Running Like a Girl: Does Implicit Gender Bias Still Affect Presidential Candidate Evaluations

Post-Hillary?

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Introduction

The 2016 Democratic National Convention featured a video of Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton "shattering" a black and white image of the forty-four previous male presidents, symbolizing Hillary Clinton's ability to break the highest glass ceiling. Just months after the convention, the glass ceiling had only been cracked; Republican candidate Donald J. Trump won the presidential election of 2016.

Much of Hillary's defeat was attributed to her flaws as a candidate, her inability to sympathize with the rural working class, and her many scandals throughout her long political career. Political pundits would give a nod to the sexism and misogyny that was prevalent throughout the election campaign, but many asserted that Hillary's failure to adequately convey her policies and message was her downfall, not her gender.

This tendency to blame personal attributes rather than gender for any shortcomings is a relatively recent phenomenon in the United States, as many believe that equality has been achieved for the feminist movement. Hayes and Lawless (2015) found that a candidate's gender does not affect journalists' coverage of, or voters' attitudes toward, the women and men running for office. Rather, portrayals and opinions about candidates are often the result of ideology, partisanship, and incumbency; candidate gender is not a factor.

Even more, young people today feel that sexism and gender inequality is not an issue. Young women feel that they are just as well positioned as their male counterparts to be successful due to the feminist movement, which came in three major "waves." First-wave feminists were the suffragists who fought for the right for women to vote. The second-wave feminists were women of the 1960s and 1970s who believed that the rights and privileges of

citizenship should not be dependent on the basis of gender. The second-wave feminists acted on those beliefs by fighting to improve women's socio-economic and educational opportunities, and to improve women's access to reproductive health care (i.e., birth control and abortion). Ironically enough, it is the successes of the second-wave equity feminism that lead young women to believe that feminism and the struggle for equality has nothing to do with them. They never lived in the world in which employment ads were neatly divided into high-paying "Help Wanted: Male" and low-paying "Help Wanted: Female" categories, where women were denied entry into top colleges like Harvard and Yale, where birth control was difficult to get, and abortion was illegal. These scenarios sound more like fiction to today's young women rather than the reality of recent history.

Moreover, despite never having a female president, an overwhelming majority of Americans say they would support a female candidate for president if she was qualified. Although only 33 percent of Americans stated they would support a female president in 1937, that number has risen dramatically to 92 percent in 1992 (Lombrozo 2014). Therefore, many people argue that in time, a woman will become president; that a woman hasn't become president yet is just coincidental, and not because women face additional obstacles to running for office.

The central research question of this thesis asks if implicit gender biases affect voter choice for the presidency. If it does, is the implicit gender bias diminishing in influence among younger voters? In order to answer this question, I have conducted an experiment that takes two equally qualified fictional candidates, assigned generic male/female names, and then looked for evidence of bias against the female candidate in experiment participant's survey responses.

This research is of theoretical interest in political science because women are consistently underrepresented in government. Without equal representation for women, the concerns and interests that come from a women's experiences are not given equal attention in government. Therefore, it is crucial to the theoretical interest in political science to understand the barriers women face in running for, and getting elected to, public office.

This research is relevant to the general public because it will identify any existing implicit gender bias in candidate evaluations. If a gender bias is found, it will encourage voters to become more aware of this bias, and use this awareness to make more rational and logic-based candidate evaluations and vote choice.

Literature Review

Female Representation in Government

Women are chronically underrepresented in elected government positions in the United States. This is, in part, because women do not run for office as often as men. Much research has been done to understand why women are constantly underrepresented in elected offices. For example, Laurel Elder uses survey data to gain insight into why women are less likely to run for political office than men. She finds that a number of factors including political gender role socialization, a lack of political confidence, family responsibilities and the relatively few number of women political role models all contribute to why women do not run (Elder 2004). Similarly, findings by Richard Fox and Jennifer Lawless show that, despite comparable credentials, backgrounds, and experiences, accomplished women are far less likely than similarly situated men to perceive themselves as qualified to seek office. Although men and women rely on the same factors when evaluating themselves as candidates, women are less likely than men to

believe they meet these standards. Notably, women are also more likely to doubt their abilities to engage in campaigning practices (Fox and Lawless 2004). The research done by Elder, Fox and Lawless is relevant because it explains how women perceive themselves as potential eligible candidates. This paper seeks to examine any bias--conscious or unconscious--against the women that manage to overcome the challenges of gender role socialization and run for office.

Another barrier for women in the United States stems from the structure of our government. Compared to other countries, the United States lags in equal representation for women in political office. In total, 71 women from 52 countries have joined the elite group of female national leads between 1960 and 2009, including women that have served on a temporary basis, but excluding those who have occupied positions that do not conform to presidential or prime ministerial office and in countries that are not politically autonomous. These women come from geographically diverse locations, including Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania, but not the United States, obviously. Jalalzai and Krook (2010) explain that institutional features of the political system are critical to women's executive advancement. In general, women are more likely to serve in parliamentary systems and more often as prime ministers than as presidents; there have been 40 female prime ministers and 31 female presidents.The greater success of women in obtaining prime ministerial positions rather than presidential positions can be attributed to their ability to bypass a potentially biased general public and be chosen by the party as parliamentary rules dictate (Whicker and Isaacs 1999). Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom and Angela Merkel of Germany are examples of women rising to power through party promotion rather than more democratically elected. Presidential and prime ministerial positions also differ in the authority, autonomy, and traits deemed necessary for success, all of which are

shaped by the notions of gender. The combination of executive and legislative authority within parliamentary systems features a prime minister who shares power with cabinet and party members. In such systems, collaboration is fundamental; the qualities necessary from successfully passing legislation are negotiation, collaboration, and deliberation, all typically considered feminine characteristics. Conversely, presidents in presidential systems act independently of the legislature and generally are expected to lead in a quick and decisive manner; these traits are more often associated with masculinity (Duerst-Lahti 1997). This suggests that the general public may be more biased and less capable of removing their implicit biases from candidate evaluations.

Gender Bias in Candidate Selection in Congress

Surprisingly, some research suggests women candidates may be advantaged. Research done by Craig Brians (2005) offers optimistic results that female candidates gain marginally greater support from their own gender. By analyzing more than a decade of men's and women's voting behavior when male and female candidates face one another, Brians found that in a relationship not present with other male or female candidates, Democratic women candidates who face GOP men strongly benefit from Republican women voters' crossover support in U.S. House of Representatives elections. This willingness for Republican women to cross party lines to vote for Democratic women can be attributed to the observation that both women voters and politicians are often more liberal than males. Therefore, a Democratic female candidate's partisanship appears to increase her appeal to women voters.

By conducting a logistics analysis of the 1992 American National Election Study data, Kathleen Dolan explains how women voters are more likely to support women House candidates

than are men and are also more likely to use gender-related issue positions in determining their vote choice when there is a woman candidate. Additionally, in Senate elections, issues are much more important in determining vote choice than in House elections. As is the case with the House, women exhibit extremely different issue concerns than men and cite a greater number of gender-related issue concerns in their evaluations of Senate candidates (Dolan 1998). All of this research offers evidence that women may actually receive an advantage from gender bias, in that female candidates gain greater support from their own gender, who typically cites gender-related issues as a priority. Lastly, it is important to acknowledge that Dolan found no evidence of a gender bias after she controlled for party and incumbency, signalling that gender is not a top priority for voters when evaluating candidates for Senate.

It is important to note, however, that this research focuses on House and Senate candidates, and does not discuss any variance in issue concerns between men and women in evaluations of presidential candidates. It is impossible to conduct any empirical studies of gender bias in evaluations of presidential candidates because there has only been a single woman that has ever been a major party nominee for president. Aside from the fact that Hillary Clinton was an especially unique candidate (and 2016 an especially unique election), there are too many factors involved in any election and selection of a candidate to be able to isolate gender's impact in a single election. As data from real-world elections cannot isolate gender, an experiment is needed to control for all other variables and isolate the impact of gender. Although studies of gender bias at the congressional women show no bias, and even in some cases favor women, voters perceive the position of the presidency very differently than congressional office.

Therefore, there is reason to suspect that gender stereotyping may be more of an issue for women running for the presidency than the congressional office.

The Masculine Presidency

Many of the characteristics associated with the presidency are masculine in nature, which may put women running for President at a disadvantage.

Linda Carli and Alice Eagly consider the influence of gender on group relations and draw upon social role theory and status characteristics theory to examine men's and women's influence over others and tendency to emerge as informal leaders in task-oriented groups. They conclude that differences in the status and roles of women and men in society lead to patterns of interactions in mixed-sex task-oriented groups that place women at a disadvantage (Carli and Eagly 1999). This shows that there is a bias against women leaders overall-- in all settings. Therefore, because of the preconceived perceptions of men's and women's competence, women are less likely to emerge as leaders within groups. Moreover, research conducted by Alice Eagly, Mona Makhijani, and Bruce Klonsky found that women in leadership positions were devalued relative to their male counterparts when leadership was carried out in stereotypically masculine styles, especially when this style was autocratic or directive (Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992). These prejudices against females in leadership roles undoubtedly provide an obstacle for women running for the presidency, the most elite leadership position of all.

Duerst-Lahti (2006) explains how masculinity has been embedded through the traditions that dominate the presidency, although those traditions are typically implicit assumptions that make presidential elections a masculine space, such as "the test of executive toughness, a preference for military heroes, the sport and war metaphors of debate, and more" (22).

Duerst-Lahti also found that "tough" appeared more often in presidential election coverage than any other masculinity word. Of course, toughness has not been a characteristic used to describe the distinctiveness of women's candidacies. Again, women in general are described as more compassionate and gentle than men; men are typically seen as tougher and more aggressive than women-- characteristics desirable in a president. This phenomenon can be further explained by the Goldberg paradigm, which analyzes biases in perceptions of equivalent behavior of men and women; it asserts that when a job or task is stereotypically masculine or even gender neutral, study after study finds that men are preferred over women (Carroll 2009). As the presidency is stereotypically masculine (although nonetheless a role both men and women are eligible to hold), men are preferred over women for the office.

Leonie Huddy and Nayda Terkildsen research the origins of voters' expectations of greater female competency on "compassion" issues, such as dealing with poverty or the elderly, and greater male competency on military and defense issues. Alarmingly, their research found that masculine instrumental traits, such as assertive, rational, and self-confident, increased the candidate's perceived competence on a broader range of issues than the feminine traits of warmth and expressiveness (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993).

Even more, Jennifer Lawless (2004) found that gender stereotyping in the political field continues to exist post-9/11, both in terms of general traits and issue expertise that citizens attribute to men and women, candidates and officeholders, and regarding specific policy expertise related to stopping terrorism. These findings came from a stand-alone survey administered from August 23, 2002 until September 11, 2002 to a random samples through the *Knowledge Networks*. The survey asked about political attitudes, preferred characteristics in

high-level officeholders, and attitudes about women and men's roles, traits, and issue expertise.

Citizens continue to prefer "masculine" traits and characteristics in their leaders and believe that

men are more likely than women to possess these qualities. Even more, voters continue to

consider men more qualified to handle military crises. As such, the policy preferences about

current events following 9/11 played a significant role in perpetuating gender stereotypes. The

language of war is tough, aggressive, and uncompromising. Key phrases such as "invasion,"

"regime change," and "deployment" is spoken with decisiveness. Moreover, male leaders have

dominated defense and war policies in every conflict in U.S. history. Presidents, along with their

generals and cabinet secretaries, have made the case for, and supported U.S. interventions in past

wars; almost all of these people were, of course, males. Therefore, citizens are used to the words

of war belonging to men. Consequently, citizens with policy preferences for invading nations,

executing those who aid terrorists, or torturing suspected terrorists are likely to consider men

more competent than women to govern. As Commander in Chief, the President exercises a great

amount of power over the United States Department of Defense. It is obviously problematic for

women seeking election to the presidency that men are perceived to exhibit a greater competency

when handling issues of national security.

Past research and experiments on gender-bias in presidential voter preferences

In order to control the environment and get around the issue of a sample size of zero for

female candidates for president, Rossenwasser and Dean (1989) sought to understand the

interconnection between male/female candidates and the importance of "masculine"/"feminine"

presidential duties as it relates to the effectiveness of the candidate/. The participants rated the

degree to which the candidate would be "effective" on various presidential tasks, masculine and

feminine, and results showed that candidate gender was the main effect on ratings of effectiveness. Female candidates were rated higher on "feminine" tasks, while male candidates were rated higher on "masculine" tasks. However, the "masculine" tasks were rated more important than the "feminine" tasks. This research insists that "masculine" attributes are therefore necessary for a candidate to be considered for the presidency (Rossenwasser and Dean 1989).

David Paul, Jessi Smith, and Rachel Paul conducted an experimental, single-candidate design to test the hypothesis that young voters would similarly evaluate a man and woman candidate for Senate but negatively evaluate a presidential candidate's resume ascribed to a woman, compared to the same resume ascribed to a man. Results suggested that although bias may be less visible in evaluations of some Senate candidates, gender bias remained a significant obstacle for women presidential candidates (Smith, Paul, and Paul 2007). As evidenced in Table 1, Brian Miller was evaluated significantly better than Karen Miller, despite participants receiving identical descriptions of the candidates, save for the name. That Karen was evaluated significantly worse than Brian underscores the different expectations of male and female candidates for president. Terry Miller was included in the study as a gender-neutral name. Unsurprisingly, as the presidency is a male-dominated role, 88.2% of participants assumed Terry

Miller to be a male (230).

Perceptions of the Senate Candidate as a Function of Candidate Gender

Survey Item	Brian Miller M (SD)	Karen Miller M (SD)	t value
I would describe this candidate as having good senatorial potential	5.07 (.83)	5.08 (.86)	−0.02
Overall, I perceived this candidate as very unskilled at politics	2.29 (.99)	2.38 (1.04)	−0.25
I think this candidate has done very well in their political career	5.21 (1.05)	5.38 (.87)	−0.46
In their career, this candidate has accomplished very little	2.64 (1.60)	2.00 (.71)	1.33
I think that this candidate enjoys politics	6.07 (.99)	5.38 (1.39)	1.48
I think that politics comes easy to this candidate	5.21 (1.37)	4.31 (1.18)	1.83*

Means range from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree).
*$p = .078$.

Table 1. Average responses to survey about qualifications of presidential candidates

David Paul and Jessi Smith examined the influence of the gender of presidential candidates on perceptions of candidate qualifications and vote choice through polling data of likely Ohio voters using Hillary Clinton, Elizabeth Dole, John Edwards, Rudy Giuliani, and John McCain in order to mirror real-world presidential selection processes. These candidates were chosen based on their likeliness to actually run, as well as their similar qualifications. For example, Clinton, Edwards, and Dole have served relatively similar tenures in the US Senate. The candidates had other qualifications as well: Clinton was active in public policy formation during her husband's presidential administration; Edwards was a presidential candidate in 2004 and was chosen as the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee that year; and Dole was a presidential candidate in 2000 and served as a cabinet secretary in the Reagan and first Bush administrations. Giuliani was mayor of the largest city in the United States. McCain was a bit of an outlier; he served in the Senate for 19 years and he ran for the presidency in 2000. At the start of the survey, respondents were asked about their party affiliation, and then Democrats were asked a primary nomination question about Hillary Clinton against John Edwards, whereas Republicans were asked a primary nomination question about Elizabeth Dole against Rudy

Giuliani. The results showed that Democrats similarly evaluated Edwards and Clinton, with a mean score of 67.57 and 66.61, respectively. On the other hand, Republicans evaluated Dole considerably less favorably than Guiliani, with a mean of 52.2 and 68.92, respectively. Although it is important to note that other factors unrelated to gender could have influenced the qualifications ratings, that Republicans evaluated Dole much lower than Giuliani, while Edwards and Clinton were similarly evaluated by Democrats is significant. All respondents were then asked to rate the qualifications of each of the five candidates on a scale of 0 to 100. Specifically, respondents were asked: "Next, as I read you the names of some candidates who are considering running for President in 2008, please rate the candidate on a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 meaning the candidate is not qualified at all to be President, and 100 meaning the candidate is completely qualified to be President." The term "qualified" was used to gauge voters' perceptions of the credentials of each candidate to be president. Their results showed that the women presidential candidates (Clinton, Dole) were viewed as significantly less qualified to be president when compared to male candidates with similar credentials (Paul and Smith 2008).

Lit Review Wrap-up

As evidenced by Elder (2004) and Fox and Lawless (2004), women are typically underrepresented in government due to a number of factors, including political gender role socialization, a lack of political confidence, family responsibilities,the relatively few number of women political role models, and that accomplished women are far less likely than similarly situated men to perceive themselves as qualified to seek office. However, the women that overcome these obstacles and choose to run for Congress do not experience any gender bias, and in some cases can even benefit from it. Unfortunately, no empirical research can be conducted on

this phenomenon at the presidential level because only one woman has received a major party nomination for president, and it is impossible to draw out the impact of gender in this case.

Although evidence at the Congressional level shows women may benefit from the gender bias, the social role theory explained by Carli and Eagly (1999), as well as the perception that masculine instrumental traits increased the candidate's perceived competence on a broader range of issues than the feminine traits of warmth and expressiveness (Huddy and Terkildsen 1993) gives reason to believe that because voters perceive the position of the presidency very differently than congressional office, gender bias may exist in evaluations of presidential candidates, despite being absent in evaluations of congressional candidates.

The research done by Paul, Smith, and Paul (2007) shows that study participants view female candidates as less qualified than male candidates, despite having similar qualifications, therefore proving an implicit gender bias in the evaluation of presidential candidates. However, their research was conducted a decade ago, and a lot has happened since then; Hillary Clinton ran a competitive campaign for the democratic nomination for president, Sarah Palin was nominated as the Republican vice president nominee, and Hillary Clinton received the presidential nomination from a major political party. Hillary Clinton's run for president, including her popular vote win, proves that the nation is able, and willing, to accept a woman as president. Over the past decade, the United States has become more progressive. Notably, gay marriage was ruled a constitutional right by the Supreme Court, President Obama signed a comprehensive healthcare plan into law, state minimum wages have been increased across the country, and the United States has taken strides in confronting Climate Changes issues. As such, the general progress theory asserts that over time, society will naturally become more

progressive. Therefore, this paper seeks to re-evaluate Paul, Smith, and Paul's (2007) claim that gender bias exists in evaluating candidates for president. Because Hillary Clinton came so close to the presidency, and many expected her to be president, there is reason to hope that the gender bias has been at least reduced, if not (statistically) eradicated.

Hypotheses

Listed below are the three hypotheses that I have formed. I will test the validity by conducting surveys of a random sample of individuals in Oneonta, NY and Somers Point, NJ.

1. There will be less gender bias in voter evaluations of presidential candidates.

2. Republican voters will be more likely than Democrat voters to rate the female candidate less favorably than the male candidate.

3. Young voters will be less likely than older voters to rate the female candidate less favorably than the male candidate.

I have hypothesized that there will be less gender bias in presidential candidate evaluations because Hillary Clinton may have helped to alleviate the issues associated with role-congruity theory. Role-congruity theory explains how individuals are positively evaluated when his/her characteristics align with the group's typical social roles (Eagly and Karau 2002). Now that Americans have seen a woman running for president, they will start to associate women with the role of the president, or at the very least, presidential candidate.

I have hypothesized that Republican voters will be more likely than Democrats to rate the female candidate less favorably than the male candidate for a number of reasons. First, the Paul and Smith (2008) experiment showed that Republicans evaluated the female candidates (Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole) much less favorably than their contenders (John Edwards and Rudy

Giuliani) in their fictional primaries. Second, the partisan gender gap can explain why Democrats would be more likely to support a female candidate. For example, women are more than three times as likely to be Democrats than they are to be Republicans. Moreover, women make up almost 30 percent of the Democratic delegation in Congress, compared to just 6 to 10 percent of the Republican delegation in Congress. Although, all other variables equal, Republican women are just as likely as Democrat women to win congressional races, Democrats elect more women than Republicans, implying that they are more accustomed to female leaders in political office. Moreover, given the strengthening polarization of primaries, Republican women are at a disadvantage because Republican women are nearly three times as likely as their male counterparts to be ideologically moderate (Thomsen 2015). As Republican women are perceived as moderate, and maybe even liberal on some issues such as reproductive rights, they will be less likely to receive support from their party electorate.

I hypothesized that young voters will be less likely than older voters to rate the female candidate less favorably than the male candidate because young people tend to be more liberal and progressive than older people. As evidence, Pew Research found that Millennials (ages 18-33) are the most liberal age group. About 40 percent of Millennials are mostly or consistently liberal in their views. On the other hand, only 28 percent of the Silent Generation are mostly or consistently liberal (Kiley and Dimock 2014). Moreover, young people are more likely to have grown up in a culture that empowered young women and girls, and taught them that they are able to achieve anything their male counterparts are capable of--whether it's receiving a PhD, serving in the military, or even becoming president. Therefore, young people are more accepting and open to women taking on leadership positions, including the presidency.

Methods

  To test the hypotheses, I conducted a survey based experiment in Oneonta, NY and

Somers Point, NJ. I have chose these two areas because I go to school in Oneonta, NY at

Hartwick College, and I live in Somers Point, NJ. Although still limited, expanding my study to

two geographic locations allows me to broaden the population of my study and reach more

individuals. I chose a convenience sample because it offered me the potential to have a diverse

sample of individuals of different ages, genders, party affiliations, religions, and races. I obtained

the samples by standing outside public locations, such as coffee shops, and asked anyone that

looked over the age of 18 to participate in the survey.

  Once an individual agreed to complete the survey, I handed them a resume of one of the

individuals, and told them that this individual is considering running for President in 2024. I

chose 2024 to prevent individuals from assuming this candidate is running against Donald

Trump for his second term. I asked the participant to look over the resume, and then asked them

to fill out a survey regarding the qualifications of the candidate (see Appendix).

  I had two different fictionalized resumes that outlined the qualifications and personal life

of the candidate. The resumes were identical to each other, save for the candidate's name (see

Appendix). One resume had a generic female name, Jessica Stone; the other resume had a

generic male name, Joshua Stone. I asked each participant to evaluate only one resume, so that

the gender is the only "treatment" that is being tested. In order to maintain a randomized sample,

I alternated which survey the participants received, i.e., the first participant received Jessica

Stone's resume, the second participant received Joshua Stone's resume, and so on. The

presidential candidates were relatively qualified to run for president, having experience serving

in the military, working in the private sector, and holding several public offices. As partisanship

is the strongest indicator of vote choice (Bonneau and Cann 2015), I neglected to disclose the

candidate's political party. Moreover, I ensured that all of the candidate's "achievements" in

office were transpartisan, such as investing in infrastructure and ensuring clean drinking water in

schools. As evidence, in a March 2016 Gallup poll, 75 percent of Americans supported spending

more federal money to improve infrastructure, including roads, buildings, and waterways; only

11 percent of respondents opposed (Newport 2016). Moreover, a 2016 Gallup poll showed that

80 percent of respondents worried either a "great deal" or "fair amount" about the pollution of

drinking water (McCarthy 2016). Constructing the candidate's major achievements to include

only legislation of bipartisan support ensured that respondents would not evaluate the candidate

poorly because of partisan legislative achievements. The bottoms of the resume included a short

description about the candidate's personal life, including their race, religion, marital status, and

number of children. Both candidates were married for 18 years, had three children (ages 6, 12,

and 14), and they were both 46 year old caucasian Protestants. The candidates had a B.A. in

Political Science from Harvard, and a M.B.A from Yale University. It was important for the

candidates' personal lives to reflect those of previous presidents to ensure that, once again,

gender was the only variable present. For the candidates to have uncommon characteristics, such

as identification as an Atheist, or a lack of higher education, could have potentially led to very

different results.

  After evaluating the resume, the participant was asked to fill out a survey about the

qualifications of the candidate. The survey asked the respondents to rate the candidate on a scale

of 1-7--1 being highly unqualified, and 7 being highly qualified--of their qualifications to be

president. The respondents were also asked to rate how likely they were to support the candidate on a scale of 1-7. Respondents answered yes/no questions about whether or not the candidate had good presidential potential, was qualified to be Commander-in-Chief, and whether or not the candidate had the ability to be an effective politician in order to pass legislation. The respondents also answered questions about their age, gender, ethnicity, education, religion, political affiliation, and political ideology.

Sample

154 surveys were completed at the end of the data collection. 40.26 percent of respondents were Republicans, 43.51 percent were Democrats, and the remaining 16.23 percent of respondents were Independents. Moreover, 81 men and 43 women responded to the survey. I was able to obtain some variation in age, with 46.1 percent of respondents falling between the ages of 18 and 34, 45.45 percent falling between the ages of 35 and 54, and the remaining 8.44 percent over the age of 55.

The two groups of respondents (those that viewed Jessica's resume and those that viewed Joshua's resume) were relatively similar, as evidenced in Table 2 and Table 3. 48 percent of Jessica's respondents were ages 18-34, 44 percent were ages 35-54, and 8 percent were ages 55-74. Comparably, 44 percent of Joshua's respondents were ages 18-34, 47 percent were ages 35-54, and 9 percent were ages 55-74. Moreover, 55 percent of Jessica's respondents were male, compared to 51 percent of Joshua's respondents; 45 percent of Jessica's respondents were female, compared to 49 percent of Joshua's. The political parties were slightly less evenly distributed than age and gender, but were still well represented in each group. Among Jessica's respondents, 36 percent were Democrats, 40 percent were Republicans, and 23 percent were

independents. Among Joshua's respondents, 51 percent were Democrats, 40 percent were Republicans, and 9 percent were independents. Lastly, it is notable that Joshua's sample was significantly more "white" than Jessica's sample.

Table 2
Breakdown of Jessica and Joshua Respondents

	Jessica	Joshua
% Men	0.55	0.51
% Republican	0.40	0.40
Median Education	3.87	4.10
% White	0.41	0.59

Table 3
Age Breakdown of Jessica and Joshua Respondents

	Jessica	Joshua
Age		
18-34	0.48	0.44
35-54	0.44	0.47
55-74	0.08	0.09

Results

After collecting all of the data from the surveys, I was able to test the hypotheses using SPSS analysis. As a reminder, the three hypotheses were (1) there will be less gender bias in voter evaluations of presidential candidates, (2) Republican voters will be more likely than Democrat voters to rate the female candidate less favorably than the male candidate, and (3) young voters will be less likely than older voters to rate the female candidate less favorably than the male candidate.

Unfortunately, the data analysis showed that Jessica Stone received a much harsher evaluation than her equal counterpart, Joshua Stone. For example, when asked, "On a Scale of 1-7, how qualified is [this candidate] to be president," Jessica averaged a score of 3.58, between

"somewhat unqualified" and "neutral". On the other hand, Joshua received a score of 5.55, between "somewhat qualified" and "qualified". As evidenced below in Table 1, participants evaluated Joshua's credentials for president more favorably than Jessica, despite having absolutely no difference in their professional experiences or personal life; the only differentiating feature was their gender.

The second question asked "does this candidate have good presidential potential?". Again, respondents evaluated the two candidates extremely differently from one another. As shown below in Table 2, only 26 respondents thought Jessica had good presidential potential compared to 72 respondents that thought Joshua had good presidential potential. Meanwhile, 51 respondents thought that Jessica did not have good presidential potential, compared to only 5 respondents that thought Joshua did not have good presidential potential. This is further evidence that individuals will, either consciously or unconsciously, evaluate women running for president more critically and harshly than they would for a similarly situated man running for president.

The gender bias is further exemplified by answers to the fourth questions, "is this candidate qualified to be Commander-in-Chief?". Similar to the question about presidential potential, only 27 respondents thought Jessica to be qualified to be Commander in Chief and 50 respondents thought she was not; 72 respondents thought Joshua was qualified, while 5 did not. Once again, the gender bias persists.

When asked how likely respondents were to support the candidate for president, Jessica was once again much worse off than Joshua. Jessica averaged a score of 3.01, which meant that respondents were "somewhat unlikely" to support her candidacy for president. On the other hand, Joshua received an average score of 5.21, which falls between "somewhat likely" and

"likely". These results show that individuals are more willing to support male candidates for the presidency than they are to support female candidates.

Although we cannot directly compare this experiment to previous experiments conducted by Jessie Smith, David Paul, and Rachel Paul in *No place for a woman: Evidence for gender bias in evaluations of presidential candidates*, discussed previously in the literature review, because the questions were different and the experiment was conducted slightly differently, we can look to see if the gender bias is diminished, larger, or the same. Comparatively, the results in this experiment (shown below in Table 4) show a much larger gender bias than is present in the Smith, Paul, Paul (2005) study (shown in Table 1).

Due to all of the evidence presented above from the experiment, the first hypothesis "there will be less gender bias in voter evaluations of presidential candidates," must be rejected. As shown below in Table 4, the hypothesis is invalid because there is a blatant preference for Joshua Stone over Jessica Stone, despite exactly the same resume. Joshua received better scores for level of qualification (5.55 for Joshua vs. 3.58 for Jessica) and level of support (5.21 for Joshua vs. 3.01 for Jessica). Moreover, respondents were much more likely to conclude that Joshua had good presidential potential than they were to conclude that Jessica had good presidential potential (93.5 percent for Joshua vs. 33.8 percent for Jessica). Similarly, 88.3 percent of respondents agreed that Joshua was qualified to be Commander-in-Chief, while only a paltry 35.1 percent of respondents agreed that Jessica was qualified to be Commander-in-Chief,

although the two candidates had exactly the same qualifications.

Table 4
Responses to Survey Questions about Qualifications of Jessica and Joshua as Presidential Candidates

	On a scale of 1-7, how qualified is this candidate to be president? (average)	On a scale of 1-7, how likely are you to support this candidate? (average)	Does this candidate have good presidential potential? (% yes)	Is this candidate qualified to be Commander-in-Chief? (% yes)
Jessica	3.58	3.01	33.8	35.1
Joshua	5.55	5.21	93.5	88.3

While individuals identifying with both major political parties evaluated Jessica more harshly than Joshua, the gap between perceived qualifications for Jessica and Joshua was smaller for Democrats than Republicans, and Democrats rated Jessica more favorably than did Republicans (although both still rated her lower than Joshua). As shown in Graph 1, Democrats gave Jessica a score of 3.93 and Joshua a score of 5.51, a difference of 1.58. On the other hand, Republicans scored Jessica at 3.39 and Joshua received a 5.58 a difference of 2.19. Moreover, when evaluating how likely the respondent would be to support the candidate, Democrats averaged a score of 3.32 for Jessica and a score of 5.1 for Joshua, a difference of 1.78. Conversely, Republicans averaged a score of 2.94 for Jessica and 5.32 for Joshua, a difference of 2.38. Although Republicans evaluated Jessica as less qualified than the Democrats considered her to be, straight tests of statistical significance for looking at difference in means between how Republicans and Democrats assess Jessica and Joshua are not statistically significant. However, this is likely due to a small sample size. After carving the sample size into these four groups (and removing the independents from the sample), the groups are relatively small, which makes it hard to get significant results. Alternatively, in a multivariate analysis there is a significant reaction between treatment condition and party, indicating that there is a much bigger gap between evaluations of Joshua and Jessica among Republicans than Democrats, and this effect is

significant. This shows that the Republican party is much more hesitant to support female candidates, which may help explain why the Republican party has yet to nominate a female candidate for president.

Graph 1: On a scale of 1-7, how qualified is this candidate to be president? (avg.)
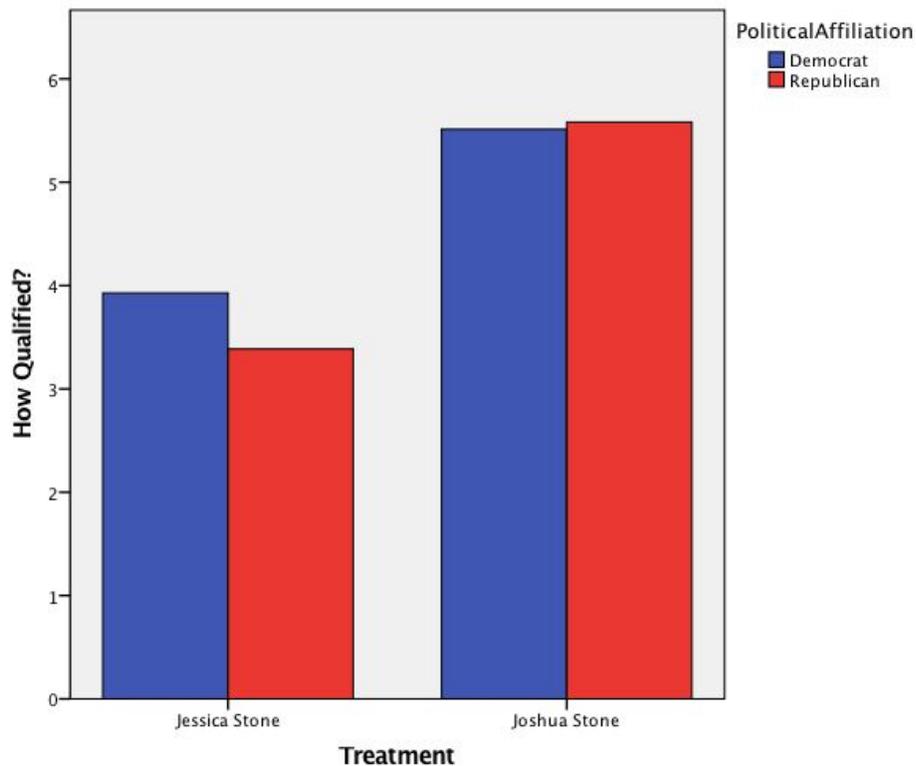
As shown in Graph 2, young people were much more likely to evaluate Jessica favorably than were older individuals. When asked "how qualified is Jessica to run for president?," respondents ages 18-34 averaged a score of 3.92, compared to respondents aged 35-54 averaging a score of 3.41, and respondents aged 55-74 averaging a score of 2.50. While the difference between perceptions of individuals aged 18-34 and 35-54 is noticeable, the difference in perceptions between respondents ages 18-34 and 55-74 is extreme. Although Jessica's scores are drastically lower than Joshua's across all age groups, it is notable that she was rated much more

favorably among young people aged 18-34 than older generations. However, a multivariate regression analysis, the treatment/experiment is highly significant even when all possible variables are controlled, including age. This means that the results show just a simple gender bias, not affected by age.

Graph 2: How qualified is this candidate to be president? (avg.)
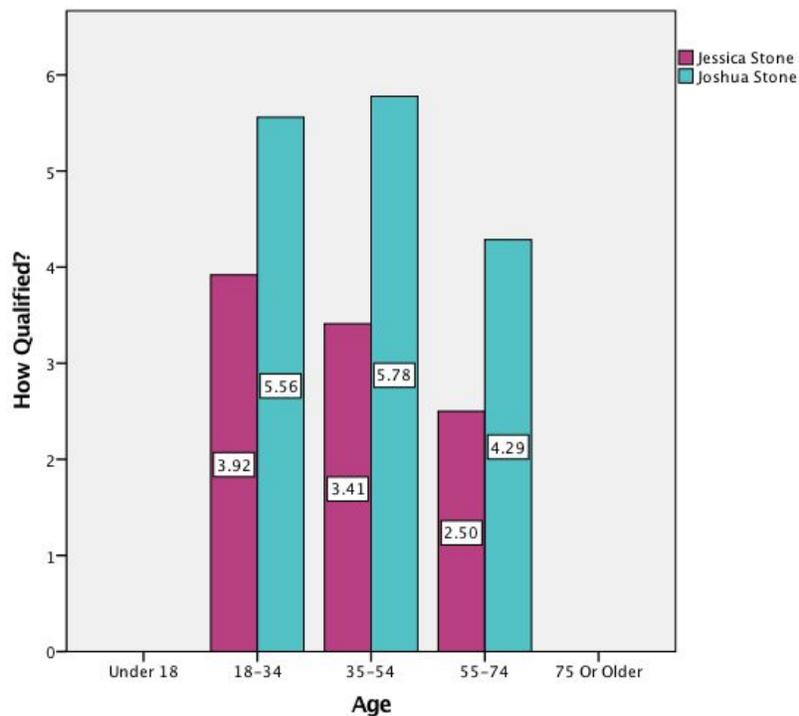
The survey included an "additional comments" section to allow survey respondents to explain their answers, give feedback, etc. Many of the comments expressed interest in knowing the candidate's party affiliation. This supports the concept that partisanship is the best indicator of vote choice. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that many respondents may have answered the questions differently, had they known which party the candidate belonged to. Moreover, survey participants noted that it was difficult to evaluate levels of support in the absence of a challenger. "Hell, I'd support a monkey over Donald Trump," explained one respondent.

Whether knowing the challenger is an issue of partisanship or a rational evaluation of candidates is unclear, but is nonetheless evidence that in the presence of other external factors, gender may not play such a significant role in vote choice.

Unfortunately, both subtle and blatant sexism and misogyny were prevalent in the "additional comments" section. For example, one respondent wrote "Her kids are too young. Maybe in a few years, when they're older. She shouldn't run right now though". Of course, no one made that argument about Donald Trump, whose son Barron, is just 11 years old; or Obama, as Sasha and Malia were just 7 and 10 years old, respectively, when they moved into the White House. Moreover, several respondents wrote that they appreciated that Joshua had military experience; other respondents complained that Jessica did not have enough military experience.

Respondents also associated different personality characteristics with the candidates in the "additional comments" section. Joshua was noted as having "good leadership experience [or qualities]," being an "outgoing kind of guy," and "seems to know how to get things done," and lastly, "overall pretty likeable". Conversely, Jessica seemed to be "too concerned with little details," exemplifying an "absence of leadership in her work," and just "simply boring". These descriptions, if true, are certainly reasons to support or reject a candidate. However, it is peculiar that mostly positive "presidential" characteristics were ascribed to Joshua, while Jessica, having the same exact resume, received poor personality evaluations.

Discussion

These findings show that Americans are still implicitly, if not explicitly, bias against female candidates running for the presidency, despite having witnessed Secretary of State Hillary Clinton win the popular vote in the 2016 presidential election by 3 million votes, just failing to

shatter that last glass ceiling due to the rules of the Electoral College. Surveys since the 1930s have documented increasing popular support for electing a woman president, although a small minority of Americans state that they would not vote for a woman candidate for president even if nominated by their own party. Gallup Poll asks respondents whether or not they would vote for a woman nominated for president by their own party "if she were qualified for the job". There is a dramatic increase over time in the percent responding "yes," from 31 percent in 1937 to 92 percent in 1999. This follows similar trends in the proportion of Americans saying they would vote for an African American, Catholic, or Jew for president if they were "well qualified" (Newport 1999). However, this figure most certainly understates the prevalence of sex bias among voters, since pressure to provide socially desirable responses to public opinion polls likely prevents some respondents from admitting their underlying prejudices, if they are even aware of them (Fox and Smith 1998). Despite literature and research showing that bias against female candidates is on the decline, this experiment clearly shows that Americans do not associate women with the highest office in the United States. Even though Jessica and Joshua were the exact same person, save for their gender, respondents perceived only Joshua to be fit for President of the United States. While only a few respondents commenting on Jessica expressed (perhaps unknowingly) sexist thoughts, it can be assumed that most respondents relied heavily on, and assessed Jessica and Joshua, using an implicit bias, evaluating the two candidates based on their societal stereotypes and and allowing those stereotypes to guide their choices.

To explain these findings, it is critical to evaluate the relevance of role congruity as it relates to gender bias. As positions of power and influence in society have traditionally been occupied by men, while women have historically held lower status positions, a consensus has

arisen about what women and men usually do, and what they should do (Eagly 1987). According to this logic, most commonly known as role congruity theory, it is irregular for women to hold positions of power and leadership (Eagly and Karau 2002). Although there has been some decline in these biases against women in leadership roles, they still persist; a Gallup poll (2011) showed that respondents were more likely to prefer working for a man (32 percent) than they were to prefer working for a woman (22 percent). This exemplifies how prevailing gender stereotypes, such as women as taking care and men as taking charge, contribute to bias evaluations in leadership (Hoyt and Burnette 2013). Men are perceived as possessing traits that are associated with the leadership role because the qualities used to describe men are the same as those used to describe successful leaders. People have preconceived ideas of what it means to be a leader, and research shows that these preconceived ideas about leadership characteristics are stereotypically masculine (Eagly and Carli 2007). The role-congruency concept argues that greater perceived differences between leadership characteristics and female gender stereotypes is an antecedent to more negative attitudes toward women in power and prejudice toward female leaders (Eagly and Karau 2002). All of this research helps explain why respondents did not think that Jessica had as much presidential potential, or was as qualified as, her equal counterpart, Joshua; because being "masculine" is a sort of prerequisite for being president, Jessica was automatically "disqualified" for the role. This is evidenced in respondents comments about the candidates, ascribing Joshua with qualities such as "leadership skills" and "outgoing," while Jessica was considered "boring" with no leadership experience. Because Joshua is *supposed* to be a leader, while Jessica is *supposed* to be a caretaker, respondents looked for reasons to justify

their preconceived ideas about each candidate's role in society, as well as their electability to the oval office.

As Smith, Paul, and Paul (2007) find evidence that individuals similarly evaluate male and female candidates for the Senate, it may be argued that exposure to women in powerful positions reduce bias against women for that office. Incidentally, Beaman et al. (2008) studied Indian village councils to find whether having a female chief councillor affects public opinion towards female leaders. The study found that villagers who had never been required to have a female leader preferred male leaders and perceived hypothetical female leaders as less effective than their male counterparts, even when the stated performance is identical. Although exposure to a female leader does not alter villagers' preference for male leaders, it weakens stereotypes about gender roles in the public and domestic spheres and eliminates the negative bias in how female leaders' effectiveness is perceived among male villagers. The research showed that villagers rate their women leaders as less effective when exposed to them for the first time, but not the second. This shows that hopefully, over time, as more women run for president, overcome the obstacles of implicit bias, and expose the constituents to female presidents, the effects of gender bias will subside. Unfortunately, the United States has only witnessed one female run for president as a major party nominee, and we've yet to experience a female presidency. Once that glass ceiling is shattered, however, the electorate may be more accepting of female candidates for president, as it has already once been exposed to it; the fear of the unknown is no longer.

Understanding the role of sexism both within the United States, as well as within election campaigns is critical to understanding the results of this experiment. Aside from the blatant

sexism that occurred during the 2016 presidential election (i.e., "Trump that bitch," "Hillary sucks, but not like Monica," "nasty woman," and "grab her by the pussy"), most forms of overt and unabashed sexism have declined and subsided over the past several decades. However, "modern sexism" is still prevalent in the United States; modern sexism is characterized by the denial of continued discrimination, antagonism toward women's demands, and lack of support for policies designed to help women (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter 1995). Thus, the refusal to acknowledge that we all carry implicit biases about gender can be categorized as modern sexism. Notably, Heilman and Okimoto (2007) found that women are punished for violating stereotype expectations, but these consequences may be diminished is the women are depicted as nurturing and sensitive. Therefore, a woman running for high political office may be viewed negatively and penalized for seeking office. However, if her campaign successfully depicts her as having positive female qualities, she may be able to limit the negative consequences associated with violating stereotype expectations. For example, when Hillary Clinton ran for president in 2008, she was often characterized as "tough" and "strong," but hardly ever characterized as "nurturing" and "sensitive". Consequently, Hillary Clinton lost the Democratic primary to Barack Obama. However, Hillary Clinton opted to show her more nurturing side during the 2016 presidential election by crying on stage at a rally and referring to her experiences as a mother, wife, and grandmother throughout the campaign. Although Hillary eventually lost to Donald Trump, she fared much better during her "feminine" 2016 run than her "tough, masculine" 2008 run. Perhaps because a resume cannot adequately reflect a woman's "sensitive" side, and because Jessica violated stereotype expectations by serving in the military, she fell victim to modern sexism and experienced the consequence of implicit bias in vote preference.

The sexualization of female candidates and the culture of objectification at-large may negatively impact a women running for high political office, including Jessica Stone. For example, 14 percent of Sarah Palin's (Republican Vice Presidential Candidate 2008) coverage mentioned her appearance, and it was often extremely misogynistic; Palin was called names such as "Caribou Barbie" and "His Cheerleader choice" (Heldman and Wade 2011). The Heldman and Wade (2011) research showed that the sexualization of Sarah Palin diminished individual's perceptions of Sarah Palin's competence and viability for the Vice Presidency. Hillary Clinton also experienced extreme sexism in her campaign for president. The sexualization of these candidates prevents individuals from viewing the female candidates as serious contenders for political office, diminishing the female's electability. Moreover, the Objectification Theory asserts that the strong emphasis placed on women's appearance leads them to internalize observers' perspectives and chronically monitor themselves in terms of how others would evaluate their appearance (Heldman and Wade 2011). The Objectification Theory is disproportionately relevant to young people, of whom absorb mass amounts of social media and advertisements that objectify women. As Americans view roughly 5,000 advertisements each day, companies look to add "shock value" to an advertisement in order to increase the attention of the company and stand out from all the other advertisements. Although shock value comes in many forms, Heldman and Wade (2011) found that there is a steady increase in explicit sexual images in advertising in both men's and women's magazines (measured by images and sexually intimate contact). Moreover, in 2003, 78 percent of female models featured in men's magazines were dressed in sexually suggestive attire. As such, advertising is exhibiting a trend of greater incidences of women as sex objects rather than powerful businesswomen, politicians, and

leaders. Although respondents to the experiment in this paper did not see a photo of or listen to media coverage of Jessica, the negative effects of sexualization of previous female candidates may have been projected onto Jessica, as all of the few female candidates for president have been objectified and sexualized in the past.

Unfortunately, Jessica may also have been negatively evaluated compared to Joshua because of their status as parents. Both Jessica and Joshua have three young children. Stalsburg (2010) found that while mothers of young children were not significantly disadvantaged compared to mothers of older children and women with no children, they are disadvantaged in comparison to male candidate with young children. Therefore, Jessica was disadvantaged in comparison to Joshua, both of which had young children. As such, women of young children may face additional obstacles, specific to their gender, while running for high office. For example, although many Americans praised Sarah Palin's ability to balance motherhood and politics, just as many, if not more, criticized her choice of running for vice president while having five children at home, including an infant with Down syndrome. Unfortunately, the political cost of children is a double-edged sword for women seeking high political office. Stalsburg (2010) found that voters rated childless female candidates substantially lower than childless male candidates, and father candidates. Moreover, childless women also lose the advantage of running as a female on childcare and children's issues. On the other hand, there are no obvious examples of male candidates who received such scrutiny of their family life, save for when the media uncovers an extramarital affair. Therefore, Jessica's role as a mother to three young children may have affected voter's preferences. Abiding by traditional stereotypes of women, one may conclude that Jessica is too busy being a caretaker to her children to run for,

and potentially become, president. As evidence, one respondent noted that Jessica's children were too young for her to consider running for president, and suggested that she revisit the idea of running for office in several years. Conversely, Joshua received no such criticism, but rather his status as a father may have potentially contributed to respondents claiming him to be an "overall good guy".

Jessica was considered to be much less qualified for the presidency and to be commander-in-chief despite having the same resume as Joshua. This can be explained, in part, by the Jackie Robinson Effect. The Jackie Robinson Effect explains how individuals that enter a profession where they have traditionally been the minority must perform better in order to earn the same wage as their colleagues. In order for an MLB team to take a chance on Jackie, he needed to be markedly better than almost any white player. Notably, Pascal and Rapping (1972) found that African American MLB players in 1967 outperformed their white teammate in every position. A similar performance premium may be demanded of female politicians when there is sex discrimination in the electorate. If voters are prejudiced against women, then a woman must be better than the man she runs against in order to win. Additionally, if women anticipate discrimination by voters, or underestimate their own qualifications, then only the most talented women will run for office in the first place (Anzia and Berry 2011). This helps explain why women are less likely to run for political office than men; they need to be more qualified in order to overcome prejudices and win. When applied to the presidency, Jessica Stone may have been evaluated more harshly than Joshua because no woman has ever held the Oval Office, and therefore individuals will hold women seeking the presidency to a higher standard than their male counterparts. For example, Hillary Clinton was arguably one of the most qualified

candidates to ever run for president. However, even her unparalleled qualifications were not enough to defeat a candidate without any previous political or government experience.

Conclusion

This experiment was designed to test whether or not implicit gender bias impacted evaluations of candidates and vote preferences for individuals running for the presidency. It focused on individuals running for president rather than congressional office because existing research shows no gender bias in vote choice for congressional elections (Dolan 1998; Brians 2005). Previous experiments conducted regarding females running for president have shown that there *is* a gender bias that women face when seeking the presidency (Rossenwasser and Dean 1989; Paul, Smith and Paul 2007; Paul & Smith 2008; Hansen & Otero 2007). However, given the amount of time that has passed since these experiments were conducted, as well as Hillary Clinton's success as the first major party candidate for president and her ability to win the popular vote, there was reason to believe that gender bias (in evaluations of presidential candidates) would no longer be a significant obstacle for women seeking the presidency. However, given previous research on support for female candidates based on various social groups (Hansen and Otero 2007), there was reason to believe that these different levels of support may still exist today. Therefore, we hypothesized that (1), there will be less gender bias in voter evaluations of presidential candidates, (2) Republican voters will be more likely than Democrat voters to rate the female candidate less favorably than the male candidate, and (3) young voters will be less likely than older voters to rate the female candidate less favorably than the male candidate.

In order to test these hypotheses, I created two mock resumes of fictional politicians, whereby the resumes were exactly the same, save for their gender. I found that female candidate was evaluated much more poorly than her counterpart by every single measure on the survey.

This research is important to the study of political science because it proves that female candidates for president face additional barriers to getting elected for president. Just as Hillary Clinton, despite her lifelong career in politics, was deemed, by some, unqualified to be president, Jessica Stone's experience in the military, private sector, and public sector was not sufficient enough for her to attract the same support and confidence in her capabilities as was Joshua. That women are less likely to receive support and be considered qualified to run for president than their male counterparts of similar backgrounds helps political scientists explain why no woman has ever ran a successful presidential campaign, and why it may be unlikely for a woman to do so anytime soon. That both Hillary Clinton and Jessica Stone, two highly qualified presidential candidates, fail to receive support and confidence from the electorate begs the question, *"if not them, then who?"*. Political scientists will be sure to struggle with this question for quite some time.

Having a woman president would inspire other women to run. Although we cannot directly study the impact of putting a woman in the White House, previous research has shown that the presence of a recruiting campaign could increase the share of women in the state legislature by about a percentage point; even more stunning, electing a woman to statewide office could have double or more the impact of a recruiting campaign. Therefore, electing a woman president could be the ultimate recruitment tool, encouraging women to run for state legislatures and work their way up. As evidence, when women are elected to governorships, their

states end up with more women state legislators in the future. The same results occur in states where women are elected Attorney General or U.S. Senator (Showalter 2015). As such, there is no office more prominent than the President of the United States; a female president would be a visible role model to women and girls across the U.S., modeling the role that women can and should engage in politics. By serving as a role model to younger women and girls, a female president could normalize politics for adult women who may need extra encouragement to run. If getting a woman elected president will open up the floodgates for women running for office nationwide, this research shows why it's so important to understand and acknowledge our implicit biases against women seeking the presidency.

As a glimmer of hope, EMILY's List has reported that over 10,000 new women are interested in running for political office, whether it be for school board or Congress, exemplifying how the election of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton's loss has inspired and motivated women across the country to get more involved with the political process. Notably, EMILY's List, which works to support Democratic women running for office, raised $770,000 between the election and December (Shapiro 2017). Although there are no clear signs of another woman running for president anytime soon, it is nonetheless encouraging that a tidal wave of women are beginning to run for office. By encouraging and electing women to political office, chances of witnessing a woman getting elected to the presidency will increase simply by virtue of more women entering the channels that lead to the presidency.

As this experiment removed all environmental conditions, focusing on how gender alone influences candidate evaluation, future research must seek to understand with all things considered (running mates, incumbency, partisanship, media influences, etc.), how men and

women seeking the presidency are evaluated differently. Moreover, although we now know that women are evaluated much less favorably than equally qualified men, research needs to be conducted on what justifications are used in such poor evaluations. A better understanding of the reasoning behind these justifications will allow individuals to better assess and evaluate candidates for president objectively, regardless of gender.

Appendix

Joshua Stone

PROFILE
Joshua Stone is a second-term Senator from Indiana. He has extensive experience in the military, private sector, and in government. Stone is considering a run for President in 2024.

EXPERIENCE
Senator, United States Congress; Indiana — 2010-Present
- Sponsored the Buy American Act to direct the Department of Defense to supply athletic footwear needed by military members upon their initial entry into the Armed Forces and comply with American source requirements in procuring such footwear
- Sponsored Reach Every Mother and Child Act to direct the President to establish a 10-year strategy to achieve with partner countries and donors the goal of ending preventable maternal, newborn, and child deaths by 2035

State Assemblyman, Indiana State Legislature — 2008-2010
- Sponsored Built to Last infrastructure and development program, which invested $30 billion in projects to help modernize airports, fix roads and bridges, and increase capacity of public transportation systems.
- Co-Sponsored bill to mandate periodic testing of drinking water in schools, reporting to parents and local and state entities, and providing guidance for remediation to ensure availability of clean and safe drinking water in every school.

Chief Strategy Officer, Symantec; Indianapolis, IN — 2004-2007
- Evolved organization's enterprise security strategy
- Designed and defined the Symantec Integrated Cyber Defense platform and maximized strategic value to customers

Supplies Officer/Weapons Officer/Anti-Terrorism Officer — 1996-2004
- Oversaw a $2M annual budget. Saved the U.S. Navy over $200,000 through extensive parts research and procurement.
- Qualified Officer of the Deck. Responsible for the safe navigation, routine operation and tactical maneuvers of three Coastal Mine Hunters during day-to-day mine hunting and combat operations.
- Developed and executed a force protection training plan to ensure safe protection of U.S. Naval Vessels during a six month Arabian Gulf Development.

EDUCATION
Harvard University, Cambridge, MA — Bachelors of Art, Political Science, 1994

Yale University, New Haven, CT — Masters of Business Administration, 1996

Personal Life
Joshua Stone has been married for 18 years to Maryanna Stone. He has three children; 6, 12, and 14 years old. Stone was born to Michael and Anna Stone, a lawyer and schoolteacher, and grew up in Westfield, Indiana. Stone is a 46 year old caucasian, Protestant man.

Jessica Stone

PROFILE

Jessica Stone is a second-term Senator from Indiana. She has extensive experience in the military, private sector, and in government. Stone is considering a run for President in 2024.

EXPERIENCE

Senator, United States Congress; Indiana — 2010-Present

- Sponsored the Buy American Act to direct the Department of Defense to supply athletic footwear needed by military members upon their initial entry into the Armed Forces and comply with American source requirements in procuring such footwear
- Sponsored Reach Every Mother and Child Act to direct the President to establish a 10-year strategy to achieve with partner countries and donors the goal of ending preventable maternal, newborn, and child deaths by 2035

State Assemblywoman, Indiana State Legislature — 2008-2010

- Sponsored Built to Last infrastructure and development program, which invested $30 billion in projects to help modernize airports, fix roads and bridges, and increase capacity of public transportation systems.
- Co-Sponsored bill to mandate periodic testing of drinking water in schools, reporting to parents and local and state entities, and providing guidance for remediation to ensure availability of clean and safe drinking water in every school.

Chief Strategy Officer, Symantec; Indianapolis, IN — 2004-2007

- Evolved organization's enterprise security strategy
- Designed and defined the Symantec Integrated Cyber Defense platform and maximized strategic value to customers

Supplies Officer/Weapons Officer/Anti-Terrorism Officer — 1996-2004

- Oversaw a $2M annual budget. Saved the U.S. Navy over $200,000 through extensive parts research and procurement.
- Qualified Officer of the Deck. Responsible for the safe navigation, routine operation and tactical maneuvers of three Coastal Mine Hunters during day-to-day mine hunting and combat operations.
- Developed and executed a force protection training plan to ensure safe protection of U.S. Naval Vessels during a six month Arabian Gulf Development.

EDUCATION

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA — Bachelors of Art, Political Science, 1994

Yale University, New Haven, CT — Masters of Business Administration, 1996

Personal Life

Jessica Stone has been married for 18 years to Paul Stone. She has three children; 6, 12, and 14 years old. Stone was born to Michael and Anna Adams, a lawyer and schoolteacher, and grew up in Westfield, Indiana. Stone is a 46 year old caucasian, Protestant woman.

After reviewing Joshua Stone's resume, please answer the following questions regarding the candidate's qualifications for the presidency. This survey is completely anonymous and voluntary. The results will be used for a Political Science Thesis that seeks to understand vote choice for presidential candidates.

1. On a scale of 1-7, how qualified is Joshua Stone to be president?
   1- Highly Unqualified
   2- Unqualified
   3- Somewhat unqualified
   4- Neutral
   5- Somewhat qualified
   6- Qualified
   7- Highly Qualified
2. Does this candidate have good presidential potential?
   Yes
   No
3. Do you think Joshua will be an effective politician in order to pass legislation?
   Yes
   No
4. Do you think Joshua is qualified to be Commander-in-Chief?
   Yes
   No
5. On a scale of 1-7, how likely are you to support Joshua?
   1- Highly unlikely
   2- Unlikely
   3- Somewhat unlikely
   4- Neutral
   5- Somewhat likely
   6- Likely
   7- Highly Likely

Other Comments:

Demographics
1. What is your age?
   Under 18
   18-34
   35-54

55-74
75 or older

2. What is your gender?
Male
Female
Other

3. Please specify your ethnicity (circle all that apply):
White
Hispanic or Latino
Black or African American
Native American or American Indian
Asian/Pacific Islander
Other

4. Highest level of education you have completed:
Some High School
High School Diploma/GED
Some College
Associate Degree
Bachelor's Degree
Master's/Professional Degree
Doctorate

5. Religion:
Protestant
Catholic
Jewish
Muslim
Buddhist
Hindu
No-affiliation/Atheist
Other: _____

6. Political Affiliation
Democrat
Republican
Independent

7. Political Ideology:
Liberal
Conservative
Moderate

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