The feminists who voted for Trump:

Is it possible to identify as a feminist and vote for Donald Trump?

Politics with a minor in International Relations

Abstract

Literature on feminist voting in the 2016 American Presidential election has focused predominantly around Hillary Clinton. For many researchers, the existence of feminists voting for Donald Trump is merely a consequence of feminist reactions to Clinton. Additionally, much of this research is media based, indicating a lack of academic rigour to its conclusions. Although some scholars have investigated the reasoning behind the many white women who voted Trump, they have not explored this fully with feminis

global gender equality.[6] Considering this backdrop, it is the widely accepted view that no self-identifying feminist could possibly justify supporting Trump.[7]

Accepting this view, however, causes problems. Some women claim they are feminists and voted for Trump. This small but significant section of the electorate has been dismissed, and their understanding of feminism criticised.[8] This seems unfair however, when we expose the misunderstanding around feminism that currently exists in America. In 2014, at the Video Music Awards, singer Beyoncé performed with the word 'feminist' emblazoned in white lettering behind her. She explained she did this because, "people don't really know or understand what a feminist is."[9] Beyoncé seems to be correct. Since her performance, on the numerous occasions when feminism has been brought into the public eye, a spike in Google searches asking 'what is a feminist' has followed.[10] When television series and movies bring up issues of feminism, such as The Handmaids Tale and Wonder Woman, there is debate over whether thej /TT1 cs2 (s)4o10 (ep)2 (h)10 (eh)10 (ep)10 (e10 (oglnt)2 (h)10 e10 ((s)4

feminist. When she answered, "no, it's very anti-male and certainly pro-abortion,"[12] Conway was widely criticised, and online searches for the definition of feminism spiked again. These examples illustrate how the meaning of this incredibly relevant subject remains a cause for confusion in modern America. If people are unsure of what the term feminist means, how can they be so certain that it is impossible to be a feminist and vote for Trump?

Based on these events, the aim of this dissertation is to properly understand those who identify as feminists and voted for Trump. This has also helped it develop two distinct yet con6 (s)8 T68P(c)4 (on4an)10 (il)6 0 Tw 10.o25r.088 f4 (er)7 (ta.002 8

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Trump. However, it provides valuable insight into the influence of gender on the 2016 Presidential election. A smaller body of research looks explicitly at female voters' decisions to vote Trump, but this research lacks the feminist underpinnings my dissertation is built upon.[17] Significant and thoroughly researched, is literature about the influence of demographic factors on Trump votes. This provides strong conclusions surrounding feminism, female voters and race.[18] The feminist element of this literature leaves space for further

like Foreign Policy,[21] Swaay,[22] and Vanity Fair,[23] also have similar pieces published on the topic. This wealth of media indicates interest in feminist Trump voters, but there is little academic literature focused directly on this. This may be in part due to the recency of the 2016 Presidential election. This can be identified in that most literature s

literature is about Clinton's ability to gain female/feminist votes and tends to regard choices to vote for Trump instead as an afterthought, it is still significant. It provides an important gender lens to this dissertation, something that is intrinsically linked to feminist scholarship.[29] It reminds us how unprecedented the election of Trump is, in part because he was running against the first ever, female candidate from an established party. When researching if it is possible to be a feminist and vote for Trump the novelty of this election should certainly be considered because it may minimise the wider applicability of our findings.

Another, smaller body of literature on female voting patterns in the 2016 Presidential election does look explicitly at Trump. This literature, however, lacks feminist focus and tends to be more broadly applicable. Setzler and Yanus ask, "Why did women vote for Donald Trump?" but they use generalizable data on the gender gap and party loyalty in American politics.[30] They conclude that the reasons behind female Trump votes are similar to male Trump votes, which somewhat avoids the arguable significance of gender in the 2016 election.[31] Kolod proposes a similar question but adopts a unique psychoanalytical approach.[32] She also seeks for areas of ideological overlap between women who voted for Trump and women who did not.[33] This approach can help clarify issues that held particular sway in causing women to vote for

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[29] Linda Nicholson, "Interpreting Gender," *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 20, no. 1 (1994): 79.
[30] Mark Setzler, Alixandra Yanus, "Why did women vote for Donald Trump?" *Political Science* 51, no. 3 (2018): 524.
[31] Ibid, 526.
[32] Susan Kolod, "Trump World: What do Woman Want?" *Contemporary Psychoanalysis* 53, no. 4 (2107): 567.
[33] Ibid, 570.

Trump, because they are unlikely to have been within the recognised areas of ideological overlap with Clinton voters. These articles provide a useful alternative to the otherwise Clinton focused literature; however they are not built on feminist underpinnings like this dissertation. They do offer more broadly applicable conclusions, but perhaps these are less surprising than what this dissertation on specifically feminist Trump voters may be able to reveal.

Demographic factors influencing female Trump votes is another significant and thoroughly researched theme found in the existing literature. Many articles, like Junn's, "The Trump majority" investigate the fifty-

minorities."[37]

conclusion that intersectionality was important, with both race and feminist thought being the most influential demographic factors for Trump voters. However, these leave space for the understanding behind feminist Trump voters to be developed. Some work, such as Ferguson and Josephson's articles, has begun to think about these feminist reasons for voting and has recognized the importance in dedicating research to properly comprehend them. This dissertation hopes to achieve this and understand a unique section of the 2016 electorate that has previously been overlooked in academic literature.

Chapter Two – Theory: What is feminism in 2016 America?

This chapter aims to provide an overview of what it means to be a feminist in

from the first wave to the potential fourth wave we are currently experiencing.[46]

Secondly, it analyses a select few of the most influential schools of feminist thought known as 'feminisms', or the Hyphenation model.[47] These range from the traditional to the modern. These two methods do not encompass the entirety of feminist theory and

feminism. This is because of its aim to understand whether it is possible to identify as a feminist and vote for Trump. The number of women who identify as feminist and voted Trump is already a small group, yet they are diverse. Adopting one approach would limit the conclusions of this dissertation even further within this small section of the electorate. Whilst it employs several understandings to the term feminism this dissertation's theory is controlled in other respects. It is aiming to define feminism within the context of 2016 America. Naturally, this means it negates aspects of feminist theory that are not influential or beneficial to this overall goal. This will be further discussed when combining the waves of feminism with feminisms/the hyphenation model. However, as mentioned above limiting research in some respects can be necessary and effective. This dissertation is therefore limited in context but broad theoretically, because it would argue this is most appropriate methodological framework for answering the research question of whether it is possible to identify as a feminist and vote for Trump.

Waves of Feminism

expressions of feminist argument,[51] the idea that men and women alike have the capacity for reason, and "intellect will always govern."[52] This argument continued to be built upon by influential scholars, such as Mill, who argued in favour of women's emancipation.[53] This is an example of how the first-wave of feminism centred on expanding women's education and civil rights. It continued to do this right through to the Suffrage Movements of the early twentieth century.

timeline, Wollstonecraft has been described as the Mother of Women's rights.[58] Kick-starting the first-wave of feminism and illustrating that in its earliest Western form, feminism meant equal freedoms and education for women.

Moving onto the second-wave of feminism which begun in the 1960s, the term feminism expands into formalising equality rights in policy and recognising the differences among women.[59] Second-wave feminism's first major text was the "Feminine Mystique" by Betty Friedan. Frieden exposed the view that in America people believed the, "women problem" no longer existed.[60] Whilst women were applauded for their femininity, they were ignored for wanting something more than a husband, children and a home. As Evans explains, this was undoubtedly a pioneering and important feminist text.[61] For example, it helped institutionalise understanding of how women's personal problems were structured by public factors,[62] issues regarding childcare, abortion and job opportunities for women begun to receive recognition at a national level.[63] This demonstrates how Friedan's work meant the, previously private, personal

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[58] Miriam Brody, *Mary Wollstonecraft, Mother of Women's Rights* (New York: Published for Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.
[59] Rita Dhamoon, "Fem1 1 Tf 0.7 Tm .7 Tm .7 Tm .7 Tm .7 Tm .(hi)4 ((e4)4 (f (of)2 T) (u)12f)2

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issues of women were becoming political.[64] This highlighted a central debate in feminism that remains important and regards challenging the private/public dichotomy. For Friedan and many other feminists, the private/public dichotomy prevents the progress of women. It restricts them and their problems to the private, domestic sphere and so allows men to have complete control of the public sphere and uphold the inequality and domination of women.[65] However, some feminists critiqued Frieden for, "offering an analysis of gender oppression that assumed a similar experience among women: white, middle-class, suburban, heterosexual, homemaker".[66] and towards the end of the second-wave another element of feminism became significant.

Feminism began to involve recognising the influence of differing races in relation to achieving gender equality. This played a pivotal role in catalysing and maintaining the second-wave movement.[67] Indeed, when the Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964, it included Title VII to prevent employment dis

feminist political."[72] Another characteristic of third-wave feminism, and arguably the one that distinguishes it, is its confrontational modern activist nature. As Snyder articulated, third-wave feminism is about, "favouring action over theoretical justification."[73] In Heywood and Drake's book, "Third wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism" this is illustrated through the way they bring together feminist studies of the past with women's individual daily struggles in the present.[74] In a way, third-wave feminism's diverse focus has become a characteristic of modern feminism itself. The insistence that each woman must decide for herself what gender equality means,[75] results in the meaning of feminism being somewhat unique to each individual feminist.[76]

Finally, it has been alleged that we are currently experiencing a fourth-wave of feminism. In the twenty-first century, some feminists have suggested they are of a fourth-wave, mobilizing politics through new media.[77] As Celis et al argues it is undeniably true that interest in feminism has resurged.[78] Particularly with younger women using new forms of activism, such as demonstrations like the

[72] Claire Snyder, "What is Third-Wave Feminism? A new directions essay," *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (2008): 175.
[73] Ibid, 175.
[74] Leslie Heywood, Jenifer Drake, *Third-wave Agenda: Being Feminist, Doing Feminism* (Minneapolis: Published for University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 1.
[75] Claire Snyder Hall, "Third-Wave Feminism and the Defence of 'Choice'," *Perspectives on Politics* 8, no.1 (2010): 255.
[76] Claire Snyder, "What is Third-Wave Feminism? A new directions essay," *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 34, no. 1 (2008): 175.
[77] Rebecca Wanzo, "Pop Culture/ Visual Culture," in The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory, ed. Lisa Disch, Mary Hawkesworth (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 668.
[78] Karen Celis et al, "Introduction: Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline," in The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics, ed. Georgina Waylen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 16.

'SlutWalks' and '#MeToo' movement. Feminist writers, like Banyard, argue passionately that modern technologies have resulted in the need for feminism to stay at the forefront of political activism, resulting in a fourth-wave.[79] Despite this, it does not necessarily mean it is time to declare a fourth-wave, and in traditional academic literature the absence of a fourth-wave is notable. Even in the most topical feminist writings, "the existence of a feminist fourth-wave has been challenged by those who maintain that increased usage of the Internet is not enough to delineate a new era."[80] Either way, this research will aim to keep a potential fourth-wave of feminism in mind when analysing feminists who voted for Trump. This dissertation may be able to recognize the suggested activist and technological characteristics of this wave. In fact, if a fourth-wave of feminism has arisen the way feminists dealt with the 2016 Presidential election will be a valuable indicator of the nature of this wave of feminism.

Having attempted to determine the meaning of feminism chronologically through waves we have deciphered that throughout time the word feminist has borne varying meanings. However, picking up on the main characteristics of each wave we can see some of the most important features of feminism in the US today. Based on the rich history of the waves, to be a feminist today arguably means:

1. Suppor ting equal rights and freedoms for Women.   This is linked to the long-standing values of first-wave feminism, primarily the belief that men and women should have equal rights.

2. Recognising how the personal can be political.   This is linked to the second-wave, which developed understanding that, despite consistent feminist progress, what happens in women's personal life is often controlled by sexist politics.

3. Appreciating the differences among and between women.   Again, this is inspired by the second-wave, but this time its multi-racial elements, and continues with the non-judgemental attitude of the third-wave. It involves recognising that not all women are experiencing the same forms of patriarchy.

4. Fighting for the right to identify as a   feminist based on pers onal understanding and individual struggles.   This relates to the activism of the third and potentially current fourth-wave. In addition to the earlier recognition of different lived experiences of patriarchy.

While this research accepts these as some of the identifying features of feminism, it recognises this does indeed leave gaps in understanding, as to rely solely on a timeline of waves has been depicted as normative.[81] Thus ignoring the multi-faceted nature of feminism.[82] In an attempt to prevent this, this

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[81] Becky Thompson, "Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism," *Feminist Studies* 28, no. 2 (2002): 338.
[82] Mary Hawkesworth, Lisa Disch, "Introduction. Feminist Theory: Transforming the Known World," in The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory, ed. Lisa Disch, Mary Hawkesworth (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 2.

model also leaves us with gaps in understanding. For example, it has been described as a way of recognising feminism solely as a derivative of other political theory, thus undermining its importance.[86] This dissertation will avoid this by utilizing the hyphenation model alongside the timeline waves approach. This will provide us with a more sound understanding of feminism in the US today, as it illuminates schisms that exist alongside the waves. As Ferguson argues, "there is no one feminism, but feminisms."[87] Out of these many significant variations, there are some that will not be covered in this research. Again, it is recognized that this may leave gaps in our understanding. However, in order to provide a thorough and meaningful background to our analysis of feminists who voted for Trump, this research will focus on the feminisms most relevant and significant to feminists in 2016 America. It begins with three traditional feminisms that have remained influential and significant to feminists over time, and then moves on to two modern approaches that are likely to have specific relevance to feminists in the 2016 election of Trump.

Feminisms/The Hyphenation model

Liberal feminism possesses the len304.6w 5.12 an (s)4 (es)4 12 (i)-3 ()o fitac upndi Ta10 (

prioritises equality.[88] Dhamoon explains it emerged as, "a way to integrate women into existing frameworks on the premise that men and women should be treated equally."[89] In this light, for liberal feminists the single most important goal is equality, meaning this school of thought has largely overlooked other controversial feminist issues. Although as Ferguson points out, liberal feminism does include the idea that, "women need to be free to make their own choices – about career, reproduction, sexuality, politics and so on,"[90] equality remains prioritised over these other issues. Liberal feminism can also be understood through the aspects of feminism it neglects and it has been critiqued in the past for its lack of challenge to the public/private divide.[91] However, some scholars suggest that arguments such as, "accessible and universal childcare are matters for the state rather than just concerns about private domestic life" stem from liberal feminists.[92] In some ways, even the earliest liberal feminist writers, such as Wollstonecraft, attempted to encourage women into the public sphere.[93] However, their ability to achieve this at the time they were writing was limited, due to the historical social norm of a strict divide between public and private. Despite this, liberal feminism's willingness to challenge the public/private dichotomy has been stronger in more recent years, with scholars

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[88] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London: Published for J. Johnson, 1792), 451.

[89] Rita Dhamoon, "Feminisms," in The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics, ed. Georgina Waylen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 91.

[90] Michaele Ferguson, "Trump is a Feminist, and Other Cautionary Tales for Our Neoliberal Age," *Theory and Event* 20, no. 1 (2017): 58.

[91] Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 119.

[92] Rita Dhamoon, "Feminisms," in The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics, ed. Georgina Waylen (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 91.

[93] Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London: Published for J. Johnson, 1792), 361.

such as Okin. [94] This highlights feminisms' abilities to adapt with time. Regardless, the lack of challenge to the public/private dichotomy remains a questioned aspect of liberal feminist thinking, and the essence of liberal feminism in 2016 is still prioritising equality between men and women.

An alternative traditional distinction is Socialist-Marxist feminism. This school of thought begun to challenge the liberal idea that equality is priority, because for Marxist's equality is just a bourgeois illusion. The key focus is a critique of the system of capitalism because it "exploits women and creates their economic dependence on men."[95] For Socialist-Marxist feminists social structures, like marriage and family, enhance women's powerlessness and are a product of capitalist arrangements.[96] This results in the belief that the sole way to achieve gender equality is to first overthrow capitalism. This shows how Socialist-Marxist feminists are still supporting equal rights and freedoms for women, they just believe the way to

Moving on to the less traditional schools of feminist thought this research will

now briefly cover Post-Structural feminism and Anti-

Feminism, Black Feminism, and Native-American feminism to name a few.[106] Roth recognises the significance of race in the way feminists protest, noting the class differences between racial/ethnic communities impact the resources available for protest.[107] This ties into the work mentioned in the literature review, which recognised "the positionality of white feminists as second in relation to men but first in race to minorities."[108] This demonstrates the intersectionality of feminist issues, and draws on second-wave feminisms' multi-racial facets. These feminists want to highlight their identity as both women and of colour, two identities that are marginalised in both sexist and racist discourse.[109] Once more this suggests that a key part of feminism constitutes recognising the differences among women and how these impact their ability to achieve gender equality. With Anti-Racist feminism, this refers primarily to racial differences. Mentioned above are America's turbulent racial politics and in the literature review, we have already seen how important race was in 2016 election voting choices. Together this suggests that aspects of Anti-racist feminism may be highly relevant to what it means to be a feminist in 2016 Aal i (e)10 ( )]2.i

In conclusion, this research is not arguing that these five points constitute the only components of feminism, or that they are even the most important parts of feminism as an entire theory. Instead, it has detected them to be the most meaningful to feminism in 2016 America, and therefore the election of Trump. Based on studying the timeline of feminist waves and the most relevant schools of feminist thought, these five points have guided us as to what it means to be a feminist in 2016 America. Therefore, they will act as a theoretical framework for the rest of this dissertation. In chapter three they will be used to analyse interviews with feminist Trump supporters, revealing whether their voting choices in practice match this theoretical definition of feminism in 2016 America. This will help us to identify whether the voters that claim to be feminists and support Trump are using reasoning that is actually in line with feminist theory, allowing us to answer the question is it possible to identify as a feminist and vote for Trump.

Chapter Three – Analysis: Is it possible to be a feminist and vote for Donald Trump?

Using the 2016 feminist criteria outlined in chapter two this chapter will investigate the explanations feminist women gave for voting Trump. It is divided into two sections. Firstly, a discussion of existing interviews, explaining how this research selected several to analyse. This is followed by the analysis, which involves looking at whether the feminist Trump supporters reasoning for voting

Trump lines up with feminist theory. The in

research initially found articles, such as The Tylt's, "Is it possible to be a feminist Trump supporter?"[117] that had reduced the content of interviewee answers by such a considerable amount that there was a lack of information to analyse.[118] In other Q&A articles there was, as expected from the literature review, and imbalance in focus on why feminists did not vote for Clinton.[119] Swaay's Q&A style interview article did not possess either of these problems. It retained the answers of its five interviewees in full, had little additional editorial discussion, and did not display an imbalanced focus on Clinton.[120] This dissertation then attempted to match this in discussion style interviews, with integrated interviewee comments that had already been annotated and expanded upon. Three potential articles were found: Splinterasaed rw (Q)-sa10 ()-6 (r) (2 ()10 (4-3 (eady (tr)

addition to its previously mentioned demographic diversity Swaay's article on feminist Trump voters is a highly appropriate choice for this research. Moving on to Foreign Policy's article, the magazine's well-established expertise in politics is an asset. It is described as an, "award-winning magazine of global politics, economics and ideas."[130] Examining the issue of feminist Trump voters with grounding in politics provides an effective alternative to the feminist focus of Swaay. It aids us in considering the interplay of other political phenomena, such as Nationalism and Populism, alongside female Trump voter's feminist reasoning.[131] Vanity Fair's article boasts the magazines cemented reputation in photography and culture. Its coverage of economics, politics and world affairs

committees.[137] The second is journalist Arsa Nomani. Arsa is a fifty-one-year-old journalist, originally from India. In publicly announcing her support for Trump, Arsa said she received backlash focused on her gender and Muslim identity.[138] Feminist Maggie Horzempa is the key interviewee from Vanity Fair. She is the chairwoman of University of North Carolina College Republicans and the president of the campus chapter of the Network of Enlightened Women. Her politics have elicited controversy on campus, but she is described as confident and has explained that this only deepens her political commitments.[139] It is worth noting, that at twenty-one, Maggie is the youngest interviewee and may provide an insight into the younger generation of feminist Trump supporters. Additionally, Maggie is another politically active interviewee. It is important to remember this when conducting our analysis as having a stronger involvement and interest in politics than the average voter is likely to impact the manner in which these feminists make their voting choices. Having reached a final panel of eight interviewees, selected through this careful process that aimed to achieve a diverse range of participants, we can move on to analysing these feminist's reasons for voting Trump.

Analysis

Some explanations provided by the interviewees are not rooted in feminist theory. Many of the interviewees reason that although they do not think feminist

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[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] "They say we're white supremacists: Inside the strange world of conservative college women," Nancy Jo Sales, accessed February 18, 2019, https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2018/11/conservative-college-women-university-of-north-carolina-republicans.

criteria one of feminism to be supporting the equal rights and freedoms for women, Trump's stance on abortion evidently challenges feminist values whether or not our interviewees are aware of this. Therefore again, it seems that despite what the interviewees believe, it is not possible to be a feminist and vote for him.

However, these issues bring up the possibility that perhaps these women were feminists who voted for Trump, but not for feminist reasons. Many of the women mention other issues they considered to be important when making their vote. The Business Entrepreneur explained her primary political agenda in voting was to remove the Affordable Care Act (ACA), because she believed it was not affordable for anyone she knew.[148] She also added Trump's business background meant he could, "look at our (America's) spending as a nation and cut the fluff."[149] The issues this voter prioritises over her feminist values follow a trend. Many of the other interviewees' mention how their vote for Trump was one that they believed prioritised the success of healthcare and the economy. The Pre School Teacher claimed her priority in voting Trump was to remove the ACA and the Stay at Home Mother said her priority was the economy.[150] These women identify as feminists but quote prioritising these other issues. This suggests these women put their feminist goals below their concerns regarding other issues. This research has not discovered this to be inherently anti-feminist and so this begins to demonstrate the complexity of understanding

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[148] "I'm a feminist and I voted for Trump," Wendy Rose Gould, accessed February 18, 2019, http://swaay.com/im-feminist-voted-trump-5-female-trump-supporters-stand-now-2/.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid.

the equal rights and freedom for women. The interviewee's desires for Ivanka's importance to be promoted and recognised alongside her father illustrates their desire for her to secure equal opportunities, rights and freedoms.

However, this is in many ways problematic and potentially not fulfilling criteria one of feminism as first thought. Ivanka's feminism has been described as, 'faux feminism.' As Valenti explains, "as a dutiful daughter, loving wife and mother, smart and polished business women, Ivanka embodies a brand of palatable white feminism."[154] Rottenberg additionally su

interviewee, Arsa, did not mention Ivanka. The other interviewees' use of Ivanka to justify voting for Trump reveals the complex relationship between feminism and Trump. It could be considered feminist reasoning, because Ivanka does actively express her support for the equal rights and freedoms of women. She reportedly pushed her father to adopt a maternity leave policy,[158] and proceeds from her book "Women who work" help fund organisations that empower and educate women and girls.[159] However, scholars like Valenti and Rottenberg, have questioned whether this support extends to women of colour or women on the margins of society. Therefore, the interviewee's reliance on Ivanka could be argued as supporting feminist theory, but only within

Customer Services Employee was attracted to Trump because she wanted a change in America, and so she liked that Trump was outside the norm of politicians.[161] Ann also described Trump as an opportunity to, "shake things up and be a disruptor because he's not a politician."[162] This idea that Trump would represent a challenge to the political system appears to match the fifth criteria found in this researches understanding of feminism. The idea that a feminist is someone who challenges systems, whether social, political, or economic, that threaten the other elements of feminism. Although the women interviewed do not necessarily recognise that their desire to change the political system stems from the desire to promote a feminist agenda, this may still be the case. Coming into politics as an outsider Trump depicted himself as challenging a corrupt, elitist political system.[163] For example, speaking at a recent feminist conference, feminist writer Gloria Steinem agreed Trump does indeed challenge the patriarchal political system and so his election may not be all bad. She suggested Trump might go down in history as the person who made feminists 'woke.'[164] Whilst Trump may not be intending to challenge the political system that reinforces patriarchy this shows that, both feminist voters and

feminist theory researched in chapter two; therefore, indicating it could be possible to be a feminist and vote for Trump.

Similarly, this research finds further evidence that it may be possible to identify as a feminist and vote for Trump in the interviewees' answers that refer to supporting and respecting the differences amongst women. Arsa voted Trump in part because she felt that; "pro-Clinton 'groupthink' was a turnoff. As were comments from the former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and feminist leader Gloria Steinem that disparaged young women who supported Senator Bernie Sanders in the Democratic primaries."[165] She explained this made her feel as though the differentiation amongst women's political choices was not appreciated.[166] Maggie expressed how she felt "mob rule" had taken over amongst women, and they were no longer allowed to freely express their beliefs if they differed from the mainstream consensus.[167] The Pre School Teacher conveyed similar concerns and the Yoga Teacher summarises, "feminists can vote Trump because if you are part of a group that preaches tolerance and inclusivity, you can't choose who you want to include. It has to be everyone, including those who have different views than you."[168] This shows feminist Trump supporters drawing on an element of feminist theory that this research has recognised. As criteria three posits, a feminist is someone who

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[165] "The Other Women's movement," Cathy Young, accessed February 18, 2019, https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/03/20/the-other-womens-movement-trump-le-pen-clinton-nationalism/.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] "I'm a feminist and I voted for Trump," Wendy Rose Gould, accessed February 18, 2019, http://swaay.com/im-feminist-voted-trump-5-female-trump-supporters-stand-now-2/.

appreciates the differences amongst and between women. The answers these feminist interviewees provide suggest they are using this recognition and appreciation of difference to justify their differing political views exhibited in voting for Trump. This implies again that it is possible to be a feminist and vote for Trump.

The previous point also ties into the theme frequently considered in the literature review surrounding feminists' dislike for Clinton. However, by analysing this issue from the unique standpoint of feminist Trump voters, rather than automatically dismissing-0.032 Tt/e032 Tt..(c)4 3(f)2 (f)yr

is not sexist, the impact of the Muslim Travel Ban will be felt most by women of colour.[173] Gökariksel explains the ban is a normalisation of discriminatory practices, and this will increase violent targeting against minorities.[174] Muslim women who wear the headscarf are the easiest targets for these attacks because of their publicly visible religious alignment.[175] By condoning a policy that exerts a disproportionate negative influence on Muslim women, Trump's travel ban does not appreciate the racial differences among women. Instead, they are regarded as a threat. This research has already recognized criteria three of feminism involves appreciating the differences between women, rather than viewing them as one monolithic block with identical experiences. This

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implications, for example it provides a new angle on why women did not vote

for Clinton. It also helps scrutinise individual policies, such as the Muslim Travel

several mentioned their desire to be accepted as feminists regardless of how their individual political choices may differ from other women's. [179] This research recognised this as drawing on its criteria three of feminism, which involves appreciating the differences among and between women. Similarly, interviewees mentioned their support for Ivanka, desire to challenge the patriarchal political system, and right to identify as feminist based on their own personal experiences. [180] Based on its definition, this research argues all of these, are to at least some extent, feminist reasons for voting Trump.

Additionally, this research found that many feminist women justify voting for Trump through their prioritisation of policy issues such as the economy and healthcare. [181]

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ideologically opposed remains,[182] and some of the interviewees attempted to explain their feminist Trump vote through reasoning that was anti-feminist. For example, the idea that Trump is no worse than others on feminist issues and is not actively against women's rights.[183] This is not reasoning supported by the feminist theory this dissertation has researched. Additionally, this dissertation's use of existing interviews could be improved upon. With access to more resources, first-hand interviews could be conducted, and a selection of participants more diverse and representative of the electorate could be involved. However, whilst these issues challenge the conclusion that it is possible to identify as a feminist and vote for Trump, they do not prevent it. This dissertation does not argue that all feminist Trump supporters are truly committed to feminist values. Instead, it recognises that some of them are and the possibility to be both feminist and support Trump exists.

This dissertation's conclusion strengthens the need for further research that bm(s)4p (m)-3 (i

not vote for Clinton. Concluding with the argument that it is possible to identify as a feminist and vote for Trump develops a safe and meaningful dialogue for feminist Trump supporters.[185] This will aid education, increase political involvement, and help counteract the confusion that exists around the far-reaching, significant, and important topic of feminism.

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