THE STATE OF THE UNION ON GENDER EQUALITY, SEXISM, AND WOMEN’S RIGHTS.

RESULTS FROM A NATIONAL SURVEY CONDUCTED BY PERRYUNDEM

JANUARY 17, 2017
METHODS.

PerryUndem conducted a survey among a nationally-representative sample of \( n = 1,302 \) adults 18 and older.

The survey was fielded December 9 through 27, 2016.

The survey included oversamples of Black and Latinos for a total of 218 Black adults and 233 Latino adults.

The survey was conducted in English and Spanish.

The margin of error for the total results is +/- 3.4 percentage points. The margin of error is larger for subgroups within the data.

The survey was administered using NORC’s AmeriSpeak panel at the University of Chicago.

AmeriSpeak uses a probability-based sampling frame that covers 97% of US households.

Participants can choose to take surveys by telephone or online. Nearly eight in ten (78%) respondents took the survey online, 22% by telephone.
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Belief in gender equality.

What is the state of equality?

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President-elect Trump’s comments toward women.

Reactions to the election.

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Views on policies related to gender equality.

Gender identity and expression.
1. The vast majority of adults (93%) says they believe in equality for women. The values around equality are clear. Based on several tracking questions in this study, recent events related to the election do not appear to have altered beliefs around equality.

2. The state of the union on equality: Work needed.
Eight in ten adults (80%) perceive more work to be done until we reach equality for women.

The public perceives inequity in positions of power - 80% say there are more men in positions of power in the federal government than women. Two thirds (65%) say there are more men in positions of power in society writ large.

Three-quarters (76%) say sexism is a problem in society, with 29% saying it is a “big” problem - up 9 points since 2011.

About half (56%) says women have less financial stability than men. Two-thirds of women (67%) perceive women as having less financial stability v. 45% of men who say the same. About half of respondents (51%) says women have fewer opportunities than men in the workplace, including 59% of women and 43% of men.

About one-third (37%) says it is a good time to be a woman in America compared to 53% who say it is a good time to be a man. Forty-five percent of adults say it is a good time to be a white woman, with significantly smaller proportions saying it is a good time to be a Black woman (27%), Latina woman (24%), lesbian / bisexual / transgender woman (24%), and Asian or Pacific Islander woman (23%). Fewer say the same about an immigrant woman (15%) and a Muslim woman (11%).

SUMMARY.
3. Majorities of the public perceive several barriers to equality for women. Large majorities see equal opportunities in the workplace (70%) and violence against women (69%) as factors that affect women’s rights and equality. Fifty-seven percent perceive unequal caregiving responsibilities as a direct factor. Half or more say a lack of women in political office (51%), access to abortion (52%), access to affordable birth control (54%), and racism (54%) affect women’s rights and equality.

4. Majorities of women experience sexism and inequality in their lives at least once in awhile. Forms include hearing sexist language (76% say at least once in awhile), feeling unsafe as a woman (71%), feeling treated with less respect because of being a woman (68%), and feeling judged as a sexual object (58%). About half (54%) says they have been touched inappropriately by a man without their consent.

5. Some men underestimate women’s experiences. Half of married women (49%) say they have been touched inappropriately by a man without their consent, while 30% of married men say the same about their wives. While 64% of married women say they feel treated with less respect because of their gender at least once in awhile, 49% of married men say the same about their wives.

6. Black women and Latina women report feeling multiple inequities based on race, skin color, ethnicity, and gender. Close to two-thirds of Black women say they have felt unequal in society because of their race (63%) and skin color (64%). Forty-five percent of Black women have also felt unequal because of their gender (45%). Sizeable proportions of Latina women have felt unequal because of their ethnicity (43%), skin color (35%), as well as their gender (39%).

7. Michelle Obama is a new face of feminism. In a list of 14 women, Michelle Obama rises to the top with nearly half of the public (47%) saying she represents feminism today. Oprah comes next (43%), followed by Hillary Clinton (41%) and Beyoncé (28%).
8. In the first US Presidential election with a major party woman candidate, gender and sexism almost certainly played a role in Clinton's loss. In terms of the public's perception, one in three adults (32%) says they think sexism prevented Hillary Clinton from winning the election. One in four adults (26%) saw or heard friends or family members make sexist comments about Clinton during the campaign.

One-third of men and one-quarter of women who voted for President-elect Trump say that men generally make better political leaders than women (32% and 25%).

About one-third of Trump voters (36%) disagrees that the country would be better off with more women in political office. This sentiment does not seem related to a misperception about the number of women in power. When looking Trump voters who know there are currently more men than women in positions of power in the federal government, 33% disagree the country would be better off with more women in office.

The belief that the country would be better off with more women in political office is also directly correlated with favorability toward Clinton. In our survey, the top predictors of her favorability are party ID, political ideology, race, and agreement with whether the country would be better off with more women in political office. In other words, disagreeing that “the country would be better off with more women political leaders” - even knowing that there are more men in positions of power - is statistically correlated with feeling unfavorable toward Clinton. The reverse is also true: those who believe the country would be better off with more women in political office is correlated with being more favorable toward Clinton.
9. In the survey, a plurality of women who say they voted for Trump did so because of wanting change. Four in ten (40%) of women who voted for Trump say the main reason was because he is as different from other politicians: he tells it like it is, he is not a politician, or they feel he could shake things up. Secondly, these women voted for him because of his views on the economy and jobs (21%) and because he is “not Clinton” (15%). When asked whether they have felt any emotions as a result of the election results, majorities of Trump women voters did not select “happy” (69%) nor “listened to” (76%). Six in ten (61%) say they have felt “hopeful.”

10. Some Republican women experience and perceive equality differently than other women. Republican women (about 12% of the general population) are less likely than independent or Democrat women to say they experience sexism. They are less likely to say they have been touched inappropriately by a man without their consent (44%). They are least likely to have talked about women's equality in the past year (30%) - or to have talked with a man about Trump’s comments about women (45%). They are least likely to say sexism is a big problem in our country (15%), but more than half (54%) says many women interpret innocent remarks as sexist. They are also among the most likely to say men make better political leaders than women (30%).

11. About one-third of women who voted for Trump tend to be progressive on issues related to gender. One in three (32%) agrees the country would be better off with more women in political office. One in three (34%) feels that a lack of women in office affects women's rights and equality. One-third or more sees access to abortion (37%) and birth control (39%) as factors in women's rights and equality. Four in ten (39%) felt upset by Trump's comments and behavior toward women. Forty-three percent do not identify themselves as a Republican. One-third (33%) says their political ideology is not conservative.

Mirroring these respondents is a segment of Trump women voters who are less progressive. One-third (34%) disagrees the country would be better off with more women in political office. One in three (34%) feels that a lack of women in office affects women’s rights and equality. One-third or more also sees access to abortion (37%) and birth control (39%) as factors in women’s rights and equality. Four in ten (39%) felt upset by Trump’s comments and behavior toward women. Forty-three percent do not identify themselves as a Republican. One-third (33%) says their political ideology is not conservative.
12. President-elect Trump’s comments and behavior toward women expressed in the Access Hollywood tape had a seemingly profound impact. Eight in ten adults (83%) remember the news of the tape, 91% say the comments were unacceptable, and 61% felt upset by the comments, including 66% of women and 55% of men.

One in four adults (24%) says they or a loved one felt emotional stress or anxiety as a result of the comments. One in six women (17%) says the comments made them feel more physically unsafe.

Women of color and younger women are among the most likely to report an impact. One in four Latina women and Black women (25% each) felt more physically unsafe as a result of Trump’s comments. Close to a third (29%) of Latina women say they or a friend or family member re-experienced trauma from the past as a result. Close to one in four women Clinton voters (23%) say Trump’s comments or perceptions of sexism in the election had a harmful effect on a personal relationship(s).

13. President-elect Trump’s comments and behavior toward women are continuing to have an impact - for example, on his favorability ratings. There is a direct, statistically significant correlation between reactions to Trump’s comments and behavior toward women and his favorability.

For example, among the 61% of the public upset by his comments and behavior exposed on the tape, 73% currently view him unfavorably. Among the 16% of the population who were not at all upset by his comments, 69% view Trump favorably.

We also ran regression analysis to further examine the relationship between his comments, other beliefs and demographics, and President-elect Trump’s favorability. After party affiliation, reactions to Trump’s comments and behavior toward women is the biggest predictor of favorability in our survey: more than political ideology, age, gender, race, ethnicity, rural/metro area, education, and beliefs about gender and race.
14. In everything we measured in the survey, people’s upset by President-elect Trump’s comments and behavior is the biggest predictor of taking action - closely followed by the belief that the country would be better off with more women in office. Two-thirds of the population (67%), including many non-voters, say they are doing some things differently as a direct result of Trump winning the election. Some of those things relate to equality and sexism, such as the 32% of adults who say they are feeling less tolerant of sexism in their own lives as a direct result of the election.

Some actions are unrelated to gender. Six in ten (58%) adults say they are either paying more attention to elected officials’ actions, donating to an organization, or figuring out how to get more involved in political action as a direct result of the election results.

When we run regression analysis to see what drives or correlates with likelihood to act - on these items not related to gender or sexism - the number one predictor is feeling upset by Trump’s comments and behavior toward women. The second predictor is the belief that the country would be better off with more women in office.

15. In the regression analysis, there is not a statistically significant correlation between taking action and gender, party ID, or even feeling unfavorable toward Trump when controlling for feelings toward his comments toward women. In other words, the analysis suggests action is not as linked to being a Democrat or feeling unfavorable toward Trump in other ways.

We included measures of authoritarianism, which is slightly correlated with action, but much weaker - six times weaker - than the impact of being upset by comments around women.

More research is needed since we did not include many views or other feelings toward President-elect Trump. However, if feeling unfavorable toward Trump about other issues is a main driver of action, we would expect favorability toward him to come up as a statistically significant predictor when controlling for feelings toward his comments and behavior on women. It did not.
16. Majorities of the population unite when it comes to wanting the President-elect and Congress to move forward on women’s rights and equality. Eight in ten (83%) adults say it is important that the new administration and Congress move forward on women’s rights and equality, including 71% of Republicans, 81% of independents, and 93% of Democrats.

17. Majorities also unite around wanting the new administration and Congress to work on policies that may have disproportionate impacts on women. This includes majorities wanting the new leadership to work on increasing access to affordable childcare (89%), ensuring women have access to quality, affordable birth control (85%), opposing defunding Planned Parenthood (71%), and opposing nominating a Supreme Court justice based on his or her belief in restricting or eliminating women’s right to an abortion (67%). More than six in ten (63%) support President-elect Trump and Congress working to protect women’s right to abortion. (Note: all of these questions came toward the beginning of the survey prior to other questions about sexism and equality.)

18. Nine in ten adults (including 79% of Trump voters) reject an agenda that includes defunding Planned Parenthood and opposing abortion. Republicans in Congress appear to be taking action on four specific items that may disproportionately affect women: defunding Planned Parenthood, nominating a Supreme Court justice based on anti-abortion views, proposing restrictions on abortion, and repealing the requirement through Obamacare that requires insurance plans to cover birth control without a co-pay. Ninety-one percent of the public and 79% of Trump voters oppose an agenda that includes all four of these specific actions. Even when removing the item related to the birth control benefit, 87% oppose all three actions around Planned Parenthood and abortion, including 72% of Trump voters.
19. Where are Republican men on equality and gender?
Because Republican men are in leadership positions across the new administration and Congress, we drilled down on this population in the survey.

Men who identify as Republican (12% of the population) are quite different. They are among the least likely to perceive gender inequality: 39% say full equality has been achieved for women (v. 20% of all adults). Nearly two-thirds (64%) believe women have equal or more financial stability than men (v. 43% of all adults). Close to half (46%) says there are equal or more women in positions of power in society than men (v. 34%). Republican men are more likely to say it is a good time to be a woman in America (51%) than a man (41%) - (compared to 37% and 53% among all adults).

Despite being most likely to perceive equality, some segments express sexist beliefs. For example, 30% of Republican men say that men generally make better political leaders than women. Four in ten (40%) agree that women like to tease men and then refuse male advances. Three in ten (29%) say grabbing a woman by her genitalia without consent is either not sexual assault or they are not sure. Two-thirds of Republican men (65%) were not upset by Trump’s comments and behavior expressed in the Access Hollywood tape.

20. If Republican leadership in the new administration and Congress reflect Republican men in the population, they may not see connections between several policy issues and gender equality. Fewer than half of Republican men in the survey say the following factors affect women’s rights or equality: sexism (48% perceive it affecting equality), violence against women (47%), unequal caregiving responsibilities (36%), racism (35%), access to abortion (34%), and access to birth control (32%). Only one in four Republican men (24%) says a lack of women in political office affects women’s rights and equality.

21. The new Republican men in leadership seem disconnected not only from the population or the electorate at large, but even the 12% of the population who identify as Republican men. Despite the ways some Republican men perceive equality differently or hold sexist beliefs, majorities of these respondents support policies that disproportionately affect women. Republican men support President-elect Trump and the new Congress working to have stronger laws around equal pay (83%), ensure women have access to quality, affordable birth control (69%), and increase access to quality, affordable child care (78%). Half of Republican men support the new Congress and the Trump administration working to oppose defunding Planned Parenthood (51%) and working to protect women’s right to abortion (46%).
Belief in gender equality.

93% BELIEVE IN EQUALITY FOR WOMEN
Do you believe in equality for women?

93% YES

2% no
4% not sure
3. Majorities of the public perceive several barriers to equality for women. Large majorities see equal opportunities in the workplace (70%) and violence against women (69%) as factors that affect women’s rights and equality. Fifty-seven percent perceive unequal caregiving responsibilities as a direct factor. Half or more say a lack of women in political office (51%), access to abortion (52%), access to affordable birth control (54%), and racism (54%) affect women’s rights and equality.

4. Majorities of women experience sexism and inequality in their lives at least once in awhile. Forms include hearing sexist language (76% say at least once in awhile), feeling unsafe as a woman (71%), feeling treated with less respect because of being a woman (68%), and feeling judged as a sexual object (58%). About half (54%) says they have been touched inappropriately by a man without their consent.

5. Some men underestimate women’s experiences. Half of married women (49%) say they have been touched inappropriately by a man without their consent, while 30% of married men say the same about their wives. While 64% of married women say they feel treated with less respect because of their gender at least once in awhile, 49% of married men say the same about their wives.
In general, who makes better political leaders?

Trump men (32% say men)
Trump women (25%)
Republican men (30%)
Republican women (30%)

Men 16%
Men and women

equally good: 76%
7% Women

*Unchanged since 2014 poll by Pew that found 75% say equal, 14% men, 9% women.

Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about [ROTATE: men and women / women and men] as political leaders:

- Men generally make better political leaders than women
- Women generally make better political leaders than men
- In general, men and women make equally good politicians

Clinton women (15% say women)
Black women (15%)
Clinton men (8%)
Do you agree or disagree: The country would be better off if we had more women in political office.

**Agree**
- Democrat women (78%)
- Clinton voters (76%)
- College-educated women (69%)
- Black women (68%)
- Latinas (65%)
- Democrat men (63%)
- Women (57%)

**Disagree**
- Trump men (38%)
- Trump women (34%)
- Republican men (36%)
- Republican women (32%)

19% of members of Congress are women.

No women will serve in any of the six Senate leadership positions.

One woman will be in a Republican House leadership position, down from three last year.

http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/republican-leadership-will-have-fewer-women-2017-n684966
What is the state of equality?
Do you think there is full equality for women in work, life, and politics or is there still work to be done?

80% still more work to achieve full equality

20% full equality now
GENDER DIVIDE
in % who believe equality for women has been achieved

WOMEN
- 17% Trump women
- 16% Republican women
- 13% Independent women
- 14% Married women

MEN
- 43% Trump men
- 39% Republican men
- 34% Independent men
- 30% Married men
Who do you think has more positions of power in each of these settings overall - men or women, or an equal number?

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<th>Setting</th>
<th>More men</th>
<th>Equal</th>
<th>More women</th>
<th>% Equal or more women in society overall</th>
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<tr>
<td>In society overall</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>39% Trump women 17% Clinton women</td>
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<td>52% Trump men 27% Clinton men</td>
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<th>% Equal or more women in the federal gov’t</th>
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<td>In the federal government</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>17%</td>
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<td>25% Trump women 9% Clinton women</td>
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<th>Setting</th>
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<th>Equal</th>
<th>More women</th>
<th>% Equal or more women in the news media</th>
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<td>In business</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<th>Setting</th>
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<td>In the news media</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>12%</td>
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How big a problem is sexism in our society today? Is it a... big problem, somewhat of a problem, small problem, not a problem at all?

Mostly likely to say “big:”
- Black adults (46%)
- Clinton voters (45%)
- Latina women (44%)

+ 9 POINTS SINCE 2011*

Mostly likely to say “small” or “not a problem:”
- Trump men (47%)
- College-educated men (33%)
- Fathers of daughters (32%)

2011 Kaiser-Washington Post Survey
In the workplace, do you think women have more, fewer, or the same opportunities as men?

- More opportunities: 4%
- Depends: 21%
- Same: 24%
- Fewer: 51%

This question is about financial stability, meaning having a stable income and enough resources to support a decent standard of living now and in the future. Overall, do you think women have:

- Less financial stability than men: 56%
- About the same level: 37%
- More stability than men: 7%

- Fewer: 30% Republican men, 27% Trump men
- Less: 67% women, 45% men
- Same or more: 67% Trump men
IS IT A GOOD TIME OR BAD TIME TO BE A ________ IN AMERICA?

% Good time

Man: 53%
Woman: 37%
White woman: 45%
Black woman: 27%
Latina woman: 24%
Lesbian, bisexual, or transgender woman: 24%
API woman: 23%
Immigrant woman: 15%
Muslim woman: 11%
% Bad time to be a _____ in America

Bad time to be a Black woman (2011): 15%*

From a Kaiser poll in 2011. Note Kaiser poll was conducted by telephone and accepted "mixed/both" or "neither" if the respondent volunteered that response. In our poll, conducted largely online, we presented those as categories along with "good," "bad" and "not sure" to all respondents. https://kaiserfamilyfoundation.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/8271-t.pdf
Personal experiences with inequality.

49% of married women say they have been touched by a man inappropriately without their consent.

30% of married men say the same about their wives.
54% of women say they have been touched by a man in an inappropriate way without their consent.

Clinton women (59% v. 48% Trump women)
Independent (67%) and Democrat (55%) women more than Republican women (44%)

Percent of women who experience at least once in awhile:

- 76% Hearing sexist language
  Clinton women (86% v. 67% Trump women)

- 71% Feeling unsafe as a woman
  Clinton women (81% v. 64% Trump women)

- 68% Feeling treated with less respect b/c of being a woman
  Clinton women (80% v. 55% Trump women)
  Latina women (74% v. 67% white women and 66% Black women)

- 58% Feeling judged as a sexual object
  Clinton women (68% v. 49% Trump women)
  Women under 45 (69% v. 48% women 45+)
49% of married women say they have been touched by a man in an inappropriate way without their consent.

49% married women
30% married men

Percent of married women who experience at least once in awhile:
(And % of married men who say their wives experience at least once in awhile.)

- Hearing sexist language: 72% married men say their wives experience
- Feeling unsafe as a woman: 66% married women
- Feeling treated with less respect b/c of being a woman: 64% married men
- Feeling judged as a sexual object: 50% married women

-19
-15
-14
-5
HAVE YOU EVER FELT UNEQUAL IN OUR SOCIETY BECAUSE OF YOUR...

% YES

- MILITARY STATUS 4%
- PREGNANCY STATUS 6%
- IMMIGRATION STATUS 6%
- GENDER IDENTITY 6%
- SEXUAL ORIENTATION 7%
- DISABILITY 10%
- ETHNICITY 20%
- RELIGIOUS VIEWS 21%
- SKIN COLOR 22%
- RACE 25%
- GENDER 28%
- GENDER (WOMEN) 41%
- GENDER (MEN) 14%

HAVE FELT UNEQUAL

- NONE
  - WHITE MEN 55%
  - 65 AND OLDER 52%
  - TRUMP MEN 52%
  - TRUMP WOMEN 49%

- YES TO ONE OR MORE
  - 59%

YES

- BLACK ADULTS 79%
- CLINTON WOMEN 74%
- WOMEN UNDER 45 73%
- COLLEGE WOMEN 72%
- DEMOCRAT WOMEN 72%
- INDEPENDENT WOMEN 71%
- LATINOS 69%
- CLINTON MEN 59%
Have you ever felt unequal in our society because of your....

- % yes

- Your race
- Black women: 73%
- Black men: 63%
- Latina women: 45%
- Latino men: 37%
- White women: 37%
- White men: 37%

- Your skin color
- Black women: 64%
- Black men: 63%
- Latina women: 35%
- Latino men: 37%
- White women: 39%
- White men: 39%

- Your ethnicity
- Black women: 49%
- Black men: 43%
- Latina women: 43%
- Latino men: 37%
- White women: 39%
- White men: 40%

- Your gender
- Black women: 45%
- Black men: 39%
- Latina women: 17%
- Latino men: 14%
- White women: 12%
- White men: 12%
Views toward barriers to equality for women.
In your own view, does each of these things affect women’s rights and equality, or not? (Percent yes.)

- Equal opportunities in the workplace: 70%
- Unequal caregiving responsibilities: 57%
- Access to affordable birth control: 54%
- Access to abortion: 52%
- Racism: 60%
- Violence against women: 69%
- Sexism: 63%
- More men in positions of power: 60%
- Culture focuses on beauty and sexuality of women: 63%
- Lack of women in political office: 51%
ANOTHER BARRIER?

DO POLITICIANS VIEW WOMEN’S HEALTH CARE AS A POLITICAL ISSUE, OR NOT?

WOMEN

56% YES

DO POLITICIANS VIEW MEN’S HEALTH CARE AS A POLITICAL ISSUE, OR NOT?

MEN

25% YES
New faces of feminism.
NEW FACES OF FEMINISM

Do you feel any of these people represent feminism today?
Select any that apply. RANDOMIZE

Michelle Obama (47% yes)
Oprah Winfrey (43%)
Hillary Clinton (41%)
Beyoncé (28%)
Gloria Steinem (22%)
Sonia Sotomayor (17%)
Ivanka Trump (17%)
Emma Watson (17%)
Samantha Bee (10%)
Lena Dunham (10%)
Laverne Cox (8%)
Mindy Kaling (8%)
Sheryl Sandberg (6%)
bell hooks (3%)

TOP 5
Among all adults

Michelle Obama (47% yes)
Oprah Winfrey (43%)
Hillary Clinton (41%)
Beyoncé (28%)
Gloria Steinem (22%)

Top among...
Black women
Michelle Obama (53%)
Oprah (47%)
Hillary Clinton (46%)

Latina women
Michelle Obama (57%)
Oprah (50%)
Hillary Clinton (47%)

White women
Michelle Obama (45%)
Oprah (42%)
Hillary Clinton (40%)
Gloria Steinem (26%)
Beyoncé (25%)

Women under age 45
Michelle Obama (50%)
Hillary Clinton (42%)
Oprah (41%)
Beyoncé (33%)

45+ women
Michelle Obama (47%)
Oprah (47%)
Hillary Clinton (42%)
Gloria Steinem (34%)
You know I'm automatically attracted to beautiful-- I just start kissing them. It's like a magnet. And when you're a star they let you do it. You can do anything... Grab them by the p**sy. ... Do anything.

Views toward President-elect Trump’s comments on women.
In October, an Access Hollywood tape came out. On the tape, President-elect Trump said to a reporter that he could grab women by their genitalia and kiss them without consent and he could get away with it because he was a star.

Do you remember hearing about this? 83% remember

Did you feel upset about these comments, or not? 61% felt upset

Regardless of your view of Trump overall, do you feel these comments are acceptable or unacceptable? 91% unacceptable

Do you consider grabbing women in the genitalia without consent to be sexual assault, or not? 78% consider assault
Did you feel upset about these comments, or not?

Very (38%) or somewhat (23%) upset
- Democrats (83%)
- Black women (79%) and men (74%)
- Latinas (77%)
- College-educated women (72%)
- Women under 45 (68%)
- Republican women (51%)

Not too (22%) or not at all (16%) upset
- Republican men (65%)
WOMEN

66% women upset
(18% do not recall comments)

- 2 in 3 felt upset, 44% very
- 1 in 5 felt emotional or mental stress (20%)
- 1 in 6 women felt more physically unsafe (17%)
- 1 in 8 re-experienced past trauma (12%)

92% unacceptable

82% consider assault

% FEEL MORE LIKELY TO HAPPEN BECAUSE TRUMP WON ELECTION:

- 42% women feeling unsafe
- 41% men feeling entitled to treat women as sexual objects
- 41% boys feeling entitled to treat girls as sexual objects
- 39% acts of sexism
- 34% sexual assault
55% men upset (15% do not recall comments)

27% have been in a locker room where someone bragged about grabbing women without their consent.

Most likely to have been in a locker room where someone bragged:
Trump men (35% v. 22% of Clinton men)
Men who say their wife has been touched inappropriately w/o consent (34%)

90% unacceptable

74% consider assault

More likely to happen because Trump won election:

- 33% women feeling unsafe
- 28% men feeling entitled to treat women as sexual objects
- 27% boys feeling entitled to treat girls as sexual objects
- 28% acts of sexism
- 26% sexual assault
Do you consider grabbing women in the genitalia without consent to be sexual assault, or not?

**YES** 78%

**NO** 13%

**NOT SURE** 9%

**REFUSE** 1%

**NO OR NOT SURE**
- Trump voters (30%)
- Men under 45 (30%)
- Men (26%) v. women (17%)

**YES**
- Women (82%) v. men (74%)
- Married women (84%) v. married men (75%)
- Democrats (86%), especially women (93%)
As a result of Trump winning the election...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>TOTAL ADULTS</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<tr>
<td>36%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>32%</td>
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<tr>
<td>26%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>23%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- 43% of parents are teaching their children about consent or sexual assault issues
- 32% are feeling less tolerant of sexism in their own life
- 23% are thinking about how to get more women in political office

DEMOCRAT WOMEN: 38%
INDEPENDENT WOMEN: 25%
REPUBLICAN WOMEN: 9%
As a result of Trump's comments around women and sexual assault, did you or a loved one feel...

- **Women feeling unsafe**: 38%
  - Latinas: 67%
  - Black women: 49%
  - College-educated women: 46%
  - Women under 45: 52%
  - All women: 42%

- **Boys feeling entitled to treat women as sexual objects**: 34%
  - Latinas: 61%
  - Black women: 48%
  - College-educated women: 46%
  - Women under 45: 48%
  - All women: 41%

- **Acts of sexism**: 34%
  - Latinas: 56%
  - Black women: 43%
  - College-educated women: 50%
  - Women under 45: 46%
  - All women: 39%

- **Sexual assault**: 30%
  - Latinas: 59%
  - Black women: 49%
  - College-educated women: 37%
  - Women under 45: 42%
  - All women: 34%

- **Latinas**: 61%
  - Black women: 48%
  - College-educated women: 46%
  - Women under 45: 48%
  - All women: 41%

- **All women**: 41%

**SOCIETAL IMPACT**

- **% more likely to happen because Trump won**
  - Latinas: 26% me (36% me or loved one)
  - Black women: 24% (30%)
  - Women under 45: 23% (32%)
  - All women: 20% (25%)

**PERSONAL IMPACT**

- **% felt as a result of Trump’s comments around women and sexual assault**
  - Latinas: 67%
  - Black women: 49%
  - College-educated women: 46%
  - Women under 45: 52%
  - All women: 42%

- **Women feeling unsafe**: 38%
  - Latinas: 67%
  - Black women: 49%
  - College-educated women: 46%
  - Women under 45: 52%
  - All women: 42%

- **Boys feeling entitled to treat women as sexual objects**: 34%
  - Latinas: 61%
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  - College-educated women: 46%
  - Women under 45: 48%
  - All women: 41%

- **Acts of sexism**: 34%
  - Latinas: 56%
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  - College-educated women: 50%
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  - All women: 39%

- **Sexual assault**: 30%
  - Latinas: 59%
  - Black women: 49%
  - College-educated women: 37%
  - Women under 45: 42%
  - All women: 34%

**Felt mental or emotional stress**

- Latinas: 26% me (36% me or loved one)
  - Black women: 24% (30%)
  - Women under 45: 23% (32%)
  - All women: 20% (25%)

**Felt more unsafe physically**

- Latinas: 25% me (35% me or loved one)
  - Black women: 25% (32%)
  - Women under 45: 22% (30%)
  - All women: 17% (22%)

**Had harmful effect on a personal relationship**

- Clinton women voters: 23%
  - Latinas: 21%

**Re-experienced trauma from the past**

- Latinas: 19% me (29% me or loved one)
  - Black women: 12% (15%)
  - Women under 45: 15% (23%)
  - All women: 12% (17%)
Reactions to the election.

- Latinas: 19% me (29% me or loved one)
- Black women: 12% (15%)
- Women under 45: 15% (23%)
- All women: 12% (17%)

- Latinas: 25% me (35% me or loved one)
- Black women: 25% (32%)
- Women under 45: 22% (30%)
- All women: 17% (22%)

- Latinas: 26% me (36% me or loved one)
- Black women: 24% (30%)
- Women under 45: 23% (32%)
- All women: 20% (25%)
Feelings about the election results.

Trump voters
Hopeful (61%)
Relieved (44%)
Happy (37%)
Motivated (27%)
Listened to (23%)

Clinton voters
Shocked (66%)
Scared (58%)
Angry (52%)
Depressed (40%)
Powerless (40%)
Betrayed (31%)

Have you felt any of these things as a result of the election results? Select any that apply.
Are you doing any of these things as a result of Trump winning the election, or not?
Percent “yes”

- 21% Donating to an organization
- 23% Thinking about how to get more women in political office
- 23% Figuring out how to get more involved in political issues
- 32% Feeling less tolerant of sexism in my own life
- 43% Teaching my children about consent or other sexual assault issues (among parents)
- 44% Speaking up when I otherwise may not have
- 52% Paying more attention to elected officials’ actions

67% ARE TAKING ONE MORE OF THESE ACTIONS. MEAN: 2.2
Role of sexism and gender.
Do you think sexism prevented Hillary Clinton from winning the election, or not?

1 IN 3 YES
Total (32% say yes)
Black adults (56%), especially women (60%)
Latino adults (46%), especially women (55%)
College-educated women (43%)
Women under 45 (42%)
Single (41%) v. married (27%)
Women (37%) v. men (27%)
Clinton women (67%) and men (58%)
Independents (26%)
Republican women (9%)
Trump women (4%) and men (6%)

Did you see or hear any friends or family members make sexist comments about Hillary Clinton during the campaign?

1 IN 4 YES
Total (26% say yes)
Latino adults (38%)
Women under 45 (31%)
Women (28%) v. men (24%)
Clinton women (46%) and men (39%)
Trump women (13%) and men (12%)
MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS

32% of Trump men (v. 9% Clinton men). Of n = 188 Trump men, 0 say women make better leaders.

25% of Trump women (v. 3% Clinton women). 3% say women make better leaders.

DISAGREE COUNTRY WOULD BE BETTER OFF WITH MORE WOMEN IN OFFICE

38% of Trump men disagree (v. 11% Clinton men).

34% of Trump women disagree (5% Clinton women).
Which of these is most predictive of favorability toward Clinton?

- Party ID
- Political ideology
- Race
- Education
- Benevolent sexism
- Ethnocentrism
- Metro v. rural
- Hostile sexism
- Beliefs toward women in office
- Gender
- Age

After political affiliation, ideology, and race, favorability is linked to the belief that the country would be better off with more women in office. Even when we run the regression among respondents who know there are more men than women in positions of power in the federal government, this belief remains a predictor. People who disagree that the country would be better off with more women in office are more likely to perceive Clinton as unfavorable.

Benevolent sexism is also correlated. Respondents who agree that women tend to be more ethical and moral than men are more likely to view Clinton as favorable, even controlling for other demographic variables.
Overall, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of Donald Trump? Among all adults.

42% favorable
27% Strongly favorable
15% Somewhat favorable
25% Somewhat unfavorable
39% Strongly unfavorable

Among 61% of the population upset by his comments and behavior toward women

17% Strongly favorable
8% Somewhat favorable
16% Somewhat unfavorable
50% Strongly unfavorable
73% Unfavorable
Which of these is most predictive of favorability toward President-elect Trump?

- #1 Party ID
- #2 Reactions to comments toward women
- #3 Political ideology

The #1 predictor of favorability toward President-elect Trump, after party ID, is feelings about his comments and behavior toward women.
US POPULATION

VOTED IN 2016
58%

VOTED TRUMP
27%

WOMEN TRUMP
13%

MAIN REASON VOTED FOR TRUMP
- Tells it like it is, not a politician, can shake up the system: 40%
- Economy/jobs: 21%
- Not Clinton: 15%

Views on women: 1%

Have you felt any of these things as a result of the election results?
- Yes
  - Hopeful (61%)
- No
  - Listened to (76%)
  - Happy (69%)
  - Relieved (59%)
A CLOSER LOOK AT WOMEN WHO VOTED FOR TRUMP
N=191

ABOUT 1 IN 3
MORE PROGRESSIVE
Identifies as independent / other / Democrat (43%)
Politically moderate or liberal (33%)
Disagrees that women interpret innocent remarks as sexist (31%)
Agrees country would be better off with more women in office (32%)
Feels lack of women in political office affects equality (34%)
Feels birth control access (39%) and abortion (37%) affect equality
Was upset by Trump's comments (39%)
Has been touched inappropriately by man (48%)

ABOUT 1 IN 3
LEAST PROGRESSIVE
Politically very conservative (30%)
At least partially believes wives should put their husband's careers ahead of their own (42%)
At least somewhat agrees women should return to traditional roles (31%)
Disagrees country would be better off with more women in office (34%)
Feels men make better political leaders than women (25%)
Agrees that many women like to tease men sexually and reject advances (31%)
Grabbing a woman's genitalia without consent is not sexual assault or unsure (30% - 15% no; 15% not sure)
Not upset at all about Trump's comments (25%)

A MAJORITY
Sexism did not prevent Clinton from winning election (96%)
Did not hear sexist comments about Clinton from family or friends (86%)
More work to be done on women's equality (82%)
Important for Trump and Congress to move forward on women's rights and equality (77%)
Men and women make equally good politicians (72%)
Would like to see Ivanka move issues forward (71%)
Sexism at least somewhat of a problem (67%)
Women have less financial security than men (65%)
Lack of women in office does not affect equality or not sure (66%)
Agree most women interpret innocent remarks as sexist (53%)
Republican women experience and recognize inequality differently.

% Feel at least once in awhile

- Feel unsafe as woman: 76% Dem Women, 70% Ind Women, 67% Rep Women
- Judged as sexual object: 68% Dem Women, 63% Ind Women, 41% Rep Women
- Treated with less respect because of being a woman: 76% Dem Women, 71% Ind Women, 54% Rep Women
- Heard sexist language: 85% Dem Women, 71% Ind Women, 71% Rep Women
- Touch by a man without consent: 55% Dem Women, 67% Ind Women, 44% Rep Women
- Felt unequal in society because of gender: 50% Dem Women, 43% Ind Women, 26% Rep Women
- Talked about equality in past year: 62% Dem Women, 55% Ind Women, 30% Rep Women
- Talked with a man about Trump’s comments: 61% Dem Women, 66% Ind Women, 45% Rep Women
- Felt unequal in society because of gender: 61% Dem Women, 66% Ind Women, 45% Rep Women
- Talked with a man about Trump’s comments: 63% Dem Women, 37% Ind Women, 23% Rep Women
- Thinking more about sexism b/c of election: 40% Dem Women, 27% Ind Women, 13% Rep Women
- Feeling less tolerant of sexism in my life b/c of election: 50% Dem Women, 34% Ind Women, 21% Rep Women

Beliefs

- Full equality for women not yet achieved: 90% Dem Women, 86% Ind Women, 84% Rep Women
- Sexism a big problem + a big/smwt problem: 95% Dem Women, 78% Ind Women, 63% Rep Women
- Sexism prevented Clinton from winning: 25% Dem Women, 40% Ind Women, 54% Rep Women
- Many women interpret innocent remarks as sexist: 64% Dem Women, 27% Ind Women, 9% Rep Women
- Men make better political leaders than women: 5% Dem Women, 12% Ind Women, 30% Rep Women
- More women are likely to feel unsafe as a result of the election: 64% Dem Women, 38% Ind Women, 14% Rep Women
Are you doing any of these things as a result of Trump winning the election, or not? Percent “yes”

- 52% Are paying more attention to elected officials’ actions
- 23% Are figuring out how to get more involved in political issues
- 21% of adults are donating to an organization
- 58% of adults are taking one or more of these actions
The #1 predictor of taking action - paying more attention, figuring out how to get involved in political action, and donating to an organization is Trump’s comments and behavior toward women.

This is surprising because no other demographic factors are significantly correlated with taking action, including party ID.

In fact, there is no significant correlation between taking action and favorability when controlling for reactions to his comments toward women. This suggests it is Trump’s comments and behavior toward women driving action - more than feeling unfavorable toward him for other reasons.
Views toward policies related to gender equality.

THERE IS UNITY across the country for President-elect Trump and Congress to move forward on women’s rights and equality.
Do you consider yourself a...
In your view, how important is it that President-elect Trump and Congress work to move forward on issues around women’s rights and equality? Percent very and somewhat important.
CONSENSUS AMONG A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION

58%
Oppose getting rid of the part of Obamacare that expands Medicaid to cover more low-income, uninsured adults

87%
Ensure working people can get paid family and medical leave

71%
Oppose taking away funds from Planned Parenthood that are used for birth control, well-woman care, and cancer screenings for low-income women

61%
Oppose getting rid of the part of Obamacare that requires plans to cover birth control without a copay

85%
Ensure women have access to quality, affordable birth control

89%
Increase access to quality, affordable childcare for working families

90%
Have stronger laws to ensure equal pay for equal work

63%
Protect women's right to abortion

67%
Oppose nominating a Supreme Court justice based on their belief in restricting or eliminating women's right to abortion
Take away funds from Planned Parenthood that are used for birth control, well-woman care, and cancer screenings for low-income women? (Among voters)

70% oppose

% of voters opposing:
Women (72%)
Black voters (80%)
Latino voters (78%)
Independents (69%)
Democrats (88%)
Trump voters (50% v. 47% support)

29% support

Nominate a Supreme Court justice based on their belief in restricting or eliminating women’s right to abortion? (Among voters)

66% oppose

% of voters opposing:
Men (70%)
Black voters (68%)
Latino voters (69%)
Independents (67%)
Democrats (83%)
Republicans (48%)
Trump voters (48%, including 54% of Trump men)
Let’s say the new Trump administration and Congress works to restrict women’s right to an abortion or access to abortion care. Would you be more or less likely to vote to re-elect them? (Among voters)

38% much less likely
15% much more likely
13% somewhat more likely
12% somewhat less likely
21% no difference

% much less v. much more likely
Democrats: 60% v. 4%
Independents: 40% to 14%
Republicans: 11% to 32%

42% of Trump voters support Congress and President-elect Trump working to protect women’s right to abortion (45% men, 39% women).
EARLY 2017 AGENDA ITEMS

27%
Support defunding Planned Parenthood

31%
Support nominating SCOTUS justice based on anti-abortion belief

35%
Oppose protecting women’s right to abortion

37%
Support getting rid of birth control benefit

9 in 10 adults oppose all four items (91%)
including 8 in 10 Trump voters (79%)

If remove birth control benefit:
87% oppose remaining three
72% Trump voters
Republican men are among the least likely to perceive inequality.

64% Say there are equal or more women in positions of power in society than men. (v. 34% of all adults).

63% ALL ADULTS SAY YES

48% YES

Sexism

69%

39%

Say full equality has been achieved (v. 20% of all adults).

34%

65%

GOOD TIME TO BE A MAN

GOOD TIME TO BE A WOMAN

53% 37%

In your own view, does each of these things affect women’s rights and equality, or not?

But are least likely to perceive factors that may affect equality.

29% SAY GRABBING A WOMAN IN HER GENTALIA WITHOUT CONSENT IS NOT SEXUAL ASSAULT OR NOT SURE

30% SAY MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS THAN WOMEN

40% AGREE WOMEN LIKE TO TEASE MEN THEN REFUSE ADVANCES

52% NEVER FELT UNEQUAL IN SOCIETY BECAUSE OF RACE, GENDER, ET AL.

65% NOT UPSET BY TRUMP’S COMMENTS ABOUT WOMEN

ALL ADULTS 37% 53%

41%

51%

And are among the most likely to say...

22%

16%

31%

40%

38%
32% Oppose getting rid of the part of Obamacare that expands Medicaid to cover more low-income, uninsured adults

38% Oppose getting rid of the part of Obamacare that requires plans to cover birth control without a copay

78% Increase access to quality, affordable childcare for working families

46% Protect women’s right to abortion

75% Ensure working people can get paid family and medical leave

51% Oppose taking away funds from Planned Parenthood that are used for birth control, well-woman care, and cancer screenings for low-income women

83% Have stronger laws to ensure equal pay for equal work

69% Ensure women have access to quality, affordable birth control

59% Oppose nominating a Supreme Court justice based on their belief in restricting or eliminating women’s right to abortion
CAN IVANKA HELP?

“Ivanka Trump is Donald Trump’s daughter. Would you want Ivanka Trump to help move women’s rights and equality forward in this country, or not?”

65% YES
32% NO

17% say Ivanka represents feminism today
Overall, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of Ivanka Trump, Donald Trump’s daughter?

Regression analysis suggests that President-elect Trump’s comments and behavior toward women have also tainted views toward Ivanka. The top two predictors of favorability toward Ivanka are party ID and reactions to Trump’s comments and behavior toward women. Age is also correlated - older adults are more likely to be favorable than younger adults. We see that in the crosstabs as well - men 45 and older have more favorable impressions of Ivanka than others.
Gender identity and expression.
Regardless of your sex, how do you feel inside?
0 very masculine to 10 very feminine.

Regardless of your sex, how would you rate your outward appearance?
0 very masculine to 10 very feminine.

15% middle (4 to 6)
11% middle (4 to 6)
Regardless of your sex, how do you feel inside?  
0 very masculine to 10 very feminine.

39% of women* rate 10 “very feminine” (8.2 mean)  
41% of men rate 0 “very masculine” (1.9)

Regardless of your sex, how would you rate your outward appearance?  
0 very masculine to 10 very feminine.

40% of women rate 10 “very feminine” (8.4)  
39% of men rate 0 “very masculine” (1.7)

*Unfortunately we found out too late that the panel we used does not ask about gender identity, but rather “Are you: male, female.” So these are data among panelists who selected “female” and “male” respectively.
BONUS QUESTION.

GIRLS
DOES OUR CULTURE TEACH GIRLS TO ASPIRE TO MARRIAGE, OR NOT?
50% YES

BOYS
DOES OUR CULTURE TEACH BOYS TO ASPIRE TO MARRIAGE, OR NOT?
29% YES
CONCLUSION.

What does all of this mean? We look forward to hearing what experts in these issues have to say.

Our take is that equality for women is a clear value held by most of the US population - even if some of us still hold sexist beliefs. While some people experience and perceive equality or sexism in different ways, there is consensus among a majority of the population on policies that disproportionately affect women. We also find consensus that the public and the electorate want the new administration to move forward on women's rights and equality. Republican leadership in Congress is out of step with the vast majority of voters on issues around defunding Planned Parenthood and abortion. Some insight into why may be found in delving into the beliefs of Republican men in our survey.

President-elect Trump faces a great deal of baggage as a result of his comments and behavior toward women. Not only did they have an impact on people last fall, they continue to have an effect now on his favorability ratings. Based on our poll, a major way to improve his favorability is to repair some of the damage done around women. His comments and behavior toward women are also the single biggest driver we measured of taking action. The more the President-elect makes derogatory comments about women, the more likely his unfavorability will increase and cement - and the more likely men and women will take action. We think the same is very likely to happen if he passes policies that disproportionately harm women.

An easy way to help repair the damage, in terms of the public and his constituents, would be to take action - working on moving women’s rights and equality forward. He could take on any number of policies that majorities agree with. Ivanka Trump could help him, which may also improve her favorability since they are connected to her father’s comments about women. The difficult part may be the agenda that the Republican leadership in Congress seems to be proposing. Interestingly, these items relate to women’s health - and half of voters says politicians view women’s health care as a political issue, twice as many as those who say politicians view men’s health care as a political issue.

The recent election has provided a unique opportunity to reignite the conversation on gender equality, sexism, and rights in the US. The data raise a number questions worthy for public discussion, such as: What does gender equality mean and look like? What are the barriers? Are policymakers aware of the factors related to women’s rights and gender equality? Do they view men’s health as a political issue in equal measure to women’s health? What is sexism? Do we need to be better at defining sexual assault? With more discussion and learning, we may get closer to achieving equality - a value the vast majority of the public holds.