Playing the Gender Card:
Ambivalent Sexism in the 2016 Presidential Race

Erin C. Cassese and Mirya R. Holman

Late in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Primary, Donald Trump, the presumptive Republican nominee, attacked Hillary Clinton for playing the "woman's card," and using her gender as an advantage in the election. While pundits and the media pointed to this event as helping Clinton in the 2016 election, theories of system justification suggest that an individual's attitudes about gender might produce negative or positive reactions. Using a set of two experiments, we find that hostile sexists exposed to the event increase their support of Trump and decrease their support of Clinton, including influencing vote choice (Study 1). Benevolent sexists, however, react to Trump's statements by increasing support of Clinton, consistent with attitudes of protecting women. We then theorize that gendered events produce distinct emotional reactions among those with low and high levels of hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes. These reactions to the gender card attack increased the political participation of hostile sexists. We also find that the attack produced anger among those low in hostile sexism, which boosts political participation (Study 2).

Keywords: ambivalent sexism, hostile sexism, system justification theory, politics, 2016 election, voting, political participation

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In late April 2016, Donald Trump, having essentially secured the Republican nomination, pivoted to attacking his general election opponent, Hillary Clinton. In these attacks, Trump focused on Clinton's use of her gender in the election, arguing "the only card she has is the women's card."[1] Clinton, striking back, told voters to "deal me in," and touted her extensive policy record of success on women's policy issues (Rappeport, 2016). A significant amount of press coverage followed these events, with both candidates reiterating and expanding on their claims. While pundits and staffers from both campaigns contended that such attacks shaped vote choice and support for the candidates, we know little about the effectiveness of using explicitly gendered attacks in modern political campaigns.

Throughout the 2016 election cycle, analysts argued that gender would be particularly important in shaping vote choice, given the prevalence of "women's card" rhetoric and allegations of sexual misconduct waged against Trump during the campaign. A large gender gap failed to emerge however, particularly among white women, who voted for Trump at higher rates than Clinton (CAWP, 2016). Thus, we argue that diversity within groups of men and women – specifically around beliefs about gender – were critical determinants of reactions to the women's card attack, attitudes about the candidates, and engagement in the 2016 election.

We draw on system justification theory to argue that attitudes towards gender hold the key to understanding a broad set of reactions to explicitly gendered attacks like Trump's comments. Within system justification theory, individuals hold beliefs or "legitimizing ideologies" that relate to preferences for or against the status quo and that these beliefs structure their political behavior (Jost & Major, 2001). Attitudes about women and women's appropriate role in society represent

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[1] Trump alternated between use of "women's card" and "woman's card." Clinton replied with "gender card." We generally use "woman's card" in the paper.

one such set of beliefs, encapsulated in hostile and benevolent sexism (Jost & Kay, 2005). We argue that the woman's card attack resonated differently among voters based on their levels of hostile and benevolent sexism to shape a range of positive and negative reactions, including changes in attitudes about the candidates, vote choice, and willingness to participate in politics.

Trump's campaign rhetoric about gender contained elements of both benevolent and hostile sexism (Foran, 2016). These two forms of sexism reflect distinct patterns of thinking about gender. Hostile sexism encompasses a set of beliefs focusing on threats to men's power and dominance over women, whereas benevolent sexism involves endorsement of gender stereotypes, both positive and negative (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Both forms of sexism are relatively stable attitudes and represent a form of system buy-in that produces both defensive and offensive psychological reactions when triggered by an event like the women's card attack. And, as both men and women and Democrats and Republicans endorse hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs (Dwyer, Stevens, Sullivan, & Allen, 2009; Jost & Kay, 2005), the attack should produce reactions that cut across voters and are not confined to a gender or party. Thus, we expect where voters fall on the hostile and benevolent sexism continua will inform their reactions to the women's card attack.

We rely on two studies to evaluate the public reactions to the women's card attack; one conducted the week following Trump's "women's card" comment, and another conducted several months later.[2] In our first study, we find evidence of system justification processes at work in the 2016 Presidential Race. Responses to the woman's card attack are contingent on voters' endorsement of hostile and benevolent sexist beliefs. Individuals with high levels of hostile sexism evaluated Trump more favorably and Clinton less favorably. They also expressed less willingness

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[2] The second study was conducted prior to the emergence of the Entertainment Tonight audio tape of Trump and before several women came forward to accuse Trump of unwanted sexual advances.

to vote for Hillary Clinton. By contrast, benevolent sexists evaluated both Clinton and Trump more favorably and are inclined to vote for Clinton.

In our second study, we theorize that reactions to the attack influenced not just candidate evaluations but also political behavior. We hypothesize and find that hostile sexists react with enthusiasm to the attacks, which increases participation, while benevolent sexists react with anxiety, which dampens participation. In both studies, the effects of hostile and benevolent sexism typically cut across men and women, as well as party lines, pointing to the power of gendered campaign attacks to broadly shape attitudes toward the presidential candidates. The results also shed new light on the scope of hostile sexism and its political consequences, as the emotional and behavioral implications of hostile sexism have yet to be explored in the context of electoral politics in the United States.

The "Woman's Card" in the 2016 Election

In his first campaign speech in Iowa after announcing his candidacy in July 2015, Donald Trump focused on Hillary Clinton's candidacy, noting, "I watched her the other day and all she would talk about was, 'Women! Women! I'm a woman! I'm going to be the youngest woman in the White House!'" (Newton-Small, 2015). Trump used this language throughout the campaign, but focused his attacks around these claims in April and May, after the end of the GOP primary. In these later attacks, Trump argued that Clinton "has got nothing else going. Frankly, if Hillary Clinton were a man, I don't think she would get 5% of the vote" (Luhby & Collinson, 2016). Trump reiterated these claims, arguing in an interview that Clinton "is a woman. She is playing the woman card left and right. She didn't play it last time with Obama. But she's playing it much harder this time and she will be called on it." In the weeks following, Trump repeatedly brought up this and related attacks, arguing the "women have it better" in a campaign speech and tweeting, "Crooked

Hillary has ZERO leadership ability. As Bernie Sanders says, she has bad judgment. Constantly playing the women's card - it is sad!" (Trump, 2016).

Hillary Clinton responded to these attacks as she has responded to similar Republican rhetoric in the past, arguing that she is happy to "play the woman's card" if it means fighting for women's rights. In an interview, Clinton argued that Trump's attacks would activate women to vote against him in the fall. "The whole idea of 'playing the woman card,' which he charged I was doing, and by extension other women were doing, has just lit a fire under so many women in this country" (Hellmann, 2016). Clinton also used the attack in a fundraiser, offering to send supporters their own "woman's card" (Chozick, 2016) and used this for advertisements throughout the campaign via emails and on social media, including Facebook posts and advertisements (see Figure 1) and Tweets ("Lower wages! No paid family leave! Limited access to health care! Just some of the perks of your #WomanCard").

Insert Figure 1 about here.

Throughout discussions of Trump's attacks and Clinton's reactions, the media consensus was either that it would help Clinton or that it would not matter. Some argued that Trump "might regret playing 'the Woman card' against Clinton" (Graham, 2016), given his low level of support among women and the negative responses to discussions of Clinton's easy path to the Presidency. Others, including Republican National Committee Chairman Reince Priebus, argued that the attack would not matter. Indeed, Priebus, when asked about this and other gender-related issues with Trump, argued "All these stories that come out, and they come out every couple weeks, people just don't care" (Hennigan, 2016). Implicit in either reaction is that Trump had nothing to gain by attacking Clinton in this way. And yet, his comments contained themes consistent with gendered attitudes long document in psychology, women's studies, and political science. We argue that

while some voters might be turned off by Trump's comments – and others might not care at all – those endorsing ambivalent sexist attitudes should respond positively. Our research uses two studies to evaluate how gendered attitudes shape responses to Trump's attack.

System Justification Theory and Sexism

Scholars have long demonstrated that individuals shape their views of the world in ways that make their social systems seem fair and good (Brescoll, Uhlmann, & Newman, 2013; Jost & Banaji, 1994). System justification theory argues that individuals will hold beliefs or "legitimizing ideologies" that relate to preferences for or against the status quo and that these beliefs structure their political behavior (Jost & Major, 2001). Within system justification theory, individuals will often act to protect the system within which they operate (Brescoll et al., 2013; Jost & Banaji, 1994). Defense of the system can persist, even when the system itself contains injustices or inequalities (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Indeed, people can use system justification to rationalize a group's disadvantaged place in society; as a result, "a group's disadvantaged status reinforced prejudice" (Glick & Fiske, 2001, p. 110). While members of both advantaged and disadvantaged groups endorse system justifying beliefs (Jost & Banaji, 1994), the effect of system justification on attitudes and behaviors differs based on whether one is advantaged by the system (and thus prompted to engage the system) or disadvantaged (who generally disengage).

Views about gender represent a key set of system justifying beliefs (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost & Kay, 2005). Hostile and benevolent sexism, two related (but distinct) conceptualizations that form the ambivalent sexism inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996), represent a key opportunity to evaluate positive and negative reactions to Trump's attacks. Hostile sexists see the relationship between men and women as a power play and a zero-sum game, whereby if women gain power, it is at men's expense. Hostile sexists are explicitly antagonistic toward women, who they see as

seeking control over men (Glick & Fiske, 2001) and will engage in direct actions to elevate men over women, such as hiring a less qualified man over a more qualified woman (Christopher & Mull, 2006). This view varies from benevolent sexists, who see view "women as wonderful but fragile creatures who ought to be protected and provided for by men" (Glick et al., 2004, p. 715).

Benevolent sexism is rooted in the belief that women should be protected and cared for by men (also known as protective paternalism) and that biological differences between men and women give women advantages in completing domestic duties (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). It often involves endorsement of ostensibly more positive stereotypes about women relative to hostile sexism (e.g. caring v. manipulative), but stereotypes that reinforce women's subordinate position relative to men. Benevolent sexism is associated with maintenance of systems of gender inequality. Indeed, benevolent sexism persists because these attitudes are held by both men and women (Glick & Fiske, 2001; Pratto, Stallworth, & Sidanius, 1997; Sidanius, Levin, Liu, & Pratto, 2000). Some research also finds that benevolent sexism shaped preferences for male leadership (Russo, Rutto, & Mosso, 2014; Silván-Ferrero & López, 2007).

We expect that belief in hostile and benevolent sexism will produce differing reactions to the women's card attack. To start, we expect that hostile sexists will respond positively to Trump after the attack. Extant scholarship has found that hostile sexists endorse a variety of anti-woman attitudes, including attitudes of legitimizing spousal abuse (Glick, Sakalli-Ugurlu, Ferreira, & Souza, 2002), belief rape myths (Begany & Milburn, 2002), and a proclivity to engage in acquaintance rape and sexual aggression (Abrams, Tendayi, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Masser, Viki, & Power, 2006). Hostile sexists are also less likely to support women in positions of power (Masser & Abrams, 2004).

Hostile sexists' severely negative attitudes towards women may influence how they view Trump's comments and Clinton's response. Trump's attacks contain elements of hostile sexism, including focusing on the advantages that Clinton has by virtue of her gender; for instance Trump has indicated that men are "petrified to speak to women anymore" and that "The women get it better than we do, folks" (Khalid, 2016). Trump's attacks may legitimize the attitudes held by hostile sexists and may be particularly powerful in attracting support among hostile sexists. As such, we posit *Hypothesis 1: hostile sexist who are exposed to the women's card attack will hold more favorable evaluations of Trump and more unfavorable evaluations of Clinton, resulting in a reduced (increased) willingness to vote for Clinton (Trump).*

How will benevolent sexists react to the woman card attack? On one hand, there is also the possibility that Trump's treatment Clinton violates benevolent sexist norms, as women are supposed to be cared for and protected, especially by men (Glick et al., 2002). As such, benevolent sexists may view Trump more negatively after exposure to the attack because it represents a norm violation regarding civility toward women. On the other hand, Clinton is a woman seeking a position of power in the public sphere, which violates gender norms from a benevolent sexism perspective. In this way, benevolent sexists might be reluctant to support Clinton in her efforts to undermine traditional gender roles (Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, & Nauts, 2012). Research shows that benevolent sexists' protectionism towards women has limits; it often disappear when women are seen as "disobedient" (Glick et al., 2002). Beyond this, Trump conveyed benevolent sexist attitudes during the campaign, including describing his own mother, a housewife, as the ideal woman and focusing on women's attractiveness as their primary and most important characteristic (Foran, 2016). This leads us to *Hypothesis 2: Exposure to the attack will decrease*

evaluations of both *Trump and Clinton among benevolent sexists; as a result, the likelihood of voting for Clinton or Trump will not change.*

Emotions & Political Mobilization

We theorize that campaign attacks like the "woman's card" attack may have a broader influence on political behavior and that this engagement is undergirded by distinct emotional reactions. The link between sexism and emotion is yet to be explored in the context of political campaigns,[3] but seems particularly relevant in the context of gendered campaign attacks. We know that emotions run high in political campaigns, and voters' emotional responses to the campaign have consequences for their learning and behavior (Marcus & MacKuen, 1993). Politicians actively seek to manipulate voters' emotions, "striking a responsive chord," in order to persuade and mobilize (Brader, 2006). But not all campaign events are likely to cause the same emotional reactions in all individuals. Indeed, Trump's attack should elicit varying emotional reactions, based on an individual's levels of hostile and benevolent sexism. We then bridge theories of how system justification and emotions can both mobilize or demobilize to argue that the women's card attack should mobilize those high in hostile sexism via enthusiasm and those low on hostile sexism via anger.

Some evidence suggests distinct emotions arise from those endorsing hostile and benevolent sexism. For example, hostile sexists react with anger when their masculinity is threatened (Dahl, Vescio, & Weaver, 2015). Benevolent sexists react with anxiety when faced with media objectification of women (Krawczyk, 2013). Some research on sexism and emotional reactions has evaluated *reactions to* hostile and benevolent sexism, which may be instructive for

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[3] The link between the two has been explored in the context of emotion attribution (e.g. Gaunt 2013), but not in terms of whether hostile and benevolent sexism moderate discrete emotional experience.

our purposes here. For example, scholars have found that witnessing hostile sexism can elicit anger (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005).

Trump's comments about the women's card pose a threat to some and reaffirm values for others. The expectations are straightforward for those either high or low on the hostile sexism continuum. For those endorsing hostile sexism, Trump's comments are value-affirming (e.g. women demanding special consideration). Trump's women's card attack criticizes Clinton for capitalizing on or seeking special consideration based on her gender. For instance, Trump said on CNN "She is a woman, she is playing the woman card left and right…Frankly, if she didn't, she would do very poorly. If she were a man and she was the way she is, she would get virtually no votes." These sentiments speak directly to hostile sexist beliefs; consider the similarity between these comments and two items on the hostile sexism scale: (1) "Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for 'equality,' and (2) When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against." As a result, we expect that *(Hypothesis 4) hostile sexists will react to the attack with greater enthusiasm and less anger relative to those low in hostile sexism.*

How benevolent sexists will react to the attack is less straightforward. As we articulate in Hypothesis 2, the Clinton's campaign is a violation of benevolent sexist ideas about women's appropriate role in society. At the same time, Trump's attack on Clinton is a violation of expected behavior for men, who are supposed to protect women. We expect that *(Hypothesis 5) this conflict will produce anxiety among those endorsing benevolent sexism.* By contrast, *(Hypothesis 6) people low in hostile or benevolent sexism will respond to the attack with more anger and less enthusiasm* – consistent with the general literature on emotional reactions to viewing sexist acts (Barreto & Ellemers, 2005).

Scholars find that system justification beliefs may reduce engagement in efforts to promote progressive social change, particularly among women and minorities (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Ni Sullivan, 2003). Those benefiting from the system are likely to increase in-group favoritism and decrease support for social change (Jost & Hunyady, 2005). High levels of system justification can also reduce the likelihood of engaging in political protest (Jost et al., 2012) and political mobilization (Osborne & Sibley, 2013). Thus, we expect, in *Hypothesis 6, that hostile sexists will be more likely to participate when they learn about the attack*

These distinct emotional reactions have the potential to prompt individual political participation. Political campaigns aim to sway voters via their emotions regularly. But the attitudinal and behavioral consequences of campaign communications are highly dependent on the precise nature of the discrete emotional response they elicit. Rather than simply comparing positive emotional reactions to negative ones, scholars increasingly differentiate among emotions with the same valence, finding that negative emotions like anger and anxiety have distinctive consequences for learning, preferences, and participation (Huddy, Feldman, & Cassese, 2007; Petersen, 2010). Both anger and enthusiasm have been linked to heighted political participation (Weber, 2013), while anxiety is generally not (Albertson & Gadarian, 2015). While these emotions have different valences, they are both associated with increased approach or action tendencies (e.g. Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009). Anxiety or fear, by contrast, is associated with an avoidance behavioral tendency, and in some cases reduced levels of participation (Weber, 2013). Thus, we expect (*Hypothesis 7)* that *anger and enthusiasm will both have a mobilizing effect on political participation, while anxiety may have a demobilizing effect*.

Study 1

Methods

Participants and Study Design

The Study 1 sample (n=950) was recruited on Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in early May of 2016 – less than a week after Trump's "Woman's Card" attack. MTurk is an online platform on which workers completed our survey in exchange for a small payment. MTurk samples typically over represent Caucasians, men, liberals, and younger adults compared to random samples conducted by telephone. This was true for our sample. It consisted of 536 men (56.8%) and 408 (42.3%) women. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 79, with an average age of 36.09. The median reported income range was $25,001 to $50,000. In terms of educational attainment, 117 reported a high school degree or less (12.3%), 382 reported some college (40.2%), 339 held a college degree (35.7%), and 112 held a graduate degree (11.8%). The overwhelming majority identified as Caucasian (735 respondents, 77.7%), with smaller proportions identifying as black (70 respondents, 7.4%), Hispanic (47 respondents, 5%), Asian (83 respondents, 8.8%), or some other racial identification (11 respondents, 1.2%). The sample also skewed Democratic, with 535 respondents identifying with the Democratic party (56.4%), 161 identifying as Independent (17%), and 252 identifying as Republican (26.6%).

In the survey, we first captured whether or not each survey respondent was exposed to Trump's women's card attack. Participants were asked "*Recently in the Presidential Primary Campaign, Donald Trump accused Hillary Clinton of 'playing the women's card' insisting that she would get fewer votes if she were a man. Have you heard anything about this?*" Survey participants indicating "yes" were coding as having been exposed to the attack, and participants responding "no" were coded as not having been exposed to the campaign attack. About three-quarters (76%) of survey participants were exposed to the attack (n=725) and a quarter (24%) were not (n=231). Participants then completed the following measures.

Measures

  Candidate Evaluations and Vote Choice. We measure candidate evaluations using a thermometer rating. Participants read the following instructions prior to providing their rating: "We'd like to get your feelings toward the candidates on a "feeling thermometer." A rating of zero degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the individual at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward the individual. How do you feel towards [Hillary Clinton/Donald Trump]?" For vote choice, participants also answered: "If the 2016 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, who would you vote for?" Responses were coded 1 if respondents chose Clinton and zero otherwise.

  Sexism. Hostile and benevolent sexism were measured using an abbreviated version of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001). Survey participants indicated their level of agreement with three statements on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, which were combined to form a standardized scale with a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. Hostile sexism included: (1) Most women fail to appreciate all that men do for them, (2) Women seek to gain power by getting control over men, and (3) Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist (alpha=.88). Benevolent sexism included: (1) Women should be cherished and protected by men, (2) Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess, and (3) A good woman ought to be set on a pedestal by her man (alpha=.81).[4]

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[4] A shortened version of ASI has been shown to have the same psychometric properties as the original ASI (Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014) and has been used in political science research (Barnes, Beaulieu, & Saxton, 2017).

Control Variables. Survey participants selected the gender they identify with; responses were coded 1 for female and 0 for male.[5] Three dummy variables (Democrat, Republican, Independent) measured political party identification, with Democrats as the baseline category. Annual household income was captured in 9 increments ranging from "less than $25,000" (1) to "more than $200,000" (9). Educational attainment reflects the following ordered categories: High School / GED or less (1), Some College or 2-year College Degree (2), 4-year College Degree (3), and Graduate Degree (4). Racial and ethnic self-identification was measured using a series of dummy variables with Caucasian as the baseline category. Registered voters were indicated with a dummy variable as well, coded 1 if the participant was registered and zero otherwise. We measured news consumption with the question: "How often to you follow news on what is happening in American government and politics?" Reponses ranged from: Daily (6), Several times a week (5), About once a Week (4), A few times a month, (3) Rarely (2), or Never (1).

Results

Gender Differences in Sexist Beliefs. Extant research has shown that beliefs about gender, particularly benevolent sexism, cut across gender and partisanship. To evaluate the distribution of sexist beliefs across survey respondents, we plotted the mean values of benevolent and hostile sexism by respondent gender and party using data from Studies 1 in Figure 2. Study 2 data is also presented to demonstrate the consistency of this difference across multiple samples. While some gender differences are evident, with women consistently expressing lower levels of hostile sexism, differences based on party are far more pronounced than differences based on gender. This descriptive information suggests our underlying assumption is valid and points to these beliefs as an important source of heterogeneity among men and women.

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[5] Participants were given the option to identify as nonbinary; none selected this option.

[Insert Figure 2 Here]

The Women's Card Attack, Candidate Evaluations, and Vote Choice. In Hypothesis 1, we expected that hostile sexism would boost support for Trump while depressing support for Clinton. By contrast, we expected benevolent sexism might have a different effect, with benevolent sexists responding to Trump's norm violation regarding civility toward women with more negative evaluations of him. At the same time, we also expect that Clinton might be punished by benevolent sexists for her norm-deviating behavior; i.e. a woman seeking a powerful position traditionally held by men. To evaluate whether the women's card attack activated hostile and benevolent sexism, bringing them to bear on candidate evaluations and vote choice, we estimated a series of OLS regression models. Separate models are provided for respondents who were and were not exposed to the women's card attack for comparison purposes. [6] The results for candidate evaluations are presented in Table 1.

[Insert Table 1 Here]

Our results for evaluations of Hillary Clinton, measured by the Clinton feeling thermometer, support Hypothesis 1, but not Hypothesis 2. Among those who are not exposed to the gender card attack, hostile and benevolent sexism do not significantly affect Clinton evaluations. Among those exposed, however, hostile sexism significantly reduces Clinton evaluations, while benevolent sexism is associated with more *positive* Clinton evaluations.

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[6] To ensure exposure to the attack was not related to our key independent variables of interest, which would introduce selection bias into our estimated relationships, we estimated a logit model predicting exposure to the attack as a function of hostile and benevolent sexism, party identity, a range of political awareness items, and a battery of socio-demographic controls (Table A1, Online Appendix). The results suggest that only two factors predicted exposure to the attack – being a registered voter and reported frequency of news consumption. We controlled for these factors in the subsequent analysis. As a robustness check, we re-estimated the models using a Heckman selection approach. The results are consistent for both modeling strategies. See the Online Appendix for the models.

Respondent gender does not significantly affect Clinton evaluations in either model. Results are more mixed for Trump evaluations, but the results for hostile sexism largely confirm our expectations. Regardless of exposure to the gender card attack, hostile sexist view Trump more favorably. However, the effect is larger among those exposed to the women's card attack. Contrary to expectations, benevolent sexism significantly boosts Trump evaluations among those who were exposed to the attack. Regardless, the results illustrate that beliefs about women – captured by hostile and benevolent sexism – and not just gender alone significantly shaped candidate evaluations.

Beyond shaping candidate evaluations, did Trump's women's card attack influence vote choice? To answer this question, we estimated a series of logit models predicting the likelihood of voting for Clinton based on one's news exposure and levels of hostile and benevolent sexism, along with a full series of control variables. The results are presented in the final columns of Table 1. The first two columns show the effects of hostile and benevolent sexism on vote choice among survey participants based on their exposure to the women's card attack. Among those not exposed to the attack, hostile and benevolent sexism are not related to vote choice. By contrast, hostile sexism significantly reduces the likelihood of voting for Clinton among those exposed to Trump's attack. Benevolent sexism has the opposite effect, increasing the likelihood of voting for Clinton. These results support Hypothesis 1, that the women's card attack activated hostile sexist beliefs. However, the results for benevolent sexism suggest that Trump's norm-deviating behavior was seen as worse than Clinton's behavior; thus, the attack increased the likelihood of voting for Clinton.

To illustrate the divergent effects of hostile and benevolent sexism on candidate evaluations and vote choice, we plotted predicted values from the Table 1 models among those

who reported exposure to the gender card attack. The results are presented in Figure 3. The top row shows predicted Clinton evaluations at minimum, mean, and maximum levels of hostile sexism (left) and benevolent sexism (right) with 95% confidence intervals. As hostile sexism increases, evaluations of Clinton steadily decrease. The reverse is true for benevolent sexism. The relationships are more similar across sexism types for Trump evaluations (middle row, Figure 2); with a positive relationship observed for both, though a stronger effect for hostile sexism. The relationships between hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and vote choice (bottom row) are more similar to the Clinton evaluations, with hostile sexism decreasing the likelihood of voting for Clinton, while benevolent sexism increases the likelihood of voting for Clinton.

[Insert Figure 3Here]

Study 2

We conducted Study 2 in order to further evaluate whether the "women's card" attack activated hostile and benevolent sexism, with consequences for political participation. In this study, we evaluate the link between emotional reactions to the attack and political behavior, differentiating between the mainstream kinds of electoral behavior which are conventionally studied in the political participation literature and gender-based activism. Given this study was fielded several months after Trump's initial attack, we employed an experimental design that randomly assigned survey participants to read an article about the "women's card attack from *The New York Times* or a control article about the use of social media in the campaign, rather rely on participant recall of the attack.[7] Prior to reading the article, they completed the Ambivalent Sexism

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[7] The *Times* article was attributed to the Associated Press (AP) to avoid partisan attributions to the source. The control article was from *The Huffington Post* and was edited for length and content to more closely mimic the style of the *Times* article. The full text of the articles and the survey questions are available in the Online Appendix.

Inventory. After reading the article, participants were asked about their emotional reactions to the article they read and intentions to participate in electoral politics and gender-based political activism.

Methods

Participants and Data Collection

The Study 2 sample, (n=409) was recruited in the same fashion as Study 1, on September 16 and 17, 2016. 204 men (50.5%) and 200 women (49.5%) completed the survey. The average age was 37.21. The median reported income range was $25,001 to $50,000. In terms of educational attainment, 42 reported a high school degree or less (10.5%), 168 reported some college (41.8%), 151 held a college degree (37.6%), and 41 held a graduate degree (10.2%). 301 participants identified as white (73.6%), 33 as black (8.1%), 33 as Hispanic (8.1) and the remaining 42 as some other racial or ethnic category (10.3%). As was the case for Study 1, Democrats were overrepresented in the sample – 235 participants identified as Democrats (58%), while 67 identified as Independents (16.5%) and 103 as Republicans (35.4%).

Measures

Emotions. We captured emotional reactions to the women's card attack using 5-point Likert scales indicating how much respondents experienced eight different emotions on a scale ranging from (1) not at all to (5) extremely (e.g. Witt & Wood, 2010). Anger incorporates ratings of the terms angry, hostile, and disgusted (alpha=.90). Anxiety includes ratings of the emotion terms anxious and afraid (alpha=.85) and enthusiasm was measured using responses to the terms enthusiastic, proud, and hopeful (alpha=.89). All emotion measures were re-scaled to form standardized variables with a mean of zero and standard deviation of one.

Political Participation is measured using respondents' likelihood of engaging in the following acts of political participation: attending campaign events, donating money to a political campaign, volunteering for a political campaign (i.e. going door to door, making phone calls), attending other political events, discussing the election with others in person or online (e.g., email, Facebook, etc), and voting in the election. Responses were provided on a Likert scale ranging from (1) definitely won't to (5) definitely will. As is common in extant scholarship (Farris & Holman, 2014), items were combined to form a standard scale (alpha=.77)

Exposure to Women's Card Attack is captured by dummy variable coded 1 if the respondent was assigned to the treatment condition and read the gender card attack article and coded 0 if the respondent was in the control condition and read the social media article.

Hostile and Benevolent Sexism were measured using the full Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 2001), which we asked prior to the treatment to ensure exogeneity. The items were combined to form two reliable subscales ($alpha_{benevolent}$=.89; $alpha_{hostile}$=.92). Factor analysis confirmed the two scales are distinct and moderately correlated (r=.43).

Control Variables. Control variables for Study 2 were measured using the same approach discussed for study one.

Manipulation Checks

To determine whether respondents perceived the treatment condition as different from the control condition, they were asked to identify the tone of the article they read on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) very negative to (5) very positive. Participants rated the mean tone of the treatment condition (M=1.9) significantly lower than the control (M=3.4), $t(386)=19.7$, $p<.001$. A second manipulation check also compared discrete emotional reactions to the treatment and condition conditions using t-tests. Mean anger was significantly greater is the treatment condition

(M= .41) compared to the control (M= -.43), p<.001. Enthusiasm was significantly lower in the treatment (M= -.22) compared to the control (M= .16), p<.001, and anxiety was greater in the treatment (M= .12) compared to control condition (M= -.15) p<.01. Collectively, these results indicate that the treatment condition was viewed to be more negative and aroused negative emotional states while depressing positive emotional states.

Results

We hypothesized that the attack would produce specific emotional reactions among those endorsing high and low levels of hostile and benevolent sexism. Specifically, we expected that hostile sexists would react to the attack with enthusiasm, benevolent sexists would react with anxiety, and those low on these measures would react with anger. To test these hypotheses, we estimated a series of OLS regression models where the three emotion measures (anger, enthusiasm, and anxiety) are a function of exposure to the gender card attack, hostile and benevolent sexism, and the interaction between these kinds of sexism and the experimental condition, along with a series of control variable. The results are presented in Table 2.

We find that the gender card attack increased anger and anxiety among survey respondents exposed to it, while reducing enthusiasm. The interaction terms show that both forms of sexism moderated reactions to the attack. Contrary to our expectations in *Hypothesis 3*, hostile sexists did not respond with enthusiasm to the attack, although they do indicate a higher level of overall enthusiasm about the Presidential campaign. Benevolent sexism played a modest role in moderating anxiety in response to the attack as we expected in *Hypothesis 4*; the attack increased anxiety in the sample generally (see manipulation check section) and this effect was larger among

respondents high in benevolent sexism.[8] We do find support for *Hypothesis 5.* In the anger model, the interaction between hostile sexism and the gender card attack is negative and statistically significant, meaning that those low in hostile sexism responded with more anger than those reporting high levels of hostile sexism. To illustrate the effects of the attack on anxiety among benevolent sexists and anger among hostile sexists, we plotted predicted values from the Table 2 models in Figure 4. The figure highlights divergent emotional responses to the attack based on one's beliefs about gender.

[Insert Table 2 Here]

[Insert Figure 4 Here]

We next considered how the women's card attack (and the emotional reactions it elicited) influenced political participation. As in the previous models, we evaluated the effects of the attack, hostile, and benevolent sexism on participation using a series of OLS models. We first look just at the effects of exposure to the attack, hostile, and benevolent sexism on both forms of participation and next including emotional reactions to the attack as covariates. The results are presented in Table 4. Consistent with Hypothesis 6, we find that the gender card attack increased political participation among hostile sexists, as the coefficient on the interaction term is positive and statistically significant ($p<.06$).

[Insert Table 3 Here]

We hypothesized (*Hypothesis 7)* that emotional responses to the gender card attack would motivate political participation. In the final column of Table 3, we include emotional reactions as predictors of political participation. Anger and enthusiasm are both mobilizing for intentions of

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[8] Respondent gender was significantly related to emotional expression, with women reporting higher levels of anxiety and anger relative to men. However, these gender differences were not conditioned on exposure to the women's card attack.

political participation. This suggests that both people who were angered by Trump's comments and those who enthusiastically supported them had similar (and potentially offsetting) responses. The same cannot be said for anxiety, which does not prove mobilizing. Given our focus on hostile sexism, it's important to note that inclusion of the emotion measures does not eliminate the mobilizing effect of the gender card attack on mainstream participation among hostile sexists. Instead, inclusion of emotional responses strengthens the relationships between hostile sexism and likelihood of participating in politics.

Discussion

Our results suggest beliefs about gender – specifically hostile and benevolent sexism – played an important role in shaping candidate evaluations and political behavior in the 2016 U.S. Presidential race. Clinton's historic candidacy brought issues of gender (and sexism) forward in the 2016 campaign. At the same time, her gender was also utilized by her opponents (particularly by Donald Trump) in attacks. As such, the 2016 campaign is an ideal setting to investigate the effects of system justification and attitudes about gender on political attitudes and behavior. Using both an observational (Study 1) and experimental (Study 2) approach, we find that Trump's "women's card" campaign attack resonated with hostile sexists, polarizing their evaluations of both candidates and boosting their intention to vote for Trump over Clinton. The consequences of evaluative and emotional reactions to the attacks also extended beyond vote choice; exposure to the "women's card" attack mobilized hostile sexists to participate in electoral politics at a higher rate – meaning their preferences may have registered more strongly in the campaign than they would have without Trump's attack.

The effects of the woman's card attack highlight the importance of distinguishing between multiple forms of sexism. Benevolent sexists' reactions to the attack were mixed, producing

positive feelings towards both Trump and Clinton and a higher likelihood of voting for Clinton. We also find that the attack elicited anxiety among benevolent sexists, which did not boost political participation. Thus, the women's card attack resonated primarily with hostile sexists, for whom such an attack reified beliefs about gender, power, and legitimacy. Given that we measured behavioral intentions here and not actual activism, there is still uncertainty as to whether these intentions translated to actual behavior. We know many voters did follow through on their behavioral intentions (e.g., there was certainly a rise in women's grassroots activism (Clement, Somashekhar, & Chandler, 2017), but future research should measure actual behavior or employ more directly behavioral measures to complement our work on behavioral intentions

The campaigns and elections literature is starkly divided on whether negative campaigning is mobilizing or demobilizing (Krupnikov, 2011; Mattes & Redlawsk, 2015). Our results underscore the seemingly contradictory findings in this literature, in that the effects of the women's card attack are highly contingent on individual attitudes. Responses to this kind of campaign attack depends on its content (i.e. a focus on Clinton's gender), but also the characteristics of the citizens exposed to it (i.e. their beliefs about gender inequality). Ultimately, our work supports extant scholarship that claims negative campaigning is mobilizing (e.g. Geer, 2008). Hostile sexists reported significantly greater enthusiasm for Donald Trump and significantly stronger intentions to participate in electoral politics when exposed to the women's card attack.

But our results also suggest a kind of backlash effect. Respondents very low in hostile sexism (those with more progressive attitudes toward gender-based inequality) responded to the attack with anger – an emotion linked to higher levels of electoral participation. As a result, the women's card attack likely mobilized voters on both sides with strongly divergent responses to the

attack itself – those who saw it as consistent with their broader worldview and those who saw it as a threat to their beliefs about gender equity.

Our studies highlight that beliefs about gender rather than gender itself more strongly determined reactions to the women's card attack. Hostile and benevolent sexism are beliefs that cut across gender lines, with many women endorsing traditional beliefs about gender roles and gendered notions of authority. Across both studies, factors like party, more so than gender, account for endorsement of hostile and benevolent sexism (see also Barnes and Cassese 2017). And once we included hostile and benevolent sexism in our explanatory models, we saw few effects of gender. In Study 1, women evaluated Trump less favorably, but were only marginally more likely to vote for Clinton. In Study 2, women reported more anxiety and anger about the campaign, but this was true whether or not they were exposed to the women's card attack. Beyond this, we found negligible gender differences in terms of political participation once controlling for emotional reactions to the campaign. Collectively, this suggests that one's belief about gender roles and the legitimacy of the power differential about men and women *rather than* one's gender per se that offers the most explanatory power in this context. This finding is potentially useful for interpreting the election returns, which indicated that 53% of white women voted for Trump (CAWP, 2016). While analysts expected that Trump's "woman problem" would translate to a historic gender gap, this certainly was not the case among white women. Given the results displayed in Figure 1, showing high rates of hostile sexism among Republican men and women, it seems likely that Trump's campaign rhetoric was successful in keeping Republican women in the fold.

Much was made in the presidential election about the unfavorable view that voters held of the two candidates (Salvanto, Backus, De Pinto, & Dutton, 2016). We find that the effect of hostile and benevolent sexism on vote choice among those exposed to the attack is largely funneled

through favorability towards the candidates. Our findings suggest that one of the reasons for historically low favorability of the candidates may be attacks like this, which inform and reinforce the views of Trump and Clinton. This is particularly true for specific groups of individuals, such as those endorsing hostile sexism, who do not view Trump's comments as sexist but as a legitimate critique of Clinton's campaign strategy. We also find, as displayed in Figure 2, that even those with minimum levels of hostile sexism had low levels of approval of Clinton *and* those with maximum levels of hostile sexism still only placed themselves as a 45 on average on a 100-point favorability scale. Thus, while the women's card attack shaped the favorability of both candidates, not all of either candidates' historically low levels of approval were directly attributed to either opposition to a woman leader or from Trump's comments.

Practice Implications

These results have practical implications for campaign strategists, communications directors, and political candidates. To the extent that negativity in campaigns gets voters to the polls, campaigns will continue to deploy negativity in a strategic fashion. Our findings suggest that the gender content of the attack matters and that male candidates can successful attack female candidates on the basis of their gender alone. After all, the women's card attack was not a substantive attack; it didn't contain any specific reference to Clinton's policy work or past leadership experience (unlike attacks on Clinton's failed healthcare plan or her decisions during the attack on Benghazi in 2012).

Extant research on the use of gender in campaigns has largely focused on how voters react to the positive use of gender targeting (Herrnson, Lay, & Stokes, 2003; Holman, Schneider, & Pondel, 2015). At the same time, research on the negative use of race in political ads has largely focused on the effectiveness of implicit racial cues (over explicit cues), given American's

commitment to "norms of equality" (Mendelberg, 2001). Our findings represent a departure from these conclusions, given that we find Trump's explicit attack on Clinton's gender to be relatively effective. This result may be due to gender stereotyping being more acceptable than racial stereotyping "perhaps because of biological differences between the sexes and a sexual division of labor that appears to be natural" (Sanbonmatsu, 2002, p. 31). Alternatively, scholars, activists, and pundits may have overestimated our country's commitments to equality.

While the results suggest female candidates are vulnerable to gender-based attacks, further research is needed to determine whether the results here generalize to other female candidates and other political campaigns. Our results hinge on the analysis of a single gendered campaign attack in a single election, one considered an outlier by many practitioners and academics alike. And the "women's card" attack we focused on here is only one of many similar gendered attacks made against Clinton (e.g. against her stamina, her appearance) in a negative and emotionally-charged race. Practitioners tempted to employing similar attacks against female candidates should heed the potential backlash effect noted above – the attack mobilized not only hostile sexists, but those with progressive views on gender equity.

These effects may not have been confined to the campaign. Those working in candidate training efforts and in organizations that support women running for office has reported surges in interest following the 2016 election. And, the Women's March on Washington (and coordinate sites) following Trump's inauguration was the largest single-day demonstration in U.S. history (Chenoweth & Pressman, 2017). These responses to Clinton's loss to Trump suggest that the campaign overall – and the gendered components of it – have served to activate women's political interest and participation.

Directions for Future Research

These findings several avenues for future research and exploration, particularly around how candidate gender interacts with gendered attitudes, partisanship, and context. While the woman's card attack represented a key event in the 2016 election, it was far from the only gendered attack that Trump leveraged against Clinton. These included explicit attacks like calling her a "nasty woman" during a debate and more implicit ones, such as questioning her stamina and ability to lead. Future research might explore how hostile and benevolent sexists respond to implicit vs explicit gendered attacks in campaign.

Clinton was not the only female candidate in the 2016 Presidential race – Carly Fiorina ran in the Republican primary, eventually being selected as Ted Cruz' running mate late in the primary. Her attacks on Clinton also featured gender; for example, an email to supporters after the Democratic National Convention entitled "How Hillary's Bullying Women", noted "I'm proud to be a woman. But I also know gender is not an accomplishment. Hillary Clinton can't run on her record: a quarter-century of failure, incompetence and corruption. The only way she can win is by playing the gender card."[9] Future research might evaluate how the characteristics of the attacker plays a role in the success of a gender-based attack. Extant research has shown that the gender of a candidate shapes (Krupnikov & Bauer, 2014). We doubt that hostile sexists would respond as positively to a female attacker, but benevolent sexists might respond more favorably, given that it would not be a violation of expectations built of protective paternalism.

It is also possible that the characteristics of the attacked candidate shapes how hostile and benevolent sexists respond to gendered attacks. Clinton ran a campaign centered around her gender and represents, as we have discussed, significant violations of expectations for the appropriate role of women from *both* hostile and benevolent sexists. The degree to which Clinton's overall behavior

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[9] The full email from the Fiorina campaign is available in the appendix.

– and her response to Trump's attack – produced a harsher response, especially among hostile sexists, is a topic worthy of study. The association of the Democratic Party with women's issues may also accelerate hostile sexists' responses to such an attack and it is possible that if the party labels were reversed, the attack might be less effective among hostile sexists and more effective among benevolent sexists.

Conclusions

In the two studies presented here, we reached the somewhat unsurprising conclusion that sexism played a role in the 2016 presidential race. And yet, post-election coverage of Trump's victory often focuses on the role of racial resentment (Ingraham, 2017), anti-elitism (Lawler, 2017), and education (Silver, 2016) – among others – explain the outcome of the election. All of these factors certainly mattered, but to consider the election without evaluating the full effect of gender is to paint an incomplete picture. Our results remedy this gap by showing the importance of Trump's attacks on Clinton's gender in shaping attitudes about the candidates. Furthermore, we demonstrate that it is not simply that Clinton gained from the attacks or that they did not matter. Instead, we find that hostile sexists responded positively to the attacks, increasing their evaluations of Trump and their intentions to participate. At the same time, those low on hostile and benevolent sexism were angered by the attack; this anger fueled increased participation among the group. In this way, our research provides depth and explanation for not just whether gender matters in elections, but how it matters.

Although some political scientists claim that gender matters little in campaigns (e.g., Brooks, 2013; Dolan, 2014), we provide evidence that gendered attitudes can affect candidate evaluations and political engagement, but do so in ways that are highly context dependent – varying as a function of the type of attitude held, the emotions evoked by the campaign, and,

potentially, the party and gender of both the attacking and attacked candidate. Our findings are consistent with a robust body of scholarship that argues that gender matters in political campaigns, but how and when it matters depend on context (Bauer, 2016; Cassese & Holman, 2017; Holman, Merolla, & Zechmeister, 2016; Mo, 2014). Our results also call attention for the need to more deeply understand the diversity of underlying attitudes towards women among voters to fully appreciate barriers that women may face when seeking political office.

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Table 1. Effect of the Women's Card Attack on Candidate Evauations (Study 1)

	Clinton Thermometer		Trump Thermometer		Clinton Vote	
Exposed to Women's Card Attack?	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*	*No*	*Yes*
Hostile Sexism	-2.61	**-4.80*****	**5.74***	**7.49*****	-0.24	**-0.51*****
	(1.94)	**(1.37)**	**(2.34)**	**(1.36)**	(0.21)	**(0.13)**
Benevolent Sexism	1.59	**2.94***	0.31	**3.31****	0.16	**0.28***
	(2.30)	**(1.36)**	(2.41)	**(1.22)**	(0.22)	**(0.12)**
Female	1.30	3.53	-9.11*	-3.33+	0.38	0.38+
	(3.52)	(2.19)	(3.78)	(1.90)	(0.38)	(0.20)
Independent	-27.51***	-27.30***	12.91*	20.10***	-3.39***	-2.12***
	(4.78)	(2.86)	(5.48)	(3.11)	(0.57)	(0.28)
Republican	-33.70***	-28.85***	33.07***	38.72***	-3.20***	-2.88***
	(4.38)	(2.61)	(4.95)	(2.80)	(0.60)	(0.30)
Income	-1.46	0.45	-2.69*	-0.83	0.08	0.05
	(1.34)	(0.76)	(1.33)	(0.69)	(0.14)	(0.08)
Education	7.60***	3.10*	0.31	0.73	0.88***	0.36**
	(2.22)	(1.38)	(2.29)	(1.19)	(0.23)	(0.13)
Black	9.59	11.58**	2.55	0.69	-0.30	1.17*
	(6.07)	(4.02)	(6.19)	(3.03)	(0.63)	(0.47)
Hispanic	27.31***	2.25	-6.38	1.26	0.00	0.27
	(7.89)	(5.18)	(9.38)	(3.20)	(.00)	(0.47)
Other Race	-2.11	13.34***	1.53	1.03	-1.16+	0.76*
	(6.02)	(3.59)	(4.84)	(2.82)	(0.64)	(0.35)
News Consumption	-0.94	-1.94+	0.46	0.32	0.04	0.12
	(1.31)	(1.17)	(1.58)	(1.02)	(0.15)	(0.11)
Registered Voter	-3.09	4.96	3.13	0.24	0.71	0.40
	(5.33)	(4.45)	(5.42)	(3.81)	(0.59)	(0.38)
Constant	47.19***	44.52***	18.83*	15.02*	-2.21*	-1.67*
	(9.18)	(7.29)	(7.96)	(6.11)	(0.90)	(0.68)
Adj/Pseudo R^2	.37	.30	.33	.44	.36	.31
N	222	708	222	704	215	708

Entries are for the thermometer models are OLS regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Entries for the vote choice models are logit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance tests are two-tailed: $^+ p < .10$, $^* p < .05$, $^{**} p < .01$, $^{***} p < .001$.

Table 2: Emotional Responses to the Women's Card Attack (Study 2)

	Enthusiasm	Anxiety	Anger
Gender Card Attack	**-0.38*****	**0.29****	**0.85*****
	(0.09)	**(0.09)**	**(0.08)**
Hostile Sexism	**0.27****	0.14	**0.17****
	(0.10)	(0.09)	**(0.06)**
Benevolent Sexism	**0.23***	0.11	**0.12***
	(0.10)	(0.09)	**(0.05)**
Attack X Hostile	-0.00	-0.16	**-0.49*****
	(0.13)	(0.14)	**(0.11)**
Attack X Benevolent	-0.11	**0.32+**	0.15
	(0.14)	**(0.17)**	(0.13)
Female	-0.04	0.21*	0.19*
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)
Independent	-0.16	-0.28*	-0.20
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Republican	-0.10	-0.48***	-0.54***
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.10)
Income	0.06+	-0.04	-0.04
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Education	-0.02	0.00	0.03
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Black	-0.01	-0.29*	-0.08
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Hispanic	0.22	-0.09	0.24+
	(0.17)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Other Race	-0.14	-0.28*	-0.29**
	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.10)
Constant	0.13	0.08	-0.29+
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.15)
R^2	.15	.12	.33
N	392	392	392

Entries are OLS regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Significance tests are two-tailed:
$^+ p < .10$, $^* p < .05$, $^{**} p < .01$, $^{***} p < .001$.

Table 3. Effects of Hostile Sexism and Emotional Reactions to the Attack on Electoral Participation and Gender Activism (Study 2)

	Electoral Participation	Electoral Participation (with emotions)
Gender Card Attack	-0.04	-0.05
	(0.07)	(0.08)
Hostile Sexism	-0.10	**-0.19***
	(0.08)	(0.08)
Benevolent Sexism	-0.04	-0.12
	(0.08)	(0.08)
Attack X Hostile	0.19+	**0.26***
	(0.10)	**(0.11)**
Attack X Benevolent	0.08	0.08
	(0.11)	(0.11)
Anger		**0.13***
		(0.06)
Anxiety		0.00
		(0.05)
Enthusiasm		**0.26***
		(0.04)
Female	0.05	0.03
	(0.08)	(0.08)
Independent	-0.33**	-0.27**
	(0.10)	(0.09)
Republican	-0.01	0.09
	(0.10)	(0.09)
Income	0.02	0.01
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Education	0.09*	0.09*
	(0.04)	(0.04)
Black	0.04	0.06
	(0.16)	(0.15)
Hispanic	0.17	0.08
	(0.13)	(0.13)
Other Race	-0.26*	-0.18+
	(0.10)	(0.09)
Constant	-0.21	-0.20
	(0.14)	(0.14)
R^2	.08	.17
N	392	392

Entries are OLS regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.
Significance tests are two-tailed: + $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Figure 1. Hillary Clinton's Woman Card

Figure 2. Hostile and Benevolent Sexism by Gender and Party
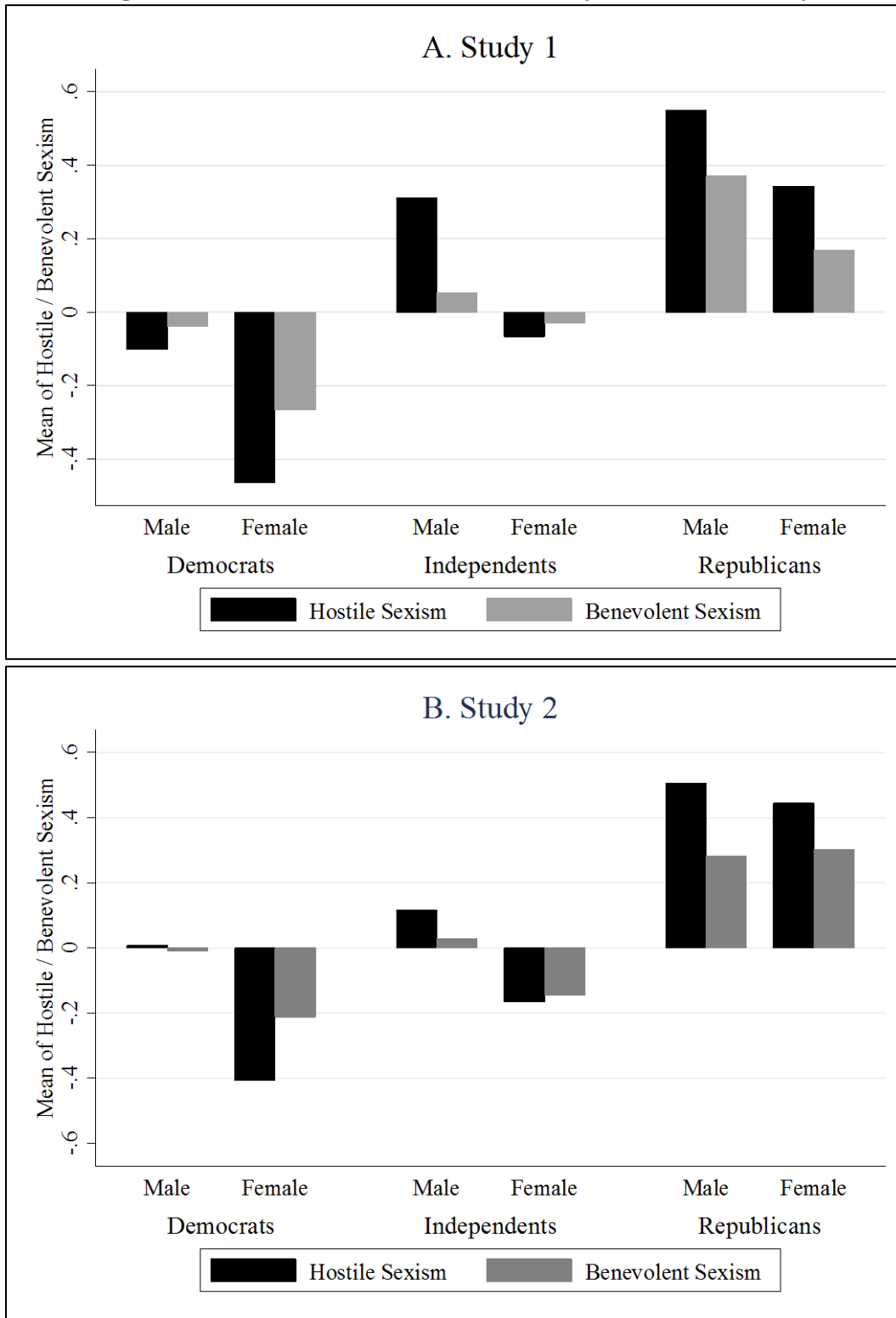
Study: Observational data collected via MTurk in the week following Trump's comments; includes those exposed or not exposed to Trump's comments.. Study 2: Experimental data – includes responses aggregated across the conditions. Study 1: Abbreviated ASI. Study 2: Complete ASI. Gender and party identification self reported by survey respondents.

Figure 3. Predicted Candidate Evaluations and Vote Choice among Those Exposed to the Women's Card Attack (Study 1)
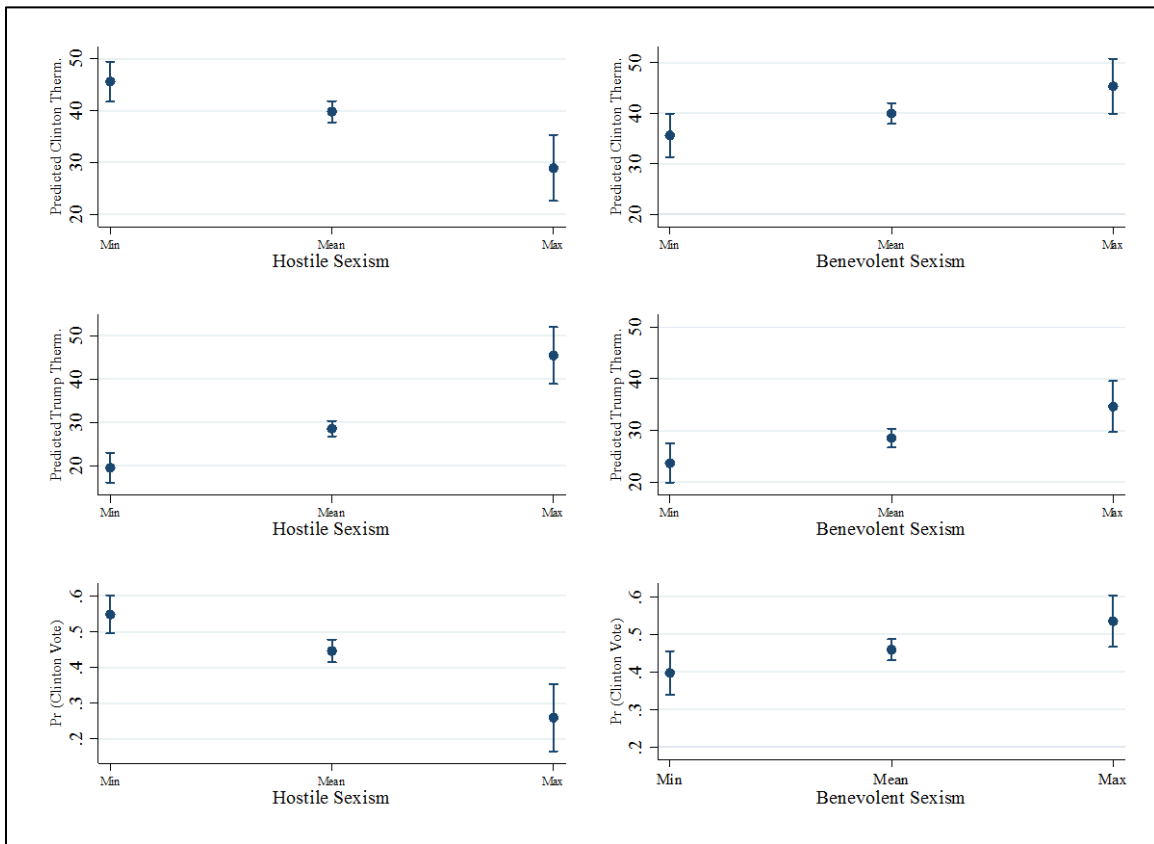
Entries are predicted Clinton Thermometer ratings (top row), predicted Trump Thermometer ratings (middle row), and the predicted probability of voting for Clinton (bottom row) with 95 percent confidence intervals. Predicted values were calculated at the minimum, mean, and maximum values of hostile and benevolent sexism using the model specifications presented in Table 1, holding all other independent variables to their mean values.

Figure 4. Emotional Reactions to the Women's Card Attack (Study 2)
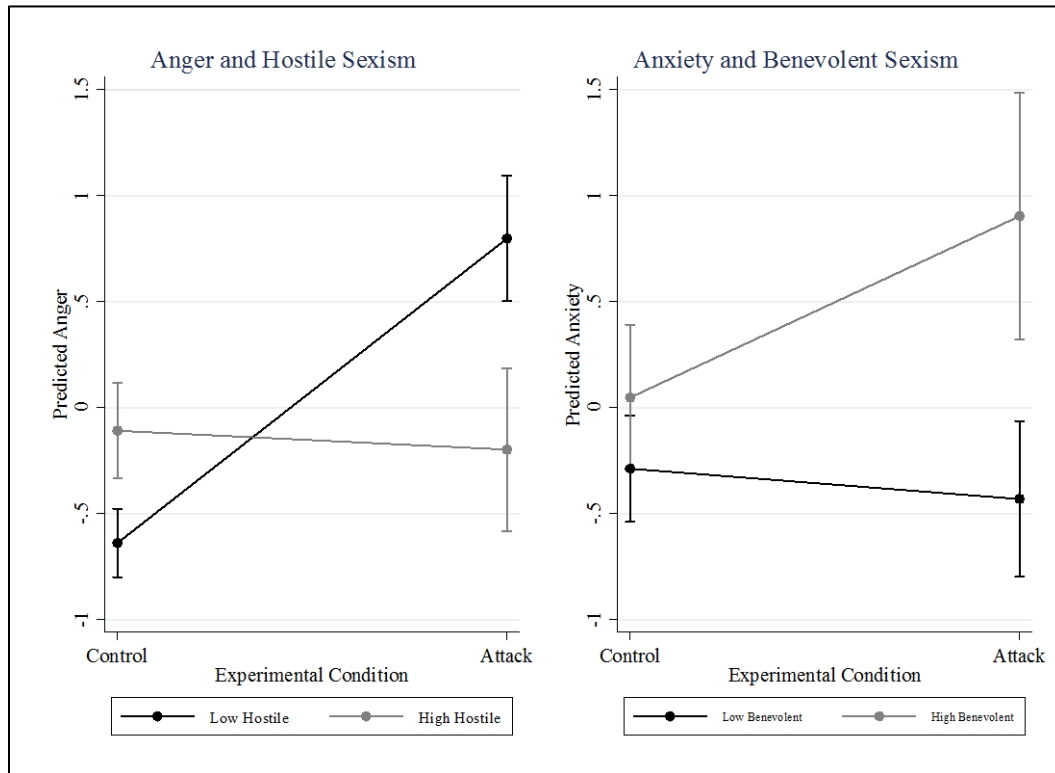
Entries are predicted anger at minimum and maximum levels of hostile sexism (left) and predicted anxiety at minimum and maximum levels of benevolent sexism (right). Predicted values were calculated based on the model specifications presented in Table 2, holding all other independent variables to their mean values.

Appendix

Table A1. Factors Predicting Exposure to the Women's Card Attack

	Exposure to the Gender Card Attack
Hostile Sexism	0.09
	(0.12)
Benevolent Sexism	-0.09
	(0.11)
Female	0.02
	(0.18)
Independent	0.08
	(0.25)
Republican	-0.30
	(0.23)
Income	0.00
	(0.07)
Education	0.01
	(0.12)
Black	-0.12
	(0.32)
Hispanic	-0.27
	(0.49)
Other Race	0.11
	(0.30)
News Consumption	0.76***
	(0.08)
Voted in 2012	-0.04
	(0.23)
Registered to Vote	0.62*
	(0.31)
Political Knowledge	0.02
	(0.12)
Constant	-2.45*
	(1.08)
Pseudo R^2	.14
N	903

Entries are ordered logit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.
Significance tests are two-tailed: $^+ p < .10$, $^* p < .05$, $^{**} p < .01$, $^{***} p < .001$.

Table A2. Correlation Matrix (Study 1)

	Hostile	Benevolent	Party ID	Income	Education	News Cons.	Clinton Therm.	Trump Therm.	Female[+]	Clinton Vote[+]	Reg. Voter[+]
Hostile	1										
Benevolent	.35***	1									
Party ID	.40***	.23***	1								
Income	.04	.06	.09**	1							
Education	-.08**	-.05	-.07*	.31***	1						
News Cons.	-.10**	-.08*	-.03	.09**	.19***	1					
Clinton Therm.	-.26***	-.05	-.54***	.01	.15***	-.03	1				
Trump Therm.	.41***	.24***	.59***	.00	-.04	.01	-.34***	1			
Female[+]	-.20***	-.12***	-.06	-.02	.04	-.05	.10**	-.14***	1		
Clinton Vote[+]	-.31***	-.09**	-.57***	.05	.19***	.09**	.74***	-.46***	--	1	
Registered Voter[+]	.02	-.05	-.03	.13***	.13***	.19***	.04	-.00	--	--	1

Entries for continuous variables are Pearson correlation coefficients. Entries for relationships between a dichotomous variable and a continuous variable are point biserial correlations where appropriate (indicated with a + symbol). Correlations are not provided between dichotomous variables (indicated with a – symbol). Statistical significance is indicated as *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table A3. Correlation Matrix (Study 2)

	Hostile	Benevolent	Party ID	Income	Educ.	Enthus.	Anxiety	Anger	Partici.	Female[+]
Hostile	1									
Benevolent	.43***	1								
Party ID	.38***	.26***	1							
Income	.03	.08	.09	1						
Education	-.18***	-.15***	-.12*	.28***	1					
Enthusiasm	.29***	.25***	.10*	.08	-.06	1				
Anxiety	.04	.12*	.15*	-.04	.03	-.07	1			
Anger	-.11*	-.01	-.23***	-.04	.03	-.18***	.51***	1		
Participation	-.02	-.01	-.14**	.08	.10*	.27***	.08*	.10	1	
Female[+]	-.21***	-.11*	-.07	.02	.03	-.12*	.09	.13**	.03	1

Entries for continuous variables are Pearson correlation coefficients. Entries for relationships between a dichotomous variable and a continuous variable are point biserial correlations where appropriate (indicated with a + symbol). Correlations are not provided between dichotomous variables (indicated with a – symbol). Statistical significance is indicated as *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Table A4. Descriptive Statistics for Key Variables

	Study 1				
	n	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Clinton Thermometer	950	40.45	32.39	0	100
Trump Thermometer	948	27.89	31.88	0	100
Clinton Vote	950	.45	.50	0	1
Hostile Sexism	950	0	.90	-1.21	2.26
Benevolent Sexism	950	0	.85	-1.47	1.84
Partisanship	948	3.33	1.71	1	7
Income	950	2.69	1.39	1	6
Education	950	2.47	.86	1	4
News Consumption	950	4.97	1.12	1	6
Registered Voter	949	.91	.28	0	1
	Study 2				
		Mean	SD	Min	Max
Electoral Participation	405	0	.73	-1.27	2.31
Enthusiasm	405	0	.90	-.78	2.80
Anxiety	405	0	.93	-.67	3.35
Anger	405	0	.92	-.68	2.61
Hostile Sexism	405	0	.75	-1.21	1.92
Benevolent Sexism	406	0	.68	-1.36	1.76
Partisanship	405	3.37	1.60	1	7
Income	404	2.52	1.28	1	6
Education	402	2.47	.81	1	4

Table A5. Effects of Gender Beliefs on Candidate Evaluations among Respondents Exposed to the News Story

	Clinton Thermometer	Trump Thermometer	Clinton Vote	Clinton Vote (w. Mediators)
Outcome Equation				
Hostile Sexism	-4.36**	7.04***	-0.25**	-0.45***
	(1.39)	(1.22)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Benevolent Sexism	3.01*	3.31**	0.15*	-0.01
	(1.33)	(1.17)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Voted 2012	3.91	1.74	0.36*	0.08
	(2.71)	(2.38)	(0.15)	(0.15)
Independent	-27.02***	20.37***	-1.24***	-1.44***
	(3.14)	(2.71)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Republican	-30.10***	38.60***	-1.69***	-1.83***
	(2.80)	(2.42)	(0.16)	(0.15)
Female	2.14	-3.06	0.11	0.37**
	(2.25)	(1.98)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Income	0.95	-1.05	0.06	0.06
	(0.81)	(0.71)	(0.04)	(0.04)
Education	2.43+	1.00	0.16*	0.01
	(1.34)	(1.18)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Black	10.98*	1.19	0.69**	-0.12
	(4.29)	(3.78)	(0.23)	(0.24)
Other Race	9.96***	2.30	0.38*	0.04
	(3.02)	(2.68)	(0.16)	(0.17)
Clinton Therm.				0.05***
				(0.00)
Trump Therm.				-0.03***
				(0.01)
Constant	29.73***	20.27***	-0.89**	4.71***
	(5.55)	(4.83)	(0.29)	(0.30)
Selection Equation				
News Consumption	0.44***	0.44***	0.44***	0.44***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Registered to Vote	0.47**	0.47**	0.47**	0.46**
	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.16)
Independent	-0.01	-0.00	-0.00	0.01
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)
Republican	-0.21+	-0.20+	-0.20+	-0.19+
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.12)
Candidate Knowledge	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Constant	-1.58***	-1.57***	-1.58***	-1.59***
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.28)
Lambda/Rho	10.98*	-0.55	-0.09	-0.46
	(5.34)	(4.66)	(0.23)	(0.29)
N	917	913	917	912

Note for Table A5: Entries are Heckman selection bias model coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Variables are described in Table 1. Frequency of news consumption, registered voter, and candidate knowledge are excluded from the outcome equation for identification purposes. Inclusion of a treatment condition dummy in the

selection equation does not appreciably alter the estimates in the outcome equation (see the Online Appendix). $^{+} p < .10$, $^{*} p < .05$, $^{**} p < .01$, $^{***} p < .001$. The lambda value is only significant for the model in the first column, indicating the error terms are significantly correlated for the selection and outcome equation and the bias correction is needed. However, the results from the selection equation (in which news consumption and being registered to vote feature prominently) are consistent with the existing literature on media consumption and exposure. Also, lambda is an imperfect indicator of selection processes (Certo et al 2016). As a result, we opt to employ this modeling approach across all of our models. We considered alternative specifications of the selection equation (see Tables 2-4 in the Online Appendix) and also alternative approaches that more directly engaged comparisons between people exposed and not exposed to the news story (Table 7, Online Appendix).

Experimental Conditions – Study 2

Control Condition:

The Game Changer: Social Media and the 2016 Presidential Election
Associated Press, April 27th, 2016

Social media will undoubtedly play a major role in the upcoming election between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Reaching the millennial demographic is an important component to campaign efforts. As young adults shift their attention online to social networks, this type of campaigning becomes more important.

Facebook feeds can alter voting patterns. The findings of a 2012 study published in the journal Nature, "A 61-Million-Person Experiment in Social Influence and Political Mobilization," found that messages increased turnout directly and indirectly by 340,000 votes. Close ties – friends that had more common likes and comments – were more influential than weaker ties.

Social media also matters more for 18 to 24 year olds. More than a third (34%) of young voters said that reading something on social media would influence their vote, second only to televised debates. This is yet another reason why the presidential candidates are increasing their ad spending budgets on social networks.

Another recent study by the Youth & Participatory Politics Survey Project found that 4 out of 10 young people ages of 15 and 25 had discussed politics online. This included sharing a video from a presidential candidate or tweeting about world events. If a young person shared political content, they were much more likely to vote than someone who didn't share content or discuss politics.

Political ad spending is expected to reach an astounding $11.4 billion, 20 percent more than the amount spent in 2012. Spending on social media makes up more than half of the $1 billion budget that the presidential campaigns have allocated for digital media.

As the election nears, spending on social media will doubtless continue to spark political conversation and encourage more people to vote. Both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump have already used platforms like Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter in their campaigns and will increase their use over the course of the general election to promote turnout and influence the votes of young people.

 As the presidential election draws near, it is evident that social media has become a game changer in our political process. Using social media will improve both Clinton and Trumps' ability to reach to supporters and encourage them to show up on Election Day.

Experimental Condition:

Donald Trump Keeps Playing 'Woman's Card' Against Hillary Clinton
Associated Press, April 27th, 2016

Donald J. Trump doubled down on his claim that Hillary Clinton is playing the "woman's card" on Wednesday, and insisted that she would have few votes if she were a man.

Mr. Trump, the leading Republican presidential candidate, raised eyebrows — and even appeared to receive an eye roll, from the wife of Gov. Chris Christie, one of his top supporters — when he said in a postelection news conference that Mrs. Clinton was leading in the Democratic race because of her gender.

"If Hillary Clinton were a man, I don't think she would get 5 percent of the vote," Mr. Trump said. Despite suggestions that the remark is sexist, and it drew a quick response from Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Trump defended it during a round of television interviews on Wednesday and said that he would continue to call her out if he thought she was playing the gender card.

"She is a woman, she is playing the woman card left and right," Mr. Trump said on CNN. "Frankly, if she didn't, she would do very poorly. If she were a man and she was the way she is, she would get virtually no votes."

Mr. Trump seemed to relish injecting gender politics into the race as he looks ahead to a potential general election matchup with Mrs. Clinton. In an interview with ABC's "Good Morning America," he claimed that women do not like Mrs. Clinton and that he has every right to attack her if she plays up the fact that she would be the first female United States president.

Mrs. Clinton addressed Mr. Trump's new line of attack during her victory speech on Tuesday night, telling voters to "deal me in" when it comes to Mr. Trump's suggestions that he is trying to capitalize on her gender and argued that she would be the best candidate to defend women's rights on health and in the workplace.

In an interview with MSNBC, Mr. Trump said that he found the tone of Mrs. Clinton's response to be irritating. "I haven't quite recovered, it's early in the morning, from her shouting that message," Mr. Trump said. "I know a lot of people would say you can't say that about a woman because, of course, a woman doesn't shout."

He added, "We're going to do very well with Hillary and with woman and as soon as we start our process against her."

Email from Carly Fiorina's Presidential Campaign:

Subject: How Hillary's Bullying Women
From: Carly Fiorina:

<Name>,

Last night, Hillary clinched the Democratic presidential nomination. And the political establishment and the liberal media could barely contain their glee about the "historic" nature of Hillary's win.

I'm proud to be a woman. But I also know gender is not an accomplishment. Hillary Clinton can't run on her record: a quarter-century of failure, incompetence and corruption. The only way she can win is by playing the gender card.

That's why Hillary's top allies have wasted zero time in bullying women into voting for Hillary Clinton: Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright told a rally that there's a "special place in hell" for women who don't support Hillary Clinton. And liberal feminist Gloria Steinem said women who don't back Hillary are simply too shallow to have their opinions taken seriously.

Newsflash, Mrs. Clinton: women will not be so easily fooled. The American people will not be so easily fooled.

When I became the first woman to run a major corporation, I wanted to talk about how we were going to fix problems, take on the bureaucracy, and create more opportunities. Not about whether or not my going to work each morning was "historic."

As anyone who's ever held a job knows: it doesn't matter who you are. It matters if you can be trusted to do the job you're hired to do.

Hillary Clinton cannot be trusted, and she cannot do the job of President of the United States. And it's up to you and me to make sure she never gets the chance.

Will you help me lead the fight to defeat Hillary Clinton in November—and make sure we have the resources to defeat her liberal establishment cronies in the House and Senate, too?

Please commit your support right away. Show me that you're ready to do all it takes to take our country back in 2016.

Thanks for your help,

Carly