

THE COMPASSION STRATEGY

RACE AND THE GENDER GAP

IN CAMPAIGN 2000

VINCENT L. HUTCHINGS
NICHOLAS A. VALENTINO
TASHA S. PHILPOT
ISMAIL K. WHITE

Abstract Recent studies have shown that social “compassion” issues, and not those directly linked to women’s interests, seem to drive the gender gap in presidential vote choice. Some of these compassion issues are associated with the plight of racial minorities in the media and in the minds of average citizens. Drawing on theories of gender role socialization, we predict that traditional partisan stands on racial issues may help to explain the gender gap. Specifically, we hypothesize that the gap emerges because men and women react differently to cues about how compassionate candidates are toward vulnerable social groups. In one experiment, we manipulate news information regarding George W. Bush’s commitment to blacks versus women. The gender gap is maximized when Bush takes the traditional Republican stance, while it is reduced significantly when Bush espouses a more moderate position. The gender gap is unaffected by variation in the position that Bush takes on women’s issues. In another experiment, we also find that the gender gap emerges when traditional partisan appeals are racialized. Finally, exposure to the 2000 Republican National Convention, with its message of racial inclusion, boosted evaluations of Bush among women but not men.

VINCENT L. HUTCHINGS is an associate professor of political science, and research associate professor in the Center for Political Studies, at the University of Michigan. NICHOLAS A. VALENTINO is an associate professor of communications studies and political science, and research associate professor in the Center for Political Studies, at the University of Michigan. TASHA S. PHILPOT is an assistant professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. ISMAIL K. WHITE is an assistant professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. This research would not have been possible without the efforts of several research assistants, including Dmitri Williams, Lara Rusch, Matthew Beckmann, and Dara Faris. Address correspondence to Vincent L. Hutchings; e-mail: vincenth@umich.edu.

The “gender gap” in presidential voting first garnered widespread attention during the contest between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter in 1980 (Erikson and Tedin 1995). Since that time, women have been consistently more likely than men to identify themselves as Democrats and liberals, and more likely to support Democratic candidates for president. The gap in Democratic voting is moderate in size, ranging from about 6 percentage points in 1980 to about 15 percentage points in 1996 (Norrander 1999a), but persistent (Frankovic 1982; Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999; Norrander 1999b; Wirls 1986). Both parties are aware of the phenomenon, and each election cycle brings new efforts to reduce or maintain it.

Over time, a variety of explanations for the gender gap have been offered. Some early studies identified the large gender differences in opinions about the use of military force as a likely source (Conover and Sapiro 1993; Frankovic 1982; Gilens 1988). Interestingly, however, this dimension has had little impact on the gender gap in recent elections (Chaney, Alvarez, and Nagler 1998). Recently, attention has shifted to attitudes regarding social welfare or “compassion issues.” Support is generally higher among women than men for policies to redistribute resources such as health care, education, and welfare (Chaney, Alvarez, and Nagler 1998; Norrander 1999a; Shapiro and Mahajan 1986), and these differences have been identified as a powerful explanation for the gender gap in the last few presidential elections (Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999).

Our examination of the gender gap begins with these recent insights on the effects of compassion issues, before focusing in particular on the influence of partisan racial cues. We must preface our analysis by recognizing that no single explanation of the gender gap over time or even at any one point in time is likely to be sufficient. The size, direction, and source of the gender gap all may change over time. We suspect, however, that partisan appeals on race-relevant issues have been overlooked as an important mechanism that affects the size of the gap. Our speculation derives from four generally uncontested facts. First, at least some compassion issues have become implicitly linked with attitudes about racial minorities in the minds of many Americans (Edsall and Edsall 1991; Gilens 1999; Kinder and Sanders 1996; Mendelberg 2001; Valentino, Hutchings, and White 2002). Second, in addition to their generally more liberal position on these implicitly racial policies, women are also more liberal than men regarding explicitly racial policies such as affirmative action and aid to blacks (Norrander 1999a; Schuman et al. 1997). Third, the gender gap first emerged when the major parties began to diverge on questions of race (Norrander 1999b). Finally, this divergence occurred just before the widespread defection from the Democratic Party of white men, especially southerners (Miller and Shanks 1996).

These distinct policy preferences still beg the question: why would women be more supportive than men of broad social spending policies? Our thesis is that candidate appeals to stigmatized minority groups, such as African-Americans,

send a signal to voters that the candidate is compassionate.¹ Theories of gender role socialization suggest that such appeals may resonate particularly well among women. These same theories predict that men will move away from candidates who attempt to court social outgroups. As a result, candidate strategies that involve racial appeals could influence the gender gap substantially. In addition to providing some explanation for the gender gap, this argument also helps to explain why George W. Bush exerted so much effort during the 2000 presidential campaign to appear more racially inclusive. Later, we discuss whether his “compassionate conservative” message was targeted primarily at white women or people of color.²

Two theories might support our speculation about the special significance that compassion cues hold for the gender gap. The first implicates women’s individual or group interests. Since many women have a different financial and political stake than men in the compassion issues related to the size of the social welfare state, they might adopt distinct positions on those policies. Women, for example, are more dependent on the public sector for employment (Erie and Rein 1988) and are more likely than men to require government assistance to support themselves and their children (Piven 1985). Changing labor force participation maps nicely on to the emergence of the gender gap in voting and partisanship (Manza and Brooks 1998). Opinions about abortion or the Equal Rights Amendment have also been linked to the gender gap (Conover 1988; Mansbridge 1985). However, subsequent analyses have found that these “feminist” policy opinions influence men as well as women (Cook and Wilcox 1991; Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999) and that more symbolic predispositions, including those related to race, outperform self or group interests in predicting policy opinions and candidate preference (Sears and Huddy 1990).

1. Webster’s dictionary defines compassion as “sympathetic consciousness of others’ distress together with a desire to alleviate it.” This general definition is very similar to McClosky and Zaller’s (1984) measure of “social benevolence,” which “assesses a respondent’s solicitude for people who are suffering some form of social distress” (p. 199). McClosky and Zaller argue that philosophical differences between liberals and conservatives on measures such as social benevolence account for their widely different policy preferences on issues designed to reduce inequality. Throughout this article, we use the term “compassion” to refer to a desire to provide assistance to the disadvantaged.

2. More than a few observers have suggested that this strategy was at least partially aimed at white women. For example, journalist Susan Page (2003) argued that “Bush’s ‘compassionate conservative’ appeal in 2000 was targeted to white-collar women worried about the impact of his agenda on the vulnerable.” Similarly, in the aftermath of the controversy in 2002 over Trent Lott’s comments praising Strom Thurmond, the *New York Times* reported, “The crucial political question now, strategists in both political parties say, is whether Mr. Bush’s condemnation last week of Mr. Lott’s statement is enough to assure moderate white voters—especially suburban women for whom racial tolerance is an important component of party identity—that Republicans would no longer tolerate racism.” GOP consultant Scott Reed seemed to endorse this position when he noted, “But the biggest Achilles’ heel of the Lott episode is the damage it could do to our suburban women, the soccer mom moderate Republicans and independent women” (Stevenson 2002).

The second theoretical approach to the gender gap, drawing heavily from the social psychological tradition, involves the differential patterns of socialization experienced by boys and girls in most societies. For example, Gilligan (1982) argues that morality is structured differently for women than for men. Women are more likely to internalize a responsibility to care for others and to protect the most vulnerable in society. Men, on the other hand, focus on individual rights and self-fulfillment, ostensibly consistent with their roles as providers and protectors of the family. Several related accounts of gender role socialization also make this basic separateness/connectedness distinction (Bakan 1966; Chodorow 1978; Frankenstein 1966), positing that males display higher levels of self/other differentiation or independence, while women exhibit higher levels of empathy and desire for intimacy. Some empirical evidence supports these claims (Lang-Takac and Osterweil 1992).

But how might gender role distinctions be translated into general public policy preferences? One link may be through differential perspectives on social group equality. Perhaps these individual differences lead men and women to adopt different orientations with regard to social group relations. Women, on average, might prefer less group inequality than men. Men, on average, may see group hierarchy as a necessary or inevitable structural element in society. Pratto, Stallworth, and Sidanius (1997) have found such gender differences along the dimension they label "Social Dominance Orientation" (SDO): the preference for inequality among social groups. In a random sample of Swedish adolescents, Sidanius and Ekehammar (1980) found that girls were less politically conservative, less racist, and more approving of social equality than were boys. Gender differences in SDO have also been linked to the gender gaps in political attitudes and candidate preference in 1992 (Pratto, Stallworth, and Sidanius 1997). Furnham (1985) found similar differences among white British and South African adolescents. Moreover, since the 1970s, American women have generally held more liberal attitudes about structural explanations for racial inequality and support for affirmative action policies (Schuman et al. 1997).³

As indicated earlier, there are additional reasons to expect that partisan appeals to racial issues might contribute to the gender gap. These stem from *when* the gender gap first emerged and *which* voters contribute to it. First, contrary to popular perceptions, the gender gap did not begin in 1980. It may have appeared as far back as the 1950s (Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999; Norrander 1999a). However, the initial surveys showed that the Democrats enjoyed a slight advantage among men, not women. This

3. Note, however, that Sapiro (1983) points out that the simple prediction that all women will always be socially egalitarian is false. She shows that mothers expressed less support for government intervention to achieve racial equality than did childless women, presumably because they were more concerned for their own families. We take this as an important constraint on our expectations: The gender differences we predict, then, are only tendencies that are sure to be moderated by life circumstances.

gender gap reversed with the 1964 presidential contest, as women became somewhat more attracted than men to the Democratic candidate. This is significant because the election of 1964 also represents the moment when the contemporary parties began to diverge on matters of race (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Edsall and Edsall 1991; Kinder and Sanders 1996). This co-occurrence is not proof that the gender gap emerged *because* of race. However, subsequent elections provide further circumstantial evidence. For example, the traditional gender gap appeared again in 1968, but only for the candidacy of segregationist candidate George C. Wallace. The gender gap was also present in 1972, just as Nixon honed his pivotal “southern strategy.” It all but disappeared in 1976, in the contest between a moderate midwestern Republican (Gerald Ford) and a Democratic governor from the Deep South (Jimmy Carter), neither of whom made race central in the first election following Watergate. Finally it reemerged in 1980, with the nomination of the “law and order” candidate, Ronald Reagan (Norrander 1999a).

Second, although the gender gap is often characterized as women’s deviation from the more stable preferences of men, it is in fact men’s partisan allegiances that have shifted most in recent years (Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999; Norrander 1999a, 1999b; Wirls 1986). Moreover, white southern men seem especially attracted to the Republican message over the last few decades (Miller 1991; Miller and Shanks 1996; Norrander 1999b). Although scholars disagree as to the role that the parties’ contrasting stands on racial policy played in this secular realignment, it is at least plausible that their differing positions had some influence (Abramowitz 1994; Abramowitz and Saunders 1998; Carmines and Stimson 1989; Valentino and Sears 2000).

Some scholars argue for an emphasis on men rather than women when examining the gender gap in part because changing preferences among men seem to have exacerbated the phenomenon (Kaufmann and Petrocik 1999). We adopt a different approach in this article. As an analytical strategy, we examine gender differences in political preferences through the prism of the 2000 presidential contest. We argue that the Republican Party made a concerted effort to appeal to women in this campaign, in part by softening their reputation for racial insensitivity. As a result, it is important to focus on women as one of the most pivotal and contested constituencies in that election. Moreover, though it is true that women have remained relatively stable in their support of the Democratic Party, it is a *qualitatively different* Democratic Party than the one of the 1950s. Unlike its predecessor, which was associated with the concerns of the working class, the contemporary Democratic Party is marked by its commitment to the interests of racial minorities (Carmines and Stimson 1989; Huckfeldt and Kohfeldt 1989). This shift in emphasis coincided with significant defections to the Republican Party among white men, but not white women.

Hypotheses

A series of hypotheses derives from the previous discussion. First, we argue that the Democratic Party's advantage among women springs, at least in part, from the party's perceived advantage on matters of race. Moreover, the reason that perceived racial differences translate into electoral support is not necessarily because women perceive their political interests as overlapping with those of minorities. Instead, these differences provide cues to women about a candidate characteristic that they value more than men do: compassion.⁴ If this is true, then women should be particularly sensitive to campaign cues involving the candidates' support for black interests. When candidates take traditional positions on racial policies, women should perceive the Democratic candidate as more compassionate and should support him or her as a result. Also, perceptions of candidate compassion should be associated more strongly with candidate preference among women relative to men.

Second, direct appeals to women's interests should be less effective than those involving race, since the former do not invoke compassion as strongly. Third, the Republican Party should be able to reduce its disadvantage among women by adopting a message of racial inclusion. Reaching out to African-Americans should appeal more to women than to men because of the signal it sends about the candidate's compassion. Indeed, since men are less motivated by this particular characteristic, they may be somewhat less inclined to support a Republican candidate who makes a moderate appeal on racial issues than one who takes a traditionally conservative stand.

Fourth, if candidates' stands on compassion issues are partially responsible for the gender gap due to these issues implicit linkage to vulnerable racial minority groups, then we should be able to manipulate the size of the gender gap by manipulating the salience of this linkage, even as we hold the candidate appeal constant. In other words, we expect that it is the racial implications in particular that give compassion issues the wedge to drive men and women apart politically.

Methods and Procedures

STUDY 1

Tests of these hypotheses are drawn from three separate studies. The first study and the principal source of our analyses, is an experiment based on a convenience sample of 237 adult, nonstudent residents from the Ann Arbor,

4. This article does not measure levels of support for compassion directly but instead focuses on perceived levels of candidate compassion. However, consistent with previous work, we also find that women are more supportive of welfare programs for the poor (studies 1 and 2) and affirmative action (studies 1 and 2; Gallup), and that they score higher on the egalitarian scale (studies 1 and 2).

Michigan, area. Blacks and other nonwhites constituted almost 40 percent of our sample. Because of our interest in examining the gender gap among whites, these subjects are not included in the following analyses, leaving 145 white subjects evenly divided by gender. The study was conducted in July 2000 in a computer lab at the University of Michigan.⁵ Subjects were recruited individually with flyers distributed to local businesses, university office buildings, and in a downtown area near campus. Each was told he or she would receive \$15 for answering questions about “current events.” As subjects entered the lab, they were assigned randomly to one of three experimental conditions or to a control group and then escorted to a computer terminal. Subjects interacted solely with the computer throughout the session. Once the subjects had finished answering a pre-test questionnaire about the type of radio and television programs they preferred, the computer instructed them to read a series of short newspaper articles. Each subject in the treatment groups viewed two nonpolitical articles and one political campaign story.⁶ Subjects in the control group read only nonpolitical articles. Following exposure to these articles, subjects provided their policy preferences and views of the major party political candidates.

The three versions of the fictitious campaign story were based on actual coverage published in major news outlets during the period of the study. The first version of the story, which we refer to as the “Traditional Race Frame,” begins with the headline “Gore, Bush Differ on Black Issues” and is accompanied by two contrasting color photographs of the candidates. Al Gore is shown interacting amicably with National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) head Julian Bond, and George W. Bush is pictured in a crowd of white supporters at Bob Jones University, which at the time maintained a policy that banned interracial dating. The report highlights appearances by each candidate before the annual convention of the NAACP. It begins with the observation that “on issues affecting African-Americans the candidates have adopted dramatically different positions.” It also points out that Gore and Bush have adopted starkly different positions on civil rights, affirmative action, diversity in high-level appointments, public education, and health care.

An alternative version of this story, which we call the “Compassionate Race Frame,” carries very similar content except that it presents both candidates as sympathetic to issues of concern to African-Americans. The headline for this version reads, “Gore, Bush Similar on Black Issues” and is accompanied by color photographs of both Gore and Bush interacting cheerfully with Julian Bond. The text suggests that “on issues affecting

5. Our sample compares well to the local population, but it is not nationally representative. For example, our subjects are disproportionately educated (54 percent have a college degree), Democratic (60 percent), and liberal (54 percent).

6. The masthead of the newspaper was superimposed over each article, and each contained a byline.

African-Americans, the candidates are taking surprisingly similar positions.” Similarly, in this story Bush is praised for his speech before the NAACP. The article notes that both candidates support civil rights laws, racially diverse administrations, improvements in public education, and expanded access to health insurance.

The story on gender issues, which we call the “Traditional Gender Frame,” follows the pattern described above with the traditional race frame. The headline reads, “Gore, Bush Differ on Women’s Issues” and notes that the candidates oppose one another on issues such as abortion rights and women’s health care.⁷ Additionally, Bush is portrayed as less enthusiastic about encouraging greater business opportunities for women or adding women to his staff.

Although the articles present vastly different images of Bush, each version is credible. The candidates’ websites were reviewed carefully so as to summarize accurately each candidate’s policy positions. Additionally, our stories drew upon actual news accounts of each candidate’s speeches before the NAACP or on the campaign trail. It was possible to vary Bush’s political positions realistically because his actual record on compassion issues or women’s issues could be characterized as either moderate or conservative. For example, Bush declared at the NAACP convention, “Strong civil rights enforcement will be a cornerstone of my administration.” Additionally, his interest in improving education and his intention to nominate Colin Powell as secretary of state were well known. However, Bush also visited Bob Jones University, adopted a strong pro-life position on abortion, and opposed most affirmative action policies during the campaign.

Two dependent variables were selected for this experiment. The first taps perceptions of candidate compassion. Subjects were asked to identify “which candidate is more compassionate.” The second item taps overall “candidate preferences” (see Appendix A for all question wording).⁸

STUDY 2

In another experiment, we manipulated the salience of racial cues embedded in a standard political advertisement involving social spending programs. During the spring and summer of 2000, subjects in the three-county metropolitan area of Detroit were selected on the basis of an area probability sample.⁹

7. Although men and women do not significantly differ in their attitudes on abortion, it is plausible that women would be more receptive to candidate appeals on this issue. This is because women consistently identify this issue as more important than men (Hertel and Russell 1999; Scott and Schuman 1988), and abortion attitudes are more likely to influence women’s vote choice in campaigns that emphasize this issue (Hutchings 2003).

8. As indicated in the Appendix A, both items capture the direction and intensity of candidate evaluations, with “don’t know” response coded at the middle category. Our results are not substantively altered if these respondents are excluded, and the dependant variables are dichotomized.

9. A respondent in each selected household was sampled at random, and the interviewer returned to the home as many times as necessary within the field period in order to conduct the interview.

The questionnaire for this Detroit Area Study (DAS) and the video stimuli were stored on a laptop computer that interviewers carried into the respondents' homes. The interview began with a standard battery of questions about media use, and then the laptop was turned over to the respondent to view the advertisements and to answer some questions about politics immediately afterward. In principle, the respondent and interviewer were the only two people in the room at the time, and the soundtrack for the videos was played out loud over the computer's speaker. The laptop was then returned to the interviewer, who asked the final series of questions.¹⁰ A total of 314 interviews were completed out of 652 initial contacts, of which 568 were eligible, for a response rate of $314/568 = 55.3$ percent.¹¹ After excluding black and other nonwhite respondents, the sample size drops to 225.

Each subject viewed three different advertisements. The control group viewed three common product commercials. Those in the treatment conditions viewed a political spot that we constructed.¹² A complete transcription of the experimental treatments used in this study is presented in table B4 of Appendix B. After invoking Bush's "dedication to an America with strong values," the male narrator contrasts Bush with Democrats who would "spend your tax dollars on wasteful government programs." The narrator continues, "George W. Bush will cut taxes, because you know best how to spend the money you earn." The second half of the narrative focuses on health care, with the claim that Bush will reform an "unfair system that only provides health care for some, while others go without proper treatment because their employer can't afford it."

We inserted racially neutral visuals such as the Statue of Liberty, the U.S. Treasury building, and residential streets (devoid of people) over this narrative. When health care is invoked, racially ambiguous images of the medical profession appear. The ad, therefore, contains no visual race cues while still presenting the "wasteful government spending" message. In the second and third versions of the ad, visual racial cues replace the formerly group-neutral symbolism. In what we refer to as the "black + white" version of the ad, white images are added to the neutral version just as the narrator says, "you know best how to spend the money you earn." In addition, a white mother and child are inserted just as the narrator states, "others go without proper treatment, because their employer can't afford it." Bush is also shown interacting with

10. The field period for the study began on April 8 and concluded August 1, 2000. Interviews were conducted by a combination of professional interviewers and trained students.

11. The response rate was calculated based on the American Association for Public Opinion Research's (2000) Response Rate 1 (RR1). Ineligible respondents were excluded either because the selected housing unit did not exist ($N = 72$) or the occupant was under 18 years of age or a non-U.S. citizen ($N = 12$).

12. These were: Duralast Batteries, Staples Office Supplies, and Wallside Windows, in that order. In the treatment conditions, those who viewed the political spot did not see the Staples commercial.

whites at the end of the ad. The image of a black person is shown counting money, followed by a black mother and child in an office setting, just as the narrator says, “Democrats want to spend your tax dollars on wasteful government programs.” Then, when the narrator invokes the health care system that “only provides health care for some,” a black mother and child are shown in a hospital setting. The other visuals in the ad remained identical to those in the visually “neutral” version. In what we will refer to as the “white cues” condition, the black images in the “black + white” cell are removed, so that only white images remain. These three versions of the same ad were meant to vary the type of racial implications one might draw from the message. The neutral version gives the audience no obvious visual cues about which group or groups in society benefit from higher taxes and increased spending on social welfare programs. The “white cues” cell tells viewers that whites bear the financial burden when taxes and spending go up. The “black + white” appeal implies not only that whites bear the burden but also that the primary recipients of the benefits are black.

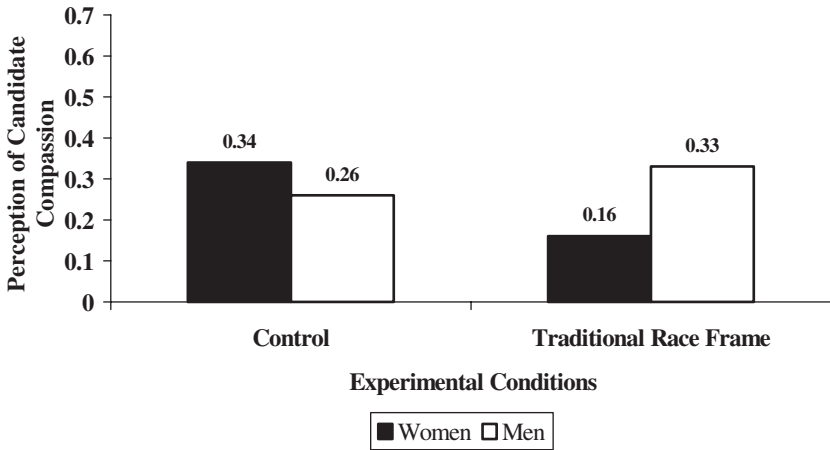
Results

Our first set of hypotheses involves the impact of the traditional race frame on perceptions of candidate compassion. We expect that women exposed to the traditional partisan stands on race will infer that the Democratic candidate is more compassionate than the Republican. Men, on the other hand, should prefer Bush when exposed to this frame. In figure 1A, we see that men and women both feel Gore is more compassionate in the absence of a story about the political campaign, since both men and women score below the midpoint of the zero to one dependent variable, and the difference between men and women in this condition is statistically insignificant.¹³ Among those exposed to the traditional race frame, however, a large and significant gender gap appears. Women are considerably more likely to view Gore as the more compassionate candidate, whereas Gore’s advantage on this dimension actually diminishes (although not significantly) among men. Thus, the traditional race frame sends much different signals to men and women about the candidates’ relative levels of compassion.

We also predict that appeals to women’s issues—which do not implicate compassion as strongly—should not affect candidate perceptions on this dimension. This hypothesis finds support in figure 1B. The gender story has

13. These figures are based on the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses shown in tables B1 and B2 of Appendix B. The cases from the compassionate race frame are excluded from the first set of analyses. The predicted values are estimated by manipulating subject gender and the article that he or she reads, while holding party identification constant at the sample mean. Partisanship is included in the analysis because of imbalances in the distribution of this variable across the conditions.

A



B

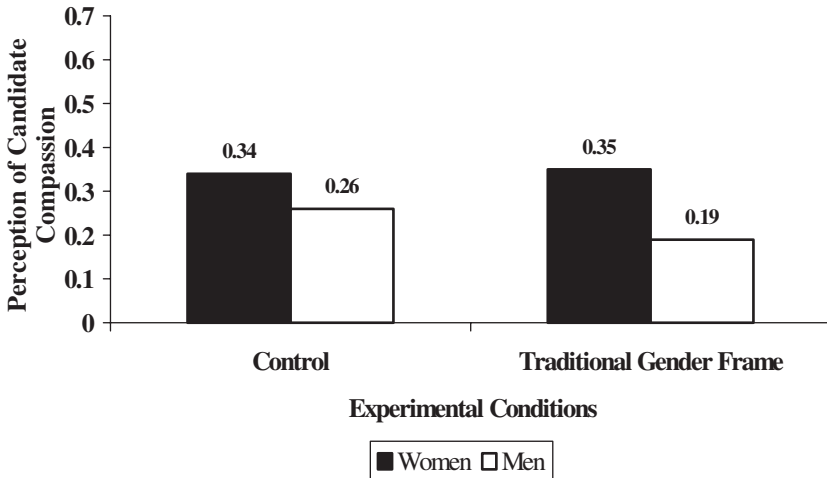


Figure 1. Effects of traditional race frame (A) and traditional gender frame (B) on which candidate is more compassionate. Dependent variable runs from 0–1, with higher values indicating subject’s perception that Bush is the more compassionate candidate. The analyses also control for party identification. Sample sizes for each cell were as follows: Control=50, Traditional Gender=34, Traditional Race=32. Source: Study 1.

no statistically significant impact on perceptions of candidate compassion. Gore is viewed by both men and women as the more compassionate candidate, and these perceptions are essentially unaffected by the stimulus.

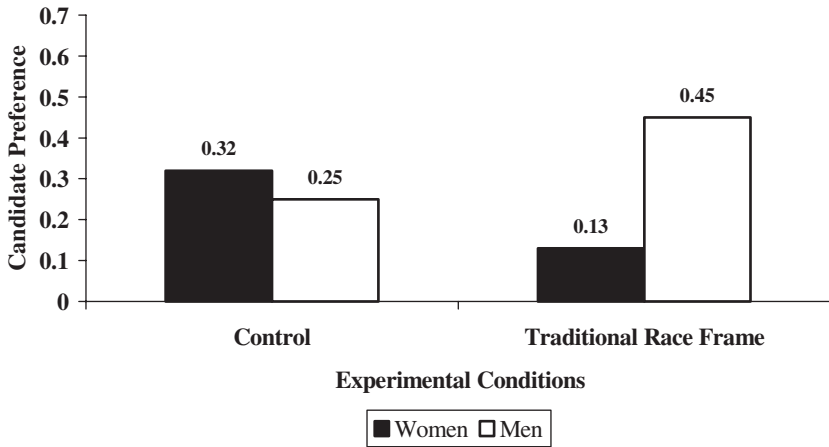
The next test involves the impact of racial cues on the gender gap in vote choice. We expect that exposure to traditional racial cues should boost the gap. The test of this hypothesis is displayed in figure 2A. As in figure 1, the gender gap is rather small and statistically insignificant in the control group. However, as anticipated, exposure to the traditional race frame increases the gap substantially. Women become about 19 points more supportive of Gore, whereas the Democratic candidate loses about 20 points among men.

Candidate preference is also unaffected by appeals to gender issues. These results are shown in figure 2B. The traditional gender frame does not produce a gender gap in candidate preference. Differences across gender are not statistically significant in either the control condition or the treatment condition. In summary, cues invoking race and not gender drive the gender gap in this first test.

So far, the evidence suggests that traditional partisan stands on race contribute significantly to the size and character of the gender gap. We argue that the reason for this linkage is that racial cues convey information about candidate's compassionate orientation in politics. We also argue that women attach greater importance than men to this characteristic. Consequently, women should rely more heavily than men on perceptions of candidate compassion when deciding which candidate to support. We test this hypothesis directly in table 1. We predict that the relationship between perceptions of candidate compassion and vote choice should be markedly stronger among women, as captured in the interaction term. This expectation is confirmed. Perceptions of candidate compassion are associated with candidate preferences for both men and women. However, the substantively large and statistically significant interaction term suggests that this effect is almost twice as large among women.

If our theory about the influence of racial appeals is correct, we should also find that the gender gap is diminished when the Republican candidate takes a more moderate position on these issues. Figure 3 takes as a baseline the traditional race frame. As indicated above, in most previous elections, both Democrats and Republicans could be counted on to adopt positions consistent with this political story. In figure 3, however, we examine whether Republicans can reduce the gender gap associated with the traditional race frame by assuming a more compassionate position on race. We find that Bush's compassion offensive does diminish Gore's advantage among women, but it also cuts into his advantage among men. The interaction, once again, is highly significant. Although these results underscore the perils inherent in the Republicans' efforts to reach out to minority voters, it also highlights the extent to which the gender gap is influenced by racial appeals. When the candidates diverge sharply on racial issues, the gender gap

A



B

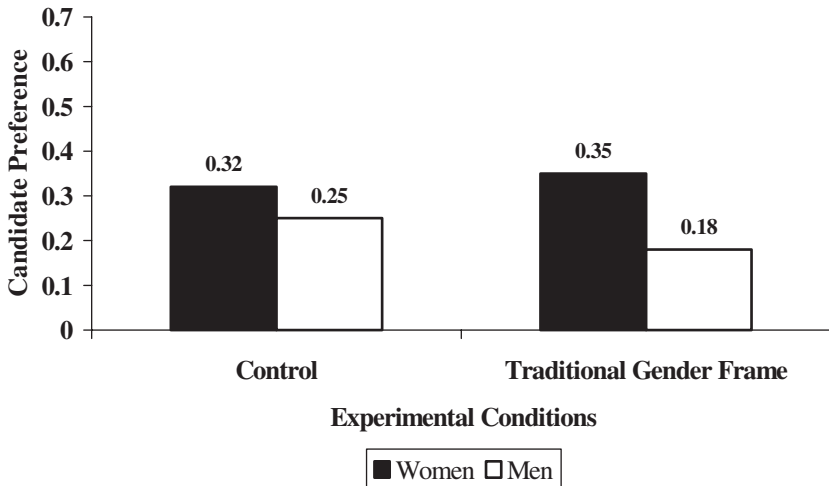


Figure 2. Effects of traditional race frame (A) and traditional gender frame (B) on candidate preferences. Dependent variable runs from 0–1, with higher values indicating greater support for Bush. The analyses also control for party identification. Sample sizes for each cell were as follows: Control = 50; Traditional Gender cell = 34; Traditional Race cell = 32. Source: Study 1.

Table 1. Regression Model Predicting Effects of Perceptions of Candidate Compassion on Vote Preferences by Gender

Dependent Variables	Support for Bush
Intercept	.51*** (.08)
Gender frame	-.00 (.06)
Compassionate race frame	.00 (.06)
Traditional race frame	.05 (.06)
Candidate compassion	.42*** (.13)
Female	-.13* (.08)
Female × Candidate compassion	.33* (.17)
Control Variable	
Party identification	-.35*** (.06)
Adjusted R^2	.50
$N =$	145

SOURCE.—Study 1.

NOTE.—Sample sizes for each cell were as follows: Control = 50; Gender cell = 34; Compassionate Race cell = 29; Traditional Race cell = 32.

* $p \leq .05$.

*** $p \leq .001$, for one-tailed test, except constant.

becomes a veritable chasm. When the candidates agree on race, the gender gap all but disappears.

The first study reveals a clear linkage between racial cues and the gender gap. We still cannot be sure, however, that the racial appeal is the fundamental driver of the effect. Perhaps the manipulation was powerful because it invoked social welfare issues, not because it contained racial cues. We require a test where the discussion of social welfare issues is held constant, and only the implications for which racial groups will benefit are manipulated. The Detroit Area Study (DAS), described above, meets these criteria. Recall that the DAS provides a manipulation of visual racial cues accompanied by a standard Republican political advertisement about social spending. We expect the gender gap to be widest when this traditional partisan appeal is juxtaposed with implicit racial cues. That is, the gender gap should be largest in the version of the Bush ad that most clearly reinforces the stereotype that social

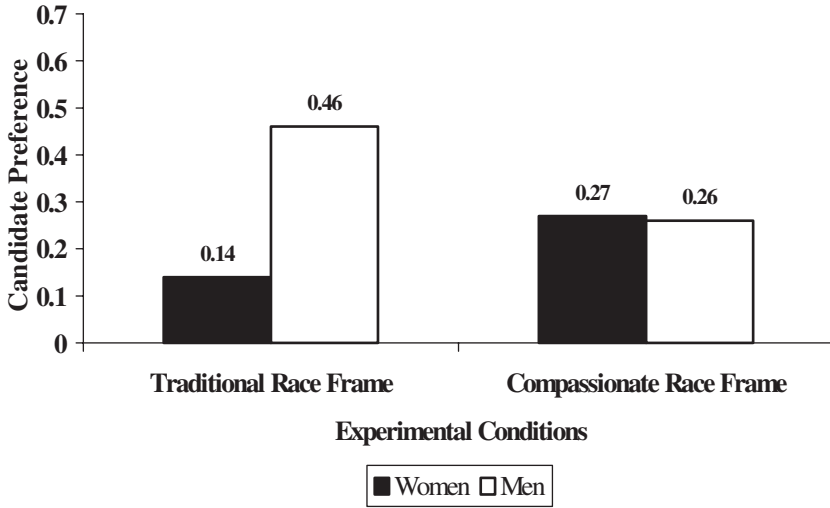


Figure 3. Effects of compassionate race frame on candidate preferences. Dependent variable runs from 0–1, with higher values indicating greater support for Bush. The analyses also control for party identification. Sample sizes for each cell were as follows: Traditional Race=32, Compassionate Race=29. Source: Study 1.

spending will benefit blacks at the expense of whites. The results of this test are displayed in figure 4.¹⁴

The first pair of bars in figure 4 show that in the control group, support for the candidates is split about evenly among men and women, with the latter slightly, although not significantly, more supportive of Bush. Exposure to the race-neutral Bush ad results in greater support for Bush across both groups, although this increase is not statistically significant. Once racial cues are introduced, however, the gender gap appears. In the white-only condition, men’s support for Bush remains somewhat higher, relative to the control group. Women, on the other hand, are generally unaffected. Finally, when the racial implications of the Bush ad are made even more apparent in the “black + white” condition, men are again more supportive of Bush ($p < .086$, one-tailed test) relative to the control, whereas women are significantly less supportive ($p < .043$, one-tailed test). These results provide additional support for our

14. The results in figure 4 are derived as before from OLS regression analysis. Full results are given in table B3 in Appendix B.

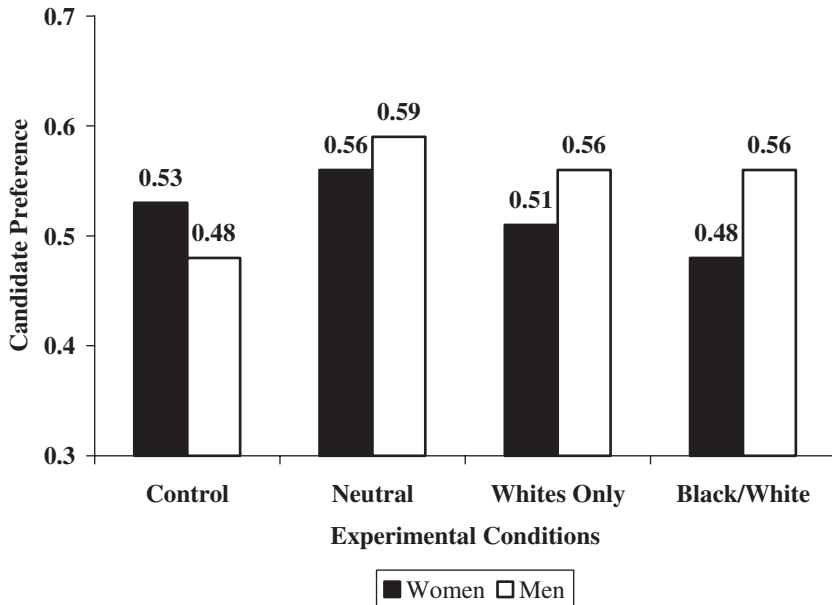


Figure 4. Estimated candidate support by exposure to racial content in Bush advertisement. Dependent variable runs from 0–1, with higher values indicating greater support for Bush. Controls include party identification, age, and educational attainment. Sample sizes for each cell were as follows: Control = 53, Neutral = 51, Whites Only = 66, Black/White = 55. Source: Study 2.

contention that partisan racial cues are an important trigger to the development of the gender gap. Indeed, even when candidates fail to mention race-relevant issues, the introduction of subtle visual cues to standard campaign communications are often sufficient to provoke different reactions among men and women.

THE GENDER GAP AND THE 2000 REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Experimental results indicate that the gender gap is exacerbated by partisan racial appeals and is reduced when the Republican candidate takes a more moderate position on racial issues. Our final analysis is an attempt to build confidence in the real-world impact of the processes we have discovered in our experiments. The strategy employed by George W. Bush during the Republican National Convention of 2000 lends itself to a natural test of the

hypotheses we have proposed. In that convention, Republicans showcased their renewed commitment to racial inclusiveness and, by implication, their sympathy with the concerns of racial minorities. In the words of Lori Rodriguez (2000) of the *Houston Chronicle*:

From the opening night speech Monday by Colin Powell to a key role Thursday for Houston's Kirbyjon Caldwell, the Republican Party strained mightily to put its best and most diverse face forward this week. There was the retired Army general chiding his party for its anti-affirmative action position; the chief national security advisor, Condoleezza Rice, speaking glowingly about the Republican presidential nominee, George W. Bush. . . . There were black singers, black dancers, black children, black preachers, a veritable army of black speakers.

In short, the 2000 Republican National Convention sought to convey an impression of candidate Bush that was very much like the compassionate race frame in our first study. The display of racial diversity at the convention was a central theme in the compassionate conservative message throughout the campaign. The prominent discussion of education may have also played a role in conveying a racially inclusive message. The invocation of the liberal Children's Defense Fund slogan "leave no child behind," the description of education as "the new civil right," and the discussion of vouchers as a way for poor and minority children to escape poverty also complemented this message.

We speculate that Bush's "compassionate conservatism" strategy might have reduced the gender gap by moderating the perception that the Republican Party was insensitive to the plight of racial minorities. In fact, some election reporting also suggested that white women, not racial minorities, were the target of the GOP's outreach efforts (Orin 2000). If our hypotheses about the impact of racial cues on the gender gap are correct, exposure to this message should have been most effective among women, not men. Thus, women who watched the convention, and were therefore exposed to the Republican's racially inclusive message, should be more likely to view Bush favorably in general, and with regard to race relations in particular. At best, men who watched the convention should have reacted with indifference to such cues.

In order to examine the effects of viewing the Republican convention, we analyzed survey data from a nationally representative Gallup poll that went into the field immediately following the convention on August 4 and 5, 2000. The survey contained 1,051 respondents, 890 of whom were white, and included a variety of questions that allow us to examine the effects of race-based appeals on the gender gap.¹⁵ In addition to asking how often respondents watched the Republican convention, the survey also asked how

15. Information on the response rate was not available.

likely respondents are to vote for George W. Bush, whether or not they approve of Bush, and which candidate would best handle race relations.¹⁶ Our expectation is that increased exposure to the convention will lead to more favorable views, and greater overall support, of Bush among women. Men who watched the convention will, at best, be unaffected by the show of racial diversity. At worst, they will hold it against the Republican candidate. The functional form of this model is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Bush Evaluations} = & B_1(\text{Watched Convention}) + B_2(\text{Female}) \\ & + B_3(\text{Convention} \times \text{Female}) + B_4(\text{Party} \\ & \text{Identification}) + B_5(\text{Ideology}) + B_6(\text{Education}) \\ & + B_7(\text{Household Income}) + B_8(\text{Age}) \\ & + B_9(\text{Union Membership}) + B_{10}(\text{Previous} \\ & \text{Turnout}) + \text{Constant.} \end{aligned}$$

According to our hypotheses, B_3 will be positive, indicating more favorable views of Bush among women who devoted a significant amount of time to the convention. On the other hand, the B_1 coefficient, representing men who watched the convention, should be negative, indicating disapproval of Bush's appeal to racial inclusion. The dependent variables are coded on a zero to one scale to ease interpretation of the analyses. All of the independent variables of interest (for example, how much of the convention respondents watched) are also coded in this way.

In the first column of table 2, we examine the impact of exposure to the Republican convention on perceptions of which candidate would best handle race relations. Given the range of this variable, these results are presented in the form of an ordered logistic regression. As anticipated, women respond differently than men as a result of exposure to the convention. The interaction of gender and exposure to the convention is positive and statistically significant, suggesting that women who watched the convention were more likely than those who did not to view Bush as effective

16. Exposure to the convention was measured with the following question: "How much, if any, of the Republican convention did you watch on TV this week?" The four response options included "none," "very little," "some," and "a great deal." Slightly more than half (58 percent) indicated that they watched at least some of the convention. The wording for the race relations question was as follows: "Next, regardless of which presidential candidate you support, please tell me if you think Al Gore or George W. Bush would better handle each of the following issues. How about Race Relations?" The three response options were "Gore," "Same" or "Don't know", and "Bush." The approval questions read as follows: "Next, we'd like to get your overall opinion of some people in the news. As I read each name, please say if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of this person—or if you have never heard of him or her. How about George W. Bush?" Response options range from "unfavorable" to "favorable," with neutral responses coded at the middle. The vote question was worded as follows: "Next, if each of the following candidates were on the ballot for president this November, please say how likely it is you would vote for each—very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, not at all likely, or if you don't know enough about that person to say. How about George W. Bush?"

on this issue. Alternatively, in spite of the convention's emphasis on diversity, men's perceptions of Bush on this dimension were not significantly altered by exposure. This interaction stands despite controls for many variables that could have produced biases in the viewing audience to begin with, including party, ideology, income, education, age, union membership and previous turnout.

Table 2. Regression Models Predicting Effects of Watching Republican National Convention on Perception of Candidate's Ability to Handle Race Relations, Approval of Bush, and Likelihood of Voting for Bush (White Respondents Only)

Dependent Variables	Race Relations (Ordered Logit)	Approval of Bush (Logistic Model)	Likelihood of Voting for Bush (OLS Model)
Intercept	—	5.37*** (.69)	1.21*** (.06)
Female	-.26 (.27)	-.13 (.37)	-.00 (.04)
Watched convention	-.28 (.33)	-.39 (.47)	-.02 (.05)
Female × Watched convention	.94* (.44)	1.25* (.62)	.10* (.06)
Control Variables			
Party Identification	-.54*** (.05)	-.80*** (.07)	-.14*** (.01)
Ideology	-.30*** (.10)	-.66*** (.13)	-.09*** (.01)
Education	-.08 (.05)	-.08 (.07)	-.00 (.00)
Household Income	-.09 (.06)	.29*** (.07)	.03*** (.01)
Age	.01* (.00)	-.01 (.01)	-.00 (.00)
Union membership	.07 (.24)	-.58* (.30)	-.07* (.03)
Voting habits	-.02 (.07)	-.14 (.10)	.00 (.01)
Cut 1	-3.09*** (.49)	—	—
Cut 2	-2.46*** (.48)	—	—

Table 2. (Continued)

Dependent Variables	Race Relations (Ordered Logit)	Approval of Bush (Logistic Model)	Likelihood of Voting for Bush (OLS Model)
$\chi^2 =$	226.73***	316.39***	—
Log likelihood	-666.47	-295.20	—
Pseudo R^2	.14	.35	—
Adjusted R^2	—	—	.50
$N =$	800	777	801

NOTE.—The dependant variable in column 1 is “Next, regardless of which presidential candidate you support, please tell me if you think Al Gore or George W. Bush would better handle each of the following issues. How about Race Relations?” Response options range from Gore to “Same” or “don’t know” to Bush. Higher values indicate that Bush is more effective. The dependant variable in column 2 is “Next, we’d like to get your overall opinion of some people in the news. As I read each name, please say if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of this person—or if you have never heard of him or her. How about George W. Bush?” Response options range from “unfavorable” to “favorable.” The dependent variable in column 3 is “Next, if each of the following candidates were on the ballot for president this November, please say how likely it is you would vote for each—very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, not at all likely, or if you don’t know enough about that person to say. How about George W. Bush?” Respondents who indicated that they are very likely to support Bush are coded high.

* $p \leq .05$.

*** $p \leq .001$, for one-tailed test.

Converting the ordered logistic coefficients into predicted probabilities reveals a substantial effect, for women but not men, of exposure to the convention. For example, on average, women who watched none of the convention had a .31 probability of believing that Bush would best handle race relations. Men who watched none of the campaign had a .36 probability of viewing Bush as more effective on this issue. However, women who watched “a great deal” of the convention had a .46 probability of regarding Bush as more effective on race relations. Among men, preference for Bush declines by about 6 points. Thus, Bush’s 5-point deficit on this issue among women is, after exposure to the convention, transformed into a 16-point advantage.

Columns 2 and 3 of table 2 test whether exposure to the GOP convention reduced the gender gap in support for George W. Bush. In column 2, we examine the impact of the convention on whether respondents held a favorable opinion of the candidate. As hypothesized, women who watched the convention were significantly more likely to approve of Bush relative to women who did not watch the convention, as indicated by the positive interaction on the logistic regression coefficient. Among men, the effects of viewing the convention were mildly negative and statistically insignificant.

Converting these results into predicted probabilities reveals results quite similar to those described in column 1. Women with characteristics at the mean

on all other variables in the model have a .73 probability of expressing a favorable opinion of George W. Bush. Among men, the corresponding figure is .76. As expected, the probability that women will view Bush favorably increases by 13 points to .86 among respondents who watched a great deal of the convention. However, this probability declines to .68 among men who tuned in to the convention. Once again, Bush's mild disadvantage among women is converted into a significant advantage after exposure to their message of racial inclusion.

The last column of table 2 presents our results for the likelihood that respondents will vote for Bush in the November election. Once again, we find that women who viewed the convention respond positively to Bush, whereas men were largely unaffected. Since the dependent variable is coded on a zero to one scale, the coefficient of .10 roughly translates into a 10-point increase in support for Bush among women who paid a great deal of attention to the Republican convention.¹⁷ This, of course, represents the best possible scenario for the Bush team for, unlike our results in study 1, men appear more uninterested in than turned off by the compassion strategy. One explanation for this result may be that the convention highlighted both the Republicans' commitment to diversity as well as to traditionally conservative policies such as tax cuts, increased defense spending, and family values. Thus, at least in the short run, the potential contradictions of appearing both compassionate and conservative were not harmful to Bush's support among men.

Conclusion

In this article we have argued that men and women respond differently to traditional partisan appeals on racial issues. We further argue that these different reactions have contributed significantly to the gender gap. Women are generally less sympathetic than men to the traditional Republican position on race in part because of their somewhat more racially liberal policy positions and in part because of their greater predisposition to extend help to disadvantaged groups, including African-Americans. Men, on the other hand, respond negatively to the Democratic stand on race because they place less value on candidates' compassion and because the Republican message successfully primes their negative racial attitudes.¹⁸

17. It is, of course, possible that women responded in this way for reasons other than the racial content of the convention. To assess whether our results were unique to the 2000 campaign, as our argument suggests, we also examined an earlier Gallup poll on the effects of exposure to the Republican convention during the 1996 campaign (where the racial imagery was of a decidedly different character). As expected, we found that women did *not* become more supportive of, or favorably disposed toward, Bob Dole as they viewed more of the convention.

18. In results not shown (in study 1), we found that men who regard blacks as competitive threats (see Bobo and Hutchings 1996) or who believe that blacks have too much influence in society are also more likely to support Bush in the traditional race condition. Women with such views are unaffected by this stimulus.

The results hold across a diverse set of conditions. In the lab, we found that manipulating Bush's stance on racial policy has a dramatic effect on the magnitude of the gender difference in candidate preferences. When Bush and Gore adopt traditional positions on racial issues, white women are more likely to regard Gore as the more compassionate candidate. This frame also maximizes the gender gap on the vote choice. On the other hand, when both candidates appear sympathetic to black interests, Gore's advantage among women evaporates. White men respond in the opposite way: they are more likely to vote for Bush when he is merely conservative and not compassionate on race.

In study 2, we exposed random groups within a representative sample of Detroit-area citizens to different versions of a Bush ad that made no overt reference to race. This traditional Republican appeal opposing wasteful government spending and promoting tax cuts had little impact on the gender gap—until visual race cues were introduced. When the message contained visual race cues, men and women moved in opposite directions regarding support for the sponsor, and the gender gap reemerged.

We also found some evidence consistent with our basic hypothesis at the national level. When exposed to the Republican show of racial diversity at the 2000 GOP convention, white women demonstrated more confidence in Bush's ability to handle race relations and were ultimately more likely to support him. Men, however, were generally unaffected by exposure to the convention. Of course, as with all survey data, these results cannot prove by themselves that the convention's message of racial inclusion, let alone that of the Republican campaign strategy writ large, caused the differential effects across gender. First, as mentioned above, all conventions are multifaceted forms of political communication, conveying distinct themes that cannot be easily reduced to a single appeal. Second, women who favored Bush to begin with may have been more likely to expose themselves to the convention and to claim that the Republican would perform well in the domain of race. We found, however, that no such gender difference in the effects of exposure existed for the 1996 Republican national convention, where racial undertones were largely absent (see note 17). In other words, these results are only suggestive, but they are nevertheless consistent with the causal claim that we tested more rigorously in our experiments.

Our results suggest that Bush's strategy may have had considerable short-term success in reducing the gender gap at around the time of the convention. However, one remaining question is, How effective was the Republican compassion strategy in the actual election outcome in 2000? Among blacks it was remarkably unsuccessful: Bush received the lowest percentage of African-American support of any Republican candidate since Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater (Pomper 2001). Among women, the results were mixed. According to the American National Election Study, the gender gap on Election Day 2000 was 10 percent, substantially less than the 15 percent

difference in 1996. However, this gap is about the same size that it was in 1992, when the candidates adopted more or less traditional positions on matters of race.

Why didn't the gender gap shrink further? A definitive answer to this question is beyond the scope of this article, but we can offer a guess. In spite of Bush's sincere desire to change the image of the GOP, he faced two powerful obstacles. One was the historical reputation of the Republican Party on race, which Gore and the Democrats mentioned often during the campaign. The second was Bush's own mixed messages on racial issues. Although one of his signature issues was education, he expressed only tepid support for hate crimes legislation and promoted a massive tax cut that, at least according to his critics, benefited the wealthy and weakened the social safety net. In the end, these conflicting messages may have undermined his efforts to recast the Republican Party's image on race and compassion.

Appendix A

SCALE/INDEX CONSTRUCTION

"Candidate preference" was based on a 5-item sequence with skip patterns:

1. So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national election this coming November or not? (1 = Yes, 5 = No, 8 = Don't know).
2. (*If respondent plans to vote*): We all know the election is some time away and people are not certain at this point who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you will vote for in the election for President? (George W. Bush, Al Gore, Ralph Nader, other, don't know, undecided).
3. Would you say that your preference for (candidate specified in item #2) is strong or not strong?
4. (*If respondent plans not to vote*): If you were going to vote, who do you think you would vote for in the election for president? (same choices as in item #2).
5. (*For those who answered item #4*): Would you say that your preference for (candidate specified in item #4) is strong or not strong?

An index was constructed, running from 0 (Gore supporters) to 1 (Bush supporters). Subjects who were undecided or preferred a third-party candidate were placed in the middle of the index at .5.

"Perceptions of candidate compassion" were measured with the following item:

1. In your opinion, which candidate is more compassionate?

Response options ranged from Gore, "much more compassionate" (coded "0") to Bush, "much more compassionate" (coded "1").

Appendix B

REGRESSION ANALYSES FOR FIGURES 1 THROUGH 4

The results from figures 1 through 3 are derived from the analyses presented in table B1, below. Formally, our model can be represented as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Candidate Evaluations} = & B_1(\text{Traditional Gender Frame}) + B_2(\text{Traditional} \\ & \text{Race Frame}) + B_3(\text{Female}) + B_4(\text{Gender Frame} \\ & \times \text{Female}) + B_5(\text{Traditional Frame} \times \text{Female}) \\ & + B_6(\text{Partisanship}) + \text{Constant.} \end{aligned}$$

Across each dependent variable, we expect that the B_2 coefficient will be substantively large and positive, indicating that men's view of Bush grows more favorable when he adopts a traditional Republican stance on race. Alternatively, the net effect of the B_2 and B_5 interaction, indicating women's response to the race frame, should be of equal magnitude yet negative, indicating increased support for Gore. The

Table B1. Regression Models Predicting Effects of Traditional Gender Frame and Traditional Race Frame on Perceptions of Candidate Traits and Vote Choice

	Compassion	Vote Choice
Intercept	.55*** (.05)	.75*** (.07)
Gender frame	-.06 (.08)	-.07 (.10)
Traditional race frame	.08 (.08)	.20* (.09)
Female	.08 (.07)	.06 (.09)
Gender frame × Female	.08 (.11)	.11 (.14)
Race frame × Female	-.26* (.11)	-.38** (.14)
Control variable		
Party identification	-.29*** (.05)	-.50*** (.07)
Adjusted R^2	.22	.35
$N =$	116	116

SOURCE.—Study 1.

NOTE.— Sample sizes for each cell were as follows: Control = 50; Traditional gender cell = 34; Traditional race cell = 32.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$ by a one-tailed test.

coefficients representing the gender frame should be insignificant. To guard against the possibility that differences in the distribution of political variables across cells of the design might account for differences we observe, controls for partisanship are included in the analyses.

Results for figure 3 are derived from the analyses in table B2. Formally, this model can be represented as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Candidate Evaluations} = & B_1(\text{Compassion Frame}) + B_2(\text{Female}) \\ & + B_3(\text{Compassion Frame} \times \text{Female}) \\ & + B_4(\text{Partisanship}) + \text{Constant.} \end{aligned}$$

The traditional frame represents the excluded category in these analyses. When both candidates appeal to blacks, as in the “compassionate frame,” we expect the B_1 coefficient to be negative, indicating men’s movement away from Bush, and the B_3 coefficient to be positive, indicating female movement toward Bush.

The results for figure 4 are derived from the analyses presented below in table B3. Formally, our model can be represented as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Candidate Preferences} = & B_1(\text{Race Neutral Frame}) + B_2(\text{White Only Frame}) \\ & + B_3(\text{Black and White Frame}) + B_4(\text{Neutral Frame} \\ & \times \text{Female}) + B_5(\text{White Only Frame} \times \text{Female}) \\ & + B_6(\text{Black and White} \times \text{Female}) + B_7(\text{Controls}) \\ & + \text{Constant.} \end{aligned}$$

Table B2. Regression Models Predicting Effects of Compassion Frame on Candidate Preferences

	Vote Choice
Intercept	.94*** (.10)
Compassionate race frame	-.20* (.12)
Female	-.32*** (.11)
Compassion frame \times Female	.33* (.16)
Control Variable	
Party identification	-.48*** (.10)
Adjusted R^2	.36
$N =$	61

SOURCE.—Study 1.

NOTE.—Sample sizes for each cell were as follows: Traditional race cell = 32; Compassionate race cell = 29.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$ by a one-tailed test.

Our expectation is that the implicit racial cues present in the “black and white” ad should have a negative effect on support for Bush among women, as indicated in the net effect of the B_1 and B_6 coefficients. Among men, the racialized appeal should be positive, indicating an increase in support for Bush. Also, because of differences in the distribution of some sociodemographic or political variables across cells of the design, we include controls for partisanship, age, and education.

Table B3. Regression Model Predicting Effects of Racial Content in Bush Advertisement on Vote Preferences Among Whites

	Support for Bush
Intercept	.72*** (.08)
Race-neutral	.10* (.06)
White only	.07 (.05)
Black and white	.08 (.06)
Female	.05 (.05)
Female × Race-neutral	-.08 (.08)
Female × White only	-.09 (.07)
Female × Black and white	-.13* (.07)
Control Variables	
Party identification	-.35*** (.03)
Age	-.00 (.00)
Education	-.01 (.01)
Adjusted R^2	.45
$N =$	211

SOURCE.—Study 2.

NOTE.—Sample sizes for each cell were as follows: Control = 53; Race-neutral cell = 51; White-only cell = 66; Black and white cell = 55.

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$ for one-tailed test, except constant.

Table B4. Transcripts of Implicit Race Cue Advertising Manipulation

Advertisement Narrative	Neutral Visual	White Visual	Black + White Visual
<i>George W. Bush is dedicated to building an America with strong values.</i>	George Bush in crowd, shaking hands	George Bush in crowd, shaking hands	George Bush in crowd, shaking hands
<i>Democrats want to spend your tax dollars on wasteful, government programs, but George W. Bush will cut taxes because you know best how to spend the money you earn. Governor Bush cares about families. He'll reform an unfair system that only provides health care for some while others go without proper treatment because their employer can't afford it. When he's president, every hard-working American will have affordable, high-quality health care.</i>	Statue of Liberty U.S. Treasury building Bush sitting on couch Suburban neighborhood and street	Statue of Liberty U.S. Treasury building Bush sitting on couch White person writing a check White person counting money White teacher White parents walking with child Laboratory workers looking into microscopes; race unclear White mother holding child Bush talking to white family Bush talking to a white child Bush kissing a white girl	Black person counting money Black mother and child in office setting Bush sitting on couch White person writing a check White person counting money White teacher White parents walking with child White nurse assists black mother and child White mother holding child Bush talking to white family Bush talking to a white child Bush kissing a white girl

Table B4. (Continued)

Advertisement Narrative	Neutral Visual	White Visual	Black + White Visual
George W. Bush, a fresh start for America.	Bush with arm around wife. Screen reads, "George W. Bush" and "A Fresh Start"	Bush with arm around wife. Screen reads "George W. Bush" and "A Fresh Start"	Bush with arm around wife. Screen reads "George W. Bush" and "A Fresh Start"

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