Latinos in the 2016 Election: Was there a Trump effect?

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Research Assistant
Setting the Stage

- Number of Latino eligible voters reaches 26.7m
- Trump’s comments about Mexicans and immigrants are widely discussed
- Citizenship drives were launched to vote against Trump
- Registration efforts launched with Latino focus
- View of GOP among Latinos low, but little changed
- Expectations for the Latino vote were high in the weeks/days before the election
Note: Eligible voters are U.S. citizens ages 18 and older. Voters are persons who say they voted.

June 26, 2017
A majority of Hispanic registered voters talked about Trump in the year preceding the election

% of registered voters who said in the past year in the U.S. they ____ talked about Donald Trump’s views of Hispanics/Latinos or other groups with family, friends or coworkers ...

- 75% Have
- 25% Have not

Note: N=804. Don’t know/refused responses not shown.
Naturalization applications increased in fiscal 2016 compared to prior years

Naturalization applications in each fiscal year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Applications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>972</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Fiscal year starts in October.
Voter registration in 2016

% of eligible voters registered to vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Not registered</th>
<th>Registered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By a wide margin, Latino registered voters viewed Democratic Party as ‘more concerned’ for Latinos than GOP

% of Latino registered voters saying ___ has more concern for Hispanics/Latinos

Note: N=804 Hispanic registered voters in 2016. Don’t know/Refused responses not shown.

A smaller share of Hispanic voters said they would vote in the 2016 election

% saying they are “absolutely certain” they will vote in November

Among Latino registered voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among all registered voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N=804 Hispanic registered voters in 2016.
Who said they were “absolutely certain” to vote in November

% of Latino registered voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millennial</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Millennial</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college or more</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N=804 Hispanic registered voters. Millennial refers to adults ages 18 to 35; non-Millennial refers to those ages 36 and older.
Who said they were “absolutely certain” to vote in November

% of Latino registered voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Mexican</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican/lean Rep</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat/lean Dem</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N=804 Hispanic registered voters. Millennial refers to adults ages 18 to 35; non-Millennial refers to those ages 36 and older.
One-in-five Latino voters said they would be voting for the first time in November

% who will be first-time voters, among Latino registered voters who say they are “absolutely certain” they will vote in November

Note: N=804 Hispanic registered voters. Millennial refers to adults ages 18 to 35; non-Millennial refers to those ages 36 and older.
Among Hispanics, interest in the 2016 election was similar to the 2012 election

% of registered voters saying they have given ___ thought to the coming election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Some/Only a little/None</th>
<th>Quite a lot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic voters</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All voters</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N=804 Hispanic registered voters. Millennial refers to adults ages 18 to 35; non-Millennial refers to those ages 36 and older.
The November election

- According to the National Exit Poll, Clinton won the Latino vote with 66% support; Trump won 28%
- Debate about Exit Poll result; Trump at 18%?
- Latinos were 9.2% of voters, up from 8.4% in 2012
- Turnout hits record 12.7m voters, but turnout still flat
- The economy was the top issue for Latino voters, cited by nearly half on exit polls. Terrorism and immigration followed
The November election

Presidential candidate preference among Hispanic voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romney</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McCain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on exit polls conducted by Edison Research for the National Election Pool, as reported by CNN. Data from prior years from national exit polls.
In victory, Trump won whites by virtually same margin as Romney in 2012

Presidential candidate preference, by race or ethnicity

Source: Based on exit polls conducted by Edison Research for the National Election Pool, as reported by CNN. Data from prior years from national exit polls. Data for 1972-1976 not shown due to differences in question wording and administration. In 1980, race was coded by the interviewer instead of being asked of the respondent.
Number of Latino Eligible Voters & Voters Reached New Record in 2016

Note: Eligible voters are U.S. citizens ages 18 and older. Voters are persons who say they voted.
Hispanic voter turnout in 2016 election

% of Hispanic eligible voters who say they voted

- All: 48%
- Men: 45%
- Women: 50%
- Millennial: 40%
- Non-Millennial: 53%
- Less than high school: 33%
- High school graduate: 38%
- Some college or more: 59%
- Mexican: 44%
- Non-Mexican: 52%

Voter turnout rates in presidential elections, 1988-2016

% of eligible voters who say they voted

Note: Eligible voters are U.S. citizens ages 18 and older. Black, white and Asian populations include only non-Hispanics who reported a single race. Hispanics are of any race. Data for non-Hispanic Asians were not available in 1988.


June 26, 2017
#NotWithHer?
What the 2016 Women’s Vote Taught Us About Partisanship and Gender

Hannah Hartig, Penn Program on Opinion Research and Election Studies Jennifer Su, Princeton Survey Research Associates International Stephanie Perry, NBC News

Acknowledgements, Advisers
Cary Funk, Pew Research Center
Maureen Michaels, Michaels Opinion Research

NBC News Exit Poll Desk
Gender Expectations & the 2016 Presidential Election

Associated Press-NORC Gender Discrimination in the U.S. Survey (August, 2016)

Does the fact that, if elected (in 2016), Hillary Clinton would be the first woman president of the United States make you more likely to vote for her, less likely to vote for her, or does it not affect your vote either way?...A lot more likely, somewhat more likely, somewhat less likely, a lot less likely, doesn't affect vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Among all voters:</th>
<th>Among white women:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11% A lot more likely</td>
<td>8% A lot more likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8% Somewhat more likely</td>
<td>8% Somewhat more likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2% Somewhat less likely</td>
<td>2% Somewhat less likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8% A lot less likely</td>
<td>11% A lot less likely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69% Doesn't affect vote</td>
<td>70% Doesn't affect vote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1% Don't know/Refused</td>
<td>1% Don't know/Refused</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Gender Gap in Presidential Voting
Voting Preferences of Men & Women, 1992-2016

Men Voters
- Democratic candidate
- Republican candidate

Women Voters
- Democratic candidate
- Republican candidate

Pew Research Center
Largest Gender Gap: 2016

Exit Poll Gender Gap
(Democratic Candidate Support) - (Republican Candidate Support)

Men | Women | Gender Gap
---|---|---
1992 | 3 | -5
1996 | 8 | -3
2000 | 16 | 11
2004 | 17 | -12
2008 | 23 | 3
2012 | 14 | -11
2016 | 18 | 13

As of 10:16 AM ET May. 16 2017

NBC News Exit Polls
Women Overall: Demographics
Women: Age
Younger Women Favor Democratic Candidate; Older Women More Split
Women: Education

College Graduates Favor Democratic Candidates; Women Without College Degrees More Divided
Women: Religion & Marital Status

Two Cohorts of Women Tend to Vote More Republican Than Their Counterparts

Women Who Attend Church At Least Once a Week
- Democratic candidate
- Republican candidate

Married Women
- Democratic candidate
- Republican candidate
Women: Party ID by Vote Choice

**Republican Women**

- Democratic candidate
- Republican candidate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Democratic Women**

- Democratic candidate
- Republican candidate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>93%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Independent Women**

- Democratic candidate
- Republican candidate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Women: Race
Non-White Women Consistently Vote Democrat; White Women Are Toss Ups
White Women: Party Identification
White Women: Shifts in Party Identification

White Women Party Identification

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
White Democratic Women Are Becoming More Liberal
White Republican Women Are Becoming More Conservative

White Republican Women by Ideology

- Conservative Republicans
- Moderate/Liberal Republicans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Conservative Republicans</th>
<th>Moderate/Liberal Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As of 12:20 PM ET May. 09 2017

NBC News Exit Polls
White Women: Demographic Differences Between Clinton and Trump Voters
White Women: Clinton vs. Trump Voters

White Women Education 2016

- Clinton Voters: 64% College Graduate, 36% No College Degree
- Trump Voters: 46% College Graduate, 54% No College Degree

White Women Religion 2016

- Clinton Voters: 42% Protestant/Christian, 22% Catholic, 6% Jewish, 8% Other, 22% None
- Trump Voters: 66% Protestant/Christian, 22% Catholic, 1% Jewish, 5% Other, 6% None

White Women Church Attendance 2016

- Clinton Voters: 23% Once a week or more, 14% Few times a month, 30% Few times a year, 33% Never
- Trump Voters: 42% Once a week or more, 16% Few times a month, 28% Few times a year, 13% Never
White Women: Dislike Other Candidates
White Women: Which Best Describes Your Vote for President Today?

White Women: Best Describes Vote

- **Clinton voters**
  - Strongly favor candidate: 47%
  - Like with reservations: 31%
  - Dislike other candidates: 20%

- **Trump voters**
  - Strongly favor candidate: 36%
  - Like with reservations: 35%
  - Dislike other candidates: 28%

As of 01:34 PM ET May 01 2017

NBC News Exit Polls
White Women: The “Neithers”
Who Are The “Neithers”?  

Do you have a favorable opinion of...  
Both  
Only Clinton  
Only Trump  
Neither  

Do you think the presidential candidates are qualified to serve as president?  
Both  
Only Clinton  
Only Trump  
Neither  

Do you think the presidential candidates have the temperament to serve effectively as president?  
Both  
Only Clinton  
Only Trump  
Neither  

Do you think the presidential candidates are honest and trustworthy?  
Both  
Only Clinton  
Only Trump  
Neither  

Pew Research Center
“Neithers” Across Groups

Clinton and Trump Unpopular Across Groups

- Neither has temperament to serve as president
- Neither is qualified to serve as president
- Neither is honest and trustworthy
- Unfavorable opinion of both

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>White women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable opinion of both</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable opinion of both</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable opinion of both</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorable opinion of both</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As of 02:16 PM ET May 04 2017

NBC News Exit Polls
White Women: “Neithers”

Party Identification Among White Women "Neithers"

- **Democrat**
- **Republican**
- **Independent**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Independent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All white women</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither temperament</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither qualified</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither honest</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both unfavorable</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
White Women: “Neithers”

White Women "Neithers" Voted Trump

- Neither temperament: Clinton 10%, Trump 69%, Other 10%
- Neither is qualified: Clinton 13%, Trump 71%, Other 13%
- Neither honest: Clinton 36%, Trump 47%, Other 10%
- Both unfavorable: Clinton 21%, Trump 56%, Other 19%

As of 12:38 PM ET May 09, 2017

NBC News Exit Polls
More questions? Contact us:
Hannah Hartig: hhartig@sas.upenn.edu
Jennifer Su: jennifer.su@psrai.com
Stephanie Perry: stephanie.perry@nbcuni.com
Emasculation and 2016: Gender Role Threat, Attitudes and the Vote

DAN CASSINO, FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON UNIVERSITY’S PUBLICMIND
PETER WOOLLEY, FAIRLEIGH DICKINSON UNIVERSITY’S PUBLICMIND
Men do weird stuff

Known responses to decreases in relative household income: Decreased housework, divorce, infidelity, use of erectile dysfunction medication.

Gender role threat plays a significant role in men’s psyche: masculinity, unlike femininity, must be established and reinforced.

Potential links to social dominance orientation and authoritarianism – but men can respond to threats differently.
Study 1: Statewide RDD

New Jersey RDD Sample, March 11\textsuperscript{rd}- March 16\textsuperscript{th}, 2016
Total Sample of 859 Respondents
Respondents were told that there are an increasing number of households in which women make more money than men, and asked about their situation
And a series of match-ups between potential Republican and Democratic nominees
Respondents were experimentally assigned to either get the match-ups first, or the gender prime first
Study 2: National RDD

National RDD Sample, April 3rd-April 18, 2016
Total Sample of 1,009 Respondents
Partial replication of NJ study, with ambient, rather than personal threat
Respondents were asked a series of four items about gender and politics, including one asking whether the media treated women more harshly or less harshly than men
And a series of match-ups between potential Republican and Democratic nominees
Respondents were experimentally assigned to either get the match-ups first, or the gender items first
More Harshly (39%) | Same (38%) | Less Harshly (22%)

Likelihood of Clinton Support in Match-Up with Trump
- Gender Prime
- No Gender Prime
More Harshly (39%)  Same (38%)  Less Harshly (22%)

Likelihood of Sanders Support in Match-Up with Trump

Views of How Media Covers Women

- More Harshly: 66% (Gender Prime), 57% (No Gender Prime)
- Same: 58% (Gender Prime), 55% (No Gender Prime)
- Less Harshly: 50% (Gender Prime), 52% (No Gender Prime)

Gender Prime  No Gender Prime
Study 3: GSS Panel

National Probability Sample Panel, with waves in 2006, 2008 & 2010
859 men with responses in at least 2 waves
Analysis looks at changes in relative spousal income and changes in views on political/social issues
Good for variance, bad for the world: there was lots of variance in relative spousal income linked with the 2008-2010 recession
Male vs. Female Unemployment, 2003-2017

- Male, 20 & Over Unemployment Rate
- Female, 20 & Over Unemployment Rate
Effect of Income Threat on Men's Abortion Views, by HH Income and Party ID

Lower Relative Income
Stable Relative Income
Increased Relative Income
Effect of Income Threat on Men's Support for Aid to African-Americans, by HH Income and Party ID

- Higher Values Indicate More Support for Aid to African-Americans
- Lower Relative Income
- Stable Relative Income
- Increased Relative Income

Democrats tend to support aid more strongly.

Effect of Income Threat on Men's Support for Aid to African-Americans, by HH Income and Party ID

Democrats tend to support aid more strongly.

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Democrats tend to support aid more strongly.

Democrats tend to support aid more strongly.
What to make of it?

On the whole, gender role threat does lead to increases in SDO and politically conservative attitudes, but there are signs that gender role threat is leading to polarization among men.

Individual gender role threat seems to have a much greater impact on men than beliefs about societal gender role threat, though the two seem to be related.

The 2008-09 recession seems to have been a major shift in spousal income distributions, and the changes are only just beginning.