male Republican candidates have campaigned strongly utilizing male gender-assumptions. With a negative coefficient, this indicates that male candidates are utilizing fewer male gender-assumptions and more female gender-assumptions. This may also be indicative of a difference between state-level campaigning and federal-level campaigning. Many of the standard Republican issues have less applicability at the state level; such as, military spending may not always be applicable, but education is. Thus, Republican gubernatorial candidates may need to emphasize women's issues to win a state office.

Gender ownership is significant for male gubernatorial candidates, overall, but especially for the Republican Party. Additionally, male gubernatorial candidates are campaigning less on male gender-assumptions and more on female gender-assumptions. Since women's issues typically include issues such as education, and healthcare, these issues are often relevant at the state level and candidates cannot afford to ignore them.

Federal level campaigning can provide a stronger sense of the role of party issue ownership and its interplay with candidate gender ownership. At the federal level, the Republican Party can utilize its ownership of national defense and national security more effectively.

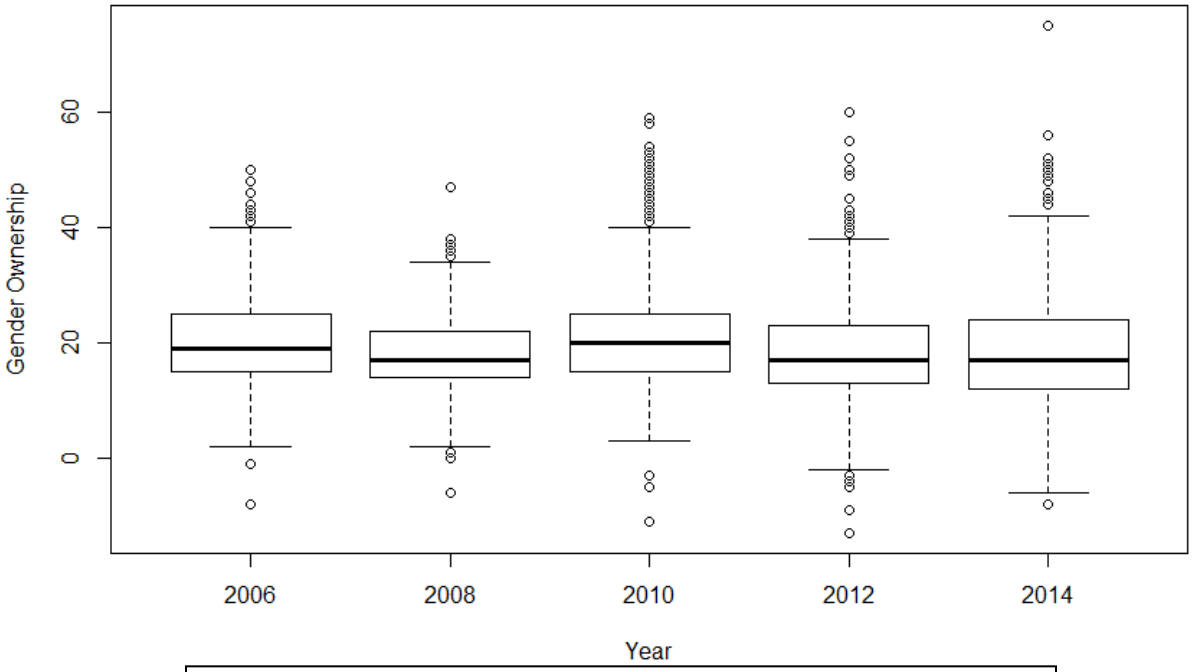

Figure 4.55: Gender Ownership for All Male House Candidates

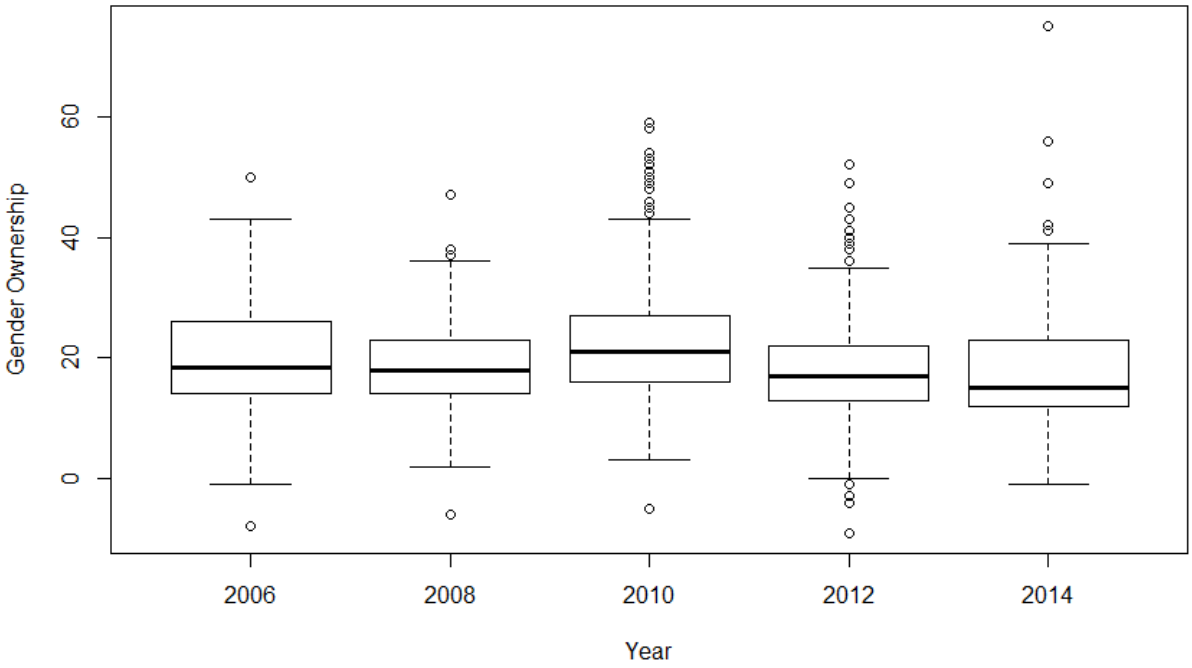

Figure 4.56: Gender Ownership for Male Democratic House Candidates

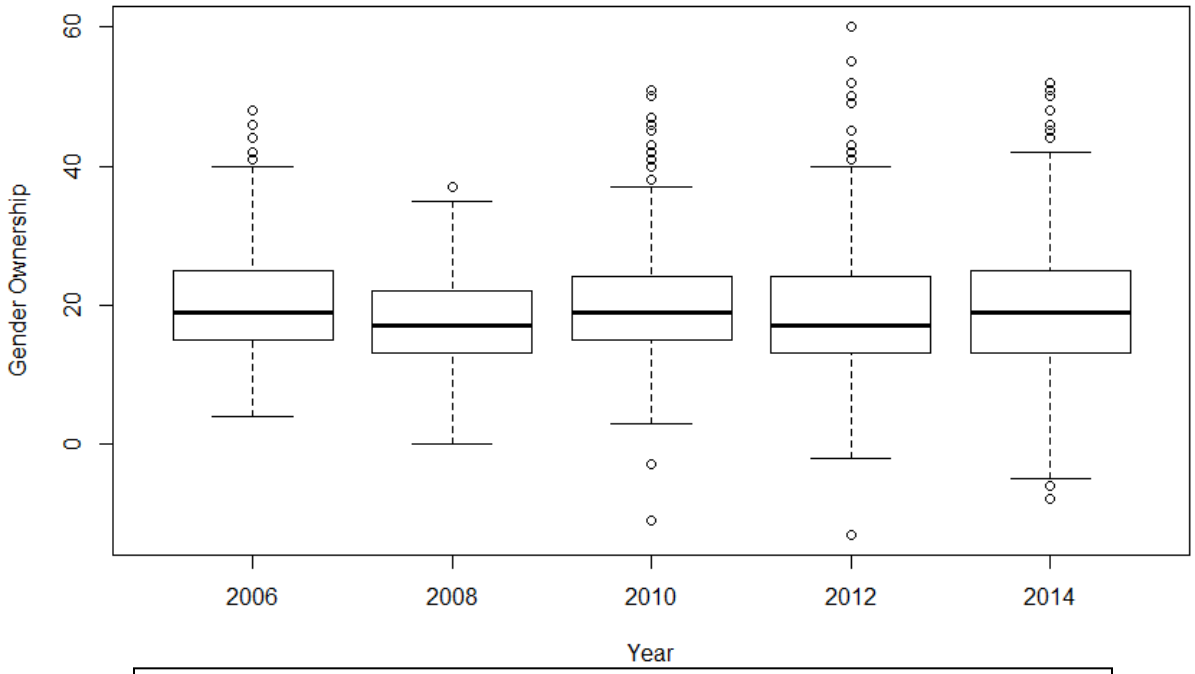

Figure 4.57: Gender Ownership for Male Republican House Candidates

Table 4.38: Gender Ownership for All Male House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	224.23929	year	-0.10186	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-32.296	-5.704	-1.500	4.704	55.908
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	224.23929	99.92359	2.244	0.0249*	
year	-0.10186	0.04971	-2.049	0.0405*	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: Residual standard error: 8.502 on 4291 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0009774, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0007446					
F-statistic: 4.198 on 1 and 4291 DF, p-value: 0.04053					

Table 4.39: Gender Ownership for Male Democratic House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	427.15150	year	-0.20276	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-28.415	-6.009	-1.604	4.896	56.208
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	427.15150	158.51188	2.695	0.00711**	
year	-0.20276	0.07887	-2.571	0.01023*	
Significance Codes:					
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1					
Residual standard error: 8.807 on 1845 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.003569, Adjusted R-squared: 0.003029					
F-statistic: 6.609 on 1 and 1845 DF, p-value: 0.01023					

Table 4.40: Gender Ownership for Male Republican House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	36.413134	year	-0.008417	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-32.479	-5.500	-1.496	4.504	40.521
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	36.413134	130.202046	0.28	0.780	
year	-0.008417	0.064773	-0.13	0.897	
Residual standard error: 8.253 on 2370 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 7.124e-06, Adjusted R-squared: -0.0004148					
F-statistic: 0.01688 on 1 and 2370 DF, p-value: 0.8966					

The sample set for male House candidates is 4,294 candidate advertisements. This is a sizable sample set such that there is a reasonable probability in finding significance. Additionally, as the advertisements extend over the timeframe, the results are generalizable. When all male House candidates are compiled, there is statistical significance for the coefficient of gender ownership over time. Additionally, the coefficient is negative. This is indicative that, overall, male House candidates are appealing less to male gender-assumptions and more to female gender-assumptions. As this sample set includes all parties, it is difficult to know whether this is exclusively a gender driven finding or if party has an influence. This means that further examination is warranted.

In the sample set, there are 1,847 male Democratic candidate advertisements that extend over the entire timeframe. The intercept is a large positive value that indicates that male Democratic House candidates had emphasized male gender-assumptions. The findings indicate that male Democratic House candidates are, over this timeframe, de-emphasizing male gender-assumptions or gender ownership is decreasing over time. This finding is statistically significant and generalizable. It is also important to note that this is indicative that whereas female Democratic candidates are increasingly owning their gender, male candidates are not. This could be a situation where Democratic candidates are converging.

Remarkably, even though there are 2,372 advertisements for male Republican House candidates, there is no significance found for gender ownership over time. The lack of significance is indicative that for male Republican House candidates, gender ownership is not a significant electoral strategy, either owning or disowning their gender. Graphically, there is little variance in the line, which seems to indicate that Republican House candidates are not changing their approach to gender ownership over time.

Overall, male gender ownership for House candidates was significant and negative. This significance seems to be influenced primarily by the Democratic Party, though the negative coefficient seems to be present in all three parties, if significance were found for all three parties. This would be indicative that male House candidates, overall, are increasingly disowning male gender-assumptions over time. This may be part of a campaign strategy to appeal to women in the electorate. Such actions may also be indicative of societal acceptance of female gender-assumptions as being politically acceptable. It is also possibly indicative that issues that are typically considered women's issues are of national import in the political realm. Candidates may no longer be able to campaign without discussing issues typically considered women's

issues. Perhaps, candidates are responding to the questions the *Delta Independent* felt women in the electorate would ask of their representatives.

House candidates do have the advantage of being able to narrowly target their constituency. Senatorial candidates have to campaign to the broader constituency of the state. This is similar to gubernatorial candidates. Additionally, senatorial candidates find that they also have to campaign on broader national issues, as well as state-related issues. Senatorial candidates cannot focus on either just the state issues, nor just the federal issues. This means that senatorial candidates may campaign differently regarding gender ownership as a result of the complexity of their campaign demands.

By examining the entire sample set of male senatorial candidates, one can understand whether, overall, gender ownership is significant to male candidates. As the variable of interest has proven significant at the overall level previously, one would expect it to be significant in this situation as well.

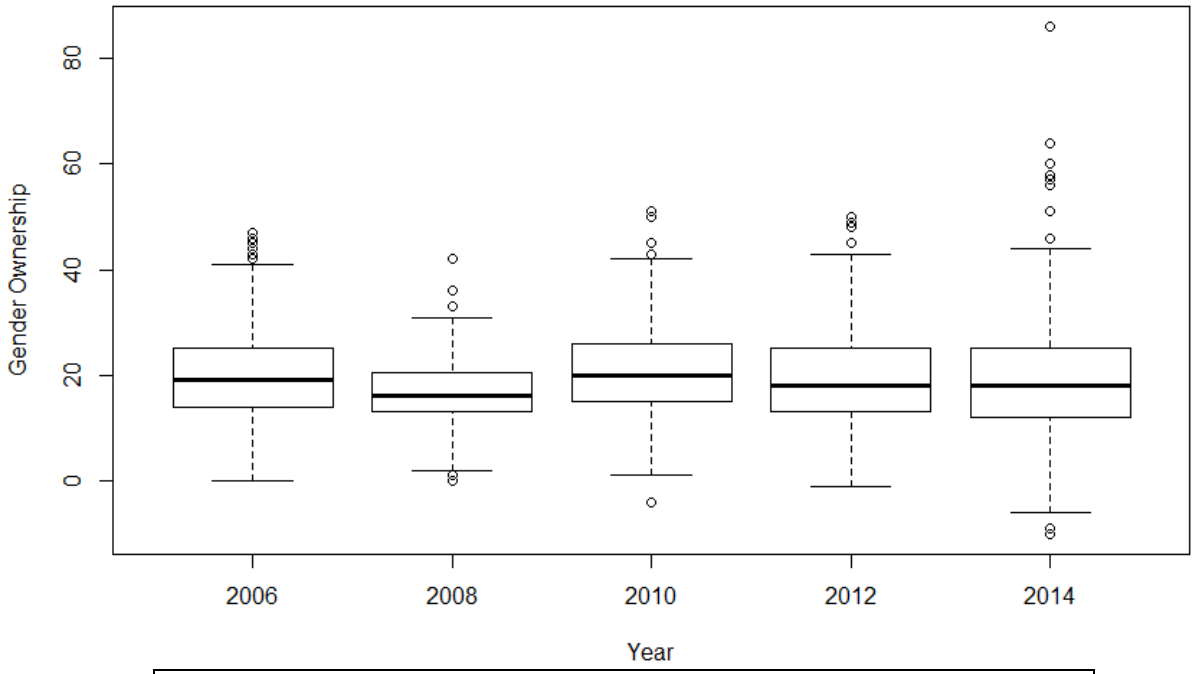

Figure 4.58: Gender Ownership for All Male Senatorial Candidates

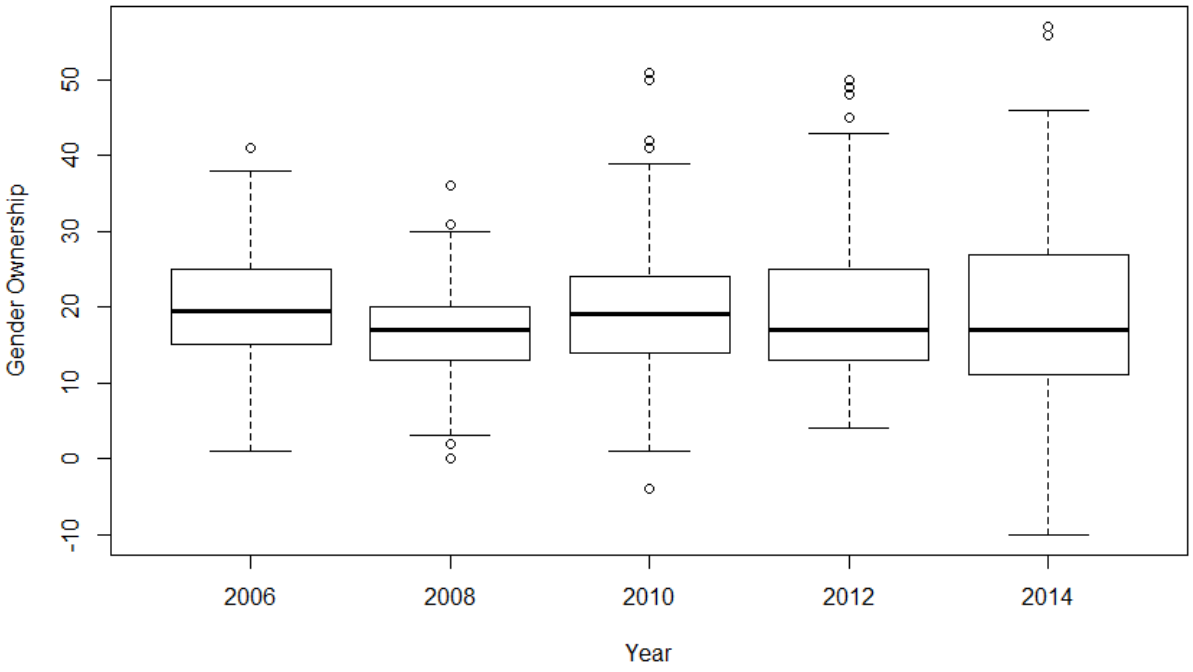

Figure 4.59: Gender Ownership for Male Democratic Senatorial Candidates

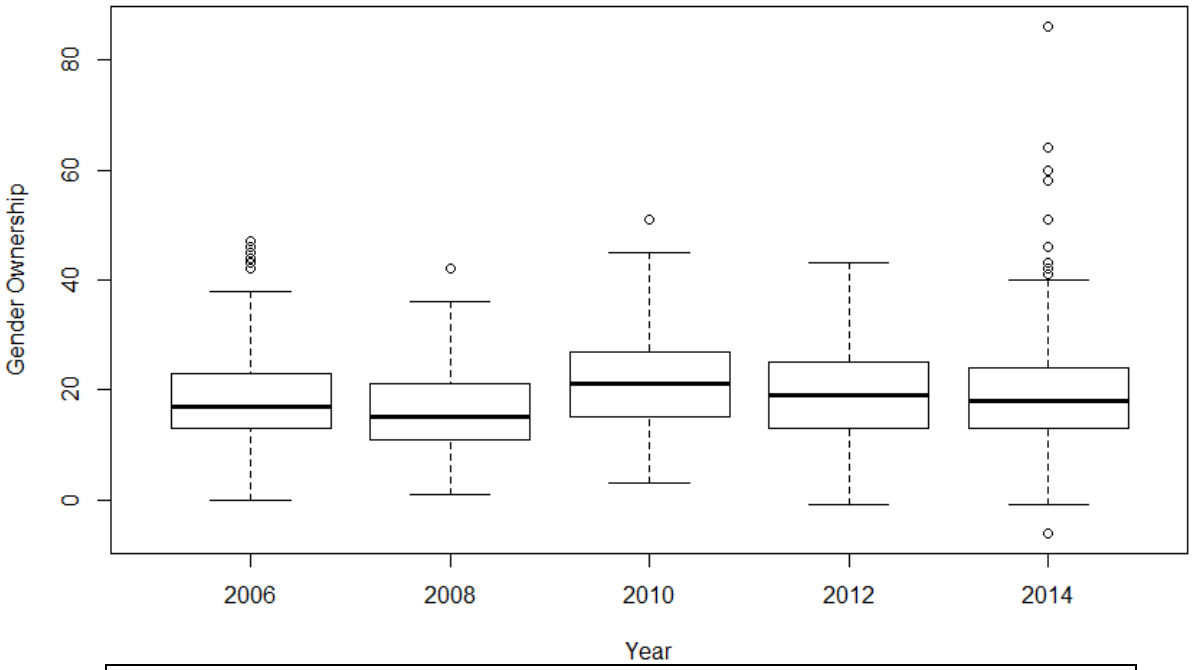

Figure 4.60: Gender Ownership for Male Republican Senatorial Candidates

Table 4.41: Gender Ownership for All Male Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-197.41994	year	0.10785	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-29.783	-5.920	-1.351	4.649	66.217
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-197.41994	152.96135	-1.291	0.197	
year	0.10785	0.07609	1.417	0.157	
Residual standard error: 9.222 on 1823 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.001101, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0005528					
F-statistic: 2.009 on 1 and 1823 DF, p-value: 0.1566					

Table 4.42: Gender Ownership for Male Democratic Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-42.28874	year	0.03064	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-29.425	-5.425	-1.241	4.698	37.575
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-42.28874	245.50999	-0.172	0.863	
year	0.03064	0.12215	0.251	0.802	
Residual standard error: 9.214 on 730 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 8.62e-05, Adjusted R-squared: -0.001284					
F-statistic: 0.06293 on 1 and 730 DF, p-value: 0.802					

Table 4.43: Gender Ownership for Male Republican Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-374.6032	year	0.1960	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-26.114	-5.938	-1.330	4.724	65.886
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-374.6032	208.3514	-1.798	0.0725.	
year	0.1960	0.1036	1.891	0.0589.	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 9.322 on 1014 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.003515, Adjusted R-squared: 0.002532					
F-statistic: 3.577 on 1 and 1014 DF, p-value: 0.05889					

While significance was expected at the overall level, considering that the sample set included 1,826 candidate advertisements, significance was not found.

While at the overall level, male senatorial candidates lack significance, as was seen with the other electoral races, party may be influencial. As such the sample set was divided among the parties to examine the effect of party on significance for electoral race and gender.

The sample set of 732 male Democratic senatorial candidate advertisements spread over the entire timeframe would mean that any findings would likely be significant and generalizable. While the Democratic Party might not be the most likely party for significance as it relates to male gender ownership, one could expect some significance, even if the coefficient were negative. However, no significance was found for either the interval or the coefficient for gender ownership over time. Perhaps expanding the sample set may provide a stronger indication of significance.

The sample set for male Republican senatorial candidate advertisements was 1,016 advertisements. As the sample set is greater than 1,000, significance, if it can be found, could be expected. As the sample set extends through the entire timeframe, the findings would be generalizable. While no significance was found at the overall level, or with the Democratic Party candidates, statistical significance that does not typically meet the standard threshold for significance was found with the Republican Party candidates. The finding of statistical significance at all may be indicative that a larger sample set may strengthen the findings. Also of note is that the coefficient for gender ownership over time is positive. This is exceptionally noteworthy in that the coefficient is in the opposite direction of all other male gender ownership coefficients. This indicates that male Republican senatorial candidates are increasingly owning male gender-assumptions over time. This may be, in part, due to the party issue ownership that encourages candidates to own male-gender aspects.

At the senatorial level, there is only slight gender ownership for male Republican Party candidates. The other sample sets provided no indication of significance for gender ownership over time. The male Republican senatorial sample set was also the only sample set among all male sample sets to have a positive coefficient and be significant. This finding may be indicative

that male Republican senatorial candidates find it more electorally beneficial to own male gender-assumptions as compared with other male candidates, even senatorial candidates.

As with the female candidates, combining the sample set of House and senatorial candidate advertisements can provide a large enough sample set to better test for significance. Additionally, as both House and senatorial electoral races are at the federal level, campaigning for these offices bear similarity and can provide insight into whether candidates utilize gender ownership.

An initial analysis of the overall federal level of male candidates was warranted to identify whether there was gender ownership for male candidates.

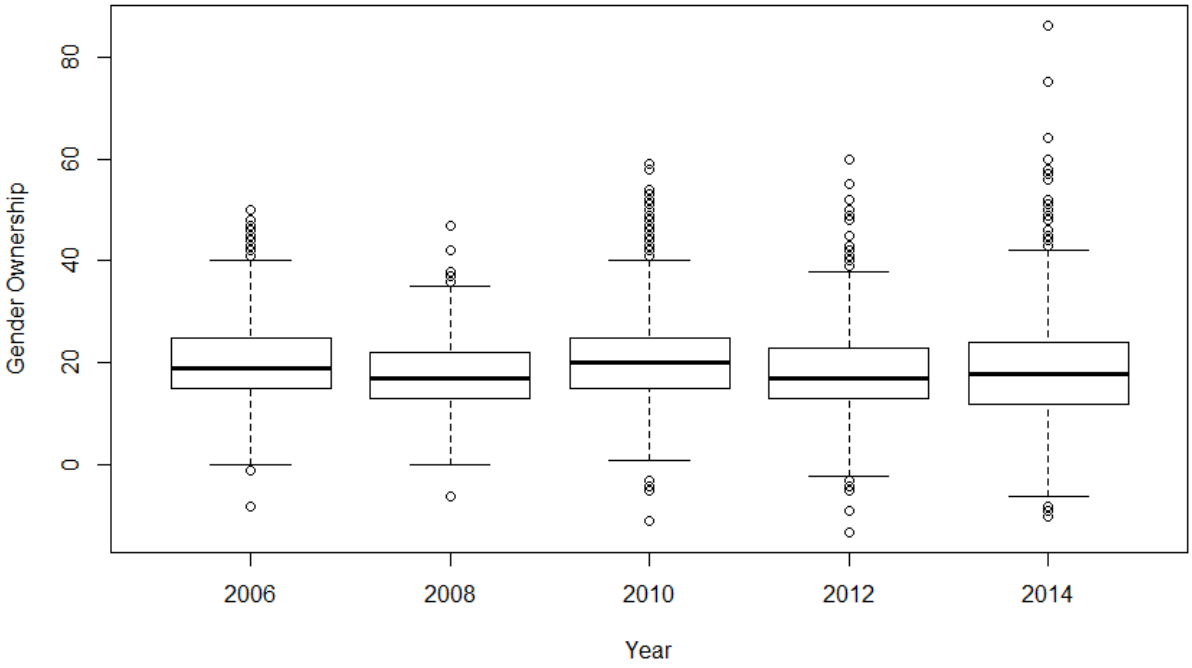

Figure 4.61: Gender Ownership for All Male Federal Candidates

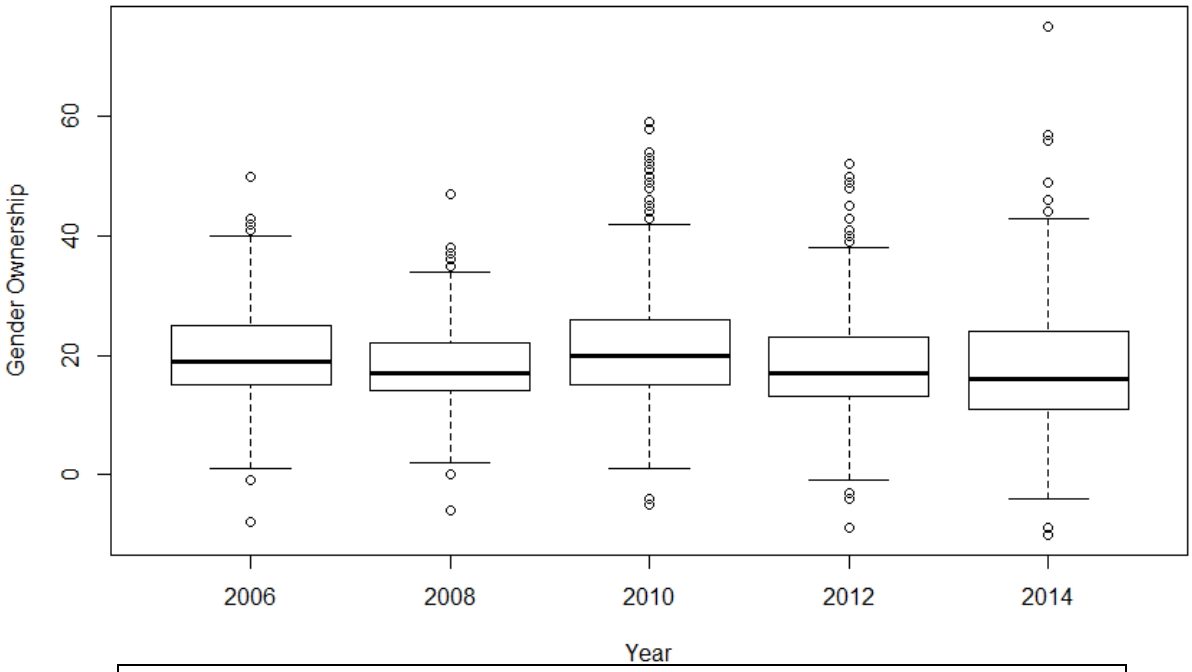

Figure 4.62: Gender Ownership for Male Democratic Federal Candidates

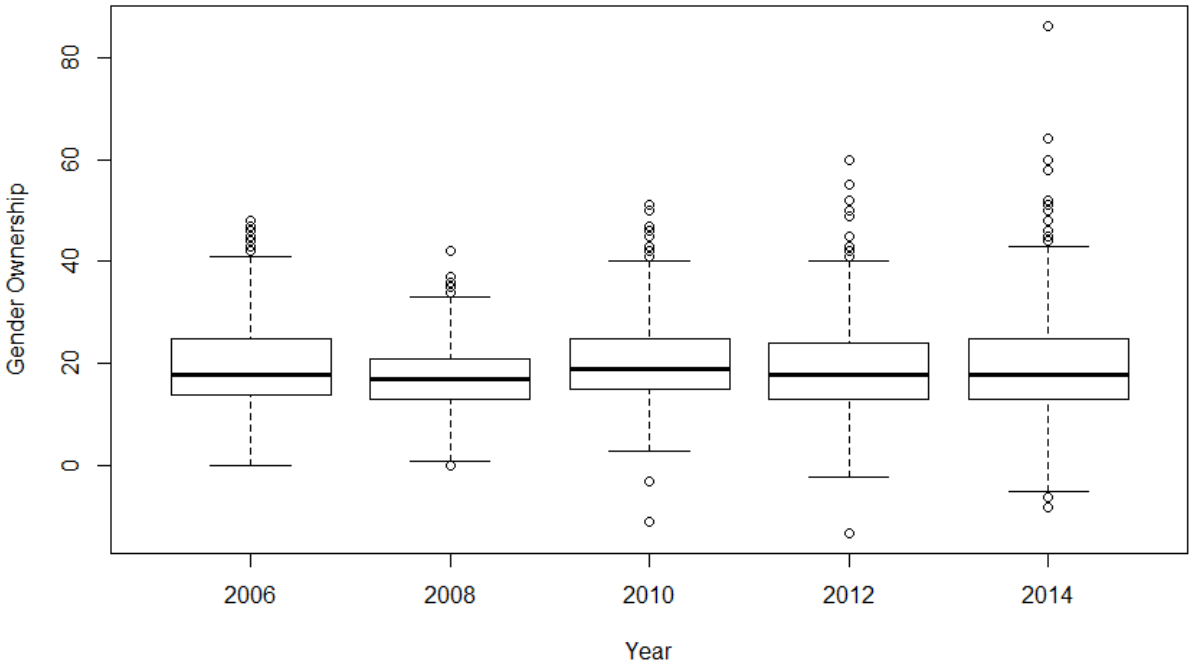

Figure 4.63: Gender Ownership for Male Republican Federal Candidates

Table 4.44: Gender Ownership for All Male Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	85.15349	year	-0.03268	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-32.401	-5.598	-1.467	4.599	66.664
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	85.15349	83.59093	1.019	0.308	
year	-0.0368	0.04159	-0.786	0.432	
Residual standard error: 8.726 on 6116 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.000101, Adjusted R-squared: -6.253e-05					
F-statistic: 0.6175 on 1 and 6116 DF, p-value: 0.432					

Table 4.45: Gender Ownership for Male Democratic Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	283.21252	year	-0.13119	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-29.002	-6.002	-1.527	4.949	55.998
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	283.21252	133.08808	2.128	0.0334*	
year	-0.13119	0.06622	-1.981	0.0477*	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 8.927 on 2577 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.001521, Adjusted R-squared: 0.001133					
F-statistic: 3.925 on 1 and 2577 DF, p-value: 0.04769					

Table 4.46: Gender Ownership for Male Republican Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-98.32481	year	0.05860	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-32.578	-5.578	-1.461	4.539	66.305
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-98.32481	110.48536	-0.890	0.374	
year	0.05860	0.05496	1.066	0.286	
Residual standard error: 8.589 on 3386 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0003356, Adjusted R-squared: 4.038e-05					
F-statistic: 1.137 on 1 and 3386 DF, p-value: 0.2864					

At the overall federal level, there is no significance found among male candidates. The sample set for male Federal candidate advertisements is 6,119 advertisements. This is a sizable sample set wherein one could reasonably expect significance, if significance were to be found. When examining the data graphically, one might note that the model is almost a straight line,

deviating only slightly with th 2012 election cycle. Based upon the analysis, gender ownership is not significant in campaigns, overall, for male candidates at the federal level.

As was seen with female candidates, the overall level does not tell the whole story. Party does appear to have some influence. As such, the parties at the federal level will be examined. Though the results will likely not deviate greatly from the findings at the House and senatorial levels, the increased sample size may provide stronger significance results.

At the Federal level, male Democratic candidates do display statistical significance for the coefficient for gender ownership over time. Additionally, this coefficient is negative. This aligns with the findings for Democratic House candidates. Graphically, the model shows a gradual decline with a steeper decline with the 2012 electoral cycle. This models that the male Democratic candidates at the federal level are disowning their male gender-assumptions. This may be indicative that party ownership of women's issues influences the candidate's ability to own male gender-assumptions.

As the House Republican candidates did not display significance but senatorial Republican candidates did, significance may or may not be found at the overall federal level. However, the overall size should increase the probability of finding significance. Significance, if it existed, would emerge with the increased sample set. The lack of significance is indicative that, overall, Republican candidates at the federal level do not utilize gender ownership in their campaign strategies. The Republican Party is the only party at the federal level that fails to display significance, even slight significance, for gender ownership over time. It is possible that issue ownership of the Republican Party confounds the individual candidate gender ownership.

With the increased sample sizes at the federal level, significance for the parties improved for all but the Republican Party. Overall, male candidates at the federal level are decreasingly

presenting male gender-assumptions positively in campaign advertisements. As historically male gender-assumptions have been seen as politically preferable, this change is historically, as well as, statistically significant. This change may be indicative that male candidates are attempting to appeal to female voters by addressing female gender-assumed aspects. Male candidates may feel it politically necessary to present a "softer", more "compassionate" candidate as compared with previous generations of politicians.

There are differences in gender ownership levels and directions for male and female candidates. Electoral race encourages different campaign strategies that results in different gender ownership strategies for both male and female candidates. Partisan differences do exist, especially among male candidates. This is possibly connected with party ownership of issues and traits.

Society has changed over time. From Abigail Adams' plea for the consideration of women in the legal area of property ownership to transgender candidates for political office, the political realm has had to adjust to the fluctuations of society, albeit, often slower than society as a whole. In a realm where the gender norm is masculine, feminine gender assumptions have been treated as anomalous. Political science has been satisfied with quantifying the changes in relation to issues and norms, but has previously been unable to identify and resolve the nuance of gender. The findings of this study accentuate the societal changes over time and the nuance of candidate campaigning for both male and female candidates. Furthermore, this study not only provides evidence of gender ownership, but a way to quantify this aspect, much as has been done with issue and trait ownership. With the further societal fluctuations, being able to quantify the changing dynamics of the political realm will be an important future area of study. While this

study is important and useful in its own right, it should only be the beginning of further study into this area of political science.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS: PICKING UP THE PIECES

Politics is not just the decision-making process regarding the allocation of resources. Politics is also about who makes the decisions. For much of U.S. history, the decision-makers were white, male, and property owners. Slowly, the list of individuals who could be involved in the decision-making process, along with the topics of discussion, expanded. In 1920, after about 80 years of active petitioning, women joined the men in the political process. Congressmen had resisted granting women the right to vote because of concerns that women were not suitably capable or informed to make the difficult decisions involved in politics. With the right to vote, one might expect that the obstacles for women evaporated, thus was not the case.

All the same obstacles that existed for every other group existed for women as well. Early female politicians had to find ways to fit into the existing political culture. They faced a political culture that discouraged emphasizing being a woman. Women sought respect by being seen as "one of the guys". Being a woman in the political culture was sometimes seen as a liability rather than as an asset. The traits that were seen as politically desirable were often associated with men. Men were leaders, strong, logical, rational, and business-minded. Women cared about how a man dressed, not how he thought, according to the *Delta Independent*. The frivolity of women was seen as unsuitable for politics.

As a result, women who have ventured into the political realm have found themselves faced with lower financial support, lower party support for political ambition, even electorate assumptions of incompetence. Traits and issues that female politicians bring to the political

realm are routinely seen as insufficient for political success. Women who have succeeded in politics have stated, as Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-TX) stated, “In previous years, when I have run for office, I always had to overcome being a woman. All I’ve ever wanted was an equal chance to make my case, and I think we’re getting to that point – and that’s the victory” (Wasniewski, et al., 557). Women who ran for political office found themselves de-emphasizing feminine traits and having to choose between being an advocate for women or ignoring women’s issues.

Political science has examined the disparity between male and female political candidates from a variety of aspects. This has included funding issues, trait and issue ownership, societal norm expectations, and electoral perceptions. The findings have been consistent in that female political candidates have a more difficult time getting into politics and staying there. While female candidates may be just as strategic and can be just as successful, female candidates have a more difficult playing field compared with male candidates. While political science has examined different pieces of the situation, none have addressed gender itself. Rather, gender has often been defined as the perceived sex of the candidate. Gender is more than traits or issues, or the perceived sex of the candidates. Gender includes a connection based upon perceived shared experiences that occur because one is part of the same group. Data indicates that women will not vote for a female candidate just because she is a woman. If women did behave that way, then the United States would have President Hillary Clinton rather than President Donald Trump. But research indicates that women do pay more attention to politics when women are running. Women in the electorate see “one of their own” running and want to know whether they agree and connect with her, both as a potential decision-maker and as a woman.

This study aimed to identify whether female candidates try to connect with women not just through issues or traits, but as women. While this entailed creating a new measure to identify gender ownership, the measure attempts to quantify more than single elements. This measure attempts to capture the totality of gender as a candidate presenting gender-assumptions as positive and connected to the electorate. Because of how the measure is designed, gender ownership can be identified for both men and women. This provides broader applicability to the measure in identifying social change regarding what are acceptable traits and issues for a politician.

While there have been noted changes in societal acceptance of women in politics, noticeably in 1992 and 2018, it is important as a field to identify not just the singular events but the overall and long-term trends. This study sought to identify the long-term trends, not just for women but also for men. This study also aimed to identify the influence of party and electoral contest on how candidates campaigned, namely whether gender ownership was a campaign strategy.

While the study does suffer from small sample sets in specific groupings, the broader picture is still illuminating. Overall, party, gender, and electoral contest all influence how a candidate campaigns, and whether gender ownership is a strategic choice. Overall, female candidates are including more positive presentations of female gender-assumptions in their campaign advertisements. Overall, male candidates are including fewer positive presentations of male gender-assumptions in their campaign advertisements. This is suggestive that candidates are potentially converging on a balanced presentation of candidates. Female candidates can share "an intelligence, a feeling, a spiritual force peculiar to themselves" and be successful politicians (Jeannette Rankin, *Congressional Record*, 65th Congress, 10 January 1918, 771). Male

candidates can connect with women in the electorate by addressing the needs and concerns of women while still being successful politicians, and being men; but male candidates are generally de-emphasizing male gender-assumptions.

The key takeaway of this initial examination into gender ownership is that gender ownership is nuanced. It is not a simple male-female dichotomy. It is not a simple party dichotomy. The findings are indicative that women in all parties feel more confident in presenting female gender-assumptions as positive. Namely, women are owning their gender assumptions as positive in their campaign advertisements at an increasing level. Men of all parties are less confident in presenting male gender-assumptions as positive. Men are disowning their gender at an increasing rate over the examined time period. This is the simplest result. However, these results depend upon electoral contest and party. This is reflective of the different publics to whom candidates are campaigning. Whereas overall female Democrats are more likely to own their gender and male Democrats are less likely to own their gender, female Republicans are more likely to own their gender and male Republicans exhibit an electoral contest quality as to whether they will own their gender. Gender ownership is a significant aspect for many candidates in many races. There is a quality more than issues and more than traits at work. There is a connective quality based upon the perceived sex of the candidate that candidates attempt to utilize to connect with the electorate.

This index provides for a more synergistic understanding of gender, rather than a simplistic sex-based quality or focusing separately on individual aspects of the concept of gender. The findings are indicative of an overall trend that candidates do associate themselves with their gender's assumptions in campaign advertisements. Specifically, female candidates are increasingly associating themselves with their gender's assumptions, whereas male candidates

are decreasingly associating themselves with their gender's assumptions, both meeting the levels for significance. Gender Ownership does not seem to be based purely upon electoral contest nor party, but is a combination of electoral contest, party, and perceived sex. The findings are significant in the positive direction for the sample sets: all female, all female Democratic, all female Republican, female Democratic gubernatorial, overall female House, female Democratic House, overall female senatorial, female Democratic senatorial, female Republican senatorial, overall female federal, female Democratic federal, female Republican federal, and male Republican senatorial. The findings are significant in the negative direction for the sample sets: all male, all male Democrat, all male gubernatorial, male Republican gubernatorial, all male house, male Democratic house, and male Democratic federal. These findings indicate that gender ownership is nuanced and may indicate a progression towards a shared space for both men and women candidates, particularly for the Democratic Party.

Additional campaign years and increased sample sizes would enable further testing, especially of those demographics that had limited sample sizes. Further research could examine gender ownership in regards to the broader spectrum of gender. As gender is important, overall, to all candidates at all levels, how future campaigns will address the broader definitions of gender and the reception by voters can have significant impact on the field's understanding of political campaigns. With the first openly transgender candidate for governor, how gender is owned by candidates becomes increasingly important. Additionally, while this study focused on the message sent by candidates, further research into how voters received these messages and overall success of candidates can be informing as to whether gender ownership is a strategically successful approach, and for whom.

While this study did not include Presidential analysis, this theory could be applied, first to male Presidential candidates and, as the pool of female Presidential candidates increases, to female Presidential candidates. Doing so would enable political science to identify how gender ownership has changed, perhaps along with society.

This research concluded prior to the availability of the 2016 dataset and the 2018 midterm elections. The 2016, 2018, and 2020 elections could be useful tests of this theory as a previously unprecedented number of female candidates ran and won at various levels of elected office. Further research should test this theory with the expanded dataset. Forecast models for annual averages are included Appendix F.

What this research shows is that the basic gender-associated assumptions still exist regarding issues, traits, and capabilities. This research shows that, politically, men are more comfortable than women owning those gender assumptions, based upon the annual averages of gender ownership. Additionally, this research also shows that women are increasingly owning the assumptions regarding their gender and that those assumptions do not preclude them from political office. The assumption that attributes identified with men are required for political office is faltering as women are increasingly owning attributes associated with women and proving that these attributes are beneficial to the political process. This research not only shows that women are more comfortable owning the gender-assumptions, but also that these gender assumptions are acceptable in the political realm; an issue that has existed since before women received the vote. Whereas, previously, women held political office largely on the basis of her not being a lady and breaking gender assumptions; now, women may own gender expectations and still be elected to political office on equal footing to men who have owned their gender's assumptions.

This initial study supports further research in this field and reflects that there are differences in experiences for female candidates based upon elected office and party that should be further explored. Based upon these findings, further research is warranted.

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APPENDIX A: MINOR PARTY SIGNIFICANCE RESULTS

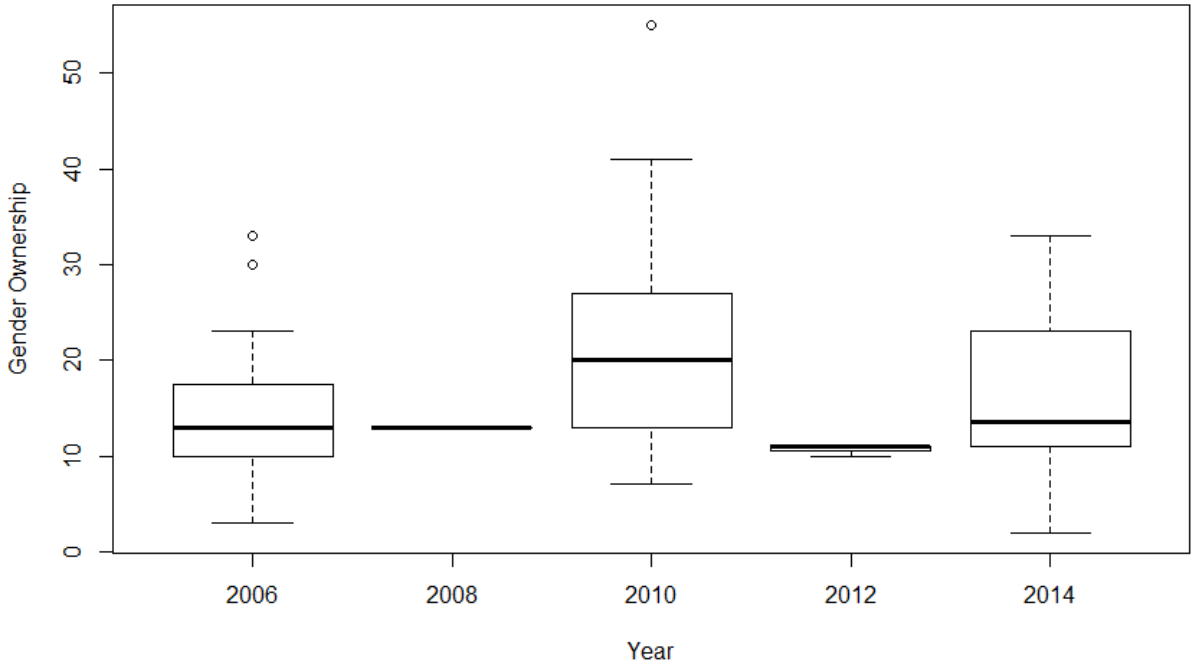

Figure A.1: Gender Ownership for All Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates

Table A.1: Gender Ownership for All Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates

Coefficients:	(Intercept)	--535.9201	year	0.2751	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-16.076	-5.876	-2.876	4.099	38.024
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-535.9201	526.9706	-1.017	0.311	
year	0.2751	0.2622	1.049	0.297	
Residual standard error: 8.75 on 108 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.01009, Adjusted R-squared: 0.000921					
F-statistic: 1.1 on 1 and 108 DF, p-value: 0.2965					

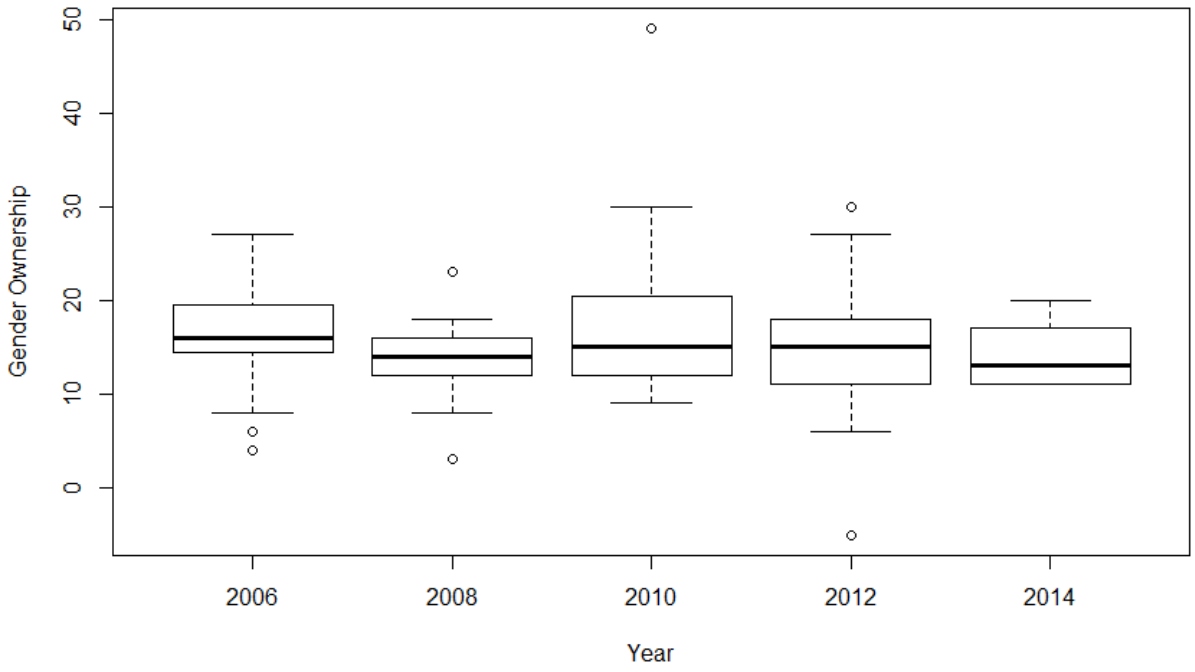

Figure A.2: Gender Ownership for All Minor Party House Candidates

Table A.2: Gender Ownership for All Minor Party House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	284.9273	year	-0.1341	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-20.149	-3.881	-0.418	2.948	33.582
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	284.9273	723.2406	0.394	0.695	
year	-0.1341	0.3598	-0.373	0.710	
Residual standard error: 7.841 on 81 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.001711, Adjusted R-squared: -0.01061					
F-statistic: 0.1388 on 1 and 81 DF, p-value: 0.7104					

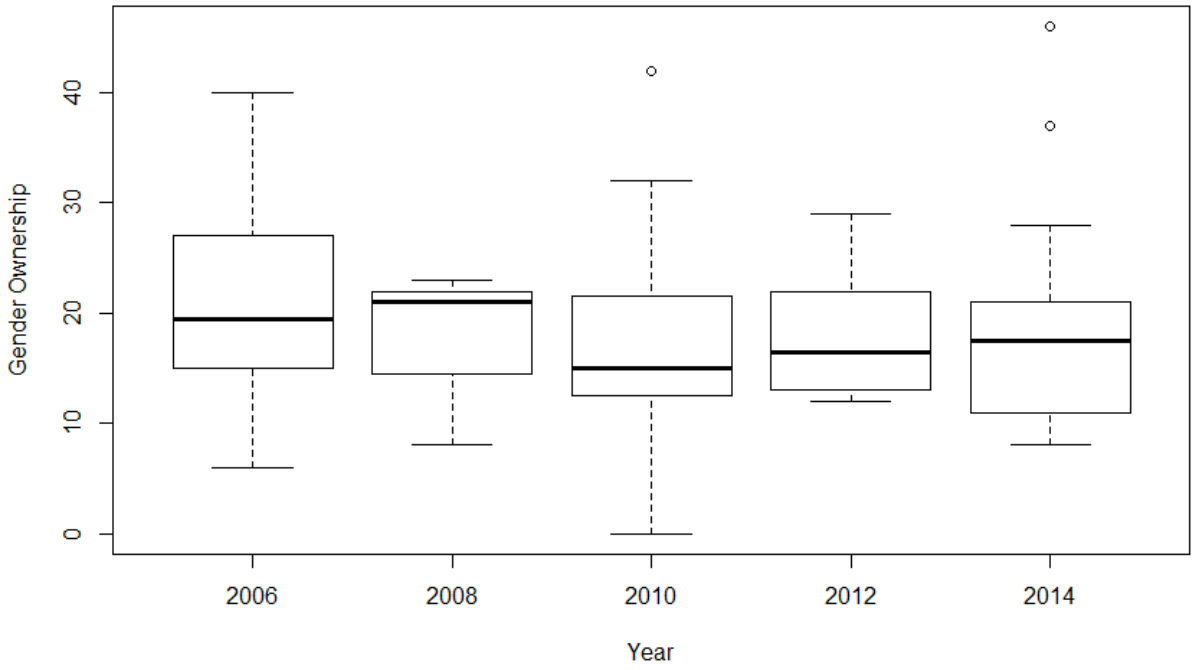

Figure A.3: Gender Ownership for All Minor Party Senatorial Candidates

Table A.3: Gender Ownership for Minor Party Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	604.2853	year	-0.2914	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-18.538	-5.373	-1.373	3.627	28.627
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	604.2853	599.5839	1.008	0.316	
year	-0.2914	0.2983	-0.977	0.331	
Residual standard error: 8.182 on 83 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.01137, Adjusted R-squared: -0.0005458					
F-statistic: 0.9542 on 1 and 83 DF, p-value: 0.3315					

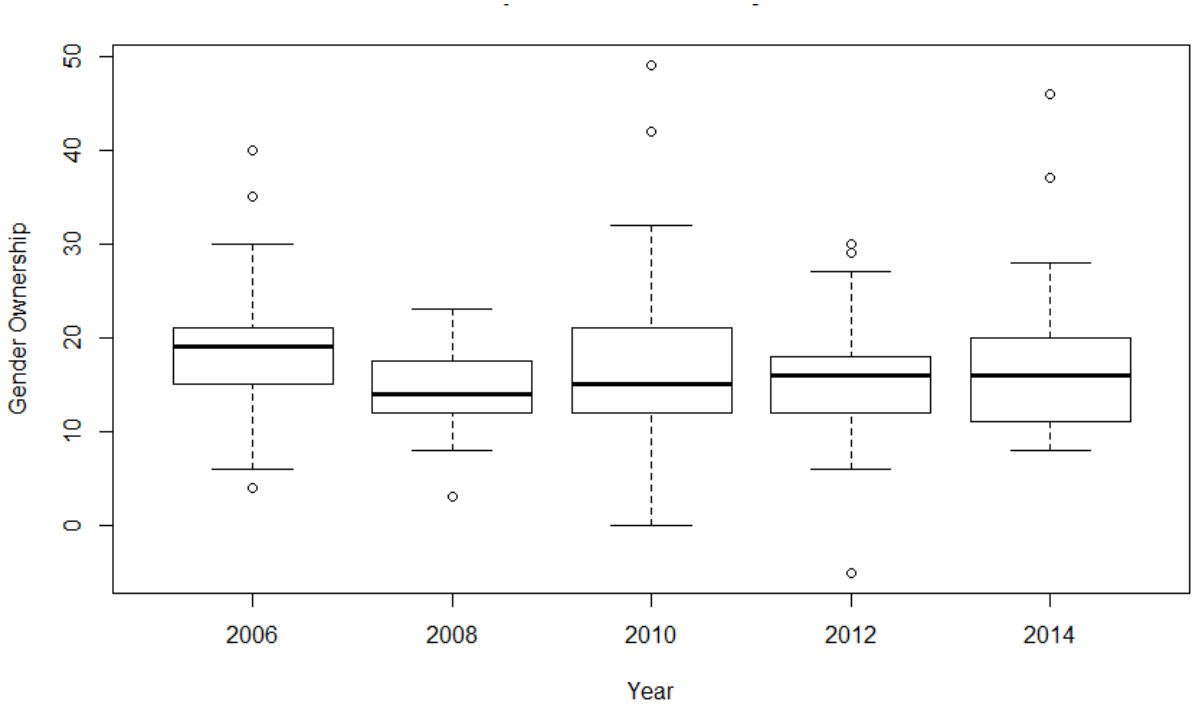

Figure A.4: Gender Ownership for All Minor Party Federal Candidates

Table A.4: Gender Ownership for All Minor Party Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	500.1162	year	-0.2404	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-21.515	-4.486	-0.996	3.495	32.004
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	500.1162	466.1312	1.073	0.285	
year	-0.2404	0.2319	-1.036	0.302	
Residual standard error: 8.125 on 166 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.006429, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0004432					
F-statistic: 1.074 on 1 and 166 DF, p-value: 0.3015					

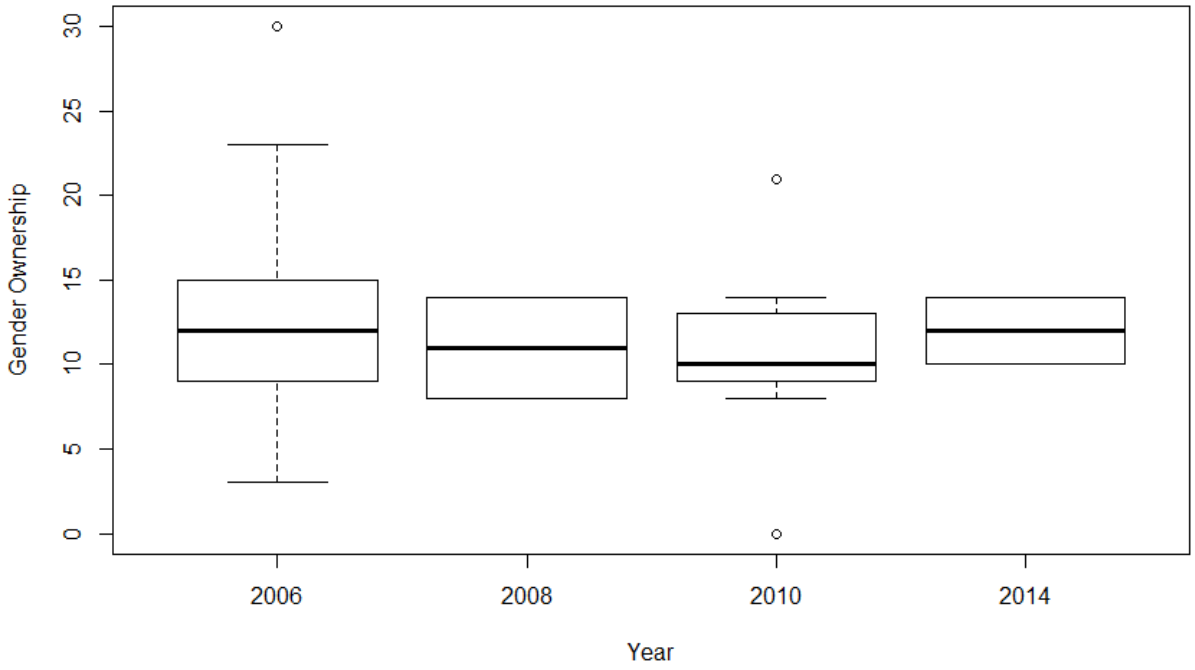

Figure A.5: Gender Ownership for All Female Minor Party Candidates

Table A.5: Gender Ownership for All Female Minor Party Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	464.2681	year	-0.2252	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-11.6345	-2.8597	-0.5849	2.3903	17.4647
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	464.2681	802.6554	0.578	0.566	
year	-0.2252	0.3998	-0.563	0.577	
Residual standard error: 5.788 on 38 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.008279, Adjusted R-squared: -0.01782					
F-statistic: 0.3172 on 1 and 38 DF, p-value: 0.5766					

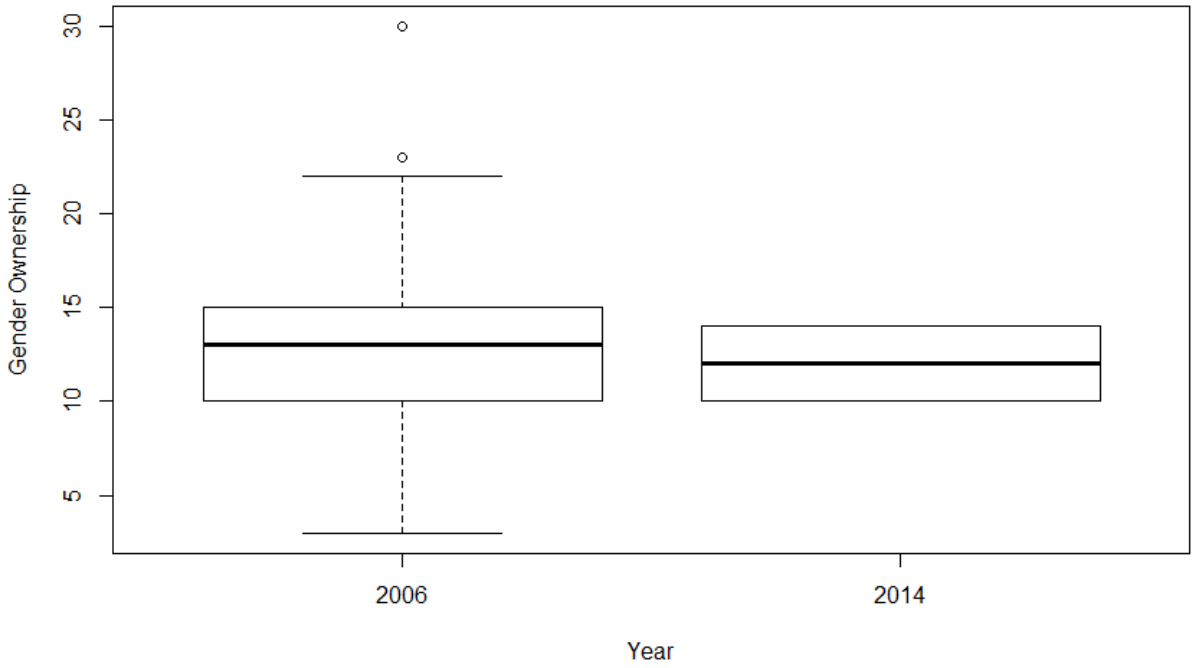

Figure A.6: Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates

Table A.6: Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	407.6071	year	-0.1964	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-10.5714	-3.5714	-0.5714	1.7143	16.4286
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	407.6071	1098.2654	0.371	0.714	
year	-0.1964	0.5473	-0.359	0.723	
Residual standard error: 5.917 on 21 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.006097, Adjusted R-squared: -0.04123					
F-statistic: 0.1288 on 1 and 21 DF, p-value: 0.7232					

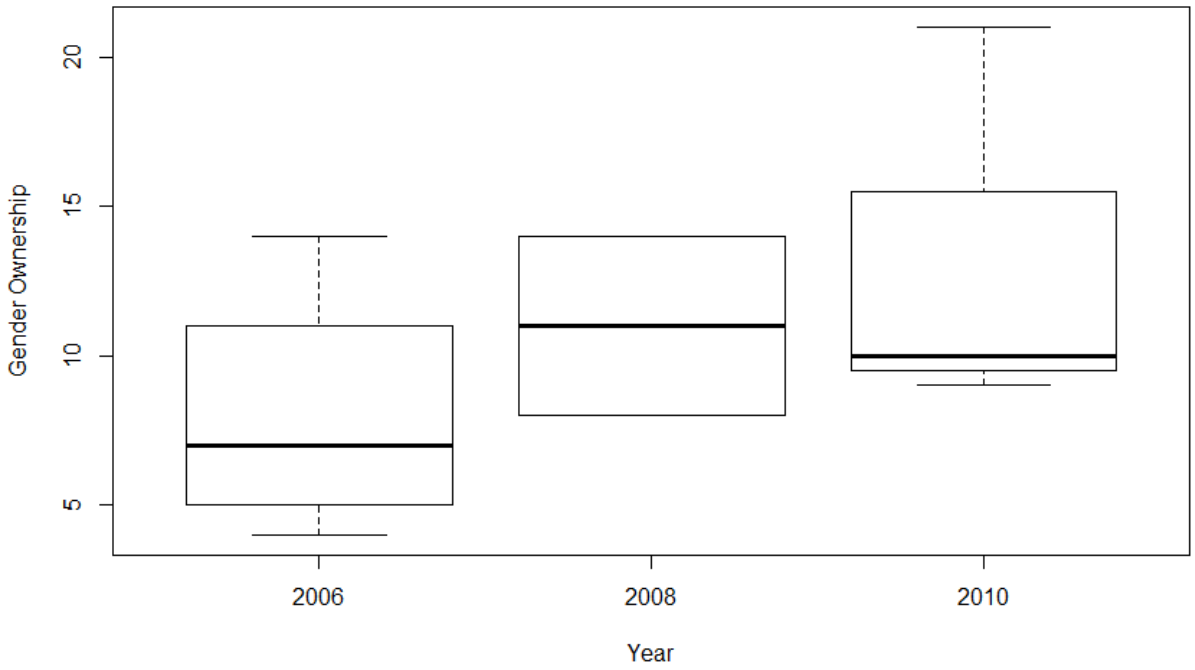

Figure A.7: Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party House Candidates

Table A.7: Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-2677.3871	year	1.3387	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-4.419	-3.419	-2.064	3.258	7.581
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-2677.3871	1844.7649	-1.451	0.190	
year	1.3387	0.9188	1.457	0.188	
Residual standard error: 4.823 on 7 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.2327, Adjusted R-squared: 0.1231					
F-statistic: 2.123 on 1 and 7 DF, p-value: 0.1885					

Figure A.8: Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Senatorial Candidates

Table A.8: Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	10.500	year	NA	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-10.50	-1.75	-0.50	2.00	10.50
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	10.500	2.096	5.01	0.00155**	
year	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 5.928 on 7 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: NA, Adjusted R-squared: NA					
F-statistic: NA, p-value: NA					

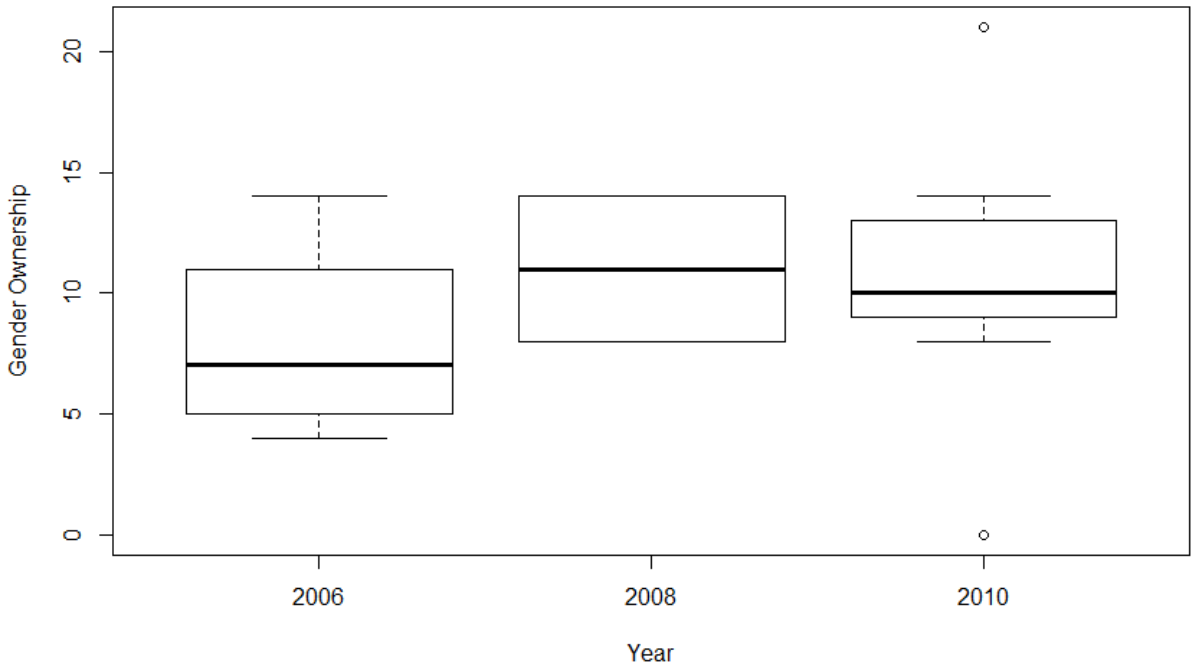

Figure A.9: Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Federal Candidates

Table A.9: Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-1540.0291	year	0.7718	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-11.379	-2.379	-1.379	2.621	9.621
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-1540.0291	1543.7166	-0.998	0.334	
year	0.7718	0.7685	1.004	0.331	
Residual standard error: 5.35 on 15 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.06302, Adjusted R-squared: 0.0005502					
F-statistic: 1.009 on 1 and 15 DF, p-value: 0.3311					

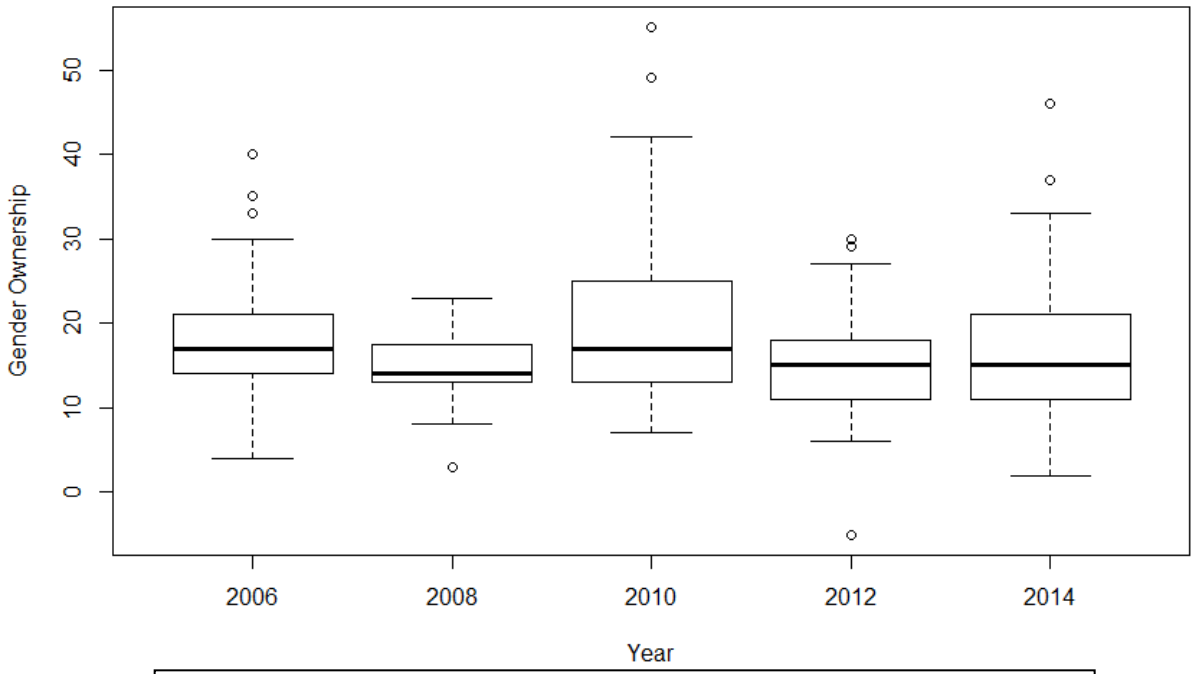

Figure A.10: Gender Ownership for All Male Minor Party Candidates

Table A.10: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	468.7080	year	-0.2243	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-22.369	-4.920	-1.715	3.182	37.182
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	468.7080	389.4042	1.204	0.230	
year	-0.2243	0.1937	-1.158	0.248	
Residual standard error: 8.469 on 236 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.00565, Adjusted R-squared: 0.001436					
F-statistic: 1.341 on 1 and 236 DF, p-value: 0.248					

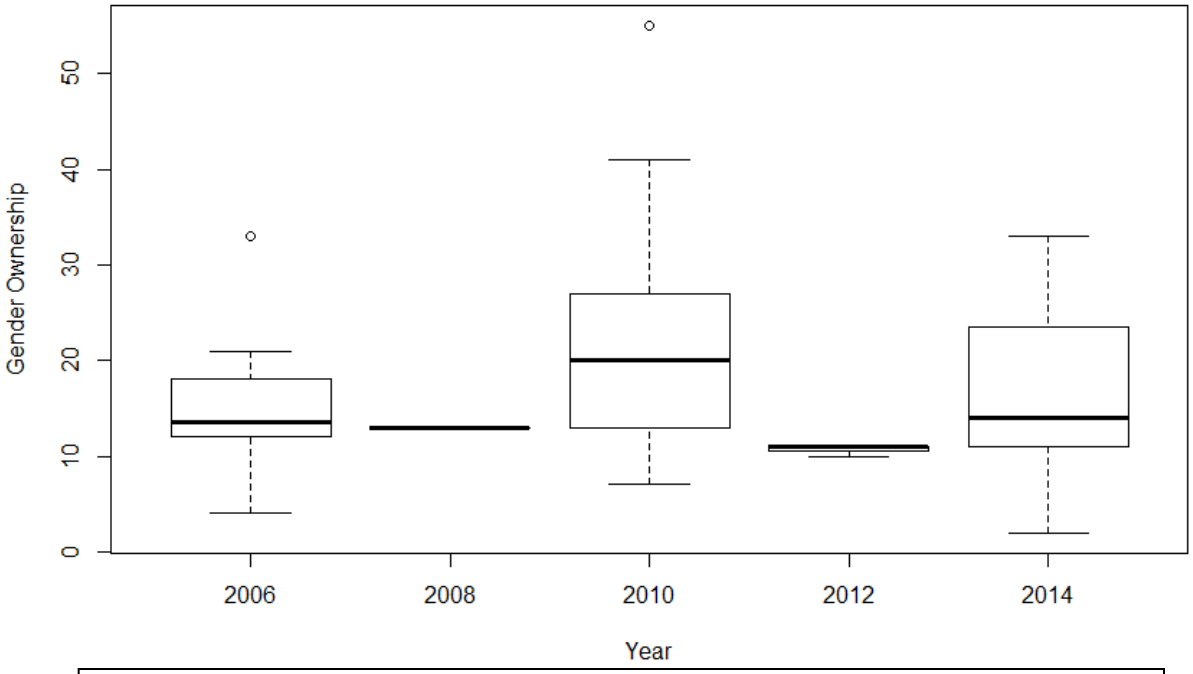

Figure A.11: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates

Table A.11: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	-59.27522	year	0.03834	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-15.939	-5.786	-2.939	4.214	37.214
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	-59.27522	685.23510	-0.087	0.931	
year	0.03834	0.34083	0.112	0.911	
Residual standard error: 9.245 on 85 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.0001488, Adjusted R-squared: -0.01161					
F-statistic: 0.01265 on 1 and 85 DF, p-value: 0.9107					

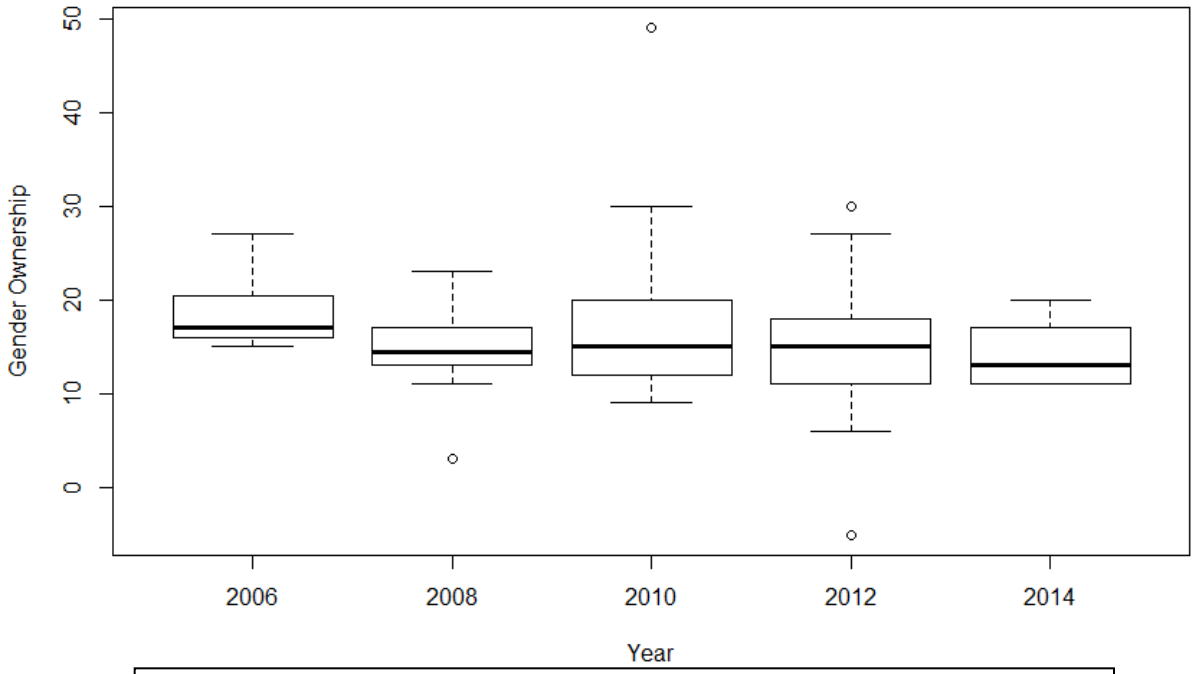

Figure A.12: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party House Candidates

Table A.12: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party House Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	1046.4743	year	-0.5126	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-20.085	-3.160	-1.097	2.878	32.890
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	1046.4743	784.8048	1.333	0.187	
year	-0.5126	0.3904	-1.313	0.193	
Residual standard error: 7.834 on 72 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.02338, Adjusted R-squared: 0.009819					
F-statistic: 1.724 on 1 and 72 DF, p-value: 0.1934					

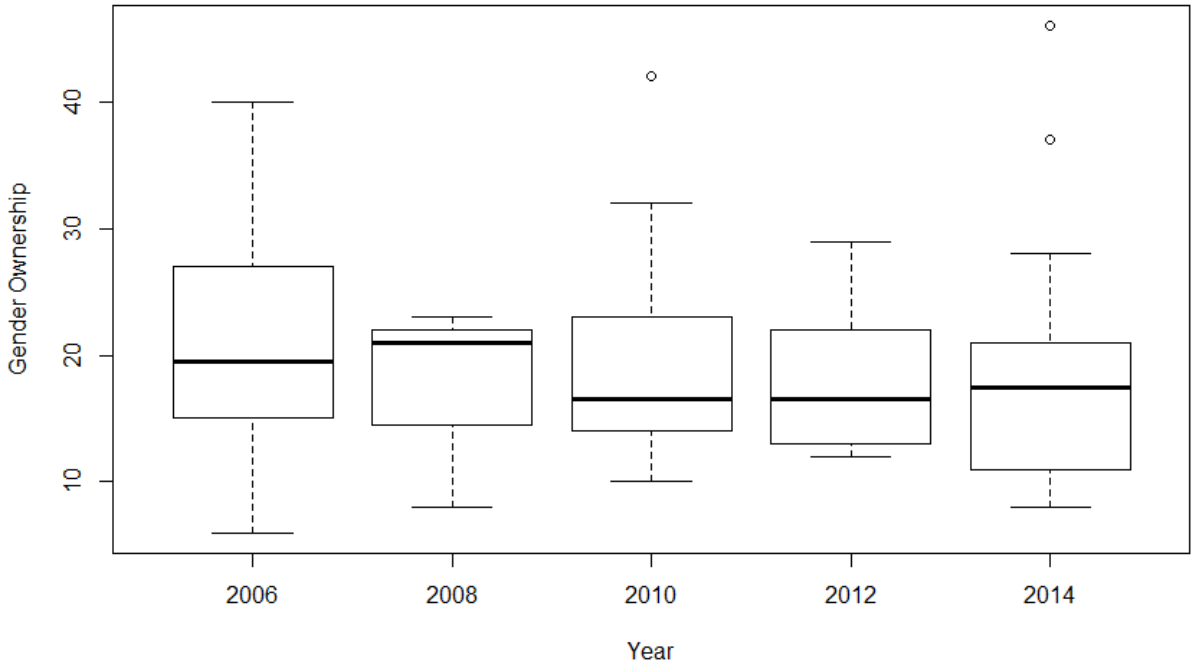

Figure A.13: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Senatorial Candidates

Table A.13: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Senatorial Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	564.9337	year	-0.2714	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-14.464	-5.464	-1.464	3.165	27.708
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	564.9337	582.6899	0.970	0.335	
year	-0.2714	0.2899	-0.936	0.352	
Residual standard error: 7.95 on 75 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.01155, Adjusted R-squared: -0.001629					
F-statistic: 0.8764 on 1 and 75 DF, p-value: 0.3522					

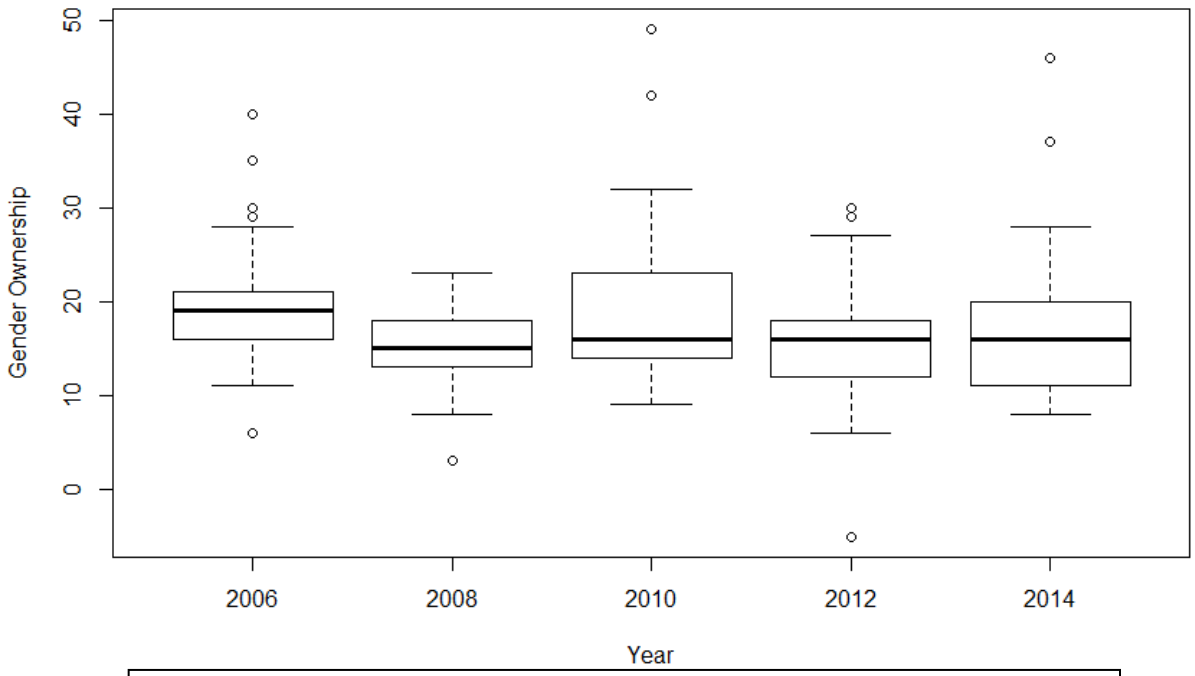

Figure A.14: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Federal Candidates

Table A.14: Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Federal Candidates					
Coefficients:	(Intercept)	811.3031	year	-0.3948	
Residuals:	Min	1Q	Median	3Q	Max
	-21.9643	-4.383	-0.9643	3.7461	31.2461
Coefficients:	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(>|t|)	
(Intercept)	811.3031	473.1789	1.715	0.0885.	
year	-0.3948	0.2354	-1.677	0.0956.	
Significance Codes:					
0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1					
Residual standard error: 8.017 on 149 degrees of freedom					
Multiple R-squared: 0.01853, Adjusted R-squared: 0.01194					
F-statistic: 2.812 on 1 and 149 DF, p-value: 0.09564					

APPENDIX B: LIST OF GENDER-EXPECTED TRAITS

Table B.1: Male Traits	
Audio Statements:	**Visual Images:**
Protect	Courtroom
Defend	Working at desk
Leader	
Hardworking	
Fighter	
Guts	
Doing the Impossible	
Standing up/firm	
Conservative	
Patriotism/Patriot	
Vision	
Working	
Action	

Table B.2: Female Traits	
Audio Statements:	**Visual Images:**
Kind	Kitchen
Caring/Sharing	Pictures of Churches/religious buildings
Mom	
Priority	
Values	
Faith	
Liberal	
Family	
Love	
Bringing Together/Working Together	
Focus	
Character	
Principles	
Help	
Example	
Grateful	
Clean Up	
Worrying	
Understands	
Taking Care of	
Listens	

APPENDIX C: VISUAL GENDER-EXPECTED APPEALS

Table C.1: Visual Gender-Expected Appeals	
Male Gender-Expected Appeals:	**Female Gender-Expected Appeals:**
Men	Women
Militaria: military vehicles, uniforms, medals, flags in triangular cases	Children
Veterans, especially male veterans, wearing veteran identifying items (VFW/AFL caps, etc.); male military members	Playgrounds
Cowboy hats, particularly at work	Libraries
Playing sports	Schools
Guns	Female professionals
Male professionals	Families
Large working vehicles (construction vehicles, farm equipment, etc.)	Female Law Enforcement
Law Enforcement, particularly male law enforcement	Female Veterans; female military members

APPENDIX D: ISSUE CATEGORIZATION

The listed issues are those that are most similar in meaning in all campaign years and closest to the issues commonly identified as male/female issues, such as economy, defense, capital punishment, abortion, education, healthcare, etc. The issues listed are as found in the Wisconsin Advertising Project Codebook, along with the issue numbers from the Wesleyan Media Project Codebook.

Table D.1: Issue Categorization

Male Issues:	**Female Issues:**
Flag (coded same in all years)	Poverty (Issue 19)
Sept11 (Issue 68)	Abortion (Issue 30)
Terror (Issue 69)	Moral/Family/Religious Values (Issue 32)
Trade/Globalization (Issue 20)	Education/Schools (Issue 50)
Economy (Issue 22)	Childcare (Issue 52)
Gun Control (Issue 37)	Healthcare (Issue 53)
Crime (Issue 40)	Welfare (Issue 57)
Capital Punishment (Issue 42)	Women's Health (Issue 58)
Defense Military (Issue 60)	Environment General (Issue 80)
Veterans (Issue 62)	

APPENDIX E: EXAMPLE OF AN ADVERTISEMENT AND CODING

HOUSE/CA37 RICHARDSON MAKING HISTORY

Brand: POL-CONGRESS (B332)
Parent: POLITICAL ADV
Aired: 05/30/2008 - 05/30/2008
Creative Id: 6420376

[Announcer]: Congresswoman Laura Richardson, making history. [Laura Richardson]: "On the floor of

the Capital I promise to spend as much time solving the problems in America than on the War in Iraq.

Seniors have inadequate healthcare, and our

children lack after school programs. I started with humble beginnings, a strong

church family, and working since the age of 12. These are our issues.

This is our community, and I want your vote.

I'm Congresswoman Laura Richardson, and I approve of this ad."

[PFB]: RICHARDSON FOR CONGRESS

Figure E.1: Example of Campaign Advertisement

Table E.1: Example of Advertisement Coding	
Creative	HOUSE/CA37 RICHARDSON MAKING HIST
Year	2008
Sex	F
FA	3
MA	3
Party	1 (Democrat)
Flag	1
11-Sep	0
Terror	0
Ecpolicy	0
Poverty	0
Trade	0
Abortion	0
Moral	0
Guns	0
Crime	0
Cappunish	0
Eduction	1
Childcar	0
Hcare	1
Welfare	0
Wmhealth	0
Def_NIRQ	0
Vets	0
othenv	0
FT	1
MT	2
Experience	0
calc	15

APPENDIX F: FORECAST MODELS

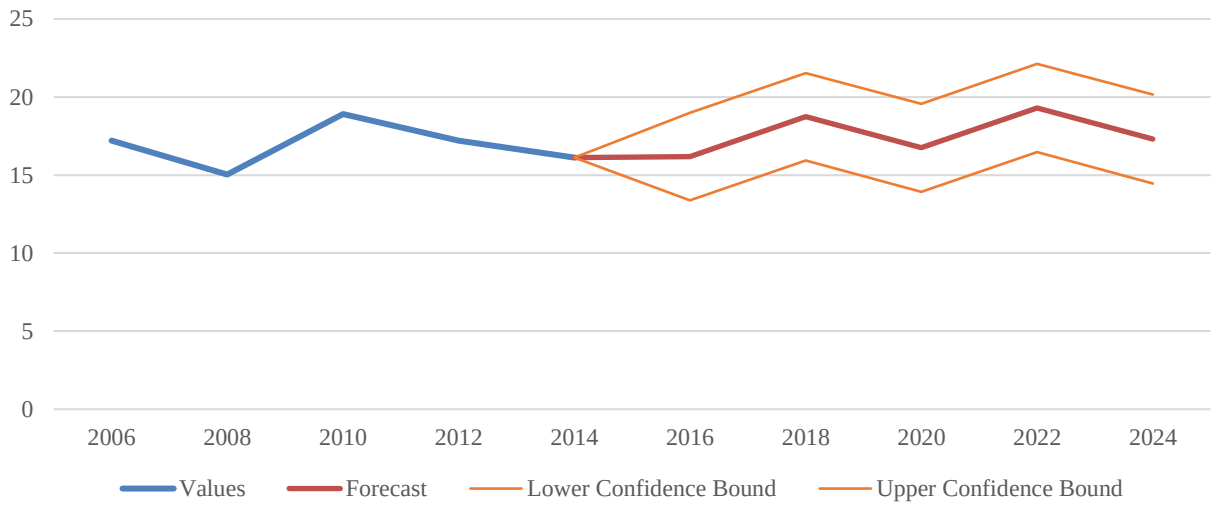

Figure F.1: Predicted Annual Averages for All Gubernatorial Candidates

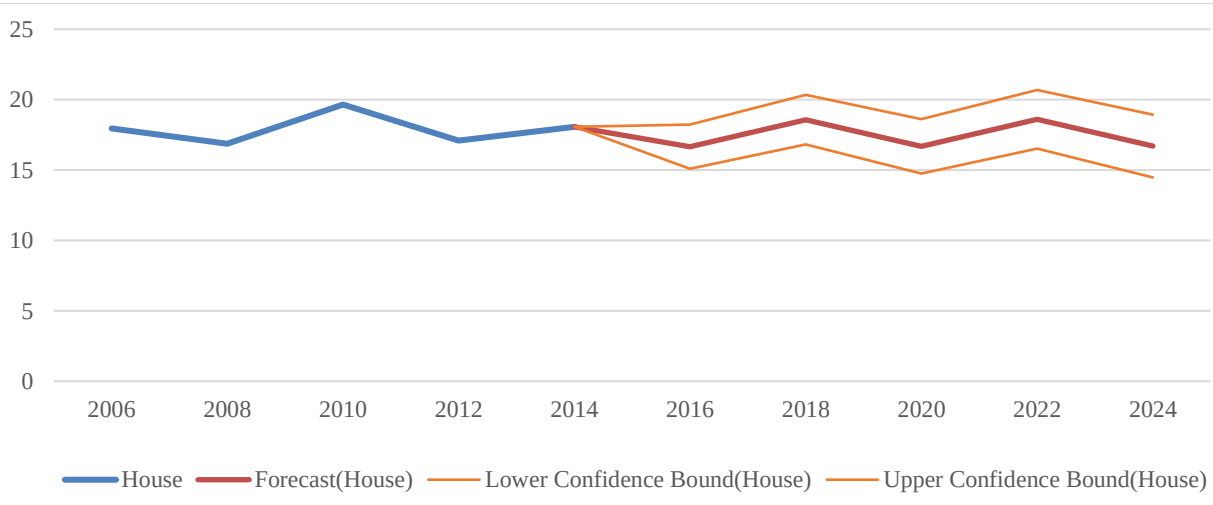

Figure F.2: Predicted Annual Averages for All House Candidates

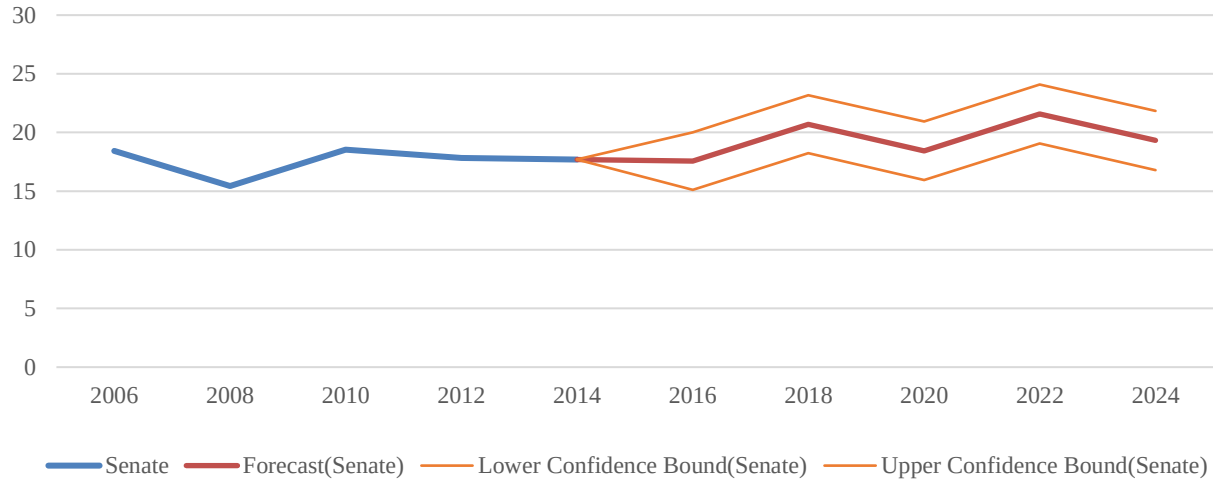

Figure F.3: Predicted Annual Averages for All Senatorial Candidates

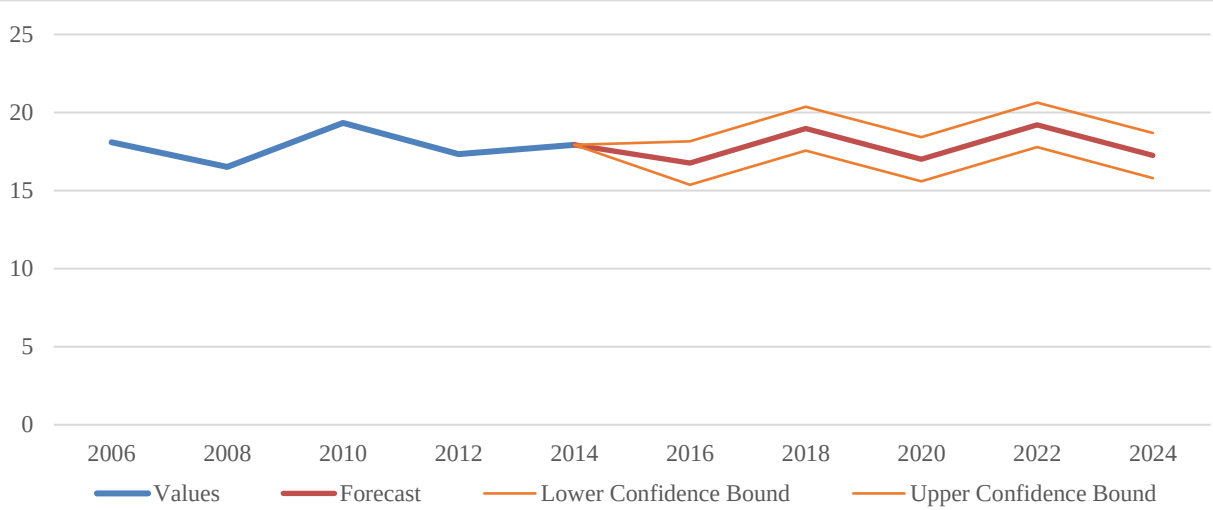

Figure F.4: Predicted Annual Averages for All Federal Candidates

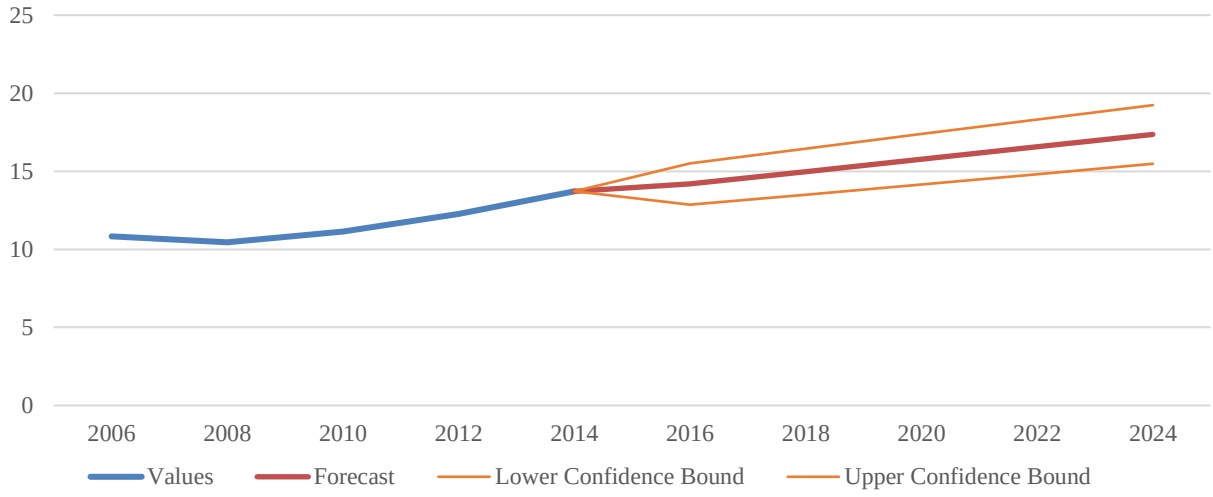

Figure F.5: Predicted Annual Averages for All Female Candidates

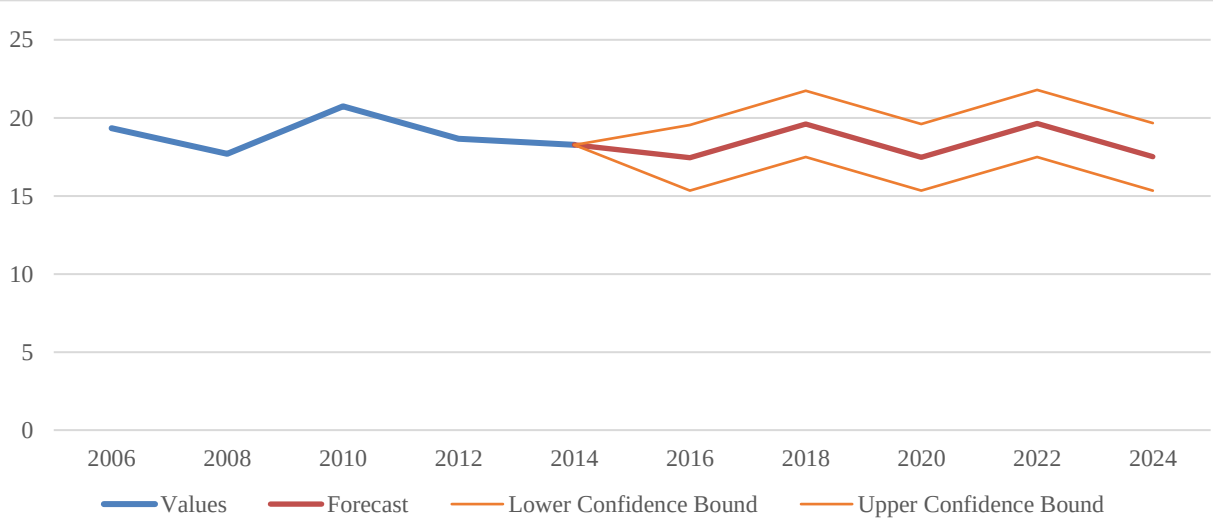

Figure F.6: Predicted Annual Averages for All Male Candidates

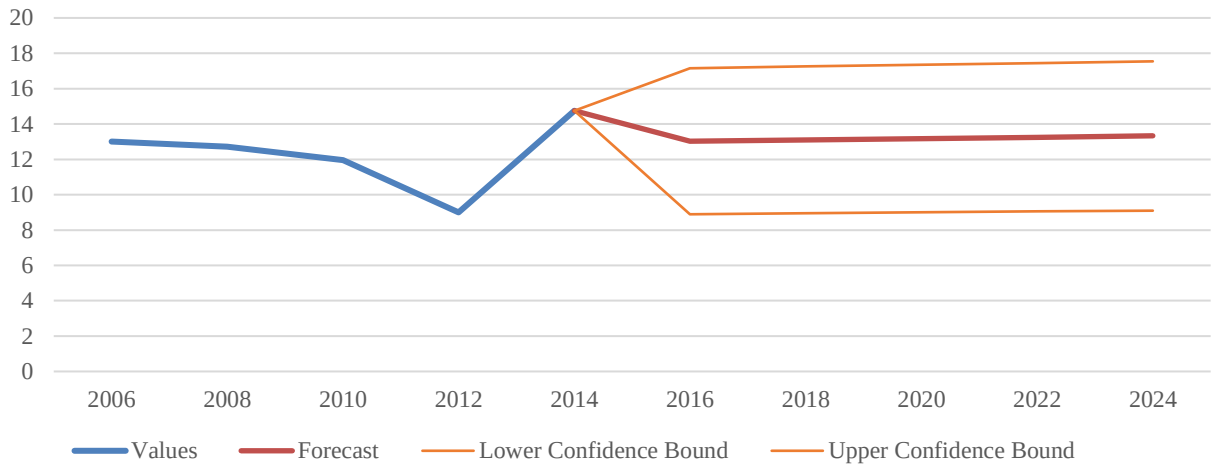

Figure F.7: Predicted Averages for All Female Gubernatorial Candidates

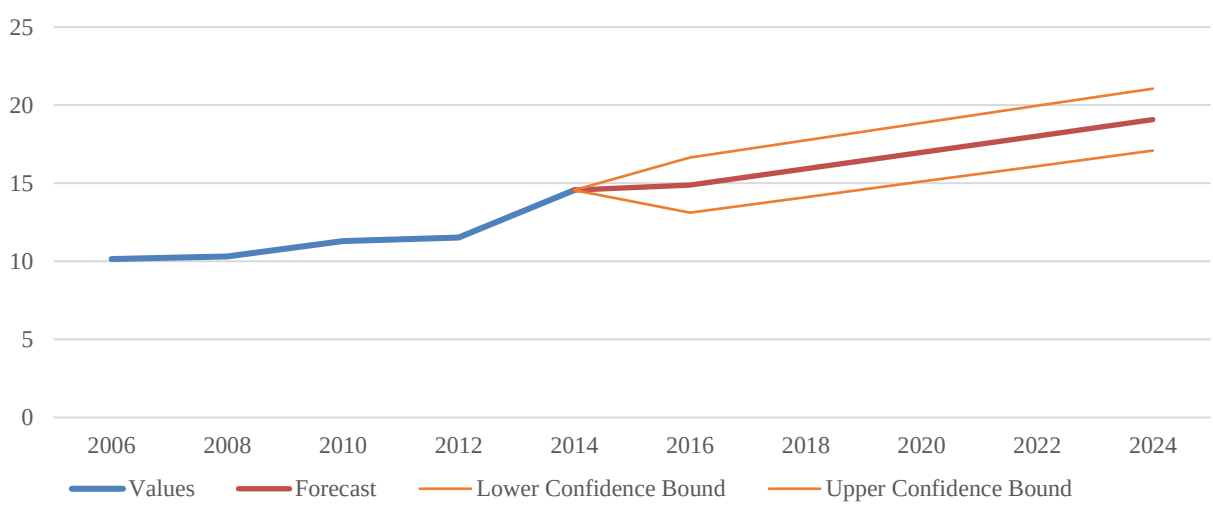

Figure F.8: Predicted Annual Averages for All Female House Candidates

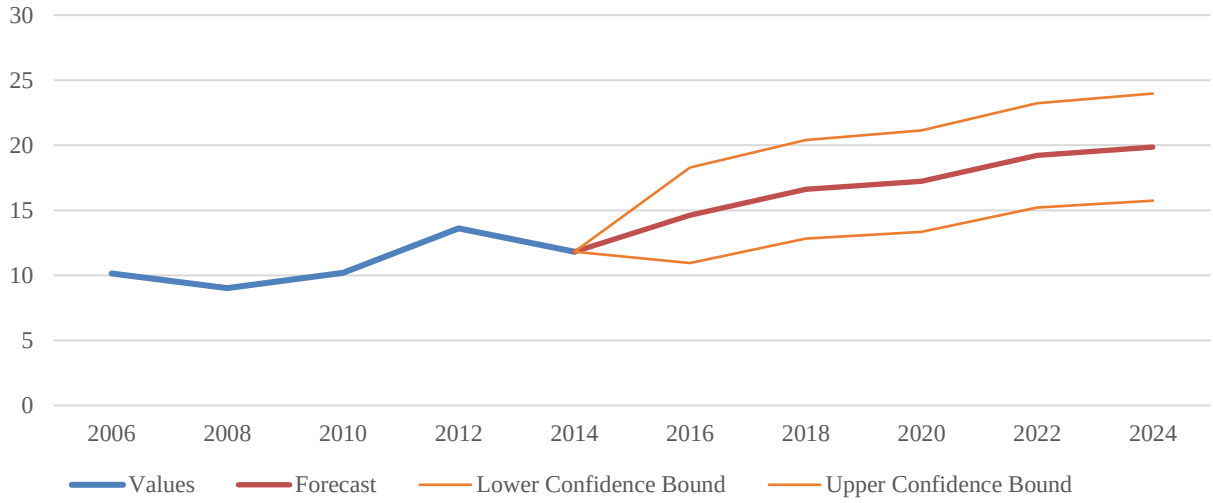

Figure F.9: Predicted Annual Averages for All Female Senatorial Candidates

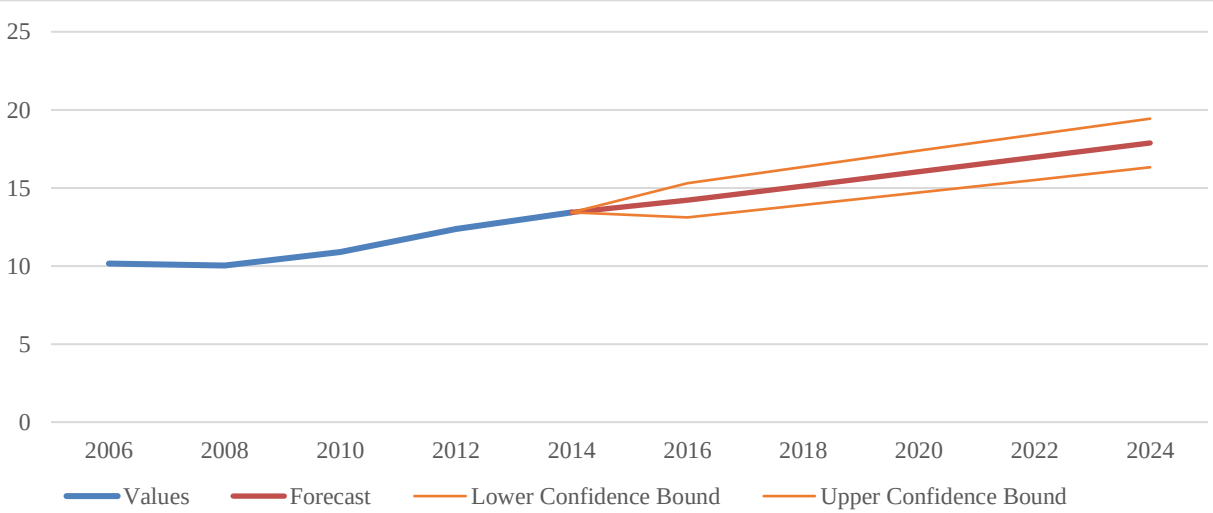

Figure F.10: Predicted Annual Averages for All Female Federal Candidates

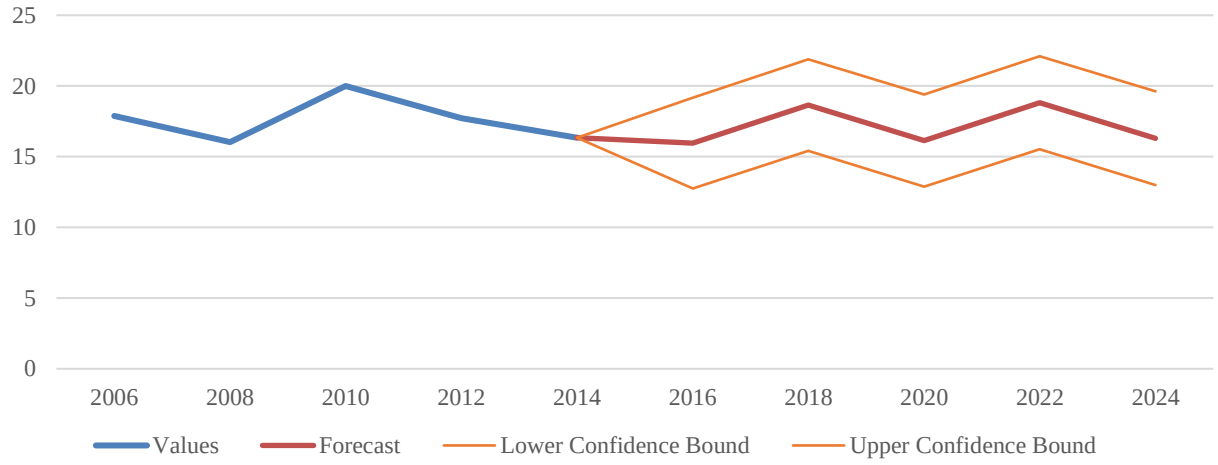

Figure F.11: Predicted Annual Averages for All Male Gubernatorial Candidates

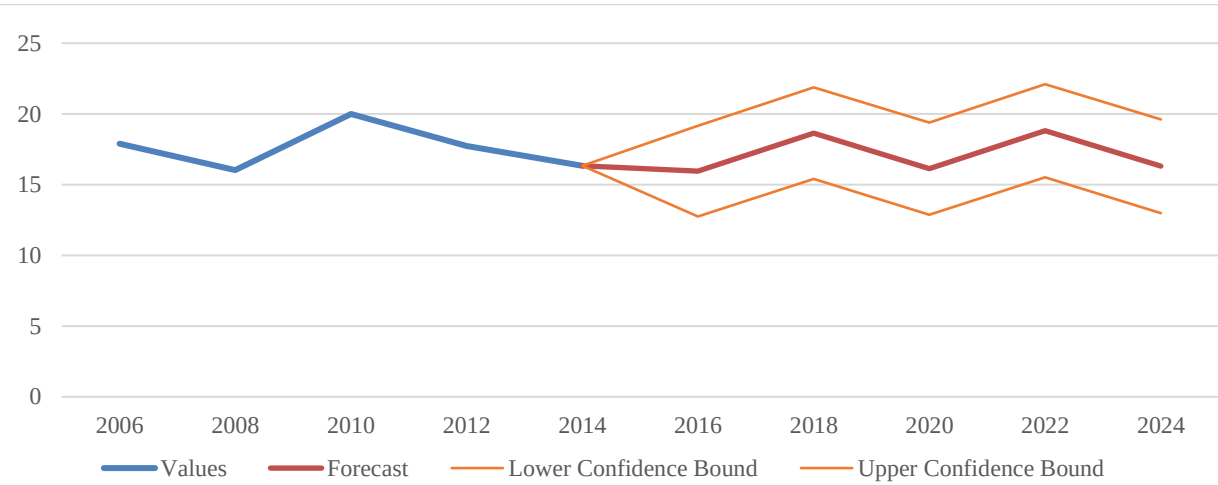

Figure F.12: Predicted Annual Averages for All Male Gubernatorial Candidates

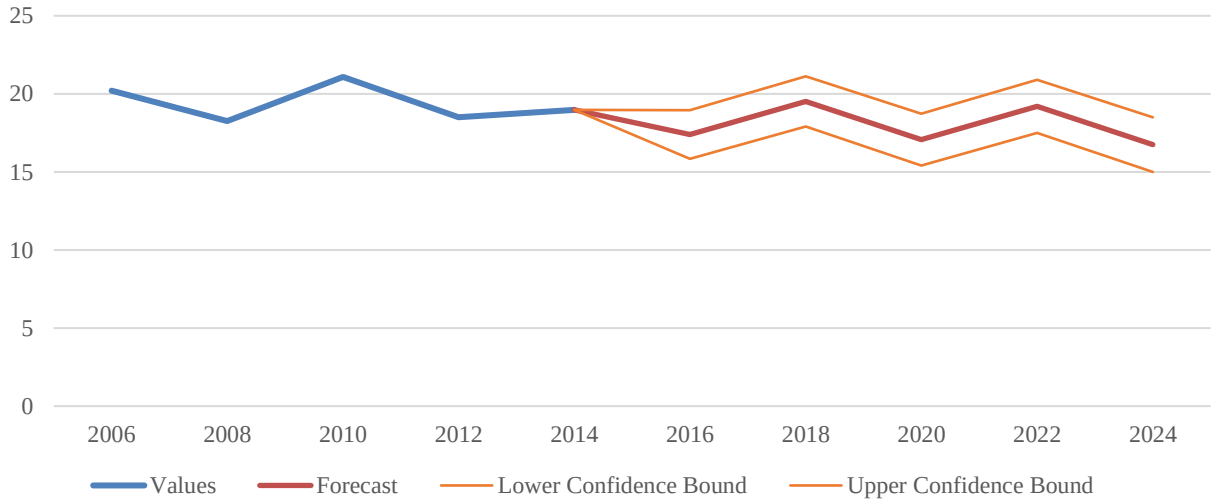

Figure F.13: Predicted Annual Averages for All Male House Candidates

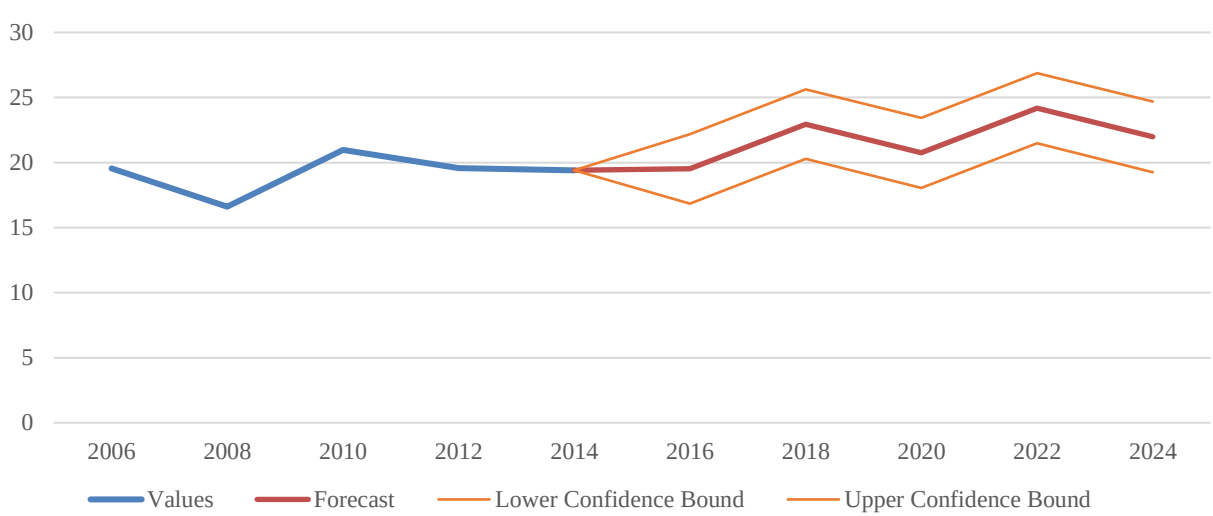

Figure F.14: Predicted Annual Averages for All Male Senatorial Candidates

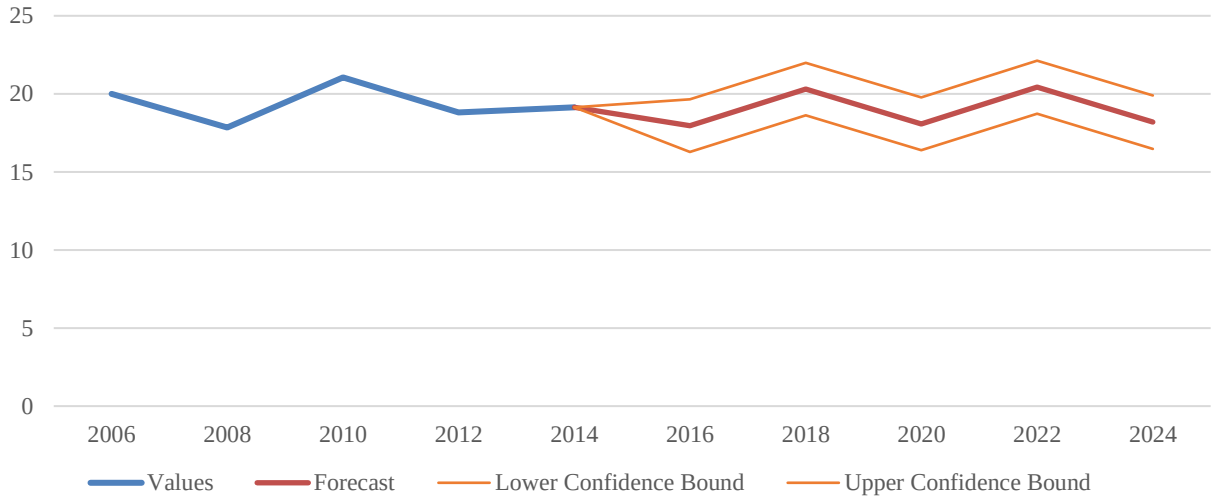

Figure F.15: Predicted Annual Averages for All Male Federal Candidates

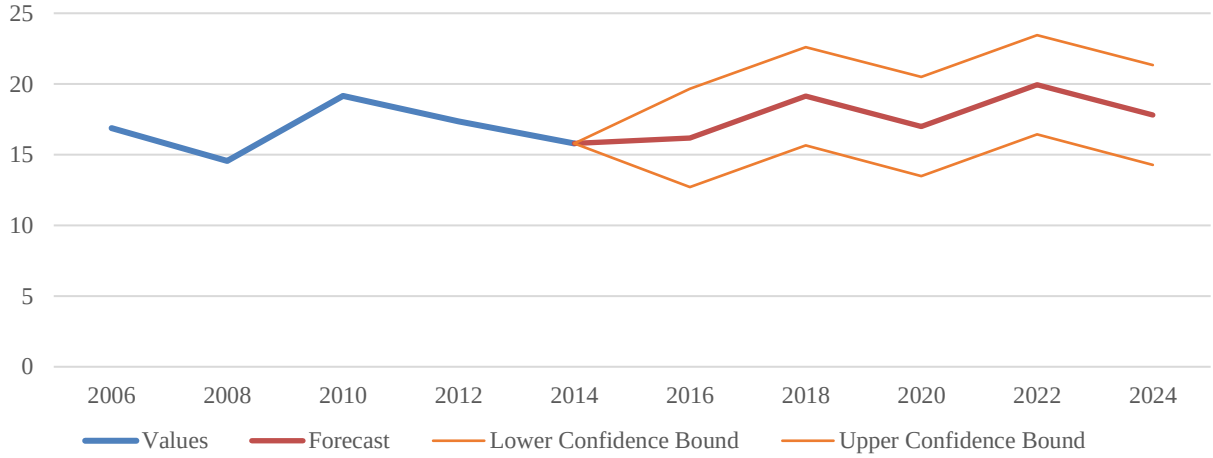

Figure F.16: Predicted Annual Averages for All Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates

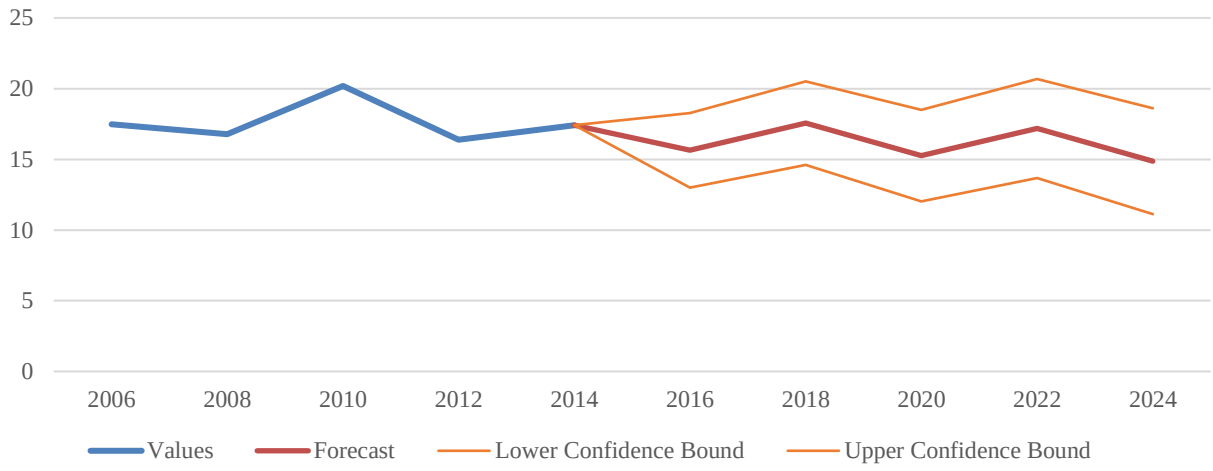

Figure F.17: Predicted Annual Averages for All Democratic House Candidates

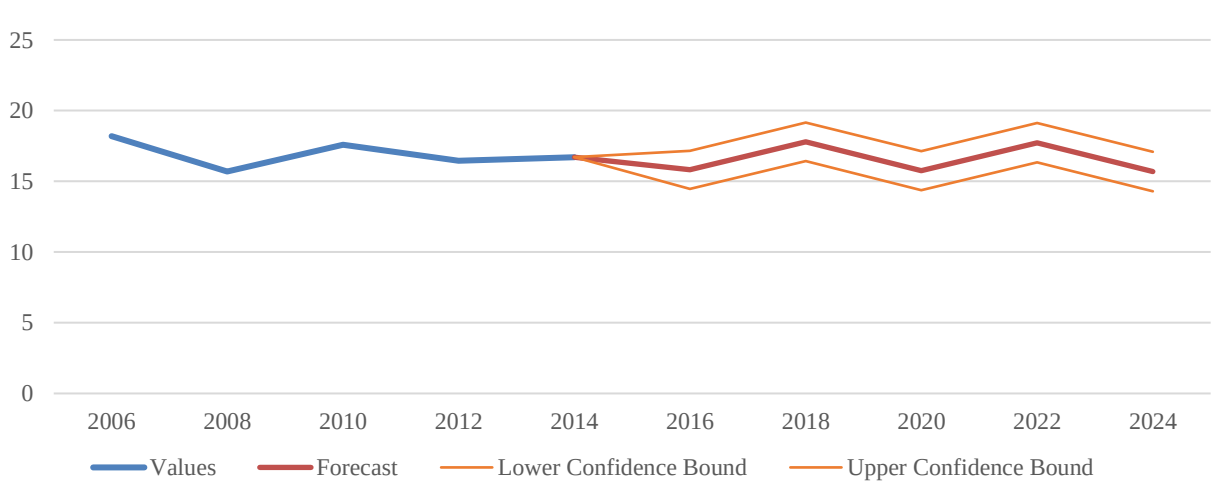

Figure F.18: Predicted Annual Averages for All Democratic Senatorial Candidates

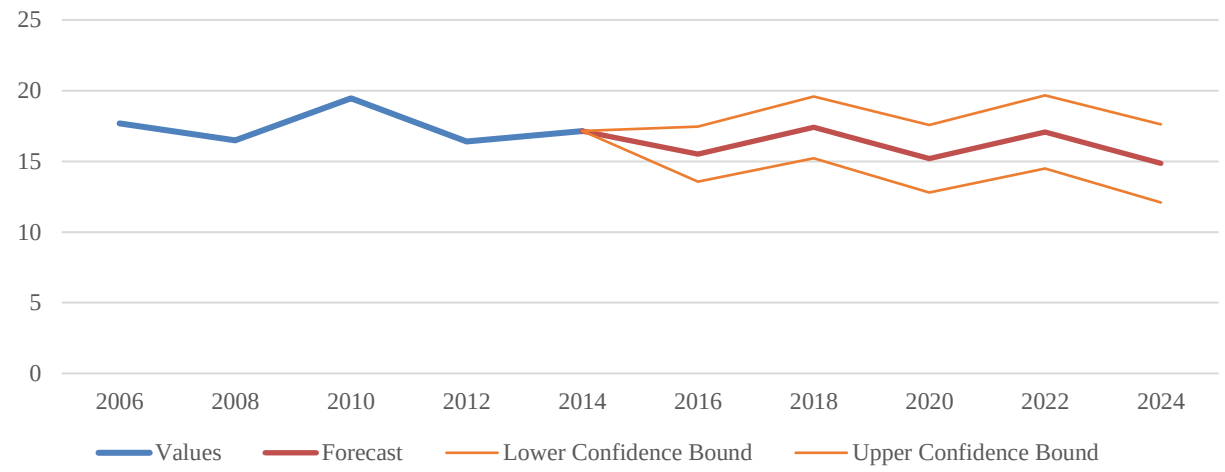

Figure F.19: Predicted Annual Averages for All Democratic Federal Candidates

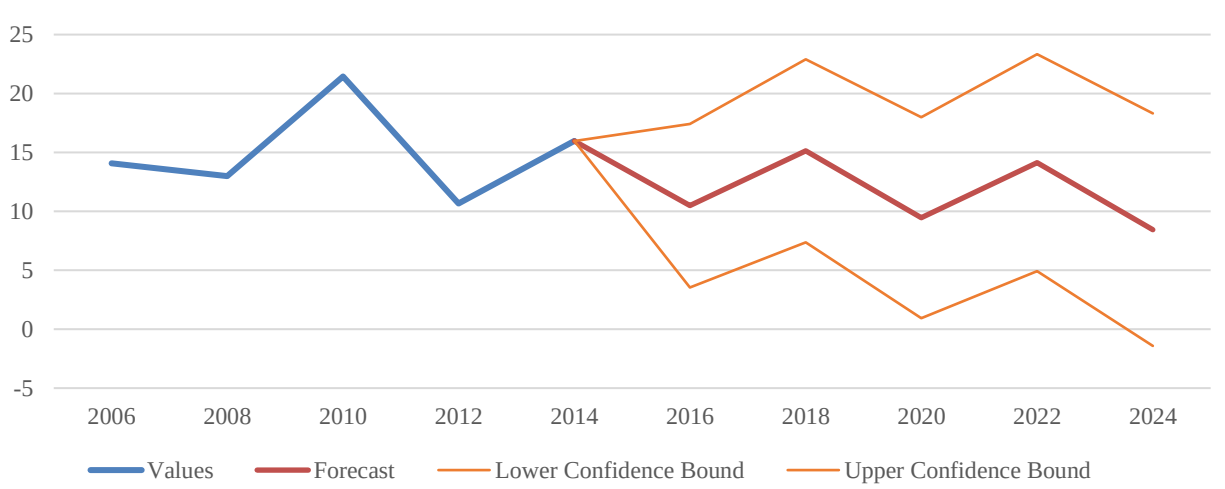

Figure F.20: Predicted Annual Averages for All Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates

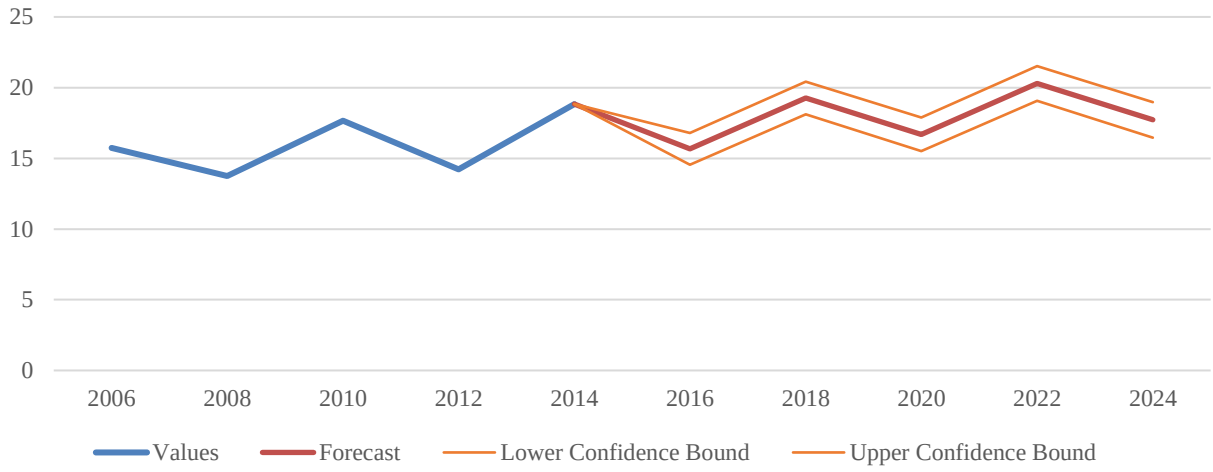

Figure F.21: Predicted Annual Averages for All Minor Party House Candidates

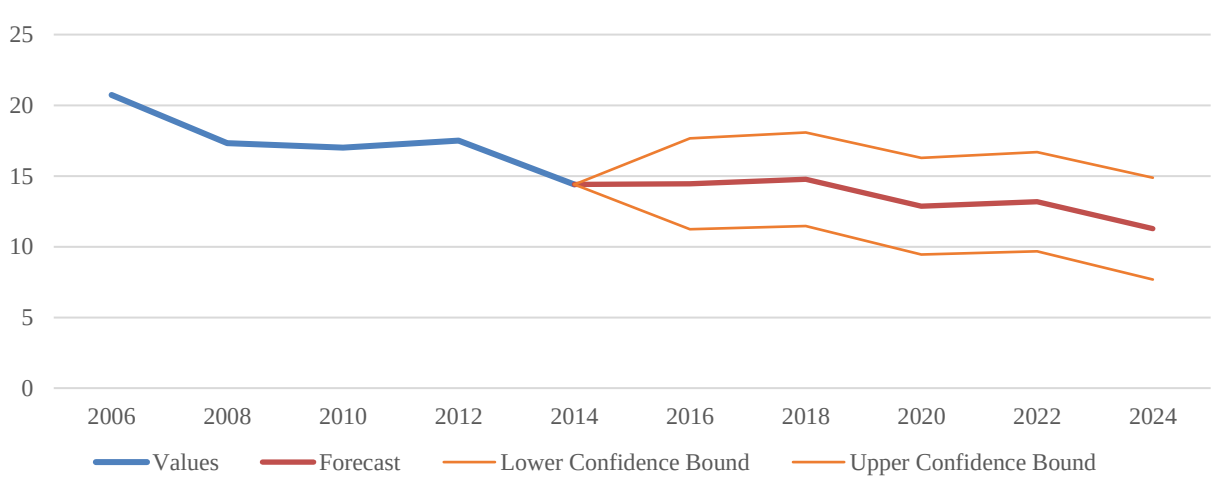

Figure F.22: Predicted Annual Averages for All Minor Party Senatorial Candidates

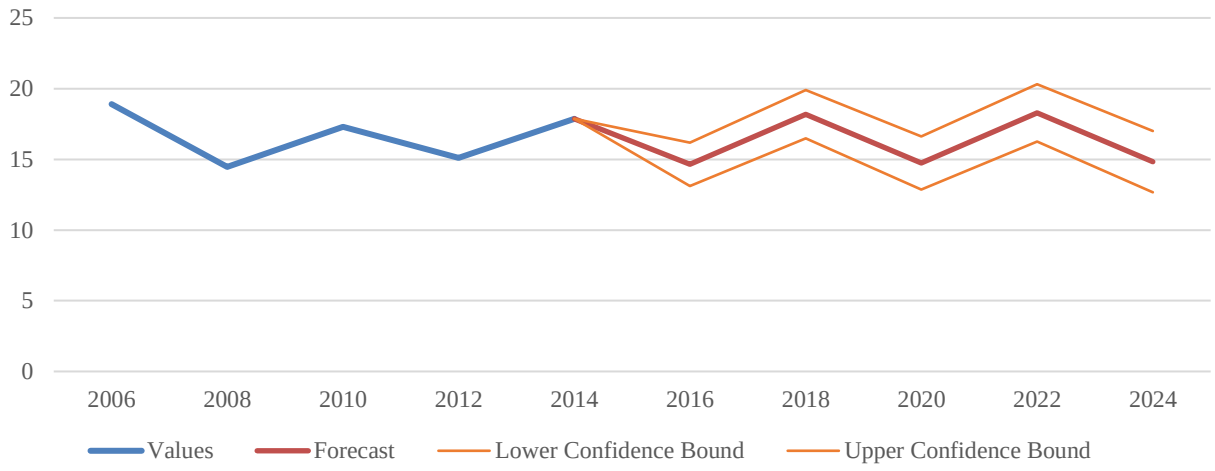

Figure F.23: Predicted Annual Averages for All Minor Party Federal Candidates

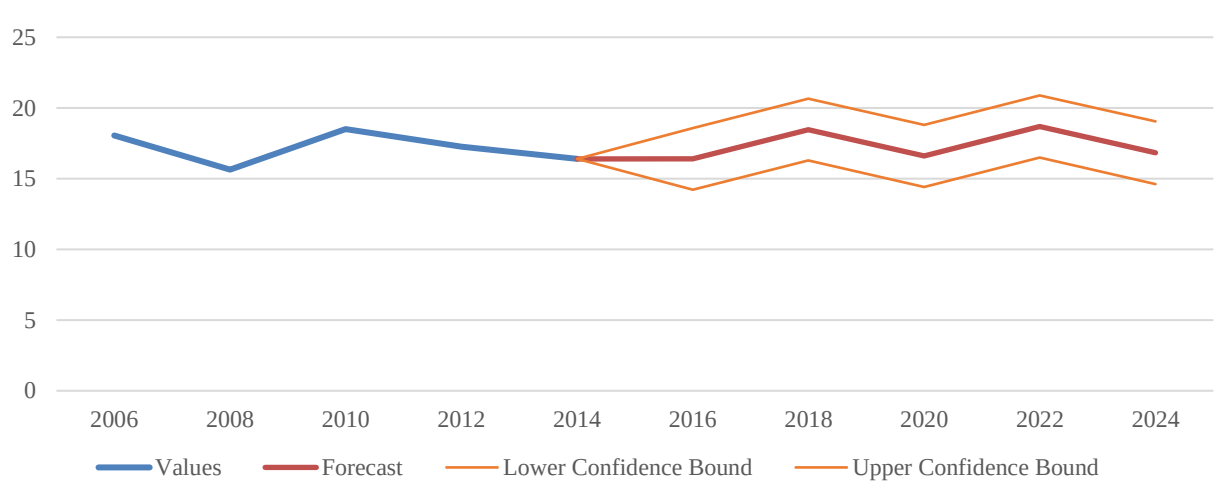

Figure F.24: Predicted Annual Averages for All Republican Gubernatorial Candidates

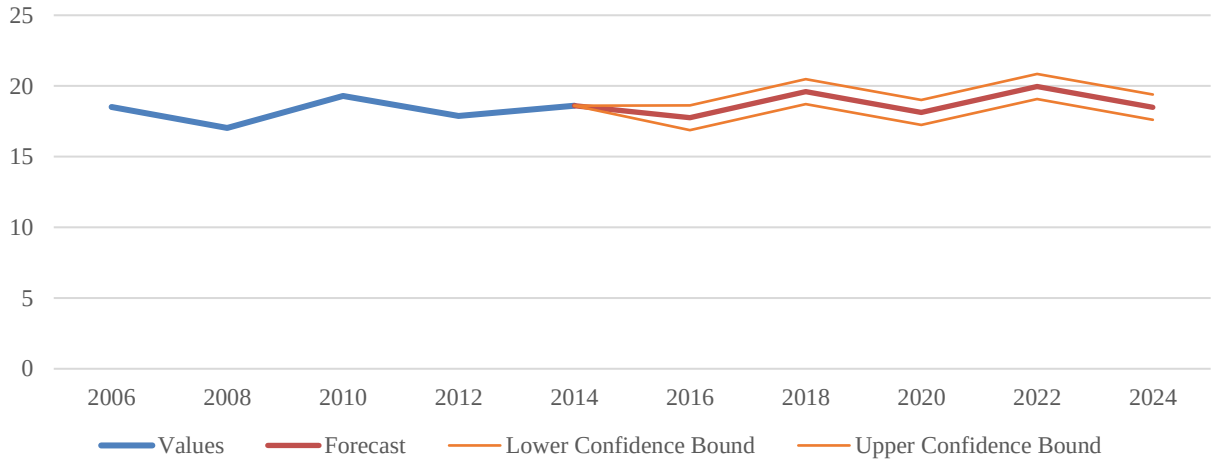

Figure F.25: Predicted Annual Averages for All Republican House Candidates

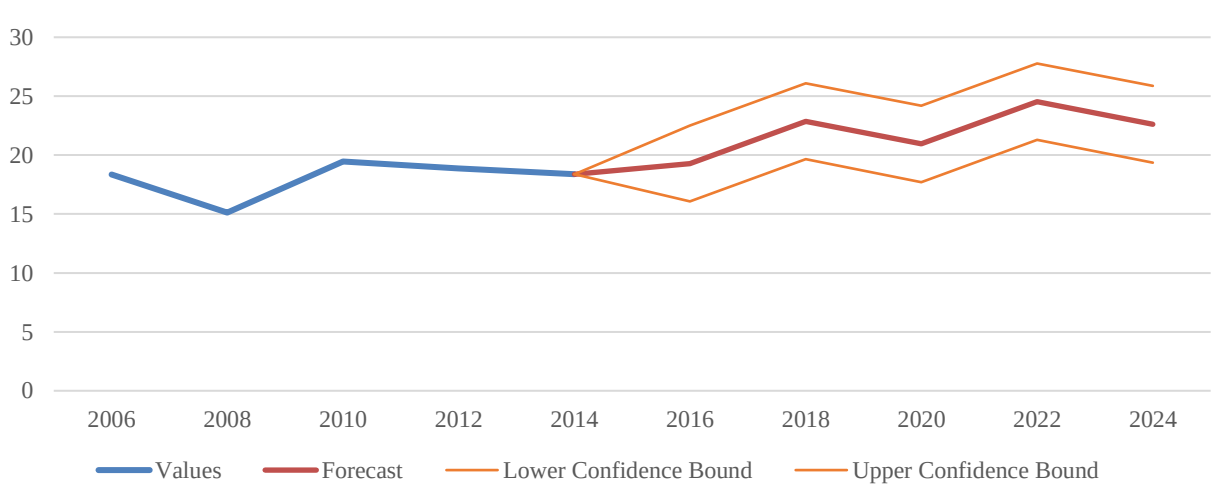

Figure F.26: Predicted Annual Averages for All Republican Senatorial Candidates

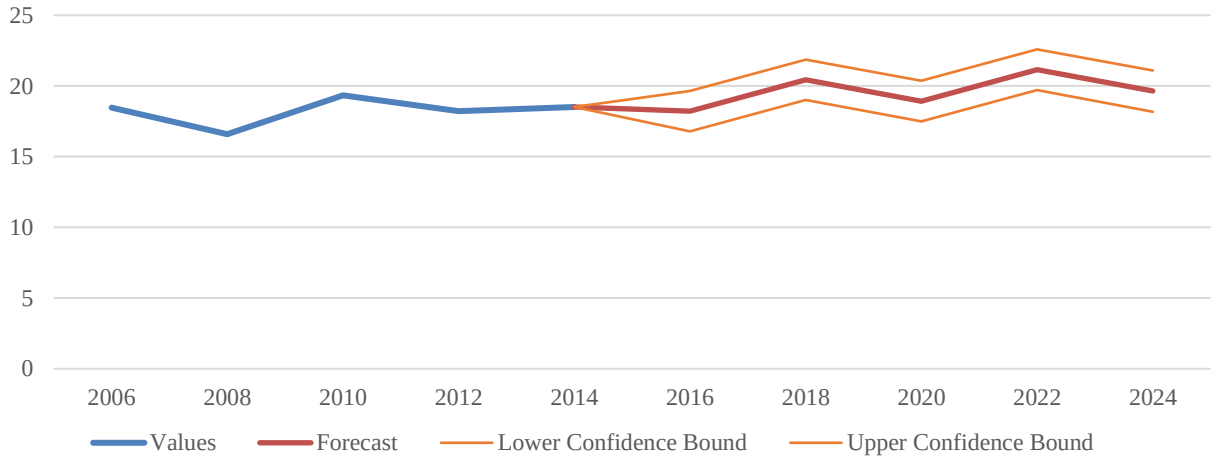

Figure F.27: Predicted Annual Averages for All Republican Federal Candidates

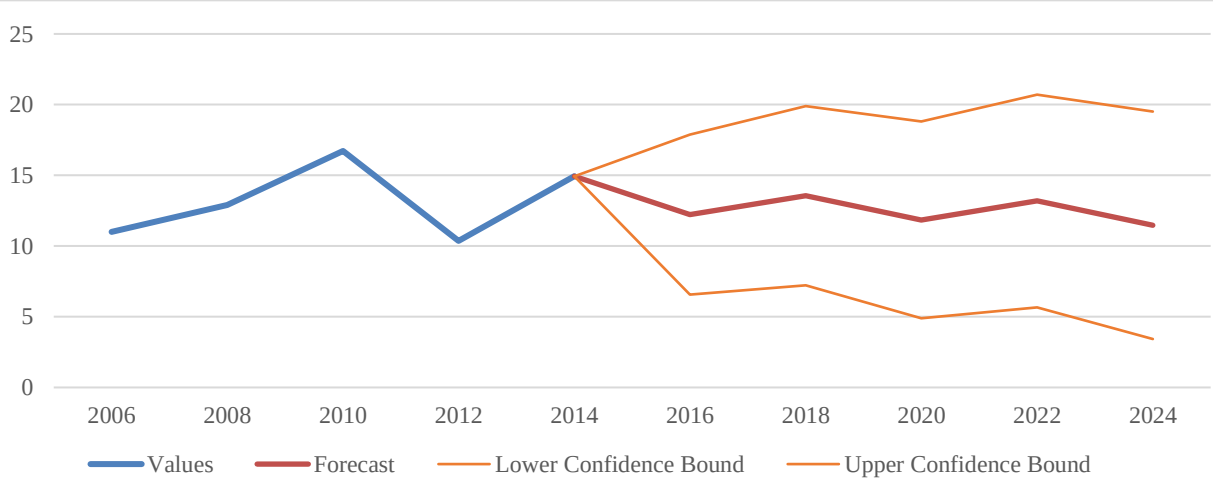

Figure F.28: Predicted Annual Averages for Female Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates

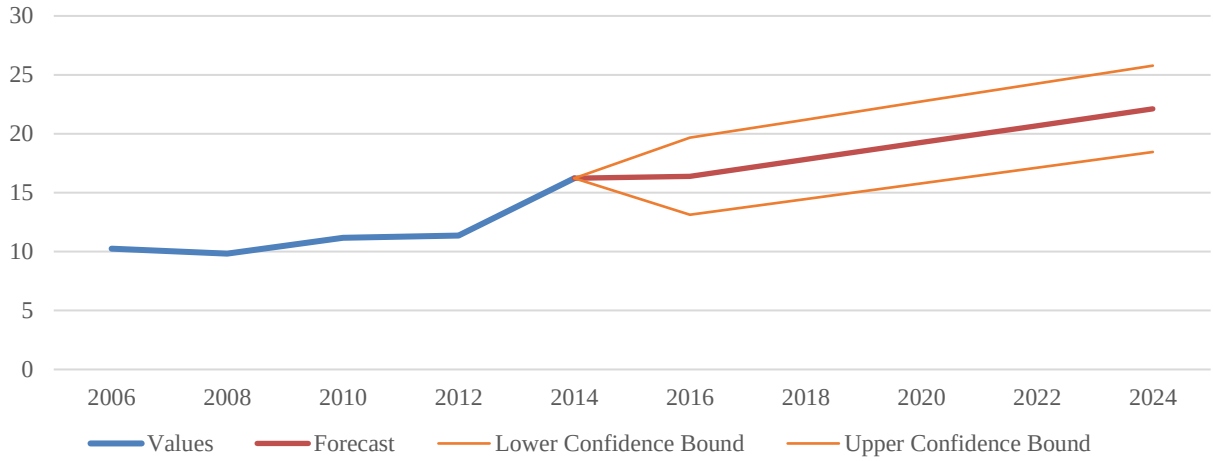

Figure F.29: Predicted Annual Averages for Democratic Female House Candidates

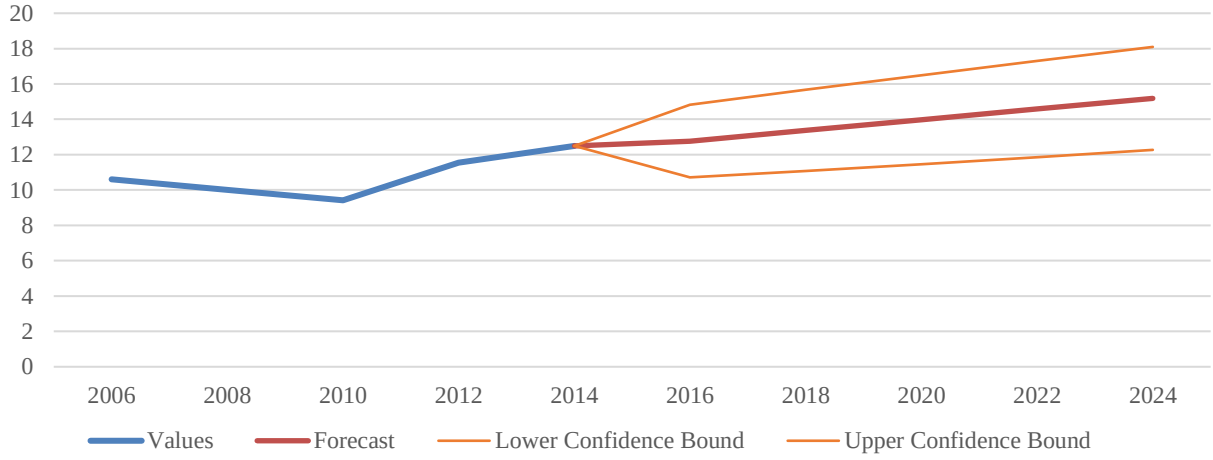

Figure F.30: Predicted Annual Averages for Democratic Female Senatorial Candidates

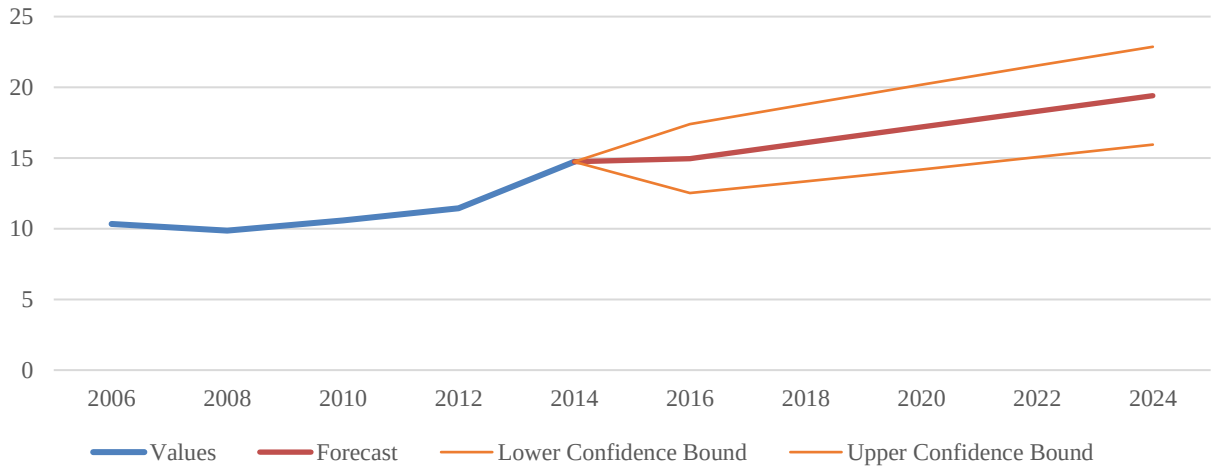

Figure F.31: Predicted Annual Averages for Democratic Female Federal Candidates

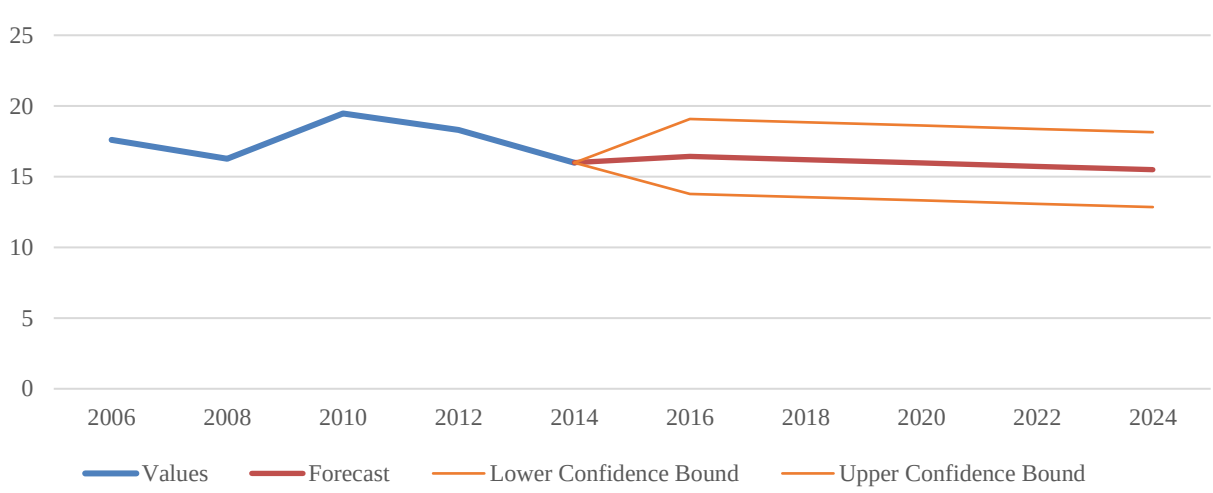

Figure F.32: Predicted Annual Averages for Democratic Male Gubernatorial Candidates

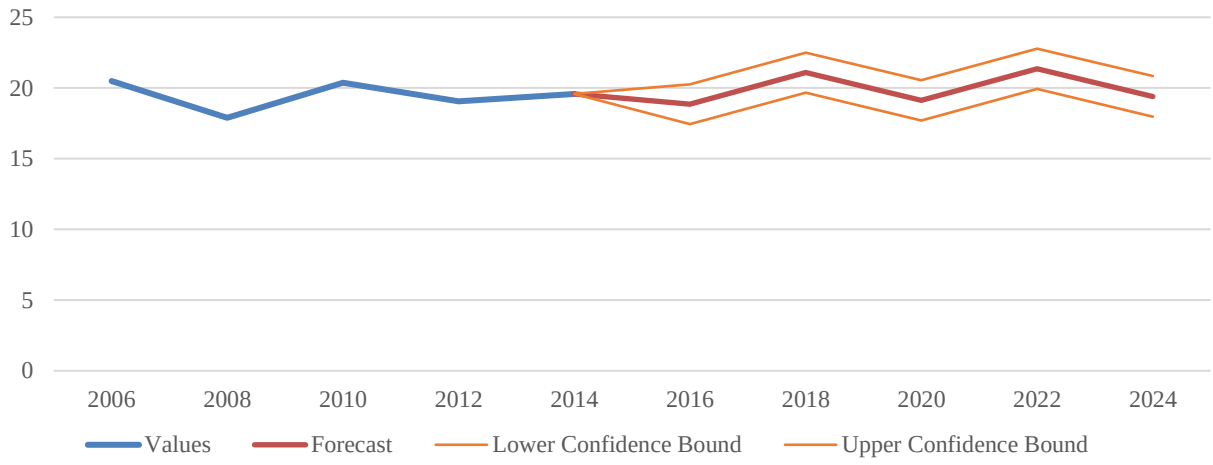

Figure F.33: Predicted Annual Averages for Democratic Male House Candidates

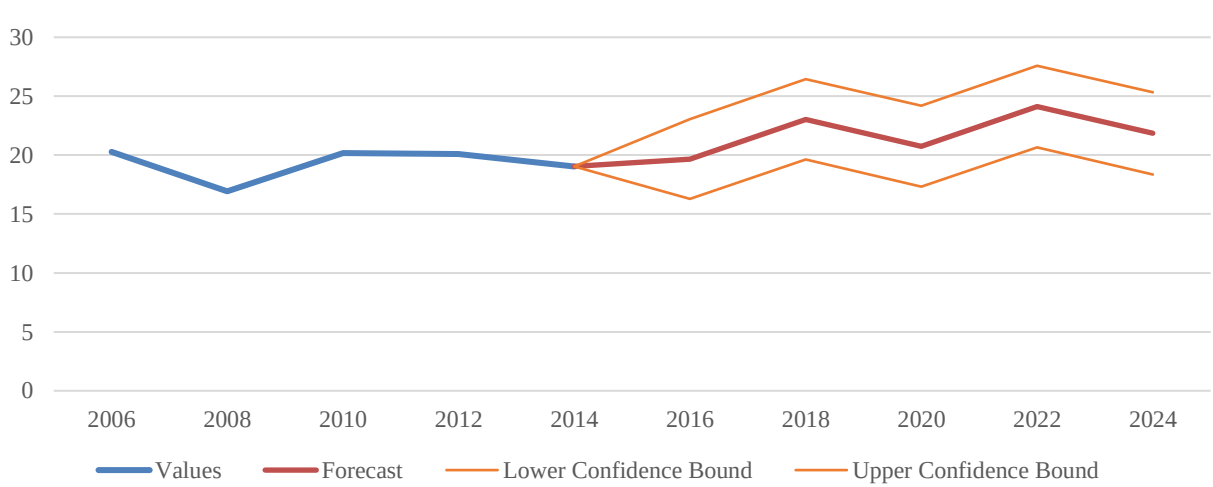

Figure F.34: Predicted Annual Averages for Democratic Male Senatorial Candidates

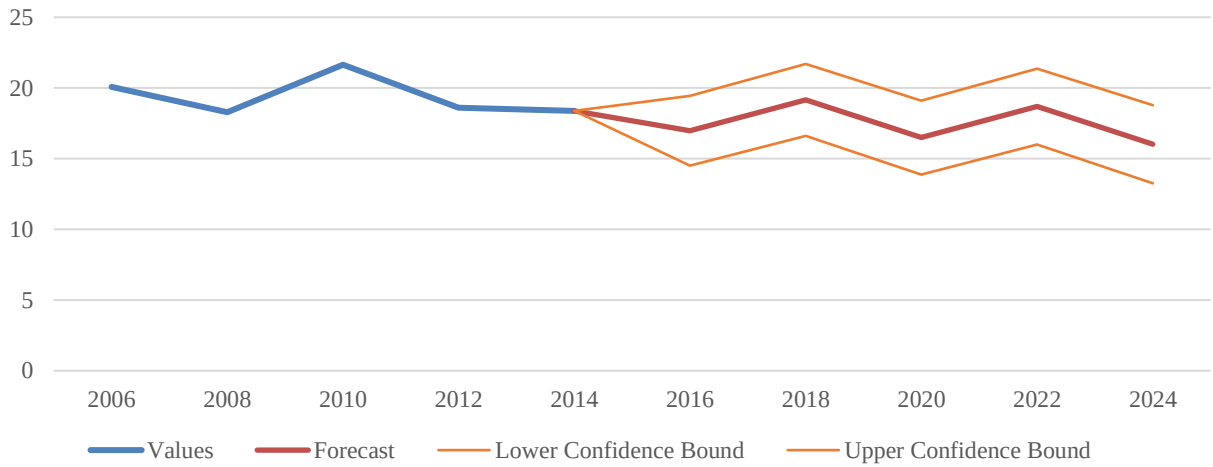

Figure F.35: Predicted Annual Averages for Democratic Male Federal Candidates

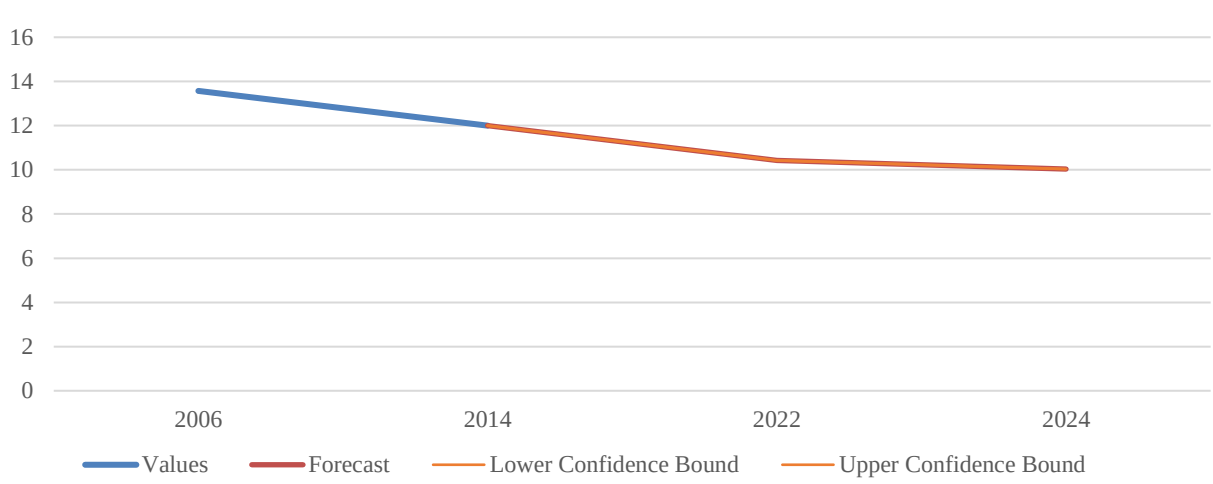

Figure F.36: Predicted Annual Averages for Minor Party Female Gubernatorial Candidates

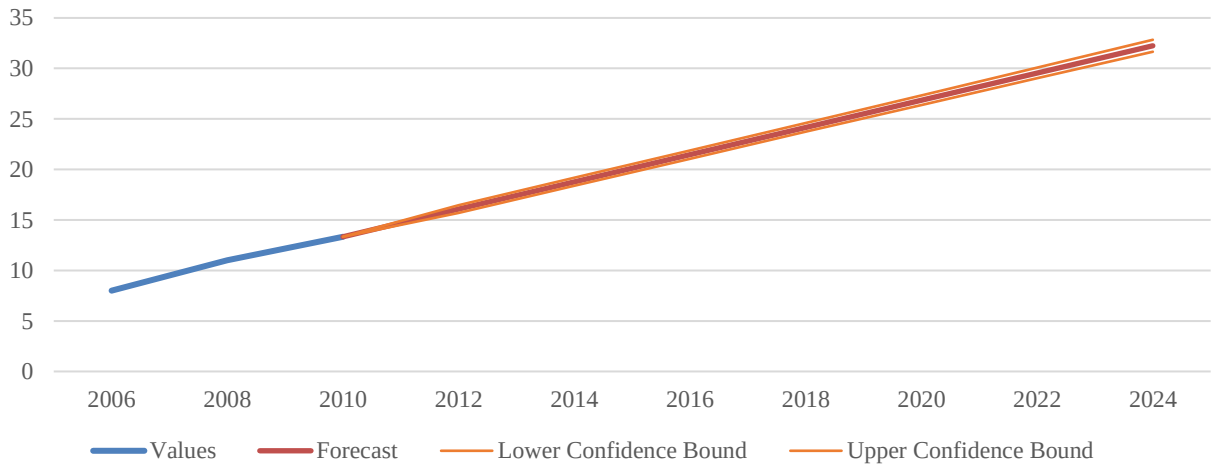

Figure F.37: Predicted Annual Averages for Minor Party Female House Candidates

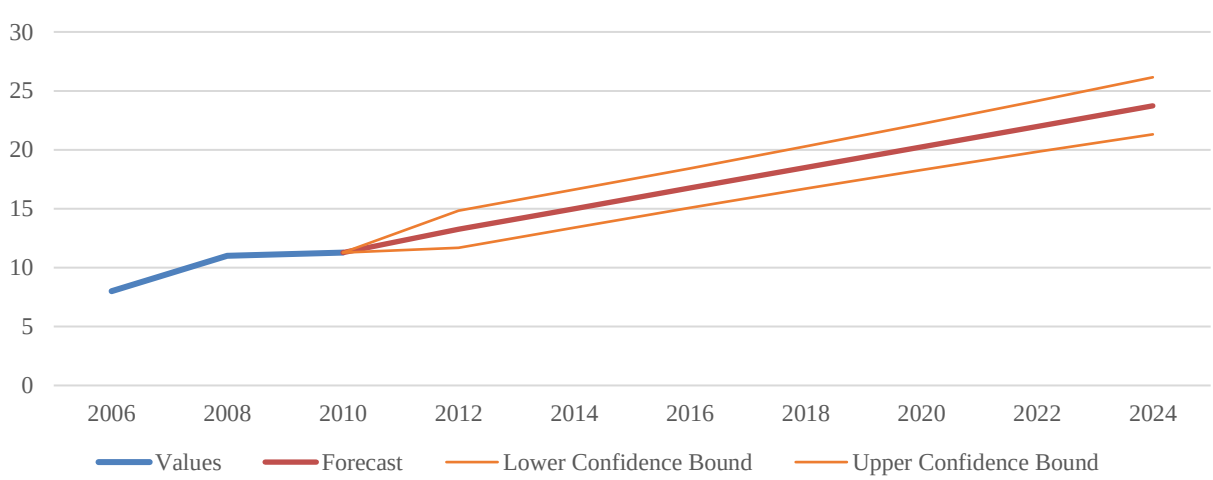

Figure F.38: Predicted Annual Averages for Minor Party Female Federal Candidates

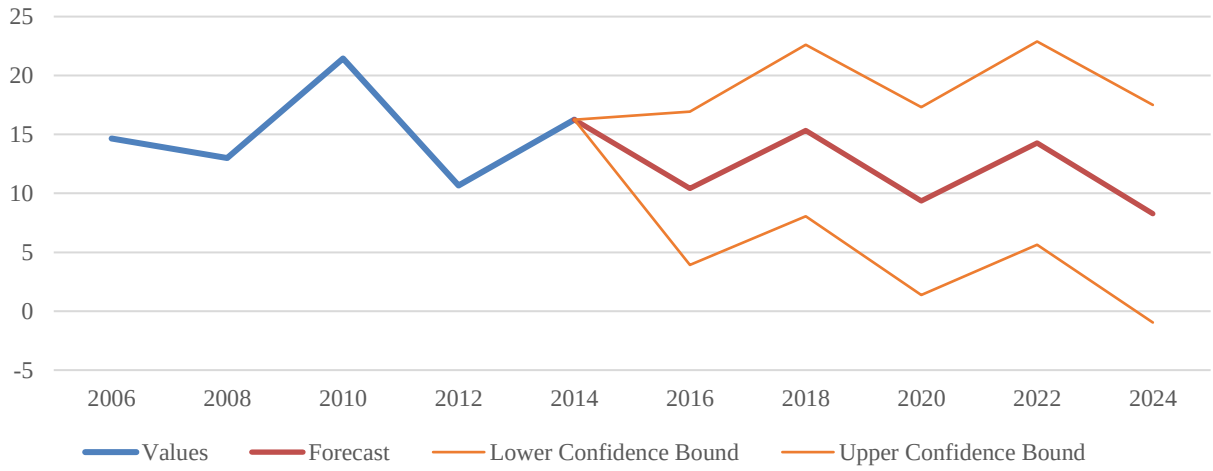

Figure F.39: Predicted Annual Averages for Minor Party Male Gubernatorial Candidates

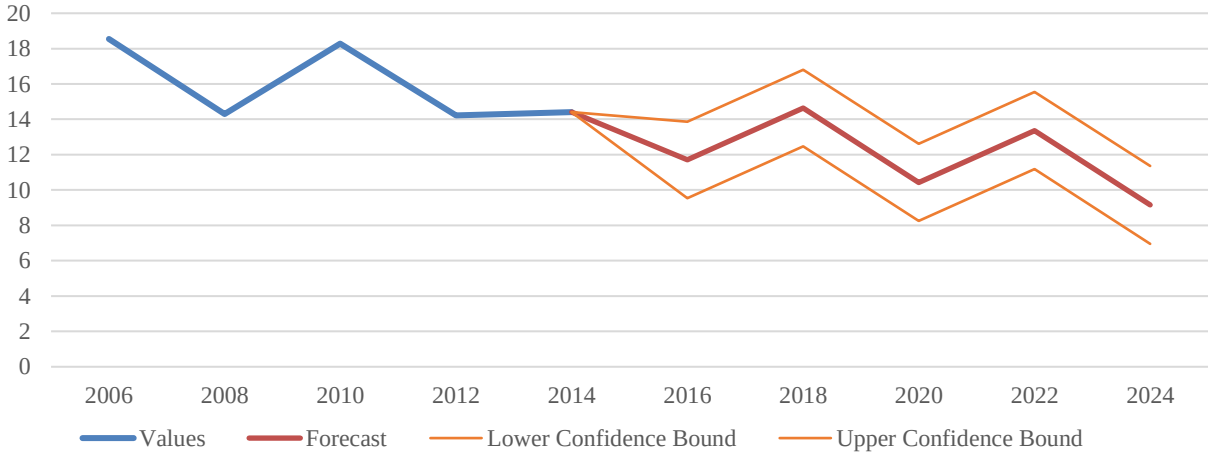

Figure F.40: Predicted Annual Averages for Minor Party Male House Candidates

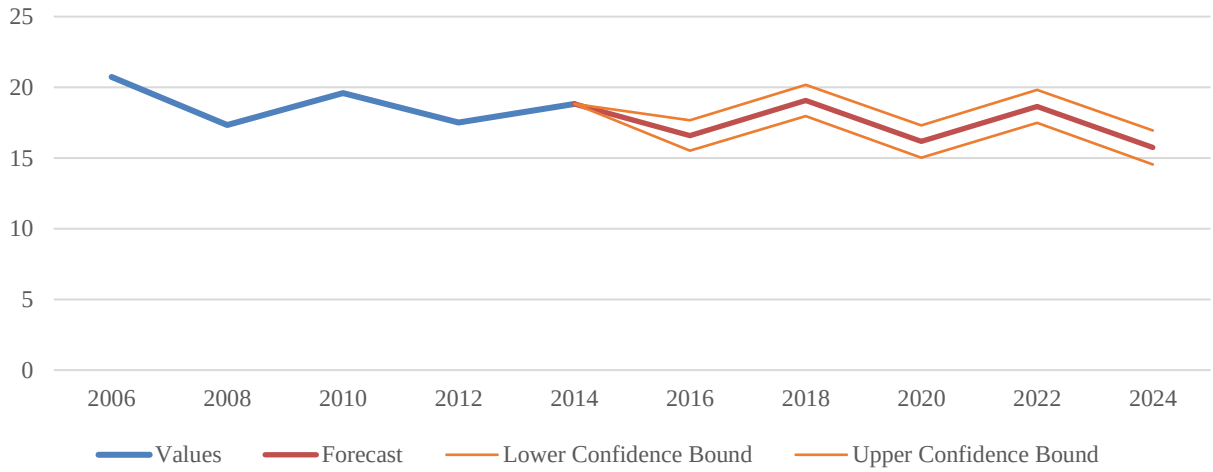

Figure F.41: Predicted Annual Averages for Minor Party Male Senatorial Candidates

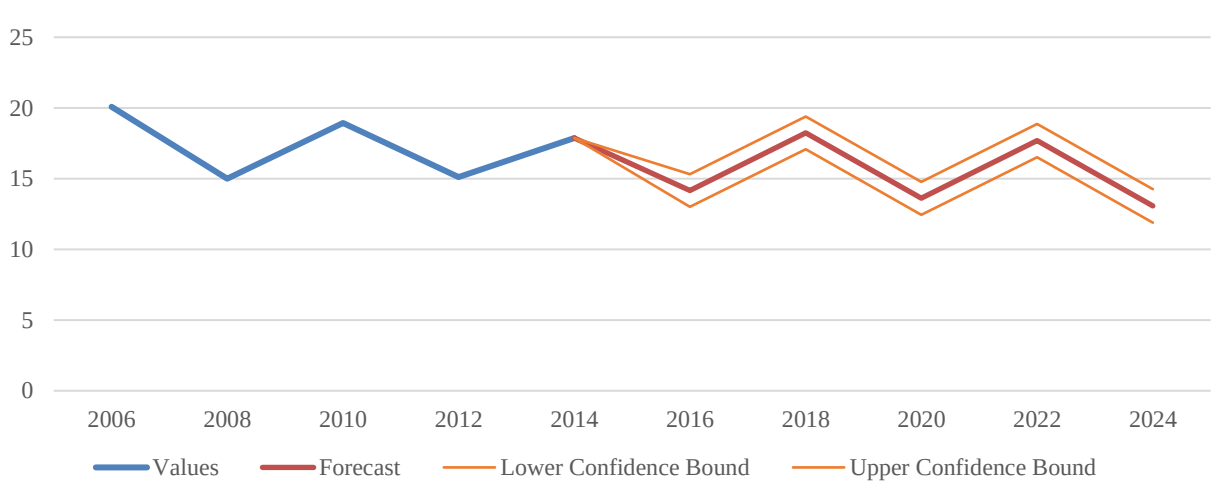

Figure F.42: Predicted Annual Averages for Minor Party Male Federal Candidates

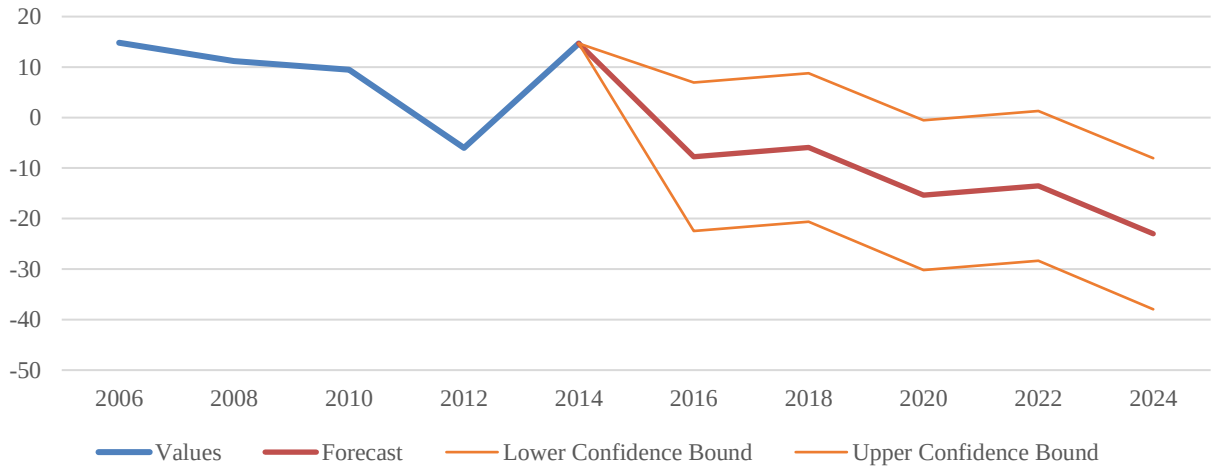

Figure F.43: Predicted Annual Averages for Republican Female Gubernatorial Candidates

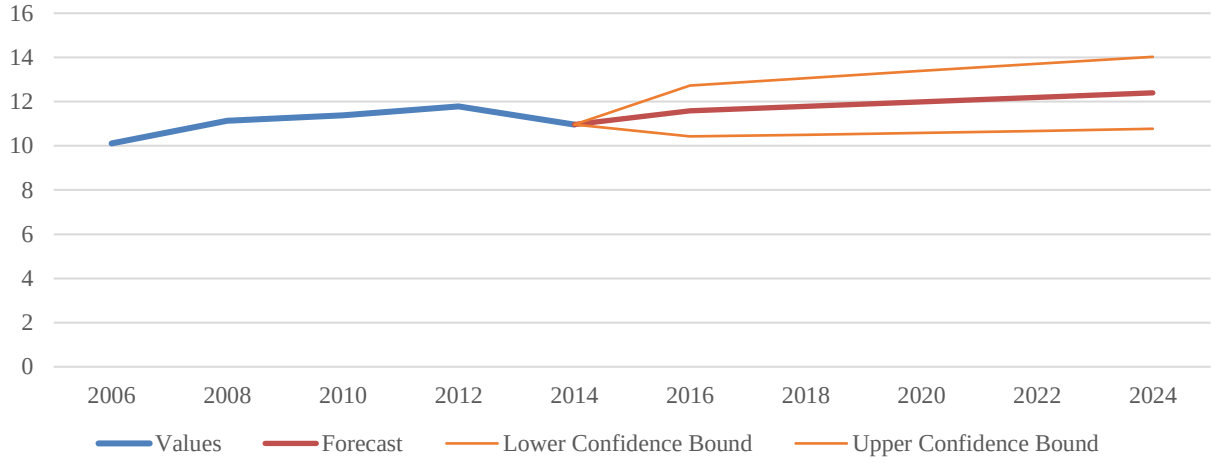

Figure F.44: Predicted Annual Averages for Republican Female House Candidates

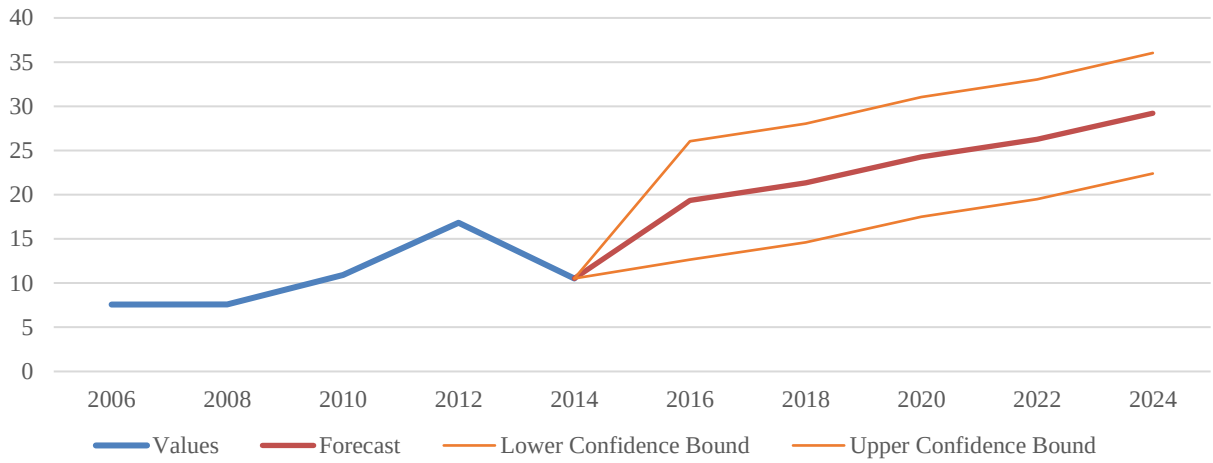

Figure F.45: Predicted Annual Averages for Republican Female Senatorial Candidates

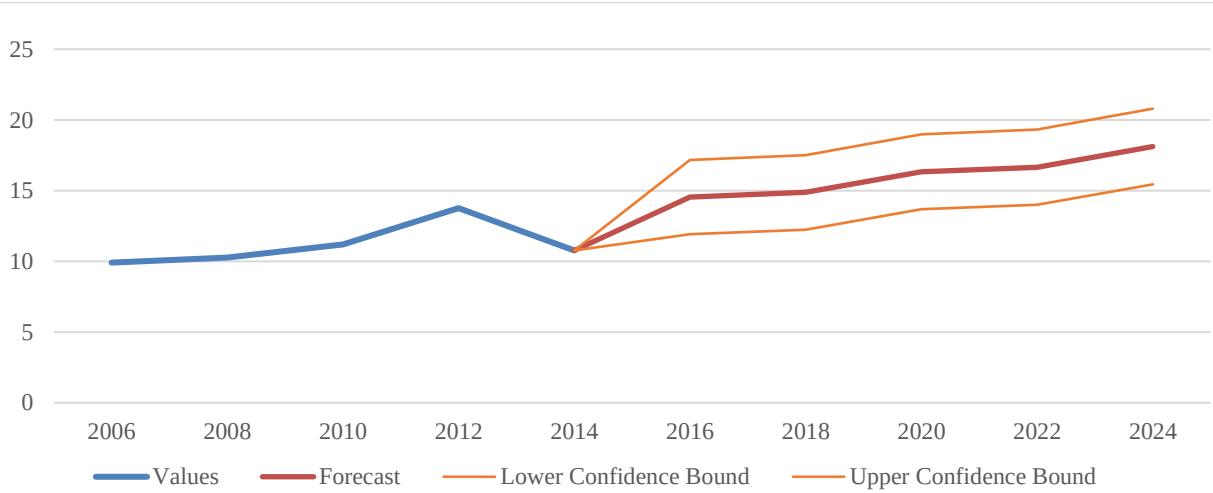

Figure F.46: Predicted Annual Averages for Republican Female Federal Candidates

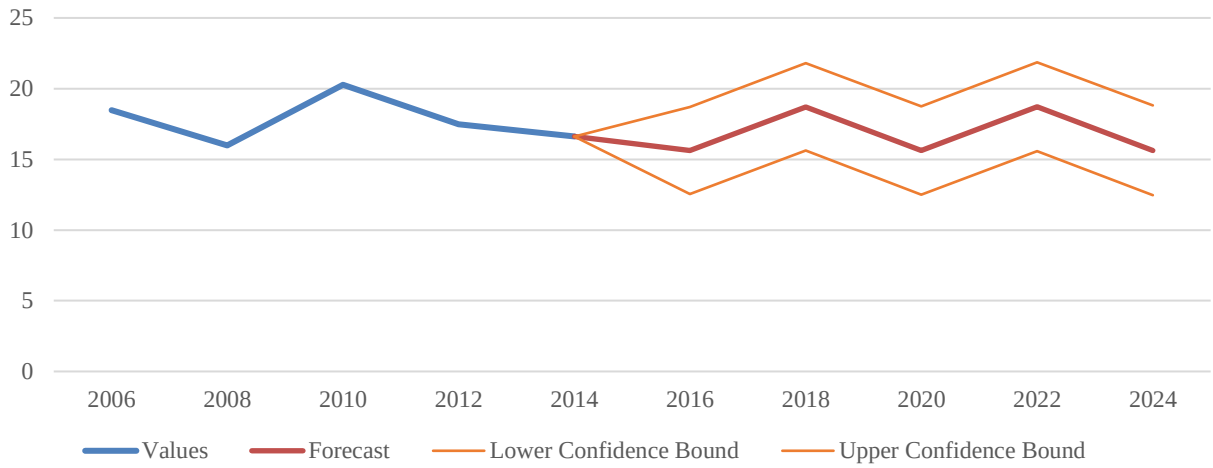

Figure F.47: Predicted Annual Averages for Republican Male Gubernatorial Candidates

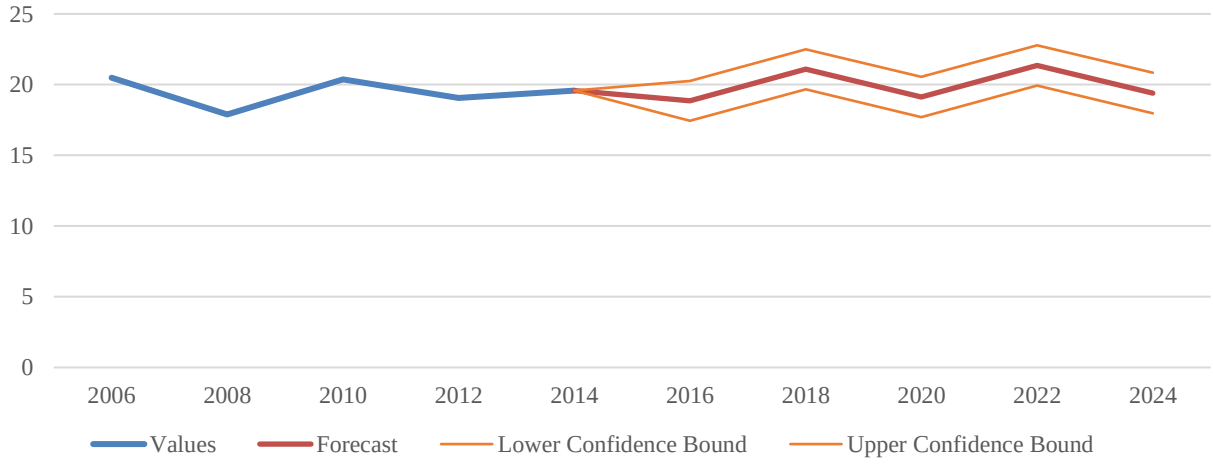

Figure F.48: Predicted Annual Averages for Republican Male House Candidates

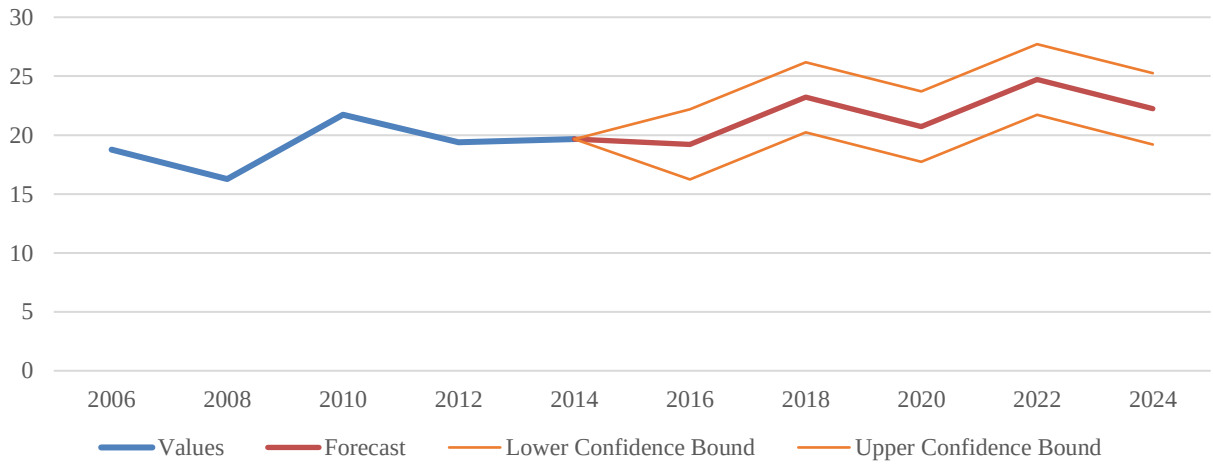

Figure F.49: Predicted Annual Averages for Republican Male Senatorial Candidates

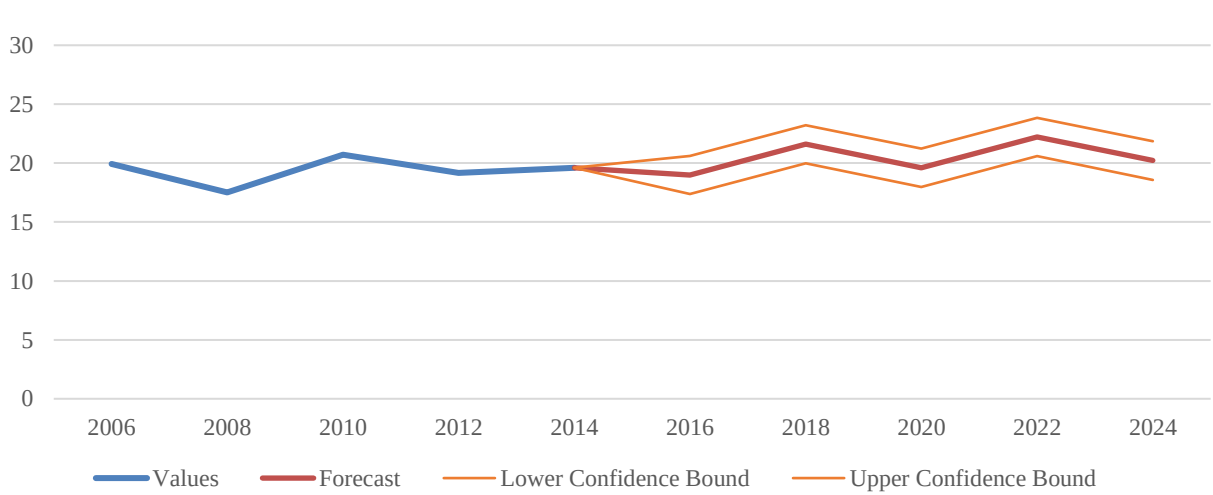

Figure F.50: Predicted Annual Averages for Republican Male Federal Candidates

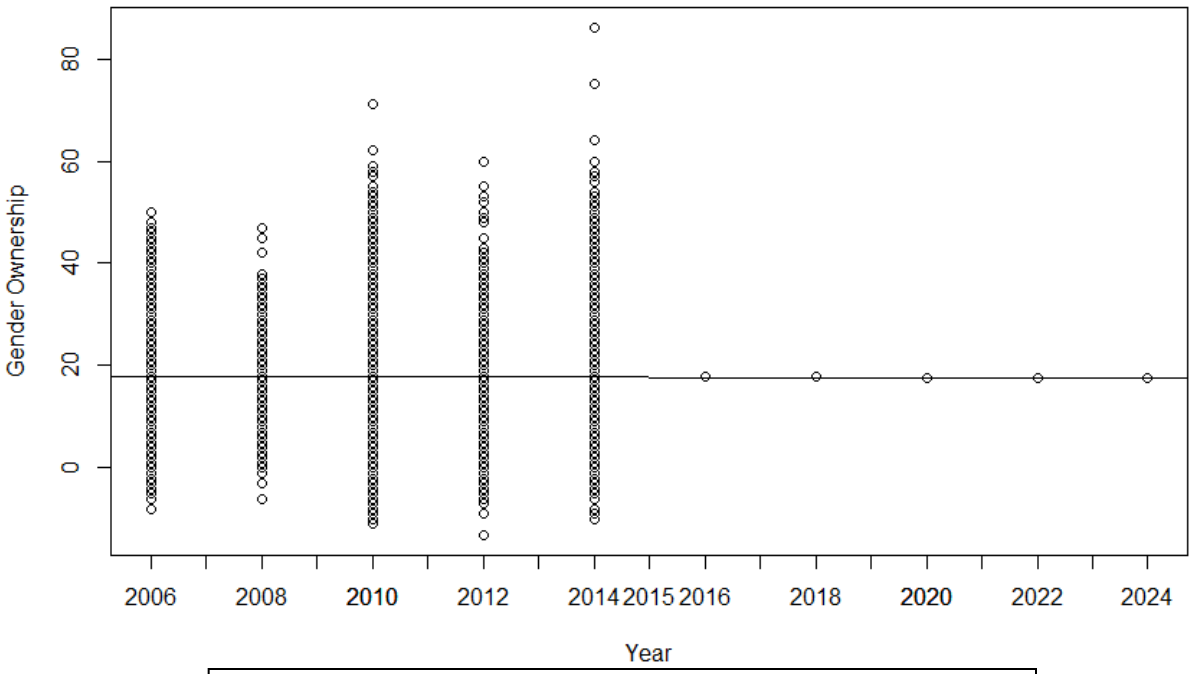

Figure F.51: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Candidates

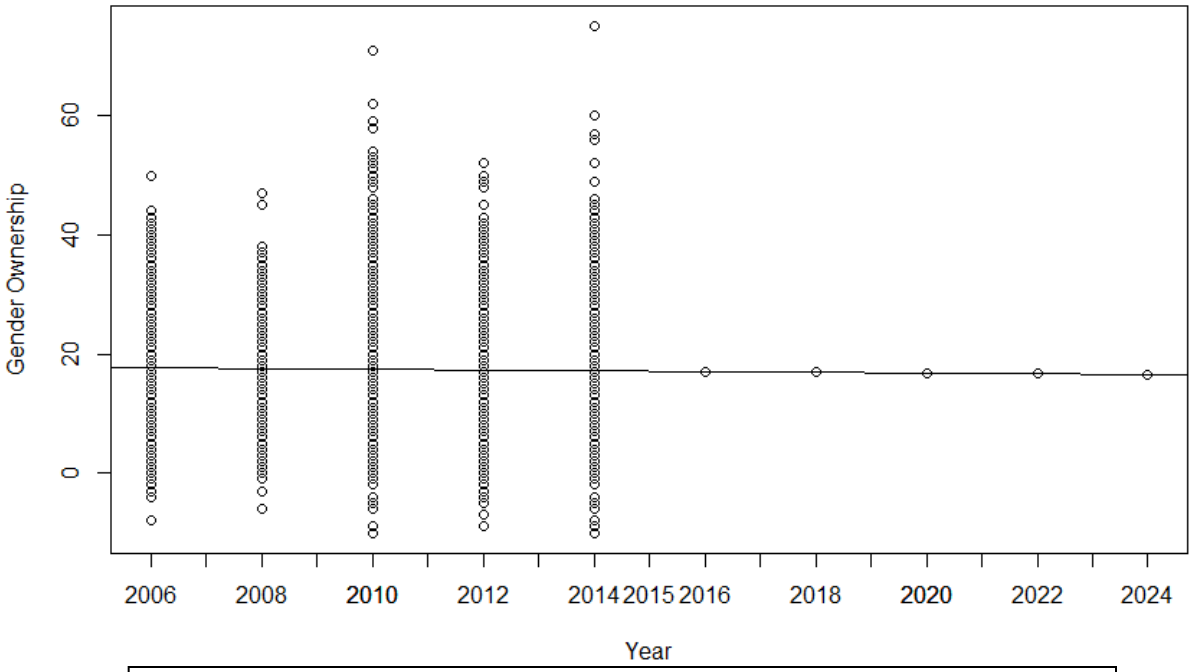

Figure F.52: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Democratic Candidates

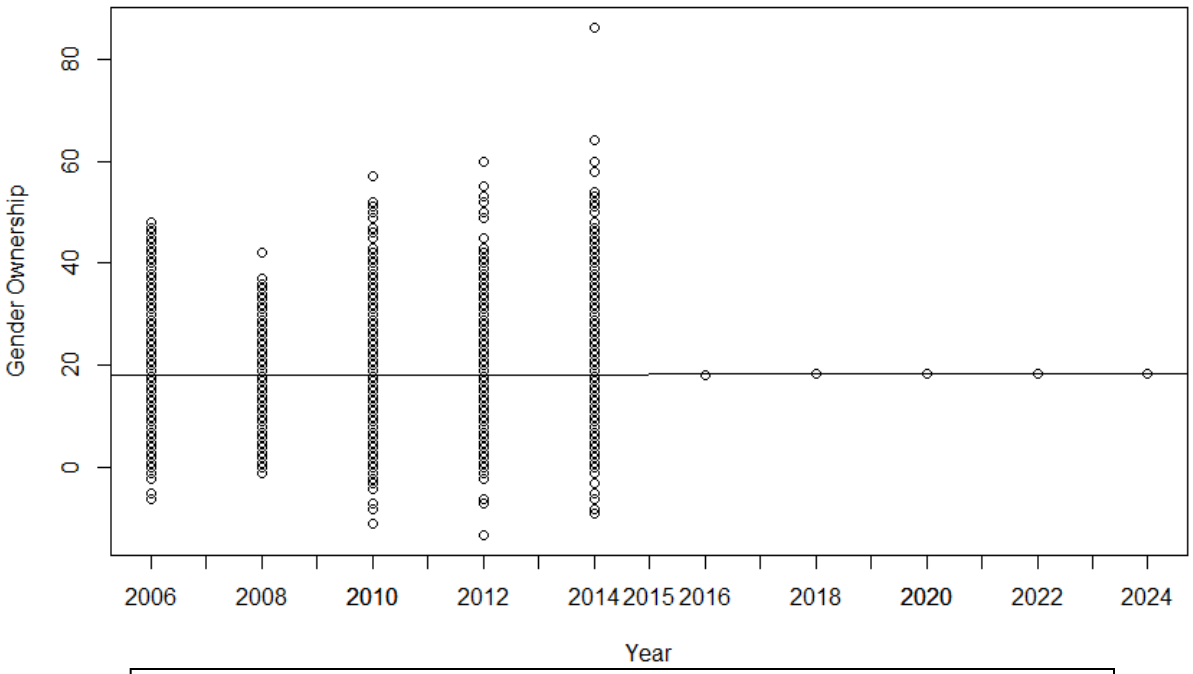

Figure F.53: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Republican Candidates

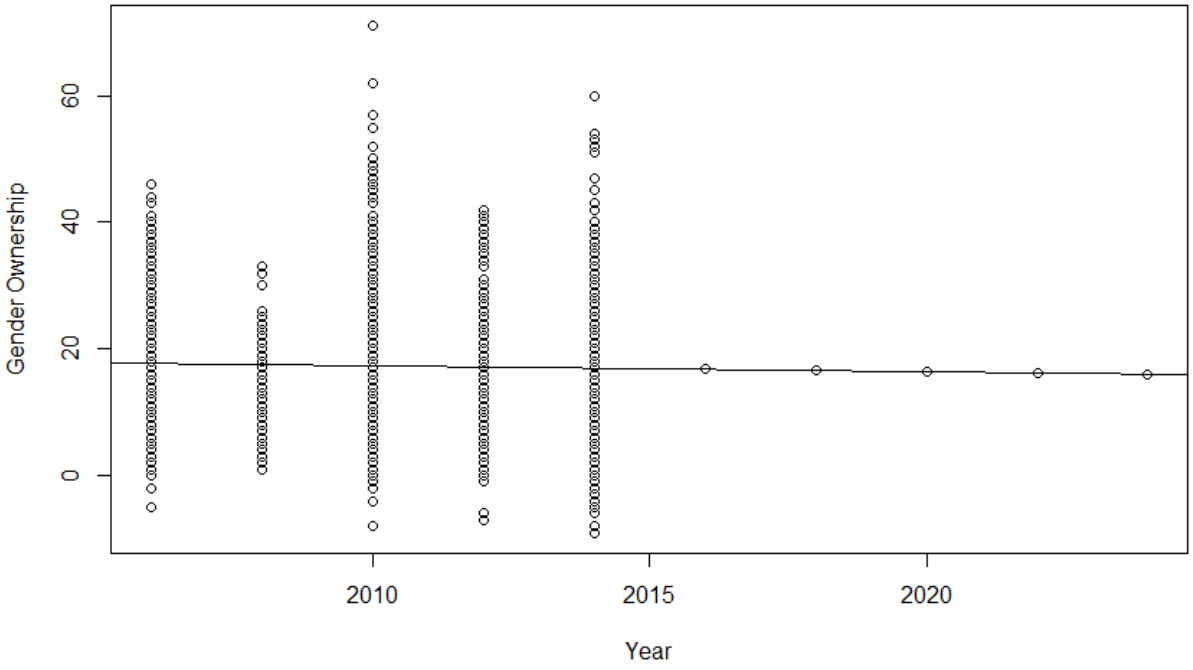

Figure F.54: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Gubernatorial Candidates

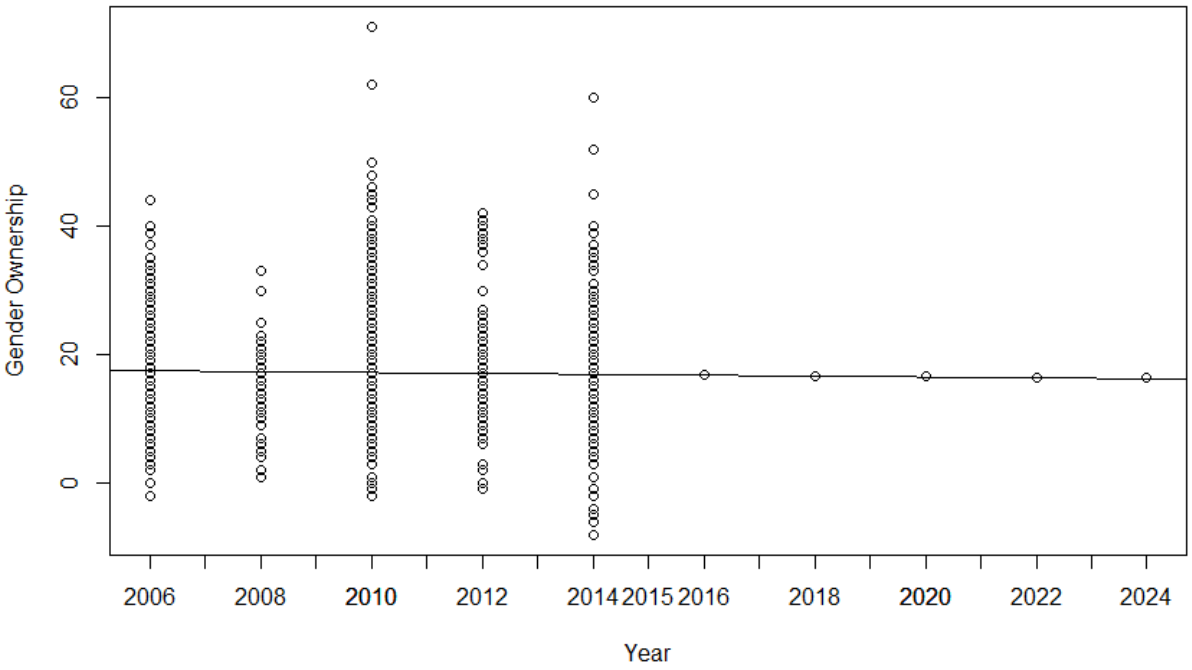

Figure F.55: Predicted Gender Ownership for Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates

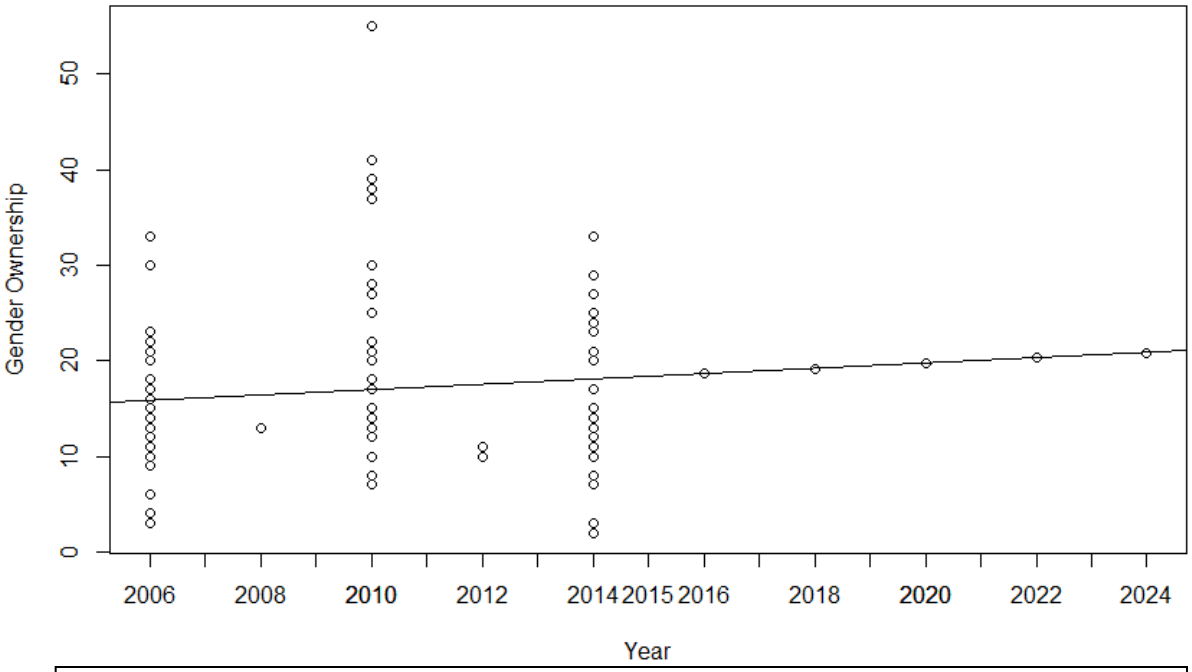

Figure F.56: Predicted Gender Ownership for Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates

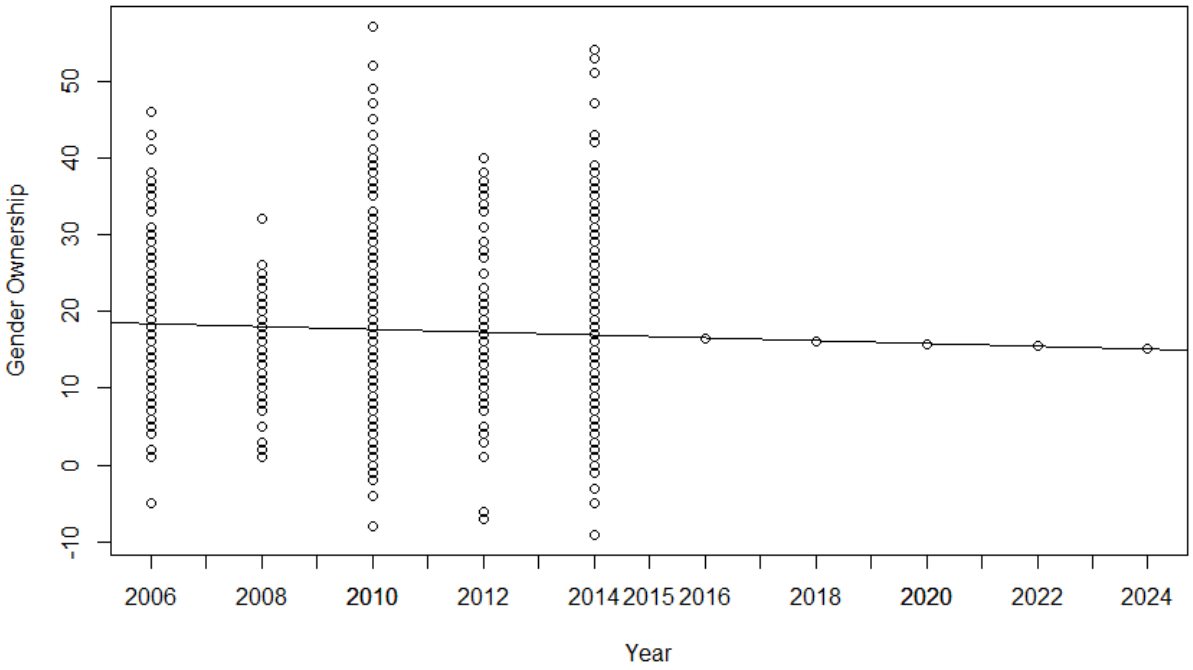

Figure F.57: Predicted Gender Ownership for Republican Gubernatorial Candidates

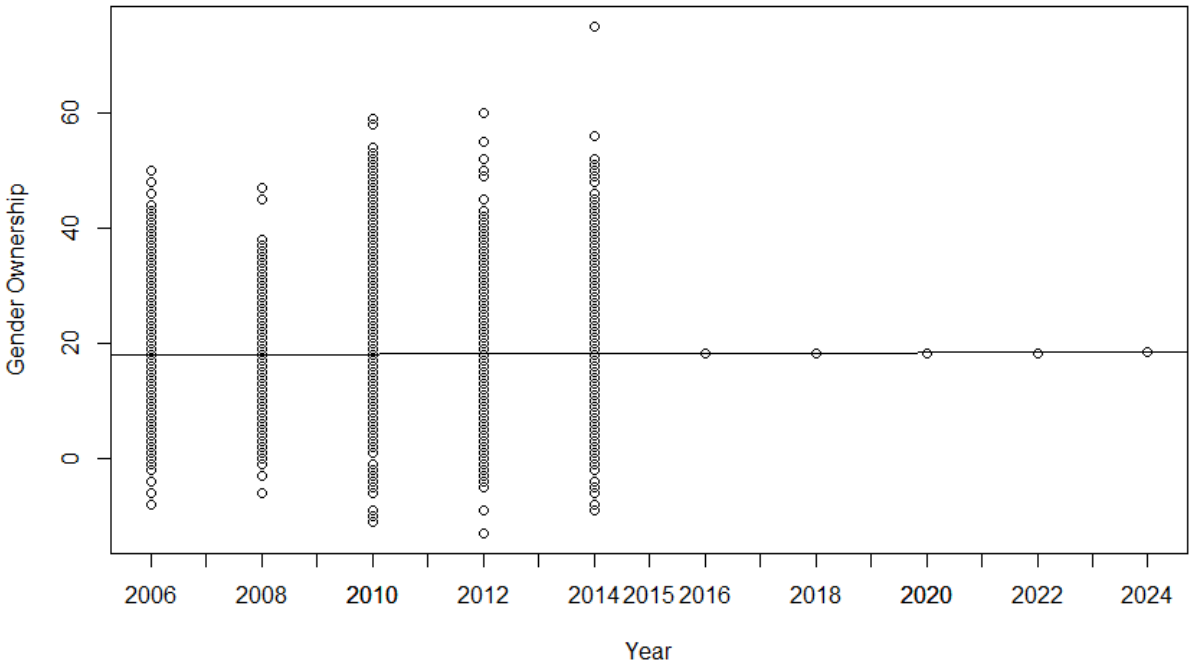

Figure F.58: Predicted Gender Ownership for All House Candidates

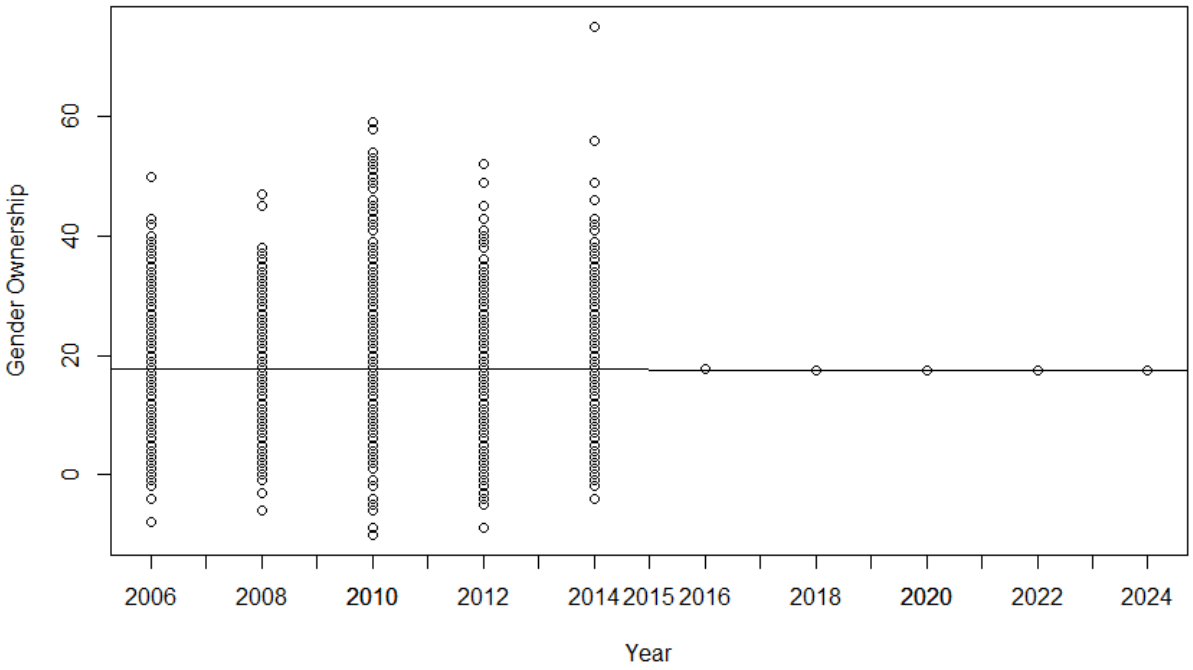

Figure F.59: Predicted Gender Ownership for Democratic House Candidates

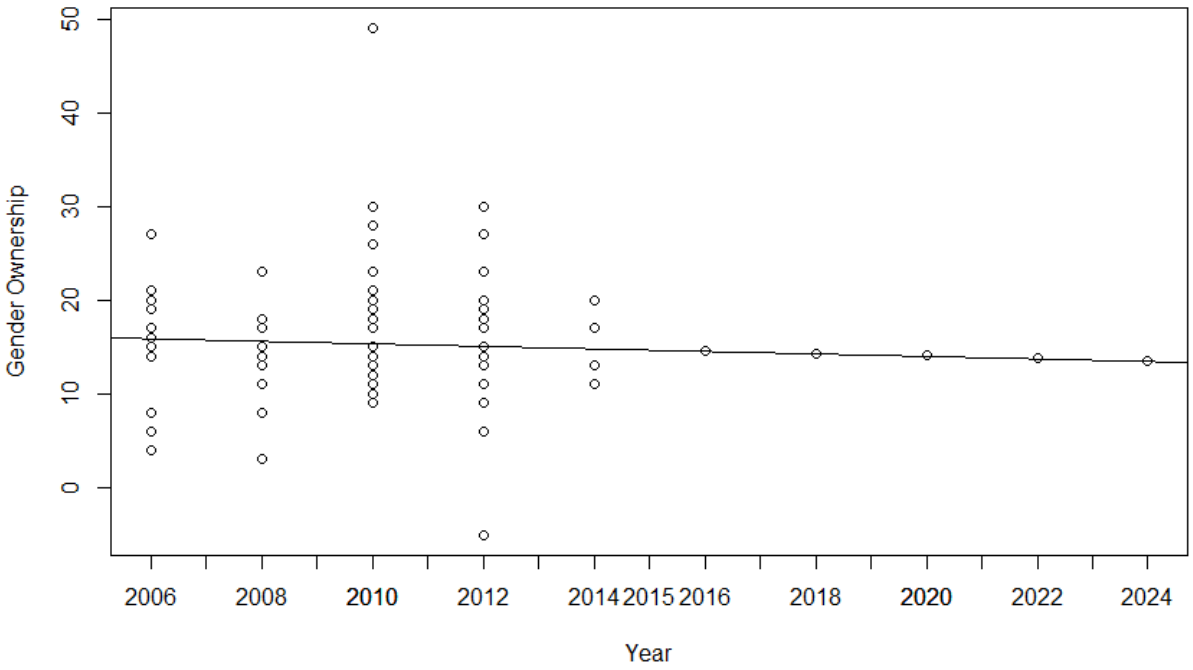

Figure F.60: Predicted Gender Ownership for Minor Party House Candidates

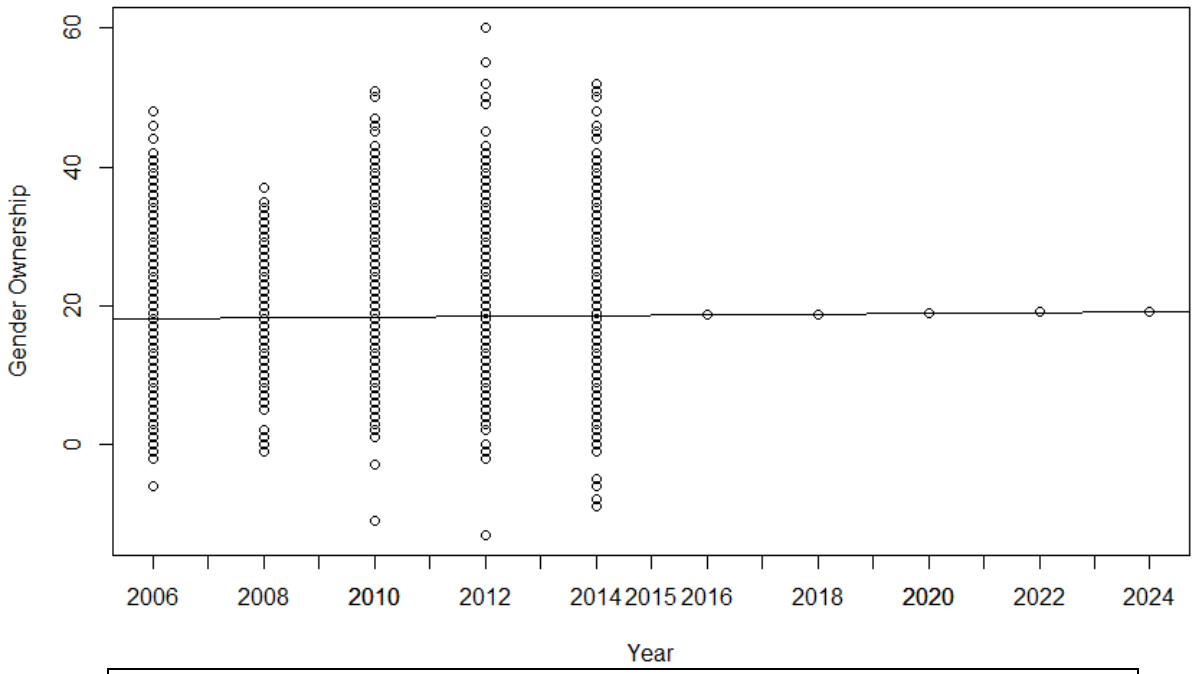

Figure F.61: Predicted Gender Ownership for Republican House Candidates

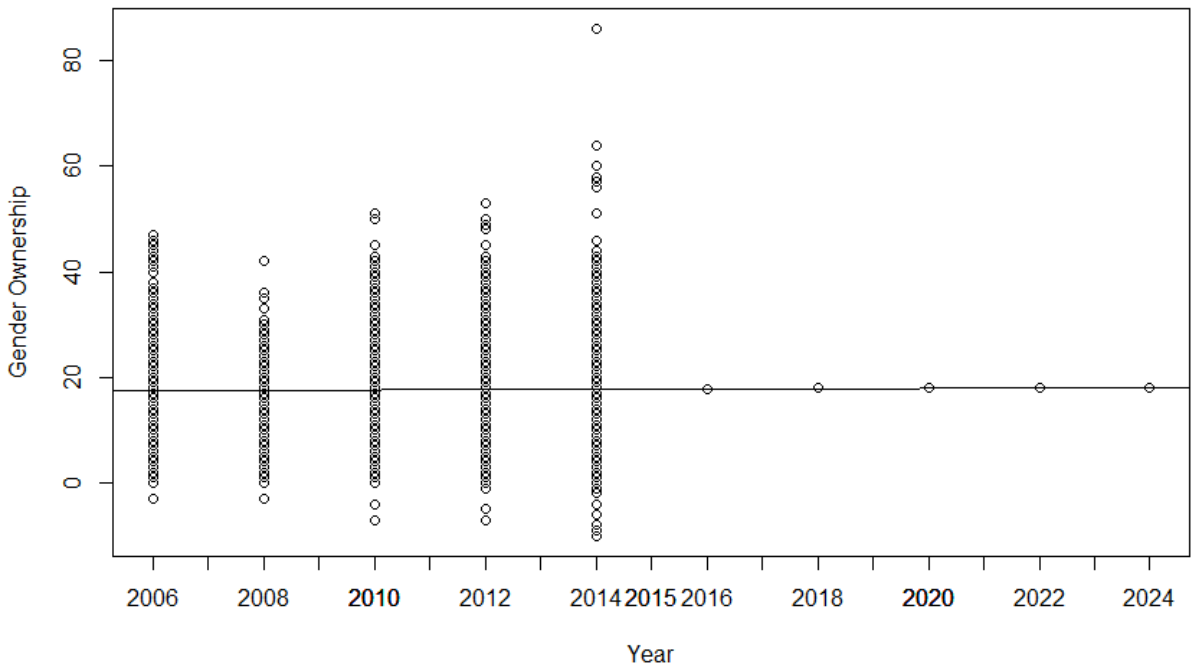

Figure F.62: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Senatorial Candidates

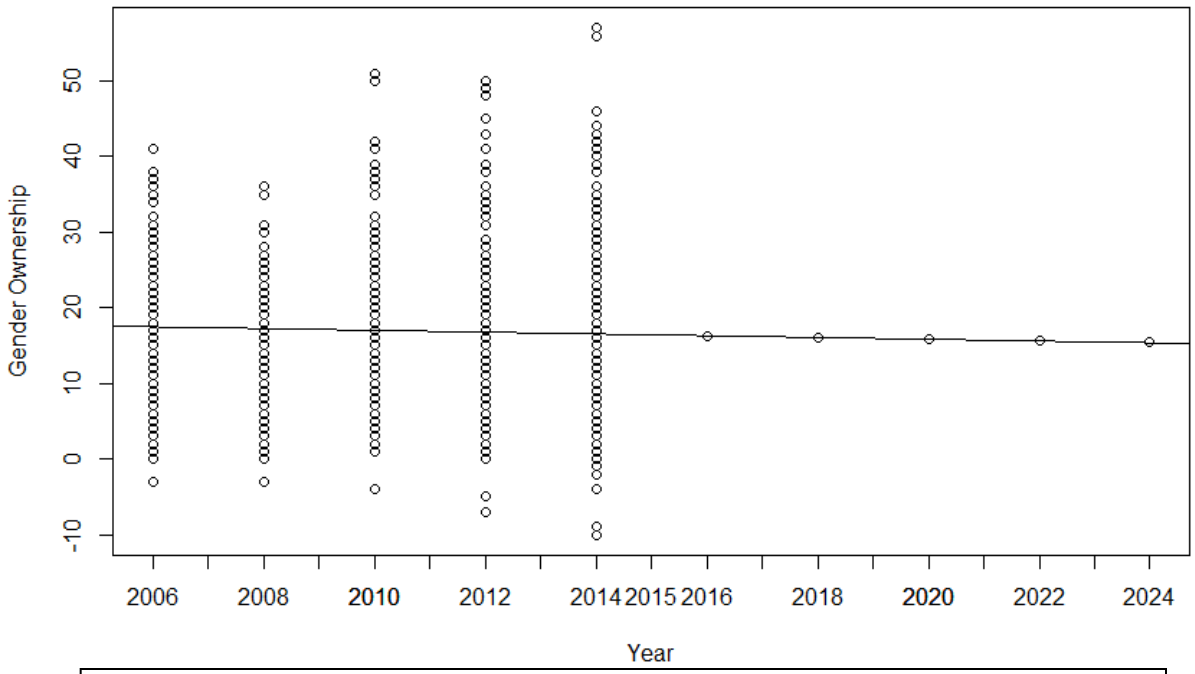

Figure F.63: Predicted Gender Ownership for Democratic Senatorial Candidates

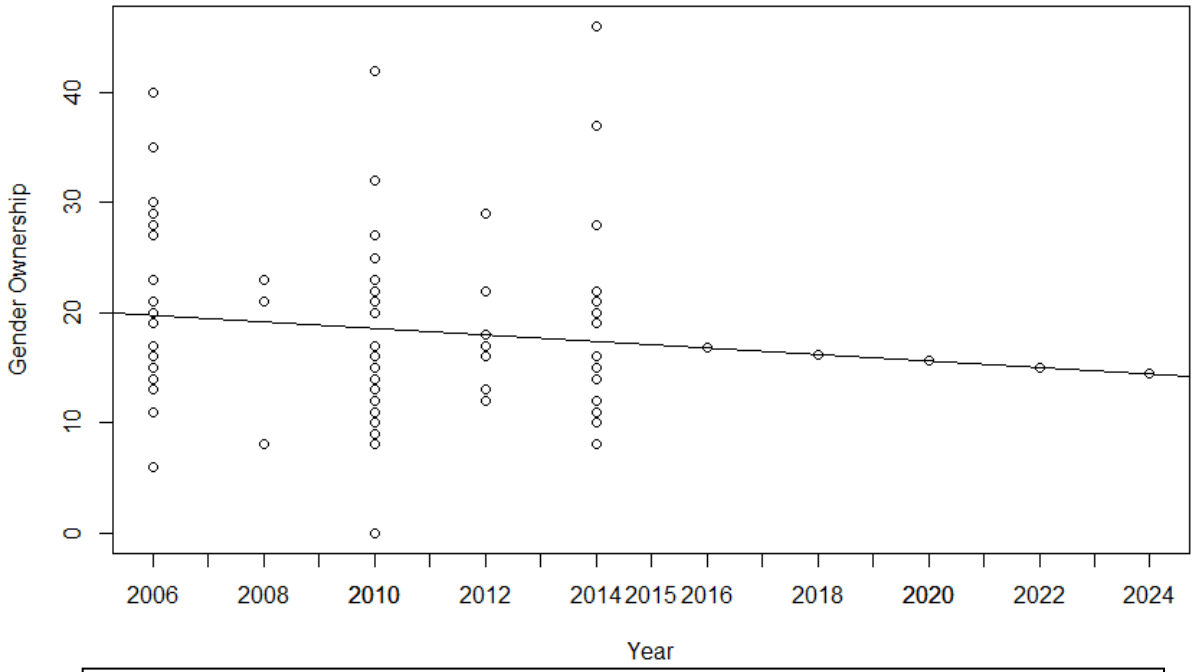

Figure F.64: Predicted Gender Ownership for Minor Party Senatorial Candidates

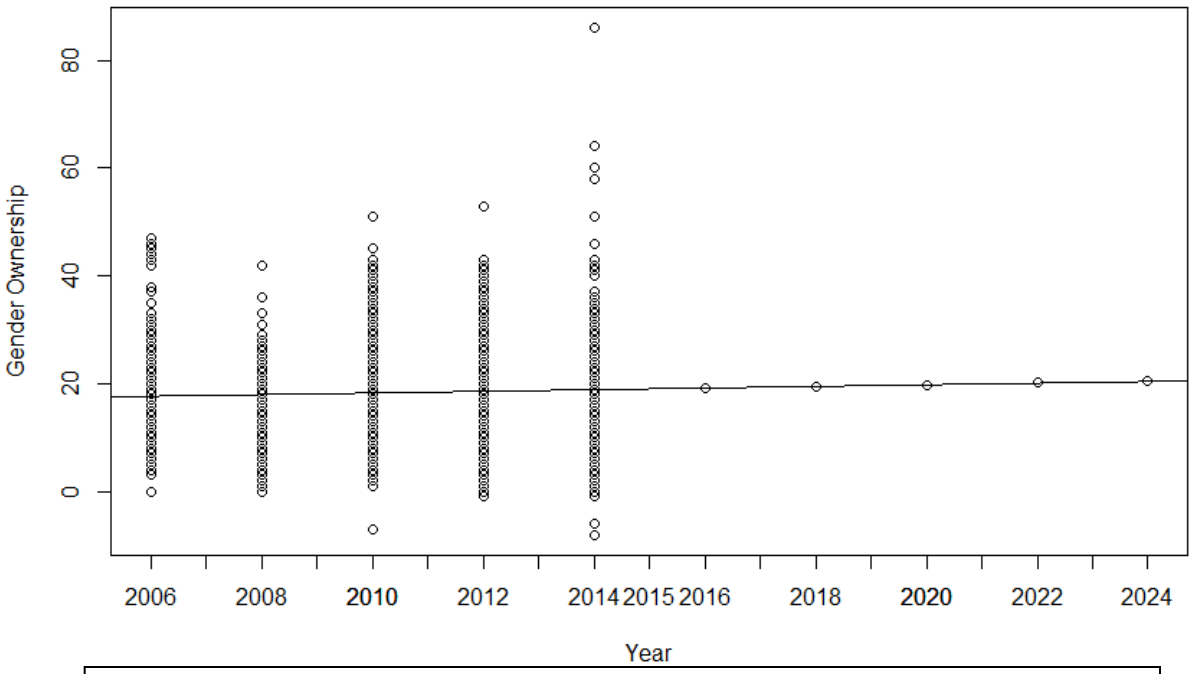

Figure F.65: Predicted Gender Ownership for Republican Senatorial Candidates

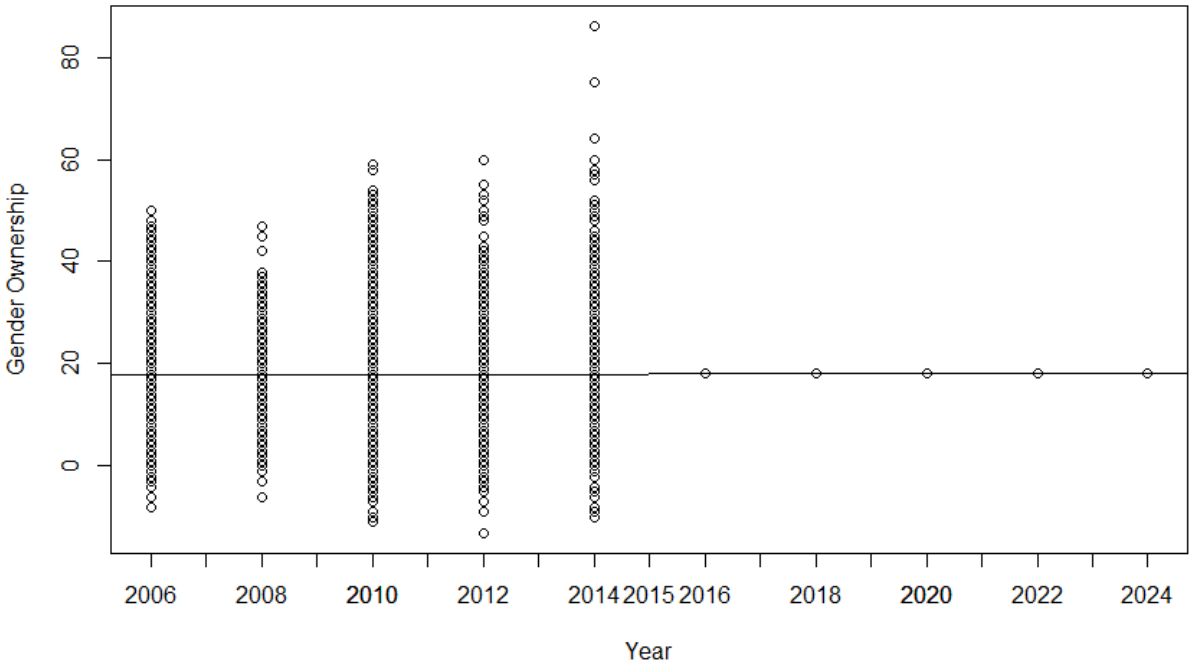

Figure F.66: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Federal Candidates

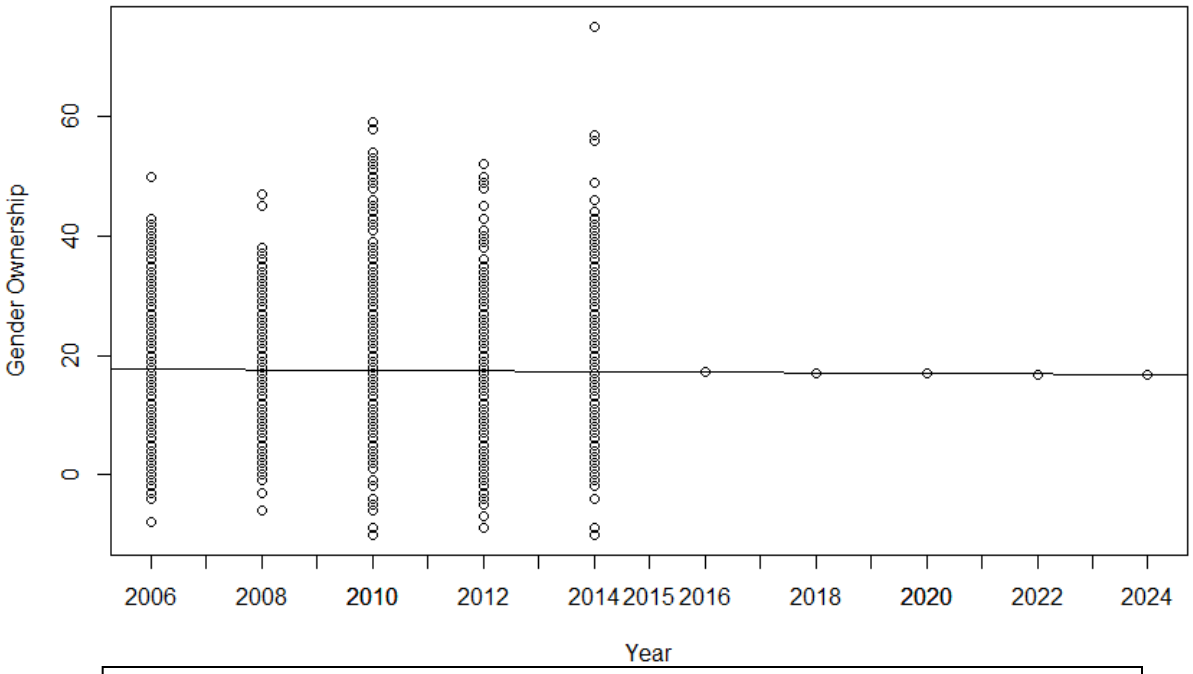

Figure F.67: Predicted Gender Ownership for Democratic Federal Candidates

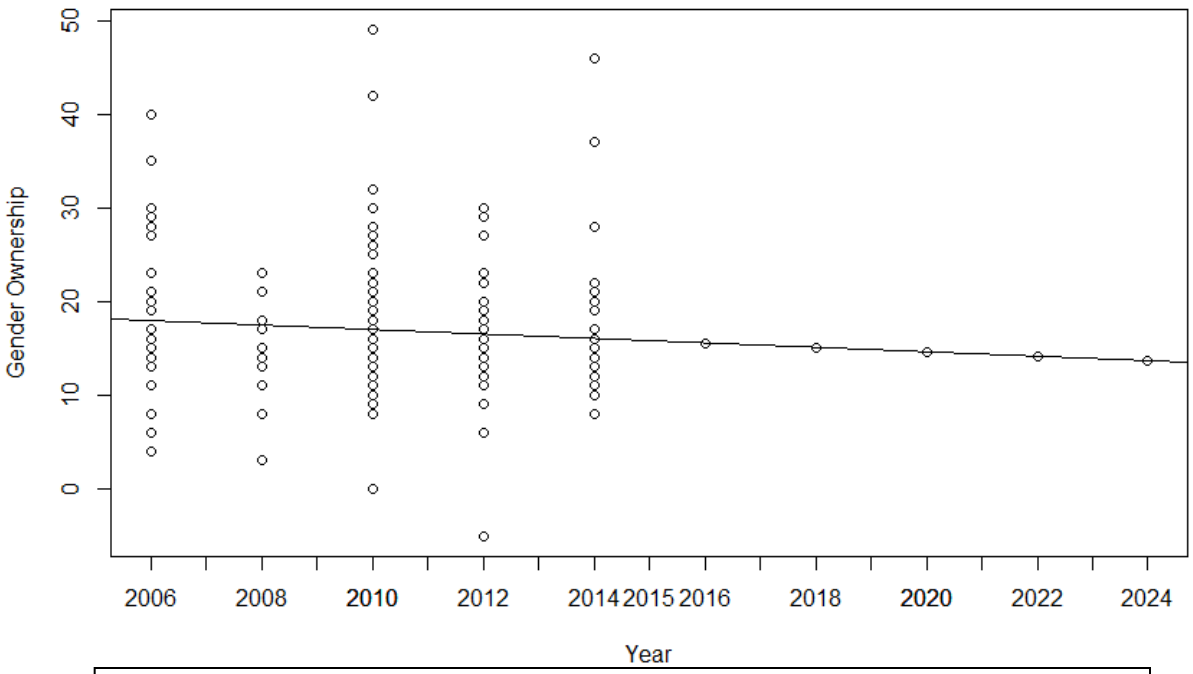

Figure F.68: Predicted Gender Ownership for Minor Party Federal Candidates

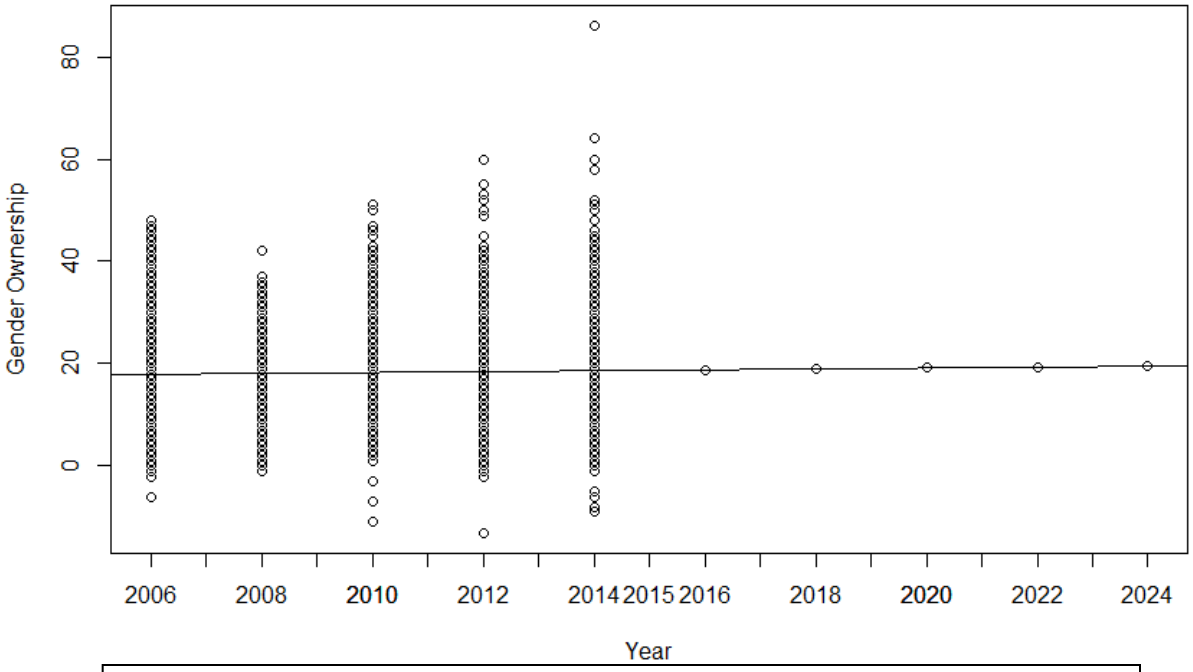

Figure F.69: Predicted Gender Ownership for Republican Federal Candidates

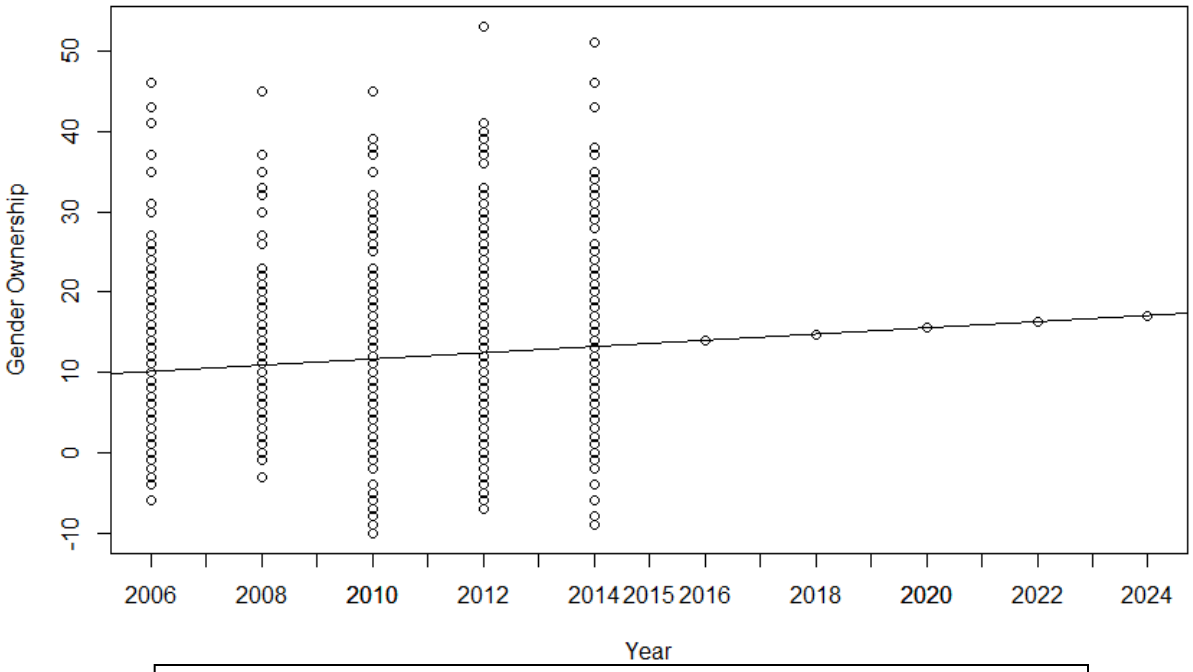

Figure F.70: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Female Candidates

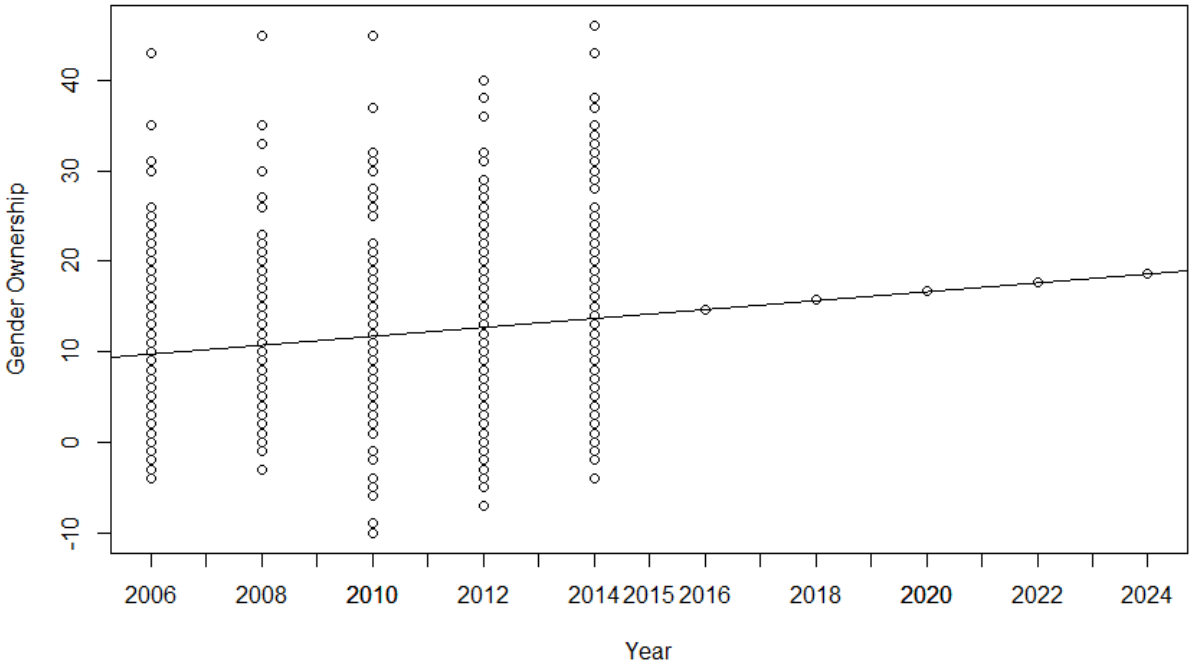

Figure F.71: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Candidates

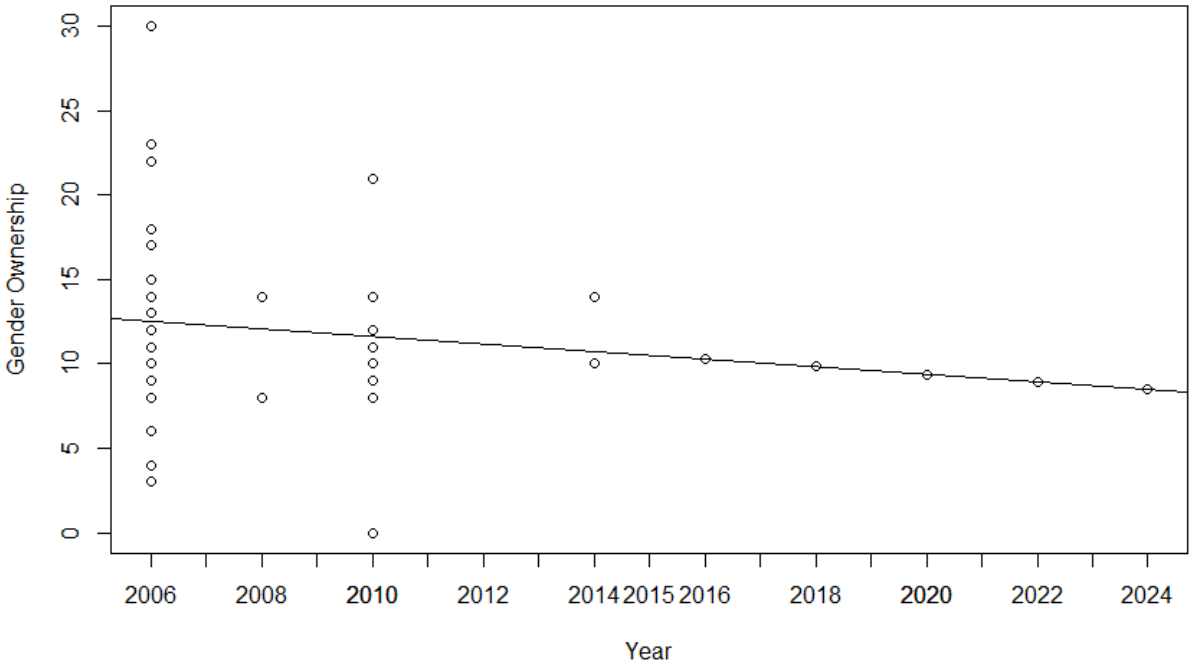

Figure F.72: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Candidates

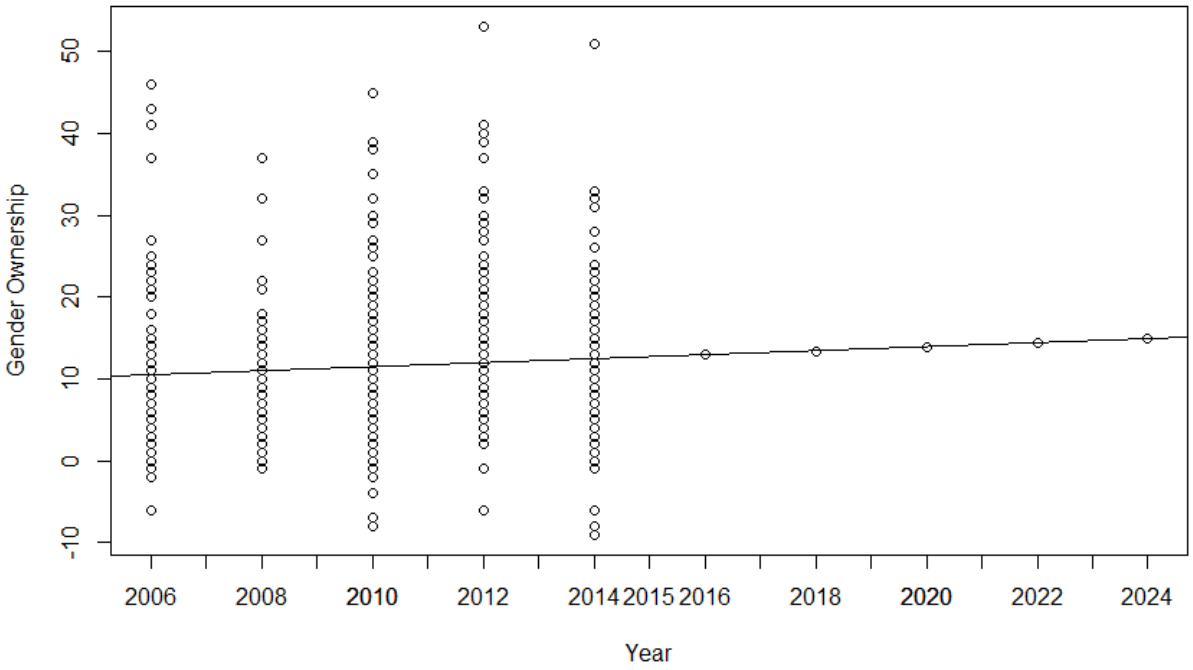

Figure F.73: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Republican Candidates

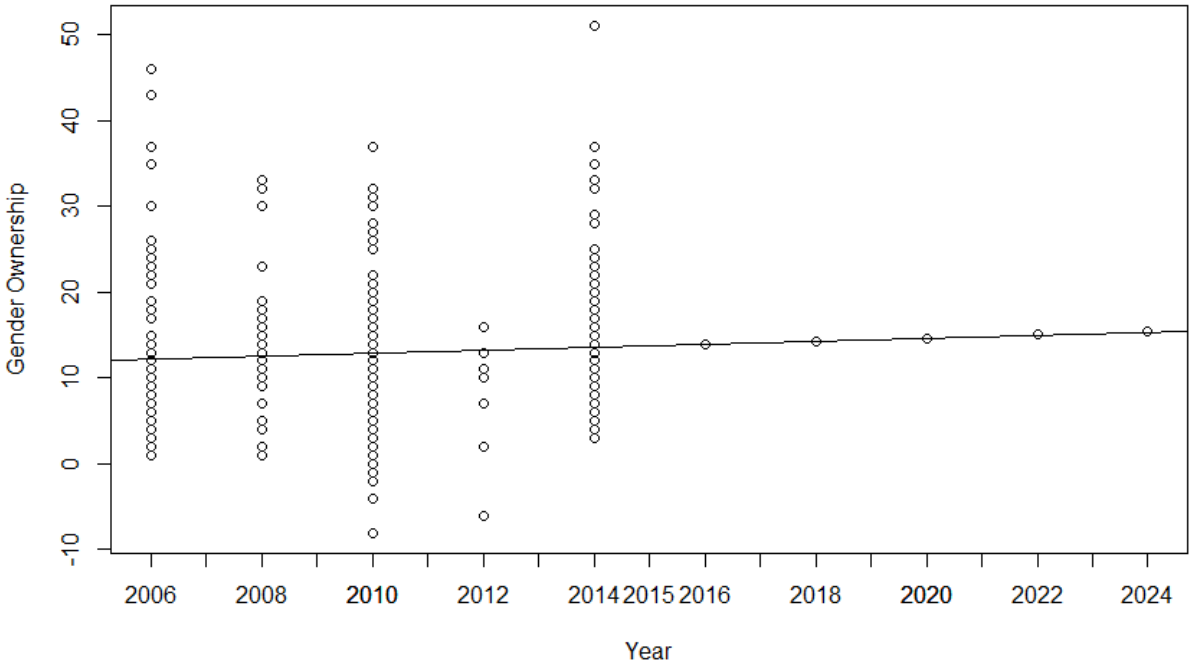

Figure F.74: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Female Gubernatorial Candidates

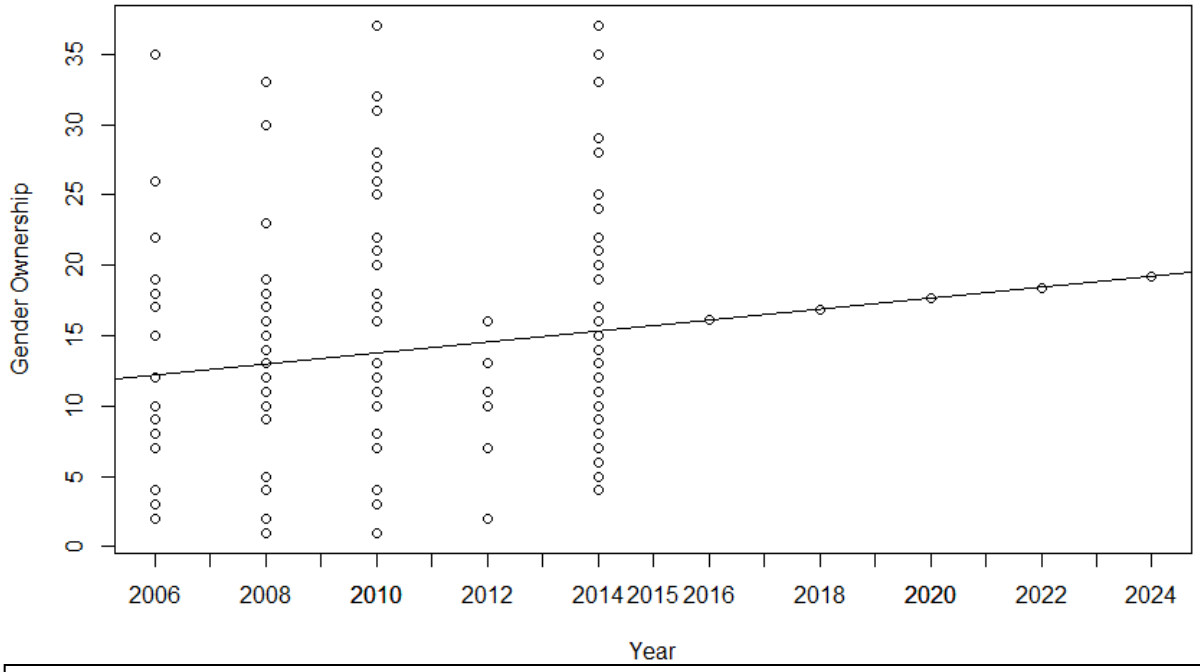

Figure F.75: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates

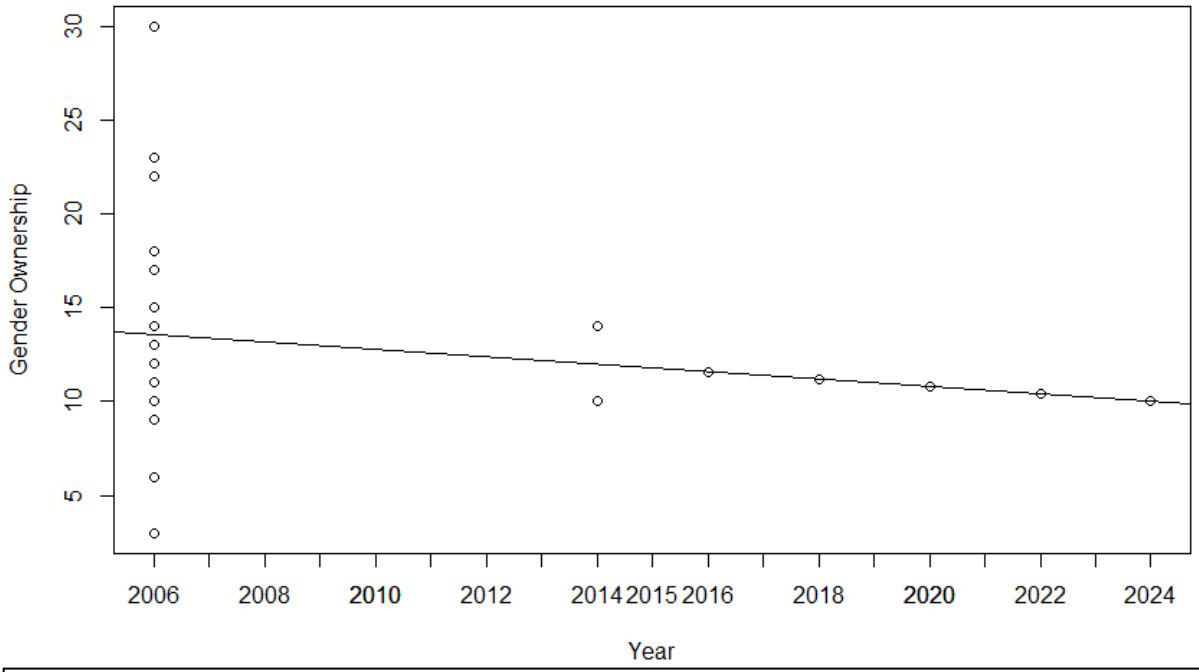

Figure F.76: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates

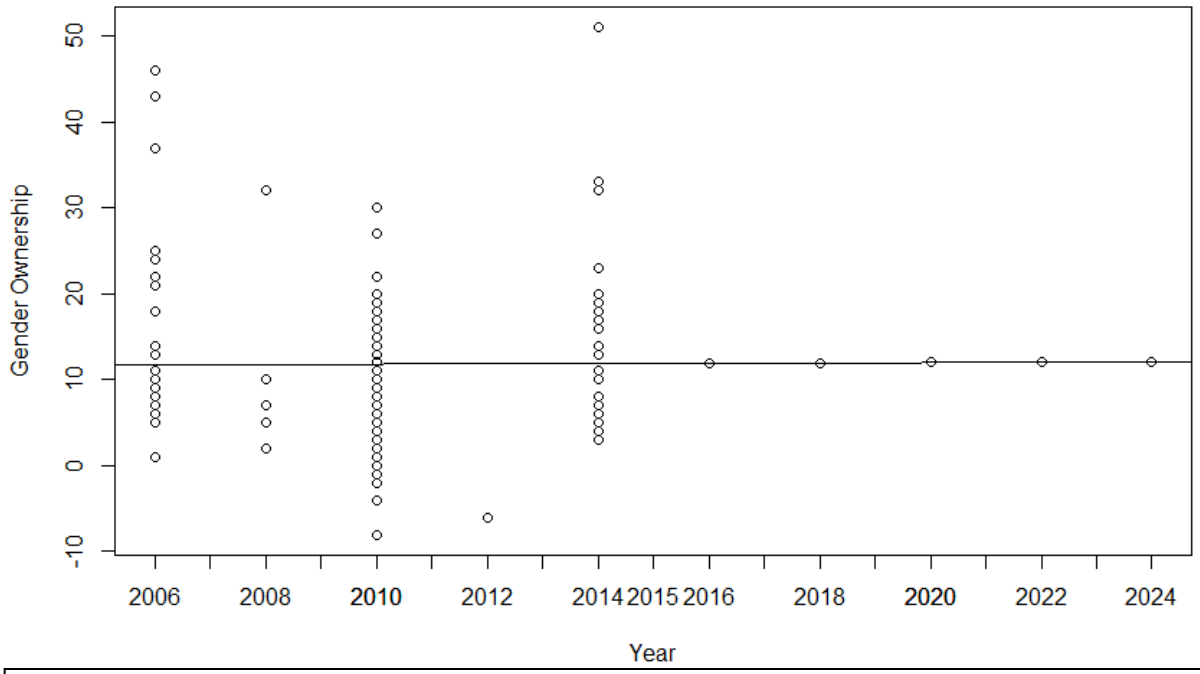

Figure F.77: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Republican Gubernatorial Candidates

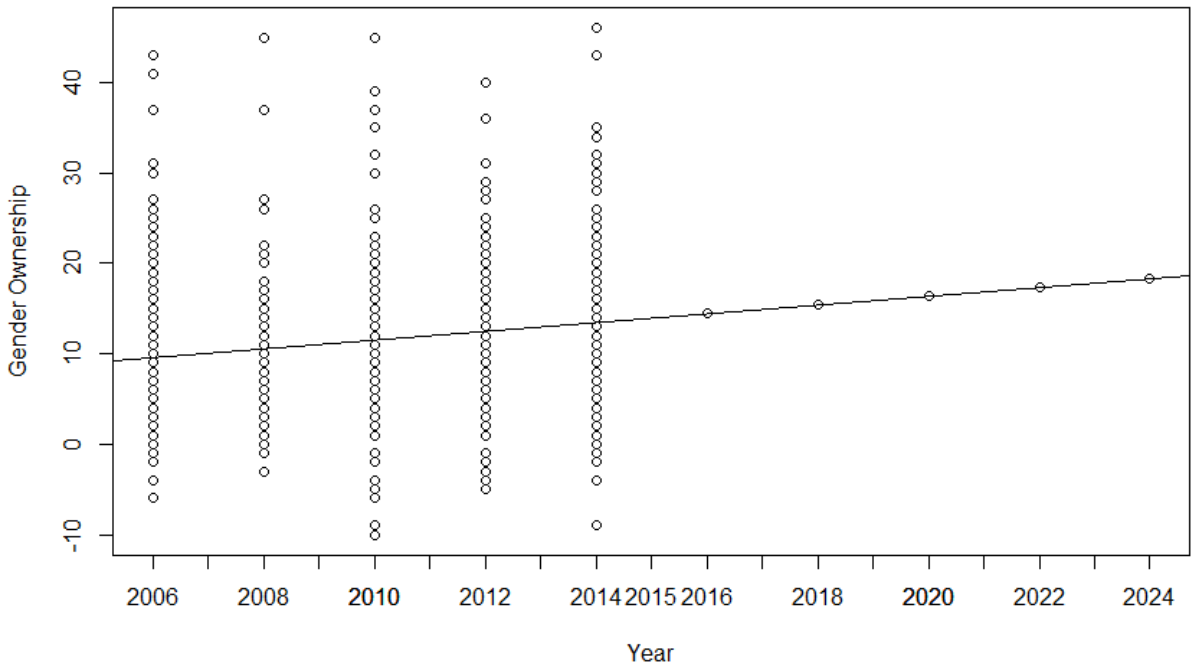

Figure F.78: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Female House Candidates

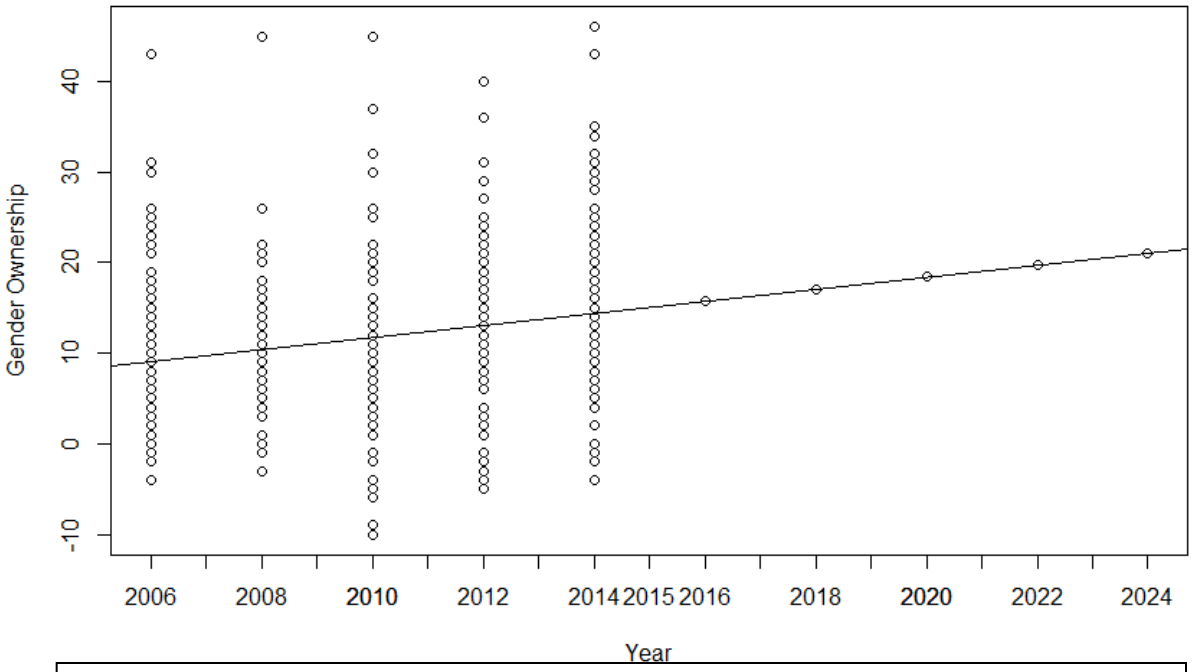

Figure F.79: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Democratic House Candidates

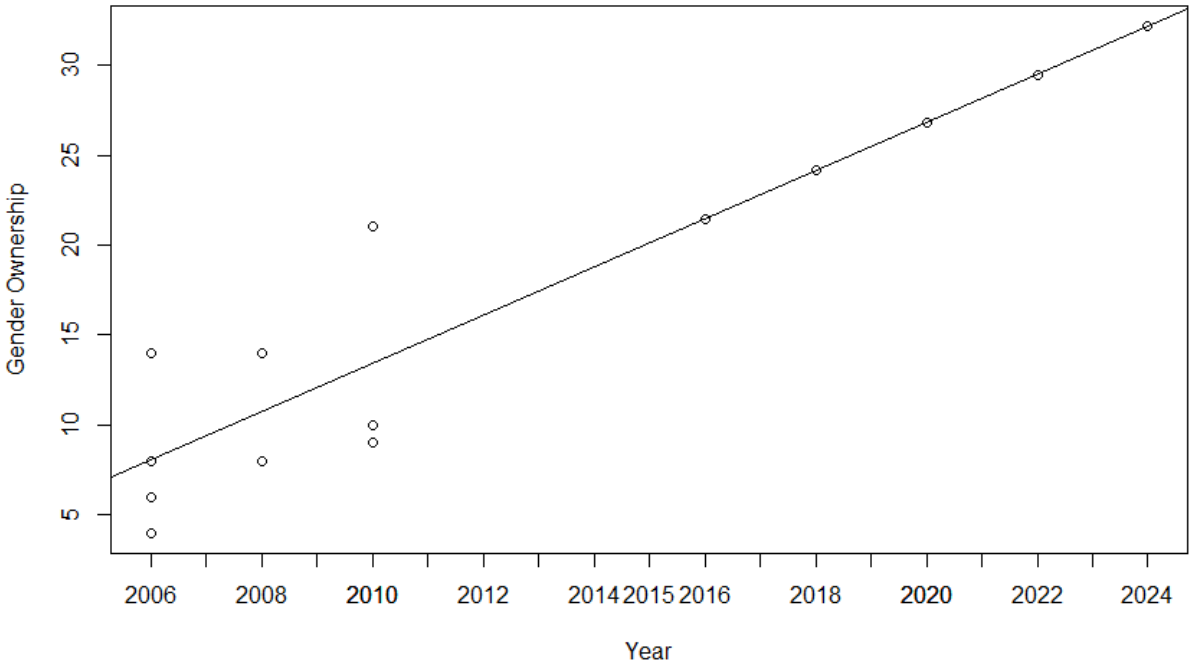

Figure F.80: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party House Candidates

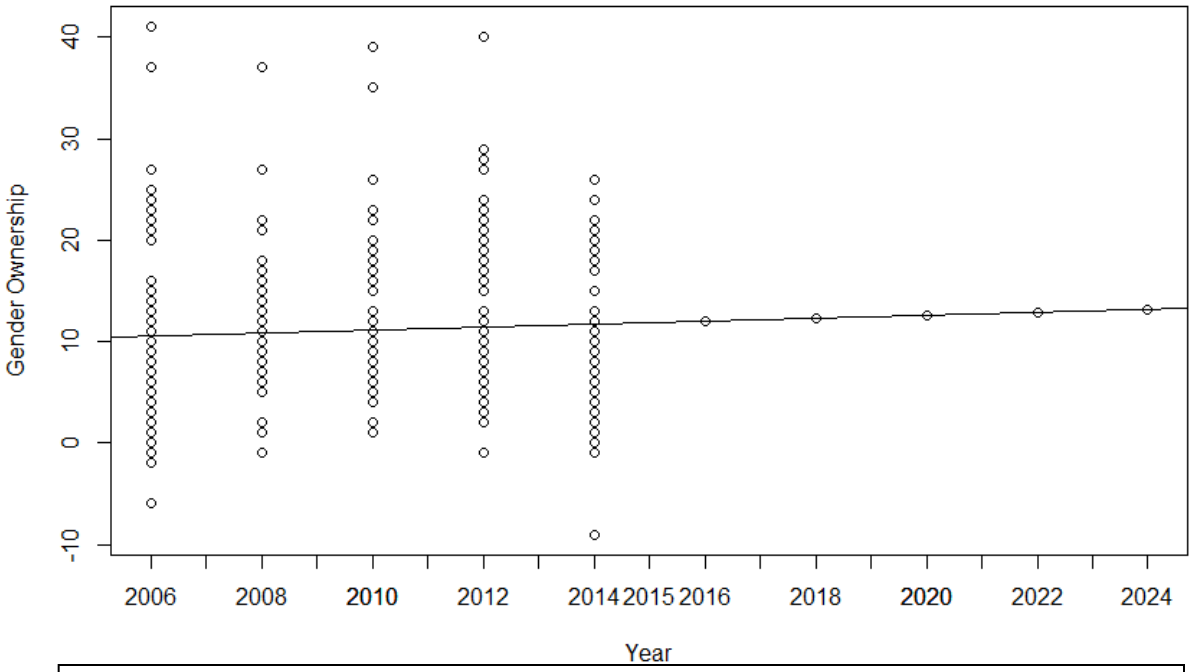

Figure F.81: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Republican House Candidates

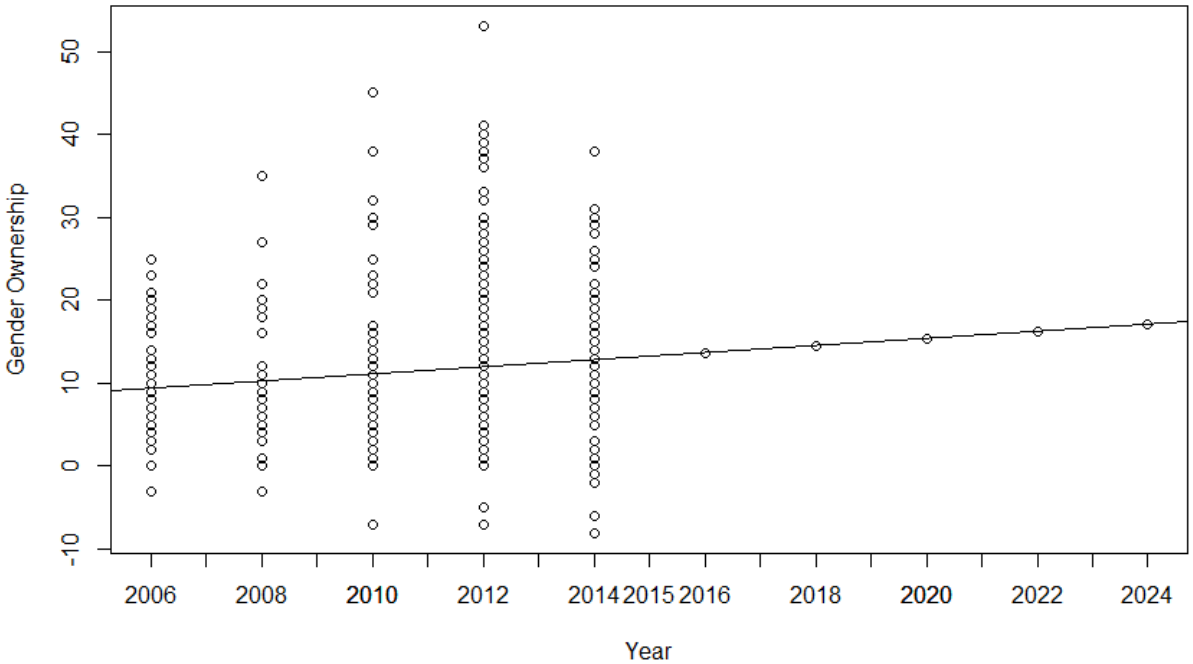

Figure F.82: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Female Senatorial Candidates

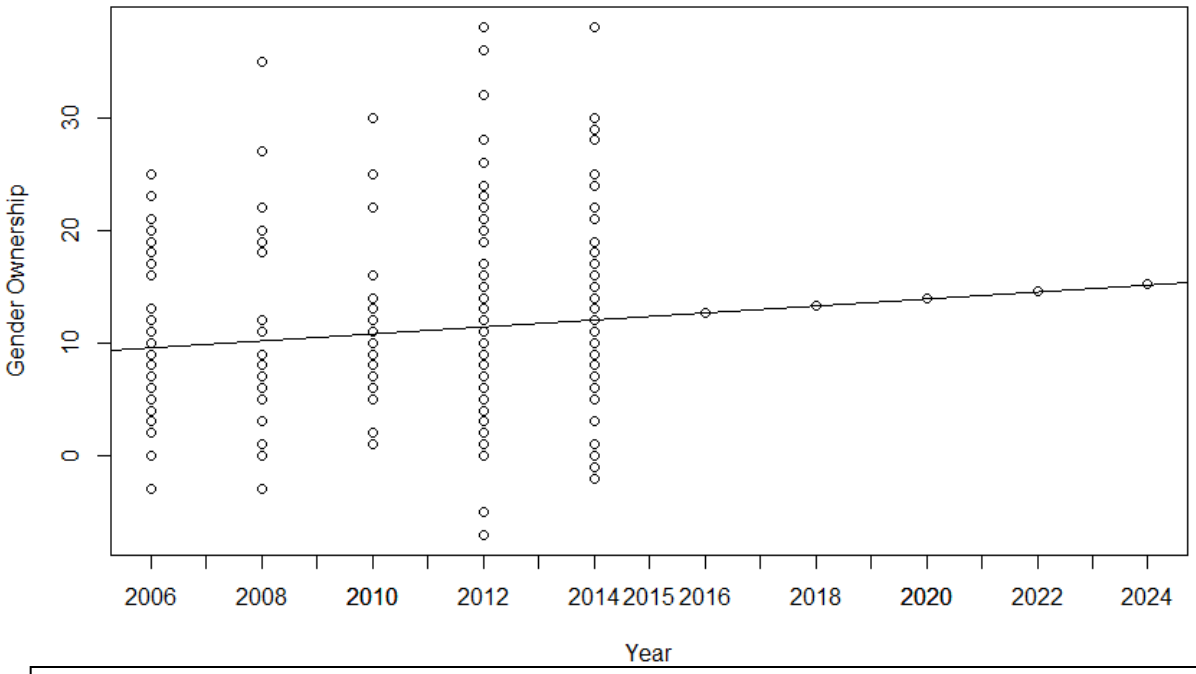

Figure F.83: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Senatorial Candidates

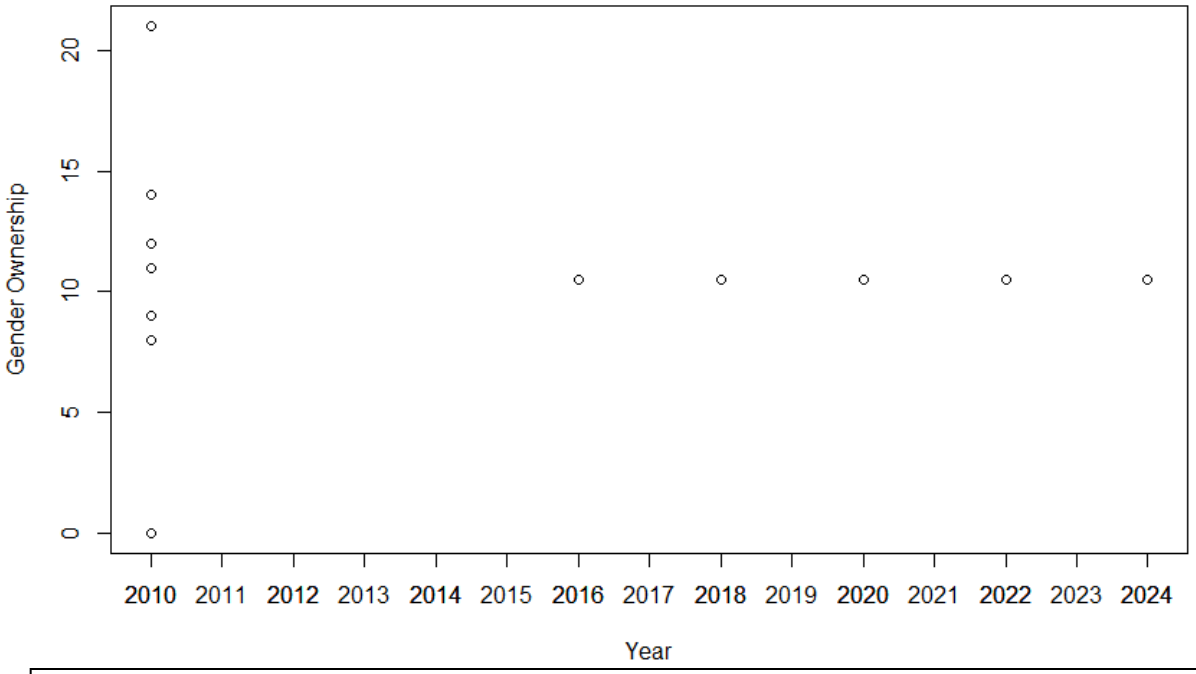

Figure F.84: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Senatorial Candidates

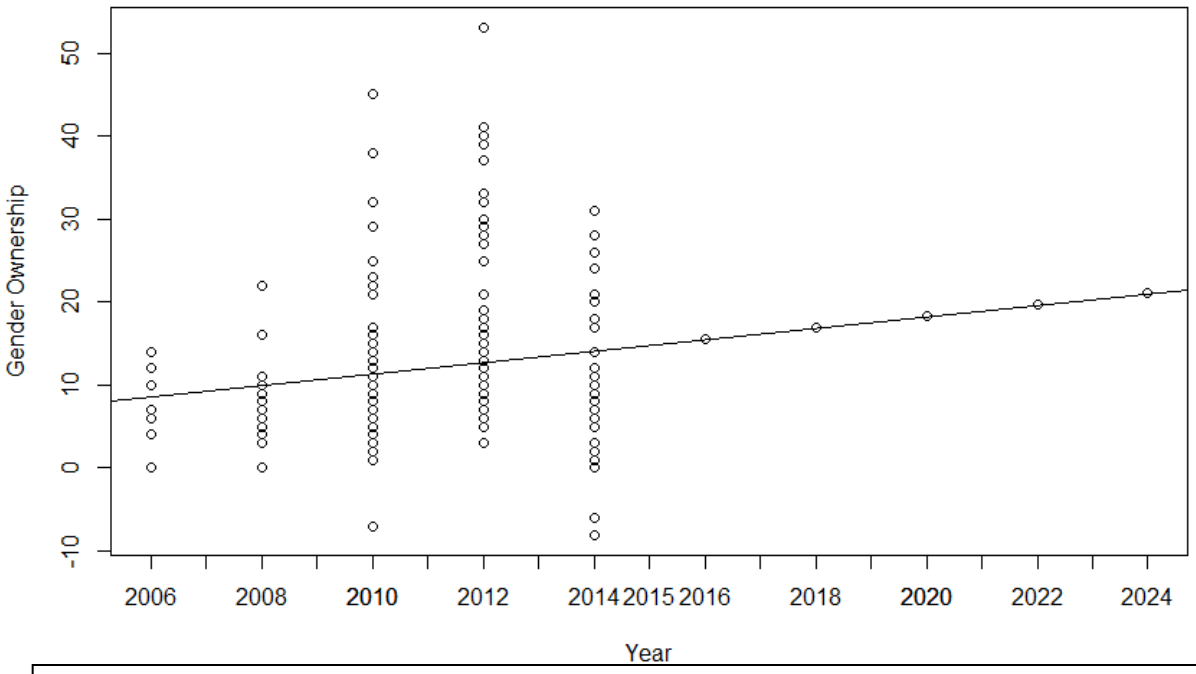

Figure F.85: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Republican Senatorial Candidates

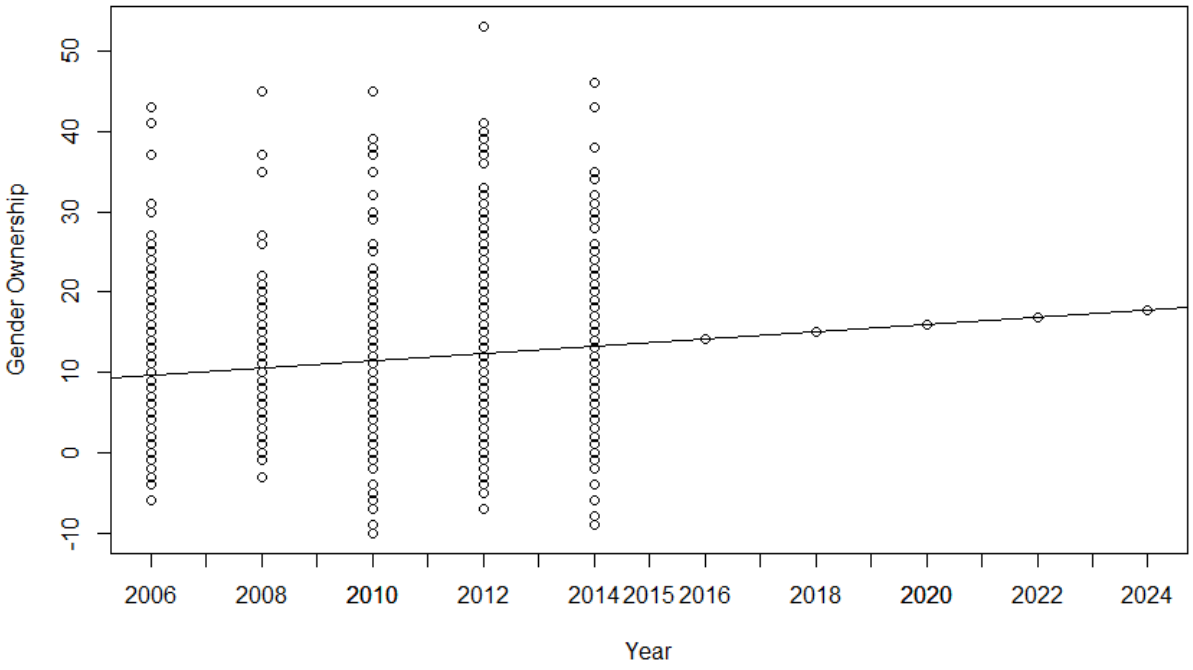

Figure F.86: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Female Federal Candidates

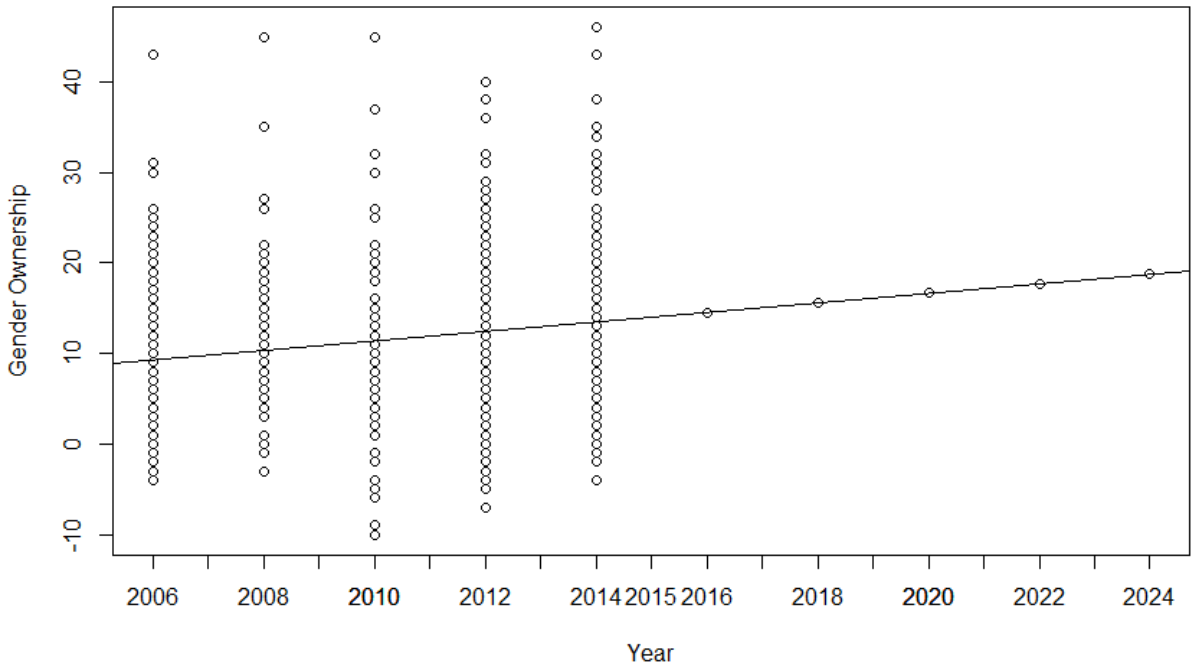

Figure F.87: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Democratic Federal Candidates

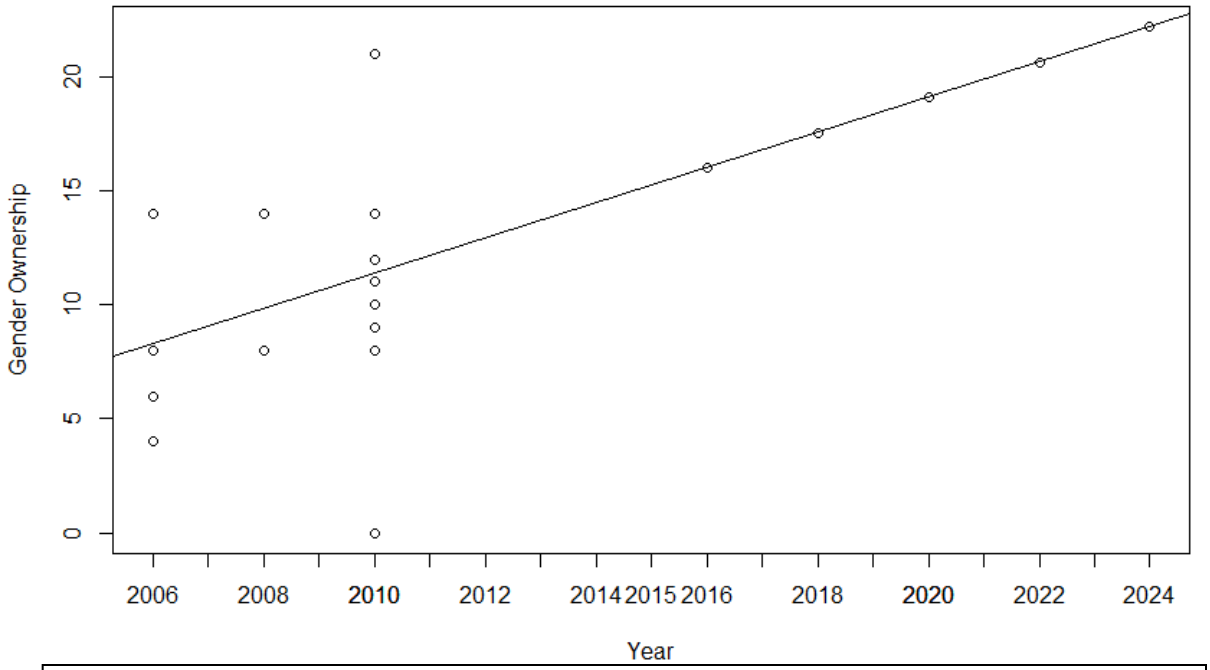

Figure F.88: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Minor Party Federal Candidates

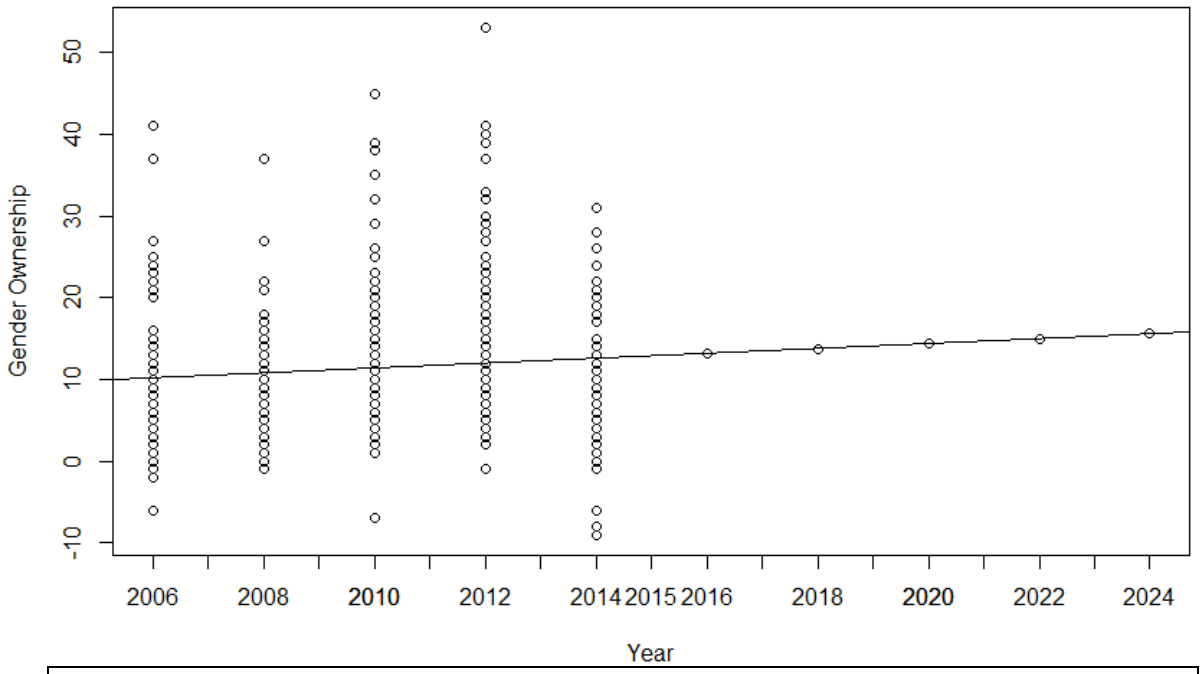

Figure F.89: Predicted Gender Ownership for Female Republican Federal Candidates

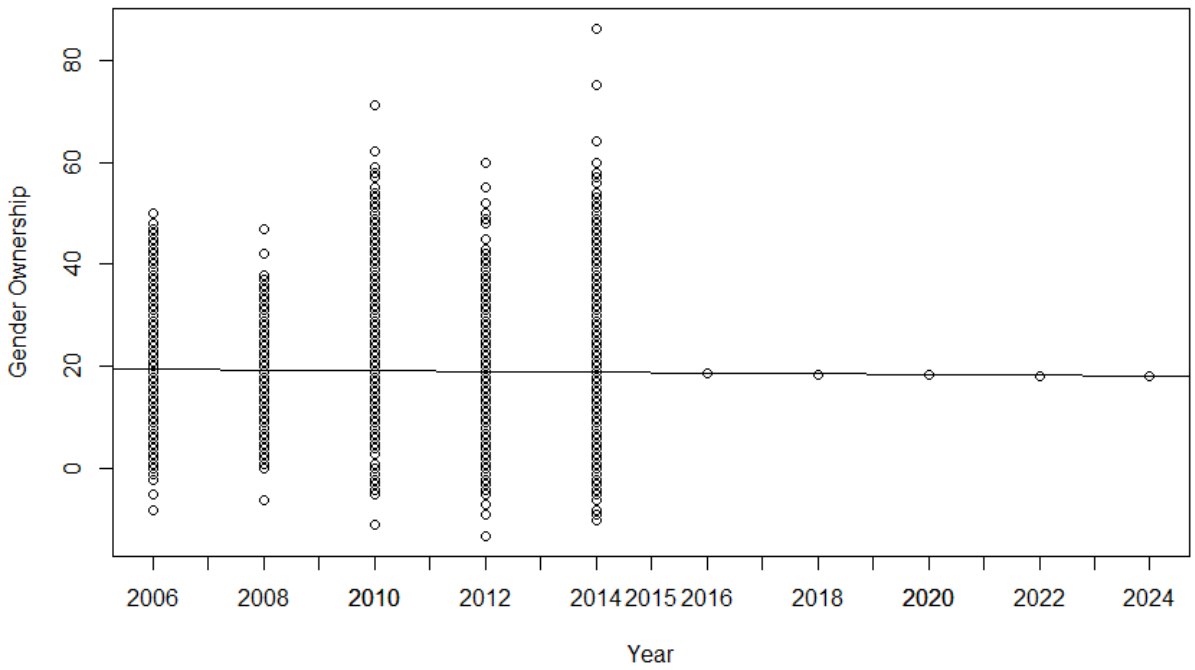

Figure F.90: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Male Candidates

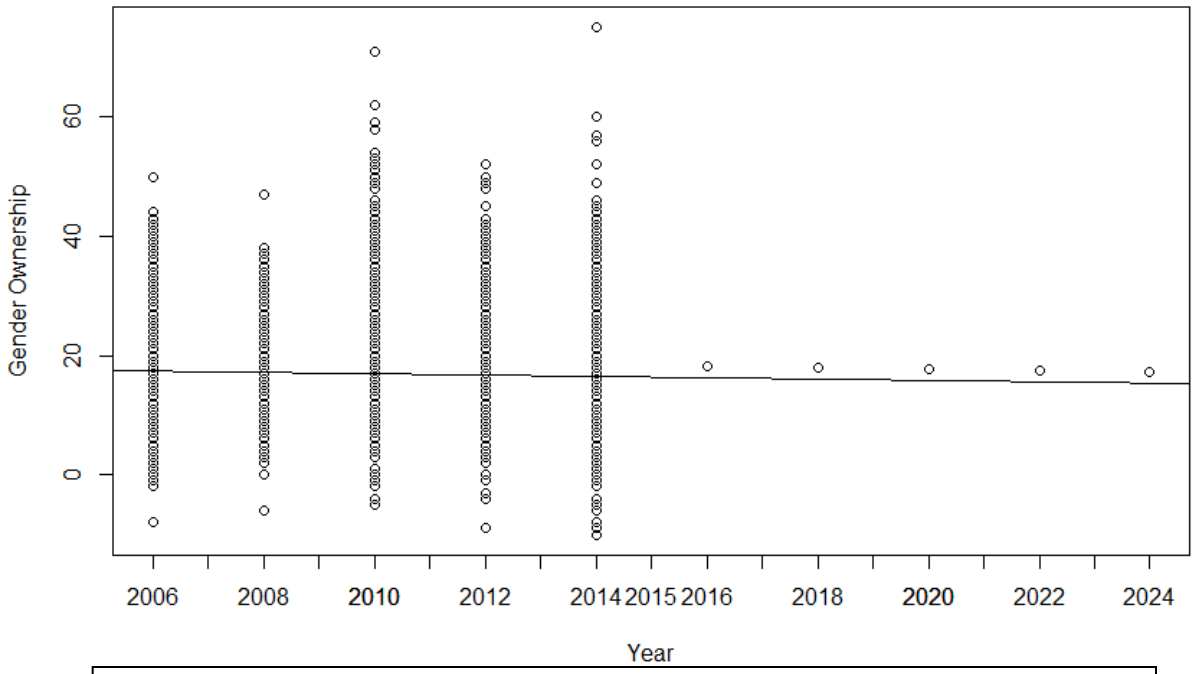

Figure F.91: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Male Democratic Candidates

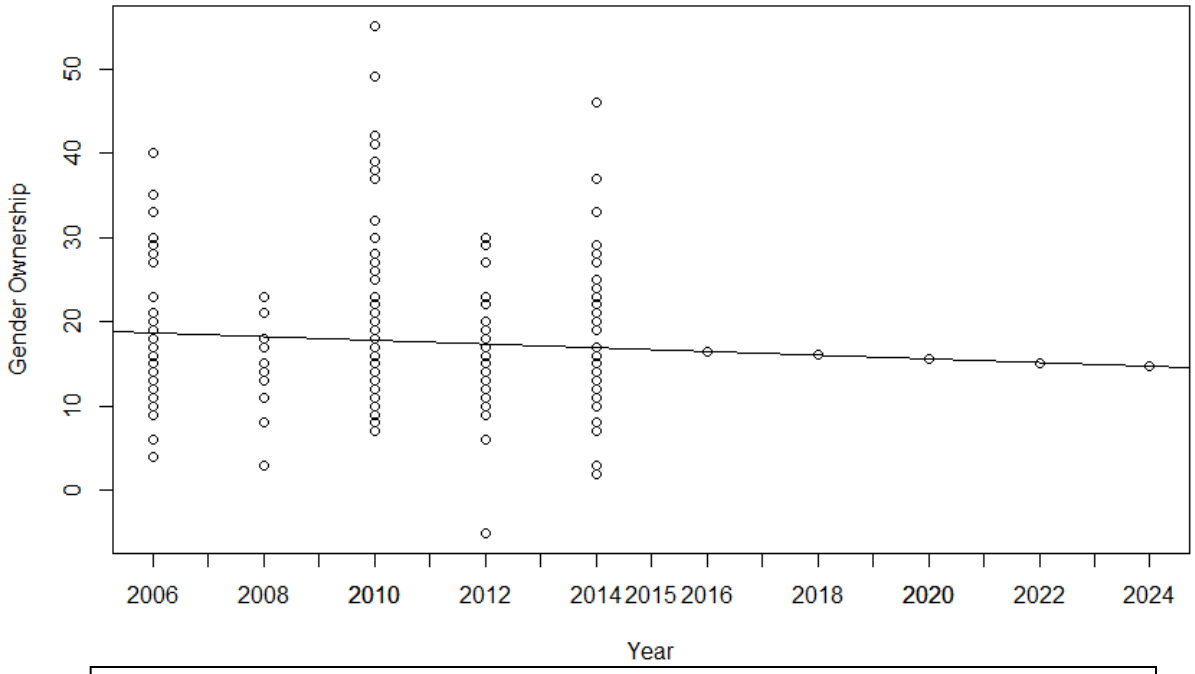

Figure F.92: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Male Minor Party Candidates

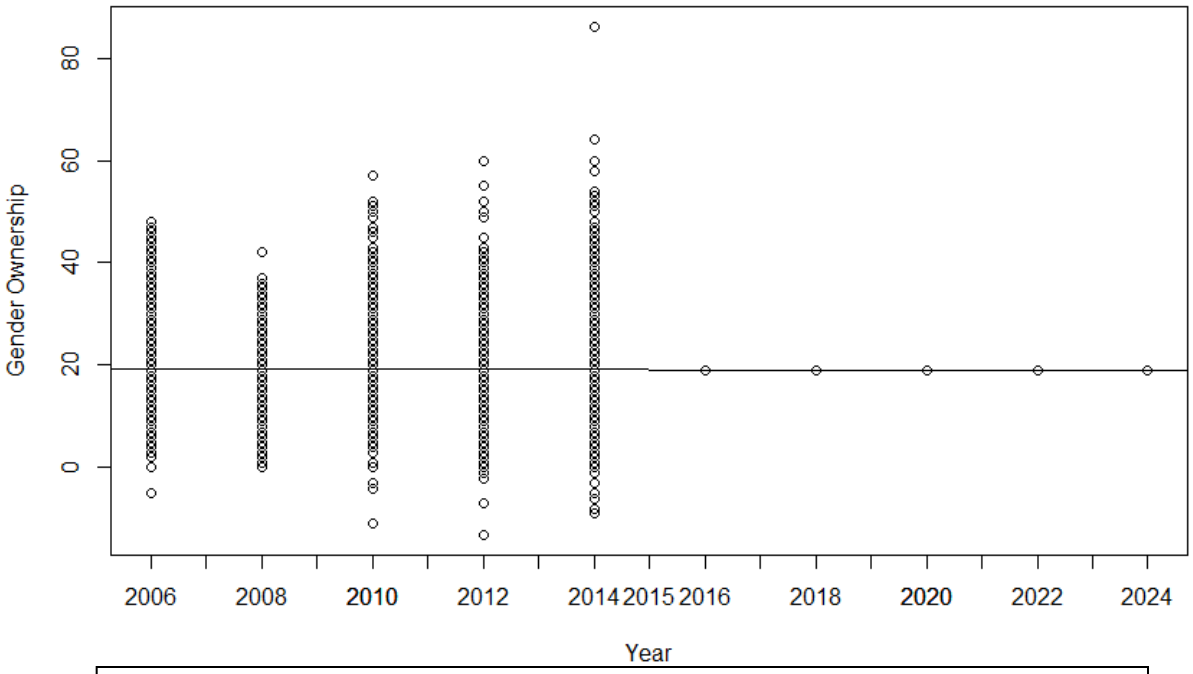

Figure F.93: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Male Republican Candidates

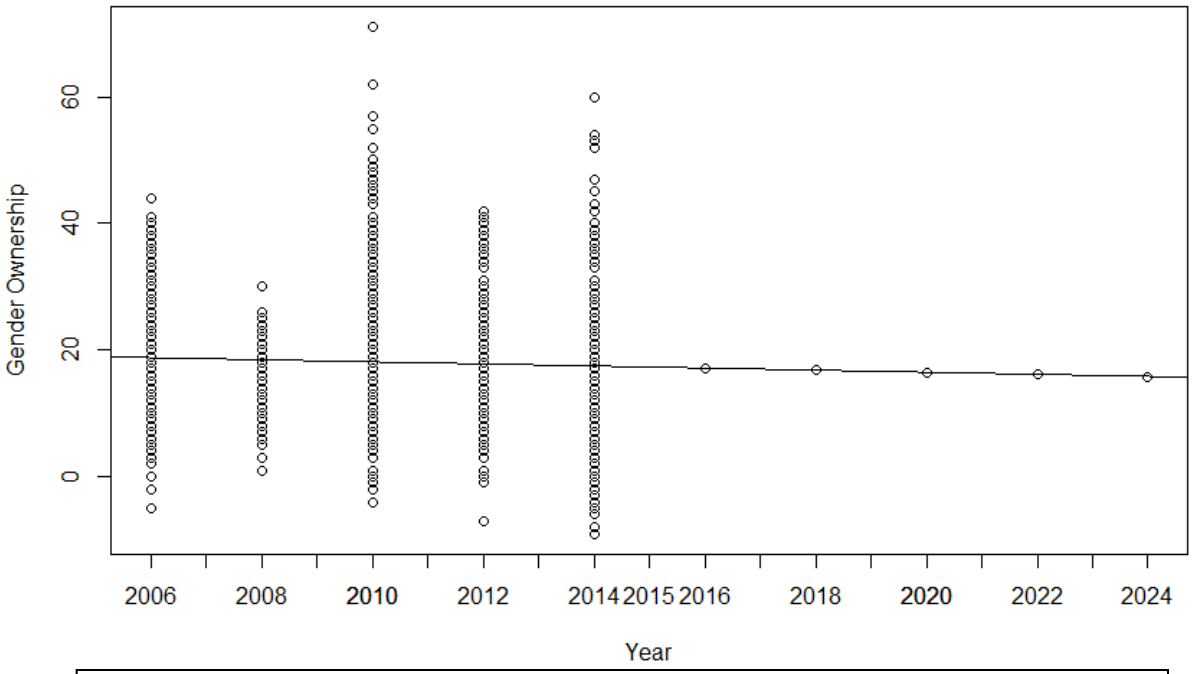

Figure F.94: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Male Gubernatorial Candidates

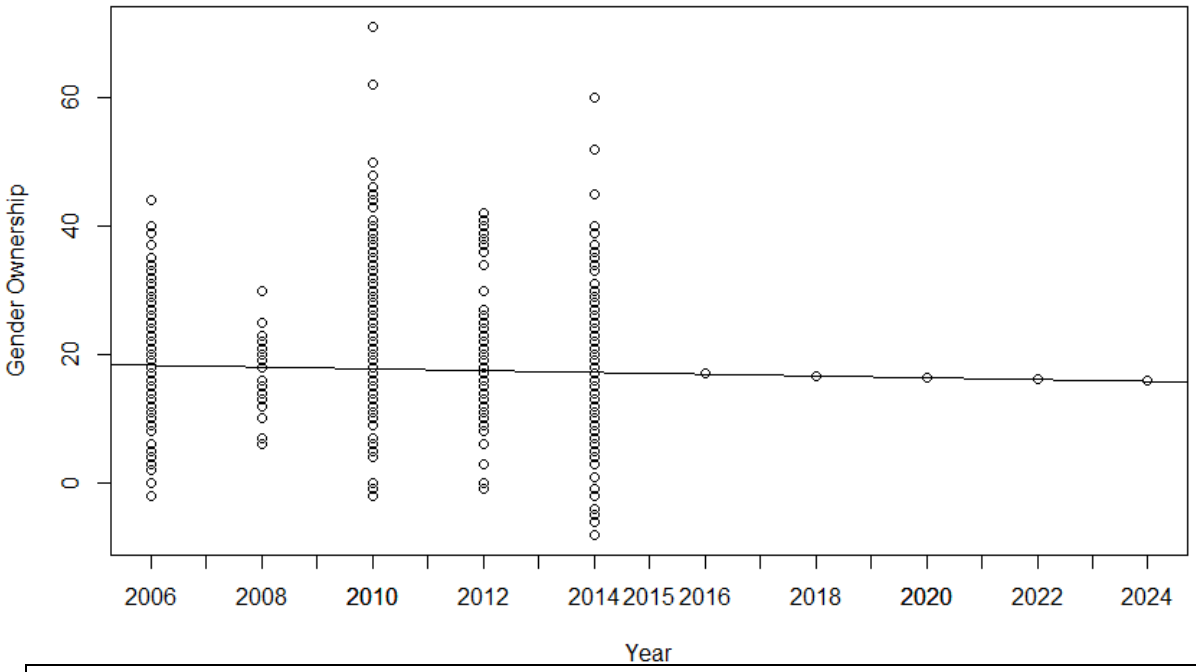

Figure F.95: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Democratic Gubernatorial Candidates

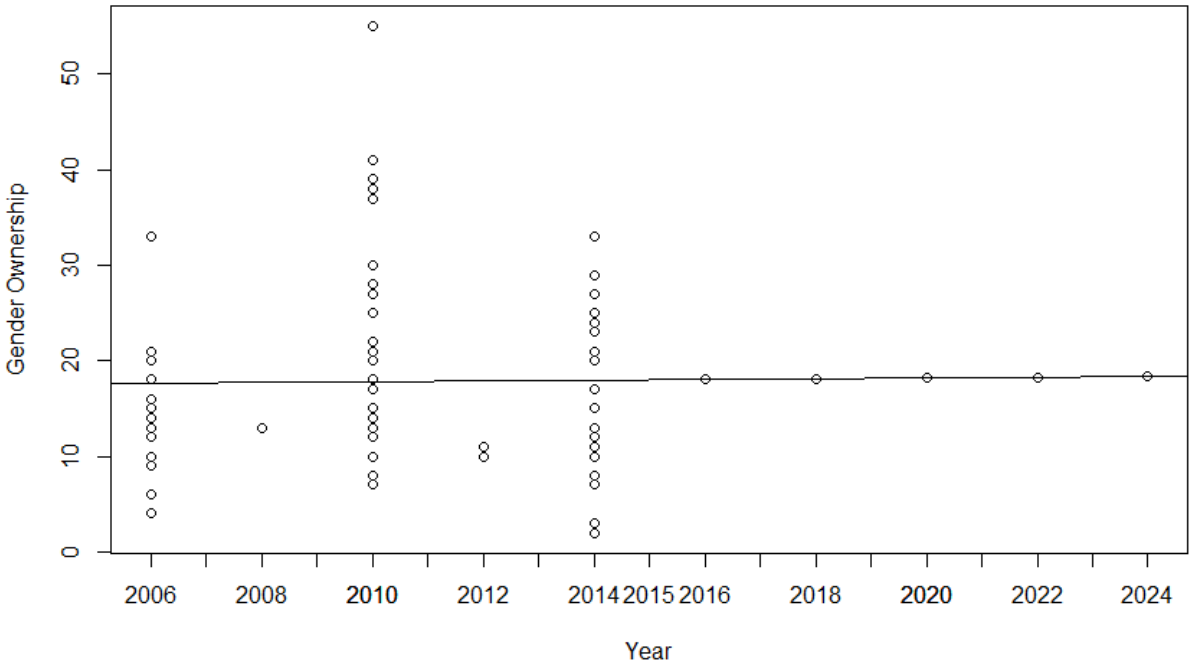

Figure F.96: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Gubernatorial Candidates

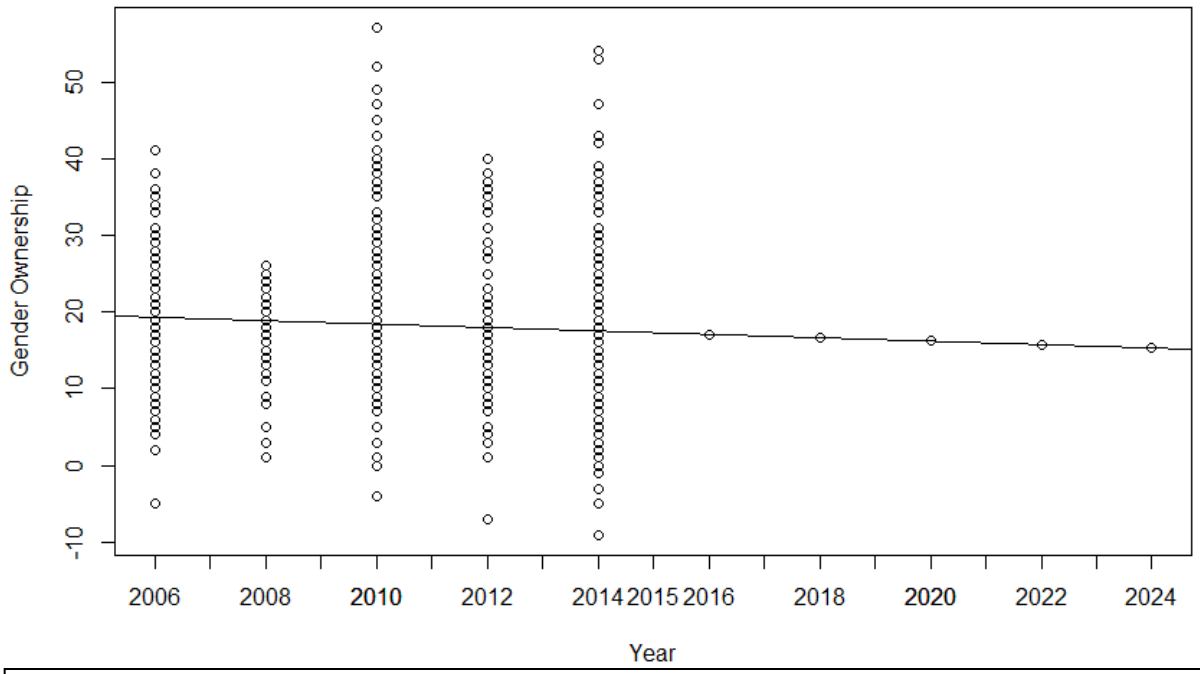

Figure F.97: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Republican Gubernatorial Candidates

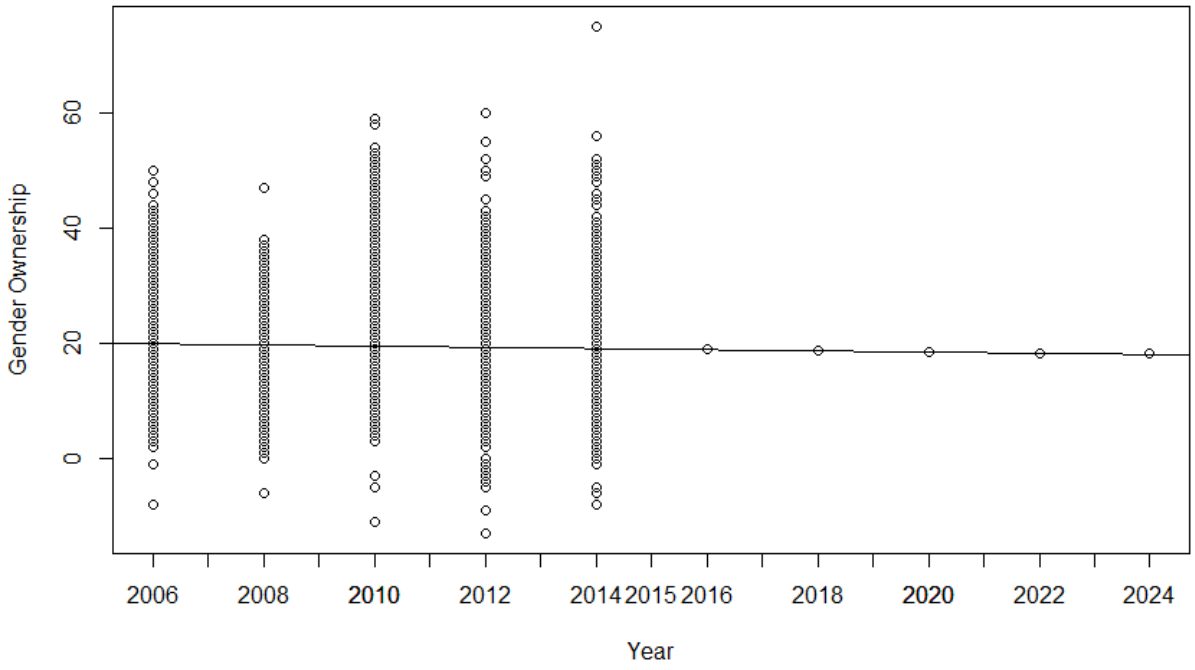

Figure F.98: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Male House Candidates

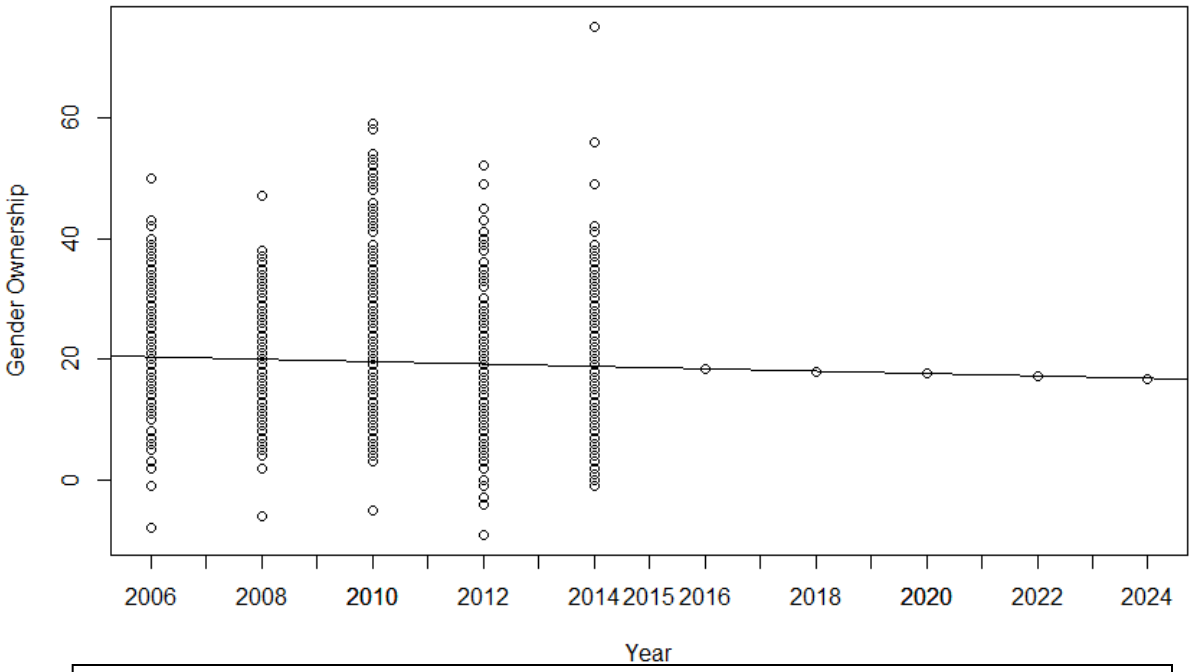

Figure F.99: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Democratic House Candidates

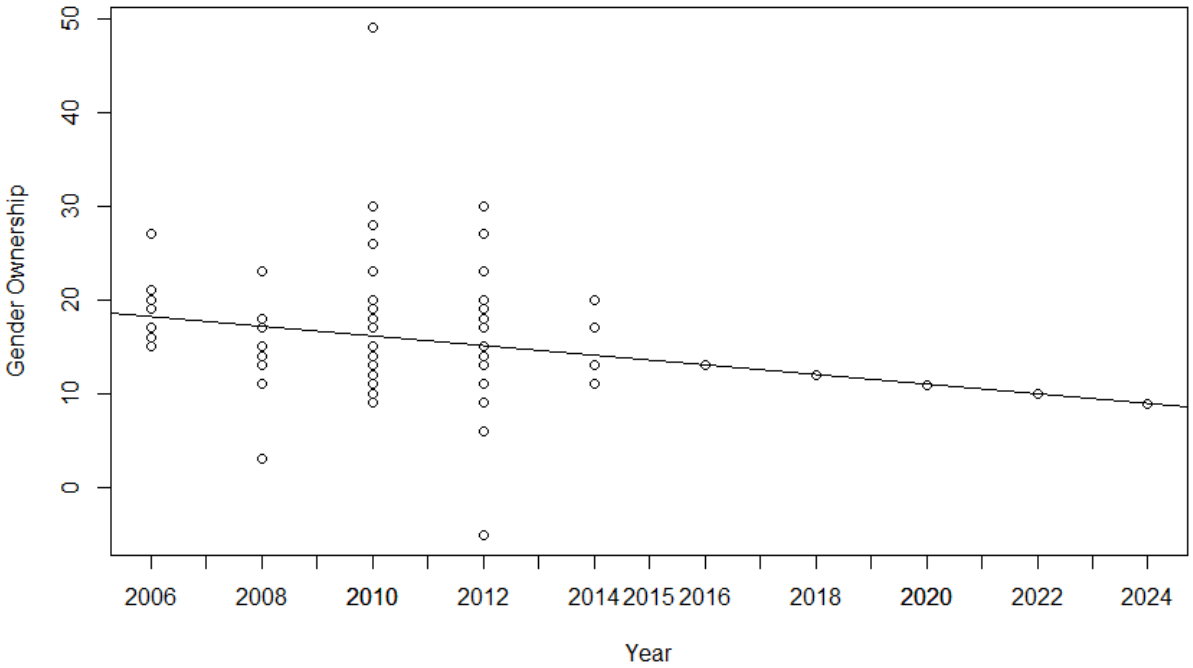

Figure F.100: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party House Candidates

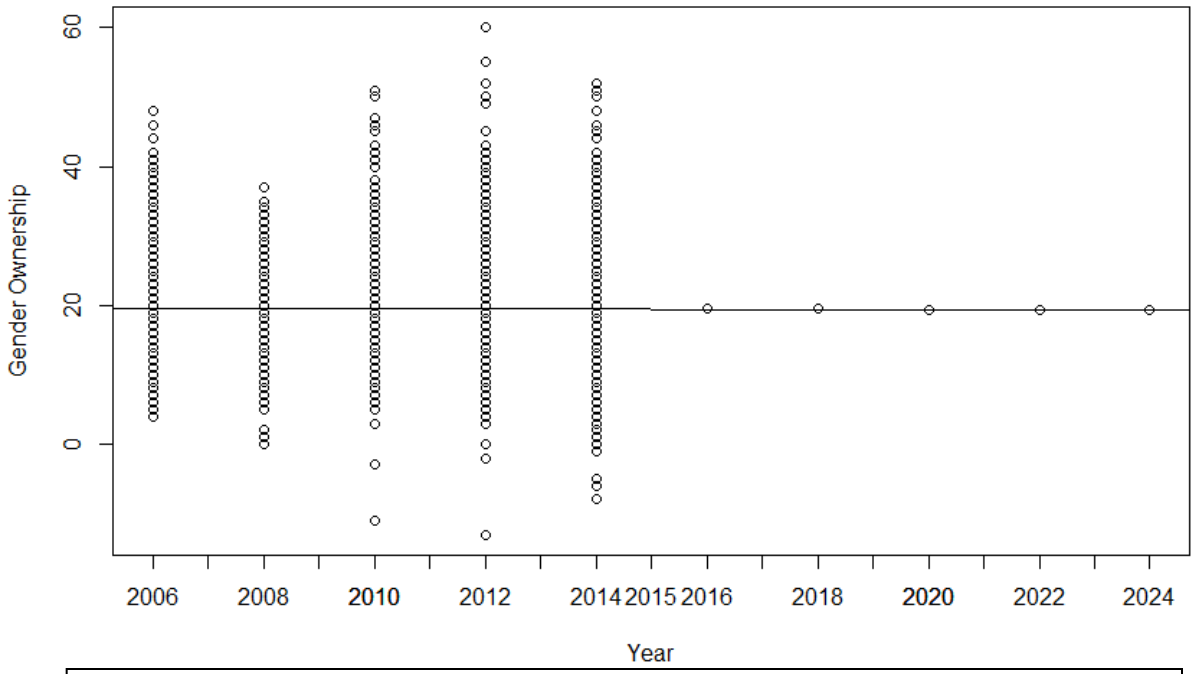

Figure F.101: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Republican House Candidates

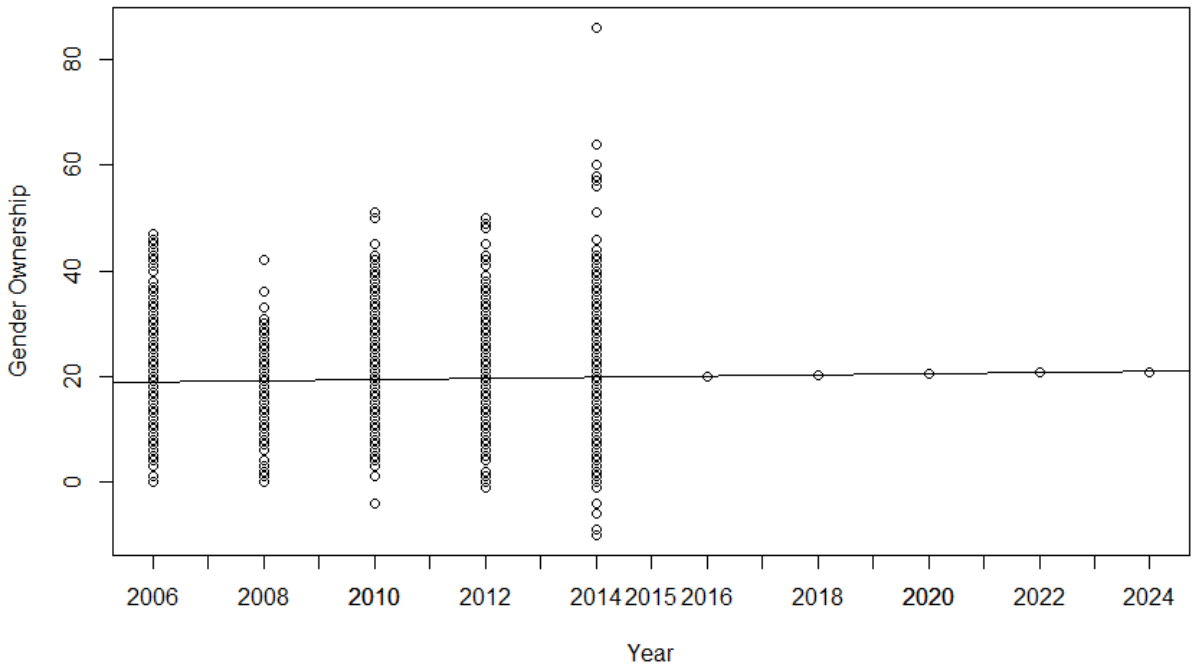

Figure F.102: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Male Senatorial Candidates

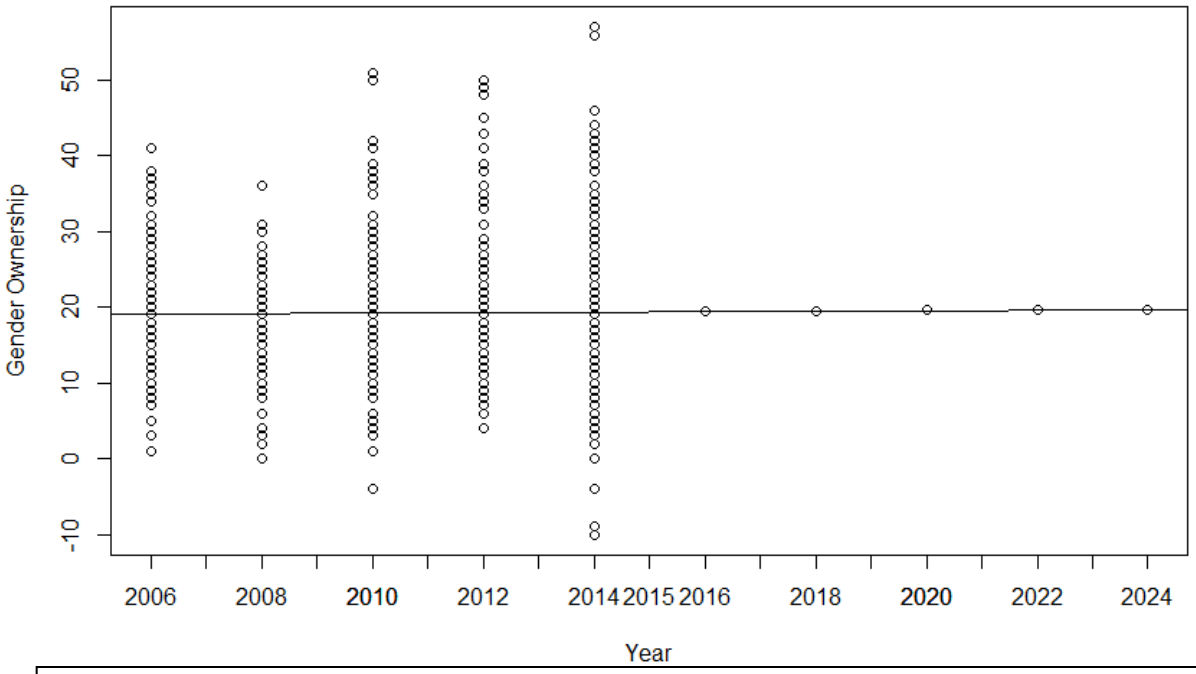

Figure F.103: Predicted Gender Ownership for Democratic Male Senatorial Candidates

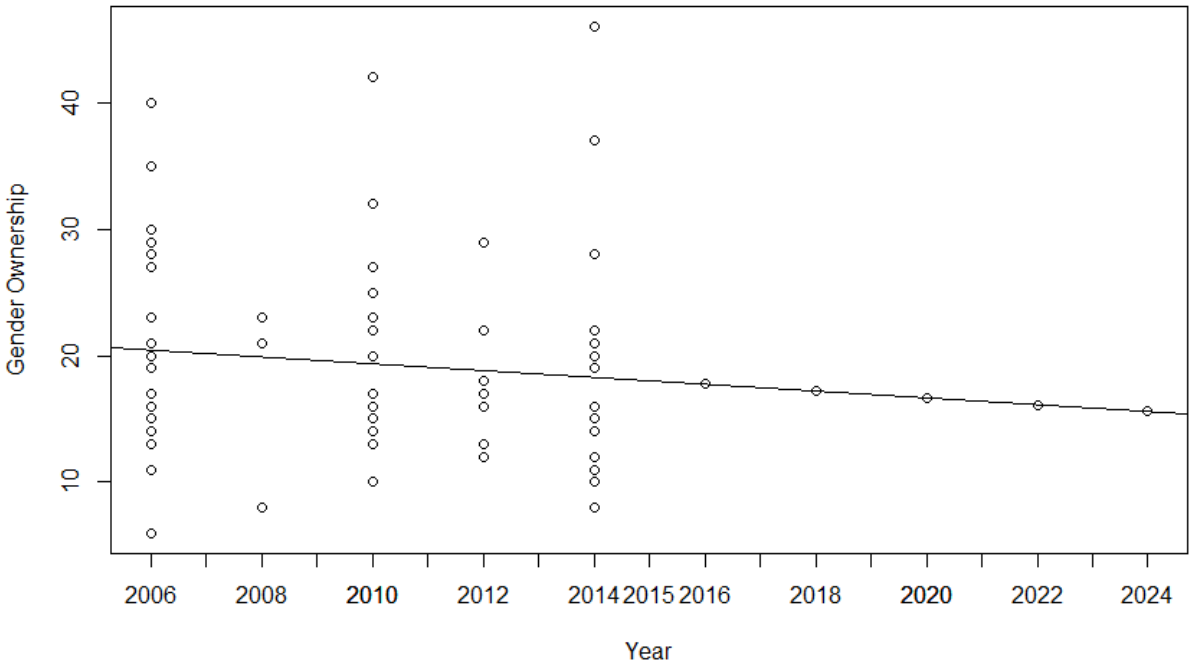

Figure F.104: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Senatorial Candidates

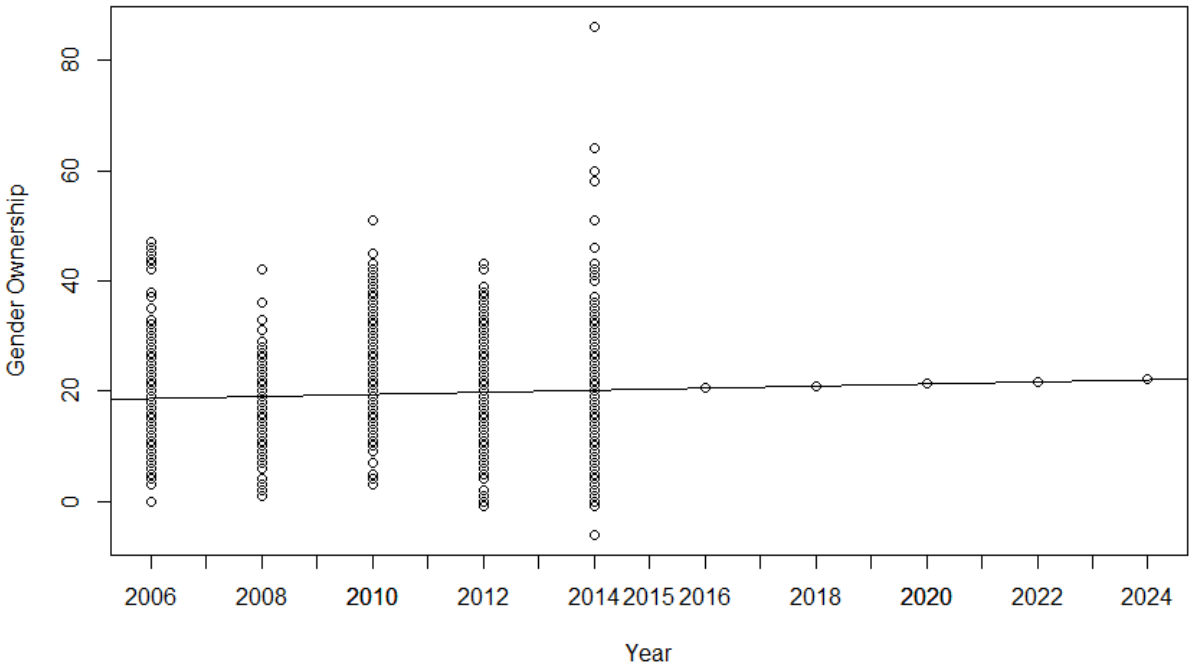

Figure F.105: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Republican Senatorial Candidates

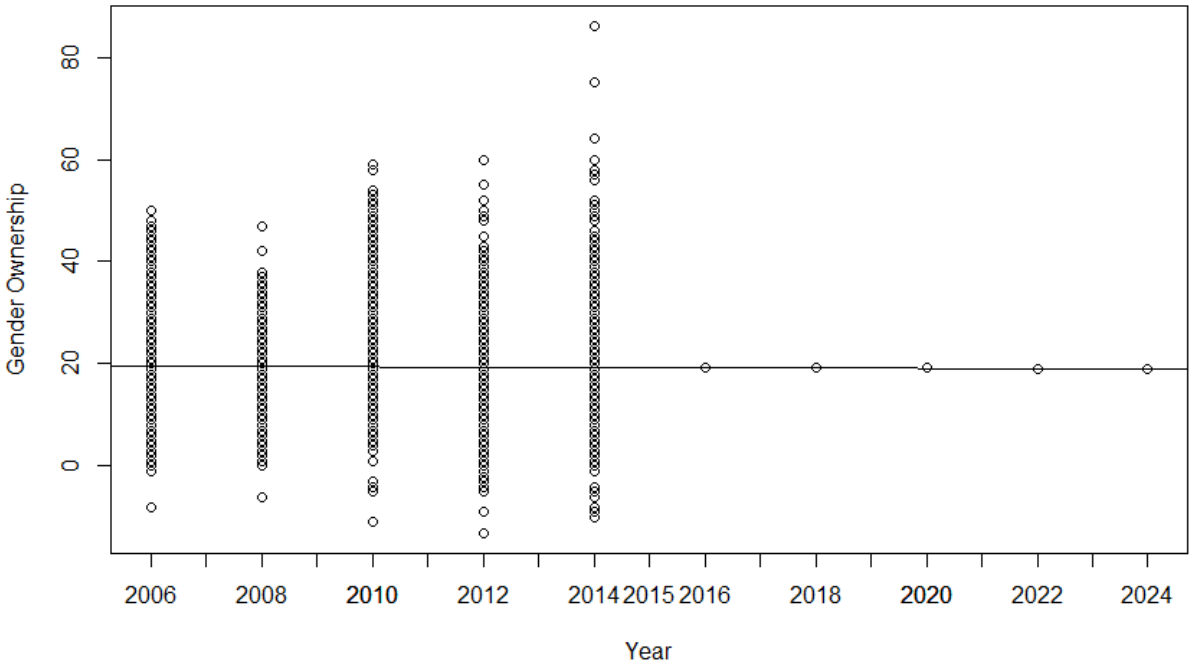

Figure F.106: Predicted Gender Ownership for All Male Federal Candidates

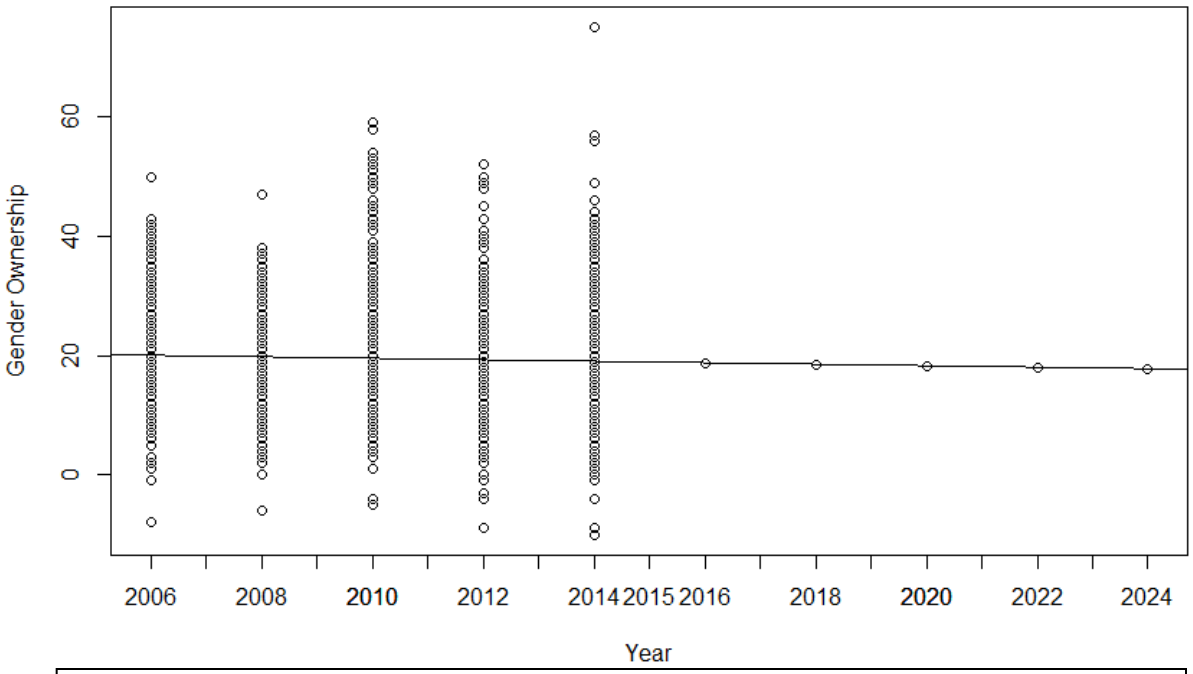

Figure F.107: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Democratic Federal Candidates

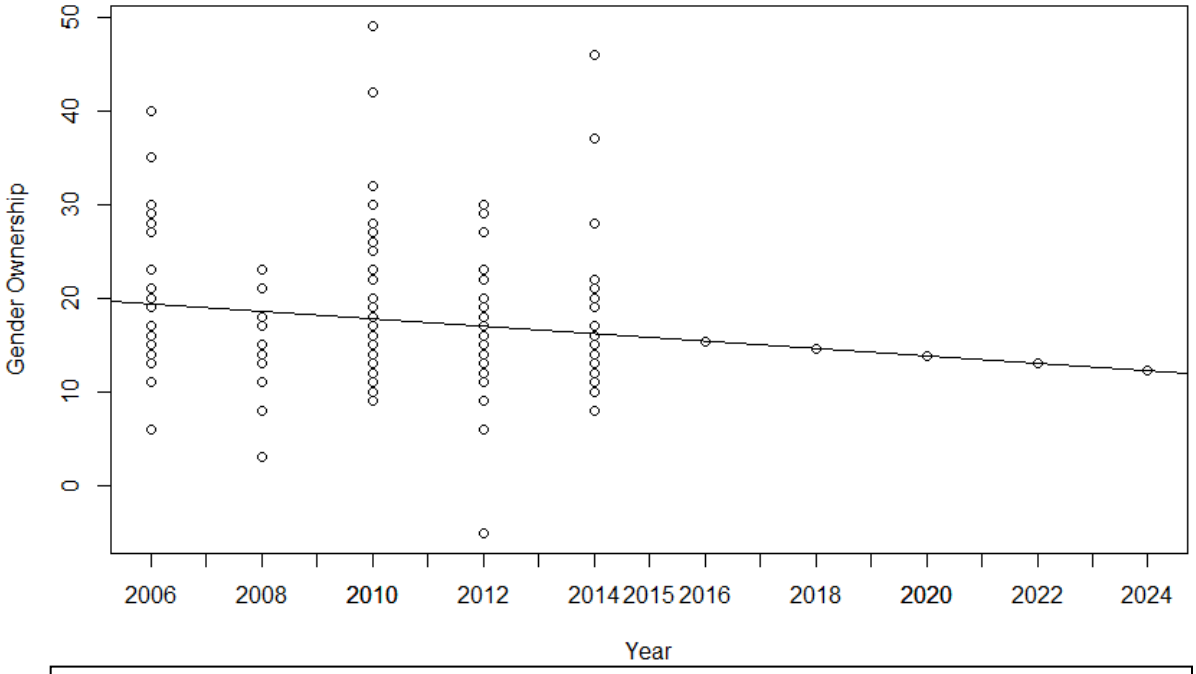

Figure F.108: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Minor Party Federal Candidates

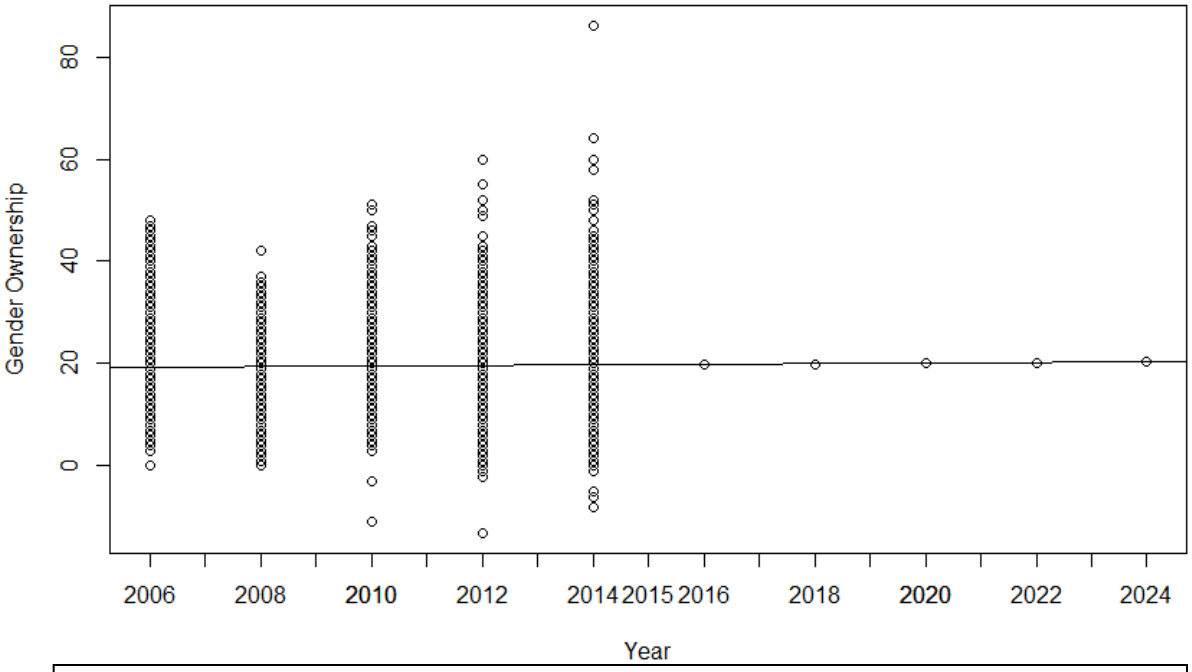

Figure F.109: Predicted Gender Ownership for Male Republican Federal Candidates