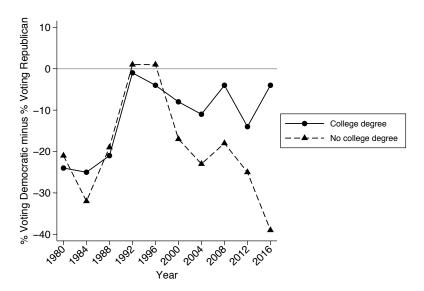
The Year of the isms: The Sobering Reality of 2016

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 \underline{who} mattered, but competing narratives about \underline{why}

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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

: The Upshot	
ELECTION 2016	Results How Trump Won Exit Polls
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ELECTIONS

Key for Trump voters? Economic anxiety

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Why Trump Won: Working-Class Whites

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

ELECTIONS

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

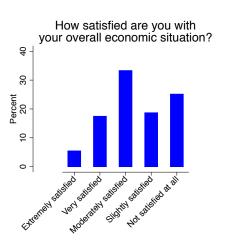
- Nationally representative survey of 2,000 American adults conducted by YouGov
 - Designed with Matt MacWilliams and Tatishe Nteta (Sponsored by OSF)
- Includes over-samples of blacks and Latinos (400 each)
- ▶ Field dates: October 25th 31st
- We included a variety of different batteries to measure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

Meausring Economic Insecurity

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

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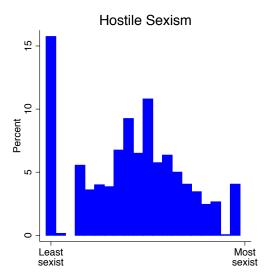


Measuring Sexism

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.

Source: Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. "The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism." <u>Journal of personality and social psychology</u> 70, no. 3 (1996): 491.

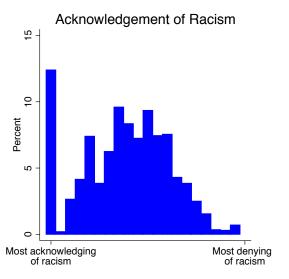


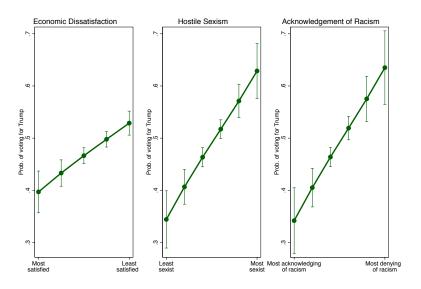
Measuring Racism

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.

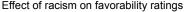
Source: Christopher DeSante and Candis Smith. "The Two Dimensions of Whites? Racial Attitudes, or: The New New Racism."

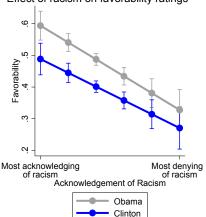




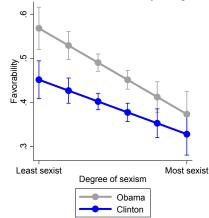
Note: Includes controls for gender, education, income, race, age, ideology, party ID. N = 1,517.

isms not uniquely related to views of Clinton

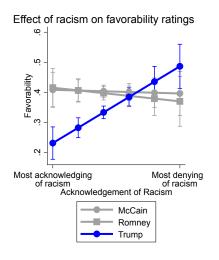


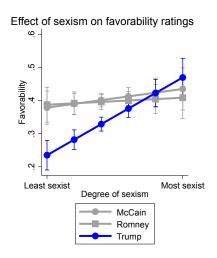


Effect of sexism on favorability ratings

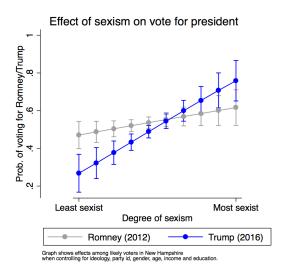


isms are uniquely related to views of Trump





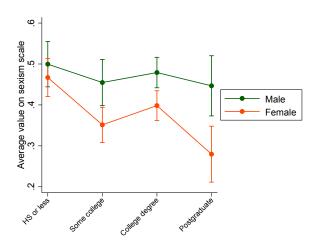
Sexism uniquely affected vote choice in 2016



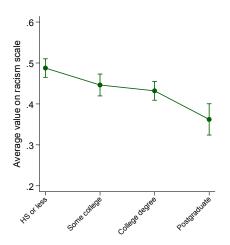
Note: UMass Poll of 772 likely voters in New Hampshire (Oct. 17 - 21st).

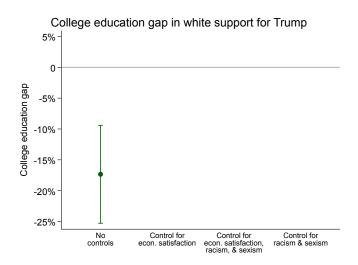


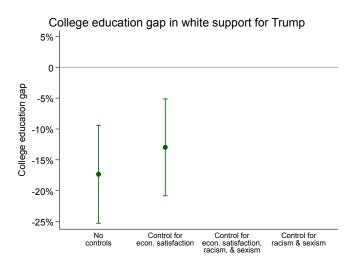
Average sexism among whites, by education and gender

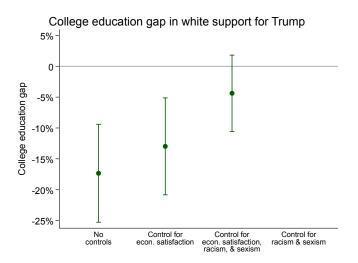


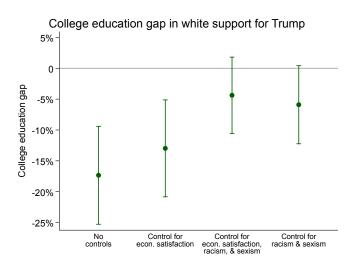
Average racism among whites, by education











Summing up

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- ► 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