# Toeing the Party Line: <br> The Asymmetric Influence of Feminism on Partisans' Participation 

## ONLINE APPENDIX

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## APPENDIX A: SURVEY QUESTION WORDINGS

## Independent Variable: Feminist Identity Strength

- ANES 2016

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

- Strong feminist
- Feminist
- Not a feminist

How well does the term 'feminist' describe you?

- Extremely well
- Very well
- Somewhat well
- Not very well
- Not at all

How important is it to you to be a feminist?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Somewhat important
- A little important
- Not at all important

How would rate: Feminists? [0-100]

- ANES 2020

Do you consider yourself a feminist, an anti-feminist, or neither of these?

- Feminist
- Anti-feminist
- Neither

How important is it to you to be a feminist?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Somewhat important
- A little important
- Not at all important

How would rate: Feminists? [0-100]

## Independent Variable: Partisan Identification

Party identification was coded from the three standard ANES questions that create a 7-point scale. We categorized respondents as Democrats if they said they were strong Democrats, weak Democrats, or lean Democratic and as Republicans if they said they were strong Republicans, weak Republicans,
or lean Republican. Only respondents who reported they leaned neither way were coded as Independents.

## Dependent Variable: Voter Turnout

- ANES 2016 \& 2020: In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. Which of the following statements best describes you?
- I did not vote (in the election this November)
- I thought about voting this time, but didn't
- I usually vote, but didn't this time
- I am sure I voted.

Responses were coded as 1 if respondents reported that they were sure they voted and 0 if any other option was selected or if respondent reported that they were not registered to vote. In both 2016 and 2020, our analyses relied on the validated voter data, which matched respondents' answer to the voter file and then applied weights to their response based on the clerical/manual review process.

## Dependent Variables: Forms of Campaign Participation

ANES 2016 \& 2020: We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election.

- Persuade Others: During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates?
- Attend Rally: Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?
- Attend Online Rally: Did you participate in any online political meetings, rallies, speeches, fundraisers, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?
- This question only appeared in the 2020 ANES.
- Display Sign: Did you wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or place a sign in your window or in front of your house?
- Work for a Candidate or Party: Did you do any (other) work for one of the parties or candidates?
- Donate to a Candidate: During an election year people are often asked to make a contribution to support campaigns. Did you give money to an individual candidate running for public office?
- Donate to Party: Did you give money to a political party during this election year?
- Donate to Other Group: Did you give any money to any other group that supported or opposed candidates?

All campaign participation variables were coded as 0 if the respondent reported that they had not done the activity and 1 if the respondent reported that they had done the activity.

## Control Variables

Standard ANES wording was used for all control variables including political ideology, gender, race, ethnicity, age, education, income, and political interest. Furthermore, we included covariates for the following scales: modern sexism, racial resentment, and religiosity.

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

- Always
- Most of the time
- About half the time
- Some of the time
- Never

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

- Always
- Most of the time
- About half the time
- Some of the time
- Never

These two items were combined into an additive scale ( $\alpha=.75$ in 2016; $\alpha=.77$ in 2020).
ANES 2016 \& 2020: Racial Resentment Scale
'Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.' Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?

- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly
'Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.' Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?
- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly
'Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.' Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?
- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly
'It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.' Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly?
- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

These four items were combined into an additive scale ( $\alpha=.85$ in 2016; $\alpha=.88$ in 2020).
ANES 2016: Religiosity Scale
Do you consider religion to be an important part of your life, or not?

- Important
- Not important

IF R SAYS THAT RELIGION IS IMPORTANT: Would you say your religion provides some guidance in your day-to-day living, quite a bit of guidance, or a great deal of guidance?

- Some
- Quite a bit
- A great deal

Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?

- Yes
- No

IF R ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES: Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

- Every week
- Almost every week
- Once or twice a month
- A few times a year
- Never

ANES 2020: Religiosity Scale
How important is religion in your life?

- Extremely important
- Very important
- Moderately important
- A little important
- Not important at all

Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?

- Yes
- No

IF R ATTENDS RELIGIOUS SERVICES: Do you go to religious services every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never?

- Every week
- Almost every week
- Once or twice a month
- A few times a year
- Never

These items were combined into an additive scale ( $\alpha=.79$ in 2016; $\alpha=.78$ in 2020).

## APPENDIX B: PROPORTIONS OF FEMINIST IDENTIFIERS BY PARTY \& GENDER

Table B1. Weighted Proportions of ANES Respondents Who Identify as Feminist by Party \& Gender in 2016

|  |  | crats | Pure In | endents <br> 0) |  | cans <br> 39) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonfeminist ( $n=2,600$ ) | $\begin{gathered} \text { Men: } \\ 62.57 \% \end{gathered}$ | Women: 36.4\% | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Men: } \\ & 79.5 \% \end{aligned}$ | Women: $53.73 \%$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Men: } \\ 87.85 \% \end{gathered}$ | Women: 67.86\% |
|  | Total: 48\% |  | Total: 66.94\% |  | Total: 78.19\% |  |
| Feminist$(n=1,548)$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Men: } \\ 37.43 \% \end{gathered}$ | Women: $63.6 \%$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Men: } \\ & \text { 20.5\% } \end{aligned}$ | Women: $46.27 \%$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Men: } \\ 12.15 \% \end{gathered}$ | Women: $32.14 \%$ |
|  | Total: 52\% |  | Total: 33.06\% |  | Total: 21.81\% |  |

Table B2. Weighted Proportions of ANES Respondents Who Identify as Feminist by Party \& Gender in 2020

|  |  |  | Pure In | endents 94) |  | cans <br> ,008) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonfeminist ( $n=5,764$ ) | $\begin{gathered} \text { Men: } \\ 70.69 \% \end{gathered}$ | Women: $56.41 \%$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Men: } \\ 93.81 \% \end{gathered}$ | Women: $82.9 \%$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Men: } \\ 96.99 \% \end{gathered}$ | Women: 91.18\% |
|  | Total: $62.66 \%$ |  | Total: 88.38\% |  | Total: 94.23\% |  |
| Feminist$(n=1,512)$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Men: } \\ 29.31 \% \end{gathered}$ | Women: $43.59 \%$ | Men: $6.19 \%$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Women: } \\ 17.1 \% \end{gathered}$ | Men: <br> 3.01\% | $\begin{gathered} \text { Women: } \\ 8.82 \% \end{gathered}$ |
|  | Total: 37.34\% |  | Total: 11.62\% |  | Total: 5.77\% |  |

## APPENDIX C: DISTRIBUTION OF FEMINIST ID STRENGTH BY PARTY

Figure C1. Feminist ID Strength by Party in ANES 2016


Figure C2. Feminist ID Strength by Party in ANES 2020


## APPENDIX D: PREDICTORS AND CORRELATES OF FEMINIST ID STRENGTH

Table D1. Socio-Demographic Predictors \& Correlates of Feminist ID Strength in 2016

| VARIABLES | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { (1) } \\ & \text { All } \end{aligned}$ | (2) <br> Women | (3) Men | (4) Dems | $\begin{gathered} \hline(5) \\ \text { Reps } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Party ID | $\begin{gathered} -0.07 * * * \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.11 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.02 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ |  |  |
| Political Interest | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 * * * \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12 * * * \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ |
| Modern Sexism | $\begin{gathered} -0.13 * * * \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.12 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.14 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.13 * * \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.12 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ |
| Racial Resentment | $\begin{gathered} -0.18^{* * *} \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.14 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.23 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.24^{* * *} \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.08^{* *} \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ |
| Ideology | $\begin{gathered} -0.29 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.31 * * * \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.26 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.30 * * * \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.24 * * * \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |
| Gender | $\begin{gathered} 0.11 * * * \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ |  |  | $\begin{gathered} 0.14 * * * \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.08^{* * *} \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ |
| White | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.00 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.06 * * \\ & (0.02) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 * * \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ |
| Latinx | $\begin{gathered} 0.01 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.03 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ |
| Age | $\begin{gathered} 0.01 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.06 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ |
| Education | $\begin{aligned} & 0.09^{*} \\ & (0.04) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12 \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.05 \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.08 \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.12^{* *} \\ & (0.04) \end{aligned}$ |
| Income | $\begin{gathered} -0.00 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.00 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.04 \\ & (0.03) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.01 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ |
| Religiosity | $\begin{gathered} -0.02 \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.02 \\ & (0.02) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.01 \\ & (0.02) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.02 \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.01 \\ & (0.02) \end{aligned}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} 0.50 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.59 * * * \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.51 * * * \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.50 * * * \\ (0.06) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.42 * * * \\ (0.04) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations R-squared | $\begin{aligned} & 3,281 \\ & 0434 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1,666 \\ & 0.384 \end{aligned}$ | $1,605$ $0.411$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1,476 \\ & 0350 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1,436 \\ & 0.201 \end{aligned}$ |

Data: ANES 2016.
Note: This table includes coefficients from OLS regressions in which strength of feminist identity is the dependent variable. Post-election sample weights applied. All variables standardized from 0-1. Standard errors in parentheses. ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.001,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.05$.

Table D2. Socio-Demographic Predictors \& Correlates of Feminist ID Strength in 2020
$\left.\begin{array}{lccccc}\hline \text { VARIABLES } & (1) \\ \text { All }\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}(2) \\ \text { Women }\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}(3) \\ \text { Men }\end{array}\right)$

Data: ANES 2020.
Note: This table includes coefficients from OLS regressions in which strength of feminist identity is the dependent variable. Post-election sample weights applied. All variables standardized from 0-1. Standard errors in parentheses. ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.001,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.05$.

## APPENDIX E: REGRESSION ANALYSES FOR MANUSCRIPT FIGURES

Table E1. Explaining Campaign Participation and Turnout in 2016 (Fig. 1)

| VARIABLES | (1) Campaign participation | (2) <br> Persuade others | (3) Attend rally | (4) <br> Display <br> sign | (5) <br> Work for cand./party |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feminist ID | 0.00 | 0.17 | 0.32 | 0.52 | -0.34 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.74) | (1.61) | (0.95) | (1.55) |
| Democratic PID | 0.00 | 0.51 | 0.33 | 0.68 | -0.16 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.32) | (0.68) | (0.47) | (0.85) |
| Republican PID | 0.07*** | 0.82** | 0.43 | 1.40 ** | 0.98 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.32) | (0.68) | (0.46) | (0.91) |
| Feminist ID $\times$ Dem PID | 0.13** | 0.85 | 0.55 | 0.37 | 0.91 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.79) | (1.67) | (1.02) | (1.66) |
| Feminist ID x Rep PID | -0.07 | -0.93 | -0.02 | -1.91 | -0.34 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.83) | (1.75) | (1.19) | (1.93) |
| Political Interest | 0.15*** | 1.97*** | 1.38** | 1.44*** | 1.82* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.21) | (0.42) | (0.32) | (0.79) |
| Modern Sexism | 0.02 | -0.16 | 0.84* | 0.18 | 1.48** |
|  | (0.02) | (0.26) | (0.42) | (0.40) | (0.51) |
| Racial Resentment | -0.04* | 0.27 | -0.43 | 0.23 | -1.50** |
|  | (0.02) | (0.23) | (0.40) | (0.33) | (0.54) |
| Ideology | -0.04 | -0.30 | -0.50 | -0.76 | -1.66 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.30) | (0.52) | (0.43) | (0.88) |
| Gender | -0.02** | -0.22* | -0.13 | -0.16 | -0.19 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.11) | (0.19) | (0.15) | (0.28) |
| White | 0.01 | 0.25 | 0.22 | -0.03 | -0.43 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.15) | (0.28) | (0.21) | (0.32) |
| Latinx | 0.01 | 0.29 | 0.26 | -0.05 | -0.50 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.22) | (0.38) | (0.31) | (0.51) |
| Age | 0.11*** | 0.61* | -0.97 | 0.05 | 0.25 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.31) | (0.55) | (0.44) | (0.69) |
| Education | 0.04 | 0.09 | 0.87 | -0.46 | 1.30 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.38) | (0.71) | (0.51) | (0.91) |
| Income | 0.00 | 0.20 | -0.31 | -0.47 | -0.35 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.19) | (0.35) | (0.28) | (0.49) |
| Religiosity | -0.00 | 0.06 | 0.08 | -0.17 | 0.02 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.15) | (0.24) | (0.22) | (0.36) |
| Constant | -0.04 | -2.45*** | $-4.00^{* * *}$ | $-2.97 * * *$ | -4.34** |
|  | (0.03) | (0.47) | (0.90) | (0.69) | (1.41) |
| Observations | 3,281 | 3,280 | 3,280 | 3,281 | 3,281 |
| R-squared | 0.150 |  |  |  |  |

Note: This table includes coefficients from regression models (OLS in column 1 and logit in columns 2-4). Post-election weights applied. Standard errors in parentheses. ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.001, * * \mathrm{p}<0.01, * \mathrm{p}<0.05$.

Table E1 (continued). Explaining Campaign Participation and Turnout in 2016 (Fig. 1)

| VARIABLES | (6) <br> Donate to candidate | (7) <br> Donate to party | (8) <br> Donate to group | (9) <br> Validated turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feminist ID | $\begin{gathered} 0.98 \\ (0.95) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.64 \\ & (1.16) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -3.60 \\ & (3.58) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.83 \\ (0.69) \end{gathered}$ |
| Democratic PID | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 \\ (0.50) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.51 \\ (0.56) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.29 \\ & (1.05) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.26 \\ (0.32) \end{gathered}$ |
| Republican PID | $\begin{aligned} & 1.33^{* *} \\ & (0.48) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.61 \\ (0.54) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (1.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.52 \\ (0.30) \end{gathered}$ |
| Feminist ID x Dem PID | $\begin{gathered} 0.48 \\ (1.04) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.48^{*} \\ & (1.24) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 5.78 \\ (3.56) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.71^{*} \\ & (0.76) \end{aligned}$ |
| Feminist ID x Rep PID | $\begin{gathered} -2.66^{*} \\ (1.17) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.16 \\ (1.37) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.77 \\ (3.70) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.65 \\ (0.80) \end{gathered}$ |
| Political Interest | $\begin{gathered} 1.81 * * * \\ (0.49) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.18^{*} \\ & (0.53) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.76^{* *} \\ & (0.55) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.91 * * * \\ (0.21) \end{gathered}$ |
| Modern Sexism | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.42) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.50 \\ (0.48) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.34 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.41 \\ & (0.27) \end{aligned}$ |
| Racial Resentment | $\begin{gathered} -1.26^{* * * *} \\ (0.33) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.14 * * \\ (0.39) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.81 \\ & (0.52) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.22 \\ & (0.25) \end{aligned}$ |
| Ideology | $\begin{gathered} -0.43 \\ (0.48) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.17 \\ (0.61) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.30 \\ (0.75) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.33) \end{gathered}$ |
| Gender | $\begin{gathered} -0.18 \\ (0.18) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.31 \\ & (0.22) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.67^{*} \\ & (0.29) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.19 \\ (0.11) \end{gathered}$ |
| White | $\begin{gathered} -0.03 \\ (0.23) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.21 \\ & (0.26) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.47) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.47 * * \\ & (0.16) \end{aligned}$ |
| Latinx | $\begin{gathered} 0.25 \\ (0.32) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.36) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.22 \\ & (0.62) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11 \\ (0.22) \end{gathered}$ |
| Age | $\begin{gathered} 3.34^{* * *} \\ (0.55) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.88^{* * *} \\ (0.69) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.68 \\ (0.80) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.07 * * * \\ (0.34) \end{gathered}$ |
| Education | $\begin{gathered} 1.02 \\ (0.62) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.38 \\ (0.67) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.19 \\ (1.19) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.23^{* *} \\ & (0.39) \end{aligned}$ |
| Income | $\begin{gathered} 0.17 \\ (0.33) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.17 \\ (0.40) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.38^{*} \\ & (0.62) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.13^{* * *} \\ (0.20) \end{gathered}$ |
| Religiosity | $\begin{aligned} & -0.28 \\ & (0.21) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 \\ (0.34) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.50^{* *} \\ & (0.16) \end{aligned}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} -5.52^{* * *} \\ (0.90) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -5.34 * * * \\ (1.00) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.49 * * * \\ (1.50) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.78 * * * \\ (0.48) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations <br> R-squared | 3,279 | 3,279 | 3,280 | 3,281 |

Note: This table includes coefficients from logit regression models. Post-election weights applied. Standard errors in parentheses. ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.001,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.05$.

Table E2. Explaining Campaign Participation and Turnout in 2020 (Fig. 2)

| VARIABLES | (1) <br> Campaign participation | (2) <br> Persuade others | (3) Attend online rally | (4) Attend rally | (5) <br> Display sign |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feminist ID | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.51 \\ (1.00) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.48 \\ & (2.09) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.77 \\ (2.22) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.22 \\ (0.99) \end{gathered}$ |
| Democratic PID | $\begin{gathered} -0.09 * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.36 \\ (0.64) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.65^{*} \\ & (1.16) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.74 \\ (1.36) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.61 \\ (0.65) \end{gathered}$ |
| Republican PID | $\begin{gathered} 0.10^{* * *} \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.28^{*} \\ & (0.60) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.30 \\ & (1.09) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.77 * \\ & (1.31) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.16 \\ (0.62) \end{gathered}$ |
| Feminist ID x Dem PID | $\begin{gathered} 0.23 * * * \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.10 \\ & (1.02) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 5.18^{*} \\ & (2.06) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.15 \\ & (2.25) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.09^{* *} \\ (1.07) \end{gathered}$ |
| Feminist ID x Rep PID | $\begin{gathered} -0.14^{* *} \\ (0.05) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.34^{*} \\ & (1.03) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.05 \\ (2.07) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.93 \\ & (2.27) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.33 \\ & (1.07) \end{aligned}$ |
| Political Interest | $\begin{gathered} 0.21^{* * *} \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.08^{* * *} \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.82 * * * \\ (0.28) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.09 * * * \\ (0.40) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.01 * * * \\ (0.25) \end{gathered}$ |
| Modern Sexism | $\begin{aligned} & 0.04^{*} \\ & (0.02) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.36 \\ (0.21) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.23 \\ (0.31) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.41 \\ (0.40) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.05 \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ |
| Racial Resentment | $\begin{gathered} -0.01 \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.05 \\ (0.19) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.18 \\ (0.29) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.60 \\ (0.45) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.83 * * * \\ (0.23) \end{gathered}$ |
| Ideology | $\begin{aligned} & -0.02 \\ & (0.02) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.30 \\ (0.25) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.54 \\ & (0.34) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.10 \\ & (0.45) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.35 \\ (0.29) \end{gathered}$ |
| Gender | $\begin{aligned} & -0.01 \\ & (0.01) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.19^{*} \\ & (0.08) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.15 \\ (0.11) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.07 \\ & (0.16) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.04 \\ (0.10) \end{gathered}$ |
| White | $\begin{gathered} 0.02^{* *} \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.40^{* * *} \\ (0.11) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.26 \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -0.13 \\ (0.22) \end{array}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.25 \\ (0.15) \end{gathered}$ |
| Latinx | $\begin{gathered} 0.00 \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.13 \\ (0.17) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 \\ (0.26) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.42 \\ (0.31) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.22) \end{gathered}$ |
| Age | $\begin{gathered} 0.07 * * * \\ (0.02) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.56^{*} \\ (0.25) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.27 \\ (0.36) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -1.47 * * \\ (0.53) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.36 \\ (0.34) \end{gathered}$ |
| Education | $\begin{gathered} 0.02 \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.17) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.30 \\ (0.23) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{array}{r} -0.13 \\ (0.32) \end{array}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.52^{*} \\ & (0.20) \end{aligned}$ |
| Income | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 * * * \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.13 \\ (0.14) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.44^{*} \\ & (0.21) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.04 \\ (0.28) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 \\ (0.17) \end{gathered}$ |
| Religiosity | $\begin{gathered} 0.03 * * \\ (0.01) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.32^{* *} \\ (0.12) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.18 \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.32 \\ (0.22) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.22 \\ (0.15) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} -0.14 * * * \\ (0.03) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.16^{* * *} \\ (0.68) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -3.75^{* *} \\ (1.25) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.40^{* * *} \\ (1.38) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -4.40^{* * *} \\ (0.67) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations <br> R-squared | $\begin{array}{r} 5,863 \\ 0.204 \\ \hline \end{array}$ | 5,861 | 5,863 | 5,861 | 5,863 |

Note: This table includes coefficients from regression models (OLS in column 1 and logit in columns 2-4). Post-election weights applied. Standard errors in parentheses. ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.001,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.05$.

Table E2 (continued). Explaining Campaign Participation and Turnout in 2020 (Fig. 2)

| VARIABLES | (6) <br> Work for cand./party | (7) <br> Donate to candidate | (8) <br> Donate to party | (9) <br> Donate to group | (10) <br> Validated turnout |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feminist ID | $\begin{gathered} 0.87 \\ (2.76) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.66 \\ (0.96) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.51 \\ (1.89) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.22 \\ (2.39) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.06 \\ (0.75) \end{gathered}$ |
| Democratic PID | $\begin{gathered} 0.32 \\ (1.71) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.73 \\ (0.72) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.11 \\ (1.25) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.38 \\ & (1.69) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.36 \\ (0.52) \end{gathered}$ |
| Republican PID | $\begin{gathered} 1.75 \\ (1.71) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.02 \\ (0.69) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.40^{*} \\ & (1.21) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.13 \\ (1.71) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.82 \\ (0.48) \end{gathered}$ |
| Feminist ID x Dem PID | $\begin{gathered} 0.45 \\ (2.82) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2.65^{*} \\ & (1.08) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.31 \\ (1.98) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.22 \\ (2.46) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.46 \\ (0.85) \end{gathered}$ |
| Feminist ID x Rep PID | $\begin{aligned} & -2.47 \\ & (2.90) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.70 \\ & (1.07) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -2.89 \\ & (1.97) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -1.40 \\ & (2.68) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.94 \\ & (0.85) \end{aligned}$ |
| Political Interest | $\begin{gathered} 2.14^{* * *} \\ (0.62) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.90^{* * *} \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.73^{* * *} \\ (0.28) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.47 * * * \\ (0.35) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.63^{* * *} \\ (0.18) \end{gathered}$ |
| Modern Sexism | $\begin{aligned} & 1.18^{*} \\ & (0.50) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.58 \\ (0.30) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.69^{*} \\ & (0.34) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.20 \\ (0.48) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.56^{*} \\ & (0.24) \end{aligned}$ |
| Racial Resentment | $\begin{aligned} & -1.25^{*} \\ & (0.51) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.59 * \\ (0.27) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.49 \\ (0.31) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.73 \\ (0.38) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.23 \\ (0.23) \end{gathered}$ |
| Ideology | $\begin{aligned} & -1.13 \\ & (0.59) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.64^{*} \\ & (0.30) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.16 \\ (0.35) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.70 \\ (0.45) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.78 * * \\ & (0.27) \end{aligned}$ |
| Gender | $\begin{aligned} & -0.03 \\ & (0.21) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.10 \\ & (0.10) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.12 \\ (0.12) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.01 \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.15 \\ (0.09) \end{gathered}$ |
| White | $\begin{gathered} -0.08 \\ (0.27) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.09 \\ (0.15) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.14 \\ (0.17) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.53 * \\ & (0.25) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 0.36 * * \\ & (0.13) \end{aligned}$ |
| Latinx | $\begin{gathered} -0.81 \\ (0.44) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.07 \\ (0.24) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.13 \\ (0.27) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.25 \\ (0.38) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -0.24 \\ (0.18) \end{gathered}$ |
| Age | $\begin{gathered} 0.45 \\ (0.58) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 3.00^{* * * *} \\ (0.34) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 4.07 * * * \\ (0.40) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.09^{*} \\ & (0.49) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2.54 * * * \\ (0.31) \end{gathered}$ |
| Education | $\begin{gathered} 0.63 \\ (0.43) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.78^{* * *} \\ (0.21) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.10 \\ (0.27) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1.05^{* *} \\ & (0.35) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.58^{* *} \\ (0.20) \end{gathered}$ |
| Income | $\begin{gathered} 0.30 \\ (0.33) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.03 * * * \\ (0.18) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.07 * * * \\ (0.22) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.56^{* * *} \\ (0.29) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 1.22 * * * \\ (0.17) \end{gathered}$ |
| Religiosity | $\begin{aligned} & 0.64^{*} \\ & (0.26) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.19 \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.21 \\ (0.16) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & -0.00 \\ & (0.23) \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} 0.50 * * \\ (0.15) \end{gathered}$ |
| Constant | $\begin{gathered} -6.31 * * * \\ (1.79) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -6.30 * * * \\ (0.73) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -8.83 * * * \\ (1.27) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -7.86 * * * \\ (1.73) \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} -2.90 * * * \\ (0.53) \end{gathered}$ |
| Observations <br> R-squared | 5,863 | 5,863 | 5,862 | 5,861 | 5,623 |

Note: This table includes coefficients from logit regression models. Post-election weights applied.
Standard errors in parentheses. ${ }^{* * *} \mathrm{p}<0.001,{ }^{* *} \mathrm{p}<0.01,{ }^{*} \mathrm{p}<0.05$.

## APPENDIX F: ROBUSTNESS CHECKS

Figure F1. Marginal Effect of Feminist ID Strength by Party among Whites in 2016


Note: Dependent variables on the $y$-axis. All estimates come from logit regression models except for the campaign participation scale, which was estimated using OLS. Partisans include leaners. Controls included. $83.5 \%$ confidence intervals shown.

Figure F2. Marginal Effect of Feminist ID Strength by Party among Non-Whites in 2016


Note: Dependent variables on the $y$-axis. All estimates come from logit regression models except for the campaign participation scale, which was estimated using OLS. Partisans include leaners. Controls included. $83.5 \%$ confidence intervals shown.

Figure F3. Marginal Effect of Feminist ID Strength by Party among College Educated in 2016


Note: Dependent variables on the $y$-axis. All estimates come from logit regression models except for the campaign participation scale, which was estimated using OLS. Partisans include leaners. Controls included. $83.5 \%$ confidence intervals shown.

Figure F4. Marginal Effect of Feminist ID Strength by Party among Non-College Educated in 2016


Note: Dependent variables on the $y$-axis. All estimates come from logit regression models except for the campaign participation scale, which was estimated using OLS. Partisans include leaners. Controls included. 83.5\% confidence intervals shown.

Figure F5. Marginal Effect of Feminist ID Strength by Party among Whites in 2020


Note: Dependent variables on the $y$-axis. All estimates come from logit regression models except for the campaign participation scale, which was estimated using OLS. Partisans include leaners. Controls included. $83.5 \%$ confidence intervals shown.

Figure F6. Marginal Effect of Feminist ID Strength by Party among Non-Whites in 2020


Note: Dependent variables on the $y$-axis. All estimates come from logit regression models except for the campaign participation scale, which was estimated using OLS. Partisans include leaners. Controls included. $83.5 \%$ confidence intervals shown.

Figure F7. Marginal Effect of Feminist ID Strength by Party among College Educated in 2020


Note: Dependent variables on the $y$-axis. All estimates come from logit regression models except for the campaign participation scale, which was estimated using OLS. Partisans include leaners. Controls included. $83.5 \%$ confidence intervals shown.

Figure F8. Marginal Effect of Feminist ID Strength by Party among Non-College Educated in 2020


Note: Dependent variables on the $y$-axis. All estimates come from logit regression models except for the campaign participation scale, which was estimated using OLS. Partisans include leaners. Controls included. $83.5 \%$ confidence intervals shown.

