The Year of the isms: The Sobering Reality of 2016

Brian F. Schaffner

University of Massachusetts Amherst
Cooperative Congressional Election Study

December 4, 2016
Education and Presidential Vote among Whites

Source: Exit poll results.
In wake of this general election, we have fairly consistent narratives about who mattered, but competing narratives about why
In wake of this general election, we have fairly consistent narratives about who mattered, but competing narratives about why

**The Upshot**

*Election 2016*  |  Results  |  How Trump Won  |  Exit Polls

Why Trump Won: Working-Class Whites

Huge Margin Among Working-Class Whites Lifts Trump to a Stunning Election Upset
In wake of this general election, we have fairly consistent narratives about who mattered, but competing narratives about why

Why Trump Won: Working-Class Whites

Huge Margin Among Working-Class Whites Lifts Trump to a Stunning Election Upset

Key for Trump voters? Economic anxiety
In wake of this general election, we have fairly consistent narratives about who mattered, but competing narratives about why

Huge Margin Among Working-Class Whites Lifts Trump to a Stunning Election Upset

Key for Trump voters? Economic anxiety

Trump’s win is a reminder of the incredible, unbeatable power of racism

Hostility toward women is one of the strongest predictors of Trump support
Trying to understand the why

- Nationally representative survey of 2,000 American adults conducted by YouGov
  - Designed with Matt MacWilliams and Tatishe Nteta (Sponsored by OSF)
- Includes over-samples of blacks and Latinos (400 each)
- Field dates: October 25th - 31st
- We included a variety of different batteries to measure concepts like sexism, racism, populism, etc.
Measuring Economic Insecurity

All things considered, how satisfied are you with your overall economic situation?
Measuring Economic Insecurity

All things considered, how satisfied are you with your overall economic situation?

How satisfied are you with your overall economic situation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfaction Level</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely satisfied</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moderately satisfied</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slightly satisfied</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not satisfied at all</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Measuring Sexism

Measured with 5-point agreement/disagreement scales to the following items:

▶ Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for “equality.”
▶ Women are too easily offended.
▶ Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
▶ When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

Measuring Racism

Measured with 6-point agreement/disagreement scales to the following items:

- I am angry that racism exists.
- White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
- Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

Note: Includes controls for gender, education, income, race, age, ideology, party ID. $N = 1,517$. 

Economic Dissatisfaction

Hostile Sexism

Acknowledgement of Racism
isms not uniquely related to views of Clinton

Effect of racism on favorability ratings

Effect of sexism on favorability ratings
isms are uniquely related to views of Trump

Effect of racism on favorability ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acknowledgement of Racism</th>
<th>Favorability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most acknowledging</td>
<td>McCain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trump</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Effect of sexism on favorability ratings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of sexism</th>
<th>Favorability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Least sexist</td>
<td>McCain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trump</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sexism uniquely affected vote choice in 2016

Graph shows effects among likely voters in New Hampshire when controlling for ideology, party id, gender, age, income and education.

Note: UMass Poll of 772 likely voters in New Hampshire (Oct. 17 - 21st).
Average sexism among whites, by education and gender

Average value on sexism scale

- HS or less
- Some college
- College degree
- Postgraduate

Male
Female
Average racism among whites, by education

Average value on racism scale

- HS or less
- Some college
- College degree
- Postgraduate
Sexism and racism account for most of the education gap among whites
Sexism and racism account for most of the education gap among whites
Sexism and racism account for most of the education gap among whites.

College education gap in white support for Trump

- No controls
- Control for economic satisfaction
- Control for economic satisfaction, racism, & sexism
- Control for racism & sexism
Sexism and racism account for most of the education gap among whites

College education gap in white support for Trump

- No controls
- Control for econ. satisfaction
- Control for econ. satisfaction, racism, & sexism
- Control for racism & sexism
Summing up

- Economic insecurity had a significant effect on vote choice in 2016, but...
Economic insecurity had a significant effect on vote choice in 2016, but...

... racism and sexism were even more important
Summing up

- Economic insecurity had a significant effect on vote choice in 2016, but...
- ... racism and sexism were even more important
- In fact, sexism and racism help to explain most of the education gap among whites in 2016