

Me Too: The Impact of Sexism on Political Engagement and the Moderating Effect of Gender Consciousness

Claire M. Gothreau
Center for American Women and Politics
Rutgers University
E-Mail: claire.gothreau@rutgers.edu
Twitter: @claire_gothreau

Sexism, sexual harassment, and the objectification of women are issues that have gained a new level of salience in our political culture. The phrase “Me Too” has captured the pervasiveness of these experiences. The present study demonstrates how the marginalizing experiences that women have in their everyday lives affect their engagement in the political sphere. I test the primary hypothesis that gender-based discrimination has an effect on both political engagement and behavior utilizing data from a sample of 311 women living in the United States. Findings indicate that there is a robust connection between gender-based marginalization and political engagement. Women who experience more discrimination and marginalization become more engaged in politics. However, this relationship is conditional on levels of gender consciousness.

Word Count: 8,768

Keywords: Gender, Political Engagement, Discrimination, Sexism

Sexism goes so deep that at first it's hard to see: you think it's just reality.

-Alix Kates Shulman

Sexism, sexual harassment, and objectification are all ways in which women are marginalized in which men are generally not. Sometimes these events and experiences are relatively minor, and other times they are significant. Gender-based discrimination is commonplace and makes up the “lived experience” of women (Feagin and Sikes 1994). These experiences range from seeing a sexually objectifying advertisement, to hearing a sexist comment, to being the victim of sexual violence. Although these events are different from each other, they are all rooted in a patriarchal system that fundamentally denies women of the same freedoms that men enjoy.

The few studies that have linked discrimination and political participation suggest that social organizing and political activism can be collective responses to the type of everyday prejudice described above (Simpson and Yinger 1985). However, recent work finds that interpersonal discrimination can actually be demobilizing and cause individuals who experience this discrimination to withdraw from political life (Oskooii 2016). With the exception of this study, the extant research does not focus on interpersonal discrimination, but rather, structural or explicitly political discrimination against marginalized groups. Moreover, there are virtually no studies exploring personally-experienced gender discrimination and its effect on political behavior. How do the everyday marginalizing experiences that women have affect the way in which they approach politics?

Sexism toward political candidates, rather than citizens, has largely occupied the focus of the political science research. This is likely due to the fact that it is easier to see the logical connection between sexism and electoral success. However, we have yet to consider how sexism impacts women in the electorate. The limited research on discrimination and political behavior would suggest that discrimination and unfair treatment can spur individuals to become engaged and active in politics (Barreto and Woods 2005; Cho, Gimpel, and Wu 2006). This work focuses on ethnic and racial discrimination, rather than gender-based discrimination. This is a useful starting point to theorize about the potential effect of gender discrimination against women on political engagement, however gender and race are not equivalent marginalized identities. Furthermore, the extensive psychology literature has documented the negative effects of sexual harassment and sexism on women. Discriminatory events take a toll on women's mental health and cognitive functioning (Klonoff and Landrine 1995). Social psychologists have found that experiences with interpersonal discrimination can lead to depression, as well as feelings of inferiority and lowered self-esteem (Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey 1999; Verkuyten 1998). These are all consequences that are inconsistent with high levels of political engagement.

I argue that gender-based discrimination can both act as an impetus and an impediment to political engagement. Sexist experiences are impactful events that women internalize (Klonoff, Landrine, and Campbell 2000; Miles-McLean et. al. 2015; Swim et al. 2001). They are constant reminders of the power differentials between men and women. I posit that gender consciousness moderates the relationship between sexist events and engagement. For women who are high in gender consciousness, gender-based discrimination leads to higher levels of engagement. For women who are low in gender consciousness, gender-based discrimination will have no effect on engagement, and could potentially even lead to decreased engagement. I explore this theory

empirically using data collected from an online sample of 311 women living in the United States. I also consider how these findings relate to the #MeToo movement and the political mobilization around combatting sexual harassment and sexual violence. I find support for the notion that sexist events spur political engagement when paired with higher levels of gender consciousness. Taken together, these results suggest that scholars of gender and politics, as well as political behavior more generally, should consider the role of discrimination and everyday prejudice in the study of political engagement. Furthermore, these results highlight the fact that women are not a politically cohesive group and other factors must be taken into consideration when studying gender and political behavior.

Gender-Based Discrimination and its Consequences

Before explicating the connection between gender-based discrimination against women and political engagement, it is first essential to understand the nature and prevalence of discrimination. The crux of discrimination is that it reinforces existing systems of dominance and subordination. Krieger (1999, 201) states, “Discrimination is a socially structured and sanctioned phenomenon, justified by ideology and expressed in interactions, among and between individuals and institutions, intended to maintain privileges for members of dominant groups at the cost of deprivation for others.” Discrimination can broadly be classified into two categories. As Oskooii (2016, 616) notes *systemic* or political discrimination, “typically refers to discriminatory laws, campaign messages, policies, or practices carried out by state or private institutions and/or their affiliated actors.” In the context of discrimination against women, examples of systemic discrimination include laws that limit women’s reproductive rights and institutional features in politics that keep women from running for public office. Interpersonal discrimination occurs between individuals. It can come from family, friends, or strangers in private or public settings.

The focus of this work is on women's experiences with interpersonal discrimination as I am interested in the effect of seemingly non-political factors on political outcomes. Furthermore, interpersonal discriminatory events such as street harassment, sexist jokes, and workplace harassment are near daily experiences for many women (Fitzgerald 1993; Klonoff & Landrine 1995; Pew 2017). Importantly for this study, they are also experienced directly in a way that systemic discrimination is often not.

Interpersonal gender-based discrimination can take a multitude of forms. Scholars have documented the ubiquity of sexual harassment and discrimination in the workplace (Fitzgerald 1993), sexist comments (Swim et al. 2001), and both interpersonal and media sexual objectification (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997; Kozee et al. 2007). Everyday sexist events include sexist degradation such as being called a sexist name, hearing sexist jokes, or being disrespected because of one's identity as a woman. A sexist event can also include discrimination in both distant and close relationships, as well as in the workplace (Klonoff and Landrine 1995). Utilizing the Schedule of Sexist Events that measures these experiences, Klonoff and Landrine found that 99% of the 631 women surveyed reported experiencing sexist events at least once in their lifetime, and 97% reported experiencing sexist events at least once within the past year. More recent data shows similar patterns. According to a 2015 survey of 2,235 full-time and part-time women employees, 1 in 3 women had experienced sexual harassment (Huffington Post). A 2018 survey conducted by the non-profit, Stop Street Harassment, found that 81% of women experienced some form of sexual harassment (NPR 2018)¹ and a 2017 survey conducted by Pew found that 42% of women in the United States say

¹ The Stop Street Harassment Survey broadly defined sexual harassment to include verbal sexual harassment, unwelcome sexual touching, cyber-sexual harassment, being physically followed, unwanted genital flashing, and sexual assault.

that they have faced discrimination on the job because of their gender. These estimates are likely rather conservative given that women are often reluctant to label an event as sexist or as constituting sexual harassment (Magley et al. 1999).

Perceived sexist events are considered to be stressors and are linked to psychological issues for those who experience these events (Klonoff and Landrine 1995; Swim et al. 2001). Counseling psychologists have long theorized about the potential for psychological distress due to experiences of discrimination and oppression (Clark et al. 1999; Landrine and Klonoff 1996). Klonoff and Landrine (1995) purport that sexist events over a lifetime are distal causes of psychological distress, and more recent sexist experiences are proximal predictors of distress.² The authors find that both recent and lifetime perceived sexist events were related to obsessive-compulsivity and anxiety. Lifetime sexist experiences were also related to somatic symptoms, and recent events were related to depressive symptoms. Klonoff and Landrine (1995) find that sexist events actually have a greater negative impact on women's physical and mental health than generic stressors, even when controlling for appraisal, social support and coping style. They state, "This is because sexist events are inherently demeaning, degrading, and high personal; they are attacks upon and negative responses to something essential about the self that cannot be changed: being a woman. Sexist discrimination thereby has a higher potential to erode women's physical and mental health" (1995, 442).

Victims of workplace sexual harassment experience negative consequences as well, such as job dissatisfaction and absenteeism (Fitzgerald et al. 1997; Schneider et al. 1997). They also experience nervousness, anger, low self-esteem, and elevated stress (Crocker and Kalemba

² The authors also note that more significant events, such as physical sexist discrimination like rape and sexual assault, regardless of the time of occurrence, also act as proximal predictors of psychological distress.

1999). Everyday sexism has ramifications as well. Swim et al. (2001) found that women experience approximately one to two impactful sexist incidents per week.³ These incidents affect women's psychological well-being by decreasing their comfort, increasing feelings of anger and depression, and decreasing self-esteem. Simply put, more experiences with sexist events leads to more psychological distress for women (Fischer and Holz 2007; Klonoff et al. 2000; Szymanski et al. 2009).

The psychology literature shows that accumulated marginalizing experiences have consequences on women's mental health, cognitive functioning, and their behavior. Everyday incidents make up the fabric of people's lives. For members of traditionally oppressed groups, everyday prejudiced events are a significant part of these experiences. These incidents take place at home, with family or friends, at work, or out in public. Like another other daily hassle or stressful life event, they have a non-trivial impact on psychological well-being (Swim et al. 2001).

Sexist Events, Political Engagement, and Gender Consciousness

The scant research on discrimination and political engagement would lead us to think that perhaps gender discrimination mobilizes women to become more involved in politics. We know from the literature on race and ethnicity that perceptions of prejudiced treatment can spur political action (Barreto and Woods 2005, Cho, Gimpel, and Wu 2006; Simpson and Yinger 1985;). On the other hand, it's possible that gender discrimination dampens political engagement among women. As previously discussed, these events have negative psychological consequences. They are often demoralizing experiences that lower women's self-esteem, cause

³ The authors conceptualize sexist incidents as gender role stereotypes and prejudice, degrading comments and behaviors, and sexual objectification.

anxiety, and remind women of their subjugated status in society. These are all things that seem inconsistent with a state of high political engagement. This conclusion is supported by recent work on Muslim-Americans' experiences with interpersonal discrimination and sociopolitical behavior (Oskooii 2016). This study finds that interpersonal discrimination actually causes some to retreat from the political sphere, whereas political or structural discrimination is associated with mobilization.

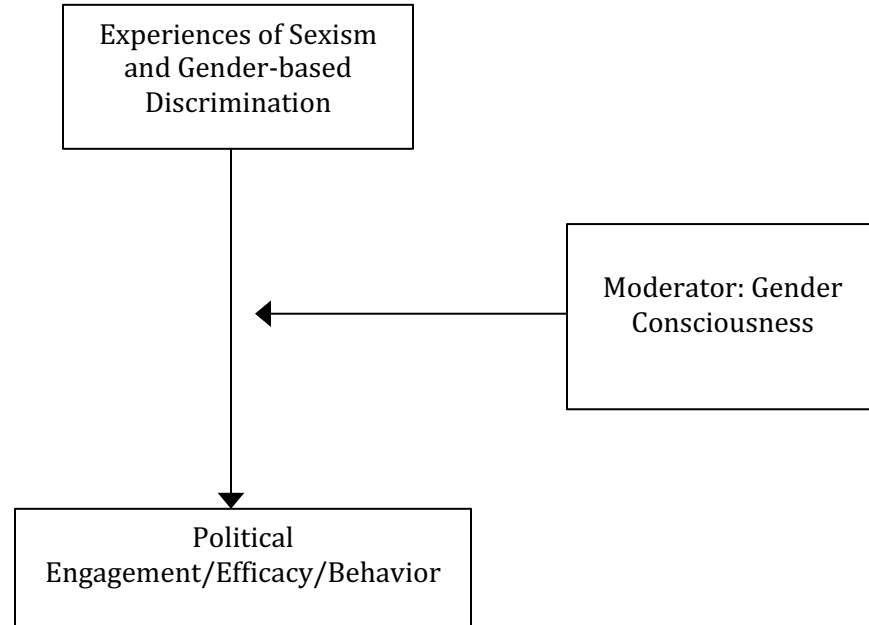
I advance the theory that the impact of marginalizing events on women's political engagement is not constant across all women. This is consistent with recent scholarship that explores why women lack the political cohesion that other marginalized groups display (Cassese and Barnes 2018; Cassese and Holman 2016). Contrary to many political narratives, women are not homogenous actors and the effect of discrimination on political engagement may not be constant across all women. I argue that the key moderator in the relationship between discrimination and engagement is gender consciousness. Essentially, to become mobilized by discrimination, one has to acknowledge that they are indeed subject to discriminatory events that are based in sexism and patriarchal societal norms. Appraisal of discriminatory events and how women perceive their status as part of a marginalized group is key. Indeed, there is some evidence that perceptions of gender-based discrimination can impact vote choice (Cassese and Barnes 2018).

The mechanism that mobilizes racial and ethnic groups subject to discrimination to engage in politics is a sense of group consciousness and linked fate (Jamal 2005; Lin 2018; Ysseldyk et al. 2014). Group consciousness is considered to be a political resource that explains the high levels of political participation among some marginalized groups (Sanchez and Vargas

2016). I argue that this is the case for women as well, although there is more heterogeneity in levels of group consciousness.⁴

Group consciousness involves three major factors (Miller et al. 1981). First, it involves identification with a particular group or social stratum. Secondly, group consciousness requires a level of political awareness about the group's position in society relative to others. Finally, it involves a commitment to collective action with the goal of realizing the group's interest. Gender consciousness is a sense of belonging to women as a social group or social identity, as well as having a psychological connection to one's gender identity (Conover 1988). Cassese and Holman (2016, 516) explain, "Gender consciousness, and social identity more generally, is a multifaceted construct consisting of factors like perceptions of group-based discrimination and feelings of linked fate with other group members." For group consciousness to be present, one must have a sense that their group is subject to unfair discrimination and that their own well-being is inextricably tied to the well-being of the entire group. This feel of linked fate, which is conceptually very similar to group consciousness, has been shown to motivate political engagement. Members of marginalized groups are more aware of group membership than are dominant group members. This often leads to the development of group consciousness (Duncan 1999; Gurin 1985). The relationship I propose is illustrated in Figure 1.

⁴ Past findings indicate that the varied level of group consciousness among women is in part due to the high levels of contact and close relationships that most women have with men (Henderson-King & Stewart 1994; Gurin, Miller, & Gurin 1980). Henderson-King & Stewart (1994) also note that gender functions as both a personal and social identity and because gender is central to one's personal identity, women are less likely to develop high levels of group consciousness.

Fig. 1

I argue that women who are high in gender consciousness will become galvanized by sexist and discriminatory events and engage in political participation as a response (Hypothesis 1). If one acknowledges their own status as a marginalized person, they are more likely to attribute sexist events to a society that systematically discriminates and disadvantages women. They are also more likely to see political action as a way to cope with and confront marginalization.⁵ Additionally, there is evidence that recent sexist experiences combined with a commitment to social change is related to lower levels of self-silencing (Watson and Grotewiel 2016). Marginalizing events combined with high levels of gender consciousness is likely to be

⁵ Of course, political activism is not the only way in which women respond to or cope with gender-based discrimination. There is a sizeable literature on how women cope with sexist experiences (Fitzgerald 1990; Fitzgerald et al. 1993). These coping mechanisms can include more active mechanisms like confronting the harasser, discussing the event with friends, or filing a formal complaint. Passive coping mechanisms include ignoring the behavior, engaging in self-blame, and deeming the event as benign. However, literature suggests that group consciousness spurs political activism (Duncan 1999). Women who are high in group consciousness are more likely to see engaging in politics as a way to cope with or address discrimination.

positively associated with political engagement. Women who are low on gender consciousness will not become mobilized by the same accumulation of discriminatory experiences (Hypothesis 2). They likely do not attribute these events to a larger system that disadvantages and marginalizes women. It is also possible that they do not see these events as constituting sexism or discrimination. For these women, sexist events could potentially depress political engagement.

My argument emphasizes the protective role of feelings of linked fate, an acknowledgement of one's membership in a marginalized group, and the belief that women have less access to power and resources than men. Scholars have found that even the perception of gender inequality can promote political participation and engagement among (Bernstein 2005). It is likely that actually experiencing discrimination and sexism would have the same effect. However, I hypothesize that this effect is conditional on gender consciousness. Although this study does not directly test the causal mechanism that links personally-experienced discrimination and political engagement, the literature on emotions and politics helps shed light on possible mechanisms. We know from the political science literature that some emotions are associated with increased political mobilization. Specifically, we know that anger is mobilizing emotion (Valentino et al. 2011) and tends to boost political efficacy (Valentino, Gregorowicz, and Groenendyk 2009; Weber 2008). Emotional response may also condition whether or not women are mobilized by discriminatory events. Perhaps, women who are higher in gender consciousness respond with anger to discrimination, whereas women who are lower in gender consciousness respond with other less politically mobilizing emotions.

Data and Measures

Participants

To test the proposed hypotheses, in March of 2018, I recruited 311 participants through Amazon Mechanical Turk (See Appendix A.1 and A.2 for details regarding the recruitment process and more detailed demographic information). MTurk provides a more representative sample than in-person convenience samples (Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz 2012). All participants were pre-screened such that only those who identified as women were able to complete the survey. Participants ranged from age 22 to 75 ($M=39.67$, $SD=11.31$), and 57.5% of the sample had a bachelor's degree or higher. Out of the 311 participants, 224 (72.03%) identified as White, 33(10.61%) as Black, 33 (10.61%) as Asian, 4 as Latino/a or Hispanic (1.29%), and 21 (6.75%) as multi-racial. According to United States Census data (2017), this sample is relatively representative of the population, although significantly more educated. The median reported yearly income was "\$35,000 to \$64,999." Participants were compensated \$1.20 for completing the survey.

Gender Discrimination

After consenting to participate in the study, participants first completed the Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Questionnaire (Kozee et al. 2007). The ISOS is a measure of objectification that occurs through personal interactions and relationships. The first 11-items in the scale are a measure of body evaluation (i.e. "How often have you heard a rude, sexual remark made about your body?", "How often have you overheard inappropriate sexual comments made about your body?") and the last 4-items are a measure of unwanted explicit sexual advances (i.e. "How often have you been touched or fondled against your will?", "How often has someone made a degrading sexual gesture towards you?"). Response categories were "never," "rarely", "occasionally," "frequently," and "almost always." Maximum Likelihood Factor Analysis was conducted on the items from the ISOS, and latent factors were allowed to correlate. I opted to

conduct factor analysis to allow items on the scale to have different weights. The sample size of 311 exceeds recommendations that sample sizes of at least 200 are sufficient for CFA (Kline 2005). Maximum likelihood estimation is also robust to multivariate non-normality (Weston & Gore 2006). Scores on the scale ranged from -1.49 to 3.32 with a median score of -.075 and a standard deviation of .92.

Participants then completed 14-items from the Schedule of Sexist Events (Klonoff and Landrine 1995).⁶ The SSE was designed to measure daily sexist events across a wide range of different domains (i.e. “How often have you been treated unfairly by your employer, boss, or supervisors because you are a woman?”, “How often have you heard people making sexist jokes, or degrading sexual jokes?”). The scale was developed to be analogous to other stressful and negative life events.⁷ Maximum Likelihood Factor Analysis was also conducted on the items from the SSE. Latent factors were allowed to correlate. Scores on the scale ranged from -1.20 to 3.46 with a median score of -1.39 and a standard deviation of .92. These two scales are two slightly different operationalizations of gender discrimination. The ISOS scale taps objectifying events, body evaluation, and unwanted sexual advances whereas the SSE taps unfair treatment in the workplace, gender stereotypes, and workplace harassment. In the subsequent analyses, I look at sexist and objectifying events separately to see if there are differential effects based on the type of gender discrimination. After completion of the SSE and ISOS, participants answered

⁶ Factor analysis has revealed that the SSE yields three reliable factors, “Sexist Degradation and It’s Consequences,” “Unfair and Sexist Events at Work/School,” and “Unfair Treatment in Distant and Close Relationships” (Matteson and Moradi 2005). I also used only the SSE-recent as to not fatigue participants.

⁷ An important feature of the SSE and ISOS is that the majority of the items do not explicitly ask about “sexism.” This alleviates concerns that perhaps women who are more conservative and do not interpret these experiences as sexist would then underreport. Indeed, research shows that women are often reluctant to label an event as sexist or as constituting sexual harassment (Magley et al. 1999).

questions from the Coping with Sexual Harassment Scale (Fitzgerald 1990; Fitzgerald et al. 1993) and a Big Five Questionnaire.

Measuring Gender Consciousness: Feminist Identity Development

Participants completed a modified version of the Feminist Identity Development Scale (Bargad and Hyde 1991).⁸ The full FIDS scale is 48-items, so in the interest of not fatiguing participants, 21-items that best tapped gender consciousness, linked fate, and perceived discrimination were included (i.e. “I’ve never really worried or thought about what it means to be a woman in this society.”, “I used to think there wasn’t a lot of sex discrimination, but now I know how much there really is.”, “I feel angry about the way that women have been left out of the history text books.”). Responses were coded such that a higher value indicated a “more gender conscious” response. The items displayed a high degree of internal validity ($\alpha = .921$). Maximum likelihood factor analysis was also conducted that revealed that most of the variance was explained by one factor. Scores on the scale ranged from -1.98 to 1.80 with a median score of -.019 and a standard deviation of .95. Importantly, all but one of the items on the scale did not explicitly ask about “feminism.” This was done for a few reasons. First, the goal was to tap gender consciousness and a sense of linked fate more so than identification with the feminist label. Secondly, because the term “feminist” is politicized, there was concern that including it in some of the question items would simply be capturing the fact that highly identified feminists are simply more likely to be politically engaged in the first place. Finally, this takes care of some concern that this operationalization is just a correlate of ideology or partisanship.⁹ This sub-set of

⁸ There is a relatively extensive literature on the convergent validity, temporal stability, and internal consistency and reliability of the FIDS (Bargad and Hyde 1991; Gerstmann and Karmer 1997; Moradi and Subich 2002).

⁹ Factor scores from the FIDS scale still correlated modestly with ideology and party identification. Ideology and party identification are included as control variables in all regression models.

questions from the FIDS captures a variety of individuals who psychologically identify with women as a group while avoiding any obvious ideological connotations. Furthermore, the FIDS is a more comprehensive measure than the two or three items that are typically used to tap gender consciousness.

Political Engagement

The primary dependent variables are questions tapping political engagement. I utilized commonly used measures of internal political efficacy (Niemi et al. 1991) and political interest (Shani 2012). Responses were coded such that higher scores corresponded to more efficacious and interested responses. Maximum likelihood factor analysis was conducted on the internal political efficacy items. Scores on the scale ranged from -2.26 to 1.68 with a median of .18 and a standard deviation of .94. A summated rating scale was created with the two items tapping political interest. Scores ranged from 2 to 7 with a median score of 3.13 and a standard deviation of .83. A measure of political participation was created using four dichotomous questions about engaging in various acts of political participation within the past year (signing an online petition, attending a public rally or demonstration, donating money to a political campaign or cause, and posting on social media about an issue that matters to you). Maximum likelihood factor analysis was conducted on the four political participation measures. Scores ranged from -1.1 to 1.31 with a median of .18 and a standard deviation of .84. As a robustness check, I created an additive scale with the four dichotomous political participation measures and estimated the model as an ordered logit (Appendix A.5). Substantive results were unchanged.

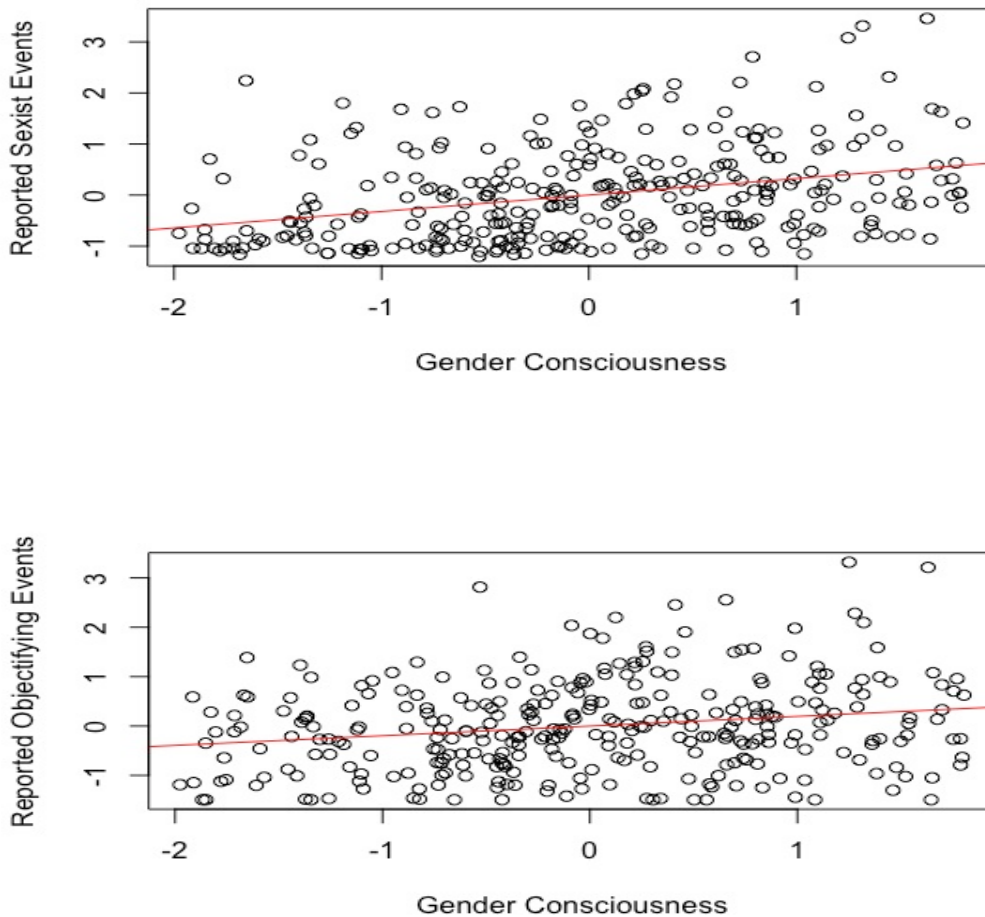
Control Variables

Education was measured on a four point scale (“high school grad,” “some college,” “college grad,” and “post-college grad”). Income was measured on a five point scale (“under

\$15,000,” “\$15,000 to \$34,999,” “\$35,000 to \$64,999,” “\$65,000 to \$149,999,” and “over \$150,000”). Ideology was measured on a six point scale coded such that higher scores indicate more conservative political ideology (“very liberal,” “liberal,” “somewhat liberal,” “somewhat conservative,” “conservative,” “very conservative”). Race was dummy coded such that 1 indicated those who identified as white. Party identification was dummy coded such that 1 indicated those who identified as Democrats. Age was measured in years.

The Relationship Between Gender Discrimination and Gender Consciousness

The sections above introduced the argument that gender discrimination leads to increased political engagement for women high in gender consciousness. There is plausible concern that perhaps women who are high in gender consciousness are already more politically engaged and simply report experiencing more gender discrimination because they are more attuned to and sensitive to sexism. To address this potential confound, it is useful to look at the reported levels of gender discrimination across gender consciousness as measuring using the FIDS. Figure 2 depicts the reported levels of both sexist and objectifying events over the range of the FIDS. We see that for those higher on the scale seem to report slightly more sexist events. The reported amount of objectifying events is relatively similar across varying levels of gender consciousness. This provides relatively solid evidence that an over-reporting of gender discrimination among those high in gender consciousness is not driving the results of the analyses. It is also worth noting that there are only weak positive correlations between sexist events and feminist identity development ($r=.330$) and objectifying events and feminist identity development ($r=.202$).

Fig. 2: Reported Sexist and Objectifying Events

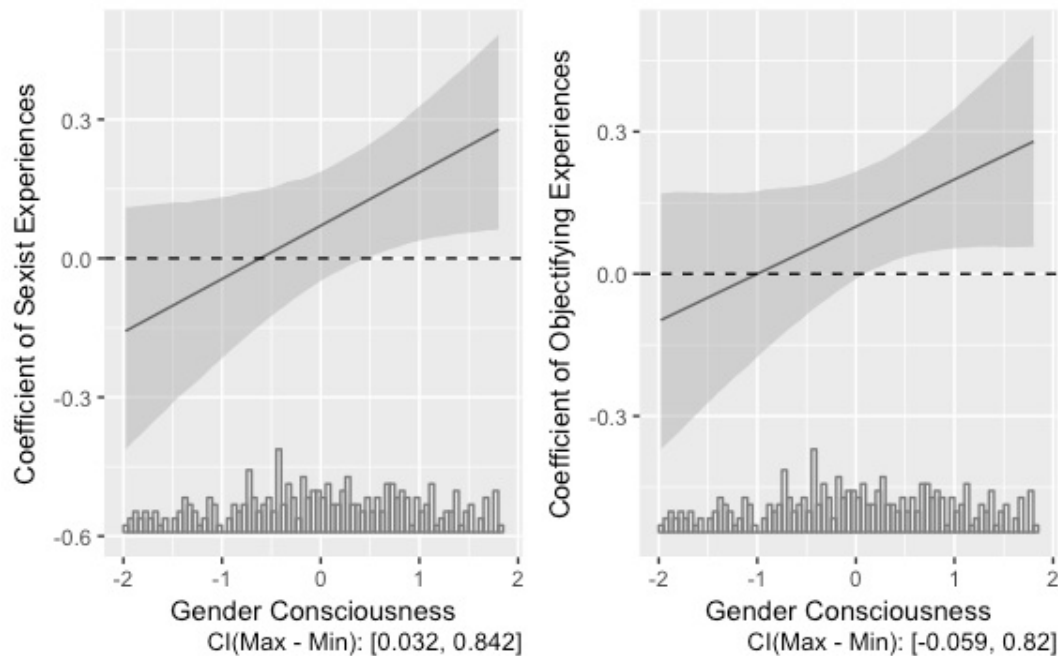
Results

To test the hypothesis that there is a relationship between sexist events and political engagement and the moderating effect of feminist identity development, I regressed internal political efficacy on the Schedule of Sexist Events (SSE) factor scores, the gender consciousness factor scores, and the interaction between the two. I controlled for education, income, ideology, race, party identification and age.

The full models can be found in Appendix A.3, Table 1. Strong support was found for Hypothesis 1. Although the sexist events term was not significant, the interaction between sexist events and gender consciousness was positive and significant ($p < .05$). Due to the difficulty of interpreting interaction terms, this finding is better illustrated graphically in Figure 3. Essentially, Model 1 shows that as gender consciousness increases, so does the estimated coefficient for sexist experiences. In other words, for women who are relatively high in gender consciousness, sexist experiences actually become galvanizing events that increase their levels of internal political efficacy. For women who are low in gender consciousness, sexist experiences have no impact on efficacy. To check the robustness of this finding, I ran the same model, but with the Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale (ISOS) factor scores.¹⁰ This model also provides support for my hypothesis. Gender consciousness moderates the relationship between sexist/objectifying events and internal political efficacy. Tests of linearity assumptions can be found in Appendix A.4 using diagnostics suggested by Hainmueller, Mummolo, and Xu (2016).

¹⁰ The ISOS taps the same underlying concept as the SSH, but gets at more explicitly sexually objectifying experiences like unwanted sexual advances and body evaluation.

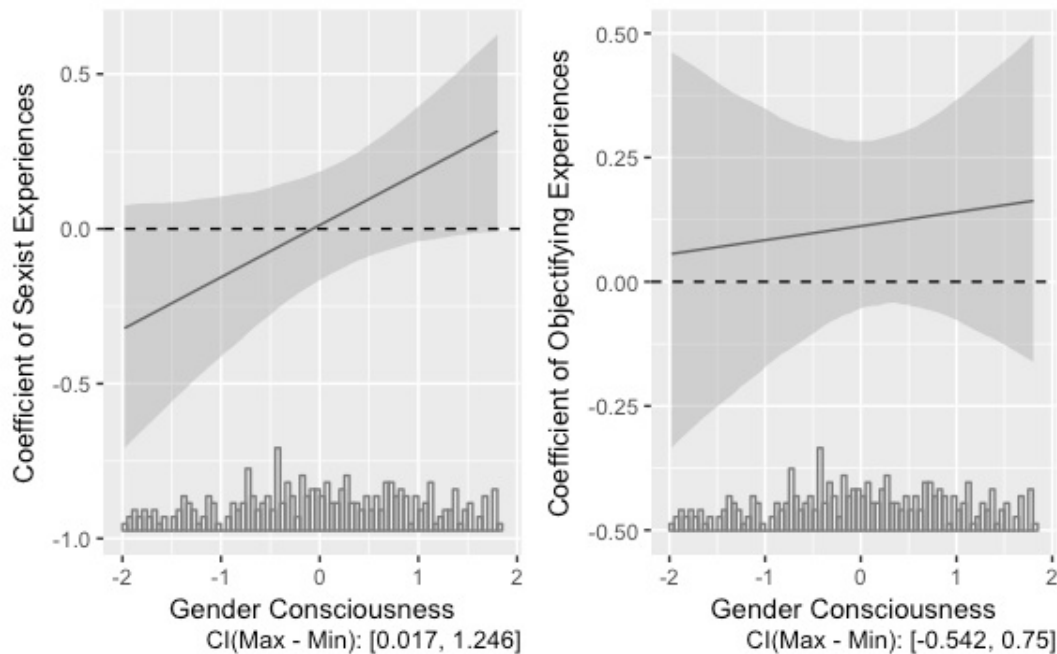
Fig. 3: Marginal Effect of Sexist Events (left) and Interpersonal Objectification (right) on Efficacy over the Range of Gender Consciousness¹¹



To further evaluate the relationship between discrimination and political engagement, I regressed political interest on sexist events (SSE) and objectifying events (ISOS) factor scores, the gender consciousness factor scores, the interaction between the two, and the same set of covariates specified in the first two models. A similar pattern emerges in which women who are high in gender consciousness experience more political interest as sexist events increase. Women who are low in gender consciousness seemed to display lowered interest as sexist events increase, although this relationship is not statistically significant. This relationship is less pronounced when we look at objectifying events, but the general pattern holds. The full regression models can be found in Appendix A.3, Table 2.

¹¹ These figures are showing us that as feminist identity increase (x-axis), the coefficient for sexist/objectifying increases (y-axis). In other words, feminist identity bolsters the positive effect that sexist/objectifying experiences have on internal political efficacy. I also looked at the marginal effect of sexist/objectifying experiences on the FIDS and there is a symmetrical effect.

Fig. 4: Marginal Effect of Sexist Events (left) and Interpersonal Objectification (right) on Political Interest over the Range of Gender Consciousness

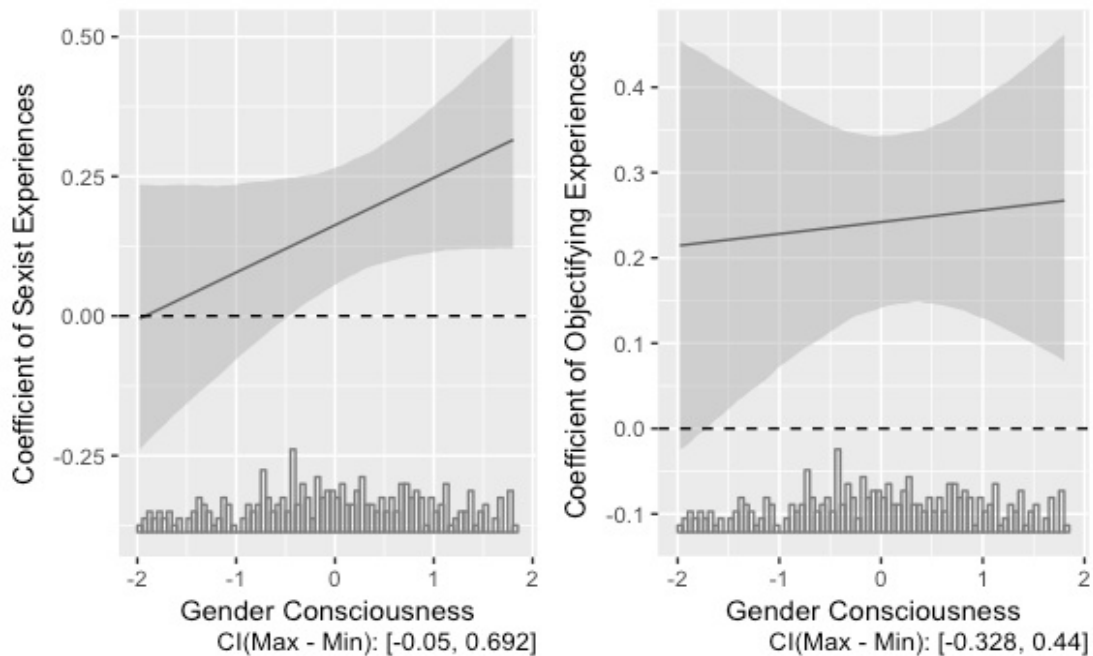


Internal political efficacy and political interest are measures of political engagement, but can experiences with sexist events actually affect political behavior? To assess this question, I created a variable using four different dichotomous measures of political activity.¹² The political activity factor scores were regressed on the same set of covariates specified in the previous models. Full results can be found in Appendix A.3, Table 3. Once again, there is a strong relationship between sexist experiences and political activity ($p < .01$). Women who experience more sexist and objectifying events engage in more political activity. Again, this relationship appears to be moderated by gender consciousness. Women who are high on the gender consciousness scale are the most mobilized by sexist experiences. This pattern does not hold for objectifying events, although there is a positive and significant main effect of objectifying events

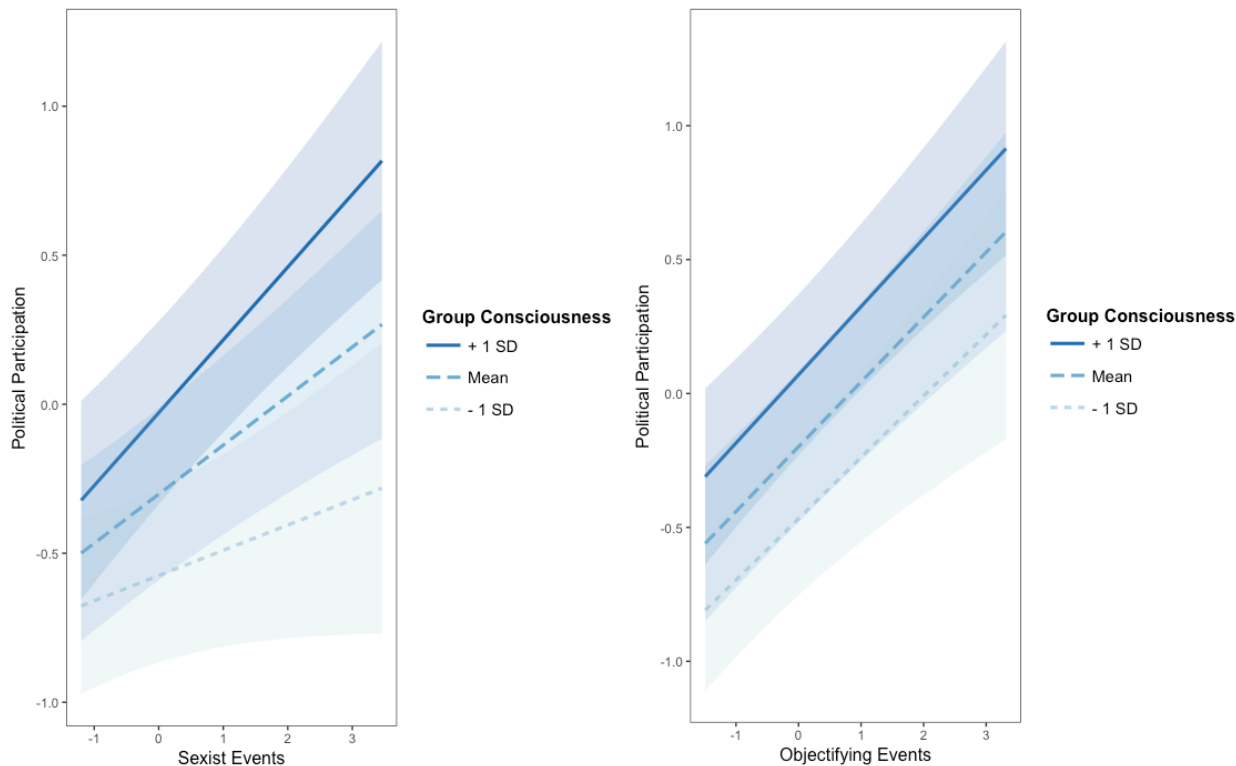
¹² The question wording was, “People engage in social, civic, and political activity in different ways..... Over the past 12 months, have you done any of the following, or not?” The four activities were “signed an online petition,” “attended a public rally or demonstration,” “donated money to a campaign or cause,” and “posted on social media about an issue that matters to you.”

on political participation ($p < .01$). Figure 5 shows that as gender consciousness increases, so does the estimated coefficient for sexist experiences. This relationship is much less pronounced when using the objectifying events scale.

Fig. 5: Marginal Effect of Sexist Events (left) and Interpersonal Objectification (right) on Political Participation over the Range of Gender Consciousness



To results presented so far have demonstrated that there is a strong relationship between sexist and objectifying events and political participation and engagement that is moderated by gender consciousness. To further illustrate this moderating effect, Figure 6 depicts the level of participation across sexist and objectifying events for women at varying levels of gender consciousness. We see a particularly sharp difference between women who are one standard deviation above the mean gender consciousness score and those who are one standard deviation below the mean gender consciousness score.

Fig. 6: Predicted Political Participation at Varying Levels of Gender Consciousness

In sum, even when controlling for age, ideology, party identification, education, and race, all powerful predictors of political participation, we still see a robust relationship between sexist discrimination and political engagement. Discrimination has a mobilizing impact on political efficacy, interest, and participation. The interaction between gender discrimination and gender consciousness generally supported the hypothesis that the mobilizing impact of discrimination is conditional on women psychologically identifying with their group.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to investigate the connection between gender discrimination and political engagement, and the moderating impact of gender consciousness. Political scientists have focused almost exclusively on the impact that sexism has on the electoral success of elite

female candidates, while paying scant attention to how marginalization on the basis of gender affects women generally. Results indicate that personally-experience gender discrimination can mobilize women to become politically engaged. However, this relationship is conditional on gender consciousness. Women who were low on gender consciousness were not mobilized by sexist events. These findings are in line with literature on black Americans experiences with everyday prejudice. Prejudice and marginalization spur social organizing and political activism (Simpson and Yinger 1985; Swim et al. 1998). These results are also consistent with the limited data on personally-experienced sexism and political engagement (Bankert and Williamson 2017).¹³

Another contribution of this work is shedding light on the sources of heterogeneity among women in terms of their political behavior. The political science literature has primarily focused on differences between men and women, treating women as homogenous political actors. This is often based on the assumption that women have a shared experience with sexism and marginalization. However, recent research demonstrates that white women and women of color behave very differently in the political sphere (Cassese and Barnes 2018). The present study demonstrates that women do not all respond to discrimination and marginalization in the same way, nor do they all possess the same levels of group consciousness.

There are limitations to this study. Due to the observational nature of this work, we cannot be completely confident that the relationship between sexist and objectifying events and the dependent variables is causal. In the future, studies could employ experiments to further investigate the causal link between marginalizing events and political engagement and

¹³ These authors find that women who have experienced gender discrimination report higher levels of political interest and participation, however, this finding only holds for liberal women.

participation. Additionally, the sample is not totally representative of the broader population of American women, which limits this study's generalizability. It is significantly more liberal and educated, both factors that could be associated with a higher likelihood of reporting marginalizing events. The sample is also relatively racially homogenous. In the future, a study with a larger and more racially diverse sample could potentially shed light on racial differences between white women and women of color in their responses to gender-based discrimination. Despite these limitations, the connection between marginalizing events and political engagement and participation is robust. The correlation holds up to a variety of controls and across several different measures of political engagement with two different operationalizations of gender discrimination.

This research highlights the continued relevance of personally-experienced discrimination and marginalization to scholars are political behavior. The everyday lived experience of marginalized groups impacts the way in which they approach the political sphere. The evidence presented here comports with the literature on the racial and ethnic discrimination that shows how everyday prejudice and marginalization can increase political engagement and social activism. However, these findings also underscore the way in which women are not a monolith that behave politically in a cohesive way. For women, gender consciousness is an important variable that makes sexist and discriminating events mobilizing. Women who have a high degree of gender consciousness recognize that discriminatory events relate to a larger system that disadvantages and marginalizes women. They are more likely to see politics as an avenue for redress. Women who do not possess a high degree of gender consciousness do not see their own fate as linked to the fate of women generally. Consistent with system justification theory, they may not even see these events as problematic or discriminatory (Jost and Kay 2005).

These results suggest that scholars of political behavior and gender and politics should consider personally-experienced discrimination as a predictor of political engagement. These findings also speak to the paradox of the #MeToo. Psychology research suggests that experiences of sexism can cause women to withdraw and suffer psychology. However, the very existence of the #MeToo movement demonstrates the galvanizing role that sexism can play in combatting discrimination and systematic oppression.

References

- Acock, A., Clarke, H., & Stewart, M. (1985). A New Model for Old Measures: A Covariance Structure Analysis of Political Efficacy. *The Journal of Politics*, 47(4), 1062-1084.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae, and Ronald B. Rapoport. "The More Things Change the More They Stay the Same: Examining Gender Differences in Political Attitude Expression, 1952-2000." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 67.4 (2003): 495-521.
- "American Trends Panel." Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2017).
- Bankert, A., & Williamson, S. (2017). The Differential Effects of Gender Discrimination on Liberal and Conservative Women's Political Engagement. Presented at the Annual American Political Science Meeting, San Francisco, CA.
- Bargad, A., & Hyde, J. (1991). Women's Studies: A Study of Feminist Identity Development in Women. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 15(2), 181-201.
- Barreto, M., & Woods, N. (2005). The Anti-Latino political context and its impact on GOP detachment and increasing Latino voter turnout in Los Angeles county. In G. Segura & S. Bowler (Eds.), *Diversity in democracy: Minority representation in the United States* (pp. 148–169). Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Berinsky, A., Huber, G., & Lenz, G. (2012). Evaluating Online Labor Markets for Experimental Research: Amazon.com's Mechanical Turk. *Political Analysis*, 20(3), 351-368.
- Bernstein, A. G. (2005). Gendered Characteristics of Political Engagement in College Students. *Sex Roles*, 52(5–6), 299–310.

- Branscombe, N. R., Schmitt, M. T., & Harvey, R. D. (1999). Perceiving pervasive discrimination among African Americans: Implications for group identification and well-being. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, *77*(1), 135–149.
- Carpini, M. X. D., & Keeter, S. (1997). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. Yale University Press.
- Cassese, E.C. & Holman, M. R. (2016). Religious Beliefs, Gender Consciousness, and Women's Political Participation. *Sex Roles*, *(75)*, 514-527.
- Cassese, E. C. & Barnes, T. D. (2018). Reconciling Sexism and Women's Support for Republican Candidates: A Look at Gender, Class, and Whiteness in the 2012 and 2016 Presidential Races. *Political Behavior*, 1-24.
- Chatterjee, Rhitu. (2018, February 21). A New Survey Finds 81 Percent of Women Have Experienced Sexual Harassment. *NPR*, Retrieved from www.npr.org
- Cho, W., Gimpel, J., & Wu, T. (2006). Clarifying the role of SES in political participation: Policy threat and Arab American mobilization. *Journal of Politics*, *68*(4), 977–991.
- Clark, Rodney, Anderson, Norman B., Clark, Vernessa R., Williams, David R., & Fowler, Raymond D. (1999). Racism as a Stressor for African Americans. *American Psychologist*, *54*(10), 805-816.
- Conover, P. J. (1988). The role of social groups in political thinking. *British Journal of Political Science*, *18*(1), 51–76.
- Crocker, D., & Kalemba, V. (1999). The Incidence and Impact of Women's Experiences of Sexual Harassment in Canadian Workplaces. *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, *36*(4), 541-558.

- Downing, N.E., & Roush, K.L. (1985). From Passive Acceptance to Active Commitment: A Model of Feminist Identity Development for Women. *The Counseling Psychologist, 13*, 695-709.
- Duncan, L. (1999). Motivation for Collective Action: Group Consciousness as Mediator of Personality, life Experiences, and Women's Rights Activism. *Political Psychology, 20*(3), 611-635.
- Feagin, J., & Sikes, M. (1994). *Living with racism : The black middle-class experience*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Fischer, A., Holz, K., & Mallinckrodt, Brent. (2007). Perceived Discrimination and Women's Psychological Distress: The Roles of Collective and Personal Self-Esteem. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 54*(2), 154-164.
- Fitzgerald, L. F. (1990). Sexual harassment: The definition and measurement of a construct. In M. Paludi (Ed.), *Ivory Power: Gender and sexual harassment in the academy*. New York: SUNY Press.
- Fitzgerald, L.F. (1993). Sexual harassment: Violence against women in the workplace. *American Psychologist, 48* (10).
- Fitzgerald, L.F., Drasgow, F., Hulin, C.L., Gelfand, J.J., & Magley, V.J. (1997). Antecedents and Consequences of Sexual Harassment in Organizations: A Test of an Integrated Model. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 82* (4), 578-589
- Fredrickson, B., & Roberts, T. (1997). Objectification theory: Toward understanding women's lived experiences and mental health risks. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21*(2), 173-206.
- Gerstmann, E.A., & Kramer, D.A. (1997). Feminist Identity Development: Psychometric Analyses of Two Feminist Identity Scales. *Sex Roles, 36*, 327-348.

Gurin, P., Miller, A., & Gurin, G. Stratum Identification and Consciousness. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 43(1), 30-47.

Gurin, P. (1985). Women's Gender Consciousness. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 49(2), 143-163.

Hainmueller, J., Mummolo, J., & Xu, Y. (2016). How much should we trust estimates from multiplicative interaction models? Simple tools to improve empirical practice. Forthcoming at *Political Analysis*.

Henderson-King, D. & Stewart, A. (1994). Women or Feminists? Assessing Women's Group Consciousness. *Sex Roles*, 31(9), 505-516.

Ilies, R., Hauserman, N., Schwochau, S., & Stibal, J. (2003). Reported Incidence Rates of Work Related Sexual Harassment in the United States: Using Meta-Analysis to Explain Reported Rate Disparities. *Personnel Psychology*, 56(3), 607-631.

Jamal, A. (2005). The Political Participation and Engagement of Muslim Americans: Mosque Involvement and Group Consciousness. *American Politics Research*, 33(4), 521-544.

Jost, J.T., & Kay, A.C. (2005). Exposure to Benevolent Sexism and Complementary Gender Stereotypes: Consequences for Specific and Diffuse Forms of System Justification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 88, 498-509.

Kline, T. J. (2005). *Psychological Testing: A Practical Approach to Design and Evaluation*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Klonoff, E., & Landrine, H. (1995). The schedule of sexist events: A measure of lifetime and recent sexist discrimination in women's lives. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 19(4), 439-472.

Klonoff, E., Landrine, H., & Campbell, R. (2000). Sexist Discrimination May Account for Well-Known Gender Differences in Psychiatric Symptoms. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 24(1), 93-99.

Kozee, H., Tylka, T., Augustus-Horvath, C., & Denchik, A. (2007). Development and psychometric evaluation of the interpersonal sexual objectification scale. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 31*(2), 176-189.

Krieger N. (1999). Embodying Inequality: A Review of Concepts, Measures, and Methods for Studying Health Consequences of Discrimination. *International Journal of Health Services: Planning, Administration, Evaluation, 29*(2), 295–352.

Landrine, H., & Klonoff, E. A. (1996). The Schedule of Racist Events: A measure of racial discrimination and a study of its negative physical and mental health consequences. *Journal of Black Psychology, 22* (2), 144-168.

Lin, M. (2018). From Alienated to Activists: Expressions and Formation of Group Consciousness Among Asian American Young Adults. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 1*-20.

Magley, V.J., Hulin, C.L., Fitzgerald, L.F., & Denardo, M. (1999). Outcomes of Self-Labeling Sexual Harassment. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 84*(3), 390-402.

Magley, V., & Diener, Ed. (2002). Coping With Sexual Harassment: Reconceptualizing Women's Resistance. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*(4), 930-946.

Matteson, A., & Moradi, B. (2005). Examining the Structure of the Schedule of Sexist Events: Replication and Extension. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 29*(1), 47-57.

Miller, A., Gurin, P., Gurin, G., & Malanchuk, O. (1981). Group Consciousness and Political Participation. *American Journal of Political Science, 25*(3), 494-511.

Niemi, R. G., Craig, S. C., & Mattei, F. (1991). Measuring internal political efficacy in the 1988 National Election Study. *American Political Science Review, 85*(04), 1407-1413.

- Schneider, K., Swan, S., Fitzgerald, L., & Murphy, Kevin R. (1997). Job-Related and Psychological Effects of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: Empirical Evidence From Two Organizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 82(3), 401-415.
- Miles-McLean, H., Liss, M., Erchull, M., Robertson, C., Hagerman, C., Gnoleba, M., & Papp, L.J. "Stop Looking at Me!": Interpersonal Sexual Objectification as a Source of Insidious Trauma. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 39(3), 363-374.
- Moradi, B., & Subich, L. (2002). Perceived Sexist Events and Feminist Identity Development Attitudes. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 30(1), 44-65.
- Moradi, B., & Subich, L.(2004). Examining the Moderating Role of Self-Esteem in the Link Between Experiences of Perceived Sexist Events and Psychological Distress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 51(1), 50-56.
- Oskooii, Kassra AR. (2016). How Discrimination Impacts Sociopolitical Behavior: A Multidimensional Perceptive. *Political Psychology*, 37(5), 613-640.
- Paxton, P., Kunovich, S., & Hughes, M. M. (2007). Gender in politics. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, 33, 263-284.
- Pingree, Raymond J. "Effects of Unresolved Factual Disputes in the News on Epistemic Political Efficacy." *Journal of Communication* 61.1 (2011): 22-47.
- Preece, Jessica Robinson. "Mind the Gender Gap: An Experiment on the Influence of Self-Efficacy on Political Interest." *Politics & Gender* 12.1 (2016): 198.
- Sanchez, G. R., & Vargaz, E.D. (2016). Taking a Closer Look at Group Identity: The Link between Theory and Measurement of Group Consciousness and Linked Fate. *Political Research Quarterly*, 69(1), 160-174.

- Shani, Danielle. "Measuring Political Interest." *Improving Public Opinion Surveys*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2012. 137-57.
- Simpson, G. E., & Yinger, J. M. (1985). *Racial and cultural minorities: An analysis of prejudice and discrimination* (5th ed.). New York: Plenum.
- Stein, S., & Weston, L. (1982). College Women's Attitudes toward Women and Identity Achievement. *Adolescence*, 17(68), 895.
- Swim, J.K., Cohen, L.L., & Hyers, L.L. (1998). Experiencing Everyday Prejudice and Discrimination. In J.K. Swim, & C. Stangor, C. (Eds). *Prejudice: The target's perspective* (pp. 37-60). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Swim, J., Hyers, L., Cohen, L., & Ferguson, M. (2001). Everyday Sexism: Evidence for Its Incidence, Nature, and Psychological Impact From Three Daily Diary Studies. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(1), 31-53.
- Szymanski, D., Gupta, M., Carr, A., & Stewart, E. (2009). Internalized Misogyny as a Moderator of the Link between Sexist Events and Women's Psychological Distress. *Sex Roles*, 61(1), 101-109.
- Vagianos, A. (2017, December 6). 1 In 3 Women Has Been Sexually Harassed At Work, According to Survey. *Huffington Post*, Retrieved from www.huffingtonpost.com
- Valentino, N.A., Gregorowicz, K. & Groenendyk, E. (2009). Efficacy, emotions, and the habit of participation. *Political Behavior*, 31(3): 307-330.
- Valentino, N.A., Brader, T., Groenendyk, E., Gregorowicz, K., & Hutchings, V.L. (2011). Election night's alright for fighting: The role of emotions in political participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(1): 156-170.

- Verba, S., Burns, N., & Schlozman, K. L. (1997). Knowing and caring about politics: Gender and political engagement. *The Journal of Politics*, 59(04), 1051-1072.
- Verkuyten, M. (1998). Perceived discrimination and self-esteem among ethnic minority adolescents. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 138(4), 479–493.
- Watson, L., & Grotewiel, B. (2016). The Protective Role of Commitment to Social Change in the Relationship Between Women’s Sexist Experiences and Self-Silencing. *Sex Roles*, 75(3), 139-150.
- Wen, Nainan, Hao Xiaoming, and Cherian George. "Gender and Political Participation: News Consumption, Political Efficacy and Interpersonal Communication." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* 19.4 (2013)
- Weston, R., & Gore, P. A. (2006). A Brief Guide to Structural Equation Modeling. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 34, 719–751.
- Ysseldyk, R., Talebi, M., Matheson, K., Bloemraad, I., & Anisman, H. (2014). Religious and ethnic discrimination: Differential implications for social support engagement, civic involvement, and political consciousness. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 2(1), 347-376.

Disclosure

This research was supported by the Behavioral Foundations Lab at Temple University. There are no conflicts of interest.

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge Kevin Arceneaux, Bert Bakker, and Amanda Milena Alvarez for their helpful feedback on this project.

Data Availability

The data, code, and any additional materials required to replicate all analyses in this article are available within the Harvard Dataverse Network, at: <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/NBMROJ>

Supplementary Materials

Appendix A.1: Study Recruitment

Between March 8th and March 15th of 2018, 311 adults who identify as women living in the United States were recruited via the survey recruitment platform, Amazon Mechanical Turk. The Internet panel was recruited to participate in a “Gender and Political Attitudes Study.”

Participants were compensated \$1.20 in Amazon.com credit for completing the 20-minute survey. MTurk provides a more representative sample than in-person convenience samples (Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz 2012).

HIT Advertisement:

We invite you to take part in a research study about gender identity and political engagement.

This survey will take approximately 30 minutes to complete. You will be compensated \$1.20 for participation in the study.

Appendix A.2 Descriptive Statistics

	Overall
N=	311
Age (mean (sd))	39.67 (11.31)
Education (%)	
Less than high school grad	1 (0.3)
High school grad	35 (11.3)
Some college	96 (30.9)
College grad	146 (46.9)
Post-college grad	33 (10.6)
Party identification	
Democrat	143 (46.0)
Independent	82 (26.4)
Republican	80 (25.7)
Other	6 (1.9)
Income	
Under \$15,000	22 (7.1)
\$15,000 to \$34,999	79 (25.4)
\$35,000 to \$64,999	108 (34.7)
\$65,000 to \$149,999	92 (29.6)
Over \$150,000	10 (3.2)
White(%)	224 (74.4)
Ideology (%)	
Very Liberal	60 (19.3)
Liberal	65 (20.9)
Somewhat Liberal	60 (19.3)
Somewhat Conservative	74 (23.8)
Conservative	37 (11.9)
Very Conservative	15 (4.8)

Appendix A.3- OLS Models

Table 1:

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Internal Political Efficacy	
	OLS	
	(Model 1)	(Model 2)
Education (Ref=high school Grad)		
Some college	0.553*** (0.179)	0.559*** (0.178)
College graduate	0.926*** (0.178)	0.931*** (0.175)
Post-college graduate	0.899*** (0.232)	0.967*** (0.231)
Ideology	0.016 (0.053)	0.008 (0.053)
Age	0.007 (0.005)	0.008 (0.005)
Party (1=Democrat)	-0.132 (0.137)	-0.127 (0.137)
Race (1=White)	0.167 (0.125)	0.196 (0.126)
Income(Ref=under \$15,000)		
\$15,000 to \$34,999	0.402* (0.229)	0.357 (0.229)
\$35,000 to \$64,999	0.358 (0.224)	0.312 (0.223)
\$65,000 to \$149,999	0.194 (0.225)	0.134 (0.225)

Over \$150,000	0.094 (0.345)	-0.005 (0.345)
SSEscale	0.072 (0.060)	
ISOSscale		0.099* (0.058)
FIDS	0.229*** (0.072)	0.231*** (0.071)
SSExFIDS	0.117** (0.056)	
ISOSxFIDS		0.100* (0.058)
Constant	-1.415*** (0.344)	-1.369*** (0.341)
Observations	294	295
R ²	0.202	0.208
Adjusted R ²	0.162	0.168
Residual Std. Error	0.859 (df = 279)	0.859 (df = 280)
F Statistic	5.037*** (df = 14; 279)	5.240*** (df = 14; 280)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 2:

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Political Interest	
	OLS	
	(Model 2)	(Model 3)
Education (Ref=high school Grad)		
Some college	0.387 (0.268)	0.352 (0.266)
College graduate	0.618** (0.267)	0.563** (0.263)
Post-college graduate	0.747** (0.347)	0.768** (0.346)
Ideology	0.003	-0.0004

	(0.079)	(0.079)
Age	0.028***	0.028***
	(0.007)	(0.007)
Party (1=Democrat)	-0.067	-0.072
	(0.204)	(0.205)
Race (1=White)	0.293	0.304
	(0.187)	(0.189)
Income(Ref=under \$15,000)		
\$15,000 to \$34,999	0.128	0.074
	(0.342)	(0.344)
\$35,000 to \$64,999	0.152	0.102
	(0.334)	(0.334)
\$65,000 to \$149,999	-0.001	-0.051
	(0.337)	(0.337)
Over \$150,000	0.039	-0.018
	(0.516)	(0.517)
SSEscale	0.014	
	(0.089)	
ISOSscale		0.110
		(0.086)
FIDS	0.454***	0.438***
	(0.108)	(0.107)
SSExFIDS	0.168**	
	(0.084)	
ISOSxFIDS		0.029
		(0.087)
Constant	3.428***	3.561***
	(0.514)	(0.512)
<hr/>		
Observations	294	295
R ²	0.189	0.186
Adjusted R ²	0.148	0.145
Residual Std. Error	1.284 (df = 279)	1.287 (df = 280)
F Statistic	4.644*** (df = 14; 279)	4.563*** (df = 14; 280)

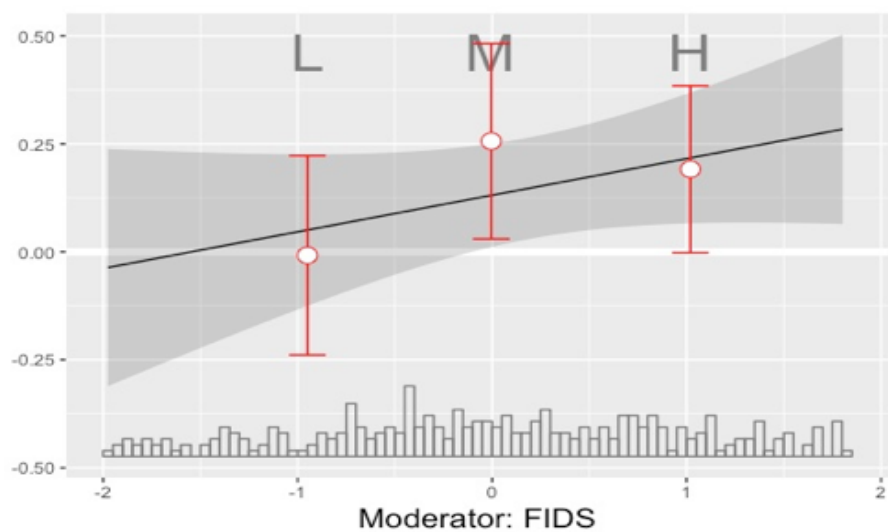
Note:

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 3:

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Political Participation	
	OLS	
	(Model 4)	(Model 5)
Education (Ref=high school Grad)		
Some college	0.044 (0.160)	0.053 (0.156)
College graduate	-0.013 (0.159)	0.003 (0.154)
Post-college graduate	0.174 (0.207)	0.296 (0.203)
Ideology	-0.036 (0.047)	-0.041 (0.046)
Age	0.002 (0.004)	0.001 (0.004)
Party (1=Democrat)	-0.086 (0.122)	-0.071 (0.120)
Race (1=White)	-0.137 (0.112)	-0.091 (0.111)
Income(Ref=under \$15,000)		
\$15,000 to \$34,999	0.363* (0.204)	0.254 (0.202)
\$35,000 to \$64,999	0.233 (0.200)	0.134 (0.196)
\$65,000 to \$149,999	0.191 (0.201)	0.083 (0.198)
Over \$150,000	0.474 (0.308)	0.371 (0.304)
SSEscale	0.163*** (0.053)	
ISOSscale		0.242*** (0.051)

FIDS	0.287*** (0.064)	0.282*** (0.063)
SSExFIDS	0.084* (0.051)	
ISOSxFIDS		0.013 (0.051)
Constant	-0.138 (0.307)	-0.036 (0.301)
Observations	294	295
R ²	0.226	0.253
Adjusted R ²	0.187	0.216
Residual Std. Error	0.768 (df = 279)	0.756 (df = 280)
F Statistic	5.804*** (df = 14; 279)	6.771*** (df = 14; 280)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Appendix A.4- Tests for linearity Hainmueller, Mummolo, and Xu (2016)**Fig. 1:** Marginal Effect of Sexist Events on Efficacy over the Range of FIDS (Model 1)**Fig. 2:** Marginal Effect of Objectifying Events on Efficacy over the Range of FIDS (Model 2)

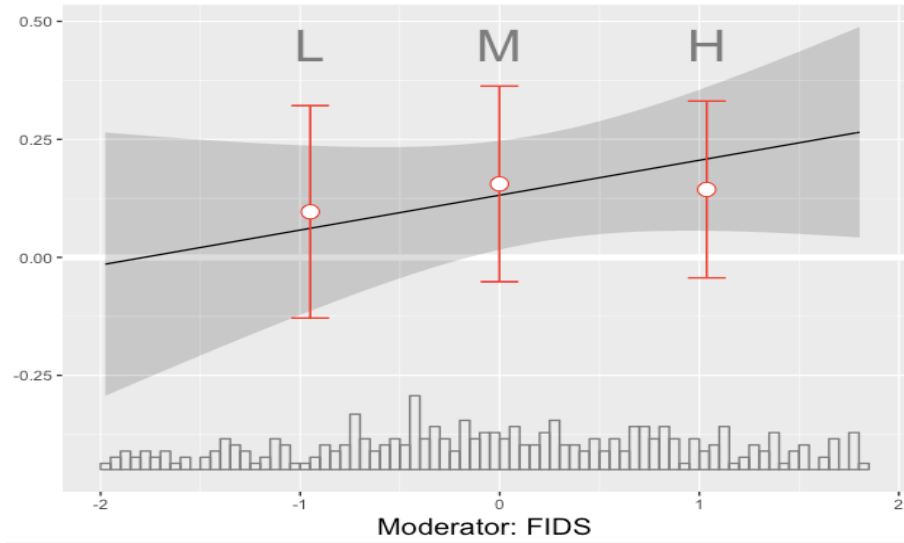


Fig 3: Marginal Effect of Sexist Events on Interest over the Range of FIDS (Model 3)

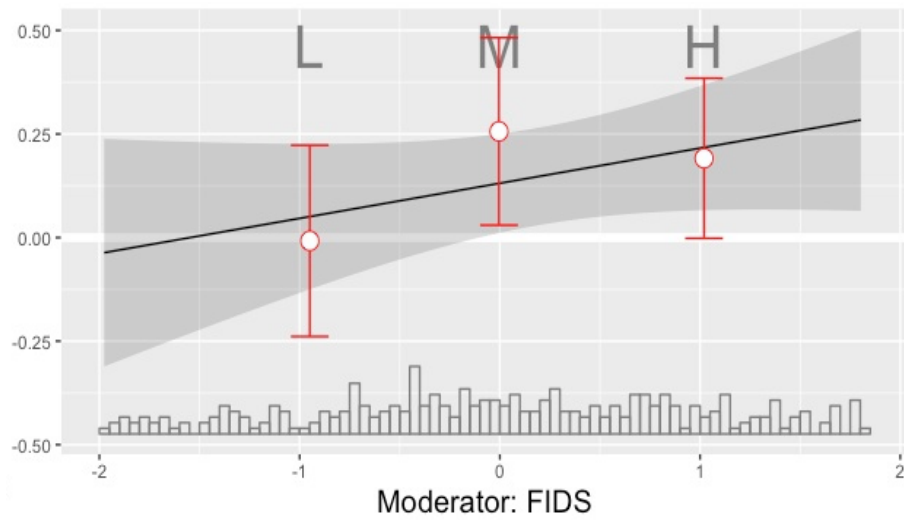
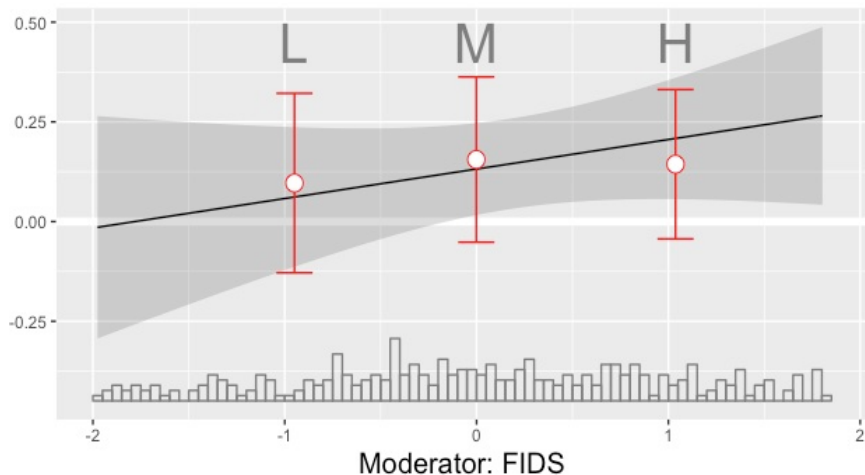


Fig 4: Marginal Effect of Sexist Events on Interest over the Range of FIDS (Model 4)



Appendix A.5- Robustness Checks

Table 1: Ordered Logit Results (Models 5 and 6)

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Political Participation	
Education (Ref=high school grad)		
Some college	-0.360 (0.485)	-0.729 (0.487)
College graduate	-0.249 (0.378)	-0.509 (0.378)
Post-college graduate	-0.338 (0.359)	-0.613* (0.360)
Ideology	-0.042 (0.095)	-0.081 (0.097)
Age	0.005 (0.010)	0.004 (0.010)
Race(1=white)	-0.391	-0.261

	(0.263)	(0.265)
Income (Ref=under \$15,000)		
\$15,000 to \$34,999	0.754	0.477
	(0.515)	(0.517)
\$35,000 to \$64,999	0.436	0.173
	(0.496)	(0.495)
\$65,000 to \$149,999	0.334	0.058
	(0.501)	(0.499)
Over \$150,000	1.046	0.616
	(0.828)	(0.820)
SSEscale	0.499***	
	(0.134)	
ISOSscale		0.685***
		(0.128)
FIDS	0.710***	0.734***
	(0.158)	(0.157)
SSExFIDS	0.326**	
	(0.137)	
ISOSxFIDS		0.196
		(0.135)
Observations	299	300

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

