

RIETI BBL Seminar Handout

“The 2018 Midterm Election as the
Year of the Woman”

January 10, 2019

Speaker: Barry C. Burden

<https://www.rieti.go.jp/jp/index.html>

The 2018 Midterm Election as the Year of the Woman

Barry C. Burden

Department of Political Science

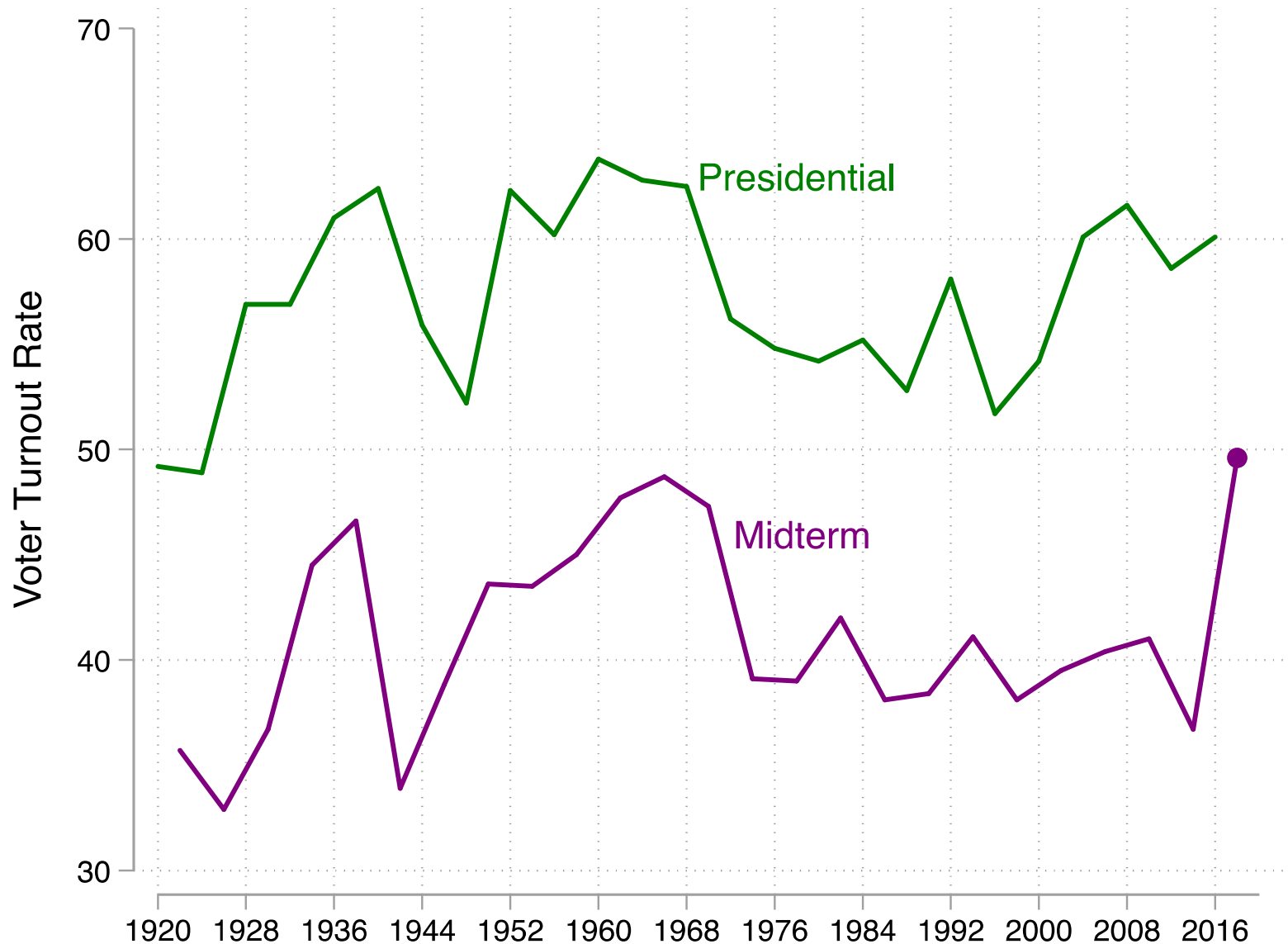


Elections Research Center
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

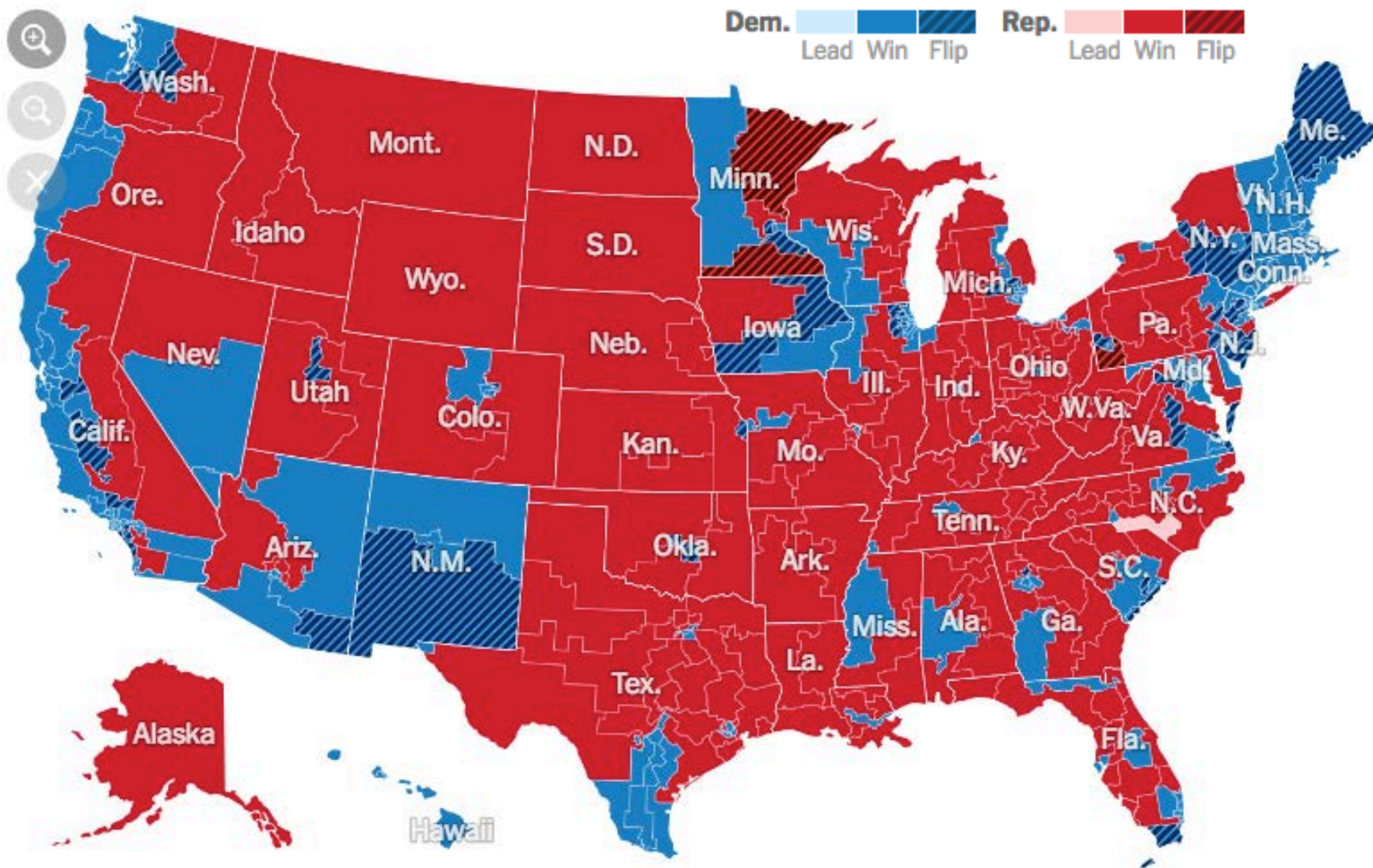


Election Results

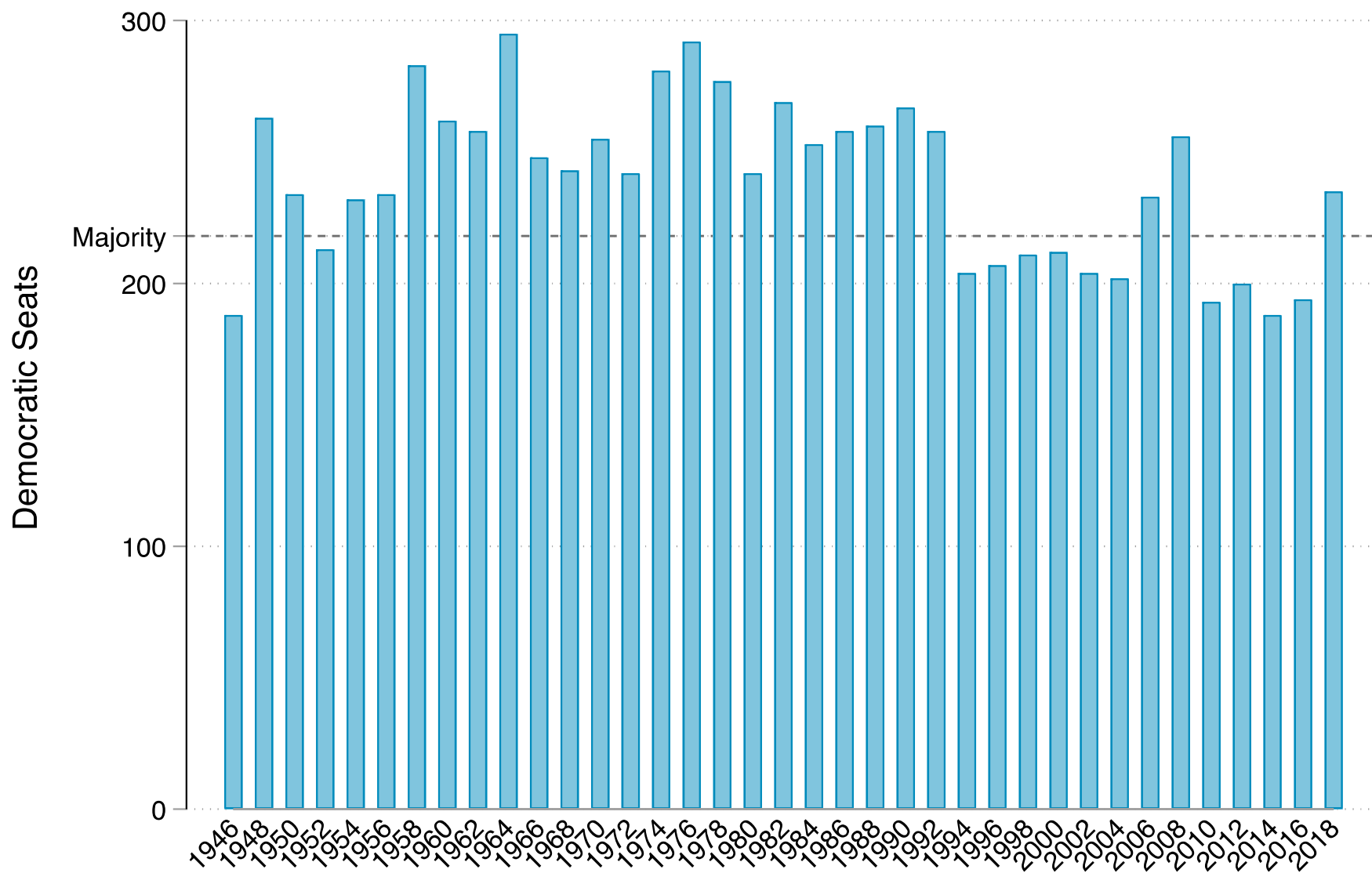
US Voter Turnout 1920-2018



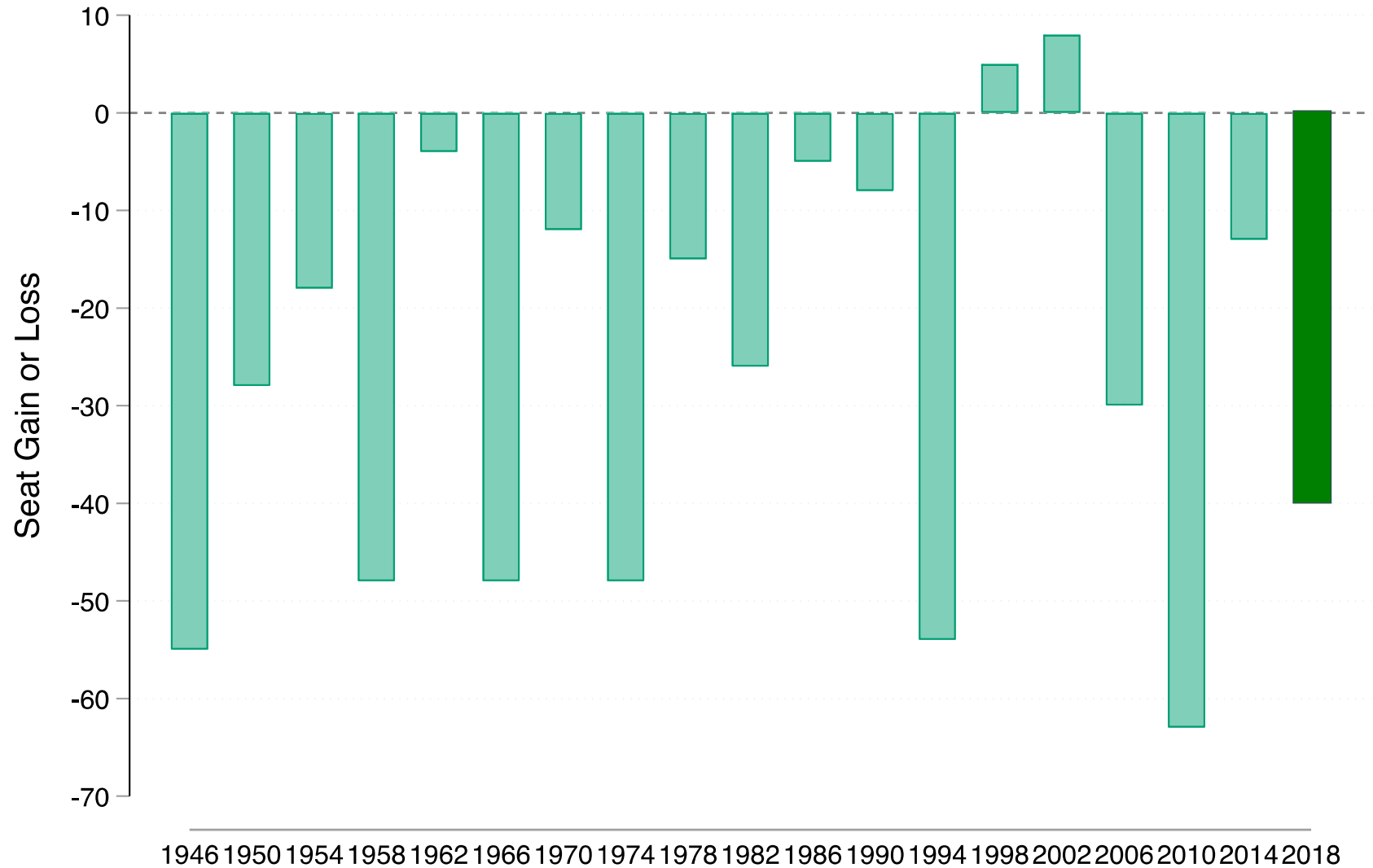
Congressional District Outcomes



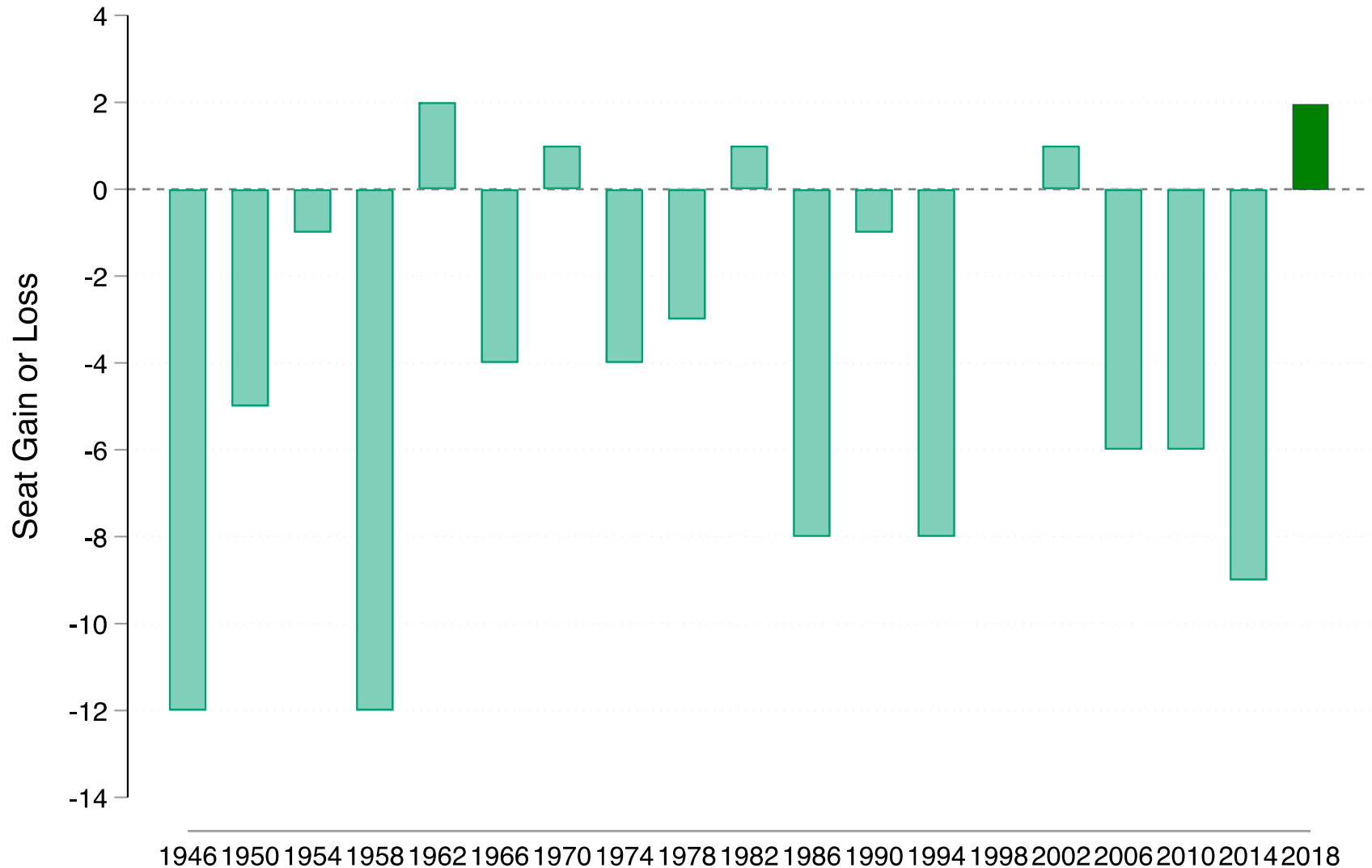
Democrats Regain House Majority



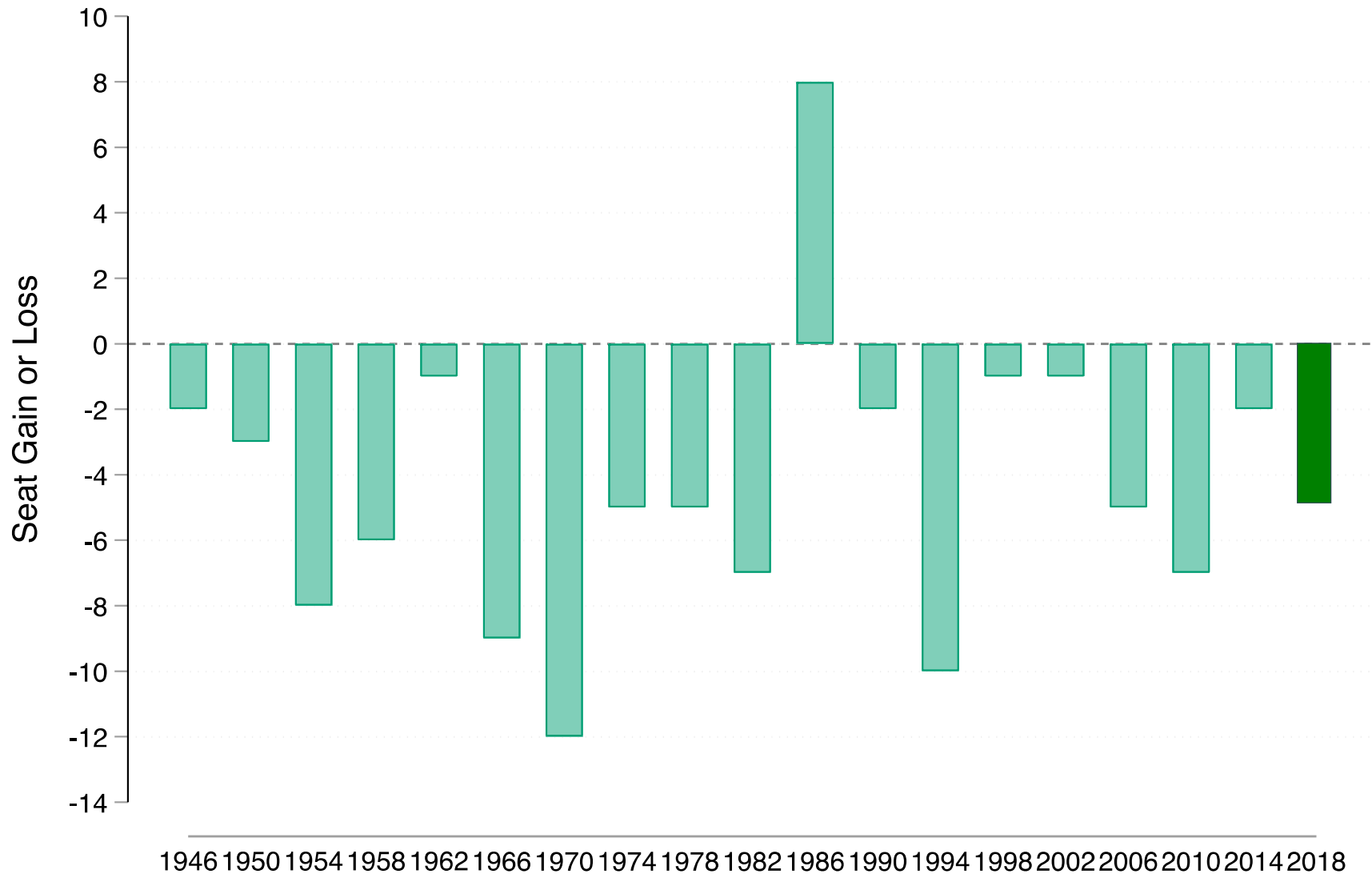
Midterm Loss in the House



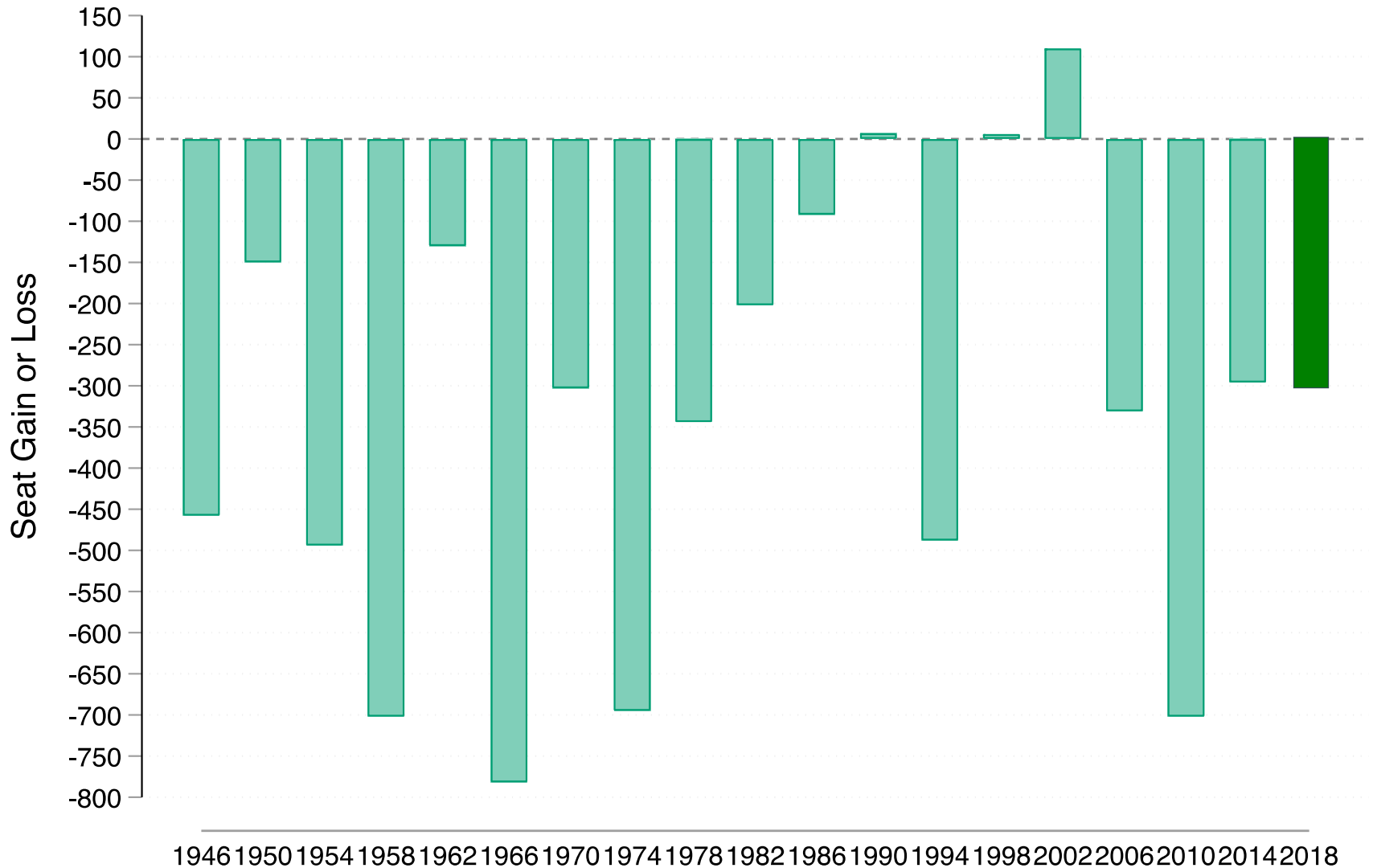
Midterm Loss in the Senate



Midterm Loss in Governorships



Midterm Loss in State Legislatures



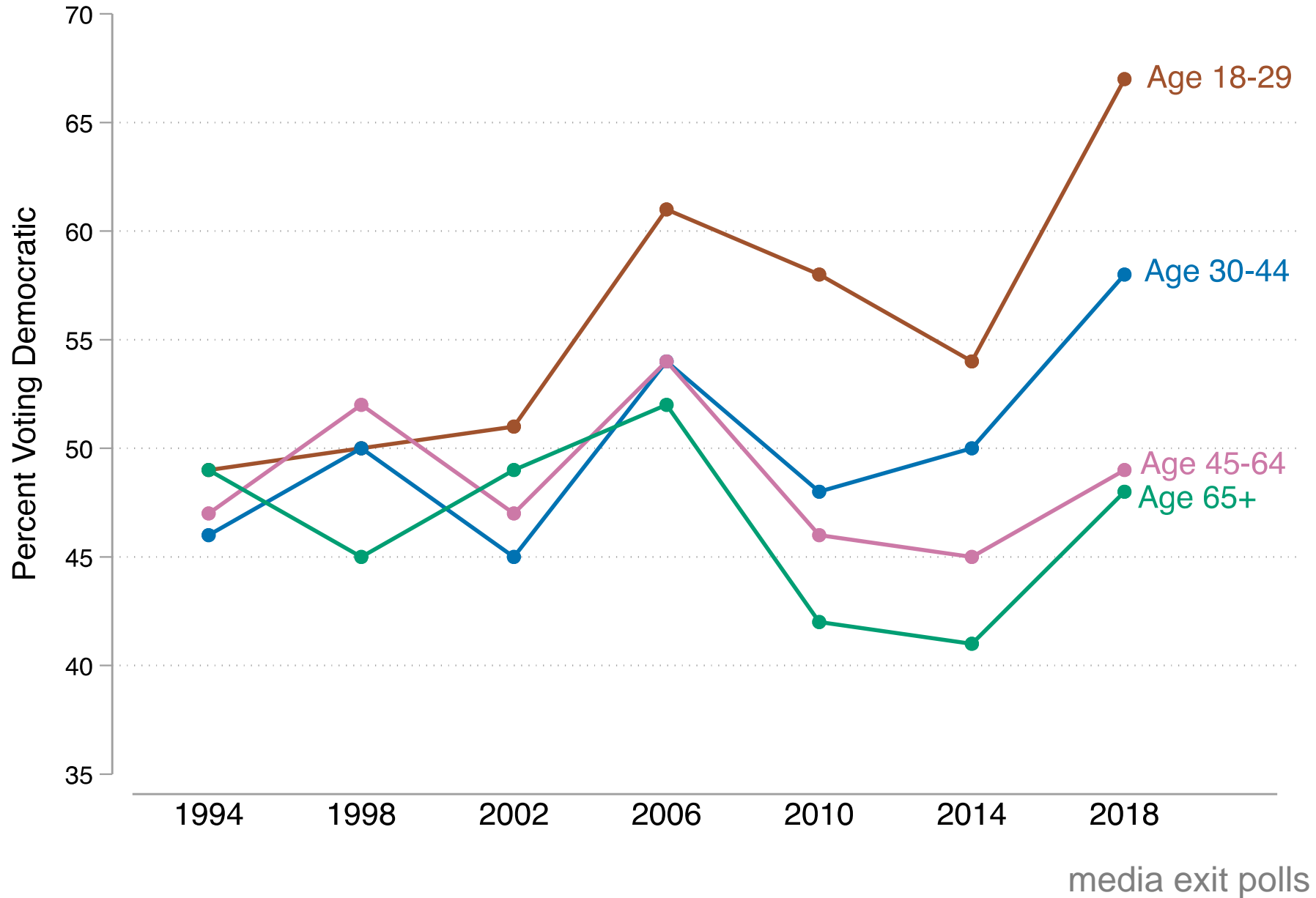


Groups and Issues in the Election

How Social Groups Voted in 2018

Group	Percent of Electorate			Dem Vote Margin		
	2018	2016	2014	House 2018	Pres 2016	House 2014
White Non-College	47	48	52	-26	-28	-18
White College	29	27	28	+5	-4	-17
African American	12	12	11	+95	+93	+76
Latinx	7	9	6	+42	+47	+29
Asian/Other	5	5	4	+42	+30	+8
White College Women	15	14	14	+14	+3	-10
White College Men	14	13	14	-5	-12	-24
White Non-College Women	25	26	27	-18	-21	-12
White Non-College Men	22	22	25	-36	-37	-24
Urban	18	21	18	+46	+47	+37
Suburban	56	53	54	+8	+3	-5
Rural	26	26	29	-28	-35	-25
18-29	9	14	8	+44	+25	+20
30-44	20	22	18	+27	+14	-3
45-64	40	39	43	-2	-3	-6
65+	31	25	31	-9	-14	-6

Growing Generation Gap



Voter Issue Priorities in 2018

Top-Priority Issues by Party Identification -- Registered Voters

% Extremely/Very important

Republicans/Republican leaners		Democrats/Democratic leaners	
	%		%
The economy	85	Healthcare	87
Immigration	84	Way women are treated in U.S. society	87
Taxes	76	Way income and wealth are distributed in U.S.	82
Healthcare	72	Gun policy	76
Gun policy	68	Climate change	75
Foreign affairs	67	Immigration	74
The recent confirmation of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court	66	The economy	72
U.S. trade and tariff policies	62	Foreign affairs	69
Way women are treated in U.S. society	57	Investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 U.S. election	66
Way income and wealth are distributed in U.S.	52	The recent confirmation of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court	65
Climate change	27	Taxes	64
Investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 U.S. election	19	U.S. trade and tariff policies	60

GALLUP, OCT. 15-28, 2018

Voter Opinions on Trade & Immigration

Effect of Trump's trade policies on local economy

	Democrat	Republican	No Answer
Helped 25%	9%	91%	N/A
Hurt 29%	89%	8%	3%
Had no impact 37%	53%	45%	2%

18778 Respondents

Are Donald Trump's immigration policies:

	Democrat	Republican	No Answer
Too tough 46%	90%	8%	2%
Not tough enough 17%	14%	86%	N/A
About right 33%	13%	85%	2%

18778 Respondents

Does Trump's foreign policy make the U.S.:

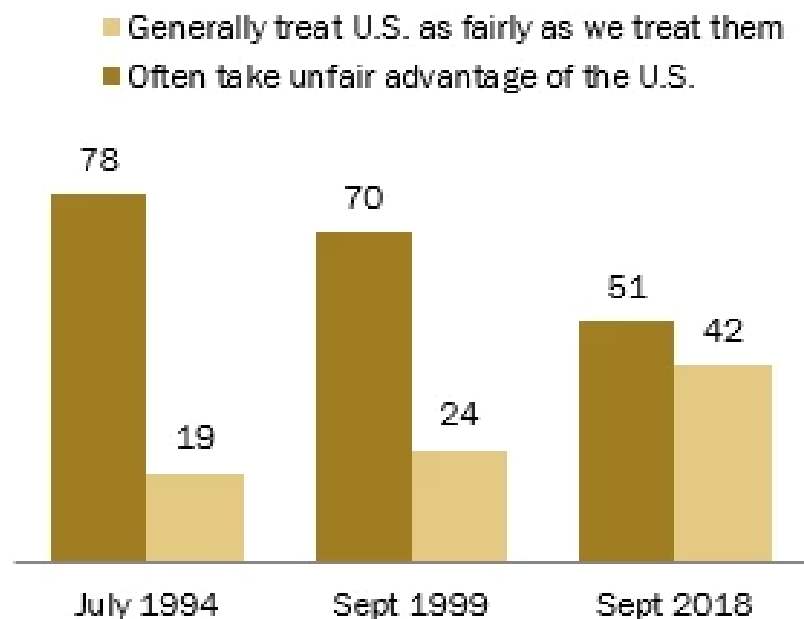
	Democrat	Republican	No Answer
Safer 38%	8%	91%	1%
Less safe 46%	90%	9%	1%
No difference 13%	60%	38%	2%

18778 Respondents

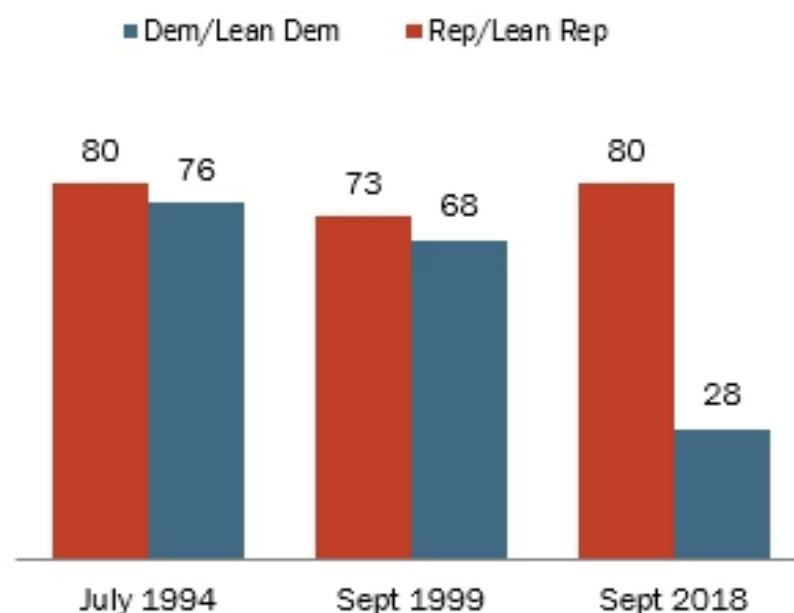
International Relationships More Partisan

Fewer say other countries 'take unfair advantage' of U.S. than in the 1990s

% who say that other countries ...



% who say that other countries often take unfair advantage of the United States ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 18-24, 2018.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER



A Year of the Woman

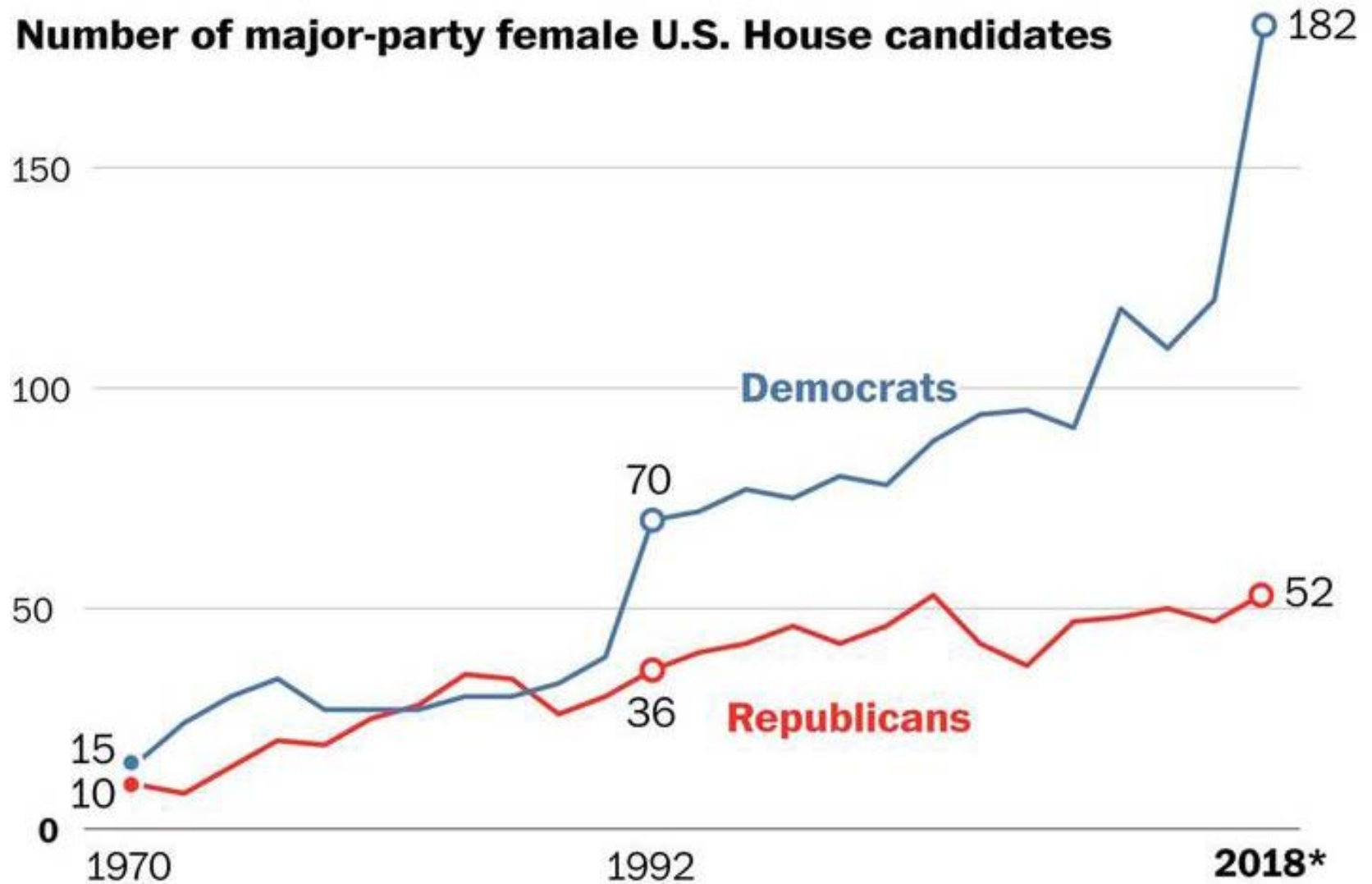


Potential 2020 Presidential Candidates



More Women Running

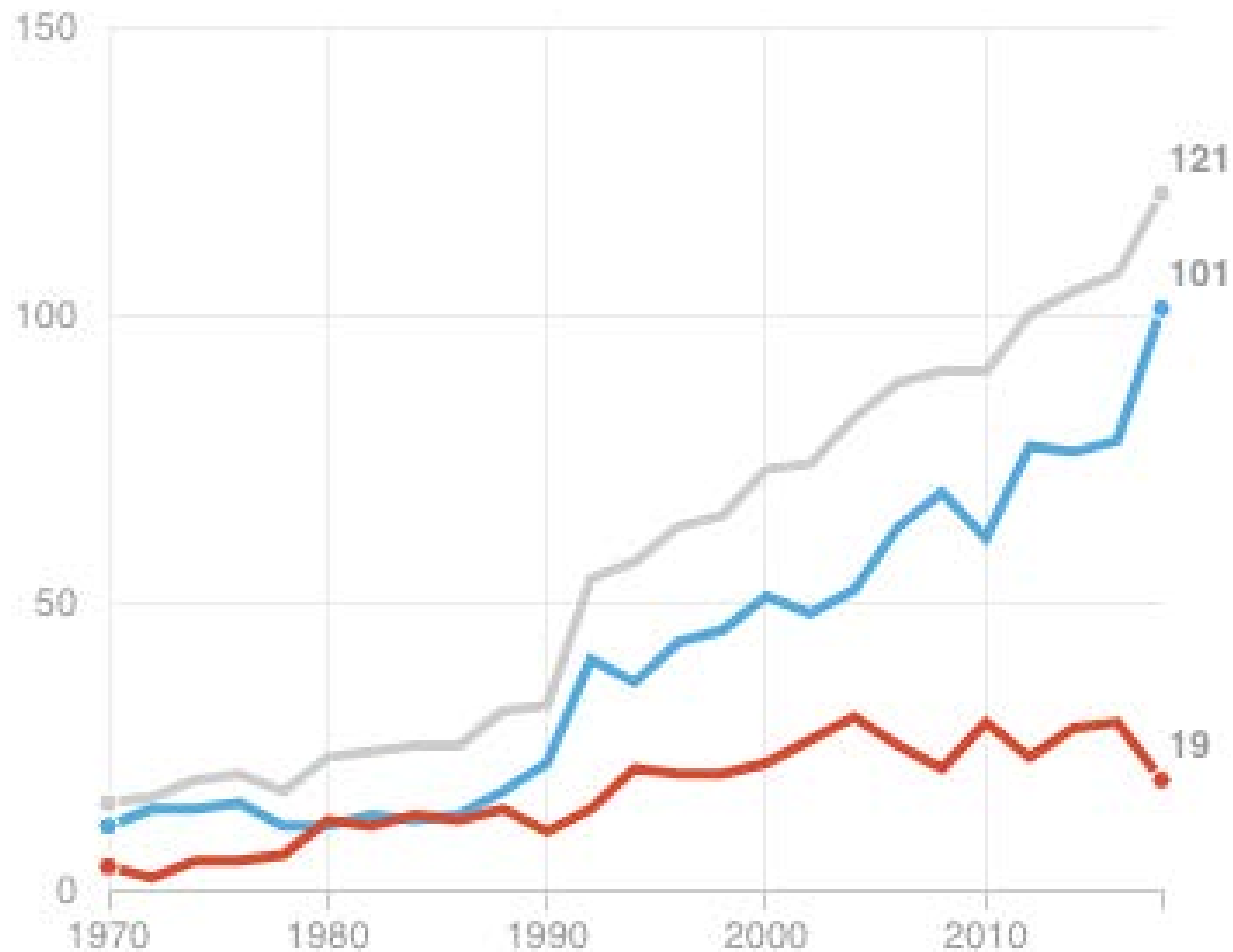
Number of major-party female U.S. House candidates



More Women Winning

Democratic Republican Total

NUMBER OF WOMEN IN CONGRESS



Republicans



Democrats





An Experimental Analysis

Continuing Underrepresentation of Women

Congress: 24%

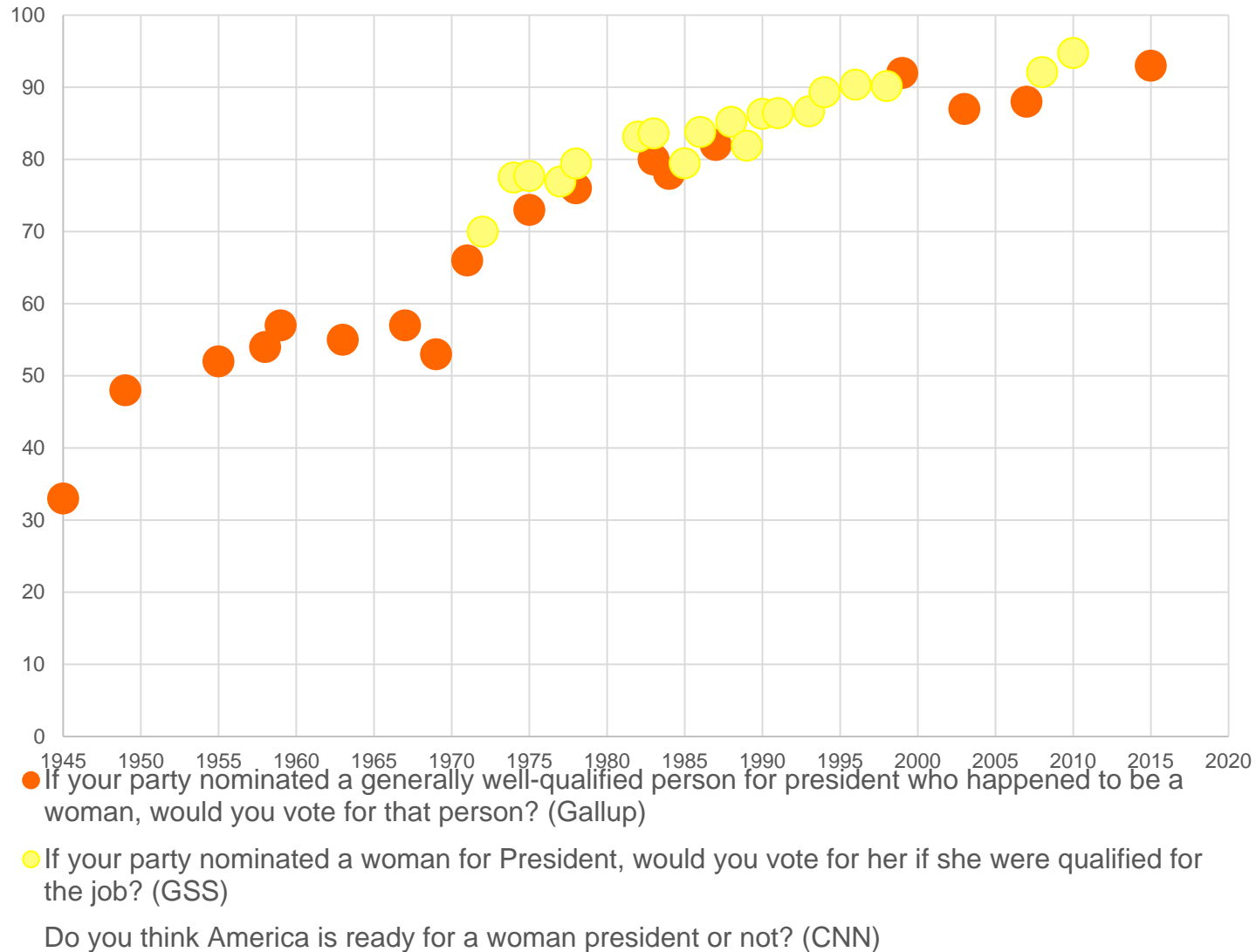
Statewide office: 28%

State legislatures: 29%

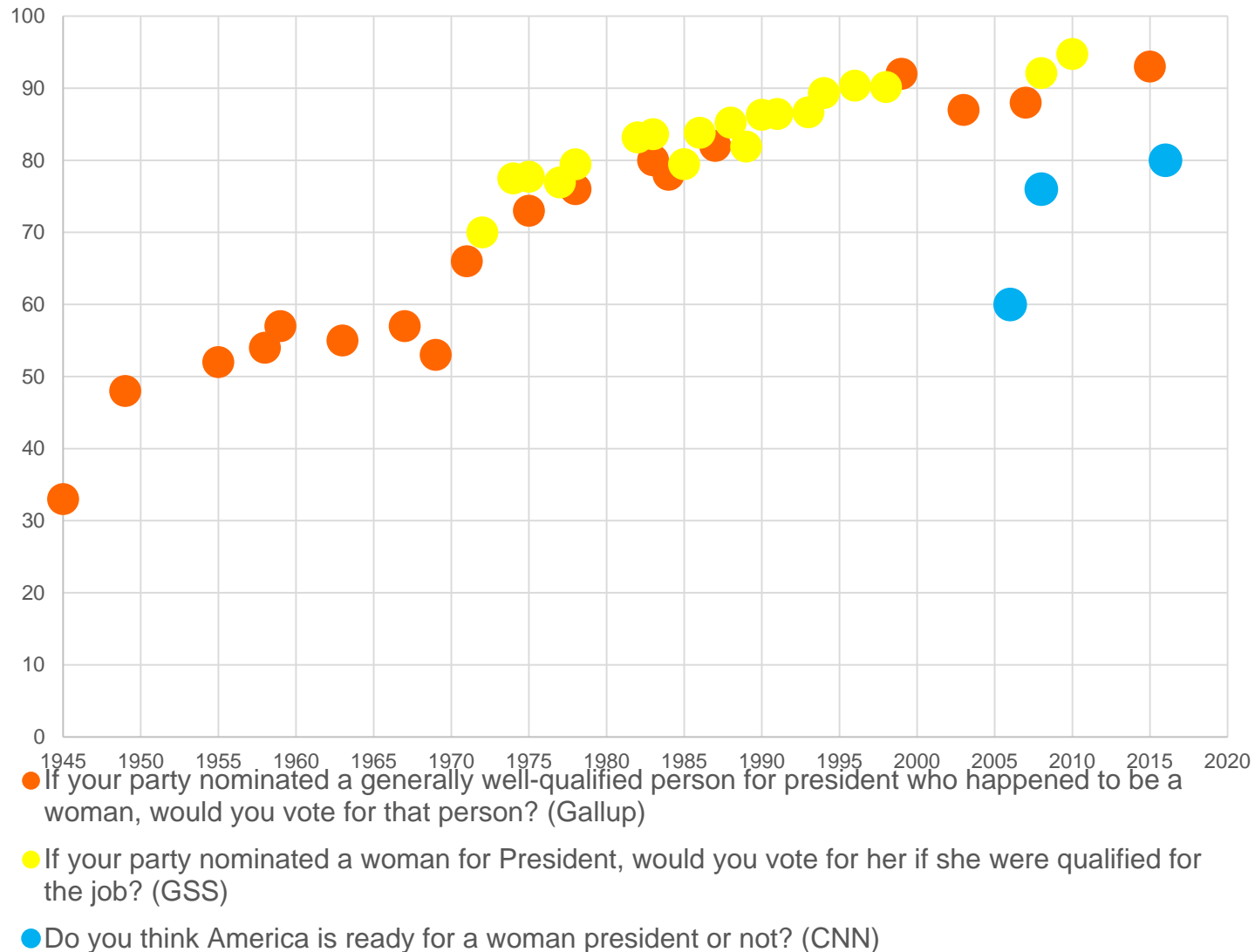
Mayors: 20%

President: 0%

Expressed Support for a Female President



Expressed Support for a Female President



Benefits of an Experiment

Voters might favor male or female candidates due to either voter stereotypes about candidates or a baseline gender bias

Real-world data cannot easily distinguish between these explanations

Conjoint survey experiments random vary candidate characteristics in representative surveys

May analyze different types of offices (president v. Congress) and types of elections (primary v. general)

Candidate Characteristics

Sex (2)

Age (6)

Race/ethnicity (4)

Family (4)

Experience in office (4)

Personal traits (6)

Party affiliation (2)

Policy focus (6)

National security (2)

Immigration (2)

Abortion (2)

Deficit (3)

Poll standing (5)

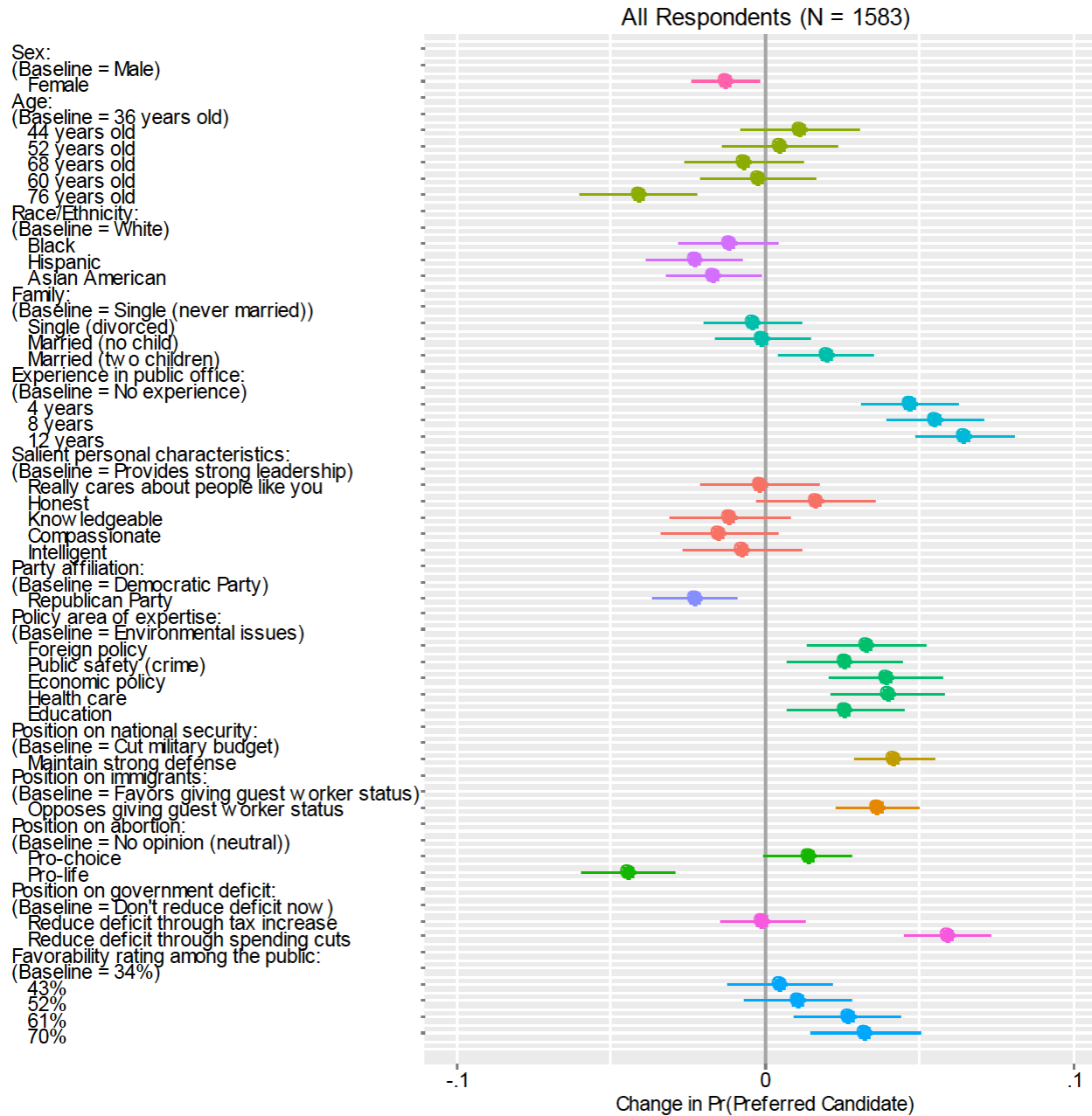
Sample Treatment

Please carefully review the two potential candidates running for election to the U.S. House of Representatives, detailed below.

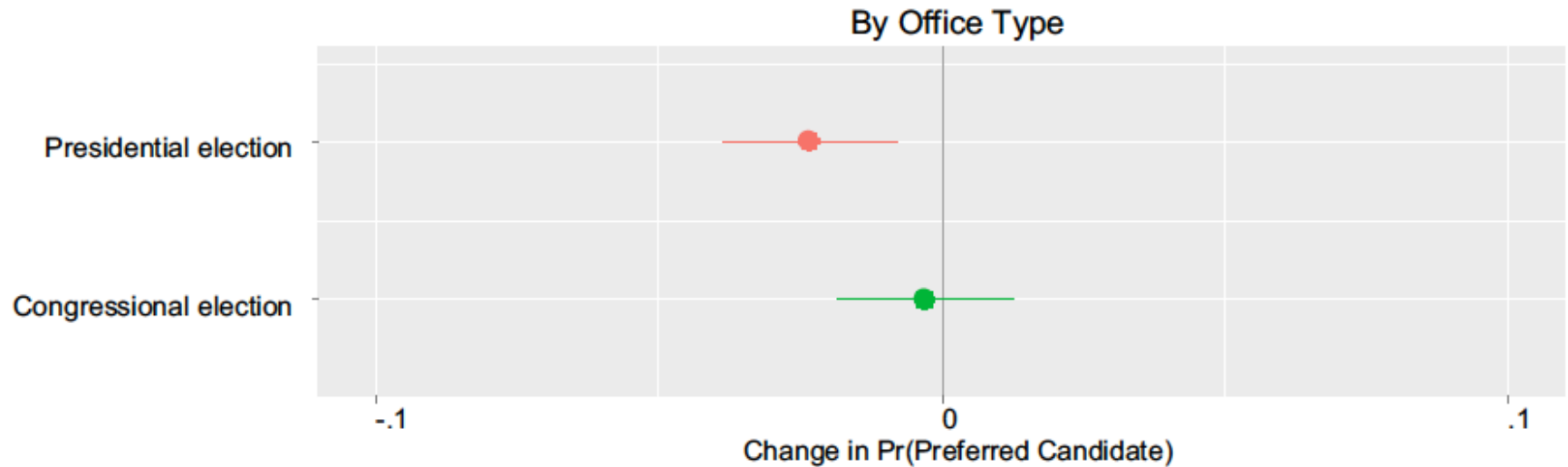
	Candidate 1	Candidate 2
Race / Ethnicity	Hispanic	Asian American
Age	52	60
Favorability rating among the public	70%	34%
Position on immigrants	Favors giving citizenship or guest worker status to undocumented immigrants	Opposes giving citizenship or guest worker status to undocumented immigrants
Party affiliation	Republican Party	Democratic Party
Position on abortion	Abortion is not a private matter (pro-life)	Abortion is a private matter (pro-choice)
Position on government deficit	Wants to reduce the deficit through tax increase	Wants to reduce the deficit through tax increase
Salient personal characteristics	Really cares about people like you	Really cares about people like you
Position on national security	Wants to cut military budget and keep the U.S. out of war	Wants to maintain strong defense and increase U.S. influence
Gender	Female	Female
Policy area of expertise	Education	Foreign policy
Family	Single (divorced)	Married (no child)
Experience in public office	12 years	4 years



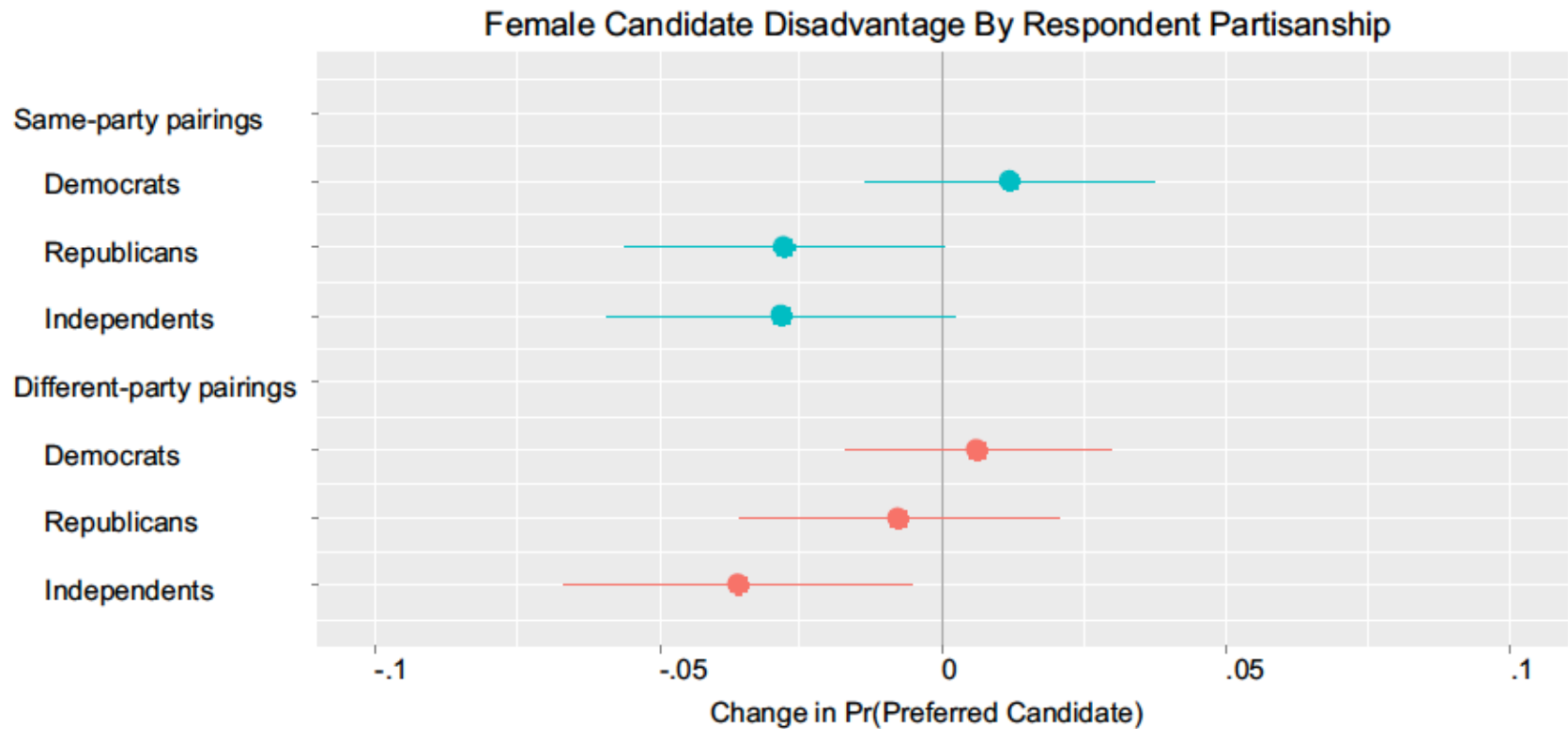
Effects of Candidate Characteristics



Effects of Candidate Gender by Office



Effects by Party and Type of Election



Results and Implications of the 2018 Midterm Election

Barry C. Burden
Department of Political Science



Elections Research Center
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON