What Comes to Mind: Did Voters Remember Policy Promises during the 2016 Campaign?

NYU Politics & SMaPP lab

Jan Zilinsky, Jonathan Nagler, Joshua Tucker

Dec. 2018

Information environment: the 2016 campaign

We asked if people could name a policy Trump and Clinton proposed that would make them better off

Questions

- Do traditional media outlets play a role in educating the public?
- Are voters who consume news via social media more likely to remember candidates' promises?

Hypotheses

- 1. Education \rightarrow Ability to name a policy
- 2. Exposure to news (Newspapers, TV, News organizations on Twitter, Political information shared by friends on Facebook) \rightarrow Ability to name a policy
- 3. More conservative news diet \rightarrow more likely to name a Trump policy
- 4. More conservative news diet \rightarrow less likely to name a Clinton policy
- 5. More liberal news diet \rightarrow more likely to name a Clinton policy
- 6. More liberal news diet \rightarrow less likely to name a Trump policy

Results

- 1. Education \rightarrow Ability to name a policy.
 - YES: 6-12% effect
 - But no effect on ability to name a Trump policy
- 2. Exposure to news \rightarrow Ability to name a policy. **YES**
- 3. More conservative diet \rightarrow more likely to name a Trump policy
 - **20% effect** of watching Fox News (comparable to PID)
 - **12% effect** of right-leaning online sources
- 4. More conservative diet \rightarrow less likely to name a Clinton policy
 - YES both offline and online
- 5. More liberal diet \rightarrow more likely to name a Clinton policy
 - **15% effect of TV** (MSNBC)
 - **10% effect** of left-leaning online sources
- 6. More liberal diet \rightarrow less likely to name a Trump policy
 - No effect

Data

Open-ended questions in 2016 SMaPP Panel survey (wave 3)

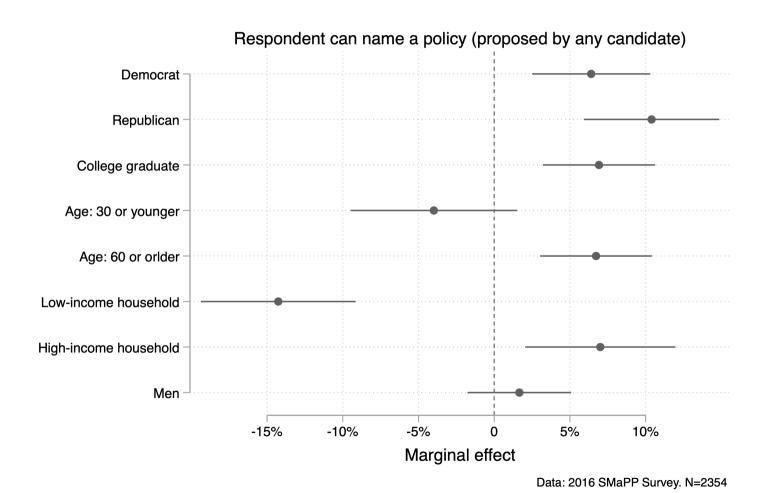
- 76.4% can name a policy proposed by **at least one candidate**
 - 72.7% Democrats and 9.7% Republicans can name a Clinton policy
 - 80% Republicans and 20.3% Democrats can name a Trump policy

Data

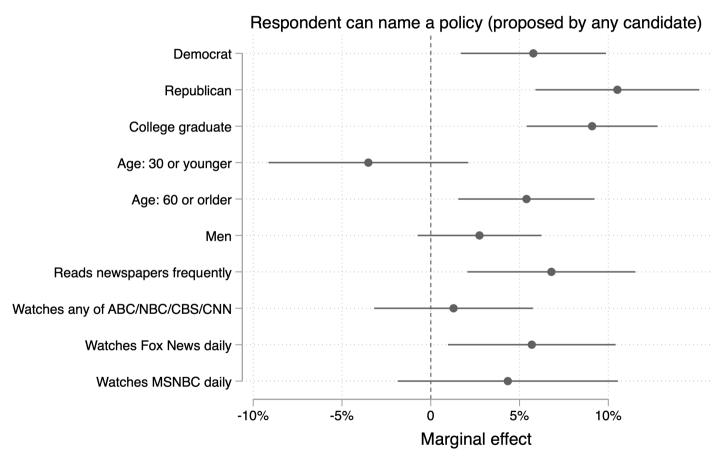
Open-ended questions in 2016 SMaPP Panel survey (wave 3)

- 76.4% can name a policy proposed by **at least one candidate**
 - 72.7% Democrats and 9.7% Republicans can name a Clinton policy
 - 80% Republicans and 20.3% Democrats can name a Trump policy
- 11.4% of all respondents could name desirable policies from the platforms of **both candidates**
 - Example (from a single respondent): "[Trump will lower] taxes on people in my income bracket"; "[Clinton will make] sure all americans have health insurance"
 - Example (from a single respondent): "Building the wall will create jobs ... we need more infrastructure projects - even pointless ones"; "expanding the ACA"

Policy from any candidate (baseline)

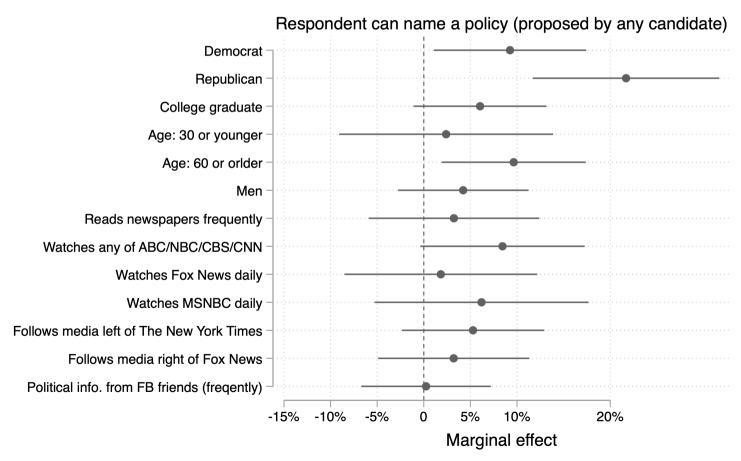


Policy from any candidate (demographics & media consumption)

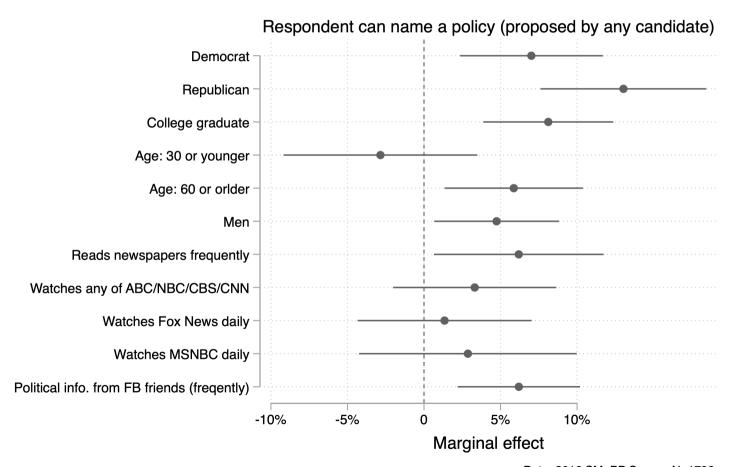


Data: 2016 SMaPP Survey. N=2296

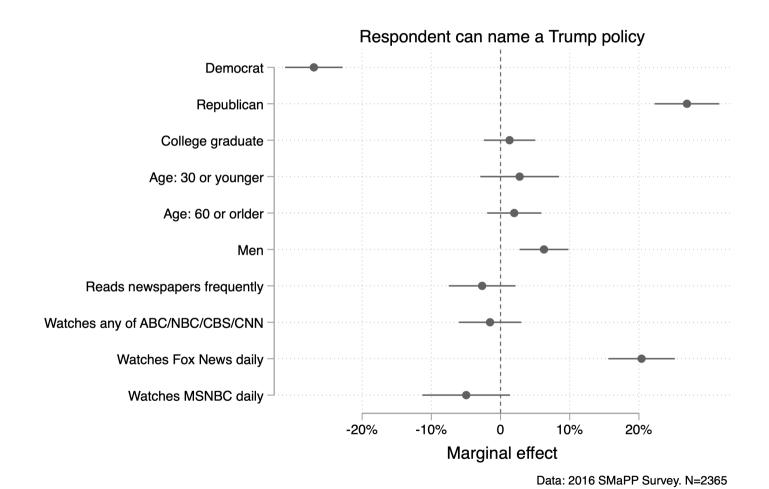
Policy from any candidate (demographics & online/offline media consumption)



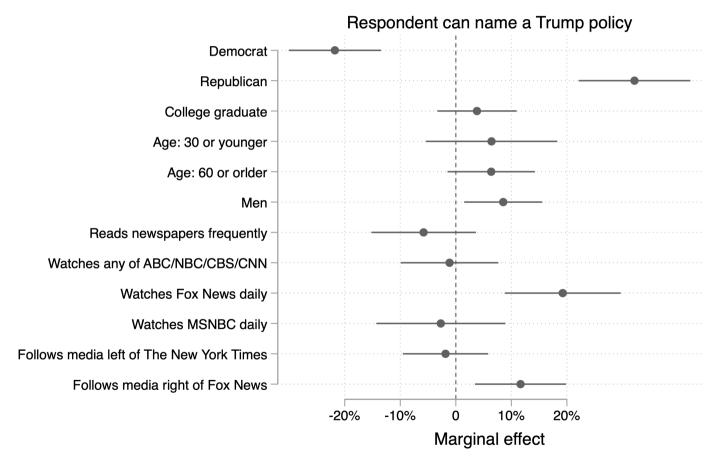
Policy from any candidate (demographics & media consumption & Facebook)



Remembering a desirable Trump policy (traditional media)

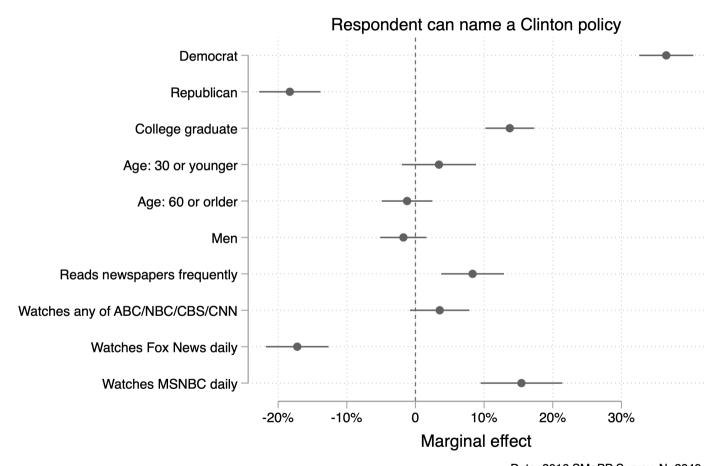


Remembering a desirable Trump policy (traditional & online media)

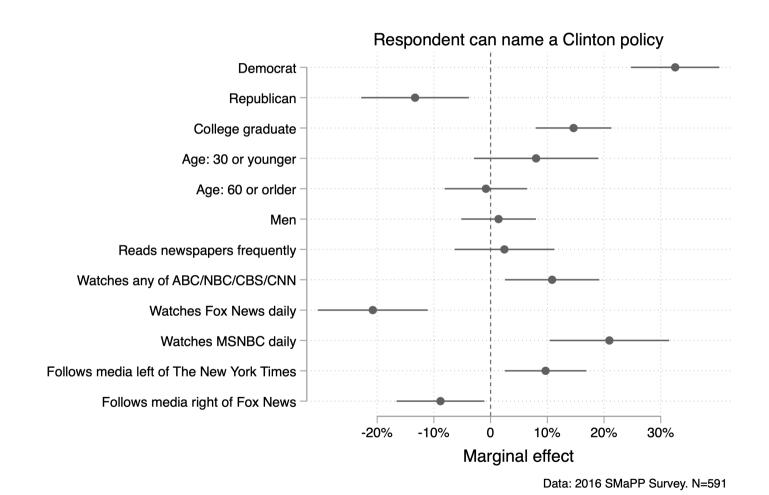


Data: 2016 SMaPP Survey. N=585

Remembering a desirable Clinton policy (traditional media)



Remembering a desirable Clinton policy (traditional & online media)



Take-away

What we show

- Most voters could name at least one policy. The campaign was not (solely) about negativity ("crooked Hillary") or identity.
- Education, PID, and media consumption are correlated with knowledge of candidates' policies.
- Liberal TV (MSNBC) does not seem to convince viewers that Trump has no desirable policies.
- (Suggestive evidence Fox News may reduce appeal of Clinton's policy proposals, holding partisanship fixed.)

Take-away

What we show

- Most voters could name at least one policy. The campaign was not (solely) about negativity ("crooked Hillary") or identity.
- Education, PID, and media consumption are correlated with knowledge of candidates' policies.
- Liberal TV (MSNBC) does not seem to convince viewers that Trump has no desirable policies.
- (Suggestive evidence Fox News may reduce appeal of Clinton's policy proposals, holding partisanship fixed.)

Debate: Do voters have enough knowledge to cast an informed vote?

- **Optimists**: Parties have an incentive to reach citizens and pitch their case. Exposure to news is almost unavoidable -- and it is correlated with knowledge.
- **Pessimists**: Voting is a low-stakes activity & earlier surveys suggest surveillance knowledge is limited