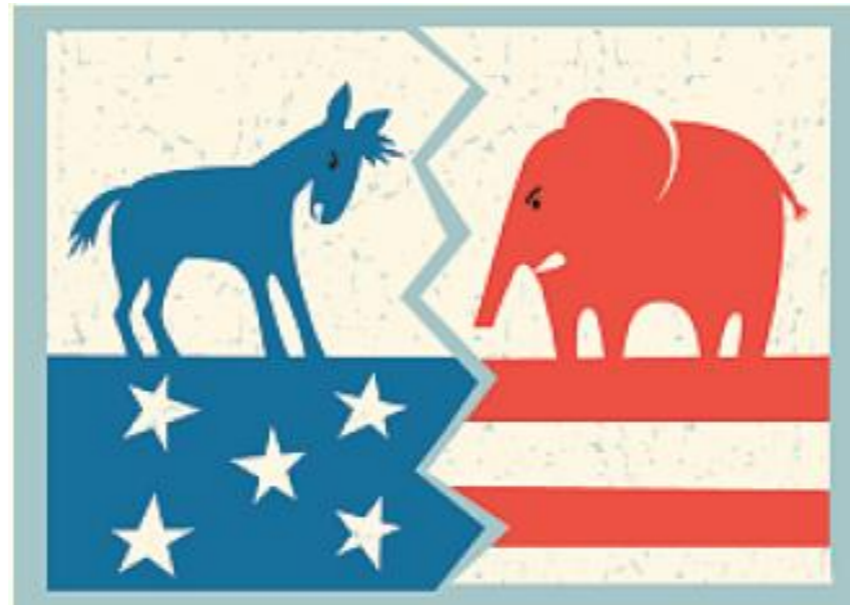
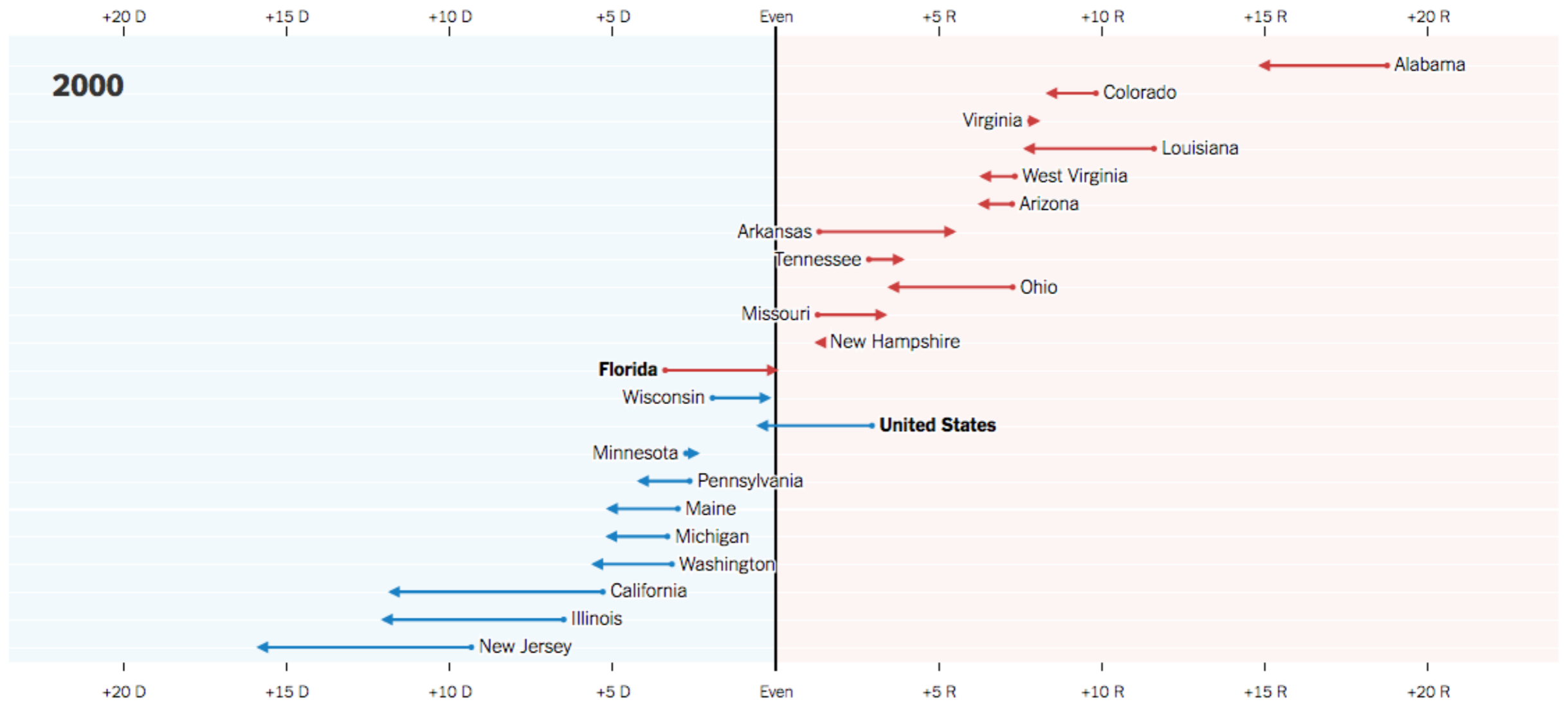


The 2016 Election: What Just Happened?

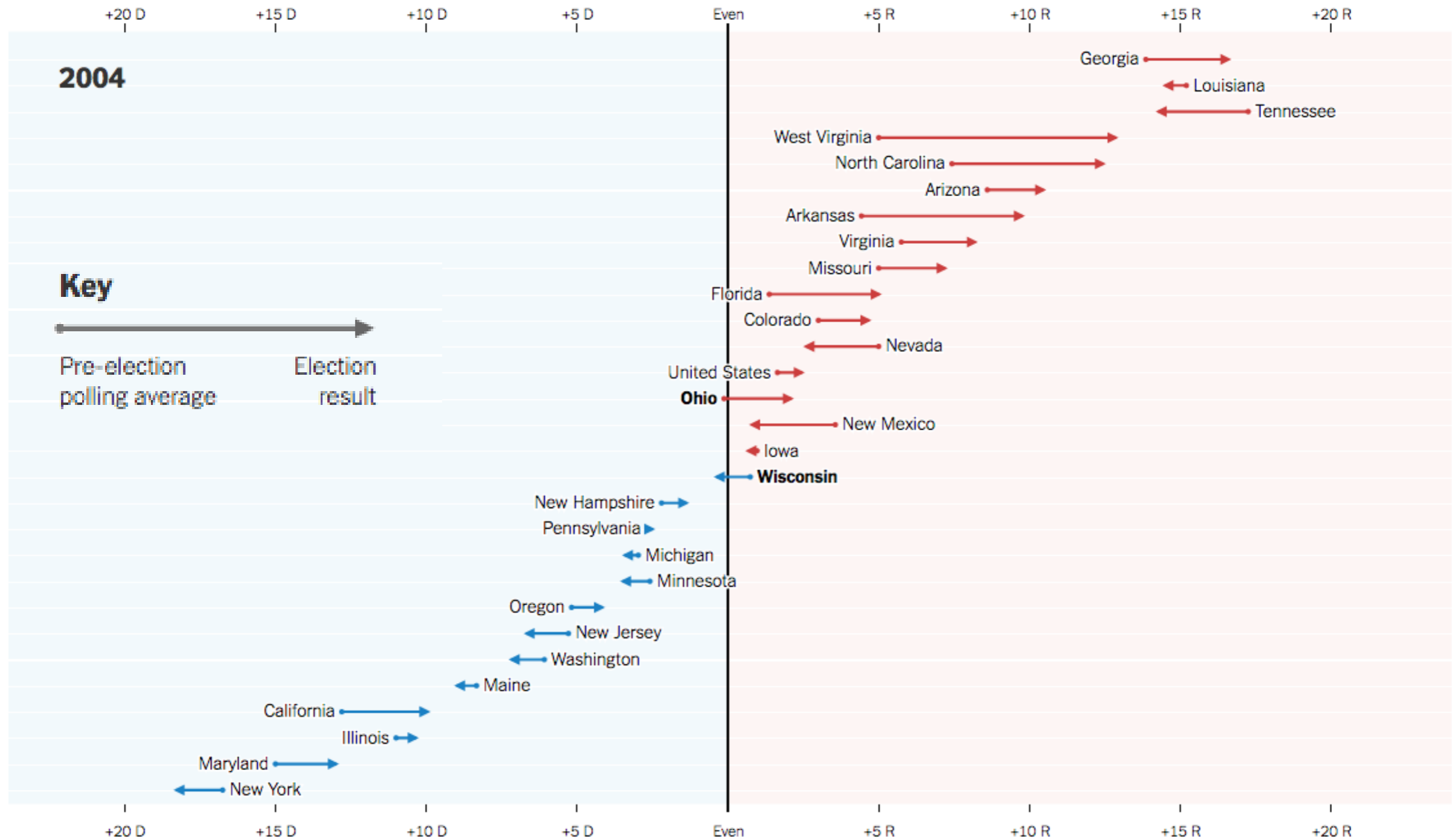


American Politics Research Lab
UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO **BOULDER**

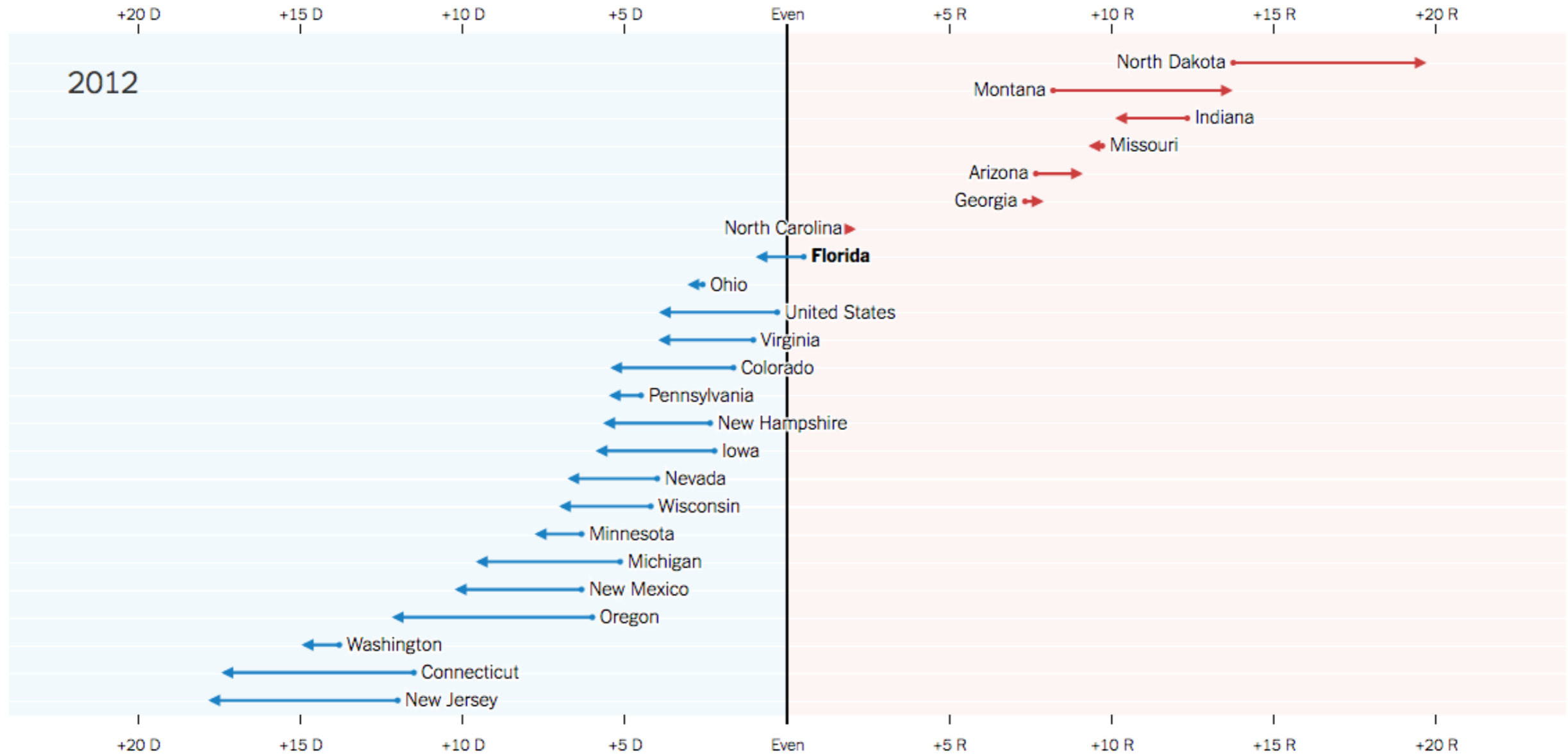
Polling "Misses" by State



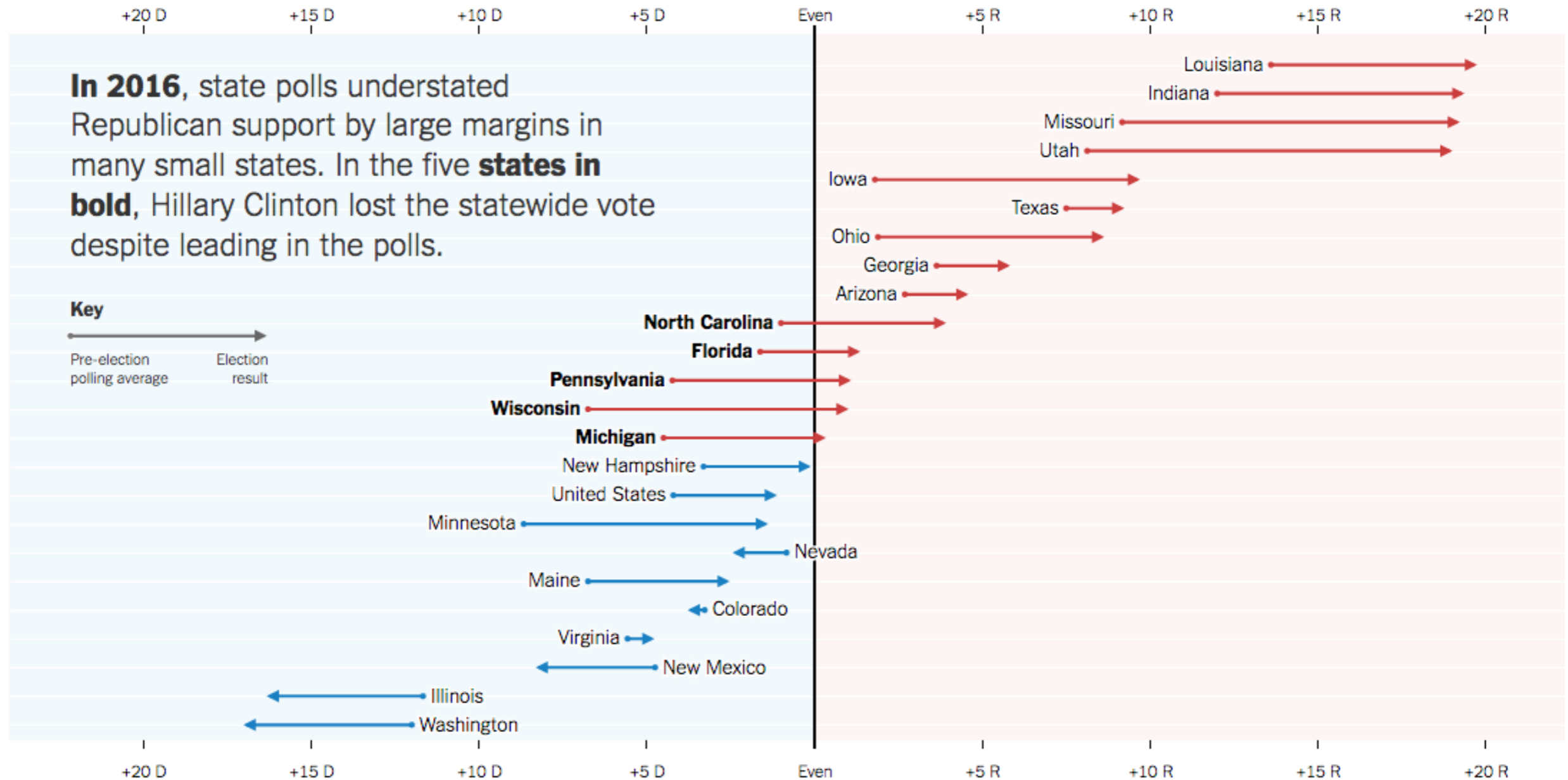
Polling "Misses" by State



Polling "Misses" by State



Polling "Misses" by State



Arrows show simple average of state polls conducted in the three weeks before Election Day in states with at least three polls, compared with the projected final election result.

Wolak's Take on What Happened in 2016

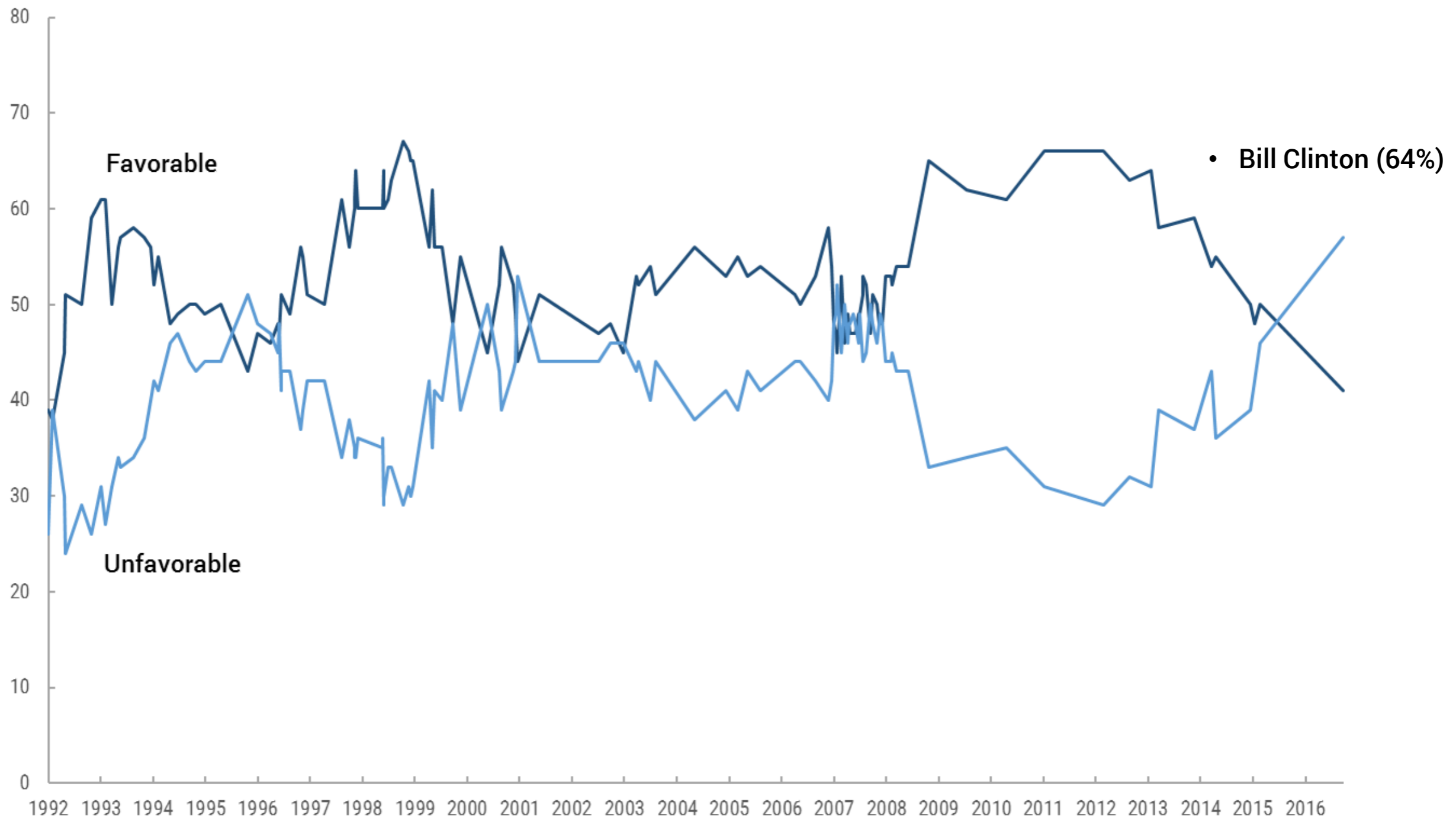
Jennifer Wolak
University of Colorado Boulder

Wolak's take on what happened in 2016

- A story to start
 - Travel back to August 2013...

Why did I bet against Hillary Clinton in 2013?

- She has high rates of public disapproval.

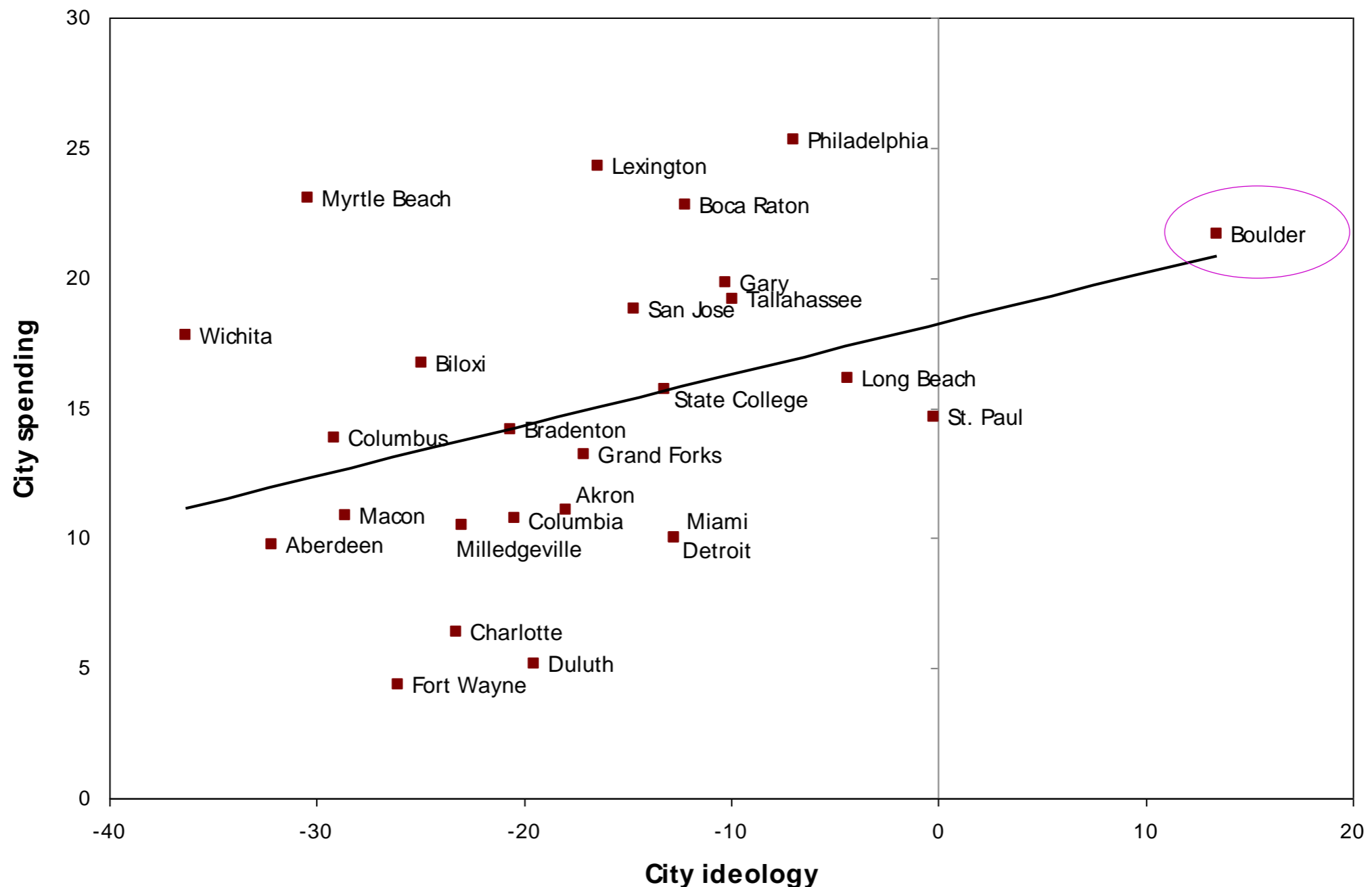


Why did I bet against Clinton in 2013?

- Because I expected most voters wanted the country to move in a conservative direction.
 - Some background on the link between the public's ideological leanings and the outcomes of government.

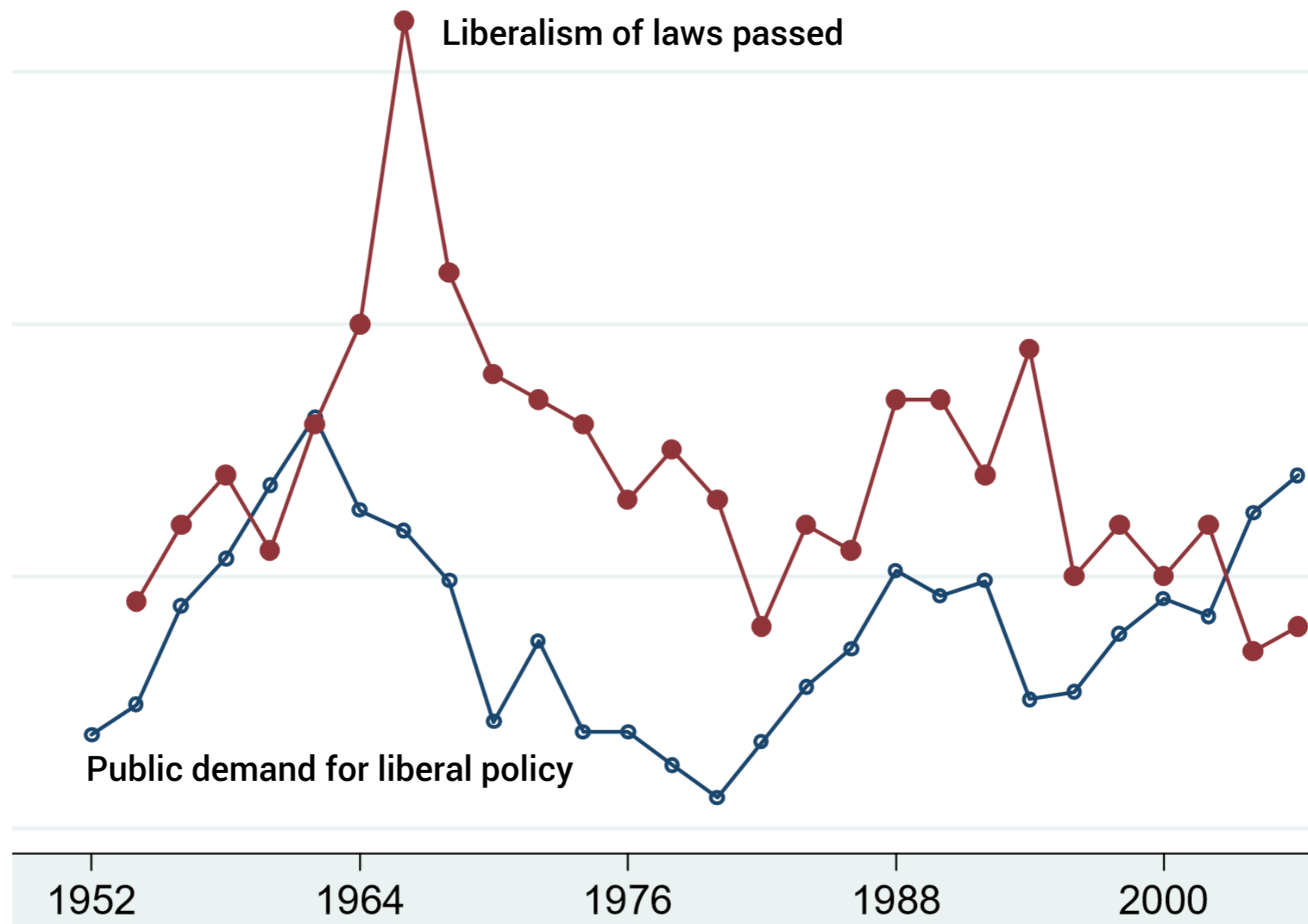
True things about American politics

- We know that liberal electorates are associated with liberal policy outcomes.



True things about American politics

- Moreover, policy changes **follow** from shifts in the liberalism of public preferences.

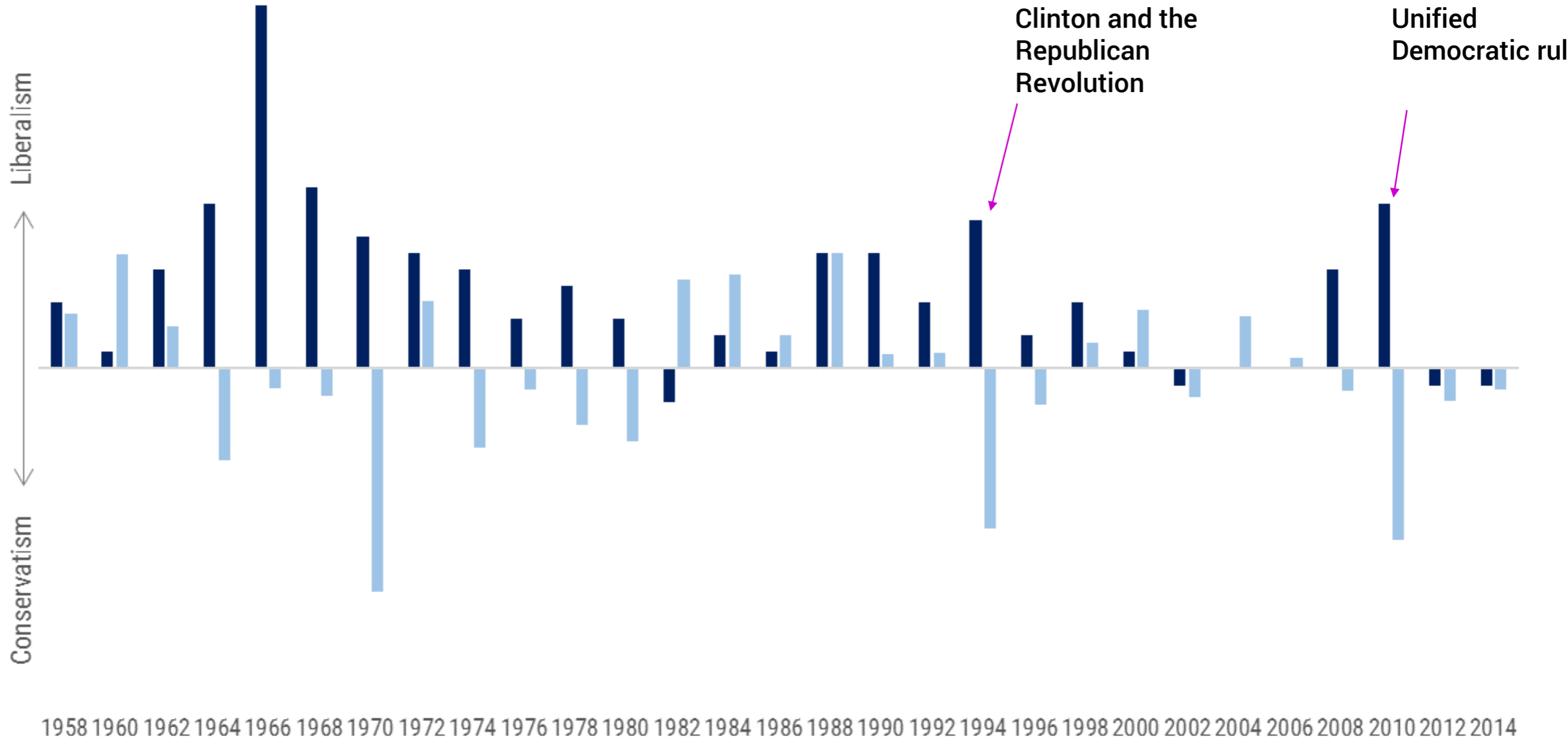


True things about American politics

- The electorate also responds to the ideological tenor of what politicians do.
 - A thermostatic model
 - When things get too liberal in Washington, public mood turns conservative.
 - If people feel public policy is too conservative for their taste, they call for more liberal outcomes.

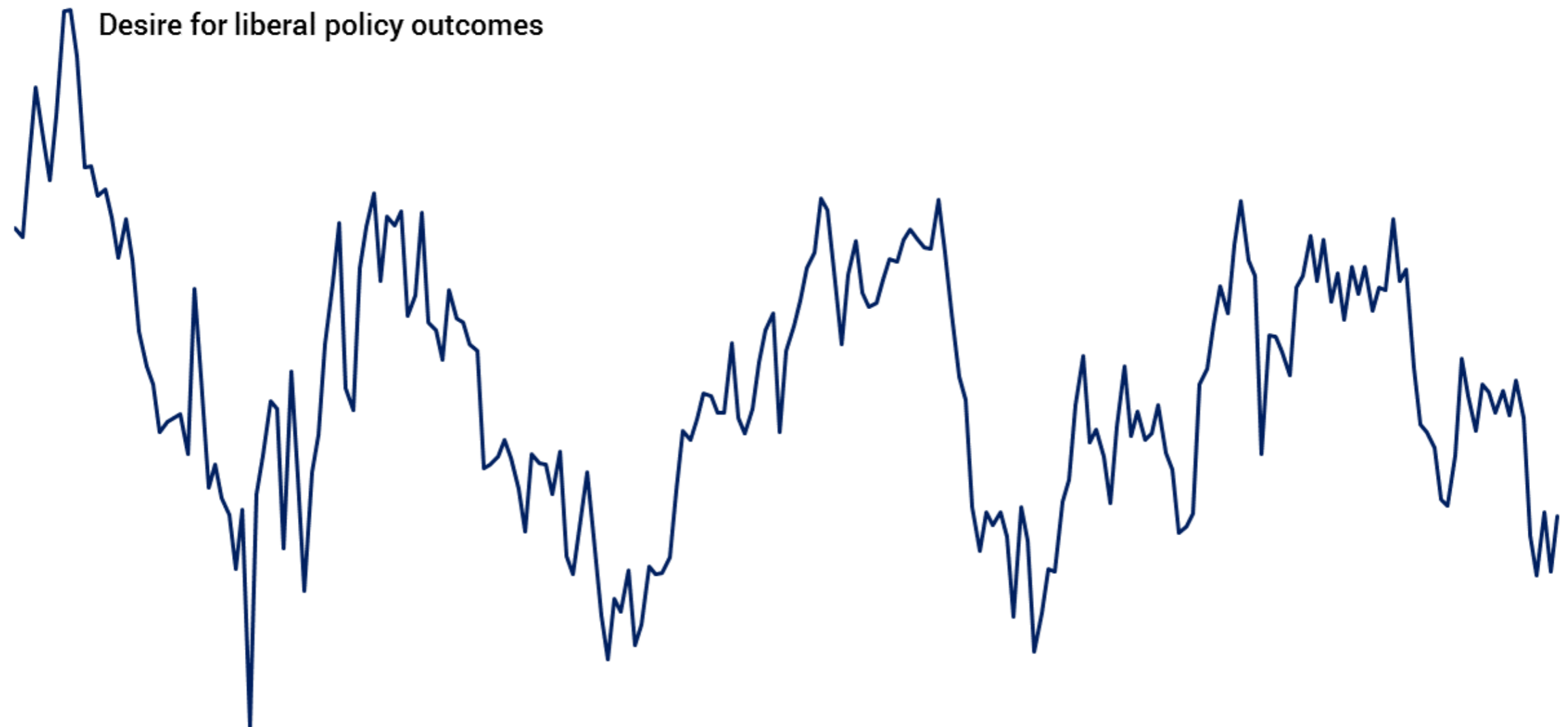
People's preferences respond to the ideological content of laws

■ Net liberalism of laws passed ■ Resulting change in public liberalism



Why did I bet against Clinton in 2013?

- After Obama's reelection, the public's policy mood continues to move in the conservative direction, favoring a Republican for president.

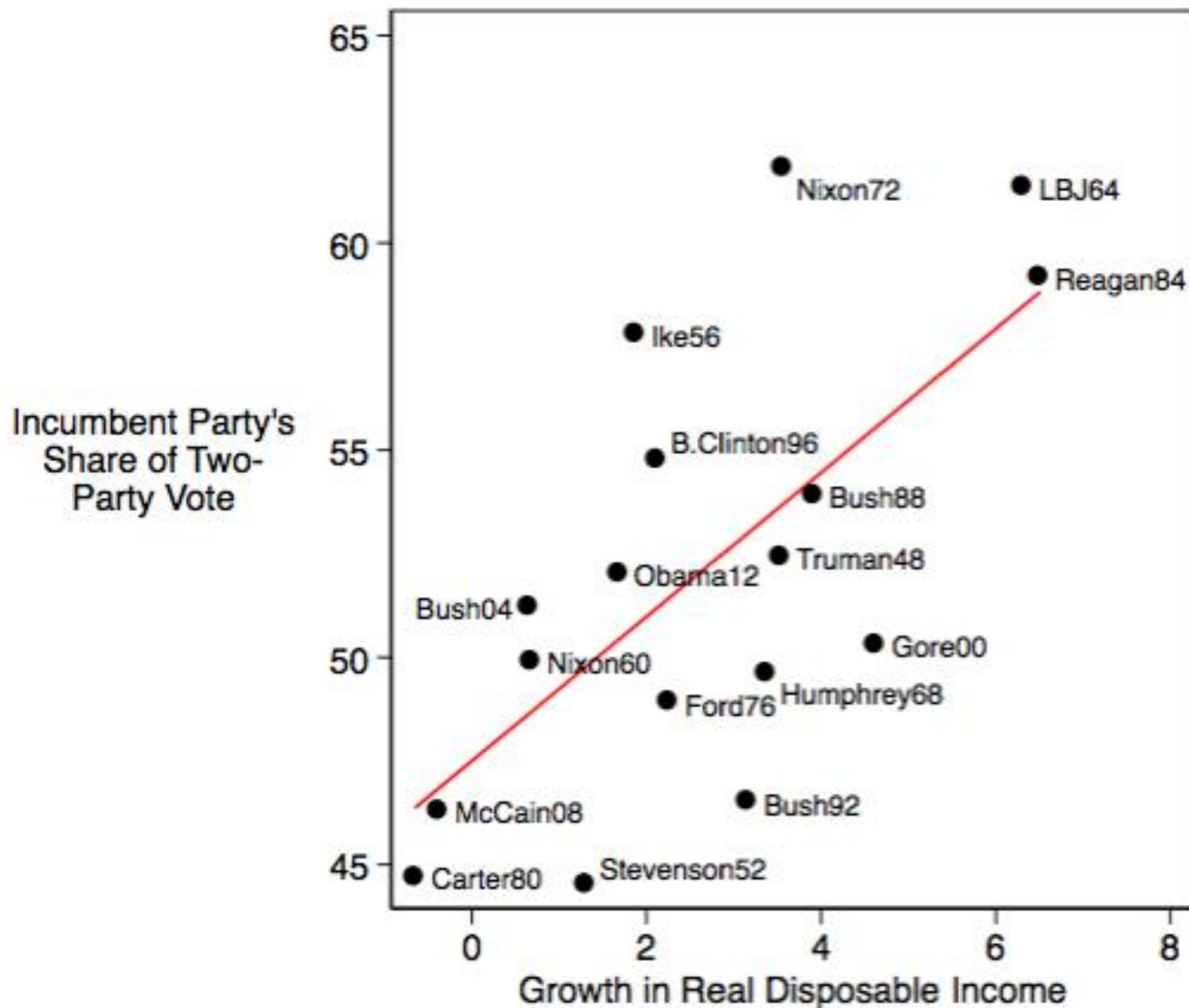


2016

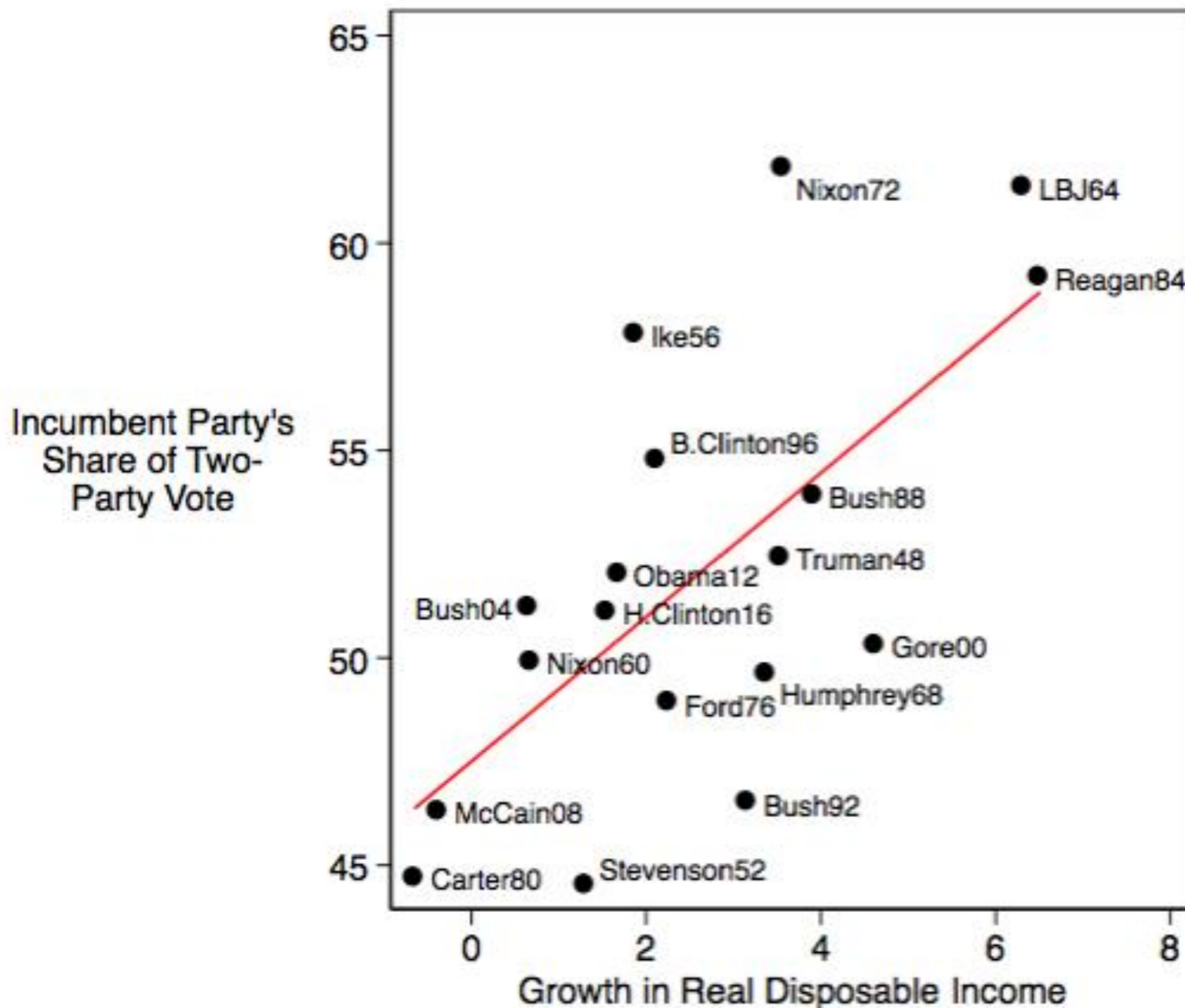
What “should” have
happened?

Seth Masket
University of Denver

The Economy and the Vote, 1948-2012



The Economy and the Vote, 1948-2016



Forecasts of Vote

- Based on
 - Economic growth
 - Terms in office
 - War/peace
 - Presidential popularity
- Consensus prediction: Dem should get 49.9% of vote.
- Actual: 51.5% of vote.

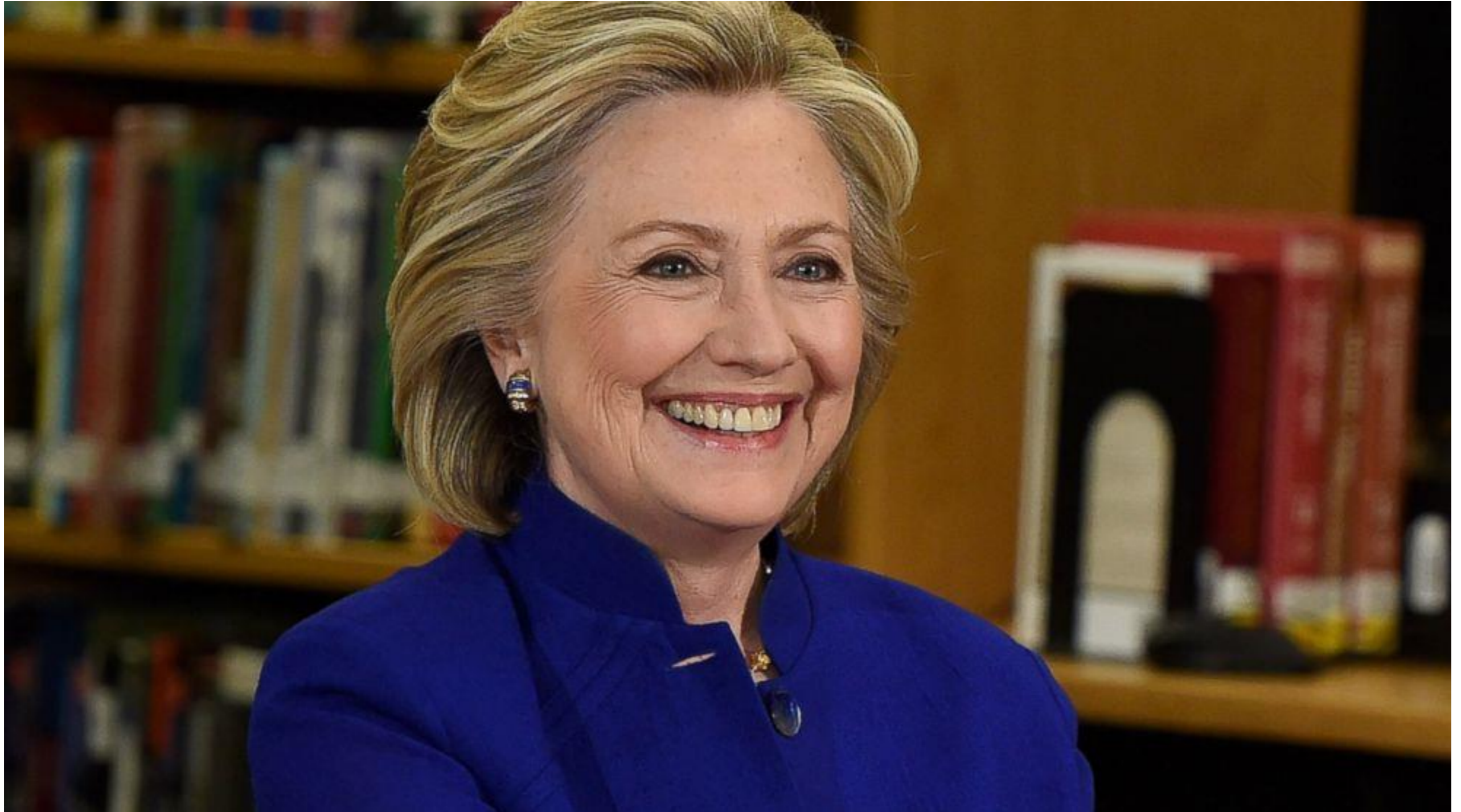
The 2016 Presidential Election: What Happened and Why?

Jennifer L. Lawless
American University
lawless@american.edu

Or . . . Did feminism die with the 2016 presidential election?

Jennifer L. Lawless
American University
lawless@american.edu

The First Female Presidential Nominee



The First Explicitly Sexist Nominee



The Outcome

Hillary Clinton's qualifications were no match for sexism

Hillary Clinton has failed, writes Anne Kingston—as do the dreams of suffragettes with her

Anne Kingston

November 9, 2016

President Obama Calls Out a Sexist Double Standard for Hillary Clinton: 'We're Just Not Used to' Ambitious Women

BY TIERNEY MCAFEE · @TIERNEYMCAFEE

The Outcome

XXfactor

WHAT WOMEN REALLY THINK

NOV. 9 2016 2:24 PM

Donald Trump's Victory Proves That America Hates Women

By Michelle Goldberg



19.9k



956



902

The Outcome

WEDNESDAY, NOV 9, 2016 11:10 AM EST

The misogyny apocalypse: Turns out being white and male counts for more than intelligence, grace or decency

It was unimaginable that America would self-destruct rather than elect a female president. But that's what happened **VIDEO**

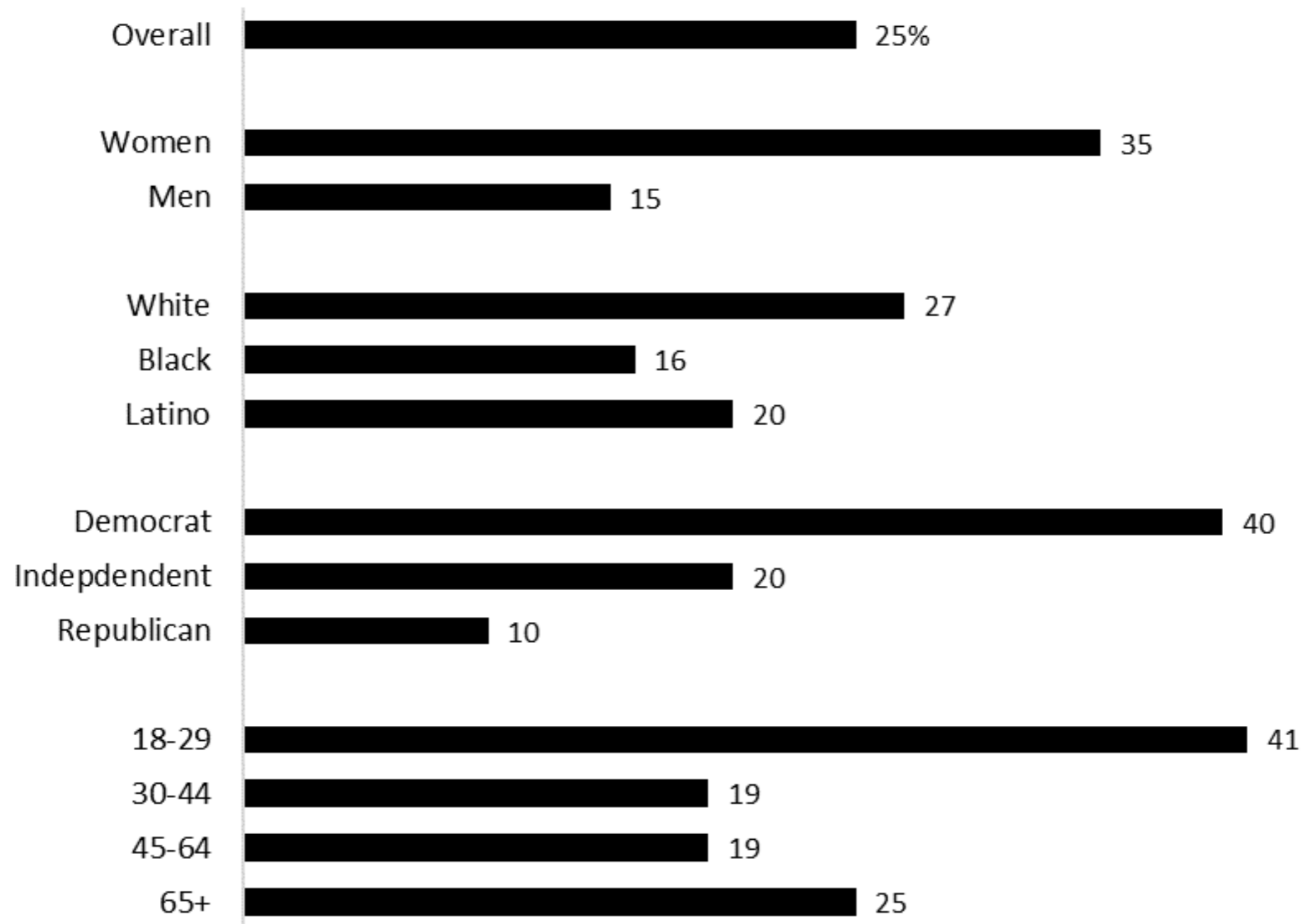
AMANDA MARCOTTE



How did this happen?

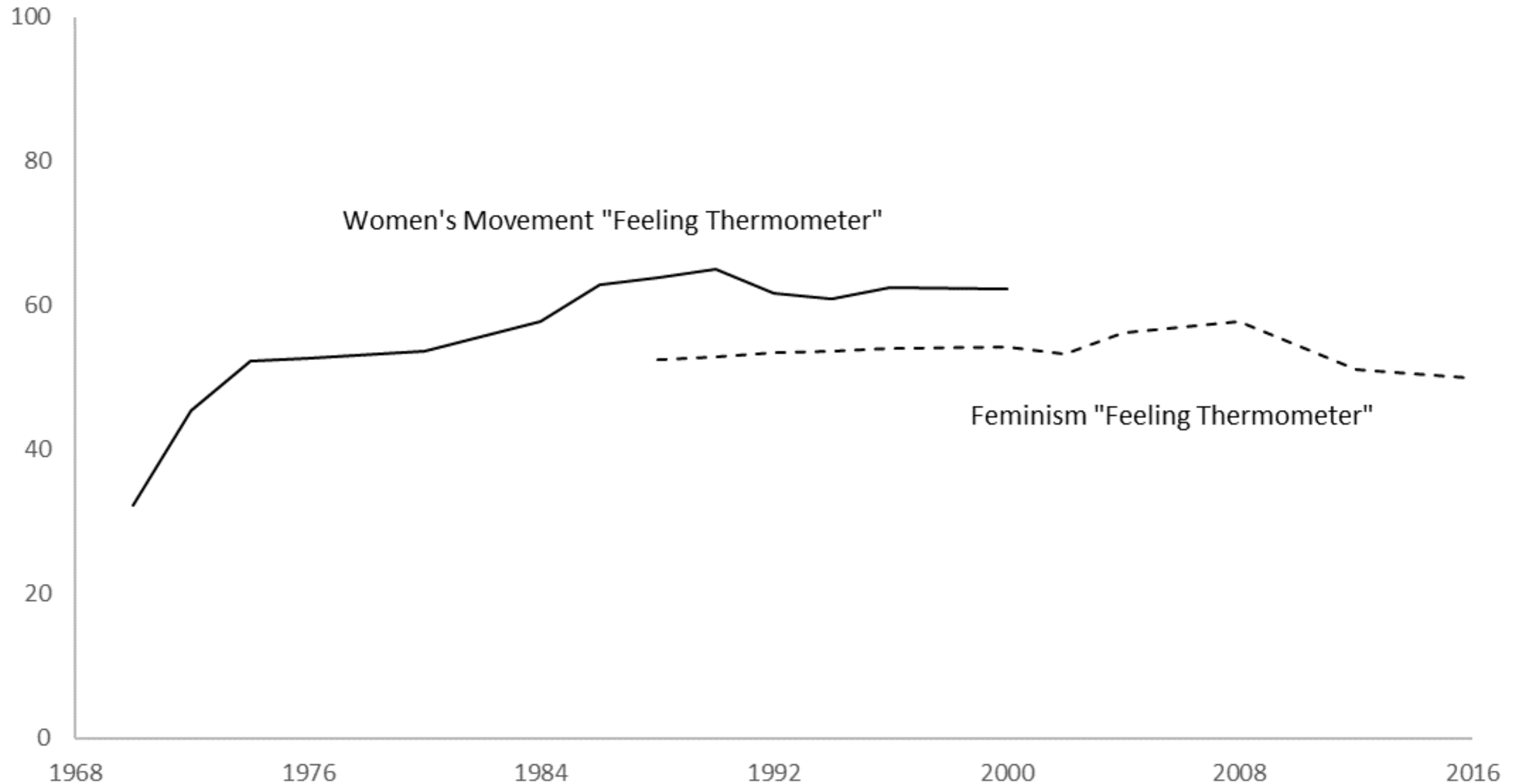
- Maybe public attitudes about feminism and women's rights are at death's doorstep.

Do you consider yourself a feminist?



Notes: Data come from a 2014 *Economist/YouGov* poll. Bars indicate the percentage of people who responded “yes” when asked, “Do you consider yourself a feminist?”

But these ratings are nothing new . . .

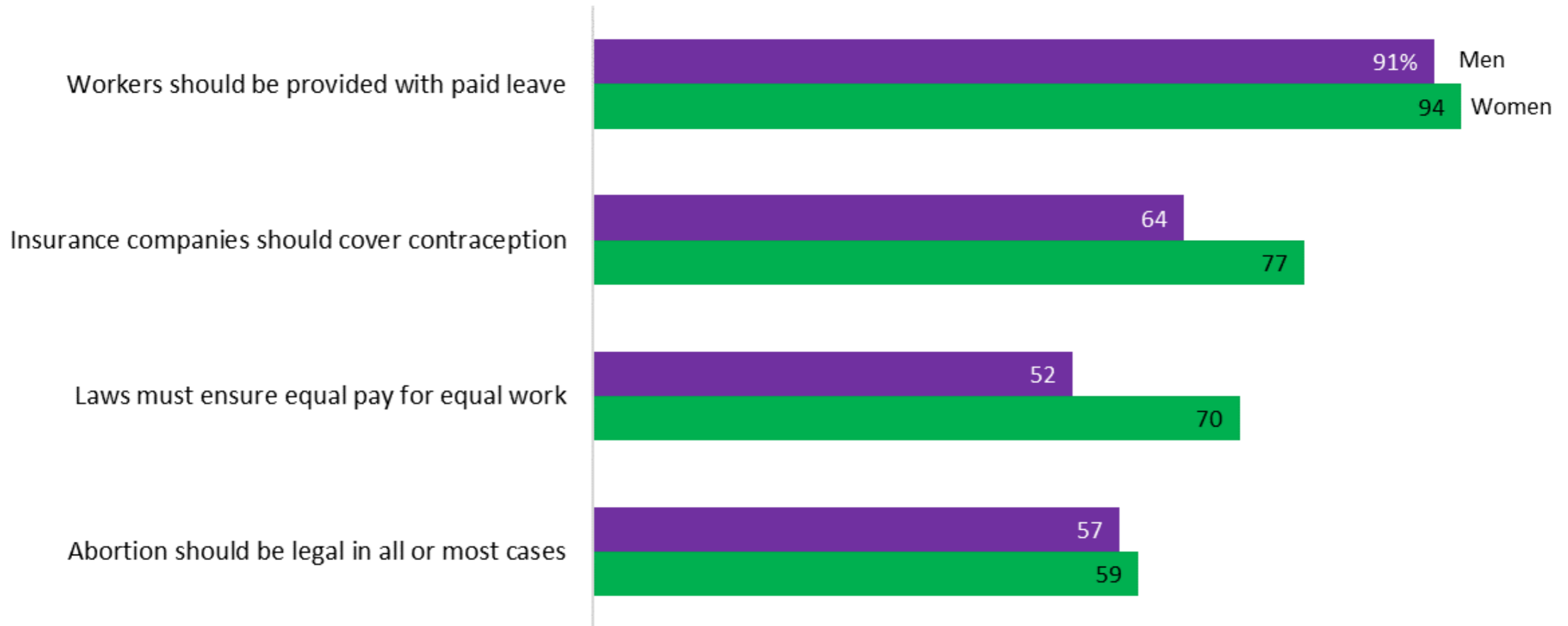


Notes: Data come from the American National Election Studies. Respondents are asked to rate each term on a “feeling thermometer” that ranges from 0 – 100.

How did this happen?

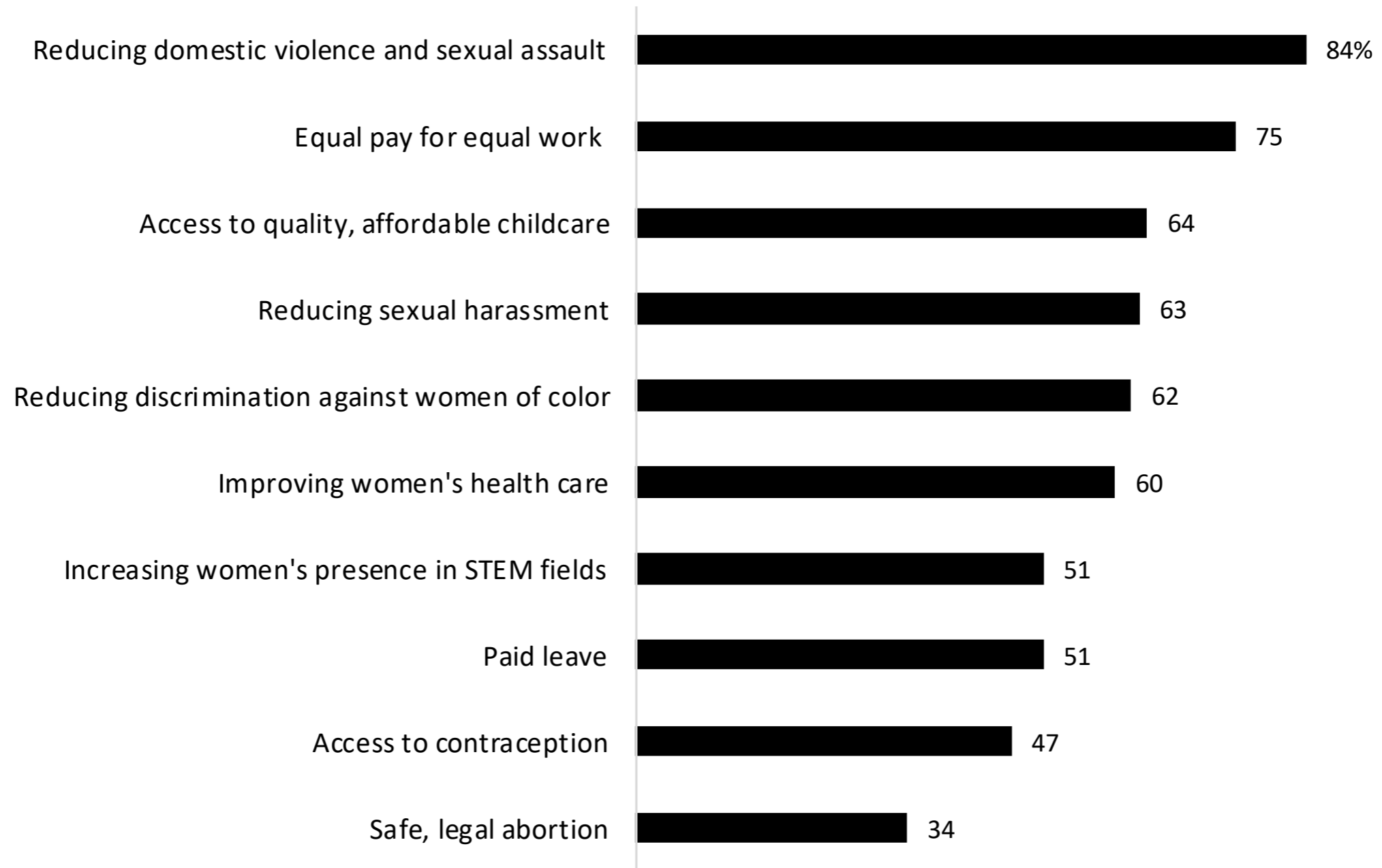
- Maybe public attitudes about feminism and women's rights are at death's doorstep.
- Maybe the public doesn't support policies that would improve the status of women in society.

Support for Feminist Policies



Notes: Data come from a 2016 *Washington Post*/Kaiser Family Foundation poll. Bars indicate the percentage of people who agree with each policy statement.

Top Priorities for Improving Women's Lives

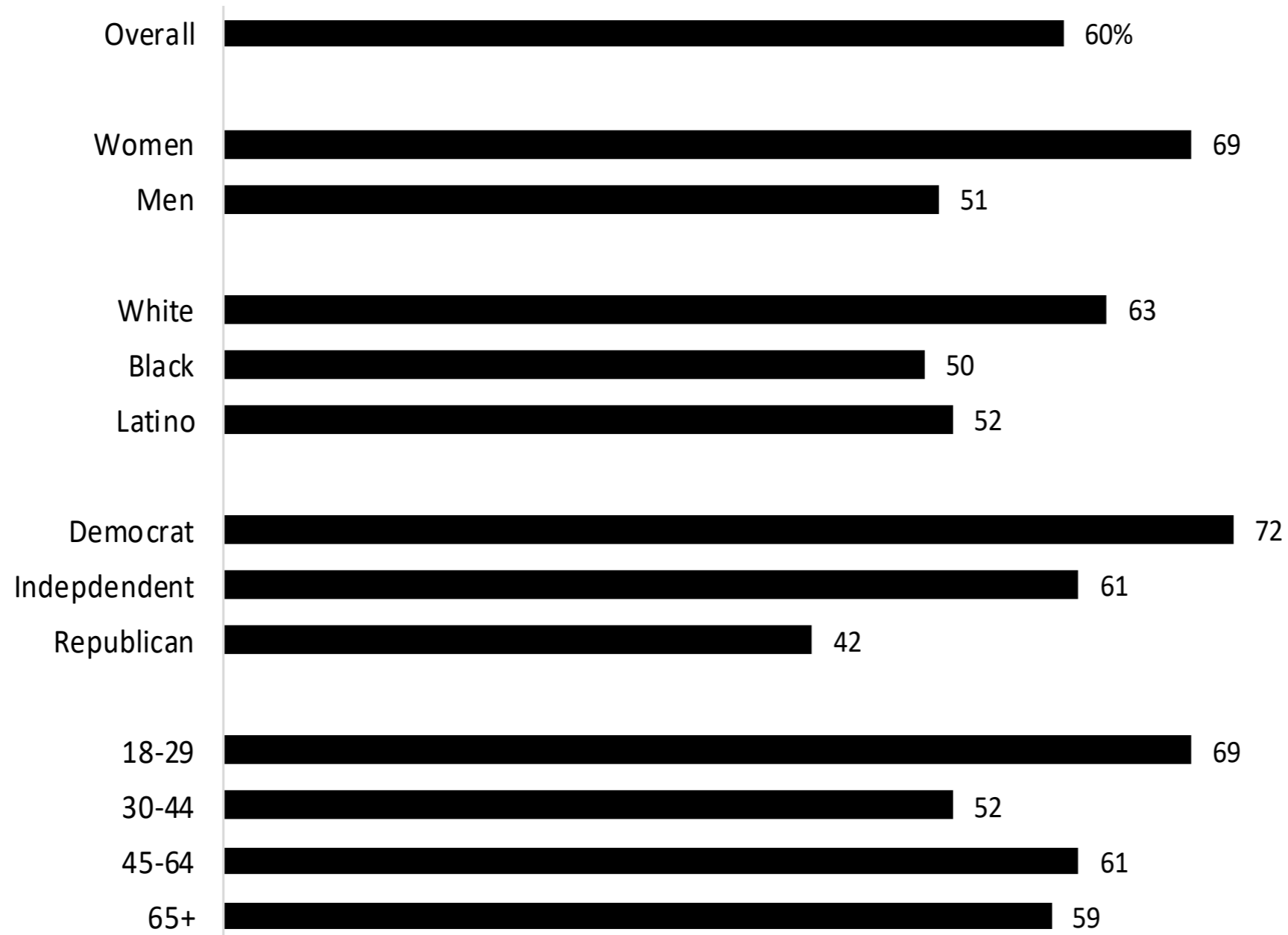


Notes: Data come from a 2016 *Washington Post*/Kaiser Family Foundation poll. Bars indicate the percentage of people who agree with each policy statement.

Do you consider yourself a feminist?

- “One dictionary definition of a feminist is someone who believes in the social, political, and equality of the sexes. As you think about that definition, do you think of yourself as a feminist?”

Do you consider yourself a feminist?



Notes: Data come from a 2014 *Economist/YouGov* poll. Bars indicate the percentage of people who responded “yes” when asked, “Do you consider yourself a feminist?” defined as . . .

How did this happen?

- Maybe public attitudes about feminism and women's rights are at death's doorstep.
- Maybe the public doesn't support policies that would improve the status of women in society.
- We're willing to accept sexism far more than we might have expected.
 - Especially in such highly polarized times.

June 2008



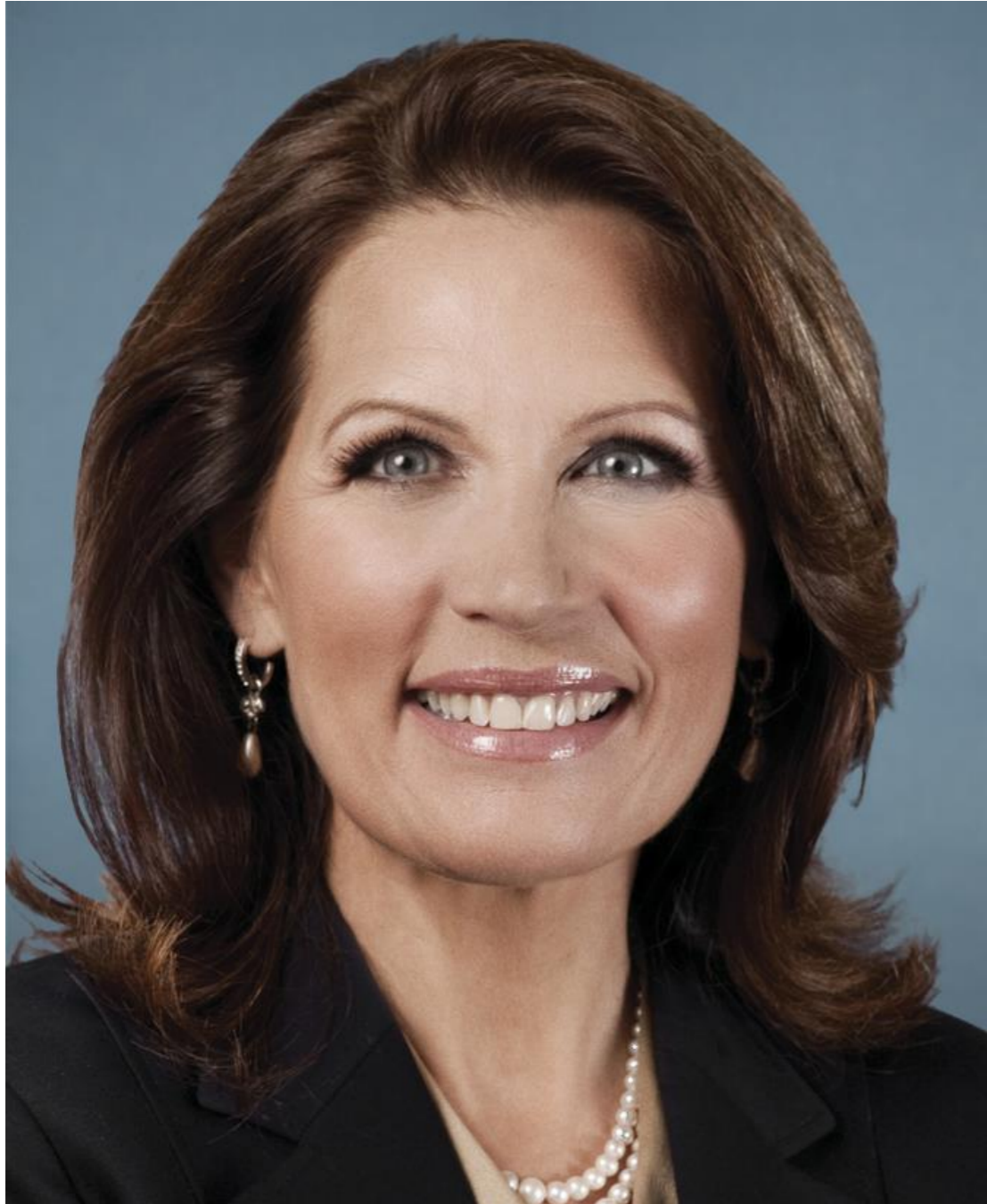
“Of course there is sexism.
We all know that. It’s a
given.”

June 2008

“One of the lessons of the Clinton campaign is the continued and accepted role of sexism in American life, particularly in the media.”



February 2014



“Many voters aren’t ready for a female president.”

September 2014

“The political pundits, the media, the Harrisburg establishment couldn’t believe a woman could serve as governor – couldn’t even imagine it.”



May 2015



“Oh, Katie. Would you ask a male candidate that question?”

March 2015



“I was fascinated by how people are so judgmental about how women look, and male politicians don’t get that shit. A change of hairstyle often gets more attention than legislation they’re trying to put forth.”

But 2016 was a little over the top . . .



“If Hillary Clinton can’t satisfy her husband, what makes her think she can satisfy America?”

And . . .



“Look at that face! Would anyone vote for that? Can you imagine that, the face of our next president?!”

And . . .



“If Hillary Clinton were a man, I don’t think she would get 5% of the vote . . . The way she is, she would get virtually no votes . . . Without the woman’s card, Hillary would not even be a viable person who could even run for a city council position.”

And let's not forget. . .



Or . . .



Sexism Wasn't a Disqualifying Factor

**Percent of
Electorate** **Voted for
Clinton** **Voted for
Trump**

When did you decide your vote?

In the last month	26%	40%	48%
Before that	73	51	45

Does Trump have the temperament to be president?

Yes	35	5	94
No	63	72	19

Does Trump's treatment of women bother you?

Yes	70	65	29
No	29	10	87

2008

Democrats

GOP

Barack Obama

89 %

9 %

John McCain

10

90

2012

Democrats

GOP

Barack Obama

92 %

6 %

Mitt Romney

7

93

2016

Democrats

GOP

Hillary Clinton

89 %

9 %

Donald Trump

7

90



FAKE 45

Viva
La
Verdad

THE GREAT
MIGRATION
AMERICAN
AGAINST
THE

THE GREAT
MIGRATION
AMERICAN
AGAINST
THE

The 2016 Presidential Election: What Happened and Why?

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Religion in 2016: The Case of White Evangelicals

Anand Edward Sokhey

Two Americas

Trump, champion of the religious



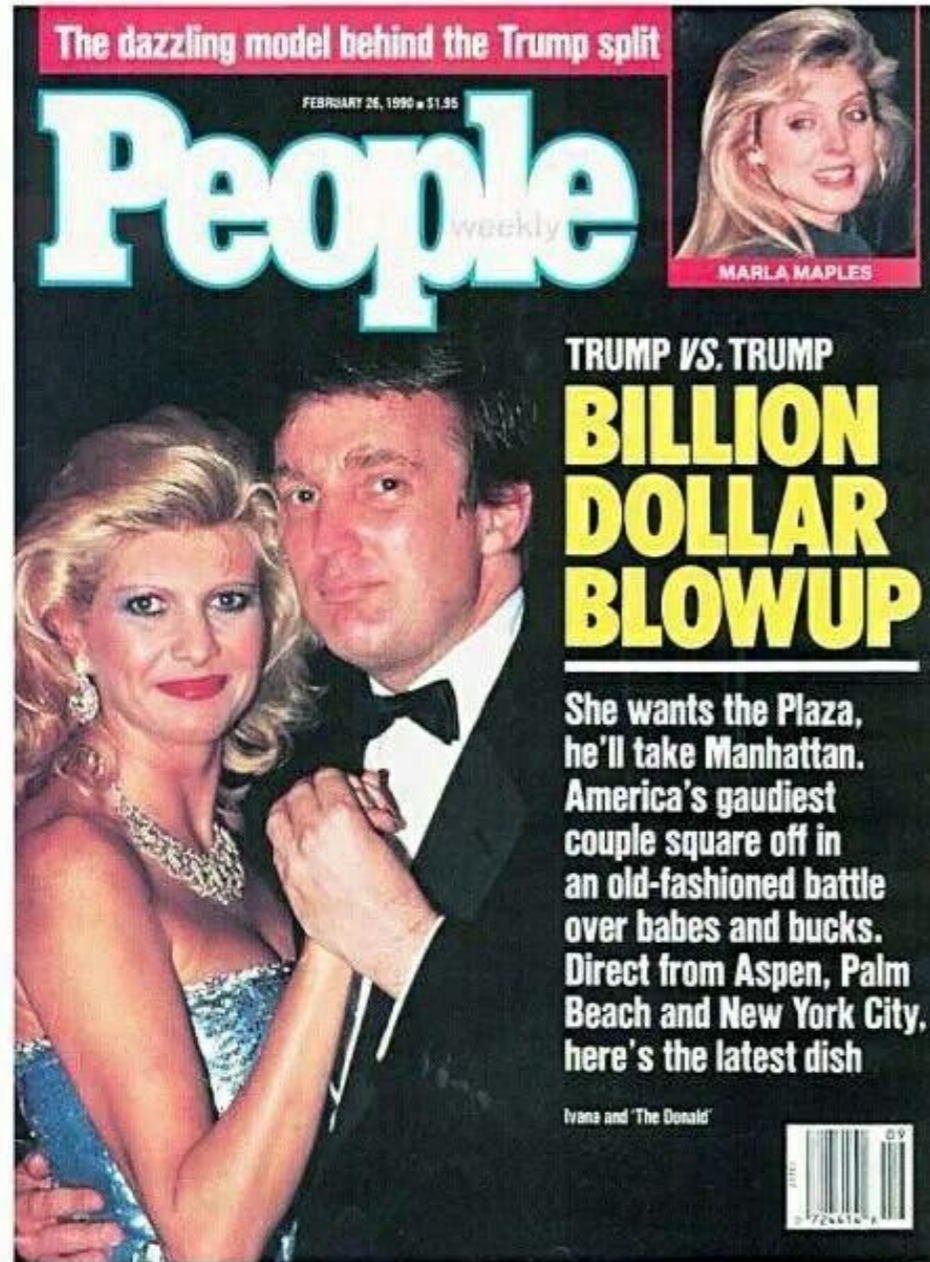
81% of the white evangelical vote

Hillary, secular rock-star



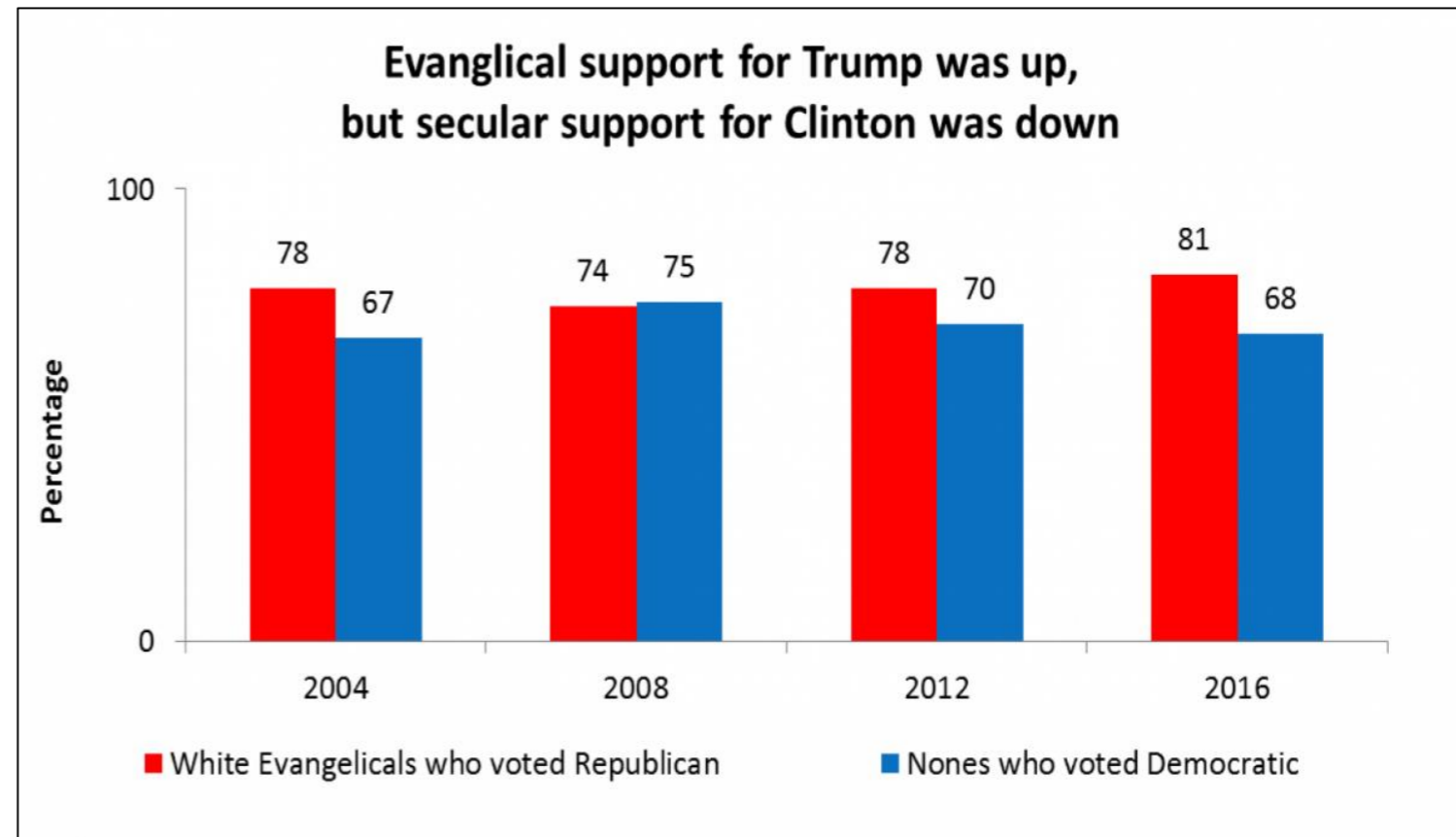
68% of religious “nones”

Wait, what?



Some Context...

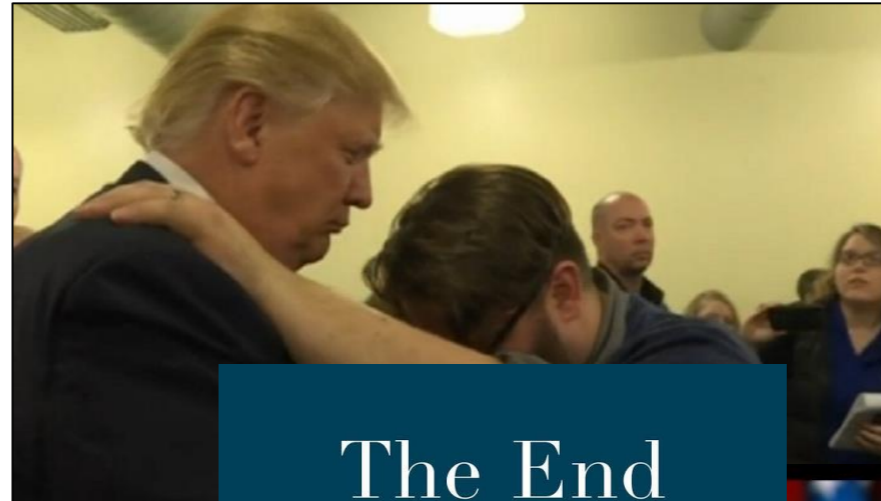
- Evangelicals & the GOP
- Trump did better with white evangelicals than his three predecessors
- Clinton did worse than Obama with secular Americans



Source: Brockway et al., exit polls

A Shift in the Culture War?

- “Values Voters” to “Nostalgia Voters”



% Adult population that is White Christian:

- 2008: 54%
- 2016: 43%

The End
of
White
Christian
America

Robert P. Jones

CEO, Public Religion Research Institute



Source: Rob Jones, PRRI

Hindsight is 20/20

- Between late 2015 and January 2016, a majority of white evangelicals start to view Trump favorably
- GOP primaries

2015 American Values Survey

“Immigrants today are a burden on our country...” (66%/46%)

“Today, discrimination against whites has become as big a problem...” (61%/43%)

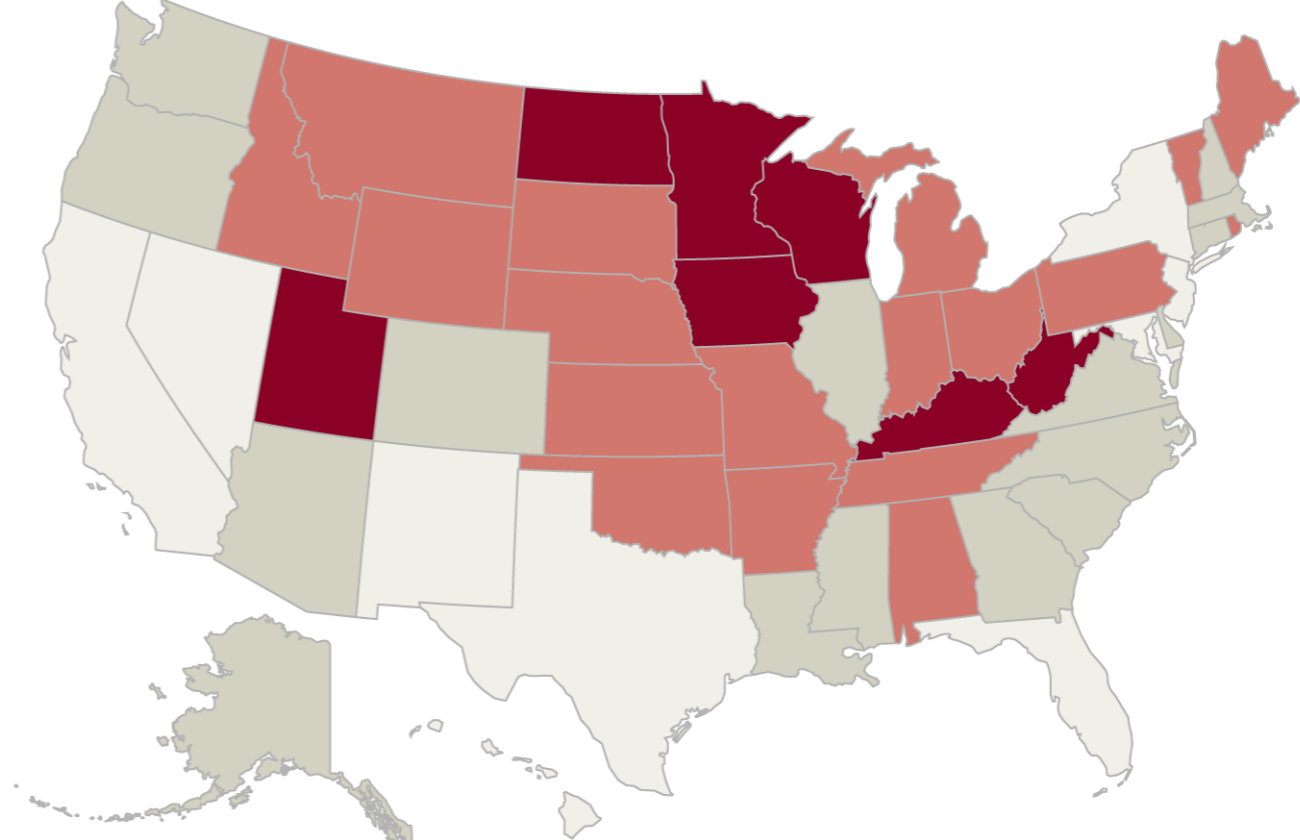
“Since the 1950s, American culture and way of life has mostly changed for the worse” (72%/53%)



Squaring this with Election Night

White Christian population density (% adult population in each state)

Wisconsin,
Michigan,
Pennsylvania



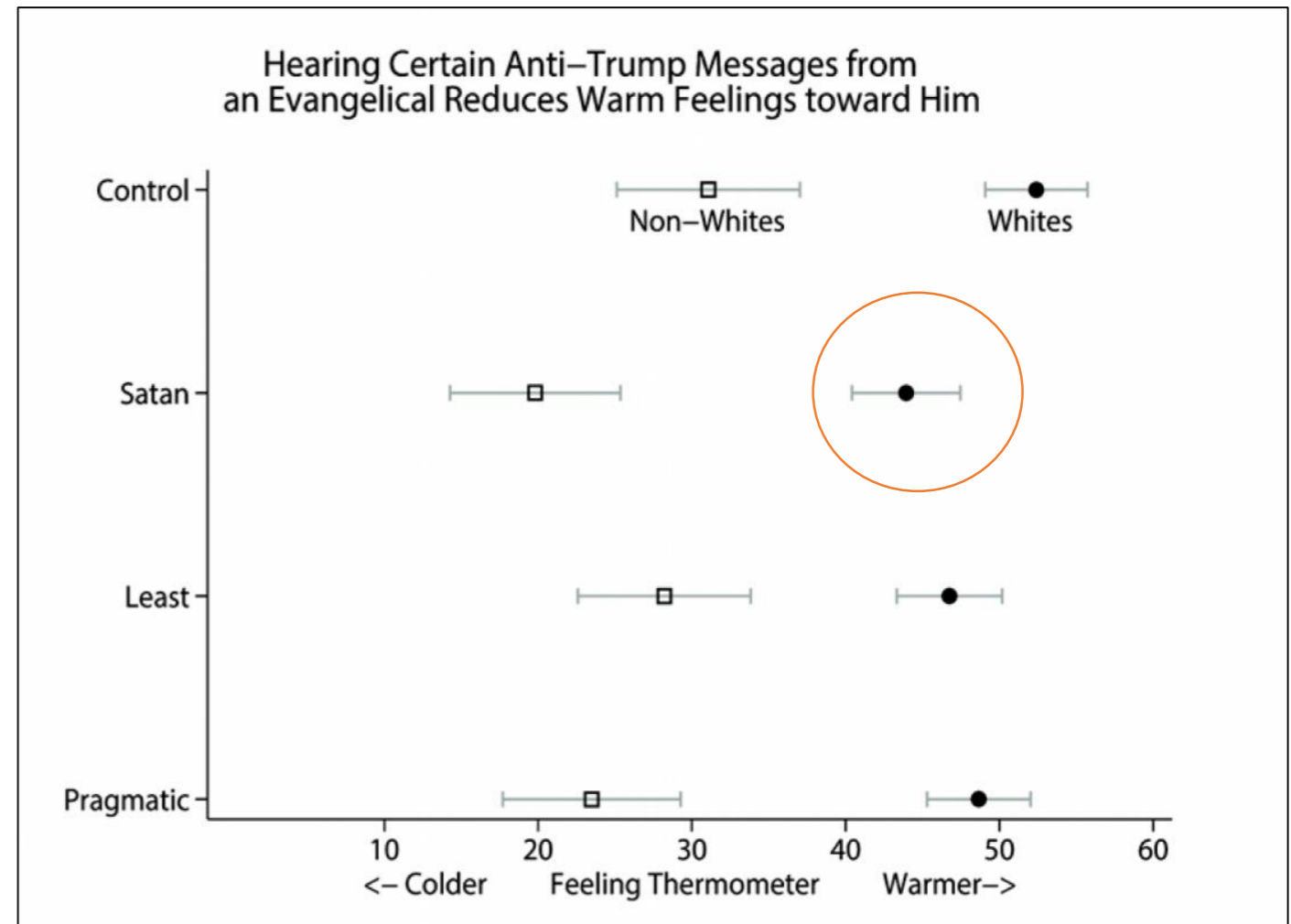
Red (majority WC): dark → more than 60%
light → 51-60%

Gray (minority WC): dark → 41-50%
light → less than 40%

Source: Rob Jones, PRRI

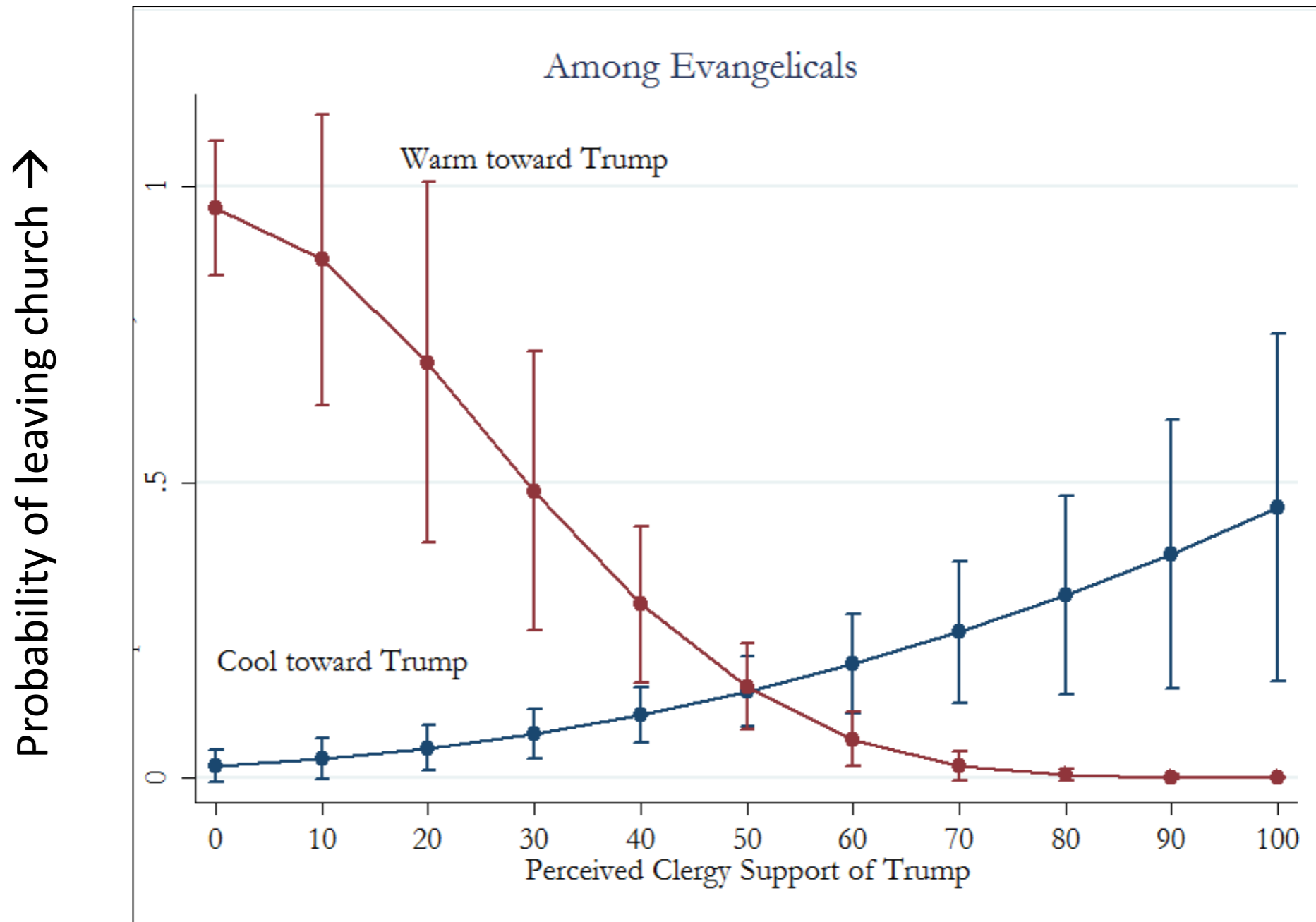
What about Religious Elites?

- Panel Study, 2016
- Asked white evangelicals if they had heard their clergy address Trump (12%)
- “What if churchgoers heard critical messages about Trump connected to their values?”
 - Survey experiment
 - *Christianity Today*



“Satan” treatment – consistent with evangelicals placing a high priority on individual sanctity by avoiding sin

Why didn't Religious Elites Speak Out?



Take-Aways

- White Evangelicals voted for Trump (in droves)
- Religion mattered, but the nature of the Culture Wars changed (suggestive evidence)
- Religious elites may have had some sway, but didn't speak up (suggestive evidence)