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Who Supports Her? The Conditions of Gender Specific Voting

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Political Science
University of California, Riverside, June 2022
Dr. Jennifer Merolla, Co-Chairperson
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The purpose of this dissertation is to increase our understanding of the conditions under which Americans—and particularly men and women—vote for women candidates in primary and nonpartisan elections. I theorize that a cause for personal identification with feminism among men and women is primarily one or some combination of what I call "empathetic catalysts" which all relate to real-world, lived experiences. I argue here that there are certain intense empathy inducing events (empathetic catalysts) like formal learning, experiencing certain forms of discrimination, and having a daughter that cause a shift in identity and subsequently, increase the likelihood of voting for a woman running for political office. I use data from the American National Election Study (ANES) 2016 and 2020, the Ask Every Student (AES) survey, the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CES) 2020, the Party at the Mailbox Study (PATM) 2020, a 2019 study run by the UCR Politics & Gender Lab, as well as original data collected via MTurk to test the

relationships between these catalysts, empathy, feminist identification, and voting for women running for office. I find that these catalysts are positively related to levels of feminism and support for women candidates. However, the strength of these relationships vary by gender.

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Chapter 1 — Introduction & Chapter Map

Introduction

Hillary Clinton's run for the U.S. presidency in 2016 is the closest a woman has ever gotten to winning that seat. Clinton was the first woman to be nominated by a major party for president of the United States and famously wore "suffragette white" to accept the Democratic nomination. Yet, she lost. Across every racial and income group, more women voted for Clinton than men. In 2016, women outnumbered men by about ten million registered voters.[1] The media capitalized on this and shifted their focus on the gender gap with headlines such as, "Women Are Defeating Donald Trump" and "Hillary Clinton Had the Biggest Voter Gender Gap On Record".[2,3] This focus on the gender gap in support for the Democratic candidate is understandable as it was the largest reported gap since 1972.[4] While there is a substantial number of men who did not vote for Hillary Clinton, they are not alone—there is a nontrivial percentage of women who didn't vote for her either.

Clinton's experience is broadly the norm. A woman has never been a U.S. President, only one has served as Vice-President to date, and in 2020, women made up

[1] https://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/resources/genderdiff.pdf

[2] https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/election-update-women-are-defeating-donald-trump/

[3] https://fortune.com/2016/11/09/hillary-clinton-election-gender-gap/

[4] https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/11/09/behind-trumps-victory-divisions-by-race-gender-education/

only 23.7% of U.S. Congress members.[5] Taken as a whole, the gender gap in representation and in supporting women candidates begs the question—under what conditions do Americans—and specifically men and women—vote for women candidates? Another critical question is what can be done to increase support for women candidates? Since 2016, we have seen more women run for the Presidency. According to national polling conducted in the Fall of 2019, women were more likely than men to vote for Elizabeth Warren (+2.9%) or Kamala Harris (+0.7%).[6] A CBS News/YouGov poll found that Democratic women prefer women candidates and choose them over a hypothetical man running for office most of the time.[7] Interestingly, Democratic women preferred a woman candidate 20 percentage points more than the Democratic men in the study. Although there were several seemingly viable women candidates running in the 2020 primaries, none gained enough popularity among the electorate to seize the party nomination. The phenomenon where women prefer women candidates is not limited to Presidential elections; however, previous research is mixed at lower levels (Darcy and Schramm 1977; Dolan 1998a; Dolan 2018b).

The deleterious effects of this underrepresentation can be seen in multiple ways. For individuals, this lack of equal representation results in the lack of role models for women and girls, fewer networks and resources of support for women who hope to run and may even lessen political ambition overall (D. E. Campbell and Wolbrecht 2006;

[5] https://cawp.rutgers.edu/women-us-congress-2020

[6] https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-warren-cant-count-on-a-womens-vote/

[7] https://www.cbsnews.com/news/democratic-voters-hungry-for-women-and-people-of-color-in-2020-nomination/

Ladam, Harden, and Windett 2018). All of this engenders a deficient pipeline of women running for office. Outside of discouraging women from engaging in politics, there are also harmful effects on levels of trust in government, and views on the overall health of democracy (O'Brien and Piscopo 2018). On a larger scale, equal inclusion within American democracy, by definition, ought to be representative (Pitkin 1972).

Understanding the conditions under which people are more likely to vote for women is crucial for the political wellbeing of women, and for the improvement of representative democracy. While there is plenty of work that specifically explains the motivation of women voters, I also consider the conditions under which men vote for women, which has received far less attention from political scientists. Given that partisanship dominates decisions in general elections (A. Campbell et al. 1980; Dodson 2010; Jacobson 2003; Stoker and Jennings 2008), I limit my focus to non-partisan contexts and primary elections.

I argue that one impetus to voting for women is experiencing empathetic catalysts that lead to a personal identification with feminism and increase support for women candidates in non-partisan elections and primaries. Each of these relationships will be particularly important among men who are less likely to experience these catalysts in their lives. Some of these catalysts include engaging in formal learning, experiencing certain types of discrimination, and becoming a father of a daughter. Theoretically, the effect of empathetic catalysts will be more pronounced if more than one is experienced in a meaningful way.

Literature Review

Much of the research on the gender of candidates revolves around same-gender support. This makes sense because women do tend to vote for women at higher rates than men. This is sometimes referred to as the 'gender affinity effect' (King and Matland 2003; Sanbonmatsu 2002). These works explain why some women vote for women candidates, but it does not help us understand men's support, nor does it capture how we might increase support among other women. There are several explanations in the literature that help explain why voters support women candidates: descriptive representation, substantive representation, linked fate, and feminism.

Several studies on gender and candidates provide evidence that women prefer same-gender candidates and do so at higher rates compared to men as they seek descriptive or substantive representation (Rosenthal 1995; Sanbonmatsu 2002). This effect may be driven by policy concerns where some women feel that women are uniquely suited to deal with issues they care most about (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Paolino 1995; Plutzer and Zipp 1996). Men seeking substantive representation very well may vote for a woman candidate. It is also possible that voters who support a woman candidate assume she is more liberal by default and see her as providing substantive representation ideologically (Koch 2000; McDermott 1997). However, all else held equal, men are more likely to prefer a man over a woman candidate in the US.[8]

Another reason some women vote for women candidates is due to a perception of linked fate with other women (Rinehart 2013). Put another way, certain women may feel

[8] https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-warren-cant-count-on-a-womens-vote/

that their future is somehow linked to the future of other women, and that supporting one means supporting all. Through this lens, voting for other women is an act of group solidarity and supporting a woman candidate is, in a way, a direct benefit to oneself. Perhaps it is also the case that women who do not feel linked fate with other women have particularly strong ties with men—where they feel their futures are tied to the financial success of people like their fathers or husbands. Linked fate is a compelling theory, but it still does not help us understand the conditions under which *men* vote for women in general nor does it help us to understand the calculus of women who vote for men.

Another body of growing literature focuses on what happened in 2016. This important moment was one of great hope and then disappointment for many who thought the U.S. would see their first woman President elected. Various studies focus on the effects of sexism, both hostile and benevolent, in the 2016 General election. These studies suggest that hostile and benevolent sexism largely explain support for Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton among both women and men (Bock, Byrd-Craven, and Burkley 2017; Owen and Wei 2020; Ratliff et al. 2019; Schaffner, Macwilliams, and Nteta 2018; Shook et al. 2020; Swank 2018; Valentino, Oceno, and Wayne 2018). However, people react differently to Trump's treatment of women, and these studies investigate the *lack* of support for a *particular* woman candidate. My research seeks to explain *increased* support for women candidates *generally* speaking.

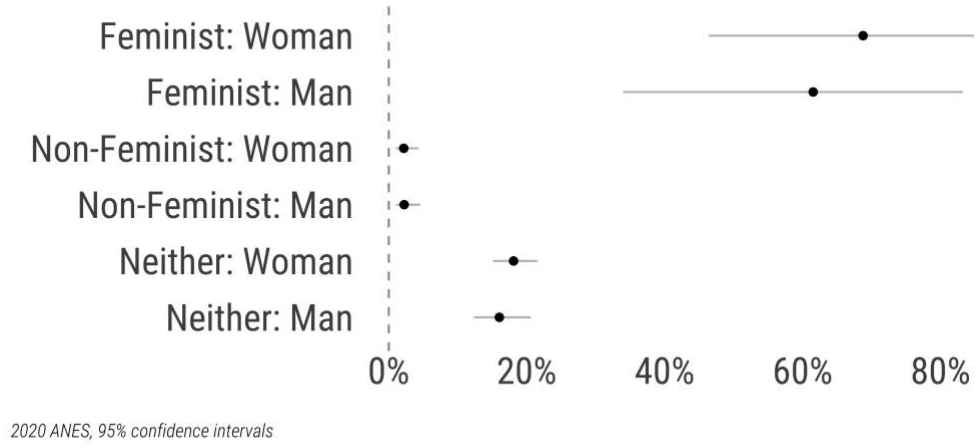
The final explanation, and perhaps the most critical to the theory at hand, is the role of feminism in political calculi. I theorize that when all else is held equal, *personal identification* with feminism is a main driving force behind voting for a woman candidate

over a man. It's the *identification* which signals an individual empathizes enough to engage in solidarity with women and vote for women when they run. This is distinct from the ability to *sympathize* with women and feminism, which is likely not strong enough to produce a difference in vote choice (for a review of the difference between *sympathy* and *empathy* see: Chismar 1988). Foundational work on explaining why people vote for women points to feminist identity and consciousness as primary mechanisms for voting behavior (Conover 1988). Feminist identification can take many forms. The literature primarily focuses on main-stream liberal feminism—the most common brand of feminism in the United States. Theoretically, one of the more important elements of feminist identification is Americans' identification with liberal feminism because its main tenant is equality under the law. The growth of the political gender gap in vote choice (Cook 1993) is primarily driven then, by the growing identification of feminism among women (Manza and Brooks 1998). Further research suggests though, that feminist women may affect the gender gap in opinion and preferences, but that it's feminism among either gender that's the root of this difference rather than feminism among women alone (Cook and Wilcox 1991; Hayes 1997). In other words, while it appears that more women compared to men vote for women candidates, this difference is driven by more feminists voting for women, and women make up most feminists.

We can observe some of these relationships by looking at feminist identity and vote choice in recent presidential elections. In the 2020 American National Election Survey (ANES), identifying as a feminist resulted in a 66.56% predicted probability of voting for a Democratic woman in the 2020 Democratic Presidential Primary. Identifying

as an anti-feminist reduced this amount to only 2.16%, and failing to identify as either feminist or anti-feminist resulted in a 17.33% probability of voting for a woman.[9] The relationship between feminist identification and voting for a woman was statistically significant even when controlling for respondents' gender. Furthermore, while men were slightly less likely to vote for a woman at each feminist identification level (i.e., feminist, anti-feminist, and neither) there was no statistically significant difference between men and women in this model when gender was added as an interaction term ($b = 0.17$, $p = 0.778$; $b = 0.03$, $p = 0.95$ with demographic controls). These predicted probabilities are displayed in Figure 1.1 below. In other words, there is a strong relationship between feminist identification and voting for a woman running for office for both men and women.

Figure 1.1 — ANES 2020 Vote Choice by Feminist ID and Gender



[9] This model was run as a weighted logistic regression without using controls ($b = 2.25$, $p = 0.00$). However, these results are robust when controlling for sex, income, education, marital status, religion, and age ($b = 1.92$, $p = 0.00$).

I was able to further examine linkages between feminist identity and vote preferences in the 2016 ANES. This is a particularly difficult case because, while I expect to find feminist identification to be a significant predictor of vote choice in nonpartisan and primary elections, partisanship may overwhelm feminist identification as a predictor of vote choice in general elections. However, feminist support for women candidates is even evident where we might imagine partisanship to override any other concerns. For instance, there is a significant and positive effect of feminist identification on voting for Hillary Clinton among Republicans. There's a 17.00%-point increase in the predicted probability that respondents voted for Clinton moving from non-feminist to feminist identifying Republicans. The difference for Democrats is only slightly higher at 18.93%-points.[10] Figure 1.2 displays the difference in percent vote for Hillary Clinton by feminist identification and partisanship.

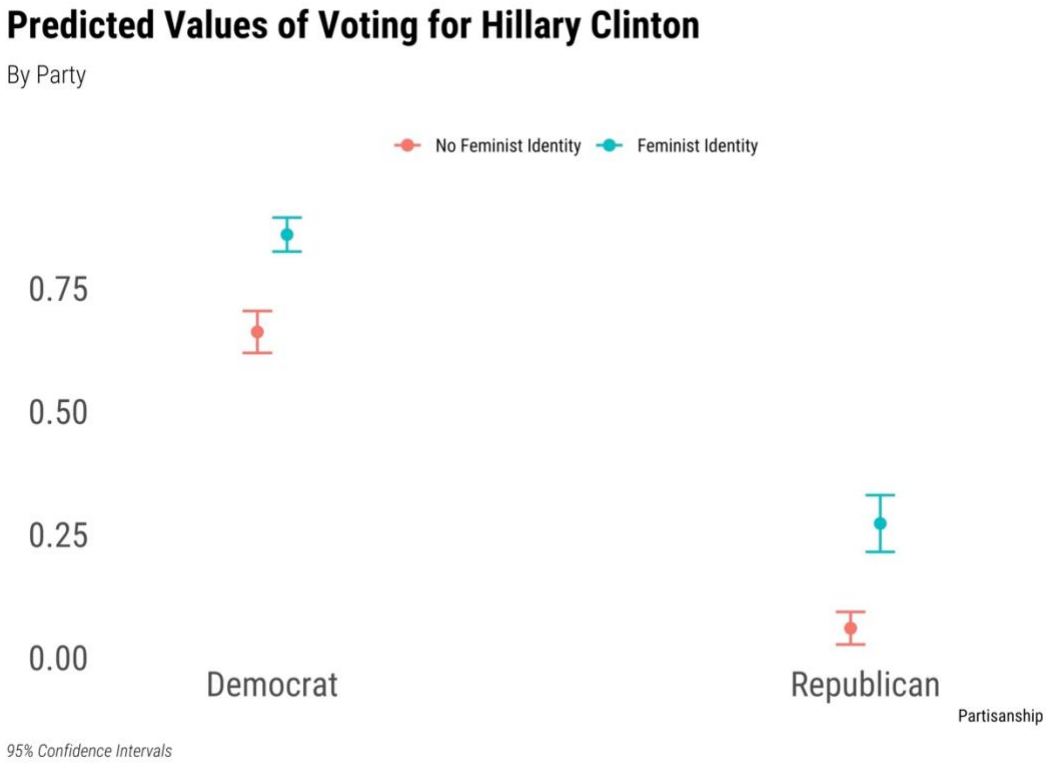
Typically, women are more likely to be feminists, and perhaps this is driving the results. In other words, perhaps those high in feminist identification also happen to be women who are greater supporters of Hillary Clinton. Indeed, women are more likely to identify as feminists (b=1.13 p=0.00) but were no more likely to vote for Clinton (b= 0.12, p= 0.15) in this data.[11] Additionally, gender is not a statistically significant moderator between feminist identification and vote choice, meaning that the average

[10] Predicted probabilities are calculated with a weighted logistic regression without controls. When additional controls (age, race, education) are set to their mean values, the predicted probability of voting for Clinton among Republicans is a 15.82% increase moving from non-feminist to feminist. Similarly, the increase (without controls) for Democrats is 17.54% with controls set to their means. For full regression results see Appendix Table 7.

[11] Results presented here are calculated using weighted logistic regression and controls for age, race, and education. See Appendix Table 8 for full results.

difference in vote choice between feminist and non-feminists is about the same for both men and women (b = -0.14, p = 0.47). Recall that there is a similar relationship in the 2020 ANES between feminist identification and voting for women in the 2020 Democratic primary election.

Figure 1.2 — ANES 2016 Vote Choice by Feminist ID and Party



There's clearly no women's voting bloc, or any issue or candidate that all women can rally around, and therefore no singular "women's vote". However, there are tendencies that make the "feminists' vote" a more plausible reason both men and women vote for women running for office. For this reason, I will be focusing on the development of feminist identification as a significant cause for voting for women candidates. What

factors might lead to feminist identity, particularly among men, who tend to identify at lower rates than women? This dissertation investigates several potential causes for the development of feminist identification. I argue that this occurs primarily through life-experiences that induce empathy with women. Simply put, I argue here that there are certain intense empathy inducing events (empathetic catalysts) that cause a shift in identity and voting behavior among men and women.

Theory

The purpose of the research here is to increase our understanding of the conditions under which Americans—and particularly men and women—vote for women candidates in primary and nonpartisan elections. Additionally, how can this be leveraged to increase gender representation in the U.S.? Previous research shows that identification with feminism typically comes from lived experiences among both men and women (Plutzer 1991). This dissertation focuses on self-identification as a feminist. It is less concerned with what brand of feminism a person adheres to. **Chapter 2** provides a more robust discussion of my theory, the differences between feminist belief and opinion, and different types of feminism.

In brief, I theorize that a cause for personal identification with feminism among men is primarily one or some combination of several of what I call "empathetic catalysts" which all relate to real-world, lived experiences. I argue here that there are certain intense empathy inducing events (empathetic catalysts) that cause a shift in identity and subsequently, voting behavior. Theoretically, events that catalyze the development of

empathy should be specific to a particular group. In this research, I seek to develop intense empathy for women.

There is no reason to think that empathetic catalysts are limited in number, however, some of the more obvious and testable are linked to the psychology literature citing shared experiences, novel experiences, and learning. The catalysts I test in this dissertation include engaging in formal learning (such as taking a women's or gender studies course), experiencing certain types of discrimination that women face, and becoming a father of a daughter. It is also likely that political socialization earlier in life plays a significant role in the development of feminist identities (Henderson-King and Stewart 1999; Reid and Purcell 2004). For this reason, I expect men to be more impacted by the empathetic catalysts in many of the tests presented here than women who, historically, have higher levels of feminist identity as a baseline.[12] Put another way, while the11inkage11gg chapters apply the empathetic catalysts to both men and women, women may already be treated by society. However, when experienced in their everyday lives, these catalysts should work in similar ways for both genders.

These personal experiences act as a catalyst that encourage men to empathize with women. Learning about gender equality and feminism for the first time can act as a catalyst for feminist identification (Duncan 1999). According to Schacht and Ewing's 1997 work on paths to feminism, "Men can learn about the depth of women's oppression and its unjust nature from two basic sources; (1) a wide array of

[12] https://today.yougov.com/topics/lifestyle/articles-reports/2018/08/09/feminism-american-women-2018

written feminist works, and (2) feminist women and women in general." In this way, both women and men are encouraged to think about gender in new ways and be concerned about gender equality through gender studies curricula. Some of this research reveals that women's studies and gender courses do result in increased feminist identity among students (Bargad and Hyde 1991; Henderson-King and Stewart 1999). However, my research primarily seeks to measure a change in voting behavior as the outcome rather than other forms of political behavior, or of feminist identification as the sole outcome.

Similarly, personal experiences with discrimination are another route to feminist identification. Individuals are forced to think about gender and the importance of gender equality when confronted with certain kinds of discrimination. One might imagine a woman realizing she makes less money than her male co-worker for the same work in her job, or not being taken as a serious candidate for a promotion when compared to her male colleagues. For men, second-hand accounts of discrimination can also lead to feminism. Men who hear about these experiences with discrimination from a sister, mother, or daughter can cause them to consider the importance of gender in ways they may not have otherwise. In other words, while gendered discrimination may not be directed at a particular man, he may develop a greater connection with women by hearing about the experiences of his female family members, if those experiences are relayed in a meaningful way that brings gender to the fore. Additionally, certain forms of traditionally gendered discrimination (e.g., being treated differently or passed over due to taking paternity leave) may cause this reaction through first-hand experience.

Finally, when men have daughters, it can cause them to see the necessity to reduce gender inequalities (Sharrow et al. 2018). Having a daughter pushes gender to the fore for men. Gender suddenly becomes a relevant issue for fathers, whereas for mothers, this is likely to have already been the case. Certain studies show that when men have a daughter, they begin to think about and become concerned about gender in ways that they had not before (Glynn and Sen 2015; Greenlee et al. 2018; Sharrow et al. 2018). I argue that this increase in concern for women's equality through having a daughter is one catalyst for feminist identification.

Simply put, I argue that formal learning, certain experiences with discrimination, or having daughters can result in an increased propensity to identify as a feminist and vote for women candidates. There may be direct effects between empathetic catalysts and these outcomes, but I conceptualize these catalysts as causal mechanisms that can lead to voting for women through the development of empathy and feminist identification. The extension of this theory helps us understand the pre-conditions for identification with feminism and the subsequent vote choice of both men and women. I will test this theory in the context of the contemporary U.S., but the theory itself is not limited to one part of the world. In fact, several studies show that gender is an important factor for candidate choice across multiple countries (Schwindt-Bayer, Malecki, and Crisp 2010). This theory has applications far beyond the United States. Chapter 2 expands on this theory and what previous theories tell us about support for women candidates.

Empirical Chapter Outline

This dissertation uses data from several different sources to test the three main empathetic catalysts discussed here. In Chapter 2, I look deeper into the theoretical components of the dissertation. I discuss in greater detail the ways in which each catalyst ought to impact empathy and feminist identity, and how these developments, in turn, impact political behavior. I also include a robust discussion of the differences between sympathy and empathy, as well as feminism and feminist identification. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 include the empirical tests of these theories.

It is the goal of Chapter 3 to investigate Schacht and Ewing's (1997) first path to feminist identity—formal learning. Here, I assess the ways in which taking a women's or gender studies course can impact feminist identification. In this case, the theory of empathetic catalysts is simply that learning about sexism or discrimination in a meaningful way may induce empathy and subsequently identification with feminism. This will in turn result in the greater propensity to vote for women candidates. Chapter 3 uses the Ask Every Student survey which includes a diverse sample of college students to investigate how college courses in women's or gender studies impact the development of feminist identity among men and women, how elective versus required courses have different impacts, and how time passed since taking the course are related to feminist identification. In brief, I find that taking a women's or gender studies course is related to higher levels of feminist identification, although this relationship is strongest when taken as a required course rather than an elective—perhaps because of self-selection into

elective courses. I also find that the effects of taking such a course has a stronger impact among men.

In Chapter 4, I examine the effect of the second empathetic catalyst— experiences with discrimination. This chapter will use data that tests whether personal experiences with discrimination impact feminist identification and candidate support. The first study uses data from the 2020 Cooperative Congressional Elections Study (CES) to test the relationship between discrimination and feminism on a nationally representative sample. Additionally, this study includes questions about various kinds of discrimination. This is intended to further disentangle whether the type of discrimination and perceived cause has a differing effect on feminist identification. I also ask respondents about their levels of support (eg. voting, financial, trust) for a hypothetical candidate.

Chapter 4 also uses surveys conducted in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, and Atlanta as part of the Party at the Mailbox projects. This sample is largely made up of people of color and was collected around the time of major elections. There's been some work on how feminist identity works differently for people of color due to the intersection of race and gender. This data allows me to test whether racial discrimination is correlated with feminist identity among these highly diverse populations during a time when politics is most salient. In other words, this allows me to test whether non-gendered forms of discrimination spill over into feminist identification as well.

The first two studies get me one step closer to being able to test the full picture, but it still cannot tell me whether respondents would vote for a woman *over* a man. For this, I field an experiment that introduces several scenarios involving discrimination that

women may experience in their lifetimes to measure any activation of empathy with women, feminist identification, and subsequent vote choice in a hypothetical match-up where all is held equal except for gender. Does experiencing the kinds of discrimination women often endure—even secondhand—catalyze the development of empathy and feminist identification? I find some evidence that certain types of discrimination can lead to greater empathy with women, and that this development is related to higher levels of feminist identification and voting for women candidates. However, not *all* forms of discrimination produce this result.

There are other explanations that might help explain why men and women vote for women candidates. Chapter 5 investigates another of these empathetic catalysts—becoming a father or mother of a daughter. Previous research shows that fatherhood remains an important factor not only for vote choice but a myriad of other political views as well (Oswald and Nattavudh n.d.; Shafer and Malhotra 2011; Sharrow et al. 2018; Warner 1991). This chapter tests whether this important life event is related to increased feminist identification, and other political behaviors. To do this, I leverage two studies: a Qualtrics study fielded by the UCR Politics & Gender Lab that includes an experiment focusing on Hillary Clinton's historic run for the presidency, and an Mturk study fielded for this dissertation. The studies also ask about feminist identification, whether respondents have daughters, and about respondents' warmth towards Hillary Clinton. My findings in this chapter are surprising, and largely inconclusive.

Conclusion

We know that women voters support women candidates more often than do men and make up a substantial percentage of the eligible voters in the U.S. The two interrelated questions I pose in this work are: "Under what conditions do Americans—and specifically men and women—vote for women candidates?" and "What causes men to support women candidates?" Many studies have shown various causes for the gender gap in support for women running for political office but fail to explain the conditions under which men and women vote for women. This dissertation asserts that Americans are more likely to vote for women under certain conditions: when they empathize with women and identify as feminists. While microtargeting potential voters by campaigns is fairly commonplace, I suggest that a refined version with specific focus on what I call "empathetic catalysts" is crucial for successful women candidates and campaigns. Requiring women's and gender studies curriculum, emphasizing the importance of empathy with others through perspective-taking, and specifically speaking to men in their role as fathers of daughters all have the potential to increase support for women candidates. Through the analysis of several types of data, I show that the activation of these catalysts, leading to the personal identification with feminism, can be an effective strategy in garnering more votes for women.

Chapter 2 — Empathetic Catalysts

Introduction

In 2006, then Senator Barack Obama addressed Northwestern's graduating class at their commencement ceremony with a message not on politics, but about empathy. He told them that "[t]he world doesn't just revolve around you. There's a lot of talk in this country about the federal deficit. But I think we should talk more about our empathy deficit — the ability to put ourselves in someone else's shoes; to see the world through those who are different from us — the child who's hungry, the laid-off steelworker, the immigrant woman cleaning your dorm room." [13] Obama compares the federal deficit, a clearly political issue, to an emotional one, but one that has clear political implications—from support of social programs to personal actions that can save the lives of others. This empathy deficit seems to be driving anti-social behaviors. Recently, when simple actions like mask-wearing has the potential to save lives, anti-masking sentiment is rampant. This is18ined up nicely in an interview with Vox when one man said, "I hear all the time, people are like, 'I'd rather be safe than sorry, I don't want to be a grandma killer.' I'm sorry to sound so harsh, […] I'm laughing because grandmas and grandpas die all the time. It's sad. But here's the thing: It's about blind obedience and compliance."[14] Arguably, facemasks pose little to no risk to the wearer, and yet, to some, is seen as too costly for oneself even if others may face severe complications or even death. This isn't

[13] https://www.northwestern.edu/newscenter/stories/2006/06/barack.html

[14] https://www.vox.com/the-goods/2020/8/7/21357400/anti-mask-protest-rallies-donald-trump-covid-19

just conjecture on my part, recent research has shown empathy with others can improve pro-social behaviors like mask-wearing, social distancing, and vaccination intentions (Pfattheicher et al. 2020; Pfattheicher, Petersen, and Böhm 2022; de Ridder et al. 2021). What conditions impact the development of empathy, and can we leverage them to reduce the empathy deficit and encourage certain changes in political behavior?

The purpose of this research is to increase our understanding of the 19inkagees between empathy, feminist identification, and the conditions under which Americans—and particularly men—vote for women candidates in primary and nonpartisan elections. I investigate how certain life events can act as an intervention that shifts empathy and identity, which can then be used to increase gender representation in the US. Building off of the previous literature examining gender and voting behavior, I theorize that when all else is held equal, *personal identification* with feminism is a main driving force behind voting for a woman candidate over a man. This *identification* signals that an individual empathizes enough to engage in solidarity with women and fighting for women's equal representation. I conceptualize empathy as both the ability and motivation to imagine yourself in someone else's shoes, or take their perspective, feel how they may be feeling, and care about their wellbeing. In the next sections, I introduce several of the main concepts involved in this theory (e.g., empathy, feminists, feminism), and then dive into how these concepts affect one another and impact candidate selection.

Key Constructs: What Is Empathy? How Does It Work? Who Experiences It?

Empathy is a natural phenomenon, and one that most of us have experienced. In fact, experiences with empathy are not even limited to humans. Studies have shown that when a mouse sees another receiving an electric shock, the unshocked mouse freezes, and regions (A24a/b) of its brain associated with mirror neurons are activated (Paradiso, Gazzola, and Keysers 2021). These areas of the brain are activated both when the animal experiences pain, and when it observes the pain experienced by others. In a less technical example, you might think of a time when you saw someone else in pain and grimaced although no physical harm came to you. Maybe you saw someone in a car wreck and covered your eyes, or even saw an animal suffering and felt for it. Similarly, you may feel immense emotion for a friend who has lost a loved one, even if you never met the person who passed away. Perhaps you even find yourself shedding a tear or two while watching a movie. This reaction isn't limited to physical harm or to emotionally distressing experiences though. Feeling happy for another person and sharing in their joy is another empathetic experience (Perry, Hendler, and Shamay-Tsoory 2012). Simply put, empathy is the ability to step out of oneself to feel what another is feeling. More specifically, I borrow from Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos' (2021) work on empathy to conceptualize of empathy broadly—including both the ability and motivation to imagine yourself in someone else's shoes, or take their perspective, feel how they may be feeling, and care about their wellbeing. This is different from *sympathy* where one may have the ability to understand and feel *for* another person, but not necessarily feel *what* and *how* that other person is actively feeling (Batson 2009; Chismar 1988).

While empathy is a natural phenomenon that impacts everyday social interactions, not everyone starts at the same point. Certain people have a greater ability to empathize with others, while, although rare, others cannot empathize at all. Certain mental illnesses and disorders can impact individual's ability to empathize—famously, psychopaths, and people with narcissistic personality disorder or antisocial personality disorder may lack this ability entirely. It's part of the reason cruelty towards animals is an early indicator of psychopathy (Dadds, Whiting, and Hawes 2006; Gullone 2014) and other forms of violence later in life among children (Longobardi and Badenes-Ribera 2019; McPhedran 2009). It's also true that while most people can empathize, not everyone can do so equally. This is because empathy is partly inherent or hardwired and partly a skill (van Dongen 2020). For example, studies have shown that certain genes are related to greater empathy (Quintana et al. 2019; Smith et al. 2014), while parts of the brain housing mirror neurons could also be responsible (Rajmohan and Mohandas 2007).

The complete lack of ability to empathize is still quite rare—around 1% in the general adult population (although see: Sanz-García et al. 2021).[15] Less rare is variation in ability among those who can and do empathize regularly. Men are twice as likely as women to be diagnosed with psychopathy, and in healthy adults, score lower on empathy indices than women (Kamas and Preston 2021; Pinheiro, Cunha, and Gonçalves 2020; Rueckert and Naybar 2008). Empathy seems to increase in people over the age of 40 with older people being more empathetic than younger people (Oh et al. 2020; although see Beadle and de la Vega 2019). Liberals also tend to score higher on the empathy index

[15] https://psychopathyis.org/stats/

than do conservatives (for a review see: Morris 2020). Finally, those who commit crimes or are incarcerated have far lower levels of empathy when compared to the general population (for a review see: Jolliffe and Farrington 2004). Numerous studies show empathy as a significant predictor or moderator of men's and boy's likelihood to commit sex based crimes against women (Blake and Gannon 2008; Burke 2001; Diehl, Glaser, and Bohner 2014; Foubert and Newberry 2006). Nicely summed up by Harway et al. (1999): "Insofar as male gender-role socialization fails to instill capacity for empathy in general, and for women in particular, it increases the likelihood of male violence."

Many studies have shown that, again, while some of this is hardwired in the genes and brain, empathy can be developed as a skill (Weisz and Zaki 2017). For instance, Foubert and Newberry (2006) show significant increases in empathy among college fraternity members, and a subsequent reduction in their likelihood to commit rape or sexual assault when certain interventions are in place. Similarly, after certain role-playing interventions, medical students developed empathy for patients and subsequently sought to improve doctor-patient relationships (Batt-Rawden et al. 2013; Bunn and Terpstra 2009; Wilkes, Milgrom, and Hoffman 2002). While baseline levels of empathy are interesting, this dissertation is primarily concerned with the kinds of life events and interventions that can increase measures of empathy, and in particular, empathy with a group one does not hold membership in.

Empathy has been measured in a variety of ways. One of the more commonly used measure is a generalized, 28-item index called the Interpersonal Reactivity Index or IRI (M. Davis 1980; M. H. Davis 1983; M. H. Davis and Franzoi 1991). It captures four

components of empathy that are made up of 7 questions each: fantasy, perspective taking, empathic concern, and personal distress. In other words, it captures a person's ability to relate to or identify with fictional characters (fantasy), to take the point of view of others (perspective-taking), being concerned or worried for others (empathic concern), and personally feeling for others (personal distress). This scale primarily measures individual empathy, or empathy towards another person. It is not designed to measure empathy towards groups of people. Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos (2016, 2017, 2021) build upon two of the IRI's subscales (perspective-taking and empathic concern) to construct the Group Empathy Index (GEI) which captures empathy *toward* or *for* an unspecified outgroup. In their recent work, "Seeing Us in Them: Social Divisions and Politics of Group Empathy," the authors use this index to investigate empathy for racial or ethnic groups other than the one someone holds membership in (2021). Table 2.1 shows how the question wording differs between the IRI (column 1) and GEI (column 2).

Table 2.1 — Comparing 2 Scales of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index to the Group Empathy Index

Davis 1980 (IRI)	Sirin et al. 2021 (GEI)
Perspective-Taking Items	
I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.	I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both, including for issues involving other racial or ethnic groups.
I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other guy's" point of view. I	I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other person's" point of view, particularly someone from another race or ethnicity. I
When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in his shoes" for a while.	When I'm upset at someone from another racial or ethnic group, I usually try to "put myself in their shoes" for a while.
I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.	I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement (including those of other racial or ethnic groups) before I make a decision.
I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.	I sometimes try to better understand people of other race or ethnic groups by imagining how things look from their perspective.
If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments. I	If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to the arguments of people, particularly those of other racial or ethnic groups. I
Before criticizing somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.	Before criticizing somebody from another racial or ethnic group, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.
Empathic Concern Items	
I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.	I often have tender, concerned feelings for people from another racial or ethnic group who are less fortunate than me.
Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal. I	The misfortunes of other racial or ethnic groups do not usually disturb me a great deal. I

I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.	I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person towards people or another racial or ethnic group.
When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them. I	When I see someone being treated unfairly due to their race or ethnicity, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them. I
Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems. I	Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for people of other racial or ethnic groups when they are having problems. I
When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them.	When I see someone being taken advantage of due to their race or ethnicity, I feel kind of protective towards them.
I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.	I am often quite touched by things that I see happen to people due to their race or ethnicity.
Note: R indicates reversed items. The underlined portions highlight the differences. Response options are (1) Does not describe me well at all; (2) Describes me slightly well; (3) Describes me moderately well; (4) Describes me very well; (5) Describes me extremely well.	

While this index was used to measure out-group empathy, it is one of the only comprehensive empathy indices that specifically captures an individual's empathy for a target group or groups generally speaking. This is particularly useful in my work, because slight alterations allow me to further investigate how levels of empathy with women as a group, rather than individuals are related to feminist identification and voting for women running for political office. I develop this index further in Chapter 4. Throughout this section, there are several examples of how empathy inducing interventions not only increased measures of empathy, but also resulted in subsequent action—whether it be improved relationships in a medical setting, or safer campuses for women. In this dissertation, there are two primary outcomes of such empathy-inducing interventions . I argue that, these interventions will increase feminist identification, and result in increased support at the voting booth for women running for office. The following section details the importance of increased empathy with women for voting for women and their representation in elected office. It also covers several of the barriers that women face and existing theories of support.

Existing Understandings of Vote Choice and Gender

Some prominent barriers to women's representation in political office that are cited in the political science literature include biases and stereotypes held by the electorate, and sexism. Gender bias or prejudice persists in women's lives both in and outside of politics. Even in fields where women tend to be well represented, these biases remain evident (Begeny et al. 2020). According to a recent UN study of 75 countries,

"90% of men and women are biased against females," and "there are no countries in the world with gender equality".[16] According to the same study, 43.14% of American men and 36.86% of American women held political biases against women.[17] This bias becomes clear when considering the US has never had a woman president, and very few women hold head positions in governments globally—only 10 across 193 countries in 2020.

Again, it should not come as a surprise that gender stereotypes impact the success of women running for office, as they even affect women's likelihood of being hired for non-political jobs (González, Cortina, and Rodríguez 2019). A wealth of work in sociology shows that everyday women are the subject of stereotypes about their place in society and in the community—making it impossible for them to be both suitable employees and mothers (Benard and Correll 2010; Okimoto and Heilman 2012). Political science literature paints a similar relationship between the electorate and women who run for office. In fact, "[…] reliance on gender stereotypes is still the most common response when evaluating political women" (Kathleen Dolan 2010). This is exacerbated by the fact that many political roles are stereotypically masculine (Dittmar 2015). This creates a scenario in which the stereotypical traits associated with political roles overlap those afforded to men (Holman, Merolla, and Zechmeister 2011; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, 1993b; Bauer 2015, 2018, 2020).

[16] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-51751915

[17] http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hd_perspectives_gsni.pdf

Additionally, various studies focus on the effects of sexism, both hostile and benevolent on evaluations of female candidates. These studies suggest that hostile and benevolent sexism largely explain support for Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton among both women and men (Bock, Byrd-Craven, and Burkley 2017; Cassese and Holman 2019; Owen and Wei 2020; Ratliff et al. 2019; Schaffner, Macwilliams, and Nteta 2018; Shook et al. 2020; Swank 2018; Valentino, Oceno, and Wayne 2018). However, people react differently to Trump's treatment of women. Rhodes et al. (2020) take a nuanced look at the effects of the *AccessHollywood* tape (AHT). This was a tape released during Donald Trump's 2016 campaign that recorded the candidate using lewd language to tell the show's host about his seeming willingness to commit sexual assault. They found that men, like women, were statistically significantly less likely to support Donald Trump when exposed to the treatment (AHT). These results indicate that learning new, impactful information can affect vote choice, but it does not tell us much about what contributes to the success of women candidates.

On the other hand, there are several theories that explain why certain people may go out of their way to support women running for office. For instance, we already know that women are more likely than men to support other women running for office. Various studies hypothesize that support for women candidates among women is likely due to the gender affinity effect (King and Matland 2003; Sanbonmatsu 2002). According to Plutzer and Zip (1996), women's support of women candidates may be due to feelings of solidarity on gender identity lines. Several other studies on gender and candidates provide evidence that women prefer same-gender candidates and do so at higher rates compared

to men as they seek descriptive or substantive representation (Rosenthal 1995; Sanbonmatsu 2002). This effect may be driven by policy concerns where some women feel that women are uniquely suited to deal with issues they care most about (Herrnson, Lay, and Stokes 2003; Paolino 1995; Plutzer and Zipp 1996). Men seeking substantive representation very well may vote for a woman candidate. It is also possible that voters who support a woman candidate assume she is more liberal by default and see her as providing substantive representation ideologically (Koch 2000; McDermott 1997). However, all else held equal, male voters are more likely to prefer a man over a woman running for office in the US.[18] On the other hand, not all women support women candidates equally. For instance, in the 2016 presidential election, an election where gender was particularly salient, nearly half of female voters cast a ballot for Donald Trump over Hilary Clinton. While previous theories explain part of why *some* women vote for women candidates, they do not help us understand men's support, nor do they capture how we might increase support among women who do not feel this solidarity with other women.

Another reason some women vote for women candidates may also be caused by feelings of linked fate with other women (Rinehart 2013). Put another way, certain women may feel that their future is somehow linked to the futures of other women, and that if the group does better it's also a benefit to her as an individual. Through this lens, voting for other women is an act of group solidarity and supporting a woman candidate is, in a way, supporting oneself—it aligns individual and group interests. Linked fate is a

[18] https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-warren-cant-count-on-a-womens-vote/

compelling theory, but it still does not help us understand the conditions under which *men* vote for women in general nor does it help us to understand the calculus of women who vote for men.

On the other hand, several studies show that one reason people may support women running for office is feminist identification (Inglehart and Norris 2000; Manza and Brooks 1998; Oceno, Valentino, and Wayne 2021; Plutzer and Zipp 1996). We also know that the majority of those who identify as feminists in 2016 voted for Hillary Clinton (Oceno, Valentino, and Wayne 2021). The following section is a discussion of increased empathy with women and feminist identification. It also discusses the differences between feminism and types of feminist identification, and reviews the literature on who is more likely to call themselves feminist.

Key Constructs: Feminists, Non-Feminists, Anti-Feminists, and Feminism

This dissertation focuses on self-identification as a feminist. It is less concerned with what brand of feminism a person adheres to. I am primarily interested in measuring Americans' identification with liberal feminism as its main tenant is equality under the law. Furthermore, self-identification with feminism is a broad umbrella under which people hold a variety of specific beliefs. The crux of these beliefs, however, is women's equality with men. Increased empathy with women could theoretically result in an equally diverse range of feminist opinions and beliefs. While interesting, it is difficult to capture this full range of effects and it is, at least in part, for methodological reasons that this research uses a self-identification measure rather than various batteries designed to

categorize people as feminists from the outside. However, there is another primarily theoretical reason to focus on feminist identification rather than feminism per se. Work on feminist identification is separate from the literature that looks solely at feminist beliefs and opinions which are two separate but related constructs (Eisele and Stake 2008; Frieze and McHugh 1998; McCabe 2005; Rhodebeck 1996). Feminist-oriented opinion is shown to have little to no power in shaping ideology, whereas feminist identity has a profound effect—especially among men (Rhodebeck 1996). For this reason, throughout the chapters that follow, I rely on self-identification as a feminist rather than other measures of feminism which may vary from person to person, and over time.

Like empathy, feminist identity is measured in several different ways. One method is via objective indicators that we assume correlate well with some conception of feminist identity such as level of education and work status (Conover 1988; Poole and Zeigler 1985). While these indicators may have been reliable in the past, feminists of the past look a lot like their non-feminist counterparts today. Many feminists and non-feminists alike achieve higher levels of education and are active members of the workforce. Another approach is to measure collective identity with women (Conover 1988; Gurin 1985). However, this poses some issues for measurement among men, and among non-feminist women who may have strong attachments to their gender as an expression of traditional gender roles rather than anything to do with feminism. Another approach is to simply measure feminist identity through conscious self-identification as feminist, which is the approach I take here as many others have (Charter 2022; Cowan, Mestlin, and Masek 1992; Elder, Greene, and Lizotte 2021; Kelly and Gauchat 2016; Liss

and Erchull 2010; Peltola, Milkie, and Presser 2004; Robnett, Anderson, and Hunter 2012, among others).

When it comes to the predictors of feminist identification, we already know quite a lot. Women tend to identify more strongly as feminists, although men *do* share this identity—albeit at lower rates (Huddy, Neely, and Lafay 2000; McCabe 2005; Schnittker, Freese, and Powell 2003). We also know that Democrats are more likely to call themselves feminist when compared to Republicans, although feminist identification has increased among both groups overtime (Elder, Greene, and Lizotte 2021). Similarly, there is a positive relationship between education and feminist identification overall (McCabe 2005). We also know quite a bit about who considers themselves to be anti-feminist. Anti-feminists are a subgroup of people who don't identify as feminists (non-feminists), and instead actively identify with a movement against feminists and feminist thought. According to Elder, Greene, and Lizotte (2021), anti-feminists tend to be white, Republican, and evangelical.

Recall that theoretically, increased empathy with women, ought to increase the likelihood that someone identifies as feminist. In other words, experiencing something that makes one feel for women ought to increase the desire for equality between men and women. While empathy leads to feminist identification and subsequently a preference for women running for office, it may also result in voting preference for women candidates on its own. However, there is another relationship at play which reinforces, but complicates these relationships. Feminist identification often leads to political action (Meijs, Ratliff, and Lammers 2017). Therefore, the chapters that follow investigate these

relationships individually as well as all together. In other words, I investigate the relationship between empathy and feminist identification, and between empathy and voting for women, but I also investigate the relationship between empathy and voting for women *through* feminist identification.

As this section reviewed, the large majority of what we know about the precursors to feminist identification focus on demographic characteristics (e.g., gender, education, race, and partisanship) rather than experiences. There have been few studies in political science that investigate the precursors to feminist identification among both men and women that aren't pre-determined at birth or reliant on partisanship. Although some research shows that identification with feminism can come from lived experiences among both men and women (Plutzer 1991), there is much less of it to date. With a clearer sense of the theoretical constructs, the following section develops the theoretical argument of how various life events can lead to greater empathy with women, and therefore feminist identification and more votes for women running for political office.

Empathetic Catalysts

I theorize that some of the pre-conditions for personal identification with feminism is primarily one or some combination of several of what I call "empathetic catalysts" which all relate to real-world, lived experiences. As discussed previously, studies in psychology show a variety of factors can affect empathy including painkillers (Mischkowski, Crocker, and Way 2016), mood, social events (Nezlek et al. 2001), social anxiety (Auyeung and Alden 2016), gender (Christov-Moore et al. 2014; Christov-Moore and

Iacoboni 2019), shared experiences (Eklund, Andersson-Stråberg, and Hansen 2009; Hodges et al. 2010), novel experiences and learning (Heyes 2018), and more. I argue here that there are certain intense empathy inducing events (empathetic catalysts) that cause a shift in identity and voting behavior.

Theoretically, empathetic catalysts should be specific to the group empathy is being developed towards. In this research, I focus on developing intense empathy for women. There is no reason to think that empathetic catalysts are limited in number, however, some of the more obvious and testable are linked to the psychology literature citing shared experiences, novel experiences, and learning. It is also likely that political socialization earlier in life plays a significant role in the development of feminist identities (Henderson-King and Stewart 1999; Reid and Purcell 2004). Because women likely experience situations that might increase feminist identification earlier in life, I expect men to be more impacted by the empathetic catalysts listed above than women who, historically, have higher levels of feminist identity as a baseline.[19]

Certain personal experiences act as a catalyst that allow people to empathize with women. This dissertation studies three particular life events and their impacts on empathy, feminist identification, and voting for women: formal learning, personal experiences with discrimination, and having a daughter. I selected these life events because they are fairly commonplace, likely easy to imagine for most people, and grounded in the literature. While there are likely other life events that can have similar impacts, I limit this research to these three. The next subsections give a brief overview of

[19] https://today.yougov.com/topics/lifestyle/articles-reports/2018/08/09/feminism-american-women-2018

each catalyst in the order that they appear in the rest of this dissertation. However, they are discussed at length in their own chapters.

Formal Learning

Learning about gender equality and feminism for the first time can act as a catalyst for feminist identification (Duncan 1999). According to Schacht and Ewing's 1997 work on paths to feminism, "Men can learn about the depth of women's oppression and its unjust nature from two basic sources; (1) a wide array of written feminist works, and (2) feminist women and women in general." In this way, both women and men are encouraged to think about gender in new ways and be concerned about gender equality through gender studies curricula. Furthermore, according to Stake et al. (1994), between the 1970s and 1990s there were over 600 women's studies programs established in the United States. In their research, they attempt to assess the impact of such programming on the growth of feminist consciousness and feminist political activism among students. The authors in this case asked about students' behaviors like signing petitions, staying up to date on women's issues in the news, writing letters to politicians, etc. Additional scholarship shows that these courses have a variety of effects (for a review see: Case 2007). Some of this research reveals that women's studies and gender courses do result in increased feminist identity among women (Bargad and Hyde 1991; Henderson-King and Stewart 1999).

In Chapter 3, I investigate the impacts of formal learning on both men and women across 14 college and university campuses on feminist identification. I also assess these

impacts over time after the course ends, and whether courses were required or elective. Here, having already established the connection between feminist identification and increased propensity for voting for a woman, I hypothesize that: (1) taking a Gender or Women's Studies course will increase identification with feminism, (2) that this relationship will be stronger for men who may have had less exposure to women's issues when compared to women, (3) that this relationship will be stronger if the course was required rather than an elective as those who self-select into these courses may have a higher baseline of feminist identification than those who are required to take such a course, and (4) that there will be a negative relationship between time since taking the course and the strength of feminist identification. I find support for these hypotheses using survey data of students at a diverse set of institutions.

Discrimination

Personal experiences with discrimination are another route to feminist identification. Individuals are forced to think about gender and the importance of gender equality when confronted with certain kinds of discrimination. Most obviously, you can imagine a woman realizing she makes less money than her male co-worker for the same work in her job, or not being taken as a serious candidate for a promotion when compared to her male colleagues. Like others (Downing and Roush 1985), I argue that this process is similar to the development of racial identity formation (Cross 1991; William E. Cross 2016). This process begins with (1) passive acceptance of inequalities and discrimination. After experiencing a crisis or series of crises, the woman experiences (2) revelation about her

situation and follows this up with (3) becoming more connected with likeminded women (known as embeddedness-emanation). The fourth and fifth steps are (4) synthesis and (5) active commitment. After experiencing discrimination as one of these crises, she will be able to synthesize it as part of herself and integrate a positive feminist identification for herself (for more on this process see: Downing and Roush 1985). Here, I measure active commitment as both self-reported feminist identification itself as well as voting for women who run for office over a man.

For men, discrimination can lead to feminist identification through second-hand accounts of such discrimination in ways that matter to them personally. Men who experience discrimination by witnessing a family member or loved-one experience discrimination because of their gender causes them to think about the importance of gender in ways they may not have otherwise considered. This causes a similar revelation among men as it would women in the process described above.

I hypothesize in Chapter 4 that indirect, direct, and second-hand experiences with gender discrimination will result in different reactions. Throughout this dissertation, I focus on gender, rather than sex, as I am specifically focusing on a person's identity rather than anything to do with their body. Therefore, the types of discrimination here are referred to as 'gender discrimination' rather than 'sex discrimination' although when used to describe discrimination based on a person's gender identity is also accurate. Indirect gender discrimination refers to any experience where discrimination occurs based on gender but is linked to some other role—like the role of a husband or father. One example might be someone being turned down for a promotion because of a family

responsibility or due to their role as a caretaker. The discrimination is not necessarily about gender directly, but instead more closely related to gender role discrimination. Another example is a man being passed over for an opportunity at work because he isn't married yet while others at the company are. Again, this discrimination isn't solely about one's gender, but is related to gender indirectly. In this case, I expect that indirect experiences will result in greater empathy, and feminist identification.

Similarly, second-hand experiences will result in greater empathy and feminist identification. This is gender discrimination that you witness happening to someone close to you, like a daughter. An example of this kind of discrimination is when a father realizes that his daughter's pain isn't being taken seriously in a doctor's office. Or when he recognizes that his wife is the only woman at her company and happens to also be the only employee who hasn't received a raise in over three years. This kind of discrimination is based on gender and may have a direct emotional impact on someone although the event didn't happen directly to them.

However, direct gender discrimination may result in a decrease in empathy particularly among men. Direct experiences with gender discrimination are those experiences that are directly targeting a person's gender and have nothing to do with any other role or person. I expect that these cases will result in greater empathy among women who I expect are reacting against sexist systems, but greater antipathy among men who I suspect will react against women rather than the system that caused the discrimination. In other words, women may recognize that there isn't just one man to blame for the discrimination that she's facing. Instead, she places the blame on the

culture or patriarchal systems that caused the discrimination to happen to her as well as many other women. On the other hand, men may interpret the discrimination as personal and between himself and a particular woman rather than any one culture or system.

Discrimination may affect feminist identity more intersectionally than the other empathetic catalysts discussed here. While I argue that formal learning works similarly across races, discrimination impacts people of color differently. As Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) famously put it, "This focus on the most privileged group members marginalizes those who are multiply-burdened and obscures claims that cannot be understood as resulting from discrete sources of discrimination." While white women may experience discrimination on the basis of gender alone, women of color face discrimination due to their gender, race, or both simultaneously. Discrimination experienced by women of color is unique in that it encourages thinking of equality on more than one axis. Discrimination against black women may lead to feminist identification specifically, but with greater focus on equality across multiple dimensions. Therefore, I investigate personal experiences with discrimination in multiple populations in Chapter 4.

Overall, I find that experiencing discrimination can affect political behavior in certain cases. I find consistent relationships between experiencing discrimination and levels of feminist identification, although this relationship is somewhat dampened among women of color. I also find that feminist identification is related to female candidate preference in a third study, and that experimentally introducing these experiences with discrimination results in female candidate preference through empathy.

First Daughters

Finally, when men have first-daughters, it causes them to see the necessity to reduce gender inequalities (Sharrow et al. 2018). Having a daughter pushes gender to the fore for men. Gender suddenly becomes a relevant issue for fathers, whereas for mothers, this is likely to have already been the case. When men have a daughter as their first child, they begin to think about and become concerned about gender in ways that they had not before. This is distinct from the relationships that men have with women in other roles. For instance, young men with sisters tend to hold more conservative opinions on gender roles, and identify as Republicans (Healy and Malhotra 2013). However, the research on fathers of daughters is somewhat mixed when it comes to the political outcomes of this relationship. One body of research shows that fathers of daughters adopt more politically liberal stances (Oswald and Powdthavee 2010; Shafer and Malhotra 2011; Warner 1991; Warner and Steel 1999), while another shows that they become more politically conservative (Conley and Rauscher 2013; Prokos, Baird, and Keene 2010). A third body of work shows that when men have daughters, they're more likely to support policies on women's rights and equality and are more likely to vote for particular women candidates (Greenlee et al. 2018; Sharrow et al. 2018). I argue that the differences in this literature may be explained by the development of empathy and feminist identification rather than focusing on the direct relationship between fatherhood and these political outcomes.

In Chapter 5, I conceptualize the experience of having a daughter as a catalyst for the development of empathy and feminist identification. The extant literature has typically focused on the direct effects of having a daughter on political outcomes, or

theorizes that linked fate between father and daughter is the driving force behind observed differences in political behavior and orientations (for a review see: Greenlee et al. 2020). A father is motivated to consider women's issues as important because his fate is newly linked with the fate of a woman. In other words, he becomes more supportive of gender equity because while it benefits women, it now benefits him as well. In Chapter 5, I test the differences between empathy and linked fate on outcomes like feminist identification and candidate support. I argue that most fathers of daughters will experience a change in behavior due to their growing empathy with women, rather than due to more self-interested reasons. This chapter uses two survey experiments to test (1) baseline levels of empathy and feminist identification among fathers of first-daughters compared to fathers of first-sons, (2) the effect of perspective-taking scenarios involving a hypothetical daughter among fathers of first-daughters when compared to fathers of first-sons, (3) whether empathy is a stronger predictor of voting for a woman than linked fate, and (4) how these relationships work when fathers of first-daughters are asked about a real-world candidate , rather than a purely hypothetical one.

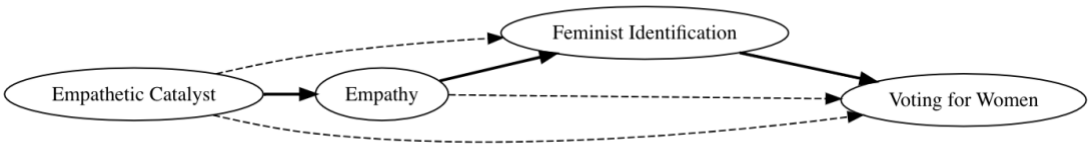
Links to Voting Behavior

Each of the catalysts above relate to real-world, lived experiences. I argue that each of these are intense empathy inducing events that cause a shift in identity and subsequently, voting behavior. For men, experiencing an impactful life event like this ought to cause them to consider the experiences of women in a new light. Experiences like formal learning that highlight women, having some exposure to gender discrimination, or having

a daughter, will make the experiences of others (women) personal to them. This primarily occurs through the development of empathy with women. Often, as discussed above, empathy often leads to action. Men may be more inclined to develop a feminist identity in reaction to these experiences. For women, this process isn't entirely different, but because these experiences are not likely to be novel, they will likely reinforce or strengthen this identity rather than develop it for the first time.

Feminist identification will also result in behavioral change. Feminist identification is one mechanism that explains voting for women (Conover 1988). Others have theorized that the gender gap in voting for women can be explained by the gender gap in feminist identification (Cook and Wilcox 1991; Hayes 1997; Manza and Brooks 1998). The development of empathy with women will cause behavioral changes like personally identifying with feminism, but also voting for women who run for office. These relationships are not perfectly separate from one another, and instead they can work together and simultaneously. Again, while feminist identification will lead to increased likelihood of voting for a woman, this could also be the direct outcome of greater empathy with women. At the same time, I expect that the relationship between empathy and voting for a woman candidate will often be mediated by feminist identification. As a person's empathy with women develops, they will likely form political opinions that advance the concerns of women, and this culminates in a feminist identity. This new identity then leads someone to other political actions like voting for women when possible. Figure 2.1 below shows all of these processes visually.

Figure 2.1 — Empathetic Catalyst Flowchart



While empathy is a powerful phenomenon, I am not making a claim that it ought to overpower partisanship. Studies show that we tend me be more empathetic towards members of our own group (Gutsell and Inzlicht 2012; Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos 2016, 2017, 2021). Some even show that this empathy towards those like ourselves can increase partisan polarization (Simas, Clifford, and Kirkland 2020). Where empathy is felt between different groups, it can bring those groups together, however this interaction isn't entirely costless. It involves learning, reaching out, and an additional cognitive process that they otherwise would not have to undergo (Cameron, Harris, and Payne 2016). In general elections, the effects of experiencing an empathetic catalyst may be overridden, as partisanship tends to be dominant. I don't expect feminist identification to overpower partisan attachments either. There is little reason to imagine a feminist identifying Democrat would vote for the Republican ticket in a general election because it includes a woman like Sarah Palin. However, a more plausible scenario is a feminist voting for Elizabeth Warren in a Democratic Primary where there are co-partisan male alternatives. Some of these differences are shown in Chapter 1.

I expect these effects will be more likely in primary elections, but these races are also important to study for other reasons. They are an important first hurdle for many women running for office. The lack of women as elected representatives is corrosive to

democracy (Phillips 1995; Ruiz and Rubio-Marín 2008).[20] In order to counteract this weakness, the initial pipeline ought to be shored up at these lower levels. Most recently, this was seen in the presidential primary elections which eliminated all of the women from running for president in 2020. For all of these reasons, this dissertation focuses on the impact of empathetic catalysts in primary or non-partisan elections rather than in general elections.

Conclusion

After speaking about the "empathy deficit" and the importance of feeling for others, Obama told the students at Northwestern "I hope you choose to broaden, and not contract, your ambit of concern. Not because you have an obligation to those who are less fortunate, although you do have that obligation. Not because you have a debt to all of those who helped you get to where you are, although you do have that debt. It's because you have an obligation to yourself. Because our individual salvation depends on collective salvation." In the chapters that follow, I show three ways that we can more easily cultivate empathy great enough to catalyze change, both in terms of identity and measurable political action.

[20] See also: https://nimd.org/why-true-democracy-cannot-exist-without-gender-equality/ ; https://www.reuters.com/article/us-elsalvador-women-politics/no-democracy-without-women-priced-out-of-politics-in-el-salvador-idUSKBN28317Z ; https://www.ndi.org/democracy-without-women-is-impossible

Chapter 3 — Formal Learning

Introduction

In 1999, Mary Daly, a professor and theologian at Boston College made the decision to ban men from taking her Women's Studies course—discriminating against them on the basis of a protected class, sex, and reinforcing the pseudoscientific notion of biological essentialism. She escorted two male students out of her classroom and told them, "You are not welcome here".[21] She argued that she could not "effectively teach these courses with men in the room because it creates a dynamic that inhibits women. Not only do men misunderstand the concepts – because men cannot understand what it's like to be a woman – but they tend to be disruptive, believing they are similarly oppressed".[22] [23] While professors of Women's Studies courses have complained about low male enrollment,[24] Daly noted that "Even if there were only one or two men with 20 women, the young women would be constantly, on an overt or a subliminal level, giving their attention to the men because they've been socialized to nurse men".[25] I propose here that it's important for men to take Women's and Gender Studies courses for exactly the reasoning Daly posited—*because* men may not be able to understand what it's like to be a

[21] https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/02/26/feminist-ethics-course-no-place-for-men/4d946ae0-b53d-45db-a180-2a036bf2cfe4/

[22] https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-1999-03-07-9903070200-story.html

[23] Although, Daly also argued that the decision in this instance had to do with the students' lack of pre-requisites.

[24] https://userpages.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/men97_1.html

[25] https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-feb-26-mn-12036-story.html

woman without such an intervention. Learning about inequality and oppression is one way that men develop a connection with women that spurs them in developing feminist identification.

The development of a feminist identity has important implications for political behavior. Women are still severely underrepresented in many political arenas, impoverishing democratic deliberation, but feminist identification may help to bridge the gap. The goal of this chapter is to investigate formal learning as one potential path to feminist identification. While this identity can be developed in women experientially throughout their lives, it is less common among men. These experiences can come in a variety of forms but generally include awakening to unjust or unfair treatment of women (Bartky, 1990, p. 15; Riger, 1994, p. 275). I theorize that formal learning through women's or gender studies courses will increase students' feminist identification. Women likely have already had the opportunity to begin identifying as feminist prior to taking such a course, so will be less likely impacted by it. In other words, women's higher baseline of feminist identity may render formal learning less effective for identity development—a ceiling effect. Conversely, and in-line with Mary Daly's observation, men cannot personally experience the treatment uniquely withstood by women.[26] Therefore, taking a gender or women's studies course could prove to be foundational for the development of their feminist identities and enrichment of deliberative democracy. I assess the ways in which formal learning can produce feminist identities and theorize that

[26] Although, certain forms of discrimination may evoke similar outcomes.

such an identity will have an impact on candidate selection. Specifically, taking such a course should increase the likelihood that men vote for women candidates.

We already know that men and women higher in feminist identity tend to support women candidates more than those who are lower in feminist identity. Foundational work explaining why people vote for women points to feminist identity and consciousness as primary mechanisms for voting behavior (Conover 1988). However, less research in political science has explored the factors that lead to feminist identity, particularly among men. In this chapter, I use survey data from Ask Every Student (AES) to test my arguments. In short, I find that taking women's or gender studies courses is related to higher levels of feminist identification among both men and women. This relationship is strongest when the course is taken as a requirement rather than an elective. Additionally, these relationships are strongest among men, although their feminist identification degrades overtime. I also find evidence that feminist identification significantly predicts support for women who run for office over men. One implication of this work is that, in order to increase representation for women, universities ought to require such courses.

The Development of Feminist Identification

Feminist identification can take many forms. The literature primarily focuses on main-stream liberal feminism—the more common brand of feminism in the United States. Theoretically, one of the more important elements of feminist identification is Americans' identification with liberal feminism because its main tenant is equality under the law (see: Baer 2018). The growth of the political gender gap in vote choice—sexual

polarization—(Cook 1993) is primarily driven, then, by the growing identification of feminism among women (Manza and Brooks 1998). Further research suggests, though, that feminist women may affect the gender gap in opinion and preferences, but that it is feminism across genders that is the root of this difference rather than feminism among women alone (Cook and Wilcox 1991; Hayes 1997). It stands to reason, that taking courses that increase feminist identification can have a lasting impact on political behavior and deliberative democracy.

Theoretically, learning about gender equality and feminism, as a novel experience, can act as a catalyst for feminist identification (Duncan 1999). Previous work indicates that "[m]en can learn about the depth of women's oppression and its unjust nature from two basic sources; (1) a wide array of written feminist works, and (2) feminist women and women in general" (Schacht and Ewing, 1997). By thinking about gender in novel ways and considering gender equality in Women's Studies or Gender related courses, students may increasingly identify as feminist—internalizing the value that no person should be denied equal protection under law on the basis of sex or other protected classes. Through this process of learning, men should have an increased understanding and ability to empathize with women. This learning ought to be novel for men in order to catalyze this effect. For instance, if a student has already taken a course like this, the effect of taking another course may be dampened. This is like the expected effect of taking a Women's Studies course on women. Men who have already taken a course will have a higher baseline for feminist identity on average—similar to women

who share a likely higher baseline than men who have not taken a Women's Studies course.

Not every Gender or Women's Studies course is exactly the same. These courses are implemented differently by many different fields of study, and so there is a lot of variation in what is considered a Gender or Women's Studies course. For instance, Mary Daly was a professor in Theology, where her controversial stance on men in her classroom took place in a feminist ethics course.[27] This content is most likely quite different from a more general course on Gender or Women's Studies. However, all of these courses are generally designed to focus on women, women's issues, gender identity, and gender inequalities (for an overview see: Tobias 1978). These courses are not intended to teach one particular thing, but instead, to elevate women's experiences in a variety of settings to the fore, rather than the experiences of men. In this chapter, I investigate the relationship these kinds of courses have on feminist identification regardless of their specific content.

Women's Studies courses encourage both men and women to learn about women's experiences. However, theoretically, learning about sexism, discrimination, or oppression in a meaningful way may induce the development of empathy great enough to identify with women among men. The consequence of this is the development of feminist identification. Unsurprisingly, according to Miner (1994), men often feel uncomfortable taking these courses and are often the minority. Several male students she interviewed

[27] https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1999/02/26/feminist-ethics-course-no-place-for-men/4d946ae0-b53d-45db-a180-2a036bf2cfe4/

offered evidence of this empathetic process. For instance, one male student spoke about perspective taking, and that students "[j]ust gotta sit down and get a different perspective of what it's like to be a woman because I mean you can read and watch and do whatever but until you actually hear it and get the feelings and the experience, it's different" (Miner 1994). Again, this emphasizes the lack of men in these courses, and the process men go through in learning and empathizing with women.

While I anticipate that there are several routes to the development of feminist identification, the primary catalyst of concern in this chapter is formal learning—operationalized by taking a course in Women's Studies or Gender Studies. I hypothesize that (H1) taking a Gender or Women's Studies course will increase identification with feminism. Stake et al. (1994) evaluated the impact of gender studies programming between the 1970s and 1990s. At this time, there were over 600 women's studies programs established in the United States alone. By 2009, that number grew to over 800 programs nationwide.[28] The authors studied the development of feminist consciousness and feminist political activism among students. The authors also asked about students' behaviors like signing petitions, staying up to date on women's issues in the news, writing letters to politicians, etc. Additional scholarship shows that these courses have a variety of effects (for a review see: Case 2007). Some of this research reveals that women's studies and gender courses do result in increased feminist identity among female students (Bargad and Hyde 1991; Henderson-King and Stewart 1999; Nelson et

[28] https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2009/03/27/evolution-american-womens-studies#:~:text=There%20are%20over%20800%20women's,and%20to%20take%20courses%20online

al. 2008). However, these studies typically do not study identity change within male students. Additionally, the research presented here seeks to investigate the impact of required versus elective courses, and how feminist identity persists in the time after taking the course.

I also expect that (H2) the relationship between taking these classes and feminist identification will be strongest among men. In other words, I expect the relationship between taking a class and feminist identity will be moderated by gender. This is because men are likely learning about oppression and discrimination against women and engaging in perspective-taking for the first time. The perspective these men are taking, is that of women. In other words, women are more likely to have experienced oppression and discrimination first-hand, and hence may have already begun to develop their identification with feminism. Therefore, the class may have the largest impact on men who have a lower baseline for feminist identity to begin with. Furthermore, women who did not previously consider themselves feminist, although experiencing these things first-hand, may have developed some anti-feminist attitudes. Not all women think the same way or believe in the same things. It's very possible that some women experience inequalities in their day-to-day life, but simply accept it. Other women may have internalized misogyny causing them to develop anti-feminist identities (Elder, Greene, and Lizotte 2021). In this case, women may reject the course material outright.

- H1: *Taking a Gender or Women's Studies course will increase identification with feminism.*
- H2: *This relationship will be stronger among men.*

For similar reasons, I also hypothesize that (H3) the relationship between all factors (e.g., taking the course and the identification as feminist) will be strengthened if the course was required rather than an elective. If a course is taken as an elective, there may be self-selection at work. In other words, students who take a gender studies course may do so because of their pre-developed feminist identity. Again, this limits the ability of the course to influence feminist identification, as the information is not novel. However, if the course is required, it is less likely that self-selection is a factor in taking the course. In this case, it is likely that men will be more affected by the course than women. Once again, much of the knowledge gained in this course is likely novel for men whereas it may not be for many women. Women will have had many opportunities to develop feminist identities. So, while a required course should produce the strongest effect (compared to taking no course at all and taking an elective course), it should have the biggest effect among men (H3b).

Furthermore, I expect that the longer it has been since taking the course, the weaker the relationship will be for all students (H4) but particularly for men (H4b). Theoretically, women develop these identities by experiencing inequalities and injustice in their day-to-day lives. This means that feminist identities will continue to develop after the end of the course. This is far less likely to happen to men. Therefore, feminist identities should become weaker as time passes post-course for men. Women may experience a slight decrease in feminist identity as well, as the course requires critical thinking on the topic, and the experiences may become less intense or obvious outside of a course like this. The literature investigating treatment effect duration in political science

typically come from get-out-the-vote experiments which usually involve one-time treatments. This literature shows that there can be persistent effects long after the delivery of said treatment (e.g., door-knocking, phone calls, letter delivery, etc.), although these enduring effects tend to be much weaker where they exist (Davenport et al. 2010; Gerber et al. 2014; Gerber, Green, and Shachar 2003). This dissertation focuses on taking a college course as the main independent variable rather than a one-time event. I suspect that the length and intensity will result in enduring effects on feminist identification but that, in line with other literature, this relationship will be weaker as time goes on.

- H3: *The relationship between taking a gender's studies course and feminist identity will be strengthened if the course was required rather than an elective.*
- H3b: *Required courses will produce the strongest effect among men*
- H4: *There will be a negative relationship between time since taking the course and feminist identification.*
- H4b: *This negative relationship will be stronger among men.*

Formal learning ought to affect political behavior through feminist identity. I expect a positive association between feminist identification and support for women who run for office. Previous literature shows that those who take courses like this are more likely to self-identify as feminist, and are subsequently more likely to engage in collective action campaigns aimed at social change (Nelson et al. 2008). While I cannot test the effect of taking these courses directly on support for women candidates, there was a strong relationship between feminist identification and vote choice In my analysis of the 2016 and 2020 ANES data (see: Chapter 1). I theorize that taking a Women's or

Gender Studies course will lend men the increased ability or openness to empathize with women. Theoretically speaking, this empathy with women should translate into the increased likelihood of identification with feminism. To paraphrase the unnamed male student in Miner's (1994) work, until men "actually hear it and get the feelings and the experience" they may not be able to empathize or identify with women's causes.

Methodology

I ran a study to test whether taking these courses has a statistically detectable relationship with feminist identification (H1) among men (H2), whether the type of course (e.g., elective or required) increases the strength of this relationship (H3 and H3b), and whether time passed since taking the course matters (H4 and H4b). This study was part of a major effort to evaluate 2020 voter registration campaigns at 14 campuses across the US. As part of this effort, I was given space to add several other questions about coursework. While space was limited, I was able to ask undergraduate students if they had ever taken a gender studies or women's studies course, whether it was a requirement or an elective, when they took the course, how they felt about the course broadly speaking, and how strongly they identified as a feminist (for question wording see Appendix A).

This study ran from April 15th 2021 until May 15th 2021, as part of the evaluation for Ask Every Student (AES) efforts.[29] Our team started with a list of 16 campuses to be

[29] This evaluation was a joint initiative of the Students Learn Students Vote Coalition (SLSV), the Campus Vote Project, the ALL IN Campus Democracy Challenge, and NASPA. In April 2021, we launched an

included in the evaluation which was generated in cooperation with the Students Learn Students Vote Coalition Director and her team. Initially, this was part of the matching schema put together to test differences in voter registration programming between similar campuses in the AES program. However, the match failed due to the timing of our efforts, and we were left with unmatched campuses who complied with our requests to survey their students. While we were not able to say much about the nuanced differences in AES programming, the benefit of this adjustment is that we were left with a much more varied sample of campuses which allowed us to test the effectiveness of the program overall. This resulted in 14 campuses who accepted our invitation to participate, and 14 surveys launched. The surveys included 2,240 students in total. Overall, around 36.3% of the students were men and 57.9% of the students were women. An additional 3.3% of the respondents said that they identify as transgender. These respondents are grouped in with "woman", "man" or whichever identifier they provided. An additional 1.2% identified as non-binary and 0.2% refused to answer. This tracks closely with data from the National Center for Education Statistics which estimates that 57% of college undergraduate students across the U.S. were female in 2019.[30] Table 3.1 shows the list of campuses, and the distribution of students by gender and campus. This sample is ideal because it is fairly representative of the national undergraduate population. Additionally,

evaluation of the AES program using focus groups and online surveys. During the academic year, each campus had been encouraged to use their individual branding for their AES program as a way to appeal to an identity that students already identify with and connect that with the identity of being a voter (i.e., Badgers Vote at the University of Wisconsin, Madison). In our evaluation, we used those campus-specific campaign names rather than asking students if they knew about AES specifically. I was able to ask other education and political questions in these surveys.

[30] https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/cha

my interest is primarily in the experiences of both men and women undergraduate students.

Table 3.1 — Breakdown of Men and Women per Campus

Campus	Women	Men	Other
Alabama A&M University	61.9% (26)	35.7% (15)	2.4% (1)
Central Lakes College	67.9% (110)	26.5% (43)	5.6% (9)
Clark Atlanta University	80.6% (50)	16.1% (10)	3.2% (2)
Kean University	72.6% (85)	22.2% (26)	5.1% (6)
Keuka College	81.5% (132)	14.8% (24)	3.7% (6)
Mesa Community College	69.1% (47)	23.5% (16)	7.4% (5)
North Carolina A&T University	24.6% (17)	65.2% (45)	10.1% (7)
Northwestern University	37.6% (302)	54.2%(436)	8.2% (66)
Oklahoma university	65.5% (19)	31.0% (9)	3.4% (1)
Stony Brook University	68.9% (135)	25.5% (50)	5.6% (11)
University of Central Arkansas	91.7% (44)	4.2% (2)	4.2% (2)
University of San Francisco	66.7% (4)	33.3% (2)	0.0% (0)
University of Wisconsin Madison	67.7% (182)	30.5% (82)	1.9% (5)
Weber State University	69.9% (144)	26.2% (54)	3.9% (8)

The age of these students ranged from under 16 to 75 years old and included a broad range of income levels ranging from $15,000 to $200,00 or more annually. Race and ethnicity estimates from this study are not far off the national estimates for students enrolled in undergraduate programs across the U.S. Table 3.2. below shows the similarities between the NCES 2018 estimates and our AES 2020 data.

Table 3.2 — Comparison of Race and Ethnicity of Undergraduates by Percent Enrolled

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Pacific Islander	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Middle Eastern	Two or more races
NCES	55.2	13.4	19.5	7.0	0.3	0.7	--	3.9
AES	62.0	12.8	6.2	8.4	0.6	2.1	0.4	6.3

Note: For more information see:
https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d19/tables/dt19_306.30.asp

It is important to note though, that these numbers fluctuated greatly from campus to campus. For instance, Mesa Community College and Kean University are both Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), while Clark Atlanta University, Alabama A&M University, and North Carolina A&T State University are all Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). For more information on the demographic breakdown of each campus' respondents see Tables 1, 2, and 3 in Appendix B.

The outcome measure of interest in this study is feminist identity. All participants were asked, "How well does the term 'feminist' describe you?" and answered on a five-point scale ranging from "Not well at all" (1) to "Extremely well" (5). This is the same question wording used in the 2016 ANES and used in various other studies (Brielle Harbin and Margolis 2020; Cassese 2020). Overall, respondent's average score is 3.22 which lies slightly above the halfway point on the scale running from 1 to 5. As expected, women scored higher than men on feminist identity at 3.35 compared to men at 2.94. The survey also asked all students "Have you ever taken a gender studies or women's studies course?", and followed up with "Was this a required course?" and "When did you take this course?" Students were also asked whether they had taken other kinds of courses relating to racial and ethnic identities, and how they felt about those courses in a series of feeling thermometers. Overall, 31.74% of the sample (n = 711) had taken a Women's or Gender studies course, of those students around half said it was required (n = 358). Of the students who took a course like this, the large majority were women, and only 35.7% were men. Equal numbers of men and women reported taking a required Women's Studies course—163 men and 150 women.

This survey was only conducted once, and is not experimental in nature, therefore I include a battery of controls in the following analyses. All respondents are asked for their age, income, race, partisanship, and year in college. Age is measured in years, income is measured annually from 0 to 8 where the lowest values are "under $15,000" and the highest value is "$200,000 or more", and the race variable compares white students (1) to the students of color as the reference group (0). The partisanship variable compares Democrats and Democratic leaning Independents (1) to Republican and Republican leaning independents as the reference category (0). Finally, because the entire sample is made of students, it makes little sense to include a control for level of education. However, controlling for year in college is important, especially considering more senior students would have had greater opportunity to take a Women's or Gender Studies course. Because these surveys are of students across 14 different university campuses, all of my analyses are multi-level models controlling for university fixed effects.

Results

I first examine whether taking a gender or women's studies course is positively related to stronger feminist identification (H1). I test the relationship between feminist identity (1 — 5) and taking a gender or women's studies course (0 – 1) using OLS in Model 1 of Table 3.3. Overall, respondents who did not take the course scored 2.97 on the feminism identity measure. This baseline score is quite high— just over the mid-point of the feminist scale. However, respondents who report having had such a course scored

0.76 points higher at 3.73 on average. In model 2, I add controls for age, income, race, partisanship, college year, and still include university fixed effects. The effect of taking a course remains significant and the effect, 0.44, remains substantively significant.[31,32] Similarly, the effect remains when controlling for all demographic characteristics including gender (Model 3).

[31] The results presented in Table 3.3 are consistent when run as an ordered logistic regression with fixed effects (Model 1 b=0.874, p=0.000, OR=2.398; Model 2 b=*0.719*, p=0.000, OR=2.053).

[32] A careful reader might wonder whether the demographic factors differ substantially between students who did and did not take a Gender or Women's Studies course. In this data, equal proportions of men (31.2%), women (30.3%), white people (31.1%), people of color (32.9%), Democrats (34.8%), and Republicans (30.7%) took this course. Similarly, the difference in age between the two groups amounted to less than a year, although this difference does appear to be meaningful (p = 0.02). It is likely the case that slightly older students (e.g. college seniors) have had time to take more courses generally speaking. I include all of these demographic factors in the models to ensure that any imbalances are corrected for.

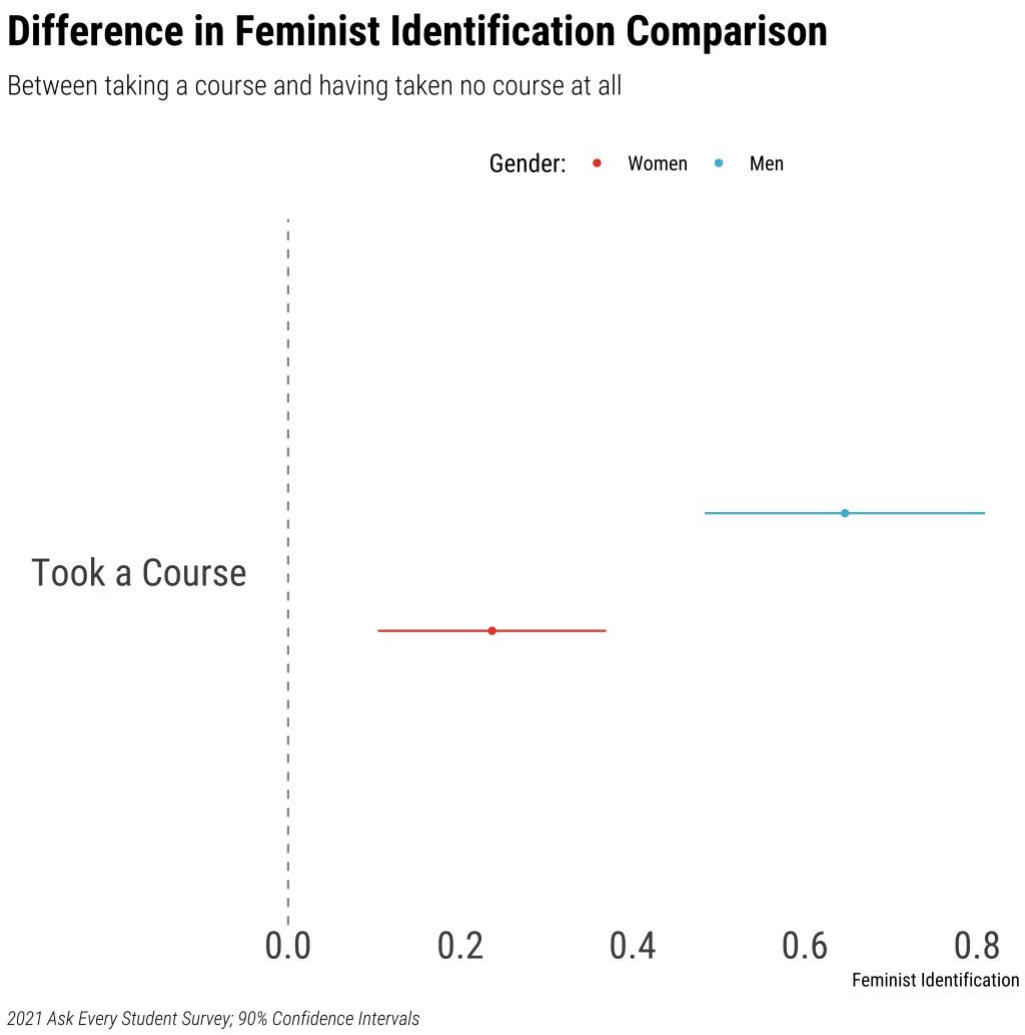
Table 3.3 — OLS on the Relationship Between Course-Taking and Feminist Identification

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Took a Course	0.56 *** (0.06)	0.44 *** (0.06)	0.40 *** (0.06)
Age		0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Income		-0.03 * (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)
White		0.08 (0.07)	0.11 (0.07)
Democrat		0.52 *** (0.06)	0.56 *** (0.06)
College Year		0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Men			-0.64 *** (0.06)
Intercept	3.03 *** (0.03)	2.78 *** (0.16)	3.11 *** (0.17)
N R2	2226 0.04	1467 0.08	1388 0.16

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05; . p < 0.1. All p-values are two-tailed. Standard Errors in parentheses. Both models are estimated with campus fixed effects. The dependent variable across all models is the feminist identity variable.

My second hypothesis is that the effect of taking a gender or woman's studies course should be stronger among men (H2). To test this hypothesis, I run the same set of models but add an interaction between sex and taking the course. The results are shown in Figure 3.1 below and in Appendix B Table 4. I find a statistically significant effect for the interaction term of taking such a course and gender (b=0.56, p=0.00). Since interaction terms are not directly interpretable, I calculate the marginal effects. The effect of taking a women's or gender studies course on the feminist identification scale for men is 0.57 points higher than for women (Men: AME = 0.858, p = 0.00; Women: AME = 0.288, p = 0.00). In terms of effect size, taking a course has just under what is considered a medium effect of taking a course among women (Cohen's d = 0.45) while the effect is over double among men (Cohen's d = 1.01). This evidence supports my second hypothesis that taking a gender studies course ought to be more impactful for men when compared to women.

Figure 3.1 — The Interaction of Gender and Course Taking on Feminist Identification



The third hypothesis was that required courses would be related to higher levels of feminist identification when compared to elective courses (H3). In order to test this hypothesis, I run an OLS regression where the dependent variable is the feminist identification scale, and the independent variable measures whether or not the course was required. Additionally, I include all demographic controls, and fixed effects listed previously. I find substantial support for this hypothesis. Taking a required course is related to a 0.255 point increase (p=0.008) in the feminist identification scale for the full sample when compared to taking the course as an elective (see Appendix B Table 5).[33]

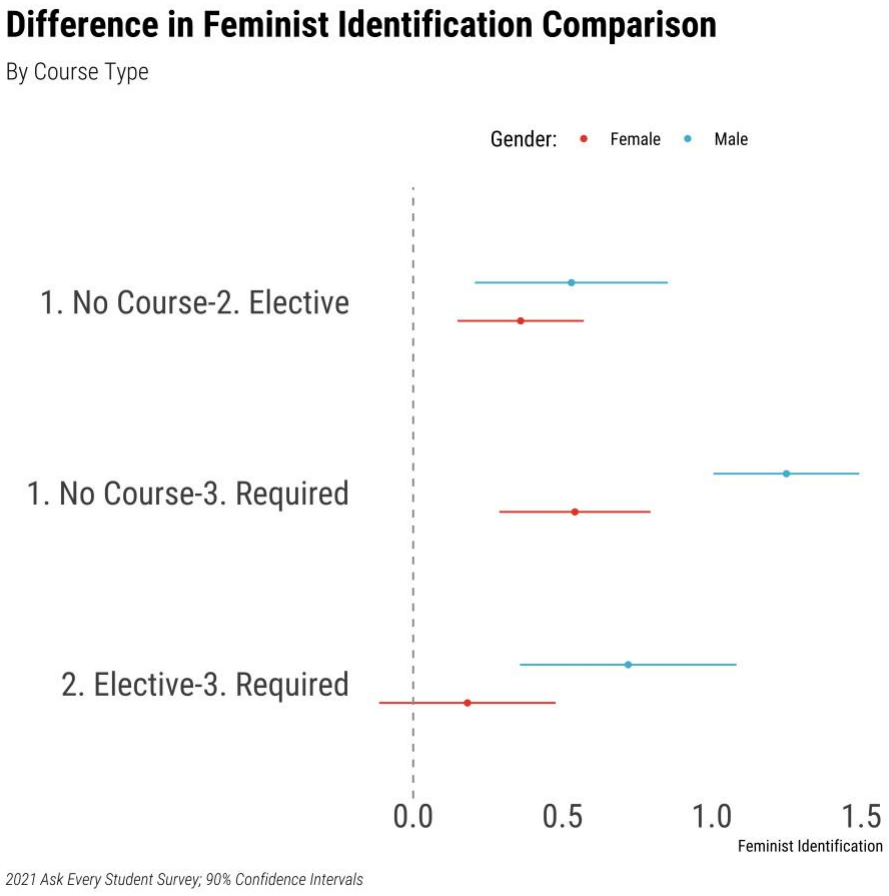
In fact, comparing no course to taking it as an elective ("1. No Course — 2. Elective") or taking a course as an elective compared to taking it because it's required ("2. Elective – 3. Required") results in progressively higher levels of feminist identification. In line with the results presented in H2, gender matters for some of these relationships as well. I had originally hypothesized that the effect of required courses would be significantly moderated by gender, and that the relationship would be strongest among men (H3b). An OLS using gender as an interaction term reveals that the relationship between required courses (compared to taking no course at all) and feminist identification is significantly moderated by gender (b=0.652, p=0.000). Figure 3.2 shows the average difference in levels of feminism between men and women at these differing levels (for full results see Appendix B Table 6). The strongest change (by far) is the difference between men who did not take a course, and men who were required to do so

[33] The results presented are consistent when run as an ordered logistic regression with fixed effects (without controls b=0.532, p=0.000, OR=1.702; With controls b=0.468, p=0.014, OR=1.597).

(1.24 point increase, $p = 0.00$ with controls). The difference for women is less than half of that change at a 0.54 point increase on average ($p = 0.000$ with controls). This difference is similar for men who went from no class at all to taking an elective (0.52-point increase, $p = 0.000$ with controls).[34] While gender does not moderate the relationship between feminist identification and taking elective courses compared to not taking a course, the effect is positive and statistically significant for both groups. Interestingly, there appears to be no difference in the strength of feminist identification between women who take the course as an elective compared to those who take it as a requirement.

[34] The results hold when I drop the controls. The biggest difference is still between men who did not take a course, and men who were required to do so (1.17-point increase, $p = 0.00$ with controls). The difference for women is still less than half of that change at a 0.44-point increase on average ($p = 0.00$ with controls). This difference is the similar for men who went from no class at all to taking an elective (0.40-point increase, $p = 0.00$ with controls).

Figure 3.2 — Average Feminism Scores Among Men and Women Taking Gender Studies Course



Next, I test my fourth hypothesis, that the effect of time passed ought to have a statistically significant and negative relationship between taking a course and levels of feminist identification (H4). Again, I use an OLS model to estimate the relationship between time passed after taking a course and the strength of feminist identification. Time passed is measured on a four-point scale ranging from 1 ("Last semester") to 4 ("Over a year ago"). Higher values indicate that more time has passed between students taking the course and filling out the survey. Consistent with these expectations, the more time that has passed since taking the course is related to lower levels of feminist identification for both men and women. Column 1 of Table 3.4 shows this relationship in the entire population, where the more time passed is related to lower levels of feminist identification. I also expected that the relationship between time and feminist identification would be moderated by gender, and stronger among men (H4b). Column 2 of Table 3.4 includes gender as a statistically significant interaction term. Column 3 takes all of the relevant controls into account and shows that gender is marginally significant as a moderating factor *(p*=0.127) of the relationship between taking the course and feminist identification. The marginal effect of the passage of time for men (AME = -0.183, p = 0.008) is over double that for women (AME = -0.056, p = 0.290). While the relationship between time passed and feminist identification is significant across the full sample, this negative relationship seems to be driven largely by men. This finding supports the explanation that women develop feminist identities through experiences in their day-to-day lives—events less likely to happen to men. Therefore, feminist identities should

become weaker as time passes post-course for men, but not necessarily as much for women.

Table 3.4 — The Interaction of Time Passed and Gender on Feminist Identification

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Time Passed	-0.14 ***	-0.10 *	-0.05
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)
Men		0.05	-0.09
		(0.17)	(0.20)
Time Passed:Men		-0.14 .	-0.13
		(0.07)	(0.08)
Age			0.01
			(0.01)
Income			-0.05 *
			(0.02)
White			0.30 **
			(0.10)
Democrat			0.37 ***
			(0.10)
College Year			-0.05
			(0.04)
Intercept	4.03 ***	4.04 ***	3.72 ***
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.28)
N	709	645	481
R2	0.02	0.04	0.11

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05; . p < 0.1. All p-values are two-tailed. Standard Errors in parentheses. Both models are estimated with campus fixed effects. The dependent variable across all models is the feminist identity variable.

Unfortunately, I was unable to put questions on vote choice on the AES survey. However, previous literature shows that there is a relationship between feminist self-identification and greater political actions like participating in conversations about women's issues and even engaging in rallies or protest aimed at social change (Nelson et al. 2008; Wiley et al. 2013). Additionally, we already know from previous analyses (see: Chapter 1) that feminist identification is a significant predictor of voting for women who run for office. While these relationships support my theoretical expectations, further work is necessary to test whether formal education causes people to vote for women more often through the development of empathy and feminist identification.

Conclusion

In sum, I find that taking women's or gender studies courses are related to higher levels of feminist identification. This relationship is strongest when the course is required rather than an elective. Additionally, these relationships are strongest among men, although men's feminist identification degrades overtime after the course ends. Finally, I find some evidence that feminist identification significantly predicts vote choice for women running for office compared to men running for office. While these results are encouraging, this study does not allow me to directly test these courses as a causal mechanism for feminist identification nor does it allow me to test course effects on candidate selection. For this reason, future research is needed to test whether taking such a course is a significant predictor of vote choice directly, in addition to the development of feminist identity.

Overall, I find that women's and gender studies courses can lead to reactions and identities that can change vote choice, but these courses have also been shown to be impactful in other ways. Eisele and Stake (2008) found that these courses had the capacity to reduce incidents of sexism on campus and increase student awareness of sexism. Many studies have also shown that taking such courses can lead to increased political engagement and self-esteem. These findings could be prescriptive for higher education institutions which do not already implement gender studies courses as a degree requirement—but remain magnets for criticism by those who hold traditional gender values or who see such coursework as conferring special benefits on undeserving groups.

Finally, I did not test whether formal learning in women's and gender studies courses aided in the development of empathy. Instead, in this chapter, I measure the courses' impact on feminist identification developed through these courses, and the relationship between feminist identification and vote choice separately. The next chapter dives deeper into another empathetic catalyst—experiences with discrimination. This chapter directly measures empathy as an outcome in addition to feminist identification, and vote choice.

Chapter 4 — Experiences With Discrimination

Introduction

Most people are familiar with the gender wage gap and the fact that women make only 82 cents on every dollar a man makes.[35] This 18-cent difference may seem trivial at first glance, but the implications become clearer when considering that makes up about $10,194 less than a man working full time for a year. Or worse yet, around $407,760 less over her career according to a study from Americans for Progress (Bleiweis 2020). This wage differential is only one aspect of gender discrimination that women face. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, women in the US spent over 60% more time engaging in unpaid labor compared to men.[36] There are also stark inequalities in career promotion, encouragement and support in male dominated fields, in personal relationships, and more. While many women are aware of this kind of discrimination through their first-hand experiences, far fewer men have first-hand experiences with it, or believe it's a problem.[37] This makes sense as it is historically men who hold positions of power and limit women's mobility whether intentionally or unintentionally. Previous work shows that shared histories and enduring certain forms of discrimination across minority racial groups can evoke empathetic reactions towards other minority outgroups, and affect political behavior (Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos

[35] https://time.com/5233195/equal-pay-day-close-gender-wage-gap/

[36] https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?queryid=54757

[37] https://time.com/5667397/gender-equality-opinions/

2021). Can experiencing certain forms of gendered discrimination impact men and women in similar ways?

In this chapter, I examine the effect of my second proposed empathetic catalyst—experiences with discrimination. Specifically, I investigate Schacht and Ewing's (1997) second path to feminist identity by taking a closer look at whether men identify with feminism via learning from women's experiences. Then I assess whether the development of these identities increases the likelihood that they vote for a woman over a man all else equal. In this case, the theory of empathetic catalysts is simply that experiencing certain kinds of discrimination in a meaningful way, may induce greater empathy with women, and identification with feminism. This will in turn result in a greater propensity to vote for women candidates.

I leverage three studies to show the relationships between discrimination, empathy, feminist identification, and support for women running for office. Overall, I find that experiencing gender discrimination can increase identification with feminism, and that higher levels of feminist identification are strongly related to supporting women candidates through their choice to vote for them and donate to their campaigns. I also find that feminist identification is related to more positive perceptions of candidate trustworthiness among voters.

Theory

Theoretically, experiencing discrimination may evoke empathy with others who experience similar forms of discrimination. This idea is by no means new. According to

those who study first-person experiences and consciousness, experiences can shift people's awareness of the self to others and their similarities to form a 'we' (for a full review see: Zahavi 2019). In this way, discrimination can lead to considering others in a new way. I expect that certain types of discrimination can evoke empathy great enough to lead to the development of political identities such as feminism. According to Zahavi, one theory is that "[…] one in the empathic face-to-face encounter can obtain an acquaintance with the other's experiential life that has a directness and immediacy to it that is not shared by whatever beliefs you might have about the other in his or her absence." In this way, a person who experiences an event that another regularly faces, and feels what another person or group regularly feels, can develop an increased understanding of that person's or group's lived experience more generally. In other words, putting yourself in someone else's shoes becomes far easier when you have similar experiences (Cao 2010). It's not that men have the ability to understand women's lived experience in full, but going through at least one shared life event may allow for empathy great enough to identify with them in this way (Cao 2014).

As discussed at length in Chapter 2, the distinction between empathy and sympathy is important. While sympathizing with someone's experience may allow you to *understand* it, empathy is more intense as it allows you to *feel* it (Chismar 1988). Simply sympathizing with women is likely not strong enough to develop a sense of responsibility to change oppressive systems or increase political representation for a group you do not hold membership in. I theorize that, on the other hand, experiential learning is strong enough to elicit a will to change these systems. This will is fully realized and emerges as

feminist identification, and results in a greater propensity to vote for women. Finally, like many others, I conceptualize empathy as both the ability and motivation to imagine yourself in someone else's shoes, or take their perspective, feel how they may be feeling, and care about their wellbeing. I expect that it's in this way that discrimination may lead to greater thought about the group that shared these experiences—in this case women—and that this empathy would lead to political action.

Discrimination comes in a multitude of forms and can target many different identities (e.g., gender identity, racial identity, religious identity, etc.). Experiencing discrimination may cause those previously unaware of it to relate most strongly to those who regularly experience it. For instance, many more men than women in the US believe that gender inequality isn't a major issue to be dealt with. I posit that this is because many more men have not been touched by the kinds of discriminatory experiences that lead to this inequality. In this chapter, I show that (1) experience with discrimination with some overlap with women will be strongest at developing feminist identity among men. This type of discrimination can also be thought of as gender-role discrimination or discrimination based on gender-role incongruency. This chapter will label this type of discrimination 'indirect gender discrimination'. I also show that (2) experiences with direct gender discrimination that doesn't touch on another role (i.e., direct gender-based discrimination) will yield antipathy towards women or anti-feminist identification among men and increased feminist identification among women. Additionally, I show that (3) second-hand experiences with gender discrimination (e.g., experiences that happen to a

loved one) are strongest at developing feminist identity among men when compared to the first-person direct and indirect forms of discrimination.

Indirect Gender Discrimination

Indirect forms of gender discrimination allow men to think about and empathize with women and their experiences. While gender discrimination against men due to their gender alone may work in the opposite direction, discrimination based on their family responsibilities may evoke empathy with women who most often bear the additional burden of caring for family or loved ones. I consider this indirect because while it is still a first-person event, it is happening for reasons other than gender alone. This might also be thought of as 'gender role discrimination'. For instance, a man may experience discrimination in his workplace if those in charge of promotions or other benefits see a mismatch in typically gendered family roles and obligations (Henle et al. 2020; Konrad and Cannings 1997). This may look like a man making his family obligations clear to superiors who then deny him a well-deserved promotion or parental leave. It may also tap into a more nuanced identity as a family member, father, husband, or son rather than gender alone. Through this process of experiential learning, men will have the increased understanding and ability to empathize with women and their condition. In other words, if a man experiences discrimination based on his role as a father or caregiver first-hand, he will be less likely to target women as his oppressor, and rather, the systems that bring about gender inequalities. This empathy should lead to greater identity as a feminist. Both the development of empathy with women and feminist identity should increase the

likelihood that a man supports a woman candidate. This may be in an effort to mitigate gender inequalities directly, because they see a woman as more likely to share their identity, and therefore beliefs and policy preferences.

Direct Gender Discrimination

While experiencing indirect gender discrimination may aid in developing empathy, experiencing direct gender discrimination may actually have the opposite effect for men?. Consider that in 2020, American women earned about 18% less than men on average, and that according to the Department of Labor, "[t]he pandemic has set women's labor force participation back more than 30 years".[38] Similarly, a 2017 Pew Research Institute study found that more women had been turned down for a job, promotion, or assignment, felt isolated at work, received less support, were treated as if they were not competent, and earned less overall than their male counterparts due to their gender.[39] Furthermore, women make up about 8% of Fortune 500 CEOs, and sit on far fewer corporate boards than men.[40,41] Women are the minority in most STEM workplaces, and are about half as likely to graduate with a STEM degree (Weeden, Gelbgiser, and Morgan 2020).

[38] https://blog.dol.gov/2021/03/19/5-facts-about-the-state-of-the-gender-pay-gap

[39] https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/12/14/gender-discrimination-comes-in-many-forms-for-todays-working-women/

[40] https://fortune.com/2021/06/02/female-ceos-fortune-500-2021-women-ceo-list-roz-brewer-walgreens-karen-lynch-cvs-thasunda-brown-duckett-tiaa/#:~:text=Having%20a%20total%20of%2041,around%20what's%20happening%20for%20women.%22

[41] https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2019/07/17/after-years-glacial-change-women-now-hold-more-than-corporate-board-seats/

Direct gender discrimination is a very real experience for many women. It can be measured and tracked through the gap in these earnings and opportunities. However, when men report that they have been discriminated against due to their gender or sex, they may be reacting not to discrimination, but to the loss of their privilege over women or even to a particular woman (Flood and Pease 2005; Wildman and Davis 1994; Wu 2021). On the other hand, when women experience discrimination on the basis of their gender, they may be feeling the very real gender gap in so many areas of life. Women may report discrimination after experiencing it and seeing women around her experience discrimination, but men may be reporting discrimination, in large part, as a protest against the rising tide of equality. This conflict may cause women to identify more strongly with feminism while men may identify less with feminism overall.

As the saying goes, "When you're accustomed to privilege, equality feels like oppression" (unknown author). Beyond false perceptions though, men really can experience gender discrimination first-hand. However, even when they do, men may still react with greater antipathy towards women rather than adopt political identities that relate to reducing discrimination or inequality. In other words, experiences with direct gender discrimination may result in a stronger political reaction against systemic gender inequalities among women that takes the form of feminist identification. However, men may, instead, react to experiences with direct gender discrimination against women rather than the systems that brought about the discrimination to begin with.

Social Identity Theory might help to explain alternate reactions to discrimination. It is possible that experiencing certain forms of discrimination strengthen in-group

identification with and favoritism for other men, and therefore these individuals are less likely to express empathy towards women (Tajfel and Turner 1979). However, Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos (2021) posit that, in reaction to the same stimulus, groups may respond with either empathy or antipathy based on their perceived position in society. While their work concerns itself primarily with race, Group Empathy Theory suggests that, unlike Social Identity Theory, those with stronger in-group attachments may actually express higher levels of empathy for outgroups. The one exception being white people who are positioned at the top of the social hierarchy (p. 17). Direct gender discrimination (unrelated to another role such as fatherhood) may make this position at the top more salient for men who then react with antipathy. Furthermore, their theory's central claim is similar to the one I make here which is that "empathy for outgroups, independent of other predispositions, drives support for policies that extend help to those in distress" (p. 38). It's in this way that empathetic catalysts, such as certain forms of discrimination, can lead to political support for women through the identification with feminism.

While white women may experience discrimination on the basis of gender alone, women of color face discrimination due to their gender, race, and both simultaneously. As Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) famously put it, "This focus on the most privileged group members marginalizes those who are multiply-burdened and obscures claims that cannot be understood as resulting from discrete sources of discrimination." Discrimination experienced by women of color is unique in that it encourages thinking of equality on more than one axis. I expect that this process will still lead to greater feminist

identification among women of color, but that it may occur due to both gender and racial discrimination simultaneously.

Hypotheses & Data

To test the theory that changes in political behavior can come from empathy elicited through certain forms of discrimination, I develop 7 testable hypotheses. I expect that reported direct gender discrimination (on the basis of gender alone) will be associated with higher levels of feminism among women (H1a) and lower levels among men (H1b) due to the backlash against direct gender discrimination. Furthermore, discrimination due to family responsibilities ought to be associated with higher levels of feminism among men (H2a), and women (H2b) for whom motherhood causes gender inequalities to become even more stark. Finally, those who identify more strongly as a feminist will be more likely to support a woman candidate for political office (H3) regardless of gender.

- *H1a: Experiencing direct gender discrimination on the basis of gender alone is associated with higher levels of feminist identification among women.*
- *H1b: Experiencing direct gender discrimination on the basis of gender alone is associated with lower levels of feminist identification among men.*
- *H2a: Experiencing indirect gender discrimination or discrimination based on another role (ie. fatherhood) is related to higher levels of feminist identity among men.*

- *H2b: Experiencing indirect gender discrimination or discrimination based on another role (ie. motherhood) is related to greater levels of feminist identification among women.*
- *H3: Those who more strongly identify as feminists are more likely to vote for, donate to, and have more positive perceptions of trustworthiness of women running for political office regardless of gender.*

I test different parts of the theory at work through two initial studies. The first study was fielded prior to the 2020 General Election from September to November 2020 by the Cooperative Elections Study (CES; n= 1,000). Here, I was able to ask a nationally representative sample of respondents if they had been discriminated against in the past, what the source of the perceived discrimination was, and in what setting it occurred. This is intended to further disentangle whether the type of discrimination and perceived cause has a differing effect on feminist identification. I also ask respondents about their levels of support (eg. voting, financial, trust) for a hypothetical candidate (see Appendix C for survey wording). While there is no candidate match-up due to space concerns, the candidate's race and gender is randomized to better assess the cause for support through feminism.

The second study comes from the Party at the Mailbox (PATM) surveys in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Detroit which were fielded just after the 2020 General Election (n = 1,086). I limit my analysis of this study to the 1,004 people of color (removing 82 white non-Hispanic respondents) to better assess the impacts of the unique kinds of discrimination this population faces on feminist identification. I had the

opportunity to ask respondents if they had experienced discrimination because of their race or gender (see Appendix D for survey wording). I also was afforded room to ask about their level of feminist identity, and support for Black Lives Matter. Party at the Mailbox was designed to primarily target Black voters, and the full sample includes a largely minority sample with 82.7% Black or African American, 7.6% white non-Hispanic, 5.3% multiple races, 1.8% Hispanic or Latinx, and the final 2.6% allocated to Asian, Middle Eastern or Arab, Native American or Alaska Native, and respondents of some other race.

The first two surveys test each of my expectations separately but fail to test the entire process from start to finish. In other words, it allows me to test whether certain types of discrimination are associated with feminism, and whether feminist identification is related to higher support for women candidates compared to men. However, they cannot appropriately test whether these events lead to a change in vote choice *through* the development of empathy and feminist identification. Furthermore, they are not designed to test whether participants would vote for a woman *over* a man.

Study 3 fills these gaps by experimentally introducing several scenarios involving discrimination that women may experience in their lifetimes. To be clear, while I expect each step in the theory to work on its own, I also expect that discrimination will affect vote choice mediated through empathy (H4a). Finally, I hypothesize that these relationships will be moderated by gender (H4b).

- *H4a: Experiences with discrimination increase the likelihood of voting for a woman candidate mediated through empathy.*

- *H4b: The relationship between experiences with discrimination and vote choice through empathy will be moderated by gender.*

I then measure feminist identification, any activation of empathy using a 14-point group empathy index (GEI) originally developed by Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos (2021) modified to tap into gender group empathy, and subsequent vote choice in a hypothetical match-up where all is held equal except for gender. Researchers in psychology often implement vignettes to increase empathy towards outgroups (Seppala et al. 2017, p. 207; for an overview of interventions intended to increase empathy see Table 16.1 on p. 208-209). Furthermore, studies using undergraduate students show that empathy experimentally induced translates into action on behalf of the outgroup (Batson et al. 2002). In order to test discrimination as an empathetic catalyst I implement a survey experiment which introduces vignettes about the experiences of women and asks respondents to imagine the life and feelings of the subject.

Study 1 (CES) Results

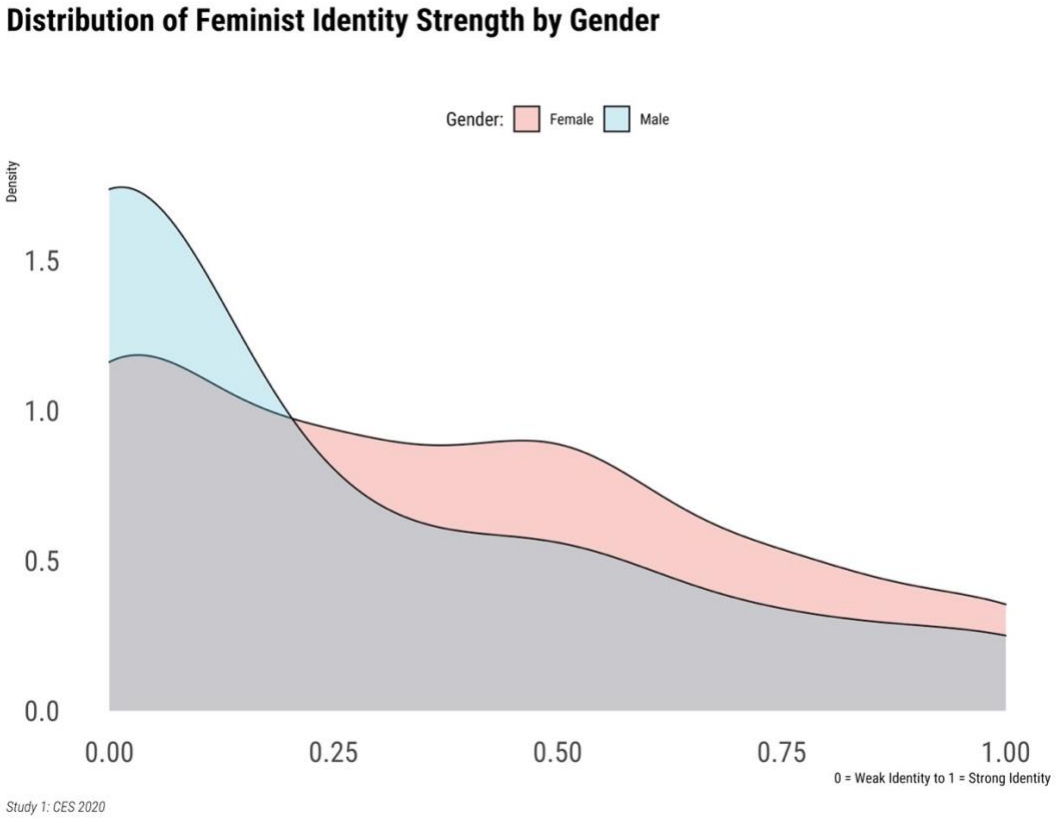
The analysis for this section is broken up into three distinct parts that follow my stated hypotheses. In the *Direct Gender Discrimination* sub-section, I test my expectations that reported direct gender discrimination based on gender alone will be associated with higher levels of feminist identification among women (H1a) and lower levels among men (H1b). In the *Indirect Gender Discrimination* sub-section, I test whether (H2a) experiencing indirect gender discrimination or discrimination based on another role (ie. fatherhood) is related to higher levels of feminist identity among men,

and (H2b) experiencing indirect gender discrimination or discrimination based on another role (ie. motherhood) is related to greater levels of feminist identification among women. Finally, *Candidate Support & Vote Choice* shows the results of my third expectation that (H3) those who more strongly identify as feminists are more likely to vote for, donate to, and have more positive perceptions of trustworthiness of a woman running for political office regardless of gender. This chapter then moves on to discuss the analyses using Studies 2 and 3.

In Study 1, respondents were asked "If you have experienced discrimination, in your opinion, what was the reason for the discrimination? Please select all that apply" and were given the opportunity to select "I have not experienced discrimination", "My sex", "My race, ethnicity", "My family responsibilities", and/or "Other, Please Specify". Each response is coded as a separate dummy variable (where 1 = discrimination, and 0 = no discrimination of that type). In each model, I also control for other forms of discrimination that were selected, in addition to demographic controls (e.g., age, education, race, party identification, and income). Both Study 1 (CES) and Study 2 (PATM) used a similar feminist identification question. PATM survey respondents were asked "How strongly do you identify as a feminist (if at all)?" and respondents answered on a five-point scale ranging from "Not at all" to "A great deal" and CES respondents were asked "How well does the term feminist describe you?" able to respond on a five-point scale ranging from "Not at all" to "Extremely well". Both measures were recoded to run from 0 to 1.

The average level of feminist identification in this sample is 0.329. Unsurprisingly, women tend to identify with feminism (mean = 0.375) more than men (mean = 0.268). This difference is statistically significant (p = 0.000). Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of this measure among men and women separately. Note that women outnumber men at each level of feminist identification except for 0 or no feminist identification at all, where men peak.

Figure 4.1 – Distribution of Feminist Identity Strength by Gender



When it comes to discrimination, the majority of men and women report having not experienced direct or indirect forms of gender discrimination. However, there is quite a gap in the number of men and women who *have* experienced either type. While only

11.8% of men report experiencing direct gender discrimination, just under half of women (40.6%) do—a statistically significant difference ($p = 0.00$). The difference between men and women is much smaller when it comes to indirect gender discrimination. 8.9% of women in the sample report experiencing it compared to only 5.0% of men. This difference falls short of statistical significance ($p = 0.156$).

Direct Gender Discrimination

The analyses in this section are primarily concerned with direct gender discrimination, where "my sex" was selected as the reason for the experienced discrimination. Is experiencing direct gender discrimination related to higher levels of feminist identification among women (H1a) and lower levels of feminist identification among men (H1b)? I run an OLS regression where the outcome is feminist identification, and the independent variables are direct gender discrimination interacted with gender.

Consistent with expectations, the relationship between direct gender discrimination and feminist identification is significantly moderated by gender ($p < 0.05$). These basic OLS results (Table 4.1, column 1) are consistent when the model controls for other types of discrimination (Table 4.1, column 2), as well as with controls for age, education, race, party identification, and household income (Table 4.1, column 3). I find support for H1a, women who experience gender discrimination identify most strongly with higher levels of feminism. However, there is no significant relationship between gender discrimination and feminist identification among men. While I expected

a negative reaction from men who may be reacting out of antipathy rather than empathy, the relationship is not statistically significantly different from 0.

Table 4.1 — The Relationship Between Sex or Gender Discrimination and Feminist Identification Moderated by Gender

	Basic	Discrimination Controls	Full Controls
(Intercept)	0.24 ***	0.23 ***	-5.47 ***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(1.09)
Discrimination- Sex	0.01	0.02	0.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Female	0.05 *	0.05 *	0.06 **
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Discrimination- Sex * Female	0.18 ***	0.17 **	0.12 *
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Discrimination- Family Responsibility		0.05	0.04
		(0.04)	(0.04)
Discrimination- Race		-0.04	-0.07 **
		(0.02)	(0.02)
Discrimination- Other		0.07 *	0.07 *
		(0.03)	(0.03)
Birth Year			0.00 ***
			(0.00)
Education			0.04 ***
			(0.01)
Race			0.03 ***

			(0.01)
Party ID			-0.04 ***
			(0.01)
Family Income			0.00
			(0.00)
N	995	995	994
R2	0.07	0.08	0.16

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05. Standard errors are shown in parentheses.

I had hypothesized that experiencing direct gender discrimination on the basis of sex or gender alone is associated with higher levels of feminist identification among women, but lower levels among men. Consistent with expectations, gender discrimination among men fails to produce feminist identification (average marginal effect or AME from basic model = 0.009, $p = 0.821$ AME with all controls = 0.017, $p = 0.681$), however it does not produce a negative relationship. On the other hand, women experience a strengthening of their feminist identity after experiencing some form of sex- or gender-based discrimination (Basic model AME = 0.190, $p = 0.000$; AME with all controls = 0.187, $p = 0.000$). Figure 4.2 shows these relationships (with all control variables included in the model) graphically. These average marginal effects are listed under "All Women" and "All Men" in this figure. While I originally had not hypothesized a difference based on ideology, I wondered if the effect might be stronger for conservative men in the sample. I ran an additional OLS analysis where ideology is interacted with gender and find that, interestingly, conservative men were the only group with a negative relationship with feminist identification—although this difference is not statistically significant. Both liberal men and liberal women experience an increase as well. The full table of OLS results is available in Appendix F Table 1.

Figure 4.2 - Relationship Between Direct Discrimination and Feminist Identity

Indirect Gender Discrimination

Discrimination due to family responsibilities ought to be associated with higher levels of feminism among both men (H2a), and women (H2b). I find evidence that supports these hypotheses in Study 1 where discrimination based on "my family responsibilities" is positively related with higher levels of feminist identity in the full sample (b = 0.080, p = 0.018; Table 4.2, column 1). The relationship drastically weakens when controls are added (p = 0.08 one-tailed with controls for other forms of discrimination as seen in Table 4.2, column 2; and p = 0.158 one-tailed when all controls are added to the model as seen in Table 4.2 column 3).

Table 4.2 — The Relationship Between Discrimination Based on Family Responsibilities and Feminist Identification

	Basic	+ Discrimination Controls	+ Full Controls
(Intercept)	0.29 ***	0.26 ***	-5.00 ***
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(1.09)
Discrimination- Family Responsibilities	0.10 *	0.06	0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Discrimination- Sex		0.16 ***	0.13 ***
		(0.02)	(0.02)
Discrimination- Race		-0.05 *	-0.08 ***
		(0.02)	(0.02)
Discrimination- Other		0.07 *	0.06 *
		(0.03)	(0.03)
Birth Year			0.00 ***
			(0.00)
Education			0.04 ***
			(0.01)
Race			0.03 ***
			(0.01)
Party ID			-0.04 ***
			(0.01)
Family Income			0.00

			(0.00)
N	995	995	994
R2	0.01	0.06	0.14

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05. Standard errors in parentheses.

I also test whether or not there is any statistically significant moderation by gender in this relationship. I hypothesize that this type of discrimination ought to be related to higher levels of feminist identification among both men and women, and theorize that the relationship may be stronger for women who experience a double burden—one of gender and another dealing with caregiving or family responsibilities. Table 4.3 below shows the relationship between indirect discrimination and feminist identification and any moderation by gender (Table 4.3, column 1), followed by the models with added controls (columns 2 and 3). While it initially appears that there may be a significant difference between men and women in this sample ($p = 0.06$), this difference seems to disappear when controls are added ($p = 0.12$, and $p = 0.11$).

Table 4.3 — The Relationship Between Discrimination Based on Family Responsibilities and Feminist Identification Moderated by Gender

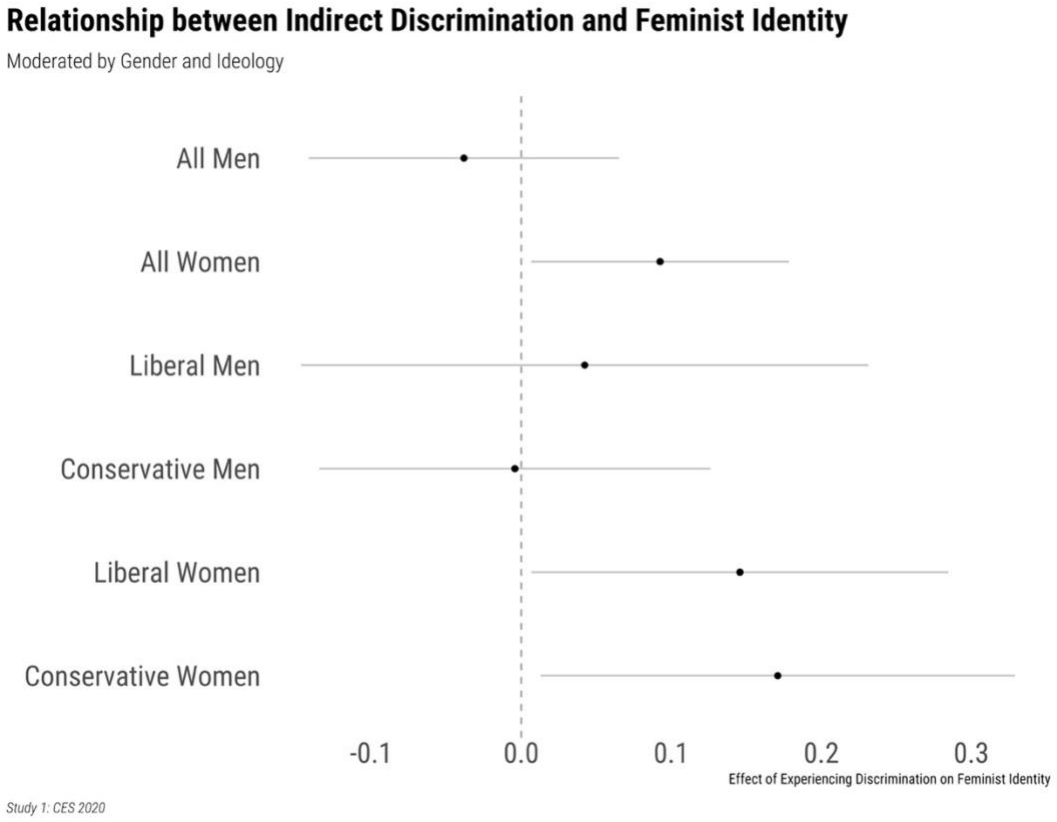
	Basic	+Discrimination Controls	+Full Controls
(Intercept)	0.24 ***	0.22 ***	-5.60 ***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(1.09)
Discrimination- Family Responsibility	-0.01	-0.02	-0.04
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Female	0.11 ***	0.08 ***	0.08 ***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Discrim- FamRes:Female	0.16	0.13	0.13
	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Discrimination- Sex		0.13 ***	0.09 ***
		(0.02)	(0.02)
Discrimination- Race		-0.04	-0.07 **
		(0.02)	(0.02)
Discrimination- Other		0.08 *	0.07 *
		(0.03)	(0.03)
Birth Year			0.00 ***
			(0.00)
Education			0.04 ***
			(0.01)
Race			0.03 ***
			(0.01)

Party ID			-0.04 ***
			(0.01)
Family Income			0.00
			(0.00)
N	995	995	994
R2	0.04	0.07	0.16

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05. Standard errors are in parentheses.

Using the interaction model with all controls (column 3 in Table 4.3 above), I calculate the average marginal effects, and find that they mimic those reported for gender discrimination alone—where women experience an increase in feminist identification (AME with all controls = 0.09, $p < 0.1$) whereas the relationship does not reach statistical significance for men at all (AME with all controls = -0.03, $p = 0.54$). I find support for H2a: that this kind of discrimination will be related to higher levels of feminist identity among women but fail to find full support for H2b: that we ought to see a similar relationship among men. Figure 4.3 shows these relationships under "All Men" and "All Women" below. Similar to the analysis above, I also conduct additional analyses where I add ideology as an interaction term with gender and find that while there is an effect among both liberal and conservative women, there appears to be no movement among either group of men. The full table of results can be found in Appendix F Table 2, and the average marginal effects are presented in Figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4.3 - Relationship Between Indirect Discrimination and Feminist Identity



It may be that there is no difference between gender discrimination alone, and a type of discrimination that taps into another role for men. Or it may be that greater specificity is necessary. The question about family responsibility left the respondent to interpret "family responsibility" broadly speaking. Previous research shows that certain family relationships strengthen views on traditional gender roles. It may be that men who selected this answer were thinking of responsibilities to their mothers or sisters rather than to their wife or children. These relationships are likely less empathy inducing than the latter. Because I don't have the granularity in this study to test these potential explanations, future research is necessary to further test this set of hypotheses. Study 3 uses experimental vignettes to assess more specific types of family-based discrimination and measures feminist identity, and empathy directly, which may shed some light on these results.

Candidate Support & Vote Choice

Finally, I expected that those who identify more strongly as a feminist will be more likely to support a woman candidate (H3). In Study 1, I construct a hypothetical candidate who is assigned to be either male or female, a level of experience, and either that they accept campaign contributions from PACs or that they do not. Then, each respondent is asked, "How likely are you to vote for the candidate?" They were able to respond on a 7-point scale running from "Very unlikely" (1) to Very likely (7). Additionally, candidate party mimicked the respondent's party identification unless it

was unspecified (no party preference). In the latter case, party was randomly assigned. Recall that feminist identification is measured on a five-point scale.

While holding candidate campaign contributions and level of experience constant, I test whether candidate gender is positively related to voting likelihood as moderated by feminist identification. In other words, do those who identify as feminists support a woman candidate more than a man all else equal? This study shows evidence that this is the case. The interaction between candidate gender and feminist identification on voting likelihood is positive and statistically significant ($b = 1.136$, $p < 0.001$; See column 1 in Table 4.4 below). These results are robust to demographic controls (Column 2 of Table 4.4). Table 4.4 shows the basic OLS model for support (i.e., Vote, Donate, Trustworthy) followed by the model with demographic controls (i.e., Vote+, Donate+, Trustworthy+). Figure 4.4 below depicts the relationship between candidate gender and feminist identification on voting graphically.

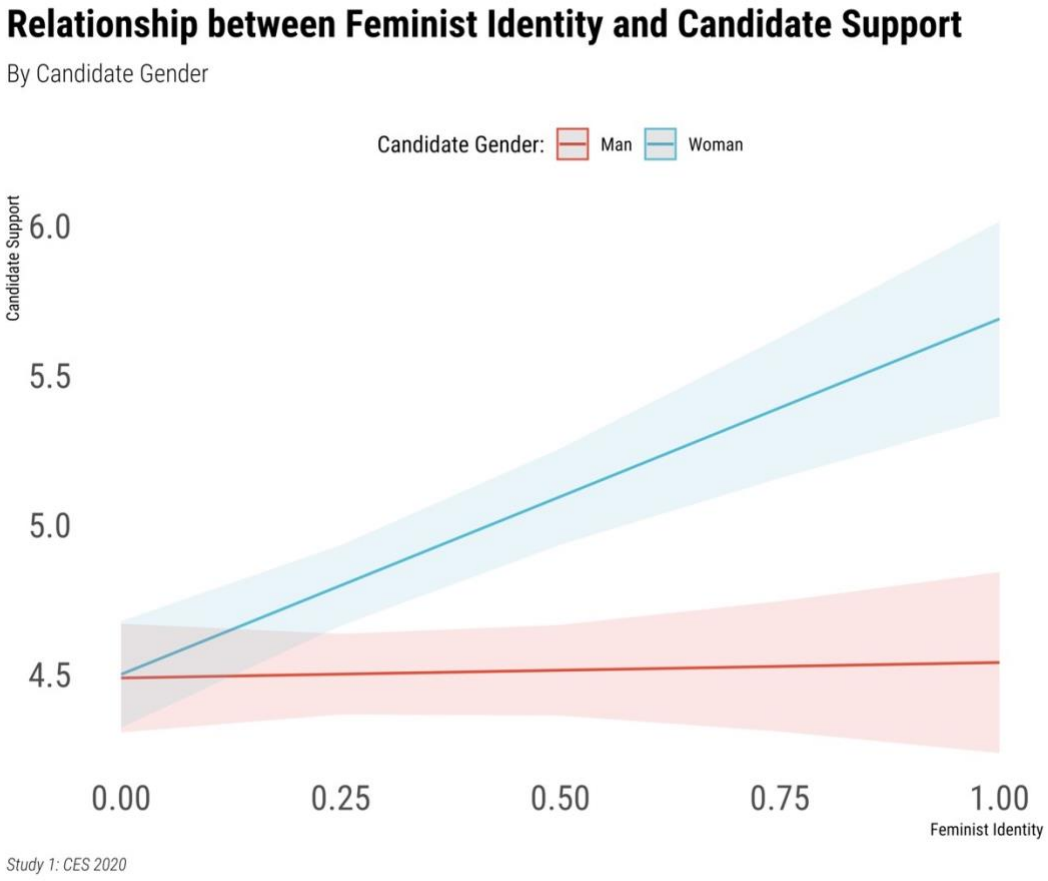
Table 4.4 — Relationship Between Candidate Support (e.g., Voting, Donating, and Candidate Trustworthiness) and Feminist Identification by Candidate Gender

	Vote	Vote+	Donate	Donate+	Trustworthy	Trustworthy +
(Intercept)	4.58 ***	15.29 **	4.12 ***	17.66 **	4.56 ***	6.31
	(0.12)	(5.17)	(0.13)	(5.95)	(0.10)	(4.39)
Feminist ID	0.05	-0.12	-0.17	-0.28	0.00	-0.17
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Woman Candidate	0.01	0.05	-0.16	-0.13	0.09	0.12
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Experien.	0.21 ***	0.23 ***	0.19 **	0.20 **	0.05	0.06
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Contrib.	-0.62 ***	-0.65 ***	-0.54 ***	-0.56 ***	-0.48 ***	-0.51 ***
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Feminist * WC	1.14 ***	1.06 ***	1.43 ***	1.35 ***	0.54 *	0.49 *
	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.25)	(0.24)
Birth Year		-0.01 *		-0.01 *		-0.00
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)
Education		0.10 ***		0.06		0.07 *
		(0.03)		(0.04)		(0.03)
Race		0.01		0.04		0.02
		(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.03)
Party ID		-0.28 ***		-0.22 ***		-0.24 ***

		(0.04)		(0.05)		(0.03)
Family Income		-0.00 *		-0.01 **		-0.00 *
		(0.00)		(0.00)		(0.00)
N	993	992	990	989	992	991
R2	0.09	0.16	0.06	0.11	0.05	0.12

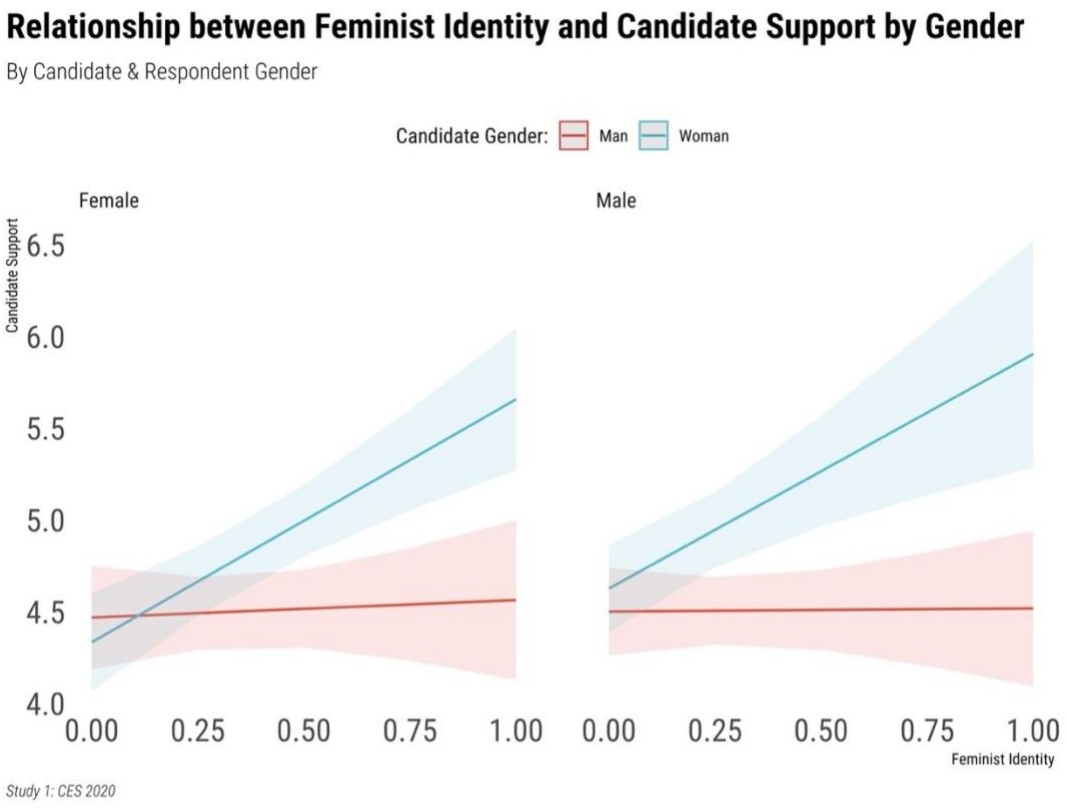
*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$. Standard errors shown in parentheses.

Figure 4.4 - Relationship Between Feminist Identity and Candidate Support



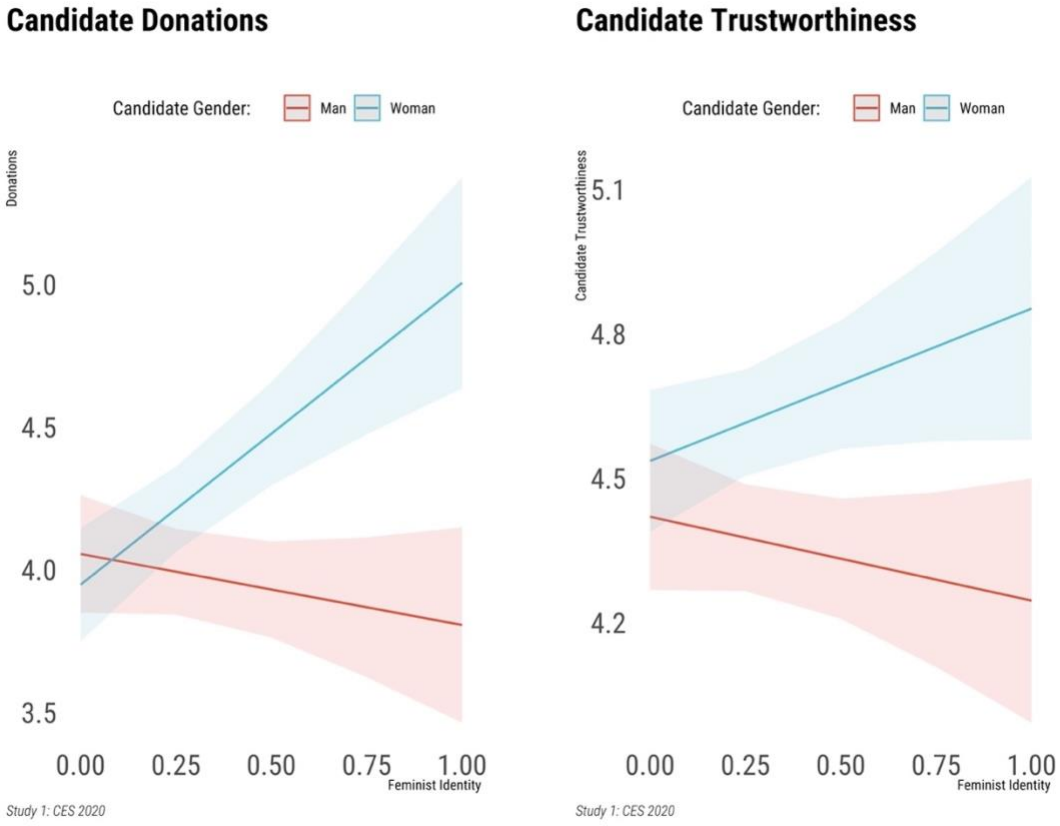
Overall, those who identify more strongly as feminists seem to also support women candidates more strongly through their likely vote choice when all other factors are held equal, lending strong support to H3. In line with theoretical expectations, moderation by respondent gender is not statistically significant (p = 0.958). In other words, both men and women reacted similarly in their support of the hypothetical woman candidate, as depicted in Figure 4.5 below. This figure shows the interaction between support for a woman versus a man running for political office and feminist identification among women (panel A) and men (panel B) respondents separately.

Figure 4.5 - Relationship Between Feminist Identity and Candidate Support by Gender



The survey also asked respondents about their likelihood of donating to the candidate, and their perceptions of candidate trustworthiness.[42] Similarly, those with stronger levels of feminist identification are more likely to donate to a female candidate ($p < 0.001$; see columns 3 and 4 of Table 4.4, and panel A of Figure 4.6 below) and find her to be trustworthy ($p < 0.05$; see columns 5 and 6 of Table 4.4, and panel B of Figure 4.6 below).

Figure 4.6 - Candidate Donations and Candidate Trustworthiness by Gender



[42] Question wording: "How likely are you to donate to the candidate?" and "How trustworthy do you think the candidate is?" Participants were able to answer on a 7 point scale ranging from (1) Very Unlikely/Very Untrustworthy to (7) Very Likely/Very Trustworthy.

Overall, I find that certain experiences with discrimination increase feminist identification among women, and liberal men. Those who identify more strongly as feminists support women candidates more strongly through their likely vote choice and hypothetical donations when all other factors are held equal. They are also more likely to find a woman candidate to be more trustworthy than her male competitor. Feminist identification works to increase these favorable outcomes for women running for office among both men and women.

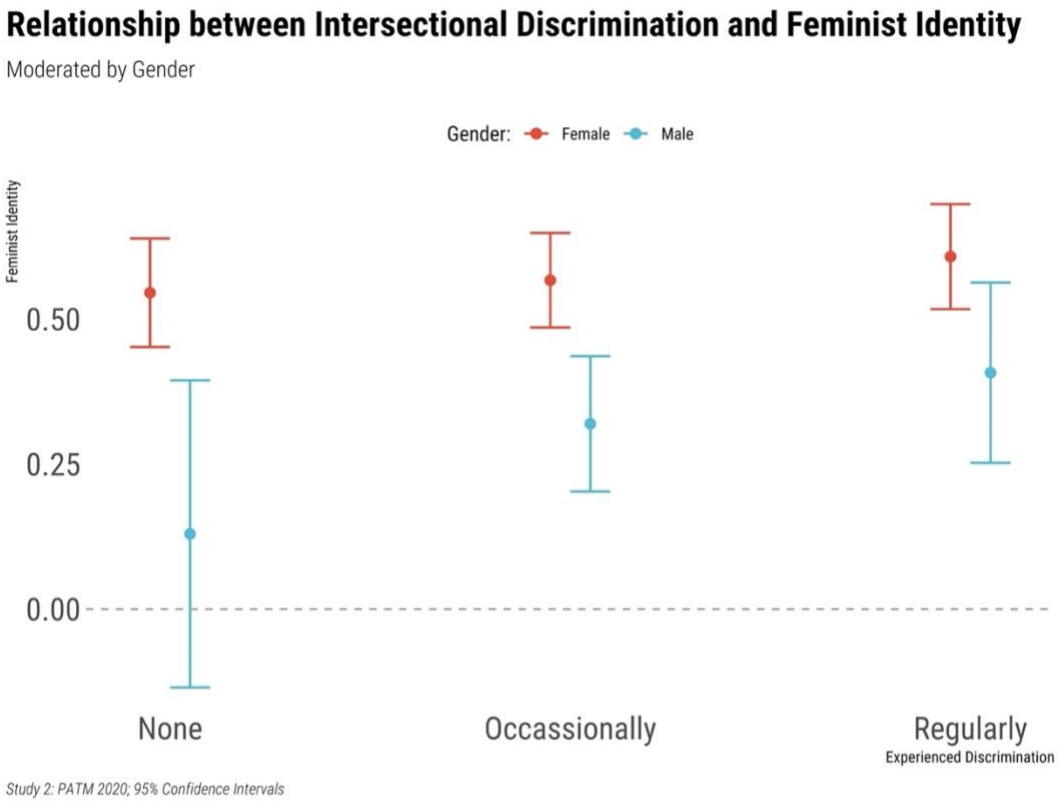
Study 2 (PATM) Results

Study 2 (PATM) measures discrimination slightly differently. Instead of isolating the type of discrimination, the survey combined all types into a single question: "Thinking about your own experience, have you ever experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly because of your race, ethnicity, or gender?" Respondents could then answer: "No", "Yes, from time to time", or "Yes, regularly". These responses were recoded to run from 0 ("No") to 1 ("Yes, regularly"). Theoretically, it makes sense to ask this question instead of gender and race separately because in reality they often cannot be separated. Discrimination likely impacts people of color differently. Again, while white women may experience discrimination on the basis of gender alone, women of color face discrimination due to their gender, race, and both simultaneously. I expect that experiencing intersectional discrimination among this more diverse sample of women should work similarly to increase levels of feminist identification.

The average levels of feminist identification in this study are much higher than in Study 1. The average level of feminist identification in this sample falls just below the halfway point at 0.486. This average jumps to 0.504 among women and drops to 0.276 among men. What's very different here though, is that men experience more discrimination on average (mean = 0.604) than women (mean = 0.516). Unlike Study 1, the majority of Study 2 participants have experienced some form of direct discrimination.

An OLS regression of the relationship between reported direct discrimination and feminist identification shows marginally significant moderation by gender (p = 0.09 one-tailed with and without demographic controls for age, income, and education). Like in Study 1, experiences with direct discrimination are related to higher levels of feminist identity among women (AME between no discrimination and occasional = 0.02, p = 0.24 one-tailed; between no discrimination and regular = 0.06, p = 0.05 one-tailed with controls). This provides additional evidence in support of H1a although it seems that the frequency of experiencing discrimination also matters. Recall that in Study 1, men's level of feminist identity remains stable where I expected it to decrease (H1b). In Study 2's population of men of color alone, feminist identity grows steeply to match women's (AME between no discrimination and occasional = 0.18, p = 0.16 two-tailed; between no discrimination and regular = 0.27, p = 0.05 two-tailed with controls). I fail to find support for H1b, that the relationship between direct discrimination and feminist identification will be negative for men. Figure 4.7 below shows the interaction between experiences with discrimination and gender on levels of feminist identification in Study 2.

Figure 4.7 - Relationship Between Intersectional Discrimination and Feminist Identity



One explanation for the differences between Study 1 and Study 2 is that gender identity is not isolated in Study 2 whereas it is in Study 1. Instead, this measure may be capturing multiple forms of discrimination at play all at once. Perhaps, experiencing multiple forms of discrimination, or intersectional forms of direct discrimination leads to a stronger empathetic reaction that in turn enhances feminist identification. It could also be the case that this measure isn't capturing intersectional discrimination at all, and is instead driven by racial discrimination alone rather than gender discrimination. Unfortunately, the survey did not provide detailed enough information to separate the impacts of racial discrimination from gender-based discrimination. Additionally, Study 2 did not have the space for additional questions about familial responsibility, empathy, or vote choice.

Robustness Checks

I've investigated the relationship between feminist identity and gender discrimination or discrimination that evokes further thought about the condition of women. By this logic, experiencing something unrelated to gender or women's experiences should not be related to increased or decreased levels of feminist identification. Therefore, I expect that discrimination on the basis of race alone in Study 1 to not impact the identification with feminism, but that it may be related to increase likelihood of voting for a woman. Study 1 allows me to investigate this with more clarity because it separates out gender discrimination from racial discrimination. Again, I find that there is no statistically significant relationship between racial discrimination and

feminist identity (b = -0.031, p = 0.169) and this is robust to demographic and forms of other discrimination controls.

Furthermore, while candidate partisanship was matched to that of the respondent and the question wording made clear they were running in a primary election, I had wondered whether this type of discrimination may still lead to voting for a woman due to the assumption that women are more closely aligned with more liberal ideology. Respondents may also choose to support a woman because they believe she may better represent them on policies related to other forms of equality. However, I find that this is not the case. Respondents that reported experiencing racial discrimination were no more likely to say they would vote for a woman candidate than those who had not (b = -0.032, p = 0.876). This study did not randomize a racial attribute to these hypothetical candidates. Therefore, more research is necessary to determine if this theory holds for other types of political identities. In other words, it is unclear from this study whether empathy producing life events can change political behavior through the identification with racially aligned political identities.[43]

Overall, I find that racial discrimination alone is not related to elevated levels of feminist identity while experiencing gender discrimination is. This is primarily driven by

[43] While racial discrimination shouldn't be related to feminist identity, it may be associated with more support for Black Lives Matter. Study 2 includes questions about support for Black Lives Matter. All participants were asked, "From what you've read and heard, how do you feel about the Black Lives Matter movement?" Feelings were measured on a 4-point scale ranging from "strongly oppose" to "strongly support". The overall average support for Black Lives Matter in this sample is around 95.56%, therefore I was somewhat worried about ceiling effects. However, reported discrimination is related to even higher levels of support (b = 0.042, p = 0.02), where those who have not experienced discrimination support BLM at around 91.9%, those who reported experiencing discrimination support the group at 96.2%-- a statistically significant increase.

women in Study 1, as men tend to experience no change in feminist identification. When I combine gender and racial discrimination together in Study 2, the relationship between discrimination and feminist identification is far stronger among men of color. Finally, as a quasi-placebo test, I test whether racial discrimination alone leads to feminist identification. The alternate hypothesis being that any discrimination leads to an increase in any political identity, including feminism. However, consistent with my expectations, racial discrimination does not lead to higher levels of feminist identity. In fact, it is related to greater support for Black Lives Matter—a movement that specifically speaks to racial discrimination. This is consistent with my overall theory.

Study 3 Design

Through the first two studies, I found some evidence that each step in my theory can work individually. However, I also expected that discrimination would affect vote choice mediated through feminist identification and empathy (H4a), and that these relationships would be moderated by gender where women are more affected by the treatments (H4b). Again, I expect that feminist identity will positively relate to voter support of the woman candidate over the man among both men and women. I expect the effect of the treatment to be more pronounced through empathy among women than men due to the increased likelihood that she has experienced one of these scenarios in her life previously and can relate more strongly to the vignette.

This study was fielded on MTurk from April 12th – 16th, 2022 and includes 1,051 total respondents. Of the total number of respondents, fewer than 50% (n = 521) were

usable.[44] Around 54.9% identified as male, another 44.7% as female, with the remaining 0.4% identifying as gender diverse or non-binary. The large majority of the sample is non-Hispanic white (74.4%), with far lower percentages identifying as African-American (8.6%), Asian or Pacific Islander (7.9%), Hispanic or Latino (6.7%), Native American or Alaskan Native (1%), and multiple races (1.2%). Each participant received one vignette of several which focus on (a.) direct gender discrimination faced in a university classroom setting, (b.) experiencing indirect gender discrimination in promotions at work due to family obligations, (c.) experiencing second-hand discrimination through your daughter in a medical setting, (d.) information on prevalence of medical discrimination against women, and (e.) an unrelated vignette as a control (see Appendix E for details). I then measure subsequent levels of empathy with women, feminist identity, and support for a hypothetical woman candidate matched with a hypothetical man.

The treatments are designed to induce perspective taking (for a review of perspective-taking vignettes see: Hughes and Huby 2004) and motivate the participant to care for the wellbeing of someone in that situation (Negd, Mallan, and Lipp 2011). The first two treatments are vignettes to allow participants to engage in strictly first-person experiences. The first only taps into direct gender discrimination alone and doesn't tap into any other gender-related roles or identities. The second treatment is similar but

[44] After reading each vignette, the respondents were asked to "Please try to imagine you are the person in this scenario. Try to visualize clearly and vividly what you might be thinking, feeling, and experiencing if you were them, looking at the world through their eyes and walking in their shoes. Imagine how you would feel and how this incident would affect your life. Now, please write a sentence or two describing this experience" in addition to passing a multiple-choice attention check question. Those who failed the attention check were kicked out of the useable respondent pool. Then, each response to the open ended question was hand-coded to better detect whether the respondent was a real human rather than a bot, and followed the instructions.

brings in an additional role (e.g., being a parent). The third vignette also aims to engage the participant in perspective-taking, but through a second-person exercise and focuses on the participants hypothetical daughter. The fourth treatment strays from this method and introduces new information about gender-based discrimination. This is included to disentangle the effects of pure information from the effects of perspective-taking.

The first vignette described a situation in which a person is being discriminated against due to their gender. Gender is matched to the respondent's own gender. This treatment is very loosely based on another vignette written by a Forbes article on gender discrimination, [45] and utilizes a quote from an NBC News article about imposter syndrome to incorporate some elements from the real world.[46] Again, I expect that this kind of direct discrimination against one's gender may evoke antipathy rather than empathy for men.

Treatment 1 (101 words):

> *You're a student in a small class and take your place around the table with the male/female [opposite to participant] students at a top University. The professor scanned all five of his/her students and said, "Good morning, Ladies/Gentlemen." Your eyes arched, and you say, "Good morning Dr. Miller," hoping to get appropriate recognition. The professor ignored you and went on with the seminar. Later, you bring it up with the department chair. He/She [same as participant] tells you that you were being too sensitive and over-reacting to the situation. Your male/female counterparts didn't seem to understand or care how this made you feel.*

[45] https://www.forbes.com/sites/bryanrobinson/2021/02/15/gender-discrimination-is-still-alive-and-well-in-the-workplace-in-2021/?sh=bd0e49d7f1c9

[46] https://news.yahoo.com/why-black-latinx-women-face-152259897.html?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlLmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAANFfqHACXy7_-k2o-0acuIFzy-kJM9wkh6ZMxHxaAPWy0_Lr4SNgp4_aG5FTEkI22fBTvBrDrE2z0XznXr2BcLOsj7K49RTqV6KPksQ7WGmQcceBdE_oqx8uLM2G0DKroaB9HU7w3FXYAqmTPOkSSJk0OEmIvqYDuhzwneg3_2wm

The second vignette is similar, but instead of tapping into direct gender discrimination, it focuses on indirect gender discrimination, and describes a situation that women experience quite often—being discriminated against at work because of family responsibilities. Again, this treatment is very loosely based on a vignette written by the Forbes article on gender discrimination, and utilizes a quote from an article about a woman's experiences with discrimination at work to incorporate some elements from the real world.[47]

Treatment 2 (110 words):

> *As you're walking down a hallway, you notice that the door is open as the promotions committee sat around a conference table evaluating dossiers of applicants for promotion. They loudly scrutinized your credentials—so loud you can hear it from several feet away. One of the senior male/female members commented, "I think they might be trying to get pregnant again… that makes him/her hard to work with. I think this person would be much better suited at a lower tier company." No one spoke up, and you were denied a promotion, despite the fact that the corporation clearly states that it doesn't discriminate on the basis of gender and is family-friendly.*

The third vignette describes a situation in which the participant experiences discrimination second-hand through their hypothetical daughter. Their daughter is being discriminated against in a doctor's office. It is loosely based on doctors' accounts of others not taking female patient pain seriously, and gaslighting in women's health.[48]

[47] https://www.fastcompany.com/90414895/exclusive-i-left-google-because-of-pregnancy-discrimination

[48] https://www.northwell.edu/katz-institute-for-womens-health/articles/gaslighting-in-womens-health

Treatment 3 (118 words):

> *Your usually happy-go-lucky teenage daughter comes home after her shift at work. This time something was wrong—she told you she had some chest pain and was having trouble catching her breath at work today. Concerned, you take her to your family doctor's office. Once you arrive, her doctor tells her not to worry—that it was just a combination of menstrual symptoms and the stress of her new job. After being sent home with no help, you call a doctor who's a woman for a second opinion. This doctor suggested more testing and found plaque in her arteries caused by uncontrolled hypertension and early coronary heart disease—something you told the first doctor runs in your family.*

The final treatment is simply informational and does not ask participants to engage in perspective taking. This is in an effort to parse out how reading or learning new information may be different from actively engaging in first-person scenarios. I expect that this will yield some results, but not anywhere near as powerful as those first-person exercises. I also don't expect this one-time, short reading treatment to be as powerful or as long-lasting as learning information over an extended period of time or as a study. I talk more about this in Chapter 3: Formal Learning. The information in the treatment below comes from a TODAY and SurveyMonkey poll published online. [49] However, the information has been re-organized and re-written just as the others were to sound similar to the other vignettes in style.

[49] https://www.today.com/health/today-survey-finds-gender-discrimination-doctor-s-office-serious-issue-t153641

Treatment 4 (110 words):

> *According to a new study, over half of all women consider gender discrimination at the doctor's office to be a serious issue. Far fewer men agreed that such discrimination was an issue. Women in the study were much more likely than men to say that doctors dismissed their symptoms and that their pain was not taken seriously. About 31% of women with chronic conditions or pain said that they felt they needed to "prove" their experiences with pain to a doctor. This is in stark contrast to only 19% of men. Additionally, 17% of women said that this mistreatment was due to their gender compared to only 6% of men.*

Finally, the last vignette simply describes a person using a Kindle or e-reader. Again, it is based on a real-world review of the Kindle Paperwhite,[50] but has been re-organized and re-written to match the style of the previous vignettes:

Control (112 words):

> *This year, you finally caved and bought an e-reader — it was time to let go of prejudices you'd been holding on to for way too long. For most of your life, you were a book purist. Being on a computer all day for work made staring at another screen in your down time the last thing you wanted to do. But just a few weeks using this new e-reader, and you're smitten. You can read whatever you want, wherever and whenever you please. With print books, you read what's in front of you and you make it work. There's joy in simplicity. But you now also appreciate the e-reader for its versatility.*

This vignette acts as a control where the participants are still reading about another person completing a task, but it has no inherent discriminatory angle. After the participant reads the vignettes, they were asked "What was the main topic of the passage you read?" to ensure that they received the treatment. It's at this point that they will be able to go back and re-read the vignette if they choose to do so. Similar to (Simon,

[50] https://www.nbcnews.com/shopping/lifestyle/kindle-paperwhite-best-e-reader-n1144901

Magaldi, and O'Brien 2019), the participants receiving the experiential vignettes (all except for treatment 4) are then asked to:

> *Please try to imagine you are the person in this scenario. Try to visualize clearly and vividly what you might be thinking, feeling, and experiencing if you were them, looking at the world through their eyes and walking in their shoes. Imagine how you would feel and how this incident would affect your life. Now, please write a sentence or two describing this experience.*

This open-ended question allows me to get more detailed information about how participants felt about the vignettes, and whether they complied with the treatment or not. Each open-ended response will be coded for both compliance and content, or in other words whether they actually did the perspective taking exercise, and how it made them feel. For the only informational vignette (treatment 4), I simply ask individuals to "Please try to summarize the information you just read in a couple sentences" to keep the survey experience as similar as possible across all treatments.

The previous two studies were observational and did not measure empathetic reactions directly. However, I choose to measure these reactions in Study 3 to test if it's (a) empathy or (b) thinking about and developing a new understanding unrelated to the development of empathy that's leading to feminist identification and a greater likelihood of voting for a woman. In order to measure this, I use a modified version of the Group Empathy Index (GEI) created by Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos (2021). The GEI was originally developed to test empathy towards different racial out-groups. Their index was based off of the earlier Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) used widely in social psychology (M. Davis 1980; M. H. Davis 1983). Instead of asking generalizable questions towards outgroups like, "I try to look at everybody's side of the disagreement

before I make a decision", the original authors wrote questions like, "I try to look at everybody's side of the disagreement, including those of other racial or ethnic groups, before I make a decision" (p. 41). However, my GEI is modified to target women rather than racial out-groups.

In Table 4.5 below, I show Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos' (2021) original GEI questions from "Seeing Us in Them: Social Divisions and the Politics of Group Empathy" in panel B, and my modified version in panel C. Panel A displays whether the question is meant to tap into the cognitive (perspective-taking) or affective (empathic concern) subcomponents of the group empathy index. For this experiment, I use the modified 14-point Group Empathy Index.[51] This is also the first survey where I test the scale reliability and validity of the modified Group Empathy Index (GEI) questions I developed to test this theory. For more on scale development, see Chapter 2.

[51] The original authors conducted several surveys with the short GEI and found a Cronbach's alpha of .90 and .88.

Table 4.5 — Group Empathy Index Question Wording Comparison Chart

Question type	Sirin et al. 2021	DeMora
Perspective taking item 1	I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both, including for issues involving other racial or ethnic groups.	I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both, including for issues involving women.
Perspective taking item 2	I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other person's" point of view, particularly someone from another race or ethnicity. (R)	I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the "other person's" point of view, particularly women. (R)
Perspective taking item 3	When I'm upset at someone from another racial or ethnic group, I usually try to "put myself in their shoes" for a while.	When I'm upset at a woman, I usually try to "put myself in her shoes" for a while.
Perspective taking item 4	I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement (including those of other racial or ethnic groups) before I make a decision.	I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement (including those of women) before I make a decision.
Perspective taking item 5	I sometimes try to better understand people of other race or ethnic groups by imagining how things look from their perspective.	I sometimes try to better understand women by imagining how things look from their perspective.
Perspective taking item 6	If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to the arguments of people, particularly those of other racial or ethnic groups. (R)	If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to the arguments of people, particularly those of women. (R)
Perspective taking item 7	Before criticizing a somebody from another racial or ethnic group, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.	Before criticizing a woman, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.
Empathic concern item 1	I often have tender, concerned feelings for people from another racial or ethnic group who are less fortunate than me.	I often have tender, concerned feelings for women who are less fortunate than me.
Empathic concern item 2	The misfortunes of other racial or ethnic groups do not usually disturb me a great deal. (R)	The misfortunes of women do not usually disturb me a great deal. (R)
Empathic concern item 3	I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person towards people or another racial or ethnic group.	I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person towards women.

Empathic concern item 4	When I see someone being treated unfairly due to their race or ethnicity, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them. (R)	When I see someone being treated unfairly because they are a woman, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them. (R)
Empathic concern item 5	Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for people of other racial or ethnic groups when they are having problems. (R)	Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for women when they are having problems. (R)
Empathic concern item 6	When I see someone being taken advantage of due to their race or ethnicity, I feel kind of protective towards them.	When I see someone being taken advantage of because they are a woman, I feel kind of protective towards them.
Empathic concern item 7	I am often quite touched by things that I see happen to people due to their race or ethnicity.	I am often quite touched by things that I see happen to women.

Note: This table compares the GEI index with Sirin et al.'s question wording. R indicates reversed items. The underlined portions highlight the differences. Response options are (1) Does not describe me well at all; (2) Describes me slightly well; (3) Describes me moderately well; (4) Describes me very well; (5) Describes me extremely well.

The first two questions tap into perspective taking, which is simply the ability to imagine oneself in the shoes of another. The second two questions deal more with concern for others dissimilar to yourself. I combine all of these items into a single scale ranging from 0 – 1 for ease of interpretability. The index has a high internal reliability score ($\alpha = 0.88$). Then, like the previous study, I measure feminist identification. Finally, I include a conjoint experiment where two hypothetical candidates are matched up with randomized traits including gender, race, age, and from where they received their university education. I use this design to avoid social desirability bias or to assess respondents more sensitive opinions on candidate gender without making it terribly obvious (Horiuchi, Markovich, and Yamamoto forthcoming; Teele, Kalla, and Rosenbluth 2018). In other words, it may be unclear to the respondent whether I'm attempting to measure their reaction to the candidate's gender specifically as I also randomize race, education, and age. Each participant receives three separate matchups which are then stacked and analyses are clustered using a unique respondent identifier. The participants are then asked, "In a **congressional election** where both candidates are from your own party, which candidate would you prefer?"

Study 3 Results

Like in the previous studies, women were much more likely to identify as feminist than men in the full sample ($b = 0.74$, $p = 0.00$). This was asked post-treatment, but was also the case when restricted to those assigned to the control group ($b = 0.99$, $p = 0.00$). Each respondent was asked "How strongly do you identify as a feminist (if at all), and

answered on a scale ranging from 1 ("not at all") to 5 ("a great deal"). The overall score on feminist identification in the control group is 3.05 which is just over the halfway point. While previous literature suggests men score lower on empathy indices than women, this was not the case here. Women and men's empathy scores were statistically indistinguishable—again this is restricting the sample to the control group as it was asked post-treatment. The average score was quite high—0.74 on a scale ranging from 0 to 1. In line with theoretical expectations, there's also a positive relationship between empathy and feminist identification (p = 0.01, OLS analysis subset to the control group).

Each vignette was designed to induce empathy with women. The main treatment effects on the full empathy scale are limited. Each vignette increased empathy slightly but these effects are not statistically significant. Table 4.6 below shows these effects on the perspective-taking half of the empathy scale, the empathic concern half, and the entire scale.[52] The question wording for the scale and each sub-scale are included above in Table 4.5.

Table 4.6 — Average Treatment Effects on Empathy Scales With Two-Tailed P-Values

Treatment	**Perspective-taking**	**Empathic Concern**	**Full Empathy Scale**
Direct Gender Discrimination (Course)	0.028 ($p = 0.209$)	0.019 ($p = 0.415$)	0.024 ($p = 0.258$)
Indirect Discrimination (Family)	0.024 ($p = 0.286$)	0.001 ($p = 0.956$)	0.012 ($p = 0.552$)
Second-hand (Medical)	0.011 ($p = 0.590$)	0.020 ($p = 0.381$)	0.016 ($p = 0.432$)
Information Only (Medical)	0.003 ($p = 0.869$)	-0.020 ($p = 0.401$)	-0.008 ($p = 0.694$)

[52] When this model is run on the subset of men and then women separately, there are few differences. All the relationships remain positive and largely fall short of statistical significance. The only exception being direct gender discrimination among women ($b = 0.068$, $p = 0.044$).

Recall that I tested each step in my theory separately in Studies 1 and 2. Here, I use Study 3 to test the theory all at once. I expect that discrimination will affect vote choice mediated through empathy (H4a). I also hypothesize that these relationships will be moderated by gender (H4b). In other words, I expect that reading about these experiences with discrimination will result in more respondents voting for women when compared to the control condition, and that this process primarily works through the development of empathy. I also expected that women will react more strongly through empathy than men in the sample, as they may be able to more easily connect these fictitious scenarios to their lived experiences.

For these tests, I use causal mediation analysis as proposed by Imai, Keele, and Tingley (2010). The dependent variable for all of the following is candidate gender preference (0 = man, 1 = woman), and mediator is the empathy index. Other candidate attributes (age, race, and university) are all controlled for in each of the following analyses. In the full sample, I find support for my hypothesis (H4a) that the relationship between the treatments and female candidate preference would be mediated through empathy. Each perspective taking vignette (all but the Information Only Vignette) increased female candidate preference through the development of empathy, but not directly. These results are shown in Table 4.7 below. However, it is important to note that because the direct treatment effects on empathy is limited (see Table 4.6 above) and the direct effects on candidate preference are null (see ADE's reported in Table 4.7 below), further work is needed to confirm these results.

Table 4.7 — Average Causal Mediation Effects (ACME) and Average Direct Effects (ADE) of the Treatments on Female Candidate Preference Through Empathy

Treatment	**ACME (p-value)**	**ADE (p-value)**
Direct Gender Discrimination (Course)	0.0098 (0.00)	0.01 (0.51)
Indirect Discrimination (Family)	0.0075 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.70)
Second-hand (Medical)	0.004 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.64)
Information Only (Medical)	-0.002 (0.32)	-0.01 (0.64)

When I run this analysis on women and men separately, I find similar results. The effect among women is generally higher, whereas the effect loses statistical significance among men. The one exception being the pure information treatment, where men seem to react negatively. See Table 4.8 for results below.

Table 4.8 — Average Causal Mediation Effects (ACME) and Average Direct Effects (ADE) of the Treatments on Female Candidate Preference Through Empathy Among Men and Women Separately

Treatment	**Respondent Gender**	**ACME (p-value)**	**ADE (p-value)**
Direct Gender Discrimination (Course)	Men	0.002 (0.45)	0.01 (0.62)
Direct Gender Discrimination (Course)	Women	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.56)
Indirect Discrimination (Family)	Men	0.005 (0.22)	0.03 (0.34)
Indirect Discrimination (Family)	Women	0.008 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.09)
Second-hand (Medical)	Men	0.000 (0.81)	-0.00 (0.82)
Second-hand (Medical)	Women	0.007 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.36)
Information Only (Medical)	Men	-0.006 (0.04)	0.02 (0.57)
Information Only (Medical)	Women	0.002 (0.33)	-0.04 (0.20)

These analyses provide evidence to support hypothesis H4b. However, because this study's total participant pool was reduced by over half, breaking down the sample between men and women and by treatment condition creates fairly small groups. For instance, only 44 women and 63 men received the control condition, with all other treatments falling within this range as well. The study may be underpowered when broken up this way.

While there is some significant movement among women, I find no such effect among men. Although I expected the treatments to be effective among both groups, they may not be the best mechanism to increase candidate support among men. I suspect that, while women were often able to link the vignettes back to their own personal experiences, men may not have been able to do so. Future research ought to ask about real-world experiences with discrimination in addition to implementing vignettes like these. Unfortunately, I did not do that here and therefore cannot test whether this may have been the case.

Conclusion

Does experiencing what women endure affect political behavior (e.g., voting for women)? The answer is yes, but only in certain cases. I find consistent relationships between experiencing discrimination and levels of feminist identification in studies 1 and 2. I also find that feminist identification is related to female candidate preference. Study 3 tests the mediating role of empathy directly, and introduces discriminatory experiences via perspective-taking exercises. I find some limited evidence that experimentally

introducing these experiences with discrimination result in female candidate preference through empathy. However, I expect that experiencing any of these discriminatory events in real life to amplify the effects presented here.

I was surprised by some of the results in Study 3. While I anticipated that there wouldn't be an effect of the purely informational treatment in the full sample, I certainly did not think that there would be a statistically significant negative effect among men. This is the only treatment that did not include a perspective-taking element. While my theory helps explain the process through which events like personal experiences with discrimination can have positive political behavioral outcomes through empathy, it's unclear how more neutral messaging (like presenting information without a perspective taking component) could reverse these effects. Further research ought to disentangle the reaction against the pure informational condition among men. Additionally, future work ought to develop and test the short 4-question GEI against the 14-question GEI used here. While Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos' (2021) work shows that the full and short GEI are equally reliable, this may not translate to the modified gender version I have proposed here.

Overall, empathetic catalysts related to direct and indirect discrimination may increase identification as a feminist and support for women running for office. The evidence is stronger in the survey data that asks about real-world lived experiences (Studies 1 and 2) rather than attempting to create them through hypothetical scenarios (Study 3). These relationships seem to be similar across the board, although women who experience these events in their lives seem to react most strongly compared to men, with

a potential caveat for men of color. Future research may also theorize on the importance of ideology in these relationships as well as the frequency of discriminatory exposure. While it was not my original intent to do that here, there were some interesting differences between conservative men and women and liberal men and women. Additionally, I did not anticipate that there would be a major difference between feminist identification and the frequency of experiencing discrimination, but this seemed to be important among respondents of color.

Chapter 5 — The Political Impact of Daughters on Her Parents

Introduction

On October 14th 2015, Hillary Clinton made her opening remarks in the first Democratic presidential debate. Hoping to inspire Americans to vote for the first woman president in the US, she said, "Finally, fathers will be able to say to their daughters, 'You, too, can grow up to be president.'"[53] Clinton focuses on the fact that there has never been a woman president in the US. She was unsuccessful in reaching that highest office in the land, but she became the first woman to win a major party nomination. While women have made considerable political gains in recent years, they are still drastically underrepresented in most political offices in the US. Speaking directly to fathers, she encourages men to think about their daughters' futures and ambitions. She insinuates that descriptive representation is important for girls and highlights an area where men can feel involved in the struggle for greater representation for women.

Here, Clinton felt no need to speak directly with women for whom the futures of women and girls is already salient. In other words, she is attempting to mobilize and engage men in thinking about gender inequalities and engaging in perspective-taking with women—and for some, perhaps for the first time. On the other hand, women have likely had first-hand experiences of gender inequalities in some area of their life. Many are already aware of the lack of female representation in office, and that their fathers had a far harder time telling *them* that they could grow up to be president.

[53] https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/05/parents-of-daughters-support-hillary-clinton-more-than-parents-of-sons/

In this chapter, I explore becoming a parent of a daughter as a potential empathetic catalyst. Does having a daughter influence the development of empathy and feminist identification? Does the impact of having a daughter have a stronger effect on the development of empathy and feminist identification among fathers than mothers? Others have theorized that having daughters affects behaviors through linked fate rather than empathy or feminist identification. I theorize that while linked fate may be one valid (albeit previously untested) mechanism for political behavior change, there may be another mechanism less centered on the self at play through empathy.

Existing Understandings of Political Socialization

Political socialization, or the process of informal learning and development of enduring political orientations (Hyman 1959), can be impacted by things like getting married, having children, becoming a home-owner, and other life events. For instance, research shows that marriage and divorce can significantly alter political behavior—where spouses adjust their level of political participation to better match one-another (Stoker and Jennings 1995), and divorce can increase levels of participation and strengthen political identities (Fahs 2007). Property ownership can lead to increased participation in local politics, donations to political candidates (Hall and Yoder 2022; Yoder 2020), and may influence political ideology and voter turnout (Gilderbloom and Markham 1995; Kingston, Thompson, and Eichar 1984).

When it comes to socialization between children and parents, traditionally, political scientists viewed this process as working from top-down (Jennings and Niemi

1968; Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers 2009). Meaning that parents socialize their children into political knowledge, beliefs, leanings (Percheron and Jennings 1981), and behavior (Beck and Jennings 1982; Verba, Schlozman, and Burns 2005). However, a growing body of literature shows political socialization can also work from the children to the parents (McDevitt and Chaffee 2002; Ojeda and Hatemi 2015; Pedraza and Perry 2020) – a process known as "trickle-up" political socialization. Further work shows that childhood and adolescent political socialization are far less important than the socialization we experience in adulthood (Prewitt, Eulau, and Zisk 1966). I focus on one specific experience related to adult socialization- having a daughter. Scholars have argued that having a daughter can be an important socialization experience, especially for fathers.

The relationship between fathers and their daughters has been studied in political science with mixed results. Certain works show that when fathers have a daughter, they adopt more liberal stances (Oswald and Powdthavee 2010; Shafer and Malhotra 2011; Warner 1991; Warner and Steel 1999), however another body of literature shows the opposite—those men actually tend to become more conservative (Conley and Rauscher 2013; Prokos, Baird, and Keene 2010). Other work shows that when men have daughters, they're more likely to support policies on women's rights and equality (Sharrow et al. 2018), and are more likely to vote for particular women candidates (Greenlee et al. 2018).

What are the mechanisms through which fathers, in particular, may become more supportive of women's rights and equality, and more likely to vote for a woman running for office? The literature has typically focused on linked fate as the driving force behind

observed differences in political behavior and orientations (Greenlee et al. 2020). The literature typically uses one of three approaches nicely summarized by Greenlee et al. (2020). The first approach, and the one that those authors use, focuses on having a "first-daughter" or having a daughter as your first child rather than a son. This is also known as the "first daughterhood hypothesis" (Greenlee et al. 2020; Shafer and Malhotra 2011; Sharrow et al. 2018). The second approach uses having a daughter in general, regardless of the order they were born. This is also known as the "fatherhood linked-fate hypothesis" (Prokos, Baird, and Keene 2010). And the third focuses on the proportion of daughters to sons that a person has or the "proportion of daughters hypothesis" (Conley and Rauscher 2013; Washington 2008).

The "fatherhood linked-fate hypothesis" suggests that when a man becomes the father of a daughter, he thinks about women's issues with fresh eyes. This is because his fate is newly linked with the fate of a woman, and therefore he becomes more supportive of gender equity. The "proportion of daughters hypothesis" works in a similar way but considers the number of children and the proportion of daughters to sons. It suggests that as the proportion of daughters rises, a father will be more likely to see their fate as linked with that of women. The "first daughterhood hypothesis" suggests that there is something special about having a first child in the socialization process. That the father will be more attuned to women's issues and more likely to feel linked fate with their daughter and women if his first child is a daughter rather than a son. The aforementioned authors posit, as do I here, that the momentous occasion of having a daughter first is a critical juncture

in fathers' socialization. Although, rather than relying on linked-fate, I focus on empathy and feminist identification.

Again, these theories suggests that when a man becomes the father of a daughter, he thinks about women's issues with fresh eyes. He is newly motivated to think of women's issues because his fate is newly linked with the fate of a woman (i.e., his daughter). Therefore, he becomes more supportive of gender equity because while it benefits women, it now benefits him as well. While much this work relies on linked fate theoretically, it does not actually test whether feelings of linked fate result from having a daughter but instead, tests the direct effects of having daughters on support of certain gender equality policies (Sharrow et al. 2018) and vote choice for a woman (Greenlee et al. 2018). This is a compelling theory, and one that I will test here. However, I argue that while this is probably the case among some men, it's not the only explanation for fathers' change in political behavior, nor is it the strongest one. Instead, in the next section, I argue that most men will experience a change in behavior due to their growing empathy with women, rather than other reasons like linked-fate.

Theory

The personal experience of having a daughter can act as a catalyst that allows fathers to empathize with their daughters and with women. When fathers have daughters, it causes them to see the necessity to reduce gender inequalities (Sharrow et al. 2018). Having a daughter pushes gender to the fore for men. Gender suddenly becomes a relevant issue for fathers, whereas for mothers, this is likely to have already been the

case, as women deal with these inequalities normally or are at least aware of them. When fathers have a daughter, they begin to think about and become concerned about gender in ways that they had not before (Borrell-Porta, Costa-Font, and Philipp 2019; Shafer and Malhotra 2011). I argue that this increase in concern for women's equality is not only brought about through linked fate, but also, and to a greater degree, through empathy. Fathers who are suddenly made aware of these inequalities through having a daughter, may empathize with what women feel for the first time, and through this, develop feminist identification. This empathy with women also leads to changes in political behaviors—such as supporting gender equity policies, or voting for more women in political office. In other words, it may be the case that parents feel greater linked fate with women after having daughters, but it could also be that they genuinely want better for them, and actively feel the struggles that they face as personal—even if those things do not matter for their own future.

To be clear, I theorize that there are certain life experiences that make feminist identification and voting for women who run for office more likely (for more on empathetic catalysts generally see Chapter 2). One such experience is becoming a parent of a daughter. I anticipate that fathers of first-daughters will be particularly motivated to engage in taking the perspective of women—especially if they are reminded of the different treatment their daughter faces. This will result in greater empathy with women. This empathy with women probably results in a variety of different opinions and behaviors, but when it comes to politics, I imagine that they are more likely to identify with a movement that promotes gender equality under the law—this is operationalized as

self-reported feminist identification. While developing a political identity is one outcome of increased empathy with women, I expect that another political display of this empathy will be voting for a woman running for office over a man.

Of course, there is variation in this. Not all men will develop a feminist identity, or a change in political behaviors, beliefs, or stances. Theoretically, this variation can be explained by the development of empathy as a mediating factor. Why empathy may or may not develop is based on a variety of cultural, temporal, or even physiological circumstances. For instance, we know from psychology that not everyone is born with the equal capacity to empathize with others (Mullins-Nelson, Salekin, and Leistico 2006). This does not mean, however, that the development of empathy towards out-groups is pre-determined. Work in psychology and political science shows that empathy in many cases can be developed through formal training which typically involves perspective taking activities, and learning. Some studies even show how certain environments like medical training have the ability to decrease empathy among students (Hojat et al. 2009; Nunes et al. 2011). Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos (2016, 2017, 2021) show that empathy can be developed towards racial out-groups, and that this empathy leads to different political behaviors. The work here does not directly investigate the determinants of empathetic capacity, but instead investigates the impact certain events can have on political behaviors through the development of empathy.

Hypotheses

To test my theory, and the competing theories based on linked fate, I develop 6 primary hypotheses and 2 supplementary hypotheses. I expect that (H1) fathers of first-daughters will experience greater empathy with women than fathers of first-sons. Theoretically, having a first-daughter compared to a first-son ought to elicit greater empathy with women among fathers. I expect that fathers of first-daughters are learning about gender inequalities and engaging in perspective-taking for the first time. The perspective these fathers are taking, is that of women. They are motivated to think about the experiences of women after having a daughter for whom they care about, whereas fathers of sons likely do not engage any more deeply than they would have prior to having a son.

- ***H1****: Fathers of first-daughters will have greater empathy as a baseline than fathers of first-sons.*

I expect that (H2) fathers of first-daughters will react with even greater empathy when exposed to situations where the well-being of his hypothetical daughter is at stake. I don't have a strong directional hypothesis for mothers. It may be the case that mothers of first-daughters will experience a great increase in empathy with women because these experiences reify their own experiences with discrimination. On the other hand, some mothers may passively accept such discrimination (see Chapter 2 for more on identity formation). In either case, the experience is likely not novel for mothers, whereas it likely is for fathers.

- ***H2****: There will be a positive effect of situations where the well-being of one's daughter is at stake on empathy among fathers of first-daughters when compared to fathers of first-sons.*

One primary political outcome (H3a) of this empathy will be feminist identification. While empathy can theoretically result in various behaviors in general, one politically relevant outcome of empathy with women is feminist identification. In other words, the culmination of this empathy, when thinking about politics, will be the development of feminist identity. I also expect that (H3b) a situation where the well-being of one's daughters is at stake will increase feminist identification through empathy, but specifically among parents of first-daughters when compared to parents of first-sons. In this case, the source of empathy (discrimination against one's daughter) is important, and I anticipate that different kinds of people will react differently to it.

- ***H3a****: High levels of empathy with women will result in higher levels of feminist identification.*
- ***H3b****: Perspective-taking that focus on a daughter experiencing discrimination will increase feminist identification through empathy among fathers and mothers of first-daughters.*

Furthermore, participants' political behavior will be impacted by greater empathy with women. I expect that (H4a) those with higher levels of empathy will be more likely to cast a hypothetical ballot for women who run for office over a man. I also anticipate

that (H4b) higher levels of linked-fate will increase the likelihood of voting for a woman over a man. Although, I expect it will be a weaker relationship.

- ***H4a:*** *Higher levels of empathy will be related to greater likelihood of voting for women who run for office.*
- ***H4b:*** *Empathy will be a stronger predictor of voting for a woman than linked fate.*

As a series of supplementary hypotheses, I draw from an additional study to test whether real-life elements from the political environment can impact support for real world political candidates. I hypothesize that when exposed to particularly gendered elements of the political environment, fathers of first-daughters will (H5a) express greater warmth towards female political candidates such as Hillary Clinton. This relationship occurs (H5b) primarily through the development of empathy, but also through feminist identification.

- ***H5a:*** *Exposure to certain gendered elements in the political environment will elicit greater warmth towards Hillary Clinton among fathers of first-daughters.*
- ***H5b****: The relationship between the treatments and warmth towards Hillary Clinton will be mediated by feminist identification.*

Here, I assume situations that bring gender to the fore will elicit greater perspective-taking, as I do not measure or manipulate it directly. These final hypotheses test these theoretical mechanisms with greater external validity by using real-world events, and candidates rather than relying solely on hypothetical scenarios and hypothetical candidate matchups.

Data & Methods

To test my main hypotheses, I designed a small online survey conducted on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) from April 12th – 16th 2022 and includes 1,051 total respondents. Of the total number of respondents, fewer than 50% (n = 521) were usable.[54] Each participant was invited to take the survey based on eligibility requirements (ie. Being an English-speaking adult in the US). Once the participants accepted the invitation, they were re-directed to the survey hosted by Qualtrics. This sample is comprised of 133 fathers and 132 mothers, the rest of the sample are non-parents. Of these parents, around 48.8% were parents of first-daughters (55 fathers and 73 mothers; see Chapter 4 for additional study information). This study allows me to test the empathy hypothesis, and includes questions on gender (measured as male, female, gender diverse, intersex, non-binary, or not listed), feminist identification (measured from "A great deal" to "Not at all" on a five-point scale), how many children respondents have, and the order and sex of their children.

Each participant is randomly assigned to one of four treatments or the control. For this chapter, I primary focus on the treatment that directly involves a hypothetical daughter. It is a vignette that reads:

> *Your usually happy-go-lucky teenage daughter comes home after her shift at work. This time something was wrong—she told you she had some chest pain and*

[54] After reading each vignette, the respondents were asked to "Please try to imagine you are the person in this scenario. Try to visualize clearly and vividly what you might be thinking, feeling, and experiencing if you were them, looking at the world through their eyes and walking in their shoes. Imagine how you would feel and how this incident would affect your life. Now, please write a sentence or two describing this experience" in addition to passing a multiple-choice attention check question. Those who failed the attention check were kicked out of the useable respondent pool. Then, each response to the open-ended question was hand-coded to better detect whether the respondent was a real human rather than a bot, and followed the instructions.

> *was having trouble catching her breath at work today. Concerned, you take her to your family doctor's office. Once you arrive, her doctor tells her not to worry—that it was just a combination of menstrual symptoms and the stress of her new job. After being sent home with no help, you call a doctor who's a woman for a second opinion. This doctor suggested more testing and found plaque in her arteries caused by uncontrolled hypertension and early coronary heart disease—something you told the first doctor runs in your family.*

The participants in the control receive a neutral vignette about experiences with an e-reader. While this vignette was created to follow the same structure as the treatment, it includes no gendered information:

> *This year, you finally caved and bought an e-reader — it was time to let go of prejudices you'd been holding on to for way too long. For most of your life, you were a book purist. Being on a computer all day for work made staring at another screen in your down time the last thing you wanted to do. But just a few weeks using this new e-reader, and you're smitten. You can read whatever you want, wherever and whenever you please. With print books, you read what's in front of you and you make it work. There's joy in simplicity. But you now also appreciate the e-reader for its versatility.*

After reading one of these vignettes, respondents are asked a series of questions to assess their empathy with women. The Group Empathy Index (GEI) was originally developed by Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos (2021) to test empathy towards different racial out-groups. However, my GEI is modified to target women rather than racial out-groups. See Chapter 2 for more on scale development, and Chapter 4 for a greater discussion of the scale used here, reliability, and validity. Respondents are also asks about their level of feminist identification, and the survey includes a conjoint experiment to test whether those higher in empathy and feminist identification are more willing to vote for a woman running for office over a man.

I then turn to a second study to test my supplementary hypotheses. It was fielded from February 8th through 26th 2019 with a Qualtrics panel of 1,043 respondents. Study 2

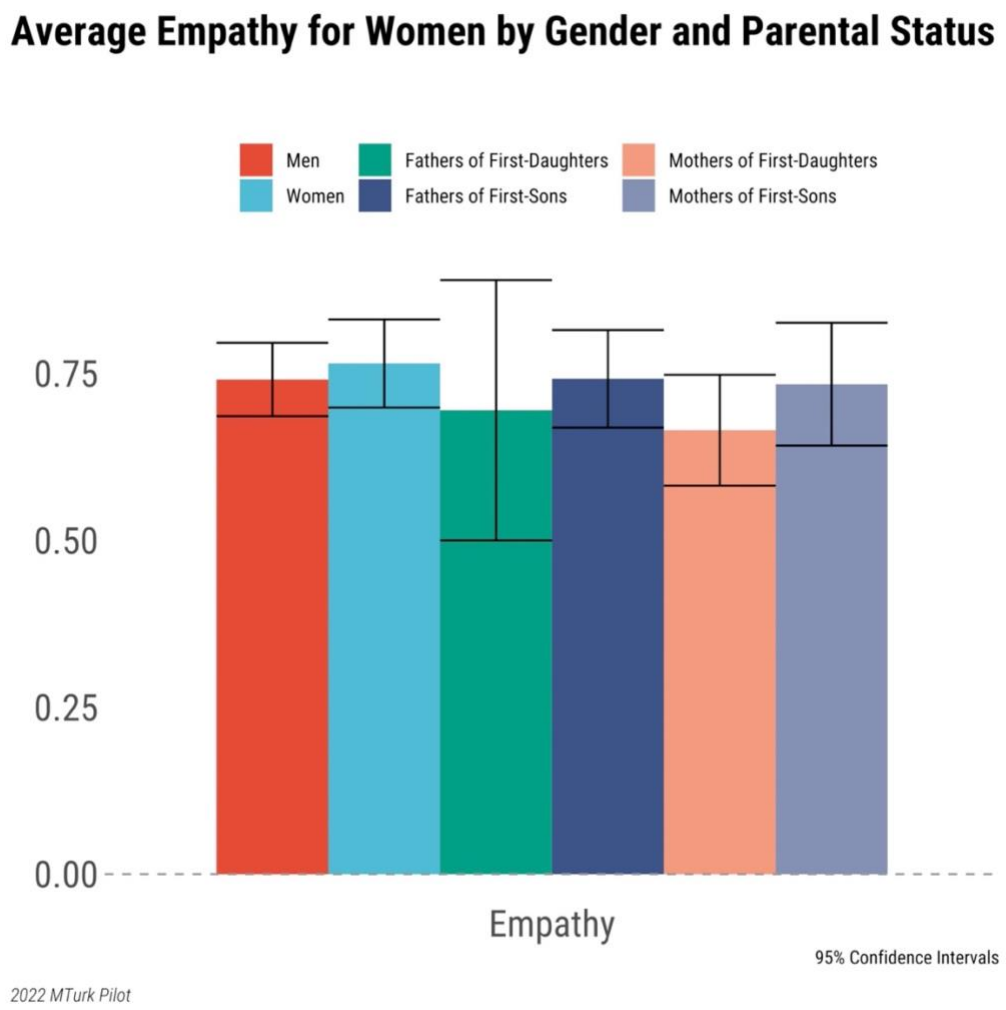
was conducted in conjunction with the UC Riverside Gender and Politics Lab run by Dr. Jennifer Merolla (for survey wording see Appendix G. The sample includes 534 women, and 505 men, and is racially, educationally, and politically diverse (see Appendix H Table 1 for demographic breakdown). This survey includes an experiment where participants read about gendered features of the political environment and then are asked about their feminist identification, and about their feelings toward real-world candidates like Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump. It also includes questions about gender, how many children respondents have, and the order and sex of their children.

Study 1 Results

Recall that I expect that fathers of first-daughters will have greater levels of empathy than fathers of first sons as a baseline. To test this, I limit my analysis to those assigned to the control and generate means for each demographic group presented in Figure 5.1 below. Additionally, I then test whether these differences are statistically meaningful via Tukey HSD pairwise comparison of means (see: Appendix H Table 2. Additionally, Appendix H Table 3 includes controls for age, income, education, and party identification). Overall, the differences between these groups are very small. The group highest in empathy towards women in the control is women without children (mean = 0.765; "Women" in Figure 5.1). However, contrary to expectations, none of these differences are statistically meaningful. It's important to note that the number of respondents that fall into each category after restricting this data to the control group is extremely small—ranging from only 6 to 34. Part of this is due to the overall sample size being cut in half in the cleaning process. While these results indicate that there may be

little to no difference in empathy levels as a baseline, further studies with larger sample sizes are necessary to properly test this hypothesis.

Figure 5.1 – Average Empathy for Women by Gender and Parental Status



My second hypothesis is that there will be a positive effect of the treatment compared to the control on empathy among fathers of first-daughters when compared to fathers of first-sons. To test this hypothesis, I use OLS regression where the dependent variable is the empathy index, and the treatment is interacted with a dummy variable

where 1 indicates that the man is a father of a first-daughter, and 0 indicates that he is a father of a first-son.

Table 5.1 — Treatment Effect on Empathy Among Fathers

	Basic	Control
(Intercept)	0.74 ***	0.74 ***
	(0.03)	(0.04)
Discrimination	-0.05	-0.05
	(0.05)	(0.05)
First-Daughter	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Discrimination: First-Daughter	0.07	0.07
	(0.08)	(0.08)
Number of Children		0.00
		(0.02)
N	131	131
R2	0.09	0.09

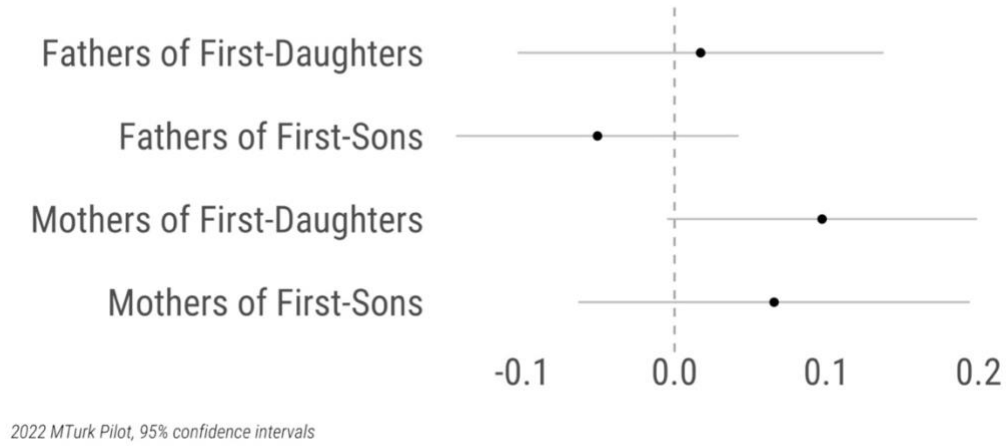
*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$. Standard errors in parentheses. Model uses all treatments in dataset, but only displays the discrimination vignette related to having a daughter.

Column 1 displays the basic relationship between empathy and the treatment interacted with whether a father has a first-daughter or first-son. Column 2 shows the same regression but controlling for the number of children the respondent has in case this has an effect on the outcome. Again, while fathers of first-daughters reacted more positively to the treatment on average (average marginal effect = 0.017) than fathers of first-sons

(average marginal effect = -0.05) the difference is not statistically significant (b= 0.07, p = 0.22).[55] While my initial analysis is run only on the subset of fathers in the data, I run an additional OLS on the full sample of parents (mothers and fathers) and add an interaction term for parent gender (See Appendix H Table 4 for the full model). Figure 5.2 shows the average marginal effects plotted for both mothers and fathers of first-sons and -daughters separately. Again, average empathy increases moving from the control to the discrimination vignette treatment across every group except for fathers of first-sons, however, these differences do not reach statistical significance. However, there is a statistically significant marginal increase in empathy among mothers of first-daughters (0.09, two-tailed p = 0.062).

[55] Average marginal effects are generated using the model with controls, but do not change when I don't control for each respondent's total number of children (Glynn and Sen 2015; Washington 2008). Furthermore, when I limit the data to compare only parents with one child (retaining only parents of one daughter or one son), I find few differences. The effect of moving from the control to the treatment condition on levels of empathy becomes significant for fathers of first-sons, and retains its negative direction (AME = -0.16, p = 0.03). However, further analysis becomes difficult because there are only 2 fathers of only-daughters and 10 fathers of only-sons in the control.

Figure 5.2 — Effect of Moving From the Control to Treatment Condition on Levels of Empathy by Parental Status



My third hypothesis (H3a) is that higher levels of empathy with women will result in higher levels of feminist identification in the full sample. I don't anticipate this relationship will be moderated by parental status. I expected that having experiences with discrimination (or in this case, reading about them and reacting to it) would result in greater empathy among parents with a first-daughter when compared to those with first sons. I don't find evidence for that in my data, although I may be underpowered to detect effects on the smaller side. Now, when considering the outcomes of empathy, once developed, there should be no difference between parental status. In other words, respondents with higher levels of empathy for women ought to identify more strongly with feminism regardless of how that empathy with women developed in the first place (formal learning, experiencing discrimination, having a daughter, etc.). To test whether there is a positive relationship between empathy and feminist identification, I run an OLS

regression where the empathy index is my dependent variable, and feminist identification is my independent variable. These results are displayed in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2 — Relationship Between Empathy and Feminist Identification Within the Control Group

	Basic	Interaction	+ Control
(Intercept)	1.44 *	0.84	0.99
	(0.67)	(1.39)	(1.64)
Empathy	2.18 *	3.34	3.25
	(0.89)	(1.86)	(1.95)
First-Daughter		3.30	3.24
		(2.12)	(2.17)
Empathy:First-Daughter		-4.47	-4.38
		(2.93)	(3.01)
Number of Children			-0.05
			(0.28)
N	108	48	48
R2	0.05	0.07	0.07

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Column 1 shows the relationship between empathy and feminist identification in the entire sample (genders, and parental status), but limited to the control group. Here, I find support for H3a, that there ought to be a strong relationship between empathy and feminist identification ($b = 2.18$, $p = 0.01$). Column 2 shows this relationship and any moderation by whether a parent has a first-daughter (1) or first-son (0). Column 3 replicates this but, again, controls for the number of children each parent has. Note that columns 2 and 3 only include parents. Consistent with expectations, I do not find there to be any moderation here.

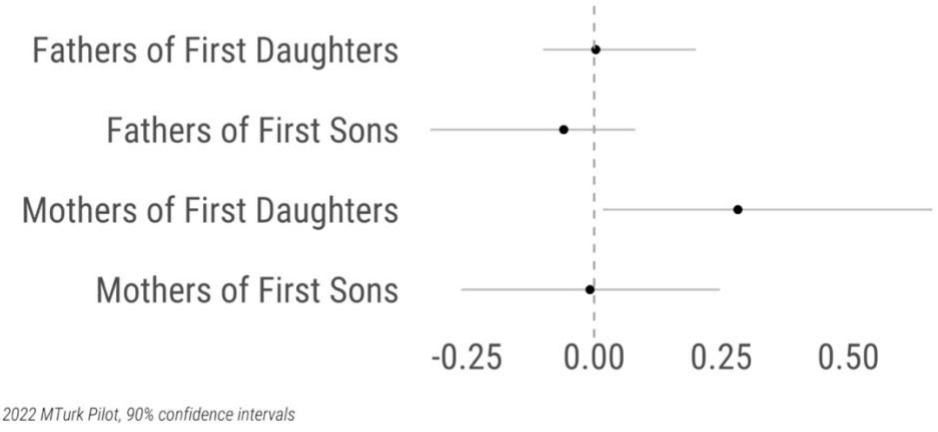
While there is no moderating effect of parental status between empathy and feminism, there is cause to expect that there will be moderation between the treatment on feminist identification through empathy (H3b). Again, I expect that parents of first-daughters will be more likely to identify as feminists after being exposed to the discrimination treatment focusing on a hypothetical daughter through the development of empathy towards women. Put another way, after taking part in the perspective-taking exercise, where participants imagine a situation in which their daughter isn't taken seriously at a doctor's office, parents of daughters will be more likely to empathize, and this ought to develop their feminist identity in the face of such discrimination. For this, I turn to a moderated mediation model in the style of Imai, Keele, and Tingley (2010). Table 5.3 shows the individual estimates per parent group below.

Table 5.3 — Average Causal Mediation Effects of the Treatment on Feminist Identification Through Empathy by Group

Group	ACME	90% CI	p-value	Difference (moderation) p-value
Parents of First Daughters	0.101	[-0.004] – [0.310]	0.148	0.316
Parents of First Sons	-0.002	[-0.093] – [0.080]	0.962	
Fathers of First Daughters	0.003	[-0.100] – [0.199]	0.794	0.556
Fathers of First Sons	-0.059	[-0.322] – [0.080]	0.582	
Mothers of First Daughters	0.282	[0.016] – [0.665]	0.064	0.764
Mothers of First Sons	-0.008	[-0.261] – [0.247]	0.976	

On average, the effect of the treatment on feminist identification through empathy is positive among parents of first-daughters (two-tailed $p = 0.148$; one-tailed $p = 0.074$), and negative among parents of first-sons (two-tailed $p = 0.962$). However, the difference between the two groups is not statistically significant (two-tailed $p = 0.316$, one-tailed $p = 0.158$). Figure 5.3 shows these differences below with 90% confidence intervals. Again, while the estimates of these relationships on average are in the expected direction, they are not statistically distinct from one another. Therefore, I fail to find strong support for H3b in this sample. Despite expectations, there seems to be an increase in feminist identification through empathy among mothers of first-daughters.

Figure 5.3 — Average Causal Mediation Effects of the Treatment on Feminist Identification Through Empathy by Group



Finally, I expect that (H4a) higher levels of empathy with women will be related to a greater likelihood of voting for women who run for office. I also hypothesized that (H4b) empathy would have a stronger positive relationship with voting for a woman running for office than linked-fate with women. My measure of linked-fate uses two

questions: “Do you think that what happens generally to women in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?” (Yes, No), and “Will it affect you...?” (“A lot”, “Some”, “Not very much”). These questions were then used to create a single additive scale ranging from 0 to 1. Each respondent was presented with a series of three matchups between hypothetical candidates of their own party. Each candidate’s gender, age, race, and education was randomized. The data is stacked so that the dependent variable (preference for a woman candidate) appears three times per respondent, and therefore the analysis is clustered at the respondent level. In this analysis, I use logistic regression with clustered standard errors. Table 5.4 below shows the relationship between empathy and linked-fate on preference for a woman candidate among the sample assigned to the control group.

Table 5.4 — Relationship Between Empathy and Voting for Women Running for Office

	Preference for Woman Candidate
(Intercept)	-0.73 ***
	(0.39)
Empathy	0.81 *
	(0.56)
Linked Fate	0.61 **
	(0.25)
nobs	648
Pseudo r.squared	0.03

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Clustered standard errors in parentheses.

Both relationships are positive and statistically significant (two-tailed $p < 0.1$). For every unit increase in empathy, the log odds of female candidate preference increase by a factor of 2.24 (90% confidence interval: 0.89 – 5.62). While, for linked-fate, the increase is by a factor of about 1.83 (90% confidence interval: 1.22 – 2.77). The stronger relationship between empathy and female candidate preference provides evidence that supports H4a and H4b. Furthermore, the main treatment effects on linked fate are positive, but do not reach statistical significance ($b = 0.011$, $p = 0.814$).

Study 2 Results

So far, I have used Study 1 to test my primary hypothesis which involve hypothetical candidate matchups. But how do people react to women running for office in the real world? In Study 2, participants were assigned to read one of five vignettes: Hillary Clinton's historic run, Donald Trump's treatment of women, the #MeToo movement, the Women's Marches, and a politically neutral vignette about Amazon's Alexa. To test how my expectations hold up for real-world candidates, I use the vignette on Hillary Clinton as the treatment, and Amazon's Alexa as the control. The Clinton vignette is as follows:

Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Clinton and Cracks in the Highest and Hardest Glass Ceiling

Hillary Clinton was the first female presidential candidate to win the nomination of a major political party. In her introductory speech announcing her candidacy for the Presidency, she said, "I wish she [Clinton's Mother] could have seen the America we're going to build together. An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards. Where we don't leave anyone out, or anyone behind. An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States."

Clinton's candidacy has highlighted the progress that women can make in government. While Clinton did not break through the highest glass ceiling, it now has many cracks. Following her defeat, a record number of women ran for office in 2018, and a record number of women have declared their candidacy for the 2020 presidential primaries.

The control is set up to mimic the treatment in format:

Amazon Echo Review: The smart speaker that can control your whole house

Amazon released its Echo Bluetooth speaker/smart home hybrid over ten years ago, and since then both it and the Alexa voice assistant that powers it have taken the world by storm. We've seen new Alexa-powered devices from Amazon, and Alexa is being added to everything from driving assistant apps to smart light switches. The original $179.99 Amazon Echo speaker, however, is still going strong.

As a speaker, the Echo isn't perfect, but it's perfectly functional. But what's more compelling is that Amazon is continually expanding Alexa's capabilities with new features being added all the time, both with first-party services as well as third-party "skills." Because Alexa is always getting better, so is the Echo. And even up against the Google Assistant-powered Google Home, Alexa remains the voice assistant to beat.

I expect (H5a) that after reading about Hillary Clinton's historic run for office, fathers of first-daughters will feel increased warmth towards her. Here, warmth towards Hillary Clinton is measured as a standard feeling thermometer ranging from 0 to 100. In the full sample, there is no statistically meaningful effect of the treatment on warmth

towards Hillary Clinton (OLS b = 3.30, p = 0.349). In an OLS regression, I interact gender of the parent (0 = men, 1 = women), with whether they had a first-daughter (1) or first-son (0). The interaction term does not reach statistical significance in the model (b = 9.160*,* p = 0.524*)*. Similarly, the increase (average marginal effect) of 4.79 points in warmth towards Hillary Clinton among fathers of first-daughters is also not statistically significant (p = 0.562).

I also expect that this process primarily works through the development of empathy with women. However, I do not have a way of directly measuring empathy in this study. Recall that, theoretically, greater empathy with women leads to greater levels of feminist identification. Having already established the strong relationship between empathy and feminist identification in Study 1, I use feminist identification as an approximation of this empathy with women. With this in mind, I test whether the relationship between reading about Hillary Clinton's historic run and greater levels of warmth toward her on average compared to the control are mediated through feminist identification. In this data, respondents were asked "How well does the term 'feminist' describe you?" and answered on a five-point scale ranging from "extremely well" (4) to "not at all" (0). Using the same mediation technique described above, I find a small increase in warmth towards Hillary Clinton among fathers of first-daughters, but again, this difference is not statistically significant (ACME = 0.488, p = 0.87).

Additionally, I use all the common variables between Study 1 and Study 2 (feminist identity, gender, race, education, income, partisanship, and age) to model empathy (from Study 1) and impute a new measure of empathy in Study 2. I limit my

model to those assigned to the control group in Study 1, as feminist identification is asked post-treatment. I then run the same analysis using this imputed measure of empathy in Study 2. Again, I find a small increase in warmth towards Hillary Clinton among fathers of first-daughters, but the difference is not statistically significant (ACME = 1.064, p = 0.82).

I fail to find evidence in support of either of my supplemental hypotheses (H5a, H5b). Admittedly, this analysis is not perfect. While this study has a larger overall number of participants than Study 1, the number of fathers who have first-daughters is still limited (n = 159). This number drops even more when restricting the analysis to only one of the treatments (n = 73). Furthermore, future studies should measure empathy more directly in addition to replicating what has been done here.

Conclusion

The results of this chapter are largely inconclusive. I suspect that this is, at least in part, due to the limited nature of the available data. This dissertation seeks to spotlight certain kinds of life events that may increase empathy with women, and results in higher levels of feminist identification and preference for women candidates. In this chapter, I find limited evidence that empathy increases feminist identification and preference for female candidates. While other theories that explain these behaviors (like linked-fate) can also work, I find that empathy with women is a stronger predictor of them. However, the role of having daughters in the development of empathy remains unclear. In line with earlier literature, I expect that having daughters is still an important socializing event in

the life of a father. Future work should focus on larger datasets specific to parents rather than targeting the general population for this research. Future work might also leverage a larger sample of parents to test the impact of having one girl compared to one boy, and only one child compared to having multiple children.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion

This final chapter will conclude the studies presented throughout this dissertation and provide a roadmap for future research. The original goal of this dissertation was to increase our understanding of the conditions under which Americans identify as feminists and vote for women candidates in primary and nonpartisan elections. I introduced a series of empathetic catalysts (Chapter 1) and theorized that greater empathy with women would increase feminist identification and voting for women who run for office (Chapter 2). More specifically, I argue here that formal learning through women's or gender studies courses (Chapter 3), experiencing certain forms of discrimination (Chapter 4), and having a daughter (Chapter 5) are all experiences that can cause a shift in identity and subsequently, increase the likelihood of voting for a woman running for political office.

I test the relationships between the catalysts, empathy, identification, and vote choice (for reference see Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2) in each chapter using data from 7 sources: the American National Election Study (ANES) 2016 and 2020, the Ask Every Student (AES) survey, the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CES) 2020, the Party at the Mailbox Study (PATM) 2020, a 2019 study run by the UCR Politics & Gender Lab, as well as original data collected via MTurk. Overall, I find that these catalysts are positively related to levels of feminism and support for women candidates. However, the strength of these relationships vary by catalyst, gender, and other potential factors like ideology. In the next sections, I describe the findings and implications of this dissertation, as well as additional avenues for future research.

Formal Learning

The first empathetic catalyst I test is formal learning. I began this chapter by introducing Mary Daly, a professor at Boston College who described herself as a "radical lesbian feminist" and banned men from taking her gender studies courses—going so far to escort them out of the classroom and telling them that they were unwelcome.[56] Part of her thinking was that these men tended to be disruptive to her class, and that they would end up feeling as if they were being oppressed themselves. These students seemed to lack the ability to really understand women's oppression in society. I posit that classes like the one Mary Daly taught (or any that focus on women and the inequalities they face) may be an impactful enough event to elicit greater empathy with women and encourage the development of feminist identification. However, unlike Daly, I hypothesize that this result is both possible and probable among women and men alike.

Indeed, using a survey that included undergraduate students from 14 campuses from across the United States, I find that taking a women's or gender studies course is related to higher levels of feminist identification among both men and women compared to students who have not taken a course like this. Potentially due to issues with self-selection into these courses by students already high in feminist identification, I find that the courses have the strongest relationship with identity development when the course is taken as a requirement rather than as an elective. Additionally, this relationship tended to be stronger among men, although as time passed after the course was over, the relationship also diminished slightly.

[56] https://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/07/education/07daly.html?hpw

These findings are promising, but there are several ways that the research here could be improved upon. I was not able to measure empathy as a result of taking these courses directly. Recall that theoretically, I imagine that formal learning like this will result in empathy with women that in turn increases feminist identification. While I run a pilot study on MTurk that attempts to measure empathy as a result of other catalysts, formal learning was not one. This is an area that needs to be replicated and improved upon across all catalysts presented in this dissertation. Moreover, while I was able to test the relationships between formal learning and feminist identity, I was not able to test the courses as a causal mechanism for feminist identification. Future work ought to utilize a survey experiment with a pre- post- course design to assess whether taking courses like this increase feminist identification as well as other political outcomes I wasn't able to test such as voting for women candidates running for political office.

Universities and colleges that hope to increase student's understanding of others unlike themselves might take these findings into consideration. It seems that taking women's or gender studies courses have a particularly strong relationship with feminist identification specifically among men. Higher education institutions that have not made courses like these required may consider doing so. Future research might also investigate whether this is the case for other types of courses that increase our understanding of those unlike ourselves—for example classes that focus on race, and sexual orientation among others.

Discrimination

The second set of empathetic catalysts I test are different experiences with discrimination. I hypothesized that these experiences with discrimination may serve as reminders among women who then identify more strongly as feminist and prefer women running for office over men. As for men, I expected that this effect would be highly dependent upon the type of discrimination. I found that survey respondents who reported facing discrimination on the basis of their gender had higher levels of feminist identification in general. I also found that feminist identification was related to female candidate preference. However, when I introduced different kinds of discriminatory experiences via perspective-taking exercises, I found fairly limited evidence that this resulted in female candidate preference through empathy. The evidence for the effects of discrimination was much stronger among those who were asked about their real-world experiences rather than those who participated in my perspective-taking exercises.

There are several junctures where this study could be improved. It may be the case that my vignettes and perspective taking exercises were not strong enough to produce a statistically significant result in most cases—whereas the lived experiences reported were far more related to higher levels of feminist identification and female candidate preference. Future studies ought to utilize different vignettes and perhaps more interaction with those vignettes among participants. It would also be useful to collect qualitative interviews with people in these studies and who reported experiencing these events in their everyday lives. I still expect that experiencing one of these events in real life would be far more powerful than simply imagining an event. On the other hand,

perhaps the index designed to measure empathy with women didn't quite capture what I hoped that it would. While this index was rigorously tested by others to measure out-group empathy for people of other races and ethnicities, more work ought to be done to test its validity and reliability for measuring empathy towards other groups such as people of other genders or in this case, women specifically.

Future research may also emphasize the importance of characteristics that I don't spend as much time with here. For instance, this dissertation focuses on feminist identity and vote choice in primary or non-partisan elections. Partisanship is typically quite powerful, and while I find some evidence that my theory can work in general elections, I expect that it will work most powerfully when partisanship is less of a consideration. Testing this theory as a whole (beyond discrimination as a catalyst alone) in general election settings is one avenue for further work. Furthermore, I don't spend much time on the potential importance of ideological leanings. This was not part of my original theory, but I ended up finding some interesting differences between conservative men and women and liberal men and women. Future research should take this into greater consideration than I have here.

Daughters

Finally, the third empathetic catalyst that I test is having a daughter. I begin this chapter with Hillary Clinton's opening remarks at the Democratic presidential debate in 2015, where she addresses fathers of daughters. In the hopes of becoming the United States' first woman president, she attempted to inspire fathers saying that they could

finally tell their daughters that reaching the presidency was possible. While Hillary Clinton made some great strides for women in politics, she ultimately did not reach the presidency herself. I was interested to know more about the political impacts that having a daughter has on parents—and particularly fathers.

In line with the literature, I expected that fathers of first-daughters would be more likely to prefer women candidates, and identify as feminists. I imagined that having a daughter would be a powerful event in a man's life, and that this would act as a catalyst for greater empathy with women. My findings were not that straightforward. I found limited evidence that empathy increases feminist identification and preference for female candidates, and that empathy with women is a stronger predictor than linked-fate with women. These findings are clearest among mothers of first daughters. Mothers of first-daughters experience an increase in feminist identification as a result of reading a vignette about discrimination against a hypothetical daughter through empathy. However, the role of having daughters among fathers in the development of empathy and feminist identification remains unclear.

Again, there are several ways in which this research could be strengthened. At the very least, more data is necessary to test the hypotheses I present in Chapter 5. The studies I use did not specifically target parents, and therefore the sample size was quite small. Therefore, further analysis on the number and order of children was not possible. Similarly, there is a lack of parents with only one child, which may be of significant theoretical interest. Additionally, future research would greatly benefit from gathering

more qualitative data from parents of first-daughters to help us better understand the socialization process that daughters seem to set in motion.

Future Research

Several of the studies used here implement survey experiments (CES 2020, UCR Politics & Gender Lab, and MTurk), but much of the work presented here is correlational. Future work ought to test the direct and indirect effects of these catalysts on political identities and behaviors experimentally. Another shortcoming of this work is that even when these catalysts are tested experimentally, the outcomes are hypothetical. The CES 2020 includes questions about supporting a hypothetical candidate but does not include a hypothetical match-up against another opponent. The MTurk sample includes a series of hypothetical candidate match-ups, but again, they are only hypothetical. This means that in all experimental cases vote choice, likelihood of donating to that candidate's campaign, and perceived candidate trustworthiness are also all hypotheticals. In future work, I hope to use actual campaigns or causes and embed the chance for respondents to take real action like donating to a particular cause or writing letters, etc.

Future work ought to also develop and test the short version of the modified Group Empathy Index implemented here. In addition to the original 14 question index that Sirin, Valentino, and Villalobos' (2021) develop, they also use a shorter 4 question version. Their work shows that the full and short GEI are equally reliable. However, this may not translate to the modified gender version I have implemented here. Furthermore, I don't compare my index that measures empathy with women against other potential empathy

measures. Instead, I included an open-ended question in the MTurk study post-treatment to assess how participants felt in their own words in addition to using the empathy index. A large majority responded by talking about how they felt and mentioned several emotions that point to experiences with empathy. However, more work needs to be done on testing this part of the research.

Overall, this dissertation seeks to highlight several life events that have the potential to increase empathy with women, and results in higher levels of feminist identification and preference for women candidates. Given constraints on time, space, and funding, I present only three of such empathetic catalysts here. However, there is no reason to think that there aren't many more. To be clear, I don't expect that formal learning, experiences with discrimination, and first-daughters are the only things that lead to increased empathy, feminist identification, and other political behavior changes. We know from the literature in psychology that a whole host of things can impact levels of empathy (for a review see Chapter 2). Furthermore, we know that having a mother who is a feminist may increase feminist identification among women (Nelson et al. 2008), and that being exposed to positive portrayals of feminist men can increase feminist identification among men (Wiley et al. 2013). There are undoubtedly plenty of avenues for future research in this regard. This dissertation simply presents some preliminary findings on the linkages between empathy, feminist identity, and female candidate preference; it provides evidence that certain life events are crucial to being able to empathize with and benefit those who are unlike ourselves. In this case, I focus on women, but can easily imagine

that there are empathy inducing events that produce similar outcomes regarding other politically relevant identities and behaviors.

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Appendix A. Ask Every Student Survey Wording

What is your gender?

- ○ Cis male (1)
- ○ Cis female (2)
- ○ Transgender female (3)
- ○ Transgender male (4)
- ○ Non-binary (5)
- ○ Something else (please specify) (6) _____

What is your race? Choose as many as apply.

- ☐ White (Non-Hispanic) (1)
- ☐ Black or African American (2)
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native (3)
- ☐ Asian (4)
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)
- ☐ Hispanic or Latino (6)
- ☐ Middle Eastern or Arab (7)
- ☐ Other (please specify) (8) _____

With which of the following racial or ethnic groups do you identify most strongly?

- White (Non-Hispanic) (1)
- Black or African American (2)
- American Indian or Alaska Native (3)
- Asian (4)
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)
- Hispanic or Latino (6)
- Middle Eastern or Arab (7)
- Other (please specify) (8) _____

Begin: Gender Studies Block

Q60 Have you ever taken a gender studies or women's studies course?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:
If Q60 = Yes

Q61 Was this a required course?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:
If Q60 = Yes

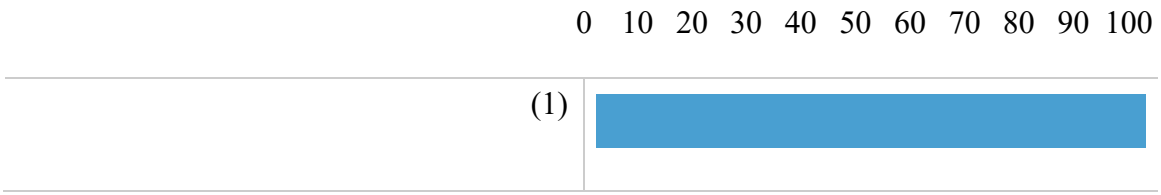
Q62 When did you take this course?

- ○ Last semester (1)
- ○ In the last 6 months but not last semester (2)
- ○ This year, but not in the past 6 months (3)
- ○ Over a year ago (4)

Display This Question:
If Q60 = Yes

Q63 Below is something called a feeling thermometer. Rating from 51 to 100 means you feel favorable and warm towards taking the course. Rating from 0 to 49 means you feel unfavorable and cool towards taking the course. Rating at 50 means that you feel neither warm nor cold toward the taking the course.

Drag the bar below to the number that best represents your feelings toward the gender studies/women's studies course you completed.



Q64 How well does the term “feminist” describe you?

- ○ Extremely well (1)
- ○ Very well (2)
- ○ Moderately well (3)
- ○ Slightly well (4)
- ○ Not well at all (5)

Appendix B. Chapter 3 Additional Results

Table 1. Gender Breakdown by Campus

Campus	Cis female	Cis male	Non-binary	Something else	Transgender female	Transgender male	NA
Alabama A&M University	61.9%	35.7%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Central Lakes College	67.9%	26.5%	1.2%	3.1%	0.0%	0.6%	0.6%
Clark Atlanta University	80.6%	16.1%	3.2%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Kean University	72.6%	22.2%	1.7%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Keuka College	81.5%	14.8%	1.2%	1.9%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Mesa Community College	69.1%	23.5%	0.0%	4.4%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%
North Carolina A&T University	24.6%	65.2%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	8.7%	0.0%
Northwestern University	37.6%	54.2%	0.5%	0.0%	5.6%	2.0%	0.1%
Oklahoma University	65.5%	31.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%
Stony Brook University	68.9%	25.5%	4.1%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.5%
University of Central Arkansas	91.7%	4.2%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.1%
University of San Francisco	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
University of Wisconsin Madison	67.7%	30.5%	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.4%	0.4%
Weber State University	69.9%	26.2%	0.5%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Table 2. Age Breakdown by Campus

Campus	Minimum Age	Maximum Age
Alabama A&M University	18	27
Central Lakes College	17	61
Clark Atlanta University	17	59
Kean University	19	49
Keuka College	19	54
Mesa Community College	17	75
North Carolina A&T University	19	39
Northwestern University	16	47
Oklahoma university	19	28
Stony Brook University	18	37
University of Central Arkansas	19	41
University of San Francisco	20	22
University of Wisconsin Madison	17	62
Weber State University	18	56

Table 3. Race Breakdown by Campus

Campus	AIAN	Asian	Black	Latinx	MENA	HPI	White	Mixed	Other
Alabama A&M	0.0%	0.0%	90.5%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	7.1%	0.0%
Central Lakes	0.6%	1.2%	3.7%	1.9%	0.0%	0.0%	87.7%	2.5%	0.6%
Clark Atlanta	0.0%	1.6%	88.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	9.7%	0.0%
Kean	0.0%	9.4%	13.7%	35.9%	3.4%	0.9%	31.6%	3.4%	1.7%
Keuka	0.6%	0.6%	1.2%	3.1%	0.0%	0.6%	88.3%	4.9%	0.6%
Mesa Community	0.0%	4.4%	7.4%	29.4%	0.0%	0.0%	57.4%	1.5%	0.0%
North Carolina A&T	0.0%	2.9%	46.4%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	44.9%	4.3%	0.0%
Northwestern	5.2%	5.2%	12.8%	3.1%	0.0%	1.1%	64.7%	7.3%	0.1%
Oklahoma	3.4%	3.4%	3.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	82.8%	6.9%	0.0%
Stony Brook	0.5%	42.3%	8.7%	11.7%	1.5%	0.0%	25.5%	7.1%	1.5%
U. of Central Arkan.	0.0%	8.3%	8.3%	4.2%	0.0%	0.0%	64.6%	12.5%	0.0%
U. of San Francisco	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%
U. of Wisconsin Ma.	0.0%	11.5%	2.6%	3.0%	0.7%	0.0%	74.3%	6.7%	0.7%
Weber State	0.0%	2.9%	0.5%	2.9%	0.0%	1.0%	83.0%	6.8%	1.9%

Table 4. The Interaction of Gender and Course Taking on Feminist Identification

	Model 1	Model 2
Took a Course	0.29 ***	0.24 **
	(0.07)	(0.08)
Men	-0.85 ***	-0.78 ***
	(0.06)	(0.08)
Took a Course:Men	0.57 ***	0.41 ***
	(0.11)	(0.12)
Age		0.00
		(0.01)
Income		-0.04 **
		(0.01)
White		0.11
		(0.07)
Democrat		0.54 ***
		(0.06)
College Year		-0.02
		(0.02)
Intercept	3.36 ***	3.16 ***
	(0.03)	(0.17)
N	2100	1388
R2	0.13	0.16

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$; . $p < 0.1$. All p-values are two-tailed. Standard Errors in parentheses. Both models are estimated with campus fixed effects. The dependent variable across all models is the feminist identity variable.

Table 5. OLS on the Relationship Between Taking a Course as a Requirement (Compared to Taking a Course as an Elective) and Feminist Identification

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Course required	0.29 ** (0.09)	0.26 ** (0.10)	0.26 * (0.10)
Age		0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Income		-0.04 * (0.02)	-0.06 * (0.02)
White		0.32 *** (0.09)	0.32 ** (0.10)
Democrat		0.28 ** (0.09)	0.38 *** (0.10)
College Year		-0.06 (0.03)	-0.07 (0.04)
Men			-0.38 *** (0.10)
Intercept	3.58 *** (0.58)	3.34 *** (0.24)	3.55 *** (0.26)
n R2	710 0.02	523 0.09	482 0.11
*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05; . p < 0.1. All p-values are two-tailed. Standard Errors in parentheses. Both models are estimated with campus fixed effects. The dependent variable across all models is the feminist identity variable.			

Table 6. Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference (HSD) Test on the Relationship Between Course Status (e.g., No Course Taken, Elective Course Taken, Required Course Taken) and Feminist Identification

Gender	Course Type	Comparison	Difference	p-value
Female	No Course	Required	0.360	0.000
Female	No Course	Elective	0.541	0.000
Female	Elective	Required	0.182	0.319
Male	No Course	Required	0.529	0.000
Male	No Course	Elective	1.25	0.000
Male	Elective	Required	0.720	0.000

Table 7. Weighted Logistic Regression From ANES 2016 on Voting for Hillary Clinton

	Model 1	Model 2
(Intercept)	-2.72 ***	-3.57 ***
	(0.18)	(0.25)
Feminist Identification	1.52 ***	1.39 ***
	(0.18)	(0.19)
Democrat	3.76 ***	3.70 ***
	(0.19)	(0.20)
High Education		0.61 **
		(0.19)
Race		0.23 ***
		(0.06)
Young		1.01 ***
		(0.22)
N	1246	1199
Pseudo R2	0.65	0.69

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$, . $p < 0.1$. All p-values are two-tailed. Standard Errors in parentheses. The dependent variable across all models is Voted for Clinton.

Table 8. Weighted Logistic Regression. Gender Predicts Feminist ID and Clinton Votes.

	DV: Feminist	DV: Clinton Vote	DV: Clinton Vote
(Intercept)	-1.61 ***	-1.14 ***	-1.47 ***
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Woman	1.13 ***	0.13	-0.21
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.13)
High Education	0.67 ***	0.59 ***	0.42 ***
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Black	-0.20	2.39 ***	2.62 ***
	(0.12)	(0.20)	(0.21)
AAPI	0.20	0.77 **	0.67 *
	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.30)
AIAN	-0.03	1.05	0.66
	(0.50)	(0.74)	(0.78)
Hispanic	-0.00	1.52 ***	1.65 ***
	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Other	0.20	0.62 **	0.51 *
	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Young	0.97 ***	1.51 ***	1.23 ***
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Feminist			1.61 ***
			(0.16)
Feminist:Woman			-0.14
			(0.20)
N	3417	2650	2636
Pseudo R2	0.17	0.27	0.37

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$. ANES 2016.

Appendix C. CES Survey Wording

How well does the term feminist describe you?

1 Slightly well

2 Moderately well

3 Very well

4 Extremely well

Randomly assign items for each of the three components of the candidate profile as listed below. For r_pid, please insert "Republican" if respondent's party identification is Republican and "Democratic" if respondent's party identification is Democrat; otherwise randomly assign "Republican" or "Democratic". Please present this on screen at the same time as question UCR326. Please keep on screen for two subsequent questions (UCR327 and UCR328).

Below is a hypothetical candidate running in a [r_pid] primary election for Congress. Based on the presented information, answer the following questions.

[RANDOMIZE ITEMS PRIOR ELECTED OFFICE]

1. No prior experience in elected office

2. Previously Elected Councilmember

3. Previously Elected Mayor

[RANDOMIZE ITEMS CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION POSITION]

1. Campaign doesn't accept contributions from political action committees

2. Campaign accepts contributions from political action committees

[RANDOMIZE ITEMS CANDIDATE GENDER]

1. Male

2. Female

How likely are you to vote for the candidate?

1	Very Likely
2	Likely
3	Slightly Likely
4	Neither Unlikely nor Likely
5	Slightly Unlikely
6	Unlikely
7	Very Unlikely

How likely are you to donate to the candidate?

1	Very Likely
2	Likely
3	Slightly Likely
4	Neither Unlikely nor Likely

5 Slightly Unlikely

6 Unlikely

7 Very Unlikely

How trustworthy do you think the candidate is?

1 Very Trustworthy

2 Trustworthy

3 Slightly Trustworthy

4 Neither Untrustworthy nor Trustworthy

5 Slightly Unlikely

6 Untrustworthy

7 Very Untrustworthy

If you have experienced discrimination, in your opinion, what was the reason for the discrimination? Please select all that apply.

1 I have not experienced discrimination

2 My sex

3 My race, ethnicity

4 My family responsibilities

5 Other, Please Specify [SMALL TEXTBOX]

If you have experienced discrimination, in your opinion, who discriminated against you?

Please select all that apply.

1 By a police officer

2 By a doctor

3 By a teacher, professor, or teaching assistant

4 Other, Please Specify [SMALL TEXTBOX]

Appendix D. Party at the Mailbox Survey Wording

What is your gender?

1 Male

2 Female

3 Transgender male

4 Transgender female

5 Non-binary

6 Something else (please specify)

What is your race? Choose as many as apply.

1 White (Non-Hispanic)

2 Black or African American

3 American Indian or Alaska Native

4 Asian

5 Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

6 Hispanic or Latino

7 Middle-Eastern or Arab

8 Other (please specify)

With which of the following racial or ethnic groups do you identify most strongly?

1 White (Non-Hispanic)

2 Black or African American

3 American Indian or Alaska Native

4 Asian

5 Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

6 Hispanic or Latino

7 Middle-Eastern or Arab

8 Other (please specify)

Thinking about your own experience, have you ever experienced discrimination or been treated unfairly because of your race, ethnicity, or gender?

1 Yes, regularly

2 Yes, from time to time

3 No

Which of the following have personally happened to you because of your gender or race? (click all that apply)

1 Been unfairly stopped by police

2 Been unfairly denied a job or promotion

3 People acted suspicious of you

4 Been subjected to slurs or jokes

5 Feared for your personal safety

6 Been treated unfairly when seeking medical treatment

7 None of these have happened to me

How strongly do you identify as a feminist (if at all)?

1 A great deal

2 A lot

3 A moderate amount

4 A little

5 Not at all

Appendix E. MTurk Survey Wording

[Vignettes]

Q1 What was the main topic of the passage that you read?

1 An experience in a graduate seminar

2 An experience with promotions at work

3 An experience at the doctor's office with your daughter

4 Information about men and women's pain

5 An experience using an e-reader

Q2a [Asked only for Treatments 1, 2, 3, and 5] Please try to imagine you are the person in this scenario. Try to visualize clearly and vividly what you might be thinking, feeling, and experiencing if you were them, looking at the world through their eyes and walking in their shoes. Imagine how you would feel and how this incident would affect your life. Now, please write a sentence or two describing this experience. [OPEN ENDED TEXT BLOCK]

Q2b [Asked only for Treatment 4] Please try to summarize the information you just read in a couple sentences. [OPEN ENDED TEXT BLOCK]

Q3. How often would you say you try to better understand women by imagining how things look from their perspective?

Q4. Before criticizing a woman, how often do you try and imagine how you would feel if you were in her place?

Q5. How often would you say that you have tender, concerned feelings for women who are less fortunate than you?

Q6. When you see someone being taken advantage of due to their gender, how often do you feel protective toward them?

Q7. Do you consider yourself a strong feminist, a feminist, or are you not a feminist?

0 Strong Feminist

1 Feminist

2 Not a feminist

[Randomize order of Q3 and Q4]

Q8. Female candidate description

A Randomize (1):

1. School board
2. Mayoral
3. Gubernatorial
4. Congressional

5. Presidential primary

B Randomize (1):

1. No prior experience in elected office

2. Limited experience as an elected official

3. Extensive experience as an elected official

C Randomize (1):

1. Molly

2. Jane

Q9. Male candidate description

All randomizations match Q3. Except D:

C Randomize (1):*

1. Richard

2. John

Q10. If the [randomized: school board, mayoral; gubernatorial, congressional, presidential primary] election was being held today, who would you vote for?

Q11. How likely are you to vote for your preferred candidate?

8 Very Likely

9 Likely

10 Slightly Likely

11 Neither Unlikely nor Likely

12 Slightly Unlikely

13 Unlikely

14 Very Unlikely

Q12. How likely are you to donate your preferred candidate?

8 Very Likely

9 Likely

10 Slightly Likely

11 Neither Unlikely nor Likely

12 Slightly Unlikely

13 Unlikely

14 Very Unlikely

Q13. How trustworthy do you think your preferred candidate is?

8 Very Trustworthy

9 Trustworthy

10 Slightly Trustworthy

11 Neither Untrustworthy nor Trustworthy

12 Slightly Unlikely

13 Untrustworthy

14 Very Untrustworthy

Appendix F. Chapter 4 Additional Results

Table 1. The Relationship Between Sex or Gender Discrimination and Feminist Identification Moderated by Gender and Ideology

	Basic OLS	Discrimination Controls	Full Controls
(Intercept)	0.45 ***	0.43 ***	-0.89
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(1.34)
Discrimination- Sex	0.20 *	0.21 **	0.18 *
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Female	0.08	0.09 *	0.08
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Conservative	-0.31 ***	-0.31 ***	-0.30 ***
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Discrimination- Sex * Female	-0.06	-0.08	-0.06
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Discrimination- Sex * Conservative	-0.29 **	-0.32 **	-0.27 **
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Female * Conservative	-0.05	-0.04	-0.03
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Discrimination- Sex * Female * Conservative	0.21	0.24	0.19
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)

Discrimination- Family Responsibility		0.10 *	0.09
		(0.05)	(0.05)
Discrimination- Race		-0.00	-0.03
		(0.03)	(0.03)
Discrimination- Other		0.08 *	0.08 *
		(0.03)	(0.03)
Birth Year			0.00
			(0.00)
Education			0.03 ***
			(0.01)
Race			0.03 **
			(0.01)
Party ID			-0.01
			(0.01)
Family Income			-0.00
			(0.00)
N	615	615	614
R2	0.34	0.36	0.38

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Table 2. The Relationship Between Family Discrimination and Feminist Identification Moderated by Gender and Ideology

	Basic OLS	Discrimination Controls	Full Controls
(Intercept)	0.47 ***	0.46 ***	-1.12
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(1.35)
Discrimination- Family	-0.01	0.02	0.04
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Female	0.12 ***	0.10 **	0.09 *
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Conservative	-0.35 ***	-0.35 ***	-0.32 ***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Discrimination- Family * Female	0.20	0.15	0.10
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Discrimination- Family * Conservative	0.05	0.01	-0.05
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Female * Conservative	-0.07	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Discrimination- Family * Female * Conservative	-0.06	-0.00	0.07
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Discrimination- Sex		0.07 *	0.06 *
		(0.03)	(0.03)
Discrimination- Race		-0.02	-0.04
		(0.03)	(0.03)

Discrimination- Other		0.08 *	0.08 *
		(0.03)	(0.03)
Birth Year			0.00
			(0.00)
Education			0.03 ***
			(0.01)
Race			0.03 ***
			(0.01)
Party ID			-0.01
			(0.01)
Family Income			-0.00
			(0.00)
N	615	615	614
R2	0.33	0.35	0.37

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Appendix G. UCR Gender & Politics Lab Survey Wording

AGE What is your age?

- ○ Under 18 (11)
- ○ 18 - 24 (12)
- ○ 25 - 34 (13)
- ○ 35 - 44 (14)
- ○ 45 - 54 (15)
- ○ 55 - 64 (16)
- ○ 65 - 74 (17)
- ○ 75 - 84 (18)
- ○ 85 or older (19)

Skip To: End of Block If What is your age? = Under 18

BIRTHPLACE Were you born in the U.S.?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If Were you born in the U.S.? = No

Q5 Do you have U.S. citizenship?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Skip To: End of Block If Do you have U.S. citizenship? = No

GENDER What is your sex or gender identity?

- ○ Female (1)
- ○ Male (2)
- ○ Gender Diverse (3)
- ○ Intersex (4)

RACE Which race/ethnicity best describes you? (Please choose only one.)

- ○ Native American or Alaskan Native (1)
- ○ African American (2)
- ○ Asian/Pacific Islander (3)
- ○ Hispanic/Latino (4)
- ○ White/Caucasian (5)
- ○ Multiple ethnicity/ Other (please specify) (6) _____

IDEOLOGY We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from

extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

- ○ Extremely liberal (1)
- ○ Liberal (2)
- ○ Slightly liberal (3)
- ○ Moderate; middle of the road (4)
- ○ Slightly conservative (5)
- ○ Conservative (6)
- ○ Extremely Conservative (7)
- ○ Haven't thought much about this (8)

PARTISANSHIP Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or other?

- ○ Republican (1)
- ○ Democrat (2)
- ○ Independent (3)
- ○ Other (please specify) (4) _____

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, o... = Republican

Q8 If you think of yourself as a Republican, would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

- ○ Strong (1)
- ○ Not very strong (2)

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, o... = Democrat

Q9 If you think of yourself as a Democrat, would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

- ○ Strong (1)
- ○ Not very strong (2)

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, o... = Independent

Q10 If you think of yourself as an Independent, do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party, or equally close to the Republican Party and Democratic Party?

- ○ The Republican Party (1)
- ○ The Democratic Party (2)
- ○ Equally close to the Republican Party and Democratic Party (3)

INCOME Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

- ○ Less than $10,000 (1)
- ○ $10,000 - $19,999 (2)
- ○ $20,000 - $29,999 (3)
- ○ $30,000 - $39,999 (4)
- ○ $40,000 - $49,999 (5)
- ○ $50,000 - $59,999 (6)
- ○ $60,000 - $69,999 (7)
- ○ $70,000 - $79,999 (8)
- ○ $80,000 - $89,999 (9)
- ○ $90,000 - $99,999 (10)
- ○ $100,000 - $149,999 (11)
- ○ $150,000 or more (12)
- ○ Prefer not to say (13)

EDUCATION What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? *If currently enrolled, highest degree received.*

- ○ No schooling completed (1)
- ○ Some high school, no diploma (2)
- ○ High school graduate, diploma or equivalent (for example: GED) (3)
- ○ Some college credit, no degree (4)
- ○ Trade/technical/vocational training (5)
- ○ Associate degree (6)
- ○ Bachelor's degree (7)
- ○ Master's degree (8)
- ○ Professional degree (9)
- ○ Doctorate degree (11)

OCCUPATION What is your occupation?

_____

STATE Which state do you live in?

▼ Alabama (1) ... Wyoming (50)

CHILDREN Do you have any children?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you have any children? = Yes

Q16 How many?

▼ 1 (4) ... 20 (23)

Display This Question:

If If How many? Text Response Is Displayed

Q17 How many are daughters?

▼ 0 (24) ... 20 (23)

Display This Question:

If How many are daughters? != 0

And Do you have any children? = Yes

Q66 Please list the birth order and sex of your children.

	Female (1)	Male (2)	Other (3)	Not Applicable (4)
First-born child (16)	○	○	○	○
Second-born child (17)	○	○	○	○
Third-born child (18)	○	○	○	○
Fourth-born child (19)	○	○	○	○
Fifth-born child (20)	○	○	○	○

End of Block: Baseline (Political and Demographics)

Start of Block: Vignette intro

Q76 We would now like you to read a vignette drawn from news articles. Please read the vignette carefully since we will be asking questions about it.

End of Block: Vignette intro

Start of Block: Clinton Treatment

Q33 **Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Clinton and Cracks in the Highest and Hardest Glass Ceiling**

Hillary Clinton was the first female presidential candidate to win the nomination of a major political party. This was not the first high position that Clinton sought. She was also Senator for the State of New York, Secretary of State, as well as the First Lady of the

United States.

In her introductory speech announcing her candidacy for the Presidency, she said, “I wish she [Clinton’s Mother] could have seen the America we’re going to build together. An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards. Where we don’t leave anyone out, or anyone behind. An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States”

The public saw Clinton’s growth and resilience play out as her career progressed. A voter online stated: “Hillary Clinton proves you don’t need a man to be successful. Hillary Clinton proves that when you get knocked down, standing right back up is the only way to go. Hillary proves girls can run with the big boys. Hillary proves that no matter how many times someone tells you that you can’t do something because you are a girl to prove them wrong. Hillary proves she’s going to fight for our little girls so when they sit down in history class to learn about the president, they have a woman in the books. Hillary proves that simply saying you are fighting for women (as every past male republican president has) isn’t enough – you actually have to do it.”

Conversations like this, around Clinton’s candidacy, have highlighted the progress that

women can make. While Clinton did not break through the highest glass ceiling, it now has many cracks.

Display This Question:

If Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Clinton and Cracks in the Highest and Hardest Glass Ceiling H... Is Displayed

Q34 What was the main topic of the article that you read?

- ○ Hillary Clinton's run for the presidency (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recyclying (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutritional Guidelines (3)
- ○ Return to Article (4)

Display This Question:

If What was the main topic of the article that you read? = Return to Article

Q85 **Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Clinton and Cracks in the Highest and Hardest Glass Ceiling**

Hillary Clinton was the first female presidential candidate to win the nomination of a major political party. This was not the first high position that Clinton sought. She was also Senator for the State of New York, Secretary of State, as well as the First Lady of the United States.

In her introductory speech announcing her candidacy for the Presidency, she said, “I wish she [Clinton’s Mother] could have seen the America we’re going to build

together. An America, where if you do your part, you reap the rewards. Where we don't leave anyone out, or anyone behind. An America where a father can tell his daughter: yes, you can be anything you want to be. Even President of the United States"

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Conversations like this, around Clinton's candidacy, have highlighted the progress that women can make. While Clinton did not break through the highest glass ceiling, it now has many cracks.

Display This Question:

If Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Clinton and Cracks in the Highest and Hardest Glass Ceiling H... Is Displayed

Q86 What was the main topic of the article that you read?

- ○ Hillary Clinton's run for the presidency (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recyclying (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutritional Guidelines (3)

End of Block: Clinton Treatment

Start of Block: Trump Condition

Q54 **Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Trump and Setbacks to Greater Gender Equality**

Donald Trump was the first presidential candidate of a major political party to be accused of sexual harassment by at least 10 women. These allegations became particularly salient during the campaign, when a tape surfaced of him making lewd comments about harassing women. More specifically, he was caught on a hot mic talking with the host of Access Hollywood, Billy Bush, backstage in 2005. Mr. Trump was not aware that he was being recorded at the time. “Mr. Trump: Yeah, that’s her. With the gold. I better use some Tic Tacs just in case I start kissing her. You know, I’m automatically attracted to beautiful — I just start kissing them. It’s like a magnet. Just kiss. I don’t even wait. And when you’re a star, they let you do it. You can do anything. Mr. Bush: Whatever you want. Mr. Trump: Grab ’em by the pussy. You can do anything.” Donald Trump later described this as “locker room talk” and not reflective of the respect he has for women. The public did not necessarily buy these claims, as they witnessed other examples of misogyny on the campaign trail, such as when he said, “Look at that face!”

of one of his primary opponents, Carly Fiorina. Even those below voting age took notice. A fifteen-year-old stated, “The way he (Trump) talks about women is particularly hurtful to me. I don’t think that there’s ever been a public figure that’s personally offended me as much as he has.” Conversations, like this, around Trump’s candidacy have highlighted a regression on gender equality. While the country has made progress, there are now cracks and setbacks in the push for greater women’s rights.

Display This Question:

If Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Trump and Setbacks to Greater Gender Equality Donald Trump was... Is Displayed

Q55 What was this article about?

- ○ Donald Trump's remarks about women (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recyclying (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutritional Guidelines (3)
- ○ Return to Article (4)

Display This Question:

If What was this article about? = Return to Article

Q88 **Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Trump and Setbacks to Greater Gender Equality**

Donald Trump was the first presidential candidate of a major political party to be accused of sexual harassment by at least 10 women. These allegations became particularly salient

during the campaign, when a tape surfaced of him making lewd comments about harassing women. More specifically, he was caught on a hot mic talking with the host of Access Hollywood, Billy Bush, backstage in 2005. Mr. Trump was not aware that he was being recorded at the time. “Mr. Trump: Yeah, that’s her. With the gold. I better use some Tic Tacs just in case I start kissing her. You know, I’m automatically attracted to beautiful — I just start kissing them. It’s like a magnet. Just kiss. I don’t even wait. And when you’re a star, they let you do it. You can do anything. Mr. Bush: Whatever you want. Mr. Trump: Grab ’em by the pussy. You can do anything.” Donald Trump later described this as “locker room talk” and not reflective of the respect he has for women. The public did not necessarily buy these claims, as they witnessed other examples of misogyny on the campaign trail, such as when he said, “Look at that face!” of one of his primary opponents, Carly Fiorina. Even those below voting age took notice. A fifteen-year-old stated, “The way he (Trump) talks about women is particularly hurtful to me. I don’t think that there’s ever been a public figure that’s personally offended me as much as he has.” Conversations, like this, around Trump’s candidacy have highlighted a regression on gender equality. While the country has made progress, there are now cracks and setbacks in the push for greater women’s rights.

Display This Question:

If Reflecting on the 2016 Election: Trump and Setbacks to Greater Gender Equality Donald Trump was... Is Displayed

Q90 What was this article about?

- ○ Donald Trump's remarks about women (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recyclying (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutritional Guidelines (3)

End of Block: Trump Condition

Start of Block: Marches

Q56 **Reflecting on the Aftermath of the 2016 Election: Millions of Women Take to the Streets**

The Women's March in January of 2017 was the largest single day protest in recorded US history. Approximately 4 million people marched for many women's issues and, according to the Women's March mission statement, "to harness the political power of diverse women and their communities to create transformative social change".

They marched on issues including protecting and extending reproductive rights, LGBTQIA rights, workers rights, civil rights, disability rights, immigrant rights, environmental justice, and ending violence against women and other marginalized groups. They have received a great deal of media attention for the wide impact this march has had on politics.

In a speech to rally the awaiting marchers one speaker said, "One of us can be dismissed.

Two of us can be ignored. But together we are a movement and we are unstoppable." Continuing the call to march, another speaker said, "we are not afraid, … we are not alone, … we will not back down, … there is power in our unity and no opposing force stands a chance in the faith of true solidarity."

New York marchers said they felt empowered: 'I feel like the revolution is now.' That's what Vanessa Medina, a 32-year-old nurse, said prompted her to participate this year, even though she didn't march last January. Ms. Medina, of Clifton, N.J., cited the Time's Up campaign and Republicans' attempts to defund Planned Parenthood as her reasons for protesting. "I want equal pay," her 11-year-old daughter, Xenaya, chimed in. "And equal rights."

Conversations around the Women's Marches have raised gender issues that were previously ignored in American politics. These issues surrounding diverse women, are now at the forefront of the national conversation.

Display This Question:

If Reflecting on the aftermath of the 2016 Election: Millions of Women Take to the Streets The Wo... Is Displayed

Q57 What was the main topic of the article that you read?

- ○ The Women's Marches (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recycling (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutrition Guidelines (3)
- ○ Return to Article (4)

Display This Question:

If What was the main topic of the article that you read? = Return to Article

Q91 **Reflecting on the Aftermath of the 2016 Election: Millions of Women Take to the Streets**

The Women's March in January of 2017 was the largest single day protest in recorded US history. Approximately 4 million people marched for many women's issues and, according to the Women's March mission statement, "to harness the political power of diverse women and their communities to create transformative social change".

They marched on issues including protecting and extending reproductive rights, LGBTQIA rights, workers rights, civil rights, disability rights, immigrant rights, environmental justice, and ending violence against women and other marginalized groups. They have received a great deal of media attention for the wide impact this march has had on politics.

In a speech to rally the awaiting marchers one speaker said, “One of us can be dismissed. Two of us can be ignored. But together we are a movement and we are unstoppable.” Continuing the call to march, another speaker said, “we are not afraid, … we are not alone, … we will not back down, … there is power in our unity and no opposing force stands a chance in the faith of true solidarity."

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Conversations around the Women’s Marches have raised gender issues that were previously ignored in American politics. These issues surrounding diverse women, are now at the forefront of the national conversation.

Display This Question:

If Reflecting on the aftermath of the 2016 Election: Millions of Women Take to the Streets The Wo... Is Displayed

Q92 What was the main topic of the article that you read?

- ○ The Women's Marches (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recycling (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutrition Guidelines (3)

End of Block: Marches

Start of Block: #MeToo

Q58 **Reflecting on the Aftermath of the 2016 Election: Millions of Women Say #MeToo**

The #MeToo movement has been the first major social media event this decade focused on women's issues. #MeToo allows survivors of sexual assault to self-identify as survivors by using the #MeToo. Approximately 17 million women have reported a sexual assault since 1998. The #MeToo movement aims to give people access to a healing journey, including those that are the most marginalized. They have received a great deal of media attention for the wide impact they have had on politics. In reaction to this significant response, the founder of the movement said, "I think it is selfish for me to try to frame Me Too as something that I own," … "This is about survivors.". While accepting an award, a prominent female and supporter of the movement made a speech referencing the power of this movement. "So I want all the girls, watching here now, to know that a new day is on the horizon. And when that new day finally dawns, it will be because of a lot of magnificent women, many of whom are right here in this room

tonight, and some pretty phenomenal men, fighting hard to make sure that they become the leaders who take us to the time when nobody ever has to say, 'me too' ever again."

Tweets including the hashtag have saturated social media pages: "my entire Twitter & Facebook feeds are full of women I know saying #metoo." The cascade of posts has encouraged others to come forward: "It took me 45 minutes to finally decide to tweet this and it should not be this hard. But it is. #MeToo". Conversations around the #MeToo have raised gender issues that were previously ignored, and have begun to break the status quo.

Display This Question:

If Reflecting on the aftermath of the 2016 Election: Millions of Women say #MeToo The #MeToo movem... Is Displayed

Q59 What was the main topic of the article you read?

- ○ The #MeToo movement (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recyclying (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutritional Guidelines (3)
- ○ Return to Article (4)

Display This Question:

If What was the main topic of the article you read? = Return to Article

Q94 **Reflecting on the Aftermath of the 2016 Election: Millions of Women Say #MeToo**

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have raised gender issues that were previously ignored, and have begun to break the status quo.

Display This Question:

If Reflecting on the aftermath of the 2016 Election: Millions of Women say #MeToo The #MeToo movem... Is Displayed

Q95 What was the main topic of the article you read?

- ○ The #MeToo movement (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recycling (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutritional Guidelines (3)

End of Block: #MeToo

Start of Block: Manipulation Check

Q60 **Amazon Echo Review: The Smart Speaker That Can Control Your Whole House**

Amazon released its Echo Bluetooth speaker/smart home hybrid over ten years ago, and since then both it and the Alexa voice assistant that powers it have taken the world by storm. We've seen new Alexa-powered devices from Amazon, and Alexa is being added to everything from driving assistant apps to smart light switches. The original $179.99 Amazon Echo speaker, however, is still going strong. As a speaker, the Echo isn't perfect, but it's perfectly functional. But what's more compelling is that Amazon is continually expanding Alexa's capabilities with new features being added all the time, both with first-party services as well as third-party "skills." Because Alexa is always

getting better, so is the Echo. And even up against the Google Assistant-powered Google Home, Alexa remains the voice assistant to beat. The Google Home has a different look and a slightly warmer sound signature that might appeal to you, but Google Assistant just can't compete with Alexa's superior library of skills. If you don't love the look or sound of the Echo, there are plenty of Alexa-powered alternatives coming down the pike. But we like the way it looks and sounds, and coupled with the steady flow of updates that Amazon keeps pushing out, the Echo has become a far better device today than we ever would have imagined two years ago. That makes it worthy of our Editor's Choice.

Display This Question:

If Amazon Echo Review: The smart speaker that can control your whole house Amazon released its E... Is Displayed

Q34 What was the main topic of the article that you read?

- ○ Amazon's Alexa and Echo speaker (1)
- ○ The Importance of Recycling (2)
- ○ Changes to Nutritional Guidelines (3)
- ○ Return to Article (4)

Display This Question:

If What was the main topic of the article that you read? = Return to Article

Q97 **Amazon Echo Review: The Smart Speaker That Can Control Your Whole House**

Amazon released its Echo Bluetooth speaker/smart home hybrid over ten years ago, and since then both it and the Alexa voice assistant that powers it have taken the world by storm. We've seen new Alexa-powered devices from Amazon, and Alexa is being added to everything from driving assistant apps to smart light switches. The original $179.99 Amazon Echo speaker, however, is still going strong. As a speaker, the Echo isn't perfect, but it's perfectly functional. But what's more compelling is that Amazon is continually expanding Alexa's capabilities with new features being added all the time, both with first-party services as well as third-party "skills." Because Alexa is always getting better, so is the Echo. And even up against the Google Assistant-powered Google Home, Alexa remains the voice assistant to beat. The Google Home has a different look and a slightly warmer sound signature that might appeal to you, but Google Assistant just can't compete with Alexa's superior library of skills. If you don't love the look or sound of the Echo, there are plenty of Alexa-powered alternatives coming down the pike. But we like the way it looks and sounds, and coupled with the steady flow of updates that Amazon keeps pushing out, the Echo has become a far better device today than we ever would have imagined two years ago. That makes it worthy of our Editor's Choice.

Display This Question:

If Amazon Echo Review: The smart speaker that can control your whole house Amazon released its E... Is Displayed

Q98 What was the main topic of the article that you read?

- Amazon's Alexa and Echo speaker (1)
- The Importance of Recycling (2)
- Changes to Nutritional Guidelines (3)

End of Block: Manipulation Check

Start of Block: Gender Consciousness

Q44 How well does the term feminist describe you?

- Not at all (1)
- Slightly well (2)
- Moderately well (3)
- Very well (4)
- Extremely well (5)

Display This Question:

If What is your sex or gender identity? = Female

Q45 How important is being a woman to your identity?

- ○ Extremely important (1)
- ○ Very important (2)
- ○ Moderately important (3)
- ○ Slightly important (4)
- ○ Not at all important (5)

Display This Question:

If What is your sex or gender identity? = Male

Q77 How important is being a man to your identity?

- ○ Extremely Important (1)
- ○ Very Important (2)
- ○ Moderately important (3)
- ○ Slightly important (4)
- ○ Not at all important (5)

Display This Question:

If What is your sex or gender identity? = Intersex

Q78 How important is being intersex to your identity?

- ○ Extremely Important (1)
- ○ Very Important (2)
- ○ Moderately important (3)
- ○ Slightly important (4)
- ○ Not at all important (5)

Display This Question:

If What is your sex or gender identity? = Gender Diverse

Q79 How important is being gender diverse to your identity?

- ○ Extremely Important (1)
- ○ Very Important (2)
- ○ Moderately important (3)
- ○ Slightly important (4)
- ○ Not at all important (5)

Display This Question:

If What is your sex or gender identity? = Male

Q67 Do you think that what happens generally to men in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If What is your sex or gender identity? = Intersex

Q81 Do you think that what happens generally to intersex people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If What is your sex or gender identity? = Gender Diverse

Q82 Do you think that what happens generally to gender diverse people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If What is your sex or gender identity? = Female

Q80 Do you think that what happens generally to women in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?

- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you think that what happens generally to intersex people in this country will have something t... = Yes

Or Do you think that what happens generally to gender diverse people in this country will have somet... = Yes

Or Do you think that what happens generally to women in this country will have something to do with... = Yes

Or Do you think that what happens generally to men in this country will have something to do with wh... = Yes

Q68 Will it affect you...?

- ○ A lot (1)
- ○ Some (2)
- ○ Not Very Much (4)

Q33 How much influence do women have in society relative to men?

- ○ Too little (1)
- ○ Just the right amount (2)
- ○ Too much (3)

Q63 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Q37
Men have the top jobs because society discriminates against women.

- ○ Disagree Strongly (1)
- ○ Disagree Slightly (2)
- ○ Neutral/ not sure (3)
- ○ Agree Slightly (4)
- ○ Agree Strongly (5)

Q38 It is not enough for a woman to be successful herself; women must work together to change laws that are unfair to all women.

- ○ Agree Strongly (1)
- ○ Agree Slightly (2)
- ○ Neutral/not sure (3)
- ○ Disagree Slightly (4)
- ○ Disagree Strongly (5)

Q39 I am angry that sexism exists.

- ○ Disagree Strongly (1)
- ○ Disagree Slightly (2)
- ○ Neutral/not sure (3)
- ○ Agree Slightly (4)
- ○ Agree Strongly (5)

Q40 How much discrimination is there in the United States today against women?

- A great deal (1)
- A lot (2)
- A moderate amount (3)
- A little (4)
- None at all (5)

Q41 How much discrimination is there in the United States today against men?

- None at all (1)
- A little (2)
- A moderate amount (3)
- A lot (4)
- A great deal (5)

Q42 How much discrimination have you personally faced because of your gender?

- A great deal (1)
- A lot (2)
- A moderate amount (3)
- A little (4)
- None at all (5)

Q43 When women demand equality these days, how often are they actually seeking special favors?

- Never (1)
- Rarely (2)
- Sometimes (3)
- Often (4)
- Always (5)

Q44 When women complain about discrimination, how often do they cause more problems than they solve?

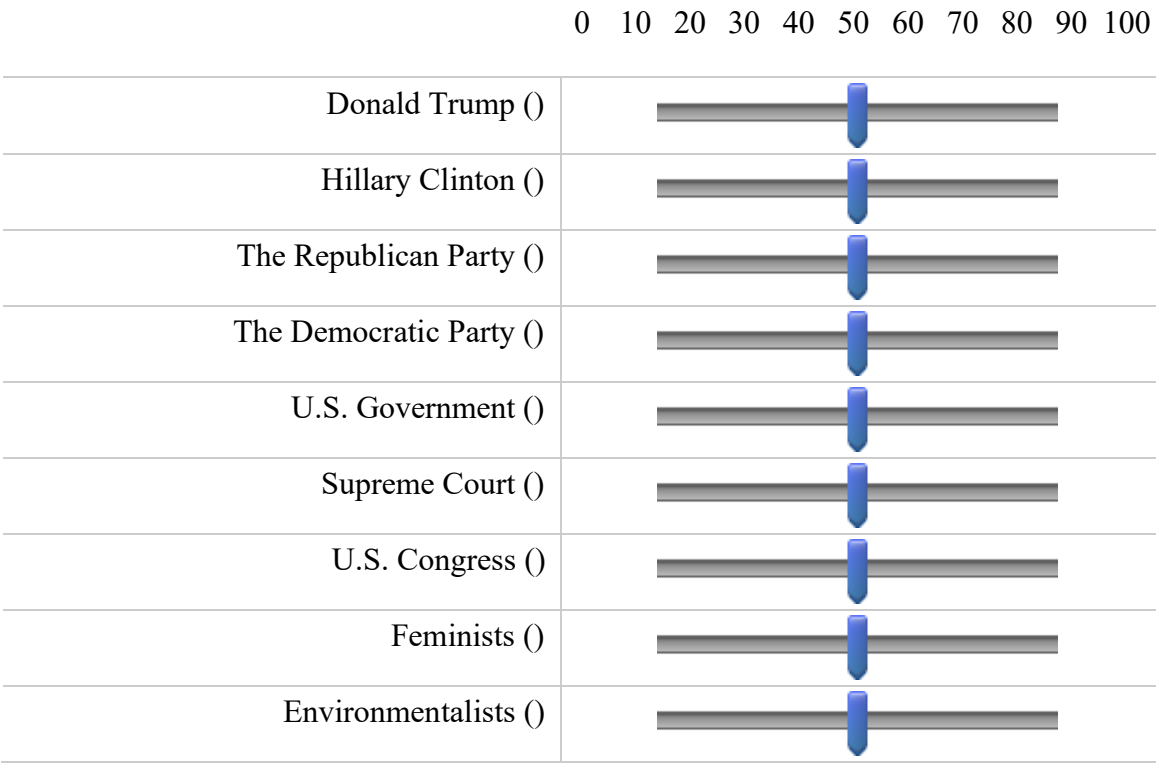
- Always (1)
- Most of the time (2)
- Some of the time (4)
- Never (5)

End of Block: Gender Consciousness

Start of Block: Feeling Thermometer

Q53 We would now like you to rate some groups and individuals on something called a feeling thermometer. Rating someone from 51 to 100 means you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Rating the person from 0 to 49 means you feel unfavorable and cool

toward the person. Rating someone at 50 means that you feel neither warm nor cold toward the person.



End of Block: Feeling Thermometer

Appendix H. Chapter 5 Additional Results

Table 1. Study 2 (Qualtrics) Demographics

	%
Male	48.42%
Female	51.16%
Intersex	0.10%
White	62.46%
Black	12.20%
Latinx	16.78%
AAPI	5.5%
AIAN	0.50%
Other/Multiple	2.4%
18-24	12.10%
25-34	16.88%
35-44	16.78%
45-54	18.31%
55-64	15.97%
65-74	15.97%
75-84	3.7%

85+	0.2%

	%
Republican	31.43%
Democrat	37.84%
Independent	28.0%
Diploma / GED	34.4%
Vocational / Trade	2.5%
Associate's	5.6%
Bachelor's	19.53%
Master's	8.6%
Doctorate	1.72%

Table 2. Study 1 Tukey HSD Comparisons

Comparison	Difference	Adjusted p-value
Women-Men	0.024	0.991
Fathers of First-Daughters-Men	-0.046	0.984
Fathers of First-Sons-Men	0.001	1
Mothers of First-Daughters-Men	-0.076	0.653
Mothers of First-Sons-Men	-0.007	1
Fathers of First-Daughters-Women	-0.07	0.918
Fathers of First-Sons-Women	-0.023	0.996
Mothers of First-Daughters-Women	-0.1	0.406
Mothers of First-Sons-Women	-0.031	0.995
Fathers of First-Sons-Fathers of First-Daughters	0.047	0.987
Mothers of First-Daughters-Fathers of First-Daughters	-0.03	0.999
Mothers of First-Sons-Fathers of First-Daughters	0.039	0.996
Mothers of First-Daughters-Fathers of First-Sons	-0.077	0.731
Mothers of First-Sons-Fathers of First-Sons	-0.008	1
Mothers of First-Sons-Mothers of First-Daughters	0.069	0.892

Table 3. Study 1 Tukey HSD Comparisons With Demographic Controls (Age, Income, Education, and Party ID

Comparison	Difference	Adjusted p-value
Women-Men	0.025	0.988
Fathers of First-Daughters-Men	0.012	1
Fathers of First-Sons-Men	0.002	1
Mothers of First-Daughters-Men	-0.075	0.663
Mothers of First-Sons-Men	-0.005	1
Fathers of First-Daughters-Women	-0.014	1
Fathers of First-Sons-Women	-0.023	0.996
Mothers of First-Daughters-Women	-0.1	0.397
Mothers of First-Sons-Women	-0.031	0.994
Fathers of First-Sons-Fathers of First-Daughters	-0.009	1
Mothers of First-Daughters-Fathers of First-Daughters	-0.087	0.882
Mothers of First-Sons-Fathers of First-Daughters	-0.017	1
Mothers of First-Daughters-Fathers of First-Sons	-0.077	0.715
Mothers of First-Sons-Fathers of First-Sons	-0.008	1
Mothers of First-Sons-Mothers of First-Daughters	0.069	0.881

Table 4. Treatment Effect on Empathy Moderated by Parent Gender

	Basic	Control
(Intercept)	0.74 ***	0.74 ***
	(0.03)	(0.04)
Discrimination	-0.05	-0.05
	(0.05)	(0.05)
First-Daughter	-0.01	-0.01
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Parent Gender	-0.05	-0.05
	(0.06)	(0.06)
Discrimination:First-Daughter	0.07	0.07
	(0.08)	(0.08)
Discrimination:Parent Gender	0.12	0.12
	(0.08)	(0.08)
First-Daughter:Parent Gender	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.09)	(0.09)
Discrimination:First-Daughter-Parent Gender	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.11)	(0.11)
Number of Children		-0.00
		(0.01)
N	262	262
R2	0.09	0.09

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$.