Emotional Motivation: How Anger, Fear, Hope and Pride Impact Women's Political Participation

Ashley Martin
Bemidji State University

Abstract

Despite the great strides the United States has made since passing the 19th amendment, a woman's emotions continues to become relevant in political discussions. Research has supported that emotion has a place in motivating political involvement, however, additional evidence has shown that for women and People of Color, the display of certain emotions disparage their abilities to influence. Because of these determinations, the present questions stand, is emotion effective in motivating women to participate in politics? If so, does that apply to all women, and to what extent? I utilized the American National Election Studies Cumulative Time-Series dataset to determine how emotions affect how women participate politically based on their education level and race. As expected, the findings of the present study showed significant statistical evidence that emotions such as anger, fear, hope and pride all are effective in motivating women to participate politically. Findings such as these allow us insight as to how much emotions influence women to mobilize. The present study expands on previous research as it confirms that emotions play an important role in participation. However, it takes previous research a step further as it focuses specifically on various demographics of women.

Introduction

Prior to the passing of the 19th amendment, a critical argument and belief held that women were too emotional to be involved in politics. The circulation of this argument was proactive in keeping women from gaining the right to vote. Unfortunately, despite the great strides that this country has made since 1920, similar harmful narratives continue to seep into the political realm of the United States, and there remains to be great emphasis and discussions regarding the affects of a woman's emotions in politics. Although it is an old discussion, the relationship of gender, emotions and politics continues to maintain relevance as more women seek higher positions of power within the United States. Others have researched the role that emotions have on decision-making and influence, the affects that a person's gender has on their political participation, and the important role of emotions within politics. This research provides a clear path towards the discussion of women's political participation and the extent of which their emotions have an effect.

Literature Review

The Relationship of Gender, Race, and Emotions

Women have had to fight an uphill battle to be seen as equally deserving and influential in their chosen professions and in politics since they joined the workforce alongside men, and gained the ability to participate in politics both as voters and candidates. One argument that has contributed to the stereotypical narrative which has worked in undermining women, has been the argument that women are too emotional, or that their emotionality would cloud their judgment. It has been observed that women are held to a double standard in terms of emotionality in comparison to men. Once example of this comes from an opinion piece written by Soraya Chemaly. Like most children, from early in her life Soraya was taught about emotions and how

do deal with them. But when reflecting on a memory from her childhood in which her mother was breaking dishes as a way to express her anger, Soraya realized that among the emotions she was taught about, she was never taught how to be angry. Instead, she was shown to minimize her anger instead of expressing it outright, as though a woman's anger didn't fit into society like a man's anger could (Chemaly, 2018). Although this is just one example, stories like this can be seen throughout our society as a whole, displaying the gender-based societal norms that are placed upon men and women, and the double standards that continue to leach into the world today, both personally and in the professional world.

Stories like Soraya's merely scratch the surface of discussions regarding how much emotions affect societal norms when asserted by the different genders. Because of the prevalence of narratives referring to the alleged emotional double standard, researchers began to conduct formal studies to determine how much truth was behind the claim. Jessica Salerno and Liana Peter-Hagene (2015) produced an experimental study to determine how the expression of anger influenced group deliberation. They found that in a virtual jury-setting, the female expression of anger was observed to diminish any influence it had over the participants, as the display of emotion confirmed the participant's original opinion in regard to the trial. In contrast, the male expression of anger was observed to be influential over the participants and swayed their opinions. The study confirmed what is often discussed anecdotally, which is that the display of emotions boosts a man's abilities to persuade but have the opposite affect for women. This study was limited to the question of gender as a whole and didn't take into account other significant factors such as race and ethnicity on emotional expression. As such, the inquiry was taken once step further in a separate study, in that researchers explored how the display of emotions were viewed amongst varying demographics, and if anger was perceived as influential for all men, or

varying groups of men. Researchers found that despite identical arguments, the presentation of emotions, such as anger or fear, diminished the influence of African American men in comparison to white individuals, and in a comparison of genders, women were viewed as less influential than men (Salerno, Peter-Hagene, & Jay, 2019). Although these studies were conducted on the basis of a a jury-style setting, the findings could be generalized in conveying that emotions play a significant role in persuasion and decision-making across many various venues and settings. A further generalization of these findings into the political realm may provide greater insight into popularity and preference of male versus female candidates.

Politics through the Lens of Gender and Race

Recent candidacies and election results have shown through the recent election of Vice President Kamala Harris in 2020, and the presidential candidacy of Hillary Clinton in 2016, that the subject of breaking traditional gender roles within politics continues to have significance both for the candidate of choice and the voters. As gender remains relevant within politics, findings that determine clear preference between male and female candidates are unsurprising when coupled with research that suggests that men are seen as more influential than women (Salerno & Peter-Hagene, 2015). An analysis of data presented by the Pew Research Center shows that men's support of the Democratic candidate for president jumped from 41% in the 2016 election with Hillary Clinton, to 49% in the 2020 election with Joe Biden (Gallon, 2020). Interestingly, data from the Pew Research Center showed that in 2016, women were found to have a significantly higher rate of voter turnout and party identification than men (Igielnik, 2020). Both of the results of these studies are limited in nature to the broad subject of gender and show little knowledge in the way of the different demographics within the two genders.

As a voter's gender has been shown to have significant affect on voting behavior, it has been asserted that racial differences have also been shown to have a strong affect on a person's political views. Tasha Philpot (2018) analyzed results from the 2016 American National Election Study (ANES) and discovered that a large contributing factor for the results of the 2016 election was the mobilization of black women voters and the lack of mobilization from white men. She argued that since the election of President Obama in 2008 and 2012, and the uproar in mobilization of racial activists, race has become a larger factor in election results than it has been in the past. As affirmed through the results of data analysis and experimental studies, gender and race are shown to play a significant role in influence and decision-making. As such, the determination of to what extent gender and race influence American voters to mobilize and participate is important to the study of politics as a whole.

As gender and race continue to be revealed as significant variables within American politics, it has been argued that women are too often lumped together into a single category. One author has argued that in generalizing all women into one category, without acknowledging the differences amongst the women and the varying battles they face, women will not receive the amount of representation that they need (Alexander-Floyd, 2019). Alexander-Floyd (2019) laid the groundwork for this discussion by arguing that putting women under a generic label forces diverse issues that women are confronted with to fall to the wayside. Under the guise of a single label termed as the "sisterhood," a single woman then becomes the one-size-fits-all representation of women as a whole. The author used the examples of Condoleezza Rice and Hillary Clinton to display this by arguing that while they were holding office, they were viewed as a generalized representation of women. While placing emphasis on the strides of individual women as they rise in politics is important, idolizing a single individual's leadership as the

representation of all women may diminish the importance of the concerns that women of various races and ethnicities face. In support of Alexander-Floyd's argument, as can be shown through the American National Election Study, women do vote differently based on their racial identities, but when overgeneralized into the simple term of "women," their preferences are misrepresented. Lorrie Frasure-Yokley observed in studying the 2016 ANES, that the voting behavior of women vary significantly when disaggregated by racial groups. The data showed that when analyzing the results by gender, 42% of all women who voted in the 2016 presidential election voted for President Trump. However, the results were found to be incredibly misleading. Once the data was broken down and controlled by variables of race and gender, it was shown that it was in fact only 15% of all women of color that voted for Mr. Trump and over half (52%) of white women cast their votes for him (Frasure-Yokley, 2018). This research places importance on the aspect of racial representation, as eliminating racial differences from discussions gives room for the misrepresentation of data. Continuing the discussion of how gender and race work in terms of political participation and decisions, it is important to determine how the display of emotion plays into that as well.

The Salience of Emotions within Politics

It is difficult to imagine American politics without also imagining the role of the emotions that tend to run alongside it. American politics seem to be fueled by various amount of anger, fear, hope, and pride. To determine the role that emotions truly play in politics, researchers have tested the efficiency of utilizing anger, enthusiasm, and anxiety to rally political participation. Researchers found through analyzing results from experiments and ANES data that anger and fear was useful in mobilizing participation. However, while fear was useful in some cases, they found that anger was more effective (Valentino, Brader, Groenendyk, Gregorowicz &

Hutchings, 2011). However, increased political participation does not necessarily mean the participation will be of value or substance. In 2008, researchers conducted two studies and found that participants paid more attention to campaigns when they experienced feelings of anxiety. However, feelings of anger had the opposite affect, thus showing that increased anger does not increase attention or activities of pursuing quality information (Valentino, Hutchings, Banks & Davis, 2008). While anger has been shown to mobilize participation, the quality of that participation may come under question. In a separate study, Christopher Weber found that emotions such as sadness and fear worked towards mobilizing information seeking behavior but decreased political mobilization, while anger alone did mobilize political participation (2012). Although emotions such as fear, sadness, anxiety, and anger are prevalent in politics, other emotions have also been found to have significant affect on voting behavior as well. Researchers have found that disgust also has a hand in voting behavior. More specifically, they assert the belief that individuals with a sensitivity to disgust voted more consistently for the conservative candidate versus the liberal candidate during the 2012 presidential election (Shook, Oosterhoff, Terrizzi & Brady, 2017). As displayed, all sorts of emotions run high in politics, whether it is incited by candidates and their campaigns or generally expressed by constituents. As American politics is historically male-dominated, the affects and importance of a woman's emotions on politics has just begun to be explored.

The Effects of Gender, Race, and Emotion on Political Participation

As expected, for many individuals the historic act of voting for a woman as the Democratic nominee in 2016 was emotional and memorable for both men and women. In a personal account written for The New York Times, Frank Bruni (2016) described the feeling of excitement as he recalled voting for Hillary Clinton and sharing that experience with his sister.

They both had doubts about Hillary Clinton as a politician, but he recalled seeing the moment of casting his vote for a woman as a "sign of hope," looking toward a future of equality. For his sister, she felt a sense of "duty" and "sisterhood" in voting for Clinton as she viewed it as a monumental moment. For these individuals and many others, the 2016 election marked a turning point in the United States in terms of gender equality, and with that would expectedly come with various emotions. In a political setting, men and women have been seen to display emotions differently. A group of researchers conducted a within-subjects study in order to examine the emotional reactions of men and women to the first 2016 presidential debate. Researchers found that in their study, the female participants were more likely to express feelings of fear and sadness (internalized emotions) in contrast to the male participants who expressed more anger and disgust (externalizations emotions) when watching Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump debate for the first time (Fridkin, Gershwin, & LaPlant, 2019). In addition, campaigns have utilized invoking emotions to persuade voters. In a 2016 study, it was shown through three campaign advertisements that campaigns geared advertisements specifically towards women in order to affect voting. Despite targeting a specific audience, research showed that men and women responded in a similar manner emotionally to the advertisements (Kam, Archer, & Geer, 2016). Despite being perceived as less influential due to their emotionality, the female participants showed similar levels of emotionality to the male participants showed.

As previously discussed, and shown through recent studies and research, emotions play a significant role in politics. Claudine Gay and Katherine Tate (1998) explored the relatively new topic at that time of the extent to which Black women subscribed to racial or gender politics in 1984. They found that Black women had a strong affinity to race within politics but were also very closely tied to their gender as well. The study asserted that despite the typical belief of the

time, Black women held closely to their gender identity within politics in addition to their race

(1998). This study laid considerable groundwork within the subject of racial and gender

identities within politics for women of color. As with the growth of women campaigning for

higher roles in government, gender has continued to grow as a topic of conversation within the

last several elections. Evelyn Simien and Sarah Hampson (2017) researched the women who

supported Hillary Clinton in 2008, and the emotions her female supporters formed towards her as

a candidate. They felt the importance in closely studying which women showed support towards

Clinton, as there was a general assumption that women would favor Clinton over Obama.

However, as the election posed a significant opportunity for both women and people of color, the

researchers sought to determine the significance of gender and race during this election. They

found in their analyses that Latinas showed the greatest amount of pride towards Clinton's

candidacy. In addition, they determined that African American women supported Barack Obama

over Clinton. The study asserted that gender affinity may not always be as strong as racial

affinity when given the opportunity to choose.

        The relationships of gender, race, and emotions has been shown to have significance in

terms of decision-making and influence within group settings (Salerno & Peter-Hagene, 2015),

(Salerno, Peter-Hagene, & Jay, 2019). Studies have also exhibited the affects that gender and

race have within voting behavior (Philpot, 2018), and the harmfulness of overgeneralizing

women in politics (Alexander-Floyd, 2019). Additionally, it has been shown through research

that emotion is salient to political participation (Valentino, Brader, Groenendyk, Gregorowicz &

Hutchings, 2011), (Valentino, Hutchings, Banks & Davis, 2008), (Weber, 2012), (Shook,

Oosterhoff, Terrizzi & Brady, 2017). Emotions are seen as having importance so much so that it

has been observed that campaigns have attempted to manipulate the emotions of females

specifically, through advertisements (Kam, Archer, & Geer, 2016). However, though there have been studies to suggest that racial identities and gender have significant affect on political participation and identities (Gay & Tate, 1998), (Simien & Hampson, 2017), the affects of the emotions of women of different racial demographics specifically on political participation are often overlooked despite the evidence showing the importance of racial identities within politics (Frasure-Yokley, 2018), thus warranting the study of these relationships and their affects.

Methods and Analysis

The dataset I utilized in the present study is the American National Election Study Cumulative Time Series. The American National Election Study (ANES) is conducted by the University of Michigan and Stanford University, and has studied voting during presidential elections since 1948. The ANES collects questionnaire results from internet and face-to-face submissions through pre- and post-election surveys. The Cumulative Time Series is a compilation of data received from questions that have been asked three or more times since 1948 and contains 72,271.5 participants (n = 72,271.5). The questions range from a variety of topics such as, if and for whom participants voted in the election, demographic questions (age, racial identity, education background, working status, etc.), opinions on policies, and a plethora of others. The particular questions that are used within this paper did not begin to appear within these studies until 1980, as such the years 1948 to 1979 were rendered useless for the purpose of this paper and it was necessary to filter them out in order to simplify the analyses. Utilizing the years 1980 to 2016 (n = 35,747), the present study makes use of both pre- and post-election survey results, and the data is weighted to be representative of the various demographics within the study. The Cumulative Time Series file includes data from multiple presidential elections, so I was unable to look at any one specific election. However, as the number of respondents within

the file is sizable, I was afforded the ability to see the affect of the variables over a multitude of

elections, which lends to the generalizing aspects of the results. The units of analysis in the

present study are American female adults, as the nature of the study requires the participants to

be of legal voting age. Due to the nature of the study, the variable of the male gender was filtered

out in all analyses. This was done to focus on the results of the female gender only as the study

centers around the various demographics of women participants (n = 19,366). In addition, due to

the low participation numbers amongst other demographics, the present study focused on Black,

non-Hispanic, White, non-Hispanic and Hispanic women. As to maintain proper representation,

unfortunately it was necessary to filter out the results of those who identified as "Other or

Multiple Races, non-Hispanic," as their participation levels were considerably low and including

that variable would be a poor and improper representation of those individuals.

      With the evidential support as shown through previous studies and analyses, the present

study hypothesizes the following:

In a comparison of women:

1. Those presenting with more anger and fear towards the Democratic candidate will be
   more likely to participate in political activities.

2. Those presenting with more hope and pride towards the Democratic candidate will be
   more likely to participate in political activities.

3. Those presenting with more anger and fear towards the Republican candidate will be
   more likely to participate in political activities.

4. Those presenting with more hope and pride toward the Republican candidate will be
   more likely to participate in political activities.

In order to test these hypotheses, I utilized four of the emotion-based variables that are provided within the ANES Cumulative Time Series data as the independent variables. These variables are the result of respondents being asked if they have felt angry, fearful, hopeful, or prideful towards either the Democratic or Republican candidate, in which respondents answered by a simple "yes, have felt" or "no, haven't felt." For both the Democratic and Republican versions of the variables, I combined the negative emotions, Anger and Fear, into one variable, and the positive emotions, Hope and Pride, into one variable. This created four new variables to test the hypotheses: "d_angerfear," "d_hopepride," rep_angerfear," "rep_hopepride." As these are a combination of two emotion-based variables, the output is then put into three categories: "Both Anger and Fear," "Anger or Fear," "No Anger or Fear," "Both Hope and Pride," "Hope or Pride," and "No Hope or Pride." Additionally, within the ANES Cumulative Time Series, there is a four-category Participation index that was created by using four participation variables that asked respondents if they "try to influence the vote of others during the campaign," "attend political meetings/rallies during the campaign," or "work for party or candidate during campaign." This variable was renamed "participation_fourcat" for the present study and was used to measure the levels of participation of the respondents as the dependent variable. I then took the four participation categories and dichotomized them into two categories, "no participation" and "participation."

Hypothesis One: Anger and Fear Toward the Democratic Candidate

I conducted a crosstabulation with "d_angerfear," which tested the extent to which the respondent felt anger and/or fear towards the Democratic candidate, and the participation measure variable "participation_fourcat." As shown in by Table and Graph 1, the results of this crosstabulation are statistically significant (P < .000). As expected, those presenting with no

anger or fear were seen to participate the least by a substantial amount. Those presenting with one or both of the negative emotions were seen to participate in politics a similar amount across the remaining three participation levels. These results are interesting because it shows that as respondents reported either anger and/or fear, the levels of participation clearly rose, while the percentage of those reporting the lowest level of participation shrunk. As these findings are consistent with the first theory, I rejected the null hypothesis.

Table 1: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Anger and Fear Toward the Democratic Candidate

			Anger and Fear Toward the Democratic Candidate			
			Both Anger and Fear	Anger or Fear	No Anger or Fear	Total
Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	1445	1773	4213	7431
			49.7%	60.3%	67.6%	61.5%
	Participation	Count	1465	1165	2018	4648
			50.3%	39.7%	32.4%	38.5%
Total		Count	2910	2938	6231	12079
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi = 272.454, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .150

Graph 1: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Anger and Fear Toward the Democratic Candidate
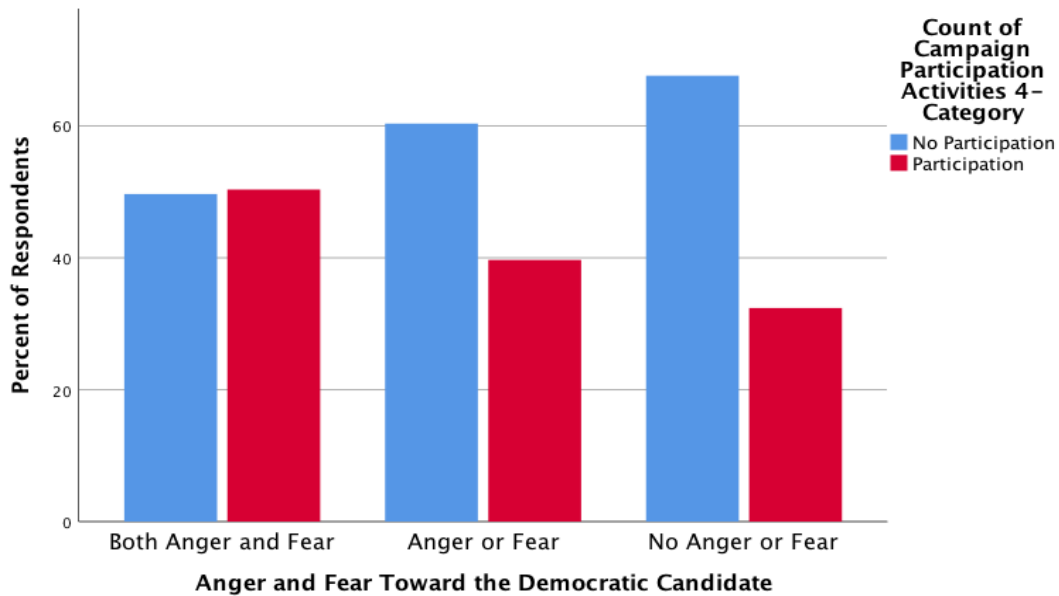
Chi = 272.454, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .150

Hypothesis Two: Hope and Pride Toward the Democratic Candidate

According to prior research, anger and anxiety have been shown to mobilize participation more effectively than positive emotions. In line with this style of thinking, it was expected that anger and fear would be more effective in mobilizing participation than hope and pride. As such, the results of the second crosstabulation were fairly interesting. To test the second hypothesis, I utilized the independent variable of "d_hopepride" with the dependent variable "participation_fourcat" and performed a second crosstabulation. As shown in Table and Graph 2, these results were also statistically significant (P < .000) and showed results in the expected directions. As previously mentioned, these results were quite intriguing as it showed that respondents presenting with both hope and pride mobilized much more than those with just hope or pride. As expected, those presenting with no hope or pride showed lower levels of participation than those presenting with both hope and pride. According to these results, hope and pride toward the Democratic candidate was more effective in mobilizing respondents to participate than anger and fear toward the Democratic candidate, although both negative and positive emotions are shown to be effective. As these results are significant, I rejected the null hypothesis.

Table 2: Campaign Participation 4 Category by Hope and Pride Toward the Democratic Candidate

			Both Hope and Pride	Hope or Pride	No Hope or Pride	Total
Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	2828	1609	2958	7395
			56.5%	67.9%	63.7%	61.5%
	Participation	Count	2173	761	1686	4620
			43.5%	32.1%	36.3%	38.5%
Total		Count	5001	2370	4644	12015
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi = 102.141, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .092

Graph 2: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Hope and Pride Toward the Democratic Candidate
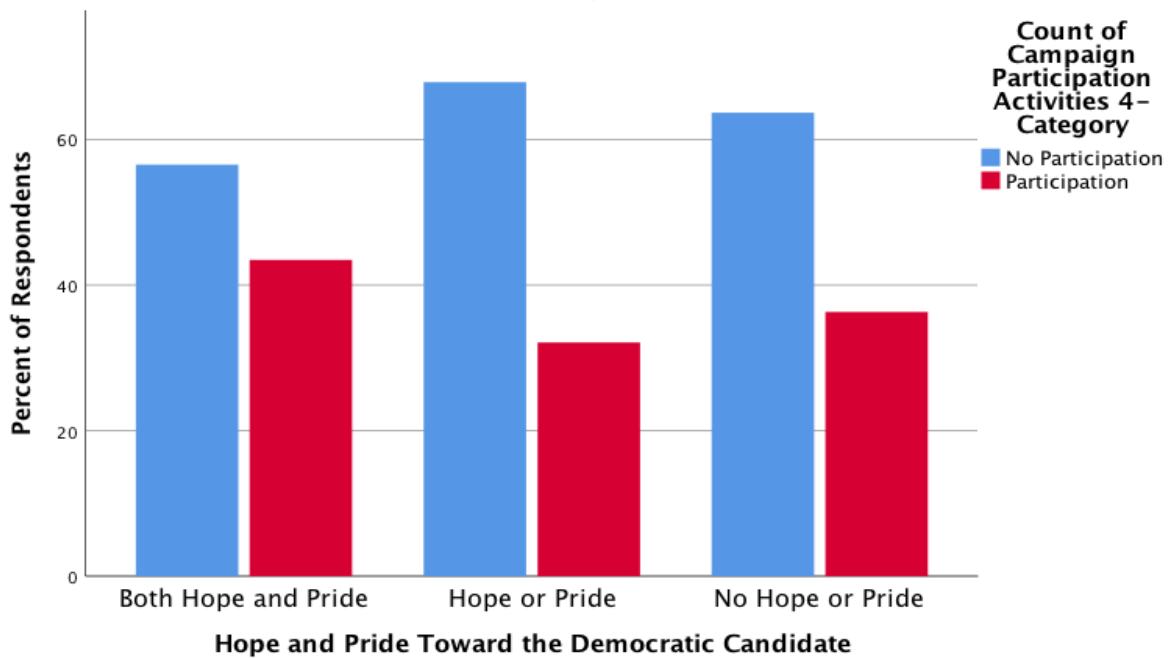
Chi = 102.141, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .092

Hypothesis Three: Anger and Fear Toward the Republican Candidate

In line with the previous two studies, I tested the third hypothesis using the independent variable "rep_angerfear" in the crosstabulation and "participation_fourcat" as the dependent. The results from the third crosstabulation clearly showed the relationship between anger and fear, and participation. Women who held both anger and fear were shown to have the highest level of participation out of the three categories. As expected, anger and fear toward the Republican candidate was effective in mobilizing the women to participate. These results were fairly expected after receiving the results of the second crosstabulation, as the thought that those holding more anger and fear towards the Republican candidate would be among those that hold more hope and pride toward the Democratic candidate. As these results held significance between the relationship of anger and fear, and participation, I rejected the null hypothesis.

Table 3: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Anger and Fear Toward the Republican Candidate

| | | | Anger and Fear Toward the Republican Candidate | | | |
			Both Anger and Fear	Anger or Fear	No Anger or Fear	Total
Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	1769	1907	3745	7421
			50.1%	63.1%	68.1%	61.5%
	Participation	Count	1764	1117	1758	4639
			49.9%	36.9%	31.9%	38.5%
Total		Count	3533	3024	5503	12060
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi = 297.95, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .157

Graph 3: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Anger and Fear Toward the Republican
Candidate
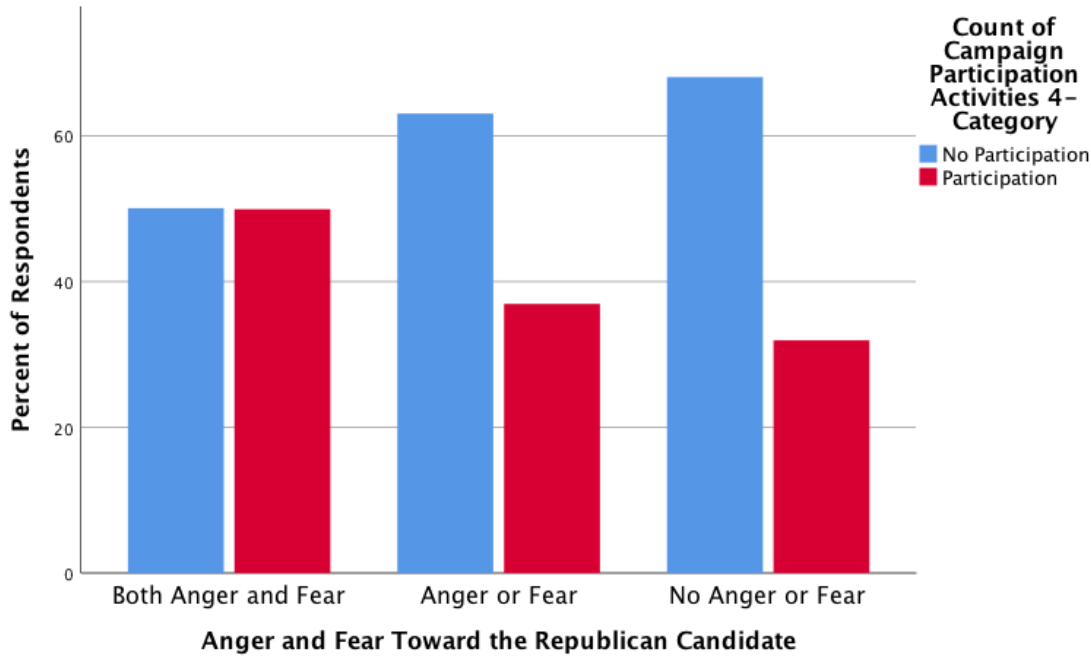
Chi = 297.95, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .157

Hypothesis Four: Hope and Pride Toward the Republican Candidate

The last hypothesis to test looked at the variable "rep_hopepride" as the independent, and "participate_fourcat" as the dependent variable as the fourth hypothesis looks at the relationship between hope and pride towards the Republican Candidate and participation. As can be seen by Table and Graph 4, the results of this crosstabulation showed significance at P < .000. This is consistent with the other three hypotheses; however, more respondents showed no hope or pride than hope and/or pride. Despite that observation, participation was up for individuals who reported hope and/or pride, versus individuals who reported no hope or pride. As such, I rejected the null hypothesis.

Table 4: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Hope and Pride Toward the Republican Candidate

| | | | Hope and Pride Toward the Republican Candidate | | | |
			Both Hope and Pride	Hope or Pride	No Hope or Pride	Total
Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	2076	1461	3864	7401
			53.6%	65.5%	65.3%	61.6%
	Participation	Count	1800	771	2052	4623
			46.4%	34.5%	34.7%	38.4%
Total		Count	3876	2232	5916	12024
			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi = 154.370, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .113

Graph 4: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Hope and Pride Toward the Republican Candidate
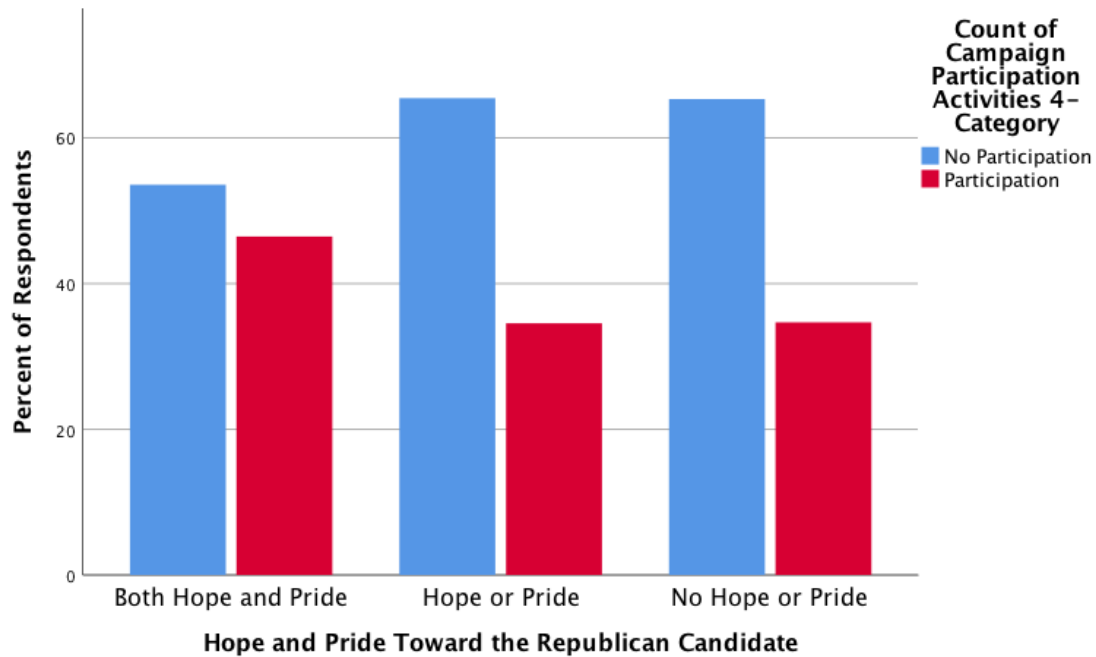
Chi = 154.370, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .113

As explained previously, I accepted all four of the proposed hypotheses as they displayed statistical significance. I chose to take the analyses a step further as I sought to determine how these emotions affected various demographics of women. There was significant statistical evidence to display that emotions, such as anger, fear, hope and pride all have a significant part in mobilizing political participation among women. Previous research has highlighted the importance of disaggregating women in research analyses to provide women the recognition that they deserve. As such, I found it important to include analyses that are broken down by race and education level. To do this, I utilized variables provided by the ANES Cumulative Time Series that included the respondents race and education level (high school, some college, or degrees.) Once I chose these demographic variables, I conducted eight crosstabulations using the emotion variables, "d_angerfear," "d_hopepride," "rep_angerfear," and "rep_hopepride" as the independent variables, and the participation variable "participation_fourcat" as the dependent variable, of which I then layered by the variables "race_summary," and "education4cat." Due to the low number of cases, it was necessary to filter out respondents' answers of "8th grade or less" in the education variable.

Desegregated by Respondent's Racial Identity

As shown in Table 5, I crosstabulated the emotions of anger and fear toward the Democratic candidate with the participation variable, as I did in Graph 1. However, I layered this crosstabulation with the variable of race to determine differences between Black, non-Hispanic, White, non-Hispanic and Hispanic women. As expected, there was statistical significance for all three of the respondent's categories showing the relationship between these emotions and participation. I then looked at the Phi and Cramer's V of these results to determine the strength of the relationship. The relationship between anger and fear, and participation was nearly non-

existent for Black women (Phi = .079), showing that anger and fear towards the Democratic candidate was not a huge motivating factor for these women. In contrast, the participation of White women increased by approximately 17% while the participation of Hispanic women nearly doubled, as it increased about 23%. As these were both significant jumps, I looked at the strength of association which showed that both were notable for Hispanic and White, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .195 and .148 respectively).

Next I sought to determine the relationship between hope and pride towards the Democratic candidate and participation when layered by race. The results in Table 6 show significance for all three racial categories. Additionally, there is evidence that hope and pride were more effective in motivating Black women to participate than anger and fear, as shown by the Phi and Cramer's V score (Phi = .226). Black, non-Hispanic women with no hope and pride depicted 13.9% of participation compared to those who displayed both hope and pride, who showed 42% participation, displaying that participation amongst Black women rose by approximately 30%. Hispanic and White, non-Hispanic women maintained significance, but the relationship remained weaker, as Phi = .137 for Hispanic women and essentially non-existent for White, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .082). Hispanic women showed an increase in participation of about 12.7% while White women only showed an increase by 6%.

Table 5: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Race

Race				Both Anger and Fear	Anger or Fear	No Anger or Fear	Total
1. White non-Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	1255	1385	2696	5336
				49.5%	60.1%	66.8%	60.1%
		Participation	Count	1281	918	1341	3540
				50.5%	39.9%	33.2%	39.9%
	Total		Count	2536	2303	4037	8876
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
2. Black non-Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	42	172	777	991
				50.6%	62.3%	66.5%	64.9%
		Participation	Count	41	104	391	536
				49.4%	37.7%	33.5%	35.1%
	Total		Count	83	276	1168	1527
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3. Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	81	138	502	721
				49.4%	59.0%	73.2%	66.5%
		Participation	Count	83	96	184	363
				50.6%	41.0%	26.8%	33.5%
	Total		Count	164	234	686	1084
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: The columns "Both Anger and Fear", "Anger or Fear", and "No Anger or Fear" fall under the header "Anger and Fear Toward the Democratic Candidate".

White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 194.311, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .148
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 9.607, P < .008*. Phi and Cramer's V = .079
Hispanic: Chi = 41.239, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .195

*Significance at P <.05

Table 6: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Race

Race				Both Hope and Pride	Hope or Pride	No Hope or Pride	Total
				Hope and Pride Toward the Democratic Candidate			
1. White non-Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	1766	1176	2371	5313
				55.4%	66.2%	61.3%	60.1%
		Participation	Count	1421	601	1498	3520
				44.6%	33.8%	38.7%	39.9%
	Total		Count	3187	1777	3869	8833
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
2. Black non-Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	592	187	211	990
				58.0%	73.0%	86.1%	65.0%
		Participation	Count	429	69	34	532
				42.0%	27.0%	13.9%	35.0%
	Total		Count	1021	256	245	1522
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3. Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	305	167	242	714
				59.5%	72.6%	72.2%	66.2%
		Participation	Count	208	63	93	364
				40.5%	27.4%	27.8%	33.8%
	Total		Count	513	230	335	1078
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 58.855, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .082
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 77.481, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .226
Hispanic: Chi = 20.124, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .137

*Significance at P <.05

The crosstabulation between anger and fear toward the Republican candidate and participation was then layered by race as well. This crosstabulation was statistically significant across all racial categories, similar to the previous two analyses. However, the strength of association was much stronger across all three categories, unlike the previous two crosstabulations. As displayed in Table 7, there was a much stronger association between anger and fear towards the Republican candidate and participation for Black women (Phi = .279) and Hispanic women (Phi = .201), whereas it was weaker for White women (Phi = .141). Though expected, due to the results of Table 6, anger and fear toward the Republican Candidate significantly mobilized Black women to participate, as their participation increased by over 30%.

The last relationship to test with the layer of race was hope and pride toward the Republican candidate, and participation. This crosstabulation showed statistical significance for Hispanic and White, non-Hispanic women (P <.003, P<.000 respectively). However, the strength of association between the emotion variable and participation was weaker as Hispanic women showed Phi = .105 and White, non-Hispanic women Phi = .118. As displayed in Table 8, there was no statistical significance with these variables for Black women.

These results were fairly in line with the original results prior to layering. However, by using the "race_summary" layer, I was able to determine that the strength of association for hope and pride toward the Democratic candidate for Black women was stronger than for Hispanic and White, non-Hispanic women. Additionally, there was no statistical significance between hope and pride toward the Republican candidate and Black women. By doing this, I was provided more insight as to how emotions motivate women differently to participate in politics as well as confirm the importance of showing their differences instead of lumping them under a single label of just "women." These differences have already been exhibited, as the findings suggest anger

and fear are generally more motivating. Though, hope and pride toward the Democratic candidate has been seen to increase participation among Black women, and Hope and Pride toward the Republican candidate increases the participation of White women.

Table 7: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Race

Race				Both Anger and Fear	Anger or Fear	No Anger or Fear	Total
				Anger and Fear Toward the Republican Candidate			
1. White non-Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	1172	1372	2794	5338
				49.1%	61.8%	65.5%	60.2%
		Participation	Count	1215	847	1471	3533
				50.9%	38.2%	34.5%	39.8%
	Total		Count	2387	2219	4265	8871
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
2. Black non-Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	293	277	423	993
				49.8%	66.1%	81.0%	64.9%
		Participation	Count	295	142	99	536
				50.2%	33.9%	19.0%	35.1%
	Total		Count	588	419	522	1529
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3. Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	169	180	367	716
				52.8%	66.9%	75.2%	66.5%
		Participation	Count	151	89	121	361
				47.2%	33.1%	24.8%	33.5%
	Total		Count	320	269	488	1077
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

White, non-Hispanic: Chi =175.373, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .141
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 118.611, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .279
Hispanic: Chi = 42.518, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .201

*Significance at P <.05

Table 8: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Race

Race				Both Hope and Pride	Hope or Pride	No Hope or Pride	Total
				Hope and Pride Toward the Republican Candidate			
1. White non-Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	1803	1122	2395	5320
				52.9%	65.6%	64.3%	60.1%
		Participation	Count	1606	588	1331	3525
				47.1%	34.4%	35.7%	39.9%
	Total		Count	3409	1710	3726	8845
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
2. Black non-Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	74	149	765	988
				64.3%	62.1%	65.6%	64.9%
		Participation	Count	41	91	402	534
				35.7%	37.9%	34.4%	35.1%
	Total		Count	115	240	1167	1522
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3. Hispanic	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	127	129	460	716
				57.0%	70.1%	68.9%	66.6%
		Participation	Count	96	55	208	359
				43.0%	29.9%	31.1%	33.4%
	Total		Count	223	184	668	1075
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 122.758, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .118
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi =1.070, P < .586 *. Phi and Cramer's V = .027
Hispanic: Chi = 11.890, P < .003*. Phi and Cramer's V = .105

*Significance at P <.05

Disaggregated by Respondent's Education Level

In keeping with the theme, I looked at the relationship of anger and fear toward the Democratic candidate, and participation but I then layered it by education level. As previously mentioned, due to low participation, I had to filter out answers of "8th grade or less" to provide a more concise depiction of the respondents. As shown in Table 9, the first crosstabulation in this group showed that there was statistical significance for individuals with High school level

education or some college (13 grades or more but no degree), displaying a large education effect. Those with a high school level education increased their participation by about 20% when their anger and fear was increased, whereas the participation of those with a college level education only increased by about 5%. This is interesting as the strength of the relationships are on the weaker side but are notable for High school (Phi = .176) and Some college (Phi = .141). However, there is no statistical significance for respondents with a college or advanced degree.

The relationship between hope and pride toward the Democratic candidate and participation, as shown in Table 10, is significant for individuals with a high school level education and a college or advanced degree. Though there is no statistical significance for individuals who have some college education but no degree. There was very little in the way of an education effect. Though interesting, the strength of association for the high school level and college degree sections are weak at best, and as such, it is no real surprise that individuals with some college education have come up insignificant.

With the results of the first two crosstabulation in this "education" section, I was intrigued to see the results of the following two, which looked at the target emotions towards the Republican candidates. Table 11 displays the results between anger and fear, and participation with the education layer. For all three categories of education, there was statistical significance and similar increase in participation as the target emotions increased. However, for respondents with some college education, the strength of association is on the weaker side (Phi = .117).

Table 12 shows the results from the final crosstabulation in regard to education which shows the relationship between hope and pride toward the Democratic candidate, and participation. Again, there was no statistical significance for individuals with a college or advanced degree. However, there was significance for individuals with high school level

(P < .000) and those with some college (P < .000). The strength of association for high school

was consistent with previous analyses (Phi = .140), showing an increase in participation by

approximately 15%. However, the association for those with some college is very weak (Phi =

.118), with participation only increasing by 1.5%, which is also in line with the analyses for hope

and pride towards the Democratic candidate. These results display a significant education effect,

as those with a lower level education were more persuaded by hope and pride toward the

Republican candidate than those with a higher-level education.

Table 9: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Education Level

Education Level				Both Anger and Fear	Anger or Fear	No Anger or Fear	Total
				Anger and Fear Toward the Democratic Candidate			
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	591	842	2135	3568
				53.1%	69.9%	73.9%	68.5%
		Participation	Count	521	363	755	1639
				46.9%	30.1%	26.1%	31.5%
	Total		Count	1112	1205	2890	5207
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	439	462	1039	1940
				47.4%	55.9%	64.0%	57.5%
		Participation	Count	487	364	585	1436
				52.6%	44.1%	36.0%	42.5%
	Total		Count	926	826	1624	3376
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	372	384	645	1401
				46.7%	49.2%	51.6%	49.6%
		Participation	Count	425	396	605	1426
				53.3%	50.8%	48.4%	50.4%
	Total		Count	797	780	1250	2827
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

High School (12 grades or fewer, includes non-college): Chi = 161.289, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .176
Some College (13 grades or more but no degree):   Chi = 67.292, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V= .141
College or Advanced Degree: Chi = 4.768, P < .092. Phi and Cramer's V = .041

*Significance at P < .05

Table 10: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Education Level

Education Level				Both Hope and Pride	Hope or Pride	No Hope or Pride	Total
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	1264	752	1531	3547
				62.9%	74.0%	71.1%	68.5%
		Participation	Count	746	264	622	1632
				37.1%	26.0%	28.9%	31.5%
	Total		Count	2010	1016	2153	5179
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	779	419	733	1931
				55.8%	62.6%	57.0%	57.6%
		Participation	Count	618	250	552	1420
				44.2%	37.4%	43.0%	42.4%
	Total		Count	1397	669	1285	3351
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	602	319	477	1398
				44.6%	58.6%	51.7%	49.6%
		Participation	Count	748	225	446	1419
				55.4%	41.4%	48.3%	50.4%
	Total		Count	1350	544	923	2817
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

High School (12 grades or fewer, includes non-college): Chi = 50.475, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .099
Some College (13 grades or more but no degree):   Chi = 9.028, P < .011*. Phi and Cramer's V= .052
College or Advanced Degree: Chi = 32.919, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .108

*Significance at P < .05

Table 11: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Education Level

Education Level				Both Anger and Fear	Anger or Fear	No Anger or Fear	Total
				Anger and Fear Toward the Republican Candidate			
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	692	955	1911	3558
				57.7%	68.4%	73.6%	68.5%
		Participation	Count	507	442	687	1636
				42.3%	31.6%	26.4%	31.5%
	Total		Count	1199	1397	2598	5194
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	519	489	929	1937
				49.3%	58.4%	62.8%	57.5%
		Participation	Count	533	348	550	1431
				50.7%	41.6%	37.2%	42.5%
	Total		Count	1052	837	1479	3368
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	476	347	575	1398
				41.3%	54.1%	56.1%	49.6%
		Participation	Count	677	294	450	1421
				58.7%	45.9%	43.9%	50.4%
	Total		Count	1153	641	1025	2819
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

High School (12 grades or fewer, includes non-college): Chi = 95.438, P < .000 *. Phi and Cramer's V = .136
Some College (13 grades or more but no degree):   Chi = 46.079, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V= .117
College or Advanced Degree: Chi = 54.482, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .139

*Significance at P < .05

Table 12: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Education Level

Education Level				Both Hope and Pride	Hope or Pride	No Hope or Pride	Total
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	927	707	1921	3555
				58.8%	72.5%	73.1%	68.6%
		Participation	Count	649	268	707	1624
				41.2%	27.5%	26.9%	31.4%
	Total		Count	1576	975	2628	5179
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	588	357	983	1928
				49.5%	61.4%	61.8%	57.4%
		Participation	Count	599	224	607	1430
				50.5%	38.6%	38.2%	42.6%
	Total		Count	1187	581	1590	3358
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)	Count of Campaign Participation Activities 4-Category	No Participation	Count	458	287	650	1395
				47.6%	53.8%	49.3%	49.6%
		Participation	Count	504	246	669	1419
				52.4%	46.2%	50.7%	50.4%
	Total		Count	962	533	1319	2814
				100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Header spanning "Both Hope and Pride", "Hope or Pride", "No Hope or Pride": **Hope and Pride Toward the Republican Candidate**

High School (12 grades or fewer, includes non-college): Chi = 101.662, P < .000 *. Phi and Cramer's V = .140
Some College (13 grades or more but no degree):   Chi = 46.634, P < .000 *. Phi and Cramer's V= .118
College or Advanced Degree: Chi = 5.423, P < .066. Phi and Cramer's V = .044

*Significance at P < .05

Disaggregated by Both Racial Identity and Education Level

Despite mixed results, there was still statistical significance for those displaying the

target emotions towards both the Democratic and Republican candidate which continues to

affirm the original hypothesis. However, differentiating between individuals with none, some or a complete college degree sheds additional light on how emotions affect different women. As shown throughout the previous analyses, emotions affect women's participation at varying degrees of intensity based on the respondent's racial identity and their level of education. As these findings were significant, the final question that was left to fully determine how emotions affect political participation was to what extent women's racial identity and education level had an affect when disaggregated together. To determine this, I performed four additional crosstabulations that tested the effects of the four target emotions toward both the Democratic and Republican candidates when layered by "race_summary" and "education4cat."

The next crosstabulation was created by testing the relationship of anger and fear towards the Democratic candidate and political participation when layered by education and race. As displayed in Table 13, within the High School education category, all three racial identities are statistically significant. However, White, non-Hispanic and Hispanic women have a stronger association with the target emotions and political participation (Phi = .189 and .180 respectively) while Black, non-Hispanic women showed a weaker relationship within these variables. The results for the category "Some College" showed similar results, with Black, non-Hispanic women showing no statistical significance. White, non-Hispanic and Hispanic women were both statistically significant, but the relationship between the emotion and participation was stronger for Hispanic women (Phi = .200) than White, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .164). The "College or Advanced Degree" showed that anger and fear toward the Democratic Candidate and Political Participation was only significant for Hispanic women (P < .016). The strength of the relationship was stronger than the previous two categories as well, displaying a strong Phi and Cramer's V score of .237.

Table 13: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Education Level and Race

Education Level	Race		Both Anger and Fear	Anger or Fear	No Anger or Fear	Total
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	445	288	448	1181
			46.2%	30.7%	24.9%	31.9%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	20	33	193	246
			54.1%	27.7%	31.3%	31.9%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	31	29	86	146
			50.0%	26.4%	24.8%	28.1%
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	433	279	370	1082
			54.0%	44.4%	35.0%	43.5%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	12	33	122	167
			38.7%	37.1%	37.9%	37.8%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	27	40	49	116
			42.9%	54.8%	31.4%	39.7%
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	377	324	481	1182
			53.4%	49.9%	51.7%	51.7%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	9	33	67	109
			64.3%	61.1%	45.9%	50.9%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	20	19	27	66
			62.5%	52.8%	34.6%	45.2%

Table header note: columns are under "Anger and Fear Toward the Democratic Candidate"

High School (12 grades or fewer)
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 132.246, $P < .000$*. Phi and Cramer's V = .189
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 9.408, $P < .009$*. Phi and Cramer's V = .110
Hispanic: Chi = 16.759, $P < .000$*. Phi and Cramer's V = .180

Some College (13 grades or more but no degree)
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 66.885, $P < .000$*. Phi and Cramer's V = .164
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = .032, $P < .984$. Phi and Cramer's V = .008
Hispanic: Chi = 11.686, $P < .003$*. Phi and Cramer's V = .200

College or Advanced Degree
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 1.638, $P < .441$. Phi and Cramer's V = .027
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 4.723, $P < .094$. Phi and Cramer's V = .149
Hispanic: Chi = 8.229, $P < .016$*. Phi and Cramer's V = .237

*Significance at $P < .05$

Following suit with the previous analyses, I crosstabulated the variables of hope and pride toward the Democratic Candidate and Participation, and then disaggregated it by education level and race. Table 14 shows that all three racial identities are statistically significant within the "High school" category, however, the relationship for White, non-Hispanic women is extremely weak (Phi = .079). As displayed within the table, the relationship between hope and pride toward the Democratic candidate and participation is very strong for Black, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .264). Though significant, the relationship between these emotions and Hispanic women is much weaker (Phi = .124). Similarly, the results for the category "Some College" show that there is statistical significance among all three racial identities, but there is virtually no relationship between hope and pride, and participation among White, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .057). However, hope and pride toward the Democratic Candidate have a much stronger relationship among Hispanic women (Phi = .201) and Black, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .146). Within the "College or Advanced Degree" category, both White, non-Hispanic and Black, non-Hispanic women are shown to have statistical significance (P < .000 and P < .003 respectively). While both are significant, the relationship between the target emotions and participation is over double the strength of association for Black, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .231) than it is for White, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .111). There is no statistical significance within this sub-category for Hispanic women, which is fairly in line with the results of Table 13, in which Hispanic women had a stronger relationship within the category of "College or Advanced Degree" with anger and fear towards the Democratic candidate.

High School (12 grades or fewer)

Table 14: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Education Level and Race

| Education Level | Race | | Hope and Pride Toward the Democratic Candidate | | | |
			Both Hope and Pride	Hope or Pride	No Hope or Pride	Total
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	435	202	541	1178
			37.0%	27.3%	30.6%	32.0%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	203	27	14	244
			40.4%	21.3%	10.1%	31.8%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	85	28	35	148
			34.4%	25.7%	22.0%	28.7%
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	374	196	501	1071
			43.1%	38.3%	45.8%	43.3%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	127	25	13	165
			42.1%	32.9%	22.0%	37.8%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	74	20	22	116
			49.0%	33.3%	27.2%	39.7%
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	577	192	409	1178
			57.1%	42.4%	50.4%	51.8%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	92	12	4	108
			56.4%	38.7%	20.0%	50.5%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	32	13	21	66
			43.8%	43.3%	47.7%	44.9%

High School (12 grades or fewer)
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 22.795, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .079
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 53.606, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .264
Hispanic: Chi = 7.891, P < .019*. Phi and Cramer's V = .124

Some College (13 grades or more but no degree)
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 8.134, P < .017*. Phi and Cramer's V = .057
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 9.343, P < .009*. Phi and Cramer's V = .146
Hispanic: Chi = 11.797, P < .003*. Phi and Cramer's V = .201

College or Advance Degree
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 28.237, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .111
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 11.468, P < .003*. Phi and Cramer's V = .231
Hispanic: Chi = .205, P < .902. Phi and Cramer's V = .037

*Significance at P < .05

The third crosstabulation in this series utilizes anger and fear toward the Republican candidate as the independent variable and participation as the dependent, to which I then applied the layers of education level and race. The results of this crosstabulation showed statistical significance among all racial identities throughout both "High School" and "Some College" ($P < .000*$) and among Black non-Hispanic and White, non-Hispanic women within "College or Advanced Degree" ($P < .000*$). Though there was no statistical significance among Hispanic women within the "College or Advanced Degree" portion, their measure of association was strong within the previous two categories ($Phi = .185$ and $Phi = .251$). Overall, the strongest of the associations within this section is among Black, non-Hispanic women in the "High School" ($Phi = .286$) and "College or Advanced Degree" ($Phi = .278$), displaying that anger and fear toward the Republican candidate is a large motivating factor for these women to participation in politics. Though still notable, the Phi and Cramer's V scores for White, non-Hispanic women are among the weakest throughout all three categories among the respondent's that showed statistical significance, displaying that anger and fear toward the Republican candidate is a motivating factor for White, non-Hispanic women but it is not as big of a motivator for them as it is among Black, non-Hispanic and Hispanic women.

Table 15: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Education Level and Race

Education Level	Race		Anger and Fear Toward the Republican Candidate		
			Both Anger and Fear	Anger or Fear	No Anger or Fear
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	317	301	563
			42.4%	30.8%	28.5%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	122	77	48
			48.4%	33.5%	16.6%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	52	46	46
			37.4%	34.3%	19.3%
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	347	265	468
			50.3%	43.9%	39.4%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	87	47	33
			47.5%	37.0%	25.4%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	60	24	31
			55.6%	31.6%	29.2%
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	526	255	397
			59.7%	47.5%	46.1%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	79	17	13
			61.7%	38.6%	30.2%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	28	14	23
			49.1%	43.8%	40.4%

High School (12 grades or fewer)
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 49.503, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .116
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 62.850, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .286
Hispanic: Chi = 17.569, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .185

Some College (13 grades or more but no degree)
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 21.266, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .128
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 15.912, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .190
Hispanic: Chi = 18.282, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .251

College or Advanced Degree
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 37.421, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .128
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 15.986, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .273
Hispanic: Chi = .898, P < .638. Phi and Cramer's V = .078

*Significance at P < .05

The final crosstabulation that I performed looked at how hope and pride toward the Republican candidate affected participation when disaggregated by both race and education level. There was statistical significance within the "high school" category among Hispanic women (Phi = .154) and White, non-Hispanic women (Phi = .150), showing a clear relationship between hope and pride toward the Republican candidate and participation. However, there was no statistical significance among Black, non-Hispanic women in this category. The next category within this section, "Some College" shows that there was only statistical significance among White, non-Hispanic women (P < .000) and not among Black, non-Hispanic and Hispanic women, displaying that the target emotions are only affective among White, non-Hispanic women in the "Some College" category. Interestingly, the data shows that for the category of hope and pride toward the Republican candidate, women with lower levels of education are more affected by these emotions than women who responded with a higher level of education. This is shown through the final category "College or Advanced Degree" in which there is no statistical significance among any of the three racial identities, showing no relationship between participation and the target emotions.

Table 16: Campaign Participation Activities 4 Category by Education Level and Race

Education Level	Race			Both Hope and Pride	Hope or Pride	No Hope or Pride	Total
				Hope and Pride Toward the Republican Candidate			
2. High school (12 grades or fewer, incl. non-college	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	Count	558	190	425	1173
				40.9%	26.5%	26.5%	31.8%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	Count	24	49	173	246
				35.8%	35.3%	30.9%	32.1%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	Count	39	18	88	145
				42.4%	20.7%	26.2%	28.2%
3. Some college (13 grades or more but no degree;	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	Count	551	175	355	1081
				51.7%	37.7%	37.4%	43.6%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	Count	7	18	140	165
				31.8%	36.7%	37.9%	37.5%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	Count	28	20	68	116
				39.4%	42.6%	39.5%	40.0%
4. College or advanced degree (no cases 1948)	1. White non-Hispanic	Participation	Count	462	202	514	1178
				53.2%	46.5%	52.6%	51.7%
	2. Black non-Hispanic	Participation	Count	7	19	83	109
				53.8%	54.3%	50.3%	51.2%
	3. Hispanic	Participation	Count	20	11	34	65
				48.8%	40.7%	43.6%	44.5%

High School (12 grades or fewer)
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 82.528, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .150
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = 1.433, P < .488. Phi and Cramer's V = .048
Hispanic: Chi = 12.256, P < .002*. Phi and Cramer's V = .154

Some College (13 grades or more but no degree)
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 49.901, P < .000*. Phi and Cramer's V = .142
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = .346, P < .841. Phi and Cramer's V = .028
Hispanic: Chi = .153, P <.927. Phi and Cramer's V = .058

College or Advanced Degree
White, non-Hispanic: Chi = 5.754, P < .056. Phi and Cramer's V = .050
Black, non-Hispanic: Chi = .223, P < .895. Phi and Cramer's V = .032
Hispanic: Chi = .485, P < .785. Phi and Cramer's V = .058

*Significance at P < .05

Discussion

As shown by the initial crosstabulations that tested the original four hypotheses, there is statistical significance showing the relationship between positive and negative emotions, and political participation. The initial analyses showed that different emotions were effective for different people. However, because of the limited nature of those analyses, the question remained regarding which individuals the emotions effected most, and how they varied from each other. As such, it was necessary to do a more in-depth study that broke the results down by the individual's race and education level. Because of this, it was possible to see the various differences amongst women such as seeing that hope and pride toward the Democratic candidate was similarly effective in motivating Black women to participate in politics as anger and fear toward the Republican candidate. An additional interesting find was that there was a slight party affect for women with college or advanced degrees in regard to how effective anger and fear was in mobilizing individuals in the education category. Anger and fear toward the Democratic candidate produced significant results for women with high school level or some college (P < .000 and P < .000) but anger and fear toward the Republican candidate produced significant results for all three education categories (P < .000, P< .000, and P < .000). A further study of the positive and negative emotions disaggregated together by the respondent's race and education level showed that there was a strong education effect in terms of hope and pride towards the Republican candidate, in that Hispanic and White, non-Hispanic women who reported a lower level of education were more heavily affected by these emotions than Hispanic and White, non-Hispanic women with a higher level of education.

The present study both expands upon and affirms previous findings that emotion is a driver for women to participate in politics. Moreover, there is the distinction that various

emotions have different affect on multiple demographics of women, and as such, it furthers the argument that it is harmful to group all women into a single category without first recognizing their differences as individuals. Further research may look into the affects of these emotions within specific election cycles, or expand on other demographics of women, such as respondent's party identification, income status, and potentially the area of which the respondents reside within the United States.

Overall, the results of the present study show that emotion is effective in mobilizing women to participate. The analyses show that anger, fear, hope and pride all promote significant increase in political participation for women across the board. By continuing to break the results down by disaggregating by race and education level, I was afforded the ability to take a closer look as to whom is more significantly influenced by emotion in terms of mobilizing political participation.

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