Running as a Feminist

How Voters Respond to Feminist Candidates

by

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ABSTRACT

How do voters respond to feminist candidates? In recent years, numerous factors have led to feminism's increased salience in the political discourse. From the #MeToo movement, to the continuous increases in women's political representation, to the recent overturning of Roe v. Wade, feminism is once again entering the political mainstream. Given the necessity of feminism after the attack on women's rights, it is important to bring more feminists into office and subsequently, understand how feminist candidates are viewed by the electorate. To test these questions, I utilized multiple methods including focus groups, survey research, and a survey experiment. The focus group asked students their opinions on feminists and feminist candidates, both positive and negative. The survey asked a variety of questions on feminism, gender, and other sociopolitical issues, to analyze the best ways of operationalizing feminism. The survey experiment presented respondents with a fictional news article of a fictional candidate running for a seat in the House of Representatives. The article varied the candidate's gender, partisan affiliation, and whether or not the candidate identified as a feminist. Respondents were then asked a series of questions on their opinions of the candidate they viewed. My findings indicate that feminist candidates are not overly disadvantaged compared to their non-feminist counterparts, though some negative consequences remain for certain types of feminists, along gendered and party lines.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this dissertation, I explore people's reactions to feminism in politics in the United States. Specifically, I examine the factors that affect people's support of a feminist politician. This is a promising area of study for several reasons, both academic and as a salient political issue. First, it is relatively understudied, especially in the field of political science. While some research has been done in the area of gender and politics, much less attention has been paid to the role of feminism and subsequently how people react to feminism in politics. Second, much of the research done on feminism is from the 1980s and 1990s. I would argue that there has been quite a bit of change in people's perceptions of feminism over the past few decades, warranting an update. In other words, there have been considerable shifts in feminism's status in the US, and we should study the current state of how feminism is perceived today. Third, while my dissertation answers important new questions regarding modern feminism, it also fits well into existing work in the gender and politics literature. For example, feminism raises questions of both descriptive and substantive representation. Often, electing feminists means electing more women (though of course there can be male feminists as well), but it also means electing women that actively care about feminist issues. For example, Tremblay and Pelletier found that, in Canada, feminist beliefs were an even more significant influence than gender itself on issues related to gender, demonstrating the importance of electing feminist women (and feminists in general) to office (Tremblay & Pelletier 2000).

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Not only is the study of feminist candidates relevant academically, but I also believe this to be an important area of study given the modern political climate. Feminism comes in waves, and appears to be gaining relevance once again, making feminism more salient in contemporary politics. Some of this, certainly, can be seen as backlash to Trump and many of the sexist statements he made, resulting in the Women's March protests around the world, which is the largest single-day protest in the history of the United States (Broomfield 2017). In that same year, the #MeToo movement took off, with thousands of people, women in particular, sharing their stories and standing in solidarity with survivors of sexual assault. Not only did two massive women's movements arise, but we have also seen in recent years unprecedented numbers of women being elected in the United States. Since 2016, women's representation in the House has climbed 10 percent, from 19.2 percent in 2016 to 29.4 percent as of January 2023. This growth took the United States from 100th, in terms of women's lower house representation worldwide, to 66th. Similarly, the Senate saw gains of 5% from twenty women senators, to twenty-five for the same period (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2023). Though still far from parity, this is still consistent and upward progress, which has garnered media attention for the past several years. Furthermore, several of these recent years have been record breaking years in terms of women's representation in Congress (Blazina and DeSilver 2021, Leppert and DeSilver 2023). Outside of the legislature, women also made gains in the executive, with Kamala Harris becoming the first female Vice President in 2020. All of these movements and achievements have served as crucial moments in a broader feminist consciousness growing in the United States.

This increasing salience of women and feminism is not limited to the political sphere. I would argue that not only in politics, but in media as well, feminism is becoming considerably more mainstream than it has before. Some of the biggest celebrities in our modern era have embraced feminism. Taylor Swift, arguably one of the most famous young women on the planet, has embraced feminist ideas and has made it a point on multiple occasions to speak on feminist issues and shut down sexism (Dwyer 2022, Holder 2022, Wahi 2021). Considering that she was formerly exceptionally non-political, even rejecting the feminist label in her early years, Swift has come a long way and the fact that such a mainstream celebrity openly aligns herself with feminism is a definite indicator that feminism is not only becoming more widespread itself, but perhaps more acceptable and palatable for the average individual. It should be noted that Swift is not the only celebrity to embrace feminism. Beyoncé herself, one of the most famous and best-selling artists of all time, made an important feminist statement in 2013 with the release of her song, "Flawless." In the middle of the song, Beyoncé ceases singing, only to instead sample audio from a TEDtalk. The talk is a powerful one called "We Should All Be Feminists" and it was done by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, a renowned feminist and author. The following lines, spoken by Adichie, play in the middle of the song:

> We teach girls to shrink themselves, to make themselves smaller. We say to girls "You can have ambition, but not too much. You should aim to be successful, but not too successful, otherwise you will threaten the man." Because I am female I am expected to aspire to marriage. I am expected to make my life choices always keeping in mind that marriage is the most important. Now marriage can be a source of joy and love and mutual support, but why do we teach girls to aspire to marriage and we don't teach boys the same? We raise girls to see each other as competitors, not for jobs or for accomplishments, which I think can be a good thing. But for the attention of men. We teach girls that they cannot be sexual beings in the way that boys are. **Feminist: the person who believes in the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes** ("Flawless," bold mine).

So what does it mean for the future of feminists in politics? Has the mainstreaming of feminist identification made it to the campaign trail? So far, most candidates still shy away from outright identifying as feminists on the campaign trail. In an anecdotal overview of the state of feminist candidacies, I outline three different types of feminist candidates. First, a few candidates explicitly identify as feminists. One such example is Kirsten Gillibrand, who ran an "unabashedly feminist campaign." Gillibrand intentionally focused on feminist issues, hoping that she could "ride a wave of women's political energy right into the White House" (Lerer and Goldmacher 2019). Not only is Gillibrand a feminist, she is "a committed and vocal feminist" and has made much of her political focus standing up to sexual assault and harassment, which some note made her a particular target for hatred and backlash (Donegan 2019). Gillibrand dropped out of the 2020 presidential primary and one of the complaints surrounding her campaign was that she was "ignoring men." While the immense number of candidates in the Democratic primary no doubt played a considerable role in Gillibrand's defeat, some speculate that her feminist messaging may have hurt her campaign as well (Weissert 2019). In covering Gillibrand's feminist campaign, Will Weissert asks questions fundamental to my dissertation: "does a strong feminist message detract from a campaign so severely? Or can it possibly be used to attract voters instead" (Weissert 2019). By the end of this dissertation, I hope to have some answers to these questions.

Though perhaps not quite as vocal as Gillibrand, Hillary Clinton announced that she was a feminist as early as 2014. According to TIME, Hillary Clinton "has made it perfectly clear she's a feminist and has no problem letting the world know" (Gibson

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2014). This referenced an interview Clinton gave when talking about her book *Hard Choices*. During the talk, Clinton defined feminist as someone "favoring equal rights for women" and that she "didn't see anything controversial about [feminism] at all" (Cox 2014). According to *The Christian Science Monitor*, Nancy Pelosi has claimed the feminist label since an interview in 1991, though it is somewhat downplayed. Of Pelosi, the article states "While Pelosi considers herself a feminist and feels strongly that Congress would act differently with more women members, this is not a preoccupation." The article continues with a quote directly from Pelosi herself: "I consider myself a Feminist…but as far as politics is concerned, my involvement predates all that…my interest stems from my interest in the issues associated with the Democratic Party" (Germani 1991).

Katie Porter has also linked herself to feminism. In a tweet linked with a campaign video, Porter tweeted "I'm so excited to join this feminist, fearless trio in working to elect Elizabeth Warren as our president." In the tweet, Porter referenced herself, and tagged Elizabeth Warren, Ayanna Pressley, and Deb Haaland. The video that accompanied the tweet showed the four women working together. This tweet serves as an example of a self-identifying feminist (Porter being in the feminist trio with Pressley and Haaland, working for Warren), but also her proclaiming other women feminist, in this case Pressley and Haaland (@katieporteroc 2019).

Finally, women are not the only politicians who can declare themselves feminists. Cory Booker is one male politician to directly call himself a feminist. On his Facebook page, Booker posted the following status: "Feminism is the belief that women's rights, beliefs, and opportunities should be equal to those of men. I consider myself a feminist

because I believe women should be in charge of their future and choices — whether that be to focus on their career, their family, or whatever else they consider important. Let's move forward and away from outdated beliefs" (Booker 2014).

While it is not necessarily common for a political candidate to label themselves a feminist, it does certainly happen, with some doing so more openly and directly than others. Perhaps as feminism becomes more and more mainstream and accepted, we will begin to see more and more candidates identify as feminists.

While some political candidates declare themselves to be feminists, some candidates may be declared feminists by others. The next group are those who have not explicitly identified themselves as feminists, but have had others (namely, the media) identify them as such. It should be noted here that this seems to happen mostly to liberal women candidates. So while these candidates may or may not be feminist, the candidates themselves have not made an explicit declaration. Instead, members of the news media (or other sources), may tell readers and viewers that these candidates are feminists. For example, *Ms. Magazine* listed their "Top Feminists of 2020." This list included celebrities, activists, and several politicians (elected and non-elected); some of the elected officials included Stacey Abrams, Gretchen Whitmer, Tammy Duckworth, Kamala Harris, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, and many more. The women listed may be feminists, they may not be, but it is the news media, rather than these women themselves, who have delivered the feminist label (*Ms.* 2020).

*Ms. Magazine* is not the only publication announcing the feminist status of political women. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez was credited with "shaping Gen Z feminism" by *Style Caster* after she stood up to Representative Yoho's sexist comments against her

(Maldonado 2020). Elizabeth Warren was commended on both her practical policy approach, as well as her "stealth feminism" by *Politico* during the 2020 Democratic primary (Mundy 2019). The article commented how Warren faced a tricky decision in regard to feminism. While it might help her in the Democratic primary, it would definitely hurt her if she were to make it to the general election (Mundy 2019). Arizona's own Kyrsten Sinema has even been declared by others to be a feminist, though most recently, this is discussed as her betrayal of the cause, calling out her "fake feminism" though implying that she was, presumably, once a "true" feminist (Marcotte 2022). Stacey Abrams was also declared a feminist by the *New York Times*, which commented that Abrams (along with Shirley Chisholm and Flo Kennedy) "have advocated feminism writ large." The article, titled "Black Feminists Taught Democrats to Go Broad and Win Big" has an accompanying picture of Abrams speaking at a get-out-the-vote rally in Atlanta (Edwards and Randolph 2020).

While the media may be the most frequent proclaimer of feminists, sometimes other public figures may behave similarly. For instance, Sarah Palin has multiple times referred to other female politicians as feminists. On *Fox News*, Palin labeled Kamala Harris and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez "fake feminists" implying that Harris and Ocasio-Cortez claimed the feminist label, but perhaps were not doing justice to it (Haltiwanger 2022). Palin had also referred to Ocasio-Cortez during a previous *Fox News* appearance, saying: "[Ocasio-Cortez] is such a fake feminist…she's milking the whole female thing, and as a real feminist, I'm embarrassed for her" (Haltiwanger 2022). Not only did Palin declare other women as feminists (Harris and Ocasio-Cortez), but she also seemingly self-described as a feminist, which is surprising.

Another kind of feminist or feminist-adjacent candidate are those who are self-implied feminists. They may not actively claim the feminist label directly, but they certainly cite feminists or feminist ideas for inspiration. One example of this is Jennifer Carroll Foy, a former Virginia House of Delegates member who also ran for Governor of Virginia in the 2021 primary. While Foy may not have directly stated that she herself is a feminist, Foy released a statement reacting to an endorsement given to her by Gloria Steinem. The press release itself is titled "Jennifer Carroll Foy Earns Endorsement From Feminist Gloria Steinem." Foy's statement said "I am deeply honored to be endorsed by Gloria Steinem, a trailblazer for women across the country and hero to so many, including me." In this statement, Foy further mentions her own work in fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), and working towards issues such as reproductive justice, family leave, and addressing the maternal mortality rate (JCF For State Senate 2021). While this may not be an explicit announcement of being a feminist, certainly many of the feminist building blocks are present. Foy explicit thanks the "feminist Gloria Steinem," praised Steinem for her work on behalf of women, including Foy herself, and highlights Foy's own feminist policy goals such as paid family leave, the maternal mortality rate, reproductive justice, and more (JCF For Senate).

Mazie Hirono, Senator from Hawaii, also has alluded to a potential feminist identity. In an interview with *NPR*, Hirono attributes her activism to two things, one is the Vietnam War, the other is Betty Freidan's groundbreaking feminist book, *The Feminine Mystique*. Speaking of *The Feminine Mystique*, Hirono said "literally the light bulb went on, and I thought, 'why do I think that some guy is going to take care of me?

Where did that come from?" (Totenberg 2018). Like Foy, this is not an explicit "yes, I am a feminist" statement, though it certainly has feminist implications.

There are many different ways a political candidate might be believed to be a feminist. First, the candidate might declare so themselves. Second, the media or another public figure may declare the candidate to be feminist. Third, candidates may imply, though not outright state that they are feminists. Though the first type of candidate has publicly embraced the feminist label, readers and voters may assume that the remaining candidates are also feminists. It should be noted that readers and voters might be correct about these "implicit" feminists. Just because someone does not state they are a feminist does not necessarily mean that they are not one, however, there is no way to be sure one way or the other.

Finally, I should illuminate an underlying issue here. For those candidates who are self-implied feminists or media proclaimed feminists, I cannot make statements one way or another about the actual feminist status of these politicians. They may not be feminists, hence why they have not taken the label. Perhaps they support feminism, but do not feel comfortable taking on the title themselves. On the other hand, these candidates may, in fact, be feminists, and are simply not explicitly taking on the feminist title for electability reasons. For instance, in my own research, I find that only 28.65 percent of my feminist respondents were "very willing" to publicly identify themselves as feminists. Another 28.65 percent were "willing" and 14.62 percent more were "somewhat willing." The remaining 28.07 percent ranged from "neither willing nor unwilling" all the

way to "very unwilling." While many feminists are ready to claim that mantle, plenty are more cautious to do so, or outright prefer not to.[1]

Studying feminist candidates is important. Feminist candidates just might become feminist politicians. At the end of the day, women comprise half of the world's population yet are consistently underrepresented in positions of power. And one core aspect of feminism is to create a world that is more equal between women and men, and one component necessitates getting women into political positions so that women are actually represented in government. But it also means that ideas and policies that benefit women should make their way into the political arena. Beyond gender though, having feminists in office is particularly important. Though feminists may not necessarily descriptively represent women (though they often will), feminists are among the best to substantively represent women. Tremblay and Pelletier (2000) found that politicians having greater feminist consciousness was a more significant factor than gender in terms of both supporting liberal issues (funding for social programs, gun control, police power, etc.) as well as women's specific issues (funding for women's shelters, equal treatment with men for loans, salaries, etc.). Electing feminists contributes significantly to substantive representation for women's rights and is therefore critically important.

Given the importance of feminist representation, I seek to explain how voters respond to feminist candidates, specifically paying attention to how feminist candidates are perceived by gender and party–two factors that I believe could be highly significant when considering voting for a feminist. To examine this question, I begin with a review

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[1] Without surveying candidates directly, it is hard to know the feminist status of those who have not made an explicit statement one way or another. An anonymous feminist survey of those running for office could be a very interesting avenue for future research, and could potentially shed a lot of light here.

of the literature, examining the initial feminist literature of the eighties and nineties, as well as the more recent work that has been done regarding feminism, gender, and vote choice. I then discuss the issue of defining feminism, discussing many different definitions and aspects of feminism, as well as how I indicated a candidate to be a feminist in my studies. Next, I discuss some of my theoretical expectations and hypotheses. From there, I discuss the methodology for three separate studies that I conducted: a focus group study, a survey, and finally a survey experiment. I then discuss specifically my feminist measurements and how they relate to each other as well as many other relevant variables. Finally, I discuss the results of my studies as well as my conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

## Defining Feminism

One difficult but necessary part of my dissertation is how to conceptualize and operationalize feminism, as it is at the core of what I want to examine. Defining feminism is no easy task. Feminist scholars have been debating precise definitions for years, and while there are many nuanced definitions, creating one definition that everyone agrees with is elusive. Scholars recognize many different forms of feminism, such as liberal, Marxist, radical, and many more. Each of these forms of feminism come with their own definitions. In my dissertation, I hope to shed some light on the state of the term today, drawing from theory, experiments, and even the dictionary, to lay the foundation for my dissertation.

In a way, the most obvious place to begin was the dictionary. When you want to know the definition of a word, that is where you turn. Merriam-Webster provides two definitions of feminism. The first: "the theory of political, economic, and social equality of the sexes." The second: "organized activity on behalf of women's rights and interests"[2]. These two definitions consider different facets of feminism: an ideology (e.g., a theory) and a movement (e.g., an organized political activity).

Merriam-Webster, though a useful tool, does not always contain the history and the nuance we seek. Therefore, I turned next to two Oxford Handbooks. The first handbook focused on transnational feminist movements. And defined feminist movements as "the fluid coalescence of organizations, networks, coalitions, campaigns,

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[2] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/feminism.

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analysis, advocacy and actions that politicize women's rights and gender equality issues beyond the nation-state, particularly from the 1990s, when deepening globalization and new communications and information technologies (ICTs) enabled feminists to connect readily with and interrogate their localities and cross-border relations" (Baksh and Harcourt 2015). The authors also referenced a definition that influenced them, crafted by Moghadam: "mobilizations that advocate for women's participation and rights while also engaging critically with policy and legal issues and with states, international organizations, and institutions of global governance" (Baksh and Harcourt 2015)

In the same book, Moghadam discussed several definitions of feminism and feminist movements. Of feminism, she said that "feminism as a set of ideas and a movement is distinguished from other women-led movements, in that it is premised on a critique of women's subordination to men and a call for societal change toward equality" (Moghadam 2015). She also discussed different issues that feminist movements have fought for, including abortion rights, family law reform, criminalizing domestic violence, the right to vote and enter politics, sexual/gay rights) or a multi-issue platform (sweeping legal and policy reforms for women's equality (Moghadam 2015). While the definitions in this handbook focused on the movement aspect of feminism, the authors' definitions shared a focus on "a call for societal change toward equality" and working toward "women's rights and gender equality issues."

Another Oxford Handbook that provided great insight on the matter of defining feminism is *The Handbook of Feminist Theory*. The introduction provided three key components of feminist theory in past few decades: "(1) efforts to denaturalize that which passes for difference, (2) efforts to challenge the aspiration to produce universal and

impartial knowledge, and (3) efforts to engage the complexity of power relations through intersectional analysis" (Hawkesworth and Disch 2015, 4).

In a subsequent chapter, Ehlers identified definitions for several different types of feminism from liberal, radical, socialist, and more.  Looking at liberal feminism, arguably the most well-known form of feminism, Ehlers classified this form of feminism as one that strives to put women on the same level as men, focusing on the similarities men and women share as people (i.e., rationality), and focuses on issues such as equal pay. Ehlers explained that liberal feminism

> "largely followed earlier feminist views, downplaying issues of identity to instead focus on achieving formal equality between men and women. Liberal feminists renewed the struggle for equal rights and the removal of barriers to recognition in the workforce, the family, and before the law. Like their liberal feminist predecessors, they were guided by the claim that all individuals are rational and governed by free will, and that reason, because it is universal, transcends gender" (Ehlers 2015, 349).

Turning to socialist feminism, Ehlers stated:

> "for socialist feminists, class was the defining feature of patriarchal oppression. In the early second wave, many socialist feminists continued to be influenced by the work of Marx and saw women as a "class" that was subjugated by and to capitalist patriarchy. Identity was not their main focus, except insofar as they saw women's identity as being marked by false consciousness" (Ehlers 2015, 350).

Finally, Ehlers describes radical feminism:

> "radical feminism more squarely addressed "women first" and, thus, provided alternative theorizations of gendered identity. Radical feminism differs from liberal and socialist/Marxist feminisms because radical feminism is premised on the conviction that (a) women's oppression was seen as the most primary and fundamental form of oppression, (b) this oppression marked out shared global determinants of women's lives, and (c) women should not be seen as the same as men. Instead, their identities should be understood as fundamentally different, and the political goal should be liberation (that is, radical social change) from patriarchal control" (Ehlers 2015, 350).

While Ehlers certainly provided helpful distinctions between different types of feminism, she also does not claim to make a "true" definition of feminism.

In her work "What is Feminism?" Delmar also grappled with the difficulty of taking a firm stance on the definition of feminism, posing the following dilemma to the reader: "How difficult it would be to choose between them, to find the 'true' feminist image, the 'proper way' to be a feminist. And yet many books on feminism are written, and feminism is often spoken about, as if there were a 'true' and authentic feminism, unified and consistent over time and in any one place, even if fragmented in its origins and at specific historical moments (Delmar 1986, 9).

Furthermore, Delmar claimed that "there is not overwhelming reason to assume an underlying feminist unity," potentially indicating that the search for a perfect definition might be futile (Delmar 1986, 10). She did, however, make a few generalized claims about feminism. First, "feminism is usually defined as an active desire to change women's position in society" (Delmar 1986, 8, 13). And second, "many would agree that at the very least a feminist is someone who holds that women suffer discrimination because of their sex, that they have specific needs which remain negated and unsatisfied, and that the satisfaction of those needs would require a radical change (some would say a revolution even) in the social, economic and political order."

Karen Offen (1988) took a similar approach to Delmar, as well as Ehlers. She considered the many different definitions created over time and across ideology. Like some of the other authors discussed here, Offen suggested that feminism is defined in part by self-determination. And, like other scholars, Offen was hesitant to make a claim to an overarching definition. She did offer a few broader claims for consideration,

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including "feminism opposes women's subordination to men in the family and society, along with men's claims to define what is best for women without consulting them; it thereby offers a frontal challenge to patriarchal thought, social organization, and control mechanisms. It seeks to destroy masculinist hierarchy but not sexual dualism. Feminism is necessarily pro-woman. However, it does not follow that it must be anti-man" (Offen 1988, 151). Finally, Offen described three potential criteria that help define feminism:

> Based on this definition of feminism, I would consider as feminists any persons, female or male, whose ideas and actions (insofar as they can be documented) show them to meet three criteria: (1) they recognize the validity of women's own interpretations of their lived experience and needs and acknowledge the values women claim publicly as their own (as distinct from an aesthetic ideal of womanhood invented by men) in assessing their status in society relative to men; (2) they exhibit consciousness of, discomfort at, or even anger over institutionalized injustice (or inequity) toward women as a group by men as a group in a given society; and (3) they advocate the elimination of that injustice by challenging, through efforts to alter prevailing ideas and/or social institutions and practices, the coercive power, force, or authority that upholds male prerogatives in that particular culture. (Offen 1988, 152).

Looking at these three definitions of (liberal) feminism, we can see many similarities, not the least of which being the hesitancy of all three authors to firmly declare one "true" definition of feminism. However, all three recognize that in the current state of society, women face barriers to being truly equal with men, which is a crucial component of feminism. These inequalities are economic, but also touch on social and political disadvantages as well. One area where some of the definitions diverge is the radical nature of feminism. Some aspects of Delmar and Offen's definitions incorporate radical feminism more than Ehlers's definition (which is strictly about liberal feminism). In particular, both Delmar and Offen mention the goal to overthrow the patriarchal order.

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Ehlers mentions this feature of feminism as well, but only when she discusses radical feminism.

In both my experiment and my focus group, I did not specify a specific type of feminism, as I thought this would be confusing for people who are not well versed in the feminism debate. I utilized liberal feminism as my model because it is likely to resonate with more people since it reflects the most mainstream conception of feminism. It also was reflected in many of the remarks made in my focus group (as I suspected), which conceptualized feminism mainly as equality between men and women. My working definition of liberal feminism is as follows: feminism seeks to level the playing field between men and women by eliminating the barriers and injustices that women face whether they are economic, social, or otherwise. This definition was not made explicit in my study, as I am curious to see how people's own preconceived notions of feminism affect their views. I also asked subjects what feminism means to them by concluding my survey experiment with an open-ended question about what they believe feminism means. Furthermore, I explore what people think feminism means in a focus group, providing further clarity regarding people's understanding of feminism in contemporary politics.

The issue of where men fit into the concept of feminism was mentioned in a few works. Delmar, for instance, makes a provocative point that while perhaps John Stuart Mill (and other men) would have once been considered "an adequate representative of women's aspirations," but that nowadays "it is practically impossible to speak of 'male feminism.' Feminism is increasingly understood by feminists as a way of thinking created by, for, and on behalf of women" (Delmar 1986, 27). This shows the changing

nature and uncertainty in which some (women) feminists view the involvement of men in the feminist movement. Interestingly, in Conover's (1988) empirical study of feminism, she adopted a stance consistent with Delmar. In particular, Conover only recruited women for her study, therefore, men's opinions on feminism were deliberately chosen not to be solicited (Conover 1988). Conover's choice implies, and is similar to Delmar's belief, that only women can be feminists.

## Literature Review

Before turning to my research, it is important to understand the state of the literature. In general, I've found that there is not an overwhelming amount of research on feminism and politics, and much of what does exist was published in the 1990s, often using data from an even earlier period, dating the state of the literature. Given important changes in women's role in society and government, updating our understanding of feminism is warranted. Furthermore, much of the existing research, besides being dated, only studies feminism and does not investigate how feminism is perceived in the political sphere. Finally, in a similar vein, much of the pre-existing research does not necessarily come from the political science field. More work on feminism seems to have been done in fields such as gender studies, sociology, and psychology, and while the research in these fields provide fascinating and useful insights, the question of politics and feminism is relatively understudied.

As I conducted an experiment, starting with the preexisting experimental research seems prudent. However, it should be noted that I located only one experimental study examining people's views about feminism. In particular, Terkildsen and Schnell (1997) relied on both a content analysis and an experiment to explore how framing of the

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women's movement influenced people's views regarding women's issues. Terkildsen and Schnell conducted a content analysis of news coverage of the women's movement from the 1950-1979 from three major news sources: *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*. Through this content analysis, they uncovered five key frames used to cover the women's movement: a sex roles frame, a feminism frame, a political rights frame, an economic rights frame, and an anti-feminism frame. They find that the economic and feminism frames were the most commonly used frames, with the political rights frame, traditional sex roles frame, and anti-feminism frame being used less often (Terkildsen & Schnell 1997).

With those frames in mind, Terkildsen and Schnell conducted an experiment using a non-random sample of 141 non-student adults. Participants read a news article utilizing one of four frames (they excluded the traditional sex roles frame) or a control condition where participants were not given an article to read, but were only asked the follow-up questions on feminism, the women's movement, gender roles and more. Each frame was an amalgamation of actual articles found in the content analysis. The researchers were careful to make the language as similar as possible, as well as the general "essence" of the articles. All of the articles focused on the general idea that women are gaining representation and continuing to break barriers. All articles feature quotes from a former female legislator, except the economic frame (which instead features an anti-feminist critic). Terkildsen and Schnell found that both the economic rights frame and the antifeminism frame produced more negative views about the importance of the women's movement and participants' willingness to tangibly support the movement. Furthermore, these frames led to more negative views about gender roles

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(such as equality in the home and equality in the workplace). The feminism frame also had a negative effect, though it was less consistent. The political rights frame was the only frame eliciting a positive impact on people's views about the women's issues, however, the impact of the frame was also inconsistent.

In addition, Terkildsen and Schnell found the impact of frames was moderated by the participant's gender, with men having more negative attitudes than women when exposed to the economic, feminism, and anti-feminism frames, which resulted in more negative attitudes toward gender equality than in the control or political equality conditions (Terkildsen & Schnell 1997). Interestingly, for men, the feminism and the anti-feminism, as well as the economic equality frame produced more negative attitudes towards the importance of gender equality. However, they found that women's attitudes did not differ across any of the frames or the control, demonstrating that it was men's negative views driving the results. The frames did not significantly change women's attitudes. This experimental piece shows how frames in news coverage can influence people's views about women's rights, the women's movements, and gender roles. However, the research does not address the electoral consequences of being labeled as a feminist.

Kahn and Goldenberg also utilized a content analysis to study how the news media covered the women's movement. Kahn and Goldenberg found that coverage of the women's movement was rare and when it was present, it was relegated to women's pages, not the news section (Kahn & Goldenberg 1991). They also note the "unflattering" nature of some of the coverage, especially in the earlier years. By the 1970s, they do note

that the coverage of feminists became less "hysterical," though this transition to more positive coverage also coincided with even less coverage and less prominent coverage.

Much of the research that has been done on feminism has utilized public opinion surveys. Early research focused on the substance of feminists' opinions (e.g., Conover 1988, Cook & Wilcox 1991). More recent work has focused on how feminists are perceived. I will begin by reviewing some of the earlier studies on feminism. To begin, Pamela Johnston Conover (1988), using data from the 1985 NES Pilot Study, examined differences in the attitudes of feminist and non-feminist women. As discussed earlier, Conover used data that only included women, not men (though she does examine women's and men's differences in value orientations, just not men's feminist beliefs). She looked at whether women choose to identify as a feminist, but also other measures, such as how positively respondents rated feminists on feeling thermometers. She was interested in seeing how feminists (specifically feminist women) differ from other women, as well as how they compare to men. She found that men and women did not differ in their beliefs on several key issues (individualism, liberalism-conservatism scale, sex-roles, moral traditionalism, etc.). However, once she factored feminism into the mix, the picture changed. Conover found several significant differences between feminist women and non-feminist women and found specifically that a strong feminist identity is positively correlated with several values, including egalitarianism, lack of symbolic racism, and liberal ideology (Conover 1988).

As one of the first studies of its kind, Conover's study is important. However, not including male feminists may be problematic and later studies had addressed levels of feminism among men and women. There are a few potential issues that can arise by not

studying men. First, is that without including men, researchers lack data on approximately fifty percent of the population, one that is likely to be somewhat different on the issue of feminism than women will. There is much value in understanding how men understand feminism. Furthermore, on a more normative level, by implying that men cannot be feminists, it can discourage men from getting involved with feminism in the first place. Like any social movement, there is value in having allies in the struggle.

Like Conover, Cook and Wilcox (1991) were interested in the differences between feminists and non-feminists, though they included feminist men in their analysis. Utilizing the 1984 ANES data, they found either no significant differences (minority affect, sympathy for the disadvantaged, gender equality) or only modest differences (equality, individualism, liberal-conservative spectrum) between men and women on most issues. The largest gender difference found was on the issue of fundamentalism, with women being more religious than men. When turning to gender differences regarding groups (i.e., the poor, the elderly), women and men did differ, with women feeling more warmly towards these groups than men. However, it should be noted that women assign warmer ratings than do men across the board. When Cook and Wilcox turned to the differences between feminists and non-feminists, they found many significant differences. Feminism was strongly correlated with liberalism as well as policy preferences that are liberal-aligned. This was the case for both men and women, though the correlations were stronger for women. Men who are feminists and women who are feminists are quite similar. Their opinions align on nearly all of the 27 issues tested. Only two of the 27 issues saw differences along gendered lines for feminists. For

example, regarding assistance to blacks, feminism actually led to a more liberal position on the issue for men than it did for women (Cook & Wilcox 1991).

Reingold and Foust (1998) examined determinants of "gender-related group consciousness." Instead of looking at structural and demographic questions in their study to understand what leads to group a feminist consciousness, Reingold and Foust considered experiences, using data from the 1992 ANES. To create their dependent variable of feminist consciousness, the authors considered aspects of feminist identification, emotional bonds with women, status discontent, and collective orientation, which combined together to create the feminist consciousness index. Reingold and Foust considered a series of factors that may influence feminist consciousness, such as demographic factors or "life circumstances" such as marital status, employment, and level of education. Another set of factors the authors considered was exposure to nontraditional ideas and people, such as employment of the respondent's mother, religious observance, and the rurality or urbanity of the person's community Finally, Reingold and Foust considered the ideological predispositions of respondents, such as a left-right measure and attitudes about individualism, and equal opportunity.

Turning to the results, Reingold and Foust failed to find that experience with nontraditional gender roles or life circumstances powerfully predicts feminist consciousness. Only traditional marriage and education showed significant impacts, with married women and widows less likely to have feminist consciousness, and education promoting more feminist consciousness. Overall, ideological predispositions carried the most weight in determining feminist consciousness, with egalitarianism, racial attitudes, partisanship, and liberalism playing the strongest roles. For men, ideology was also the

strongest predictor, with life experience having no significance, and socialization

providing only marginal explanatory power, with education being associated with

stronger feminist consciousness (Reingold & Foust 1998).

Unlike some of her predecessors who examined only one year's worth of data,

Rhodebeck (1996) looked into how feminist identity and feminist opinions differ among

men and women, using six NES surveys from 1972 through 1992. She operationalized

feminist identity with an index of closeness to women as well as a feeling thermometer

for feminists and/or the women's liberation movement. Feminist opinion was

operationalized as "the expression of policy preferences consistent with the goals of

liberal feminism" (abortion rights, women's roles).

Rhodebeck found little difference between men and women's ratings of the

women's liberation movement, feminists, the role of women, and abortion. In terms of

feminist identity versus feminist opinion, she found—contrary to her hypothesis—that

feminist identity is less stable than feminist opinion for both women and men. There was,

however, a reciprocal relationship between identity and opinion, though only for women.

Having a feminist identity also seemed to have a larger impact on having feminist

opinions than having feminist opinions has on a feminist identity. Rhodebeck also found

that ideology impacts women more strongly than men (the more liberal, the more likely

to manifest a feminist identity). Though among men, ideology was more impactful than

personal experiences, both do have some role in forming a feminist identity.

Interestingly, when looking at feminist opinion, political ideology only impacted men's

opinions, not women's. Personal experience much more strongly shaped feminist

opinions, both for women and men (Rhodebeck 1996). These findings differ from

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Reingold and Faust (1998), who found that personal experience was not a strong factor

and ideology was much more impactful. One potential reason for this is because

Rhodebeck distinguished between feminist identity and feminist opinion, while Reingold

and Faust only measured feminist consciousness. For instance, in feminist identity,

Rhodebeck's results align better with Reingold and Faust's.

Looking at some of the earlier feminist research shows a lot of promise. In terms

of their strengths, they were looking into questions that few people had asked before and

asked important questions such as of how feminists differ from non-feminists and how

different kinds of feminists (i.e., men and women) differ from each other. Since they

were pioneers, some asked many questions, allowing us to gain new insights into what

shapes feminism and how feminism shapes opinions. For example, Cook and Wilcox's

study examines over 20 different variables from partisanship to stances on bussing,

defense spending, and guaranteed jobs, along with more traditional gender-based

questions about abortion and gender-role equality. One flaw is that most of these studies

(with the exception of Rhodebeck) utilize only one year's worth of data. So we only see a

reflection of that particular point in time. These studies also used a number of different

measures to examine feminism, with Cook and Wilcox utilizing the equal role scale and a

feeling thermometer of the women's liberation movement, Rhodebeck combined feelings

of feminist policy preferences (i.e., abortion rights). This has benefits and drawbacks. It

shows a creative way of operationalizing feminism, however, some of the measures may

now be outdated. For instance, the term "women's liberation movement" is quite

outdated now, which would likely impact responses if I were to utilize that question now.

It is also unfortunate that the question "do you Identify as a feminist" either wasn't present in some of the ANES studies, or simply was not used by some of the authors.

What these early studies have in common is their interest in the differences between feminists and non-feminists as well as what determines feminism. In studying this, they saw many similar findings. Both Conover and Cook & Wilcox found very few differences between men and women. Conover found no significant differences on the issues of individualism, liberal/conservative, sex-roles, and moral traditionalism (Conover 1988). Cook and Wilcox also found no differences on several issues (minority affect, sympathy for the disadvantaged, and gender equality), but they did find some differences on beliefs regarding equality, individualism, and liberalism/conservatism, somewhat different from Conover's findings, but the differences were slight (Cook and Wilcox 1991). In terms of feminist and non-feminists, both studies found that feminists and non-feminists were abundant, with feminists more likely to be more liberal and have more liberal policy preferences (Conover 1988, Cook and Wilcox 1991). In terms of feminism's determinants, Reingold and Faust (1998) found that ideology was a stronger predictor than life circumstances. Rhodebeck found similar findings for feminist identity, but found that ideology was only a factor for men in forming a feminist opinion, while personal life experiences mattered for both men and women's feminist opinion.

Though some of the research pre-dates the turn of the century, some interesting research has been done on feminism in the post-2000 era as well. A few of these studies have looked backwards in time, comparing how different generations feel about feminism. Starting chronologically, Schnittker, Freese, and Powell (2003) utilized the 1996 GSS to compare three distinct cohorts: those coming of age "(1) preceded the

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renascence of the women's movement in the mid-1960s, (2) occurred during the second

wave of feminism of the mid-1960s through the early 1970s, or (3) followed the second

wave" (Schnittker et al 2003). They examined how likely respondents were, across

cohort, to identify as a feminist. Though they found few significant sociodemographic

effects, women were significantly more likely to consider themselves feminists than men.

They also found that the second cohort (those who grew up during the second wave of

feminism) were the most likely to identify as feminists. When the sample was separated

by gender, it revealed that the cohort difference remains significant for men, but not for

women. When the sample was broken down further by age (rather than just by cohort), it

became apparent that the second-wave women respondents and the younger women

respondents also share some significant differences, with second wave women also being

more likely to declare themselves as feminists. This is interesting as it implies that those

born around a time of a more active feminist presence may have stronger feelings

towards feminism. In recent years, given #MeToo and the large increase in women

running for and winning office in the United States, we too may be at a more active time

for feminism.

Peltola, Milkie, and Presser (2004) also looked at three separate generations,

however, they only consider women. Their three cohorts included the pre-Baby Boomers

(born before 1946), the Baby Boomers themselves (born 1946-1959), and the Baby Bust

generation (born 1960-1978). They utilized both the 1992 NES and the 1996 GSS and

asked "do you think of yourself as a feminist or not?" They found that both the Baby

Boom and pre-Boom women were more likely to identify as feminists than the Baby-

Bust cohort of women. Better education, lower income, stronger egalitarian beliefs, and

liberal identity led to higher rates of feminist identification, while whiteness and more frequent religious service attendance led to lower rates. In both the NES and GSS data, cohort effects are still strong (and sometimes stronger) when other background variables are controlled for (Peltola et al 2004).

Duncan (2010) examined two different cohorts, Baby Boomers and Generation X. She also only examined women. She used a unique dataset of 667 women who rode buses to a 1992 March on Washington for Reproductive Rights. She asked about feminist identification (strong feminist, weak feminist, non-feminist), as well as other factors including feminist attitudes and activism. She found that Generation Xers were more politically active (after controlling for age) than Baby Boomers, although Baby Boomers were more likely than Gen X to identify as strong feminists. However, she found no generational differences in terms of definitions of feminism, what they associated feminism with (mostly positive associations), and most feminist attitudes.

While not exactly looking at cohorts, Bolzendahl and Myers considered how women's and men's views on feminism have changed over time, from 1974 to 1998, using GSS data. They asked about opinions on abortion, thoughts on sexual behaviors, gender roles in the public sphere, and gendered familial responsibilities. They found that overall, attitudes were liberalizing overtime (with the exception of abortion, which has been relatively stable). For women, employment, education, education of their mother, and liberal attitudes were some of the most powerful determinants of feminist attitudes. For men, having a wife in the workforce led to more pro-feminist opinions. They also found that women were more likely than men to hold feminist attitudes. Finally, the

authors note that the determinants of feminist opinion remained relatively stable over time (Bolzendahl & Myers 2004).

One unique problem that these studies try to tackle is the question of feminist belief amongst different age groups. Some similarities in these studies are that women are more likely to identify as feminists than men (Bolzendahl & Myers 2004; Schnittker, Freese, & Powell 2003); other studies found that Baby Boomers and those growing up during the second wave of feminism were more likely to identify as feminists than their post-Boomer counterparts (Peltola, Milkie, & Presser 2004; Duncan 2010; Schnittker, Freese & Powell 2003). Furthermore, both Peltola, Milkie, and Presser as well as Bolzendahl and Myers found education and liberalism led to greater levels of feminism. In terms of differences, Peltola, Milkie, and Presser also found that lower income and stronger egalitarian beliefs led to feminism, while whiteness and frequent religious service attendance led to lower rates of feminism. On the other hand, Bolzendahl and Myers identified determinants based on gender, with education mattering for women, but not for men. They also found that the education of a woman's mother mattered in holding feminist attitudes. For men, on the other hand, having a wife in the workforce led to opinions more in favor of feminism. It should also be noted that while some studies, like Bolzendahl and Myers, looked at feminist attitudes, others, such as Peltola, Milkie, and Presser, considered feminist identification.

These studies are interesting for understanding how age might impact feminist beliefs. However, some of these cohorts are also purposefully selected given the fact that they either grew up in a generation of feminism or not (i.e., growing up during the second wave of feminism versus before or after). Though the second wave of feminism has since

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passed, I find this interesting, given that I would argue that feminism is becoming mainstream again. Though the effects of the second wave may have faded as the years have gone on, it will at least be very interesting for me to compare support of feminist candidates by age in my study. A few of these studies do eliminate men in their samples, which does deprive us of some interesting comparisons.

Another common feature of some of the more modern works is their use of undergraduate students. Samples involving undergraduates are often cheaper and easier to acquire than more representative studies. Furthermore, students are generally more liberal than the general population and college is a time when many students get exposed to more liberal ideas, which could make this a particularly interesting group to study feminism. Though I did not utilize undergraduates in my primary experiment, I did rely on college students for my focus group, thus, this research helps to validate my use of undergraduates in that endeavor. These studies, like much of the previous work, examine determinants of feminism, identification as a feminist, and what feminism means to people. I would also like to briefly note that I do think that this is a worthwhile question to ask of college students, as college is a time when many people are beginning to figure out their beliefs in general, but also potentially, their feminist beliefs. This makes for some interesting answers, even if their answers may not generalize well across the country.

To begin, Toller, Suter, and Trautman (2004) studied the question of feminism and gender roles, using a sample of college students in two articles. In their first article, they utilized the Personal Attributes Questionnaire, the Sexual Identity Scale, and the Sex Role Attitudinal Inventory to ask both women and men about their beliefs in gender roles

and feminist identification. Questions included things like "do you agree or disagree that: 'most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women,' 'career women tend to be masculine and domineering,' and 'a woman can live a fill and happy life without marrying.'" The questions judged both traditionalist attitudes (as seen in the first two example questions) as well as less traditional ones (like the final question) For men, men scoring lower on masculinity were more likely to identify as a feminist and were more likely to have positive attitudes towards the women's movement. For women, increased masculinity correlated with acceptance of nontraditional gender roles (Toller et al 2004).

In their follow-up study, Suter and Toller (2006) interviewed 10 percent of their previous sample of students, 30 of the 301 that had originally participated. The researchers asked open-ended questions regarding what students thought the feminist movement was about, how they learned about it, how they would describe feminists, if they would describe themselves as a feminist, how their peers perceived feminism and more. Many of these questions formed the basis for the focus group I ran, as they are both asking students as well as asking open-ended questions regarding perceptions of feminists. Some of the characterization of feminists was somewhat positive, with themes of independence, taking action, while others were negative, with themes of extremism and "weirdness." Less than half of the sample self-identified as feminists with one more woman than man. Some students felt the label went against their beliefs (religions, desire to be a wife and mother), while others were concerned that it made them seem like man-haters (Suter & Toller 2006).

Anderson's (2009) study of undergraduate students asked respondents to rate different terms, including "feminist man," "feminist woman," "man," and "woman." Interestingly, "feminist man" was rated more positively, though less "potently" (in the author's words: "lower in stereotypically masculine characteristics") as well as less heterosexual than "feminist woman" (Anderson 2009). This study was interesting in that it looked at attitudes towards feminists of different genders, asking how men and women felt about feminist men and feminist women as separate entities, rather than just asking about feminists as whole, which most people probably would just assume to be women. It was helpful for my own study in which I investigated gender differences in my experiment, as I also predict that the feminist male candidate will be better regarded than his female counterpart.

Finally, Swirsky and Angelone (2016) is one of the more recent studies. They contacted participants online via snowball sampling, by contacting participants via social media, email lists, as well as women's groups[3]. They asked primarily if respondents identified as feminist and why or why not. They also asked about what feminism meant and what led respondents to identify as feminists. Education, feminist role models, and awareness of gender discrimination were related to identifying as a feminist. Freedom of choice and desire for equality were other commonly cited determinants of feminism (Swirsky & Angelone 2016).

These studies relying on student participants are helpful for a number of reasons. First, they do not rely on the ANES or the GSS data sources, like much of the previous

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[3] The authors note that they did not specifically target feminist groups, but rather women's groups such as book clubs, women's sports teams, etc.

research. This provides several potential benefits. Mainly, the questions surrounding feminism in the ANES are limited. As Elder et al (2021) note below, questions regarding feminist identification were only asked in 1992 and 2016. Not only are the questions limited by year, but also in what questions are asked, as the ANES asks questions on many other topics, and not many on feminism. Second, relying on a college sample is interesting given that college is a time in life where people's beliefs are crystallizing, and likely a place that has a disproportionate number of feminists. Though these studies may suffer from a more limited sample (both in diversity and sometimes number), they have important strengths. These studies were not confined to questions on the ANES, and I've found many questions in these studies that I utilized myself both for my experiment and for my focus group. Similarly, these studies benefit tremendously by being able to use interviews (Suter & Toller 2006) and open-ended questions (Swirsky & Angelone 2016). Being able to ask open-ended questions about how respondents perceive feminists is a major benefit that is not always available in studies like the ANES, as it helps provide depth (asking what feminism means to different people) and causality (why someone might identify as a feminist, why they believe what they do about feminists).

Finally, it is interesting to examine the data on feminism over time. Elder et al (2021) looked at how feminist identification changed from 1992 to 2016 (the only two years questions about feminist identification were asked on the ANES), as well as how feminists were different from anti-feminists. They find that feminist identification has increased from 1992 (from 24% to 38%), but much more so amongst women than men. Democratic affiliation and college education are also major factors, especially in 2016. In terms of anti-feminism, they find that only 16% of Americans identify as anti-feminist. In

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some ways, anti-feminism is a mirror to feminism, at least in terms of education, party identification, and religion, but feminism and anti-feminism differ as well. For instance, young people are more likely to be feminists and anti-feminists than are older people, and while women are much more likely to be feminists, there is little gender gap amongst anti-feminists.

I turn next to looking more specifically at vote choice, in particular, the literature on vote choice, feminism, and gender. Similar to Elder et al, Oceno et al (2021) and Valentino et al (2018) both consider not only feminism, but also sexism. Both studies utilize survey research (CCES, SSI, and ANES) to measure sexism and how it relates to vote choice, specifically in the 2016 presidential election. Both studies found that sexism played an important role in vote choice. For instance, when comparing feminist attitudes and sexist ones, Oceno et al (2021) found that appealing to sexist votes was more beneficial, as it activated more voters who were against feminism and lessened support for Clinton. Appealing to feminists instead was more futile, first as there were not many feminists and they found that feminism was not impactful in affecting men's votes. Valentino et al (2018) also find that sexism played a powerful part in predicting vote choice in 2016. Interestingly, they find that this phenomenon was somewhat unique to 2016. It would be interesting to revisit this study in the future, to see if 2016 remains unique, or if post-Trump, it has become the norm. The authors also conducted a survey experiment in which they compared the effects of anger and fear on how sexism translated into vote choice. They found that anger was much more powerful than fear (which actually reduced the effect of sexism on voting for Trump). Anger was also a mobilizing agent.

Schaffner et al (2018) also consider the role of sexism, as well as racism, in the 2016 election. They were interested in discovering if economic dissatisfaction or racism and sexism were driving vote choice amongst less educated white people. To study this, they conducted a series of surveys and interviews, two prior to the 2016 election (one of which was the CCES), one afterwards, in which they recontacted their CCES interviewees. In these studies, they asked about economic discontent, racial attitudes, and utilized questions from the hostile sexism inventory (a subset of the ASI). Overall, Schaffner et al find that sexism and racism were considerably more powerful in predicting voting for Trump than economic dissatisfaction. Racism and sexism were exceptionally powerful predictors. In the non-CCES study "moving from one end of the sexism scale to the other was associated with more than a 30-point increase in support for Trump" (Schaffner et al 2018). Racism saw a similar increase. For the CCES respondents, racism and sexism were also quite powerful, racism even more so. In fact, racism and sexism played a crucial role in vote choice and electoral results amongst the non-college educated white populace. Schaffer et al found:

> "If non-college-educated whites became somewhat more progressive in their attitudes toward racism and sexism so that they matched those of college educated whites, Clinton would have won the popular vote by 4 points instead of two points. Given the narrowness with which Clinton lost states such as Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Florida, such a shift could have had a dramatic effect in terms of the Electoral College outcome" (Schaffner et al 2018).

Deckman and Cassese (2021). Consider not exactly gender or feminism, but masculinity and femininity, in a study of what they call gendered nationalism. They utilize the 2016 White Working Class Survey, conducted directly after the 2016 presidential election, to examine how views on gendered nationalism influence voting for

Donald Trump. They measure gendered nationalism by asking respondents if they find

that American society has become "too soft and feminine." They find that agreement with

that statement is influenced largely by party (Republicans), but also by class (working,

whites in particular), though interestingly gender itself was less relevant in believing in

gendered nationalism. Those who were high in gendered nationalism, were considerably

more likely to be Trump voters, explaining another way (beyond simply gender of the

voters) that gender and gendered views can influence vote choice.

Paul and Smith (2008) also studied real candidates and vote choice, however, they

look at a considerably earlier race. Rather than analyzing Clinton and Trump, Paul and

Smith ran a survey of Ohioans in 2006, a decade prior to 2016. They asked respondents

to deliberate between different match-ups of five candidates: Hillary Clinton, John

Edwards, Elizabeth Dole, Rudy Guiliani, and John McCain. Respondents were asked

both to choose between candidates and to rate them on how qualified they were for the

job of president. In general, the male candidates were perceived as more qualified than

were the women. In terms of vote choice, gender mattered in some match-ups more than

others (though less so in the primary match-ups). In the general election match-ups, men

beat the women in every contest. Furthermore, the male candidates also received a higher

percentage of votes when they faced women compared to when they faced another man.

It should be noted that one potential issue in studies like this, is that highly divisive

candidates, such as Clinton, might skew some of the results.

Now looking a bit more generally at gender and vote choice, gender, and

partisanship, beyond a specific set of candidates, Koch (2000) looks at how voters,

particularly those with low information, may utilize gendered stereotypes to make

assumptions about candidates. Specifically, what voters assume about the ideology of a candidate. He uses the 1998, 1990, and 1990 Senate Election Studies, during a time where 21 women had run for office (quite a few, at the time). In these studies, respondents are asked to place candidates running for office on a 7-point ideological scale. These placements are compared to the ADA's roll-call vote ideological scores. Female candidates were considered much more likely to be liberal, often more liberal than they were in reality. This effect became even more pronounced if a candidate was more likely to win. Democratic women were viewed to be more left than they were and Republican women who were viewed to be more moderate than they were. In essence, this disadvantaged Democratic women especially in a race against a Republican opponent, it decreased voters' odds of choosing her as a candidate (for any voter to her (assumed) right). Interestingly, it benefited the Republican woman running against a Democratic opponent (with any voter to her (assumed) left).[4]

Also looking at gender and vote choice, Dolan utilized NES data from 1990 to 2000. She looked at questions asking respondents to list their likes and dislikes about candidates running for the House of Representatives in their district. Apart from the likes and dislikes, Dolan also considered vote choice, whether respondents voted for a female candidate or a male opponent. In terms of affect, women voters did feel more positively towards women candidates, though party also played a role here. She also found that positive affect towards a female candidate was strongly related to voting for that female candidate. Male respondents held a similar same-gender affinity for the male candidates

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[4] For similar findings of how voters perceive gender and ideology/partisanship, see also: McDermott 1997 & 1998, Huddy and Terkildsen 1993.

(Dolan 2008). [5] It should be noted that while some studies show similar findings to Dolan (Sanbonmatsu 2002, Sapiro 1981/2, Brians 2005, Campbell and Heath 2017), other studies show different findings. For instance, utilizing experimental research, neither King and Matland (2003) nor Thompson and Steckenrider (1997) found gender to play a role in supporting a female candidate. Neither did McDermott (1997) who utilized NES data from 1986 to 1994. So while there is some evidence for a gender affinity effect, it is also important to acknowledge that these findings can be inconsistent across studies.

Finally, it is interesting to consider other studies that have looked at feminist politicians. Though the feminist candidates I'll be employing in my study are fictional, understanding how feminist politicians operate in the real world can demonstrate how they are different from non-feminists. In studying Canadian politicians, Tremblay and Pelletier (2000) compare how gendered versus feminist beliefs impact how politicians respond to gendered political issues. They find that believing in feminist values has a greater impact than being a woman. Dahlerup et al (2020) look at Denmark and Sweden, seeing if feminism and gender impact how MPs view "acting for women." They find that male feminists find it less important to act for women than do female feminists, who find it very important. Male feminists, however, find acting for women even less important than do non-feminists. Furthermore, contrary to expectations, male feminists weren't necessarily more in favor of men's policies (such as paternal leave) than were female feminists. This study not only demonstrates that having (female) feminists is important

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[5] For similar findings of gender preference in voting, see also: Sanbonmatsu 2002, Sapiro 1981/2, Brians 2005, Campbell and Heath 2017.

for getting politicians to act on women's behalf, but demonstrates some interesting differences between male and female feminists in elected office.

Branching off of the literature of gender and politics, most of the early research on feminism and politics emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s, asking questions about what made someone a feminist and how they were different from non-feminists. Research continued, particularly looking into age and cohort effects as the second wave of feminism passed. More modern research has turned mostly to survey research of undergraduates, a younger population more disposed towards liberal ideology. Though still, the area of feminism and politics remains relatively understudied, I hope to provide further information as well as more recent insights into the state of how people perceive feminism in politics.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL EXPECTATIONS

## Representation

For the purposes of this study, feminism, at its core, is an aspect of representation. Though in terms of Pitkin's framework, it does not necessarily fit so neatly into the existing categories of "standing for" (Pitkin 1972). Feminism, unlike gender or race, is not a predetermined fact of one's existence. People can choose to become feminists, just as they can choose to renounce feminism. Someone who is a feminist one day may not necessarily identify as such down the line, or someone who had previously not been feminist may choose to assume the mantle.

There is also the necessary disclaimer that not all women are feminists and not all feminists are women. There is a distinct difference between having women in office and having feminists in office, though there is considerable overlap between the two groups.

Furthermore, in terms of descriptive representation, while it is (generally) obvious who is a woman and who is not, it is not always apparent to constituents who is a feminist and who is not. A feminist representative must announce themselves or only live with the assumption that one is or is not a feminist. This presents a different kind of descriptive representation, not only does it require announcement, or opting-in, it also requires a degree of knowledge on behalf of the represented, who may not actually know the feminist status of any given politician. Not only that, but while many will assume that feminists are generally women, they can of course be men as well, or people of other genders. This makes descriptive representation of feminists inherently more complex than descriptive representation of gender.

In terms of substantive representation, the answers are a bit more clear. Feminists actively seek to improve the status of women and should actively craft or support policies that will benefit women specifically. In this regard, feminists may act more for women than a non-feminist woman might. A feminist should be a guaranteed supporter of pro-feminist policy and therefore pro-women policy, this effectively combines the descriptive and substantive aspect of feminism, in the sense that not only do feminists descriptively represent feminists, but their identity should make it such that they are actively committed to furthering feminist policy. Not only does feminist policy seek to substantively better the lives of feminists though, it seeks to also benefit women, and in some cases, will benefit men as well (for instance, paternal leave policies).

## Feminism and Gender

Not all feminists are women and not all women are feminists. However, of feminists, more of them are women than are men. There is also evidence that both men and women have baseline voting preferences for candidates that share their gender (Sanbonmatsu 2002). Given both a baseline gender preference and the fact that feminists are more likely to be women, I believe that female respondents will generally support feminist candidates more than male respondents will. This effect could be particularly strong if the candidate is both a feminist and a woman. On the other hand, male respondents might be more willing to support a feminist candidate if that candidate shares their gender.

On the other hand, the male feminist candidates might also do better overall, potentially beating out female feminists candidates across the board. The potential reason for this is the double standards men and women face in both the public and private

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spheres, for instance, the idea that "women have to work twice as hard for half the credit." This idea is also often present amongst parents, where fathers receive "undue praise for doing what mothers are *expected* to do." (Coe 2013, italics mine). Therefore, men might potentially benefit over women if they declare themselves to be feminists, as they could be seen as going above and beyond for women whereas such a declaration might be met with simple expectation if a woman were to do the same. As feminism fights to improve women's lives by making them equal to men, there could be not only expectation that women might be feminists, but it could also be seen that it is in women's own self-interest to be feminists. For men, many might think that there are few true benefits for men being feminists, so therefore, might look upon men's feminist identification as self-sacrificing, rather than being expected, as women's identification might be. Finally, there could also be a notion that for women, feminism is more "selfish" in that they are fighting for themselves. This could be particularly damaging for women, since women are supposed to be compassionate and selfless, according to gender stereotypes (Fridkin, Kenney, and Woodall 2009). By not only breaking from a prescribed gender role, but doing so to join a 'selfish" and "aggressive" movement, women who identify as feminists might be viewed quite negatively. These notions likely contribute to some of the stereotypes that feminists are man-hating and trying to put men down. Men joining the cause for women could be seen as more selfless in this regard, since in a sense it is not their fight.

While men might get extra credit for declaring themselves to be feminists, I could see things potentially going the other way as well. If women are to identify as feminists, they could be punished less, given that it is somewhat expected for women to care about

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feminist issues (at least more so than men would care). Therefore, for a man to be a feminist when it is unexpected, this could make them appear weak or feminine in the eyes of those who are opposed to feminism. A man they might have supported before a feminist declaration could be too "feminized" by identifying as a feminist that might turn away voters that have more hardline gender views.

I also want to explore how reactions to feminist candidates by gender might differ between feminist respondents and non-feminist respondents. For one, I certainly expect that feminist respondents will be more supportive of feminist candidates than non-feminist respondents will be, regardless of candidate gender. While I think that non-feminists might have a slight preference for male feminist candidates, given that they might be seen as less extreme, I think that feminist respondents would be less influenced by negative stereotypes against both women and feminists. Given that, feminist respondents could instead prefer female feminist candidates. Since feminists are more likely to be women, the women feminists might prefer the female feminist for being more like them and potentially feeling both gendered and feminist solidarity.

Diving more into how women and feminism are perceived, I again see many different angles for research. Very little research has been done on feminist candidates, therefore, while I have several different ideas of how feminists might be perceived, this is relatively new territory, so there are many unexplored, potential avenues. As I stated, women feminist candidates could potentially receive less pushback than their male counterparts, as it's more "normal" for a woman to be a feminist, at least among voters that do not support feminism. For voters that do support feminism, it might be less of an exciting novelty for a woman to be a feminist candidate than a man, who could be seen as

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exceptionally compassionate, whereas women might not receive that boon. But I also see other potential research paths in terms of how women candidates might be perceived if they are feminists.

For instance, I think women feminist candidates would be particularly susceptible to the angry feminist stereotypes, such as hating men or burning bras, notions that conjure up ideas of crazy, angry women, which could be damaging in the polls. Given the history of these ideas, I definitely would see angry feminist stereotypes being much more harmful to women, with men probably not experiencing this image as much (they might instead be subjected to ideas of being weak, as I suggested above).

Furthermore, when discussing gendered expectations and stereotypes, it is important to address the double bind women often find themselves in. The idea of the double bind for women is that women are expected to act a certain way in terms of their gender ("kind and compassionate"), yet there are also expectations in regards to being a leader ("toughness"), and these two roles can clash (Eagly and Karau 2002, Fridkin and Kenney 2014). If they clash, which set of roles should a woman leader opt to take? Be kind, in accordance with gendered expectations (in which she could seem weak), or act tough in accordance with leadership expectations (in which she could seem unlikeable) (Vedantam et al 2016).

The double bind is also not exclusive to expectations of leadership. Women face many different double binds both in life and when taking on political office. Women have to be tough, but soft, a leader, but likable, embody the masculine traits of leadership, but still retain femininity. They can also encounter the double bind as a mother running for office. If a female candidate does not have kids, she either should focus on her family or

she might be perceived as insufficiently maternal. If she does have children, she should be at home with them or she is an absent mother. Yet numerous Congressmen have children and these concerns are almost never addressed on their end.

The double bind becomes particularly interesting with feminism in the mix as it adds a new role, this time for both men and women, but potentially in different ways. Interestingly, women who are feminists are often perceived as angry, which could potentially lend them a "masculinizing" touch, in a way, for better or for worse (Anderson 2009). A masculinizing effect could be positive, in the sense that it might correlate better with the idea that politics is a masculine field and it might allow female feminist candidates to tap into positive traits that are also considered more masculine, such as being assertive and subsequently, being a strong leader. It might, however, have the completely negative aspect of going too far in terms of violating gender roles, leading to potentially worse evaluations (Anderson 2009, Suter and Toller 2006). For men, feminism can sometimes feminize them, which could prove damaging amongst traditionalist voters, but potentially helpful with voters who want more compassionate leaders.

While stereotypes could present a problem for feminists in being perceived by voters, some research now indicates that some of the stereotypes that were once harmful to women, such as being too compassionate, rather than a tough leader, are not as damaging to women as they once were. This could indicate that worries of weak feminine men or angry masculine women might not be as damaging as they once were (Dolan 2014, Fridkin and Kenney 2009). Women are starting to be punished less for breaking their gendered preconceptions, and "women's" traits, such as compassion, are starting to

be benefits for women (Brooks 2013). Due to this, both women and men might be less susceptible to damaging stereotypes that could be imposed upon them by identifying as feminists. However, many of those studies were conducted only focusing on gender, it is unclear if stereotypes around feminism in particular are also being alleviated. Though traits and stereotypes are not the focus of my research, I do measure vote likelihood, warmth, competence, and ability to legislate on women's issues. If feminists are rated more highly on these measures, it could demonstrate that they are able to subvert negative expectations, including potentially gender stereotypes. However, if feminists are rated less highly, it would demonstrate a lack of support towards feminists, potentially both for their ideological or policy goals, or due to the fact of people's negative perceptions of them.

## Feminism and Feminist Support

In my various studies, I make a point to distinguish between feminist identification and feminist support. Methodologically, I ask questions such as "do you identify as a feminist" and "how well does the term 'feminist' describe you" whereas for feminist support, I mainly utilize a feeling thermometer towards feminists. It is important to measure both groups though, even though they are distinct. Both myself and many other feminists have heard numerous times "well I'm not a feminist but…" where the speaker then proceeds to make a truly feminist statement. I think that there are those who may not actively identify themselves as feminist, but whose beliefs still align with feminism. This may be due to the fact that for a long time (and still somewhat today), the word "feminist" was a dirty word (Karl 2017), which may deter people from identifying with the word itself, despite holding feminist views.

While these groups may have many similarities, I believe that there could be some key differences. For one, I do think that there is a difference between those who are willing to claim the label of feminist, despite it potentially being unpopular, versus those who might not embrace the label. This difference could result in a difference in the strength of their belief, or a difference in their level of interest potentially. Furthermore, the willingness to claim the label might be of particular relevance in my study due to the nature of my stimulus.[6] A claim to the label may resonate more strongly with those who also actively claim the label than those who might only identify with feminist policies (and not the title itself).[7] Though support for women underlies both groups, the official act of claiming feminism may make the two distinct from one another. Regardless, both aspects are worthy of consideration and research.

From here, I turn next to the methodology for my dissertation research. In the next chapter, I will outline the three studies I undertook to test some of my theories regarding how feminist candidates will be perceived by voters. This begins with a focus group I conducted amongst Arizona State University students, then discusses a preliminary survey I undertook to examine the best ways to measure feminism, and concludes with a detailed discussion of the survey experiment, which tested respondents' reactions to fictional candidates, varying gender, party, and feminist status.

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[6] In the article I present to my respondents, the only indicator of feminism is that the candidate explicitly identifies themself as such. They make no claims of feminist policy, only state that they are a feminist.
[7] In my study, I found that feminist identifiers and feminist supporters behaved very similarly, and while the feminist identifiers consistently rated the feminist candidate higher, the difference in means was very slight and not statistically significant.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Having undertaken a thorough examination of the literature, as well as detailing some theoretical expectations, I turn now to the studies themselves and how I conducted them to answer my question of how voters respond to feminist candidates. Here, I discuss the three different studies I conducted. First, I discuss my focus group discussion, beginning with my hypotheses, then continuing to the sample and methodology. Next, I discuss the survey I conducted of Arizona State University undergraduates. I explain the sample and methodology, as well as how the study can help with measurements and operationalization of feminism. Finally, I discuss my survey experiment. The survey experiment was conducted with a diverse, national sample, presenting respondents with a news article of a fictional candidate, which varied gender, party, and feminist status, and asking for their evaluations. I first detail my hypotheses before moving onto the methodology for the survey experiment.

**Focus Group**

In my dissertation research, I examine how gender, party, and most importantly, feminism, influence people's opinions of feminist candidates. I detail my expectations below.

Hypotheses

In this focus group, I asked undergraduate students their opinions on feminism. The study was run through the SPGS Experimental Lab and I asked about ten questions

about feminism, including respondents' feelings towards feminism and opinions about feminist candidates. The focus group both provides qualitative data for my dissertation as well as informs my stimulus and experiment's questionnaire, by examining how people conceive of feminism and inspiring some of the questions I ask in the experiment.

For the most part, my experimental hypotheses align with my hypotheses for the focus group (though I do not explicitly discuss party in the focus group).

H1: Respondents' definitions of feminism will most likely align with liberal feminism.

In terms of gender, I expect that women students will have more positive attitudes towards feminism.

H2: Women will have more positive attitudes and descriptions of feminism than will men.

I also believe that this may be conditional on the gender ratio of the focus group. The more the ratio of men to women is in women's favor, the more supportive of feminism the focus group (women in particular) will be (Mendelberg, Karpowitz, Goedert 2014). I also expect the opposite, if there is a higher ratio of men in the session, there will be less vocal support of feminism.

H3: The more the gender ratio of the focus group favors women, the more vocal support for feminism will be.

H4: The more the gender ratio of the focus group favors men, the less vocal support for feminism will be.

Finally, in terms of feminism, as is somewhat self-explanatory, I expect that those who already identify as a feminist and feel warmly towards feminism will speak more positively of feminism.

H5: Feminists and those who support feminism will speak more positively of feminism than those who are not feminists and those who do not feel warmly towards feminism.

And similar to H2 and H3, I also expect the ratio of feminists will affect how the group as a whole speaks of feminism.

H6: The higher the ratio of feminists in a session, the more vocal support for feminism will be.

H7: The lower the ratio of feminists in a session, the less vocal support for feminism will be.

Methodology

I compiled a little over ten discussion questions for a focus group.[8] The focus groups were asked questions such as "How would you define the word 'feminist'?", "Do you identify as a feminist? Why or why not?", "What are your perceptions of feminist women?" "What about feminist men?" "Do you think there are any differences between the two or are they essentially the same?" and more. Each question is based on questions I have seen in other studies (Duncan 2010, Suter and Toller 2006, Huddy et al 2000, Leaper and Arias 2011, Anderson 2009, etc.).

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[8] See Appendix A "Focus Group Materials" for a copy of the full focus group script.

Table 1: Focus Group Sessions

| Session Number | Session Length | Date & Time | Gender | Feminists |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 35 minutes, 3 seconds | April 14th, 11:00 am | Women: 5 Men: 3 | Feminists: 6 Feminist Supporters: 0 Non-Feminists: 1 Unknown: 1 |
| 2 | 35 minutes | April 14th, 1:00 pm | Women: 4 Men: 5 | Feminists: 3 Feminist Supporters: 3 Non-Feminists: 1 Unknown: 2 |
| 3 | 32 minutes, 31 seconds | April 15th, 10:00 am | Women: 4 Men: 3 | Feminists: 5 Feminist Supporters: 1 Non-Feminists: 0 Unknown: 1 |
| 4 | 44 minutes, 17 seconds | April 15th, 12:00 pm | Women: 4 Men: 4 | Feminists: 4 Feminist Supporters: 0 Non-Feminists: 1 Unknown: 3 |
| 5 | 23 minutes, 32 seconds | April 16th, 10:00 am | Women: 2 Men: 7 | Feminists: 4 Feminist Supporters: 1 Non-Feminists: 2 Unknown: 2 |

The focus group study was conducted in the SPGS Experimental Lab from April 14th to April 16th 2021, for a total of 5 sessions. Sessions were run via zoom, given that they took place during the COVID-19 pandemic. In total, 41 people attended the focus groups. Table 1 above shows the demographics of the study. In terms of gender, the ratio was close to even, with 19 women and 22 men attending. Sessions included fewer than

10 respondents and lasted about 30 minutes each. The thirty minute session was ideal, allowing sufficient time to capture worthwhile responses, while preventing "zoom fatigue." I chose to cap the focus groups at 10 attendees so that each person can easily get a chance to answer most of the questions. A maximum of 10 attendees is likely beneficial for encouraging discussion compared to a larger group where individuals might be more intimidated and less likely to contribute to the discussion. A smaller sized group also makes communicating easier, since there are fewer people trying to talk over each other.[9]

Finally, in terms of gender composition, it was important to me that both men and women participate in the focus group in order to receive a diverse input of ideas. To avoid over-recruiting feminists and women, I was purposefully vague in the study's details when it was announced, simply titling it "SPGS Focus Group," so as not to deter non-feminist participants.

In terms of conducting the focus group, I tried to follow best practices, despite being new to online zoom focus groups. For instance, in terms of online focus groups, utilizing audio and video is superior to audio alone, which presents problems of not knowing when someone might be trying to speak up (but be muted), does not include the ability to observe body language, and limits crosstalk, which "can enhance the depth of responses" (Santhosh et al 2021). Another recommendation is to keep online focus group sessions to one hour or less, which I adhered to, with all my sessions being between 23 and 44 minutes long.

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[9] I was concerned that COVID-19 and conducting a focus group over zoom could be problematic. However, other groups, including pollster Frank Luntz, are running large and successful focus groups via zoom, suggesting that a zoom focus group is quite viable (Diamond 2021).

Utilizing Zoom is also a good choice, as research notes that it provides many other functions that not all other programs do, such as waiting rooms, chat functionality, breakout rooms, screen sharing, room encryption, and session recording (Santhosh et al 2021). I was able to utilize the recording function in particular, as it meant I could focus fully on the focus group (and not be distracted with note-taking) and have full recordings of everything the students said. Another function that helps aid online focus groups is the "raise hand" feature on Zoom. This can help discussion and make sure that respondents do not speak over each other. I encouraged the use of the raise hand feature in my sessions (Santhosh et al 2021).

I found the chat function similarly crucial, as to allow shyer students the ability to participate privately if they were not comfortable discussing their thoughts in the open. This allowed me to gain responses that I might have missed in an in-person focus group or an online focus group that lacked a chat function. Feminism, or any political topic, can be one that people are sensitive sharing their opinions on, so the private chat allowed respondents to send their answers to me without their fellow respondents seeing, allowing shyer participants to also provide their answers. Having the chat function was especially beneficial for one of my sessions in particular. While sessions one through four were relatively harmonious, session five opened with a particularly negative response towards feminism. From there on, almost the entire focus group was conducted via the chat, as respondents seemed to feel too uncomfortable to express their opinions. The chat was highly active though, allowing me to still gain valuable responses to my questions. Santhosh et al (2021) actually recommend discouraging the chat function, however, their

reasoning was that it would not be picked up in the recording. Arizona State University's Zoom service allows the meeting host to download a chat log, thus preserving the chat.

There are many benefits to conducting a focus group. This focus group not only gives me access to qualitative data for my dissertation, but it was also helpful in developing my experimental stimuli and some of the questions I ask in my experiment. For example, the focus group results validate the decision to omit identifying a specific type of feminism (liberal, radical, etc.) in the experimental stimulus. In the focus group, respondents frequently assumed liberal feminism when discussing what feminism means. For example, a male student from session two said "It's not only female equality, it's gender equality as a whole," a female student from session three said feminism was about "[believing] in equal rights and equal pay," and a several students (male and female) from session one discussed feminism meaning "women are as powerful as men and everybody is equal," "the goal is to be equal and have women's rights," and "just supporting women's rights, supporting equality."

It has been useful in adding realistic details to my stimulus and in coming up with additional questions for the experiment. The focus group also provides a lot of open-ended answers that could provide context regarding the quantitative answers I provided during the experiment. As an example, the focus group inspired the final question of my experiment. In particular, since many different aspects of feminism were discussed in the focus group, I thought it would be beneficial to ask experimental subjects to define feminism at the end of the experimental session. With this additional question, I can better understand how respondents are thinking about feminism during the experimental

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procedure. Being able to utilize both qualitative and quantitative data provides my research with more nuance.

## Preliminary Survey

In running a preliminary study, I hoped to gain a better understanding of how to best measure feminism. To do this, I introduced several different questions on feminism such as feeling thermometers, a simple yes/no, a Likert scale of how well feminist defined someone, if someone would publicly identify as a feminist. With this information, I can compare the different variables to one another using factor analysis and ensure that my questions are measuring the same concept. It also allows me to compare measures of feminism with other variables, such as gender variables or ideology, and see if what I am measuring is actually feminism, or just a broader liberal concept or equality concept. This assisted me in selecting which questions would work best for my survey experiment.

The survey was conducted via the SPGS Experimental lab. The survey was in the field from October 28th to November 4th, 2021 and was conducted online. 357 respondents completed the survey and it took participants an average of 38 minutes and 90 seconds to complete.[10] The respondents were drawn from a pool of undergraduate students enrolled in political science courses here at Arizona State University. Table 2 below shows the demographics for the study.

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[10] This study was also piloted by the SPGS Experimental Lab group, who are skilled in assessing a study for all sorts of issues, from better ways to word questions to identifying potential problems in a study's design.

Table 2: Preliminary Survey Demographics

| Age | |
|---|---|
| Average Age | 22.18 |
| Youngest | 18 |
| Oldest | 52 |
| **Gender** | |
| Men | 45.94% |
| Women | 51.26% |
| **Partisanship** | |
| Democrat | 49.02% |
| Republican | 16.53% |
| Independent | 25.49% |
| Other | 8.96% |
| **Race** | |
| African American | 5.32% |
| White | 61.90% |
| Asian | 7.28% |
| Native American or American Indian | 1.40% |
| Middle Eastern | 4.76% |
| Other | 9.24% |
| Two or More Races | 11.48% |
| **Ethnicity** | |
| Latino | 25.21% |
| Not Latino | 74.79% |

In the creation of the preliminary survey, my goal was to test a wide variety of questions, some pertaining to gender and feminism, but others pertaining to other social issues that I suspected could be related to attitudes surrounding feminism. The study begins with a series of standard political questions—asking about party identification, ideology, political interest, political knowledge, and more. Ideology and party identification are both important for my study, especially considering that I am evaluating perceptions of feminist candidates along party lines. I also suspect that feminists are more likely to be politically engaged, seeing as caring about feminism is inherently political. I then also employ several indices. These include the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick and Fiske 1996), the Social Dominance Orientation scale (Pratto et al 1994), as well as the standard questions on racial equality. The ASI is especially important as a measure of sexism. Seeing that my study focuses on feminist candidates, having an understanding of how sexism influences respondents' feelings towards feminist candidates is important. I also believe that SDO could be impactful. Those who are high in SDO tend to see the world in terms of hierarchical relationships, a world where the strong rule over the weak (Pratto et al 1994, Duckitt 2006). Therefore, I suspect that those high in SDO will respond negatively to feminist candidates, as feminism could be seen as an ideology which disrupts the power balance of patriarchy, where men are the group that have power over women, given that men tend to be seen as strong and women as weak.

I also included a variety of survey questions on both gender and feminism, including attitudes as well as policy. For example, regarding attitudes, I ask questions regarding gender and issue competency (asking about "feminine" issues such as education, women's issues, and health care, as well as "masculine" issues such as the

economy and defense), as well as questions regarding a woman's place in politics, and gendered traits (honesty, compassion, knowledgeable, strong, etc.) I also ask policy questions on abortion, paid family leave, funding women's shelters, and universal childcare.

Some of the questions were of my own design, with many inspired by researchers in the field (McCabe 2005, Fridkin & Kenney (various works), Tremblay and Pelletier 2000). In particular, I asked direct questions feminist identification, such as: "how well does the term 'feminist' describe you?" on a seven-point scale, "do you identify as a feminist?" (yes or no), as well as indirect questions such as feelings of warmth towards feminist, as well as feminist movements and institutions (#MeToo and Planned Parenthood). Finally, the survey closes with demographic questions such as gender of the respondent, age, and religiosity, so I can understand how these factors influence support of feminist candidates.

Regarding the study, one potential issue it faced was survey fatigue, as it does contain numerous questions and on average, the study took participants 38 minutes and 90 seconds to complete. To combat this, I strategically spaced out the questions so that not too many questions were on a single page. Furthermore, I employed several different kinds of question formats (multiple choice, matrices, feeling thermometers) to introduce variety into the study and break up monotony. In terms of question ordering, I began the study with more general political issues (most important issue, ideology, partisanship), before delving into the questions on feminism and gender. I also concluded the study with demographic questions, so that nothing that required extensive thought was left for the very end. While this is somewhat lengthy, it seems my efforts to lessen fatigue were

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fairly successful, as the study had only minimal drop out, with only 8 respondents out of 368 not finishing the study.

## Survey Experiment

Hypotheses

In this experiment, I utilize a representative sample to study how people perceive feminist candidates. The experiment was made to look like a general social survey, with a few questions on feminism, as well as several other social and political issues. The stimulus is a fictional Reuters article about a fictional House of Representatives candidate running for office. The articles are identical in every way, only the candidate's gender and party varies, as well as whether or not the candidate describes her or himself as a feminist. The stimulus is followed by a few questions regarding the candidate as well as a final question regarding how the respondent defines feminism.

*Gender*

To begin with, gender plays an important role in determining people's responses. I think gender operates in two distinct ways. First, I consider how the gender of the respondent affects people's attitudes. I expect that women respondents will rate feminist candidates more favorably than will men respondents, given that women are more likely to identify as a feminist and think more warmly of feminism (Cook & Wilcox 1991, Bolzendahl & Myers 2004).

H1: Women will rate the feminist candidate more positively than men will.

Second, I consider how the gender of the candidate will affect people's opinions. I think that male candidates who are feminists are likely to receive more support than women

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candidates who are feminists. Since I believe women will be seen more critically by those who don't support feminism and simultaneously, people will be more impressed by men who support feminism. As in many areas of life, women are faced with a double bind (and a double standard) that men are not hindered by. Many women politicians are cognizant of the fact that there are consequences for both presenting as too masculine and consequences for presenting as too feminine. Carroll also notes the "risk of coming across as 'women's libbers'" if they put too much emphasis on gender issues (Carroll 1994).

H2: Male feminist candidates will receive more support than female feminist candidates.

Finally, I think there is the potential for a gender interaction effect. In general, women (respondents) will respond more warmly to women (candidates) than will men (respondents), and men (respondents) will respond more warmly to men (candidates) than will women (respondents). I also tentatively believe (in accordance with H2), that the effect for men (respondents) x men (candidates) will be slightly stronger (warmer) than the effect for women (respondents) x women (candidates). This concern was echoed In my focus group sessions, for example a female student from session four stated "I think additionally, men are kind of applauded when they do consider themselves feminists…if you…just care about gender quality you're almost put on a pedestal as a man, but as a woman you just get immediately attacked." Another female student from the same group stated "if a male were to identify as feminist, then I almost feel like they would carry more influence amongst the men than the women would…if a male politicians were to speak on feminist ideals…more men would listen than if that person were a female."

H3: Respondents will respond more warmly to the candidate that shares their

gender.

*Party*

In terms of party, Democrats will be more likely to support feminist candidates

than Republicans, given that Democrats are more likely to be feminists and the ideals of

the Democratic party align more closely with feminism than do the ideals of the

Republican party (Huddy & Willmann 2017).

H4: Democrats will be more likely to support feminist candidates than

Republicans.

However, I also believe that there could be a strong co-partisan effect. Both Republicans

and Democrats will be more likely to support the feminist candidate if that candidate is a

co-partisan than if they were not.

H5: Respondents will be more likely to support a feminist candidate if the

candidate is a co-partisan.

*Feminism*

Finally, a person's feelings on feminism will play a large role in their support of a

feminist candidate. First and foremost, I predict that feminist candidates will receive less

support than non-feminist candidates.

H6: Feminists will receive less support than their non-feminist counterparts.

I predict that if a respondent identifies as a feminist, they will be more likely to

support a feminist candidate than someone who does not identify as a feminist.

H7: Those who identify as feminists will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not identify as feminists.

However, feminist identification can be difficult, as many people may agree with feminist ideals, but not be willing to identify as a feminist. How many times have we heard the phrase "I'm not a feminist, but…"? Therefore, my subsequent expectation is that people who support feminism will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not support feminism. This could be measured from how they rate feminists on a feeling thermometer, to how strongly they agree or disagree with feminist policies.

H8: Those who support feminism will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not support feminism.

Finally, though I think gender will play some role, and that party will also play a strong role in determining a respondent's feelings towards a candidate, I believe that feminist beliefs (identification or support) will be the most powerful indicator in determining a respondent's levels of support for a candidate.

H9: Feminist identification and/or belief will be the most powerful factor in determining support for feminist candidates.

## Methodology

The main methodological focus of my dissertation is an online survey experiment, which I commissioned via Dynata. Through the SPGS Summer Research Grant, I was able to secure $3,000.00 for my experiment, all of which was put towards securing respondents for my study. The study ran from June 7th to June 24th, 2022. Six hundred and seventy respondents completed the survey experiment. On average, the study took 31 minutes and 30 seconds to complete. By using Dynata, I had access to a representative

sample, allowing me to make more accurate generalizations to the US population. A representative sample is important for a question like this. Dynata is a reputable survey firm and has been used by other political scientists (Fridkin & Kenney working paper, Uscinski et al 2020). Dynata has an extensive subject pool of U.S. adults; to recruit participants to their pool, they employ invitations via email, web banners, phone alerts, and more. They screen the participants and take into account characteristics such as sex, age, and ethnicity, for quotas to ensure a sample that mirrors the U.S. population (Shaverdian, Yeboa, Gardner, Harari, Liao, McCloskey, Tuli, Vapiwala, and Jagsi, 2019). It should be noted that as the studies are opt-in, they are a non-probability sample, though as other studies have demonstrated, non-probability samples can still have accurate results (Twyman 2008; Vavreck and Rivers 2008). Furthermore, had I employed a student sample, I would have worried that I may have over-represent feminists and those that feel warmly towards feminism given the more democratic and liberal views students can have. A representative sample through Dynata gives me access to a wide range of ages as well as races to more accurately reflect the country's population. Table 3 below shows the demographics of the study.

Table 3: Survey Experiment Demographics

|  | Dynata Sample | 2020 Census |
|---|---|---|
| **Gender** |  |  |
| Women | 52.99% | 50.5% |
| Men | 46.57% | 49.5% |
| **Race/Ethnicity** |  |  |
| White | 41.04% | 57.8% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Black | 17.91% | 12.1% |
| Latino | 19.55% | 18.7% |
| Asian | 6.72% | 5.9% |
| Native Americans | 2.39% | .7% |
| Two or more races | 8.66% | 4.1% |
| Other | 3.73 | 0.5% |
| **Age** | | |
| 15-24 | 10.46% | 13.0% |
| 25-34 | 14.65% | 13.7% |
| 35-44 | 18.09% | 13.1% |
| 45-54 | 17.34% | 12.3% |
| 55-64 | 17.79% | 12.9% |
| 65-74 | 16.44% | 8.27% |
| 75-84 | 4.78% | 4.87% |
| 85+ | 0.45% | 1.8% |

In terms of gender, my numbers are quite close to the census, only a couple of percentage points different, with women being slightly overrepresented and men being slightly underrepresented.[11] Furthermore, in the Dynata sample, there are slightly more women than men. In terms of age, my respondents look slightly overrepresented in each category, however, this is due to the fact that the census includes those under the age of 18, whereas my study did not. Therefore, my numbers are slightly higher than the census. Even so, the largest difference is 8.17% for those aged between 65 and 74, which is

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[11] I included options for "other" and "prefer not to say," which is why the numbers do not perfectly add to 100%. Only 3 respondents chose either of those options.

overrepresented in my experiment. The smallest gap is only .09% (75-84). Finally, in terms of race and ethnicity, my results are a bit mixed.[12] Several groups are quite close, such as Latinos and Asians, other groups were fairly close, such as African Americans (17.91% in my study compared to 12.1% in the census). Though the following groups were small, I had considerably more Native Americans, two or more races, and other races in my study. Finally, I underrepresented whites with a 16% difference between my study and the census. While this does reflect a bit of a difference to the general population, perhaps it helped me get a better sample of people of color. Overall, the sample is fairly close to the general population, with gender and age aligning quite well. Race and ethnicity saw some differences, with some my sample being somewhat close or quite close to the census for many races (African American, Latino, Asian), with overrepresentation in my sample for some of the smaller racial categories (other, two or more, Native Americans), and some underrepresentation for white Americans.

*Experimental Design*

To test my main hypotheses, I utilized a survey experiment. In this experiment, I exposed respondents to a fictional news article about a candidate running for political office. I utilize a 2x2x3 design. This design varies the gender of the candidate (man or woman), the candidate's partisanship (Democrat, Republican, or no stated party), and finally, whether or not the candidate states that they are a feminist. For varying gender, I either called the candidate Elizabeth Walters or James Walters, and used she/her

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[12] This question allowed respondents to select as many answers as they needed from the following categories: African American, White, Hispanic or Latino, Asian, Native American or American Indian, and Other.

pronouns to refer to Elizabeth Walters and he/him pronouns to refer to James Walters. It is important to vary gender, as I believe respondents react differently towards male feminists than they do towards female feminists. I think male respondents especially prefer the male feminist candidate over the female feminist candidate. Party is another variable that I expect to hold strong influence, as feminism seems to have a strong impact on partisan sorting (Huddy & Willmann 2017). However, the key factor in my stimulus is whether the candidate identifies as a feminist or not.

As for the stimulus itself, I created fictional news articles.[13] For these fictional articles, I had them appear as if they were Reuters articles, as I wanted the source to be non-controversial, but credible. Reuters is both a credible news source, and less polarized than the New York Times or Fox News, so it hopefully does not bias participants in a negative way (Baum and Groeling 2008, Ad Fontes 2023). By using a real news source, I hope to convince participants that this is a real article about a real electoral contest, enhancing the study's validity. The fictional news article describes candidate Walters, who is a House candidate running for office. I have chosen a House candidate due to the fact that it is less likely that participants can identify the candidate as fictional. I also identify this candidate as running in a specific district that is likely to be a less recognizable district. More specifically, the candidate is running in Ohio's tenth congressional district; a district with no major cities and also has a history of voting for both Democrats and Republicans. The study was also run from June 7th to June 24th, 2022, several months prior to a midterm election, which should have helped to bolster the validity of the stimulus.

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[13] See Appendix D For all twelve stimuli articles.

In terms of the specifics of the stimulus, the basic premise of the news article covers the candidate's visit to a local school in his/her potential future district. The article briefly mentions that candidate Walters is running for House of Representatives in Ohio's tenth congressional district, and mentions the party affiliation of the candidate (or mention no party at all). The article also makes the candidate's gender clear, by utilizing the gendered names Elizabeth Walters and James Walters, as well as either she/her and he/him pronouns. The article then describes the candidate speaking at a school assembly to the school children, then responding to their questions. One of the questions is asked by a little girl, who asks: "I'd like to be president one day, could I run for office too?" to which the candidate either answers: "As a mother/father of two young girls, I think you absolutely can be president. In fact, as a feminist, I'd like to see more little girls like you run for office" or "As a mother/father of two young girls, I think you absolutely can be president. In America, anyone can grow up to be president." I included the part about being a parent to young girls to increase validity, especially in the case of the Republican feminist candidates. I worried that it would seem implausible for a Republican (especially a Republican man) to claim that they are a feminist, but having daughters should have made it more plausible for respondents.

With the exception of the names (and corresponding pronouns), the party affiliation, and the answer to the little girl's question, the articles are identical, to avoid creating further variation that may influence the answers of respondents. To add to the realism, I have also included a picture of the school visited, which is a real school in Ohio's tenth district. Finally, to increase the realism of my articles, I tried my best to mimic the news style of Reuters. I found two actual Reuters articles that covered

politicians visiting local schools and supplemented this as well with two additional non-Reuters articles (Mason 2021, Reuters Staff 2007, Whitehurst & Eppolito 2021, and Apodaca 2020). After reading these articles, I did my best to emulate their writing style, so that my fictional news article reads like a legitimate news story.

Finding a way to indicate feminism without priming other feminist issues outside of pure feminist identification was important. In the news article, I had a student at the school campaign event ask about running for office herself. The candidate either stated that anyone could run for office (non-feminist answer) or stated that "as a feminist, I'd love to see more young girls like you run for office." The "as a feminist" component of the answer was the only indicator of feminist beliefs. There are a few reasons for this decision. First, I expect merely identifying as a feminist to be powerful enough to elicit strong opinions from respondents. Second, I worried that adding feminist issues into the equation could influence respondents. For example, if I mentioned abortion (a prominent feminist issue), I might alienate those who consider themselves to be pro-life feminists. Finally, this increases validity, since I did not include extra factors which might actually be driving my results. Since the study is interested in feminism first and foremost, utilizing only feminism seemed like the cleanest way forward. In other words, with this experimental design, I can see if a candidate simply referring to him or herself as a feminist influences people's evaluations of the candidate.

The results of the survey experiment helps to update and expand our understanding of feminism. To begin, I was able to gather data on the percentage of feminists in my sample, if participants believe in feminist ideas but do not identify as a feminist, if participants prefer feminist candidates to non-feminist candidates, if certain

characteristics (i.e., candidate gender or potentially party) make a feminist candidate more or less appealing, and if people's perceptions of feminism change given what kind of candidate they are exposed to. For example, if a respondent rates feminists negatively but then is exposed to a male feminist or a Republican feminist, did that positively or negatively alter their opinion of feminists from the pre-test to the posttest (or vice versa for someone who rates feminists highly and was then exposed to a Republican feminist candidate?).

*Questionnaire[14]*

The pre-test of the experiment asks several questions related to political beliefs (ideology, party identification) as well as questions probing whether or not participants are feminists and whether or not they agree with certain feminist goals, seeing as agreeing with feminist goals and identifying as a feminist do not always align (Delmar 1986, Conover 1988, McCabe 2005, Rhodebeck 1996). Along these lines, authors have noted different ways of operationalizing feminism, with some using direct questions such as "do you identify as a feminist" while others ask respondents to rate how warmly they feel about feminism or probe respondents' agreement with feminist beliefs (Huddy et al 2000). Drawing from the work of other scholars, I ask the following questions regarding feminism: "Do you identify as a feminist?" (with a yes/no response) for those who answered yes, I subsequently ask "How willing are you to identify as a feminist publicly?" (7-point Likert scale from "very unwilling" to "very willing"), I also ask "How well does the term 'feminist' describe you?" (4-point Likert scale from "not well at

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[14] See Appendix C for the complete survey instrument.

all" to "extremely well"), and finally I have a feeling thermometer for feminists. Furthermore, in my experiment as well as in my focus group, I asked open-ended questions, where participants can describe what they think feminism means, as well as the70olitictions the word feminism has in their mind (Jackson et al 1996, Toller et al 2004). For example, the experiment concluded with the question "how would you define the word 'feminist'? What comes to mind when you think of feminists?."

I have also researched multiple surveys both on feminism and on gender and have gathered their appendices and questionnaires, as well as looking at studies which compare measures of sexism (Toller et al 2004, Beere et al 1984, Swim & Cohen 1997). By having multiple measures of feminism, I can test different measures to see how well they relate to each other with factor analysis (Cook & Wilcox 1991, Conover 1988). By having multiple measures, especially some which don't just ask "do you identify as a feminist?" I have also incorporated "unconscious" feminists (Delmar 1986) who may agree with feminist ideals but are hesitant to call themselves feminists. What I do as much as possible is use these pre-established questions, only creating my own when I can find no precedent. This way, I am sure that I am using measures that are likely to be valid and reliable. Asking respondents if they are feminists (as well as subsequently asking if they are open about being feminists) and if they feel warmly towards feminists certainly has face validity; these questions are straightforward and are unlikely to be misinterpreted. By asking multiple questions to measure feminism, I also have content validity, identifying as feminist, supporting feminists, and answering in a non-sexist way on questions regarding gender roles all focus on similar aspects. For instance, while identifying as a feminist is one obvious aspect, questions regarding gender roles represent

a different dimension. Many people hold feminist beliefs (i.e. women and men should be given equal opportunities), but hesitate on claiming the title of feminist. So, these distinct questions represent areas of ideological agreement (gender role questions), self-identification (openly identifying as a feminist), and allyship (supporting feminists). By measuring these different dimensions of feminism, I increase my confidence in the validity of my measurement of feminism.

A few other crucial variables on feminism that I include are: "do you identify as a feminist?" which is couched in the pre-test amongst a series of other issue questions (i.e., "do you support the Black Lives Matter movement?"). If a respondent answered yes on the "do you identify as a feminist" question, it is followed up with a question asking if the respondent identifies as a feminist openly or only privately (Anderson 2009, Leaper & Arias 2011). This was also supported by some of the responses in my focus group, for example a woman from session two of my focus group stated "I am a feminist. It's not a label I really throw out there because I know there's a lot of negative connotations…and a lot of misconceptions" while a woman from session three said "If they're saying they're a feminist, I just automatically think they're just a little more on the radical side…I wouldn't put in my Instagram bio 'feminist.'" Another question that is important is a feeling thermometer rating how warmly people feel about feminists in general. This question appears in the pre-test and the post-test, to test if participants' responses changed after their potential exposure to a feminist candidate. Finally, within a series of issue questions, I have included a series of questions asking how much people support feminist issues. Some of the feminist issues I have included are equal pay and abortion. Finally, I included some questions about women's roles, asking agree/disagree statements such as

"most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women" (Toller et al 2004).

Taking this into account, my intended dependent variables to measure support for a feminist candidate include a feeling thermometer for how warmly respondents rate the candidate, a Likert scale of how likely they are to vote for candidate Walters, how competent they believe the candidate would be in terms of effectively representing them in Washington, and finally, how confident respondents' feel in the candidate's ability to legislate on women's rights issues.

Given that I am interested about how voters respond to feminist candidates, it is crucial to ask about vote likelihood, to see how willing respondents are to actually elect a feminist to office. Warmth is another important factor in measuring support for feminist candidates. Laustsen and Bor (2017) find that warmth is more important in determining candidate evaluations and vote choice than any of the other factors they considered (competence, leadership, and integrity). This demonstrates that warmth is a key factor in understanding the preceding variable (likelihood of voting). Furthermore, warmth is a particularly important variable to better understand perceptions of women. Stereotypically, women, are "supposed" to be nice and warm. Because of this, likability plays a large role in evaluations of women in leadership roles that are deemed to be incompatible with their gender roles (Bligh et al 2012). Furthermore, in their study, Bligh et al found that for women, likability is often focused on in the political sphere, even more so than competence (2012). That being said, competence is another important variable to ascertain, as it shows whether or not voters believe feminists to be capable when it comes to representing their constituents in Washington, a vital component of

being an elected official. Finally, I also wanted to ask how confident respondents were in candidate Walters's ability to legislate on women's issues, since this should be a policy area where feminists should do particularly well in.

I placed the questions about feminism and feminist issues to be in the pretest to ensure that the stimulus did not bias them. Though having done this, there is a concern that I could have alerted participants to the subject of the study and potentially primed them. To avoid this, as I said, I was careful to couch the questions about feminism in several other questions, to make it appear as a general social issues study. For example, questions about race, the environment, and more were also featured. The feeling thermometer asking about feminists was one of several asking about other groups (i.e., Black Lives Matter activists). I also asked the more blatant questions about feminism in the beginning of the study, so that by the time they've reached the stimulus, many other questions would have been fresher in their memory.

I have created my survey to appear as a general social issues study. To do this, I began the study with a question about what the respondent believes is the most important issue facing the U.S. today. I then followed up with general political questions, asking about interest, news habits, party identification, and more. Then I get into the specific social issue questions. I ask a few, brief specific questions ("do you support or oppose the Black Lives Matter movement?", "how well does the term 'feminist' describe you?", and "do you identify as a feminist?") before asking a series of feeling thermometer questions about various groups (feminists being one of them, along with Black Lives Matter, Qanon, The NRA, Proud Boys, #MeToo, and Planned Parenthood). I then ask a series of questions, the first page about race-related questions, the second page about gender and

feminism questions, and the last asking about gun control issues. I chose race and gun control as my two other question types because both are very relevant issues in American society currently and fit well in a general social issues study. I also included both race and gun control in the first question of my study, which asks respondents to select their most important issue from a list of fifteen different issues facing the United States. Furthermore, each page contains about four questions (some of which are matrices with more questions included), so the questions are not too long or time consuming. By couching the feminism and gender questions in the middle, I hope to conceal my interest in gender and feminism.

After the pretest questionnaire, I present the stimulus, which is followed by a few questions specific to the candidate, while the candidate is still fresh in the respondent's mind. Finally, I re-ask the series of feeling thermometers. I strategically placed filler questions between the two feeling thermometers, not to mention the stimulus, therefore, so respondents should not realize that they are being asked a repeated question. I also have a few more questions on gender (political gender stereotypes and issue competency, policy questions on abortion, parental leave), as well as questions measuring Social Dominance Orientation (Pratto et al 1994). Given that those high in SDO prefer hierarchical relationships between groups and that they especially favor a world where the strong dominate the weak, I believe that those high in SDO will be against feminist candidates (Pratto et al 1994, Duckitt 2006). They might believe that in the "natural order" women are weak while men are strong, and that men are meant to be the dominant gender of the two. Following that, I ask demographic questions about age, gender, education, and more at the end of the survey.

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In terms of question wording, I borrow many questions from studies I have read as well as studies conducted through the SPGS Experimental Lab. I am mostly asking closed-ended, multiple choice questions, most of which are on a Likert scale. For the Likert scale questions, I try to avoid biasing a positive or negative response by asking "do you support or oppose…" instead of asking "do you support," this way, the respondent is presented with an even take on both options (support or oppose) rather than being pushed slightly towards one option (support). The only open-ended questions I ask are clearly worded and at the end of the study, which are "What do you think this study is about?" and "How would you define the word 'feminist'? What comes to mind when you think of feminists?". For some questions (e.g. What is the most important issue in the U.S. today?) I randomize the order of the responses. When I offer "other" options, I leave a textbox for respondents to specify their responses. The questions I ask are clear and easily understandable and I also take care not to ask double-barreled questions.

<center>Threats to Internal and External Validity</center>

*Internal Validity*

When conducting an experiment, it is vital to minimize threats to the many types of internal validity. Control groups and randomization can increase a study's internal validity, all of which I have utilized. Here I discuss how I worked to reduce the following threats. First, to minimize history, participants in all of the experimental conditions are simultaneously participating in the study at the same point in time, therefore, no condition is exposed to a different history than the other conditions.

Second, maturation should not have been an issue. I designed each stimulus article to be identical except for a party-identifier, a gendered name, and a single answer to a question (denoting feminism or not) changing between the conditions. Therefore, no experimental condition should have been any longer than another and maturation should not have been an issue for my study.

Testing is something that I worked closely to guard against. The worry of testing is that exposure to the pre-test may influence the post-test. I do have several questions about feminism, however, between those questions I interspersed questions about several other sociopolitical issues (race, gun control, general ideological questions). This should conceal the questions about feminism in the pretest, making the study seem like a general sociopolitical issues study. Furthermore, given the number of questions in between the pretest feminism questions (which are asked earlier in the study) and the posttest questions (such as the feminists feeling thermometer and the ASI), respondents should have long forgotten those questions, and in the case of the feeling thermometer specifically, where they ranked feminists. I also asked participants an open-ended question at the end, asking what they thought the study was about, even those that did mention gender (which were few), often included it with other social or political variables. Many people did assume (as intended), that the study was just about general political issues.

Instrumentation is another potential concern for internal validity. Instrumentation presents an issue when the survey questions change from the pretest to the posttest. Therefore, if researchers find different results from pretest to posttest, they will not know if it is due to the stimulus or due to the change in question wording. In my study, I only

repeat one question, the question of the various feeling thermometers for feminists, the NRA, Black Lives Matter, and more. I also copied and pasted the question exactly in Qualtrics when I created the study, so the wording and formatting are perfectly identical.

By randomizing participants into my experimental conditions, I guard against selection biases and regression toward the mean. Through randomization, any extreme cases (very strong feminists or very strong anti-feminists) would have been randomly sorted into different conditions, which should ensure that regression was not unduly affecting one condition. For example, I do not select people to different experimental groups based on their extreme values on a feminism index.

Dynata also ensured that I received a set number of completes, meaning that experimental mortality was not too much of a concern either. The relative shortness of the study should hopefully have guarded against that as well. Furthermore, though I was asking people's opinions on potentially controversial topics, my stimulus itself was not very inflammatory, I do not think it would have prompted anyone to quit out of anger. Running the study through Dynata also guarded against several other threats to internal validity such as diffusion or imitation of treatments, which is when participants discuss the study which might lead to equalization of outcomes across the groups; compensation, compensatory rivalry, which is when subjects try to compete to try and outperform the group that is receiving benefits; and demoralization problems which is when subjects might underperform or give up if they feel that they are not getting the benefits that another group is getting. Since respondents were from all over the country, the chance of them not only having had contact, but discussing my study together was extremely slim.

Not to mention that there was no time off during my study when participants might have talked to one another.

*External Validity*

Not only is guarding against internal validity important, but it is also necessary to consider external validity. One thing I was sure to do regarding external validity was to try to have the experiment open for a short amount of time. Though I am unable to prevent historic events from happening, by conducting an experiment that only lasted about two weeks, I at least tried to minimize the possibility that something occurred during that time. On the final day the study was open, Roe vs Wade was officially overturned, luckily, I only had a handful of respondents on that day.[15] Also, the decision had been leaked prior to the study starting.

One thing that I also avoided is hosting my study during an election time, since that would be an event that I think could have been influential on my study, and one I was able to plan around, since election timing is always known. Therefore, by fielding my study from June 7th to June 24th, 2022, I was months away from an election.

Looking at specific issues of external validity though, one concern is the issue of interaction effects of testing and treatment. To mitigate this, as I have discussed, I tried to conceal the purpose of the experiment from my subjects by interspersing the questions I was interested in with lots of other questions that are unrelated to my project.

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[15] Most of the respondents were collected in the first few days of the study. However, as some of those respondents proved that they were not taking the study seriously, I was able to receive new, appropriate responses from Dynata, meaning that in the last several days of the study, only a few new respondents were trickling in.

Furthermore, the more "obvious" a question is in its purpose (i.e., "do you identify as a feminist?") was placed earlier in the study, further away from the stimulus. This should have prevented respondents from becoming primed by feminism.

Another potential problem for external validity is interaction effects of selection biases with the experimental variable, which is when the outcome of the study only occurred because of the specific qualities of the group selected for study. Because my study uses a representative sample, I do not think that this was a problem.

Dealing with reactive effects of experimental arrangements is another threat to external validity. In this case, I worked to mitigate the effects of running an online experiment by making the fictional news article seem as realistic as possible, by using photoshop of a pre-existing Reuters article. I also read Reuters articles to try and replicate the journalistic style. Additionally, I included a photograph of a real school from Ohio's tenth district (where the campaign event is being held). Finally, since so many people read the news on the internet these days, that should have provided further realism.

Overall, by using three different research methods (focus groups, survey, survey experiment), I have a wide variety of data to examine feminist candidates from many different angles. Though the focus group's primary aim was to help in designing my stimulus and deciding which questions to ask in my experiment, I also included questions asking about perceptions of feminists in general as well as feminist candidates specifically. The survey, run through the SPGS Experimental Lab, also asks several questions on gender and feminism, though does not have an experimental component. Therefore, I have three studies that are formatted quite differently, took place at different times and with different groups of people. Additionally, external validity is further

enhanced as I am using a diverse sample of the country, which increases the generalizability of my results.

By utilizing both qualitative and quantitative data, it helps me combat weaknesses that can arise by using just one methodology, as well as build on the strengths by using two methods. Through my experiment, I gain precision by controlling for and isolating my main variable of interest (whether or not the candidate declares him or herself to be a feminist). The experiment also helps demonstrate causality. The weaknesses of experiments, however, lie in their artificiality. Through my focus group, I gain a greater depth of understanding and a more real-world understanding of people's opinions of feminism. However, the focus group is small and the sample is not representative, therefore generalization from this data can be difficult.

While the study naturally had some elements of artificiality, as is the nature of online survey experiments, the benefits of the experiment outweighed the drawbacks for my research design. For instance, by utilizing an experiment, I was able to isolate and control the exact factors that I was interested in (feminism, candidate gender, etc.). With high internal validity and tight control over the experiment, I was able to identify causality, which is crucial for my research question and examining what factors lead to support for feminist candidates.

CHAPTER 5

MEASURING FEMINISM

## Measuring Feminism

One important question before I began my survey experiment was how to measure feminism. In my literature review, I researched several different ways researchers had posed the question (yes/no, feeling thermometers towards feminist groups, how well does feminist describe you, etc.). However, going beyond what other researchers did, it was important to ensure that I was actually measuring the correct concepts. Therefore, I conducted a survey prior to launching my survey experiment. The survey was conducted through the SPGS Experimental Lab. It ran from October 28th to November 4th, 2021 and in total had 357 respondents, all of whom were students enrolled in a political science course at Arizona State University. On average, the study took participants 38 minutes and 90 seconds to complete. The study was also piloted by the SPGS Experimental Lab group, who helped edit the study.

In the creation of the preliminary survey, my goal was to test a wide variety of questions, some pertaining to gender and feminism, but others pertaining to other social issues that I suspected could be related to attitudes surrounding feminism. The study begins with a series of standard political questions—asking about party identification, ideology, political interest, political knowledge, and more. I then also employ several indices. These include the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the Social Dominance Orientation scale, as well as the standard questions on race. I also have a variety of survey questions on both gender and feminism. These questions span attitudes as well as policy. Some were of my own design, with many also inspired by other researchers in the

field (McCabe 2005, Fridkin & Kenney 2011, Fridkin and Kenney 2009, Fridkin, Kenney, and Woodall 2009, Tremblay and Pelletier 2000). Finally, the survey closes with demographic questions.

Regarding the study itself, one potential issue it faced was survey fatigue, as it does contain numerous questions. To combat this, I strategically spaced out the questions so that not too many questions were on a single page. I also concluded the study with demographic questions, so that nothing that required extensive thought was left for the very end. Though the study was somewhat long, I only had eight respondents that did not complete the study.

Regarding the feminist questions, I wanted to measure feminism in a variety of different ways, so as to compare them. One of the ways I asked about feminism was asking "Do you identify as a feminist?" answerable as a yes or no question. Asking about feminism as a direct yes or no is interesting and important, since it is a label that many may hesitate to don, even if they might hold feminist beliefs. For the most part, I doubt people would pick "yes" on a whim. Other studies have also measured feminism using a dichotomous variable, such as Swirsky and Angelone, who asked the same "Do you identify as a feminist" but also included a why/why not follow-up (2016). Schnittker, Freese, and Powell asked a very similar question "Do you identify yourself as a feminist or not?" (2003). I wanted to compare the yes or no feminist question with a few other operationalizations of feminism. Another common measure I found in the literature was asking about feminist identification on a Likert scale, rather than as a yes or no. I ask "How well does the term 'feminist' describe you?" on a 7-point Likert scale from extremely well to extremely unwell. I borrow the question from Huddy and Willmann

(2017) who use the same question wording, though on a 5-point scale. Aside from feminist identification, I also wanted to measure feminist support. Many other studies have used this as a crucial measurement for their work on feminism, specifically, many utilized a feeling thermometer for feminists, which I also utilized (Huddy, Neely, and Lafay 2000, Rhodebeck 1996, Reingold and Foust 1998). Reingold and Foust also note in their study that this is one of the questions available on some of the ANES years, likely contributing to the fact that this measure is so widely used. In a similar vein, I also used feeling thermometers to measure a few modern feminist movements and institutions, such as #MeToo and Planned Parenthood, as other studies, asked about the women's liberation movement, as well as feminists on feeling thermometers (Rhodebeck 1996, Huddy, Neely, and Lafay 2000). Finally, after the "Do you identify as a feminist?" question, I had a subsequent question for those who had answered yes where I asked "How willing are you to identify as a feminist publicly?" on a 7-point Likert scale from very willing to very unwilling. I thought that this could be an interesting question to consider, given that feminism can have a negative connotation and may be a label that people hesitate to reveal to others. In their research, Leaper and Arias ask respondents if they agree or disagree with the following statement "I identify myself as a feminist to other people" (2011). Anderson (2009), asked an interesting question on a 7-point Likert scale from "I do not consider myself a feminist at all" to "I call myself a feminist around others and am currently active in the women's movement" with questions in between gauging the degree of feminist identification, activity, and willingness to be publicly feminist.

Aside from the variables measuring feminism, I also considered a wide array of variables measuring gender as well as other social issues. To begin, I utilized the

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, created by Glick and Fiske (1996). This index taps into two different aspects of sexism: hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is defined as "sexist antipathy" and "prejudice" or "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" including negative stereotypes (Glick and Fiske 1996, 491). Benevolent sexism is defined as

> "a set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g. helping) or intimacy seeking (e.g. self-disclosure). (Glick and Fiske 1996, 491).

As sexism is antithetical to feminism, it is an important aspect to compare with my feminist measures. In their study of feminism, Huddy and Willmann also employ an abbreviated version of the ASI (Huddy and Willmann 2017).

Another series of variables I included in the factor analyses with feminism was a series of questions regarding women's role in politics and in the home, created by McCabe (2005). There are six questions in total, all measured from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (7). The questions are as follows: "Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men," "If your party nominated a woman for president, you would vote for her if she were qualified for the job," "Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women," "It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family," "It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself," and "Married women should not earn money in business or industry if she has a husband that is capable of supporting her." McCabe utilized these

questions in her research to help determine the relationship between feminist

identification and feminist attitudes and beliefs both amongst men and women (2005).

I also thought it was important to consider the role of gender stereotypes. The role

of gender stereotypes in politics is an important one in the field of women and politics

and I would expect that, amongst feminists, there would be less support for gendered

stereotypes than amongst the general population, as feminists would take issue with

having gender roles imposed upon women, as well as imposed upon men. The variables I

used to measure gender stereotypes come from work by Fridkin and Kenney (2011, 2009,

with Woodall 2009). To measure gender stereotypes, I asked questions in two different

veins. The first was traits and the second was issues. Regarding traits, I asked

respondents "would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more likely to

be…" and asked about the following traits: honest, compassionate, caring,

knowledgeable, strong, have strong leadership skills, and have political experience.

Questions were asked on a 7-point scale from "female politicians are much more likely to

be…" to "male politicians are much more likely to be…". In terms of issues, I asked

"would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more adept at the following

policy areas?" and measured on a 7-point scale from "female politicians are much more

adept" to "male politicians are much more adept." The issue areas I asked about are as

follows: education, health care, women's issues, the economy, defense, dealing with

COVID-19, police reform, and dealing with racial issues. While Fridkin, Kenney, and

Woodall (2009) utilized these questions of issues and traits to examine candidate

evaluations between women candidates and male candidates, gendered stereotypes might

also interact with feminism, as many feminists would likely be cognizant of gender

stereotypes and potentially less willing to buy into negative ones.

Apart from asking about feminism and gender, I also asked other sociopolitical

questions that I thought might be related to feminism. First, I believe that ideology will

be highly related to feminism. To measure ideology, I asked respondents to place

themselves on a 7-point ideological scale from extremely liberal (1) to extremely

conservative (7).[16] Much of the research on feminist belief and identity demonstrates that

liberalism and feminism are quite intertwined, with feminists being much more likely to

be liberal than conservative (Conover 1988, Cook & Wilcox 1991, Reingold and Foust

1998, Peltola et al 2004, Bolzendahl & Myers 2004).

I also asked respondents about Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), utilizing the

index made by Pratto et al (1994). I suspect that SDO will correlated negatively with

feminism, given that feminism and SDO have conflicting beliefs about power structures

and hierarchies. While those high in SDO believe that the world is structured as the

strong and the powerful rightfully having authority over the weak and the powerless,

whereas feminism is rooted in removing the barriers set in place by patriarchal authority.

Next, I conducted the factor analyses. With these factor analyses, I wanted to test

how related my different concepts were. Especially regarding my feminism questions, I

wanted to make sure that the various questions were tapping into the same thing, rather

than inadvertently evoking different responses. First, I ran the test with three of my four

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[16] The following is the exact text of the question to measure ideology: "One way that people talk about politics in the United States is in terms of liberal, conservative, and moderate ideology.  The political views people might hold are often arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought enough about it to answer this question?"

feminist variables: "how well does the term 'feminist' describe you?," "How willing are you to identify as a feminist publicly?," and the feminist feeling thermometer.[17] In total, this revealed 3 factors, with one retained[18], and only one of them had an Eigenvalue above 1 (1.53). This factor also explained each variable considerably, with the lowest factor value being .68. The question asking about public identification was only shown to respondents if they had first previously answered "yes" to the question "Do you identify as a feminist," therefore, only a considerably smaller subset of the population saw the question regarding public feminist identification. Subsequently, I decided to also run a test between just the feminist feeling thermometer and "how well does the term 'feminist' describe you" variable, thus giving me more observations. This time, there were only two factors, with one retained, and once again, only one had an Eigenvalue above 1 (1.61). Furthermore, this factor explained .8967 for both feminist variables. Both of these tests, especially the second, demonstrate considerable similarity between my feminist variables, especially between feminist identity and feeling warmly towards feminists. The public feminist variable, though still very similar, might also differ due to the nature of the public aspect of the question, whereas the other two only probe belief and opinion.

The feminist variables align very well with each other, which is important for my work, it means my feminist questions are all targeting the same central underlying concept. But I also wanted to run my feminist variables with some of my other gender questions. I had a series of different questions regarding sexism (ASI), gender stereotypes

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[17] The final feminist question "Do you identify as a feminist" is a yes/no question (only two answers), so would not work for the factor analysis.
[18] In stata, a factor is retained if it has a positive Eigenvalue, those with negative Eigenvalues are not counted amongst the retained variables.

related to politics (McCabe 2005), gendered traits and issues and their relation to politics (Fridkin, Kenney, and Woodall 2009, Fridkin and Kenney 2011, 2009), and many more. Turning first to the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, I ran three factor analyses, all three utilized both the Feminists feeling thermometer variable and the "how well does the term 'feminist' describe you" variable. The first factor analysis was done with the entire set of ASI questions, then I split them into the separate hostile and benevolent sets. First, considering the entirety of the ASI, I found 24 total factors, with 13 retained. In that, 2 factors had Eigenvalues above 1 (8.81 and 2.50). The first factor, 8.81, as the larger factor, explains more of the variation in the data, at 69.51% of the variation in the data, while the second factor, 2.50, explains 19.75% of the variation, for a total of explaining almost 90% of all variation, which is quite strong. For the factor at 8.81, the feminist variables were both negative, while the ASI variables were all positive. I would assume that this factor would be underlying sexism. The second factor (2.50) saw a variety of differences, which can be explained by differentiating the ASI into its components. For instance, for factor two, all of the benevolent sexism items were positive (along with the feminist items), while all of the hostile sexism items were negative. I believe this factor generally could represent appreciation versus animosity towards women, in which hostile sexists would have more animosity while feminists and benevolent sexists would be more appreciative of women. Next, I will delve further into the differences between the two components of the ASI.

For the hostile and the benevolent analyses, both analyses saw 13 factors, with 7 of those retained. Turning first to benevolent sexism, 2 factors have Eigenvalues above 1 (3.80 and 1.76). The first factor shows the feminist variables being negative and the

others being positive. Like the overall ASI, I would assume that this denotes an

underlying sexism or an aversion to sexism. The second factor shows the feminist

variables being positive, along with a few from the benevolent sexism inventory being

positive as well: people can be truly happy without a romantic relationship with the

opposite sex; in a disaster, women ought **not** necessarily to be rescued before men, and

every man ought to have a woman whom he adores. Note that the first two (truly happy

and disaster) are reverse coded questions, so these two being positive makes sense from a

feminist perspective. It was also interesting that the two questions about being in a

relationship, coming from opposite perspectives, ended up together here. I also wonder

here if the potential underlying factor might have something to do with a lack of

heteronormativity, as some of the questions on the ASI do seem to tend that way

(assumptions of relationships, assumptions of these relationships being heterosexual),

while the disaster question and happily single question tend away from

heteronormativity, something many feminists would also be against.

Turning next to hostile sexism, there was only one factor with an Eigenvalue

greater than 1 (7.44). This aligns most strongly, with the first factor from the ASI, where

once again the feminist values are all negative and the ASI-H variables are all negative. I

hypothesize that this is picking up either sexism/lack of sexism or in a similar vein like of

women/dislike of women.

Finally, I ran tests where I considered the feminist variables with some of the

gender variables. Looking at the McCabe questions about gender stereotypes in politics.[19]

These questions focus on men and women's role in (or out of) politics as well as their

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[19] See appendix B for the complete survey questionnaire.

suitability. I found that there were several more factors than when I just ran the feminist

variables (8 total, with 4 retained), though only one had an Eigenvalue above 1 (4.85).

This demonstrates that while there is a key similarity here, there are also far more

features going on than just feminist values. The McCabe questions were all negative

(they were coded negatively) while the feminism variables are all positive and mostly

well explained by the factor (many at .7 and .8). I would assume that the factor of 4.85

would most likely be a sense of gender equality, although it could potentially be a more

general sense of equality or perhaps liberality.

When turning to feminism and some of the other gender stereotype questions (the

traits and issues questions), I find even more diversity. Here, I found 17 total factors, with

8 retained, and 3 factors with Eigenvalues above 1 (6.19, 1.86, and 1.32). For the first

factor (6.19) all are aligned in the same direction (positive). This and the strength of the

values leads me to believe that the underlying factor here is probably being supportive of

women. The second factor, the feminist variables and the traits/issues that are more

"masculine" are positive, while the traditionally "feminine" traits and issues are negative

(except for police and race, though perhaps race could be seen as more of a women's

issue than men's issue?). I tentatively theorize that this factor could be favoring "strong"

women or perhaps women breaking gendered norms. But overall, like the other gendered

factors, while they have some factors in common with feminism, and quite strongly so,

there are also several factors here that are different, demonstrating that there's more to

gender than feminism and vice versa.

After testing my various feminist questions, I also wanted to see how the concept

of feminism related to other sociodemographic factors, mainly ideology and social

dominance orientation. Regarding ideology, I suspected that feminism and liberalism would have considerably overlap, as largely, feminists and feminism are much more closely related to liberalism than conservatism. Using both feminist variables as well as the ideology variable, I found 3 factors between the three variables with one of them having an Eigenvalue greater than 1 (2.28). Interestingly, this factor counted for a bit more amongst the feminist variables (.9 and higher) than it did for ideology at -.78 (conservative was coded 7, liberal 1), though still quite significant for ideology. The underlying value here, I would speculate, is likely a belief in social equality.

Finally, I was curious how feminism would relate to social dominance orientation. When I ran both feminist variables with the SDO questions, there were a total of 16 factors. With 8 retained. Of those, two had Eigenvalues greater than 1 (7.73 and 1.69). For the first factor, both feminist variables are negative while the SDO variables are positive. Here, this could be an underlying equality or perhaps a support/lack of support for hierarchical power structures. This factor explains a decent amount for most variables (around .6). The second factor explained little for most variables (mostly around .2).

All in all, my questions on feminism prove to have the strongest overlap with each other. Having conducted these analyses, I can feel confident that my feminist variables are tapping into the same underlying concepts and that my measurements coincide effectively. Considering how feminism relates to other variables, I find that it was closely linked with the ideology variable, specifically the liberal element. There is also some overlap with the gendered variables, though feminism, gender stereotypes, and sexism have many distinct components as well.

**Determinants of Feminism**

Having demonstrated the similarity in my feminist variables through factor analysis, I want to further dive into the elements that correlate with feminism and help comprise a feminist identity. This is important for two reasons. Firstly, understanding feminism is important to my dissertation. I believe that feminist identification (of respondents) will be a pivotal factor in supporting feminist candidates. Therefore, understanding what features correlate with a feminist identity is both important and interesting. Second, I also see this as a worthwhile opportunity for contributing to and updating the literature of feminism and politics in the United States. This not only provides a better understanding of the electorate, but could also prove useful for feminist candidates looking to run for office and knowing which voters might be best to target.

There are several variables that could play an important part in correlating with a feminist identity. In the following regression analyses, I will be analyzing respondent gender, ideology, age, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), the importance of religion in the respondent's life, level of education, income, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), interest in political campaigns, and whether or not someone is a person of color.

While I utilized data from an Arizona State University student sample to examine my variables through factor analysis, for these regression analyses below, I return to the data gathered from Dynata. I chose to utilize the Dynata data for these questions as it is a larger dataset, giving me more to work with. Furthermore, the sample is also more diverse and generalizable to the population. Finally, I have much greater diversity not only in race and political ideology, but specifically for age as well.[20] Since age of the

[20] See Table 3 on page 63 for an overview of the Dynata sample demographics.

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respondents is one of the variables included in the regression analyses, it seemed most prudent to utilize the Dynata sample for the following regressions.

To begin with, I believe that gender will play a strong role in feminist identification. Given that feminism is often seen as fighting for women's rights, it makes sense that women could be more invested in feminism and therefore, more likely to identify as a feminist. Previous research also finds that women are more likely to identify as feminists as well as more likely to hold feminist beliefs (Schnittker, Freese, & Powell 2003, Bolzendahl & Myers 2004, Elder et al 2021).

I also think ideology will be an important component of feminist identity.[21] For this variable, I ask respondents to rate themselves on a 7-point scale from extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7). I believe that the more liberal someone is, the more likely they are to identify as a feminist. Previous research consistently finds this to be true, that the more liberal one is (as opposed to conservative), the more likely they are to identify as a feminist (Conover 1988, Cook & Wilcox 1991, Reingold and Foust 1998, Peltola et al 2004, Bolzendahl & Myers 2004). For the following regressions, I only utilize ideology rather than both ideology and partisan identification. Ideology and partisan identification showed a highly significant correlation with each other in my

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[21] I only utilized ideology as opposed to ideology and party. When running the regressions with both, it seemed to create problems within the models. Furthermore, the literature seemed to utilize ideology more so than party, which was why I decided to utilize ideology. When I ran the model with party in place of ideology, almost everything was identical (still statistically significant or not, and in the appropriate direction). Across all three regressions, there were only 3 differences. For the yes/no variable, using party instead of ideology, religion became statistically significant, though only at a p-value of .073. For the feminists feeling thermometer, gender was not significant with party in the model (though it was close) and religion was no longer significant. There were no differences for the feminist Likert scale variable.

study, therefore, I opt to only include one of the two and liberalism-conservatism was featured more frequently in the literature I reviewed.[22]

Age is another variable that is important to consider. For one, several of the studies I reviewed focused on cohort effects of feminism, for example, those born before, during, and after the second wave of feminism (Schnittker, Freese, and Powell 2003, Peltola, Milkie, and Presser 2004, Duncan 2010). Given that these cohorts are purposefully selected for their proximity to second wave feminism, it gives an interesting picture of age. However, cohorts aside, I would generally expect that older people are less likely to be feminist than their younger counterparts, given that older voters are more likely to be conservative and vote Republican, generally something that does not align with feminism. Interestingly, Elder et al (2021) found that young people were both more likely to be feminist as well as more likely to be anti-feminist than older people.

I also consider the role of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), using the index created by Pratto et al (1994). Those who are high in SDO consider the world to be set according to hierarchical power dynamics, with those who are perceived as strong having power over those perceived as weak (Pratto et al 1994, Duckitt 2006). I believe that those high in SDO will be less likely to be feminists, given that a key part of feminism is its opposition to patriarchy, and dismantling systems of men's power over women.

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[22] I ran all three regressions first with ideology, then with party ID. There were few differences. For the feminist (yes/no) logit, only one variable showed a difference. Importance of religion was statistically significant (p-value 0.073) for party ID, but not statistically significant for ideology. There were no differences for the feminist (Likert scale) OLS regression. For the feminist feeling thermometer regression, there were two differences. For party ID, gender was not significant (though close, p-value: 0.149) and religion was not significant either.

Religion is another factor that could be important. To gauge this, I asked respondents how important religion is in their life on a 7-point scale from very unimportant (1) to very important (7). Peltola, Milkie, and Presser (2004) found that more frequent religious attendance correlates with lower rates of feminist identification. I suspect that, given that many religions have a conservative lean, along with anti-abortion being a religious issue for many, that religion will be negatively related to feminism.

Education is another variable that has been considerably important in previous literature. Many studies have found that the more educated a respondent is, the more likely they are to be feminists (Reingold and Foust 1998, Peltola, Milkie, and Presser 2004, Swirsky and Angelone 2016). Bolzendahl & Myers found this as well, but only when looking at feminist women, they found that education levels did not matter for feminist men (2004). To measure education, I ask respondents what is the highest level of school they have completed, from less than a high school diploma, all the way through doctoral degrees.

I also consider income as a potential factor in feminist identity. Peltola, Milkie, and Presser found that income mattered for feminist identification, in that those with lower incomes were more likely to be feminist (2004). This is interesting to me given that some might expect higher income to have some correlation with education,[23] however, while Peltola et al do find education to positively impact feminist identity, they found that those with higher incomes are actually less likely to identify as feminists.

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI), created by Glick and Fiske (1996) is another important variable in understanding feminist identity. Given that this scale

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[23] In my own data, I do find that the two are strongly correlated.

measures sexism, I would expect it to be powerfully negatively correlated with feminist identity, which fights against sexism. Sexism is also an important variable in today's political climate. Recent research has found that sexism was a powerful predictor in vote choice for Donald Trump, a candidate many might consider to be quite antithetical to feminism (Oceno et al 2021, Valentino et al 2018). Furthermore, in their study of Trump's election, Schaffner et al also utilized the hostile subset of the ASI (2018).

I also include campaign attention as a variable in understanding feminism, as people who identify as feminists, or are passionate about any social justice issue, are likely to be more interested in politics. This question is measured by asking how much attention people pay to political campaigns, asking on a 7-point scale from very disinterested (1) to very interested (7).

Finally, I include a dummy variable for whether or not a respondent is a person of color. Peltola, Milkie, and Presser found that whiteness generally led to lower rates of feminist identification (2004). Given white people are more likely than people of color to vote Republican, I could see people of color being more likely to be feminists than white people.

To test these possible determinants of feminism, I utilized logit and OLS regressions for three of my variables: a logit regression for whether one identifies as a feminist (yes/no), an OLS regression for "How well does the term 'feminist' define you?", and an OLS regression for feminist support via the feminist feeling thermometer variable. For these tests, I return to the Dynata data given the larger sample size and more diverse sample (particularly in terms of age, which is one of my independent variables).

Beginning with the logistic regression analyzing feminist identification (though the yes/no feminist variable), I find that several of my independent variables prove to be statistically significant.

Table 4: Determinants of Feminism (Yes/No Variable)

| VARIABLES | (1) Feminist (yes/no) |
|---|---|
| Gender | 1.390*** |
| | (0.246) |
| Ideology | -0.307*** |
| | (0.0748) |
| Age | -0.0253*** |
| | (0.00722) |
| SDO | -0.000643 |
| | (0.00799) |
| Importance of Religion | -0.0715 |
| | (0.0531) |
| Education | 0.0534 |
| | (0.0775) |
| Income | 0.0168 |
| | (0.0619) |
| ASI | -0.0248*** |
| | (0.00815) |
| Campaign Interest | 0.125* |
| | (0.0659) |
| Person of Color | 0.282 |
| | (0.228) |
| Constant | 0.883 |
| | (0.764) |
| | |
| Observations | 565 |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$

As predicted, Table 4 shows that gender is highly statistically significant. If the respondent is a woman, they are more likely than a man to identify as a feminist, corresponding with previous research on gender and feminism. Ideology is another

significant factor for feminist identification. As the ideology variable is coded from extremely liberal (1) to extremely conservative (7), the negative coefficient is exactly in line with my expectations and the previous research–as one becomes more conservative/less liberal on the ideological scale, the less likely they are to identify as a feminist. Age, a variable I was curious about, given some of the previous research, is also statistically significant. As respondents age, they become less likely to identify as a feminist. Given that older Americans tend to be Republican voters, at least more so than younger Americans, this makes intuitive sense. Generational effects could also be at play here, especially with populations who already had crystallized, negative opinions of feminism before the second and third waves of feminism. Sexism, as measured by the ASI, is also statistically significant. As I would expect, the more highly someone falls on the ASI–essentially, the more sexist they are–the less likely they are to identify as a feminist, given that sexism and feminism are quite antithetical to one another. Finally, attention to political campaigns is statistically significant and positively correlated with identifying as a feminist, as feminists are generally likely to be interested in politics, as political engagement is a key component of feminism.

Several of my independent variables do not attain statistical significance in this model. SDO, religious importance, education, income, and being a person of color do not make one significantly more or less likely to identify as a feminist.

Table 5: Determinants of Feminism (Likert Scale Variable)

| VARIABLES | (1)<br>Feminist<br>(Likert Scale) |
|---|---|
| Gender | 0.365*** |

|  |  |
|---|---|
|  | (0.0819) |
| Ideology | -0.193*** |
|  | (0.0250) |
| Age | -0.0166*** |
|  | (0.00247) |
| SDO | -0.00147 |
|  | (0.00282) |
| Importance of Religion | 0.0136 |
|  | (0.0189) |
| Education | 0.0674** |
|  | (0.0272) |
| Income | -0.0168 |
|  | (0.0222) |
| ASI | -0.00663** |
|  | (0.00280) |
| Campaign Interest | 0.0523** |
|  | (0.0224) |
| Person of Color | 0.0413 |
|  | (0.0793) |
| Constant | 3.617*** |
|  | (0.266) |
|  |  |
| Observations | 528 |
| R-squared | 0.300 |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Given that I asked my respondents about feminism in a number of ways, I also

tested some of the other forms of feminist identification, including the feminist

identification variable that asked respondents "how well does the term 'feminist' describe

you?" and allowed respondents to answer from not well at all (1) to extremely well (4).

Generally, this model, shown above in Table 5, saw similar results to the previous logit

model. Once again, gender, ideology, age, sexism (ASI), and campaign attention remain

statistically significant and in the same directions. There is, however, one interesting

change. In this OLS regression, a respondent's level of education is now statistically

significant. The more educated one is, the more likely one is to identify as a feminist,

echoing some of the previous research. While education may not have been statistically significant when respondents were confronted with a yes or no choice, when given the opportunity to ascertain how well "feminist" described them, a higher level of education did contribute. Though the yes or no threshold is harder to cross for some people, more people seem willing to describe themselves as a feminist (or somewhat feminist) when not forced to dichotomize.

Finally, I ran another OLS regression, this time looking at the feminist feeling thermometer variable. While this does not require respondents to self-identify as a feminist, it instead measures feminist support. While there is much overlap between feminist identification and support, they are not identical.

Table 6: Determinants of Feminism (Feeling Thermometer)

| VARIABLES | (1) Feminists Feeling Thermometer |
|---|---|
| Gender | 4.430* |
| | (2.309) |
| Ideology | -6.326*** |
| | (0.710) |
| Age | -0.332*** |
| | (0.0704) |
| SDO | -0.277*** |
| | (0.0787) |
| Importance of Religion | 0.985* |
| | (0.536) |
| Education | 0.531 |
| | (0.765) |
| Income | 0.283 |
| | (0.615) |
| ASI | -0.227*** |
| | (0.0794) |
| Campaign Interest | 1.490** |
| | (0.637) |
| Person of Color | -0.141 |

|  |  |
|---|---|
|  | (2.242) |
| Constant | 96.09*** |
|  | (7.498) |
|  |  |
| Observations | 549 |
| R-squared | 0.296 |

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Feminist support acted similarly to the feminist identification variables on many levels. First of all, as can be seen in Table 6, gender, ideology, age, ASI, and campaign attention all remained statistically significant. For all of these variables, the directions also remained the same. Furthermore, unlike the feminist identification variable measured by Likert scale, level of education was no longer statistically significant here. Also unlike the feminist identification variables, two more variables also attained statistical significance for feeling thermometer scores towards feminists. The first was SDO, which, as expected, was negative, meaning that the higher one is in SDO, the less likely they are to identify as a feminist. Religious importance was also statistically significant, though interestingly, it was positively correlated with feminist support, meaning that the more someone felt that religion was important to them, the more likely they were to identify as a feminist. This went against my expectations, as I expected that religion, which has some ties with conservatism, would be more likely to lessen one's likelihood of identifying as a feminist. I can only theorize that perhaps this has to do with the notion of Christian[24] charity and "love thy neighbor," or even "hate the sin, love the sinner."

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[24] The majority of my respondents were Christians (27.76% of the total sample were Protestants and 26.87% of the total sample were Catholics, no other religious category had more than 9% except "other" at 17.61%, many of which were write-ins of other forms of Christianity such as "Christian" or "Seventh Day Adventist."

Perhaps while they are unwilling to identify as feminists, they might be less inclined to rate them coldly, even if they do not want to be feminists themselves.

Overall, the most consistent variables correlating with feminist identity and feminist support across all three variables were being a woman, being more liberal/less conservative, being younger, being less sexist, and being more interested in political campaigns. While not significant in the yes/no identification variable, being more educated also correlated with feminism in the other two models. These findings correspond well with my expectations and the previously existing literature. Income and being a person of color were the only two variables that never attained statistical significance, while SDO and religious importance were only significant when it came to feminist feeling thermometer ratings.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Having discussed both the methodology as well as the measurements utilized to collect my data, I turn to the results and analysis of my findings. I begin by discussing the results of the focus groups I conducted. After reviewing the focus groups, I turn my focus to the findings of the survey experiment.

**Focus Group**

For the focus groups, I asked my subjects questions about their opinion on several feminist topics, such as how they view feminists, feminist candidates, whether they themselves identified as feminists, and if they did so publicly. I also took note of the gender composition of the groups and how that may have altered the group's average responses.

In looking at the results of my focus group, my results largely conform to my hypotheses. First, looking at H1, which states that respondents' definitions of feminism will most likely align with liberal feminism. This largely holds true. Though the respondents did not explicitly identify many forms of feminism[25], what they did discuss correlates with liberal feminist ideas, such as the notion that men and women should be equal (this was overwhelmingly the most common type of statement when asked to define feminism), along with issues that align with liberal feminism such as equal pay. These answers are promising in regard to my experiment. Since I do not discuss a

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[25] There are a few exceptions here. Radical feminism was brought up, though it almost always had a negative connotation (though it was sometimes unclear if respondents actually meant radical feminism, or if they were simply discussing more extreme forms of feminism). One student also was a self-proclaimed eco-feminist.

specific form of feminism in the stimulus, it is a good sign that when people think of feminism, they are often thinking of similar definitions (equality of the sexes).

Moving on to H2, I expected women to have more positive attitudes and descriptions of feminism than men. To answer this hypothesis, focus group participants were asked: "How do you personally feel about feminists" (if no answers were immediately forthcoming, the question was followed up with "you may feel positively or negatively, or perhaps affiliation or distance"). Responses were then coded from positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, negative or unknown (students were not mandated to answer every question). Figure 1 below shows the results. Overall, when looking at the average attitude towards feminists, session 1 had the highest average, with a mean of 4, for both men and women who responded to the question. Session two saw a total mean of 3.17, with a mean of 4 for women and 2.33 for men. Session 3 had an overall mean of 3.2 when it came towards positive attitudes towards feminists, with women having a mean of 3 and men having a mean of 3.33. Session 4 had a total mean of 3.57, with women having an average of 4 and men having an average of 3 when it came to their feelings on feminists. Finally, session 5 had the lowest overall mean at 2.4, which only records the opinions of men, since none of the women in this session participated on this question.[26] Overall, an equal number of men and women viewed feminism as positive or somewhat positive, though with more women rating feminism as "positive" than men did, and more men rating feminism "somewhat positive" than women did. No women in the focus group expressed attitudes that were not at least somewhat positive

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[26] There are two important things to note here. First is that session 5 had a very low number of women participating, with only two. Second is that session 5 began with a male respondent's highly negative opinions on feminism, which may have discouraged some positive participation from women and feminists.

towards feminism. Though more men rated feminism positively or somewhat positively, only men rated it negatively (4 men felt somewhat negatively or negatively towards feminism, 12 felt positively or somewhat positively).
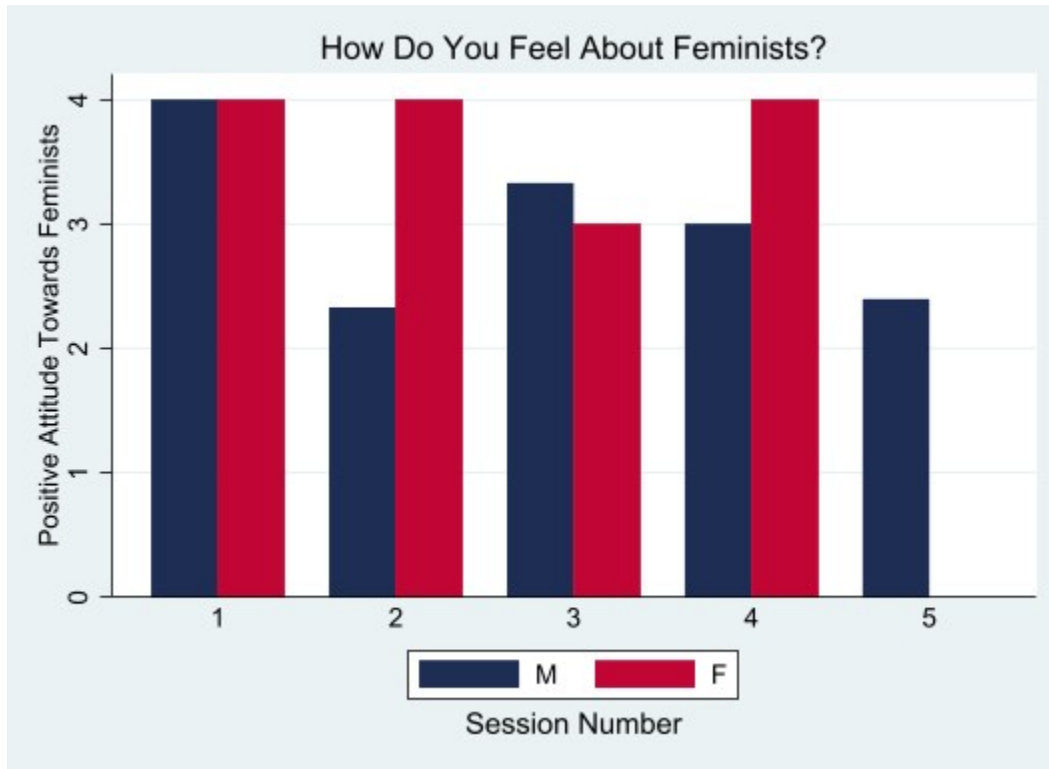


Figure 1: Focus Group Feelings on Feminists

Looking at H3 and H4 in tandem, I will now discuss how the gender ratio of each session affected how vocal support for feminism was. H3 posits that if the gender ratio favors women, support for feminism will be more vocal and H4 puts forth the opposite, that if the gender ratio favors men, support for feminism will be less vocal. Sessions 1 and 3 had more women than men (5 women, 3 men and 4 women, 3 men respectively). Session 1 was supportive of feminism, largely the respondents thought positively of feminism and there were no negative comments. The most negative statement made about feminism in session 1 was someone who "[didn't] identify as someone who is a

feminist…but that doesn't mean I'm not for uplifting people for who they are."

Otherwise, students in this session "[felt] positively about feminism," "believe that

[feminists] goals is to be equal," and believe that feminists are "passionate" and

"advocates."

Session 3 was somewhat supportive of feminism, most of the participants were

somewhat supportive of feminism (but not fully positive toward feminism), but no one

was particularly negative either. Session 3 voiced a suspicion of feminist candidates in

particular "I feel like they're just trying to get votes and they're not even truly a feminist"

one male student voiced. Students in this session were also more wary about what it

meant to publicly identify as a feminist. One woman from session 3 who did identify as a

feminist stated "I wouldn't put in my Instagram bio 'feminist' because I think there's a

connotation to that now" and another followed up with "I just think there's such a

negative connotation around feminism. I am a feminist and believe in equal rights and

equal pay, but if you put a label to it, people want an explanation. I try and stay away

from talks about politics as much as I can."

Looking next at the two sessions that had more men than women, which were 2

and 5 (5 men, 4 women and 7 men, 2 women respectively). Session 2 was somewhat

supportive of feminism, with many people fully supporting feminism, but also some only

somewhat supporting and one person fully negative. Like session 3, there was some

concern around public identification. One female student said "I am a feminist…It's not a

label I really throw out there because I know there's a lot of negative connotations"

however, she also pointed out that sometimes, people were receptive to the idea of

feminism, when it was unattached to the label: "When I actually talk about the structures

and the ideas and concepts behind [feminism]...that's when it's received more effectively than me just saying 'I stand for feminism.'" Another student pointed out that she did not want to be perceived as "radical."

Session 5 was highly skewed towards men and was also the most negative, in that it was more evenly mixed. While two people were fully positive towards feminism and one was somewhat positive, there was also 1 somewhat negative respondent and one fully negative respondent. For instance, on the question of what feminism means, one male student stated "feminism fights for [women] having rights over men and putting men down." On feminist politicians, one male student said "I find politicians running as a feminist as a grab for votes, I would not believe they had the best intentions." Another male student followed that with a differentiation on male and female candidates running as feminists: "A feminist woman is someone who wants women to be prioritized, men who are feminist are seen as weak."

Interestingly, session 4, which had an even gender split, was also fairly supportive, with only one somewhat negative and the rest fully positive. This session went against some of the previous trends of hesitancy towards public feminist identification, one female student stated "I think it's pretty clear from how I talk that I am a feminist…I have actually been called a 'raging feminist' almost like it's a dirty word, but [publicly identifying as a feminist] is not something I shy away from, I am a feminist." Another female student noted that she believed that most women "unless they're actively working against their own rights, are base level feminists."

I also decided to run a correlation between the mean attitude towards feminists and the gender ratio of the group. Though the number of cases is quite small, with only

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five sessions, the results are suggestive of support for my hypotheses. The correlation shows a statistically significant relationship (significance level of 0.0491), with a negative correlation coefficient of -.8798, demonstrating that the higher the gender ratio is in favor of men, the lower the session average towards feminism is. This, coupled with my findings from each individual focus group provides support for my hypotheses, as the women majority groups were fully supportive and somewhat supportive while the men majority groups were somewhat supportive and mixed.

Finally, the last two hypotheses of my focus group return to how the focus group ratios affect feminist support, this time looking at the ratio of feminists to non-feminists. H5 and H6 state that the higher (lower) the ratio of feminists in a session, the more (less) vocal support for feminism will be. Overall, not a single group had more non-feminists than feminists or feminist supporters. However, session 5, which had the most non-feminists and anti-feminists (22.22%), was the least positive toward feminism. The fifth session was the only one that had multiple hostile statements towards feminism. For example, one male student referred to feminists as "female-centric" people who "do not support [his] rights." The same student also commented that feminists "[fight] for having rights over men and putting men down." Another male student believed that feminists are "too progressive, they take it too far." Even some of the more positive statements were qualified by the respondents. Several men who were more supportive of feminists hesitated to don the label themselves due to their gender. For instance, one male student stated that he would identify himself as a feminist "even though I'm not a woman." Another male student said that he did not identify himself as a feminist "mainly because I'm not a woman and know nothing of the struggle.

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Sessions 1 and 4, which were the most positive towards feminism, had 75%

feminists and 50% feminists respectively. Session 1 proclaimed multiple times that they

"[felt] positively about feminism," believing feminists to be "passionate" and

continuously discussed notions of equality: "everybody is equal, I stand by women's

rights," "I believe that their goal is to be equal and just have women's rights," and that

feminism is about "supporting women's rights, supporting equality." Even the only self-

proclaimed non-feminist in the group still said that "I don't identify as someone who is a

feminist…but that doesn't mean I'm not for uplifting people for who they are." Session 4

saw similar positivity with one female student proudly proclaiming that "[feminism] is

not something I shy away from, I am a feminist."

Sessions 2 and 3 were somewhat positive towards feminism and had 33%

feminists and 33% feminist supporters, and 71.42% feminists and 14.28% feminist

supporters, though a more hesitant dialogue on feminism than some of the other groups.

One female student noted that "by the definition of feminism, I am a feminist" but

followed with "it's not a label I really throw out there" citing the "negative connotations"

and "misconceptions." Both male and female students in this session were also somewhat

skeptical of male feminists. One male student stated that "male feminists don't make

enough effort to learn and understand feminism," two female students agreed, one stating

that "men who call themselves feminists…don't take any interest in the actual actions,"

while another followed up with "men who identify as feminists are more supporters, but

they may not actually propose [action] themselves because they wouldn't think to."

Session three saw similar concerns, one female student citing that feminists are

sometimes seen as more "radical" and that they would only identify as a feminist if "I

thought that both parties were willing to have a civil conversation." Another female student agreed, citing that there's "such a negative connotation around feminism" and that she tries to avoid publicly discussing it because "I don't want to get into weird conversations or weird moments with people."

To supplement the anecdotal evidence, I also ran two correlations, the first with the session's average favorability towards feminists and the feminists ratio and the second also with the session's average favorability towards feminists, but with the ratio being feminists *and* feminist supporters to non-feminists. It should again be noted that since the N is exceptionally small (N=5 sessions), that this is more suggestive than definitive. Neither correlation yielded statistical significance, however, both correlation coefficients do go in the anticipated positive direction of groups with a higher ratio of feminists/feminist supporters having a higher average. Overall, I find only some support for my hypotheses, with anecdotal evidence providing most of the support, in particular with session 5 being the most negative (with the most non-feminists and anti-feminists) and session 1 being among the most positive (with 6 feminists).

Though not one of my direct hypotheses, an interesting thread emerged in several of the sessions regarding the perceived differences between male feminists and female feminists. Session 1 was mostly positive, seeing little difference between the two, with one student directly stating that there is no difference between male and female feminists. One female student stated that she thought men "supporting [feminism] is really good for the movement" while another female student qualifying slightly, saying that "maybe men do not really go through the experience [of women's lives], but [if] they do support [women's] rights, that is all that matters."

Other sessions saw more differences between male and female feminists. For example, one male student in session 2 said "I feel like male feminists don't take enough effort to learn and understand feminism…female feminists seem to take it more seriously." A female student also from session 2 talked about differences in action, saying "I think that men who call themselves feminists…they just say it and then don't take any interest in the actual actions that would come from that." Another female student agreed with her, stating "I feel like feminist women are more likely to take action and propose actions because they understand the experiences…I think that men who identify as feminists are more supporters, but they may not actually propose it themselves because they wouldn't think to, because they don't have the experiences." In session 3, one male student said that "I think feminist women are real in their fight. But men, if they have no daughters, are doing it to look like better men when in reality they have some underlying motives."

In session 4, the students considered some of the gendered repercussions for identifying as a feminist. One female student said "If a male politician were to speak up and speak on the feminist ideals…I feel like more men would listen than if that person were a female." Another female student from session 4 followed up on that, stating:

> "men are kind of applauded when they do consider themselves feminists and I think that in and of itself is kind of an issue…but the bar has become so low, like 'oh he cares about other people, that man is amazing.' So even, like, if you don't necessarily identify as a feminist, but you advocate or even just care about gender equality, you're almost put on a pedestal as a man, but as a woman, you just get immediately attacked."

It is notable that many of these ideas were expressed by both men and women, not to mention the overall diversity of thought expressed. From the genders being equal

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feminists, to a difference in gendered life experiences, to concerns about rewards and repercussions for feminist behavior, this is very interesting to me and provided some inspiration for hypotheses in my survey experiment regarding how male and female feminist candidates might be perceived by the public.

In comparing my focus group findings with those from Suter and Toller's 2006 focus group study[27], I was unsurprised to find some differences. Given that our studies were conducted about fifteen years apart, my study saw far less negativity than Suter and Toller's. While Suter and Toller found that less than half of the study identified as feminists, my group contained 53.66% (22) feminists, with an additional 12.2% (5) being feminist supporters for a total of 65.86%.[28] However, some negativity does still remain. Suter and Toller stated that there were concerns of feminism being associated with extremism, I also saw comments where respondents voiced concerns about feminism's "radical" connotations.

Having concluded my discussion of the focus group study, I turn next to the survey experiment component of my dissertation. While I used a small student sample for my focus group, the survey experiment utilized a larger and more diverse national sample to examine how voters respond to feminist candidates. I begin with a brief overview of the experiment and the sample, before looking at some descriptive data, then undertaking a more in-depth analysis and exploring my hypotheses.

**Survey Experiment**

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[27] Suter and Toller's focus group study was a student sample of 30 participants, similar to my own (41 students).

[28] These percentages take into account the total number of participants, including 9 unknowns, some of those unknowns may have been feminists, or may not have been.

For my survey experiment, I was interested in how voters respond to feminist candidates. To do this, I showed respondents a fictional news article with a fiction candidate, varying the candidate's gender, political party, and feminist status. The main dependent variables of interest were how likely respondents were to vote for the candidate, the feeling thermometer rating they gave to the candidate, how competent they thought the candidate to be, and how confident they were in the candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues. I also measured several independent variables such as party identification, ideology, SDO, income, education, gender, ASI, age, religion, feminist identification, and more. Furthermore, Table 7 below provides an overview of my hypotheses, as well as whether or not I found support for them.

Table 7: Survey Experiment Hypotheses

| Hypothesis | Support |
|---|---|
| H1: Women will rate the feminist candidate more positively than men will. | Some support |
| H2: Male feminist candidates will receive more support than female feminist candidates. | Mixed (some support, some support for the opposite) |
| H3: Respondents will respond more warmly to the candidate that shares their gender. | No support (some support for the opposite) |
| H4: Democrats will be more likely to support feminist candidates than Republicans. | Supported |
| H5: Respondents will be more likely to support a feminist candidate if the candidate is a co-partisan. | Some support |
| H6: Feminist candidates will receive less support than their non-feminist counterparts. | Some support |
| H7: Those who identify as feminists will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not identify as feminists. | Supported |

| H8: Those who support feminism will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not support feminism. | Supported |
|---|---|
| H9: Feminist identification and/or belief will be the most powerful factor in determining support for feminist candidates. | Supported |

Before diving further into the results of the hypotheses, I want to share some basic descriptive statistics of the study.[29] Unlike the focus group study, for my survey experiment, I utilized a diverse, national sample of 670 respondents. In terms of gender, 355 (52.99%) women and 312 (46.57%) men participated in the survey experiment.[30] In terms of party identification, the sample contained 42.76% Democrats (strong and weak), 22.83% Republicans (strong and weak), and 34.41% independents (25.7% of those leaning Democrat, 21.5% leaning Republican). Also, according to the question "Do you identify as a feminist?" (yes/no response), I had 74.48% non-feminists and 25.52% feminists. In terms of age, I had respondents from 18 to 99, with a roughly even distribution (though certainly fewer older than 75), the most respondents of any age was 19 respondents for the age 65. The mean age of my sample was 48.52 and the median was 48. In terms of religion, the majority of my respondents were Christians (27.76% Protestants, 26.87% Catholics), no other religious category was greater than 21 respondents. Atheists and agnostics had 6.42% and 8.36% respondents respectively. Finally, 17.61% of respondents answered "other," and wrote in a religion. Most of these responses were either "Christian," a particular sect of Christianity (Seven Day Adventist,

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[29] See Table 3 in the Methodology chapter for a visualization of the demographics as well as a comparison to the 2020 United States Census.

[30] I also had response options for "other" and "prefer not to say." Only two respondents selected other and only one selected prefer not to say.

for example), or "nothing." Regarding income, there was a wide array, many respondents

reported making less than $25,000 a year (19.85% respondents), 16.42% respondents

reported making $50,000 to $74,999, and 17.01% respondents reported making $100,000

to $149,999. Only 5.52% of people reported making more than $200,000.[31] My sample

also demonstrated diversity in terms of race, ethnicity, and educational attainment that

was fairly close to the 2020 United States Census data.[32] Based on these demographics, I

feel confident that I have a sample that is both diverse and relatively accurate to the

broader US population.


Hypotheses

I now turn to my hypotheses which are divided into hypotheses about gender,

party, and feminist identity, starting with the hypotheses regarding how gender relates to

support for feminist candidates.

*Gender and Feminism: Hypothesis 1*

Beginning with H1, H1 predicts that women will rate the feminist candidate more

positively than men will. To test this, I ran a t-test for each of my dependent variables,

comparing how men and women respondents rated the feminist candidates across all four

variables. The feeling thermometer ratings for the candidate were significant at the 0.05

level (p value: 0.0343). The male respondents rated the feminist candidate at 61.78

degrees on the feeling thermometer, while female respondents rated the feminist

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[31] 9.4% respondents reported 25k to 34,999k, 14.63% respondents reported 35k to 49,999k, 12.84% respondents reported 75k to 99,999k, and 4.33% reported 150k to 199,999k.
[32] See Table 3 in the Methodology chapter for a more detailed breakdown of these variables.

candidate at 67.44 degrees, with a difference of about 6 degrees (61.78 for men, 67.44 for

women). Likelihood of voting, competence, and ability to legislate on women's issues,

did not attain statistical significance and the differences were quite small. All three non-

feeling thermometer variables were measured on a 4-point Likert scale, with 1 being the

lowest and four being the highest.[33] For likelihood of voting, the mean for the feminist

candidate for men was 2.779 and for women it was 2.784. While women technically were

more supportive of voting for a feminist candidate, the difference is exceptionally small,

at only 0.005. For competence, a similar pattern occurred. On average, men rated the

feminist candidate at 2.81 for competence and women rated the feminist candidate at

2.89, with a difference of 0.08. Finally, for ability to legislate on women's issues, on

average, men rated the feminist candidate at 2.84 and women rated the feminist candidate

at 2.88, for a difference of 0.04.

These findings suggest some support for H1. Though the differences for

likelihood of voting, competence, and ability to legislate on women's issues are quite

small and not statistically significant, they are all in the anticipated direction. Feeling

thermometer scores showed a more distinct difference between men and women, with

women respondents preferring the feminist candidates more so than men.

*Gender and Feminism: Hypothesis 2*

My second hypothesis stated that male feminist candidates will receive more

support than female feminist candidates. To test this, I ran a series of ANOVAs for each

of my dependent variables, as well as created a series of bar graphs containing 95%

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[33] For exact question wording, see appendix C.

confidence interval error bars to aid in visualization.[34] Both the ANOVAs and bar graphs will aid in answering further hypotheses as well.[35] For each ANOVA, the dependent variables as follows: likelihood of voting for candidate Walters, feeling thermometer score, competence, and Walters's ability to legislate on women's issues. The independent variables for the ANOVAs are the feminist status of the candidate shown to the respondent in the stimulus (feminist or not), the gender of the candidate shown (male or female), the political party of the candidate shown (Democrat, Republican, or no party), and then the interactions for the previous variables as well.

Table 8: Likelihood of Voting ANOVA

| Source | Partial SS | df | MS | F | Prob>F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model | 16.402524 | 11 | 1.4911385 | 2.10 | 0.0186 |
| | | | | | |
| Feminist | 2.2153352 | 1 | 2.2153352 | 3.12 | 0.0779 |
| Gender | .13354226 | 1 | .13354226 | 0.19 | 0.6648 |
| Party | 6.9722746 | 2 | 3.4861373 | 4.91 | 0.0077 |
| Gender#Feminist | 1.7620716 | 1 | 1.7620716 | 2.48 | 0.1158 |
| Party#Feminist | 2.1627806 | 2 | 1.0813903 | 1.52 | 0.2191 |
| Gender#Party | .83348325 | 2 | .41674162 | 0.59 | 0.5566 |
| Gender#Party#Feminist | 2.196223 | 2 | 1.0981115 | 1.55 | 0.2140 |
| | | | | | |
| Residual | 467.53777 | 658 | .71054373 | | |
| | | | | | |
| Total | 483.9403 | 669 | .72337862 | | |

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[34] Please note that when creating the bar graphs, I took the average of all 12 conditions, which was 55.833, then multiplied it by 2 (112), in order to create the N for the code, therefore, while each graph is very close to exact, they are not 100% exact. All claims of statistical significance will therefore be supplemented with p-values from a t-test or other form of statistical test. Furthermore, please note that the means on the graphs are more accurate than the graphs' height.
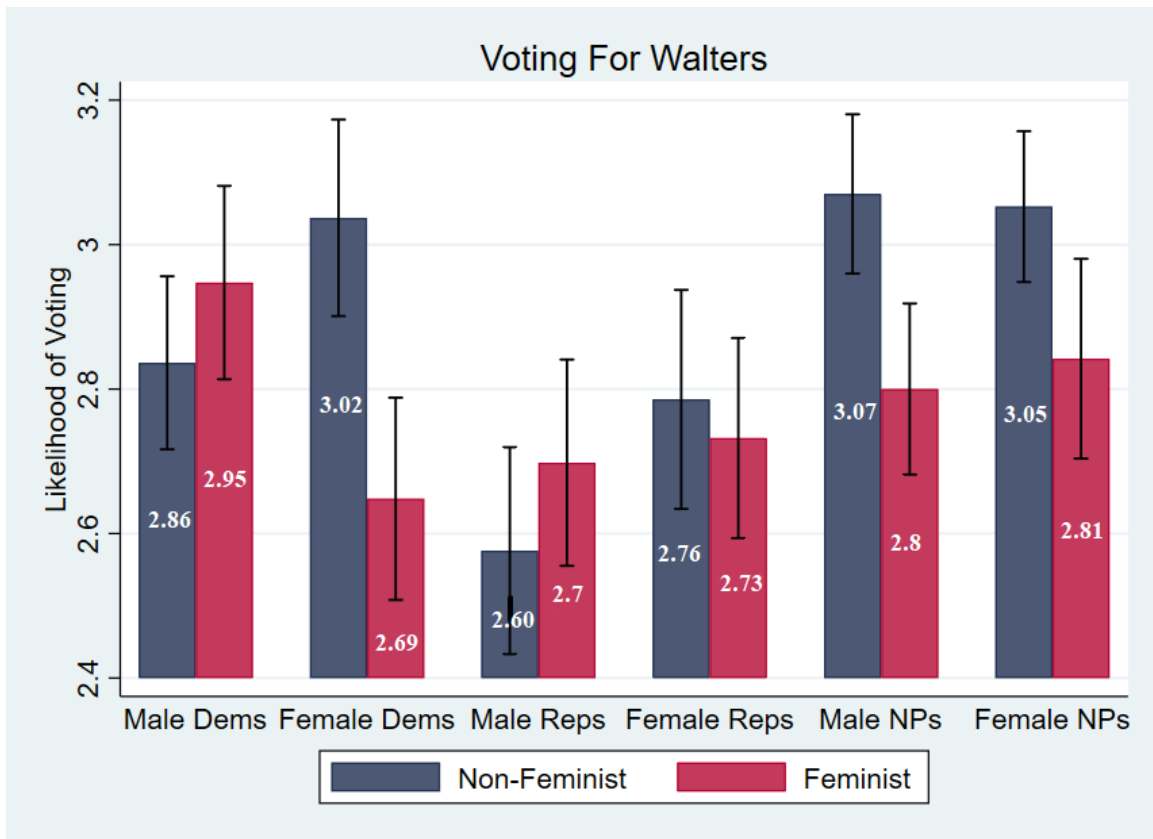[35] See Table 11 and Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Likelihood of Voting Graph

Looking first at the ANOVA (Table 8) for likelihood of voting for candidate

Walters, I do not see solid support for H2. While the variable for the interaction for

gender and feminism is close to statistical significance (p-value: .1158), it does not quite

cross the threshold. This demonstrates that there is not a distinct difference between male

and female feminists when it comes to likelihood of voting. Furthermore, comparing

male and female feminists within party using t-tests also did not yield any pairings with a

statistically significant difference in terms of likelihood of voting. For the male and

female Democratic feminists however, it was quite close (p-value: 0.1110), with the male

candidate being favored (2.96 for men, 2.69 for women).

Despite not showing any statistically significant differences, looking at the bar graph (Figure 2) reveals a few interesting patterns. For one, within party, male and female feminists are mostly rated very similarly (see the Republicans and unaffiliated), however, when looking at Democrats, there is a greater difference, with the male feminist being slightly preferred compared to the female feminist. As noted above, the t-test for this particular combination was not quite significant, but did get close.

Furthermore, another interesting pattern presents itself, when comparing male feminists and non-feminists to female feminists and non-feminists. For women, generally identifying as a feminist contributes to a decrease in likelihood of voting, which is strongest for the Democratic women and the unaffiliated women. In the case of the Democratic women, this result is also statistically significant (p-value 0.0469), with the non-feminist being preferred by .33. For men, the pattern is reversed. Though again, not statistically significant, when male feminists are compared to male non-feminists of the same party, generally, the feminist is rated slightly higher than the non-feminist (see the Democratic and Republican men). However, the unaffiliated men actually defy this pattern. Unaffiliated male feminists are actually considerably less likely to be voted for (p-value: 0.0526), with a difference of .27. While party might condition a potential for a slight increase for male feminists, the effect does not hold if they are unaffiliated. Without a party affiliation, male feminists are less likely to be voted for, probably because feminists are generally less likely to be voted for than non-feminists (p-value: 0.0779 in the ANOVA above).

It is interesting that feminist men who did not have a party affiliation were treated more similarly to women candidates rather than their other male counterparts in the

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Democratic and Republican party. However, the unaffiliated men's ratings do resemble the unaffiliated woman's, so it is clearly an effect of being unattached to a party. The unaffiliated woman's ratings just happen to align more closely with how women of other parties behaved. Therefore, I speculate that while feminism might be a primary factor in rating the women candidates, perhaps the party is a more crucial element in conditioning how feminism is perceived for male candidates. Essentially, that while feminism is primary for women, the interaction of party and feminism is primary for men. So since the unaffiliated men do not present a party, respondents might not feel they have sufficient cues to interpret this candidate and instead base the rating purely off of feminist status. So while an unaffiliated non-feminist man is appreciated just for being a man in politics, the unaffiliated feminist man receives the backlash and potential confusion of being a feminist male candidate, with no other descriptor. Perhaps while it makes sense to voters why feminist might be a key descriptor for a female candidate, it is potentially confusing why a male candidate would be described first and foremost as a feminist.

Feeling thermometer score

Table 9: Feeling Thermometer Score ANOVA

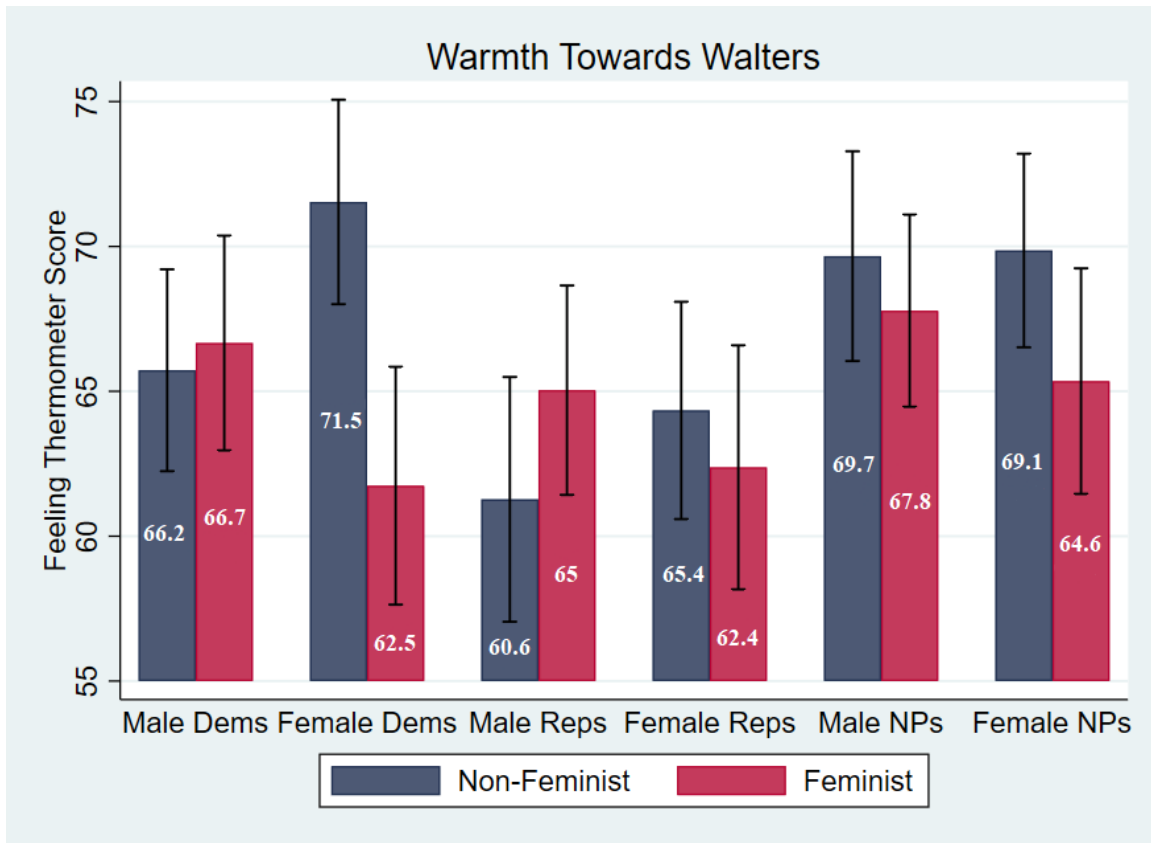| Source | Partial SS | df | MS | F | Prob>F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model | 6734.5661 | 11 | 612.23329 | 1.07 | 0.3822 |
| Feminist | 840.76889 | 1 | 840.76889 | 1.47 | 0.2256 |
| Gender | 4.1846027 | 1 | 4.1846027 | 0.01 | 0.9318 |
| Party | 2780.0537 | 2 | 1390.0269 | 2.43 | 0.0887 |
| Gender#Feminist | 1694.2472 | 1 | 1694.2472 | 2.96 | 0.0856 |
| Party#Feminist | 866.72845 | 2 | 433.36423 | 0.76 | 0.4690 |
| Gender#Party | 79.216196 | 2 | 39.608098 | 0.07 | 0.9331 |
| Gender#Party#Feminist | 465.73761 | 2 | 232.8688 | 0.41 | 0.6656 |
| Residual | 376128.54 | 658 | 571.62393 | | |
| Total | 382863.11 | 669 | 572.29164 | | |

Figure 3: Feeling Thermometer Score Graph

I look next at feeling thermometer scores. Unlike the other three variables, the interaction between gender and feminism is statistically significant in this ANOVA (p-value: 0.0856) (see Table 9 above). This demonstrates that, when it comes to warmth, the interaction of gender and feminism makes a difference in the feeling thermometer scores respondents assigned to a candidate. Though ANOVAs cannot tell us the specific way in which the conditions are different, the corresponding bar graphs are able to demonstrate. As demonstrated in the ANOVA, warmth shows that, within party, male feminist candidates are preferred to their female counterparts. Though, according to t-tests, none of the individual comparisons are statistically significant, the trend holds across all three party groups: Democrats, Republicans, and the unaffiliated. The Democrats demonstrate

the difference most, with male feminist candidates' feeling thermometer scores averaging 66.7 and female feminist candidates' scores averaging 62.5.

Furthermore, when looking at the feminist versus non-feminists among women presented in Figure 3, every single pairing shows a preference (significant for Democrats, but still slightly for Republicans and the unaffiliated) for the non-feminist woman compared to the feminist woman. For men, this pattern is not as clear. Democrat men are almost identical whether they are feminists or non-feminists. Unaffiliated men follow the pattern that women did, where the feminist candidate is less preferred. Republican men, like with voting, see a slight increase in feeling thermometer scores when they identify as feminists, though this is not statistically significant. While women are more consistently punished for identifying as feminists, the pattern is not as consistent for men that identify as feminists.

Competence as a representative

Table 10: Competence ANOVA

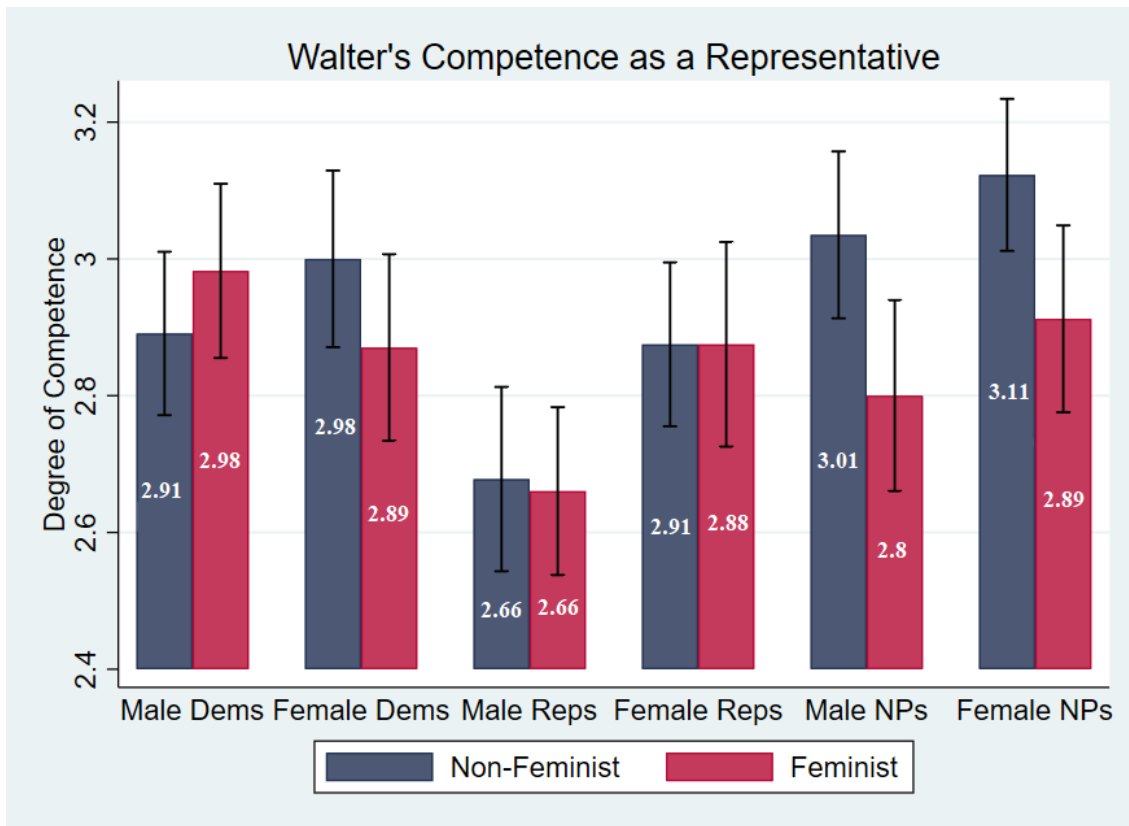| Source | Partial SS | df | MS | F | Prob>F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model | 11.392456 | 11 | 1.0356778 | 1.52 | 0.1201 |
| Feminist | 1.1681928 | 1 | 1.1681928 | 1.71 | 0.1911 |
| Gender | 1.7222509 | 1 | 1.7222509 | 2.52 | 0.1126 |
| Party | 4.9302238 | 2 | 2.4651119 | 3.61 | 0.0275 |
| Gender#Feminist | .14899761 | 1 | .14899761 | 0.22 | 0.6404 |
| Party#Feminist | 1.6365637 | 2 | .81828185 | 1.20 | 0.3020 |
| Gender#Party | 1.1919132 | 2 | .59595661 | 0.87 | 0.4179 |
| Gender#Party#Feminist | .54206297 | 2 | .27103148 | 0.40 | 0.6723 |
| Residual | 448.87023 | 658 | .6821736 | | |
| Total | 460.26269 | 669 | .68798608 | | |

Figure 4: Competence Graph

Regarding competence, the ANOVA (Table 10) did not yield any statistical significance for the interaction of gender and feminism, demonstrating no support for H2. Furthermore, some of the patterns that emerged in the bar graphs (see Figure 4) for likelihood of voting and feeling thermometer scores do not appear here. For instance, the differences between both Democratic male feminists and Democratic female feminists is smaller here than it had been in the preceding graphs. The unaffiliated male feminist and the unaffiliated female feminist are also quite close to each other, demonstrating little difference in how the interaction of gender and feminism impacts impressions of competence. Interestingly, there is some difference between Republicans. Previously, Republican male feminists either had a slight advantage over Republican female

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feminists (feeling thermometer score) or there was virtually no difference (likelihood of voting). Though not statistically significant, female Republican feminists are considered slightly more competent than their male counterparts, by a difference of .22.

Finally, an interesting pattern I had noticed for likelihood of voting and feeling thermometer scores was that identifying as a feminist was problematic for women, but was not for men. Here, that pattern is much less clear. For instance, while it is still slightly problematic for Democratic and unaffiliated women (though not statistically significant), Republican women were rated almost equally competent whether they were a feminist or not. Men also saw a less consistent pattern. Republican men were identical as feminists or non-feminists, Democratic men saw only the slightest increase in perceived competence if they were a feminist, and unaffiliated male feminists continued to see less support than their non-feminist counterpart. This demonstrates no support for H2 in regard to competence.

I have two theories as to why the pattern became less strong. First is that vote choice and warmth matter more to voters. This could mean that they chose to be more discerning for voting and warmth, but less so when it came to other variables. Voting is obviously crucial as it determines which people represent voters in office, but warmth is also a key factor in someone's vote choice, often more so than competence (Laustsen and Bor 2017). Another potential factor is that while people might not like feminists as much (feeling thermometer scores) and that this could influence their feelings in voting for feminists, perhaps they do not have similar qualms about feminists capabilities. While there are many negative stereotypes surrounding feminism, incompetence generally is not a major one. If anything, feminists—for better or for worse—do have a reputation of

engaging in politics and as activists, which demonstrates involvement and engagement rather than incompetence.

Ability to legislate on women's issues

Table 11: Women's Issues ANOVA

| Source | Partial SS | df | MS | F | Prob>F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model | 11.977898 | 11 | 1.0888999 | 1.59 | 0.0985 |
| | | | | | |
| Feminist | 1.6455786 | 1 | 1.6455786 | 2.40 | 0.1221 |
| Gender | 2.7244477 | 1 | 2.7244477 | 3.97 | 0.0468 |
| Party | 2.3417263 | 2 | 1.1708631 | 1.70 | 0.1826 |
| Gender#Feminist | .12305923 | 1 | .12305923 | 0.18 | 0.6722 |
| Party#Feminist | 2.0257922 | 2 | 1.0128961 | 1.47 | 0.2296 |
| Gender#Party | 2.4499529 | 2 | 1.2249764 | 1.78 | 0.1688 |
| Gender#Party#Feminist | .57051536 | 2 | .28525768 | 0.42 | 0.6603 |
| | | | | | |
| Residual | 451.91613 | 658 | .68680263 | | |
| Total | 463.89403 | 669 | .6934141 | | |

Figure 5: Women's Issues Graph

Finally, I turn to the issue of confidence in the candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues. Like likelihood of voting and competence, the ANOVA (Table 11) shows that there are no statistically significant findings for the interaction of gender and feminism. And there are even some indications that being a female feminist–as opposed to a male feminist–has some advantages here. For instance, amongst Republicans, it is actually more beneficial to be a female feminist than a male feminist when it comes to legislating on women's issues (see Figure 5). A t-test confirms statistical significance (p-value: 0.0778). Female Republican feminists were preferred to their male counterparts by .26. While not statistically significant, the unaffiliated candidates show a similar pattern, where, for legislating on women's issues, the female feminist has a slight advantage over

the male feminist, for a difference of .11. The Democrats are the only ones not to follow

this trend, and the female Democratic feminist is rated slightly lower than her male

counterpart.

It is not fully surprising to me that confidence in the candidate's ability to

legislate on women's issues actually saw some instances of female feminists being

preferred to male feminists. Given that women, being personally affected by women's

issues, have both more at stake, but also more ownership of this area. Though it is

interesting that the female Democratic feminist was uniquely penalized here, whereas

other feminist women saw improvements, relative to the other three variables. Non-

feminist women generally were rated better than both the feminist and non-feminist men

in their party, but the same could not be said for feminist women. Perhaps the presence of

both women and feminist-status was considered to be more "extreme" and potentially too

left for the average respondent.

Looking at H2 as a whole shows some mixed results. Generally, there is little

statistically significant difference between male feminists and female feminists,

particularly when it comes to likelihood of voting and competence evaluations. This

provides no concrete support for H2.

However, feeling thermometer scores and ability to legislate on women's issues

both reveal some interesting findings. For feeling thermometer scores, male feminists, on

average, are preferred to their female counterparts, demonstrating that, on the issue of

likability, male feminists have an advantage. When it comes to the ability to legislate on

women's issues, I actually find some evidence contrary to my hypothesis. Female

Republican feminists were preferred to their male counterparts, demonstrating that there

are some cases where a female feminist may have an advantage, mainly in taking on issues they have more ownership of. Finally, though not statistically significant, many of the graphs do note a trend of female candidates being disadvantaged when they identify as a feminist, while Republican and Democratic men actually show slight benefit when they identify as feminists compared to when they do not. All in all, while there is some limited support for H2 (warmth), there is also some support against it (Republican feminist women being preferred over their male counterparts).

*Gender and Feminism: Hypothesis 3*

The third hypothesis posits that respondents will respond more warmly to the feminist candidate that shares their gender. To test this, I ran a series of t-tests. First, I divided the sample by gender, then ran a t-test for each dependent variable, comparing how women respondents regarded the male feminist candidates versus the female feminist candidates, with how men regarded the male feminist candidates versus the female feminist candidates.

Female respondents

Looking first at female respondents, I find a lack of support for H3. Only one of the dependent variables was statistically significant, which was voting. However, female respondents were more likely to vote for the male feminist, rather than the female feminist, directly countering H3 (p-value: 0.0847). The average likelihood of women voting for a female feminist was 2.67, while women's likelihood of voting for a male feminist is 2.90, for a difference of .23. Not only is there a general lack of support for H3, with most of the dependent variables not demonstrating a statistically significant

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difference, one dependent variable, voting, actually contradicts H3, showing that female respondents preferred a feminist candidate of the opposite gender.

I had believed, in accordance with earlier research, such as Sanbonmatsu (2002), that in general, respondents would have a preference for their own gender, so the fact that there was either no preference for women, or instead, a preference for men, was surprising. I have a few theories as to why this might be. First, after the defeat of Hillary Clinton, many women especially might have been concerned that there's still too many barriers for women to win. Especially when the alternative is Donald Trump, it might make women more hesitant to support a woman, given that they might perceive her as being more likely to lose than a man. A *Washington Post* article written in 2020 cites a CNN poll that found that one in five women believe a woman cannot win the presidency, but only one in nine men said the same (Scott 2020). Building on this further, Fox and Lawless (2004) point to a gender gap in political ambition between men and women. Crucially, women are less encouraged than men to run for office, but perhaps even more relevantly, women are less likely than men are to view themselves as qualified to run for office. Perhaps my finding here is, in part, women, internalizing worries about our political competence as well as our electability, which makes sense as to why likelihood of voting was the only variable that showed this trend.

As for why there was no statistically significant difference between how women rated feminist women and feminist men, I present two potential avenues of reasoning. First, perhaps women are more egalitarian than they are biased towards their own gender. Second, perhaps the man being a feminist makes up for a potential gender difference.

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Male respondents

Turning next to male respondents, not only did I find no support for my hypothesis, I actually found some support for the opposite. Male respondents rated female candidates better than the male candidate for two of the four dependent variables. To begin, there were no statistically significant differences for likelihood of voting or feeling thermometer scores. For feeling thermometer scores, men slightly preferred the male feminist (62.95) to the female feminist (60.64), though this was not statistically significant. However, for all three other variables, male respondents actually rated the female feminist higher than the male feminist.

Turning next to both competence and ability to legislate on women's issues, these variables proved to be statistically significant, and in favor of female feminists. For competence, men rated the feminist women at an average of 2.97 and the feminist men at 2.64, for a difference of .33 (p-value: 0.0202). For the ability to legislate on women's issues, men rated the feminist woman at 2.99, and the feminist man at 2.68, for a difference of .31 (p-value: 0.0241).

In terms of ability to legislate on women's issues, it makes some sense to me that men might rate the female feminist as superior to the male feminist. Given that men likely see women as being better equipped to handle "their" issues. Regarding competence, perhaps this was a reaction to being against "politics as normal" and voting for an outsider candidate. For example, Shames (2003) notes that femininity is outside the norm for politics, and that women candidates may use this to their advantage by portraying themselves as political outsiders.

Another potential explanation here is that perhaps some men were particularly

disillusioned after Donald Trump, a fellow man, who many would say demonstrated a

unique lack of confidence in his position in elected office. Perhaps supporting female

candidates is a repudiation of Trump. However, this also could point to a general

lessening of negativity towards voting for female candidates. Dolan and Lynch (2014,

2015) demonstrate that gender and gender stereotypes are becoming less crucial factors in

regard to getting women elected to office. Overall, I not only find no support for

hypothesis 3, but I also find some support in the opposite direction.

*Party and Feminism: Hypothesis 4*

With H4, I turn to the hypotheses related to how party impacts support for

feminist candidates. For H4, I believed that Democratic respondents would be more

likely to support feminist candidates than Republican respondents would. As one would

expect, I found full support for this hypothesis. To test this, I ran 4 t-tests, comparing

Republicans and Democrats and evaluating their responses for each of my four dependent

variables as well as creating bar graphs to demonstrate visually.

Likelihood of voting
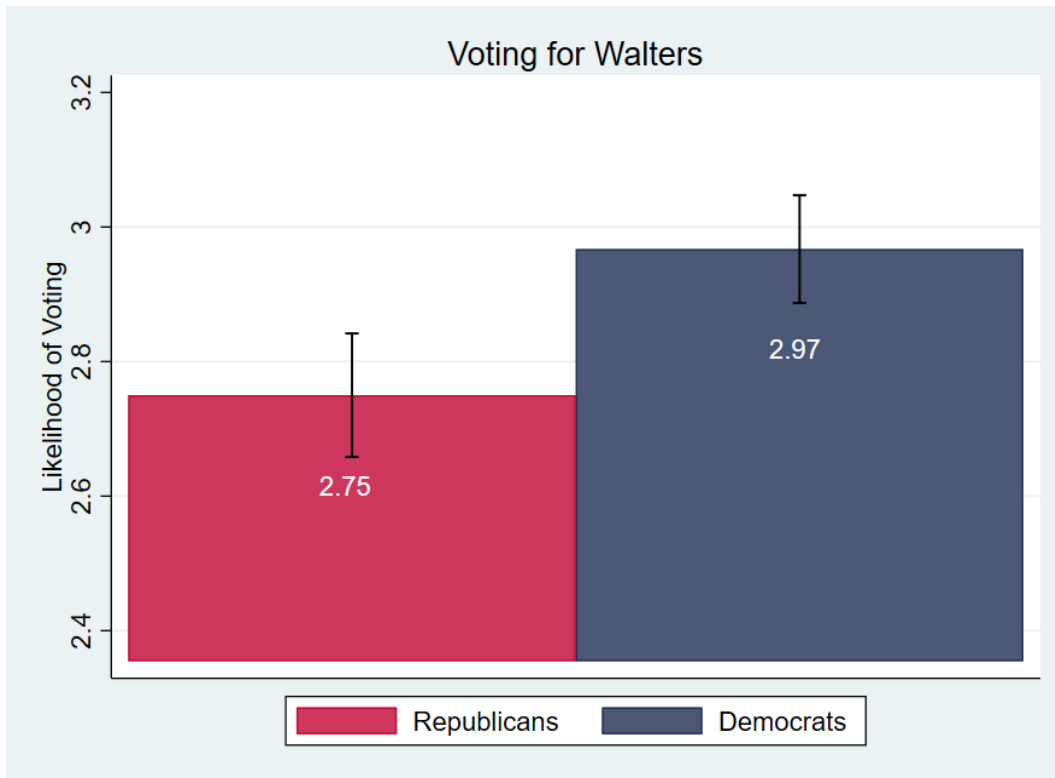
Figure 6: Voting for Feminists (by Party)

In looking at likelihood of voting, both the graph and the t-test comparing Democrats and Republicans on their likelihood of voting for a feminist candidate demonstrate that Democrats are significantly more likely than Republicans to vote for a feminist candidate (p-value: 0.0394). Figure 6 shows that Democrats rate their likelihood of voting for a feminist candidate at an average of 2.97. Republicans rate the feminist candidate at 2.75, for a difference of .22.

Feeling thermometer score
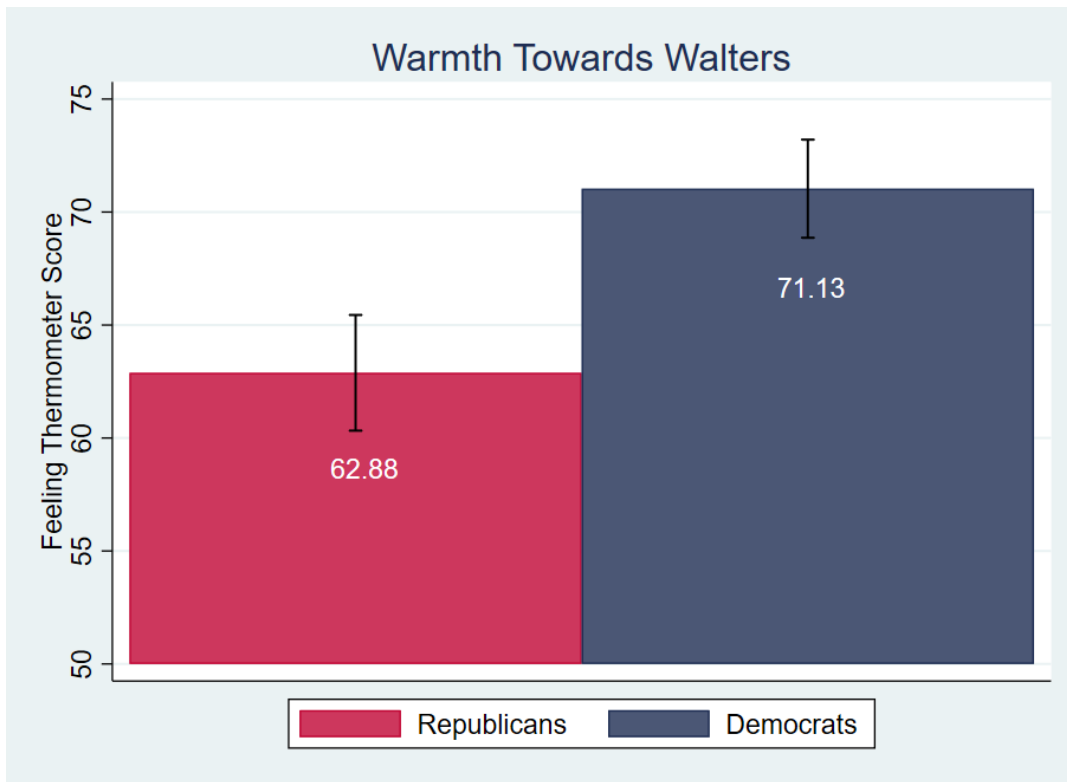
Figure 7: Feeling Thermometer for Feminists (by Party)

Like likelihood of voting, feeling thermometer scores for the feminist candidates also differed significantly between Democrats and Republicans. Table 7 shows that Democrats were statistically significantly more likely to give feminist candidates a higher feeling thermometer scores, with an average of 71.13. Republican respondents rated the feminist candidates 8.25 degrees cooler than Democratic respondents, with an average score of 62.88. This is further supported by the t-test of Democratic and Republican respondents in terms of feeling thermometer score, which was statistically significant at 0.0051.

Competence as a Representative
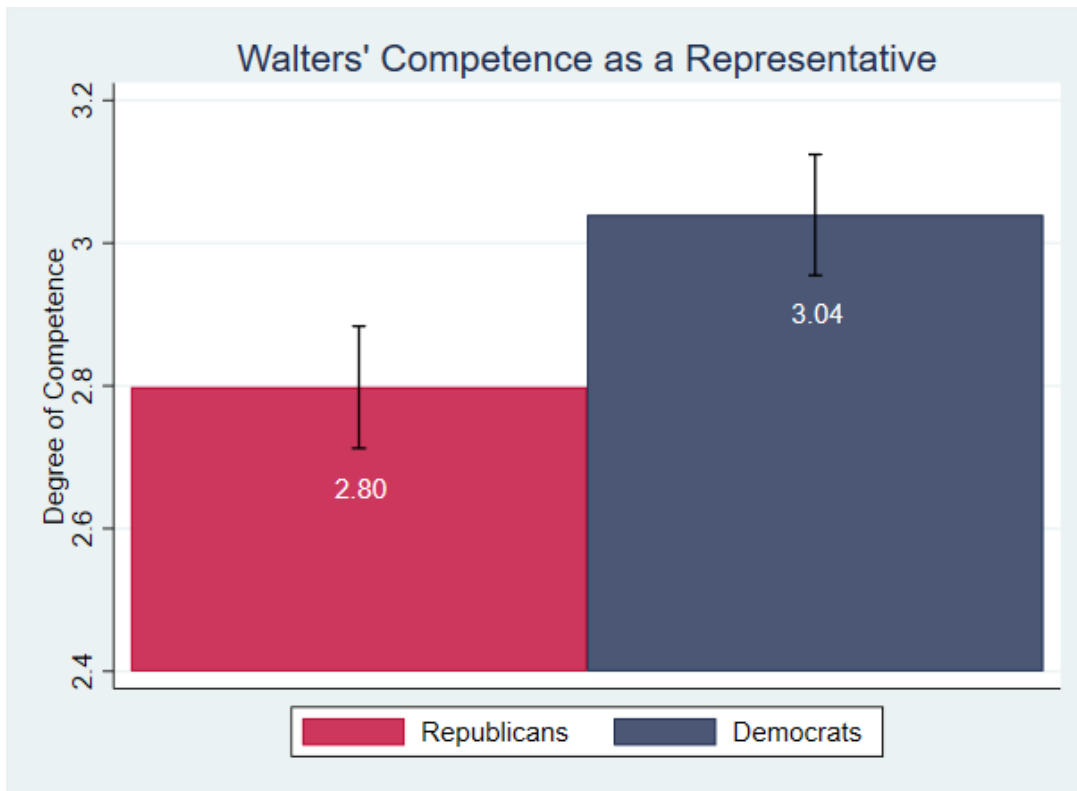
Figure 8: Competence of Feminists (by Party)

Like vote likelihood and feeling thermometer score, competence once again saw

Democrats rating the feminist candidate higher than the Republican respondents did

(Figure 8). Democrats, on average, rated the feminist candidate's competence at 3.04,

while Republicans rated the feminist candidate's competence at an average of 2.8, for a

difference of .24. The t-test confirms that the difference between the two is statistically

significant (p-value: 0.0222).

Ability to legislate on women's issues
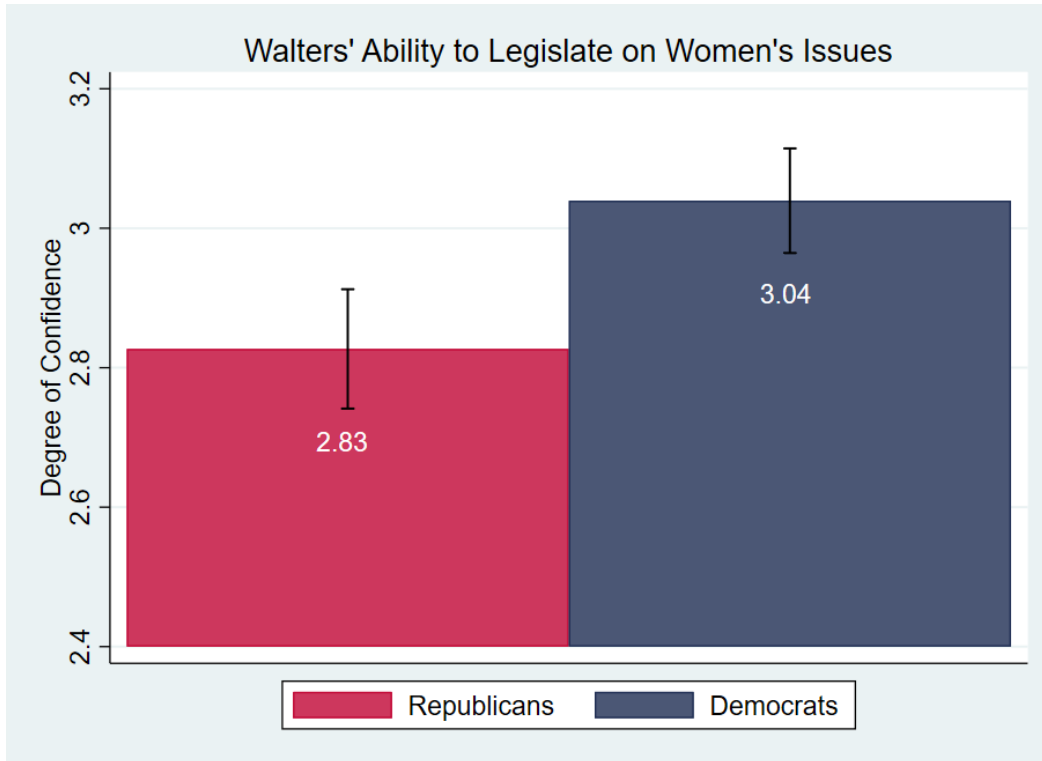
Figure 9: Legislating on Women's Issues (by Party)

Finally, when it came to respondents' confidence in the feminist candidates' ability to legislate on women's issues, Democratic respondents continued to rate the feminist candidate more positively than did Republican respondents (see Figure 9). On average, Democratic respondents rated the feminist candidates' ability to legislate on women's issues at 3.04. Republicans rated the feminist candidate at 2.83, with a difference of .21. The t-test further confirms that the difference between Democratic and Republican respondents is statistically significant (p-value: 0.0310).

Overall, the t-tests and bar graphs demonstrate full support for H4. As I anticipated, Democrats consistently rated the feminist candidate higher across all four dependent variables, all four also being statistically significant. Given the previous

research showing the correlation between Democratic values and feminism, I expected to find that my research corresponds with the previous findings.

*Party and Feminism: Hypothesis 5*

My fifth hypothesis posits that respondents will be more likely to support a feminist candidate if the candidate is a co-partisan. To test this, I first divided the sample into Republicans and Democrats. Then, within those separate groups, I ran t-tests for each dependent variable. The groups I compared in the t-tests were as follows: for Republican respondents, the t-test compared the averages of their responses towards feminist Republicans to feminist non-Republicans (feminist Democrats and feminists with no party). For the Democratic respondents, the t-test compared the averages of their responses towards feminist Democrats and feminist non-Democrats (feminist Republicans and feminists with no party). For Republicans, I saw limited support for my hypothesis. In terms of likeliness of voting, Republicans were more likely to vote for a feminist that is a co-partisan (mean: 2.96) over an out-party feminist (mean: 2.65) (p value: 0.0947). For Republicans, likelihood of voting was the only variable that attained statistical significance. For Democrats, many variables attained statistically significance, making the support for my hypothesis much stronger. Democrats statistically significantly preferred feminist co-partisans in every case except one. Democrats preferred their feminist co-partisan for likeliness of voting (p value: 0.0310), competence (p value: 0.0103), and ability to legislate on women's issues (p value: 0.0917). It was interesting to me that Democrats were stronger in this than Republicans. Though I did not specifically hypothesize on this, I initially would have assumed a somewhat equal result.

At first glance, I wondered if perhaps feminist status was simply too anathema to Republicans, and that they rated the feminist candidates poorly across the board, but I do not see evidence of floor effects (means were all above 2.5 out of 4), though the Republican averages are consistently lower than the Democratic ones. I theorize that perhaps party matters more than to Democrats. This could be because Democratic respondents might be skeptical of a non-Democratic feminist, as for the most part, most feminists are Democrats and feminist goals (i.e. abortion) align better with those of the Democratic party. Another potential explanation could also be that the Democrat findings are stronger due to the fact that Democrats already are more likely to align with feminist values than Republicans are. Ideologically, Democrats and feminists have much more in common than do Republicans and feminists. Rather than my initial thought that feminism was too anathema to Republicans, the inverse might be true instead, that Democrats are instead that much more attached to feminists.

*Feminism: Hypothesis 6*

H6 states that feminist candidates will receive less support than their non-feminist counterparts. To test this hypothesis, I return to the ANOVAs and bar graphs, as well as t-tests conducted both on individual candidate pairings and t-tests comparing all of the feminist candidates to all of the non-feminist candidates.

Likelihood of voting

Starting with voting, I find some evidence that feminist candidates are less supported than their non-feminist counterparts. Returning to the ANOVA (Table 12) run on voting for feminist candidates, which shows that feminism is statistically significant

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(0.0779). Furthermore, while not quite attaining statistical significance, the interaction of gender and feminism is close at 0.1158.

Table 12: Likelihood of Voting ANOVA

| Source | Partial SS | df | MS | F | Prob>F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model | 16.402524 | 11 | 1.4911385 | 2.10 | 0.0186 |
| | | | | | |
| Feminist | 2.2153352 | 1 | 2.2153352 | 3.12 | 0.0779 |
| Gender | .13354226 | 1 | .13354226 | 0.19 | 0.6648 |
| Party | 6.9722746 | 2 | 3.4861373 | 4.91 | 0.0077 |
| Gender#Feminist | 1.7620716 | 1 | 1.7620716 | 2.48 | 0.1158 |
| Party#Feminist | 2.1627806 | 2 | 1.0813903 | 1.52 | 0.2191 |
| Gender#Party | .83348325 | 2 | .41674162 | 0.59 | 0.5566 |
| Gender#Party#Feminist | 2.196223 | 2 | 1.0981115 | 1.55 | 0.2140 |
| | | | | | |
| Residual | 467.53777 | 658 | .71054373 | | |
| | | | | | |
| Total | 483.9403 | 669 | .72337862 | | |



Figure 10: Likelihood of Voting Graph

Looking at the corresponding voting bar graph from above shows how feminism is statistically significant (see Figure 10). Generally, when it comes to voting, the feminist versions of Walters were regarded as less likely to be voted for than their non-feminist counterparts. Only Democratic and Republican men did not follow this pattern, and for these two groups, the feminist version of Walters outperformed the non-feminist version, though for neither group was this effect statistically significant. Furthermore, turning to the t-tests, two individual pairing comparisons attained statistical significance (and another came very close), as did the overall comparison between feminist candidates and non-feminist candidates. Overall, the t-test comparing the entire sample of feminist candidates and non-feminist candidates in terms of voting was statistically significant (0.0930). The feminist candidates received an average of 2.78, while the non-feminist candidates received an average of 2.89. The first pairing that saw a statistically significant difference was the female Democratic feminist and the female Democratic non-feminist (p-value: 0.0469). The feminist received an average rating of 2.69, while the non-feminist was rated .33 points higher, with an average rating of 3.02. This pairing is of particular interest to me as female Democrats are the group most likely to be feminist candidates in a real-world scenario. The fact that they were one of the types of candidates most punished for identifying as a feminist has concerning real-world implications. The second pairing that attained statistical significance was the male unaffiliated non-feminist and the male unaffiliated feminist (p-value: 0.0526). The non-feminist was actually the highest rated candidate in terms of voting, with a mean of 3.07, though his feminist counterpart's rating differed considerably, dropping to 2.8. Finally, the pairing of the female unaffiliated feminist and non-feminist did not quite attain statistical significance,

though was quite close (p-value 0.1077). Like the other two pairings, the feminist version

of the unaffiliated female candidate was less likely to be voted for, with a mean of 2.81,

compared to the non-feminist's mean of 3.05.

Feeling thermometer score

Next, I examine the feeling thermometer scores between feminists and non-

feminists. While the ANOVA[36] for feeling thermometer scores does not show feminism

being statistically significant in and of itself, the interaction of feminism and gender does

attain statistical significance (0.0856).

Table 13: Feeling Thermometer Score ANOVA

| Source | Partial SS | df | MS | F | Prob>F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model | 6734.5661 | 11 | 612.23329 | 1.07 | 0.3822 |
| Feminist | 840.76889 | 1 | 840.76889 | 1.47 | 0.2256 |
| Gender | 4.1846027 | 1 | 4.1846027 | 0.01 | 0.9318 |
| Party | 2780.0537 | 2 | 1390.0269 | 2.43 | 0.0887 |
| Gender#Feminist | 1694.2472 | 1 | 1694.2472 | 2.96 | 0.0856 |
| Party#Feminist | 866.72845 | 2 | 433.36423 | 0.76 | 0.4690 |
| Gender#Party | 79.216196 | 2 | 39.608098 | 0.07 | 0.9331 |
| Gender#Party#Feminist | 465.73761 | 2 | 232.8688 | 0.41 | 0.6656 |
| Residual | 376128.54 | 658 | 571.62393 | | |
| Total | 382863.11 | 669 | 572.29164 | | |

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[36] See Table 13.
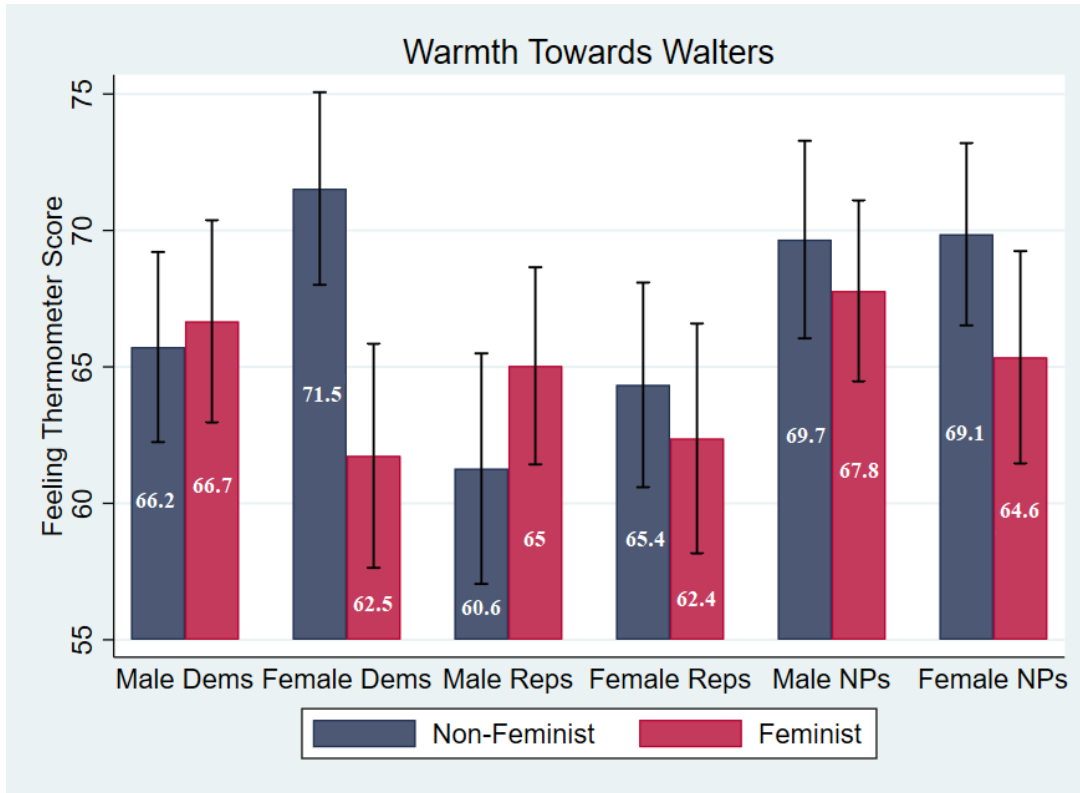
Figure 11: Feeling Thermometer Score Graph

Looking at the corresponding bar graph in Figure 11 above shows that for female candidates, identifying as a feminist decreases their feeling thermometer scores relative to their non-feminist counterparts. Though this effect is not always statistically significant, it is consistent across all of the female pairings. For men, the pattern is slightly different. While men unaffiliated with a party show a similar pattern to women (identifying as a feminist leads to lower feeling thermometer scores), but for Democrats and Republicans, a slightly different picture emerges. For male Democrats, the difference is very slight, but for Republicans, the feminist is rated 4.4 degrees higher than the non-feminist. In the case of feeling thermometer scores, women generally suffer for being feminists as a whole (though this is not statistically significant in most of the t-tests focused on individual

pairings. Male candidates, on the other hand, have a more varied experience when it comes to identifying as a feminist.

In terms of the t-tests for the individual pairings, only one duo proved to have a statistically significant difference between the two candidates. Like with voting, the female Democratic feminist and non-feminist showed the most difference, statistically significant at 0.0530. The feminist candidate's feeling thermometer score averaged at 62.54, while the non-feminist candidate averaged at 71.54, a 9 degree difference between the two. So far across both voting and feeling thermometer scores, this pairing of female Democrats is the most consistent, and consistently negative for feminists. Again, given the real-world implications, that female Democrats are arguably the most likely candidates to be feminist, it is interesting that this pairing attains the most statistically significance, particularly in a negative manner.

Competence as a representative

Table 14: Competence ANOVA

| Source | Partial SS | df | MS | F | Prob>F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model | 11.392456 | 11 | 1.0356778 | 1.52 | 0.1201 |
| | | | | | |
| Feminist | 1.1681928 | 1 | 1.1681928 | 1.71 | 0.1911 |
| Gender | 1.7222509 | 1 | 1.7222509 | 2.52 | 0.1126 |
| Party | 4.9302238 | 2 | 2.4651119 | 3.61 | 0.0275 |
| Gender#Feminist | .14899761 | 1 | .14899761 | 0.22 | 0.6404 |
| Party#Feminist | 1.6365637 | 2 | .81828185 | 1.20 | 0.3020 |
| Gender#Party | 1.1919132 | 2 | .59595661 | 0.87 | 0.4179 |
| Gender#Party#Feminist | .54206297 | 2 | .27103148 | 0.40 | 0.6723 |
| | | | | | |
| Residual | 448.87023 | 658 | .6821736 | | |
| | | | | | |
| Total | 460.26269 | 669 | .68798608 | | |

While voting and the feeling thermometer scores saw some support for H6, I find no such support when looking at the competence of Walters. According to the ANOVA[37], neither the feminist variable nor any of its interactions attain statistical significance. Furthermore, none of the t-test comparisons that I ran attain statistical significance either. So while likelihood of voting and feeling thermometer scores can suffer from identifying as a feminist, competence does not seem to be as affected.

Ability to legislate on women's issues

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[37] See Table 14.

Table 15: Women's Issues ANOVA

| Source | Partial SS | df | MS | F | Prob>F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Model | 11.977898 | 11 | 1.0888999 | 1.59 | 0.0985 |
| | | | | | |
| Feminist | 1.6455786 | 1 | 1.6455786 | 2.40 | 0.1221 |
| Gender | 2.7244477 | 1 | 2.7244477 | 3.97 | 0.0468 |
| Party | 2.3417263 | 2 | 1.1708631 | 1.70 | 0.1826 |
| Gender#Feminist | .12305923 | 1 | .12305923 | 0.18 | 0.6722 |
| Party#Feminist | 2.0257922 | 2 | 1.0128961 | 1.47 | 0.2296 |
| Gender#Party | 2.4499529 | 2 | 1.2249764 | 1.78 | 0.1688 |
| Gender#Party#Feminist | .57051536 | 2 | .28525768 | 0.42 | 0.6603 |
| | | | | | |
| Residual | 451.91613 | 658 | .68680263 | | |
| | | | | | |
| Total | 463.89403 | 669 | .6934141 | | |

Finally, regarding respondents' confidence in the candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues, the ANOVA[38] shows that neither feminism nor any of its interactions are statistically significant, though feminism itself is somewhat close at 0.1221. In terms of the t-tests, only one pairing attained statistical significance. This pairing was the unaffiliated male feminist and non-feminist, which had also been significant for likelihood of voting. As it was with voting, once again, being a feminist proved detrimental to the candidate's average. Feminists had an average of 2.75, while the non-feminists had an average of 3.02, for a difference of .27. While not quite statistically significant, the unaffiliated female feminist and non-feminist was close (p-value: 0.1110), with the feminist Walters having a mean of 2.86 and the non-feminist having a mean of 3.11.

Overall, I find some support for H6, which stated that feminist candidates will receive less support than non-feminist candidates. Both in terms of likelihood of voting as well as feeling thermometer scores, feminist candidates did not fare as well as their non-

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[38] As seen in Table 15.

feminist counterparts. In particular, the individual candidate of the female, Democratic feminist was noticeably disadvantaged compared to her non-feminist counterpart for both the variables of voting and feeling thermometer scores. I would argue that likelihood of voting is also the most important variable here, given that winning the majority of votes is how a person goes from being a candidate, to actually attaining public office. Warmth is also a key factor in vote choice, and some scholars argue that it is the most important one (Laustsen and Bor 2017). Therefore, the fact that feminist candidates suffer most with likelihood of voting and warmth speaks to problems that potential feminist candidates might face when they run for office. In terms of my other variables, legislating on women's issues only saw slight support in favor of H6, mainly when it came to the no party, male feminist, who was, somewhat counterintuitively, considered less able to legislate on women's issues than the non-feminist. However, this was the only test that demonstrated a considerable difference between feminists and non-feminists on the question of legislation on women's issues. Finally, competence actually saw no statistically significant differences for any of the tests, demonstrating that feminist candidates have less to worry about if it came to their competency being questioned. In summary, these findings show some support for H6, particularly the variables of voting and feeling thermometer scores, with female Democratic feminists and male unaffiliated feminists being the individual candidate types that seemed to differ the most from their non-feminist counterparts, both to the detriment of the feminist candidate.

*Feminism: Hypothesis 7*

Looking next at H7, which takes us into the hypotheses looking at how feminist identification in respondents impacts how they evaluate feminist candidates. H7 states that those who identify as feminists will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not identify as feminists. While this may seem like a foregone conclusion, it is important to test, just in case. To test this hypothesis, I utilized two separate independent variables. The first asked "Do you identify as a feminist?" which had a yes/no response. The second asked "How well does the term 'feminist' describe you?" which was answered on a 4-point Likert scale from "not well at all" to "extremely well." For the purposes of this hypothesis, I recoded the second question as a binary, with "not well at all" and "not very well" comprising one answer and "somewhat well" and "extremely well" comprising the second. It should be noted that even when recoded as a binary, this variable still differed from the yes/no version of the feminist identification question.[39] Within each different feminist identification variable, I ran t-tests for my four dependent variables, comparing the feminist respondents' opinions on the feminist candidates, to non-feminist respondents' opinions on the feminist candidates as well as created bar charts with confidence intervals. Though I pulled from two different feminist identification variables, both yielded very similar results in terms of support for feminist candidates, as you can see in the graphs below.[40]

Likelihood of voting

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[39] The yes/no feminist question yielded 499 non-feminists and 171 feminists. The Likert scale version had 189 respondents for "somewhat well" and 112 for "extremely well" for a combined total of 301, so they do capture some differences in respondents, hence why I utilized both.

[40] See Figure 12 for likelihood of voting, Figure 13 for feeling thermometer score, Figure 14 for competence, and Figure 15 for ability to legislate on women's issues.
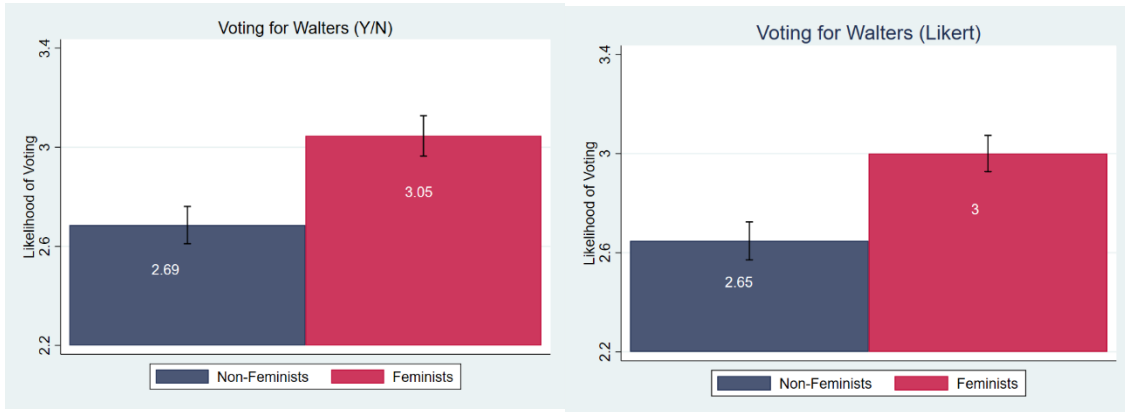
Figure 12: Voting for Feminists (by Feminists)

For both feminist identification variables, identifying as a feminist has a strong positive effect on voting for a feminist candidate, with an average of 3.05 and 3.0 (yes/no and Likert scale, respectively) of voting for a feminist, and only an average of 2.69 and 2.65 (yes/no and Likert scale, respectively) for voting for a non-feminist. Furthermore, the two different variables behaved almost identically.

Feeling thermometer score



Figure 13: Feeling Thermometer for Feminists (by Feminists)

As it was for voting, identifying as a feminist through either variable has a strong, positive effect on the feeling thermometer score respondents gave to feminist candidates. Both feminist identification variables showed that identifying as a feminist increased feeling thermometer scores by 14.99% (Y/N) and 12.8% (Likert). Once again, the two variables were quite close to each other, with only slight differences between feminists' ratings of feminist candidates.

Competence as a representative
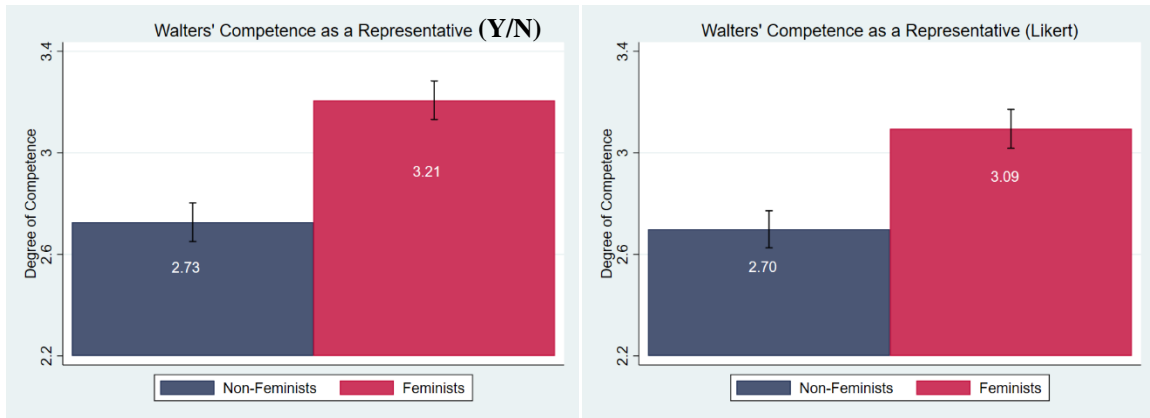


Figure 14: Competence of Feminists (by Feminists)

The pattern continued with competence. Both feminist identification variables led to statistically significantly increased competence ratings for the feminist candidates. The ratings for competence increased from 2.73 to 3.21, for a difference of .48 (Y/N) and from 2.70 to 3.09, for a difference of .39 (Likert). Once again, the two variables were fairly similar, with only slight differences in the feminists' ratings of feminist candidates.

Ability to legislate on women's issues

Figure 15: Legislating on Women's Issues (by Feminists)

Finally, confidence in the candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues

continued the pattern. As with the three previous pairs, both forms of feminist

identification contributed significantly to more positive evaluations of the feminist

candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues. Non-feminists rated the feminist

candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues at 2.75 (Y/N) and 2.71 (Likert), while

feminist respondents rated the feminist candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues

at 3.14 (Y/N) and 3.07 (Likert). Both feminist identification variables were quite similar,

with only slight differences in the ratings for feminist respondents. One interesting note is

that, in comparing the graphs, the feminist respondents' scores based on the yes/no

question are consistently slightly higher than the feminist respondents' scores based on

the Likert scale, though the differences are quite small. The yes/no measure might

discourage those who are weakly aligned with feminism from making the distinct choice

to answer "yes," whereas they might feel more comfortable identifying "somewhat" as a

feminist with the Likert scale question.

All in all, I found full support for H7, for both versions of the feminist identification variable, all four dependent variables were statistically significant and in the anticipated direction (favoring feminists). In particular for this hypothesis, the results were quite strong.[41]

*Feminism: Hypothesis 8*

Though feminist identification is crucial to measure, I also thought it would be beneficial to measure feminist support, to capture the "I'm not a feminist, but…" crowd. Subsequently, H8 states that those who support feminism will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not support feminism. To test this hypothesis, I utilized the feminist feeling thermometer (from the pre-test). I decided to run this test two ways. First, I made the feminist feeling thermometer into a binary and simply divided it in half from 0 to 49 becoming "not supportive of feminism" and 50 and above becoming "supportive of feminism." The second way I ran this test was dividing the feminist feeling thermometer into a slightly different divide, with "not supportive of feminism" being 0 to 59 and with "supportive of feminism" requiring a 60 degree rating or higher, just to attempt a stronger test. With each version of the feminist feeling thermometer, I ran t-tests for each dependent variable, comparing supporters of feminism with non-supporters, as well as creating bar graphs to demonstrate the t-tests visually.[42]

_____

[41] Feminist yes/no: vote likelihood p value: 0.0008, feeling thermometer p value: 0.0000, competence p value: 0.0000, ability to legislate on women's issues p value: 0.0001. Feminist Likert scale: vote likelihood p value: 0.0003, feeling thermometer p value: 0.0000, competence p value: 0.0000, ability to legislate on women's issues p value: 0.0001.
[42] See Figure 16 for likelihood of voting, Figure 17 for feeling thermometer score, Figure 18 for competence, and Figure 18 for ability to legislate on women's issues.
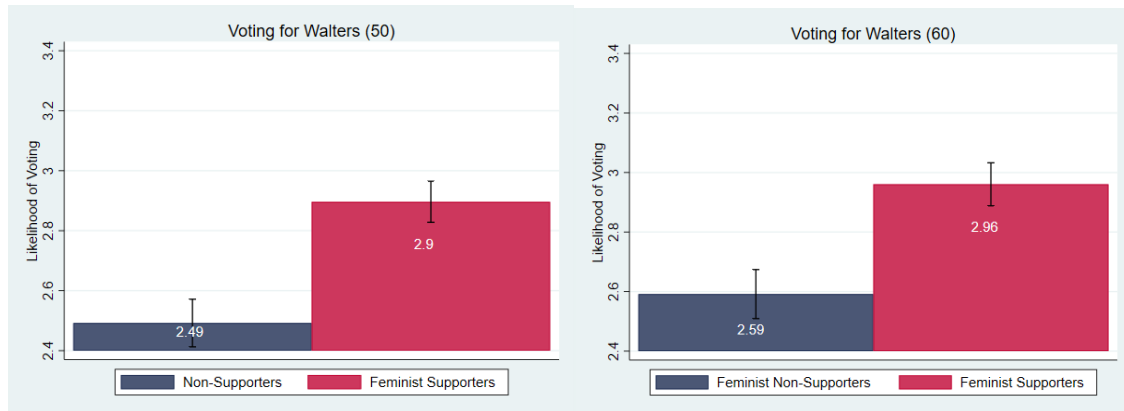
Likelihood of voting



Figure 16: Voting for Feminists (by Feminist Supporters)

Looking first at voting, feeling warmly towards feminists led to a statistically significant increase in the likelihood of voting for a feminist candidate. Both the fifty degree threshold and the sixty degree behaved similarly, elevating the likelihood of voting for a feminist candidate by almost .5, compared to respondents who did not feel warmly towards feminists.
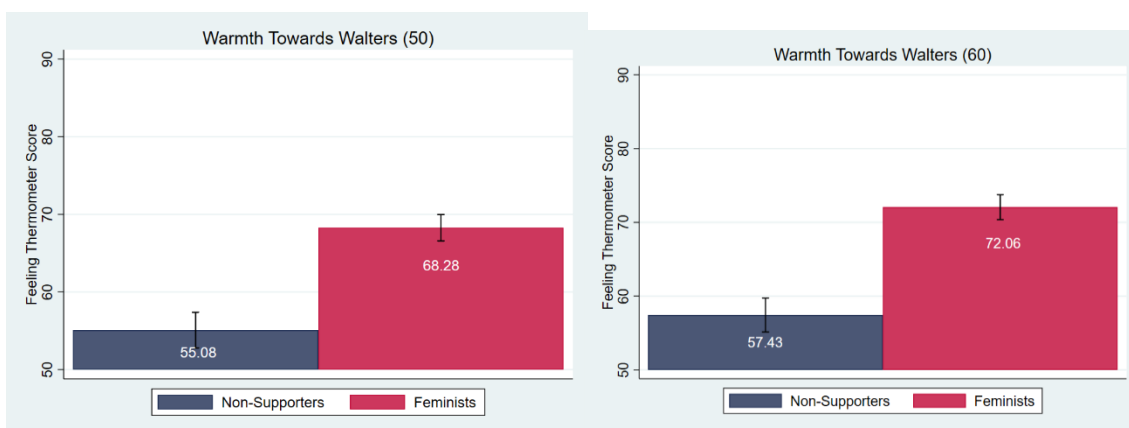
Feeling thermometer score



Figure 17: Feeling Thermometer for Feminists (by Feminist Supporters)

Next, I look at the feeling thermometer scores for feminist candidates. Like voting, feeling positively towards feminists led to a strong, statistically significant increase in the feeling thermometer scores given to a feminist candidate. For the 50 degree threshold, feeling warmly towards feminists led to a 13.2 percent increase, while the 60 degree threshold saw a 14.63 percent increase.
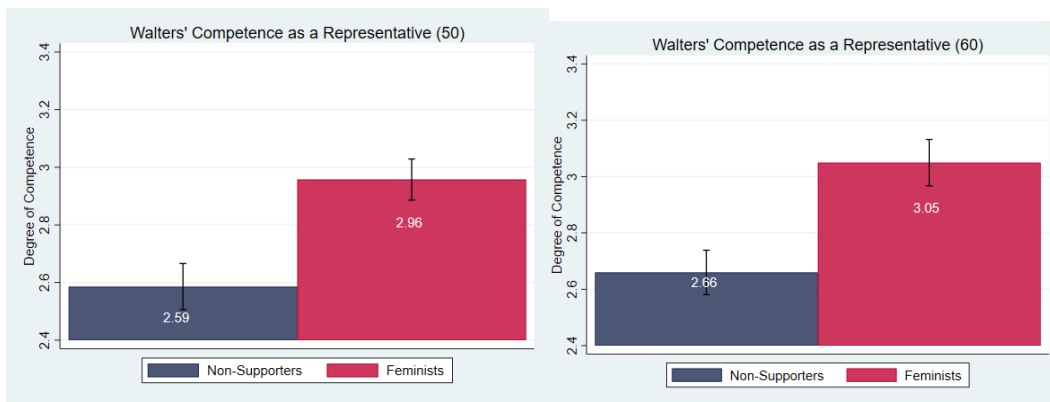
Competence as a representative



Figure 18: Competence of Feminists (by Feminist Supporters)

Next is respondents' assessments of the feminist candidate's competence, which, like voting and feeling thermometer scores, saw a statistically significant difference between those who felt warmly towards feminists and those who did not. For both the 50 degree and 60 degree thresholds, feeling warmly towards feminists led to a strong increase in respondents' perceptions of the feminist candidate's competence. Those who felt warmly towards feminists rated Walters' competence at 2.96 and 3.05 for the 50 degree threshold and 60 degree threshold respectively. Meanwhile, those who felt less

warmly towards feminists rated the feminist candidate's competence at 2.59 (50 degree) and 2.66 (60 degree).
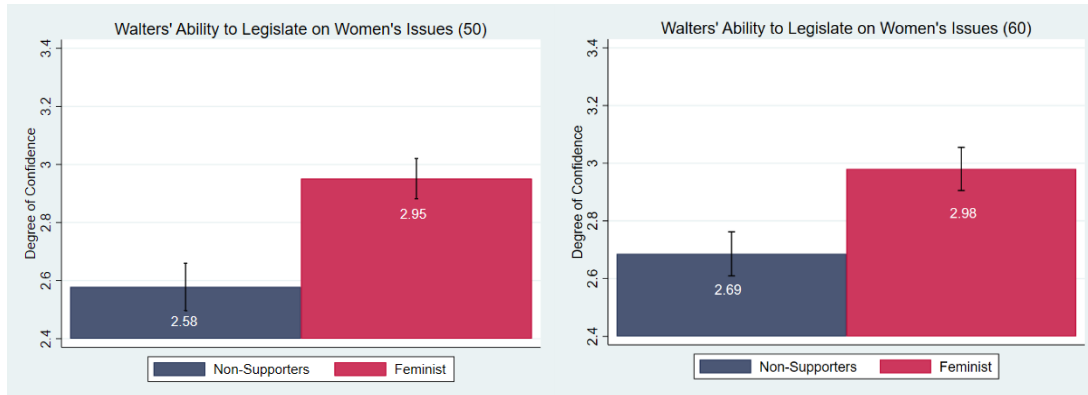
Ability to legislate on women's issues



Figure 19: Legislating on Women's Issues (by Feminist Supporters)

Finally, when it came to respondents' confidence in a feminist candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues, the pattern of feminist supporters rating a feminist significantly higher than their non-supportive counterparts continued. Those who felt warmly towards feminists rated the feminist candidate at 2.95 (50 degree) and 2.98 (60 degree), while not feeling warmly towards feminists led to ratings of 2.58 (50 degree) and 2.69 (60 degree).

Similar to the variables for feminist identification, feminist support also yielded statistically significant results for all four variables, all in the anticipated direction of feminist supporters supporting feminist candidates more so than non-feminist supporters.[43] This provides strong support for H8.

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[43] Feminist support 50+: vote likelihood p value: 0.0000, feeling thermometer p value: 0.0000, competence p value: 0.0002, ability to legislate on women's issues p value: 0.0001. Feminist support 60+: vote likelihood p value: 0.0003, feeling thermometer p value: 0.0000, competence p value: 0.0002, ability to legislate on women's issues p value: 0.0025.

Comparing between the two sets of graphs, feminists, when compared to feminist supporters, rated their likelihood of voting for a feminist candidate at 3.05 (yes/no) and 3 (Likert), whereas those who felt warmly towards feminists rated the feminist candidate at 2.9 (50 degree) and 2.96 (60 degree). For feeling thermometer scores, those who identified as feminists rated the feminist candidate at 75.90 degrees (yes/no) and 72.90 degrees (Likert), whereas those who felt warmly towards feminists rated the feminist candidate at 68.2 (50 degree) and 72.06 (60 degree). Regarding competence, respondents who identified as feminists rated the feminist candidate at 3.21 (yes/no) and 3.09 (Likert), while respondents who feel positively towards feminists rated the feminist candidate at 2.96 (50 degree) and 3.05 (60 degree). Finally, regarding respondents' confidence in a candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues, respondents who identified as feminists rated the feminist candidate at 3.14 (yes/no) and 3.07 (Likert), while respondents who felt warmly towards feminists rated the feminist candidate at 2.95 (50 degree) and 2.98 (60 degree). Overall, both feminist identification and feminist support[44] behave similarly, with all variables leading to strong, statistically significant increases in favor of feminist candidates. Overall, feminist identification measured as a yes or no question gave consistently the highest scores, while feelings of warmth towards feminist (at the 50 degree threshold) consistently the lowest scores, though the differences here are fairly small.

*Feminism: Hypothesis 9*

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[44] Note, that these groups do share some considerable overlap.

Finally, I turn to the last hypothesis. H9 states that feminist identification and/or

support will be the most powerful factor in determining support of feminist candidates.

Therefore, I compared feminist support and identification with both gender and party

identification. To do so, I ran a regression analysis for each dependent variable (vote

likelihood, feeling thermometer score, competence, and ability to legislate on women's

issues), using standardized coefficients (see the beta coefficients column on the far right

of each regression) to accurately compare how feminist identification, party

identification, and gender influence supporting feminist candidates.

Likelihood of voting

Table 16: Voting for Feminists Regression

| Source | SS | df | MS | | Number of obs | = | 291 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | F(3, 287) | = | 6.52 |
| Model | 13.3967523 | 3 | 4.46558412 | | Prob > F | = | 0.0003 |
| Residual | 196.665103 | 287 | .685244262 | | R-squared | = | 0.0638 |
| | | | | | Adj R-squared | = | 0.0540 |
| Total | 210.061856 | 290 | .724351226 | | Root MSE | = | .82779 |

| Vote_Femin~t | Coefficient | Std. err. | t | P>\|t\| | | Beta |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feminist | .1999207 | .0504328 | 3.96 | 0.000 | | .2401713 |
| Gender | -.0970015 | .0957158 | -1.01 | 0.312 | | -.0592752 |
| PartyID | .0197221 | .0232825 | 0.85 | 0.398 | | .0501572 |
| _cons | 2.400004 | .1903832 | 12.61 | 0.000 | | . |

For likelihood of voting for a feminist candidate, feminist identification proves to

be the most powerful predictor.[45] Not only does it attain the highest degree of statistical

significance (p-value: 0.004), but its beta coefficient is also the strongest at .170, though

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[45] See Table 16.

party identification is also important, with a beta coefficient of .108. Gender is the least powerful predictor here, not even attaining statistical significance.

Feeling thermometer score

Table 17: Feeling Thermometer for Feminists Regression

| Source | SS | df | MS | | Number of obs | = | 291 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | F(3, 287) | = | 11.12 |
| Model | 17397.5057 | 3 | 5799.16857 | | Prob > F | = | 0.0000 |
| Residual | 149732.13 | 287 | 521.714739 | | R-squared | = | 0.1041 |
| | | | | | Adj R-squared | = | 0.0947 |
| Total | 167129.636 | 290 | 576.309089 | | Root MSE | = | 22.841 |

| Warmth_Fem~t | Coefficient | Std. err. | t | P>\|t\| | Beta |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feminist | 5.858303 | 1.391576 | 4.21 | 0.000 | .2495067 |
| Gender | 5.180605 | 2.641054 | 1.96 | 0.051 | .1122334 |
| PartyID | .883108 | .6424262 | 1.37 | 0.170 | .0796233 |
| _cons | 40.23339 | 5.253183 | 7.66 | 0.000 | . |

The feeling thermometer scores for the feminist candidates demonstrates a strong similarity to likelihood of voting.[46] Once again, feminist identification has both the strongest p-value (0.000) as well as the largest beta coefficient, at .204. Party identification continues to be an important predictor as well, with a beta coefficient of .148. Respondent gender once again does not attain statistical significance.

Competence as a representative

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[46] See Table 17.

Table 18: Competence of Feminists Regression

| Source | SS | df | MS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Number of obs | = | 291 |
| | | | | F(3, 287) | = | 7.84 |
| Model | 15.6159708 | 3 | 5.20532359 | Prob > F | = | 0.0000 |
| Residual | 190.493995 | 287 | .663742142 | R-squared | = | 0.0758 |
| | | | | Adj R-squared | = | 0.0661 |
| Total | 206.109966 | 290 | .710724019 | Root MSE | = | .8147 |

| Competence~t | Coefficient | Std. err. | t | P>\|t\| | Beta |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feminist | .2106681 | .0496352 | 4.24 | 0.000 | .2554974 |
| Gender | -.0090179 | .0942021 | -0.10 | 0.924 | -.0055632 |
| PartyID | .022502 | .0229143 | 0.98 | 0.327 | .057773 |
| _cons | 2.302226 | .1873724 | 12.29 | 0.000 | . |

For competence of feminist candidates, the pattern set by vote likelihood and feeling thermometer scores continued to hold.[47] If a respondent identifies as a feminist, it is the most powerful predictor of the three independent variables in rating a feminist candidate to be more competent. The beta coefficient for feminist identification is .234, the beta coefficient for party identification is the second most powerful at .113, and respondent gender–though not statistically significant–is the least powerful predictor, with a beta coefficient of -0.057.

Ability to legislate on women's issues

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[47] See Table 18.

Table 19: Women's Issues Regression

| Source | SS | df | MS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Number of obs | = | 291 |
| | | | | F(3, 287) | = | 8.29 |
| Model | 15.0653055 | 3 | 5.0217685 | Prob > F | = | 0.0000 |
| Residual | 173.841911 | 287 | .605720944 | R-squared | = | 0.0797 |
| | | | | Adj R-squared | = | 0.0701 |
| Total | 188.907216 | 290 | .651404195 | Root MSE | = | .77828 |

| Womens_Iss~t | Coefficient | Std. err. | t | P>\|t\| | Beta |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Feminist | .2112803 | .0474162 | 4.46 | 0.000 | .2676528 |
| Gender | -.1170803 | .0899906 | -1.30 | 0.194 | -.0754446 |
| PartyID | .0213222 | .0218899 | 0.97 | 0.331 | .0571822 |
| _cons | 2.468212 | .1789956 | 13.79 | 0.000 | . |

Finally, the regression for feminist candidates' ability to legislate on women's issues demonstrates the same pattern as the previous three dependent variables.[48] Once again, feminist identification is the most statistically significant independent variable (p-value: 0.000), as well as the strongest predictor in accordance with the beta coefficients, with a coefficient of .209. Party ID, the second most powerful predictor, has a beta coefficient of .093, while gender, still not attaining statistical significance, has a beta coefficient of -0.013. Therefore, of the three main independent variables of interest, a respondent's feminist identification status, a respondent's partisan identification, and a respondent's gender, it is identifying as a feminist that is the most powerful predictor across all four dependent variables. Party identification is the second most powerful predictor, with gender being the least powerful predictor of the three independent variables. This provides strong support for H9.

Conclusion and Implications

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[48] See Table 19.

In summary, I see limited support for the gender and feminism hypotheses, considerable support for the party and gender hypotheses, as well as the pure feminism hypotheses. Looking first at the gender hypotheses, I did find some support for the idea that women will rate feminists more positively than men will (H1). While likelihood of voting, competence, and ability to legislate on women's issues did not show considerable differences, for feeling thermometer scores, women did rate feminist candidates more warmly than men did by almost 6 percent.

Additionally, I found mixed results for the hypothesis that male feminist candidates will receive more support than female feminist candidates (H2). Though there were general trends of male candidates slightly benefiting from feminist identification and female candidates often being disadvantaged by feminist identification, there were no substantial differences between the two when it came to likelihood of voting and competence. However, there were some differences when it came to feeling thermometer scores and ability to legislate on women's issues. Regarding feeling thermometer scores, male feminists were preferred over their female counterparts, providing some support for H2. Ability to legislate on women's issues showed a different pattern, where female Republican feminists were preferred over their male counterparts, thereby contradicting H2.

Finally, I found no support for my third hypothesis, which stated that participants will respond more positively to the feminist candidate that shares their gender, and even found some support for the opposite. For female respondents, I found no considerable differences between their support for male feminist over the female feminist, except in the case of voting, where women were more likely to support the male feminist. For male

respondents, I found that they rated female feminists to be more competent and better able to legislate on women's issues than male feminists.

Turning next to the hypotheses that focused on the interaction between party and feminism, I find more evidence in favor of my hypotheses. First, I did find that Democrats were more likely to support feminist candidates than Republicans (H4). The support for this hypothesis was particularly strong, as Democrats rated feminist candidates higher than Republicans did across all four variables: likelihood of voting, feeling thermometer scores, competence, and ability to legislate on women's issues.

My second hypothesis related to feminism and party is that respondents are more likely to support a feminist if the feminist is a co-partisan (H5). I saw some support for this hypothesis. For Republicans, I saw limited support for my hypothesis, they were more likely to vote for a Republican feminist compared to an out-party feminist, but otherwise, there were few differences between Republicans' feelings towards feminist co-partisans and feminists of other parties. For Democrats, however, I saw strong support for my hypothesis. Democrats strongly preferred the feminist co-partisan over the out-party feminist for likelihood of voting, competence, and ability to legislate on women's issues.

Finally, I turn to the hypotheses that focused first and foremost on feminism alone. I began with the hypothesis that feminist candidates will receive less support than their non-feminist counterparts (H6). I found some support for this hypothesis, particularly when it came to likelihood of voting and feeling thermometer scores, both of which saw a lack of support overall for feminist candidates compared to non-feminist candidates. I also found that a few particular candidates saw issues when it came to this

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hypothesis. For one, the female Democratic feminist was considerably less supported than her non-feminist counterpart, which is concerning given that female Democrats are arguably the most likely to be feminists in the real world. Furthermore, the unaffiliated male feminist was also considerably less supported than his non-feminist counterpart when it came to legislating on women's issues. Competence was the only variable which saw no differences between feminists and non-feminists. Overall, this provides support for H6.

My next hypotheses focused on how feminist participants responded to feminist candidates in comparison with non-feminist respondents. H7 stated that those who identify as feminists will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not identify as feminists and H8 similarly stated that those who support feminists will be more likely to support feminist candidates than those who do not support feminists. For both hypotheses I found strong support, with feminists and feminist supporters consistently preferring the feminist candidates more so than the non-feminist respondents. Finally, my last hypothesis stated that feminist identification would be the most powerful factor in determining support for feminist candidates (H9). As predicted, feminist identification was the strongest predictor of feminism, gender, and party across all four conditions, demonstrating that being a feminist makes respondents much more likely to support feminist candidates.

Overall, I find that gender is not particularly strong at predicting support for a feminist candidate, and while Democratic identification is stronger, feminist identification and feminist support are by far the strongest factor in generating support for feminist candidates across likelihood of voting, feelings thermometer ratings, competence

ratings, and confidence in a candidate's ability to legislate on women's issues. And while feminists are certainly a smaller subset of the population than women or men, or even Democrats or Republicans, my own research shows that at least 25% of Americans identify as feminists, even up to as many as 45% when including those for whom "feminist" describes them somewhat well.[49] Even at 25%, this is not an inconsiderable percentage of the population, meaning that their choices have power and electoral implications. I will also note that I saw fewer statistically significant differences between the feminist and non-feminist candidates than I initially expected, which in a way, could be a very good thing for feminist candidates! It demonstrates that running as a feminist may not come with as much baggage as some might expect. Though it should be noted that among these combinations, the female Democratic feminist did experience the most disadvantages compared to her non-feminist counterpart, which is somewhat concerning for feminist candidates in the real world, who are more likely to be Democratic women.

Overall, both the field of research regarding feminist candidates is one that is still quite open and shows a lot of promise for further, more nuanced work. I also hope that, given my findings, that running as a feminist in real-world politics is not seen as such a detriment as many candidates or potential candidates perceive it to be. Perhaps this could open doors to more explicitly feminist candidates running for office in the near future.

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[49] 25% is according to the question "Do you identify as a feminist" yes or no. 45% is according to "How well does the term 'feminist' describe you?", including both "extremely well" and "somewhat well."

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

On May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2022, a draft of the Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade was leaked. Less than two months later, on June 24<sup>th</sup>, the court officially overturned Roe v. Wade. Abortion, once a nation-wide right for women, has since become safely available only in certain states. Not only that, but other states have also considered measures to take anti-abortion causes even further. Some states are seeking to limit or even ban women's access to birth control, such as in Idaho and Texas, where there have been prohibitions on funding emergency contraceptives in state-funded family planning programs (Ruoff 2022). As recent as February of 2023, South Carolina held a hearing for a bill that would make getting an abortion punishable by death (Jenkins 2023). In March, Wyoming became the first state to ban pills for abortion (Chen and Belluck 2023). And in April, the United States Senate failed to vote in favor of a resolution to the Equal Rights Amendment (to remove the deadline for ratification), short 9 votes to attain the 60 needed to avoid the filibuster (Jackson 2023).

With the recent attacks on reproductive rights, feminism is not only more salient than it has been for quite a while, but also more important. I began this dissertation arguing, from a positive perspective, that feminism was becoming more relevant and more mainstream. Not only are more women running for office and winning their seats, but even high-profile celebrities have embraced the feminist label. But while positive improvements are happening, these recent attacks on women's rights offer a more harrowing side to the story, making feminism politically salient and highly necessary for women's equal citizenship in the United States.

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I began this dissertation arguing that feminism was becoming more and more relevant and mainstream, and for this reason, it is important to have an updated understanding of how feminism is perceived in the political sphere. Do voters accept feminists, do they dislike them, do they prefer them? From a purely academic standpoint, this was information that deserved an update due to feminism's relative rise, both in politics and in mainstream culture in general. From a political standpoint, this information is crucial to the struggle for women's rights in the United States and I argue that it is becoming increasingly important that we have feminists fighting for women's rights in government. Hopefully, my research can help contribute to a greater understanding of how feminists might become elected to political office.

What I have found is the following, in general, feminists are not as penalized as I had feared, though neither are they strongly preferred. In looking at the results, I start with the focus group. Generally, the students from the focus group actually felt fairly positively towards feminists. Within these focus groups, women were generally more supportive of feminism, and groups where the gender ratio favored women saw more positive attitudes towards feminists. Similarly and unsurprisingly, feminists and groups with higher ratios of feminists were also more supportive of feminism. However, despite a generally positive attitude towards feminists, many students also remarked upon concerns about the negative connotations associated with feminism.

Turning next to the preliminary survey and my examination of the predictors of feminism, I found through factor analysis that a wide variety of feminist measures were all closely related to each other, providing validation for using these measures in my subsequent survey experiment.

For testing the determinants of feminism, I considered much of the previous literature in the field, then ran regression analyses for my feminist variables. Overall, I found results that were mostly consistent with the previous literature. Being a woman, being liberal, and being young were all relevant factors in identifying as a feminist. A lower score on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory as well as an interest in political campaigns were also key for feminist identification. A higher level of education was relevant in two of the three models, and a lower score on the Social Dominance Orientation Index and feeling that religion is important were relevant, but only for feminist support, not identification. Income and being a person of color did not attain significance in any of the models.

Finally, in looking at my survey experiment, I find that openly identifying as a feminist seems to present a very slight, though not always statistically significant, disadvantage to candidates. While I had anticipated that feminist candidates could be a considerable detriment to candidates, this is actually not the case. Feminists were regarded less well in some circumstances, but saw no statistically significant differences with non-feminists in other cases. Interestingly, there may even be a slight benefit for men who identify as feminists. In general, party is a fairly consistent determinant of voting for a feminist, Democrats were more likely to vote for feminists than were Republicans. Gender was a much less consistent factor in voting for a feminist. However, feminist identification and/or support was the most powerful factor in voting for feminists. Interestingly, one of the most considerable differences between a feminist candidate and her non-feminist counterpart, was between the female Democratic feminist and non-feminist. When a female Democrat identified as a feminist, she was significantly

less likely to be voted for and received a significantly lower feeling thermometer score. This finding is particularly relevant given that female Democrats are the most likely candidates to be feminists in the real world, so the fact that they saw a more negative reaction than the other groups could bode poorly for real-life feminists seeking election.

Granted, much more research remains to be done and I see several avenues for further research on the issue. One area of research that is important here is examining how voters react to real-world feminist candidates. Though it does come with some pre-established biases to use real candidates, it also gives a nuanced understanding of how feminism works in an actual election. Running a survey experiment similar to my own work would be useful, presenting respondents with interviews, tweets, or press releases that reveal that a candidate, such as Kirsten Gillibrand or Corey Booker are feminists and then ask them to evaluate the candidate on measures such as vote likelihood, likability, and more. Supplementing the experiment with a quantitative analysis of real-world feminist candidates and their wins and losses would also be beneficial, though may be a difficult endeavor at this point to not only identify all of the feminist candidates, but also, there likely are not very many (openly) feminist candidates at this moment in time.

Continuing in an experimental direction, if sticking with fictional candidates, it could be worthwhile to present respondents with options to "vote" for a candidate, rather than just having to read about one candidate and evaluate them. An experiment where respondents were presented two candidates, with varied genders, parties, and feminist status, then asked to vote for one of the candidates could more closely mirror a real world and would also force respondents to make a choice for their preferred candidate. This experiment could be run with both a primary election component and a general election

component, but the primary version in particular could be quite interesting. In the primary, respondents could be shown two candidates that align with the respondent's partisan preference in order to compare within-party preferences for feminist status and gender.

Another experimental avenue that could prove fruitful is running a conjoint experiment. This would be particularly useful in a number of ways. First, it would provide a lot of data, even with a smaller sample size, given that one could show respondents multiple options to choose from, without priming the respondent. A conjoint experiment could also be a good way to gauge not only how voters respond to feminist identity in a candidate, but also feminist issue positions. Within the conjoint, a number of factors could be presented, including feminist status, candidate gender, candidate party, but also the candidate's position on a variety of issues, some not related to feminism, but others that are more feminist, such as abortion access or paternal leave.

A final avenue for research that could prove useful would be running a content analysis of feminist candidates. Given the small numbers of openly feminist candidates, a content analysis is currently a more viable approach than a study of current feminist candidates. Selecting publications of different political leanings (liberal sources as well as conservative sources) and comparing the coverage that feminist candidates receive across the platforms would be interesting, as well as taking into account how gender and party condition the coverage. Coverage by the media could also be compared to how the candidate portrays themselves in their own terms, whether this be through their social media presence, press releases, or campaign websites. It would be interesting to see how often feminism is mentioned in different sources, the tone with which it is mentioned,

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what frames are used to discuss feminists, whether they're framed as advocates and activists, or as militant and angry, for instance. It would also be interesting to compare which candidates news sources consider to be feminists compared to how the candidates themselves actually identify. For a content analysis, there is much to code for. For one, I think coding for explicit feminist identification is important, but also implied feminist statements (for example, being inspired by feminists or feminist literature). Other areas would be their policy stances on feminist issues, from abortion access, to parental leave, to equal pay. It would also be interesting to incorporate codings on traits from the gender stereotypes literature, and see whether or not feminist candidates portray themselves as more masculinely (strength, leadership) or more femininely (compassion) than non-feminists of the same gender. Given the importance of media in politics, it is important to understand the messaging around feminism that is being distributed.

Finally, I want to discuss the limitations surrounding my studies. Beginning with the focus group, I would have benefited from having a more diverse sample. Having a student sample did yield some benefits, for one it was easy to attain, but also, the students were, generally, well-informed about feminism, leading to some interesting discussions. However, I would assume that the students were both better informed about feminism, as well as more supportive of it than the general population. Having a more diverse set of viewpoints would have been interesting here. Regarding my preliminary survey, I also might have benefited from a more diverse sample, at least in terms of age and partisanship. My student sample was almost evenly split in terms of gender, and was quite racially diverse, however, the average age of my respondents was only 22.18 and I had almost 50 percent Democrats, but only 16.53 percent Republicans. I was initially

concerned that my study may also have been too long, with an average completion time of 38 minutes, however, the study had very little drop out, with only 8 respondents (of 368) not finishing the study.

Finally, for my survey experiment, with twelve conditions, my sample of less than 700 was somewhat on the small side. Since I had twelve conditions and 670 participants, each sample had about 55 respondents each.[50][51] So when directly comparing conditions, the numbers are relatively small. Perhaps a larger sample may yield more definitive results and it would be interesting to test this.  I also had a sample which overrepresented Democrats, future studies should try and ensure a more even representation of both parties and independents.[52] Another potential issue is the setting. When I initially crafted the stimuli, there was much less politicization around schools and school children, particularly in response to issues of critical race theory and LGBTQ+ issues. While I did minimize politicization as much as possible, a school might not be the best venue for future research of a similar style. Instead, simply being vague and setting it at a fundraising event or removing a setting entirely and utilizing a press release instead could be potential alternatives. Finally, though I do not think of this as a flaw, I did run my study about a month after the Supreme Court leak about overturning Roe v. Wade. This may have heightened opinions and feelings surrounding feminism and women's rights. It would be interesting to compare my study to another, similar study, fielded at a time in

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[50] The conditions were nearly even. The condition with the least respondents was the Male/Republican/Feminist candidate, with 53 respondents. The conditions with the most respondents were Male/Democrat/Feminist and Male/Republican/Feminist, with 58 each.

[51] Though more respondents would have been ideal, I only had enough grant money to purchase 670 from Dynata.

[52] My sample contained 15.11% strong Republicans, 7.72% weak Republicans, 7.4% Independents, leaning Republican, 18.17% Independents, 8.84% Independents, leaning Democrat, 13.5% weak Democrats, and 29.26% strong Democrats.

the future when the issue of women's rights is less salient, to see what differences there might be.

When it comes to actually running as a feminist, I hope that my research can prove useful to future feminist candidates. Identifying as a feminist was not as big of a setback to the fictional candidate as I thought it would be. This provides some good news for any feminists aspiring to political office. However, there are caveats here. Unfortunately, one of the fictional candidates that seemed to be more disadvantaged by the feminist label was female, Democratic feminists, particularly in the areas of likelihood of voting and feeling thermometer scores. Female Democrats that were not feminists did considerably better on both measures. However, this does not mean that there is no recourse for feminist candidates who are interested in running as a feminist. Most obviously, feminists themselves are quite inclined to support feminist candidates. In my sample, this is not a small number, as 25 percent of the respondents identified as a feminist.[53] Reaching out to local women's groups and organizations could be especially useful here. Generally, targeting feminists, liberals/Democrats, younger people, and women, (essentially, those who are more likely to be feminists) is likely to be beneficial. As is running in a liberal district. Interestingly, Republican women, if they are to run as feminists, may also be able to uniquely benefit. Democrats would be more likely to vote for them as feminists, potentially women in particular, and they will still have their connections to the Republican party. Furthermore, I would also assume that leveraging the current political climate surrounding women's rights could be particularly effective. Given how the effects of Roe v. Wade will compound over time as more and

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[53] This was calculated with the "Do you identify as a feminist" yes or no question.

more people are denied abortions, the issue of women's rights and abortion rights will become only more salient as time goes on.

   Feminists in politics is an interesting and important area of research that deserves more consideration in this day and age, as feminism often comes and goes in waves, and we seem to be entering a time of increasing feminism. Hopefully, we can not only develop a more nuanced understanding of what that means, but also use this information in ways to improve politics for feminist candidates.

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APPENDIX A

FOCUS GROUP MATERIALS

**Introductory Script**

**[START ZOOM RECORDING NOW]**

Hello,

Thank you all for agreeing to participate in this focus group study. We really appreciate it. If you have not already signed the consent form that was sent out via email, please sign it now. The link is in the chat and it will take less than a minute. If you do not see the link in the chat, please let me know. For this study, you will be asked a series of questions about feminism and gender roles. I'd like your participation on as many questions as possible. If you do not feel comfortable providing an answer out loud, please type your answer in the chat and send it to me via private message. My name is Alexandra Williams. To answer a question, please use the raise hand feature and I will call on you. When answering the questions, please feel free to share your honest opinions. I am genuinely interested in studying your honest opinions and this will not be a space for judgement. I ask that everyone please be 183olitictful of others' opinions. That being said, if you agree with what another person is saying, please feel free to use the thumbs up symbol if you'd like. This focus group contains about 10 questions, with a brief set of yes or no questions at the end. Participation in this study should take approximately 30 minutes to an hour. Once the study has concluded and if you have participated, I will record your name and ensure that you receive research credit for your participation in this study.

# What is a Feminist? Focus Group

1. How would you define the word "feminist"?

2. What comes to mind when you think of feminists?

      Prompt: images in your mind, positive or negative connotations

3. How do you personally feel about feminists?

      Prompt: positively, negatively, affiliation, distant?

4. Do you identify as a feminist? Why or why not?

5. If you do identify as a feminist, do you call yourself a feminist around others? Or only to yourself?

      Prompt: And for this question if you're not comfortable I'd just remind you that you can also answer in the chat

6. What do you think are some of the beliefs or goals of feminism?

      Prompt: Broad ideals? Specific policies?

      Potential prompts/follow-ups: what do you think some people *believe* are the goals.

7. What do you think it means for a politician to be a feminist or to have a feminist platform?

      Prompt: Can you think of feminist candidates, what were they like?

8. What are your perceptions of feminist women? What about feminist men? Do you think there are any differences between the two or are they essentially the same?

      Potential prompts/follow-ups: do you believe that men can be feminists?

9. Do you think there are certain criteria for being a feminist? If so, what would you say that criteria is?

      Potential prompts/follow-ups: for example, self-identification might be your criteria, believing in equality between men and women, or even participating in feminist activism

10. Finally, I'd like to ask you to participate in a brief poll. For the next few minutes, please fill out the questions in the following poll. There are only 10 quick yes/no questions. Your answers in the poll will be anonymous. Once you have completed the

poll, you may leave. I'd also like to thank you so much for your participation in this study, I will record your participation and ensure you receive credit for it.

Poll:

1.      Do women have equality with men? (yes/no)

2.      Do you think that women themselves or society at large are responsible for the discrimination women experience in society?

3.      Are women's groups still necessary in order to promote women's social status? (yes/no)

    a. Groups might be women's organizations such as EMILY's List, feminist organizations, such as the Women's March, or even women's student groups on campus

4.      Do you support gender equality in employment roles? (yes/no)

5.      Do you support gender equality in family roles? (yes/no)

6.      Do you support affirmative action for women? (yes/no)

7.      Do you support abortion rights? (yes/no)

8.      Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men. (agree/disagree)

9.      If your party nominated a woman for President, would you vote for her if she were qualified for the job? (yes/no)

10. Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women. (agree/disagree)

**Feminist Focus Group Debriefing Script**

Thank you for your participation in this research study. The goal of this study is to determine how people understand and perceive feminism. During the study, you were asked to share your thoughts on feminism and gender roles. We were interested in seeing the variety of different ways that people conceive of feminism and what feminism means to them, whether it be positive or negative. Though your responses will be utilized for research, your face and name will remain completely anonymous.

Thank you for your participation. I have recorded your names and will ensure that you will receive credit for participating in this focus group.

APPENDIX B

PRELIMINARY SURVEY INSTRUMENT

# Gender and Politics Survey

---

Q148
Dear Respondent,

I am a graduate student under the supervision of Dr. Kim Fridkin in the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University. I am conducting research on what people think about a variety of gender-related issues.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve participating in an online survey. You will be asked to answer a series of questions. Your participation in this study is expected to take less than one hour. You have the right not to answer any questions and to stop participation at any time.

If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. By completing this study, you will complete ONE hour of the research requirement for your class. If you do not wish to participate in this study, you can complete an alternative assignment to fulfill the credit(s) required for the research component of your class. **You must be 18 years of age or older to participate in the study.**

Your participation will help us understand how people respond to questions of gender and politics as well as learn about how political science research is conducted. There are no foreseeable risks, but there may be minimal discomforts to your participation.

All information obtained in this survey is strictly anonymous; your identity will never be connected to the responses and your name will only be used to award class credit through the sona system. Only your participation in the study is noted in sona, your specific responses are not. The results of this survey may be used in reports, presentations, and publications, but the research will not identify you. The results of this survey will only be made available in aggregate form (combined with all the other answers).

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact Dr. Kim Fridkin at Fridkin@asu.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Integrity and

Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

If you agree to participate, please select "I Agree" below and continue to the study. Sincerely, Political Science Research Center Team School of Politics and Global Studies Arizona State University

○ I agree  (1)

*End of Block: Consent Form*

*Start of Block: General Political Questions*

⤨

Q28 Thinking about the United States as a whole, what do you think is the most important problem facing the country today?

○ Economy  (1)

○ Gap Between Rich and Poor  (2)

○ Race Relations/Racism  (3)

○ Abortion Rights  (15)

○ Unifying the Country  (4)

○ Crime/Violence  (5)

○ Healthcare  (6)

○ Ethics and Moral Decline  (7)

○ Police Reform  (8)

○ The News Media  (9)

○ Women's Issues  (10)

○ Immigration  (11)

○ Climate Change  (12)

○ Gun Control  (13)

○ COVID-19  (16)

○ Other  (14) _____

Q21 How often do you pay attention to news about politics and government affairs in a typical week?

○ 0 Days  (1)

○ 1-2 Days  (2)

○ 3-4 Days  (3)

○ 5-6 Days  (4)

○ 7 Days  (5)

---

Q124 When it comes to staying up with the news, which of these news sources, if any, do you watch or consume regularly?

○ Broadcast network news, such as NBC, ABC, or CBS  (1)

○ Facebook  (2)

○ Twitter  (3)

○ MSNBC  (4)

○ CNN  (5)

○ Fox News  (6)

○ Other conservative news outlets, blogs, or websites  (7)

○ Other progressive or liberal news outlets, blogs, or websites  (8)

○ Other  (9)

○ Don't pay attention to news  (10)

---

Q7 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or what?  Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

○ Democrat  (1)

○ Republican  (2)

○ Independent  (3)

○ Other, please specify  (8) _____

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, o... = Republican

Q113 Would you consider yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

○ Strong Republican  (1)

○ Not very strong Republican  (2)

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, o... = Democrat

Q114 Would you consider yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

○ Strong Democrat  (1)

○ Not very strong Democrat  (2)

⤨

Q115 Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

○ Closer to the Republican Party  (1)

○ Closer to neither party  (2)

○ Closer to the Democratic Party  (3)

End of Block: General Political Questions

Start of Block: General Political Questions Part II

Q59 Suppose a new neighbor is moving in next door. How would you feel if that next-door neighbor was a Republican? Would you be unhappy, happy, or would it make no difference?

○ Extremely happy  (1)

○ Happy  (2)

○ Somewhat happy  (3)

○ Neither happy nor unhappy  (4)

○ Somewhat unhappy  (5)

○ Unhappy  (6)

○ Extremely unhappy  (7)

Q58 Suppose a new neighbor is moving in next door. How would you feel if that next-door neighbor was a Democrat? Would you be unhappy, happy, or would it make no difference?

○ Extremely happy  (1)

○ Happy  (2)

○ Somewhat happy  (3)

○ Neither happy nor unhappy  (4)

○ Somewhat unhappy  (5)

○ Unhappy  (6)

○ Extremely unhappy  (7)

End of Block: General Political Questions Part II

Start of Block: General Political Questions Part III

Q25 Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in political campaigns?

○ Very Much Interested  (1)

○ Interested  (2)

○ Somewhat Interested  (3)

○ Neither Interested nor Disinterested  (4)

○ Somewhat Disinterested  (5)

○ Disinterested  (6)

○ Very Disinterested  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

Q15 Please rate the trustworthiness of the following news outlets.

| | Very Trustworthy (1) | Trustworthy (2) | Somewhat Trustworthy (3) | Neither Trustworthy nor Untrustworthy (4) | Somewhat Untrustworthy (5) | Untrustworthy (6) | Very Untrustworthy (7) | Don't Know (8) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CNN (1) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Fox News (2) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| MSNBC (3) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Reuters (4) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| The New York Times (5) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

----------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q8 One way that people talk about politics in the United States is in terms of liberal, conservative, and moderate ideology.  The political views people might hold are often

arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale or haven't you thought enough about it to answer this question?

○ Extremely Liberal  (1)

○ Liberal  (2)

○ Somewhat Liberal  (3)

○ Moderate  (4)

○ Somewhat Conservative  (5)

○ Conservative  (6)

○ Extremely Conservative  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

End of Block: General Political Questions Part III

Start of Block: General Political Questions Part IV

197

Q54 Which point on this scale best describes your political views when it comes to social issues (e.g., same-sex marriage, abortion) or haven't you thought enough about it to answer this question?

○ Extremely Liberal  (1)

○ Liberal  (2)

○ Somewhat Liberal  (3)

○ Moderate  (4)

○ Somewhat Conservative  (5)

○ Conservative  (6)

○ Extremely Conservative  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

Q55 Which point on this scale best describes your political views when it comes to economic issues (e.g., taxes, the federal budget) or haven't you thought enough about it to answer this question?

○ Extremely Liberal  (1)

○ Liberal  (2)

○ Somewhat Liberal  (3)

○ Moderate  (4)

○ Somewhat Conservative  (5)

○ Conservative  (6)

○ Extremely Conservative  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

Q56 When it comes to politics, which issues are most important to you? Are social issues more important or are economic issues more  important?

○ Social issues are definitely more important  (1)

○ Social issues are probably more important  (2)

○ Social issues are slightly more important  (3)

○ Social issues and economic issues are equally important  (4)

○ Economic issues are slightly more important  (5)

○ Economic issues are probably more important  (6)

○ Economic issues are definitely more important  (7)

Q9 We would like to ask you a few questions about the government in Washington. Many people are too busy to keep up with these topics, so if you don't know the answer, just skip the question. (Please do not look up the answers. We are interested in what you know right now.)

*In excel for stata: 0 = a wrong answer/no answer, 1 = correct answer

Q10 What position or office does Elena Kagan hold today?
*Supreme Court Justice

Q120 Who is the current Speaker of the House?
*Nancy Pelosi

Q121 Is the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) a law? Yes or no?
*No

Q11 Who is currently the United States Secretary of State?
*Antony Blinken

Q12 Who determines if a federal law is constitutional or not?
*Supreme Court

Q14 How long is the term of a U.S. Senator?
*6 years

*Gender Policy Questions recoded: strongly support = 7, strongly oppose = 1
Q112 What is your position regarding the legalization of abortion?

○ Strongly Support  (1)

○ Support  (2)

○ Somewhat Support  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (5)

○ Oppose  (6)
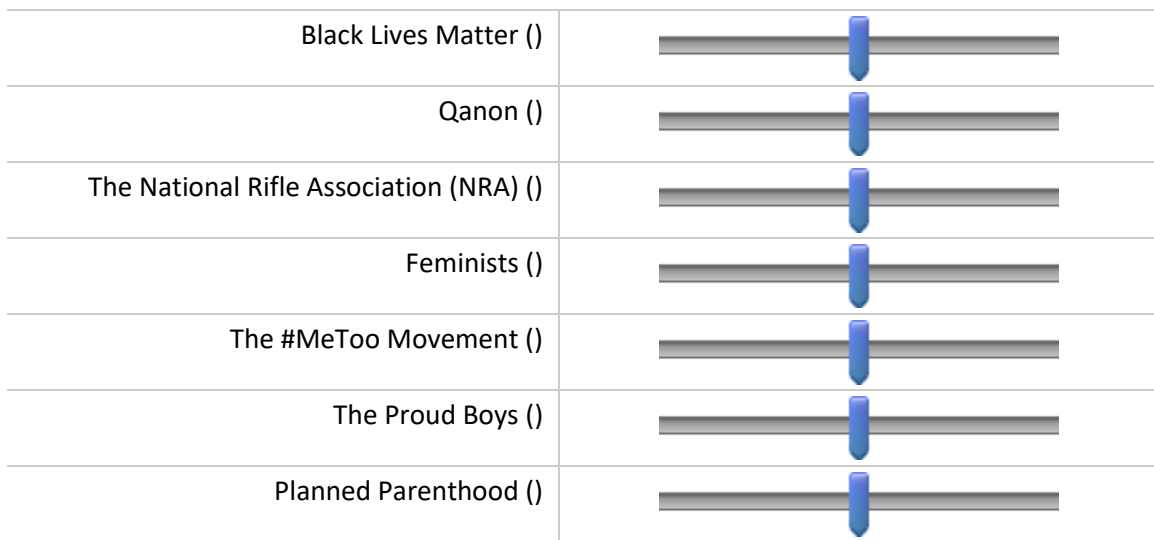
○ Strongly Oppose  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

Q122 What is your position regarding paid family leave (i.e., maternity leave, paternity leave)?

○ Strongly Support (1)

○ Support (2)

○ Somewhat Support (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose (4)

○ Somewhat Oppose (5)

○ Oppose (6)

○ Strongly Oppose (7)

○ Don't Know (8)

---

Q123 What is your position regarding paid universal child care?

○ Strongly Support (1)

○ Support (2)

○ Somewhat Support (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose (4)

○ Somewhat Oppose (5)

○ Oppose (6)

○ Strongly Oppose (7)

○ Don't Know (8)

Q3 Please rate the following groups on the feeling thermometers. Ratings between 0 degrees and 49 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group.  Ratings between 51 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. You would rate the group at the 50-degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group. If you come to a person whose name yo' don't recognize, you don't need to rate that group.

| | 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 |
|---|---|
| Black Lives Matter () | |
| Qanon () | |
| The National Rifle Association (NRA) () | |
| Feminists () | |
| The #MeToo Movement () | |
| The Proud Boys () | |
| Planned Parenthood () | |

Q57 How well does the term "feminist" describe you?

○ Extremely well  (1)

○ Well  (2)

○ Somewhat well  (3)

○ Neither well nor unwell  (4)

○ Somewhat unwell  (5)

○ Unwell  (6)

○ Extremely unwell  (7)

---

Q1 Do you identify as a feminist?

○ Yes  (2)

○ No  (1)

---

Q2 How willing are you to identify as a feminist publicly?

○ Very Willing  (1)

○ Willing  (2)

○ Somewhat Willing  (3)

○ Neither Willing nor Unwilling  (4)

○ Somewhat Unwilling  (5)

○ Unwilling  (6)

○ Very Unwilling  (7)

Q89 Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. These statements come from a standard battery that has been used for a number of years to assess people's attitudes. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

Q66 No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman. B

- ○ Disagree Strongly (1)

- ○ Disagree Somewhat (2)

- ○ Disagree Slightly (3)

- ○ Agree Slightly (4)

- ○ Agree Somewhat (5)

- ○ Agree Strongly (6)

---

Q126 Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality." H

- ○ Disagree Strongly (1)

- ○ Disagree Somewhat (2)

- ○ Disagree Slightly (3)

- ○ Agree Slightly (4)

- ○ Agree Somewhat (5)

- ○ Agree Strongly (6)

---

Q127 In a disaster, women ought **not** necessarily to be rescued before men. B (reverse coded)

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q128 Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist. H

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q129 Women are too easily offended. H

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q130 People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex. B (reverse coded)

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q131 Feminists are **not** seeking for women to have more power than men. H (reverse coded)

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q132 Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess. B

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q133 Women should be cherished and protected by men. B

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q134 Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them. H

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q135 Women seek to gain power by getting control over men. H

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q136 Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores. B

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q137 Men are complete without women. B (reverse coded)

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q138 Women exaggerate problems they have at work. H

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q139 Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash. H

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q140 When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against. H

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q141 A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man. B

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q142 There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances. H (reverse coded)

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q143 Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility. B

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q144 Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives. B

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q145 Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men. H (reverse coded)

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q146 Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste. B

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

End of Block: ASI

Start of Block: Gender Questions (Mccabe 2005)

Q103 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

| | Strongly Agree (1) | Agree (2) | Somewhat Agree (3) | Neither Agree nor Disagree (4) | Somewhat Disagree (5) | Disagree (6) | Strongly Disagree (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men (1) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| If your party nominated a woman for president, you would vote for her if she were qualified for the job (2) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women (3) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

| It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family (4) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself (5) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Married women should not earn money in business or industry if she has a husband that is capable of supporting her (6) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q104 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more likely to be honest?

○ Female politicians are much more honest  (1)

○ Female politicians are more honest  (2)

○ Female politicians are somewhat more honest  (3)

○ Both female politicians and male politicians are equally honest  (4)

○ Male politicians are somewhat more honest  (5)

○ Male politicians are more honest  (6)

○ Male politicians are much more honest  (7)

---

Q105 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more likely to be compassionate?

○ Female politicians are much more compassionate  (1)

○ Female politicians are more compassionate  (2)

○ Female politicians are somewhat more compassionate  (3)

○ Both female politicians and male politicians are equally compassionate  (4)

○ Male politicians are somewhat more compassionate  (5)

○ Male politicians are more compassionate  (6)

○ Male politicians are much more compassionate  (7)

---

Q106 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more likely to be caring?

○ Female politicians are much more caring  (1)

○ Female politicians are more caring  (2)

○ Female politicians are somewhat more caring  (3)

○ Both female politicians and male politicians are equally caring  (4)

○ Male politicians are somewhat more caring  (5)

○ Male politicians are more caring  (6)

○ Male politicians are much more caring  (7)

---

Q107 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more likely to be knowledgeable?

○ Female politicians are much more knowledgeable  (1)

○ Female politicians are more knowledgeable  (2)

○ Female politicians are somewhat more knowledgeable  (3)

○ Both female politicians and male politicians are equally knowledgeable  (4)

○ Male politicians are somewhat more knowledgeable  (5)

○ Male politicians are more knowledgeable  (6)

○ Male politicians are much more knowledgeable  (7)

---

Q108 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more likely to be strong?

○ Female politicians are much more strong  (1)

○ Female politicians are more strong  (2)

○ Female politicians are somewhat more strong  (3)

○ Both female politicians and male politicians are equally strong  (4)

○ Male politicians are somewhat more strong  (5)

○ Male politicians are more strong  (6)

○ Male politicians are much more strong  (7)

---

Q109 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more likely to have strong leadership skills?

○ Female politicians are much more likely to have strong leadership skills  (1)

○ Female politicians are more likely to have strong leadership skills  (2)

○ Female politicians are somewhat more likely to have strong leadership skills  (3)

○ Both female politicians and male politicians are equally likely to have strong leadership skills  (4)

○ Male politicians are somewhat more likely to have strong leadership skills  (5)

○ Male politicians are more likely to have strong leadership skills  (6)

○ Male politicians are much more likely to have strong leadership skills  (7)

---

Q110 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more likely to have political experience?

○ Female politicians are much more likely to have political experience  (1)

○ Female politicians are more likely to have political experience  (2)

○ Female politicians are somewhat more likely to have political experience  (3)

○ Both female politicians and male politicians are equally likely to have political experience  (4)

○ Male politicians are somewhat more likely to have political experience  (5)

○ Male politicians are more likely to have political experience  (6)

○ Male politicians are much more likely to have political experience  (7)

---

Q111 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more adept at the following policy areas?

| | Female 224olitic ian are much more adept (1) | Female 224olitic ian are more adept (2) | Female 224oliticia n are somewha t more adept (3) | Both female 224olitic ian and male 224olitic ian are equally adept (4) | Male 224oliticia n are somewha t more adept (5) | Male 224olitic ian are more adept (6) | Male 224olitic ian are much more adept (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Educatio n (1) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Health Care (2) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Women's Issues (3) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| The Economy (4) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Defense (5) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Dealing with COVID-19 (6) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Police Reform (7) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Dealing with Racial Issues (8) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q90 Do you believe governments should spend more, less, or the same amount as they do now for women's shelters (which provide support for women escaping domestic violence)?

○ Governments should spend much more on women's shelters  (1)

○ Governments should spend more on women's shelters  (2)

○ Governments should spend somewhat more on women's shelters  (3)

○ Governments should spend the same amount as they currently do on women's shelters  (4)

○ Governments should spend somewhat less on women's shelters  (5)

○ Governments should spend less on women's shelters  (6)

○ Governments should spend much less on women's shelters  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

----

Q91 For each of the following items, please indicate whether you think men are generally treated better, women are generally treated better, or men and women are generally treated in the same way.

----

Q92 Applying for a personal loan or mortgage

○ Men are treated much better  (1)

○ Men are treated better  (2)

○ Men are treated somewhat better  (3)

○ Men and women are treated equally  (4)

○ Women are treated somewhat better  (5)

○ Women are treated better  (6)

○ Women are treated much better  (7)

---

Q94 Getting top jobs in the **private** sector (i.e., business, trades, working **not** for the government)

○ Men are treated much better  (1)

○ Men are treated better  (2)

○ Men are treated somewhat better  (3)

○ Men and women are treated equally  (4)

○ Women are treated somewhat better  (5)

○ Women are treated better  (6)

○ Women are treated much better  (7)

---

Q96 Getting top jobs in the **public** sector (i.e., law enforcement, public education, working for the government)

- ○ Men are treated much better  (1)

- ○ Men are treated better  (2)

- ○ Men are treated somewhat better  (3)

- ○ Men and women are treated equally  (4)

- ○ Women are treated somewhat better  (5)

- ○ Women are treated better  (6)

- ○ Women are treated much better  (7)

---

Q95 When it comes to salary

- ○ Men are treated much better  (1)

- ○ Men are treated better  (2)

- ○ Men are treated somewhat better  (3)

- ○ Men and women are treated equally  (4)

- ○ Women are treated somewhat better  (5)

- ○ Women are treated better  (6)

- ○ Women are treated much better  (7)

---

Page Break

Q97 Below are three statements about groups that want to change the status of women in society.

| | Strongly Agree (1) | Agree (2) | Somewhat Agree (3) | Neither Agree nor Disagree (4) | Somewhat Disagree (5) | Disagree (6) | Strongly Disagree (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women's groups have done more harm than good to promote women's social status (4) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Women's groups have been necessary to promote women's social status, but they are no longer needed today. (5) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Women's groups are still necessary in order to promote women's social status (6) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q101 In general, would you agree or disagree that, today, women have equality with men in society?

○ Strongly Agree  (1)

○ Agree  (2)

○ Somewhat Agree  (3)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (4)

○ Somewhat Disagree  (5)

○ Disagree  (6)

○ Strongly Disagree  (7)

Q102 Some people blame women themselves for the discrimination they experience in society (as reflected, for example, in their low representation in politics, or their low

wages). Others, however, blame society at large. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

○ Women are very much to blame  (1)

○ Women are to blame  (2)

○ Women are somewhat to blame  (3)

○ Both women and society are to blame  (4)

○ Society is somewhat to blame  (5)

○ Society is to blame  (6)

○ Society is very much to blame  (7)

Q0 Do you support or oppose the Black Lives Matter Movement?

○ Strongly Support  (1)

○ Support  (2)

○ Somewhat Support  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (5)

○ Oppose  (6)

○ Strongly Oppose  (7)

Q26 For the following statements, indicate whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement.

---

Q27 Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

○ Agree Strongly  (1)

○ Agree Somewhat  (2)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (3)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (4)

○ Disagree Strongly  (5)

---

Q29 Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

○ Agree Strongly  (1)

○ Agree Somewhat  (2)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (3)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (4)

○ Disagree Strongly  (5)

---

Q30 Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.

○ Agree Strongly  (1)

○ Agree Somewhat  (2)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (3)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (4)

○ Disagree Strongly  (5)

---

Q31 It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

○ Agree Strongly  (1)

○ Agree Somewhat  (2)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (3)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (4)

○ Disagree Strongly  (5)

End of Block: Race Questions

Start of Block: Social Dominance Orientation Scale

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Q46 Which of the following objects or statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards?

|  | Very Positive (1) | Positive (2) | Slightly Positive (3) | Neither Positive nor Negative (4) | Slightly Negative (5) | Negative (6) | Very Negative (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others (1) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Some people are just more worthy than others (2) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were (3) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Some people are just more deserving than others (4) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others (5) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

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| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Some people are just inferior to others (6) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others (7) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Increased economic equality (8) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Increased social equality (9) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Equality (10) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country (11) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| In an idea world, all nations would be equal (12) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

|  | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| We should try to treat one another as equals as much as possible (all humans should be treated equally) (13) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| It is important that we treat other countries as equals (14) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q48 Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. Read the following pairs of desirable qualities. Please indicate which one is more important for a child to have.

Q49 Respect for Elders or Independence

○ Respect for Elders (2)

○ Independence (1)

Q50 Obedience or Self-Reliance

    ◯ Obedience (2)

    ◯ Self-Reliance (1)

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q51 Curiosity or Good Manners

    ◯ Curiosity (1)

    ◯ Good Manners (2)

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q52 Being Considerate or Well-Behaved

    ◯ Being Considerate (1)

    ◯ Being Well-Behaved (2)

**End of Block: Authoritarian Scale**

**Start of Block: VSA (RWA) (Bizumic and Duckitt 2018)**

Q147 It's great that many young people today are prepared to defy authority

○ Very strongly agree  (1)

○ Strongly agree  (2)

○ Somewhat agree  (3)

○ Slightly agree  (4)

○ Unsure or neutral  (5)

○ Slightly disagree  (6)

○ Somewhat disagree  (7)

○ Strongly disagree  (8)

○ Very strongly disagree  (9)

---

Q150 What our country needs most is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity

○ Very strongly agree  (1)

○ Strongly agree  (2)

○ Somewhat agree  (3)

○ Slightly agree  (4)

○ Unsure or neutral  (5)

○ Slightly disagree  (6)

○ Somewhat disagree  (7)

○ Strongly disagree  (8)

○ Very strongly disagree  (9)

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q151 God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late

○ Very strongly agree  (1)

○ Strongly agree  (2)

○ Somewhat agree  (3)

○ Slightly agree  (4)

○ Unsure or neutral  (5)

○ Slightly disagree  (6)

○ Somewhat disagree  (7)

○ Strongly disagree  (8)

○ Very strongly disagree  (9)

---

Q152 There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse

○ Very strongly agree  (1)

○ Strongly agree  (2)

○ Somewhat agree  (3)

○ Slightly agree  (4)

○ Unsure or neutral  (5)

○ Slightly disagree  (6)

○ Somewhat disagree  (7)

○ Strongly disagree  (8)

○ Very strongly disagree  (9)

------------------------------------------------------------

Q153 Our society does NOT need tougher government and stricter laws

○ Very strongly agree  (1)

○ Strongly agree  (2)

○ Somewhat agree  (3)

○ Slightly agree  (4)

○ Unsure or neutral  (5)

○ Slightly disagree  (6)

○ Somewhat disagree  (7)

○ Strongly disagree  (8)

○ Very strongly disagree  (9)

------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q154 The facts on crime and the recent public disorders show we have to crack down harder on troublemakers, if we are going preserve law and order

○ Very strongly agree  (1)

○ Strongly agree  (2)

○ Somewhat agree  (3)

○ Slightly agree  (4)

○ Unsure or neutral  (5)

○ Slightly disagree  (6)

○ Somewhat disagree  (7)

○ Strongly disagree  (8)

○ Very strongly disagree  (9)

End of Block: VSA (RWA) (Bizumic and Duckitt 2018)

Start of Block: Demographics

Q16 Finally, we would like to ask you some questions about yourself.

Q19 What is your age?

Q17 What is your gender?

○ Male (2)

○ Female (1)

○ Other (3) _____

○ Prefer not to say (4)

---

Q20 Now think of your own background in racial terms. How would you describe your race? You can select more than one option.

☐     Black or African American (1)

☐     White (2)

☐     Asian (3)

☐     Native American or American Indian (4)

☐     Middle Eastern (5)

☐     Other (6) _____

☐     _____

---

Q117 Are you of Latino or Hispanic origin or descent?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Q18 What is your present religion, if any?

○ Protestant (e.g., Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, Anglican/Episcopal)  (1)

○ Roman Catholic  (2)

○ Mormon  (3)

○ Orthodox (i.e., Greek or Russian Orthodox)  (4)

○ Jewish  (5)

○ Muslim  (6)

○ Buddhist  (7)

○ Hindu  (8)

○ Atheist  (9)

○ Agnostic  (10)

○ Another religion, please specify  (11)

_____

Q118 How important is religion in your life?

○ Very Important  (1)

○ Important  (2)

○ Somewhat Important  (3)

○ Neither Important nor Unimportant  (4)

○ Somewhat Unimportant  (5)

○ Unimportant  (6)

○ Very Unimportant  (7)

---

Q119 Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

○ More than once a week  (1)

○ Once a week  (2)

○ Once or twice a month  (3)

○ A few times a year  (4)

○ Never  (5)

---

Q24 What was your total family income before taxes during the past 12 months?

○ Less than $25,000 (1)

○ $25,000 to $34,999 (2)

○ $35,000 to $49,999 (3)

○ $50,000 to $74,999 (4)

○ $75,000 to $99,999 (5)

○ $100,000 to $149,999 (6)

○ $150,000 to $199,999 (7)

○ $200,000 or more (8)

Q116
Thank you for your participation in this research study. The goal of this study is to determine people's opinions on gender-roles and gender and politics. During the study, you were asked a series of questions on this topic. We were interested in seeing how different opinions on gender relate to each other in a broader discussion of other political issues. Though your responses will be utilized for research, you will remain completely anonymous.

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX C

SURVEY EXPERIMENT INSTRUMENT

# Social Issues Study

Q240
Dear Respondent,

I am a graduate student under the supervision of Dr. Kim Fridkin in the School of Politics and Global Studies at Arizona State University. I am conducting research on what people think about a variety of social and political issues.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve participating in an online survey experiment. You will be asked to answer a series of questions as well as read a brief news article. Your participation in this study is expected to take less than one hour. You have the right not to answer any questions and to stop participation at any time.

**You must be 18 years of age or older to participate in the study.**

Your participation will help us understand how people respond to questions of politics as well as learn about how political science research is conducted. There are no foreseeable risks, but there may be minimal discomforts to your participation.

All information obtained in this survey is strictly anonymous; your identity will never be connected to the responses. The results of this survey may be used in reports, presentations, and publications, but the research will not identify you. The results of this survey will only be made available in aggregate form (combined with all the other answers).

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact Dr. Kim Fridkin at Fridkin@asu.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

If you agree to participate, please select "I Agree" below and continue to the study.

Sincerely,


Political Science Research Center Team

School of Politics and Global Studies

Arizona State University

○ I agree  (1)

Q28 Thinking about the United States as a whole, what do you think is the most important problem facing the country today?

○ Economy (1)

○ Gap between Rich and Poor (2)

○ Race Relations/Racism (3)

○ Abortion Rights (4)

○ Unifying the Country (5)

○ Crime/Violence (6)

○ Healthcare (7)

○ Ethics and Moral Decline (8)

○ Police Brutality (9)

○ The News Media (10)

○ Women's Issues (11)

○ Immigration (12)

○ Climate Change (13)

○ Gun Control (14)

○ COVID-19 (15)

○ Other, please specify (16) _____

--------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q21 How often do you pay attention to news about politics and government affairs in a typical week?

○ 0 Days  (1)

○ 1-2 Days  (2)

○ 3-4 Days  (3)

○ 5-6 Days  (4)

○ 7 Days  (5)

---

Q46 When it comes to staying up with the news, which of these news sources, if any, do you watch or consume regularly? You may select more than one

- [ ] Broadcast network news, such as NBC, ABC, or CBS  (1)

- [ ] Print sources, such as the New York Times, the Wall Street Journal, etc.  (2)

- [ ] Facebook  (3)

- [ ] Twitter  (4)

- [ ] MSNBC  (5)

- [ ] CNN  (6)

- [ ] Fox News  (7)

- [ ] Other conservative news outlets, blogs, or websites  (8)

- [ ] Other progressive or liberal news outlets, blogs, or websites  (9)

- [ ] Other  (10)

- [ ] Don't pay attention to news  (11)

---

Q7 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or what?  Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

○ Strong Republican  (1)

○ Weak Republican  (2)

○ Independent, leaning towards the Republican Party  (3)

○ Independent  (4)

○ Independent, leaning towards the Democratic Party  (5)

○ Weak Democrat  (6)

○ Strong Democrat  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q25 Some people don't pay much attention to political campaigns. How about you?  Would you say that you are very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in political campaigns?

○ Very Disinterested  (1)

○ Disinterested  (2)

○ Somewhat Disinterested  (3)

○ Neither Interested nor Disinterested  (4)

○ Somewhat Interested  (5)

○ Interested  (6)

○ Very Interested  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q50 Please rate the trustworthiness of the following news outlets.

| | Very Untrustworthy (1) | Untrustworthy (2) | Somewhat Untrustworthy (3) | Neither Trustworthy nor Untrustworthy (4) | Somewhat Trustworthy (5) | Trustworthy (6) | Very Trustworthy (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CNN (1) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Fox News (2) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| MSNBC (3) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Reuters (4) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| The New York Times (5) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Page Break

Q8 One way that people talk about politics in the United States is in terms of liberal, conservative, and moderate ideology.  The political views people might hold are often arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

○ Extremely Liberal  (1)

○ Liberal  (2)

○ Somewhat Liberal  (3)

○ Moderate  (4)

○ Somewhat Conservative  (5)

○ Conservative  (6)

○ Extremely Conservative  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q52 Which point on this scale best describes your political views when it comes to social issues (e.g., same-sex marriage, abortion) or haven't you thought enough about it to answer this question?

○ Extremely Liberal  (1)

○ Liberal  (2)

○ Somewhat Liberal  (3)

○ Moderate  (4)

○ Somewhat Conservative  (5)

○ Conservative  (6)

○ Extremely Conservative  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

Q53 Which point on this scale best describes your political views when it comes to economic issues (e.g., taxes, the federal budget) or haven't you thought enough about it to answer this question?

○ Extremely Liberal  (1)

○ Liberal  (2)

○ Somewhat Liberal  (3)

○ Moderate  (4)

○ Somewhat Conservative  (5)

○ Conservative  (6)

○ Extremely Conservative  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Q54 There are many different important issues facing people these days. Thinking about social and economic issues, which types of issues are more important to you.

○ Economic issues are definitely more important than social issues  (1)

○ Economic issues are probably more important than social issues  (2)

○ Economic issues are slightly more important than social issues  (3)

○ Social issues and economic issues are equally important  (4)

○ Social issues are slightly more important than economic issues  (5)

○ Social issues are probably more important than economic issues  (6)

○ Social issues are definitely more important than economic issues  (7)

○ Don't Know  (9)

Page Break

Q9 We would like to ask you a few questions about the government in Washington. Many people are too busy to keep up with these topics, so if you don't know the answer, just skip the question. (Please do not look up the answers. We are interested in what you know right now.)

Q10 What position or office does Elena Kagan hold today?

Q14 How long is the term of a U.S. Senator?

Q11 Who is the current speaker of the House of Representatives?

Q13 Who is currently the United States Secretary of State?

Q12 Is the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) a federal law? Yes or no?

Q56 Who determines if a federal law is constitutional or not?

End of Block: Pre-Test 1

Start of Block: Pre-Test 2

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Do you support  Do you support or oppose the Black Lives Matter Movement?

○ Strongly Support  (1)

○ Somewhat Support  (2)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (3)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (4)

○ Strongly Oppose  (5)

W

X→

Q79 How well does the term "feminist" describe you?

○ Not well at all  (0)

○ Not very well  (1)

○ Somewhat well  (2)

○ Extremely well  (3)

○ Don't Know  (8)

Q1 Do you identify as a feminist?
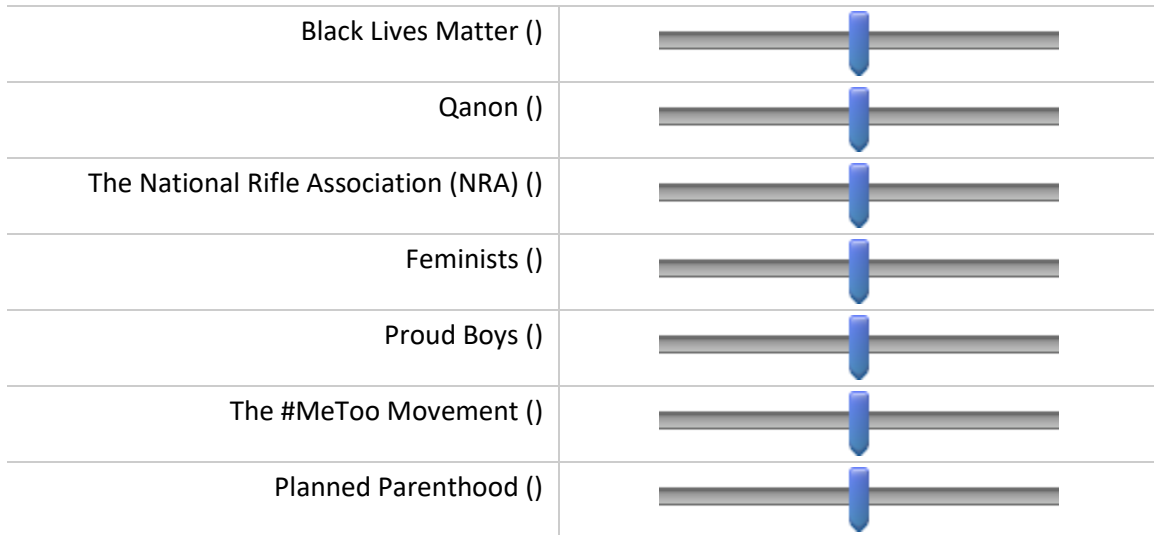
○ No  (1)

○ Yes  (2)

Display This Question:
    If Do you identify as a feminist? = Yes

Q2 How willing are you to identify as a feminist publicly?

○ Very unwilling  (1)

○ Unwilling  (2)

○ Somewhat unwilling  (3)

○ Neither willing nor unwilling  (4)

○ Somewhat willing  (5)

○ Willing  (6)

○ Very willing  (7)

Q3 Please rate the following groups on the feeling thermometers. Ratings between 0 degrees and 49 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. Ratings between 51 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. You would rate the group at the 50-degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group. If you come to a person whose name yo' don't recognize, you don't need to rate that group.

|  | 0 | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 | 100 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

| Black Lives Matter () | |
|---|---|
| Qanon () | |
| The National Rifle Association (NRA) () | |
| Feminists () | |
| Proud Boys () | |
| The #MeToo Movement () | |
| Planned Parenthood () | |

Q26 For the following statements, indicate whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement.

Q27 Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

○ Agree Strongly  (1)

○ Agree Somewhat  (2)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (3)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (4)

○ Disagree Strongly  (5)

Q29 Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

○ Agree Strongly  (1)

○ Agree Somewhat  (2)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (3)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (4)

○ Disagree Strongly  (5)

Q30 Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.

○ Agree Strongly  (1)

○ Agree Somewhat  (2)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (3)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (4)

○ Disagree Strongly  (5)

---

Q31 It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

○ Agree Strongly  (1)

○ Agree Somewhat  (2)

○ Neither Agree nor Disagree  (3)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (4)

○ Disagree Strongly  (5)

---

Page Break

Q32 Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. These statements come from a standard battery that has been used for a number of years to assess people's attitudes. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.

---

Q57 No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q58 Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q59 In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.

  ◯ Disagree Strongly  (1)

  ◯ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

  ◯ Disagree Slightly  (3)

  ◯ Agree Slightly  (4)

  ◯ Agree Somewhat  (5)

  ◯ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q60 Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

  ◯ Disagree Strongly  (1)

  ◯ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

  ◯ Disagree Slightly  (3)

  ◯ Agree Slightly  (4)

  ◯ Agree Somewhat  (5)

  ◯ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q61 Women are too easily offended.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q62 People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q63 Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q64 Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

Q65 Women should be cherished and protected by men.

    ○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

    ○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

    ○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

    ○ Agree Slightly  (4)

    ○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

    ○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q66 Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

    ○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

    ○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

    ○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

    ○ Agree Slightly  (4)

    ○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

    ○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q67 Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

- ○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

- ○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

- ○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

- ○ Agree Slightly  (4)

- ○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

- ○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q68 Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

- ○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

- ○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

- ○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

- ○ Agree Slightly  (4)

- ○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

- ○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q69 Men are complete without women.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q70 Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q71 Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q72 When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q73 A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

&#9711; Disagree Strongly  (1)

&#9711; Disagree Somewhat  (2)

&#9711; Disagree Slightly  (3)

&#9711; Agree Slightly  (4)

&#9711; Agree Somewhat  (5)

&#9711; Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q74 There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

&#9711; Disagree Strongly  (1)

&#9711; Disagree Somewhat  (2)

&#9711; Disagree Slightly  (3)

&#9711; Agree Slightly  (4)

&#9711; Agree Somewhat  (5)

&#9711; Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q75 Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q76 Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q77 Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

---

Q78 Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

○ Disagree Strongly  (1)

○ Disagree Somewhat  (2)

○ Disagree Slightly  (3)

○ Agree Slightly  (4)

○ Agree Somewhat  (5)

○ Agree Strongly  (6)

Page Break

Q37 Please indicate how much you support or oppose the following questions.

Q39 Would you support or oppose a nationwide ban on the sale of assault weapons?

○ Strongly Support  (1)

○ Somewhat Support  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Strongly Oppose  (4)

Q38 Would you support or oppose requiring background checks on all potential gun buyers, including private sales and gun shows?

○ Strongly Support  (1)

○ Somewhat Support  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Strongly Oppose  (4)

Q40 Would you support or oppose a law allowing the police to take guns away from people who have been found by a judge to be a danger to themselves or others?

○ Strongly Support  (1)

○ Somewhat Support  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Strongly Oppose  (4)

---

Q41 Would you support or oppose a nationwide ban on high-capacity ammunition clips, meaning those containing more than 10 bullets.

○ Strongly Support  (1)

○ Somewhat Support  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Strongly Oppose  (4)

End of Block: Pre-Test 2

Start of Block: Stimuli 1- Female, Democrat, Feminist

Q92 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

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Q247

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Q97 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break ———————————————————————————————————

Q149 If you lived in Elizabeth Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for her?

○ Very unlikely  (1)

○ Somewhat unlikely  (2)

○ Somewhat likely  (3)

○ Very likely  (4)

---

Q150 How warmly do you feel toward Elizabeth Walters? Please rate her on the following feeling thermometer with 0 being not warm at all and 100 being very warm.

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

Click to write Choice 1 ()

---

Q151 If you lived in Elizabeth Walters's district, how competently do you think that she would represent you in Washington?

○ Very incompetently  (1)

○ Somewhat incompetently  (2)

○ Somewhat competently  (3)

○ Very competently  (4)

Q152 How confident do you feel in Elizabeth Walters's ability to legislate on the issue of women's rights?

   ◯ Not confident at all  (1)

   ◯ Somewhat not confident  (2)

   ◯ Somewhat confident  (3)

   ◯ Very confident  (4)

---

Q153 What was the name of the school in the article?

   ◯ Stonybrook Elementary  (1)

   ◯ Meadowdale Elementary  (2)

   ◯ Woodfern Elementary  (3)

   ◯ Roosevelt Elementary  (4)

   ◯ Don't Know  (5)

---

Q154 Elizabeth Walters is running as a...?

   ◯ Democrat  (1)

   ◯ Republican  (2)

   ◯ Independent  (3)

   ◯ No political party was stated  (4)

   ◯ Don't Know  (5)

Q155 According to the article, Elizabeth Walters is a...?

○ Black Lives Matter activist  (1)

○ Qanon activist  (2)

○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't Know  (5)

Q98 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q248

Q100 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

Q149 If you lived in Elizabeth Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for her?

○ Very unlikely  (1)

○ Somewhat unlikely  (2)

○ Somewhat likely  (3)

○ Very likely  (4)

---

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1 ()

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---

Q152 How confident do you feel in Elizabeth Walters's ability to legislate on the issue of women's rights?

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Q153 What was the name of the school in the article?

○ Stonybrook Elementary  (1)

○ Meadowdale Elementary  (2)

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○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't Know  (5)

Q103 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q250

Q105 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

285

Q149 If you lived in Elizabeth Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for her?

○ Very unlikely  (1)

○ Somewhat unlikely  (2)

○ Somewhat likely  (3)

○ Very likely  (4)

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1 ()

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○ Somewhat not confident  (2)

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Q153 What was the name of the school in the article?

○ Stonybrook Elementary  (1)

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○ Democrat  (1)

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○ Qanon activist  (2)

○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't Know  (5)

Q107 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

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Q251

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Q109 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

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Page Break

288

Q149 If you lived in Elizabeth Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for her?

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---

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○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't Know  (5)

Q113 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q252

Q115 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

Q149 If you lived in Elizabeth Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for her?

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○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't Know  (5)

Q117 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q253

Q119 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

294

Q149 If you lived in Elizabeth Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for her?

○ Very unlikely  (1)

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Q150 How warmly do you feel toward Elizabeth Walters? Please rate her on the following feeling thermometer with 0 being not warm at all and 100 being very warm.

```
                                    0   10  20  30  40  50  60  70  80  90  100

                        1 ()          ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▮▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬
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Q122 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q254

Q124 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

297

Q149 If you lived in James Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for him?

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○ Somewhat unlikely  (2)

○ Somewhat likely  (3)

○ Very likely  (4)

Q150 How warmly do you feel toward James Walters? Please rate him on the following feeling thermometer with 0 being not warm at all and 100 being very warm.

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

1 ()

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○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't know  (5)

Q126 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q255

Q128 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

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---

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|  | 0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100 |
|---|---|
| 1 () | ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▮▬▬▬▬▬ |

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Q153 What was the name of the school in the article?

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○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't know  (5)

Q133 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q256

Q135 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

303

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○ Very unlikely  (1)

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0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

1 ()

Q151 If you lived in James Walters's district, how competently do you think that he would represent you in Washington?

○ Very incompetently  (1)

○ Somewhat incompetently  (2)

○ Somewhat competently  (3)

○ Very competently  (4)

Q152 How confident do you feel in James Walters's ability to legislate on the issue of women's rights?

○ Not confident at all  (1)

○ Somewhat not confident  (2)

○ Somewhat confident  (3)

○ Very confident  (4)

Q153 What was the name of the school in the article?

○ Stonybrook Elementary  (1)

○ Meadowdale Elementary  (2)

○ Woodfern Elementary  (3)

○ Roosevelt Elementary  (4)

○ Don't know  (5)

Q154 James Walters is running as a...?

○ Democrat  (1)

○ Republican  (2)

○ Independent  (3)

○ No political party was stated  (4)

○ Don't know  (5)

Q155 According to the article, James Walters is a...?

○ Black Lives Matter activist  (1)

○ Qanon activist  (2)

○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't know  (5)

Q137 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q257

Q139 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

Q149 If you lived in James Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for him?

○ Very unlikely  (1)

○ Somewhat unlikely  (2)

○ Somewhat likely  (3)

○ Very likely  (4)

Q150 How warmly do you feel toward James Walters? Please rate him on the following feeling thermometer with 0 being not warm at all and 100 being very warm.

0   10   20   30   40   50   60   70   80   90   100

1 ()

Q151 If you lived in James Walters's district, how competently do you think that he would represent you in Washington?

○ Very incompetently  (1)

○ Somewhat incompetently  (2)

○ Somewhat competently  (3)

○ Very competently  (4)

Q152 How confident do you feel in James Walters's ability to legislate on the issue of women's rights?

   ○ Not confident at all  (1)

   ○ Somewhat not confident  (2)

   ○ Somewhat confident  (3)

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---

Q153 What was the name of the school in the article?

   ○ Stonybrook Elementary  (1)

   ○ Meadowdale Elementary  (2)

   ○ Woodfern Elementary  (3)

   ○ Roosevelt Elementary  (4)

   ○ Don't know  (5)

---

Q154 James Walters is running as a...?

   ○ Democrat  (1)

   ○ Republican  (2)

   ○ Independent  (3)

   ○ No political party was stated  (4)

   ○ Don't know  (5)

Q155 According to the article, James Walters is a...?

○ Black Lives Matter activist  (1)

○ Qanon activist  (2)

○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't know  (5)

Q141 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q258

Q143 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

Q149 If you lived in James Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for him?

○ Very unlikely  (1)

○ Somewhat unlikely  (2)

○ Somewhat likely  (3)

○ Very likely  (4)

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1 ()

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○ Qanon activist  (2)

○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't know  (5)

Q145 Please read the following article carefully. Once you are done reading, wait for the "next" arrow so that you can advance to the next question.

Q259

Q147 Timing
First Click  (1)
Last Click  (2)
Page Submit  (3)
Click Count  (4)

Page Break

312

Q149 If you lived in James Walters's district, how likely or unlikely is it that you would vote for him?

○ Very unlikely  (1)

○ Somewhat unlikely  (2)

○ Somewhat likely  (3)

○ Very likely  (4)

---

Q150 How warmly do you feel toward James Walters? Please rate him on the following feeling thermometer with 0 being not warm at all and 100 being very warm.

0   10  20  30  40  50  60  70  80  90  100

1 ()

---

Q151 If you lived in James Walters's district, how competently do you think that he would represent you in Washington?

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○ Qanon activist  (2)

○ Feminist  (3)

○ None of the above  (4)

○ Don't know  (5)

Q4 Please rate the following groups on the feeling thermometers.  Ratings between 51 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 49 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group and that you don't care too much for that group. You would rate the group at the 50-degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the group. If you come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that group.

|  | 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 |
| --- | --- |
| Black Lives Matter () | |
| Qanon () | |
| The National Rifle Association (NRA) () | |
| Feminists () | |
| Proud Boys () | |
| The #MeToo Movement () | |
| Planned Parenthood () | |
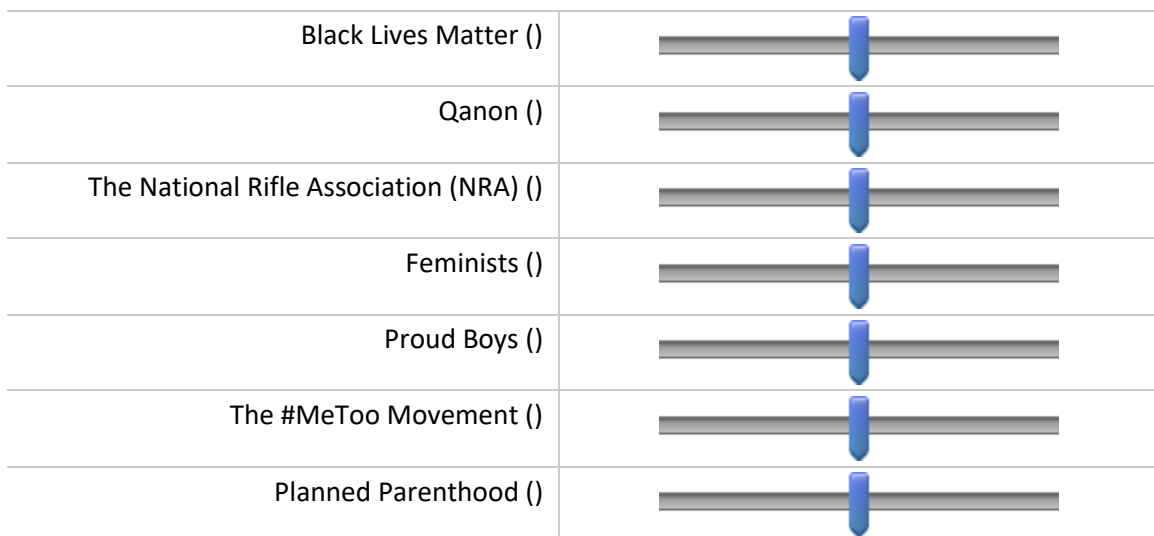
Q82 Would you say that male politicians or female politicians are more adept at the following policy areas?

| | Male 316olitician are much more adept (1) | Male 316olitician are more adept (2) | Male 316olitician are somewhat more adept (3) | Both female 316olitician and male 316olitician are equally adept (4) | Female 316olitician are somewhat more adept (5) | Female 316olitician are more adept (6) | Female 316olitician are much more adept (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Education (1) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Health Care (2) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Women's Issues (3) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| The Economy (4) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Defense (5) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Dealing with COVID-19 (6) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Police Reform (7) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Dealing with Racial Issues (8) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q233 Next we would like to ask you some questions about policy. Please indicate whether you support or oppose the following policies.

---

Q234 What is your position regarding the legalization of marijuana?

○ Strongly Oppose  (1)

○ Oppose  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Support  (5)

○ Support  (6)

○ Strongly Support  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

Q83 What is your position regarding the legalization of abortion?

○ Strongly Oppose  (1)

○ Oppose  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Support  (5)

○ Support  (6)

○ Strongly Support  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

Q236 What is your position regarding mandating body cameras on police officers?

○ Strongly Oppose  (1)

○ Oppose  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Support  (5)

○ Support  (6)

○ Strongly Support  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

Q84 What is your position regarding paid **maternal** leave (for mothers)?

○ Strongly Oppose  (1)

○ Oppose  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Support  (5)

○ Support  (6)

○ Strongly Support  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

Q243 What is your position regarding paid **paternal** leave (for fathers)?

○ Strongly Oppose  (1)

○ Oppose  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Support  (5)

○ Support  (6)

○ Strongly Support  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

Q86 What is your position regarding paid universal child care?

○ Strongly Oppose  (1)

○ Oppose  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Support  (5)

○ Support  (6)

○ Strongly Support  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

Q238 What is your position regarding decreasing funding to police departments?

○ Strongly Oppose  (1)

○ Oppose  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Support  (5)

○ Support  (6)

○ Strongly Support  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

Q245 What is your position regarding closing the wage gap between women and men?

○ Strongly Oppose  (1)

○ Oppose  (2)

○ Somewhat Oppose  (3)

○ Neither Support nor Oppose  (4)

○ Somewhat Support  (5)

○ Support  (6)

○ Strongly Support  (7)

○ Don't Know  (8)

---

46 Which of the following objects or statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards?

| | Very Positive (1) | Positive (2) | Slightly Positive (3) | Neither Positive nor Negative (4) | Slightly Negative (5) | Negative (6) | Very Negative (7) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others (1) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Some people are just more worthy than others (2) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were (3) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Some people are just more deserving than others (4) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others (5) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Some people are just inferior to others (6) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others (7) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Increased economic equality (8) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Increased social equality (9) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| Equality (10) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country (11) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| In an idea world, all nations would be equal (12) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| We should try to treat one another as equals as much as possible (all humans should be treated equally) (13) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| It is important that we treat other countries as equals (14) | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

Q16 Finally, we would like to ask you some questions about yourself.

---

Q19 What is your age?

---

Q17 What is your gender?

○ Male  (1)

○ Female  (2)

○ Other  (3) _____

○ Prefer not to say  (4)

---

Q23 What is the highest degree of level of school you have completed?

○ Less than High School Diploma  (1)

○ High School Diploma or GED  (2)

○ Some College, but no Degree  (3)

○ Associates Degree (for example, AA, AS)  (4)

○ Bachelor's Degree (for example, BA, BS)  (5)

○ Master's Degree (for example, MA, MS)  (6)

○ Professional Degree (for example, MD, DDS, JD)  (7)

○ Doctorate (for example, PhD, EdD)  (8)

---

Q18 What is your present , if any?

○ Protestant (e.g., Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Pentecostal, Presbyterian, Anglican/Episcopal)  (1)

○ Roman Catholic  (2)

○ Mormon  (3)

○ Orthodox (i.e., Greek or Russian Orthodox)  (4)

○ Jewish  (5)

○ Muslim  (6)

○ Buddhist  (7)

○ Hindu  (8)

○ Atheist  (9)

○ Agnostic  (10)

○ Another religion, please specify  (11)

_____

Q89 How important is religion in your life?

○ Very Unimportant  (1)

○ Unimportant  (2)

○ Somewhat Unimportant  (3)

○ Neither Important nor Unimportant  (4)

○ Somewhat Important  (5)

○ Important  (6)

○ Very Important  (7)

---

Q90 Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

○ More than once a week  (1)

○ Once a week  (2)

○ Once or twice a month  (3)

○ A few times a year  (4)

○ Never  (5)

---

Q20 Now think of your own background in racial. How would you describe your race and ethnicity? You can select more than one option

☐     African American  (1)

☐     White  (2)

☐     Hispanic or Latino  (3)

☐     Asian  (4)

☐     Native American or American Indian  (5)

☐     Other  (6) _____

---

Q87 Are you of Latino or Hispanic origin or descent?

○ No  (1)

○ Yes  (2)

---

Q24 What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?

○ Less than $25,000  (1)

○ $25,000 to $34,999  (2)

○ $35,000 to $49,999  (3)

○ $50,000 to $74,999  (4)

○ $75,000 to $99,999  (5)

○ $100,000 to $149,999  (6)

○ $150,000 to $199,999  (7)

○ $200,000 or more  (8)

**End of Block: Demographics**

**Start of Block: Post Post-Test**

Q6 What do you think this study is about?

_____

Page Break

Q5 How would you define the word "feminist"? What comes to mind when you think of feminists?

Q239
Thank you for your participation in this research study. The goal of this study was to determine how people respond to feminist candidates along gender and party lines. During the study, you were asked a series of questions on this topic as well as asked to read a fictional news article regarding a fictional candidate. Though your responses will be utilized for research, you will remain completely anonymous.

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX D

STIMULI ARTICLES

Female, Democrat, Feminist

United States

# Candidate for Ohio's 10th congressional district visits local school

Jeff Mason

2 minute read

Congressional candidate Elizabeth Walters spoke today at an Ohio elementary school as one of her stops on the campaign trail.



Meadowdale Elementary School

Walters, a Democrat who hopes to be elected to serve as the Representative to Ohio's 10th congressional district, addressed both students and teachers at an assembly in the Meadowdale Elementary School auditorium.

Walters spoke to students about the importance of a good education and encouraged them to study hard. She also explained the process of running for office for the children and discussed civic engagement with the elementary school students.

Following her talk, Walters took questions from the students.

2nd grader Sophie Campbell asked: "I'd like to be president one day, could I run for office too?"

Walters responded by saying: "As a mother of two young girls, I think you absolutely can be president. In fact, as a feminist, I'd like to see more little girls like you run for office."

Walters is likely to be endorsed by the Ohio Education Association and is herself a former student of the Dayton public school system.

United States

Female, Democrat, Non-Feminist

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Our Standards: The Thomson Reuters Trust Principles.

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Female, No Party, Feminist

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Female, Republican, Feminist

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Male, Democrat, Feminist

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United States

347

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Walters responded by saying: "As a father of two young girls, I think you absolutely can be president. In America, anyone can grow up to be president."

Walters is likely to be endorsed by the Ohio Education Association and is himself a former student of the Dayton public school system.

Our Standards: The Thomson Reuters Trust Principles.

United States

Male, Republican, Feminist

# Candidate for Ohio's 10th congressional district visits local school

Jeff Mason

2 minute read

Congressional candidate James Walters spoke today at an Ohio elementary school as one of his stops on the campaign trail.



Meadowdale Elementary School

Walters, a Republican who hopes to be elected to serve as the Representative to Ohio's 10th congressional district, addressed both students and teachers at an assembly in the Meadowdale Elementary School auditorium.

Walters spoke to students about the importance of a good education and encouraged them to study hard. He also explained the process of running for office for the children and discussed civic engagement with the elementary school students.

Following his talk, Walters took questions from the students.

2nd grader Sophie Campbell asked: "I'd like to be president one day, could I run for office too?"

Walters responded by saying: "As a father of two young girls, I think you absolutely can be president. In fact, as a feminist, I'd like to see more little girls like you run for office."

Walters is likely to be endorsed by the Ohio Education Association and is himself a former student of the Dayton public school system.

United States

Male, Republican, Non-Feminist

United States

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Our Standards: The Thomson Reuters Trust Principles.

United States

APPENDIX E

IRB DOCUMENTS

Focus Group

**ASU** Knowledge Enterprise Development

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Kim Fridkin
CLAS-SS: Politics and Global Studies, School of (SPGS)
480/965-4195
Fridkin@asu.edu

Dear Kim Fridkin:

On 3/29/2021 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

| Type of Review: | Initial Study |
|---|---|
| Title: | What is a Feminist? Focus Group |
| Investigator: | Kim Fridkin |
| IRB ID: | STUDY00013733 |
| Funding: | None |
| Grant Title: | None |
| Grant ID: | None |
| Documents Reviewed: | • Feminist Focus Group Consent Form.pdf, Category: Consent Form; <br> • Feminist Focus Group Debriefing Script.pdf, Category: Participant materials (specific directions for them); <br> • IRB Form.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; <br> • Recruitment Form.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; <br> • What is a Feminist Focus Group Questions (1).pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); |

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 3/29/2021.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

If any changes are made to the study, the IRB must be notified at research.integrity@asu.edu to determine if additional reviews/approvals are required. Changes may include but not limited to revisions to data collection, survey and/or interview questions, and vulnerable populations, etc.

Sincerely,


IRB Administrator

cc:    Alexandra Williams
       Alexandra Williams

# Preliminary Survey

**ASU** Knowledge Enterprise Development

### EXEMPTION GRANTED

Kim Fridkin
CLAS-SS: Politics and Global Studies, School of (SPGS)
480/965-4195
Fridkin@asu.edu

Dear Kim Fridkin:

On 9/16/2021 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

| | |
|---|---|
| Type of Review: | Initial Study |
| Title: | Gender and Politics Survey |
| Investigator: | Kim Fridkin |
| IRB ID: | STUDY00014527 |
| Funding: | None |
| Grant Title: | None |
| Grant ID: | None |
| Documents Reviewed: | • Consent Form.pdf, Category: Consent Form; <br> • Debrief Script.pdf, Category: Screening forms; <br> • Gender and Politics Survey IRB Protocol, Category: IRB Protocol; <br> • Gender and Politics Survey.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); <br> • Recruitment Form.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; |

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 9/16/2021.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

If any changes are made to the study, the IRB must be notified at
research.integrity@asu.edu to determine if additional reviews/approvals are required.
Changes may include but not limited to revisions to data collection, survey and/or
interview questions, and vulnerable populations, etc.

REMINDER - All in-person interactions with human subjects require the completion of
the ASU Daily Health Check by the ASU members prior to the interaction and the use of
face coverings by researchers, research teams and research participants during the
interaction. These requirements will minimize risk, protect health and support a safe
research environment.  These requirements apply both on- and off-campus.

The above change is effective as of July 29th 2021 until further notice and replaces all
previously published guidance. Thank you for your continued commitment to ensuring a
healthy and productive ASU community.

Sincerely,


IRB Administrator

cc:     Alexandra Williams

**ASU** Knowledge Enterprise
Development

**EXEMPTION GRANTED**

Kim Fridkin
CLAS-SS: Politics and Global Studies, School of (SPGS)
480/965-4195
Fridkin@asu.edu

Dear Kim Fridkin:

On 3/30/2022 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

| Type of Review: | Initial Study |
|---|---|
| Title: | How Voters Perceive Feminist Candidates |
| Investigator: | Kim Fridkin |
| IRB ID: | STUDY00015765 |
| Funding: | None |
| Grant Title: | None |
| Grant ID: | None |
| Documents Reviewed: | • Article Scripts, Category: Other;<br>• Consent Form.pdf, Category: Consent Form;<br>• Debrief Script.pdf, Category: Other;<br>• How Voters Perceive Feminist Candidates.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);<br>• Recruitment Form.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; |

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 3/30/2022.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

If any changes are made to the study, the IRB must be notified at research.integrity@asu.edu to determine if additional reviews/approvals are

required.  Changes may include but not limited to revisions to data collection, survey and/or interview questions, and vulnerable populations, etc.

REMINDER - - Effective January 12, 2022, in-person interactions with human subjects require adherence to all current policies for ASU faculty, staff, students and visitors.  Up-to-date information regarding ASU's COVID-19 Management Strategy can be found here.  IRB approval is related to the research activity involving human subjects, all other protocols related to COVID-19 management including face coverings, health checks, facility access, etc. are governed by current ASU policy.

Sincerely,


IRB Administrator

cc:     Alexandra Williams