The Effect of the Gendered Coverage: How do Gender Stereotypes Interact with Media Framing?

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Why are there so few women in politics in the United States? In the 1970s and much of the 1980s, scholars of women and politics asked the question of the political underrepresentation of women. Five decades later, however, this question is still valid. Even though the political representation of women has increased, women legislators only comprise 24% and 27% in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, respectively. In terms of governorship, only 9 out of 50 (15%) are women (Center for American Women and Politics, Rutgers University, 2021).

I draw on role congruity theory to assume that gender stereotypes may play a critical role in women's political underrepresentation. People often believe each sex has divergent traits and qualities, and this belief affects their expectations and assessment of others. Thus, people favor someone whose behaviors align with their expected gender role while unfavorably evaluating those who do not conform to the role (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Especially given that male-stereotypic characteristics have more to do with leadership qualities than female-stereotypic characteristics in the public's mind (Koeing et al., 2011; Eagly and Karau, 2002), gendered stereotypes of voters may work to create more unfavorable evaluations of female candidates as political leaders than male candidates.

Specifically, this study aims to reveal how voters' gender stereotypes asymmetrically affect a female candidate and a male candidate, especially when they are triggered by gendered media

frames. According to previous studies (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Bauer, 2015), when gender-stereotypic information is salient in the public's minds, voters' gender stereotypes are activated to perceive and assess political candidates. On the other hand, scholarship on gendered media coverage has empirically shown that coverage tends to discuss gender-stereotypic contents, such as family issues and physical appearance, when it discusses female political candidates (Aday and Devitt, 2001; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, 2005; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Given voters often rely on media to access information about political candidates (Flowers, Haynes, and Crespin, 2003), I hypothesize that gendered media frames may affect voters' evaluations of political candidates by triggering one's gender stereotypes.

In this paper, I use a candidate choice survey experiment to examine how people respond differently when coverage focuses on "family issues" and the "appearance" of a female candidate and those of a male candidate. Each family frame and appearance frame are one of the most frequently discussed frames in previous research studying gendered media coverage of women in politics (e.g., Aday and Devitt, 2001; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, 2005; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Since the family frame and appearance frame generally have to do with feminine attributes, it is anticipated that the two frames may affect voters' perceptions and assessments of female candidates. However, little is known about how voters react when media focuses on male candidates' family issues and appearance. Do voters show a double standard when those frames are used to discuss a female candidate and a male candidate? Based on role congruity theory (Eagly and Karau, 2002), I expect that people will be more likely to evaluate a female candidate unfavorably when reading the coverage focusing on her family issues and appearance than when the same coverage illustrates a male candidate. Additionally, I will also investigate how one's gender, ideology, and party identification interact with the treatment effects across samples.

The Effect of Gender Stereotypes on Candidate Evaluation

In explaining the political underrepresentation of women, some studies highlight the supply side of female candidates. For example, in terms of the roots of an inadequate supply of female candidates on the ballot, Susan Welch (1977) suggests three possible explanations in her classic – situational factors such as women's private life responsibilities, structural factors such as women's socioeconomic status and occupational backgrounds, and women's political socialization experience. On the other hand, more recent works highlight women's lower levels of ambition (Fox and Lawless, 2005; Fulton et al., 2006; Lawless, 2015), gender bias in candidate recruitment (Fox and Oxley, 2003), and institutional factors such as male-dominated party networks and fund-raising (e.g., Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013; Phillips, 2021).

However, I argue that the demand side of female candidates, such as the role of voters' gender stereotypes in candidate evaluations, should not be overlooked in explaining women's political underrepresentation. According to Ridgeway (2009), sex is automatically and nearly instantly used when people categorize others. After sex categorization, one's cultural beliefs and knowledge about gender are unconsciously primed and cognitively available. Thus, people believe each sex has typical and distinctive qualities and behavioral tendencies, and they shape not only their expectations of others but also assessments based on gender norms in their minds (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Specifically, women are generally considered to possess *communal* attributes, while men possess *agentic* attributes (Eagly, 1987). These gender stereotypes also affect voters' perceptions of political candidates. In other words, women candidates are often believed to be warmer, more cautious, and more compassionate than men, while men candidates are tougher, more assertive, and more self-confident than women (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a).

Do voters' gender stereotypes hurt female candidates? Not always. Voters who value feminine characteristics as leadership attributes may be more likely to support a woman running against a man. However, people tend to think male-stereotyped characteristics are more appropriate leadership traits than female-stereotyped characteristics (Koeing et al., 2011). Thus, considering that leadership roles are generally defined with agentic and masculine qualities, especially in higher national or executive offices (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b), people may often feel women political leaders violate their gender norms. Moreover, when this role incongruity between leadership roles and gender roles is strong, people are less likely to favorably evaluate female leaders (Eagly and Karau, 2002). For instance, Okimoto and Brescoll (2010) reveal female candidates are more likely to be punished for exhibiting power-seeking intentions than their male counterparts.

On the other hand, some studies suggest that one's gender may interact with the role of gender stereotypes in candidate evaluations. For example, the studies empirically show that while men tend to devalue feminine qualities such as warmth and compassion (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b), women generally think that communal, as well as agentic qualities, are required for a leadership role (Eagly and Karau, 2002). In addition to gender, previous studies report that political ideology and party identification are also often associated with voters' assessments of female politicians (e.g., Dolan, 2010; Stalsburg, 2010; Cassese and Holman, 2019). According to the studies, conservatives and Republicans are more likely to negatively evaluate female candidates than liberals and Democrats or Independents. This is because conservatives and Republicans tend to internalize traditional gender norms, so they may feel uncomfortable when female candidates choose not to conform to traditional gender roles.

In sum, existing literature suggests that voters' gender stereotypes may harm women in politics. According to role congruity theory, people tend to perceive others based on gender norms in their minds and punish those who violate the norms. Since leadership roles, especially in higher national or executive offices, are often associated with male-stereotypic qualities, voters' gender stereotypes likely create more unfavorable evaluations of female candidates as political leaders than male candidates. On the other hand, traditional gender norms and the devaluation of feminine qualities as leadership traits among men, conservatives, and Republicans may reinforce the asymmetrical candidate evaluations depending on the candidate's gender.

Gendered Media Frames and Gender Stereotypes Activation

According to a recent meta-analysis of candidate choice experiments (Schwarz and Coppock, 2022), studies conducted post-2014 tend to report voters' favorable attitudes toward a female candidate, while samples collected before 1998 appear to have negative attitudes. Thus, the study suggests that female candidates these days may not experience a more hostile political environment than male candidates due to voters' gender stereotypes (e.g., Lawless, 2015). Nevertheless, I argue that voters' gender stereotypes can still play a significant role in candidate evaluations, especially when stereotypic information is salient. For instance, Bauer (2015) empirically finds that voters' gender stereotypes are activated when stereotypic information is available in their minds. In contrast, when other cues, such as partisan cues, are more salient, gender stereotypes have a limited effect on candidate evaluations. Thus, voters' gender stereotypes may affect candidate evaluations, especially when gender stereotypic information is particularly available compared to other candidate cues (Alexander and Andersen, 1993).

I pay attention to the effects of gendered media frames during an election campaign. Scholarship on gendered media coverage has empirically shown that female candidates are often portrayed differently in the media coverage compared to their male counterparts by looking into real-world examples (e.g., Aday and Devitt, 2001; Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart, 2001; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, 2005; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009; Wasburn and Wasburn, 2011; Dunaway et al., 2013). Even though it is unclear whether the difference is derived from either a journalist's gender bias or a candidate's strategy, previous studies argue that coverage of female candidates is more likely to discuss gender-stereotypic contents, such as family issues and physical appearance, than that of male opponents (e.g., Aday and Devitt, 2001; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, 2005; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). For instance, during the 2008 presidential election campaign, Sarah Palin was often questioned in the media about whether she would have enough time to fulfill the responsibilities of the vice-presidency as a mother of five children, while Hillary Clinton was illustrated with several negative mother stereotypes. Additionally, the media used sexist frames of Sarah Palin by focusing on her beauty queen background and youthful and feminine appearance. On the other hand, the media often discussed Hillary Clinton's fashion by emphasizing her choice of pantsuits over skirts and dresses (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009).

In one of the prominent classics in public opinion research, Zaller (1992) claims people decide their political stance based on the most salient information that is immediately accessible in their "top-of-the-head." Considering that media is an important source for the public to learn about political candidates (Flowers, Haynes, and Crespin, 2003), it is anticipated that one's perceptions of political candidates are affected by the gendered media frame. Furthermore, previous studies on media framing and priming empirically reveal that people are easily swayed by media cues when making a political decision (e.g., Iyengar and Kinder, 1987; Sniderman and

Theriault, 2004; Chong and Druckman, 2007). Accordingly, this study will examine how one's gender stereotypes, triggered by gendered media frames, shape their evaluation of political candidates.

Hypotheses

I assume that role congruity theory (Eagly and Karau, 2002) also applies to candidate evaluations. Thus, voters may unfavorably evaluate a woman candidate when they perceive an inconsistency between the gender role of a woman and the leadership role. This is because leadership attributes are often considered agentic, while women are likely to be perceived to possess communal characteristics. Furthermore, media coverage about political candidates is often gendered, putting emphasis on female candidates' family issues or physical appearance (e.g., Aday and Devitt, 2001; Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, 2005; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Given that the family frame and appearance frame often involve gender-stereotypic information, I argue that these gendered media frames may activate one's gender stereotypes in their mind when people assess political candidates.

Even though women have increasingly extended their activities outside the home in recent decades, they are still constrained by family responsibilities and often face conflicts between their private and public lives (Deason, Greenlee, and Langner, 2015). For instance, female state legislators are less likely than male state legislators to be married and have young children (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu, 2013). Additionally, voters tend to think female candidates are less likely to have enough time for politics than their male counterparts (Stalsburg, 2010). Thus, while men in powerful positions are generally assumed to have housewives who can take care of family responsibilities, women in politics are often perceived to be less suitable for political leadership due to their roles in the family. Accordingly, when the media focuses on a candidate's family issues, this will activate voters' stereotypes about different gender roles in family responsibilities. In other words,

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voters will likely show less favorable attitudes toward a female candidate when the same coverage describes a male candidate due to their gender stereotypes.

> **H1-1 (Family)** *Respondents will be more likely to evaluate a female candidate unfavorably when reading the coverage focusing on family issues than when the same coverage illustrates a male candidate.*

In addition to family issues, appearance is one of the frequently used gendered media frames. For example, when Elizabeth Dole was considered the first woman to be a serious female presidential candidate in 1999, her appearance was given more attention than that of her male opponents (Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, 2005). More recently, Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton's coverage also often portrayed them in sexist ways, focusing on their physical attractiveness (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Since the appearance frame has stereotypically more to do with women than men, I argue that voters' assessments of a candidate will be more affected by the appearance frame when the coverage targets a female candidate than a male candidate.

For example, Heflick and Goldenberg (2009) show experimental evidence that focusing on a female politician's physical appearance negatively affects others' perceptions of her. However, since the study used a name of a real actor – Sarah Palin, the confounding effect driven by the respondents' prior thoughts on Palin might not have been completely isolated. Thus, one cannot ensure that the conclusion of this study generalizes to other cases. Moreover, it remains an open question how people react when the media emphasizes the appearance of male candidates. Therefore, using hypothetical candidates, I will investigate on how and whether people respond differently when the media puts emphasis on a female and male candidate's appearance.

> **H1-2 (Appearance)** *Respondents will be more likely to evaluate a female candidate unfavorably when reading the coverage focusing on appearance than when the same coverage illustrates a male candidate.*

Furthermore, I expect heterogeneous treatment effects across samples. First, previous studies indicate that one's gender affects their assessment of feminine characteristics as leadership qualities. For instance, while men often devalue feminine qualities such as warmth and compassion (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b), women tend to believe that both communal and agentic qualities are important sources for a leadership role (Eagly and Karau, 2002). Moreover, men and women assess a female candidate's issue competence differently. According to Dolan (2010), while men perceive men as better at dealing with so-called male policies than women, women think women are also able to handle these issues competently. Thus, male voters are less likely to favor female candidates than female voters (Schwarz and Coppock, 2022). Accordingly, I hypothesize that men will be more likely than women to be affected by traditional gender stereotypes when perceiving a political candidate.

Secondly, one's ideology and party identification (PID) can also play a critical role in candidate evaluations. Since conservatives and Republicans tend to internalize traditional gender norms, they are less likely to support female candidates than liberals and Democrats or Independents. Several studies (Cassese and Holman, 2019; Masuoka, Grose, and Junn, 2021) also empirically suggest that one's PID is significantly associated with sexist beliefs in evaluating a candidate. Specifically, Republicans tend to perceive a female candidate more unfavorably than Democrats or Independents (e.g., Dolan, 2010; Stalsburg, 2010; Schwarz and Coppock, 2022). This is because Republicans are more likely to feel uncomfortable than Democrats and Independents when women in politics choose not to conform to traditional gender roles (Stalsburg, 2010). Thus, I hypothesize that gender stereotypes activation after reading the coverage will be different depending on one's ideology and PID. In other words, conservative and Republican respondents will be more likely than liberal and Democrat or Independent respondents,

respectively, to show a double standard after reading the coverage about a candidate's family issues and appearance.

> **H2-1 (Gender)** *The double standard observed in H1-1 and H1-2 will be more apparent among men than women.*
> **H2-2 (Ideology)** *The double standard observed in H1-1 and H1-2 will be more apparent among conservatives than liberals.*
> **H2-3 (Party)** *The double standard observed in H1-1 and H1-2 will be more apparent among Republicans than Democrats or Independents.*

Research Design

The study uses an online survey experiment to examine the research question. Specifically, a hypothetical voting experiment will be conducted. The experiment assumes a hypothetical gubernatorial race since a previous study suggests that national or executive positions tend to be associated in the public's mind with masculine leadership traits (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993b). In addition, Dunaway et al. (2013) find coverage of women running for gubernatorial races is more likely to be gendered than that of women running for legislative races. Samples were collected through Lucid Theorem (Mar 26 – Apr 2, 2022).

At the beginning of the survey experiment, all respondents were asked to answer basic demographic and socioeconomic questions as well as their political orientation. After the simple survey, respondents were randomly assigned to 6 subject groups – 4 treatment groups (2 types of vignettes x 2 gender of the candidate) and 2 control groups (2 gender of the candidate). Respondents in treatment groups were given a short article about a hypothetical candidate in addition to a brief profile, while those in control groups were only offered the profile. All the information given to different subject groups was constant besides the gender of the candidate. After excluding incomplete samples, a total sample size is 1,812. Sample size for respective subject groups is described in table1. Balance check is attached in the Appendix A.

Table1. Sample Size

Vignette Types	Family		Appearance		Control	
Candidate Gender	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
n	318	308	314	303	288	281

In terms of the vignette, I adapted from several examples of gendered media frames in Carlin and Winfrey (2009). Using the case of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in the 2008 presidential election campaign, Carlin and Winfrey qualitatively analyzed how the media puts emphasis on gender stereotypes when discussing female candidates. Moreover, other quantitative studies also endorse the tendency that the coverage of female candidates focuses on family issues or physical appearance (e.g., Heldman, Carroll, and Olson, 2005; Wasburn and Wasburn, 2011; Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart, 2001; Dunaway et al., 2013; Aday and Devitt, 2001). Based on the literature, I constructed the hypothetical coverage focusing on the candidate's family issues and appearance. Since the vignette was constructed based upon actual articles[1], it improves realism.

Family Vignette

The key issue in the gubernatorial debate yesterday was whether there are enough hours in the day for Terry Smith to take on the governorship, as she/he has three children, including a pregnant 17-year-old who is going to need her family very much in the next few months and years. Williams, Smith's counterpart, said, "Your husband/wife seems like a very supportive spouse but running for the governorship is a very different kettle of fish."

Appearance Vignette

Even though the race for the U.S. governorship is not just one more fashion contest, Terry Smith showed off her/his fashionable wardrobe during the gubernatorial debate yesterday. Smith's advisors are doing their best to spin the fashion explosion, telling journalists that she/he needs new outfits to match different occasions during the election campaign. Smith paid her/his professional stylist $10,000 for the first half of October.

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[1] Dowd, M. (2008, October 26). A makeover with an ugly gloss. *The New York Times*. Retrieved April 18, 2021, from Lexis Nexis Academic database; Kantor, J., & Swarns, R. L. (2008, September 2). A new twist in the debate on mothers. *The New York Times.* Retrieved April 18, 2021, from Lexis Nexis Academic database.

The profile of the candidate contained information about the candidate's name, gender, age, education, recent political experience, marital status and children, and affiliated party (see Appendix B). The attribute of each category was constructed based on basic statistics of the U.S. governors (according to Eagleton Center on the American Governor, Rutgers University). On the other hand, the candidate's age was chosen considering the context of the vignette, and a gender-neutral name was used. Note that the candidate's party was randomized since the respondents likely assume a female candidate is a Democrat unless notified (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a).

For the manipulation check, respondents in treatment groups were asked the gender of the candidate after receiving the treatment. After the manipulation check, the respondents were asked to indicate their approval of the candidate in terms of the feeling thermometer (emotional evaluation), perceived competence (cognitive evaluation), and intention to vote (overall evaluation). The feeling thermometer was measured on a 100-point scale (from extremely negative 0 to extremely positive 100), perceived competence on a 5-point scale (1. very incompetent, 2. somewhat incompetent, 3. neither competent nor incompetent, 4. somewhat competent, and 5. very competent) and intention to vote with a forced-choice question (vote or not vote).

Results

Double Standard and Candidate Evaluation

Table2. Baseline Effects

	Voting Intention	Perceived Competence	Feeling Thermometer
Female Candidate	0.09*	-0.27*	1.71
Constant	0.48***	2.84***	61.62***
Other controls	✓	✓	✓
Observations	478	480	467
Adjusted R	.05	.03	.04

$p < 0.05$ *, $p < 0.01$ **, $p < 0.001$ ***

Table2 shows the baseline effects of the candidate profile (responses from the control groups). Since all information except gender in the candidate's profile was the same, the table indicates a gender bias in candidate evaluation when other qualities are equal. According to the results, while the gender difference in feeling thermometer is statistically insignificant ($p > .05$), the differences in competence and voting intention are significant ($p < .05$). In other words, the respondents are less likely to approve of the female candidate than the male in terms of their competence. In contrast, a higher proportion of respondents answered they would vote for the candidate when the given candidate is female than those in the male candidate evaluation group. In sum, the finding confirms the conclusion of a recent meta-analysis (Schwarz, Susanne, and Coppock, 2022) that voters do not prefer a male to a female candidate, yet still revealing their gender bias regarding women's competence.

Stereotypes Activation and Candidate Evaluation

Fig1. Gendered Frame Treatment Effect (Voting Intention and Feeling Thermometer)
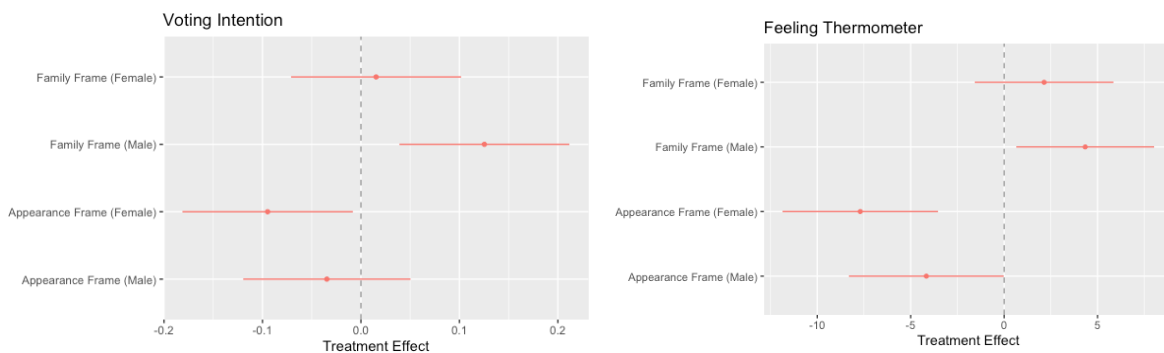
The baseline result suggests that voters may not prefer to vote for the male candidate over the female candidate when other qualities equal. When gendered media frames are given, however,

the results diverge. Figure 1 illustrates the findings of the main hypothesis. [2] Unexpectedly, the family vignette generally increases the levels of approval of the given candidates. Thus, the result implies that people generally reward political candidates when they seem to struggle to handle family issues as a parent of three children instead of punishing them. This suggests that people prefer a political candidate who has a traditional household background. Although the direction of the finding is unexpected, it supports the main argument that people have a double standard toward a female candidate after the family vignette is given (H1-1). Specifically, the family vignette significantly increases the respondents' feeling thermometer ($p < .05$) and voting intention ($p < .01$) toward the male candidate. In contrast, the effects of the family vignette are statistically insignificant when the given candidate is female. In other words, the result suggests that people tend to reward a male candidate when media puts emphasis on their family issues, while the family responsibilities of a female candidate are taken for granted.

On the other hand, the appearance vignette generally decreases the respondents' approval of the given candidates. It is noteworthy that the negative effect of the appearance vignette is stronger when the given candidate is a female than a male, as the hypothesis suggested (H1-2). Specifically, voting intention for a female candidate significantly declines, whereas it appears insignificant when the candidate is male. The same patterns are found when the respondents are asked to indicate a feeling thermometer of the candidate. Specifically, the feeling thermometer of

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[2] The regression tables are attached in Appendix C. Note that the results were estimated via Ordinary Least Square (OLS). According to Freedman (2008), linear models should be estimated in an experiment since the estimators can be inconsistent in logistic regression due to random assignment. Nevertheless, I attached a logistic model for the main hypotheses in terms of voting intention (yes = 1, no = 0) in Appendix D. According to the analysis, the results are substantively similar to the OLS models. Specifically, while the family vignette does not create any significant effect on the respondents' voting intention for the female candidate, it shows a significant positive effect when the given candidate is male. In terms of the appearance vignette, it significantly decreases the voting intention for the female candidate. However, when the given candidate is male, significant effect disappears.

a female candidate decreases by 7.70 (on a 0-100-point scale) after the treatment, while it is only a 4.17 decrease when the candidate is male. Thus, the results suggest that the negative stereotypic frame hurt women in politics, whereas men are less likely to be punished than women. The findings of this study also support the previous study (Heflick and Goldenberg, 2009), which argues that focusing on a female politician's appearance negatively affects others' perceptions of her.

Moreover, while heterogeneous treatment effects across different samples were hypothesized, there was no remarkable finding regarding the heterogeneous treatment effects (see Appendix D). In other words, people reward the male candidate after the family vignette regardless of their gender, party identification, and political ideology. In contrast, they punish the female candidate after the appearance vignette regardless of their gender, party identification, and political ideology. Although the finding in this study does not align with the conclusion of the previous studies (e.g., Dolan, 2010; Stalsburg, 2010; Cassese and Holman, 2019; Masuoka, Grose, and Junn, 2021; Schwarz and Coppock, 2022), it instead implies how deeply embedded gender bias is in U.S. politics and society.

Fig2. Gendered Frame Treatment Effect (Perceived Competence)
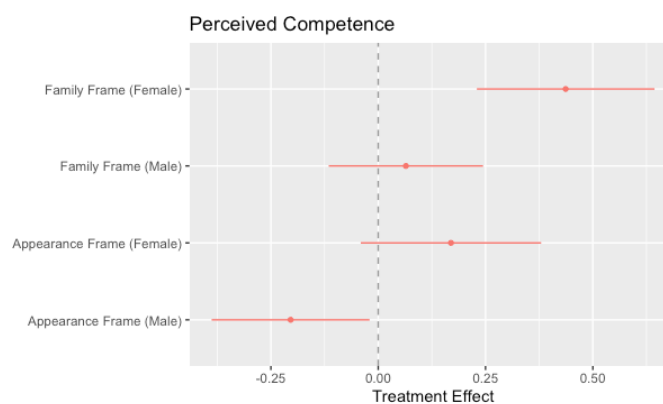
In terms of perceived competence, however, figure 2 reports mixed findings. Specifically, the perceived competence of a female candidate significantly increased after the family vignette ($p < .001$). There are several possibilities to explain this result. First, this may be the case that the

family frame arouses an image of a "hard-working mom" who can handle both her family responsibilities and political career. In other words, the family vignette may evoke in the respondents' minds the typical hard-working mom image and increase their perceived competence of the female candidate. Second, it should be further investigated what types of competence the respondents think of when they evaluate the candidate. Previous studies (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a; Dolan, 2010) suggest that people generally think female candidates would do better at education and healthcare than their male counterparts. Thus, the salience of the motherhood image in the vignette may reinforce the respondents' gender stereotypes, causing them to think that the given candidate would be competent in terms of so-called women's issues. Last but not least, the result may be because the baseline of perceived competence of the female candidate is very low.

In contrast, when the appearance vignette is given, the negative effect is only significant in the male candidate evaluation group, whereas the frame does not trigger the effect on the female candidate's competence. This may be the case that the appearance frame causes the respondents to believe that the given male candidate is not masculine enough to serve the governorship competently. According to Eagly and Karau (2002), people tend to unfavorably perceive others when they think others do not conform to gender norms. Considering that embellishment is often considered women's domain, the appearance frame may emphasize the female-stereotypic characteristics of the male candidate and lead the respondents to think that the given male candidate violates gender norms in their minds. Furthermore, it would be interesting to investigate in future research what types of issue competence the male candidate is hurt. Men are generally perceived to be better at military and defense-related issues than women (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a; Dolan, 2010). Accordingly, it can be the case that the

appearance frame decreases the perceived competence of the male candidate in terms of so-called men's issues which are often perceived to require agentic types of leadership to deal with.

Conclusion

In this study, I empirically prove that voters tend to discriminate against the female candidate, especially when gender-stereotypic information is available. The baseline results indicate that voters (without gender stereotypes activation) may not prefer to vote for the male candidate over the female candidate when other qualities are equal. However, when gendered media frames trigger one's gender stereotypes, the evaluations of the two candidates diverge. Specifically, the respondents in this study show a double standard toward the female candidate and male candidate after reading the coverage discussing gender-stereotypic information, such as the candidate's family issues and appearance.

In the family frame study, the treatment increases the respondents' positive assessments of the political candidates, suggesting that people generally prefer a traditional household profile of political candidates (Stalsburg, 2010). However, voters' favoritism toward the traditional household works differently depending on the gender of the candidate. While favoritism toward the male candidate significantly increases after the family frame treatment, the positive effects of the family frame are limited when the given candidate is female. Thus, the female candidate's family responsibilities seem to be taken for granted among the respondents, while the male candidate is significantly likely to be rewarded by the family frame. Furthermore, one's gender, ideology, and party identification do not create any significant difference in this result, which implies how deeply embedded patriarchy is in U.S. politics and society.

In the appearance frame study, the treatment reinforces the respondents' negative perceptions of the given candidates. However, this negative stereotyping treatment is more likely

to hurt the female candidate than the male candidate. Moreover, the negative impact of the appearance frame is stronger on the female candidate than the male candidate, regardless of the respondents' gender, ideology, and party identification. This may be because the appearance frame has stereotypically more associated with the female candidate than the male candidate since embellishment is often considered women's domain.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the competence rating results of both family frame and appearance frame studies do not support the main hypothesis. This finding may be because the baseline competence rating of the female candidate is very low, while that of the male is relatively high. However, it should be further explored in future research what types of issue competence the respondents think of when they evaluate the candidates. Previous studies claim that because of one's gender stereotypes, men are often perceived to be good at military and defense-related issues, while women are perceived to be good at education, healthcare, and helping the poor and needy (Alexander and Andersen, 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993a; Dolan, 2010). Thus, it may be the case that the family frame caused the respondents to focus on the communal characteristics of the female candidate and think that she would competently cope with so-called women's issues. In contrast, the appearance frame might deemphasize the agentic traits of the male candidate and lead the respondents to think that he would not be masculine enough to handle so-called men's issues competently.

Last but not least, this study is limited in that it does not consider how the intersectionality of the candidate's gender and race creates different consequences. Intersectionality scholars have claimed that the gender-sensitive approach may obscure the "unique standpoint" of experiences of racial minority women (Collins, 1986). For instance, Gershon (2013) argues that racial minority female candidates are more likely to face unfavorable media environments than their white

counterparts. Specifically, the study finds that coverage of racial minority women tends to focus on their race and ethnicity-related subject matter compared to that of white women. Therefore, future research should investigate how gendered racism results in distinctive dynamics in politics when voters' stereotypes and media framing interact with each other.

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Appendix A. Balance Check Across Survey Experiment Conditions

	Family		Appearance		Control	
	Female Candidate	**Male Candidate**	**Female Candidate**	**Male Candidate**	**Female Candidate**	**Male Candidate**
Gender (%)						
Female	52.3	52.0	51.4	48.2	54.9	52.3
Male	47.6	48.0	48.6	51.8	45.1	51.8
Age (Mean)	44.6	47.9	47.4	45.8	46.4	45.9
Education (Median)	college education	college education	college education	college education	college education	college education
Income (Median)	$40,000 to 60,000"	$40,000 to 60,000	$40,000 to 60,000	$40,000 to 60,000	$40,000 to 60,000	$40,000 to 60,000
Church (Median)	once a year	once a year	once a year	once a year	once a year	once a year
Race (%)						
White	70.0	78.5	75.0	70.2	76.6	70.2
Non-white	30.0	21.5	25.0	29.8	23.4	29.8
PID (%)						
Republican	31.2	32.3	30.5	34.9	31.7	29.2
Democrat	41.1	40.9	39.9	37.9	38.3	37.9
Independent	27.7	26.7	29.6	27.2	30.0	32.9
Ideology (%)						
Conservative	35.3	34.5	30.7	34.2	33.0	31.6
Moderate	35.0	33.2	38.7	33.2	34.7	38.0
Liberal	29.7	32.2	30.7	32.6	32.3	30.5
N	318	308	314	303	288	281

Appendix B. Candidate Profile

Name	Terry Smith
Gender	Female/Male
Age	45
Education	Bachelor's degree
Recent Political Experience	Upper chamber of state government
Marital Status & Children	Married, 3 children
Party	Republican or Democrat

Appendix C. Treatment Effects

Voting Intention (table version of Figure 1 in text)

	Family		Appearance	
	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	Female Candidate	Male Candidate
Treatment Effect	**0.02**	**0.00****	**-0.09***	**-0.03**
Constant	0.67***	0.48***	0.52***	0.51***
Other controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	510	497	502	494
Adjusted R	.03	.05	.04	.06

$p < 0.05$ *, $p < 0.01$**, $p < 0.001$***

Feeling Thermometer (table version of Figure 1 in text)

	Family		Appearance	
	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	Female Candidate	Male Candidate
Treatment Effect	**2.14**	**4.34***	**-7.70*****	**-4.17***
Constant	65.56***	59.53***	59.75***	57.16***
Other controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	500	485	489	475
Adjusted R	.03	.05	.09	.09

$p < 0.05$ *, $p < 0.01$**, $p < 0.001$***

Perceived Competence (table version of Figure 2 in text)

	Family		Appearance	
	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	Female Candidate	Male Candidate
Treatment Effect	**0.44*****	**0.06**	**0.17**	**-0.20***
Constant	2.24***	2.94***	2.65***	2.72***
Other controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	512	496	505	494
Adjusted R	.06	.00	.00	.04

$p < 0.05$ *, $p < 0.01$**, $p < 0.001$***

Appendix D. Logistic Regression Models

Voting Intention

	Family		Appearance	
	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	Female Candidate	Male Candidate
Treatment Effect	**0.07**	**0.53****	**-0.40***	**-0.16**
Constant	0.73	-0.07	0.09	0.08
Other controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	510	497	502	494
AIC	701.84	677.53	685.45	652.9

$p < 0.05$ *, $p < 0.01$**, $p < 0.001$***

Appendix E. Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

Heterogeneous Treatment Effects by Gender (Voting Intention)

	Family		Appearance	
	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	Female Candidate	Male Candidate
Treatment * Female (Rs)	**-0.01**	**0.12**	**0.00**	**-0.06**
Treatment	0.02	0.12	-0.10	-0.01
Female (Rs)	-0.03	-0.02	-0.04	-0.01
Constant	0.67***	0.49***	0.52***	0.49***
Other controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	510	497	502	494
Adjusted R	.03	.04	.04	.06

p < 0.05 *, p < 0.01**, p < 0.001***
Male respondent is set as a reference category.

Heterogeneous Treatment Effects by Party ID (Voting Intention)

	Family		Appearance	
	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	Female Candidate	Male Candidate
Treatment * Democrat	**0.01**	**-0.01**	**0.10**	**-0.06**
Treatment * Independent	**0.07**	**0.08**	**-0.01**	**0.06**
Treatment	-0.01	0.11	-0.13	-0.03
Democrat	-0.10	0.05	-0.04	0.05
Independent	-0.09	-0.09	-0.05	-0.07
Constant	0.68***	0.48***	0.54***	0.51***
Other controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	510	497	502	494
Adjusted R	.02	.04	.04	.05

p < 0.05 *, p < 0.01**, p < 0.001***
Republican respondent is set as a reference category.

Heterogeneous Treatment Effects by Political Ideology (Voting Intention)

	Family		Appearance	
	Female Candidate	Male Candidate	Female Candidate	Male Candidate
Treatment * Moderate	**0.11**	**0.07**	**-0.00**	**-0.02**
Treatment * Liberal	**-0.12**	**-0.03**	**-0.14**	**-0.07**
Treatment	0.02	0.10	-0.05	-0.00
Moderate	-0.01	-0.00	-0.02	-0.00
Liberal	0.21*	0.05	0.17	0.04
Constant	0.46***	0.40***	0.44***	0.49***
Other controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
Observations	510	497	502	494
Adjusted R	.03	.03	.03	.06

p < 0.05 *, p < 0.01**, p < 0.001***
Conservative respondent is set as a reference category.