

# THE IMMEDIATE, SHORT-TERM, AND LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF THE KAVANAUGH HEARINGS ON THE ELECTORATE.

With an Update on Voters' Views toward Women, Power, and the #MeToo Movement.

Results from a National Survey of Voters Conducted by PerryUndem

April 15, 2019



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#### INTRODUCTION.

PerryUndem conducts quantitative and qualitative research on a range of public policy issues. One question we tend to ask across our research projects is: "In your view, what are the most important issues facing the country?"

In 2014, we started to hear "equal pay" and "women's rights" crop up in our discussions with women. Only one or two participants would mention these issues, but it happened consistently across focus groups and projects. Never in our careers had we heard these issues emerge organically as pressing topics for the country. It was the simmering of a movement.

That movement erupted with the election of President Trump. Immediately afterward, in December 2016, PerryUndem fielded a comprehensive survey on voters' views toward women, rights, and equality. That study included an analysis of the effects of President Trump's comments on the Access Hollywood tape. That tape, and the election, were the biggest cultural moments related to gender and equality in 2016. We wanted to analyze the impact.

A year later, in November 2017, the country was digesting the first wave of #MeToo stories. These stories became the year's most prominent cultural event related to gender equality. PerryUndem fielded another survey to analyze the initial effects of #MeToo and to measure changes in opinion since December 2016. To our surprise, much had changed in just one year.

In 2018, another historic cultural event related to gender equality occurred – the Supreme Court confirmation hearings of Brett Kavanaugh and allegations of sexual assault. Once again, we wanted to explore these events' effects on public opinion and measure any changes. Did voters think about power structures in society as a result of the confirmation? Did the events have an effect on the 2018 midterm elections? Did the events change public opinion of women, power, and equality? Did the hearings change people's views of women who speak out about sexual assault? Did the events make people more worried for men and false accusations? How many people re-experienced trauma as a result of the hearings? Do voters predict any long-term effects of Justice Kavanaugh's confirmation?

To help answer these questions, we conducted a third consecutive survey in December 2018. Results are reported here.

#### METHODOLOGY.

PerryUndem conducted a national survey among n = 1,319 registered voters (self-reported) from December 14 through 28, 2018.

The survey includes oversamples of Black, Latino, and Asian American | Pacific Islander (AAPI) voters.

The margin of error for the total results is  $\pm$  3.1 percentage points. The margin of error is larger for subgroups within the sample. Other sources of error contribute to overall survey error.

The survey was administered online using KnowledgePanel from Ipsos Public Affairs. KnowledgePanel is one of two panels in the US that recruits participants through address-based probability sampling. Panel members are randomly recruited and households are provided with access to the Internet and hardware if needed. KnowledgePanel is the largest online panel that relies on probability-based sampling techniques for recruitment. It is the largest national sampling frame from which fully representative samples can be generated to produce statistically valid inferences for study populations.

#### KEY FINDINGS.

#### 1

Although Justice Kavanaugh was confirmed to the Supreme Court, the balance of the electorate leans against him.

More than half of voters (57 percent) thinks Justice Kavanaugh likely lied under oath about his teenage years.

Half of voters (49 percent) views Justice Kavanaugh unfavorably and one in four (27 percent) has a favorable impression. The proportion feeling favorable is down 12 points from 39 percent immediately after the hearings ended. Thinking that Justice Kavanaugh lied under oath is the strongest predictor of having an unfavorable impression of him – independent of and stronger than party affiliation.

Voters do not seem to be giving Justice Kavanaugh the benefit of the doubt. Just one-third thinks Justice Kavanaugh would be impartial in Supreme Court cases that involve issues Democrats support or that involve sexual harassment or assault. The remaining are split between thinking Justice Kavanaugh would not be impartial and being unsure.

About one-third of voters (35 percent) thinks the Senate did the right thing by confirming Justice Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court. Four in ten say the Senate did not do the right thing (41 percent) and 22 percent are unsure. Women across demographic groups are more likely than men to say the Senate did not do the right thing.

For historical comparison, Gallup reports that after Anita Hill's and Justice Thomas' testimonies, 58 percent of Americans said they favored the Senate confirming Justice Thomas and 30 percent opposed the confirmation.

The margin of voters believing Dr. Ford now is +16 percentage points over believing Justice Kavanaugh (55 percent v. 39 percent), compared to a seven-point margin in late September 2018 (48 percent v. 41 percent in a Quinnipiac survey).

The events around Justice Kavanaugh's hearings mattered in the 2018 midterm elections. In our regression analysis, we find that feeling unfavorably toward Justice Kavanaugh motivated people to vote for the Democratic candidate for US House of Representatives – above and beyond typical factors, such as party affiliation. At the same time, feeling favorably toward Justice Kavanaugh influenced voting for the Republican candidate.

An additional effect, however, benefited Democratic candidates. The Kavanaugh and Ford events made 50 percent of voters think about disproportionate representations of power in the government. Respondents who say Justice Kavanaugh's hearings made them think about men having more power than women in government were twice as likely to vote for the Democratic House candidate as those who did not evaluate gender representation as a result of the hearings. This effect was independent of and in addition to factors such as party affiliation, views toward President Trump, and views toward the Republican and Democratic Parties.

#### 4

Large shares of the electorate thought about men having disproportionate power in government as a result of the hearings, including majorities of college-educated voters, women of all races and ages, suburban women, Black men, Latino men, Asian American | Pacific Islander (AAPI) men, Democratic men, Democratic women, independent women, and unmarried women.

Four in ten independent men and one in four Republican women also thought about men having more power than women in government as a result of the Kavanaugh events.

We are curious how these outcomes – in particular, thinking about disparities in power – may affect voting behavior in future elections. Is this a one-time outcome? Can voters "unsee" power imbalance? Did the 2018 midterms pacify voters in terms of gender representation or are they more emboldened?

In the past year, the media has drawn attention to the influence of Black women and suburban women in election outcomes. Both of these segments are disproportionately unfavorable toward Justice Kavanaugh, believe he lied under oath, and are more likely to have thought about men having more power than women as a result of the hearings.

Among Black women voters, only two percent have a favorable impression of Justice Kavanaugh. Three-quarters of Black women (75 percent) in the survey believe Justice Kavanaugh likely lied under oath in his testimony about his teenage years. Just eight percent think Justice Kavanaugh would be impartial in a Supreme Court case that involved an issue Democrats support.

A majority of Black women (80 percent) says the situation between Justice Kavanaugh and Dr. Ford was about more than just one alleged case – but something bigger, such as how our society treats women. Seven in ten Black women (72 percent) say the situation made them think about men having more power in government than women.

Of all segments, Black women are lowest on the sexism measure, with 31 percent agreeing "most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist" (v. 42 percent of all voters).

Three-quarters of Black women (76 percent) think the odds are 50-50 or better that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade*; 82 percent of Black women voters do not want *Roe* overturned.

Six in ten (62 percent) suburban women think Justice Kavanaugh likely lied under oath about his teenage years. Suburban women are much more likely to say they believe Dr. Ford's allegations over Justice Kavanaugh's denial (60 percent v. 36 percent). Two-thirds (65 percent) felt upset by events around Justice Kavanaugh's hearings.

More than half of suburban women (57 percent) says the Kavanaugh / Ford situation made them think about men having more power in government than women. Seven in ten (70 percent) agree the country would be better off with more women in political office.

Suburban women are more likely to say the events made them feel worried for the girls and women in their lives than the boys and men in their lives (55 percent v. 35 percent).

Suburban women are not giving Justice Kavanaugh the benefit of the doubt. Roughly one in four thinks Justice Kavanaugh would be impartial about an issue Democrats support (28 percent) or a case about sexual harassment or assault (27 percent).

Three quarters (77 percent) of suburban women consider the chances 50-50 or better that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade*; the same proportion (77 percent) does not want *Roe* overturned.

Themes around power and control – who has it, who does not, and who is using it – have emerged in several of our research projects over the past few years.

In 2016, 65 percent of voters said they thought men had more positions of power in society than women. In 2017, the proportion increased 22 points to 87 percent – a jump we rarely see in polling and across party lines. For example, in 2016, slightly more than half of Republican men (56 percent) and Republican women (58 percent) said men had more power than women. One year later, large majorities of each segment said so (75 percent and 85 percent).

Large majorities of voters also see the issue of sexual assault as one of power and control. In 2017, we asked voters why they think men sexually harass or assault women. More than eight in ten respondents (86 percent) said that the desire for power and control over women relates to why men sexual harass or assault women – a much higher proportion than those who saw a link to men wanting to date or have a relationship with the woman (52 percent) or not knowing what constitutes harassment or assault (57 percent). More than eight in ten voters (84 percent) also saw a link between harassment and assault and men living in a culture where they have more power than women.

We also hear themes of power and control in our qualitative research. In a recent focus group, Latina voters voiced concerns related to feeling controlled under President Trump. One voter said, "You have to ask the president now if you want to go to the bathroom."

For many voters, we think the Kavanaugh hearings and confirmation likely activated and reinforced feelings around power and powerlessness. The Kavanaugh events mark an intersection of <u>several</u> perceived manifestations of power and control:

- The belief that men sexually assaulting women is linked to wanting power and control over women;
- The belief that men living in a culture where they have more power than women contributes to sexual harassment and assault;
- Women feeling powerless in being believed and in the justice system for cases of rape or assault;
- Perceptions that men have more positions of power in government; and
- A situation in which a man accused of sexual assault is being granted the highest level of power in our justice system.

Aside from election outcomes, the public events around Justice Kavanaugh's hearings also had personal repercussions. One in four women voters (24 percent) in the country re-experienced past trauma or difficult feelings as a direct result of the Kavanaugh and Ford events. The proportion is slightly higher among Latina voters (33 percent). About one-third (36 percent) of women who tuned into news coverage of the events says they relate personally to the experience Dr. Ford described in high school, including 26 percent of Republican women who were paying attention.

#### 8

Slightly more than half of respondents (55 percent) says the Kavanaugh events made them feel "anger or outrage." Voters who believe Dr. Ford are more likely to report feeling angry than those who believe Justice Kavanaugh (72 percent v. 49 percent).

#### 9

Close to half of voters (47 percent) says they worried for the girls and women in their lives as a result of the hearings and events. A smaller proportion of respondents (36 percent) says the events made them worry for the boys and men in their lives.

#### 10

One in three parents of children under 18 (37 percent) says they talked to their child(ren) about consent or sexual assault issues as a direct result of the Kavanaugh events.

#### 11

As a result of Justice Kavanaugh being appointed to the Supreme Court, four in ten voters think fewer women will come forward in cases of sexual harassment or assault (40 percent), more people will not believe women (41 percent), and more men will feel they can get away with sexual harassment or assault (39 percent). About one-third of voters (32 percent) thinks Justice Kavanaugh's confirmation will result in more men feeling entitled to treat women as sexual objects.

Women voters are more likely than men to say these are likely outcomes of Justice Kavanaugh's appointment to the Supreme Court.

#### 12

While 73 percent of voters say they do not want the Supreme Court's decision on *Roe v. Wade* overturned, virtually the same proportion (74 percent) thinks the chances are 50-50 or better that Justice Kavanaugh would vote in favor of overturning the decision. Two-thirds (66 percent) think the chances are 50-50 or better that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to restrict women's access to birth control and reproductive health care other than abortion.

Another likely consequence of the Kavanaugh events is that Republican men reverted backward in their views toward women. Specifically, the hearings may have increased hostile sexism among these voters. Two-thirds of Republican men (68 percent) now agree that "most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist" (an item used to measure hostile sexism). This is up 21 points from 2017 when 47 percent of Republican men agreed and up 24 points from 2016 when 44 percent agreed.

Fewer than half of Republican men (45 percent) now considers sexism a problem in our society, down from 63 percent in 2017 and 58 percent in 2016.

Republican men are also less likely to believe women in cases of sexual harassment and assault after Justice Kavanaugh's hearings. In November 2017, 80 percent of Republican men said they were more likely to believe women making allegations of sexual harassment or assault rather than men denying allegations (18 percent). Now, 59 percent of Republican men say they are more likely to believe women, down 21 points. One-third (34 percent) says they are more likely to believe men denying allegations.

Interestingly, just 54 percent of Republican men say they would be most comfortable living in a society where men and women have equal shares of power. The remaining say they would be most comfortable in a society where men have more power than women (21 percent) or say they are unsure (21 percent).

#### 14

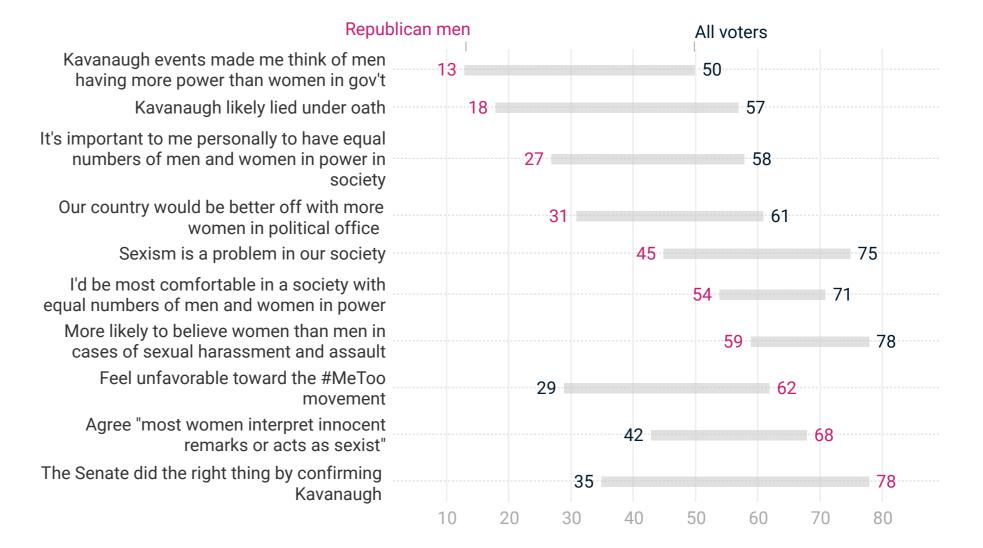
Hostile sexism is correlated with believing Justice Kavanaugh's denial. About seven in ten respondents (69 percent) who say they believe Justice Kavanaugh agree that "most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist." Just one in four who believes Dr. Ford's allegations (25 percent) agrees with this statement.

#### Comparing Republican Men with All Voters

#### 15

Republican men are strikingly different from the electorate as a whole on several measures related to women and Justice Kavanaugh's hearings.

We are curious how these differences will manifest in policy decisions as well as future elections.



Our 2016 and 2017 surveys showed Republican women and men holding very similar views related to gender equality.

Now we see a little divergence, suggesting that the Kavanaugh events may have affected some Republican women differently than Republican men.

Republican women are more likely than Republican men to:

- Perceive sexism as a problem in our society (66 percent v. 45 percent);
- Say it is important that state elected officials work on issues related to women's rights and equality (67 percent v. 57 percent);
- Think women and men make equally good political leaders (85 percent v. 70 percent);
- Agree the country would be better off with more women in political office (46 percent v. 31 percent);
- Say they would be most comfortable living in a society where men and women have equal shares of power (75 percent v. 54 percent); and
- Say it is important to them personally that there are equal shares of men and women in power (42 percent v. 27 percent).

Republican women are also more likely to:

- Believe women in allegations of sexual harassment or assault (71 percent v. 59 percent of Republican men);
- Say the Kavanaugh events made them think about men having more power than women in government (24 percent v. 13 percent);
- Say they relate to the experience Dr. Ford described in high school (26 percent of Republican women who followed the events v. five percent of Republican men who tuned in); and
- Say the Kavanaugh events made them re-experience trauma or difficult feelings from the past (17 percent v. five percent).

Republican women are less likely than Republican men to view Justice Kavanaugh favorably (52 percent v. 68 percent) and are less likely to think Justice Kavanaugh would be impartial on a Supreme Court case involving an issue that Democrats support (49 percent v. 64 percent).

While not necessarily connected to the Justice Kavanaugh events, some Republican women's views toward women as political leaders have changed over the past two years. In 2016, 31 percent of Republican women said they felt men make better political leaders than women. That proportion has dropped 20 points to 11 percent as of December 2018. Most Republican women (85 percent) think men and women make equally good political leaders. Seventy percent of Republican men say the same; 26 percent say men make better leaders in politics (33 percent in 2016).

#### 18

While Republican women have moved toward feeling men and women are <u>equally</u> good at political leadership, others have moved to the other side: feeling <u>women</u> make better leaders than men. One in four Democrats (25 percent) now thinks women make better leaders than men, up from 12 percent from 2016. One in six independent women (19 percent) says the same, up 12 points from seven percent two years ago.

#### 19

Additional data suggest a preference for women political leaders right now. We asked a new question this year about who respondents think is more likely to pass laws benefiting the largest share of the population: male politicians, female politicians, or both equally. Surprisingly, just a small majority (59 percent) says "both equally." One-third of all voters (32 percent) thinks women are more likely than men to pass laws that benefit the most people v. seven percent who say men are more likely. Fully half of Democratic voters (51 percent) thinks female politicians are more likely than male politicians to pass laws that would benefit the largest share of Americans.

Overall, our sense is the Kavanaugh and Ford events had negative and positive implications for the #MeToo movement.

One main negative consequence is that Republican men seem to have reverted backward and are now more likely to hold sexist views that minimize women's experiences. While Republican men make up only about 15 percent of the electorate, they hold a larger share of positions of power in government.

Many voters predict that women will be less likely to be believed as a result of Justice Kavanaugh's confirmation. Voters are correct in that Republican men are now less likely to believe women. But, large majorities of the electorate are still more likely to believe women's allegations of sexual harassment and assault than men's denials – and at roughly the same proportions we saw prior to Justice Kavanaugh's hearings (with the exception of Republican men).

Post-Kavanaugh, respondents are more likely to view the #MeToo movement favorably (52 percent) than unfavorably (29 percent). The only segment more likely to have unfavorable than favorable views is self-identified Republicans and the only segment that tends to be split on views toward #MeToo is white men.

The Kavanaugh and Ford events have already had positive effects, such as one in three parents having conversations with their children about consent or sexual assault as a direct result of the hearings.

They events are also likely to have long-term beneficial consequences for women and equality. The hearings made half of the electorate think more about sexism in our society (56 percent) and evaluate power differentials by gender in government (50 percent). One in three voters (34 percent) felt less tolerant of sexism in their own lives as a result of the events, including four in ten Democratic men (40 percent), 18 to 29 year olds (44 percent), and unmarried women (45 percent).

That said, voters are likely to see the need for progress on the issue. Just 37 percent think our culture teaches women that they can speak up about allegations without fear of consequences on their own lives (61 percent say our culture does <u>not</u> teach this, including 80 percent of respondents who believe Dr. Ford's testimony).

Seven in ten voters (70 percent) say our culture does <u>not</u> teach men to be thoughtful about how they relate to women when they feel sexual attraction. Even 54 percent of Republican men agree.

VIEWS OF JUSTICE KAVANAUGH.

# About one in four respondents (27%) views Justice Kavanaugh favorably.

Half of voters (49%) has an unfavorable impression of Justice Kavanaugh and 23% are unsure.

#### Overall, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of:

N = 1,319 registered voters

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Not sure
The Supreme Court	50	33	16
The Democratic Party	45	45	8
The Republican Party	32	60	7
Donald Trump	31	63	5
Brett Kavanaugh	27	49	23

# Across segments, voters are more likely to have unfavorable than favorable views of Justice Kavanaugh.

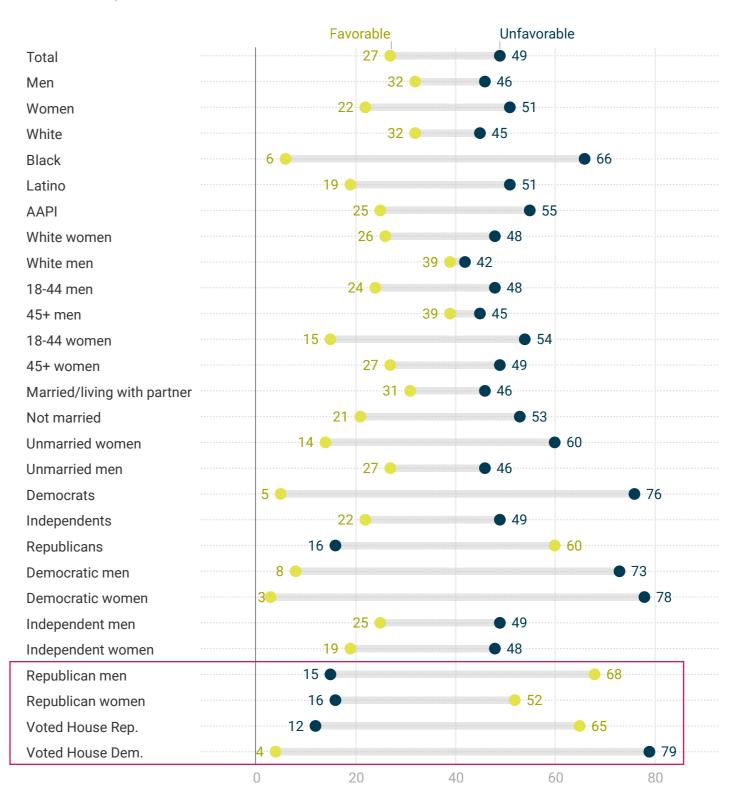
The exception is among Republican voters. Republican women are slightly less favorable toward Justice Kavanaugh than Republican men (52% v. 68%). Republican women are not necessarily unfavorable (16%), but rather "not sure" (30%).

Respondents who voted for the Democratic House candidate in November 2018 are more unfavorable toward Justice Kavanaugh (79%) than those who voted for the Republican candidate are favorable toward Justice Kavanaugh (65%).

Respondents who have the most unfavorable views toward Justice Kavanaugh include Democrats, Black voters, and unmarried women.

## Overall, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of Brett Kavanaugh?

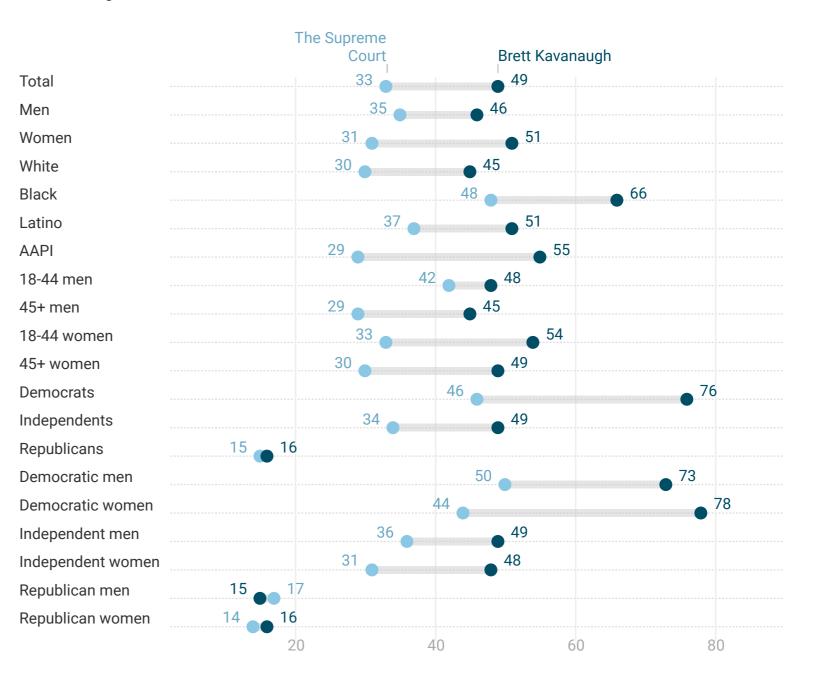
N = 1,319 registered voters



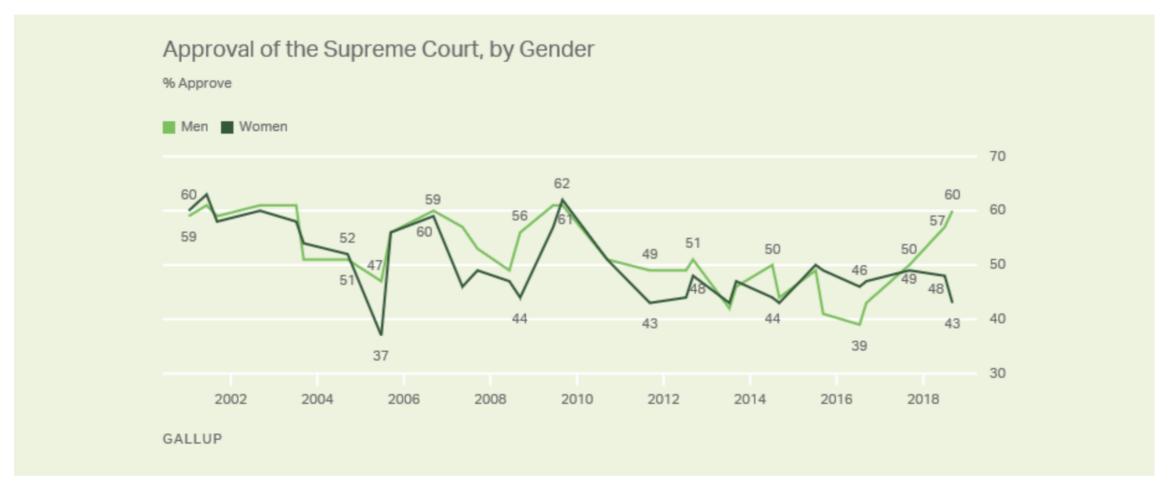
Not surprisingly, Justice Kavanaugh receives significantly higher unfavorable ratings than the Supreme Court among most segments.

#### % Unfavorable impression of the Supreme Court v. Justice Kavanaugh

N = 1,319 registered voters



## An open research question is whether voters' views of Justice Kavanaugh will influence their views of the Court overall.



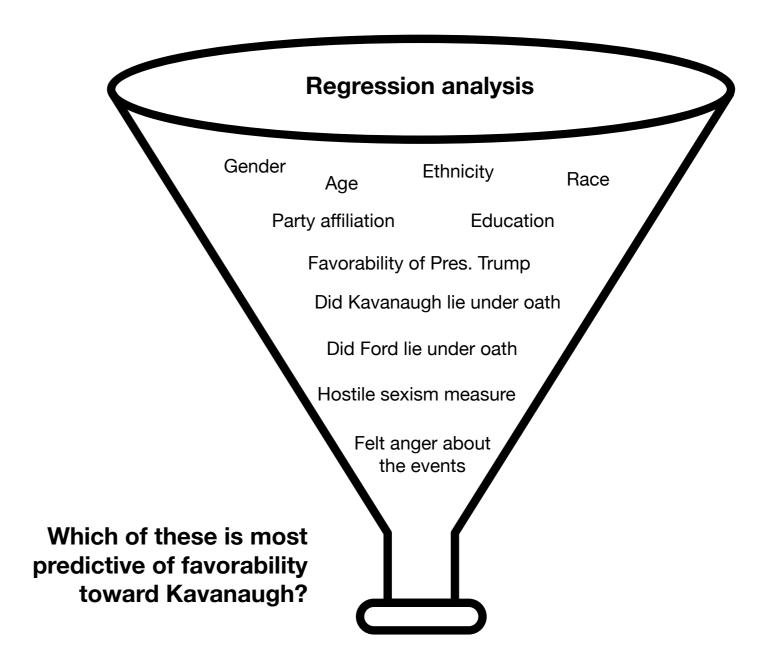
Gallup finds a gender split in approval of the Court in early July 2018 and again in early September 2018 – prior to the sexual assault allegations. We have not seen updated results from Gallup.



# What predicts feeling unfavorably toward Justice Kavanaugh?

We ran a regression model to explore the variables that might correlate with impressions of Justice Kavanaugh.

The biggest predictor is perceptions of whether Justice Kavanaugh lied under oath about his teenage years. Respondents who think Justice Kavanaugh lied are very likely to feel unfavorably toward him. Those who think Justice Kavanaugh did not lie are likely to feel favorably. The second predictor is views toward President Trump. Respondents who feel unfavorably toward the President are more likely to have unfavorable views of Justice Kavanaugh, and vice versa. The third predictor is perception of whether Dr. Ford lied. Those who think Dr. Ford lied are more likely to be favorable of Justice Kavanaugh.



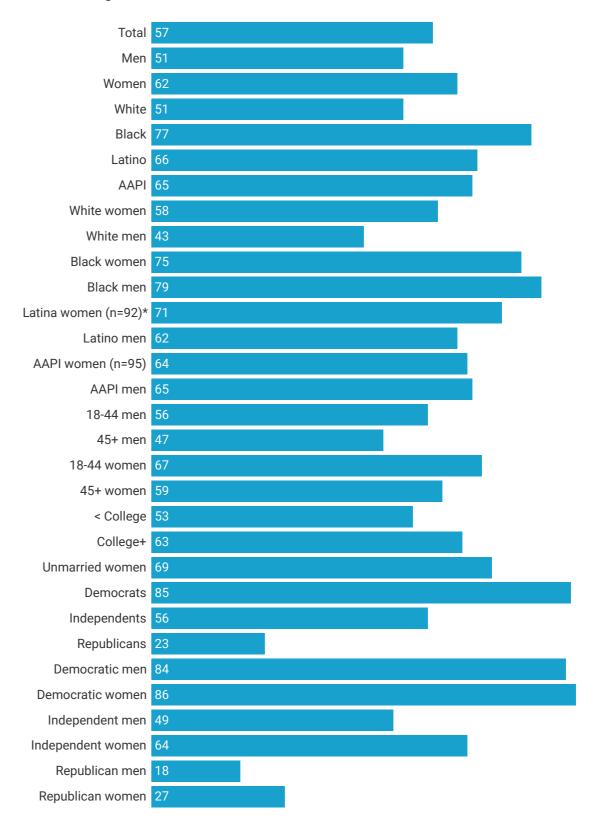
- #1 Perception of whether Justice Kavanaugh lied under oath
- #2 Favorability of President Trump
- #3 Perception of whether Dr. Ford lied under oath

### 57% of voters think it is likely that Justice Kavanaugh lied under oath about his teenage years.

Half or more across segments thinks Justice Kavanaugh likely lied, with the exception of Republican voters, independent men, white men, and men 45 and older.

# How likely do you think it is that Justice Kavanaugh lied under oath in any of his testimony about his teenage years? % Likely

N = 1,319 registered voters



<sup>\*</sup> Exact cell size is noted for segments with fewer than 100 respondents.

# 1 in 3 respondents thinks Justice Kavanaugh would be impartial on a case about an issue Democrats support.

Thirty-four percent say he would not be impartial (34%) and 32% are unsure.

Democratic men and women are aligned in their thinking, while a gender split exists among independents and Republicans. For example, 49% of Republican women think Justice Kavanaugh would be impartial v. 64% of Republican men.

White men are among the most likely to think Justice Kavanaugh would be impartial.

Democrats, Black voters, Latino voters, younger voters, and unmarried women are among the most likely to think Justice Kavanaugh would not be impartial.

## If Justice Kavanaugh were to hear a case about an issue that Democrats support, do you think he would be impartial?

N = 1,319 registered voters

Total	Yes No 32 34
Men	36 32
Women	27 35
White	37 30
Black	9 50
Latino	22 41
AAPI	28 33
White women	31 31
White men	44 28
< Age 45	23 38
45+	37 31
< College	32 30
College+	31 39
Unmarried women	23 40
Democrats	12 56
Independents	31 26
Republicans	56 14
Democratic men	11 55
Democratic women	13 57
Independent men	36 26
Independent women	24 26
Republican men	64 16
Republican women	49 13

Voters think similarly about Justice Kavanaugh's likelihood to be impartial on any cases related to sexual harassment or assault.

### If Justice Kavanaugh were to hear a case about sexual harassment or assault, do you think he would be impartial?

N = 1,319 registered voters

	Yes	No
Total	32	38
Men	36	34
Women	28	41
White	37	35
Black	11	49
Latino	27	41
AAPI	26	35
White women	31	40
White men	43	30
< Age 45	24	40
45+	37	36
< College	33	34
College+	30	44
Unmarried women	24	44
Democrats	11	61
Independents	31	32
Republicans	58	15
Democratic men	11	59
Democratic women	11	62
Independent men	37	30
Independent women	24	35
Republican men	62	13
Republican women	55	17

#### 1 in 3 respondents thinks the Senate did "the right thing" by confirming Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court.

Four in ten (41%) say the Senate did not do the right thing and 22% are unsure.

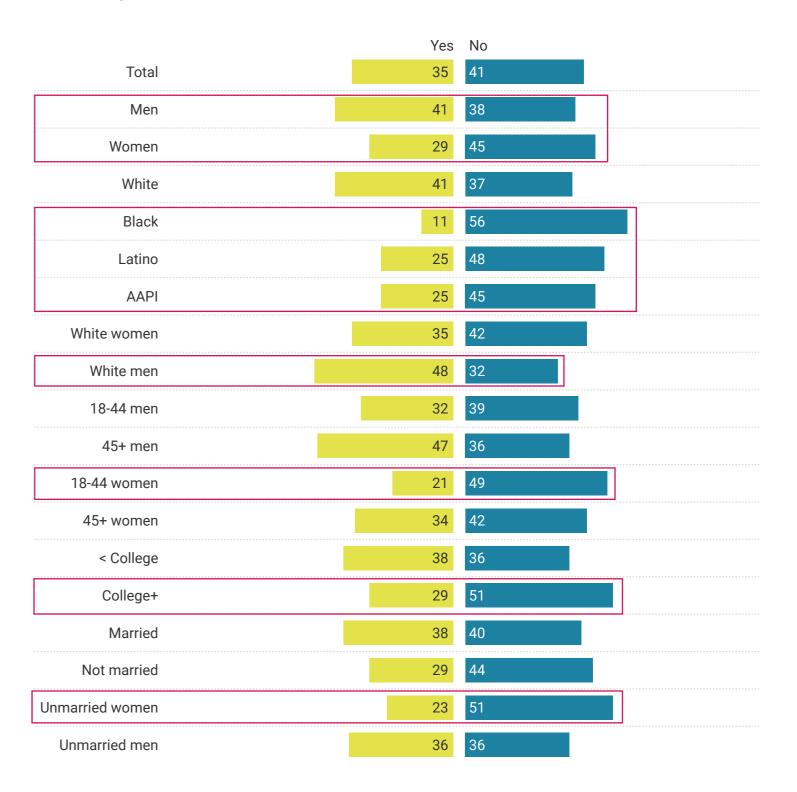
A gender split emerges across demographic groups, with women being more likely to say the Senate did not do the right thing.

White men are among the most likely to agree with the Senate's confirmation.

Respondents most likely to think the Senate did not do the right thing include voters who think Justice Kavanaugh lied under oath about his teenage years (see next page), voters of color, college-educated voters, women ages 18 to 44, unmarried women, and Democrats.

### Do you think the Senate did the right thing by confirming Judge Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, or not?

N = 1,319 registered voters



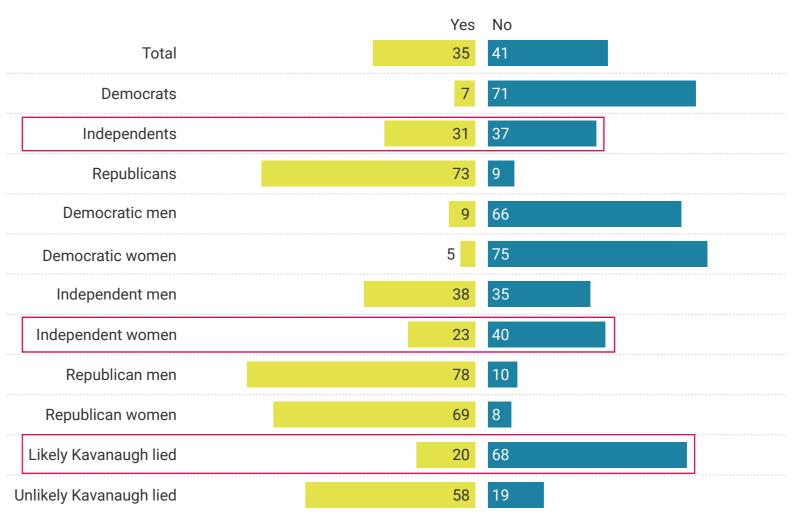
Not surprisingly, Republicans think the Senate did the right thing by confirming Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court. Republican men, however, are a bit more certain about this than Republican women (9% are unsure v. 21% respectively).

Independents lean toward thinking the Senate did not do the right thing, driven primarily by independent women. Independent men are more split.

Two-thirds (68%) of respondents who think Justice Kavanaugh lied under oath say the Senate did not do the right thing in confirming Kavanaugh. Twenty-percent of those who think Justice Kavanaugh lied still agree with the Senate's confirmation.

### Do you think the Senate did the right thing by confirming Judge Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court, or not?

N = 1,319 registered voters



OPINION ABOUT THE HEARINGS.

# 66%

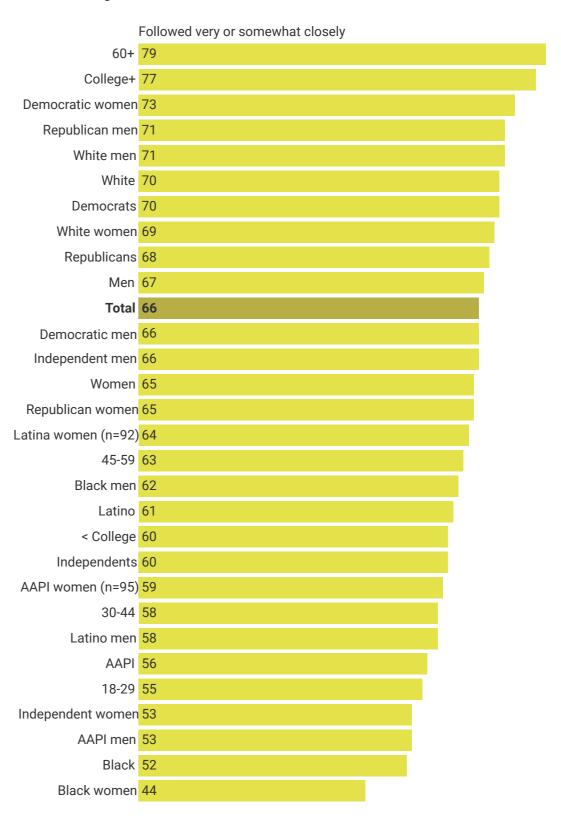
of respondents say they followed the news about events surrounding the hearings and Dr. Ford's allegations of sexual assault.

Thirty-two percent of respondents say they followed the news "not too closely" (19%) or "not at all closely" (13%).

Older voters, college-educated respondents, Democratic women, and Republican men are among the most likely to have been following these events closely.

# Switching gears, how closely did you follow the news about Judge Kavanaugh and Dr. Blasey Ford's allegations of sexual assault?

N = 1,319 registered voters

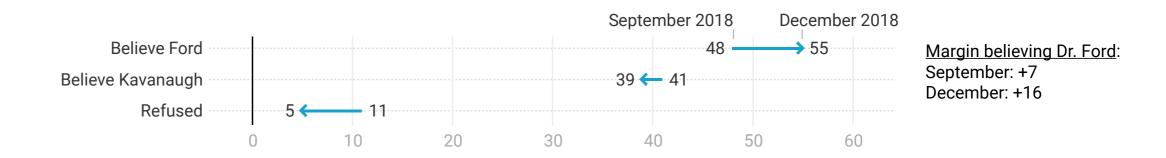


The margin of believing Dr. Ford over Justice Kavanaugh is larger now than in September, immediately after the hearings.

We replicated a question Quinnipiac University used in a survey conducted September 27 to 30, 2018 (Dr. Ford's and Justice Kavanaugh's testimonies occurred on September 27th).

The margin of believing Dr. Ford over Justice Kavanaugh is now 16 percentage points. Some change may be due to fewer people refusing to answer the question – often because they don't know or have an opinion. In other words, some of these voters may have formed an opinion after the hearings happened.

As you may know, Dr. Christine Basely Ford had accused Judge Brett Kavanaugh of sexually assaulting her in high school. Judge Kavanaugh had denied this accusation. If you had to choose, which do you believe most: the accusation of sexual assault made by Dr. Basely Ford or the denial made by Judge Brett Kavanaugh?

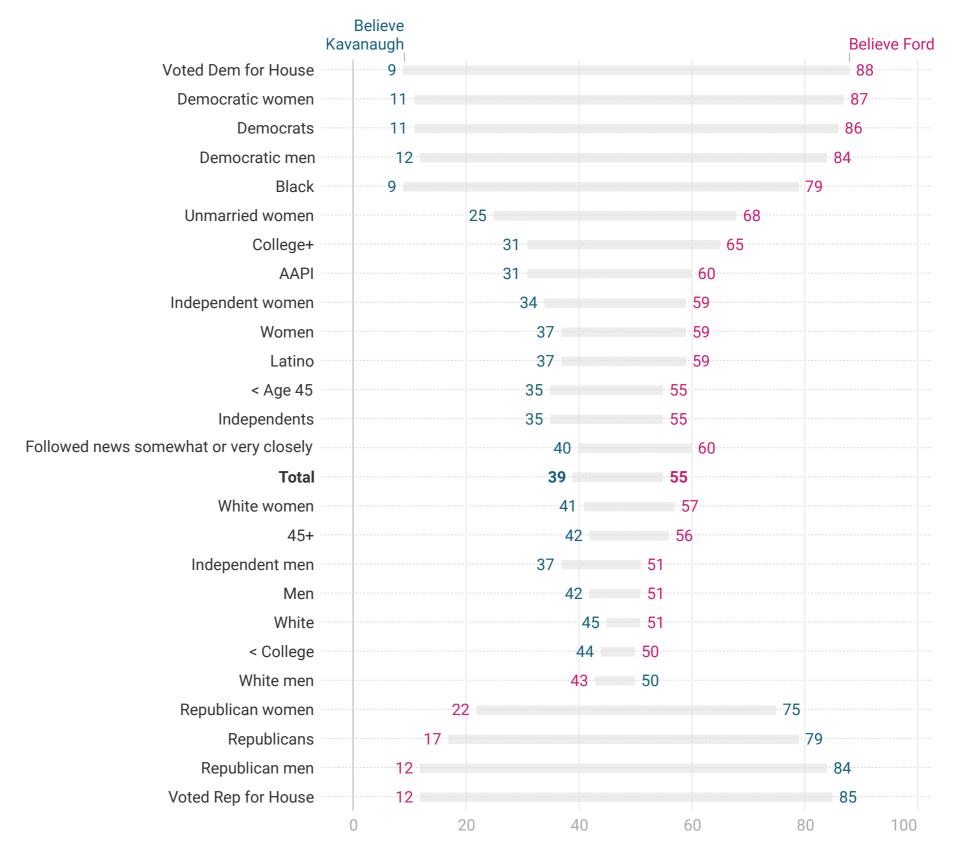


#### Voters across most segments tend to believe Dr. Ford's allegation over Justice Kavanaugh's denial.

The exceptions are Republicans and white men. Again we find a slight gender difference among Republicans: Republican women are about twice as likely as Republican men to believe Dr. Ford's allegation (22% v. 12%).

About one-third of respondents were not paying much attention to the news around these events. When looking at respondents who did follow the news, the margin is +20 believing Dr. Ford (60% v. 40%).

#### N = 659 registered voters (Split sample)



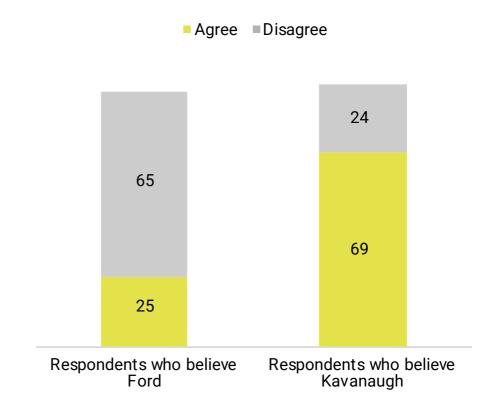
# A measure of "hostile sexism" is strongly correlated with believing Justice Kavanaugh over Dr. Ford.

A majority of voters who believe Justice Kavanaugh over Dr. Ford (69%) agrees that "most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist," a statement researchers use to help measure hostile sexism.

#### Do you agree or disagree:

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

N = 1,319 registered voters



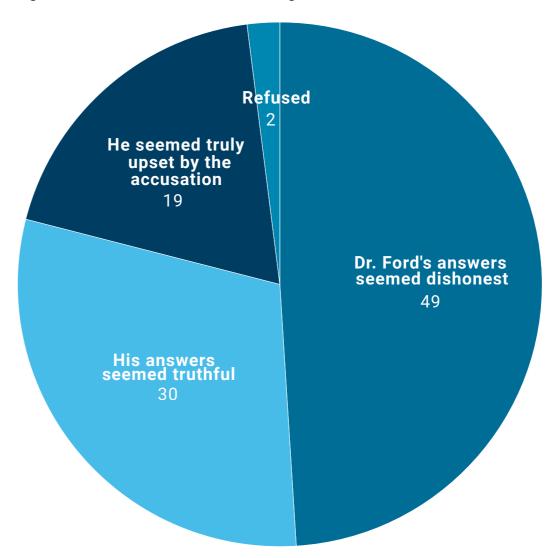
#### Half of those who believe Justice Kavanaugh says Dr. Ford's answers seemed dishonest.

We explored whether respondents believed Justice Kavanaugh because his answers seemed truthful, because he appeared truly upset, or because Dr. Ford's answers seemed dishonest.

Half of voters who believe Justice Kavanaugh says their belief comes more from viewing Dr. Ford's answers as dishonest than Justice Kavanaugh's answers or demeanor.

### If you had to choose one, which of these made you most believe Judge Kavanaugh's side?

N = 437 registered voters who believe Kavanaugh's denial



#### Who had a right to be angry?

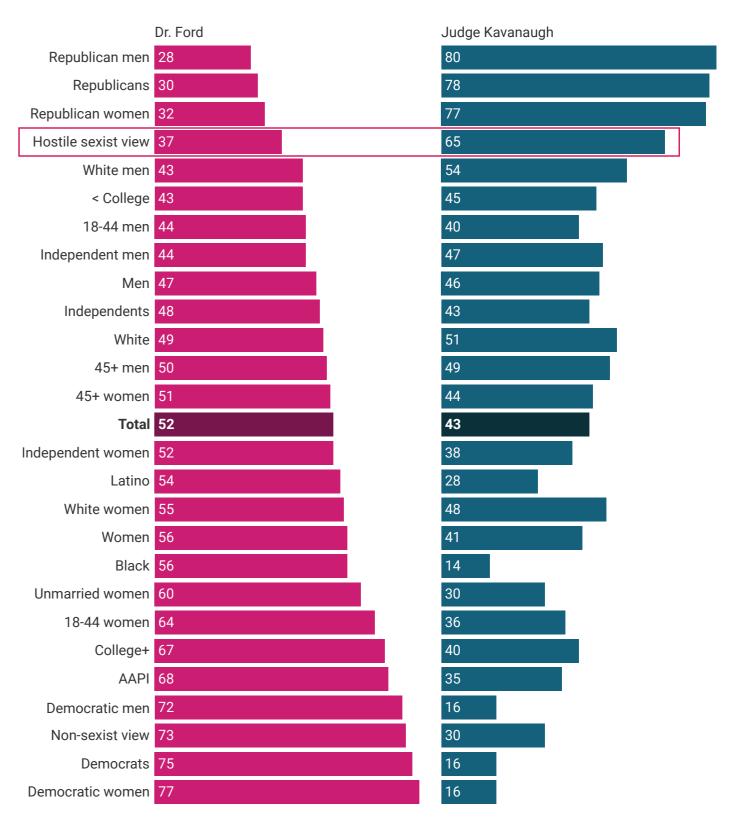
Half of the sample was asked whether they think Dr. Ford had a right to be angry in her testimony and the other half was asked whether Justice Kavanaugh had a right to be angry in his testimony.

Voters are slightly more likely to say Dr. Ford had a right to be angry than did Justice Kavanaugh (52% v. 43%).

Respondents who agree "most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as sexist" are much more likely to say Justice Kavanaugh had a right to be upset.

### Do you think \_\_\_\_ had a right to be angry in [her / his] testimony, or not? % Yes

Split sample: N = 660 received Ford; N = 659 received Kavanaugh



## Whose life was more negatively affected?

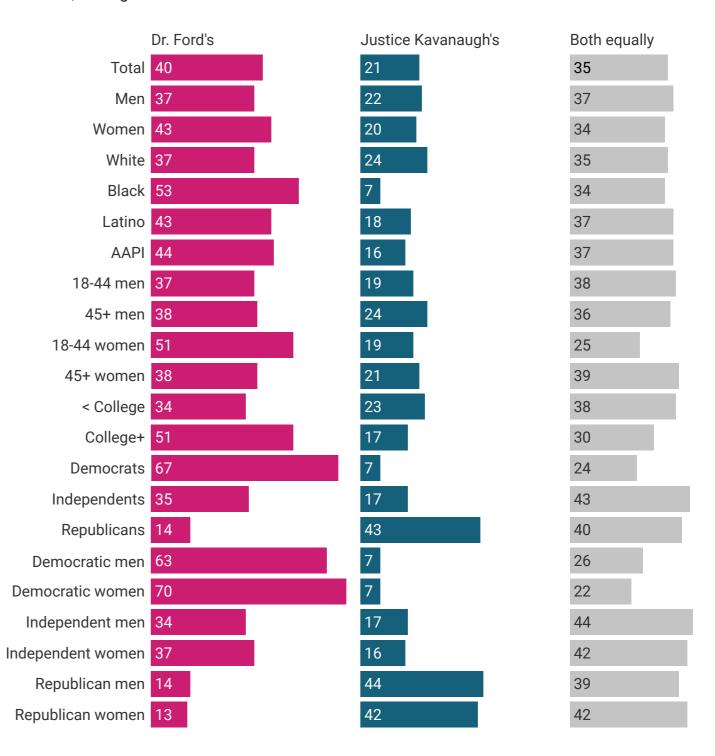
Voters are twice as likely to say Dr. Ford's life has been more negatively affected than Justice Kavanaugh's (40% v. 21%). One in three (35%) says both equally.

Democrats, Black voters, 18 to 44 women, and college-educated respondents are most likely to say Dr. Ford's life has been more negatively affected.

Republicans are more likely to say Justice Kavanaugh's life has been more negatively affected.

### Whose life do you think has been more negatively affected by the whole situation? (Rotated)

N = 1,319 registered voters



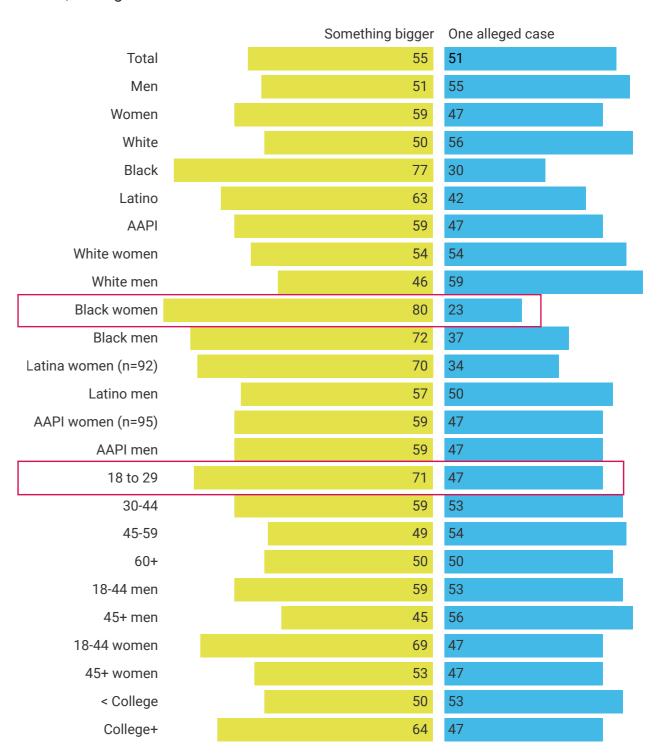
# Was this about one alleged case, or about something bigger, such as how our society treats women?

Black women are the segment most likely to view the Kavanaugh/Ford situation as emblematic of something larger in society, such as how our society treats women.

Young voters – ages 18 to 29 – are more likely than older voters to see the situation as being about something larger.

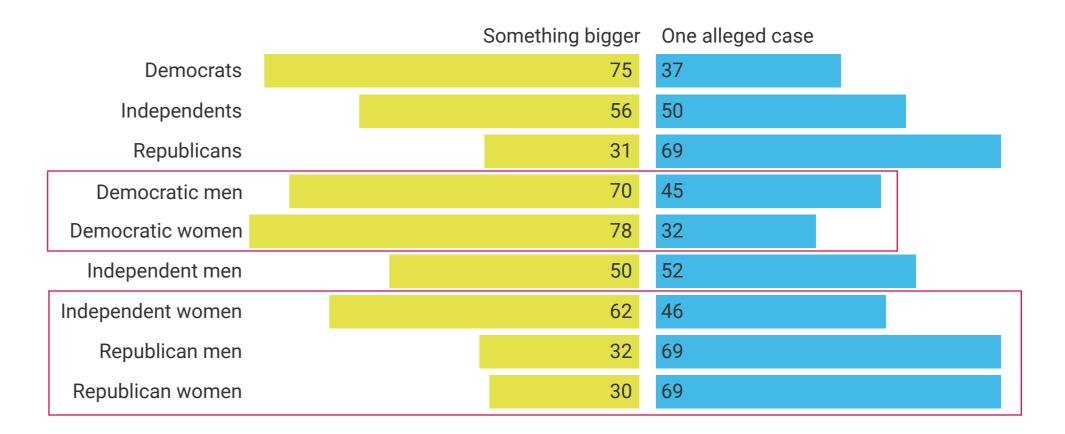
# Did you view this situation as mostly about one alleged case between Judge Kavanaugh and Dr. Ford, or was it about something bigger, such as how our society treats women? (Multiple responses allowed)

N = 1,319 registered voters



Republican men and women tend to view the situation through the lens of one alleged case between Justice Kavanaugh and Dr. Ford.

Democratic women, Democratic men, and independent women tend to view the situation through a larger lens.



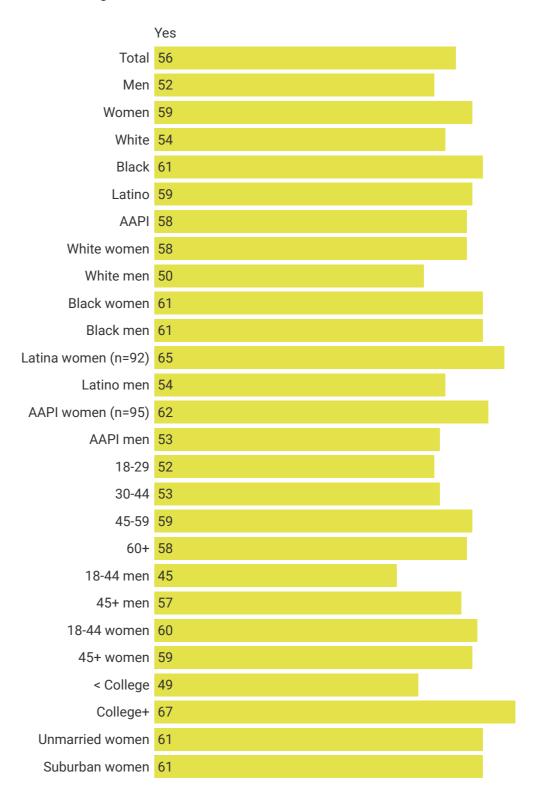
IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE HEARINGS.

# The Ford / Kavanaugh situation made many voters think about sexism in our society.

These proportions are notable, considering about one-third of respondents says they were not following the situation closely.

## Did the situation around Dr. Ford and Judge Kavanaugh make you think more about sexism in our society, or not?

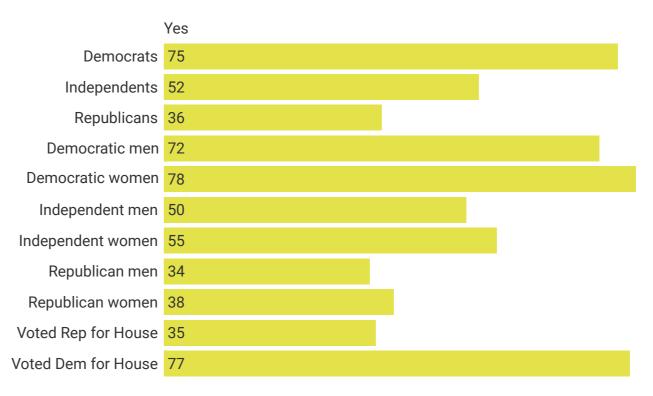
N = 1,319 registered voters



Republicans are least likely to say the events made them think about sexism in our society.

## Did the situation around Dr. Ford and Judge Kavanaugh make you think more about sexism in our society, or not?

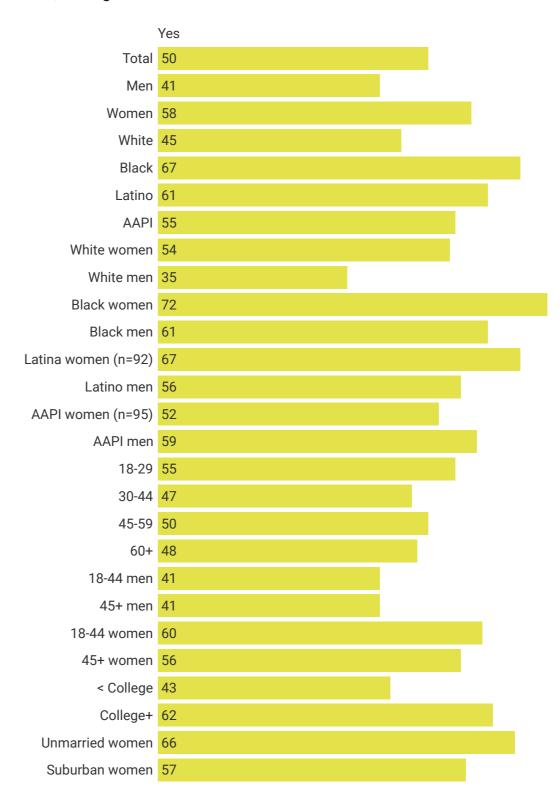
N = 1,319 registered voters



The hearings made half of all voters think about men having more power than women in our government.

## Did the situation make you think about men having more power than women in our government, or not?

N = 1,319 registered voters



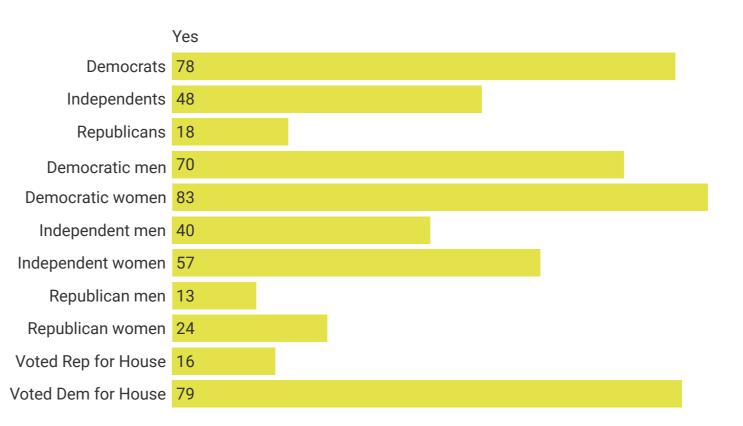
39



Our analysis suggests that this outcome – having thought about men having more power in government – helped mobilize voters to elect Democrats in US House races. See page 50.

## Did the situation make you think about men having more power than women in our government, or not?

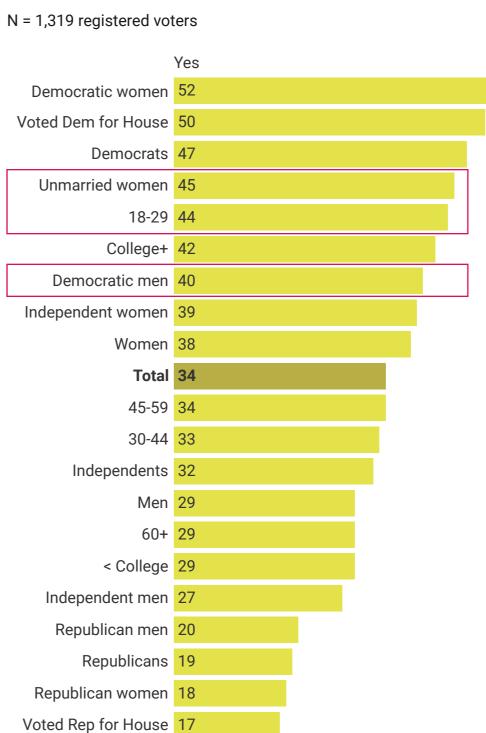
N = 1,319 registered voters



#### 1 in 3 voters says the Kavanaugh events made them feel less tolerant of sexism in their own lives.

More than four in ten unmarried women (45%) and 18 to 29 year old voters (44%) are re-evaluating sexism in their lives as a result of the Kavanaugh/Ford events, as are 40% of Democratic men.

#### Did any events related to Judge Kavanaugh and Dr. Ford's testimony or the outcome make you feel less tolerant of sexism in your own life?



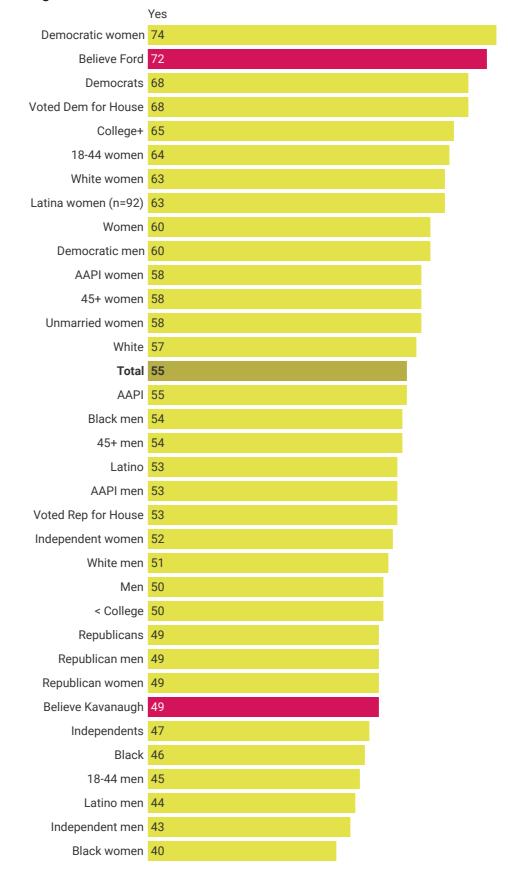
Respondents who believe Dr. Ford are more likely to report having felt anger or outrage at the events compared to those who believe Justice Kavanaugh.

About half of voters (55%) felt "anger or outrage" as a result of the Kavanaugh/Ford events. This is a sizable proportion of voters, considering about one-third of voters were not following events closely.

The events appear to have angered more Democrats and women than Republicans and men.

### Did any events related to Judge Kavanaugh's and Dr. Ford's testimony or the outcome make you feel anger or outrage?

N = 1,319 registered voters

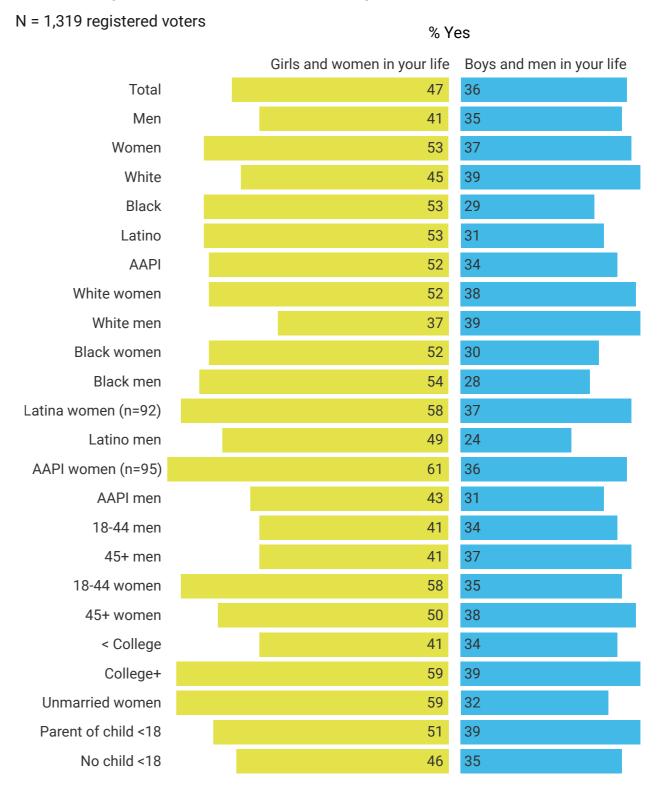


42

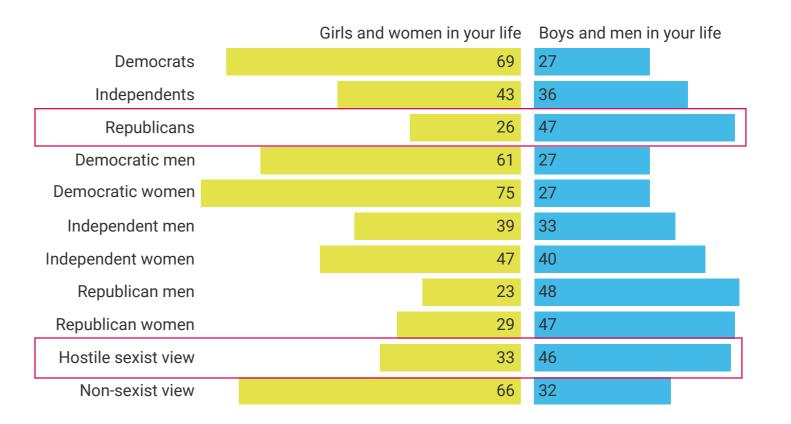
# Worry for the girls and women in their lives was more prevalent for voters than worry for the boys and men in their lives.

Fear and worry for men being falsely accused of sexual harassment or assault was part of the public narrative around the Kavanaugh/Ford events. Among voters, the events were more likely to cause worry for the girls and women in their lives (47%) than the boys and men in their lives (36%).

## Did any events related to Judge Kavanaugh and Dr. Ford's testimony or the outcome make you feel worried about the...



Republicans and those who agree that "most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist" are most likely to have worried about the boys and men in their lives as a result of the events.



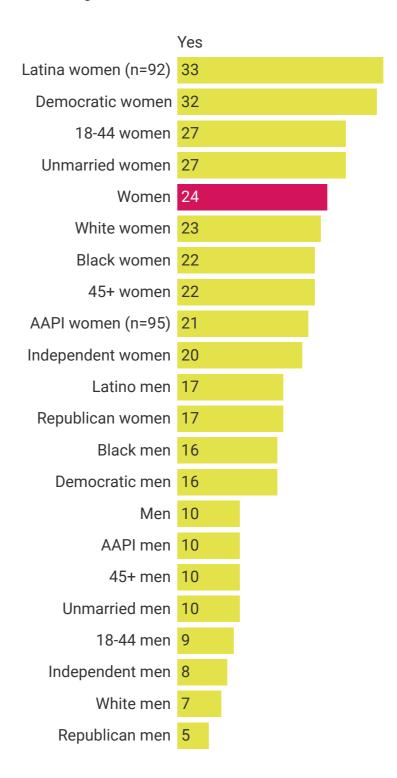
See page 30 for hostile sexism measure.

# 1 in 4 women re-experienced trauma or difficult feelings from the past as a direct result of the events.

Latina respondents are most likely to report re-experiencing past trauma or difficult feelings.

# Did any events related to Judge Kavanaugh and Dr. Ford's testimony or the outcome make you re-experience trauma or difficult feelings from the past?

N = 1,319 registered voters

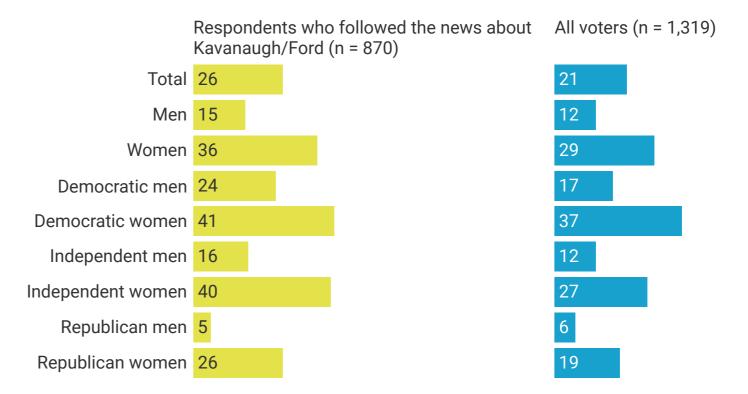


# 1 in 3 women who were paying attention to the events says they relate to the experience Dr. Ford described.

Four in ten Democratic (41%) and independent women (40%) who were paying attention to events say they related to Dr. Ford's description, as did one in four Republican women (26%) who tuned in.

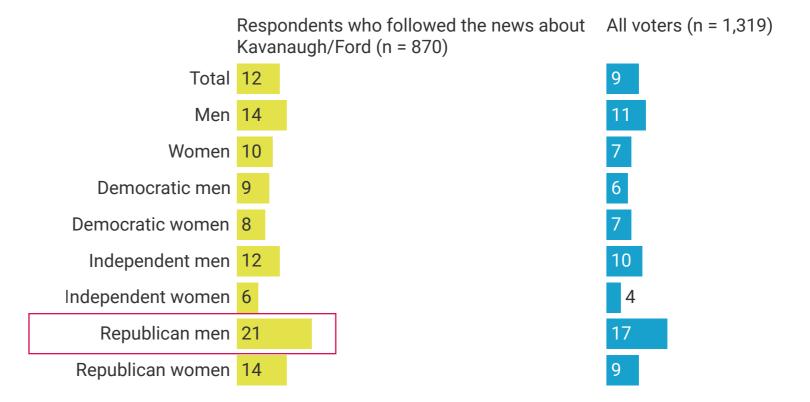
Interestingly, one in four Democratic men (24%) who were following the events also relates to the experience Dr. Ford described, compared to five percent of Republican men who were following the news.

### Do you relate to the experience Dr. Ford described in high school? % Yes



1 in 5 Republican men who were following the events says they relate to Justice Kavanaugh being accused of sexual assault.

### Do you relate to Judge Kavanaugh being accused of sexual assault? % Yes



37% of parents of children under 18 say they have talked to their child(ren) about consent or sexual assault issues as a direct result of the Kavanaugh/Ford events.

This is not the first politically-related opportunity parents have used to talk to children about consent in recent years. Our 2016 survey found that 43% of parents talked to their children about consent issues as a direct result of President Trump winning the election.

In our 2018 survey of adolescents on behalf of Plan International, 36% of girls and 28% of boys say a parent had talked to them about how to prevent or stop sexual harassment as a result of the #MeToo movement.

THE "KAVANAUGH EFFECT" ON THE MIDTERM ELECTIONS.

To explore a "Kavanaugh effect" on the election, we ran two logistic regression models to predict respondents' vote in the US House of Representatives:

- 1) Voting for the Democratic candidate
- 2) Voting for the Republican candidate

We analyzed these independent variables to predict a Democratic/Republican vote:

Gender

Age

Race

Ethnicity

Education

Party affiliation

Favorability of Kavanaugh

Favorability of President Trump

Favorability of the Republican Party

Favorability of the Democratic Party

Believing Ford v. Kavanaugh

Likelihood that Kavanaugh would vote to overturn Roe v. Wade

Whether the Ford/Kavanaugh events....

- Made them think about sexism in society
- Made them think about men having more power than women in government
- Made them feel upset
- Made them feel anger or outrage
- Made them feel worried for the boys and men in their lives
- Made them feel worried for the girls and women in their lives



Which of these variables, controlling for the others, predicts voting for the Democratic House candidate? Which predicts voting for the Republican House candidate?

#### Predictors of voting for a Democratic House candidate.

#### These variables predict voting for the Democrat in the US House race:

Party affiliation (p <.000)
Favorability of the Democratic Party (.000)
Favorability of the Republican Party (.000)
Kavanaugh favorability (.005)
Ford/Kavanaugh events made me think of men having more power than women in government (.037)
Favorability of President Trump (.041)

#### What this means:

The Kavanaugh/Ford hearings mattered in the election. Feeling unfavorably toward Justice Kavanaugh had an effect on voting for the Democratic House candidate, independent of and in addition to the usual predictors of vote choice.

Perhaps more interesting, 50% of respondents say the Ford/Kavanaugh events made them think about men having more power than women in government. This outcome – thinking about gender disparity in positions of power – had an independent effect on voting for the Democratic candidate, above and beyond typical factors such as party affiliation. Respondents who say the Ford/Kavanaugh events made them think about men in power were two times more likely to have voted for the Democratic candidate than those who did not think about power dynamics.

#### Predictors of voting for a Republican House candidate.

#### Here is what predicts voting for the Republican in the House race:

Party affiliation (p <.000)
Favorability of the Republican Party (.000)
Favorability of the Democratic Party (.000)
Favorability of President Trump (.000)
Kavanaugh favorability (.009)

#### What this means:

The Kavanaugh/Ford hearings played a role for Republican candidates as well. Feeling favorably toward Kavanaugh had a statistically significant effect in voting for the Republican House candidate, independent of and in addition to the usual predictors of vote choice.

#### The bottom line.

Justice Kavanaugh's hearings and confirmation mattered in candidate preferences for the US House of Representatives in the November 2018 elections.

Feeling unfavorably toward Justice Kavanaugh mobilized voters to vote for the Democratic candidate – above and beyond typical factors such as party affiliation.

Feeling favorably toward Justice Kavanaugh mobilized voters to vote for the Republican candidate – above and beyond typical factors such as party affiliation.

An additional effect benefited Democrats. The Kavanaugh/Ford hearings made 50% of voters think about disproportionate gender and power dynamics in government. Respondents who say the hearings made them think about men having more power in government were twice as likely to vote for the Democratic House candidate as those who were not evaluating gender power dynamics as a result of the hearings.

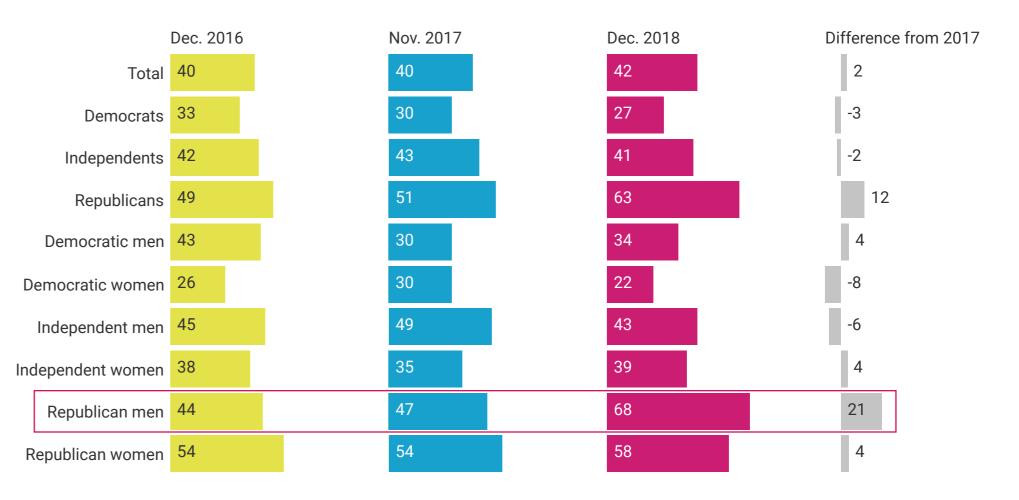
LONGER-TERM EFFECTS.

# The Kavanaugh events may have increased hostile sexism among Republican men.

A majority of Republican men now agrees that "most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist," up 21 points from last year and 24 points from December 2016. Views have stayed relatively stable among other segments (within margins of error).

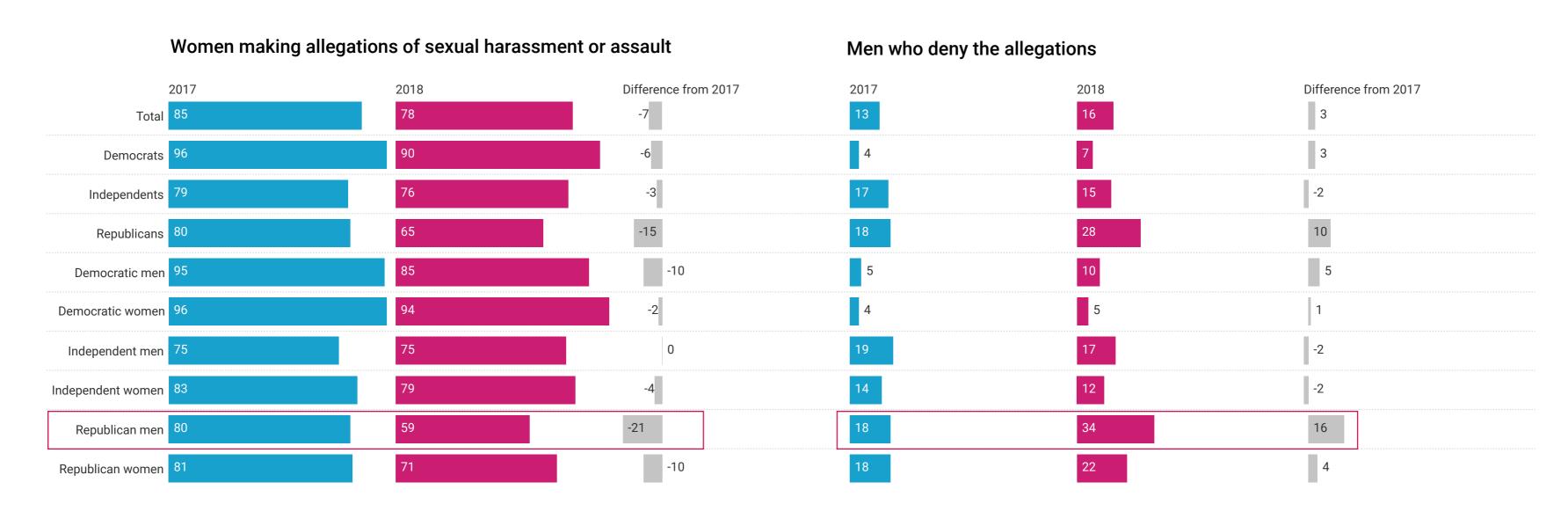
#### "Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist."

Percent strongly or somewhat agree



#### Republican men are less likely to believe women's allegations after the Kavanaugh hearings.

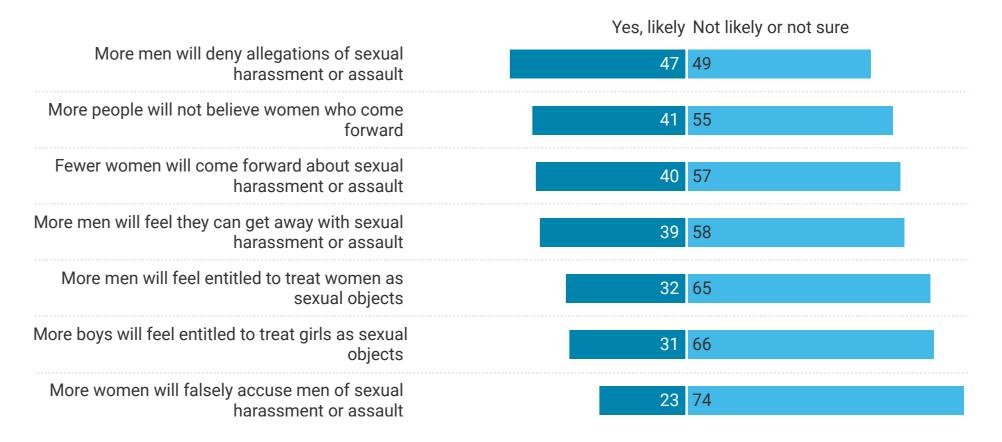
In general, who are you more likely to believe in allegations of sexual harassment or assault...



Many voters think the Kavanaugh appointment will have negative consequences on women in the future.

## As a result of Justice Kavanaugh being appointed to the Supreme Court, do you think each of these is likely, or not?

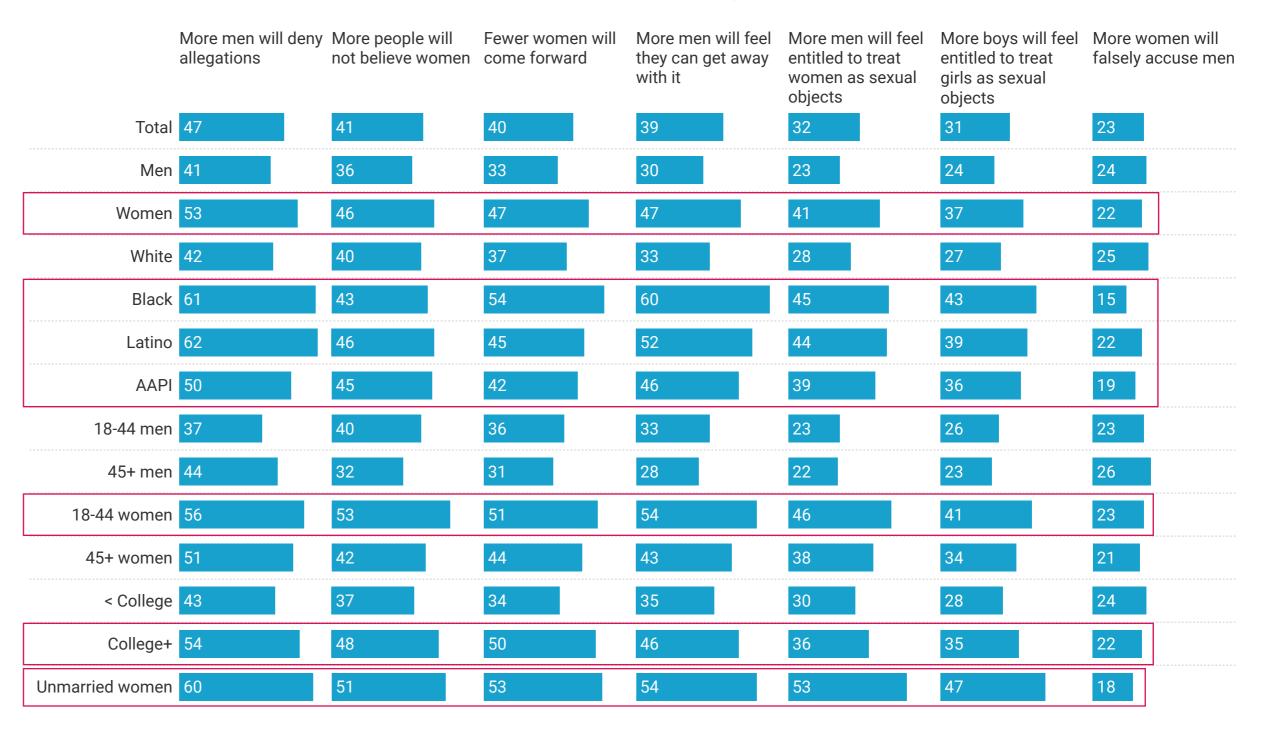
N = 1,319 registered voters



### As a result of Justice Kavanaugh being appointed to the Supreme Court, do you think each of these is likely, or not?

% Yes, likely

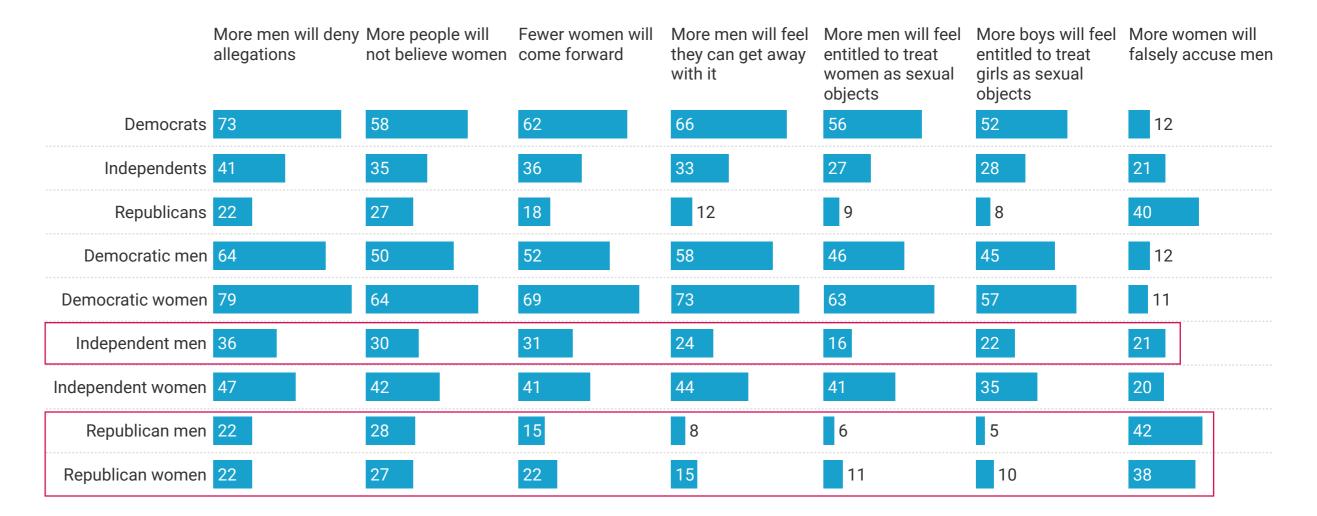
Respondents who are most likely to perceive negative consequences for women include women, voters of color, college-educated voters, unmarried women, Democratic women, and Democratic men.



## As a result of Justice Kavanaugh being appointed to the Supreme Court, do you think each of these is likely, or not?

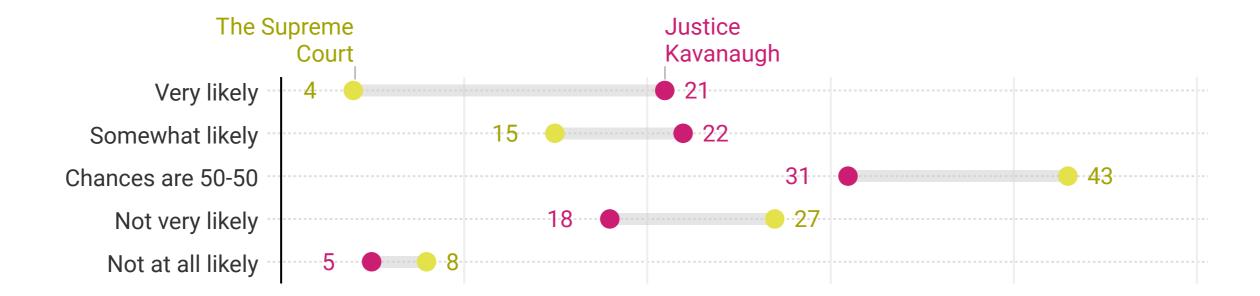
% Yes, likely

Republican men, Republican women, and independent men do not think these outcomes are likely.



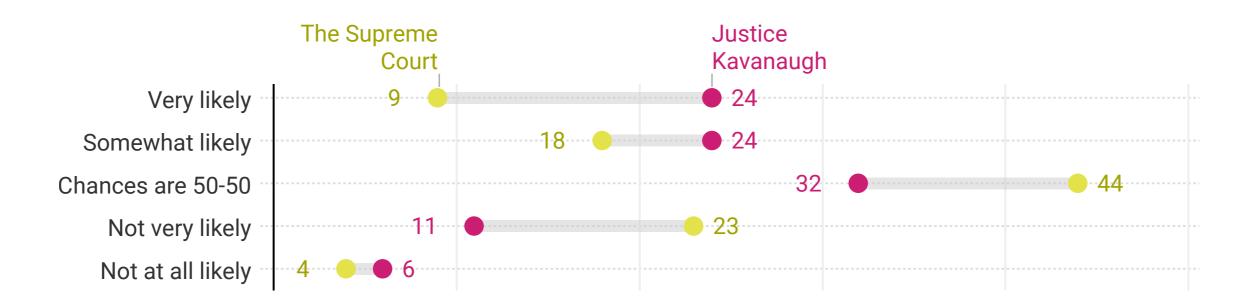
# Three-quarters of respondents think the chances are 50-50 or better that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade*.

How likely do you think it is that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to overturn *Roe v. Wade*? How likely do you think it is that the Supreme Court will rule to overturn *Roe v. Wade* in the near future? (Base n = 659)



# 8 in 10 respondents think the chances are 50-50 or better that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to restrict access to abortion.

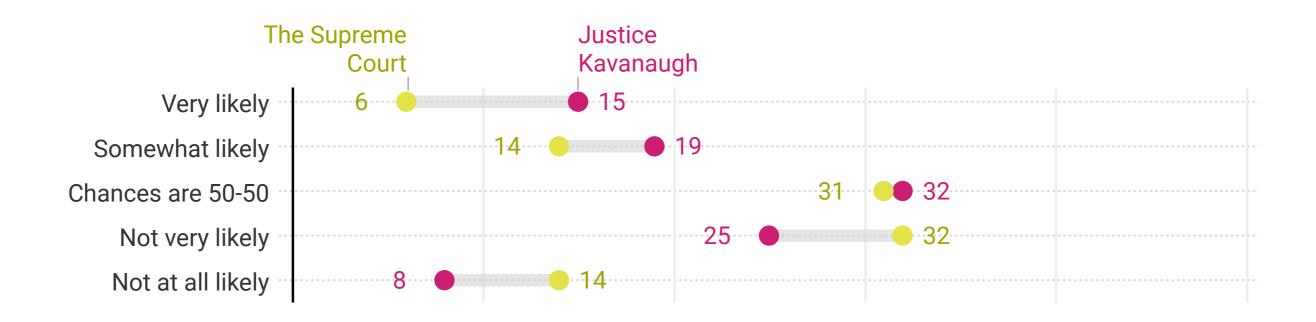
How likely do you think it is that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to restrict access to abortion? (Base n = 659) How likely do you think it is that the Supreme Court will rule to restrict access to abortion in the near future? (Base n = 660)



# Two-thirds think the chances are 50-50 or better that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to restrict women's access to birth control and reproductive health care (other than abortion).

Aside from abortion, how likely do you think it is that Justice Kavanaugh would vote to restrict access to birth control and reproductive health care? (Base n = 660)

Aside from abortion, how likely do you think it is that the Supreme Court will rule to restrict access to birth control and reproductive health care?



Interestingly,
Republicans are
least likely to think
Justice Kavanaugh
would vote to
overturn Roe v.
Wade.

Most voters do not want *Roe v.*Wade overturned, including half of Republicans. Republicans are least likely to think Justice Kavanaugh would vote to overturn the decision.

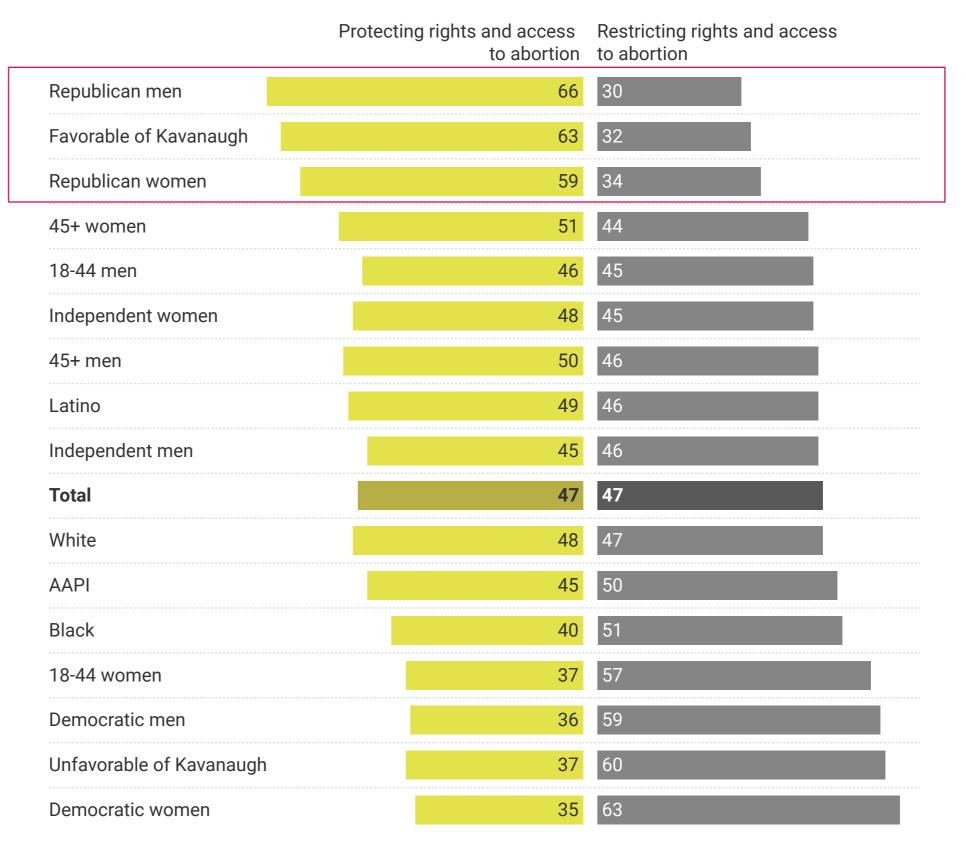


# Republicans are also the segment most likely to think the balance of the Supreme Court leans in favor of

protecting rights and

access to abortion.

#### As far as you know, does the balance of the Supreme Court lean in favor of: (Rotated)



THE CURRENT STATE OF VIEWS TOWARD WOMEN, POWER, AND THE #METOO MOVEMENT.

#### **75%**

of voters think sexism is a big problem or somewhat of a problem in our society. Democratic women are most likely to consider sexism a "big" problem (58%).

#### 8 in 10

respondents say men have more positions of power in our society than women.

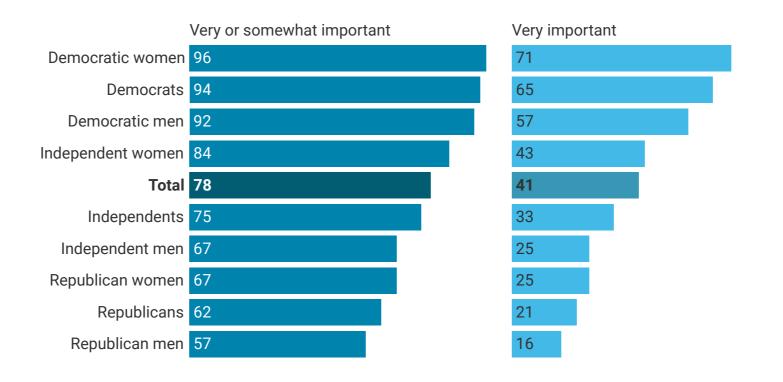
**78%** 

of voters say it is very or somewhat important for state elected officials to work on issues related to women's rights and equality.

# Majorities of voters see sexism as a problem and want officials to address issues around women's rights and equality.

### In your view, how important is it that your state elected officials work on issues around women's rights and equality?

N = 1,319 registered voters



Degrees of intensity vary by party affiliation, then by gender.

Republican women are 10 points more likely than Republican men to consider this work important (67% v. 57%).

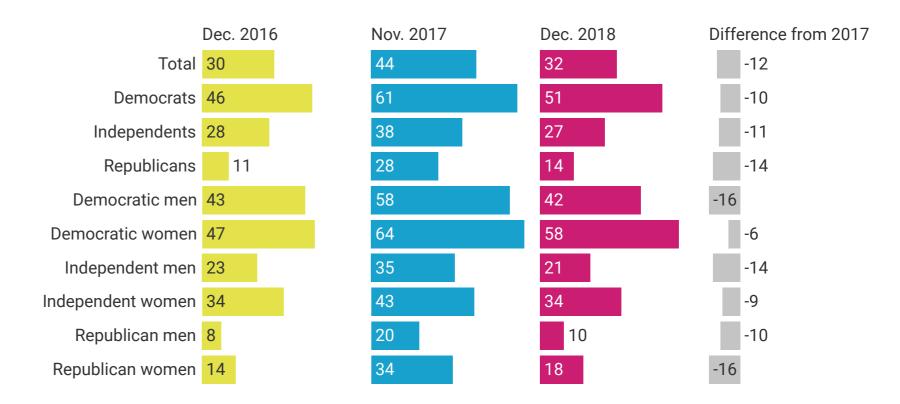
# Perceiving sexism as a "big problem" peaked in the midst of the first wave of #MeToo stories.

Compared to November 2018, fewer voters now consider sexism a "big problem." Among most segments, the proportions look similar to when we measured views right after the 2016 election.

Democratic women remain at relatively high proportions saying sexism is a big problem.

#### How big of a problem is sexism in our society today?

Percent saying big problem



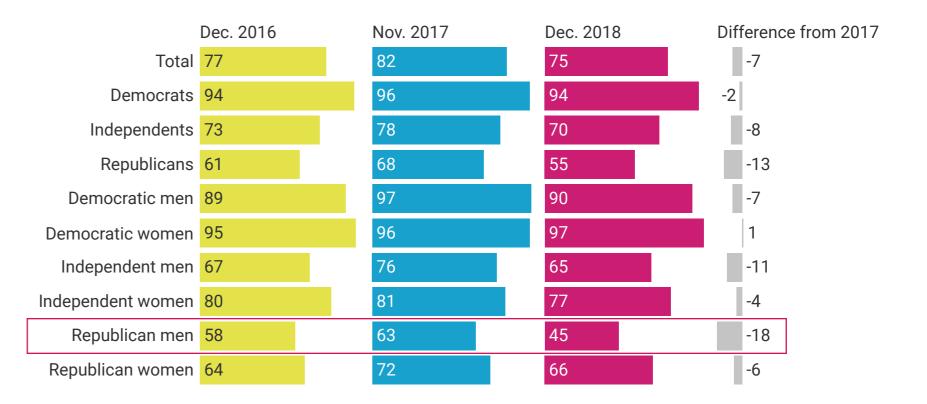
# Republican men have dropped below 2016 levels in perceiving sexism as a problem.

Most voters still say sexism is a big problem or somewhat of a problem in our society.

Interestingly, Republican women stay at levels seen after the 2016 election. Republican men, however, dip below what we found in 2016. Despite the #MeToo movement and the Kavanaugh events (or because of them), Republican men are 13 points less likely to perceive sexism as a problem now compared to two years ago.

#### How big of a problem is sexism in our society today?

Percent saying big problem or somewhat of a problem



# The first wave of #MeToo stories may have been the most powerful cultural influence in recent years to provoke thoughts about sexism.

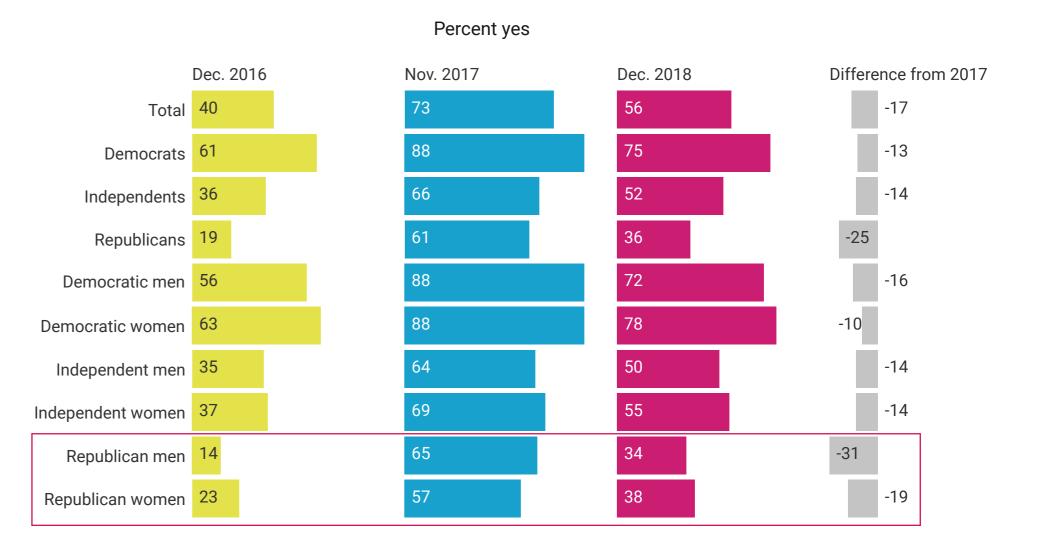
Overall, the data suggest that the first wave of #MeToo stories were more powerful than the Kavanaugh hearings or the 2016 presidential campaign and election in getting voters to think about sexism in our society. One caution: The 2017 survey was fielded during the height of the first wave of #MeToo stories. We may have found a different result if the 2018 survey was fielded immediately after the Kavanaugh hearings.

#### Did \_\_\_\_ make you think more about sexism in our society, or not?

2016: the presidential campaign and election

2017: these [#MeToo] news stories

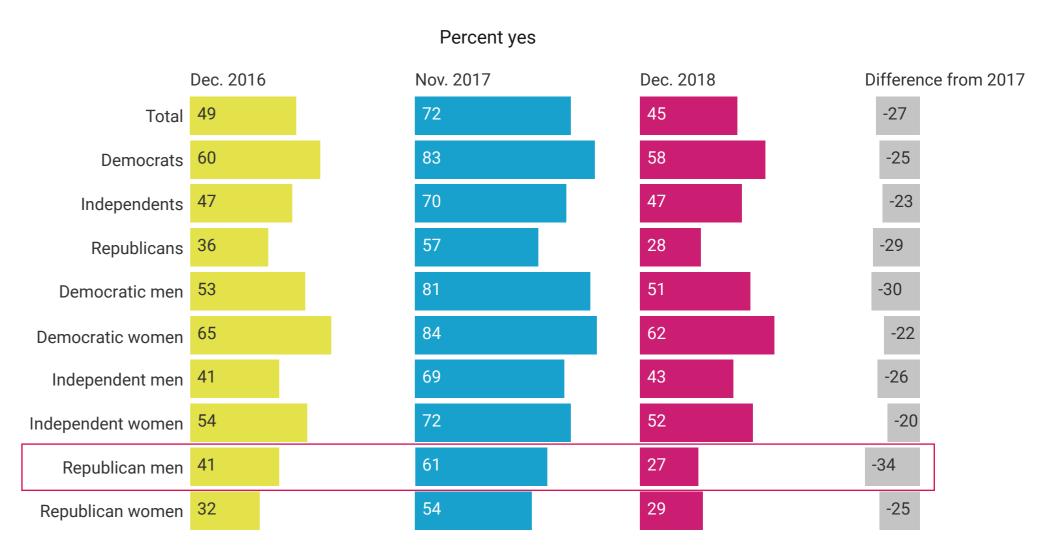
2018: the situation around Dr. Ford and Judge Kavanaugh



# Compared to last year, voters are less likely to report talking to someone about women's equality in the past year.

Republican men are least likely to report talking about gender equality in the past year, down significantly even from 2016.

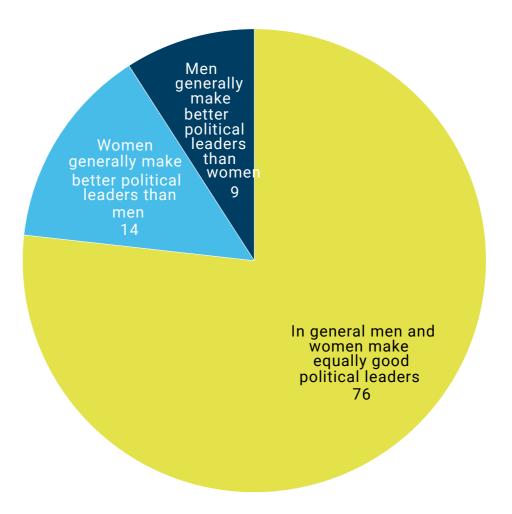
## In the past year, have you talked to a friend or family member about issues related to women's equality?



Most voters say men and women generally make equally good political leaders.

#### Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about men and women as political leaders: (Rotated)

N = 1,319 registered voters



# Compared to 2016, Republican women are now less likely to think men make better political leaders than women.

Only 11% of Republican women voters say men make better political leaders than women, compared to 31% who said so in December 2016. Now, 85% of Republican women say men and women make equally good political leaders (v. 66% in 2016).

# Meanwhile, Democratic and independent women are more likely to think <u>women</u> make better leaders than men.

Compared to 2016, we see a drop in the percentage of Democratic and independent women thinking men and women make "equally good" political leaders and an increase in the proportion saying "women generally make better political leaders than men."

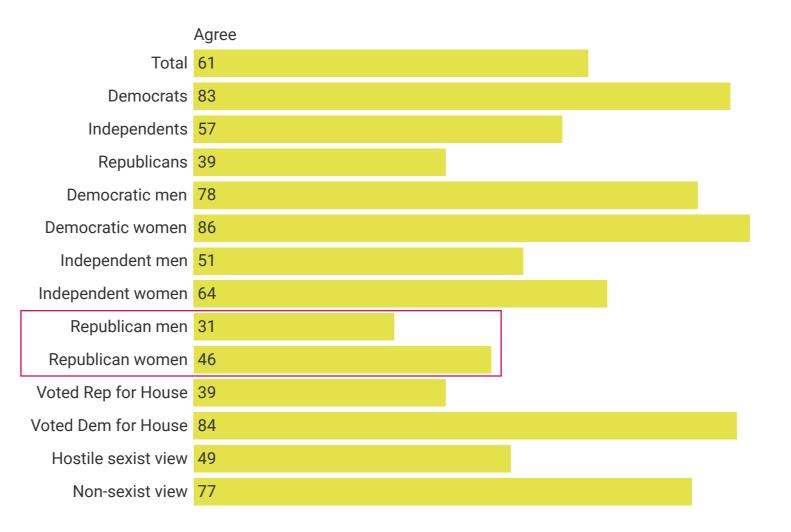
# Which one of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about men and women as political leaders: (Rotated)

In general, men and women make equally good political leaders			Men generally make better political leaders than women			Women generally make better political leaders than men		
2016	2018	Difference	2016	2018	Difference	2016	2018	Difference
Republican women 66  Republicans 66	85 77	19	31	11	-20	1	3	3
Independent men 78	83	5	18	9	-9	4	6	2
Republican men 66	70	4	33	26	-7	1	2	1
Total 77	76	-1	16	9	-7	6	14	8
Independents 81	79	-2	14	7	-7	5	12	7
Democratic men 84	77	-7	9	4	-5	7	18	11
Independent women 83	75	-8	9	5	-4	7	19	12
Democrats 82	72	-10	6	3	-3	12	25	13
Democratic women 80	69	-11	5	2	-3	14	30	16

# Majorities of independent and Democratic voters agree the country would be better off with more women in office.

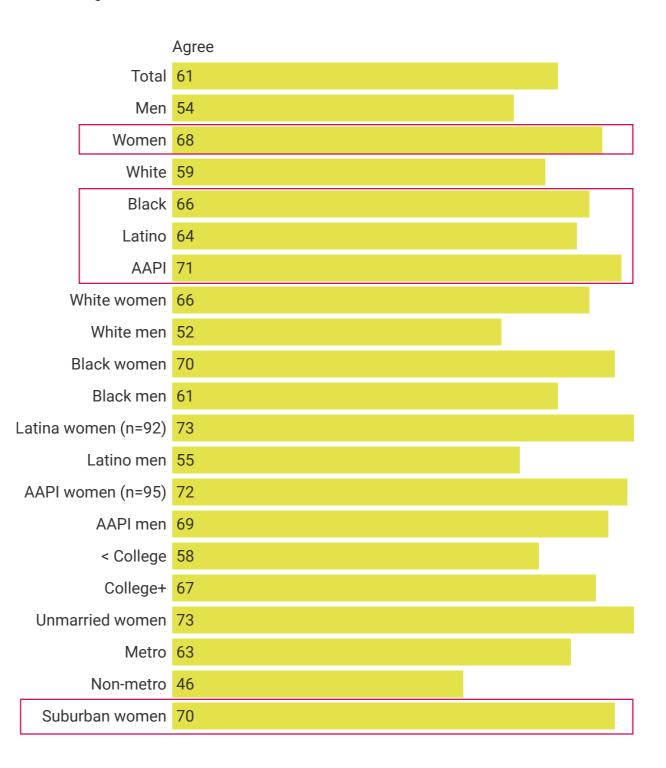
Close to half of Republican women agrees (46%) and just three in ten Republican men agree (31%).

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



Voters of color and women across the board are more likely than men to agree with the statement.

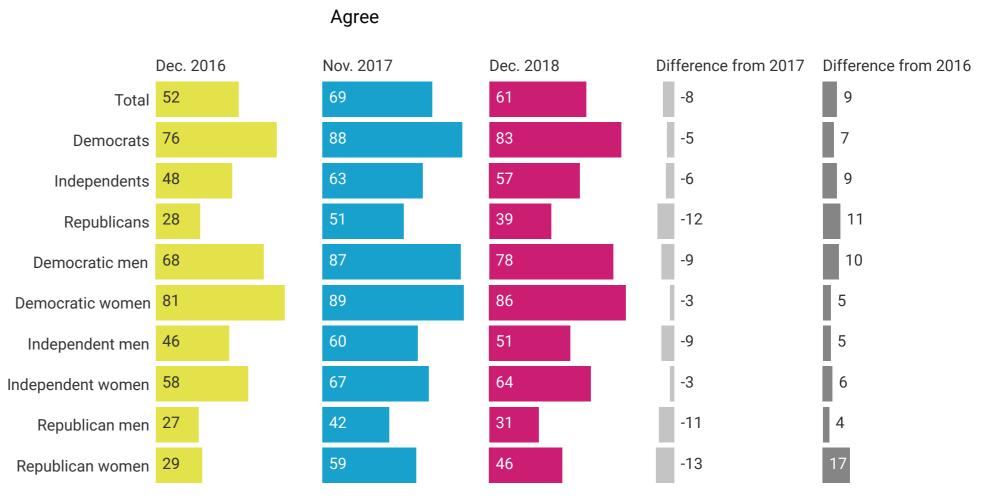
## Do you agree or disagree: "The country would be better off if we had more women in political office."



# We see an eight-point drop in agreement since 2017, primarily from Republicans and men.

Still, every segment is more likely to agree with the statement now than immediately after the 2016 election.

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

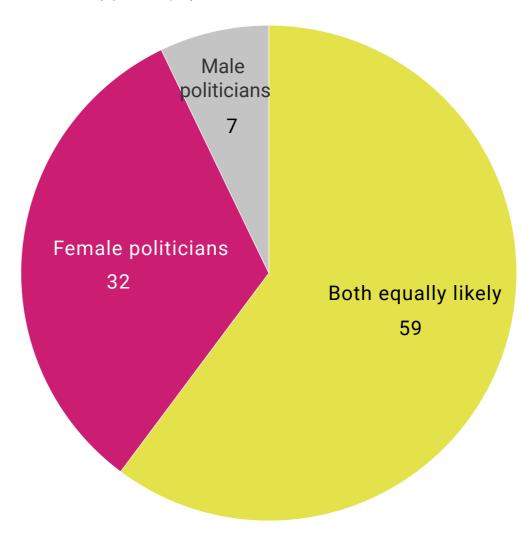


# Who would pass laws to benefit the most people?

Surprisingly, just a small majority of voters (59%) says male and female politicians are equally likely to pass laws that help the largest share of Americans. One in three (32%) says women politicians are more likely to pass laws benefiting the most people, nearly five times the proportion who says men are more likely (7%).

## Who do you think is more likely to pass laws that help the largest number of Americans: (Rotated)

N = 659 registered voters (Split sample)

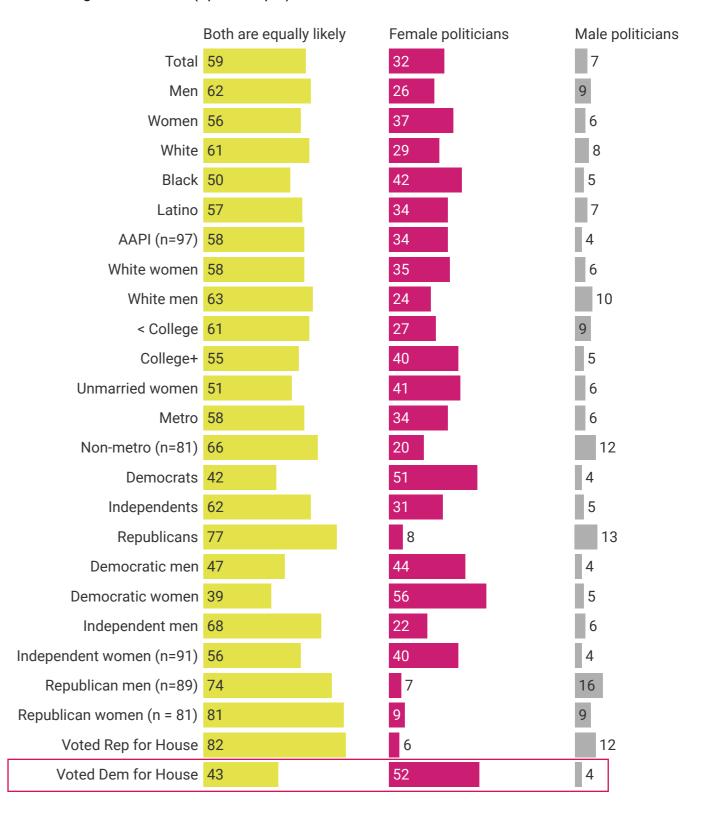


Half of respondents who voted for the Democratic House candidate say women are more likely than men to pass laws that help the largest share of people.

Four in ten Democratic men (44%), Black voters (42%), independent women (40%), and college-educated voters (40%) say women politicians are more likely to benefit the most people.

# Who do you think is more likely to pass laws that help the largest number of Americans: (Rotated)

N = 659 registered voters (Split sample)

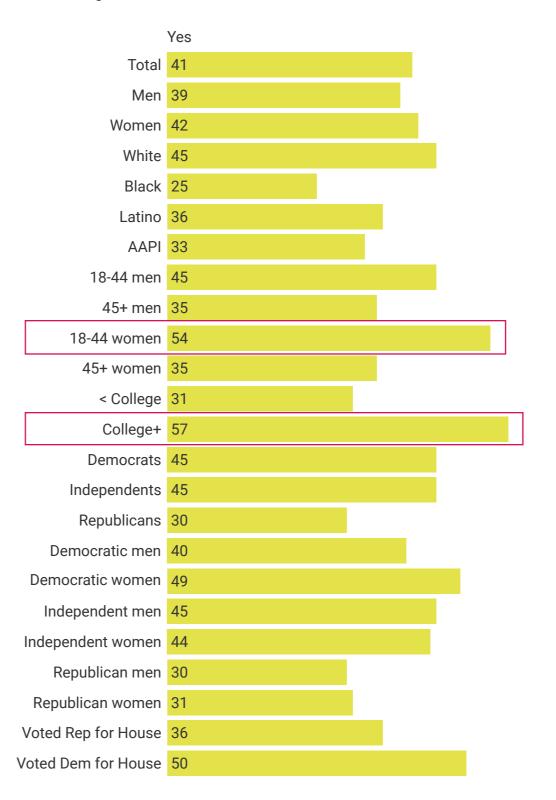


78

### Four in ten respondents say they have heard someone use the term "patriarchy" in the past year.

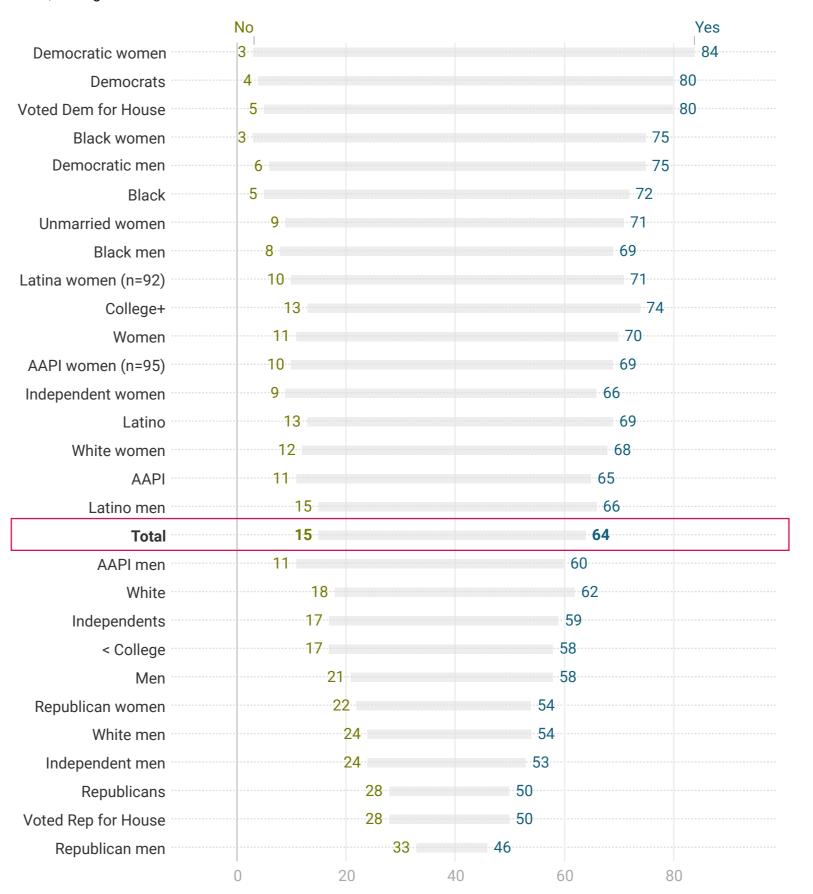
College-educated respondents and women ages 18 to 44 are most likely to say they have heard the term recently.

#### In the past year, have you heard anyone use the word "patriarchy"?



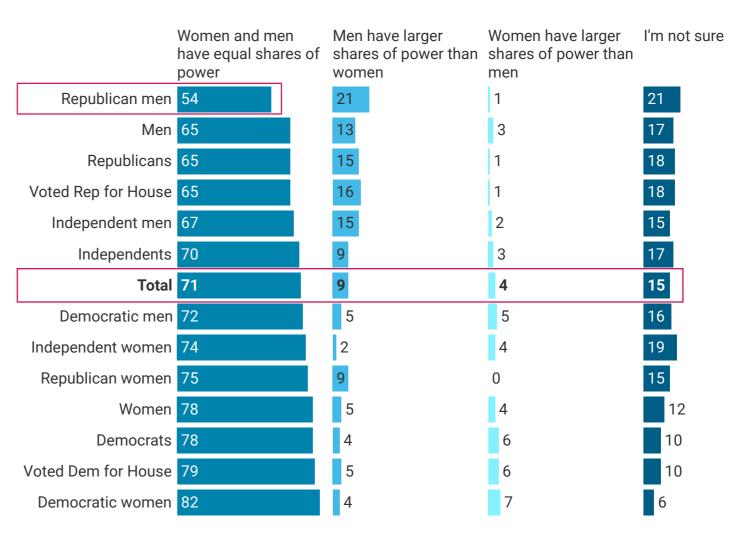
After hearing a definition, 64% of respondents think our society is a patriarchy.

Do you think our society is a patriarchy? A patriarchy is when men have larger shares of power than women across systems in society, such as in government and business.



Republican men are less comfortable than others living in a society with equitable shares of power between women and men.

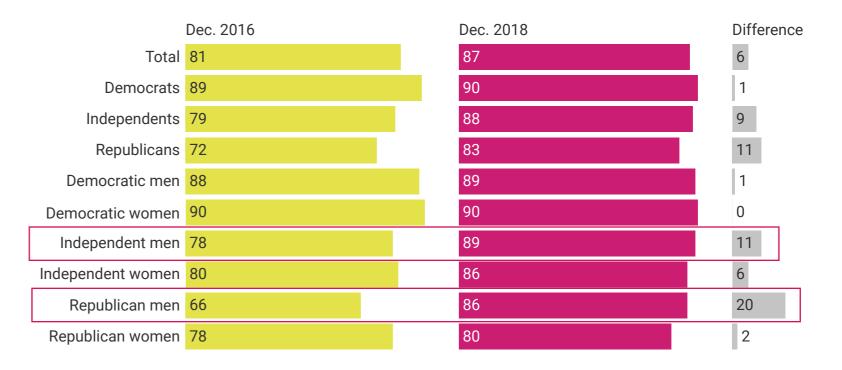
### In general, would you feel most comfortable living in a society where:



Republican and independent men are more likely to see gender disparities in positions of power in the federal government than they were in December 2016.

### Who do you think has more positions of power in the federal government?

Percent who think men have more positions of power

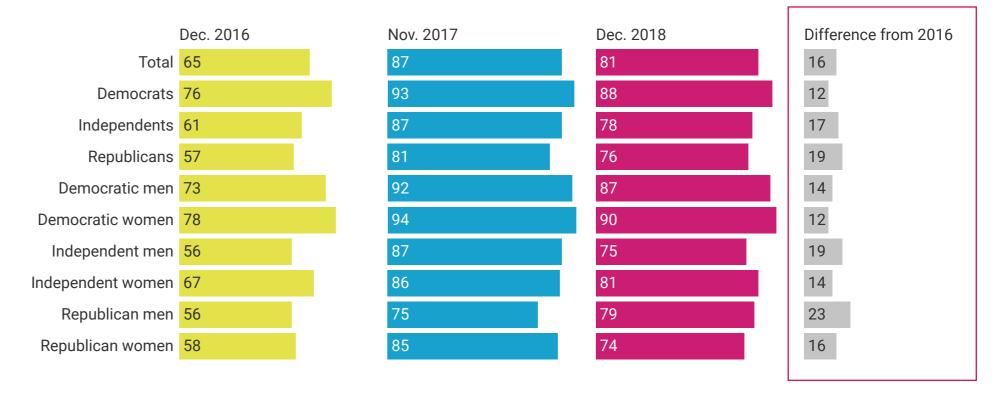


# Perceptions of who has more power in society overall have not changed much from 2017.

But, a major shift in perception occurred between 2016 and 2017. In December 2016, only 56% of Republican and independent men perceived men as having more positions of power in society. In one year, substantial majorities say they saw disparities in power (75% and 87% respectively).

### Who do you think has more positions of power in our society overall?

Percent who think men have more positions of power

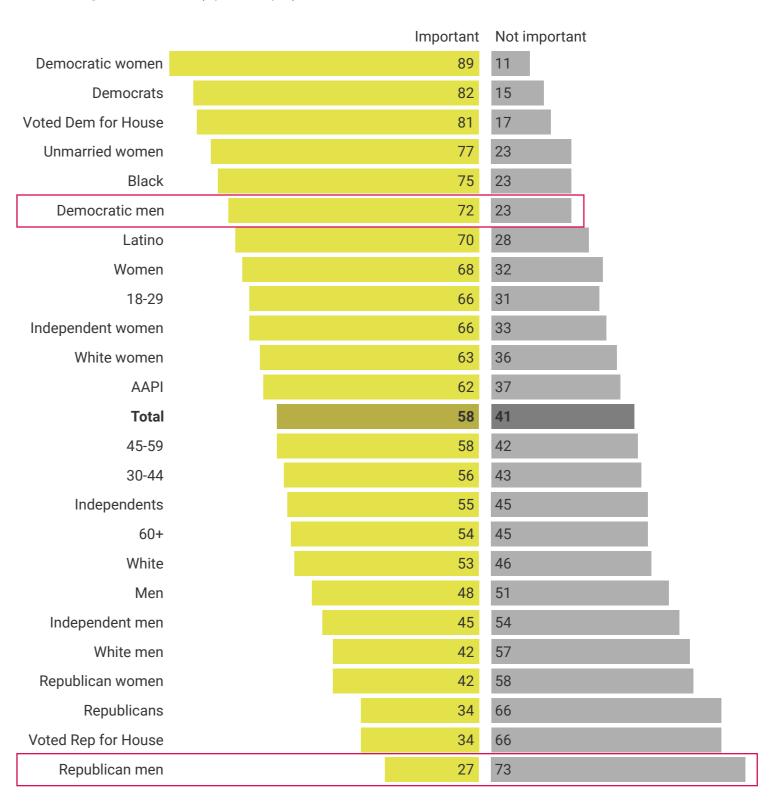


# About 6 in 10 voters say it is important to them personally that there are equal numbers of men and women in positions of power in society.

Republican men and Democratic men are mirror opposites of each other.

### To you personally, how important is it that there are equal numbers of men and women in positions of power in our society?

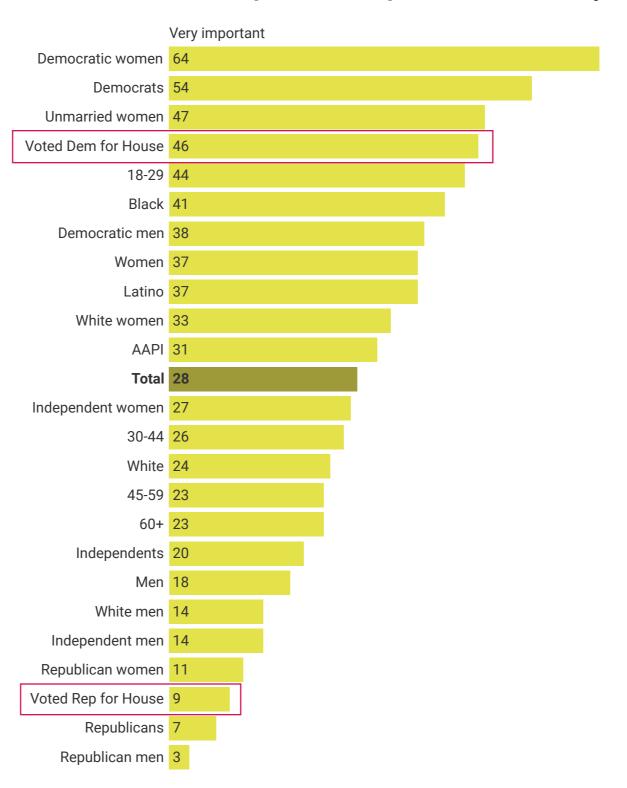
N = 660 registered voters (Split sample)



# Fewer voters say equal representation is "very" important to them.

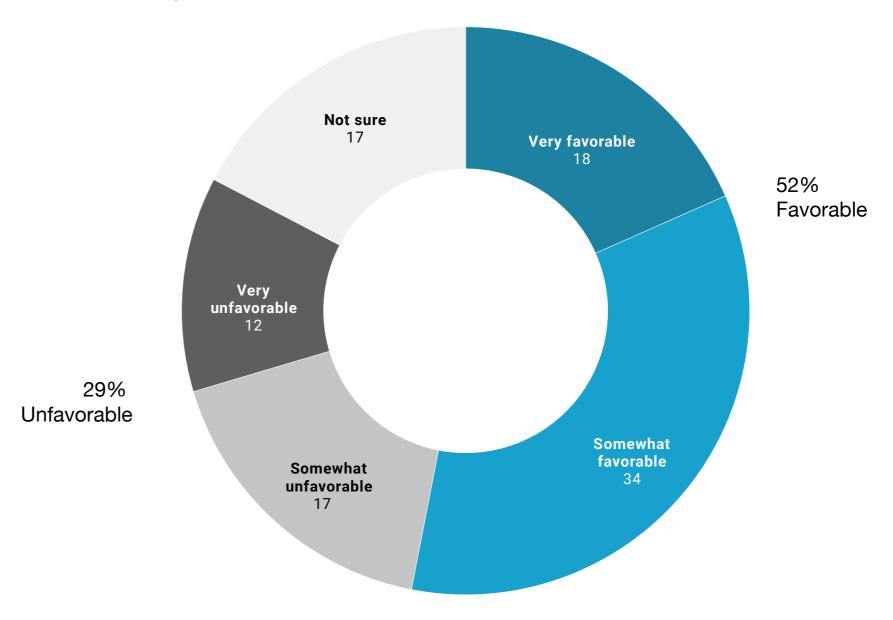
About one in four voters (28%) says it is very important that there are equal numbers of men and women in power. Respondents who voted for the Democratic candidate in the US House race are five times more likely than those voting Republican to say equal representation is very important (46% v. 9%).

## To you personally, how important is it that there are equal numbers of men and women in positions of power in our society?



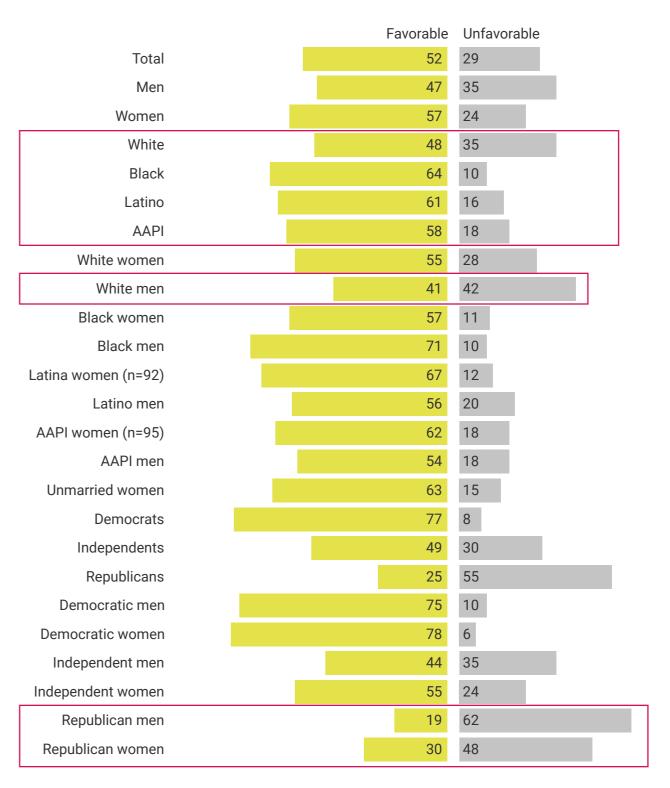
# Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of the #MeToo movement against sexual harassment?

By a +23-point margin, voters are more likely to view the #MeToo movement favorably than unfavorably.



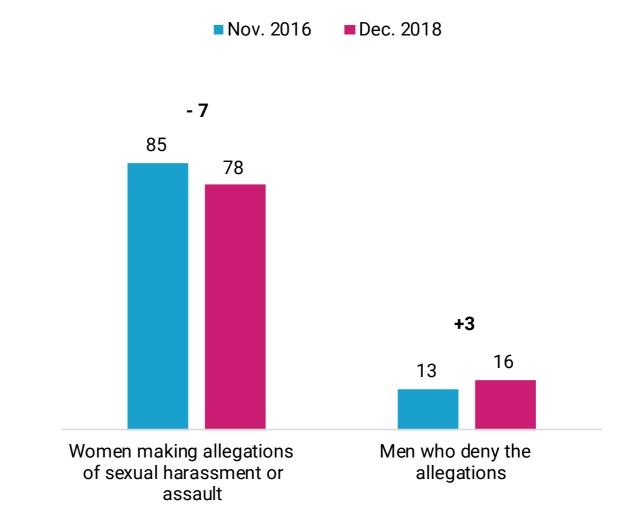
Voters across segments lean favorable toward #MeToo, with the exception of Republicans and white men.

# Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of the #MeToo movement against sexual harassment?



Overall, Justice Kavanaugh's hearings do not appear to have had much impact on who voters say they are likely to believe in allegations of sexual harassment or assault.

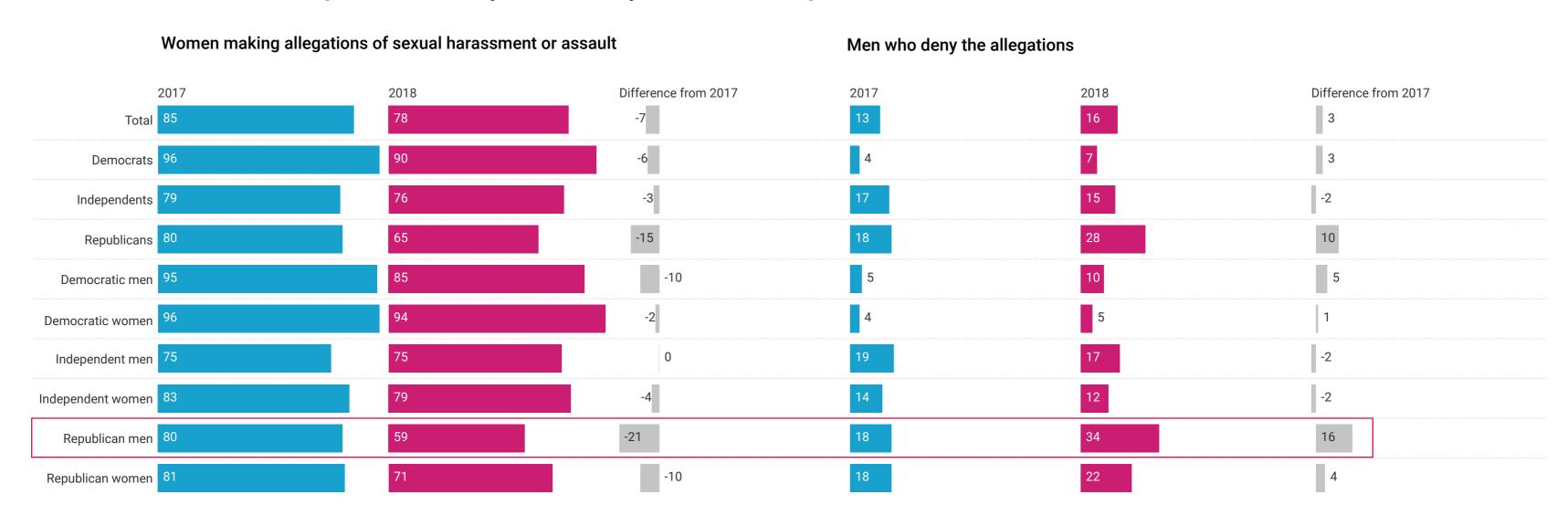
### In general, who are you more likely to believe in allegations of sexual harassment or assault:



### But, we see effects among Republican men.

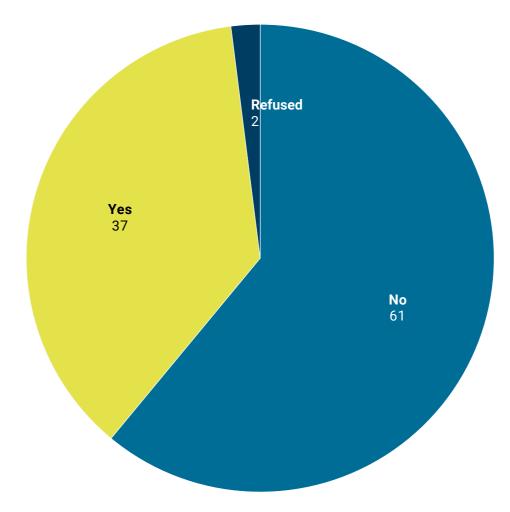
Republican women and Democrat men are also slightly less likely to say they believe women now v. in 2017.

### In general, who are you more likely to believe in allegations of sexual harassment or assault...



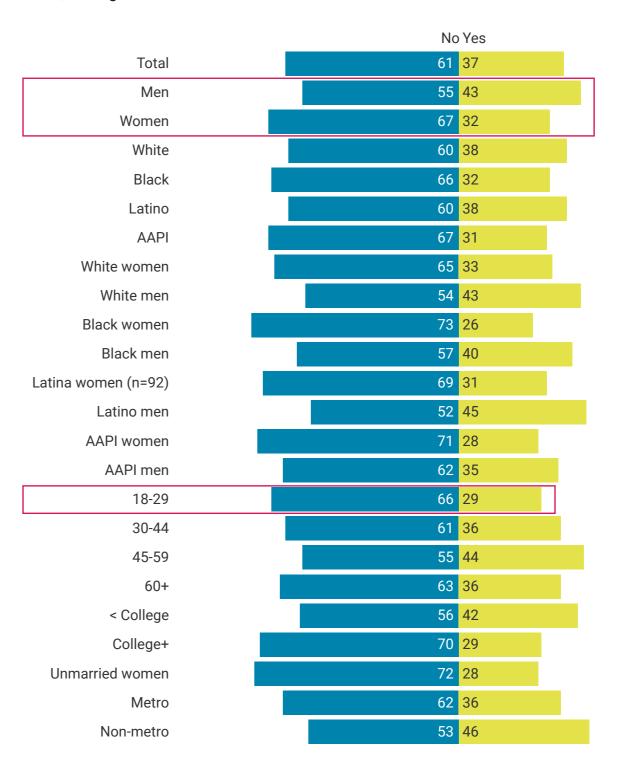
Most voters do <u>not</u> think our culture teaches women to speak up without fear of consequences on their own lives.

Do you think our culture teaches women to speak up about harassment and assault, without fear of the consequences on their own lives?



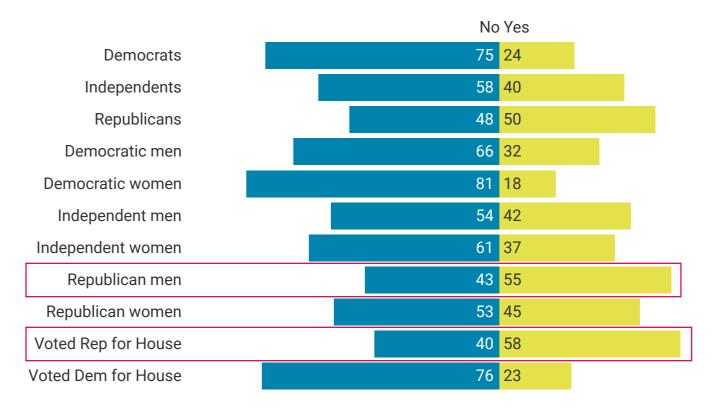
Women across the board and young voters are among the most likely to think our culture does not teach women to speak up without fear.

### Do you think our culture teaches women to speak up about harassment and assault, without fear of the consequences on their own lives?



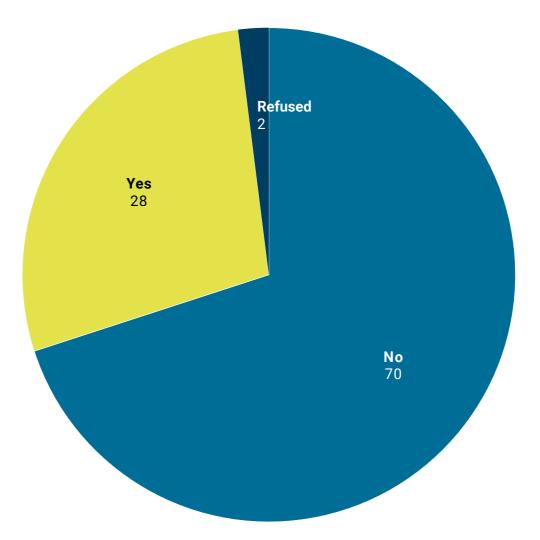
Republican men and respondents who voted for a Republican candidate in the 2018 House race are the only segments among whom a majority thinks our culture <u>does</u> teach women to speak up without fear of consequences.

### Do you think our culture teaches women to speak up about harassment and assault, without fear of the consequences on their own lives?



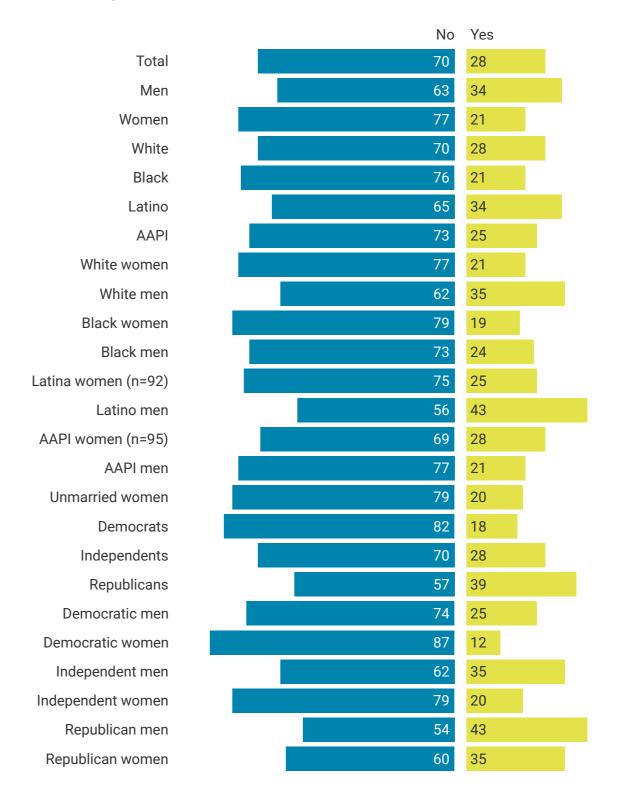
Most voters do not think our culture teaches men how to be thoughtful about how they relate to women when they feel sexual attraction.

# Do you think our culture teaches men to be thoughtful about how they relate to women when they feel sexual attraction?



Majorities across segments say our culture does <u>not</u> teach men how to be thoughtful about relating to women in situations of sexual attraction.

### Do you think our culture teaches men to be thoughtful about how they relate to women when they feel sexual attraction?



### CONCLUSION.

After Justice Kavanaugh was confirmed to the Supreme Court, the public dialogue around the events seemed to vanish.

The effects, however, did not disappear.

In fact, our study suggests these events had profound consequences, measurable and unmeasurable, in both the private and public spheres.

How often does a political event in the news directly cause one in four women voters across the country to re-experience trauma or difficult feelings from their past? What are the outcomes of three in ten women voters relating personally to experiences described as the sexual assault of a teenage girl? What are the personal, public, and civic implications of women across the country processing these feelings?

How often does a political situation in the news compel one in three parents to sit down and talk to their children about sexual assault? What are the lasting effects of those conversations?

What are the effects of voters feeling less tolerant of sexism as a result of the Kavanaugh events? When four in ten Democratic men say they feel less tolerant of sexism in their own lives, how will those feelings manifest? Will these men address sexist remarks when they come up in conversations with friends or coworkers? What are the consequences of those discussions?

What are the electoral consequences, beyond November 2018, of majorities of key voting blocs evaluating gender under-representation, including women of all races and ages, suburban women, college-educated voters, Black men, Latino men, Asian American | Pacific Islander men, Democratic men, Democratic women, independent women, unmarried women, and young voters? What are the consequences of four in ten independent men and one in four Republican women also thinking about men having more power than women in government, as a result of the Kavanaugh events?

Will voters want to elect more women leaders, given that Republican women are now more likely to see women as equal to men in terms of political leadership and many Democrats perceive women to be <u>better</u> than – not just equal to – male politicians in some ways?

Will public opinion toward the Supreme Court shift given a majority of voters thinks one of its newest justices lied under oath in order to get confirmed? How will voters react to decisions if many do not think Justice Kavanaugh is likely to be impartial? How will voters respond if Justice Kavanaugh rules against women's rights or issues related to gender?

One of the most surprising sets of findings from this study is that the Kavanaugh events likely created more space between Republican men and women on issues related to gender equality. While the space is relatively narrow, it is new and not something we have seen in recent years. What happens if Republican men continue to revert backward, or even stay stagnant, while the rest of the country moves forward on gender equality?

Finally, what are the reverberations of the electorate's growing perceptions of power disparities – in societal structures, in the government, in the #MeToo movement, between men and women in experiences of rape and assault, in the justice system, and now in the Supreme Court?

These are research questions we hope to continue exploring in the coming months and years.



For more info:
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