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Helping to Break the Glass Ceiling? Fathers, First Daughters, and Presidential Vote Choice in 2016

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Abstract

Throughout her 2016 U.S. presidential campaign, Democratic Party nominee Hillary Clinton crafted messages intended to appeal to fathers of daughters and to highlight the implications of her historic nomination for American girls and women. Clinton reminded voters that her election could mean that “fathers will be able to say to their daughters, you, too, can grow up to be president” (Frizell, Time, <http://time.com/3920332/transcript-full-text-hillary-clinton-campaign-launch/>, 2015). But did these appeals succeed in mobilizing fathers of daughters to support Clinton? Using original cross sectional and experimental survey data from the 2016 CCES, we ask two questions. First, were men who fathered daughters (a life event which we operationalize, for important methodological and theoretical reasons detailed herein, as men who fathered a daughter as their *first* child) more likely to support, and vote for, Hillary Clinton in the 2016 presidential election than were those who fathered sons as their first child? Second, were Clinton’s direct appeals to fathers of daughters effective in increasing her electoral support? We find that fathers who have daughters as their *first child* are more likely to prefer and vote for Clinton, and are more likely to support a fictional female congressional candidate using a “Clintonesque” appeal that emphasizes expanding opportunities for “our daughters.” These results suggest that entry into fatherhood with a daughter (as opposed to with a son) is a formative experience for men that has consequences for their political choices in later life. Our conclusions inform the growing literature on the implications of fathering daughters on men’s political behavior.

Keywords Fatherhood · Gender · Voting behavior · Hillary Clinton · 2016

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From the early stages of her campaign, 2016 U.S. presidential candidate Hillary Clinton crafted messages intended to appeal to fathers of daughters (Dickerson 2016). Beginning with her June 2015 presidential campaign announcement speech and again in the first Democratic candidate debate, Clinton reminded voters that her election could mean that “fathers will be able to say to their daughters, you, too, can grow up to be president” (Frizell 2015; New York Times 2015). Throughout the campaign, Clinton routinely asserted that her election would positively affect women and girls, suggesting that fathers should consider the interests of their female children as they headed to the polls (Dickerson 2016). Clinton thus implied that—in an election that was in so many ways about gender and women’s place in American politics—dynamics relating to parenting might also inform voters’ decisions. But was this strategy effective? Were fathers of daughters more likely to prefer Clinton in the 2016 presidential election compared to fathers of sons? And did Clinton’s direct appeals to fathers of daughters influence their voting behavior?

Although much has been written in recent years about the ways motherhood shapes women’s engagement with politics, much less has been said about how these factors affect the behavior of men (Greenlee 2014). While a small number of studies have investigated how fathering daughters affects men’s political attitudes (i.e., Glynn and Sen 2015; Healy and Malhotra 2013; Sharrow et al. 2018), to date few have investigated how fathering a daughter may influence men’s vote choices—particularly in elections featuring women on the ballot (for an exception see Oswald and Powdthavee 2010). Thus, as the first woman to be nominated as the presidential candidate from a major U.S. political party, Clinton’s candidacy presents an unprecedented opportunity to explore how being the father of a daughter might shape men’s presidential preferences.

In this paper, we explore the relationships among fatherhood, family structure, and vote choice in the 2016 election. We ask two interrelated questions. First, were men who fathered daughters (a life event which we operationalize, for important methodological and theoretical reasons detailed below, as men who father a daughter as their *first* child) more likely to support, and vote for, Hillary Clinton in the 2016 presidential election than were those who fathered sons as their first child?¹ And second, were Clinton’s direct appeals to fathers of daughters effective in amassing support among members of this group? To answer these questions, we rely on two unique sources of data: (1) an original survey of fathers from a module on the 2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES) and (2) a survey experiment embedded in our 2016 CCES module designed to explore the impact of exposure to a “Clintonesque” campaign appeal on fathers’ support for a fictitious female congressional candidate.²

¹ Throughout this paper, we use “first daughter” and “first daughterhood” to indicate when a male respondent has a first child who is a daughter.

² As explained in greater detail below, our survey experiment featured a *fictitious* female *congressional* candidate in an attempt to insulate the experimental manipulations from the historic circumstances surrounding Clinton’s 2016 campaign and party nomination, and Clinton as a unique candidate.

The results of our observational analyses strongly suggest that the experience of having a daughter as a first child significantly and substantively increases fathers' probability of supporting and voting for Clinton in 2016.³ We undertake an array of additional tests to provide further confidence in our results. We conduct a placebo test that shows that having a daughter as a first child does *not* increase the probability of having voted for Barack Obama for president in 2012 among our sample of fathers. We also compare fathers and mothers to establish that the positive effect of having a daughter as a first child on support for Clinton is concentrated among fathers, thus demonstrating that our main results are not attributable to the experience of becoming a parent of a first daughter in general. Finally, we show that our results are not driven by generational differences or by the age at which men became parents.

To examine the argument that Clinton's *message* played an important part in her appeal among fathers of first daughters, we use a survey experiment to test whether exposure to a "Clintonesque" appeal emphasizing the positive effect of the election of a female candidate on daughters uniquely affects support for a fictional female congressional candidate among fathers of first daughters. Consistent with our observational findings, we show that fathers of first daughters who were randomly exposed to the "Clintonesque" appeal were significantly more likely to support the fictional female candidate than were fathers of first sons similarly exposed to a "Clintonesque" appeal.

Together, our findings provide clear and consistent evidence that Clinton's appeals to fathers of daughters were indeed effective in the 2016 election. Ultimately, our results suggest that having a first daughter may be a transformative experience that leads men to not only view issues of gender inequality in a new light (Sharro et al. 2018), but to apply this newfound perspective to their candidate evaluations and vote choices.

Gender and the 2016 Presidential Election

In 2016, there were many major factors that helped to explain American vote choice in an election that pitted Hillary Clinton, the first woman major political party presidential nominee, a former Secretary of State, U.S. Senator, and First Lady, against Donald Trump, a former reality television star and real estate magnate, who openly espoused misogynistic views. Alongside dynamics of race, class, and partisan identification (Sides et al. 2018), scholars are beginning to unpack how the dynamics of the 2016 election drew sexism and misogyny to the fore (Cassese and Barnes 2018;

³ In our observational analysis, we also uncover statistical evidence that the experience of fathering a daughter positively affects the probability that a father will support Clinton regardless of whether the daughter was first-born. However, for methodological and theoretical reasons described in this paper, we believe that (when using observational data) scholars would be prudent to use information about the first-born child if it is available.

Cassese and Holman 2018; Strolovitch et al. 2017).⁴ Evidence from multiple sources suggests the centrality of sexist attitudes (made salient in the context of Trump's misogynistic campaign rhetoric) in voting behavior (Bock et al. 2017; Bracic et al. 2018; Cassese and Barnes 2018; Schaffner et al. 2018; Valentino et al. 2018). While scholars point to the importance of sexism and gender in understanding the 2016 election (McCall and Orloff 2017), research has focused on women (as a group) much more than men (Cassese and Barnes 2018; Junn 2017; Phillips 2018; Setzler and Yanus 2018). As a result, the cross-cutting demographic, social, and political factors informing presidential preferences *among American men* remain underexplored, particularly in light of Clinton's unique candidacy (Dittmar 2017).⁵ To begin dissecting the ways in which fatherhood may have shaped men's electoral choice in 2016, we investigate whether two factors in the lives of American fathers—the sex and birth order of their children—affected men's support for Clinton in 2016.⁶

Fatherhood of Daughters and Support for Female Candidates

Why should fathering a daughter or daughters (as opposed to a son or sons) influence a man's vote choice in a presidential election featuring a female candidate? Decades of research suggests that, as a general matter, men exhibit lower levels of support for female candidates than do female voters (Box-Steffensmeier et al. 2004; Kaufmann 2002; Sanbonmatsu 2002b; Wolbrecht 2000).⁷ However, scholars also find among men a declining reliance on negative stereotypes toward female candidates (Brooks 2013; Dolan 2014), and increased favorability toward the abstract idea of electing a female president (Burden et al. 2017). Individual-level traits, including Democratic partisanship (Sanbonmatsu 2002a; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009), appear to increase male support for female candidates. To this literature, we suggest an additional individual-level trait in men's lives—being a father to a first daughter—as a characteristic that may also impact political attitudes and potentially increase support for female candidates among men with children.

⁴ Multiple, often intersecting individual-level factors played a role in shaping voters' preferences in 2016 including age (Medenica 2018), anti-Muslim sentiment (Lajevardi and Oskooii 2018), racial resentment and economic anxieties (e.g., Cramer 2016; Luttig et al. 2017; Manza and Crowley 2017; Schaffner et al. 2018), authoritarian views (Macwilliams 2016), religiosity (Ekins 2017), and “collective narcissism” (Federico and De Zavala 2018). See Manne (2017) on Trump and misogyny.

⁵ One exception is an initial analysis that shows that men of color were more likely to vote for Clinton in 2016 (Ramakrishnan 2016; see also Towler and Parker 2018).

⁶ While Tesler (Tesler 2016a, b) found evidence that Clinton drew meaningful support from men who fathered daughters in the early months of the 2016 campaign, we know of no study that examines if fathers of daughters were more likely to support Clinton in the general election.

⁷ Sanbonmatsu (2002a) connects this baseline preference to gender stereotypes. Likewise, Dolan (2010, 2014) finds that male voters are more likely to see male candidates (as opposed to female candidates) as strong on an array of policy issues, results which also suggest a preference based on gender stereotypes. However, Dolan (2014) finds no evidence that gender stereotypes play into the ultimate electoral decision of these voters.

Recent research on the behavior of elites (Cronqvist and Yu 2017; Dahl et al. 2012; Glynn and Sen 2015; Washington 2008) and studies of the attitudes of the mass public (Oswald and Powdthavee 2010; Shafer and Malhotra 2011; Warner 1991; Warner and Steel 1999; Sharrow et al. 2018) suggest that fathers of daughters (regardless of birth order) hold more liberal attitudes in general and express more positive views toward gender equality when compared to men with sons. Research posits multiple mechanisms which might induce fathers of daughters to support the well-being and status of girls and women, including newfound self-interest in gendered causes (Warner 1991; Washington 2008), increased awareness of gender inequalities which their daughters may confront (Warner and Steel 1999), and personal, intimate relationships with their daughters that educate men about issues which uniquely impact girls and women (Glynn and Sen 2015; Sharrow et al. 2018). At the core of these findings is a fundamental insight that the experience of fathering a daughter, more so than fathering a son, makes men both more aware of gendered political matters and more sensitive to the relevant concerns of women and girls. For these reasons, we posit that the experience of fathering a daughter may also have the effect of making men more inclined to support women candidates. However, as we suggest below, we suspect that fathering a *first* daughter is likely to have the greatest influence in shaping fathers' support for women candidates.

First Daughterhood Hypothesis

Research in political socialization has shown that life cycle events—such as becoming a parent—can impact individuals' political preferences, particularly in political contexts that elevate the salience of parenthood (Elder and Greene 2012; Greenlee 2014). Although mothers regularly incorporate their parenting identity into their political considerations, men are more likely to do so when political communications activate that identity (Klar et al. 2014).⁸ This connects with research that shows the content and contexts of campaigns can increase the salience of specific individual identities, making them especially accessible to citizens and thus particularly influential in shaping their vote choice (e.g., Barreto 2007; Dunning and Harrison 2010; Eifert et al. 2010; Plutzer and Zipp 1996; Tesler and Sears 2010). In a presidential campaign where messages about women and girls were abundant—because of (1) the historic nature of Clinton's candidacy, (2) campaign messages that drew parallels between Clinton's election and the opportunities of girls and women, and (3) the widespread critiques of Trump for his derogatory statements about women (New York Times Editorial Board 2016; Traister 2016; West 2016)—such matters

⁸ Because motherhood shapes women's political attitudes in ways that are quite distinct from men's attitudes (Elder and Greene 2012; Greenlee 2014), and because women, regardless of parental status, offer higher levels of support for female candidates than do men (Plutzer and Zipp 1996; Smith and Fox 2001), we do not expect that having a daughter will produce similar effects on women's voting behavior and preferences. To strengthen our argument that first daughters have a clear and consistent impact on men's voting preferences, we also offer full results of analyses for mothers.

were likely a stronger consideration for fathers of daughters than in previous presidential elections.

Although these factors made it especially likely that men would bring aspects of their parental identities to bear in developing their presidential preferences, we believe that the crucial consideration is the sex of the first child—and, in particular, whether men are fathers of first daughters (or first sons).⁹ Why *first* daughters? Research on political socialization suggests that events unfolding early in life (Dinas 2013; Sears 1981; Sears and Valentino 1997; Nteta and Greenlee 2013) or political “firsts” (Plutzer 2002) can have a long-lasting impact on subsequent political preferences or behaviors. In addition, other scholarship strongly suggests that the transition into fatherhood is a transformational life event that triggers major social, psychological, and economic shifts in men’s lives (Deave and Johnson 2008; Elder et al. 2003; Knoester and Eggebeen 2006; Umberson et al. 2010). Combined with the recurrent finding that fatherhood of a daughter induces more liberal attitudes among men, we argue that entry into fatherhood with a daughter can mark a critical moment in men’s political socialization when men may awaken to the ways in which gender inequalities persist in society, making them particularly receptive to campaign messages that connect gender inequality—and/or the wellbeing of girls and women—with the lives of their daughters. Much as young adults with weak political preferences experience a surge of new information as they enter the political arena, a new father of a daughter may also confront fresh information or insights that he may bring to bear on previously held positions (Sears and Funk 1999; Sears and Levy 2003). This may happen repeatedly, as his daughter ages, and he considers anew the ways in which discrimination and inequalities impact the life course for women and girls. And, indeed, recent scholarship finds evidence that the transition to fatherhood with a daughter is an especially powerful socialization process, and that the sex of the *first* child shapes fathers’ attitudes in relation to political concerns which target girls and women, such that fatherhood of a first-born daughter is associated with more liberal attitudes (Sharroff et al. 2018).¹⁰

Thus, we hypothesize that:

H1: First Daughterhood Hypothesis Men who have a first daughter compared to men who father a first son will (1) express greater preference for Hillary Clinton before the election, and (2) be more likely to report voting for Clinton in the 2016 presidential election.

⁹ We use the term “sex” here in concordance with the language used on our survey instrument to assess the identities of men’s offspring which allowed for the choice of either “male” or “female.” See Appendix A for longer discussion of this approach.

¹⁰ As we further discuss below, we advance an important methodological argument for focusing on men with first daughters in our analyses to properly operationalize our theory. For the purposes of assessing the effect of the sex of a child on the father’s presidential preferences net of other factors, the sex of the first-born child is our variable of choice, because it is essentially random with respect to parental characteristics. In contrast, the distribution of girl versus boy children in the family may be endogenous to parental preferences about the sex of children and total family size, and thus may be biased as a predictor of presidential preferences.

Fatherhood Messaging Hypothesis

To further investigate the relationship between the experience of having a first daughter and fathers' voting behavior, we couple our observational study with a survey experiment. In it we explore whether fathers who have a first daughter, relative to fathers who have a first son, were more susceptible to the type of campaign appeals used by Clinton in 2016 that both targeted men with daughters and emphasized the symbolic and substantive importance of her election to women and girls. We test the following hypothesis:

H2: *Fatherhood Messaging Hypothesis* Fathers who have a first daughter and who are exposed to a campaign appeal that emphasizes the symbolic and substantive importance of the election of a female candidate for their own daughters will exhibit more support for the candidate in question when compared to (1) fathers who have first sons and are exposed to this same campaign appeal and (2) fathers who have first daughters who are not exposed to this appeal.

Study 1: Sex of Children and Presidential Preferences/Vote Choice

To test these hypotheses, we first make use of original, cross-sectional survey data that allow us to more thoroughly investigate the effects of having a first daughter on presidential candidate preferences. The data in this study come from questions we designed for an original module of the 2016 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). The CCES is an online survey of over 64,000 American adults conducted via YouGov on behalf of over 50 colleges and universities. This collaborative study has been shown to produce estimates similar to telephone and mail surveys (Ansolabehere and Schaffner 2014).¹¹ It gathers a representative sample of respondents of “opt-in” volunteers from the YouGov database for a two-part, pre- and post-election survey. The 2016 CCES was in the field during September and October 2016 (pre-election), and in November 2016 (post-election). The total number of respondents available to researchers in our module was 1500; however, the total number of fathers of children (the subject of our study, and the operational definition of which is described below) was smaller.¹²

Our main dependent variables gauge respondents' preference for Hillary Clinton in the 2016 campaign and election. To measure preferences for Clinton, we employ two variables from the CCES Common Content (questions asked of all 64,600 respondents and available to all research teams). We measure respondents' pre-election preference for Clinton using a variable from the pre-election questionnaire. We code this variable so that preference for Clinton is coded 1, preference for any male candidate is coded 0, and preference for Jill Stein (the Green Party presidential

¹¹ See <http://cces.gov.harvard.edu/> for full survey description and Common Content data archive.

¹² Since becoming a father entails a variety of selection processes, we did not compare fathers and non-fathers in order to avoid inappropriate comparisons.

candidate) is coded as missing. We exclude Stein voters from the analysis because, given our focus on particular factors affecting support for a female candidate, it would be inappropriate to group Stein voters along with other male candidates.¹³ We also determine whether respondents reported voting for Clinton, using the CCES post-election vote choice item. A self-reported vote for Clinton is coded 1; a self-reported vote for any male candidate is coded as 0; and a self-reported vote for Stein is coded as missing, again to ensure a comparison consistent with our research objectives.

Our third dependent variable, vote for Obama in 2012 (with a self-reported vote for Obama coded as 1, and a vote for any other candidate coded as 0) is included in our analysis as a “placebo” test of our hypotheses. If the *first daughterhood hypothesis* is correct, being the father of a first daughter should *not* predict self-reported Obama voting in 2012. Despite Obama’s widely acknowledged feminist stances in 2012 and his repeated discussion of the influence of his daughters on his presidency, his candidacy did not foreground the same gendered symbolism as did Clinton’s bid to become the first woman president. Therefore, we include the Obama vote measure as an ancillary test of our main hypotheses.

In our module, we asked respondents several questions about family structure to obtain a clear sense of respondents’ parental roles and the sex of their children. For the purposes of this study, “parents” are individuals who self-identify as male or female on the CCES Common Content and indicate that they had children (we directed respondents to count all children, whether alive or deceased, from all marriages/relationships, and regardless of age).¹⁴ Of our 1500 respondents, 896 identify themselves as parents of children (60%), and 520 do not. We then identify as “fathers” all individuals who self-identify as male and indicate that they are parents of children. Finally, we limited our analysis to respondents who indicate that they have five or fewer children. This results in a final sample of 382 fathers.¹⁵

Studying the Impact of Fathering a Daughter: The Methodological Arguments

In the growing number of studies that explore the impact of fathering daughters on men’s political attitudes and behaviors, scholars have employed varied items to best measure fatherhood of a daughter, including whether the respondent has a daughter (Prokos et al. 2010), whether a man has a daughter first (Shafer and Malhotra 2011; Sharrow et al. 2018), and the proportion of all children that are daughters (Conley and Rauscher 2013; Washington 2008). In addition to the theoretical reasons

¹³ All of our cross-sectional results are similar with Stein voters included in the 0 category.

¹⁴ One hundred percent of respondents identify as either male or female. Two percent of respondents also identify as “transgender” on a question specifically querying gender identity, and an additional 1.4 percent also responded as “prefer not to say” on this question.

¹⁵ Seventeen fathers who indicated that they had between 6 and 20 children were dropped from the final analysis out of concern that these individuals may have misrepresented the total number of their children. As a robustness check on our reported analyses, however, we re-estimated our models with all of these fathers included. The results of these additional analyses were substantively very similar to those reported in the paper.

outlined in the previous section, from a methodological perspective, we believe that the best approach for studying the impact of fathering a daughter involves examining the sex of a respondent's *first* child. Shafer and Malhotra (2011) make a strong case for this approach, arguing that the sex of a first-born child best approximates the conditions of a natural experiment, because the sex of a first child is not influenced by parental characteristics. In contrast, other possible measures of the effect of daughters—for example, the presence/absence of a daughter in the family or the proportion of all children that are daughters—are affected by endogenous “stopping rules” (Dahl and Moretti 2008, p. 1112) on childbearing reflecting parents’ preferences about the sex of children and total family size.

Additionally, focusing on the first daughter effect helps analysts deal with a potential modeling problem arising in this area of research: collinearity. Due to parents’ use of “stopping rules” which are endogenous to the sex of the first-born child, various measures of the presence of daughters are likely to be highly correlated, especially in contemporary, relatively small, American nuclear families. The inclusion of multiple, highly correlated variables in a statistical model can result in inflated standard errors and/or incorrectly signed coefficient estimates, threatening the validity of inferences. As we discuss below and demonstrate more extensively in Appendix A, the inclusion of additional measures of daughters in models of fathers’ presidential preferences introduces collinearity into our empirical models without adding additional information or increasing overall goodness-of-fit, and thereby impedes efforts to learn about the effects of first daughters (the best variable from the perspective of research design) on fathers’ voting behavior. Thus, our focus on the sex of the first child offers methodological advantages, in addition to capturing a theoretically important argument as to why the sex of the first child, rather than the sex of any or all children, produces a meaningful effect on men’s vote choice for Clinton in 2016. However, in the Supplemental Information, we re-estimate our models using an alternative measure of exposure to daughters—specifically, whether the man is the father of a daughter (irrespective of birth order)—and discuss the implications of our findings.

Having operationalized our independent variable of interest in this way, we also operationalize first sons similarly. All the fathers in our sample were asked the sex and age of each of their children; thus, we were able to identify fathers who had a daughter first and fathers who had a son first. In our sample, 170 (45%) fathers had a daughter as a first child, while 212 (55%) fathers had sons as their first child.¹⁶

¹⁶ The distribution of first daughters and first sons in our data reflects the distribution seen in the general population. We look to the 2013–2015 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) in order to benchmark the composition of our sample of fathers of first daughters against the national population of fathers. The NSFG is a survey of both men ($N=4506$) and women (5699) aged 15–44 designed to produce national estimates of sexual activity, pregnancy, contraceptive use, medical care and use, father involvement with their children, and attitudes toward sex, childbearing, and marriage for use by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services’ Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. It is primarily used by the federal government to plan funding for health services and health educational programs. According to the 2013–15 NSFG, of the 1719 men who have at least one biological child, 48% of these fathers had a first daughter and 51% had a first son. This closely mirrors the distribution of fathers of first daughters (45%) and first sons (55%) in our CCES sample, and thus we are confident that our sample mimics the distribution of fathers in the nation more broadly.

Our hypotheses engage a large literature on the determinants of U.S. presidential preferences, and so it is important to investigate them in the context of the factors that already have been demonstrated to influence these preferences to ensure a fair test. Therefore, in each of our models we control for a wide array of factors that existing research suggests should influence fathers' presidential preferences—many of which have been used in previous studies of 2016 presidential preferences, in particular—including respondents' race, age, income, educational attainment, marital status, party identification, ideology, religiosity, employment status, and whether the respondent has a sister (see Bracic et al. 2018; Cassese and Holman 2018; Markus 1988; Sears et al. 1980).¹⁷ To account for the impact of racial attitudes on presidential preferences, which were widely perceived to influence 2016 presidential preferences, we control for respondents' racial resentment using a four-item "Racial Resentment Scale" ($\alpha=0.85$).¹⁸ Given the importance of hostile sexist attitudes in influencing support for Clinton in 2016 (e.g., Schaffner et al. 2018), we control for this factor as well using a four-item "Hostile Sexism Scale" ($\alpha=0.87$) (see Glick and Fiske 1996, 2001). We also control for respondents' perceptions of whether economic conditions were poor in order to assess the impact of negative economic evaluations on support for Clinton. In the Supplemental Information, we assess the robustness of our findings by estimating a variety of alternative models, and find that our main results are generally robust to alternative specifications.

We take additional steps to ensure consistency in our analyses of the different dependent variables. We limit our analysis to fathers who were self-reported "definite voters" on the pre-test for our model of pre-election presidential candidate preferences, and to those who were self-reported voters on the post-test for our model of post-election vote choice.¹⁹ Additionally, in each of the statistical models presented below, we limit our analysis to fathers who completed both the pre-election and post-election surveys. Finally, in our models we cluster standard errors by state in order to control for local correlation in the error term (Arceneaux and Nickerson 2009; Green and Vavreck 2008).

¹⁷ We include this final control in light of Healy and Malhotra's (2013) finding that men with sisters may express more conservative gender attitudes. Though scholars have identified the contexts in which other familial relationships are consequential to men's attitudes on gender equality, such as the employment status of one's wife and mother or the educational attainment of one's mother (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Davis and Greenstein 2009), we did not have these measures available in our data. We do, however, include a control for marital status, which we find does have a positive impact on electoral support for Clinton.

¹⁸ For question wording for the items that constitute this scale are found in Appendix B. Kinder and Sanders (1996) also used these measures.

¹⁹ We define "definite voters" as all individuals who indicate that they "definitely" planned to vote in the 2016 elections (or indicated they had already done so); and we define as voters all individuals who self-report that they "definitely voted in the General Election." Note that each measure was taken at a different period in time (before and after the election, respectively).

Study 1: Results²⁰

The results of the logistic regression model of fathers' pre-election preference for Clinton are presented in Table 1.

Generally consistent with the findings of recent research on preferences in the 2016 election, our model suggests that—among fathers—whites, older individuals, Republicans, conservatives, employed individuals, and those who believe that the economy was in poor shape were significantly less likely to prefer Clinton relative to other male candidates. In addition, the model provides evidence in support of H1, the *first daughterhood hypothesis*. The logistic regression coefficient for our first daughterhood variable is positively signed and statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level, indicating that fathers who have a first daughter have a significantly higher probability of preferring Clinton when compared to other male candidates, net of other factors that also influence presidential preferences. The estimated effect of having a first daughter is substantively important, increasing the predicted probability of preferring Clinton by 14 percentage points. Holding other variables at their mean values, fathers who have a first son have a predicted probability of supporting Clinton of 0.35; while fathers who have a first daughter have a predicted probability of supporting Clinton of 0.49.

What, if any, impact did fatherhood of a first daughter have on fathers' reported vote choice in the 2016 presidential election? Table 2 presents the results from a logistic regression model that examines the reported vote choice of fathers in the 2016 presidential election. Unsurprisingly, partisanship is the strongest factor that predicts vote choice among fathers. When holding all other variables at their mean values, the movement from a strong Democrat to a strong Republican yields a 99-point decrease in the likelihood that a father will vote for Clinton. In line with previous work on the 2016 election (Schaffner et al. 2018), we also find that whites, employed persons, and those with higher levels of racial resentment are less likely to vote for Clinton.²¹ Interestingly, we find that married fathers are more likely to support Clinton when holding all other variables in the model at the mean value.

²⁰ Data and coding for replication for all of the subsequent analyses is available at the Political Behavior Dataverse located at <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/polbehavior>.

²¹ We note that the hostile sexism scale does not reach a level of statistical significance in our model, despite other recent scholarship demonstrating its importance in predicting presidential preference in 2016 (Bracic et al. 2018; Cassese and Holman 2018; Valentino et al. 2018). However, we hesitate to derive any general conclusions from the results of our models about the influence of hostile sexism on support for Clinton, for several reasons. First, because the group examined in research highlighting the effect of hostile sexism on presidential support (white adults) is quite different from that examined in our study (fathers), it is possible that the general effect found in research on white adults simply fails to hold for fathers. However, and second, it may be that the null effects we find are attributable to the small sample of fathers used in our analysis. Our data do not allow us to assess these alternatives in detail. Given these uncertainties, and especially given that our research design was not developed with the primary purpose of evaluating the effect of hostile sexism on vote choice in mind, we prefer not to draw any firm conclusions about the effect of hostile sexism on support for Clinton among fathers at the present time. We acknowledge that whether and how hostile sexism influences the presidential preferences of different subgroups, including fathers and non-fathers, is a worthy subject for future research.

More importantly for our purposes, whether a male respondent has first daughter is a positive and statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) predictor of support for Clinton in 2016, as Table 2 shows. Consistent with H1, fathers who have a first daughter are significantly more likely to report having voted for Clinton than are those who had a first son. Examining the predicted probability of voting for Clinton based on whether a father has a first son or a first daughter, moving from having a first son to a first daughter increases the probability by 10 points (from a predicted probability of 0.34 to a predicted probability of 0.44) when holding all other variables in the model at their mean values.²²

A Note on Pre-election Versus Post-election N's

Careful readers will note a difference in the number of observations included in the model of pre-election preference for Clinton ($N = 204$) compared to the model of post-election self-reported vote for Clinton ($n = 237$). This discrepancy is due primarily to (1) the respective timing of measurement of each variable and (2) the way each variable is coded. Preference for Clinton was assessed prior to the election, when some respondents may have still been making up their minds and thus did not express a preference (Blake 2016). Furthermore, the pre-election preference for Clinton variable is coded so that all individuals who did not definitely state an intention to vote (or who had already voted) were coded as missing. In contrast, self-reported vote for Clinton was measured after the election, when most respondents had a preference regardless of whether they voted. Also, self-reported vote for Clinton is coded so that all individuals who did not self-report a vote are coded as missing. Because of these considerations, the N for the pre-election analysis was almost certain to be smaller than the N for the post-election analysis. Specifically, some individuals who either (1) did not express a preference or (2) did not express a definite intention to vote on the pre-election preference measure and are therefore *excluded* from the model of pre-election presidential preference were likely to later (a) express a preference and (b) report voting on the post-election vote choice measure, and thus are *included* in that later analysis. Indeed, we find evidence of this in our data. For example, of 31 individuals who are excluded from the analysis of pre-election presidential preferences because they preferred Stein, supported an “other” candidate, indicated they would not vote in the election, or stated they were “undecided” whether or not they would vote, 24 are eligible for inclusion in the analysis of post-election vote choice because they subsequently indicated having voted for Clinton, Trump, or Gary Johnson (the Libertarian Party nominee). Similarly, of 25 fathers who are excluded from the analysis of pre-election presidential preferences

²² Our analysis of the effect of the experience of fathering a first daughter (or first son) on fathers' presidential preferences takes place in the context of a very large literature on the correlates of presidential preferences, as well as smaller but fast-growing literature on the factors influencing support for Hillary Clinton/Donald Trump. Given that so much is known about what influences presidential preferences, we believe that the most appropriate way to assess the effect of first daughters is within multivariate statistical models that control for the full array of factors that has been demonstrated to affect individual support for (1) presidential candidates in general and/or (2) Hillary Clinton/Donald Trump in particular.

Table 1 Logistic regression model of pre-election preference for Clinton among fathers, 2016 CCES

	Preference for Clinton
White	− 1.827* (0.729)
Age	− 0.109* (0.0432)
Income	0.0898 (0.127)
Education	− 0.142 (0.276)
Married (1 = yes)	1.152 (0.946)
Republican	− 1.151*** (0.237)
Conservative	− 1.826** (0.694)
Importance of religion	0.753+ (0.416)
Working (full or part-time)	− 3.029*** (0.809)
Sister (1 = yes)	0.0516 (1.218)
Hostile sexism scale	− 0.550 (0.672)
Economy is worse	− 1.754** (0.607)
Racial resentment scale	− 0.549 (0.593)
First daughter	1.363* (0.563)
Constant	23.69 (5.417)
Pseudo R-squared	0.77
Observations	204

These are weighted unstandardized coefficients

Robust standard errors in parentheses

Two tailed test

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, + $p < 0.10$

because they indicated they were not likely voters, 16 later claimed they had voted, and thus are eligible for inclusion in the analysis of post-election vote choice.

Table 2 Logistic regression model of self-reported vote for Clinton among fathers, 2016 CCES

	Vote for Clinton
White	− 3.674** (1.217)
Age	− 0.0545 (0.0422)
Income	− 0.0892 (0.0854)
Education	− 0.0758 (0.315)
Married (1 = yes)	2.204** (0.815)
Republican	− 1.158*** (0.228)
Conservative	− 0.733 (0.541)
Importance of religion	− 0.591 (0.413)
Working (full or part-time)	− 2.519** (0.950)
Sister (1 = yes)	− 0.719 (0.645)
Hostile sexism scale	− 0.321 (0.537)
Economy is worse	− 0.806 (0.507)
Racial resentment scale	− 1.618* (0.676)
First daughter	1.485* (0.679)
Constant	23.55 (6.412)
Pseudo R-squared	0.78
Observations	237

These are weighted unstandardized coefficients

Robust standard errors in parentheses

Two Tailed Test

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, + $p < 0.10$

Study 1: Additional Tests of Our First-Daughterhood Hypothesis

Thus far, our findings provide considerable support for our *first daughterhood hypothesis*, suggesting that fathering a first daughter had a meaningful impact on men's preferences in an election in which issues of gender were highly salient.

However, if our hypothesis is indeed correct, the first daughterhood effect should *not* extend to elections that do not feature a prominent female candidate who highlighted the connection between their candidacy and opportunities for daughters, both symbolically and substantively. Therefore, we examine fathers' reported vote choices in the 2012 presidential election between President Barack Obama and former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, using the same statistical model to estimate the probability of support for Obama. In line with our expectations, we find that having a first daughter is not a significant predictor of vote choice for Obama in 2012 among men with children (results shown in Table 3). These null findings provide further evidence for the view that the estimated effect of having a first daughter on support/vote for Clinton is neither a spurious result attributable to sampling error nor a stand-in for a more general attitude such as ideological liberalism or Democratic Party identification.

We also consider the possible mediating effect that a father's age may have on the relationship between having a first daughter and expressing support for Clinton. We investigate two hypotheses about the mediating effect of a father's age: (1) the *feminist generation hypothesis*, that the generation of fathers of daughters who came of age in a period of increased gender equity may be more likely to support Clinton when compared to the generation of men who came of age before the apex of the women's movement (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Dinas 2013; Nteta and Greenlee 2013); and (2) the *impressionable years hypothesis*, that individuals who became fathers of daughters during their "impressionable years," traditionally understood as between the ages of 18–25, may be more likely to support Clinton compared to men who became fathers of daughters later in the life cycle (Alwin et al. 1991). Put simply, we find little evidence in support of either of these hypotheses. We conclude that there is little support for the claim that the effect of the experience of having a first daughter on fathers' presidential preferences and voting in 2016 were mediated by fathers' age. The details of these analyses are available in the Supplemental Information.

Study 1: The Mediating Impact of Partisanship on the Influence of First Daughters

Thus far we have presented evidence of the direct effect of having a daughter as a first child on fathers' support for Hillary Clinton. However, given that (as we have shown) support for Clinton is strongly influenced by partisanship, it may be that the influence of first daughters on fathers' support for Clinton is mediated by fathers' partisan identities. That is, we might expect that the effect of having a daughter as a first child on fathers' support for Clinton is weaker among Republican fathers as compared to Democratic fathers.

To assess this possibility, we re-estimate our models of pre-election preference for Clinton and post-election vote for Clinton, including a new item that interacts a respondent's partisan identity with his status as a father of a first daughter. The results are presented in Table 4.

The models provide some support for the proposition that the effect of having a first daughter on fathers' support for Clinton is mediated by party identification,

while also pointing to the familiar challenges surrounding the use of interaction terms in regression models. In the model of pre-election support for Clinton, we find that partisanship does mediate the effect of having a first daughter on support for Clinton. The direct effect of the first daughter variable is positive and statistically significant, and noticeably larger in magnitude than in the model excluding the interaction term; while the interaction term is negative and statistically significant. Substantively, this result can be interpreted as indicating that the positive effect of fathering a first daughter on fathers' support for Clinton declines as one moves from being a strong Democrat to a strong Republican.

However, in the model of post-election vote for Clinton, the consequences of including the interaction term in the analysis is different. The estimate for the interaction term is incorrectly signed, substantively small in magnitude, and statistically insignificant. Meanwhile, the inclusion of this interaction term also has the effect of rendering the estimated effect of the first daughter variable small and statistically insignificant.

In interpreting these results, it is important to consider the following factors. First, the inclusion of the interaction term introduces a new source of collinearity in the models, potentially inflating standard errors and rendering coefficient estimates unreliable. Second, the inclusion of the interaction term does not at all improve measures of overall goodness of fit for either model, suggesting that this variable does not actually enhance our understanding of support for Clinton. For these reasons, we think that the results of these models should be treated with great caution.

Study 1: A Fatherhood Effect, Not a General Parenthood Effect

Our analyses point to the importance of first daughters in understanding men's political preferences and electoral choices in the 2016 presidential election. However, it may be possible that what we are witnessing is a general parenthood effect, if both mothers and fathers of first daughters were susceptible to Clinton's appeals during the 2016 presidential campaign and expressed support for Clinton's candidacy. In addressing this possibility, we find it most plausible that, if having a first daughter influences support for female candidates, this effect should be concentrated among fathers (rather than occurring among both fathers and mothers). Past scholarship has found that the experience of becoming a father to a daughter is distinct from that of becoming a mother to a daughter, as fathering a daughter is likely to make gender politics relevant to men in *new* ways. Women, if they become mothers, are already familiar with both the reality of gender inequalities and the politics and policymaking surrounding these entrenched inequalities by virtue of their personal experience (Aronson 2003; Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Gurin 1985; Sharrow et al. 2018). Therefore, while motherhood has wide-ranging effects on women (Greenlee 2014), we do not anticipate these effects to extend to support for female candidates.

To substantiate our argument, we re-estimated our main statistical models including both fathers and mothers, as well as an interaction between the sex of the parent (female = 0, male = 1) and our first daughter variable to test whether the effect of having a first daughter on support for Clinton varies by parent sex (i.e., mothers

Table 3 Logistic regression model of self-reported vote for Obama in 2012 among fathers, 2016 CCES

	Vote for Obama
White	-1.136* (0.577)
Age	-0.0808 ⁺ (0.0427)
Income	0.121 (0.185)
Education	0.186 (0.393)
Married (1 = yes)	-0.578 (0.840)
Republican	-1.092*** (0.218)
Conservative	-1.342** (0.486)
Importance of religion	0.332 (0.278)
Working (full or part-time)	-2.133* (1.061)
Sister (1 = yes)	-0.189 (0.553)
Hostile sexism scale	0.620 (0.418)
Economy is worse	-1.240*** (0.348)
Racial resentment scale	-1.125* (0.467)
First daughter	0.0714 (0.528)
Constant	19.29 (4.772)
Pseudo R-squared	0.74
Observations	218

These are weighted unstandardized coefficients

Robust standard errors in parentheses

Two tailed test

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, ⁺ $p < 0.10$

versus fathers). Table 5 presents the results of models, including all parents, of (1) our pre-election measure of reported preference for Clinton and (2) our post-election measure of reported vote for Clinton. Overall, the results of the models strongly support our argument. In both models, the estimated effect of sex of the parent on

Table 4 Logistic regression models of pre-election preference for Clinton and post-election self-reported vote for Clinton among fathers, with first daughter effects conditioned by partisan affiliation, 2016 CCES

	Preference for Clinton	Vote for Clinton
White	-2.161* (0.956)	-3.572** (1.167)
Age	-0.117* (0.0486)	-0.0488 (0.0429)
Income	0.0974 (0.128)	-0.0960 (0.0971)
Education	-0.0660 (0.304)	-0.0762 (0.322)
Married (1 = yes)	1.422 (0.868)	2.092* (0.857)
Republican	-0.975*** (0.270)	-1.311*** (0.323)
Conservative	-1.648* (0.643)	-0.786 (0.574)
Importance of religion	0.688 (0.488)	-0.515 (0.449)
Working (full or part-time)	-3.276*** (0.963)	-2.405* (0.987)
Sister (1 = yes)	0.114 (1.233)	-0.756 (0.659)
Hostile sexism scale	-0.403 (0.690)	-0.368 (0.573)
Economy is worse	-2.021* (0.786)	-0.781 (0.507)
Racial resentment scale	-0.564 (0.634)	-1.574* (0.678)
First daughter	4.483** (1.693)	0.193 (1.876)
Republican × first daughter	-0.772* (0.364)	0.331 (0.394)
Constant	23.45 (5.666)	23.67 (6.231)
Pseudo R-squared	0.78	0.78
Observations	204	237

These are weighted unstandardized coefficients

Robust standard errors in parentheses

Two tailed test

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, + $p < 0.10$

support for Clinton is negative—suggesting that male parents of children are less likely to support Clinton than are female parents—though only in the pre-election preference model is this effect statistically significant (at the $p < 0.10$ level). Interestingly, in both models containing fathers and mothers the direct estimated effect of having a first daughter is also negative, though only in the pre-election model is this effect statistically significant (at the $p < 0.05$ level).

However, and crucially important for our argument, in both models the interaction between sex of the parent and whether the parent had a first daughter is positive and statistically significant ($p < 0.01$ in both models). Given the difficulty in interpreting the coefficient for the interaction between sex of the parent and first daughterhood, we chart the marginal effects for this interaction in each model in the left-hand panel of Fig. 1. As Fig. 1 shows, the effect of having a first daughter on support for Clinton is heavily conditioned by the sex of the parent, with the positive effect of having a first daughter concentrated largely among fathers. Indeed, we find that the effect among fathers of having a first daughter, as opposed to a first son, increases the predicted probability of expressing preference for Clinton by six percentage points in 2016. In contrast, the experience of having a first daughter, relative to a first son, decreases the predicted probability of exhibiting a preference for Clinton by seven percentage points among mothers in 2016.

We find a similar pattern when we consider voting for Clinton. As seen in the right-hand panel of Fig. 1, we find that men who father a first daughter, when compared to men with a first son, are more likely to support Clinton in 2016 as the experience of fathering a first daughter increases the predicted probability of voting for Clinton by five percentage points when holding all other variables in the model at their mean level. Among mothers, the effect is again reversed: as mothers who had a first son have a predicted probability of voting for Clinton of 0.51, holding other covariates at their mean levels; while those who had a first daughter have a predicted probability of voting for Clinton of just 0.46.²³ Together, these findings strongly suggest that the main results we present are indicative of a dynamic unique to fathers: the positive effect of having a first daughter on support for Clinton is, as we expected, concentrated among men.

However, the apparent negative effect of having a first daughter on support for Clinton among women is unexpected. Existing theoretical and empirical work (e.g., Sharrow et al. 2018) suggests that women's support for a female candidate should not be influenced substantially by the sex of their first child. We believe that our surprising finding warrants future research, which could enhance our understanding of the complex ways in which motherhood shapes the political preferences of women.²⁴

²³ When using predicted values in order to determine statistically significant marginal effects, it is too conservative to use two separate 95% confidence intervals (Knezevic 2008). When the standard errors are roughly equivalent, a single 95% test translates into using two sets of 84% confidence intervals (Payton et al. 2003). Figure 1 displays two separate 84% confidence intervals..

²⁴ We provide further discussion and analysis of mothers in the Supplemental Information.

Study 2: 2016 Congressional Vote Choice Experiment

We now turn to assessment of H2, the *fatherhood messaging hypothesis*, which asserts that Clinton's *message* played an important role in her appeal among fathers of first daughters. We investigate H2 using a distinctive survey experiment outlined below. Given our interest in the way fathers reacted to these appeals, we once again only include respondents who self-identified as a father. Additionally, to maintain consistency with our cross-sectional analysis, we restricted our sample to fathers who also completed both the pre- and post-election surveys and again cluster the standard errors by state.

In our survey experiment, respondents were randomly assigned to one of three treatments. In all three treatments, respondents were asked how likely they were to vote for Molly Smith, a fictitious candidate running in an upcoming congressional election in Minnesota's 10th District.²⁵ Respondents in the control condition ($n = 85$) were shown the following statement: "Molly Smith is running to become the first woman to represent Minnesota's 10th District" and then asked to "Imagine you live in Smith's district. Please indicate your likelihood that you would vote for her." Respondents in each of the two remaining experimental conditions were randomly assigned to receive additional information concerning Smith's policy positions and her views on the symbolic importance of the election. Smith's partisan identification was intentionally omitted to protect against the use of party by respondents as a heuristic to determine support for Smith (Dolan 2014; Green et al. 2002).

Respondents in the first experimental treatment (STEM Treatment, $n = 99$) were exposed to the following statement: "Molly Smith is running to become the first woman to represent Minnesota's 10th District. She supports policies that would help increase the participation of women in careers in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM)" and then asked to indicate their degree of support for Smith.

In our final experimental treatment (Clintonesque Treatment, $n = 83$), respondents were asked to indicate their degree of support for Molly Smith after being exposed to the following statement:

Molly Smith is running to become the first woman to represent Minnesota's 10th District. She supports policies that would help increase the participation of women in careers in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). She has said of her candidacy, "This campaign is about making sure there are no ceilings, no limits on any of us, and to ensure that our daughters will forever know that there is no barrier to who they are and what they can be in the United States of America."

²⁵ To guard against the potential that a respondent may live in one of Minnesota's actual nine congressional districts, we created the fictional 10th district of Minnesota. To avoid the possibility that a respondent living in Minnesota may recognize that the 10th district does not exist, we ran a model that controlled for whether the respondent lived in Minnesota. The results do not substantively differ when including this control.

Table 5 Logistic regression models of pre-election preference for Clinton and post-election self-reported vote for Clinton among all parents, 2016 CCES

	Preference for Clinton	Vote for Clinton
White	− 0.535 (0.613)	− 1.598*** (0.475)
Age	− 0.0430 ⁺ (0.0239)	0.00868 (0.0209)
Male	− 1.484 ⁺ (0.812)	− 1.035 (0.637)
Income	0.0437 (0.0723)	− 0.0481 (0.0654)
Education	− 0.0509 (0.213)	− 0.0187 (0.154)
Married (1 = yes)	0.0239 (0.585)	1.197* (0.512)
Republican	− 0.907*** (0.125)	− 0.833*** (0.116)
Conservative	− 1.223** (0.386)	− 0.681* (0.275)
Importance of religion	0.0971 (0.279)	− 0.349 (0.258)
Working (full or part-time)	− 1.314 ⁺ (0.695)	− 0.720 (0.558)
Sister (1 = yes)	0.536 (0.469)	0.389 (0.418)
Hostile sexism scale	− 0.668** (0.246)	− 0.634* (0.248)
Economy is worse	− 1.284*** (0.249)	− 1.223*** (0.250)
Racial resentment scale	− 0.140 (0.213)	− 0.567** (0.183)
First daughter	− 1.579* (0.707)	− 1.154 (0.719)
Male × first daughter	2.735** (0.877)	2.013* (0.803)
Constant	16.89 (2.428)	14.59 (2.354)
Pseudo R-squared	0.76	0.74
Observations	482	552

These are weighted unstandardized coefficients

Robust standard errors in parentheses

Two tailed test

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, ⁺ $p < 0.10$

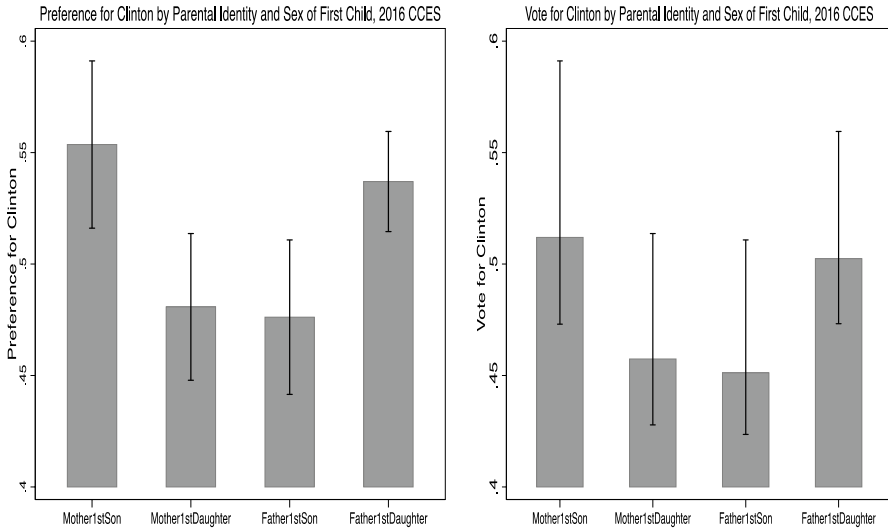


Fig. 1 Predicted probability of support for Clinton by parental identity and sex of first child, 2016 CCES. *Note* Figures plots predicted probabilities based on models in Table 5. Plots show predicted probability of support for Clinton in pre- and post-election surveys while holding all other variables in the model at their mean values. Vertical lines represent 84% confidence intervals

To maximize the external validity of our treatment, we emphasize not only the historic nature of Smith's candidacy, but also her pledge to pass policies that increase the status of women—two key aspects of Clinton's actual campaign appeals. Most importantly, our treatment speaks to the symbolic importance of Smith's elections for daughters in Smith's district, a theme that Clinton consistently emphasized on the campaign trail.

Study 2: Results

Table 6 shows the results of an OLS regression analysis in which each of our experimental treatment conditions is represented by a dummy variable, and fathers in the control condition serve as the baseline group (Ladd 2010).²⁶ Note that, in the modeling approach used here, the correct test of our second hypothesis involves the interaction between fatherhood status and the treatment condition to which the father was assigned (control, STEM treatment, Clintonesque treatment). Thus, we interact each treatment with our measure of whether the respondent is a father of first daughter in Model 2. Additionally, given that the partisanship of our fictional candidate is kept hidden from our respondents, we control for the partisanship of the respondent, as well as their assessment of the ideology of our fictional candidate to account for

²⁶ We restricted the sample to respondents who correctly answered our attention check question which asked, "In what state will Molly Smith's congressional election take place?".

preexisting respondent preferences and stereotypes.²⁷ Finally, we include an attention check question that asked respondents to identify the state in which the fictitious congressional election was taking place. Thus, in our final model we control for whether a respondent correctly identified Minnesota as the state in which this fictional election takes place. We code our dependent variable, support for Smith, such that higher scores represent greater support for our fictional candidate.

As seen in Model 1 of Table 6, we find little evidence that fathers of first daughters are more likely than fathers of first sons to support Smith's candidacy as our measure of first daughterhood fails to reach statistical significance. Interestingly, while exposure to our STEM treatment does not emerge as a significant predictor of support for Smith, we do find that fathers exposed to a "Clintonesque" appeal are *more* likely to support Smith relative to fathers in the control condition ($b=0.14$, $p<0.000$). As we note above, the true test of our hypothesis calls for an interactive model in which we interact our measure of fatherhood of a first daughter with exposure to each treatment. In Model 2 of Table 6, we discover that the interaction of fathers of first daughters and exposure to the STEM treatment ($b=0.11$, $p=0.103$) does attain standard levels of statistical significance. In line with our hypothesis, we also find that fathers of first daughters who are exposed to the "Clintonesque" treatment express stronger support for Smith candidacy when compared to fathers of first daughters in the control condition ($b=0.17$, $p=0.01$).

In Fig. 2, we chart the marginal effects for each of these interaction terms. As seen in Fig. 2, while we find little to distinguish fathers of first daughters and fathers of first sons who were exposed to the STEM treatment, we do find significant and substantive differences between fathers of first daughters and fathers of first sons who were exposed to the Clintonesque treatment. Among fathers of first daughters, movement from the control condition to the Clintonesque treatment yields an increase of 25 percentage points when holding all other items in the model at their mean level. On the other hand, among fathers with first sons moving from the control condition to the Clintonesque treatment leads only to a seven-percentage point increase in support for Smith when holding all other variables in our model at their average level.

While our experimental results for fathers suggest that the experience of having a first daughter matters in predicting their support for female congressional candidates, the question remains whether our results mask a broader parenthood effect such that mothers of first daughters also exhibit this behavior. To investigate this possibility, we ran an exact replica of the OLS models used to predict whether fathers of daughters exposed to our Clinton treatment were more strongly inclined to support our fictional congressional candidate among our sample of mothers ($N=361$). In results found in the Supplemental Information, we again find no significant difference between mothers of first daughters and mothers of first sons exposed to either our STEM or Clintonesque treatments.

²⁷ Smith's ideology is assessed with the question, "Where would you place Smith on the ideological scale?"

Table 6 OLS regression models of support for molly smith among fathers, 2016 CCEs

	Model 1 Vote for Smith (Fathers)	Model 2 Vote for Smith (Fathers)
STEM treatment	0.03 (0.04)	−0.02 (0.06)
Clinton treatment	0.14*** (0.04)	0.06 (0.05)
Smith ideology	0.37*** (0.09)	0.38*** (0.09)
Republican	−0.25*** (0.04)	−0.25*** (0.04)
Attention check	0.04 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)
First daughter	0.03 (0.04)	−0.07* (0.03)
First daughter × STEM	N/A	0.11 ⁺ (0.07)
First daughter × Clinton	N/A	0.17** (0.06)
Constant	0.46 (0.07)	0.49 (0.07)
Clusters	43	43
Standard error	0.23	0.20
R-squared	0.23	0.25
Observations	255	255

These are weighted unstandardized coefficients

Robust standard errors are in parentheses

Two tailed test

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, ⁺ $p < 0.10$

Finally, while we include a control for partisanship in our model and obfuscate the partisan identity of our fictional female congressional candidate, it remains possible that a respondent's partisanship may still play a role in influencing fathers' electoral preferences in our experiment. As we note above, men who identify with the Democratic Party have been found to be more supportive of female candidates than their Republican counterparts (Sanbonmatsu 2002a; Sanbonmatsu and Dolan 2009). Additionally, our fictional candidate Molly Smith is espousing support for federal governmental interventions to ensure equality for an historically marginalized group, young female scientists, a position popularly associated or "owned" by the Democratic Party (Petrocik 1996). It is possible that these factors will work in unison to provide our male respondents with a heuristic cue concerning the partisanship of our fictional candidate. Thus, in Table 7, we

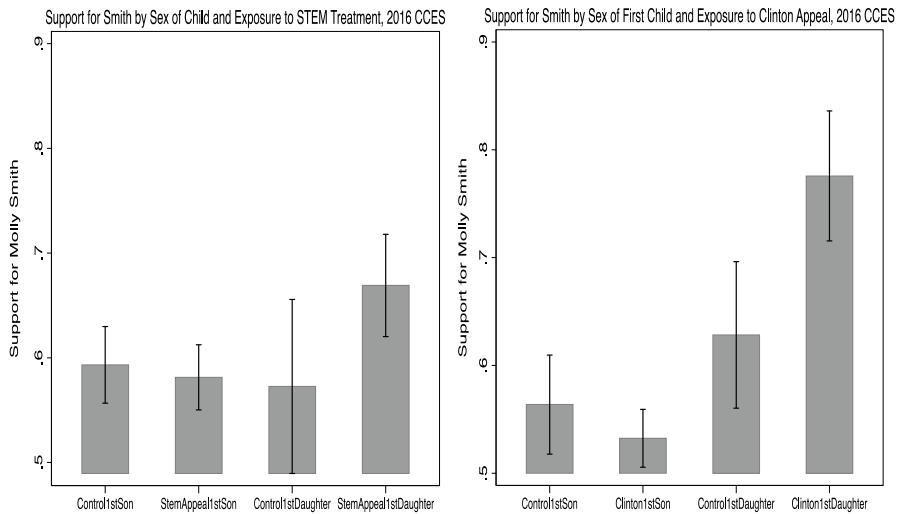


Fig. 2 Predicted probability of support for Smith by exposure to STEM and Clinton treatments and fatherhood of a daughter, 2016 CCES. *Note* Figures plots predicted probabilities based on model 2 in Table 6. Plots show predicted probability of support for Smith while holding all other variables in the model at their mean values. Vertical lines represent 84% confidence intervals

test the expectation that the effect of having a daughter as a first child on fathers' support for Smith will be weaker among Republican fathers when compared to Democratic fathers.

Given the complexities of interpreting three-way interactions, we instead divide our sample between fathers who identify as Republican ($N=110$) and fathers who view themselves as Democrats ($N=177$) and investigate if the interaction between fatherhood of a first daughter and exposure to our "Clintonesque" treatment leads these men to more strongly support our fictional congressional candidate. As illustrated in Table 7, we find that the interaction of first daughters and exposure to either of our experimental treatments fails to attain statistical significance among Republican fathers. On the other hand, we find that the interaction of fathers of first daughters and exposure to the Clinton treatment emerge as a significant predictor of support for Smith among Democratic fathers. Examining the marginal effects of this interaction in Fig. 3, we see among Democratic fathers of first sons that moving from the control condition to exposure to the Clinton appeal yields only a two-percentage point increase in support for Smith. Conversely, movement from the control condition to exposure to a Clinton appeal increases support by twenty-five percentage points among Democratic fathers of first daughters.

These results, paired with the consistent support for the *first daughterhood hypothesis* in the cross-sectional data, offer important insights into the ways in which fathering a first daughter in the 2016 election may have mattered using approaches that are complimentary with regard to external and internal validity. The experimental results specifically suggest that the particular message about fathering first daughters that candidate Clinton offered throughout the campaign may have made

Table 7 OLS regression models of support for Molly Smith among fathers, by partisan affiliation, 2016 CCES

	Model 1 Vote for Smith (republicans)	Model 2 Vote for Smith (demo- crats)
STEM treatment	0.04 (0.05)	− 0.05 (0.12)
Clinton treatment	0.04 (0.06)	0.08 (0.08)
Smith ideology	0.60*** (0.13)	0.04 (0.12)
Party identification	0.07 (0.11)	− 0.35* (0.18)
Attention check	0.06 (0.07)	0.00 (0.06)
First daughter	− 0.09* (0.04)	− 0.05 (0.10)
First daughter × STEM	0.05 (0.07)	0.21 (0.14)
First daughter × Clinton	0.15 (0.09)	0.23* (0.11)
Constant	0.14 (0.15)	0.66 (0.11)
Clusters	35	43
Standard error	0.20	0.23
R-squared	0.26	0.19
Observations	102	112

These are weighted unstandardized coefficients

Robust standard errors are in parentheses

Two tailed test

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, + $p < 0.10$

the fatherhood identity more salient among fathers of first daughters and contributed to their ultimate electoral preferences.

Conclusions

Recent research on fathers of daughters has found that the experience of having a daughter has a transformative effect on the manner in which men view the political world, with recent findings indicating that fathers of first daughters are now more likely to support sex equity policies (Sharro et al. 2018). This refines and contributes to prior findings that fathers of daughters exhibit a greater commitment to norms of gender equality (Warner and Steel 1999). While these studies provide

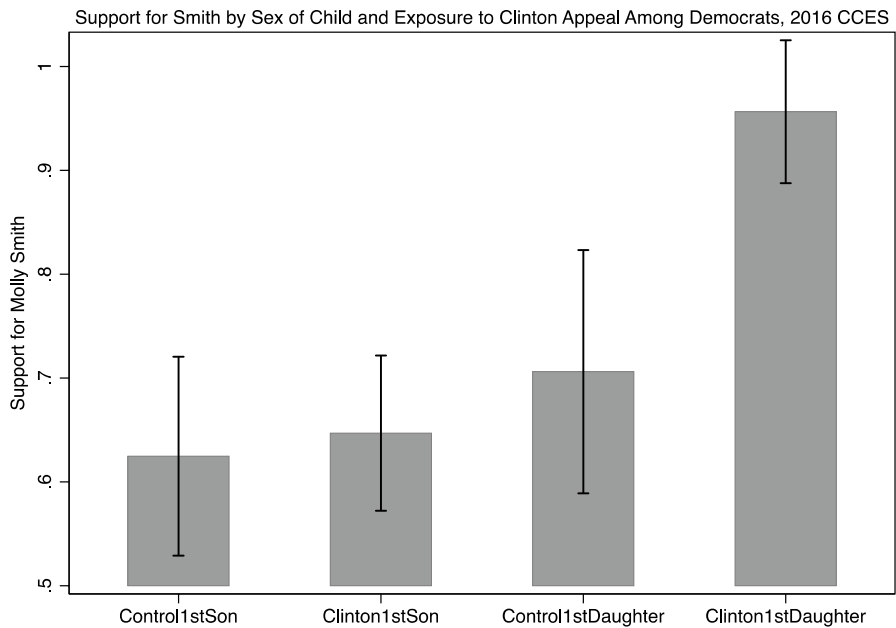


Fig. 3 Predicted probability of support for Smith by exposure to Clinton treatment and fatherhood of first daughter among democrats, 2016 CCES. *Note* Figure plots predicted probabilities based on model in Table 7. Plots show predicted probability of support for Smith while holding all other variables in the model at their mean values. Vertical lines represent 84% confidence intervals

suggestive indications that fathers of daughters may support female political candidates, particularly if these candidates appeal to their status as fathers of daughters, to date there has been little empirical work that tests these implications directly. Here, using both original survey and experimental data, and leveraging the presence of the first major party female presidential candidate to explore the relationship between fatherhood of daughters and vote choice, we find that fathers with first daughters, when compared to fathers of first sons, are more likely to support Clinton in the 2016 general election. We strengthen our finding by conducting a “placebo test” on support for Obama in 2012 which finds that fathers of first daughters were no more likely to support Obama in 2012 than fathers of first sons. Additionally, we show that the positive effects of the experience of having a first daughter on support for Clinton are not conditional on a father’s age or generational membership, and we demonstrate that these effects are concentrated among men. We further bolster our findings with the results from a novel survey experiment that suggests exposure to a “Clintonesque” campaign appeal that directly targets fathers of daughters uniquely influences the electoral preferences of fathers of first daughters when compared to fathers of first sons.

These results have important implications for our understanding of politics. There is a long-standing debate in the literature on political communication concerning the

influence of campaign appeals on vote choice (for review see Goldstein and Ridout 2004; Lau and Rovner 2009). On the one hand, studies of political advertisements have found that exposure to campaign appeals positively influences vote preferences (Gerber et al. 2011), while others argue that exposure to appeals has very little impact on vote choice compared to traditional determinants of voter preference such as partisan identification, sociotropic perceptions, and direct mobilization efforts on the part of candidates (Krasno and Green 2008; Lau and Rovner 2009). Our results suggest that the symbolic importance of the first woman presidential party candidate on a major ticket, and the specific campaign discourse from Clinton's campaign that tapped into men's experience as fathers of daughters, had a real and positive impact on a subset of male voters, most notably fathers of first daughters.

These findings also suggest that scholars have much more to learn about *how* and *why* the experience of having a first daughter shapes men's political choices. Both political scientists and sociologists will benefit from more robust theory-building and theory-testing regarding the processes and mechanisms through which fathering first daughters alters men's political opinions and behaviors. Future work should explore the means of political socialization in these cross-sex, familial relationships using qualitative interview data, or longitudinal panel data which is best poised to investigate the reasons and processes behind the trends that we identify were at play in the 2016 election.

Future work should also explore whether, and under what conditions, having a first daughter also impacts men's electoral support for women running in down ticket races. When women run "as women," making issues connected to gender identities and gender inequality more salient, are these effects more pronounced (Herrnson et al. 2003)? When women do not run "as women," does the first daughter effect lessen? These are questions that merit attention in future work. Relatedly, it may be that empowering messages about daughterhood were most effective *in the context of* a campaign that was otherwise marked by negative messages about women, or it may be that fathers of first-born daughters were simply rejecting messages about women that they saw as harmful to their daughter(s). While our experimental analysis helps us to deal with this potential confound in the cross-sectional data, future work should replicate these analyses in different electoral contexts, as well as experimentally, to disentangle these factors.

Although the candidacy of Hillary Clinton for the American presidency was ultimately unsuccessful, women candidates will inevitably rise to contend for the office in the future. Considering these possible candidacies, and the record-breaking number of women candidates who are running at lower levels of office (CAWP 2018), our work has important implications for research on gender, gendered identities, and vote choice. While we note earlier that scholars have identified several individual-level factors which contribute to men's support of female candidates, much of the literature focuses on reasons why male voters do *not* vote for women seeking electoral office or examines the conditions under which in-group solidarity might motivate female voters to support female candidates. Here we look carefully at the ways in which fatherhood might operate to boost support for women candidates among

male voters. In doing so, our results contribute to the burgeoning literature on the importance of familial relationships to understanding political behavior among both elite actors (e.g., Glynn and Sen 2015; Washington 2008) and average Americans (e.g., Healy and Malhotra 2013; Sharrow et al. 2018). We offer a new point of consideration to a rich and important on-going discussion about the roles of gender in electoral decisions and outcomes.

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Appendix A

The First Daughter Versus Other Operational Definitions of Daughters

We have argued that the first daughter is the best operational definition of exposure to daughters, for reasons relating to research design, modeling, and substantive theory. Here we provide more evidence for our claim that—especially given its research-design advantages—using the first daughter variable is the best decision from the perspective of modeling support for Clinton.

First, we observe that, among the fathers in our analysis, three different operational definitions of exposure to daughters that have been used in previous empirical research and which we collected in our survey—daughter as a first child (no=0, yes=1), the presence of a daughter in the family (no=0, yes=1), and the proportion of children in the family that are daughters (a continuous 0–1 variable)—are extremely closely related.²⁸ Among fathers in our study, the three items have a scale reliability coefficient of 0.88, suggesting that they likely tap the same underlying construct of exposure to a daughter. This finding suggests the utility of relying on the first daughter measure, especially given its superiority in terms of research design.

Second, and in part due to the very close relationship between these variables, the inclusion of these additional measures of exposure to daughters to our main statistical models adds very little in terms of explaining fathers' support for Clinton. Indeed, as shown in Appendix A, Table 1, overall goodness-of-fit statistics for

²⁸ In this paper, we contemplate the impact of entering fatherhood with a child that the father categorizes in our survey as “female.” We acknowledge that for some small portion of fathers, the gender identity of their child may change over time, such that it does not neatly align with the dichotomous categories of sex that our survey question employs. Our survey instrument did not investigate whether fathers' children either identify and/or are acknowledged by their father as transgender, non-binary, intersex, or gender non-conforming. We therefore also acknowledge that a father's report that he has a daughter or a son may not map on to the gender identity of that child. Future research should further explore these dynamics.

models of both pre-election preference for Clinton and post-election reported voting for Clinton are virtually identical for models that contain *only* the first daughter variable, and those that contain the additional measures of exposure to daughters, respectively. Thus, parsimony suggests relying on a model that uses only the first daughter variable.

See Tables 8, 9 and 10.

Table 8 Goodness-of-fit statistics for alternative models of preference for Clinton and reported vote for Clinton

	Model with only first daughter variable (and controls)	Model with first daughter, presence of daughter, and proportion of children that are daughters (and controls)
Model of preference for Clinton		
Pseudo R-squared	0.77	0.77
McFadden's R-squared	0.77	0.77
McFadden's Adj R-squared	0.65	0.63
Maximum likelihood R-squared	0.61	0.61
Cragg and Uhler's R-squared	0.86	0.86
McKelvey and Zavoina's R-squared	0.91	0.91
AIC	0.43	0.45
BIC	− 947.68	− 912.98
Model of reported vote for Clinton		
Pseudo R-squared	0.78	0.78
McFadden's R-squared	0.78	0.78
McFadden's Adj R-squared	0.68	0.66
Maximum likelihood R-squared	0.62	0.62
Cragg and Uhler's R-squared	0.87	0.87
McKelvey and Zavoina's R-squared	0.91	0.91
AIC	0.40	0.41
BIC	− 1149.58	− 1114.90

Finally, because the different measures of the presence of daughters are closely related, the introduction of the additional measures produces collinearity among these items, resulting in inflated standard errors and inconsistent coefficient estimates (See Tables 9 and 10). Together, these considerations strongly support our decision to use the first daughter variable as our measure of exposure to a daughter in the logistic regression models presented in this paper

Table 9 Preference for Clinton collinearity, 2016 CCES with weights

Variables	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton
White	-1.827* (0.729)	-1.826* (0.746)	-2.235* (0.887)	-1.824* (0.713)	-2.129* (0.886)	-2.238* (0.897)
Age	-0.109* (0.0432)	-0.108* (0.0420)	-0.103* (0.0406)	-0.111** (0.0428)	-0.105* (0.0412)	-0.103* (0.0403)
Income	0.0898 (0.127)	0.0721 (0.121)	0.0892 (0.119)	0.0901 (0.128)	0.0916 (0.121)	0.0894 (0.119)
Education	-0.142 (0.276)	-0.128 (0.280)	-0.161 (0.257)	-0.141 (0.277)	-0.157 (0.267)	-0.161 (0.255)
Married	1.152 (0.946)	1.094 (1.037)	1.198 (1.025)	1.120 (1.010)	1.182 (0.997)	1.205 (1.052)
Republican	-1.151*** (0.237)	-1.093*** (0.224)	-1.151*** (0.239)	-1.151*** (0.239)	-1.152*** (0.243)	-1.153*** (0.240)
Conservative	-1.826** (0.694)	-1.979** (0.754)	-1.815** (0.701)	-1.870** (0.658)	-1.820** (0.697)	-1.804** (0.631)
Importance of religion	0.753+ (0.416)	0.904* (0.395)	0.841* (0.406)	0.799+ (0.441)	0.805+ (0.428)	0.835+ (0.432)
Working (F or PT)	-3.029*** (0.809)	-2.877*** (0.772)	-2.725*** (0.775)	-3.050*** (0.775)	-2.817*** (0.855)	-2.719*** (0.756)
Sister	0.0516 (1.218)	-0.279 (1.100)	-0.252 (1.239)	-0.0657 (1.150)	-0.127 (1.229)	-0.245 (1.183)
Hostile sexism	-0.550 (0.672)	-0.689 (0.665)	-0.588 (0.628)	-0.595 (0.684)	-0.559 (0.647)	-0.582 (0.675)
Economy is worse	-1.754** (0.672)	-1.733** (0.665)	-1.805*** (0.628)	-1.772** (0.684)	-1.797** (0.647)	-1.805*** (0.675)
						-1.797** (0.687)

Table 9 (continued)

Variables	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton	Preference for Clinton
Racial resentment	(0.607) -0.549 (0.593)	(0.619) -0.487 (0.541)	(0.633) -0.509 (0.576)	(0.622) -0.558 (0.590)	(0.629) -0.530 (0.591)	(0.633) -0.509 (0.576)
First daughter	1.363* (0.563)			1.169 (0.904)	0.581 (1.222)	0.581 (1.162)
Parent of daughter		1.247* (0.521)		0.410 (0.994)		-0.0807 (1.261)
% Daughters			1.751** (0.647)		1.122 (1.517)	1.123 (1.635)
Constant	23.69*** (5.417)	23.56*** (4.851)	23.44*** (4.985)	23.92*** (5.299)	23.52*** (5.131)	23.51*** (4.967)
Pseudo R-squared	0.77	0.76	0.77	0.77	0.77	0.77
Observations	204	204	200	204	200	200

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, + $p < 0.10$

Table 10 Vote choice collinearity, 2016 CCES with weights

Variables	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton
White	-3.674** (1.217)	-3.700** (1.205)	-3.784** (1.211)	-3.748** (1.206)	-3.779** (1.254)	-3.838** (1.193)	-3.833** (1.198)
Age	-0.0545 (0.0422)	-0.0523 (0.0424)	-0.0499 (0.0462)	-0.0554 (0.0430)	-0.0500 (0.0446)	-0.0500 (0.0459)	-0.0504 (0.0439)
Income	-0.0892 (0.0854)	-0.0897 (0.0913)	-0.0789 (0.0895)	-0.0932 (0.0880)	-0.0796 (0.0844)	-0.0811 (0.0896)	-0.0832 (0.0825)
Education	-0.0758 (0.315)	-0.00479 (0.233)	-0.0640 (0.261)	-0.0337 (0.272)	-0.0650 (0.259)	-0.0542 (0.251)	-0.0550 (0.255)
Married	2.204** (0.815)	1.823* (0.852)	2.257* (0.983)	2.169* (0.846)	2.263* (0.921)	2.197* (1.009)	2.208* (0.949)
Republican	-1.158*** (0.228)	-1.098*** (0.234)	-1.194*** (0.294)	-1.161*** (0.244)	-1.193*** (0.308)	-1.179*** (0.292)	-1.175*** (0.309)
Conservative	-0.733 (0.541)	-0.875* (0.425)	-0.787 (0.517)	-0.823+ (0.451)	-0.785 (0.515)	-0.842+ (0.483)	-0.845+ (0.485)
Importance of religion	-0.591 (0.413)	-0.429 (0.330)	-0.522 (0.376)	-0.534 (0.373)	-0.527 (0.386)	-0.496 (0.353)	-0.506 (0.369)
Working (F or PT)	-2.519** (0.950)	-2.480** (0.924)	-2.308* (1.100)	-2.534** (0.946)	-2.314* (1.064)	-2.322* (1.074)	-2.337* (1.016)
Sister	-0.719 (0.645)	-0.906 (0.602)	-0.982 (0.663)	-0.898 (0.625)	-0.969 (0.696)	-1.007 (0.656)	-0.979 (0.684)
Hostile sexism	-0.321 (0.537)	-0.405 (0.493)	-0.379 (0.547)	-0.372 (0.541)	-0.375 (0.602)	-0.388 (0.537)	-0.379 (0.592)
Economy is Worse	-0.806 (0.507)	-0.872+ (0.482)	-0.847+ (0.482)	-0.850+ (0.468)	-0.845+ (0.475)	-0.865+ (0.468)	-0.862+ (0.465)

Table 10 (continued)

Variables	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton	Vote for Clinton
Racial resentment	- 1.618* (0.676)	- 1.543* (0.624)	- 1.654* (0.761)	- 1.678* (0.720)	- 1.654* (0.762)	- 1.649* (0.763)	- 1.650* (0.756)
First daughter	1.485* (0.679)			1.016 (0.818)	0.0989 (1.767)		0.255 (1.900)
Parent of daughter		1.605* (0.662)		0.987 (0.869)		0.533 (0.780)	0.599 (0.896)
% Daughters			2.141* (0.956)		2.028 (2.562)	1.652 (1.179)	1.304 (3.098)
Constant	23.55*** (6.412)	23.11*** (6.005)	23.43*** (6.991)	23.84*** (6.551)	23.43*** (6.954)	23.52*** (6.861)	23.54*** (6.670)
Pseudo R-squared	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78	0.78
Observations	237	237	233	237	233	233	233

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, + $p < 0.10$

Appendix B: Survey Questions from 2016 CCES

Age In what year were you born? [TEXT ENTRY]

Sex Are you male or female? (1. Male; 2. Female)

Education What is the highest level of education you have completed? (1. No HS; 2. High school graduate; 3. Some college; 4. 2-year; 5. 4-year; 6. Post-grad)

Race What racial or ethnic group best describes you? (1. White; 2. Black; 3. Hispanic; 4. Asian; 5. Native American; 6. Mixed; 7. Other; 8. Middle Eastern)

Employment Status Which of the following best describes your current employment status? (1. Full-time; 2. Part-time; 3. Temporarily laid off; 4. Unemployed; 5. Retired; 6. Permanently disabled; 7. Homemaker; 8. Student; 9. Other)

Marital Status What is your marital status? (1. Married; 2. Separated; 3. Divorced; 4. Widowed; 5. Single; 6. Domestic Partnership)

Party Identification Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...? (1. Democrat; 2. Republican; 3. Independent; 4. Other; 5. Not sure)

Ideology Thinking about politics these days, how would you describe your own political viewpoint? (1. Very liberal; 2. Liberal; 3. Moderate; 4. Conservative; 5. Very conservative; 6. Not sure)

Importance of religion How important is religion in your life? (1. Very important; 2. Somewhat important; 3. Not too important; 4. Not at all important)

Income Thinking back over the past year, what was your family's annual income? (1. Less than \$10,000; 2. \$10,000–\$19,999; 3. \$20,000–\$29,999; 4. \$30,000–\$39,999; 5. \$40,000–\$49,999; 6. \$50,000–\$59,999; 7. \$60,000–\$69,999; 8. \$70,000–\$79,999; 9. \$80,000–\$99,999; 10. \$100,000–\$119,999; 11. \$120,000–\$149,999; 12. \$150,000–\$199,999; 13. \$200,000–\$249,999; 14. \$250,000–\$349,999; 15. \$350,000–\$499,999; 16. \$500,000 or more; 97. Prefer not to say)

Sisters How many siblings do you have? Please count those no longer living, as well as those alive now. Also include any stepbrothers/sisters and children adopted by your parents. (TEXT ENTRY)

Father How many children do you have? Please count all that were alive at any time, including any you have from previous marriage or relationship, any adopted children, foster children (who have lived with you for at least a year), or stepchildren. Also, be sure to count any adult children as well as those under the age of 18. (TEXT ENTRY)

Age of Child In what year was (Insert 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, or 5th Child) born? (TEXT ENTRY)

Sex of Child What is this (Insert 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, or 5th Child) gender? (1. Male or 2. Female)

Racial Resentment Scale Items (1. Disagree Strongly; 2. Disagree; 3. Neither Agree nor Disagree; 4. Agree; 5. Strongly Agree): (1) Irish, Italians, Jews and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. (2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (3) Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (4)

It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be as well off as whites.

Hostile Sexism Scale Items (1. Disagree Strongly; 2. Disagree; 3. Neither Agree nor Disagree; 4. Agree; 5. Strongly Agree): (1) Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality." (2) Women are too easily offended. (3) Women seek to gain power by getting control over men. (4) When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

Economy is Worse Over the past year the nation's economy has...? (1. Gotten much better; 2. Gotten better; 3. Stayed about the same; 4. Gotten worse; 5. Gotten much worse; 6. Not sure)

2016 Intent to vote (Pre-election) Do you intend to vote in the 2016 general election? (1. Yes, definitely; 2. Probably; 3. I already voted (early or absentee); 4. No; 5. Undecided)

2016 Presidential Preference (Pre-Election) Which candidate for President of the United States do you prefer? (1. Donald Trump; 2. Hillary Clinton; 3. Gary Johnson; 4. Jill Stein; 5. Other; 6. I Won't Vote in this Election; 7. I'm Not Sure)

2012 Presidential Vote Choice (Pre-Election) In 2012, who did you vote for in the election for President? (1. Barack Obama; 2. Mitt Romney; 3. Someone Else; 4. Did Not Vote; 5. Don't Recall)

Voted 2016 (Post-election) Which of the following statements best describes you? (1. I did not vote in the election this November; 2. I thought about voting this time but didn't; 3. I usually vote, but didn't this time; 4. I attempted to vote but did not or could not; 5. I definitely voted in the General Election)

2016 Presidential Vote Choice (Post-Election) For whom did you vote for President of the United States? (1. Donald Trump; 2. Hillary Clinton; 3. Gary Johnson; 4. Jill Stein; 5. Evan McMullin; 6. Other; 7. I'm Not Sure)

Molly Smith Experimental Treatments

Control Molly Smith is running to become the first woman to represent Minnesota's 10th District.

STEM Treatment Molly Smith is running to become the first woman to represent Minnesota's 10th District. She supports policies that would help increase the participation of women in careers in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM).

Clintonesque Treatment Molly Smith is running to become the first woman to represent Minnesota's 10th District. She supports policies that would help increase the participation of women in careers in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM). She has said of her candidacy, "this campaign is about making sure there are no ceilings, no limits on any of us, and to ensure that our daughters will forever know that there is no barrier to who they are and what they can be in the United States of America."

Attention Check In what state will Molly Smith’s congressional election take place? (1. Indiana; 2. Connecticut; 3. Massachusetts; 4. Minnesota)

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