

Special Section**Gender and Political Leadership****A Woman at the Top of the Ticket: The Role of Gender in the 2016 Presidential Election¹**

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The 2016 presidential elections in the United States pitted former First Lady, US Senator, and Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, the first female to be nominated by a major party for the office, against a hyper-masculine, populist businessman, Donald Trump. This paper analyzes the gender dynamics of the election, drawing on Kathleen Hall Jamieson's concept of the double bind, a construct that requires female candidates walk a tightrope of gendered expectations by demonstrating sufficient masculinity as well as femininity on the campaign trail. In particular, I argue that Trump used gender stereotypes as a weapon against Clinton: he critiqued her for being insufficiently masculine and insufficiently feminine while, at the same time, exaggerating his own masculinity. The results of the election suggest that when contesting the most masculine office in the land—the US Presidency—female candidates struggle to be considered on equal footing with male candidates.

Keywords

gender, presidential elections, masculinity, Hillary Clinton

Introduction

In July 2016, Hillary Clinton made history by becoming the first woman to receive a major party's nomination for the office of the United States presidency. Four months later, she became the first woman to lose her major party bid for the presidency, despite amassing nearly three million more votes than her rival,

Republican Donald Trump. The vast majority of polls predicted Clinton would win the presidency and become the first female president of the United States, but she ultimately fell short by 77 votes in the

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Electoral College². How did this happen, and how can we understand this outcome?

In this paper, I provide a preliminary analysis of the 2016 presidential elections, focusing specifically on the pernicious role of gender. I argue that Clinton did not lose her election bid simply because of her status as a woman. Rather, in a country that has elected only male presidents, I suggest that masculinity is so thoroughly infused in the presidency that men are privileged as the default category (see also Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995). During her primary and general election campaigns, opponents and the media interjected gendered critiques that effectively reminded voters of Clinton's status as an interloper, attempting to tread where no woman has gone before. These efforts often lacked subtlety and unsurprisingly, many voters responded in kind.

Clinton's historic loss to Trump, a political neophyte publicly disavowed by many in his own party, reminds us that the qualifications for the US Presidency remain deeply gendered: our notions of leadership are at odds with our notions of what it means to be womanly, thereby creating unique challenges not only for Clinton, but for any woman who chooses to follow in her footsteps. Clinton's treatment on the campaign trail is actually par for the course. The many women who have preceded her in their quest for the presidency

encountered similar gendered assumptions and critiques about their ability to lead (Fitzpatrick 2016). To provide historical context, I briefly discuss a few of these women's experiences on the campaign trail before turning to the 2016 election.

In particular, I argue that Trump's strategic use of gender stereotypes against Clinton, combined with mainstream media stories that reinforced, rather than challenged, such characterizations, ultimately primed undecided voters to prioritize gender in casting their votes. This combination of factors also persuaded them to privilege masculinity over other values typically prized by voters, such as experience, compassion, and decorum. I conclude that Hillary Clinton's failed candidacy illustrates just how relevant masculinity remains in the quest for the presidency. In fact, future female presidential candidates can realistically expect more of the same.

Hillary's Foremothers in Pursuit of the Presidency³

Before Hillary Clinton, a number of women ran for the US Presidency. Significant female foremothers, including Victoria Woodhull, Margaret Chase Smith, and Shirley Chisholm are hardly household names. However, each woman helped pave Clinton's path to the nomination, and would undoubtedly

2 Seven electors cast votes for neither Trump nor Clinton when the Electoral College votes were tallied on December 19, 2016. Two Republican and five Democratic electors refused to cast their ballots for their own party's nominee (Schmidt and Andrews 2016).

3 Portions of this section have been adapted from Dolan, Julie. 2016. "From 1776 to 2016: The Historical Significance of Hillary Clinton's Presidential Candidacy," *Journal of Parliamentary and Political Law* 10(3): pp.511-519.

appreciate and understand the first female nominee's struggles in making her own history. Like Clinton, each of these women faced gendered assumptions about their ability to lead.

In 1870, Victoria Claflin Woodhull became the first woman to run for the US Presidency, declaring her candidacy via a letter published in the *New York Herald*. She ran under the banner of the Equal Rights Party, a fledgling party she helped form. A self-made, wealthy businesswoman who, along with her sister, founded the first female owned brokerage firm on Wall Street, Woodhull made women's political equality central to her campaign. In her letter to the *Herald*, she drew on her success in the male dominated world of finance to illustrate her particular qualifications for the US Presidency. She wrote, "while others sought to show that there was no valid reason why woman should be treated socially and politically as a being inferior to man, I boldly entered the arena of politics and business and exercised the rights I already possessed" (Fitzpatrick 2016, 30). Woodhull's bold declaration of women's equal rights, coupled with her historic run in the nascent years of the suffrage movement, proved too visionary for the public; her candidacy was never taken seriously (Fitzpatrick 2016).

Almost one hundred years later, Senator Margaret Chase Smith declared her presidential candidacy in an announcement at the Women's National Press Club in 1964 (Fitzpatrick 2016). In addition to having already earned the honor of becoming the first woman to serve in both chambers of

Congress, she also made history as the first woman to have her name placed into nomination for the presidency at a major party convention. She campaigned in only a few states, giving priority to her Senate responsibilities and hitting the campaign trail only during Senate recesses. She received 27 first ballot votes at the Republican National Convention before Barry Goldwater ultimately won the nomination (Center for American Women and Politics 2012). Yet Smith, too, was fighting an uphill battle considering the political climate of the times. Only a slim majority (55%) of the American public indicated that they would vote a female candidate for president in 1963 (Jones and Moore 2003).

Eight years later, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm declared her candidacy for president. She became the first African-American and Democratic woman to run for the office. She was already serving as the sole, and first, African-American woman in Congress; having been elected only four years prior. As a founding member of the National Woman's Political Caucus, Chisholm spoke out in favor of more women running for office before launching her own presidential campaign (Harris 2011). Like Smith, Chisholm prioritized her legislative duties in the House of Representatives over campaigning. However, unlike Smith, Chisholm amassed an impressive 430,000 primary votes and secured 151 delegate votes at the Democratic nominating convention (Fitzpatrick 2016; McClain, Carter and Brady 2005). Throughout her candidacy, she was dogged by questions about whether or

not she was a serious candidate for the office, and whether the time was right for an African-American woman to run for the presidency. Exactly one hundred years after Victoria Woodhull's historic run, Chisholm retorted, "If not now, I say, when?" (Fitzpatrick 2016).

When Clinton first ran in 2008, 88% of Americans claimed they would vote for a female presidential candidate (Malone 2016). Eight years later, when asked whether the United States was ready for a female president—a slightly different question—only 80% of polled voters agreed (Dutton et al., 2016). What are the reasons for this difference? Approximately 20% of the American population continued to express reservations about a female president's ability to handle a military crisis, to keep the country safe from terrorism, to deal with the economy, and to make difficult decisions. The same survey revealed that even fewer voters (75%) think that both women and men make equally good political leaders, thereby illustrating voters' continued preference for a generic male candidate over a female candidate (Associated Press 2016).

Clinton announced her 2016 candidacy with an online video promising to be the champion for everyday Americans. She followed it up with a campaign rally on Roosevelt Island in New York City, positioning herself as someone committed to fighting income inequality in the United States. Clinton also paid special attention to policy issues that disproportionately affect women, such as pay equity, affordable day care, and paid family and medical leave

(Chozick 2015). She also reminded voters that she would not be the youngest president if elected, although she did have a shot at becoming the youngest female president ever elected. But, as we know, her campaign fell short. I turn now to an analysis of her general election campaign against Donald Trump.

Navigating Gender on the Campaign Trail

For most of American history, [navigating gender] has meant that presidential candidates – male and female – have worked to prove they are man enough for the job. Whether by emphasizing their roles as paternal protectors, displaying toughness and strength, or proving their “manliness” in campaign activities and photo-ops, candidates have long engaged in the business of gender performance to meet the masculine credentials of executive office (Dittmar 2015).

Not only do presidential candidates need to demonstrate their masculinity, but female candidates, more so than men, are expected to convince voters that they will retain traits such as compassion and honesty; they must convince voters that they can remain “ladies” even as they aspire to be leaders (see Brooks 2013). According to Kathleen Hall Jamieson (1995), our notions of leadership conflict with our notions of what it means to be womanly, often to the detriment of women seeking entrance into the masculine world of politics. Dubbed the “double bind” by Jamieson, successful female candidates often must walk a tightrope of gendered expectations by demonstrating sufficient

masculinity as well as femininity on the campaign trail. As the theory goes, if a female candidate comes across as too masculine, voters will punish her for eschewing traditional gender roles, for losing touch with her feminine side. However, if the female candidate shows too much of her feminine side, voters will fault her for lacking sufficient masculine characteristics to survive the manly world of politics. The trick is to carefully calibrate one's gender performance so as to strike exactly the right balance between the masculine and feminine, at least for female candidates.

The double bind matters because, even at the presidential level where information about the candidates is plentiful, voters rely on shortcuts in evaluating candidates (Falk and Kenski 2006). When a female candidate is in the running, gender stereotypes and implicit biases about men and women's characteristics and capacities come into play: men are presumed to bring masculine character traits, such as decisiveness, toughness, and overall competence to the table, whereas women are typically given the edge in feminine qualities, such as compassion, honesty, and morality. And these stereotypes work to men's advantage and women's disadvantage, especially in a race for the presidency where voters prioritize masculine over feminine traits (Rosenwasser and Seale 1988). Men must demonstrate sufficient masculinity to be taken seriously for the presidency, but their status as men gives them an advantage nonetheless. Voters have little reason to question how their male gender affects their

capacity to govern: some male presidents have performed better than others, but because only men have held the office, one particularly poor performer is not read as an indictment on all men. By virtue of their historical monopoly on the position, male candidates benefit from being regarded as competent and capable from the start, even if evidence suggests otherwise.

Women, then, are the anomaly, and evaluating their fitness for the presidency is more complicated for two reasons. First, voters and the media typically draw on entrenched masculine notions of power and leadership to determine how women stack up. As journalist Ezra Klein (2016) argues, our societal preference for the masculine is very clearly illustrated in our notions of what distinguishes a good candidate from an inferior candidate:

presidential campaigns are built to showcase the stereotypically male trait of standing in front of a room speaking confidently ... [c]ampaigns built on charismatic oration feel legitimate in a way that campaigns built on deep relationships do not.

Klein compares Democratic rivals Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders to make his point. He observes that "Sanders is a great talker and a poor relationship builder. Clinton is a great relationship builder and a poor talker." If both qualities were equally valued, Sanders would be faulted for lacking relationship-building skills in the same way that Clinton was criticized for her oratory skills. But he was not, because in the presidential context,

feminine qualities such as collaboration and relationship-building play second fiddle to masculine qualities such as confidence and bombast.

Second, because female candidates for the nation's highest offices are rather rare, voters scrutinize them more closely to gauge how well they meet traditional feminine norms, such as compassion, honesty, and likeability (Brooks 2013). Deborah Brooks suggests that such practices effectively characterize female candidates as "ladies, not leaders." The essence of treating women as "ladies" lies in expecting them to exhibit both feminine characteristics, as well as stereotypically masculine leadership qualities. Such an expectation poses formidable challenges for women trying to figure out how to strike the right balance. Lacking any successful female predecessors in her quest for the Oval Office, Clinton had to figure out how to navigate this tricky terrain on her own.

As such, the essence of the double bind is that men are free to exhibit their full masculine selves without worrying too much about convincing voters that they also have a feminine side. As a man, Trump's masculinity was never really in doubt: he showed a willingness to humiliate his opponents, denigrate those who dared disagree with him, and brag about his ability to get away with sexual assault, as uncovered in the leaked audiotape of an interview he had done earlier in his career with *Access Hollywood*. Moreover, given his claims that he, and only he, could fix America's problems, and that he knew more about

destroying ISIS than the Generals in charge of the military, Donald Trump was referred to as an alpha male, "a cartoon of masculinity", and a "parody of machismo" (Ball 2016). As a result, voters seem to have given him a pass on feminine qualities, overlooking his lack of empathy and compassion, as well as his well-documented dishonesty. At the end of the day, it appeared that many voters chalked up his boorish behavior and his open hostility toward women and other groups as irritating, but hardly disqualifying (Blake 2016).

Indeed, it may very well be the case that many of Trump's supporters were drawn to this hyper-masculine behavior. Melissa Deckman's (2016) analysis of PRRI data shows that two-thirds of Trump's supporters believed that "society as a whole has become too soft and feminine," compared with just 17 percent of Clinton supporters. Little wonder, then, that Trump and his vice-presidential nominee, Mike Pence, routinely declared on the campaign trail that "broad shouldered" leadership was the only way to keep Americans safe from danger. Trump's campaign routinely cast Hillary Clinton as weak and ineffectual, and one television ad, "Dangerous," went so far as to show clips of Clinton coughing and stumbling when she went through a brief bout with pneumonia during her campaign. This footage was accompanied by Trump's statement that "Hillary Clinton doesn't have the strength or stamina to lead in our world." As Erin Cassese and Mirya Holman note (2016), such attacks on stamina and toughness can be especially effective against female candidates who are Democrats, a party that is

often viewed by voters as being weaker on national security.

Thus, Hillary Clinton faced a formidable challenge in presenting herself as sufficiently masculine. In her attempts to differentiate herself from Trump and persuade undecided voters to vote for her, Clinton was caught between a rock and a hard place. If she came across as too masculine in an attempt to rival Trump, voters could dismiss her as unladylike, as a woman who has lost touch with her softer, feminine side. Indeed, in the aftermath of Clinton's 2008 loss to Barack Obama, gender politics scholars who dissected her defeat concluded that she should have run a *less* masculine and more feminine campaign (Lawrence and Rose 2014). Because voters were already convinced that Clinton was tough enough for the job, the authors suggested that Clinton could have gained more mileage by playing up her lifelong advocacy on behalf of women and children, thereby effectively reminding voters of her softer side.

Her 2016 campaign slogan "Stronger Together" appears to have been crafted with this particular criticism in mind. Not only did it draw on Clinton's reputation as a skilled consensus builder in the Senate and as Secretary of State; it also spoke to women's perceived strengths as natural collaborators. Despite adopting a more distinctly feminine tone in 2016, Clinton again struggled to convince voters of her feminine strengths. Most voters readily acknowledged her impressive presidential qualifications, but evidence suggests that their final vote choices were based on factors other than her

leadership capacity. Such evaluations were undoubtedly due to her political rivals' sustained efforts over many years to paint her as cold and calculating, as quintessentially unfeminine (Gates 1996; Petri 2016). As one voter said of her, "She doesn't wear a dress ever...She'll probably show up in a pantsuit for the inaugural. She's not a typical woman—she's not soft. She's so power-hungry, which is not becoming of a woman" (Ball 2016). President Obama addressed this very issue on the campaign trail. At a campaign event in Columbus, Ohio, he especially addressed the men in the audience, saying "to the guys out there, I want to be honest... You know, there's a reason we haven't had a woman president before." He continued, "[w]hen a guy is ambitious and out in the public arena and working hard, well that's okay. But when a woman suddenly does it, suddenly you're all like, well, why's she doing that?" (Kearns 2016). For many, an ambitious woman is not a likable woman.

Trump's campaign reinforced these gendered voter expectations. Trump even attempted to negate any perceived advantage Hillary Clinton might have in feminine character traits by labeling her "Crooked Hillary." I suggest he did so in order to cast doubt on her honesty, as well as her moral and ethical compass. Because women are expected to be more ethical and honest, Trump's tagging of Clinton as "crooked," primed voters to scrutinize and penalize her for falling short of "ladylike" behavior. And because the public tends to hold men to lower expectations when it comes to honesty (Pew Research Center 2015), Trump could

essentially fabricate stories to keep the issue of trustworthiness in the public eye, expecting that voters would use gendered notions of proper behavior and hold Clinton to a higher standard. As journalist Susan Page of *USA Today* suggests, “[m]ale candidates face lower expectations they will be honest, and voters are quicker to forgive them when they aren’t.” Adrienne Kimmell adds, “when women are pushed off of or fall off their honesty-and-ethical pedestal, it is very, very hard for them to climb back up, and that isn’t the case for men” (Page 2016).

For Clinton, climbing back up on the pedestal proved nearly impossible. Months after she was cleared by the FBI of any criminal wrong-doing for setting up her own email server while serving as Secretary of State, FBI Director James Comey made the highly controversial decision to re-open the investigation a mere two weeks before the November election. The decision was particularly suspicious for a number of reasons, but particularly because Comey broke with standard protocol by commenting on an ongoing investigation. He had also potentially violated federal law by behaving in a way that could reasonably be interpreted as attempting to influence the outcome of the presidential election (Hodges 2016). The re-opened investigation did not produce any new evidence or information, but it did lead many of Clinton’s campaign staff and supporters to believe that Comey’s actions had sealed the deal for Trump. Not only was the timing of Comey’s action problematic—undecided voters were running out of time to make up their minds—the narrative also

played perfectly into Trump’s strategy of painting Clinton as fundamentally corrupt and unladylike (McElwee, McDermott, and Jordan 2017).

And Trump’s strategy appeared to have worked. Despite much evidence to the contrary, voters regarded Clinton and Trump as equally trustworthy (36% viewed Clinton as honest and trustworthy, and 33% viewed Trump similarly). By examining nearly 400 candidate statements made on the campaign trail, *Politifact* rated Clinton as the more truthful candidate: 52% of her statements were rated true or mostly true, whereas only 15% of Trump’s statements were rated true. At the other end of the spectrum, a striking 70% of Trump’s statements were rated as false, well over twice the number reported for Clinton (28%). Trump was also the main offender in the most egregious category: many of his statements were so dishonest that they merited the “pants on fire” rating. Nearly one out of five of statements made by Trump received this rating (18%), whereas only three out of one hundred (3%) statements made by Clinton received this rating (Sharockman 2016).

According to *Washington Post* journalist Paul Waldman and scholar Thomas Patterson, the mainstream media contributed to voters’ distorted assessment of the candidates’ trustworthiness by employing remarkably different and unfair standards in their coverage of the two candidates. Waldman (2016) suggests that the media essentially locked in on different frames for the respective candidates: Trump was the crazy/bigoted one, and Clinton was the

corrupt one. Once these frames were in place, each one of Clinton's steps was investigated and reinvestigated for evidence of corrupt wrong-doing. As he argues, "even when the new information serves to exonerate Clinton rather than implicate her in wrong-doing, the coverage still emphasizes that the whole thing just 'raises questions' about her integrity." In contrast, he continues, "when it comes to Trump... we've seen a very different pattern. Here's what happens: A story about some corrupt dealing emerges, usually from the dogged efforts of one or a few journalists; it gets discussed for a couple of days; and then it disappears." Political scientist Thomas Patterson (Shorenstein Center 2016) goes a step further. He takes the media to task for failing to distinguish between the two candidates' weaknesses, thereby implying that both were equally flawed. As he puts it, "when journalists can't, or won't, distinguish between allegations directed at the Trump Foundation and those directed at the Clinton Foundation, there's something seriously amiss."

So how did voters respond? When we look at other public opinion measures for the two candidates, the results are initially encouraging, but ultimately suggest the power of the double bind. Zeroing in on two key leadership traits—qualifications and temperament for office—reveals substantial advantages for Clinton. A majority of voters agreed that Clinton was qualified (52%) and had the right temperament to be president (55%) while much smaller minorities agreed that Trump satisfied such criteria (38% and 35%) (CNN 2016). On this score, there

appears to be no double standard: Clinton undeniably possessed greater government experience than Trump, and was far less combative and reckless on the campaign trail.

But when we examine how voters' assessment of both candidates affected their actual votes, we find evidence of a double standard. Trump secured 94% of the votes of those who thought he had the right temperament to be president, as well as 94% of the votes of those who thought he was qualified to serve as president. For Trump, convincing voters that he had the right temperament and qualifications for office virtually assured their votes for him. For Clinton, the same two indicators were less telling predictors of vote choice. She secured 83% of the votes from those who agreed that she had the temperament to be president, and 86% of the votes from voters who agreed she was qualified to serve as president (CNN 2016). Clinton convinced plenty of people that she possessed the necessary leadership qualities to be president, but these sentiments were not enough to sew up their votes in the way in which they were for Trump. The differences are not extraordinary, but certainly large enough to shape the final electoral outcome. These findings suggest that at least some voters downplayed Clinton's experience and qualifications, or that voters did not draw on their perceptions of the candidates' qualifications and temperament in gender-neutral ways.

The double standard is even more obvious when we examine voters who thought Trump and Clinton compared favorably on leadership traits, roughly 20% of the voting

population. Despite such similar evaluations, these voters overwhelmingly chose Trump over Clinton. Among those who deemed both Clinton and Trump suitable in temperament, a whopping 77% ultimately voted for Trump, and 20% voted for Clinton (Figure 1). A similar pattern exists in terms of voters' perceptions of the candidates' qualifications. Among those who thought both were qualified, 71% voted for Trump, and 22% voted for Clinton (Figure 2) (CNN 2016).

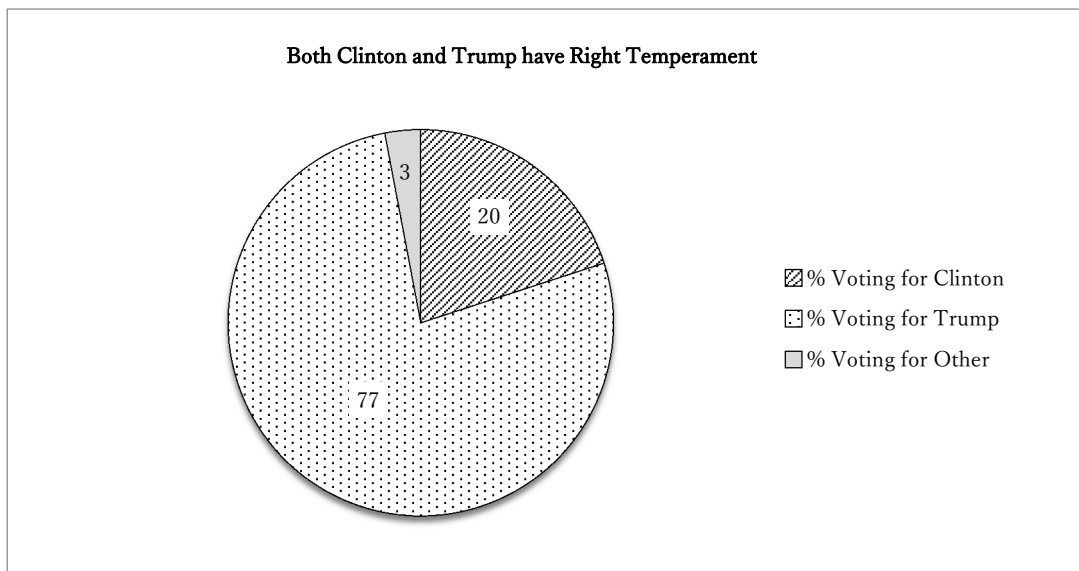
The same pattern persists among voters who held more negative attitudes about both candidates. Among those who thought neither candidate had the right temperament to be president, 67% ultimately voted for Trump, more than four times the number (12%) of people who voted for Clinton (Figure 3). For those who found both of them quite unqualified, 66% voted for Trump and 15% for Clinton (Figure 4) (CNN 2016). If voters were gender-neutral in their assessment of these candidates' suitability for the presidency, these numbers should be much more comparable. The fact that Trump received nearly four times more votes across all of these categories suggests that voters were using other criteria to determine their final vote choices. And since they compared favorably on feminine qualities, such as trustworthiness and honesty, the evidence seems to suggest that Clinton was penalized for her perceived feminine failings. On the other hand, Trump was never expected to exhibit these qualities in the first place.

In sum, Hillary Clinton did secure close to three million more popular votes than Donald Trump, which is an historic achievement and

demonstrates that many voters have become more comfortable with the idea of a woman president. Unfortunately for her, she was unable to win those votes in the states that mattered, and Trump secured an Electoral College victory, in part, by winning states that Obama had more easily won in 2012. Surprisingly, Trump emerged victorious in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania. Many experts predicted that these states were not necessarily in play for the Republican ticket in 2016. Indeed, experts believe that a shift of roughly 80,000 votes in these latter three states would have been enough to significantly alter the election results (Bump 2016).

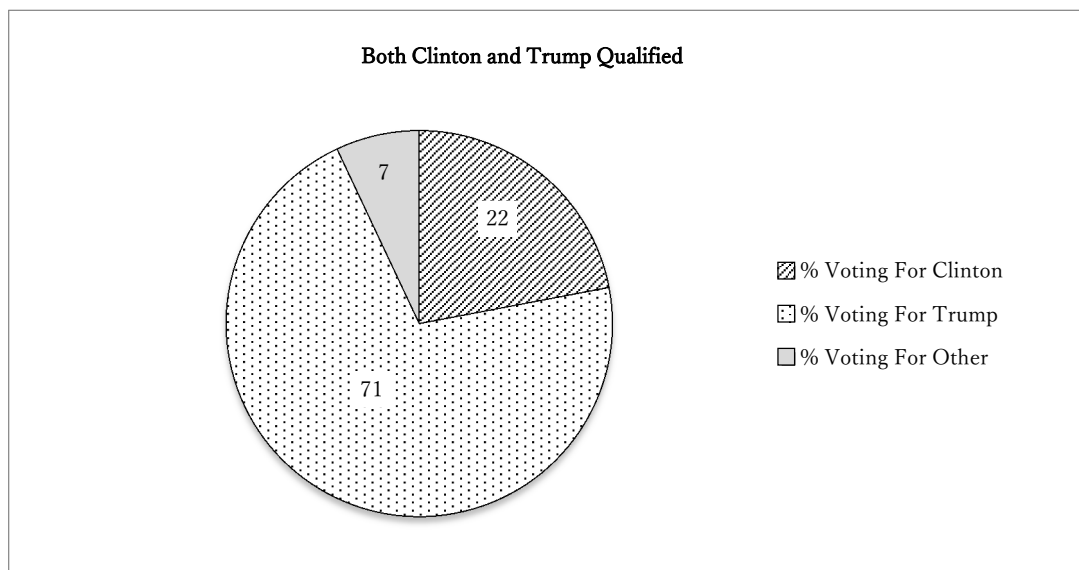
While it is impossible to gauge the extent to which gender alone influenced the election, my preliminary analysis and evidence suggests that longstanding gendered assumptions about women in politics, strategically primed by Trump and exacerbated by media narratives, posed a significant set of barriers to Clinton's quest to break the glass ceiling. Despite developing valuable experience during her 2008 run for the Democratic nomination, nothing could have prepared Clinton for the nasty and gender-infused battles that ensued in 2016. Trump routinely displayed his own masculinity in crude and exaggerated ways while, at the same time, faulting Clinton for being insufficiently masculine. Likewise, his campaign also called into question Clinton's femininity; he repeatedly referred to her as "Crooked Hillary," a "nasty woman," and an unfaithful wife (Ball 2016). Given the close margins of the final results, it is very likely

Figure 1. Vote Choice—Those Who Think Both Clinton and Trump have the Right Temperament to be President.



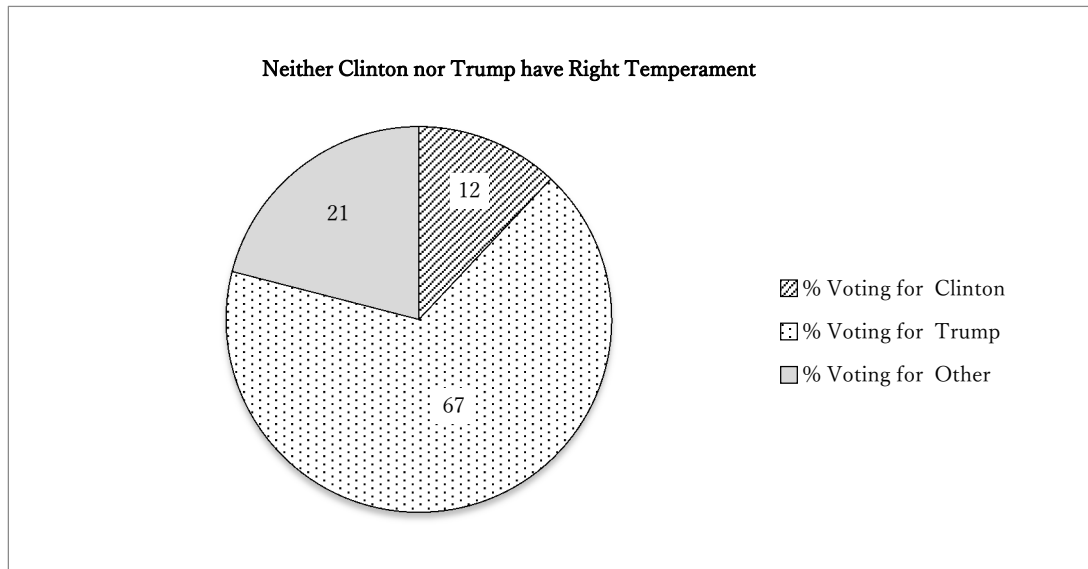
Source: CNN, Exit Polls (2016).

Figure 2. Vote Choice—Those Who Think Both Clinton and Trump are Qualified to be President.



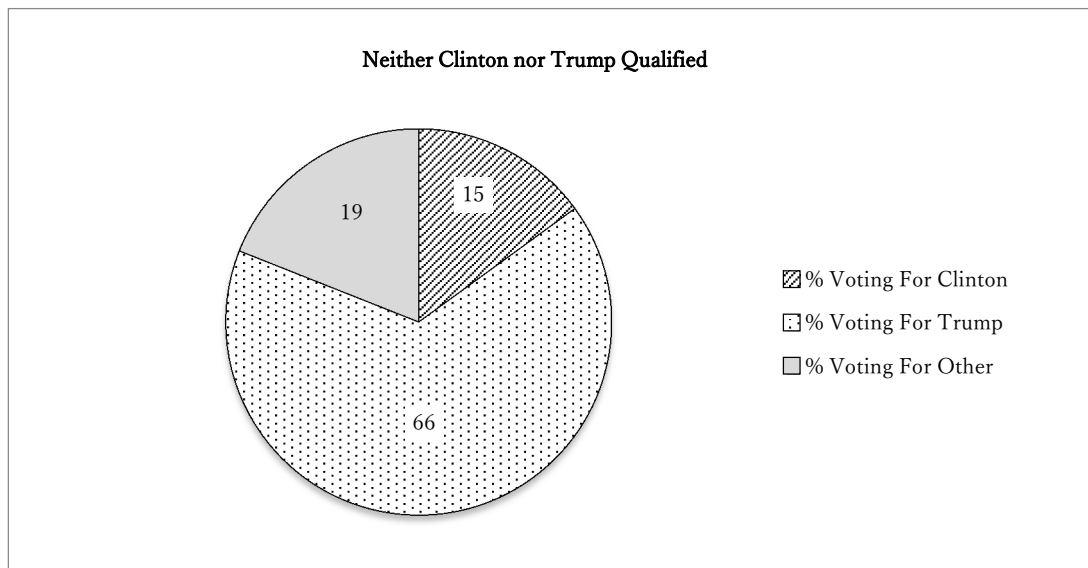
Source: CNN, Exit Polls (2016).

Figure 3. Vote Choice—Neither Clinton nor Trump Have the Temperament to be President.



Source: CNN, Exit Polls (2016).

Figure 4. Vote Choice—Neither Clinton nor Trump is Qualified to be President.



Source: CNN, Exit Polls (2016).

the double standard Hillary Clinton faced on her historic quest for the presidency mattered. Just how future women presidential candidates can navigate these tricky terrains remains an open question. However, studying,

understanding, and educating people about the ways in which gender is infused in our political system may be the first step in breaking down gendered barriers for female candidates.

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要旨

大統領候補トップの女——2016 年米大統領選挙におけるジェンダーの役割

Julie Dolan

2016 年米大統領選挙では、主要政党により大統領に推薦された初の女性である、前米大統領夫人でもある国務長官ヒラリー・クリントン氏と、超男性性でポピュリストの実業家ドナルド・トランプ氏が競い合った。本稿では、Kathleen Hall Jamieson のダブルバインドの理論を用い、この選挙のジェンダー・ダイナミクスを考察する。ダブルバインドとは、女性候補者に強いられる性の二重拘束である。これは張り詰めた社会のジェンダーバランスの中で、その期待に応えるために女性候補者は綱渡りの選挙戦で、十分な「男らしさ」と同時に「女らしさ」を発揮しなければならないということである。筆者は特に、トランプ氏がジェンダー・ステレオタイプを武器にクリントン氏を追いつめた事を主張する。彼は、クリントン氏を「男らしさ」と「女らしさ」に欠けていると批判し、同時に自身の「男らしさ」を誇張した。この選挙結果が示唆するのは、アメリカで最も「男らしい」公職である大統領の座を狙う際、女性候補者は男性候補者と対等な立場を築くのに苦戦するということである。

キーワード

ジェンダー、大統領選挙、男性性、ヒラリー・クリントン

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Julie Dolan is a Professor of Political Science at Macalester College. Her Scholarly interests include American government and politics, women and politics, and bureaucratic politics and her research focuses especially on women in the public bureaucracies and in executive positions. She has authored or co-authored many books, including *Representative Bureaucracy: Classic Readings and Continuing Controversies* (with David H Rosenbloom). And four editions of *Women and Politics: Paths to Power and Political Influence* (with Melissa Deckman and Michele Swers). She is currently working on a book manuscript investigating health care delivery in the Veterans Health Administration.