

How does gender play in the 2024 US Presidential elections?

Document 1

Donald Trump Courts the Manoverse

The New York Times, by John Branch, August 30, 2024

[...] At a time of an immense gender gap in politics among young people — women leaning left, men leaning right — the Trump campaign has been aggressively courting what might be called the bro vote, the frat-boy flank. It's a slice of 18-to-29-year-olds that has long been regarded as unreliable and unreachable, but that Republicans believe may just swing the election this year.

To find them, Mr. Trump and his allies have been exploring deep into the universe — a manoverse — of social media stars with male-centric audiences: the Nelk Boys, Mr. White and U.F.C., Dave Portnoy and his Barstool Sports media network, YouTubers like Jake and Logan Paul, podcasters like Theo Von and streamers like Adin Ross.

These figures [...] are just guys having a good time, talking about sports, gambling, partying — and, more than ever, presidential politics.

The Nelk Boys have played golf with Mr. Trump, been on Air Force One and visited Mar-a-Lago. They have had the former president on their podcast twice. They are sometimes mentioned by him in his stump speeches — a reference that is likely to go over the heads of older attendees, but not over those of the young men in the audience. [...]

Maybe you did not hear the podcast or see it on YouTube. Perhaps you have never heard of the Nelk Boys, or the Paul brothers or Mr. Portnoy.

But millions of others have. Most of them are young men who might vote and if they do, might have a major influence on who wins. [...]

Every four years, campaigns and political analysts slice the electorate into tiny subgroups that they believe may swing the vote. Suburban mothers in Michigan. Retirees in Arizona. Latinos in Nevada. Black voters in Georgia.

But the gender gap is a megatrend spanning across swing states and racial groups. And it is most prominent among young voters. In a series of New York Times/Siena College polls in six swing states this month, young men favored Mr. Trump by 13 points, while young women favored Ms. Harris by 38 points, a 51-point gap.

John Della Volpe, the director of polling for the Institute of Politics at the Harvard Kennedy School, has found a similar divide in his surveys.

“Young men tell me that they're thinking about what it means to be masculine, what it means to be grown up,” Mr. Della Volpe said. “Many of them saw Trump as someone who could be their version of masculinity.”

Those potential voters, some voting for the first time, follow Mr. Trump more for his personality than his policies, Mr. Della Volpe said. They see him speaking against political correctness and absorbing waves of attacks, from high-minded criticism and court cases to an assassination attempt.

The question is whether Mr. Trump can lure young men to the ballot box. There is reason for skepticism: New York Times/Siena College surveys show that about a third of young men who say they plan to vote for Trump did not vote in 2020. Young men also report they are less likely to vote than older voters.

The Nerk Boys are stirring engagement. They opened their recent interview with Mr. Vance by announcing a \$20 million registration drive to get more young men to vote. [...]

Document 2

Why Gender May Be the Defining Issue of the Election

The New York Times, by Lisa Lerer & Katie Glueck, October 23, 2024

[...] Gender. The issue is rarely directly addressed by either of the candidates. Yet the matter of Ms. Harris's gender — and her potential to make history as the country's first female president — is defining the campaign, creating a contest that is, in ways overt and subtle, a referendum on the role of women in American life.

Pro-Harris stickers plastered on bathroom stalls offer reminders, "woman to woman," that their vote is private. Trump aides use sexualized epithets to deride liberal men as weak and effeminate. In poll after poll, a difference in voting patterns based on gender pervades every demographic group.

And in quiet conversations, some female Harris supporters can't shake the uneasy feeling that men in their lives are struggling to support a woman — especially a Black and South Asian woman — even if they don't want to admit it. [...]

Those who have studied voting patterns for decades say they have never before seen a presidential race where gender is so central to the electoral prospects of each candidate — even in 2016, when Hillary Clinton became the first woman to capture a major party nomination. They cite a series of factors: Mr. Trump's well-documented denigration of women, Ms. Harris's barrier-breaking potential, longstanding sexist views about women in power and, perhaps most centrally, the Supreme Court's overturning of a constitutional right to abortion two years ago. [...]

Much of the gender divide is driven by the youngest generation of voters: The poll shows that 69 percent of women ages 18 to 29 favor Ms. Harris, compared with 45 percent of young men — a difference that far exceeds that in any older generation of voters. [...]

Aware of their deficits with men — in particular younger men — Democrats are betting that they can make new gains with white women across lines of education, class and even party

affiliation, with plans to persuade conservative-leaning voters, especially women, through Election Day.

A central part of the campaign's appeal is a promise to restore federal abortion rights. [...]

At an event on Monday in suburban Philadelphia, former Representative Liz Cheney of Wyoming, one of Ms. Harris's most prominent Republican supporters, made the message explicit for the moderate suburban women whom the campaign is trying to reach.

"We are going to reject the misogyny that we have seen from Donald Trump and JD Vance," she said. [...]

Ms. Harris rarely mentions her gender or her race, reflecting both her personal approach to barrier-breaking roles and internalized Democratic anxieties from Mrs. Clinton's defeat.

"People can see with their own eyes — she's a woman," said Senator Laphonza Butler, Democrat of California and a close friend of Ms. Harris. "She is choosing to focus on what she feels like is most important — and it's not her race or gender. It is what's important to the American people and why she's the best leader in this moment for the country." [...]

While Democrats are certainly courting female voters, the Republican ticket is driving the schism through inflammatory comments about women and Mr. Trump's continued expressions of pride in his role in overturning *Roe v. Wade*, having appointed three of the Supreme Court justices who voted in the majority. [...]

But Mr. Trump's campaign believes his path to victory runs through mobilizing men who are less likely to vote. He has embraced a brand of hypermasculinity, featuring former pro wrestlers ripping off their shirts at his party convention, his appearances on a series of podcasts that are popular with younger men and his praising of a famous golfer's penis size at a rally this weekend.

His supporters have mocked the masculinity of Gov. Tim Walz of Minnesota, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, denigrating him as "Tampon Tim" for supporting a law that put free menstrual products in school bathrooms.

Even Mr. Trump's appeals to women have been tinged with overtones of traditional gender roles: "You will no longer be abandoned, lonely or scared," Mr. Trump said at a rally in Pennsylvania last month. "You will be protected, and I will be your protector." [...]

It remains unclear whether young men who feel disillusioned by political institutions, and unseen by a culture that has embraced women's empowerment, feel the same motivation to turn their support of Mr. Trump into actual votes. [...]

Document 3

Toxic or tonic? Voting on masculinity in US election

www.voanews.com, by Patsy Widakuswara, September 6, 2024

Unlike Hillary Clinton's 2016 campaign slogan, "I'm With Her," there is no overt gender messaging in Kamala Harris' run for the presidency in 2024. Yet, gender is on the ballot as the Harris campaign and that of her Republican rival, Donald Trump, present competing narratives on masculinity, the latest front line in America's culture war.

The contrast was clear at the parties' conventions. At the Republican National Convention, retired pro wrestler Hulk Hogan took off his suit jacket and ripped off his shirt to reveal the muscles bulging under his Trump-Vance tank top. Hogan was preceded by Tucker Carlson, TV personality and star of "The End of Men," a documentary on American men's "collapsing testosterone levels."

The message was unambiguous: Former President Trump, who days earlier had survived an assassination attempt, is the self-proclaimed "warrior" who will "Make America Great Again." He was introduced by Dana White Jr., CEO of Ultimate Fighting Championship, and a day earlier walked into the arena to James Brown's song, "It's A Man's Man's Man's World." [...]

Trump's persona is coupled with the traditionalist view of gender roles of his running mate, JD Vance. The Ohio senator introduced his spouse as "my beautiful wife, Usha, an incredible lawyer and a better mom."

The 40-year-old father of three and Catholic convert has advocated pro-natalist views, including in a 2021 interview where he criticized the "anti-child ideology" of women who do not want to bear children. In the same year, he called Harris and other high-profile Democrats "childless cat ladies" who didn't have a "direct stake" in the country. [...]

At the Democratic National Convention, speakers focused on reproductive rights and all-gender inclusivity. As the country's first female vice president, Harris has not focused much on her own gender identity. But her take on gender roles was in clear view as she ended her acceptance address at the DNC, sharing the stage with her running mate Minnesota Governor Tim Walz and Emhoff. [...]

Walz and Emhoff are portrayed by the left as embodying "tonic masculinity," a term coined to contrast stereotypical male dominance over other groups that some brand as "toxic masculinity." [...]

While he is known for being an avid hunter and outdoorsman who shares home and car repair tips, [Walz] is also famous for his award-winning "hotdish" recipe.

On gender inclusivity and reproductive freedom — key issues for Democratic voters — Walz speaks from personal experience as a former faculty adviser for a high school LGBTQ club and by going public with his family's struggle with infertility. In doing so, he is messaging empathy

and vulnerability, traits that stand in contrast with more traditional masculine leadership qualities, such as assertiveness and dominance. [...]

This narrative stands in contrast to the Trump-Vance take on masculinity [...].

Polls show an overwhelming divide along gender lines. Women favor Harris and men favor Trump, with the gap most apparent among young people.

Anxiety over shifting gender roles may be a contributing factor, coupled with the fact that American men are doing less well than women in general.

In his book, *Of Boys and Men*, Richard Reeves, a senior fellow focusing on gender inequality at Brookings Institution, outlined various indicators, including education, income, health and access to a social support network, to argue that while American girls and women are making huge strides in recent decades, boys and young men are struggling.

"Profound economic and social changes of recent decades have many losing ground in the classroom, the workplace and in the family," Reeves wrote. "While the lives of women have changed, the lives of many men have remained the same or even worsened." [...]

The Trump campaign has been aggressively courting male voters through what's called the manosphere — online forums with male-centric audiences that promote masculinity and, in many cases, opposition to feminism.

It's a continuation of Trump's 2016 strategy of "tapping into male grievance politics," particularly that of white males [...].

All these issues, in addition to how the candidates "talk about women and talk to women" could influence voter enthusiasm by motivating turnout among different groups, she added. [...]

Document 4



By Maarten Wolterink, September 10, 2024

Document 5 – CNN exit polls 2024

Age Filtered By: Men
10,798 total respondents

	18-29 16%	30-44 25%	45-64 34%	65 or older 26%
● Harris	47%	43%	38%	44%
● Trump	49%	53%	60%	55%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Age Filtered By: Women
12,037 total respondents

	18-29 13%	30-44 22%	45-64 35%	65 or older 30%
● Harris	61%	54%	49%	54%
● Trump	37%	43%	50%	45%

Party ID

10,798 total respondents

Filtered By: Men

	Democrat 25%	Republican 36%	Independent 39%
● Harris	93%	5%	44%
● Trump	5%	94%	51%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Party ID

12,037 total respondents

Filtered By: Women

	Democrat 37%	Republican 33%	Independent 30%
● Harris	96%	5%	54%
● Trump	4%	94%	41%

Race

12,037 total respondents

Filtered By: Women

	White 70%	Black 12%	Latino 12%	Asian 3%	Other racial/ethnic groups 3%
● Harris	45%	91%	60%	54%	48%
● Trump	53%	7%	38%	42%	49%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6

Race

10,798 total respondents

Filtered By: Men

	White 72%	Black 10%	Latino 12%	Asian 4%	Other racial/ethnic groups 3%
● Harris	37%	77%	43%	55%	34%
● Trump	60%	21%	55%	37%	61%

Marital status

12,037 total respondents

Filtered By: Women

	Married 50%	Not married 50%
● Harris	48%	59%
● Trump	51%	38%

Updated 2:34 p.m. ET, Nov. 6