

# 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  $\pm 3.4$  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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Views on policies related to gender equality.



Gender identity and expression.

# SUMMARY.

**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%).

**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 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.

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 office. Three in ten say grabbing a woman’s genitalia without consent is not sexual assault or they are not sure (15% no; 15% not sure). One in four (25%) says they were “not at all upset” about President-elect Trump’s comments in the Access Hollywood tape.

**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.**

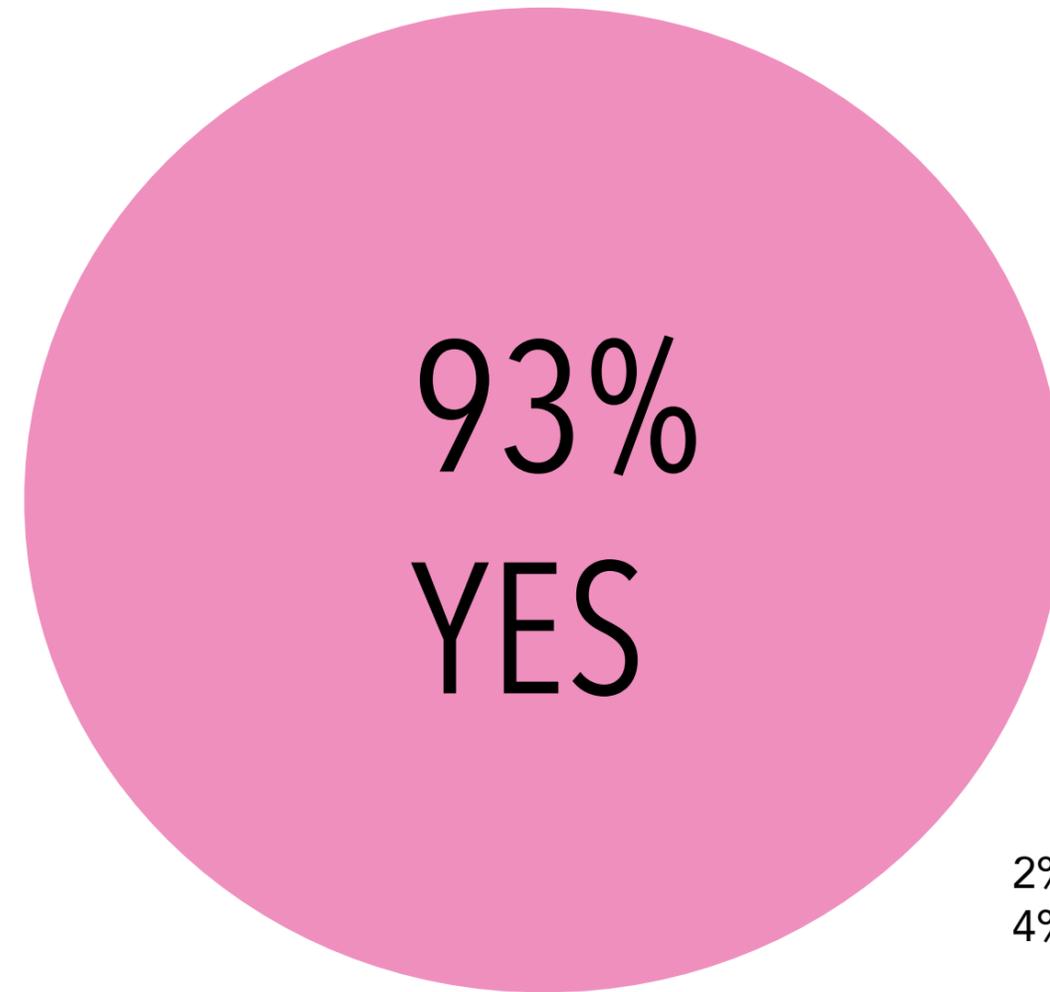
Despite the ways some Republican men perceive equality differently or hold sexist beliefs, majorities of these respondents support policies that disproportionately affect women. Republican men support President-elect Trump and the new Congress working to have stronger laws around equal pay (83%), ensure 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%).



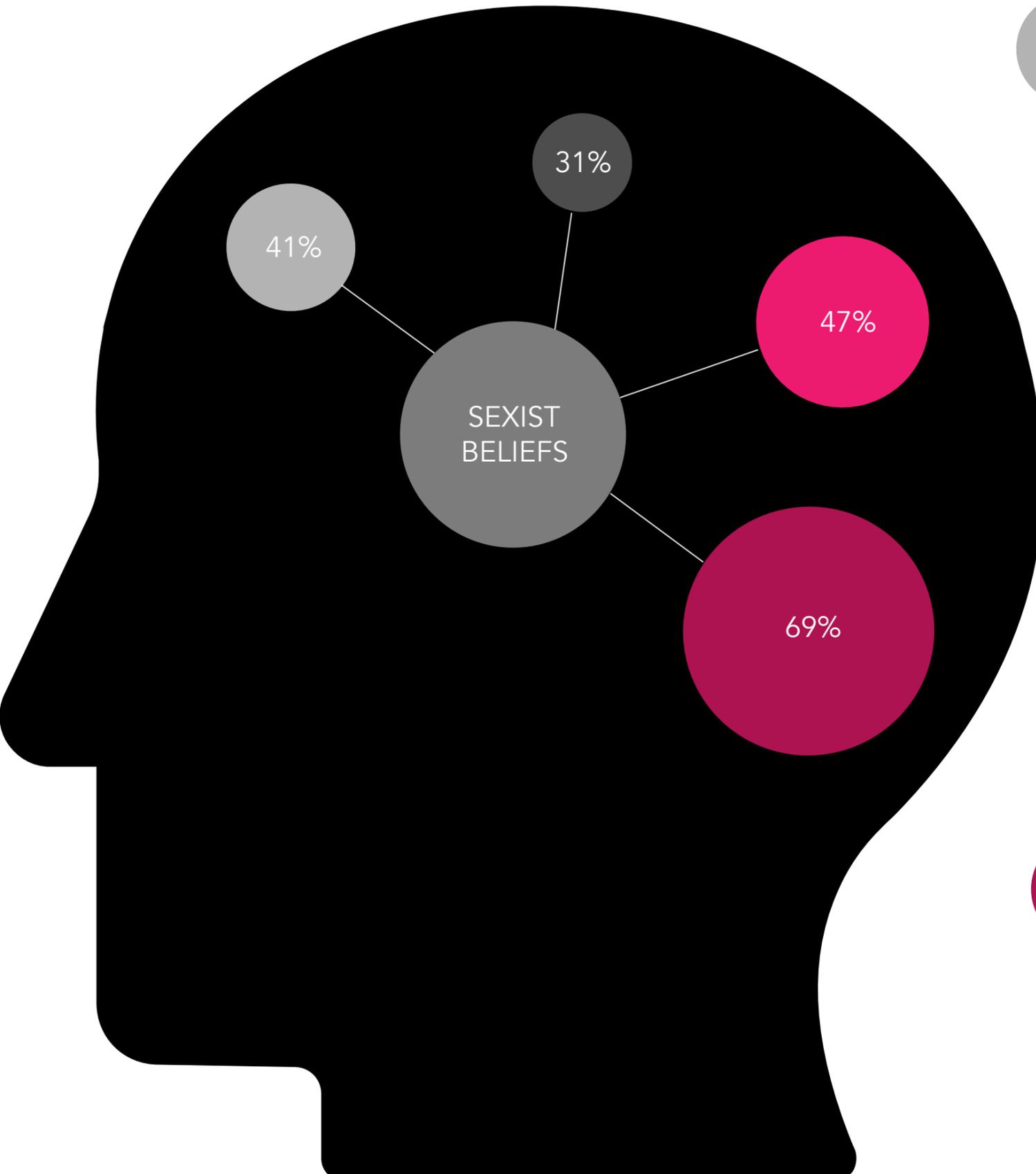
**Belief in  
gender  
equality.**

**93%**  
BELIEVE IN  
EQUALITY FOR  
WOMEN

Do you believe in equality for women?



2% no  
4% not sure



41%

**Women misinterpret as sexist**

41% agree, 9% strongly

"Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist."

Trump men (52%)  
Trump women (53%)

31%

**Women like to tease men**

31% agree, 9% strongly

"Many women like to tease men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances."

Trump men (41%)

47%

**Women are more ethical**

47% agree, 14% strongly

"Women, compared to men, tend to be more ethical and moral."

Women (52% v. 41% men)  
Clinton women (55%)  
Clinton men (47%)  
Latina women (63%)

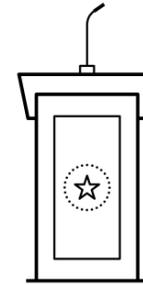
69%

**Men should protect women**

69% agree, 37% strongly

"Women should be cherished and protected by men."

Men (70%)  
Women (69%)  
Trump men (79%)  
Trump women (73%)  
Black men (85%)  
Black women (81%)



## In general, who makes better political leaders?

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



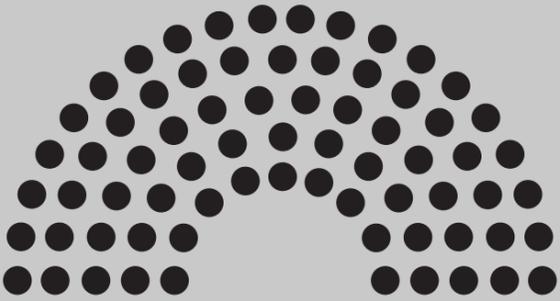
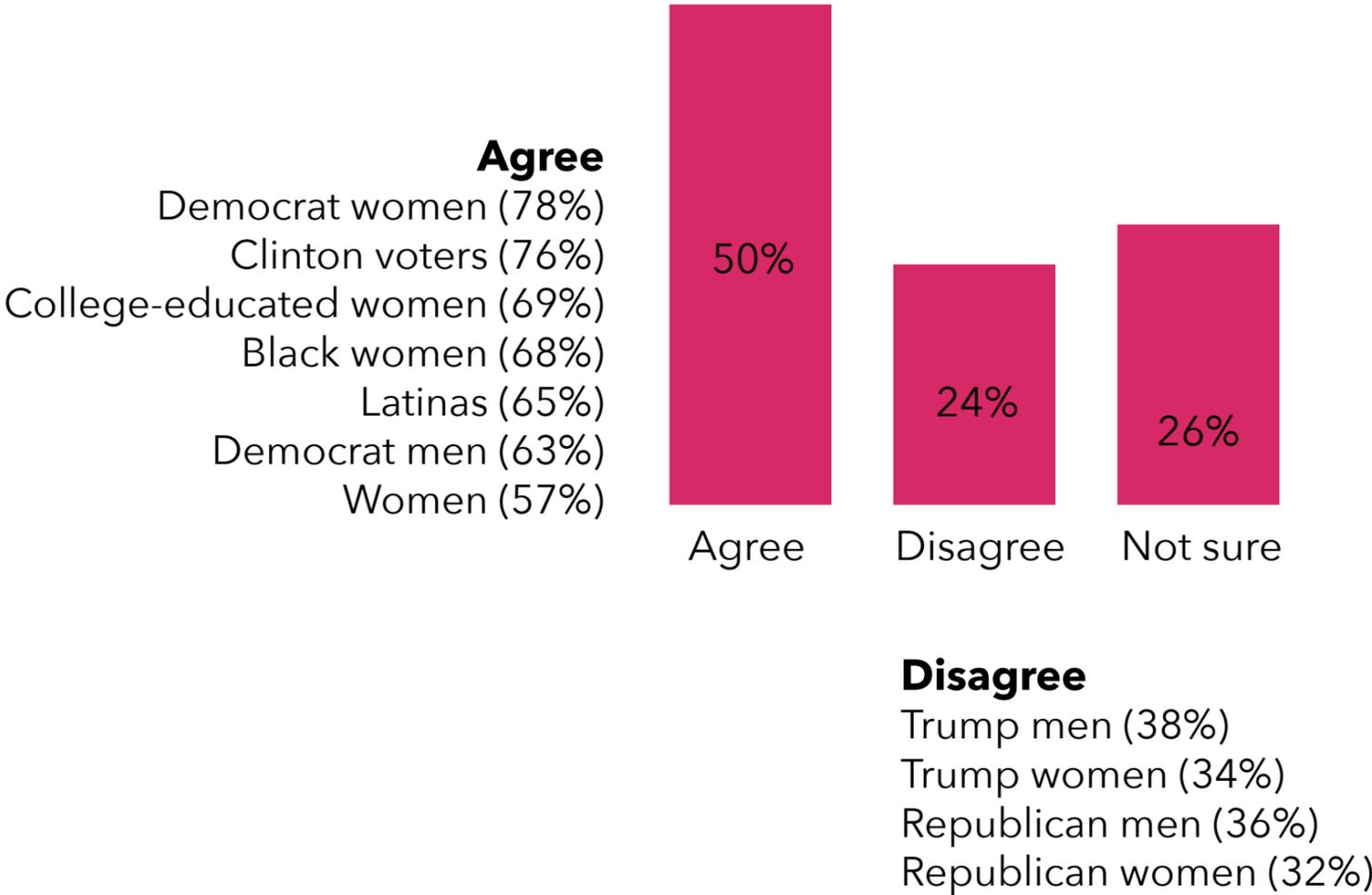
Clinton women (15% say women)  
Black women (15%)  
Clinton men (8%)

\*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:  
ROTATE FIRST TWO

- 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

Do you agree or disagree: The country would be better off if we had more women in political office.



19% of members of Congress are women.

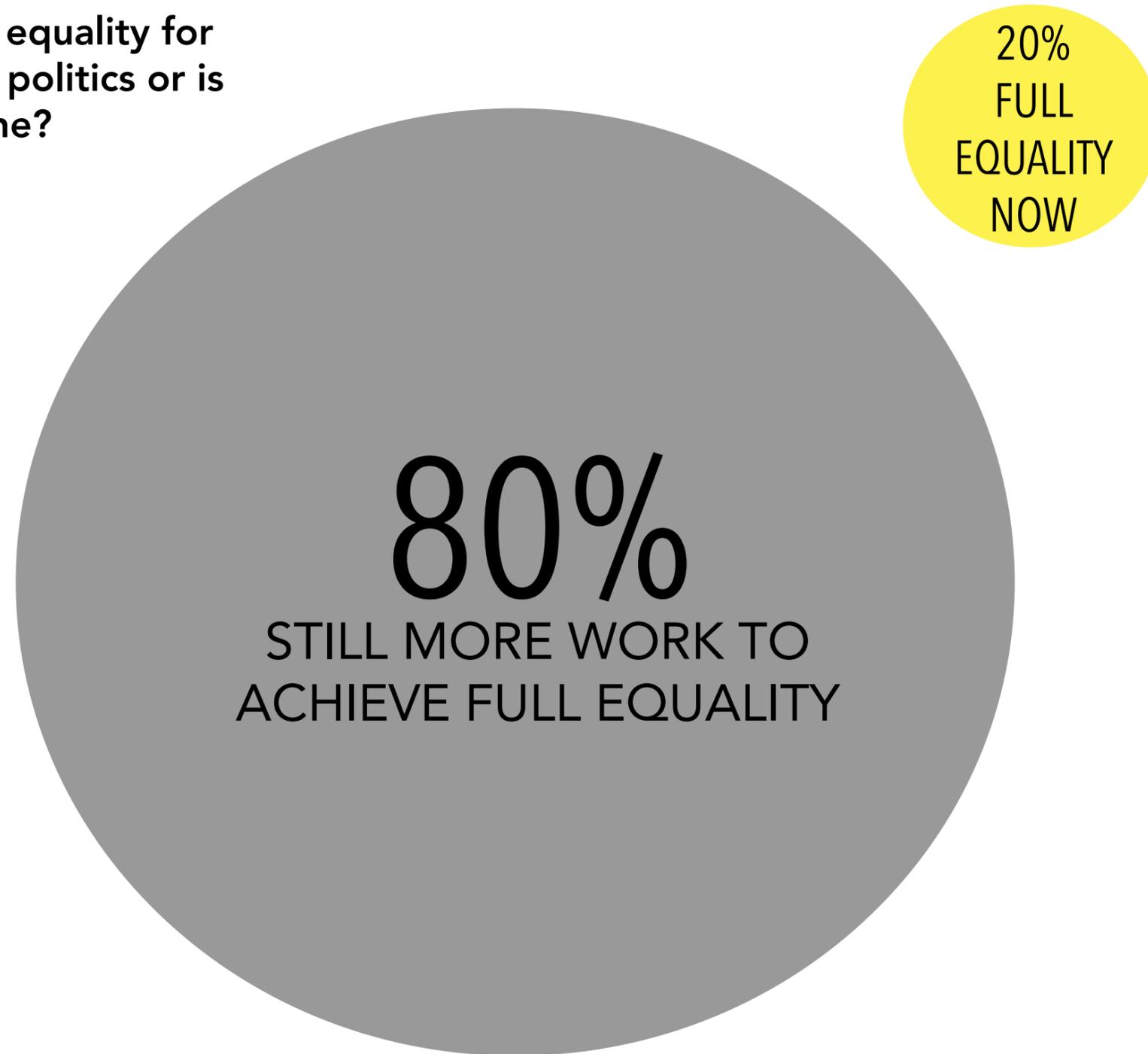
No women will serve in any of the six Senate leadership positions.

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>

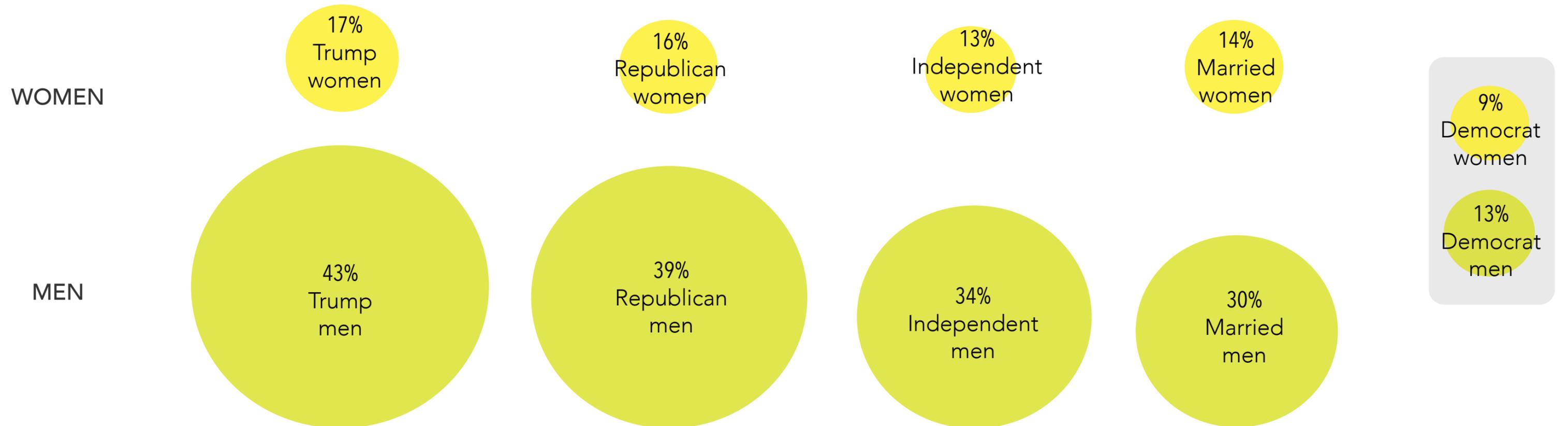


Do you think there is full equality for women in work, life, and politics or is there still work to be done?

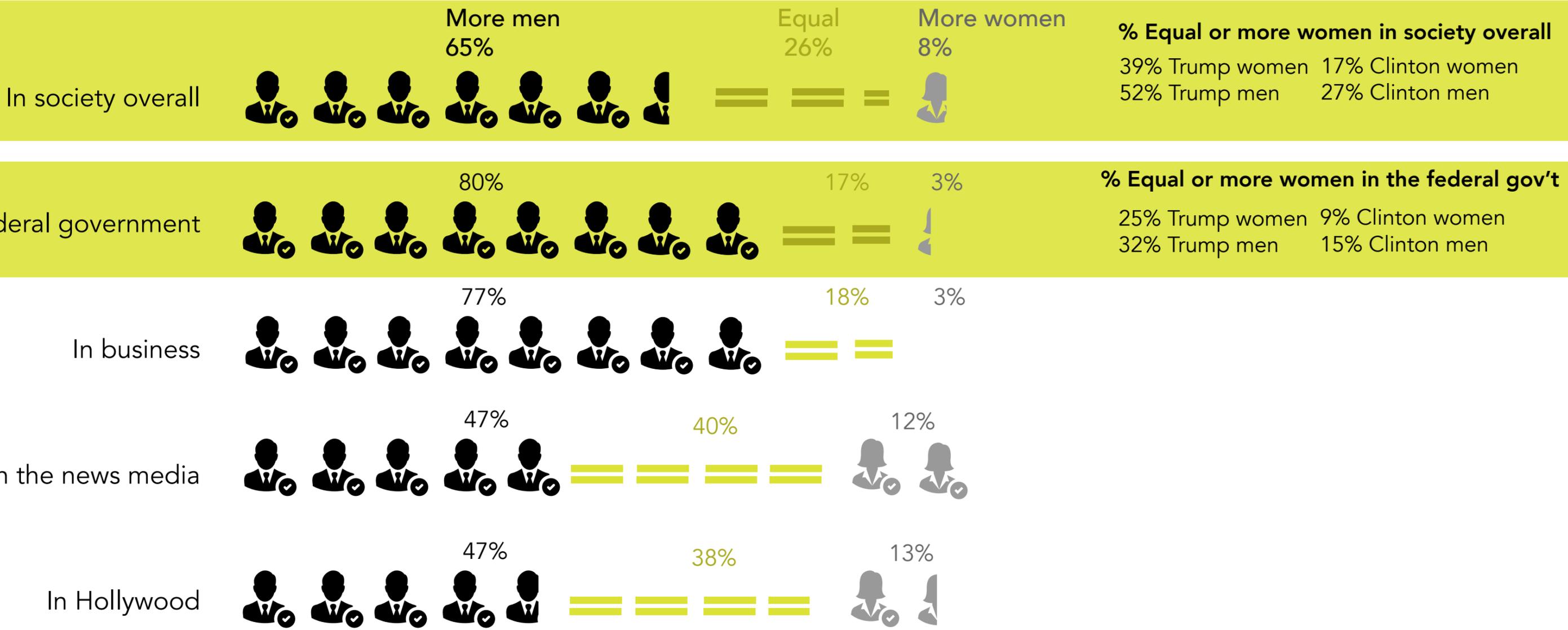


# GENDER DIVIDE

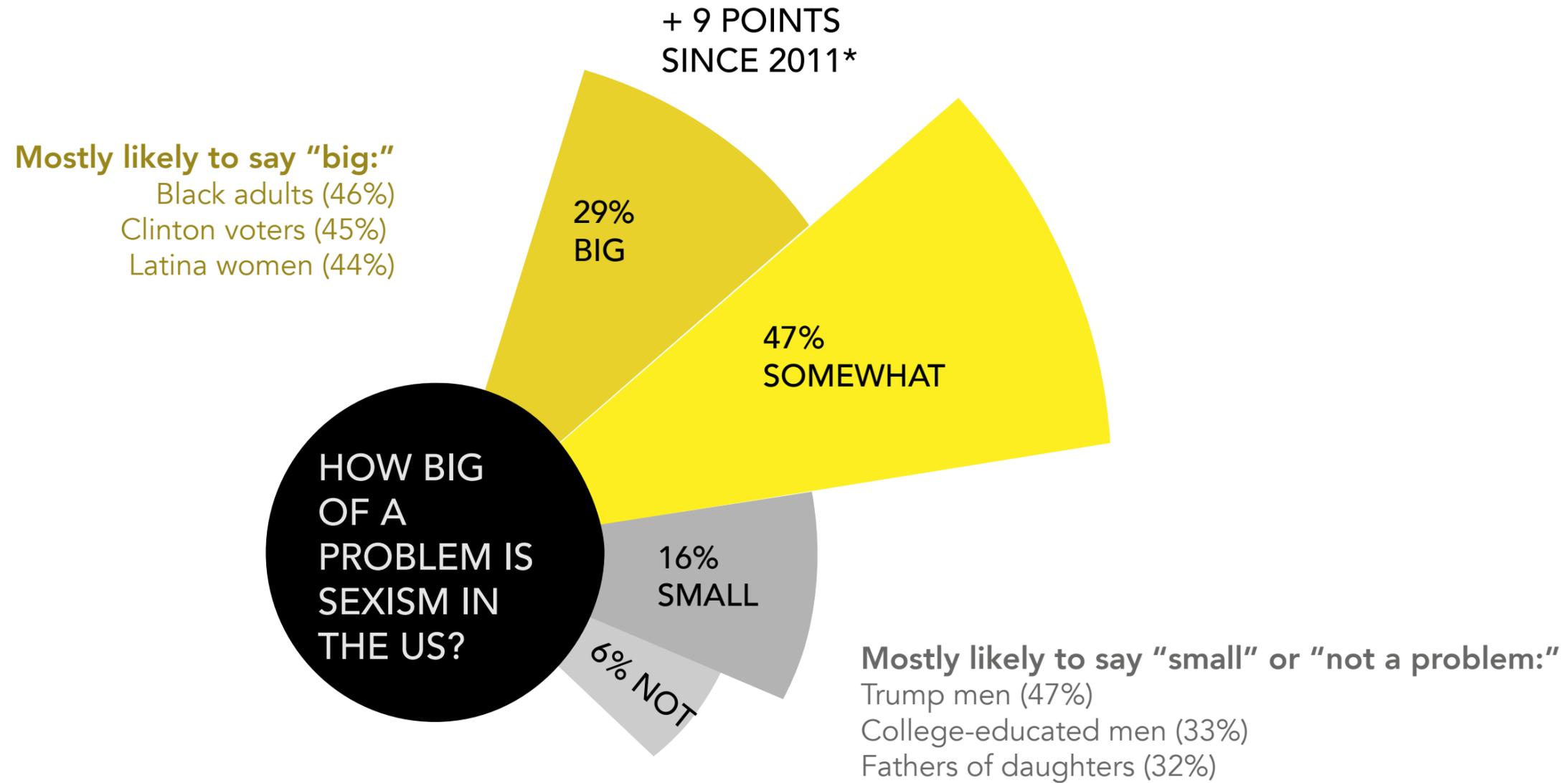
in % who believe equality for women has been achieved



# Who do you think has more positions of power in each of these settings overall - men or women, or an equal number?

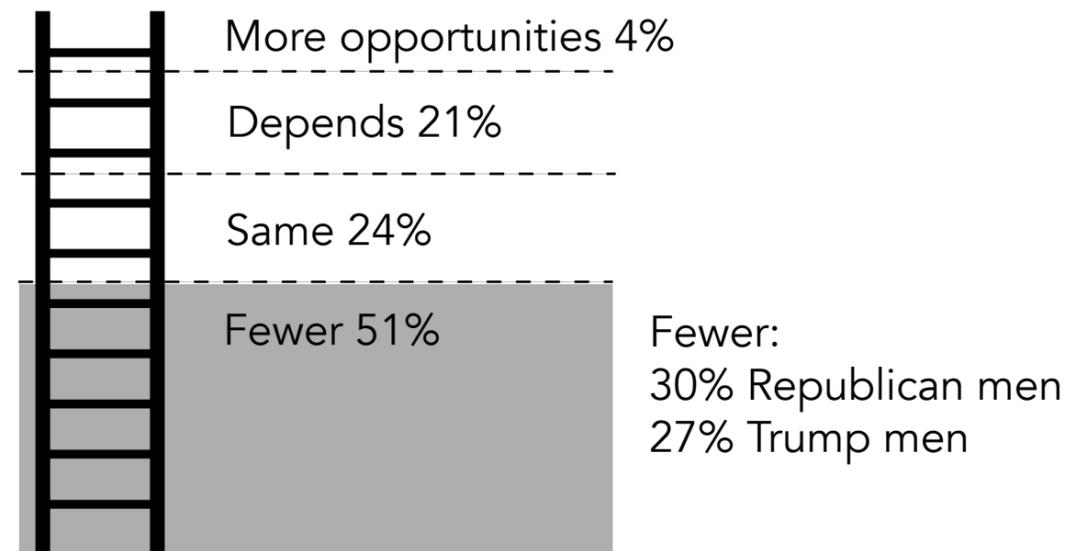


How big a problem is sexism in our society today? Is it a... big problem, somewhat of a problem, small problem, not a problem at all?



2011 Kaiser-Washington Post Survey  
[http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/polls/postkaiserpoll\\_110211.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/polls/postkaiserpoll_110211.html)

**In the workplace, do you think women have more, fewer, or the same opportunities as men?**



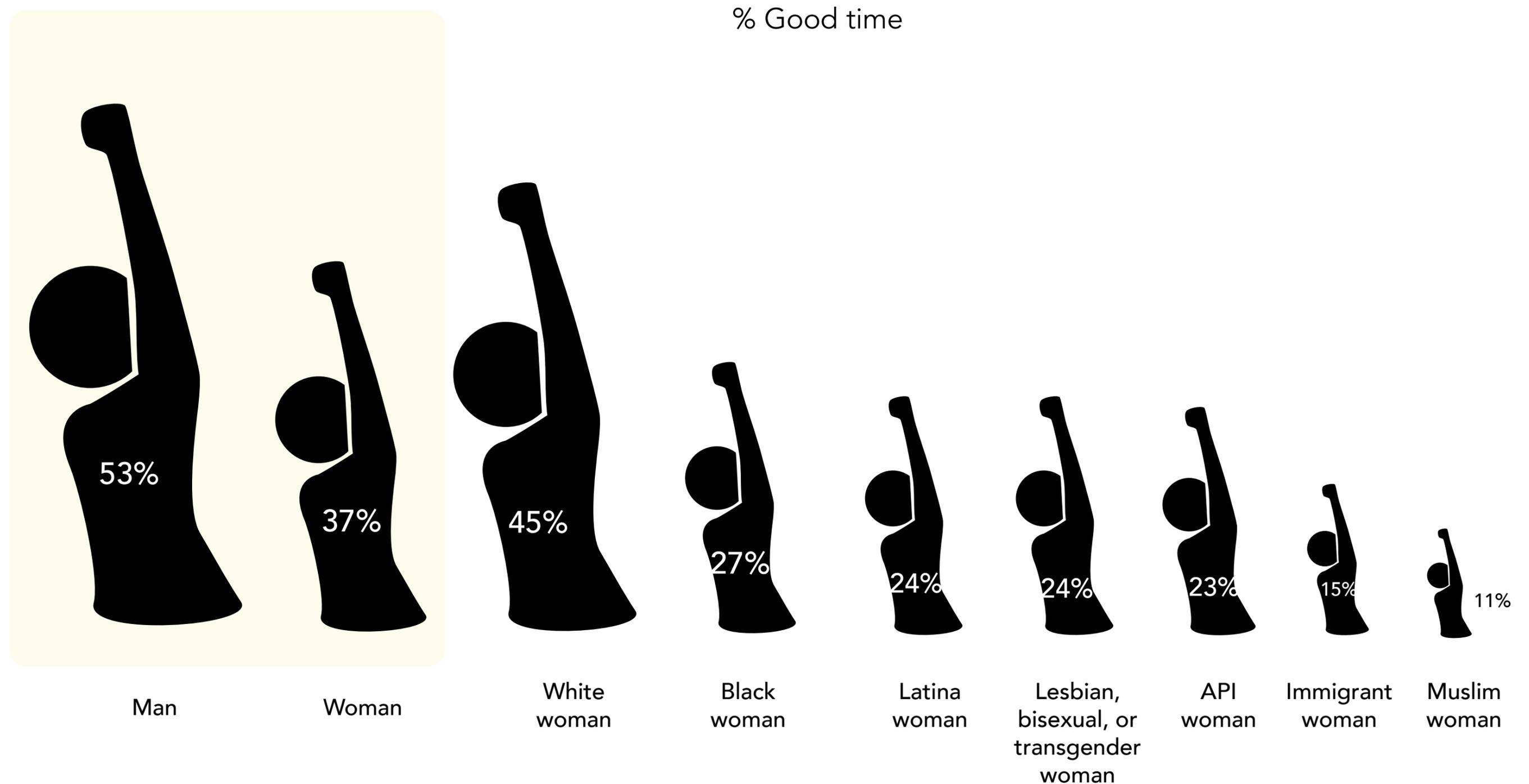
**This question is about financial stability, meaning having a stable income and enough resources to support a decent standard of living now and in the future. Overall, do you think women have:**



**Less:**  
67% women  
45% men

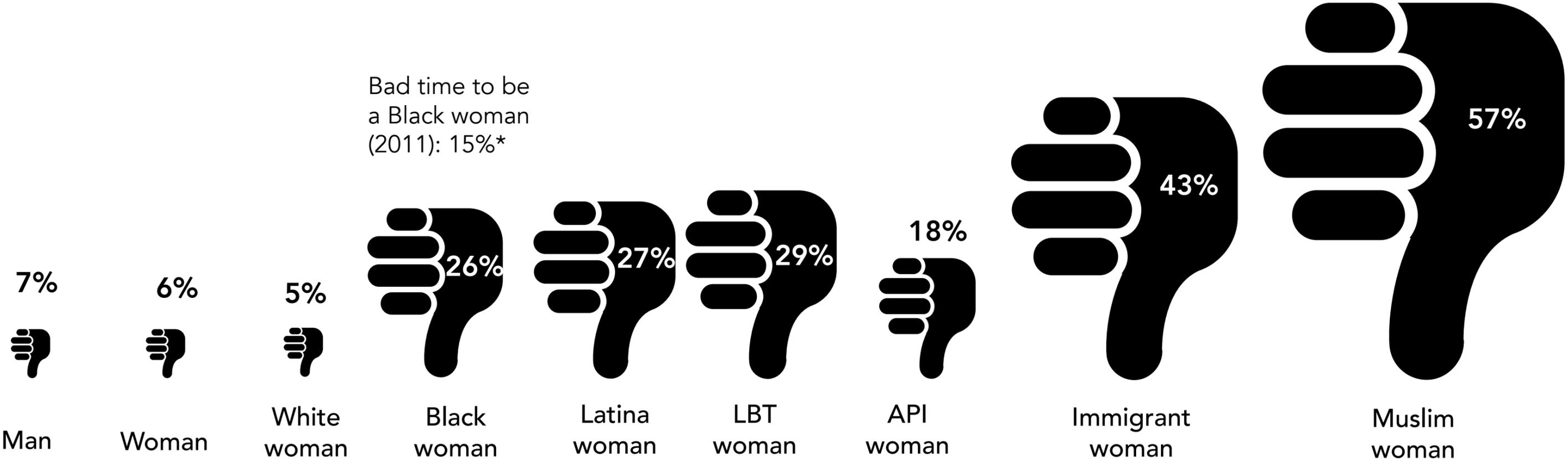
**Same or more:**  
67% Trump men

# IS IT A GOOD TIME OR BAD TIME TO BE A \_\_\_\_\_ IN AMERICA?



# % Bad time to be a \_\_\_\_\_ in America

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



Bad or mixed (good and bad)



\*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.

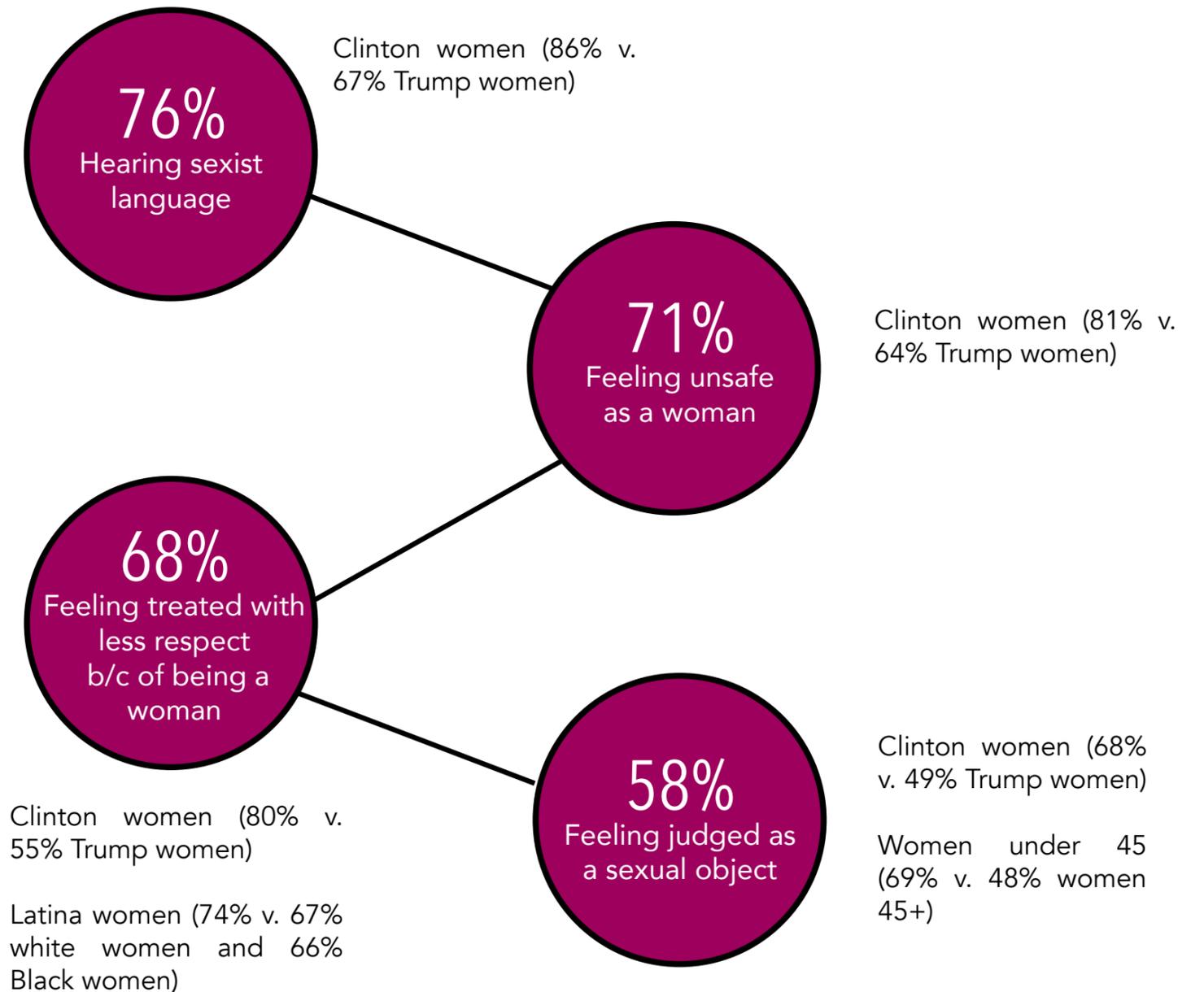


54%

**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:



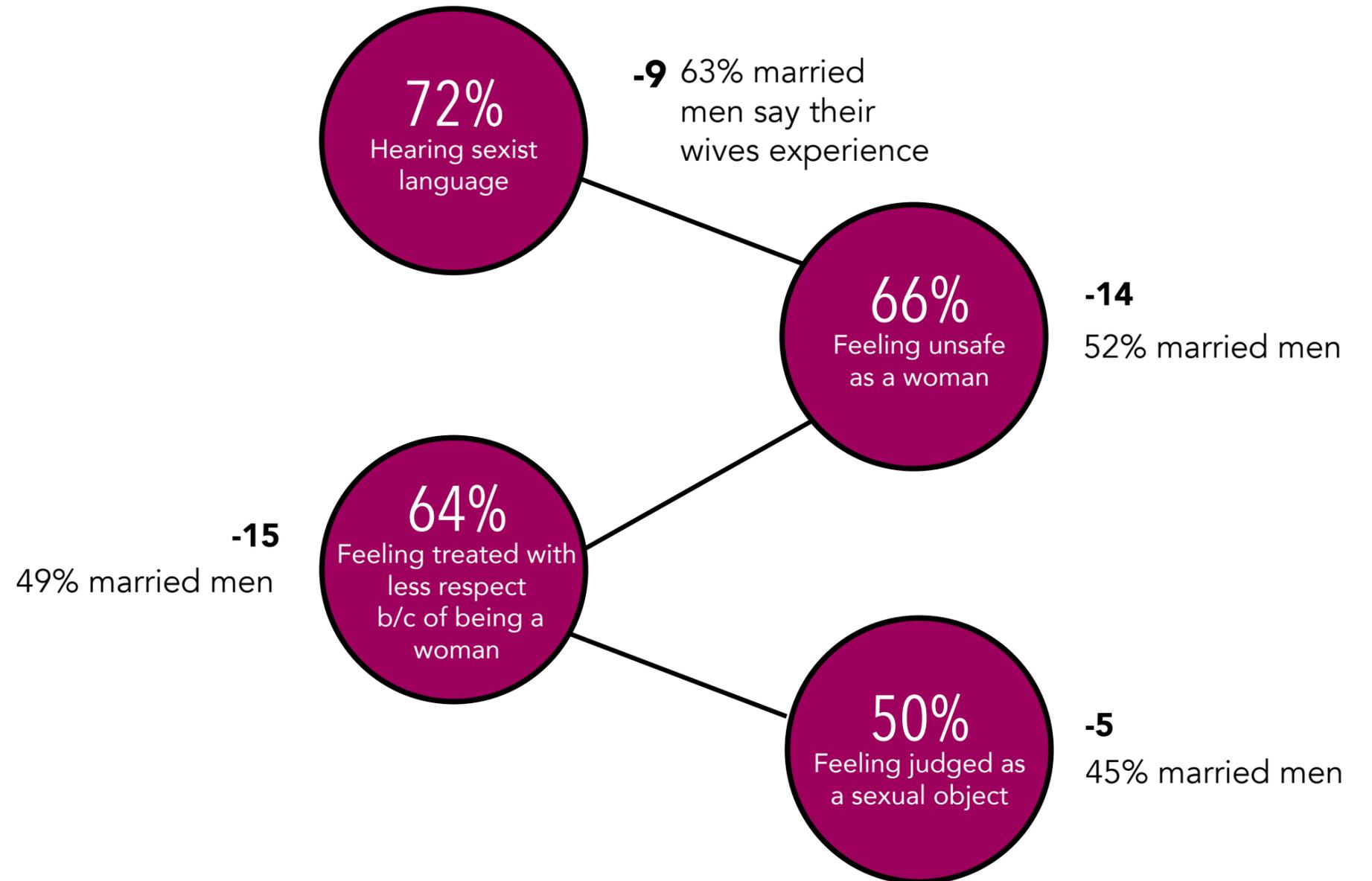


49%

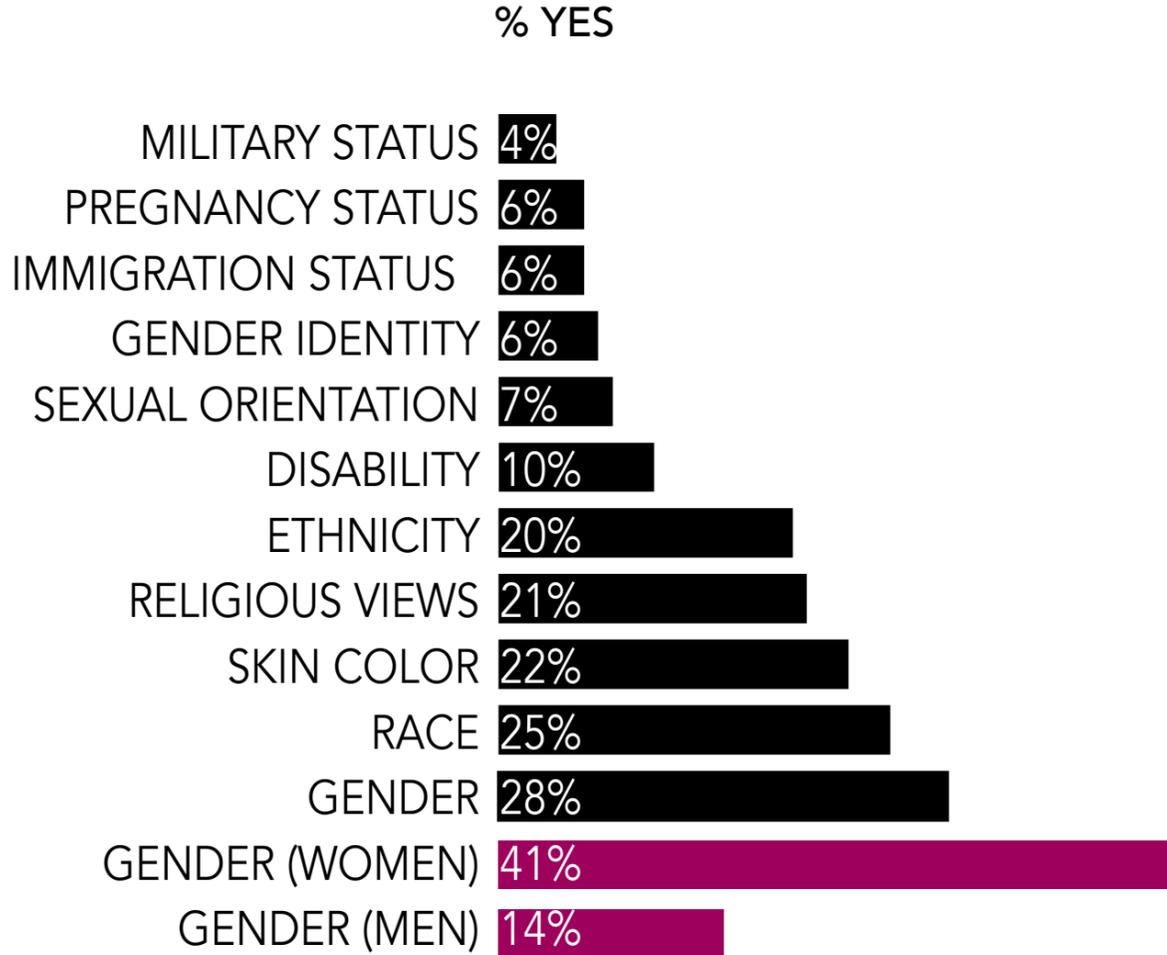
**of married women  
say they have been  
touched by a man in  
an inappropriate way  
without their consent.**

49% married women  
30% married men **-19**

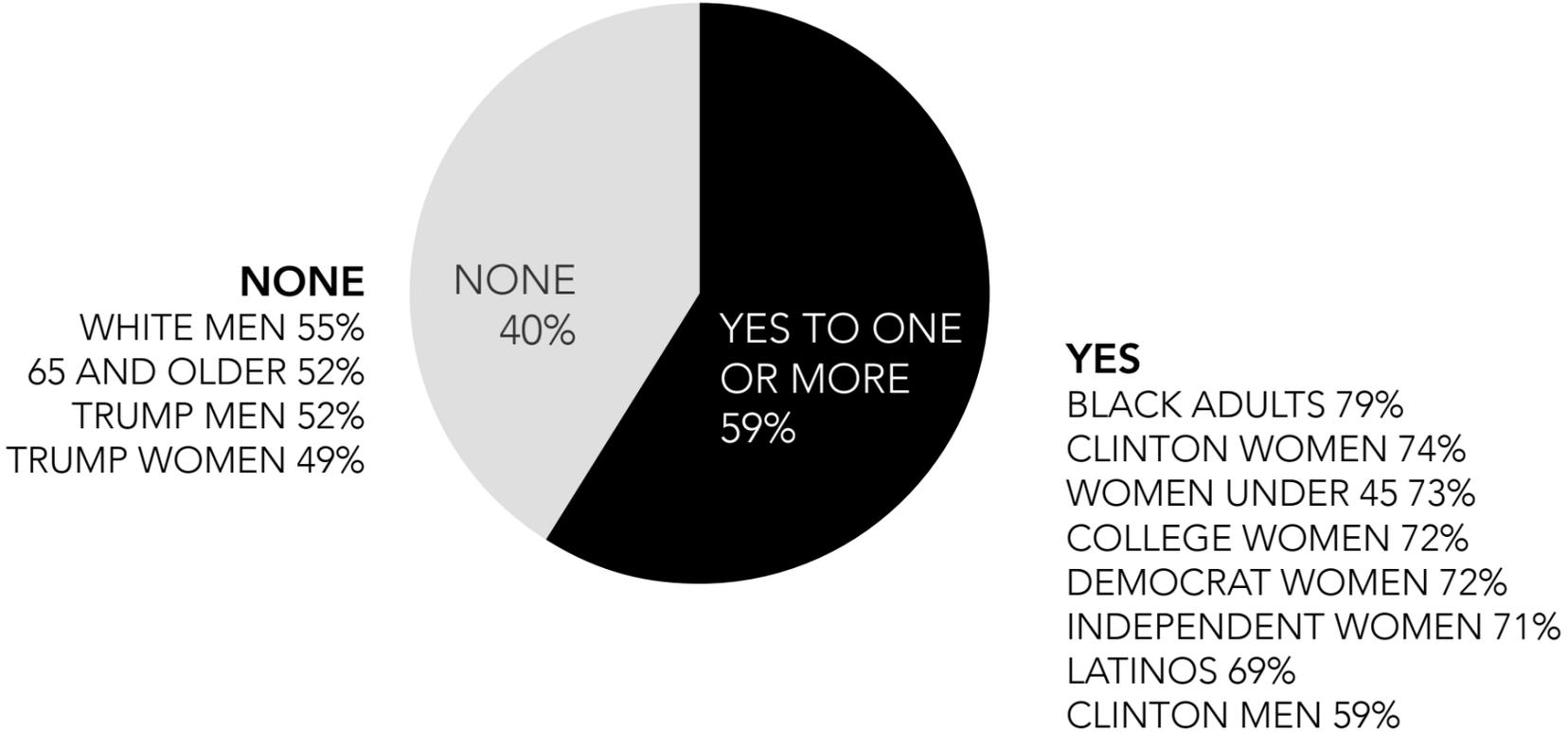
**Percent of married women who  
experience at least once in awhile:  
(And % of married men who say their wives experience  
at least once in awhile.)**



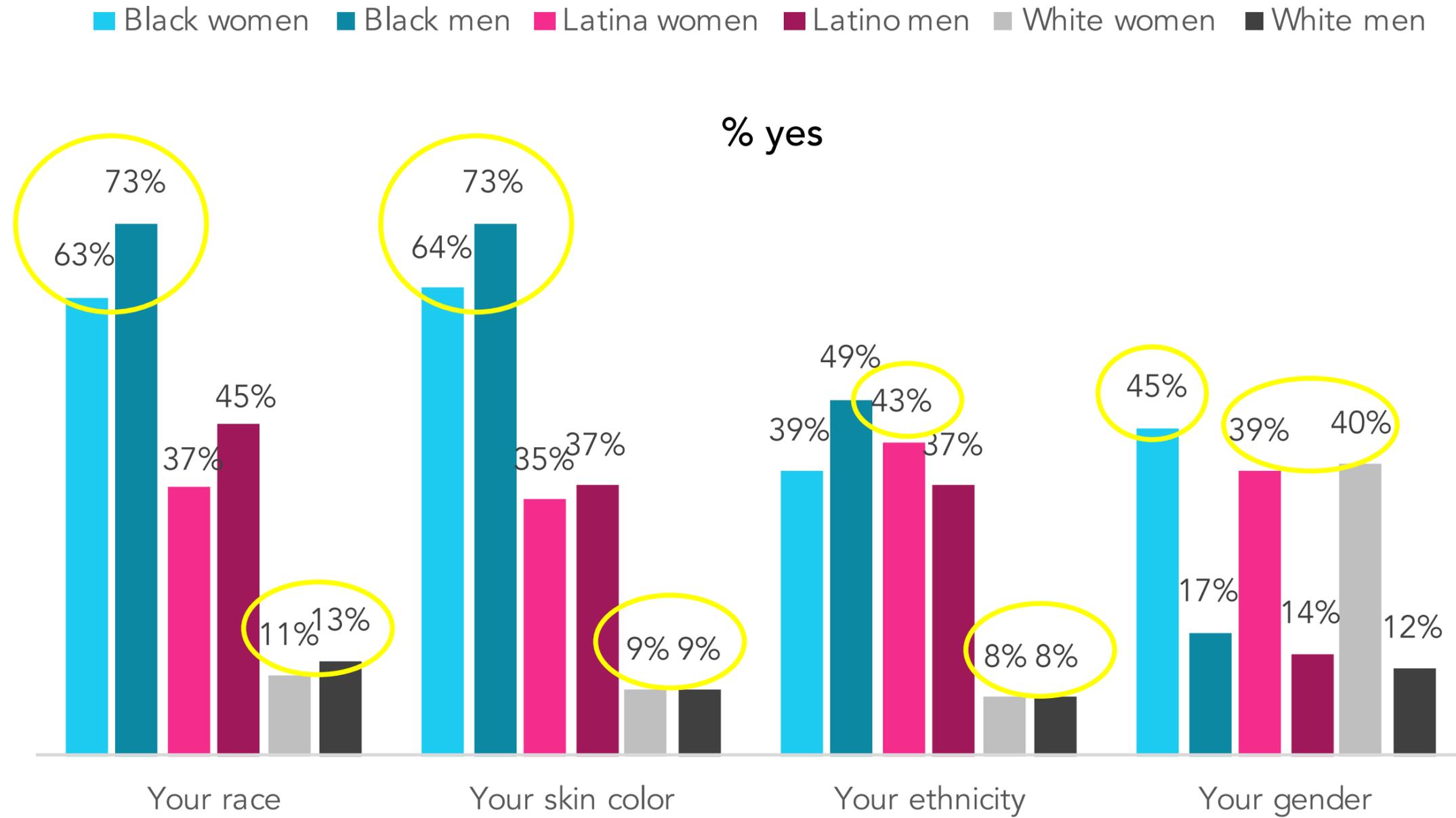
HAVE YOU EVER FELT UNEQUAL IN OUR SOCIETY BECAUSE OF YOUR...



HAVE FELT UNEQUAL

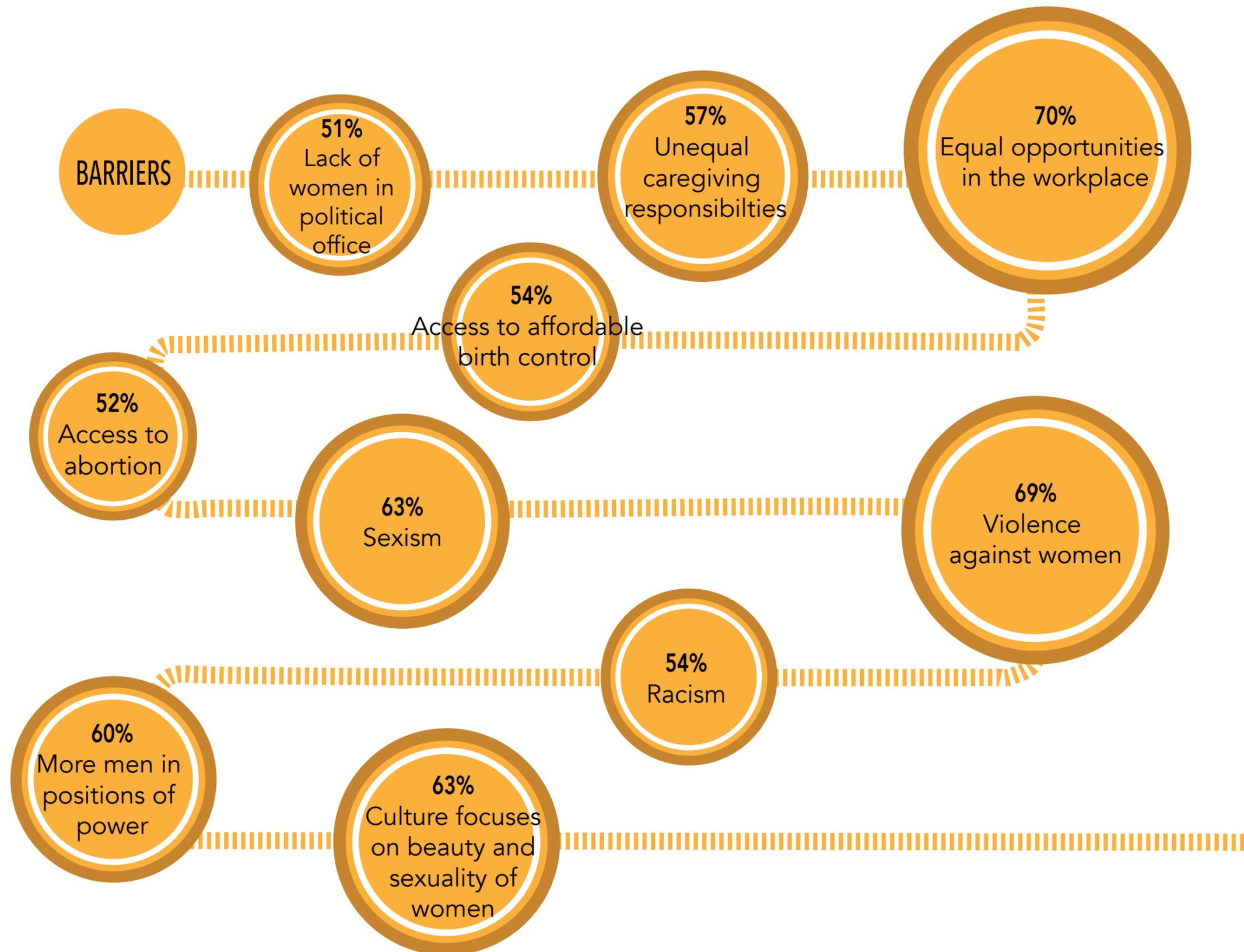


## Have you ever felt unequal in our society because of your....





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.)**

# ANOTHER BARRIER?

## WOMEN

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

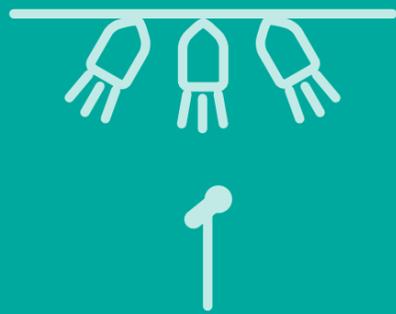
**56% YES**



## MEN

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

**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%)



**Views toward  
President-elect  
Trump's comments  
on women.**



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\* \* \*y. ... Do anything.

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

**91%**  
unacceptable

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

Did you feel upset about these comments, or not?

**61%**  
felt upset

**78%**  
consider assault

Do you consider grabbing women in the genitalia without consent to be sexual assault, or not?

Did you feel upset about these comments, or not?

61%

UPSET

38%

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

**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%)

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%)

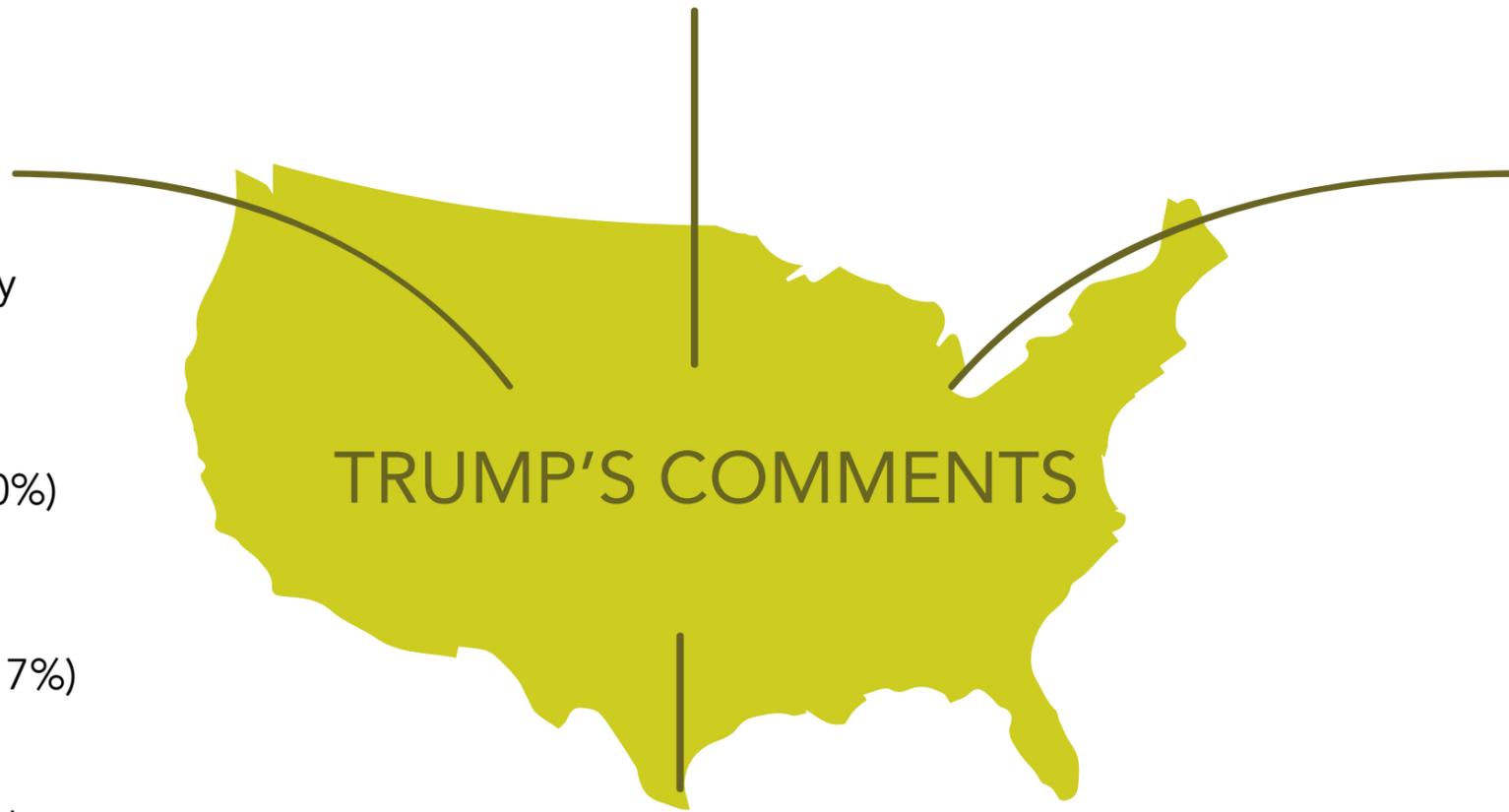
1 in 6

women felt more physically unsafe (17%)

1 in 8

re-experienced past trauma (12%)

92% unacceptable



TRUMP'S COMMENTS

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

MEN

55%

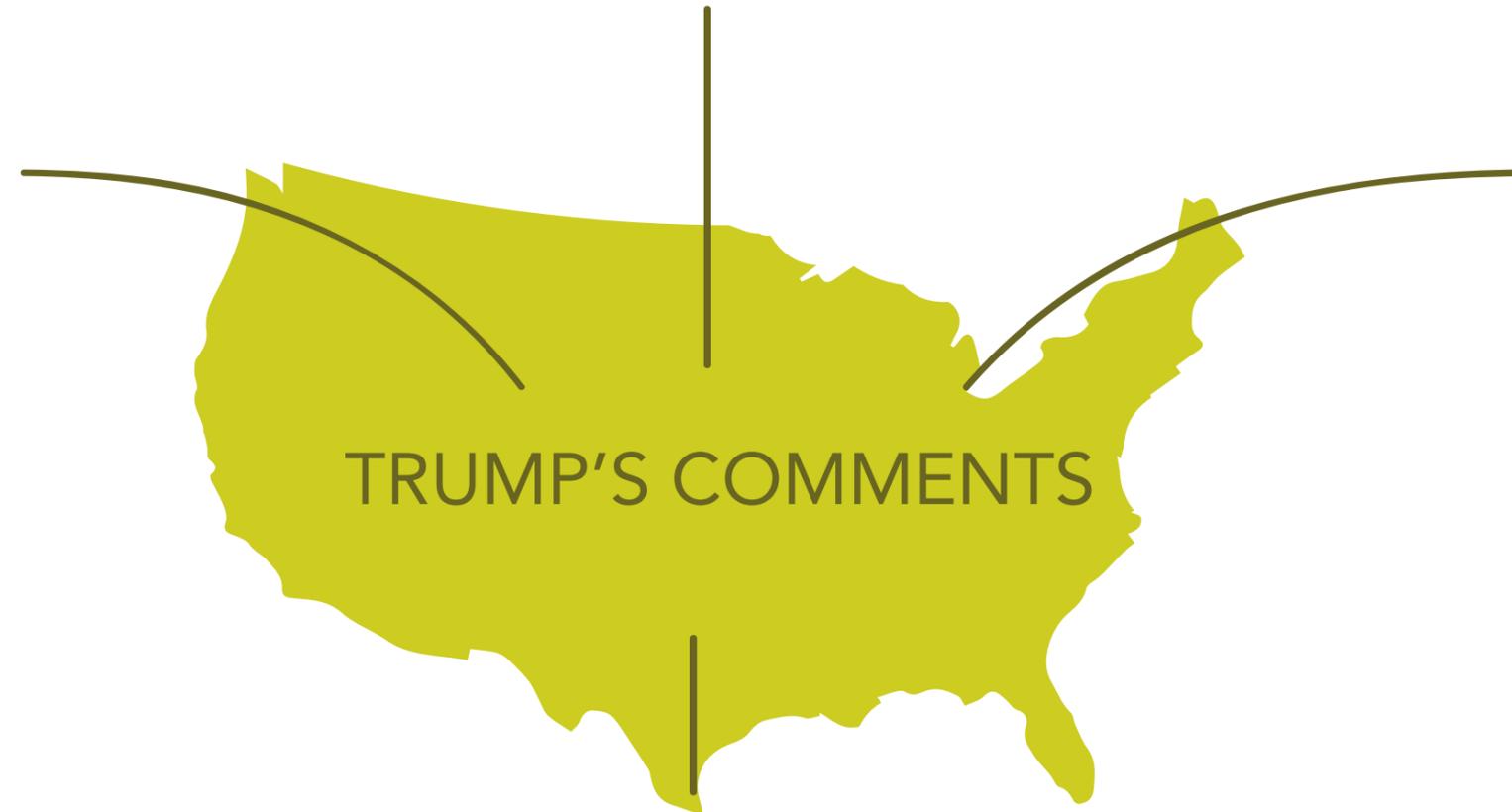
men upset  
(15% do not recall comments)

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



TRUMP'S COMMENTS

74%  
consider assault

MORE LIKELY TO HAPPEN BECAUSE TRUMP WON ELECTION:

33% women feeling unsafe

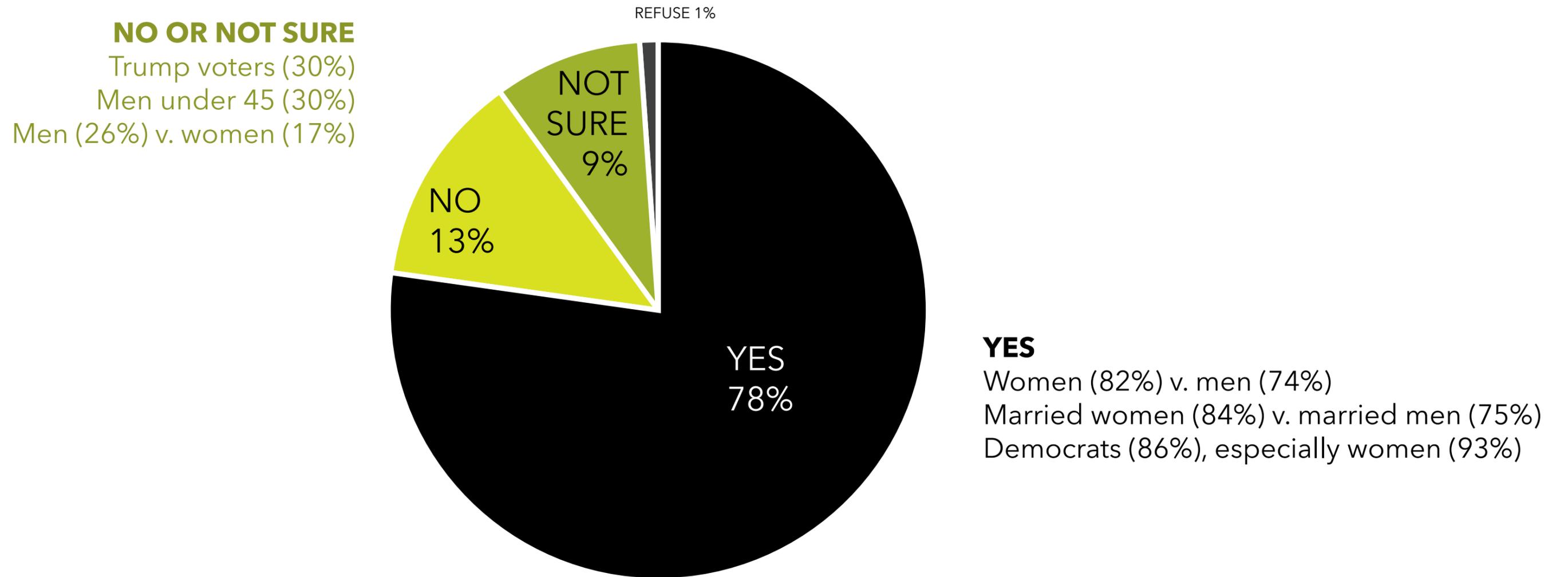
28% men feeling entitled to treat women as sexual objects

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?



## As a result of Trump winning the election...

WOMEN

MEN

TOTAL ADULTS

50%

35%

43% of parents are teaching their children about consent or sexual assault issues

36%

28%

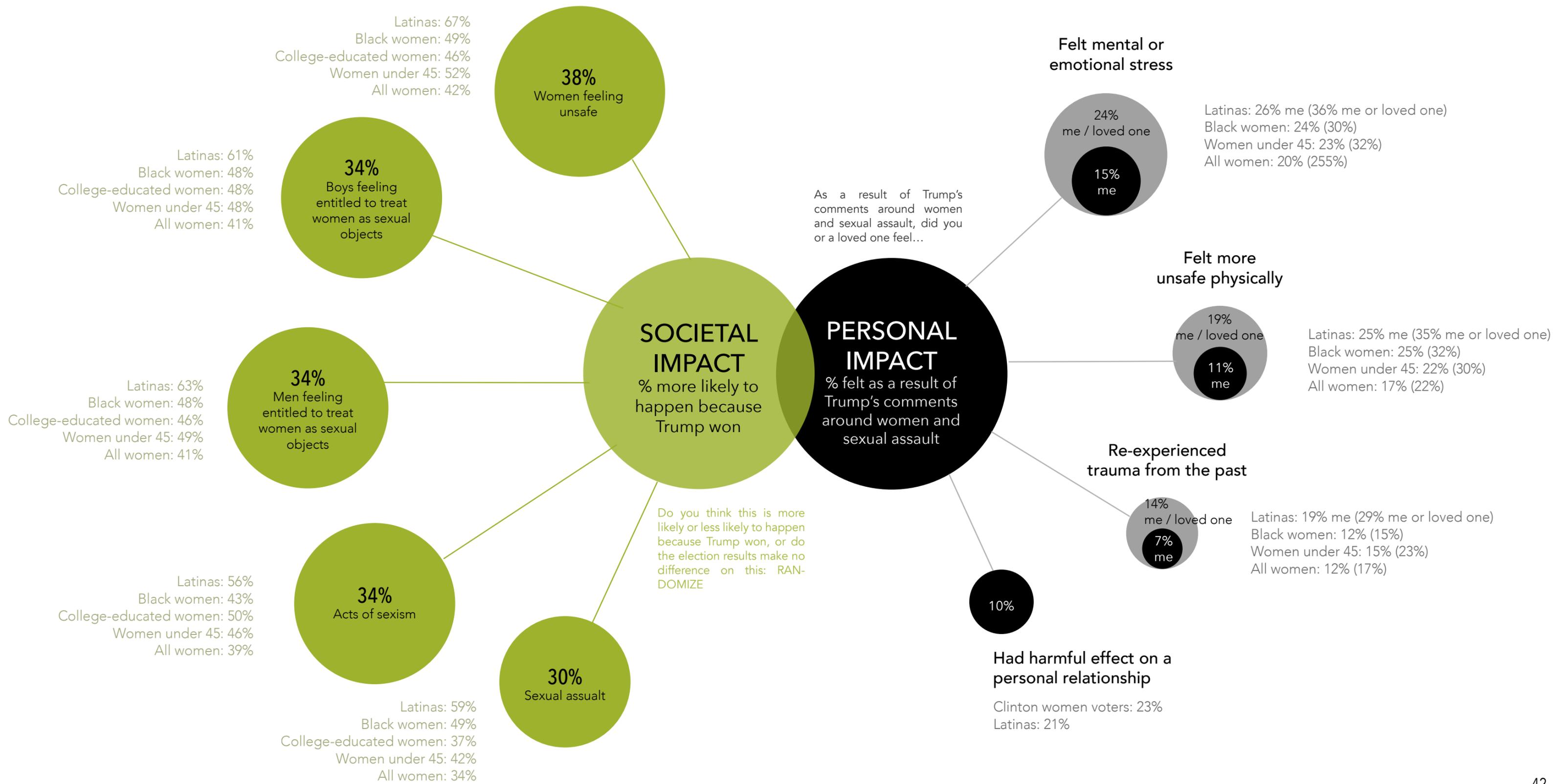
32% are feeling less tolerant of sexism in their own life

26%

19%

23% are thinking about how to get more women in political office

DEMOCRAT WOMEN: 38%  
INDEPENDENT WOMEN: 25%  
REPUBLICAN WOMEN: 9%





# Feelings about the election results.



## Trump voters

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



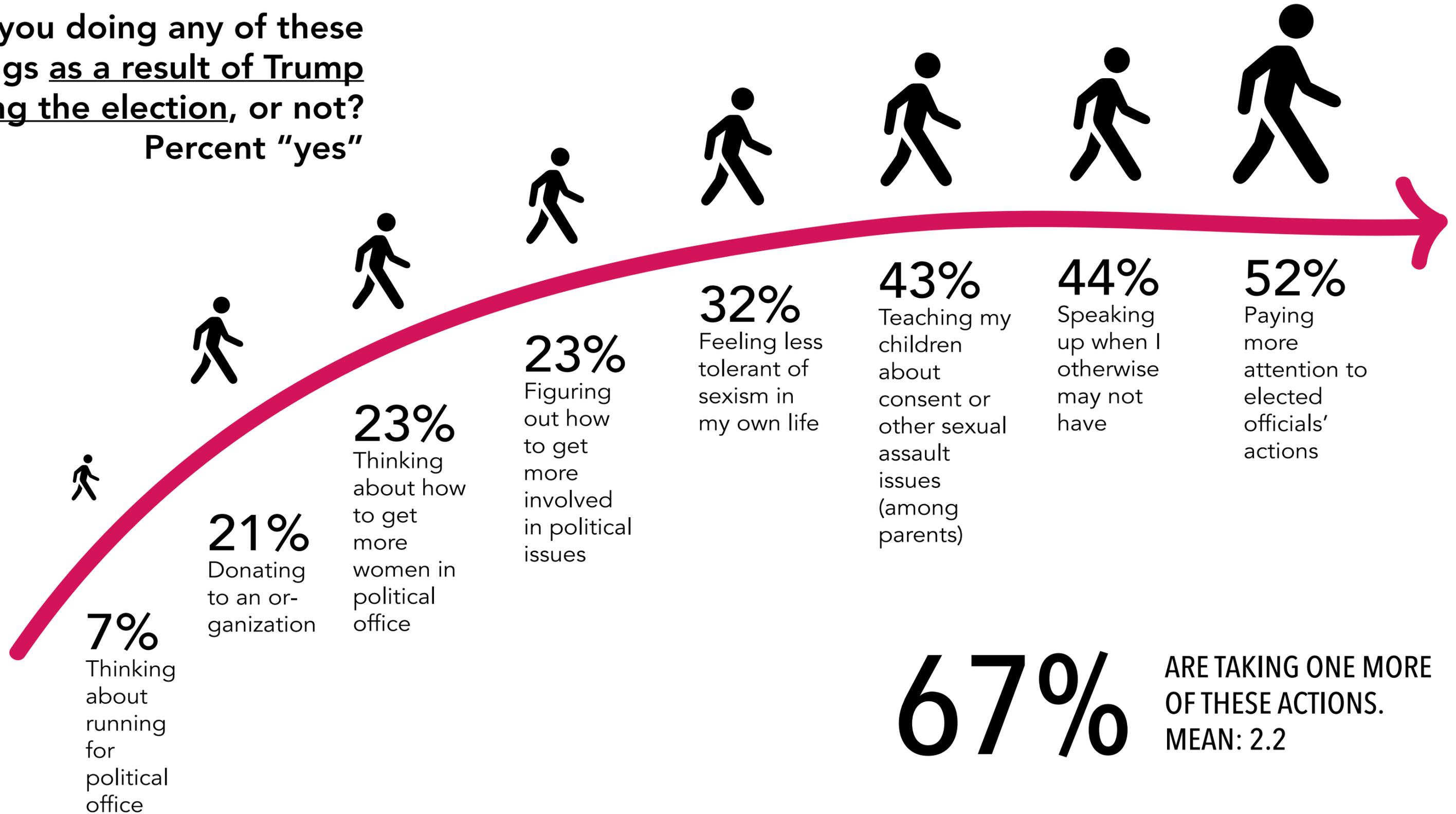
Have you felt any of these things as a result of the election results? Select any that apply.



## Clinton voters

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

Are you doing any of these things as a result of Trump winning the election, or not?  
Percent "yes"





**Role of sexism  
and gender.**

# ROLE OF SEXISM: PUBLIC PERCEPTION

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%)

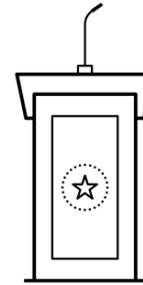
## MEN MAKE BETTER POLITICAL LEADERS

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.



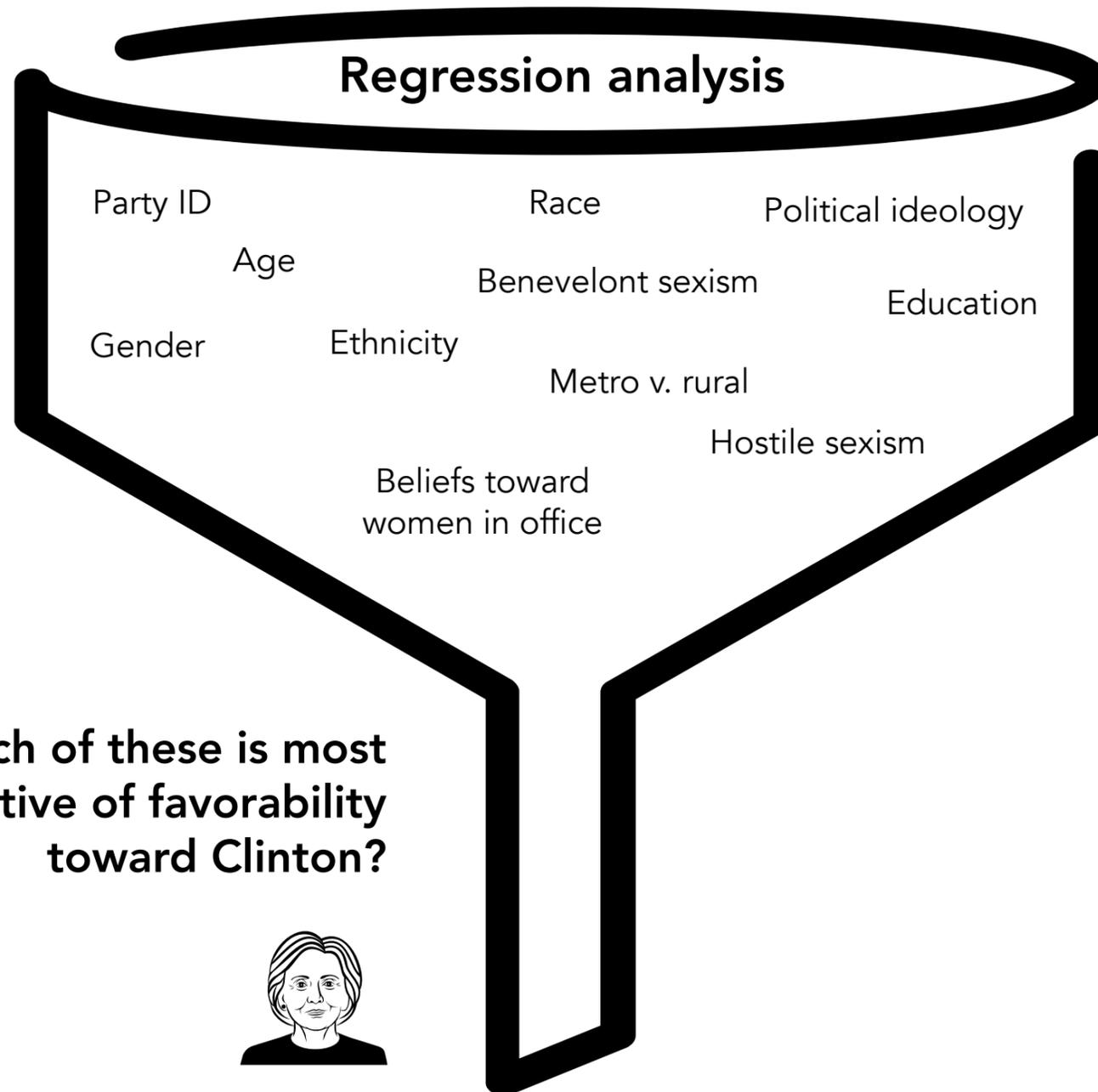
## DISAGREE COUNTRY WOULD BE BETTER OFF WITH MORE WOMEN IN OFFICE

38%

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

34%

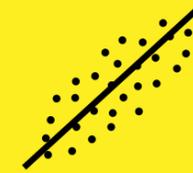
of Trump women disagree (5% Clinton women).



**Which of these is most predictive of favorability toward Clinton?**



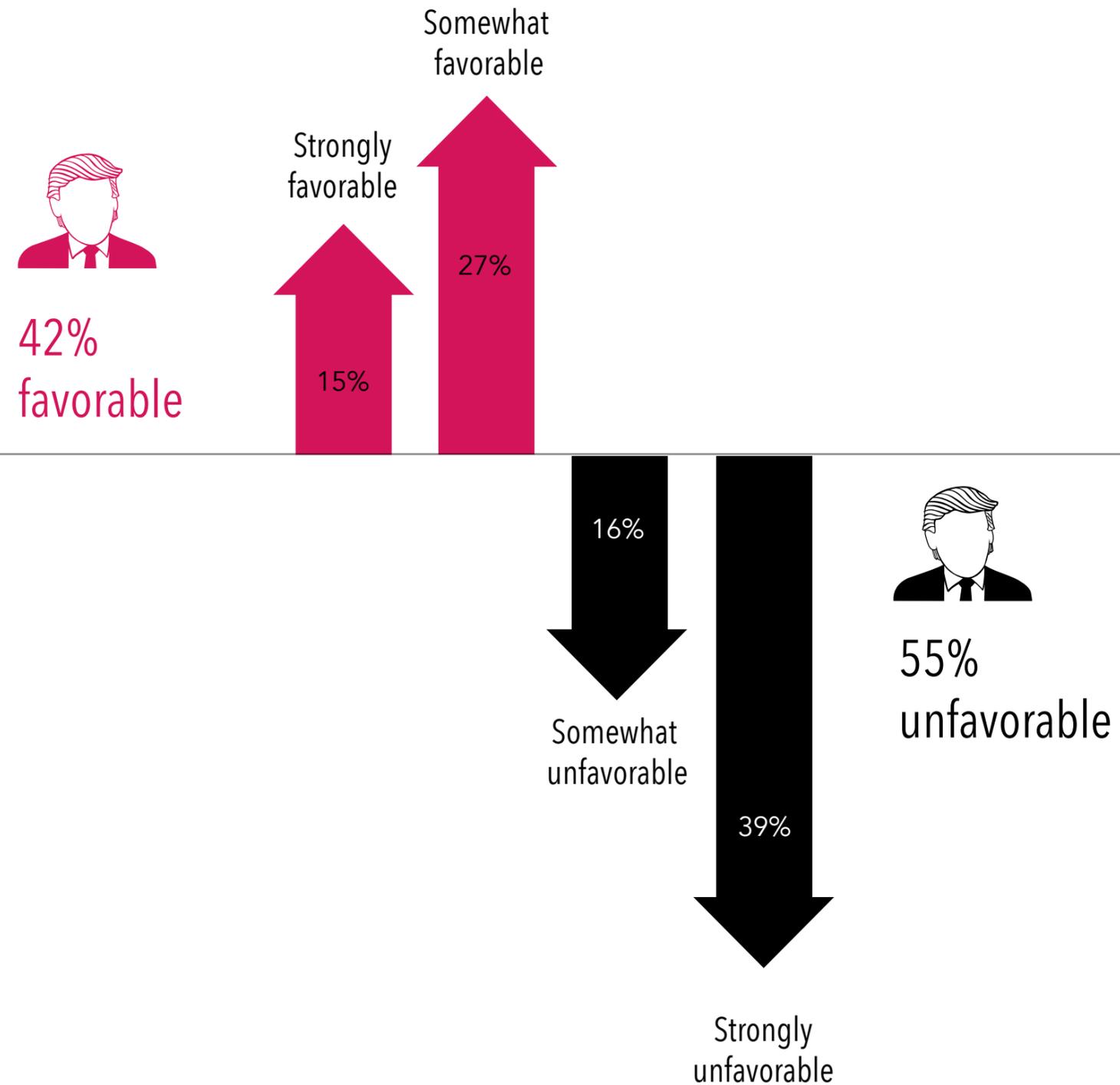
- #1 Party ID
- #2 Political ideology
- #3 Race (Black)
- #4 Belief about the country being better off with more women in political office
- #5 Belief that women are more ethical and moral



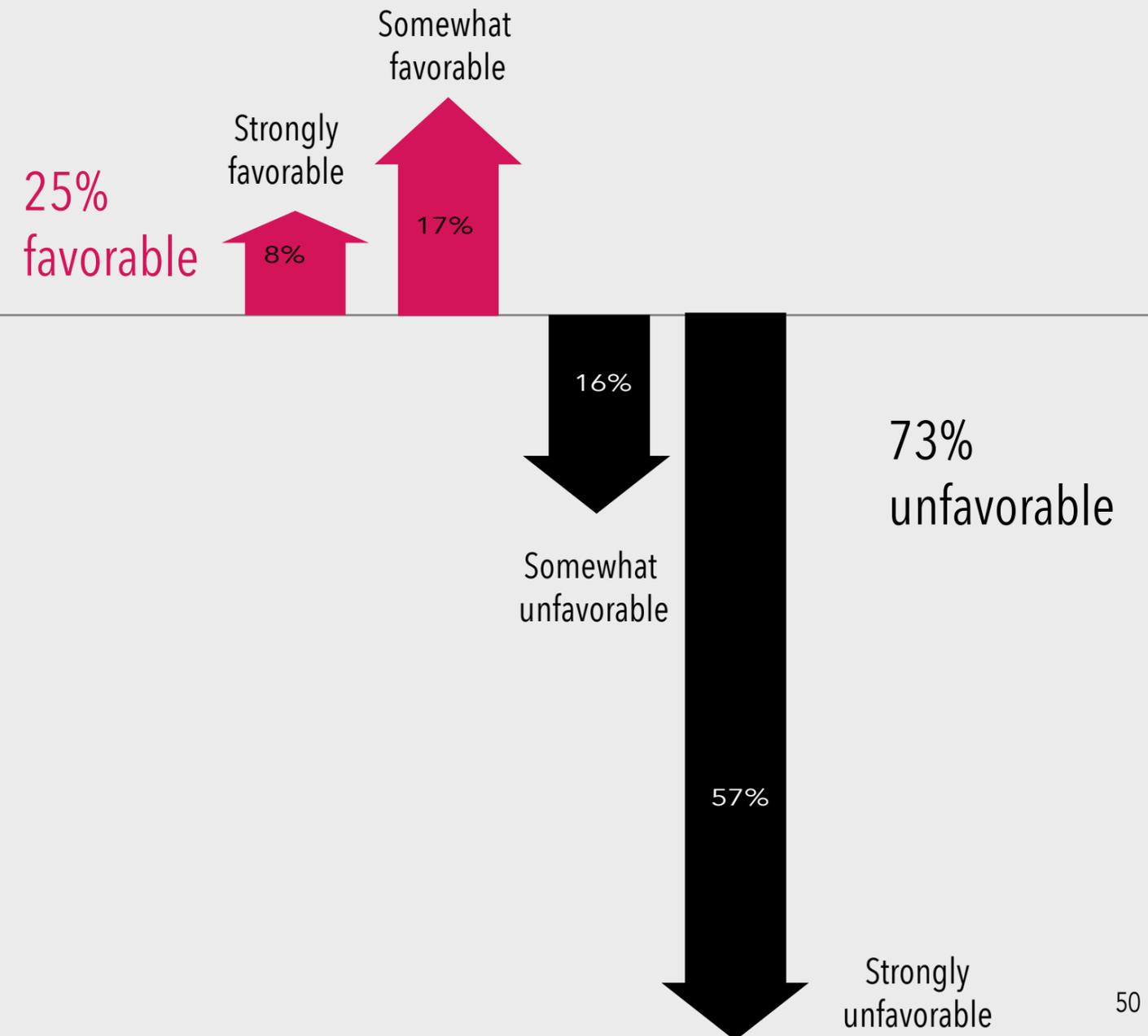
After political affiliation, ideology, and race, favorability is linked to the belief that the country would be better off with more women in office. Even when we run the regression among respondents who know there are more men than women in positions of power in the federal government, this belief remains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

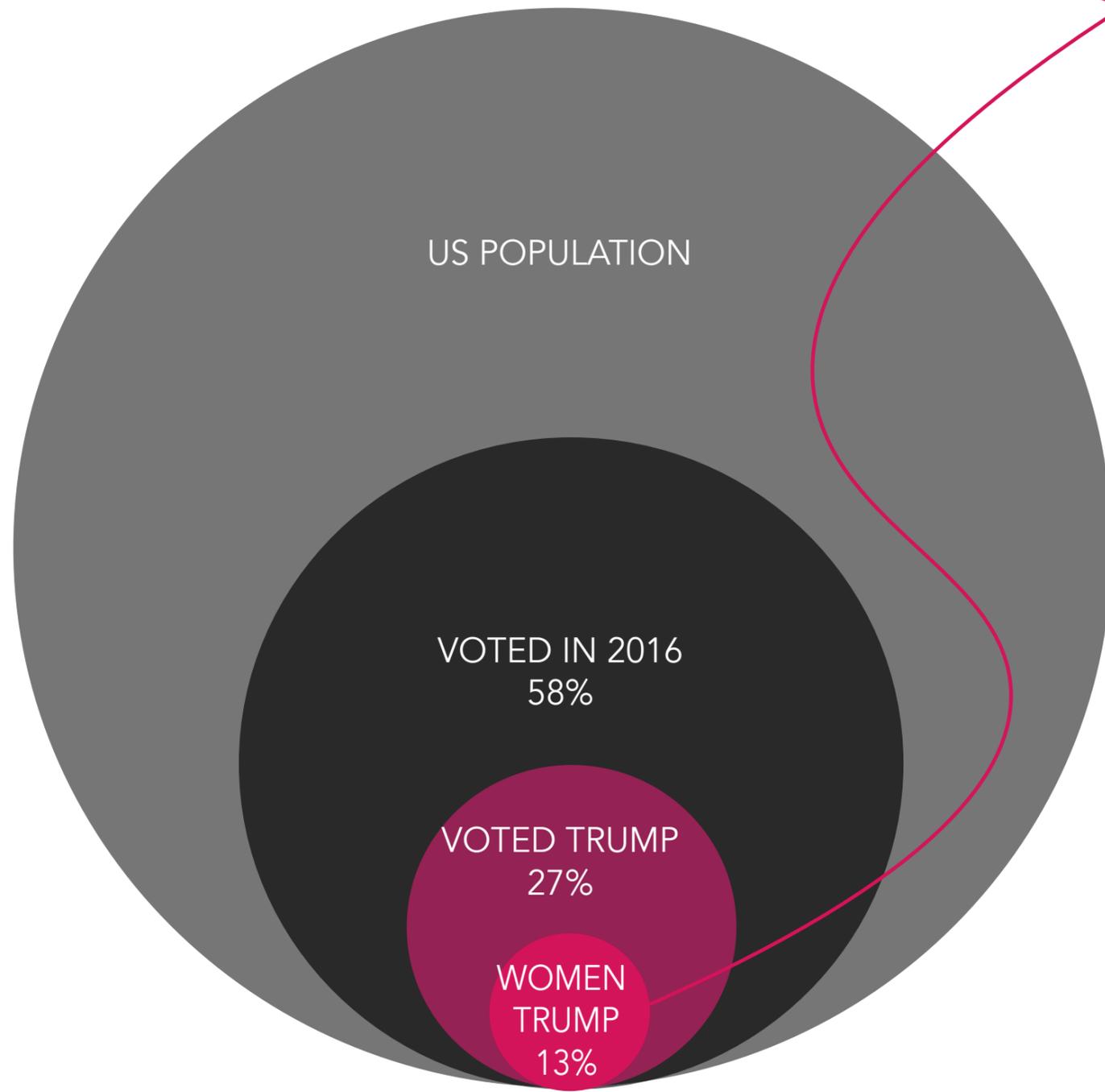
# Overall, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of Donald Trump? Among all adults.



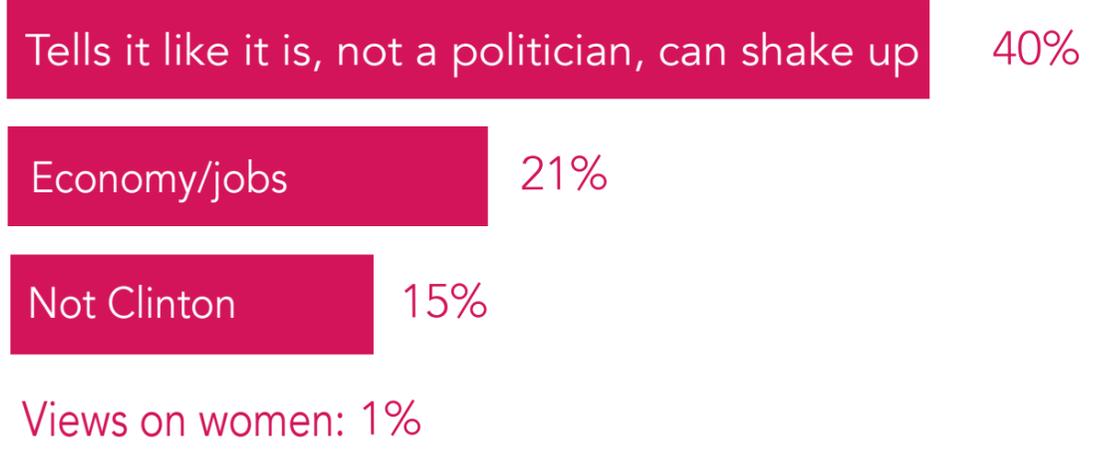
# Among 61% of the population upset by his comments and behavior toward women







MAIN REASON VOTED FOR TRUMP

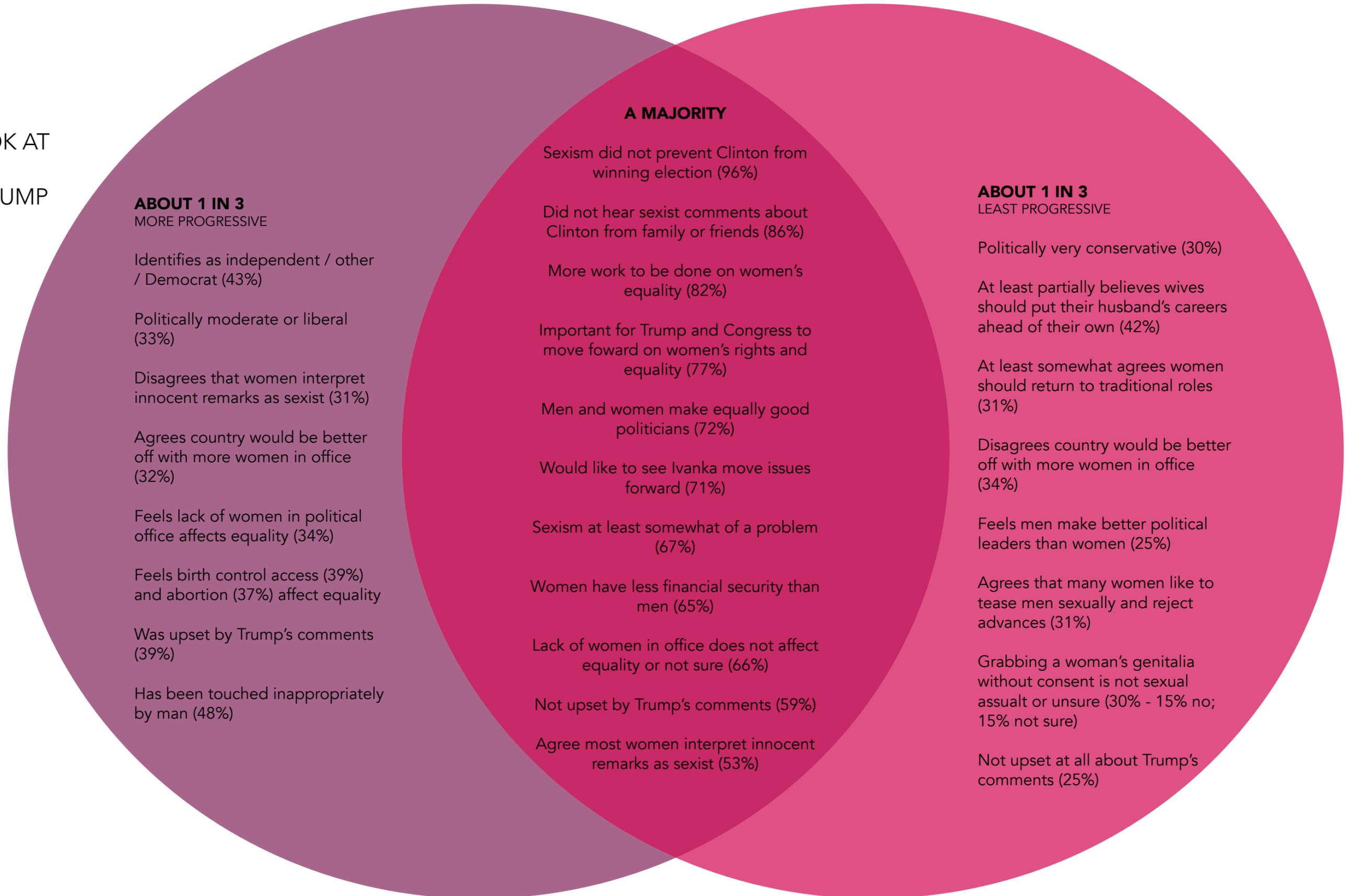


Have you felt any of these things as a result of the election results?

Yes	No
Hopeful (61%)	Listened to (76%)
	Happy (69%)
	Relieved (59%)



A CLOSER LOOK AT  
WOMEN WHO  
VOTED FOR TRUMP  
N=191

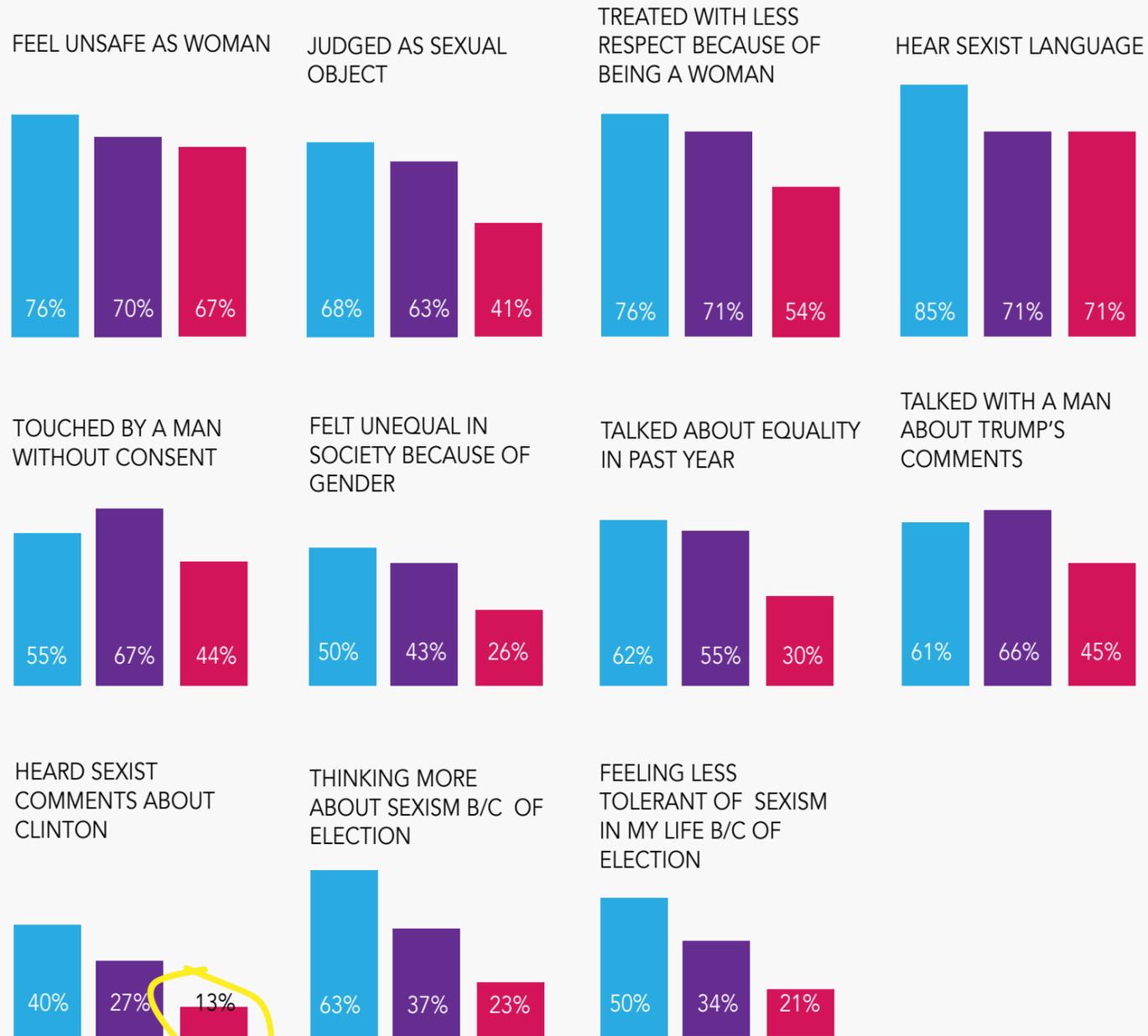


REPUBLICAN WOMEN  
EXPERIENCE AND RECOGNIZE  
INEQUALITY DIFFERENTLY.

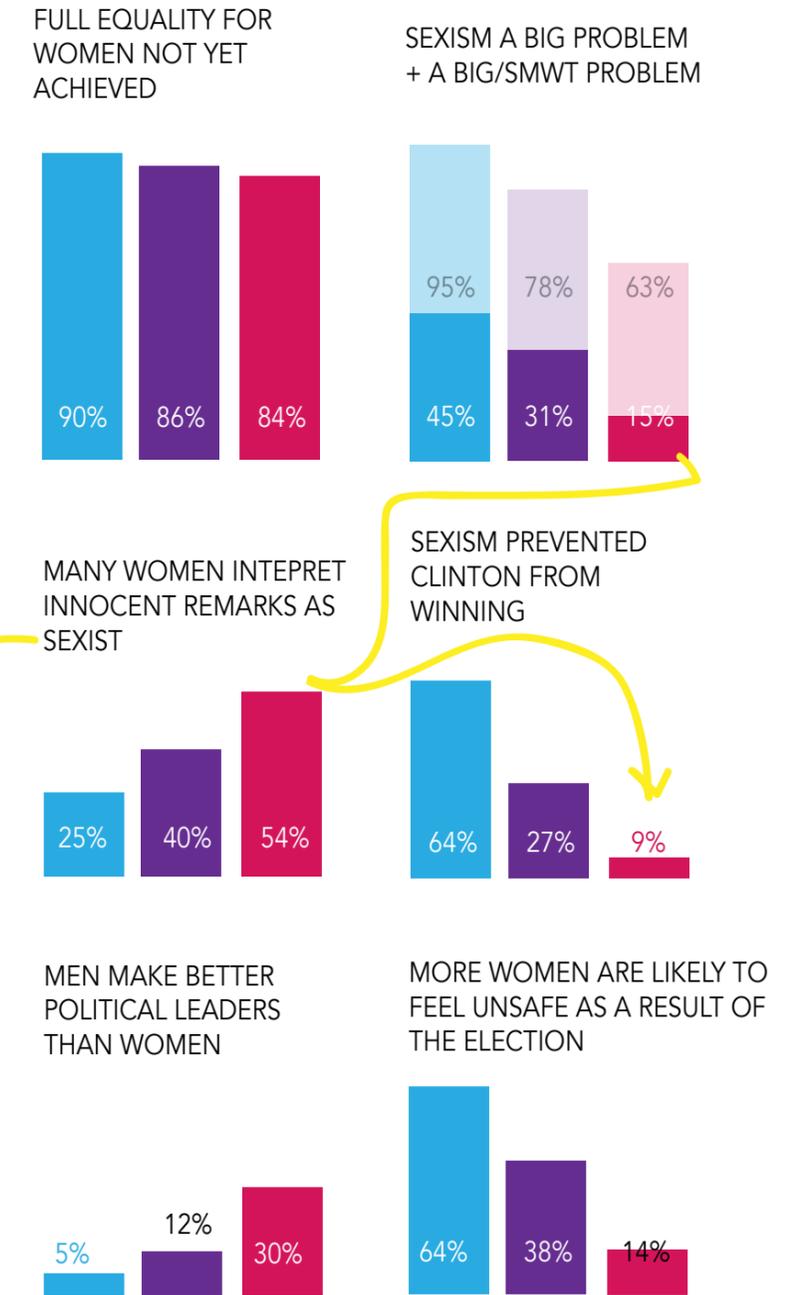
DEM WOMEN 20%  
IND WOMEN 12%  
REP WOMEN 12%

EXPERIENCES AROUND GENDER INEQUALITY/SEXISM

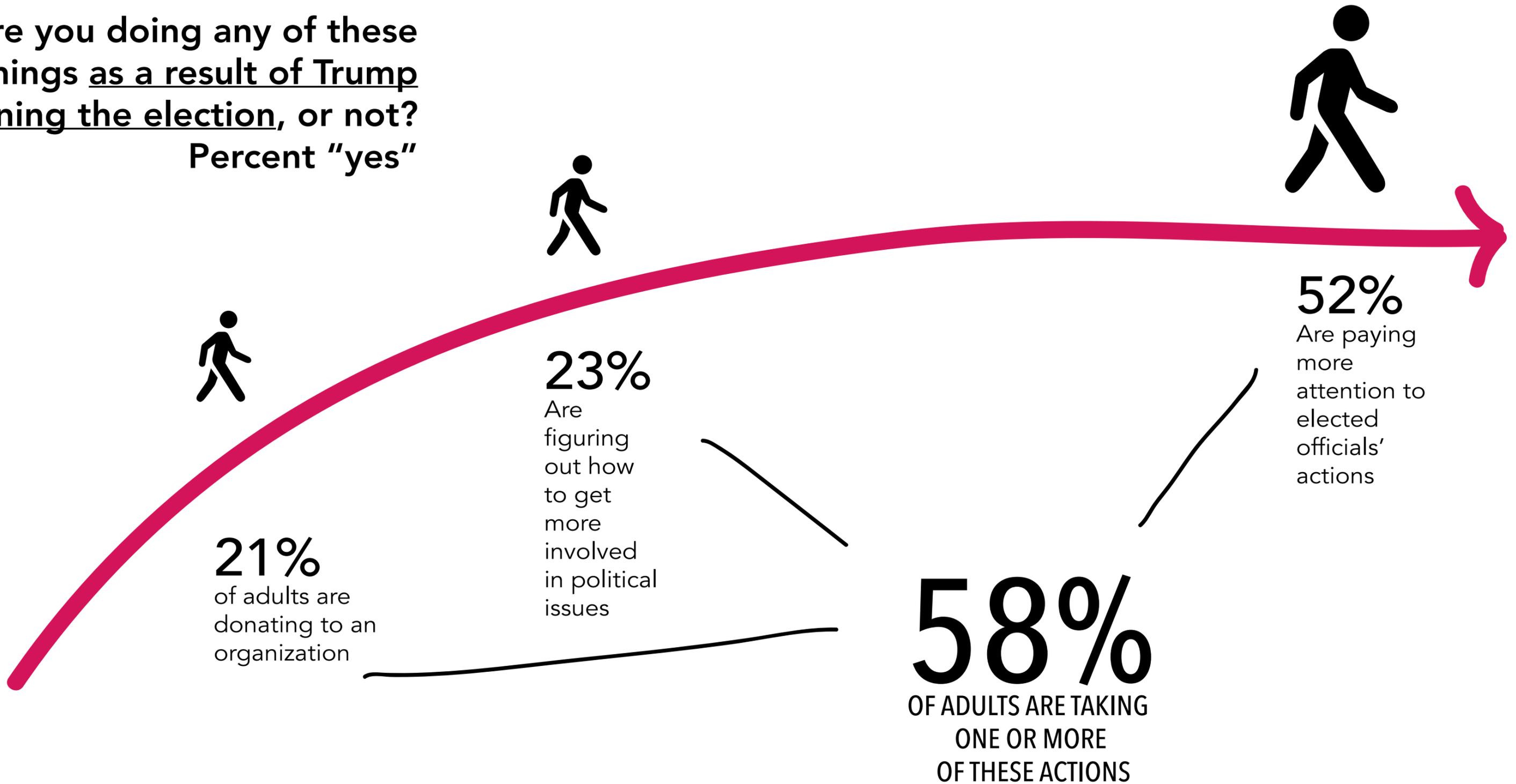
% FEELS AT LEAST ONCE IN AWHILE

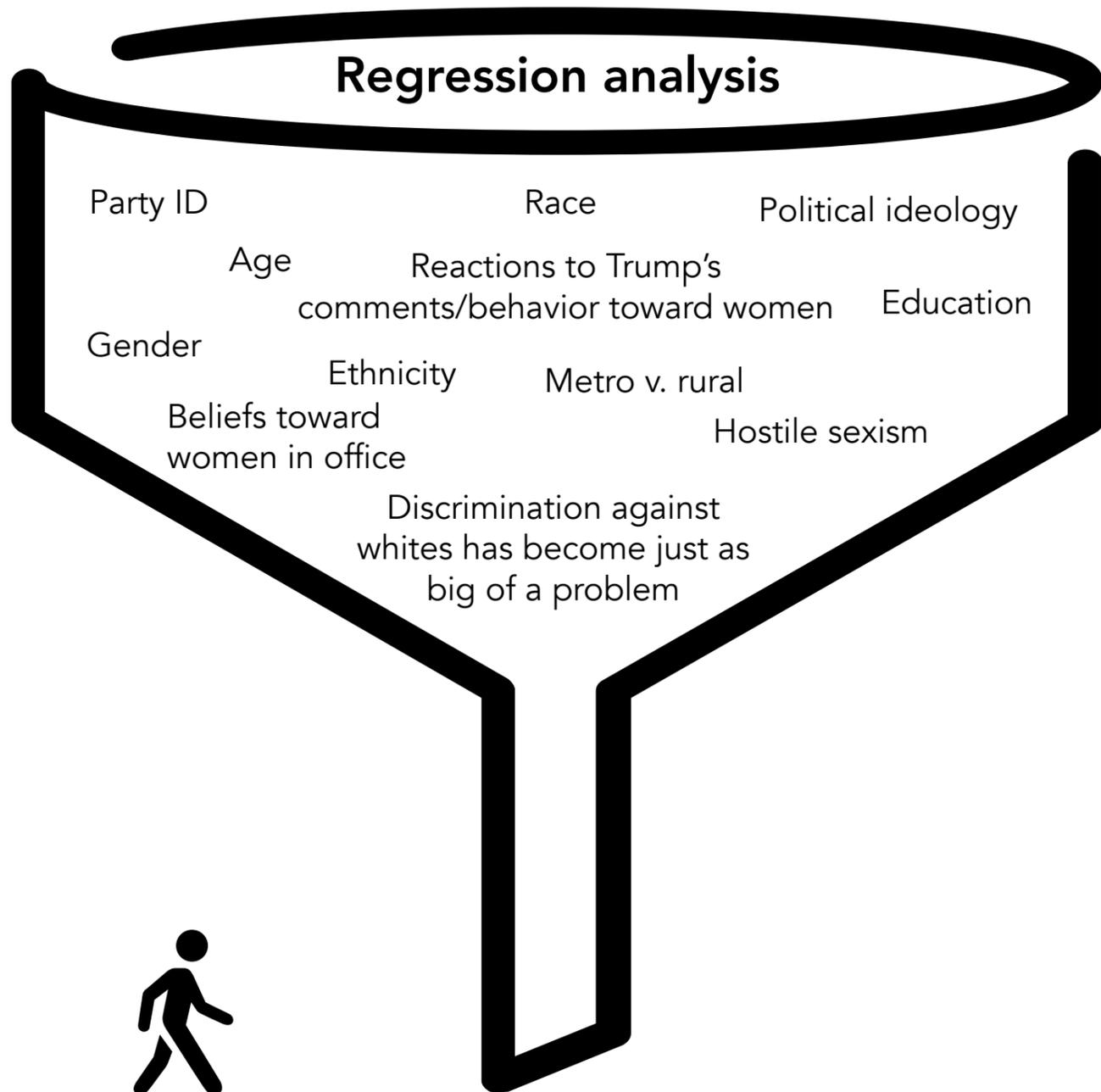


BELIEFS



Are you doing any of these things as a result of Trump winning the election, or not?  
Percent "yes"





**TAKING ACTION:**

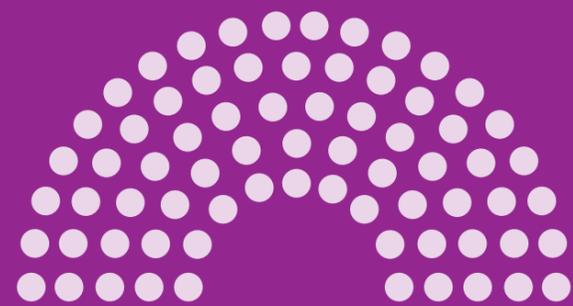
- #1 Reactions to comments toward women
- #2 Country would be better off with more women in political office
- #3 Political ideology (3 to 4 times weaker than #1 and #2)



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.

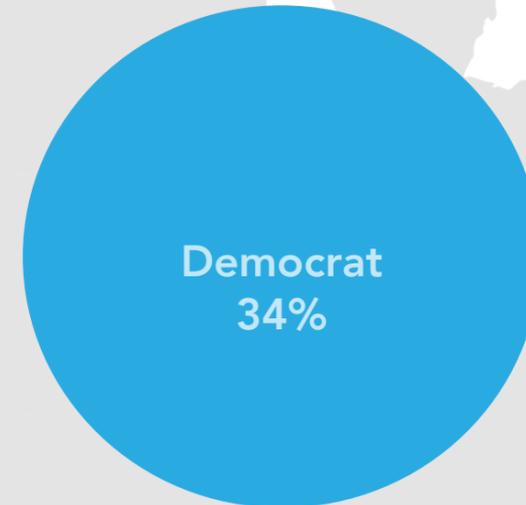
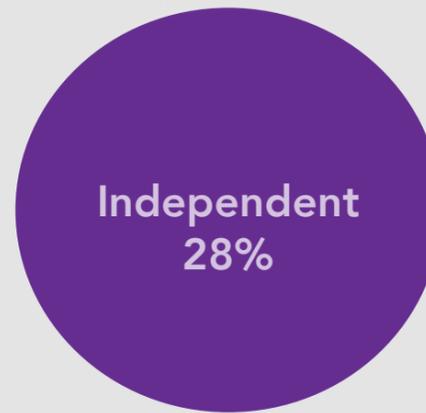
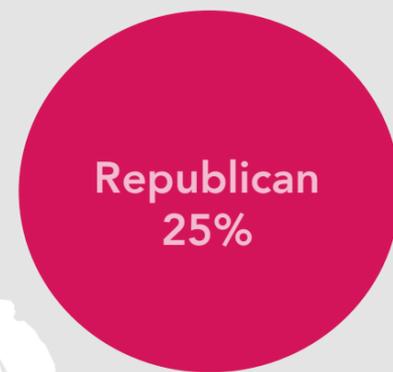


**Views toward  
policies related to  
gender equality.**

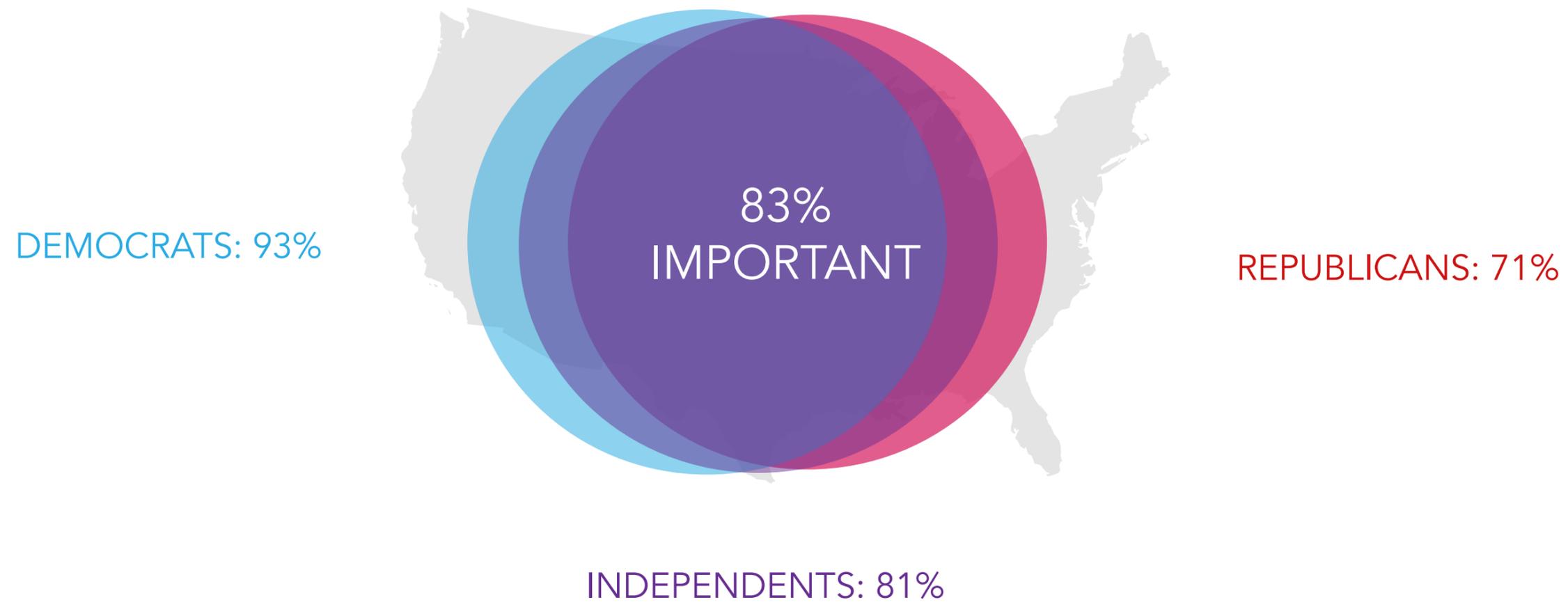
**THERE IS UNITY**

across the country for President-elect Trump and Congress to move forward on women's rights and equality.

# Do you consider yourself a...



# PERCENT IMPORTANT FOR PRESIDENT-ELECT TRUMP AND CONGRESS TO MOVE FORWARD ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND EQUALITY



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.

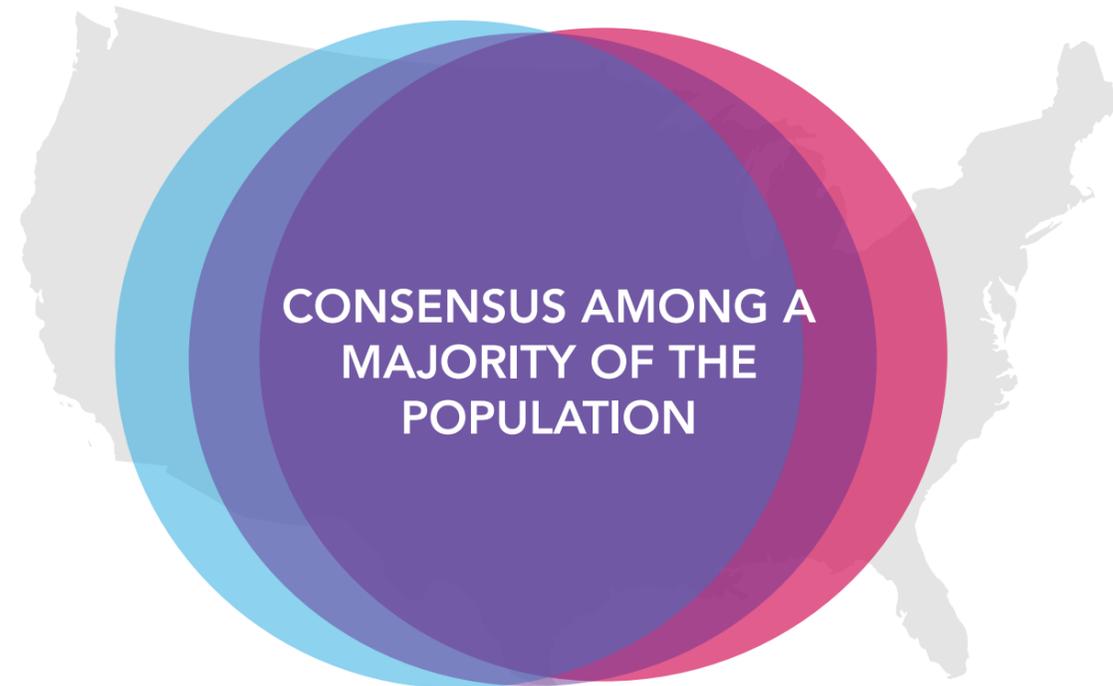
**58%**  
Oppose getting rid of the part of Obamacare that expands Medicaid to cover more low-income, uninsured adults

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

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

**63%**  
Protect women's right to abortion

**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

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

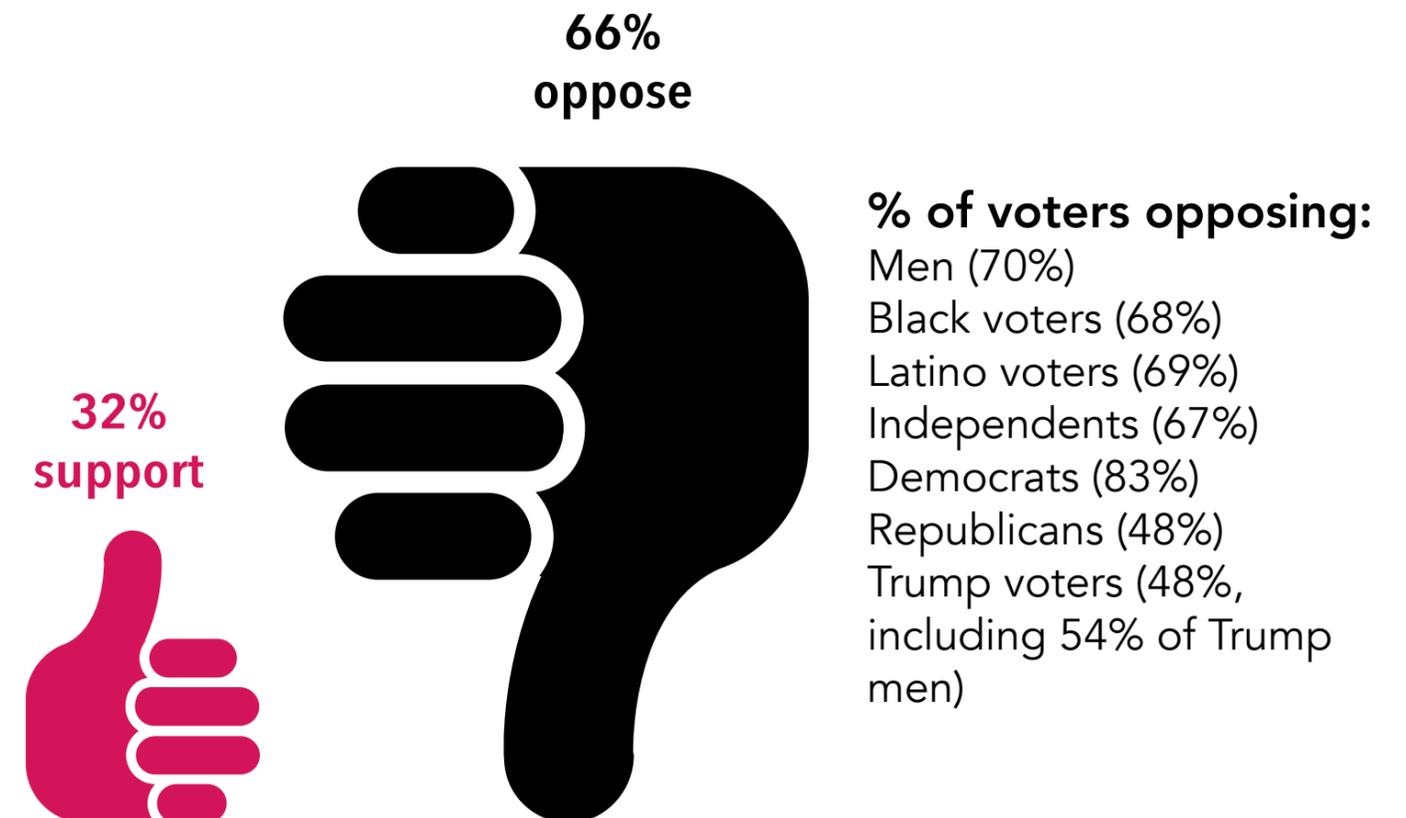
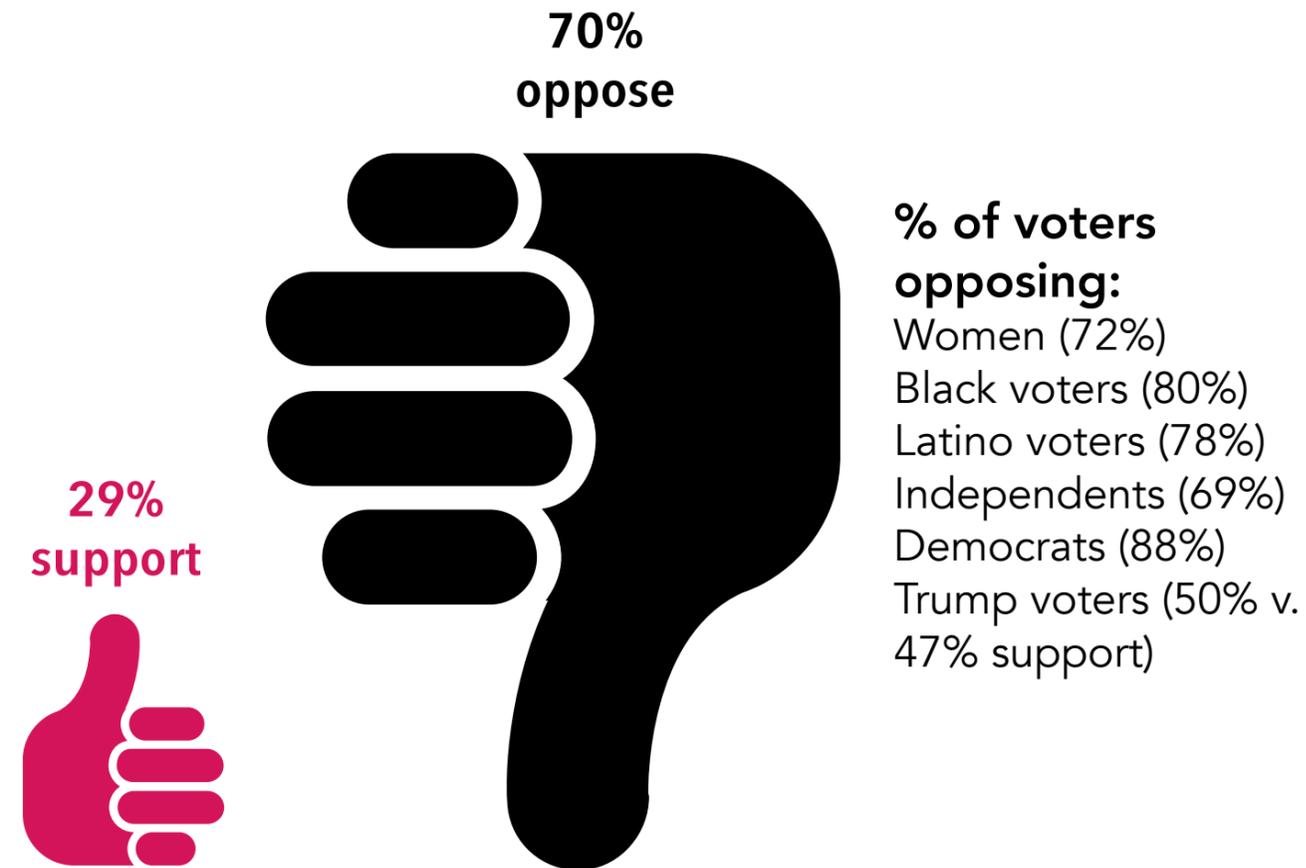
**85%**  
Ensure women have access to quality, affordable birth control

**67%**  
Oppose nominating a Supreme Court justice based on their belief in restricting or eliminating women's right to abortion

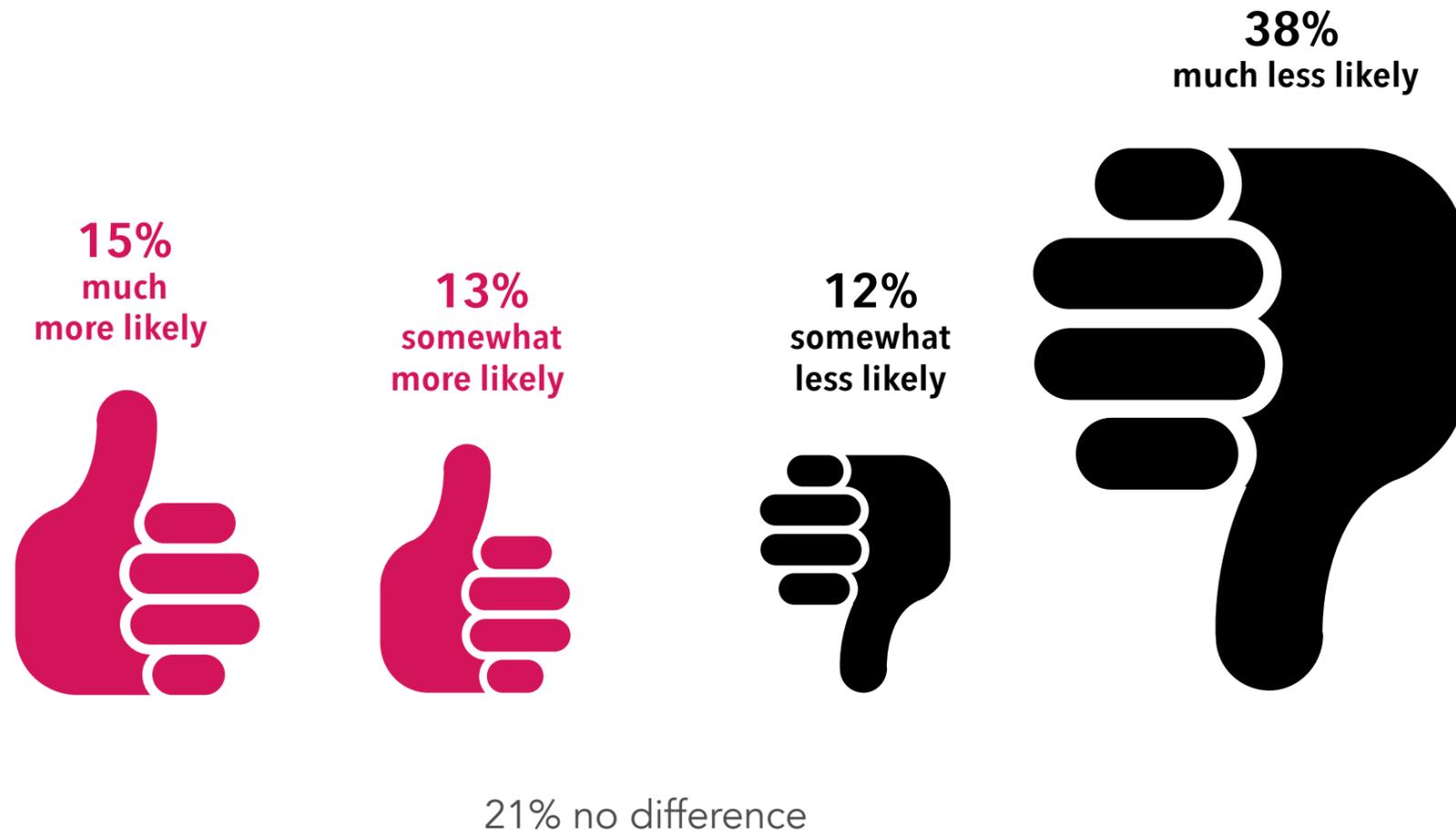
# Would you support or oppose the next President and Congress working to...

Take away funds from Planned Parenthood that are used for birth control, well-woman care, and cancer screenings for low-income women? (Among voters)

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



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)



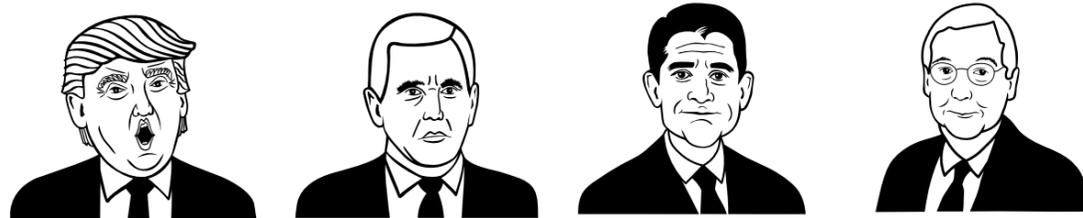
**% much less v. much more likely**

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%

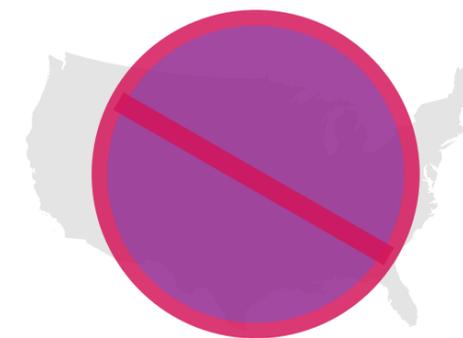
Support nominating SCOTUS justice based on anti-abortion belief

35%

Oppose protecting women's right to abortion

37%

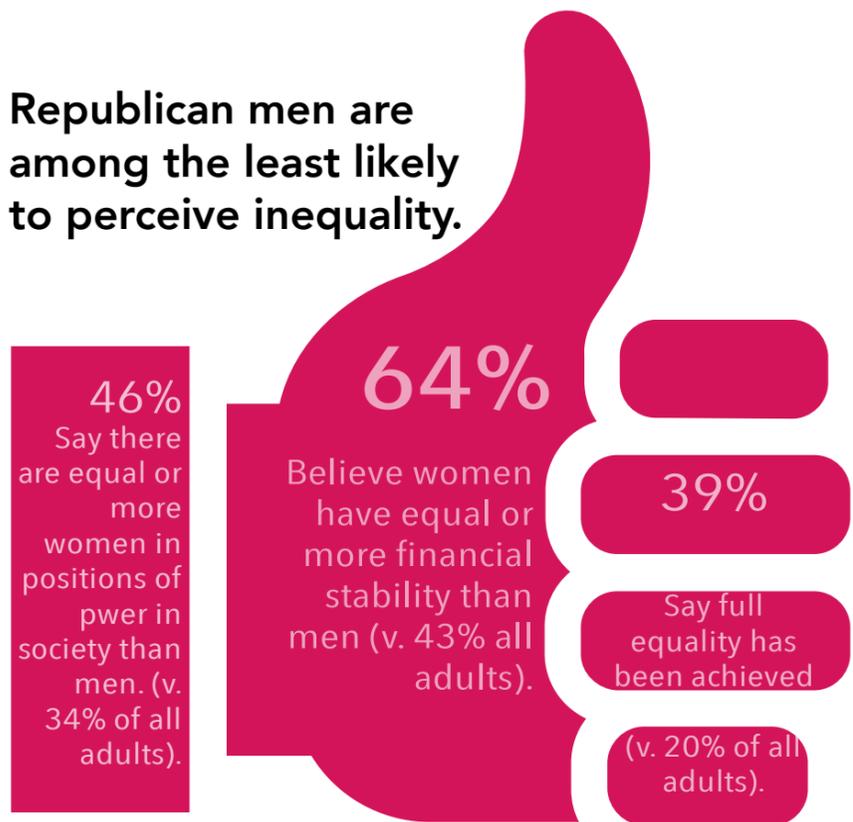
Support getting rid of birth control benefit



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

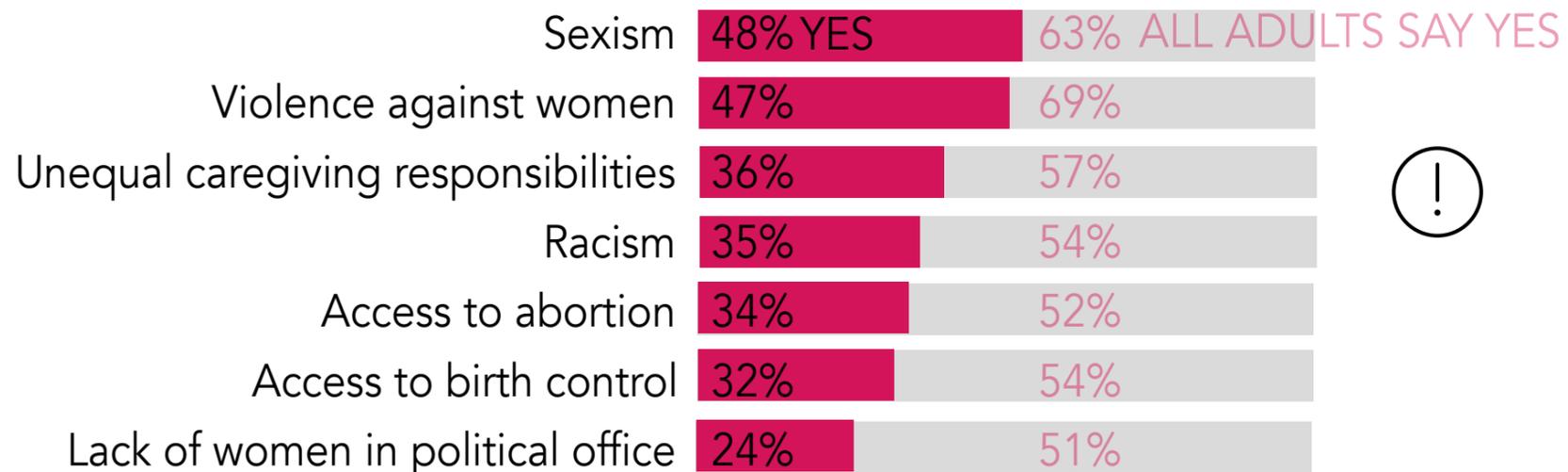
Republican men are among the least likely to perceive inequality.



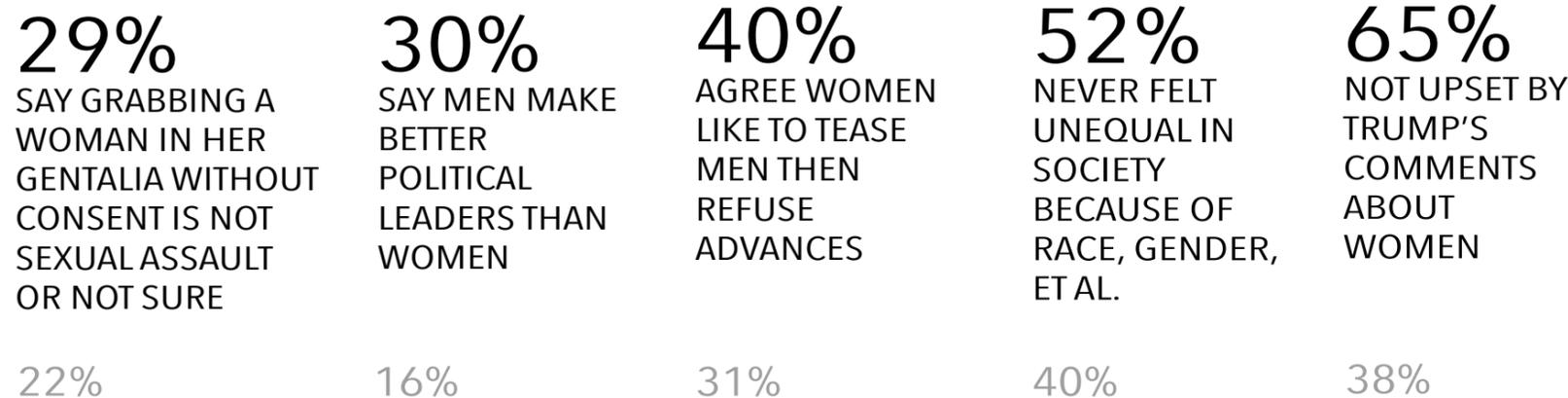
**REPUBLICAN MEN  
12% OF POPULATION**

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

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



And are among the most likely to say...



ALL ADULTS

37%

53%

32%

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

75%

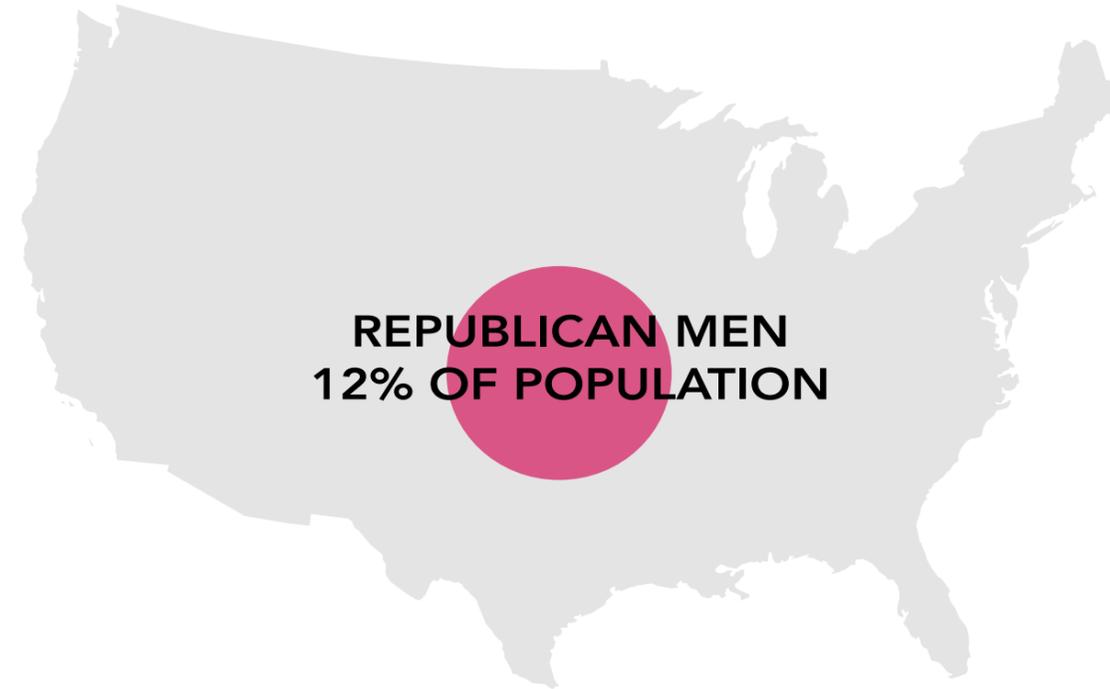
Ensure working people can get paid family and medical leave

51%

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

38%

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



83%

Have stronger laws to ensure equal pay for equal work

78%

Increase access to quality, affordable childcare for working families

69%

Ensure women have access to quality, affordable birth control

46%

Protect women's right to abortion

59%

Oppose nominating a Supreme Court justice based on their belief in restricting or eliminating women's right to abortion



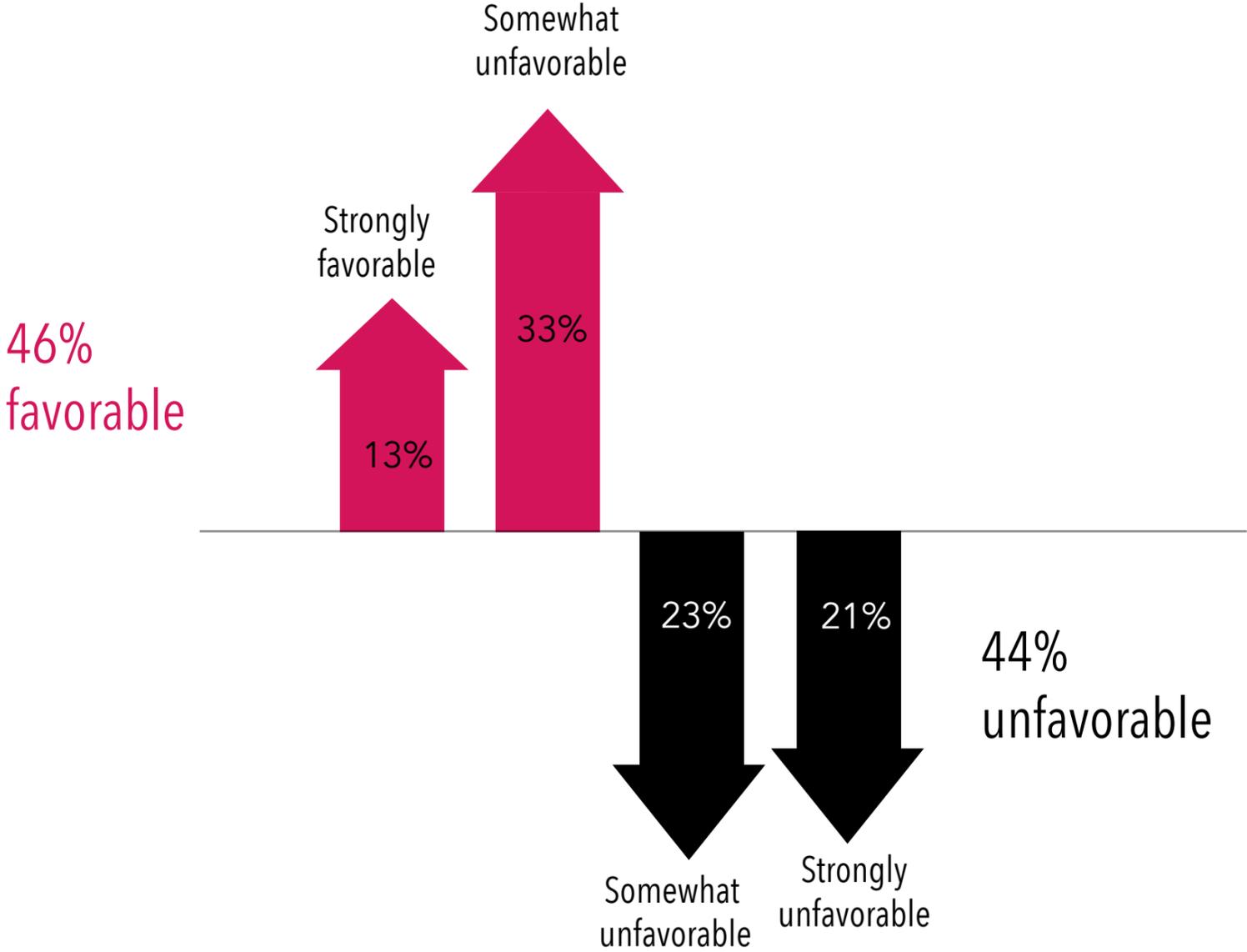
## CAN IVANKA HELP?

“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 feminisim 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.

**15%** **middle (4 to 6)**

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

**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 of 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.