

Clarifying the Role of Racism in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election: Opinion Change, Anti-Immigrant Sentiment, and Vote Choice*

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Abstract: A growing literature points to Donald Trump’s racist comments as a key explanation for his (Electoral College) victory in the 2016 U.S. presidential election. While racial bias was a factor, I propose that this literature has over-estimated how much Trump benefited from his racism. This over-estimate results, in part, from what Lenz (2009, 2012) calls learning effects. Specifically, I argue that not all of the increased relationship between racial attitudes and vote choice in 2016 reflects racially biased voters gravitating to Trump. Some of this relationship stems from voters who shifted their survey responses on questions related to race and immigration to align with their support for Trump or Clinton. I also argue that to fully understand the influence of racial bias in the 2016 election, we must measure anti-immigrant sentiment and racial resentment toward African Americans separately. To test these arguments, I use a unique panel dataset conducted by YouGov of more than 5,000 respondents interviewed at multiple time points during the 2016 presidential election. In addition to showing the hypothesized learning effects, the analysis offers the most compelling evidence yet that attitudes toward African Americans and immigrants mattered in 2016. However, these effects occurred near the end of the campaign and were relatively small, comparable in size to views on gun restrictions and abortion. Nevertheless, given Trump’s narrow Electoral College victory, the effects are potentially electorally significant and they hold implications for how we study elections, the role of the fundamentals in presidential vote choice, and the influence of race and immigration in contemporary U.S. politics

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Donald Trump injected a level of racism into his presidential campaign that many thought impossible in contemporary U.S. politics. He referred to Mexican immigrants as criminals and rapists, he regularly retweeted white supremacists and neo-Nazis, he referred to Senator Elizabeth Warren as “Pocahontas,” and he was slow to distance himself from white supremacists who endorsed him (Bump 2018, Leonhardt and Philbrick 2018, Lopez 2017*a*). Did Trump benefit from this racism?

Conventional wisdom in political science says candidates can benefit from implicit racism, but explicit racism harms political candidates because it violates norms of racial equality (Kinder and Sanders 1996, Mendelberg 2001, Valentino, Hutchings and White 2002).¹ However, Valentino, Neuner and Vandebroek (2018) argue that times have changed and, “Many whites now view themselves as an embattled and even disadvantaged group, and this has led to both strong in-group identity and a greater tolerance for expressions of hostility toward out-groups” (768). As a result, Valentino, Neuner and Vandebroek (2018) conclude that implicit *and* explicit racial appeals now have the same effect, which would suggest that Trump’s racist remarks may have attracted votes.

Indeed, a growing consensus argues that Trump benefited from his overt racism. Researchers have identified other factors that may have also influenced voters in 2016, such as economic conditions (Sides, Tesler and Vavreck 2017) and sexism (Schaffner, MacWilliams and Nteta 2017, Valentino, Wayne and Ocen 2018), but the general consensus argues that Trump attracted votes, and won the Electoral College, because of his racist comments. Summarizing the work of numerous political scientists, German Lopez (2017*b*) wrote, “The past year of research has made it very clear: Trump won because of racial resentment.” McElwee and McDaniel (2017) similarly conclude, “Economic Anxiety Didn’t Make People Vote Trump, Racism Did” and Tesler (2016*b*) finds, “Views about race mattered more in electing Trump than in electing Obama.” These conclusions also align with Mutz’s (2018*b*) emphasis

¹Even Huber and Lapinski (2006, 438), who question some of Mendelberg’s argument agree that, “there are large potential costs and no clear benefits to using explicitly racial language in campaign ads.”

on “status threat.” Mutz argues that “racial status threat makes perfect sense occurring immediately after... America’s first African American president” (3). The implication being that Trump’s racist statements attracted voters feeling racial status threat.² Although the specific mechanisms vary, scholars and journalists overwhelmingly agree that Trump benefited substantially from his racism (Bouie 2016, Dionne, Ornstein and Mann 2017, Enders and Smallpage 2016, Hooghe and Dassonneville 2018, Jacobs 2018, Lamont, Park and Ayala-Hurtado 2017, Morgan and Lee 2018*b*, Schaffner, MacWilliams and Nteta 2017, Sides, Tesler and Vavreck 2017, Tesler and Sides 2016, Tesler 2016*b*, Yglesias 2016).

I aim to build on our understanding of racial bias and voting in U.S. presidential elections in two ways. First, I argue that previous research has over-estimated how much Trump benefited from his racism. This over-estimate results because not all of the increased relationship between racial attitudes and vote choice in 2016 reflects racially biased voters gravitating to Trump. To fully understand the role of racial resentment in the 2016 election we must consider the possibility that some of the increased relationship between racial resentment and Trump support comes from learning Trump’s position and Trump supporters aligning their survey responses with that position (or Clinton supporters moving their responses away from that position). Lenz (2009, 2012) has shown that when the relationship between voters’ policy positions and their vote gets stronger, this change does *not* typically occur because voters changed their vote choice. Instead, voters have learned more about their preferred candidate’s policy positions and shifted their own policy preferences to align with their candidate (Lenz 2009, Lenz 2012). Although this type of “learning” has previously only been applied to issue positions, I argue that the same process can occur with deeply held predispositions like racial resentment.

Second, I argue that given the context of the 2016 election, we must measure anti-immigrant sentiment and racial resentment toward African Americans separately. Although

²Mutz also emphasizes global status threat, but she notes that racial and global status threat are difficult to distinguish empirically. See Morgan and Lee (2018*a*) and Mutz (2018*a*) for additional discussion of status threat and economic interest in the 2016 election.

some scholars have considered attitudes toward immigrants and African Americans separately (Sides 2018), most research on the 2016 election has not treated these as separate concepts. Because ethnocentrism (i.e., in-group favoritism) predicts racial resentment toward African Americans *and* anti-immigrant sentiment (Jardina 2014, Kinder 2003, Kinder and Kam 2009), it is not surprising that many studies consider these two concepts within the same theoretical umbrella (e.g., Mutz 2018*b*, Schaffner, MacWilliams and Nteta 2017). However, because Trump departed much more from his Republican predecessors on the issue of immigration than on the issue of race, there is reason to expect attitudes toward African Americans and toward immigrants to matter for vote choice in unique ways in 2016.

To test these predictions, I use a unique panel dataset conducted by YouGov during the 2016 presidential election.³ The data include more than 5,000 individuals who originally completed an Economist/YouGov survey between May 8 and June 8, 2015 and were re-interviewed multiple times through the 2016 campaign. Because vote intentions and attitudes toward African Americans and immigrants were asked of the same individuals at multiple points during the campaign, it is possible to test whether respondents aligned their views on race and immigration to match their preferred candidate, updated their vote choice to match their predispositions, or both (Lenz 2009, Lenz 2012).

The analysis offers the most compelling evidence yet that attitudes toward blacks and immigrants mattered in 2016. However, these effects occurred near the end of the campaign, are quite small, but potentially electorally significant. While Trump's racism may have mattered, it was only at the margins and in conjunction with many other factors. This is an important conclusion for two reasons. First, if social scientists and journalists over-emphasize the role of racist attitudes in the election, they risk inflaming political divisiveness. Second, over-emphasizing the electoral benefits of racism could lead some conservative politicians to take more extreme positions on race than they otherwise would.

³Details on YouGov survey methodology can be found here: <https://yougov.co.uk/about/panel-methodology/>. YouGov, which conducts the CCES (e.g., Vavreck and Rivers 2008) consistently perform extremely well on a variety of metrics (Rivers 2016).

The findings also uncover evidence of learning. This result suggests that Lenz’ work is much broader than previously thought. Given the complexity of public policies and the limited attention many people pay to political details (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996), it is not surprising that many voters update their policy issue positions to align with the positions of their preferred candidate. However, the analysis reveals that the same process can also occur with survey responses related to deeply held predispositions toward African Americans and immigration. This evidence of learning also holds implications for how we study elections. Cross-sectional analyses will over-state the role of racism and anti-immigrant attitudes. Furthermore, even when panel data are available, controlling for past vote choice is not sufficient. If respondents update their survey responses on questions related to race and immigration to align with their preferred candidate, even if no vote intentions change and we control for past vote choice, the relationship between racial and immigrant resentment and vote choice would still increase. The results also hold implications for how we understand campaign effects. The findings support the conclusion that campaigns do matter (Vavreck 2009), but they also reinforce the importance of the “fundamentals,” in U.S. presidential campaigns (Enns and Richman 2013, Erikson and Wlezien 2012, Gelman and King 1993)

Why Voters’ Views on Race and Immigration May have Changed during the 2016 Campaign

Many scholars have documented a strong correlation between racial resentment and Trump support in surveys (e.g., Schaffner, MacWilliams and Nteta 2017) and that this relationship was stronger than in previous elections (Tesler 2016*b*). These patterns do not, however, mean that Trump’s racist and anti-immigrant comments attracted votes. Lenz (2009, 2012) shows that when survey respondents’ policy preferences become more aligned with their vote intention during a campaign, this typically happens because respondents learned the positions of the candidates, *not* because they switched their support to a can-

didate closer to their positions. Although Lenz focuses on policy positions (like whether to invest social security in the stock market or how much to spend on defense), I propose that the same effect can occur with racial predispositions and anti-immigrant sentiment. That is, if respondents learn their favored candidate is racist, they may adjust their future survey responses to more closely align with the candidate. By contrast, respondents who oppose the racist candidate may adjust their responses away from that candidate. In the context of the 2016 election, even if Trump did not gain a single vote because of his racist comments, we could observe a stronger relationship between racial resentment, immigrant resentment, and Trump support.

At first, it may seem surprising that this type of “learning” can occur with deeply held predispositions toward race and immigration. Given the complexity of issues like privatizing social security or how much to spend on national defense, as well as the limited attention many people pay to political details (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996), it is not surprising that many voters update their policy issue positions to align with the positions of their preferred candidate. However, I propose three “learning” mechanisms that could lead respondents to update their racial attitudes to align with their vote intention during the 2016 presidential campaign. The first is the mechanism identified by Lenz, where respondents get new information during the election about their preferred candidate’s position on the issue. Trump’s consistent anti-immigrant rhetoric can illustrate this mechanism. In previous presidential campaigns, George W. Bush, John McCain, and Mitt Romney actively pursued Latino voters by running campaign ads in Spanish and translating their websites to Spanish. Trump, by contrast, did not do either and declared, “This is a country where we speak English, not Spanish” (Goldmacher 2016). Because previous Republican and Democratic candidates courted Spanish-speaking voters, Trump’s anti-immigrant rhetoric may have provided new information to both Democrats and Republicans about where the parties stood in 2016 on immigration. Second, while underlying predispositions might be deeply held and difficult to move, how these predispositions translate to survey responses on relatively new issues like

Black Lives Matter or building a border wall might be affected by candidates' positions. For example, Trump's many derogatory statements about immigrants and his repeated support for building a board wall may have signaled to voters that support for building a border wall as an anti-immigrant position.

Trump's racist comments could also affect survey responses through a third mechanism, where respondents learn what survey responses are socially acceptable. Despite Donald Trump's startling number of racist actions,⁴ Trump may not have introduced new information about where the parties stand on race. The parties have taken different positions on race since the 1940s, when Republican voters and Republican politicians were less likely than Democrats to support policies that would promote racial equality (Chen 2007, Chen, Mickey and Houweling 2008). The relationship between racial attitudes and partisanship increased during the Civil Rights movement and then strengthened even more during the Obama presidency (Bobo 2017, King and Smith 2011, McAdam and Kloos 2014, Tesler 2016*a*). Well before Trump, if a voter wanted to support a candidate based on his or her racial predisposition, it is unlikely the voter would not know which party was more progressive or regressive on the issue. As noted above, it is possible that Trump's tirades against Black Lives Matter informed voters how this issue aligned with their racial predispositions, but given the extreme statements made by Trump, another type of learning may have also occurred. Pro-Trump survey respondents may have "learned" from Trump that it was socially acceptable to express racial bias in surveys. If so, some of the relationship between racial bias and Trump support in 2016 would reflect Trump supporters who harbored racial animus selecting more extreme survey responses because they felt it was more socially acceptable to express these long-held views in surveys.

⁴For example, Trump was slow to distance himself from the endorsement of David Duke, the former leader of the Ku Klus Klan, Trump's real-estate company tried to avoid renting apartments to African-Americans in the 1970s, and in 1989 Trump took out ads in New York newspapers urging the death penalty for five black and Latino teenagers and then continued to argue they were guilty even after they were exonerated by DNA evidence (Leonhardt and Philbrick 2018, Lopez 2017*a*, Rubin 2016).

Although this study cannot test the separate mechanisms (i.e., learning candidates' positions, learning how new issues align with racial predispositions, or selecting more extreme responses that no longer appear socially unacceptable), together they suggest that even though attitudes toward race and immigration may be deeply held and slow to change, there are reasons to expect that survey responses on these issues shifted during the campaign to become more aligned with preferred candidates.

The above discussion of how Trump departed more from his Republican predecessors on the issue of immigration than on the issue of race also leads to a second argument, which is that to fully understand the relationship between racial attitudes and the 2016 election, we need to consider racial resentment and anti-immigrant attitudes separately. Existing research shows that ethnocentrism (i.e., in-group favoritism) predicts racial resentment *and* anti-immigrant sentiment (Jardina 2014, Kinder 2003, Kinder and Kam 2009) and survey questions that measure attitudes toward blacks and Latino immigrants load onto a single dimension (Enns and Ramirez 2018). Thus, it is not surprising that many studies of the 2016 election consider these two concepts within the same theoretical umbrella. Mutz (2018*b*), for example, identified eight years with an African American president as a source of racial status threat but her analysis focused on attitudes toward immigration to measure this concept. Others have also linked different minority groups. Tesler and Sides (2016), for example, write, "white identity and hostility toward minority groups are propelling Trump" (also see Schaffner, MacWilliams and Nteta 2017, 7-8). While I do not dispute this claim, I argue that to fully understand racial bias in the 2016 election, we should measure racial resentment toward African Americans and immigrant resentment separately in order to allow unique relationships. Although not the focus of the current analysis, this argument could be extended to other groups Trump targeted, such as Muslims. The key point is that despite common links to ethnocentrism, we should allow unique effects when studying the 2016 election.

Analysis: Racial Resentment, Immigrant Resentment, and Support for Trump

Did some voters learn from Trump’s racist and anti-immigrant statements and update their survey responses to align with their vote intention? To answer this question, we need panel data, where the same individuals indicate their vote intentions and their attitudes toward African Americans and immigrants at multiple points during the campaign (Lenz 2009, Lenz 2012). If learning occurs, controlling for previous vote intention or vote choice in the prior election is not sufficient. The problem arises because if respondents update their racial attitudes to align with their preferred candidate, even if no votes change, the strength of the relationship between racial attitude and vote intention will still increase. The value of panel data for studying elections is well known, but previous research on the 2016 election has been limited in its use of panel data. Mutz (2018*b*), for example, was not able to take advantage of the panel structure of her data for the vote choice analysis.⁵ I use a panel survey conducted by YouGov. The survey contains data on over 5,000 panelists who originally completed an Economist/YouGov survey between May 8 and June 8, 2015 and were re-interviewed multiple times through the 2016 campaign. In addition to vote-intentions, the survey also asked questions that measure both racial resentment toward African Americans and toward immigrants at multiple points during the campaign.

Racial Resentment During the Campaign

I begin by considering eight questions from the August wave of the survey that measure attitudes toward African Americans. Table 1, which reports factor loadings, shows that the items all load onto a single factor with an Eigen Value of 4.56 (Cronbach’s alpha=0.91). The two questions shown in bold (support/oppose Black Lives Matter and whether police

⁵Mutz (2018*a*) explains that because 92% of panelists who voted for Barack Obama in 2012 also vote for Clinton in 2016 (Mutz 2018*b*, 4), she cannot use the fixed effects approach used with her feeling thermometer analysis, since only 8% of her observations have variation on the dependent variable with respect to time. While this decision is understandable, it means her vote choice analysis does not take advantage of the panel structure of the data.

Table 1: Factor Loadings of the Racial Attitude Questions in the YouGov Survey

Oppose the movement called Black Lives Matter	0.833
Blacks have gotten less then they deserve (Disagree)	0.833
Blacks should work their way up	0.828
Generations of slavery and discrimination matter (Disagree)	0.821
If Blacks would only try harder	0.814
Killings of African-American men by police are isolated incidents	0.753
Affirmative action programs... bad thing	0.692
Disapprove of marriage between blacks and whites	0.312

N=2,477; Items load onto a single factor (Eigen Value = 4.56).

All questions were asked in the August wave of the survey.

Questions in bold were asked in two survey waves.

killings of African Americans were isolated incidents or part of a larger pattern) were asked twice during the campaign. The first time in the February wave, which followed the Iowa Caucus, and then again in the August wave, just over 2 months prior to the election. Table 1 shows these questions load strongly onto the underlying dimension (0.83 and 0.75), suggesting that these questions are important indicators of racial resentment toward African Americans. Thus, while these specific questions relate to Black Lives Matter and police killings, I also refer to these questions as indicators of racial animus or resentment toward African Americans.

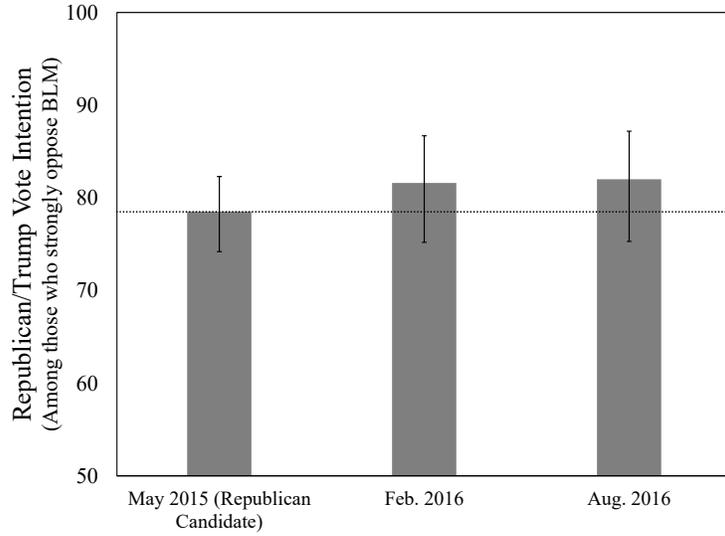
To get an initial sense of whether Trump benefited electorally from his racism, I examine vote intentions during the campaign among those who consistently indicated they strongly opposed BLM and consistently thought police killings of African Americans were isolated incidents. If Trump’s racist comments attracted voters, we would expect that Trump’s share of the vote would increase during the campaign among these individuals.

Figure 1 reports Trump’s vote share in May 2015, February 2016, and August 2016. Often, vote intentions are reported as the percent supporting a particular candidate out of the two-party vote (i.e., among those who indicated an intention for either the Republican or Democratic candidate). However, because most changes in vote intention during a campaign occur among those who have not expressed support for the Democratic or Republican can-

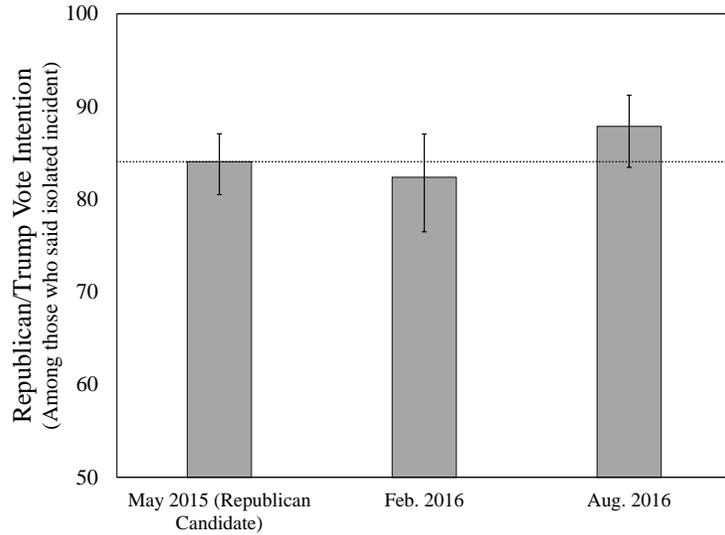
didate, the percentages in Figure 1 include those who indicated they were undecided, voting for another candidate, or not voting. Figure 1 includes May 2015 because this survey precedes Trump’s official entrance into the campaign on June 16, 2015. The May vote intention question does not mention any candidates. Instead it asks, “If an election for president was going to be held now, would you vote for the Democratic Party candidate or the Republican Party candidate?” Because Trump had not even entered the race, this question offers a baseline of support for the Republican candidate independent of any support based on Trump’s racist comments. The other two surveys (Feb. 2016 and Aug. 2016) were selected because the BLM and police shooting questions were asked during these waves, which allows us to measure Trump support and racial animus at the same time.

Between May of 2015 and August 2016, we see no evidence that support for Trump increased among those harboring the most racial resentment. The differences in Trump support are small and not statistically different among both those strongly opposing Black Lives Matter (Panel a) and those who view police killings of African Americans as isolated incidents (Panel b). Even though Trump attacked Black Lives Matter repeatedly during this period, calling them a “threat” and accusing the group of “essentially calling death to the police” (Campbell 2015, Diamond 2016, Heer 2016), those who expressed the most racial resentment did not become more supportive of Trump. At least during the first year of Trump’s campaign, those most likely to increase their support for Trump due to his racist comments show no evidence of doing so. Instead, the results from May 2015 suggest that those who expressed the most racial animus in surveys were already predisposed to support any Republican candidate.

Figure 2 offers a preliminary assessment of the learning hypothesis (Lenz 2009, Lenz 2012), by plotting the percent who strongly oppose BLM and think police killings of African Americans are isolated incidents among those indicating a Trump vote intention in both January and August (panels a and c on the left) and among those indicating a Clinton vote intention in both surveys (panels b and d along the right). Not surprisingly, those who



(a) Strongly Oppose BLM



(b) Police Shootings Isolated Incidents

Figure 1: The percent indicating a Republican/Trump vote intention during the campaign among those who strongly opposed black lives matter (Panel A) and those who thought recent police killings of African Americans were isolated incidents (Panel B) in both Jan. and Aug. 2016 (white respondents)

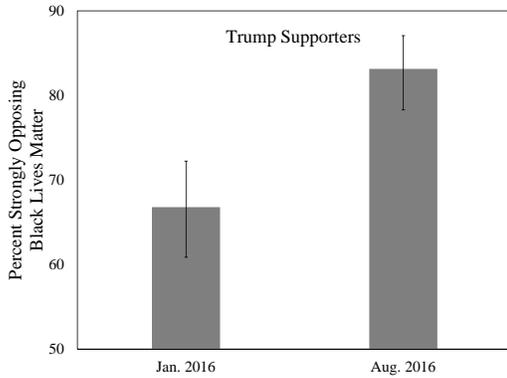
consistently supported Trump were much more opposed to BLM and much more likely to view police killings of African Americans as isolated incidents than those who consistently supported Clinton. The y-axis for Trump supporters ranges from 50 to 90% and the y-axis for Clinton supporters ranges from 0 to 40%, so the differences are even more substantial

than they appear. What is most notable, however, is that opposition to Black Lives Matter among Trump supporters (Panel a) increased by about 16 percentage points during this period. Together Figures 1 and 2 suggest that those opposed to BLM did not become more supportive of Trump as he continually attacked the movement. Instead, those who *already* supported Trump became more opposed to BLM. The percent of Trump supporters indicating they thought police killings of African Americans were isolated incidents also increased slightly during this period, but the difference is not statistically significant. There is no evidence that Clinton supporters adjusted their views of BLM or police shootings during this period.

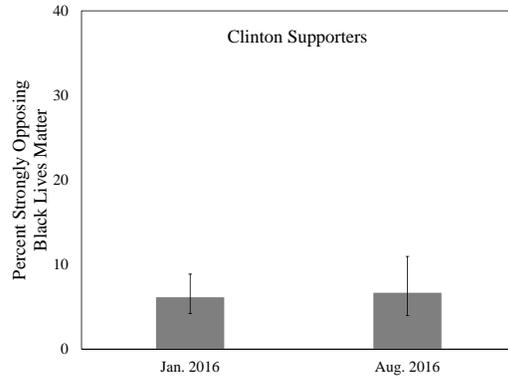
Table 2 offers another look at these relationships. The first two columns estimate the relationship between opposition to Black Lives Matter (Column 1) and the belief that police killings of African Americans are isolated incidents (Column 2) and past vote intentions, past issue positions, past partisanship, and past political ideology. If vote intentions change during the campaign, they are more likely to change from undecided or not planning to vote, so past vote intentions include respondents who indicated these options. Past issue positions come from the January wave. All other past variables were measured in the February wave. All variables are recoded to range from 0 to 1.

Consistent with the patterns above, even when controlling for past issue positions, partisanship, and political ideology, those who expressed a Trump vote intention just after the Iowa Caucus in February 2016 were more likely to strongly oppose BLM and to view police killings of African Americans as isolated incidents six months later. This relationship offers evidence of learning (Lenz 2009, Lenz 2012). Those who supported Trump early in the campaign were more likely to oppose BLM and to view police killings of African Americans as isolated incidents later in the campaign.

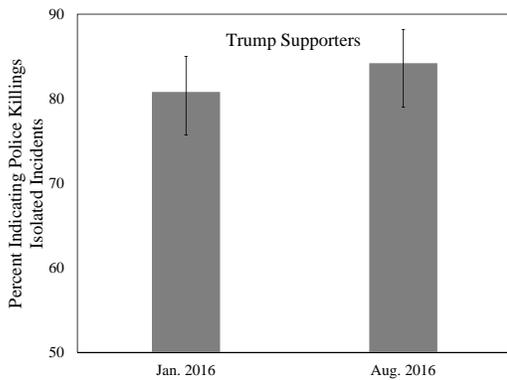
Columns 3 and 4 examine whether past issue positions predict August vote intentions. Although the coefficients are positive (0.76 and 0.20), they are imprecisely estimated and



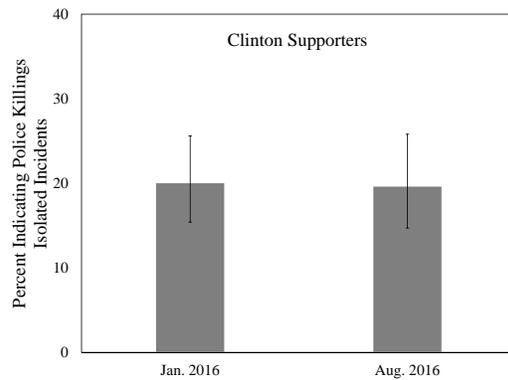
(a) Oppose BLM, Trump Supporters



(b) Oppose BLM, Clinton Supporters



(c) Police Killings Isolated, Trump Supporters



(d) Police Killings Isolated, Clinton Supporters

Figure 2: The percent indicating they strongly oppose Black Lives Matter or they think police killings of African Americans are isolated incidents during the campaign among those who indicated a vote intention for Trump in both Feb. and Aug. 2016 or for Clinton in both Feb. and Aug. 2016 (white respondents).

Note: February used for vote intentions because vote intentions were not asked in the January wave (when the BLM and police killing questions were asked).

the confidence intervals overlap zero. In other words, we cannot conclude that a relationship exists between past views on Black Lives Matter and police killings of African Americans and August vote intentions. Despite months of attacking BLM, even after the Republican National Convention no evidence emerges to support the widely held belief that Trump benefited electorally from his racism. Below, I consider the possibility that his racism mattered on Election Day, but first I consider the effects of anti-immigrant sentiment during the campaign.

Table 2: Racial Attitudes: Respondents Appear to Change their Issue Positions to Match their Previous Vote Intention (Columns 1 & 2), *Not* Changing their Vote to Match their Previous Issue Positions (Columns 3 & 4)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	<i>Issue Position</i>		<i>Vote Intention</i>	
	BLM	Police Killings	BLM	Police Killings
Lagged Trump Vote Intention	1.08*	0.93*	4.57*	4.63*
	(0.26)	(0.30)	(0.54)	(0.53)
Lagged Other Vote Intention	0.29	0.07	1.16	1.18
	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.67)	(0.68)
Lagged No Vote Intention	-0.02	0.01	2.23*	2.45*
	(0.30)	(0.42)	(0.69)	(0.67)
Lagged Issue Position	5.75*	2.78*	0.76	0.20
	(0.45)	(0.30)	(0.83)	(0.31)
Lagged Partisanship	0.84*	0.56	3.19*	3.30*
	(0.40)	(0.44)	(1.23)	(1.22)
Lagged Ideology	1.24*	1.78*	3.91*	3.99*
	(0.45)	(0.49)	(0.96)	(0.96)
N	1,485	1,488	1,144	1,143

*= $p < 0.05$; Data from Jan. and Aug. 2016, white respondents only.

All variables re-scaled to range from 0 to 1. Survey weights used.

Clinton is the baseline vote intention category.

Immigrant Resentment During the Campaign

I argued above that despite both being rooted in ethnocentrism (Jardina 2014, Kinder 2003, Kinder and Kam 2009), in the context of the 2016 campaign, anti-immigrant and anti-black sentiment must be measured separately. The YouGov survey included four questions that relate to immigration attitudes. As with the analysis of racial resentment toward African Americans, I begin by seeing how responses to these four questions relate to each other. Table 3 shows that the four questions all load strongly onto a single factor (Eigen Value = 2.24, alpha = 0.85). The two questions in bold (Which comes closest to your view about “illegal” immigrants who are living in the U.S.? and Do you favor or oppose building a wall across the entire U.S. border with Mexico?) were asked more than once to respondents, so these will be the focus of the analysis.

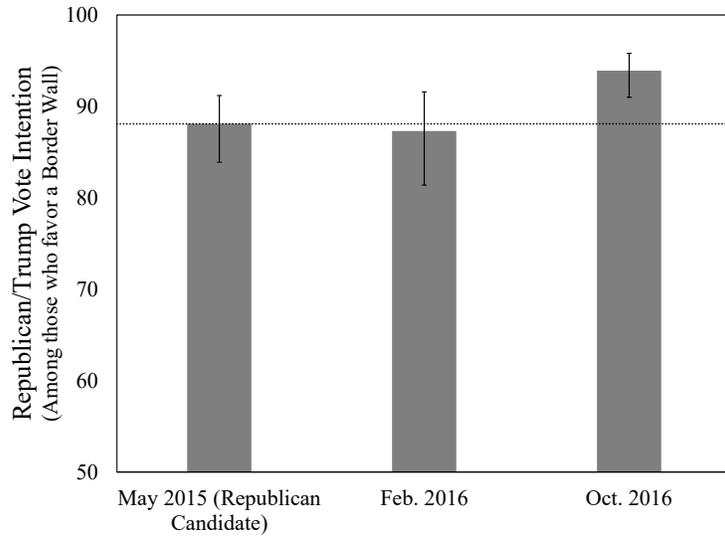
Table 3: Factor Loadings of the Immigrant Attitude Questions in the YouGov Survey

“Illegal” immigrants should be required to leave	0.796
Favor building a wall	0.755
Immigration hurts the United States	0.741
Undocumented immigrants should be required to leave	0.700
Items load onto a single factor (Eigen Value = 2.24). N=1,908	
Questions from June, August, and September 2016 waves.	
Questions in bold were asked in two survey waves.	

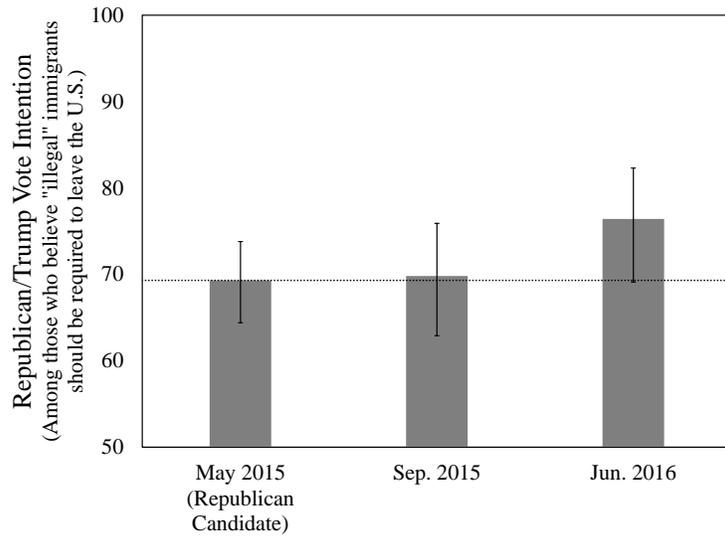
Figure 3 considers Trump vote intentions among those who consistently favored building a border wall and those who consistently indicated “illegal” immigrants should be required to leave the country. In contrast to the results above, it appears that those who consistently took anti-immigrant positions gravitated toward Trump. No differences in Trump support emerge between May 2015 and February 2016 among those favoring a border wall or between May and August 2015 among those who think “illegal” immigrants should be required to leave, but by October 2016 and August 2016, respectively, we see that support for Trump among these groups had increased.

Figure 4 considers the learning hypothesis. As above, we see some evidence of learning, but this time it is Clinton supporters (Panel b), who decrease their support for building a border wall by about 12 percentage points from February to October 2016. Trump supporters, by contrast (Panels a and c), consistently express anti-immigrant sentiment. As with Figure 2, the overall differences between Trump and Clinton supporters are greater than they appear given the differences in scales on the y-axis.

As with racial attitudes, I also conduct a statistical analysis to re-examine the above relationships, controlling for partisanship and political ideology. Again, the results largely reinforce the patterns in the Figures above, showing both learning and vote shifting effects related to immigration. Those who previously supported Trump became more likely to support building a border wall and those who previously supported a border wall or requiring immigrants to leave became more likely to support Trump.

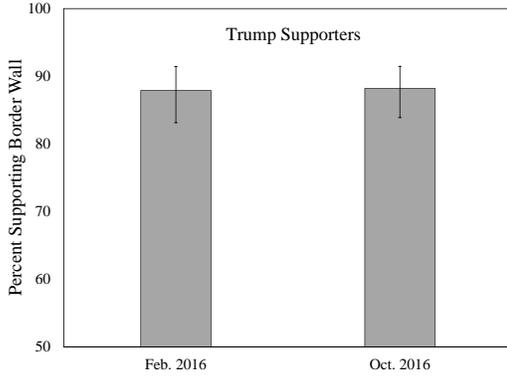


(a) Favor Border Wall

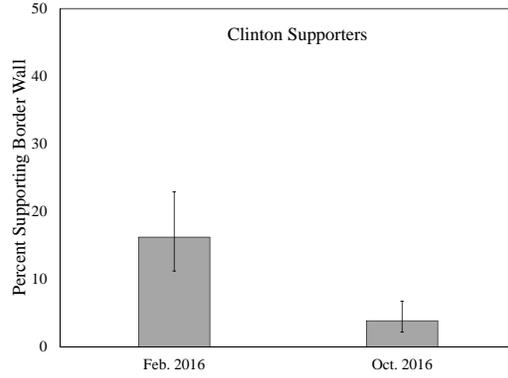


(b) Immigrants Should Leave

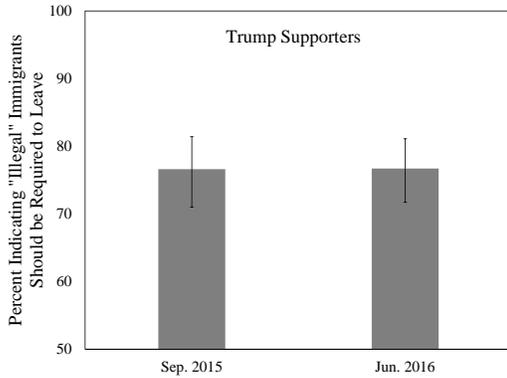
Figure 3: The percent indicating a Republican/Trump vote intention during the campaign among those who favored building a border wall in both Feb. 2016 and Oct. 2016 (Panel A) and those who thought “illegal” immigrants should be required to leave the United States in both Sep. 2015 and Jun. 2016 (Panel B) (white respondents)



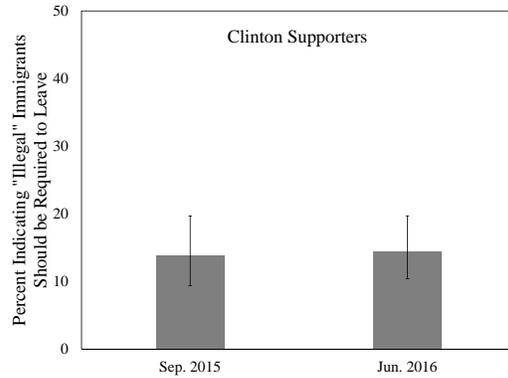
(a) Favor Border Wall, Trump Supporters



(b) Favor Border Wall, Clinton Supporters



(c) Immigrants Should Leave, Trump Supporters



(d) Immigrants Should Leave, Clinton Supporters

Figure 4: The percent indicating they favor building a border wall in both Feb. and Oct. 2016 or they think “illegal” immigrants should be required to leave in Sep. 2015 and Jun. 2016 among those who indicated a vote intention for Trump or for Clinton at both time points (white respondents only).

Note: Vote intentions come from August 2015 for the first immigrant should leave response because vote intentions were not asked in the September wave.

Table 4: Immigration Attitudes: Respondents Appear to Change their Issue Positions to Match their Previous Vote Intention (Columns 1 & 2), *And* Change their Vote to Match their Previous Issue Positions (Columns 3 & 4)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	<i>Issue Position</i>		<i>Vote Intention</i>	
	Border Wall	Immigrants Leave	Border Wall	Immigrants Leave
Lagged Trump Vote Intention	1.78*	0.27	3.72*	3.31*
	(0.38)	(0.32)	(0.54)	(0.59)
Lagged Other Vote Intention	0.01	-0.80	1.34	2.41*
	(0.46)	(0.42)	(0.71)	(0.72)
Lagged No Vote Intention	0.03	0.55	1.38*	1.13*
	(0.45)	(0.41)	(0.66)	(0.63)
Lagged Issue Position	3.58*	4.76*	2.06*	2.51*
	(0.37)	(0.35)	(0.52)	(0.62)
Lagged Partisanship	0.37	-0.24	2.31*	3.37*
	(0.54)	(0.49)	(0.72)	(0.87)
Lagged Ideology	2.57*	2.15*	4.48*	3.56*
	(0.64)	(0.76)	(1.01)	(1.27)
N	1,504	1,139	1,259	670

*=p<0.05; Data from Feb. and Oct. 2016 (Border Wall) and Sept. 2015 and June 2016 (Immigration).

All variables re-scaled to range from 0 to 1. Survey weights used.

Clinton is the baseline vote intention category.

Estimating the relationship between Racial and Immigrant Resentment and Final Vote

The previous analysis covers a large and important part of the 2016 presidential campaign. But the period was limited to survey waves that included measures of vote intentions and attitudes toward African Americans or immigrants so that both learning and vote change could be evaluated. Thus, that analysis cannot speak to whether attitudes toward African Americans or immigrants influenced final vote choice. To analyze final vote choice, I turn to the post-election survey. The post-election survey captured the final vote share with a high degree of accuracy (just 0.2% off the actual vote share), suggesting this final wave offers a valid indication of final vote choice.⁶

The independent variables come from the February wave of the survey. The model includes both vote intentions and measures of racial and immigration attitudes, making it possible to estimate the relationship between past racial and immigration attitudes controlling for past vote intentions. In column 1, we see evidence that controlling for past (February) vote intentions, partisanship, and political ideology, opposition to Black Lives Matter and Support for building a border wall predict a Trump vote. Column two presents a more parsimonious model that drops the non-significant variables (police killings of African Americans are isolated incidents and “illegal” immigrants must leave) from the model. The Remaining relationships are consistent with column 1.

To get a sense of the potential magnitude of these racial and immigration resentment effects, we need to consider the proportion of individuals who *could* change their vote. Those who indicated “other” or that they would not vote are the most likely to shift toward a Trump vote in November.⁷ Approximately 18 percent of respondents fit this category. However, not all of these respondents expressed opposition to Black Lives Matter or support

⁶Specifically, 48.4% of respondents indicate a Clinton vote in the final wave (the actual share was 48.2%) and 45.9% indicated a Trump vote (the actual share was 46.1%).

⁷More than 96% of those who indicated a vote intention for Clinton indicated they voted for Clinton following the campaign.

for building a wall. If we multiply the percent of those who expressed racial or immigration resentment times those who indicated “other” or would not vote, we find that about 8 percent of respondents could have shifted their vote toward Trump due to racial or immigration resentment. However, there is not a deterministic relationship between racial/immigration resentment and a shift toward Trump. The predicted probability is a under 0.3. Putting this all together, the results in Column 2 suggest that, all else equal, about 2 to 3 percent of the sample could have shifted their vote toward Trump due to racial/immigrant resentment. While this is certainly enough to swing the election result, it represents a very small portion of the electorate.

Column 3 adds additional control variables for demographic characteristics (education level, family income, employment status, age, and gender) and other policy positions (opposition to gun restrictions, abortion, and minimum wage). Three findings stand out. First, the estimated relationships for income and employment status are not statistically different from zero, suggesting that the narrative of the working class white voter does not receive support from the data. Second, the results for opposition to Black Lives matter and immigrants must go are robust, even with these additional controls. Third, the estimated relationship between opposition to gun regulations and opposition to abortion are of similar magnitude to the racial and immigration resentment questions (recall that all variables have been scaled to range from 0 to 1, allowing the coefficients to be compared). These similar coefficient sizes offer further insight into the magnitude of the racial/immigration resentment relationships. While there have been numerous headlines that have emphasized the role of racism in the 2016 election, very few headlines have focused on standard partisan issues such as abortion or gun control. This is an important omission. A more appropriate narrative for 2016 might be that despite Trump’s racism, partisanship, political ideology, and partisan issues dominated vote choice.

Also of note, across all three models, those who indicated other (i.e., neither support for Clinton nor Trump) or would not vote in February were significantly more likely to

indicate voting for Trump in the election. Some research argues that these individuals were late deciders (Kennedy, Blumenthal, Clement, Clinton, Durand, Franklin, McGeeney, Miringoff, Olson, Rivers, Saad, Witt and Wlezien 2018), perhaps influenced by late-breaking campaign information. Wlezien and Soroka (2018), by contrast, show that media effects during the final weeks of the campaign had little to no effects on the outcome. Consistent with this latter perspective, Enns, Lagodny and Schuldt (2017) have shown that those who appeared to “break late” for Trump were identifiable earlier in the campaign. They refer to these individuals as “hidden Trump supporters” because they were identifiable in advance of Election Day even though they were yet to directly express support for Trump (also see, Enns and Schuldt 2016). To try to shed additional light on these perspectives, I analyzed the political ideology of those indicating an other vote or would not vote in the February wave. The percent indicating they were conservative or very conservative was 55 percent among other and 40 percent among would not vote. The corresponding percentages for liberal or very liberal were just 8 and 13 percent, respectively. We cannot know for sure when these individuals made up their mind, but consistent with Enns, Lagodny and Schuldt (2017), the conservative ideology among those not expressing a vote intention for either Clinton or Trump suggests that this group was already more likely to lean toward Trump over Clinton in February of 2016.

Table 5: The Relationship between Resentment toward African Americans and Immigration on Trump Vote

	(1)	(2)	(3)
<i>Lagged:</i>			
Trump Vote Intention	3.81*	3.90*	3.65*
	(0.37)	(0.35)	(0.39)
Other Vote Intention	1.91*	2.16*	1.69*
	(0.64)	(0.62)	(0.72)
No Vote Intention	1.56*	1.65*	1.93*
	(0.45)	(0.44)	(0.55)
Oppose BLM	1.48*	1.72*	1.66*
	(0.53)	(0.48)	(0.52)
Isolated Incident	0.49		
	(0.37)		
Favor Border Wall	1.45*	1.49*	1.41*
	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.36)
Immigrants Leave	0.09		
	(0.33)		
Partisanship	1.83*	1.77*	1.59*
	(0.59)	(0.59)	(0.63)
Ideology	4.34*	4.58*	3.38*
	(0.81)	(0.83)	(0.88)
No Gun Restrictions			2.43*
			(0.90)
Abortion Illegal			1.63*
			(0.62)
Oppose Minimum Wage			0.37
			(0.42)
Education Level			-1.28*
			(0.56)
Family Income			1.42
			(0.74)
Income Not Reported			-1.20*
			(0.58)
Unemployed			0.23
			(1.46)
Age			1.16
			(0.73)
Female			0.16
			(0.32)
N	1,344	1,351	1,311

*=p<0.05; White Respondents only

All variables re-scaled to range from 0 to 1.

Clinton is the baseline vote intention category.

Conclusions and Implications

Ta-Nehisi Coates writes, “It is often said that Trump has no real ideology, which is not true—his ideology is white supremacy, in all its truculent and sanctimonious power” (Coates 2017). Yet, Trump received 62,984,828 votes and won the Electoral College. Many political scientists and journalists have concluded that a large portion of these votes resulted *because* of Trump’s racism. We have seen, however, that the relationship between race and Trump support is much more complicated...

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Supplementary/Online Appendix

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Appendix 1 Racial Resentment Question Wording

YouGov: Racial resentment toward African Americans (Question Wording)

1. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve. (Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree)
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors. (Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree)
3. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites. (Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree)
4. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class. (Strongly agree, Somewhat agree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Strongly disagree)
5. Do you support or oppose the movement called Black Lives Matter? (Strongly approve, Approve somewhat, Neutral, Disapprove somewhat, Disapprove strongly, Not sure)⁸
6. Do you think recent killings of African-American men by police are isolated incidents or part of a larger pattern in the police's treatment of African Americans? (Isolated incidents, Part of a larger pattern, Not sure)
7. In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing? (A good thing, A bad thing, Not sure)
8. Do you approve or disapprove of marriage between blacks and whites? (Approve, Disapprove, Not sure)

YouGov: Racial resentment toward Immigrants (Question Wording)

1. Which comes closest to your view about illegal immigrants who are living in the U.S.? They should be allowed to stay in the U.S. and apply for citizenship. They should be allowed to stay in the U.S., but not become citizens. They should be required to leave the U.S.

⁸Not sure and Neutral categories were combined as the middle category.

2. Do you favor or oppose building a wall across the entire U.S. border with Mexico?
3. Which comes closer to your view about how to handle undocumented immigrants who are now living in the U.S.? Percent There should be a way for them to stay in the country legally, if certain requirements are met. They should not be allowed to stay in this country legally.
4. Would you say that immigration... Helps the United States more than it hurts or Hurts the United States more that it helps