

Social Justice Watch 1114

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[America is exceptional in the nature of its political divide](#)

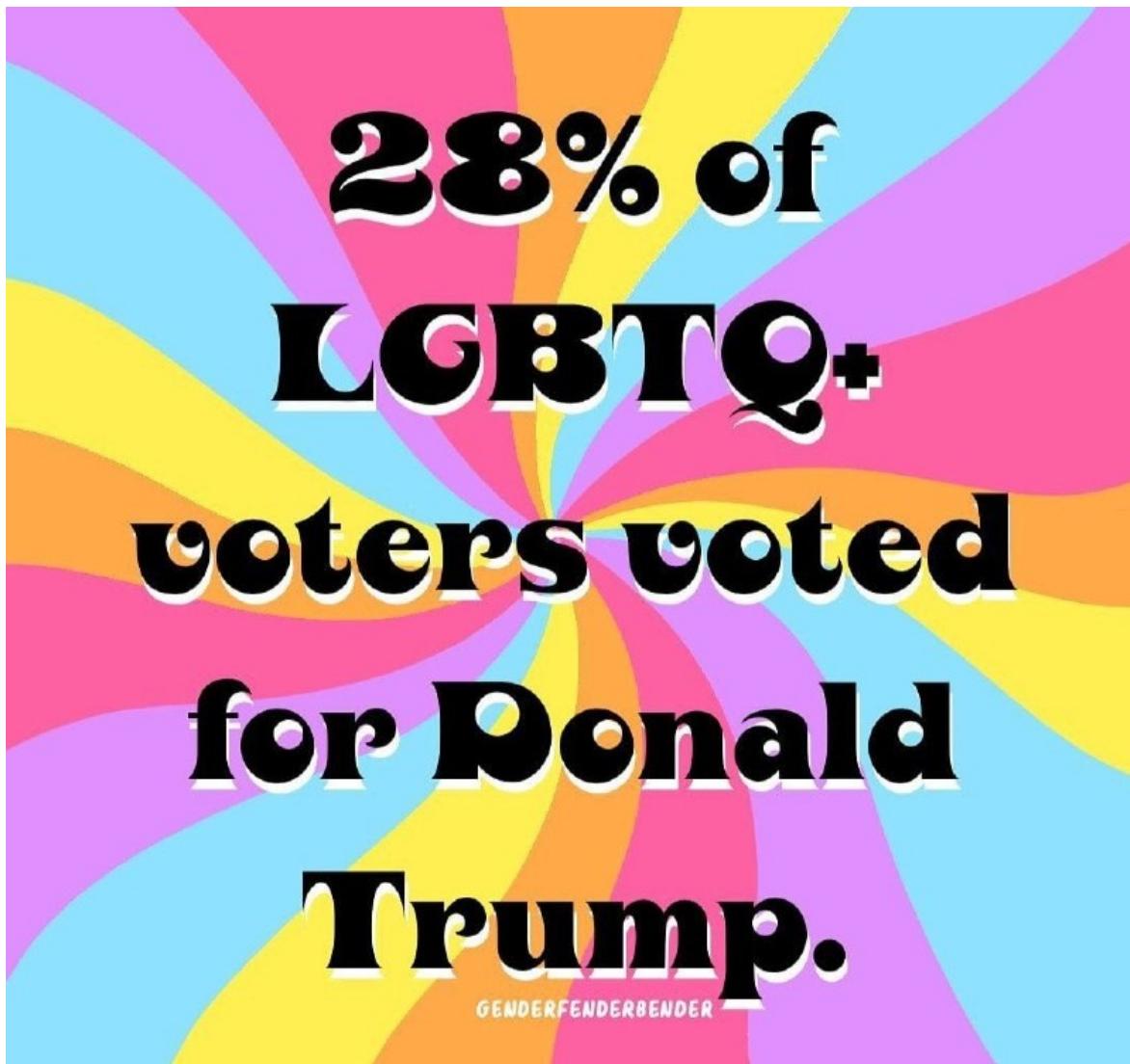
[Understanding how 2020 election polls performed and what it might mean for other kinds of survey work](#)

来源：[Social Justice Watch](#)

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**28% of LGBTQ+
voters chose
their whiteness
over their
queerness.**

GENDERFENDERBENDER

**28% of LGBTQ+
voters chose their
socioeconomic
status
over their
queerness.**

GENDERFENDERBENDER

**28% of LGBTQ+
voters chose their
citizenship
over their
queerness.**

GENDERFENDERBENDER

**28% of LGBTQ+
voters chose their
cis and/or male
identities
over their
queerness.**

GENDERFENDERBENDER

**28% of LGBTQ+
voters chose their
abled bodies
over their
queerness.**

GENDERFENDERBENDER



<https://www.facebook.com/transarmy/posts/208030744025445>



<https://www.facebook.com/transarmy/photos/a.101087104719810/208080327351>



Autumn Mizer

6 hrs ·

...

When I was 17 I went to Planned Parenthood. I had no money or insurance. I was living on my own and couldn't even afford tampons. They gave me a long lasting birth control that still works today, and stopped my period. They didn't charge me.

When I was 21, just 2 months ago, I left UC after being told there was a high chance I had late term cervical cancer. Every place I tried to go to wanted to charge me up to \$1000 for testing. I went to planned parenthood. Being in a bigger city now, they had to escort me in the building, while protesters screamed I was a murdering bitch. They threw stuff at the building. Insulted us. And I was there for a cervical exam. I had to be buzzed in through 4 separate doors. All this because they can't go a day without getting a shooting or bomb threat. The real kicker, this PP didn't even preform abortions.

<https://www.facebook.com/feministnews.us/photos/a.110598552620705/1368926>

[comment under the post] I found out I was pregnant with my first child at a PP when I was 15. They told me that if I wanted an abortion, I'd have to go to my local medical clinic for that, because they didn't do those procedures there. They would call and make the appointment and get me as much help as they could, financially and emotionally, but they couldn't do the procedure there. I didn't get an abortion, or ever even consider it, although I am 100% pro choice. But the lengths that place went to to make sure I got WHATEVER care I needed was nothing less than phenomenal. This was way back before protesting PP was a thing. They even helped me tell my family about my pregnancy and had a TON

of help ready for me in case my family rejected me for my teenage pregnancy. Shelter, medical care...etc... they had my back. I never got a bill. I never had to pay a cent. My baby is almost 18 years old now.

PinkNews

EXCLUSIVE

Half of trans people too scared to use public bathrooms as transphobic violence in Britain spirals to dangerous new heights

BY VIC PARSONS

NOVEMBER 13, 2020 AT 6:29 AM • 4 MIN READ

<https://www.facebook.com/transarmy/photos/a.101087104719810/20807913402/>

**“You don’t look like a
trans person!”**

TRANS PEOPLE:



@theequalityinstitute

<https://www.facebook.com/transarmy/photos/a.101087104719810/20808025068/>

S O Y O U W A N T T O T A L K A B O U T

Transgender Awareness Week

Transgender Awareness Week

“is a week when transgender people and their allies take action to bring attention to the community by educating the public about who transgender people are, sharing stories and experiences, and advancing advocacy around the issues of prejudice, discrimination, and violence that affect the trans community.”

Transgender Awareness Week
(November 13th - 19th)

Transgender Day of Remembrance
(November 20th)

@SOYOUWANTTOTALKABOUT X @HUMANBYORIENTATION
SOURCE: GLAAD

Transgender Day of Remembrance

Transgender Awareness Week is the week leading up to Transgender Day of Remembrance. Per GLAAD, "Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDOR) was founded by transgender advocate **Gwendolyn Ann Smith** as a vigil to honor her memory of **Rita Hester**, a transgender woman who was killed in 1998. The vigil commemorated all the transgender people lost to violence that year and began an important memorial that has become the annual Transgender Day of Remembrance."

@SOYOUWANTTOTALKABOUT X @HUMANBYORIENTATION
SOURCE: GLAAD

Transgender
Awareness
Week

Today, transgender youth face a wealth of discrimination and hardships.

Simple tasks like playing sports, using public restrooms, going to school & getting proper medical care become challenging for youth who transition.

More than 75% of transgender youth report experiencing generalized anxiety.

@SOYOUWANTTOTALKABOUT X @HUMANBYORIENTATION
SOURCE: THE TREVOR PROJECT

Transgender Awareness Week

Being trans in public spaces is not safe, and trans people are not protected by the United States government.

Many trans people are not protected by the U.S. government. **31 states** lack legal protections for trans people. **The Equality Act** seeks to prevent discrimination in public facilities, education, federal funding, employment, housing, and credit, yet the uncertainty of this law's passage leaves thousands of trans people vulnerable to discrimination and violence. **Can you imagine not being protected?** Trans youth feel unsafe and vulnerable, making it hard for many to publicly acknowledge their identity.

"[My mom] wants me to come out really bad, it's just hard. You don't know what's gonna happen, and people these days, they can do anything."
- Jay, age 12 , HBO's "Transhood"

Transgender Awareness Week

Discrimination, bullying & lack of societal acceptance

deeply affects the mental health of young trans people, making them more likely to experience depression, anxiety, and have suicidal thoughts.

40% of transgender and nonbinary youth reported being physically threatened or harmed in their lifetime due to their gender identity in 2019.

Transgender and nonbinary youth who reported having pronouns respected by all or most people in their lives attempted suicide at half the rate of those who did not have their pronouns respected.

*"You know sometimes I think there's not a reason to be here...
I just think of all the times people haven't accepted the way I am...
Sometimes I say I want to take my life."
- Jay, age 12, HBO's "Transhood"*

Transgender Awareness Week

Bullying

75% of transgender youth report they feel unsafe at school. Studies show that their GPAs are lower, and they are less likely to continue their education. While bullying from students is common, many report that they face discrimination from teachers and school administrators as well.

Nearly half of transgender and nonbinary youth didn't receive wanted mental healthcare due to concerns related to LGBTQ+ competence of providers in 2019.

"I don't want to be here anymore. I'll give up all my friends, I'd rather be able to be a girl and just have no friends at all."
- Avery, age 7, HBO's "Transhood"

@SOYOUWANTTOTALKABOUT X @HUMANBYORIENTATION
SOURCE: TRANSEQUALITY.ORG, THE TREVOR PROJECT

Transgender
Awareness
Week

Homelessness

Many trans youth end up on the streets because they are so often not accepted by their families.

An estimated 20-40% of all homeless youth are transgender.

Of these kids, most are unable to find temporary shelter due to discrimination in both the foster care and homeless shelter systems.

@SOYOUWANTTOTALKABOUT X @HUMANBYORIENTATION
SOURCE: THE TREVOR PROJECT

Transgender Awareness Week

Hate Crimes

Of all marginalized groups in America, the transgender community faces the greatest number of hate crimes to population ratio. Many have coined the violence against trans people an epidemic, with at least 31 homicides recorded this year. Occurrences of these cases have risen since the HRC began gathering data in 2013, with 2020 showing the highest murder rate since. This can be attributed to the increase of data recording, but also to the pandemic forcing trans people into isolation with violent family members, limiting their resources for relocation or help.

Healthcare & Law

Transgender youths' rights are constantly up for debate. The laws policing their bodies change, creating uncertainty for those seeking a transition. In 2020, 6 U.S. states proposed to restrict minors' access to gender reassignment surgery and hormone treatments. While some seek to make it illegal for medical providers to administer such care for minors, others would classify it as child abuse.

This is a key issue for many adolescents trying to avoid going through puberty in a body they don't feel they belong in.



Throughout the week:
**Share stories.
Start conversations.
Listen.
And above all:
show empathy.**

On November 20th, you can also help to honor trans communities by attending or organizing a vigil for victims of anti-trans violence. These events are typically hosted by trans and LGBTQIA+ advocates and organizations, and occur in parks or community centers.

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<https://www.facebook.com/transarmy/posts/208081010687085>

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telegra.ph/Understanding-how-2020-election-polls-performed-and-what-it-might-mean-for-other-kinds-of-survey-work-11-13

Telegraph

Understanding how 2020 election polls performed and what it might mean for other kinds of survey work

Taken in the aggregate, preelection polls in the United States pointed to the strong likelihood that Democrat Joe Biden would pick up several states that Hillary Clinton lost in 2016 and, in the process, win a popular and electoral vote majority over Republican...

telegra.ph/America-is-exceptional-in-the-nature-of-its-political-divide-11-14

Telegraph

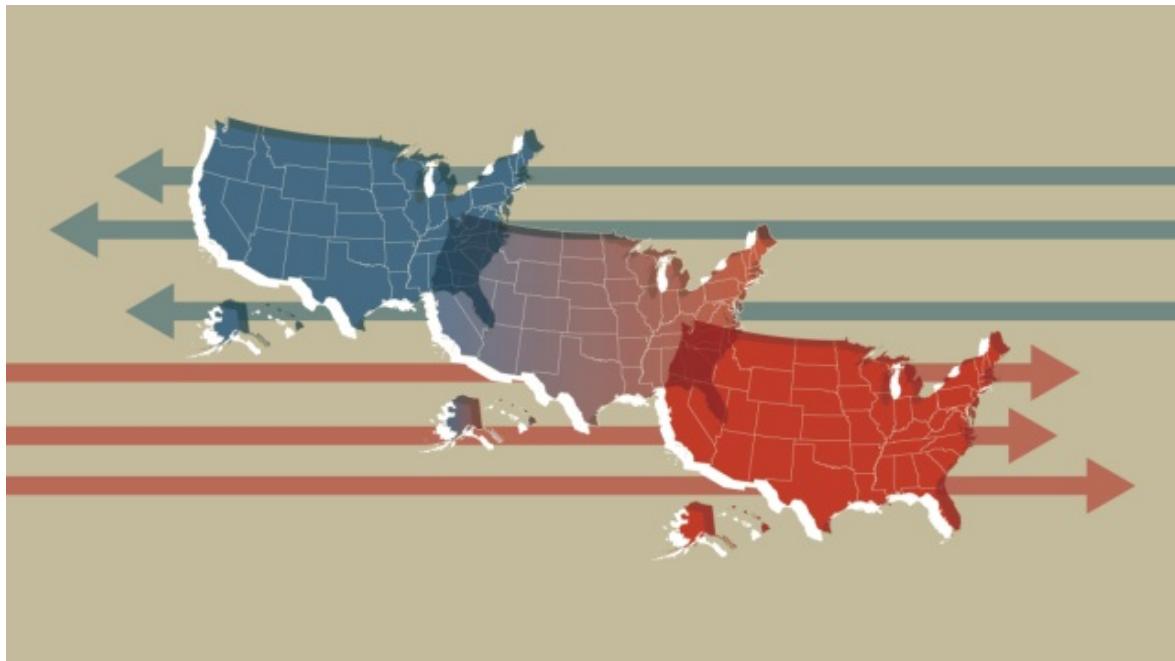
America is exceptional in the nature of its political divide

In his first speech as president-elect, Joe Biden made clear his intention to bridge the deep and bitter divisions in American society. He pledged to look beyond red and blue and to discard the harsh rhetoric that characterizes our political debates. It will...

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America is exceptional in the nature of its political divide

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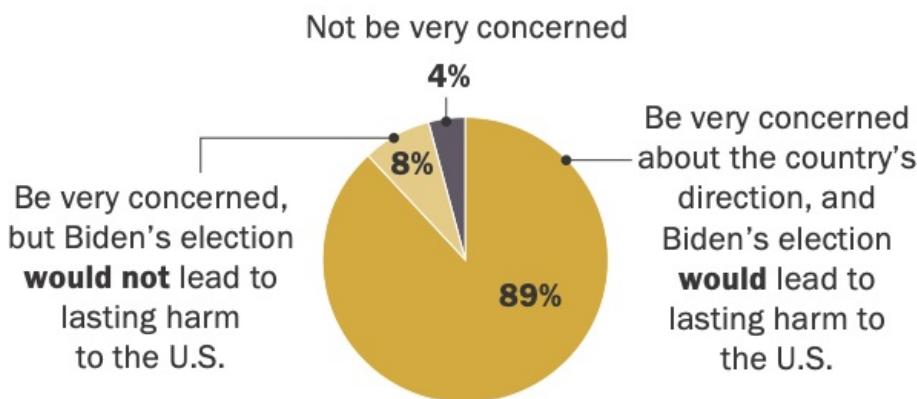


In his first speech as president-elect, Joe Biden made clear his intention to bridge the deep and bitter divisions in American society. He pledged to look beyond red and blue and to discard the harsh rhetoric that characterizes our political debates.

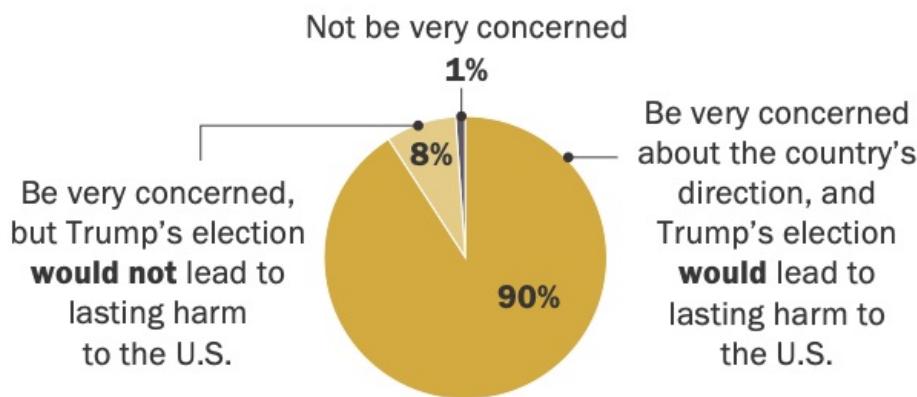
It will be a difficult struggle. Americans have rarely been as polarized as they are today.

Both Trump and Biden supporters say if the other wins, it would result in lasting harm to the country

*% of **Trump supporters** who say they would ____ about the direction of the country if Joe Biden was elected president*



*% of **Biden supporters** who say they would ____ about the direction of the country if Donald Trump was reelected president*



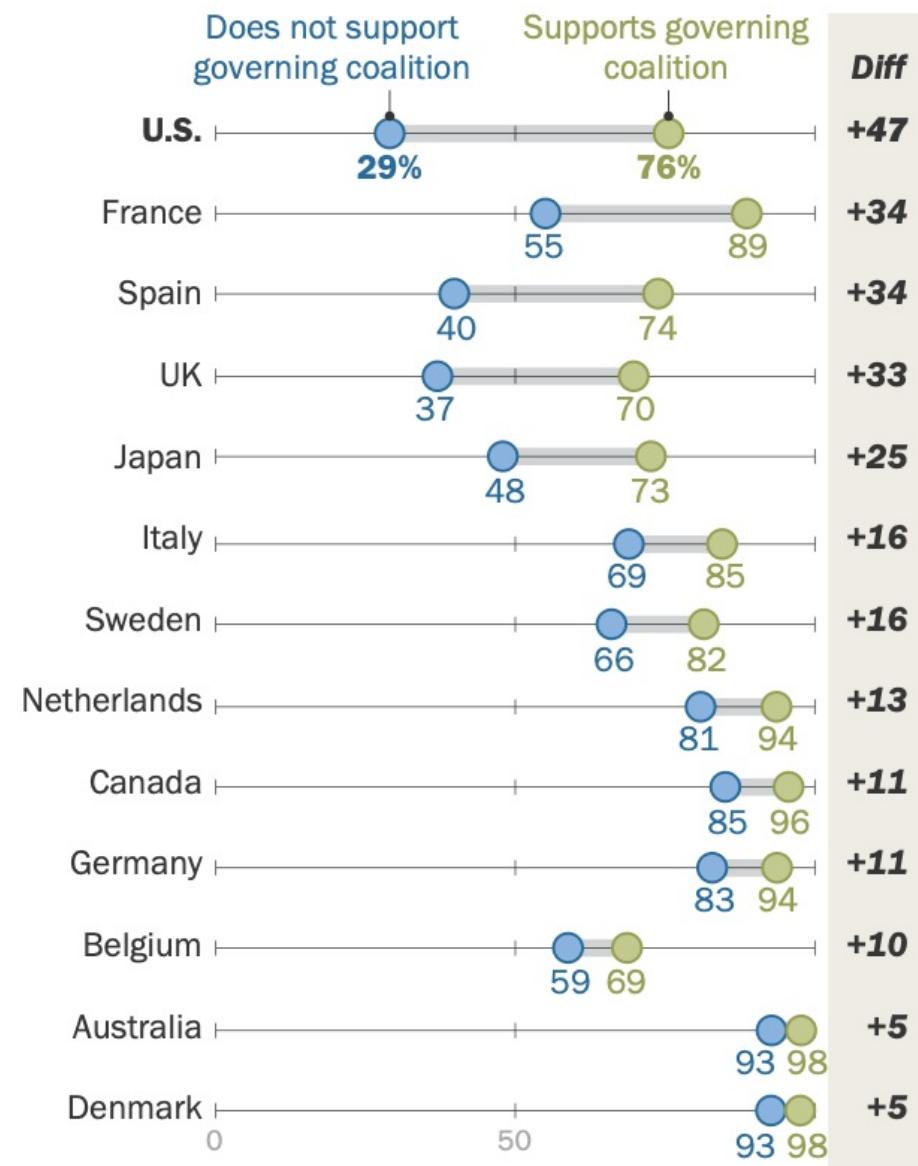
Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

The studies we've conducted at Pew Research Center over the past few years illustrate the increasingly stark disagreement between Democrats and Republicans on the economy, racial justice, climate change, law enforcement, international engagement and a long list of other issues. The 2020 presidential election further highlighted these deep-seated divides. Supporters of Biden and Donald Trump believe the differences between them are about more than just politics and policies. A month before the election, roughly eight-in-ten registered voters in both camps said their differences with the other side were about core American values, and roughly nine-in-ten – again in both camps – worried that a victory by the other would lead to “lasting harm” to the United States.

The U.S. is hardly the only country wrestling with deepening political fissures. Brexit has polarized British politics, the rise of populist parties has disrupted party systems across Europe, and cultural conflict and economic anxieties have intensified old cleavages and created new ones in many advanced democracies. America and other advanced economies face many common strains over how opportunity is distributed in a global economy and how our culture adapts to growing diversity in an interconnected world.

Majorities of governing party supporters say their country has dealt with coronavirus outbreak well

*% who say their own country has done a **good** job dealing with the coronavirus outbreak*



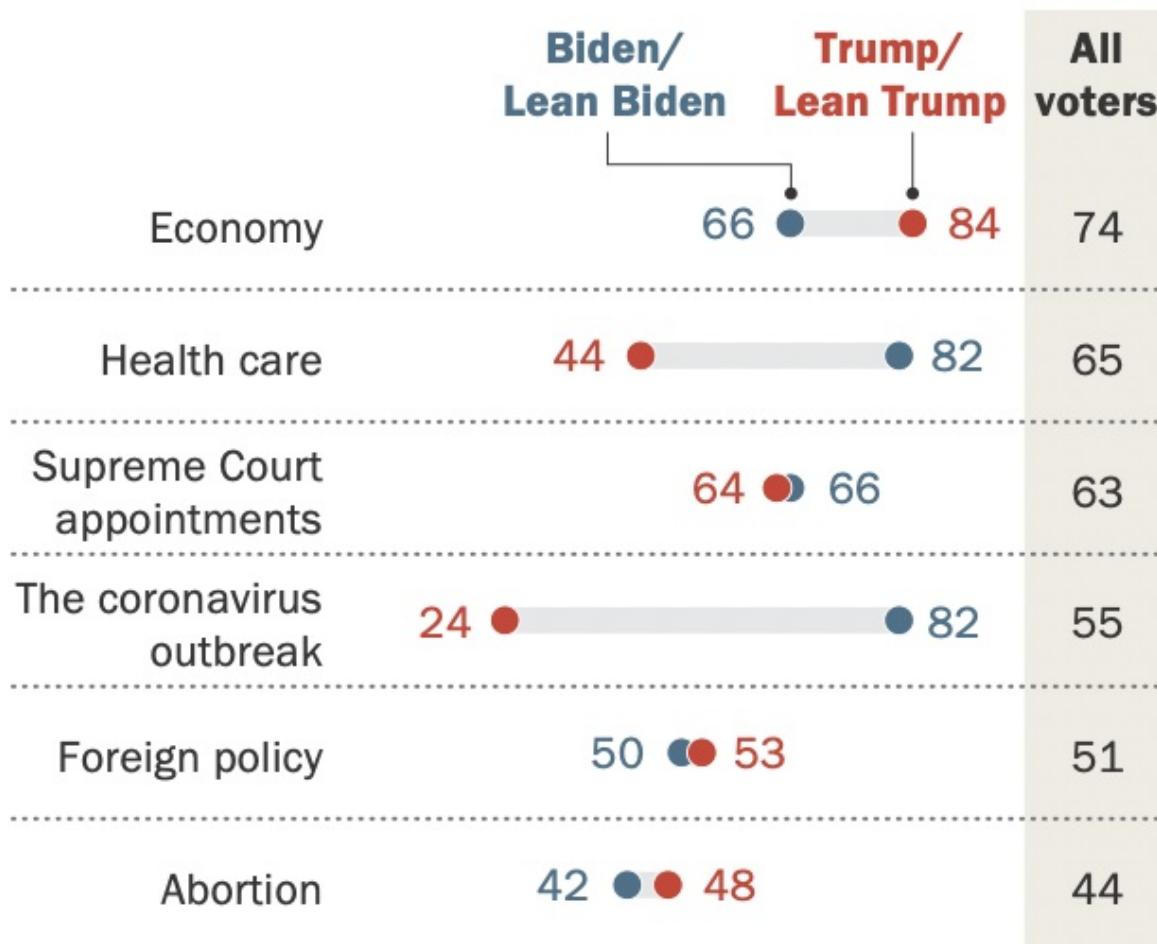
Note: All differences are statistically significant.

Source: Summer 2020 Global Attitudes Survey, Q10c.

But the 2020 pandemic has revealed how pervasive the divide in American politics is relative to other nations. Over the summer, 76% of Republicans (including independents who lean to the party) felt the U.S. had done a good job dealing with the coronavirus outbreak, compared with just 29% of those who do not identify with the Republican Party. This 47 percentage point gap was the largest gap found between those who support the governing party and those who do not across 14 nations surveyed. Moreover, 77% of Americans said the country was now more divided than before the outbreak, as compared with a median of 47% in the 13 other nations surveyed.

Trump and Biden supporters differ over importance of the economy, health care – and particularly the coronavirus

% registered voters who say each is ‘very important’ to their vote in the 2020 presidential election



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Oct. 6-12, 2020.

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Much of this American exceptionalism preceded the coronavirus: In a Pew Research Center study conducted before the pandemic, Americans were more ideologically divided than any of the 19 other publics surveyed when asked how much trust they have in scientists and whether scientists make decisions solely based on facts. These fissures have pervaded nearly every aspect of the public and policy response to the crisis over the course of the year. Democrats and Republicans differ over mask wearing, contact tracing, how well public health officials are dealing with the crisis, whether to get a vaccine once one is available, and whether life will remain changed in a major way after the pandemic. For Biden supporters, the coronavirus outbreak was a central issue in the election – in an October poll, 82% said it was very important to their vote. Among Trump supporters, it was easily the least significant among six issues tested on the survey: Just 24% said it was very important.

Why is America cleaved in this way? Once again, looking across other nations gives us some indication. The polarizing pressures of partisan media, social media, and even deeply rooted cultural, historical and regional divides are hardly unique to America. By comparison, America's relatively rigid, two-party electoral system stands apart by collapsing a wide range of legitimate social and political debates into a singular battle line that can make our differences appear even larger than they may actually be. And when the balance of support for these political parties is close enough for either to gain near-term electoral advantage – as it has in the U.S. for more than a quarter century – the competition becomes cutthroat and politics begins to feel zero-sum, where one side's gain is inherently the other's loss. Finding common cause – even to fight a common enemy in the public health and economic threat posed by the coronavirus – has eluded us.

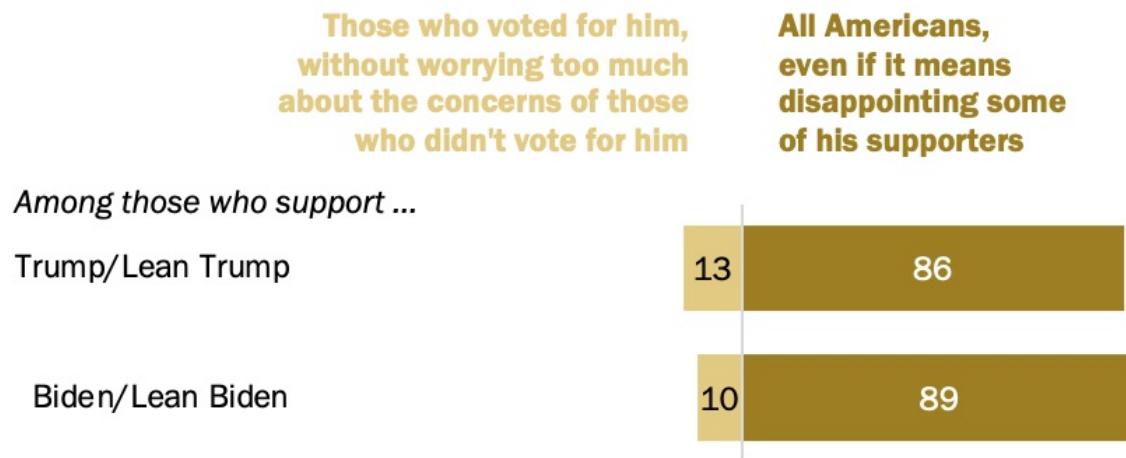
Over time, these battles result in nearly all societal tensions becoming consolidated into two competing camps. As Ezra Klein and other writers have noted, divisions between the two parties have intensified over time as various types of identities have become “stacked” on top of people’s partisan identities. Race, religion and ideology now align with partisan identity in ways that they often didn’t in eras when the two parties were relatively heterogeneous coalitions. In their study of polarization across nations, Thomas Carothers and Andrew O’Donohue argue that polarization runs particularly deep in the U.S. in part because American polarization is “especially multifaceted.” According to Carothers and O’Donohue, a “powerful alignment of ideology, race, and religion renders America’s divisions unusually encompassing and profound. It is hard to find another example of polarization in the world,” they write, “that fuses all

three major types of identity divisions in a similar way.”

Of course, there’s nothing wrong with disagreement in politics, and before we get nostalgic for a less polarized past it’s important to remember that eras of relatively muted partisan conflict, such as the late 1950s, were also characterized by structural injustice that kept many voices – particularly those of non-White Americans – out of the political arena. Similarly, previous eras of deep division, such as the late 1960s, were far less partisan but hardly less violent or destabilizing. Overall, it’s not at all clear that Americans are further apart from each other than we’ve been in the past, or even that we are more ideologically or affectively divided – that is, exhibiting hostility to those of the other party – than citizens of other democracies. What’s unique about this moment – and particularly acute in America – is that these divisions have collapsed onto a singular axis where we find no toehold for common cause or collective national identity.

Trump, Biden supporters say their candidate should address concerns of all Americans if they win

% of registered voters who say if their preferred candidate is re/elected, they should primarily focus on addressing the concerns of ...



Note: Based on registered voters. No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 5, 2020.

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Americans both see this problem and want to address it. Overwhelming

majorities of both Trump (86%) and Biden (89%) supporters surveyed this fall said that their preferred candidate, if elected, should focus on addressing the needs of all Americans, “even if it means disappointing some of his supporters.”

In his speech, President-elect Biden vowed to “work as hard for those who didn’t vote for me as those who did” and called on “this grim era of demonization in America” to come to an end. That’s a sentiment that resonates with Americans on both sides of the fence. But good intentions on the part of our leaders and ourselves face serious headwinds in a political system that reinforces a two-party political battleground at nearly every level.

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Understanding how 2020 election polls performed and what it might mean for other kinds of survey work

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(Brianna Soukup/Portland Press Herald via Getty Images)

Taken in the aggregate, preelection polls in the United States pointed to the strong likelihood that Democrat Joe Biden would pick up several states that Hillary Clinton lost in 2016 and, in the process, win a popular and electoral vote majority over Republican President Donald Trump. That indeed came to pass. But the election was much closer than polls suggested in several battleground states (e.g., Wisconsin) and more decisive for Trump elsewhere (e.g., Ohio). Democrats also were disappointed at failing to pick up outright control of the U.S. Senate – though it remains a possibility – and at losing seats in the U.S. House and several state legislatures.

Many who follow public opinion polls are understandably asking how these outcomes could happen, especially after the fairly aggressive steps the polling

community took to understand and address problems that surfaced in 2016. We are asking ourselves the same thing. In this post, we'll take a preliminary shot at answering that question, characterizing the nature and scope of the 2020 polling errors and suggesting some possible causes. We'll also consider what this year's errors might mean for *issue-focused* surveys, though it will be many months before the industry will be able to collect all the data necessary to come to any solid conclusions.

Before talking about what went wrong, there are a couple of important caveats worth noting. First, given the Democratic-leaning tendency to vote by mail this year and the fact that mail votes are counted later in many places, the size of the polling errors – especially at the national level – will likely end up being smaller than they appeared on election night. Even this week, vote counting continues and estimates of polling errors have shrunk somewhat in many battleground states. It's also important to recognize that not all states suffered a polling misfire. In many important states that Biden won (at least based on current vote totals), including Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Minnesota, New Mexico, Nevada and Virginia, polls gave a solid read of the contest.

All that said, it's clear that national and many state estimates were not just off, but off in the same direction: They favored the Democratic candidate. To measure by how much, we compared the actual vote margins between Republicans and Democrats – both nationally and at the state level – with the margins in a weighted average of polls from FiveThirtyEight.com. Looking across the 12 battleground states from the upper Midwest (where many polls missed the mark) to the Sun Belt and Southwest (where many were stronger), polls overestimated the Democratic advantage by an average of about 4 percentage points. When looking at national polls, the Democratic overstatement will end up being similar, about 4 points, depending on the final vote count. That means state polling errors are about the same as in 2016, while the national polling error is slightly larger, at least as of today. Even so, the national polling error of 2020 appears to be similar to the average errors for election polls over the past 12 presidential elections.

The fact that the polling errors were not random, and that they almost uniformly involved underestimates of Republican rather than Democratic performance, points to a systematic cause or set of causes. At this early point in the post-election period, the theories about what went wrong fall roughly into four categories, each of which has different ramifications for the polling industry.

Partisan nonresponse

The suggested problem

According to this theory, Democratic voters were more easily reachable and/or just more willing than Republican voters to respond to surveys, and routine statistical adjustments fell short in correcting for the problem. A variant of this: The overall share of Republicans in survey samples was roughly correct, but the samples underrepresented the most hard-core Trump supporters in the party. One possible corollary of this theory is that Republicans' widespread lack of trust in institutions like the news media – which sponsors a great deal of polling – led some people to not want to participate in polls.

Is this mainly an election polling problem, or would this be of wider concern to issue pollsters as well?

Sadly, the latter. If polls are systematically underrepresenting some types of conservatives or Republicans, it has ramifications for surveys that measure all kinds of behaviors and issues, from views on the coronavirus pandemic to attitudes toward climate change. Issue polling doesn't require the kind of 51%-49% precision of modern presidential election polling, of course, but no pollster wants a systematic skew to their data, even if it's "only" 5 percentage points.

What could we do to fix it?

A straightforward fix to the problem of underrepresenting Trump supporters would be to increase efforts to recruit conservatives and Republicans to polls; increase the statistical weight of those already in the survey to match their share of the population (a process known as "weighting"); or both. Many polls this year weighted on party registration, 2016 vote or self-identified partisanship, but still underestimated GOP support.

The challenge here is twofold. The first is in estimating the correct share of conservatives and Republicans in the population, since, unlike age, gender and other demographic characteristics, there are no timely, authoritative benchmarks on political orientation. Second, just getting the overall share of Republicans in the poll correct may be insufficient if those who are willing to be interviewed are

bad proxies for those who are not willing (e.g., more strongly conservative) – in which case a weighting adjustment *within* partisan groups may be needed.

‘Shy Trump’ voters

The suggested problem

According to this theory, not all poll respondents who supported Trump may have been honest about their support for him, either out of some sort of concern about being criticized for backing the president or simply a desire to mislead. Considerable research, including by Pew Research Center, has failed to turn up much evidence for this idea, but it remains plausible.

Is this mainly an election polling problem, or would this be of wider concern to issue pollsters as well?

This would pose a challenge for measuring attitudes about the president in any venue. But if it was limited to the *current* president, it would not have lasting impact. Polls on issues that are less sensitive might be less affected.

What could we do to fix it?

In the electoral context, this is a difficult problem to fix. Pollsters have experimented with approaches to doing so, such as asking respondents how their friends and neighbors planned to vote (in addition to asking respondents how they themselves planned to vote) and then using answers to these questions to adjust their forecasts. But the efficacy of these methods is still uncertain.

Still, the fact that polls this year underestimated support for other, less controversial Republican candidates – sometimes by more than they underestimated support for Trump – suggests that the “shy Trump” hypothesis may not explain very much of the problem.

Turnout error A: Underestimating enthusiasm for Trump

The suggested problem

Election polls, as opposed to issue polling, have an extra hurdle to clear in their attempt to be accurate: They have to predict which respondents are actually going to cast a ballot and then measure the race only among this subset of “likely voters.” Under this theory, it’s possible that the traditional “likely voter screens” that pollsters use just didn’t work as a way to measure Trump voters’ enthusiasm to turn out for their candidate. In this case, surveys may have had enough Trump voters in their samples, but not counted enough of them as likely voters.

Is this mainly an election polling problem, or would this be of wider concern to issue pollsters as well?

If the main problem this year was a failure to anticipate the size of Republican turnout, the accuracy of issue polls would be much less affected. It would suggest that survey samples may already adequately represent Americans of all political persuasions but still struggle to properly anticipate who will actually turn out to vote, which we know is quite difficult. Fortunately, the eventual availability of state voter records matched to many election surveys will make it possible to assess the extent to which turnout differences between Trump and Biden supporters explain the errors.

What could we do to fix it?

Back to the mines on reinventing likely voter scales.

Turnout error B: The pandemic effect

The suggested problem

The once-in-a-generation coronavirus pandemic dramatically altered how people intended to vote, with Democrats disproportionately concerned about the virus and using early voting (either by mail or in person) and Republicans more likely to vote in person on Election Day itself. In such an unusual year – with so many people voting early for the first time and some states changing their procedures – it’s possible that some Democrats who *thought* they had, or would, cast a ballot did not successfully do so. A related point is that Trump and the Republican Party conducted a more traditional get-out-the-vote effort in the campaign’s final weeks, with large rallies and door-to-door canvassing. These may have further confounded likely voter models.

Is this mainly an election polling problem, or would this be of wider concern to issue pollsters as well?

To the extent that polls were distorted by the pandemic, the problems may be confined to this moment in time and this specific election. Issue polling would be unaffected. The pandemic may have created greater obstacles to voting for Democrats than Republicans, a possibility that polls would have a hard time assessing. These are not problems we typically confront with issue polling.

What could we do to fix it?

It's possible that researchers could develop questions, such as on knowledge of the voting process, that could help predict whether the drop-off between intention to vote and having successfully cast a ballot is higher for some voters than others – for instance, whether a voter's mailed ballot is successfully counted or may be rejected for some reason. Treating all early voters as definitely having voted and all Election Day voters as only *possible* voters is a potential mistake that can be avoided.

Conclusion

As we begin to study the performance of 2020 election polling in more detail, it's also entirely possible that *all* of these factors contributed in some way – a “perfect storm” that blew the polls off course.

Pew Research Center and other polling organizations will devote a great deal of effort to understanding what happened. Indeed, we have already begun to do so. We'll conduct a review of our own polling, as well as a broader analysis of the polls, and we'll participate in a task force established at the beginning of this year by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) to review election poll performance, as happened in 2016. This effort will take time. Relevant data on voter turnout will take months to compile. But make no mistake: We are committed to understanding the sources of the problem, fixing them and being transparent along the way.

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