Election 2016 in Review

John Coleman

University of Minnesota

Cooperative Network, November 15, 2016

Recap of 2016 National Results

Trump wins presidency and Electoral College (290-232, MI tbd), Clinton wins popular vote (~0.6%)

Republicans hold Senate (51-48-1tbd, +2D), House (241-194, +5D)

No state has split President-Senate outcome (1st time since voting for Senate began in 1914)

Recap of 2016 State Results

Republicans hold 66 of 98 partisan state legislative chambers

- Democrats 30; 1 tie; 1 nonpartisan

Republicans control both chambers in 32 states (highest ever)

Republican governor in 33 states, Democrats have 15 (1 Ind, 1 tbd)

Recap of 2016 MN & WI Results

Minnesota

- Clinton +1.5 pts
- Senate 34R(+6) – 33D
- House 76R(+4) – 57D*
- Party Control LEG, GOV
- US House 5 DFL, 3 GOP
- US Senator 2 DFL

Wisconsin

- Trump +0.9pts
- Senate 20R(+2) -12D*
- Assembly 64R(+1) -35D
- Party Control LEG, GOV
- US House 5 GOP, 3 DEM
- US Senator 1 GOP, 1 DEM

* = 1 undecided

Results from the Nomination Process: Issues and Candidate Qualities

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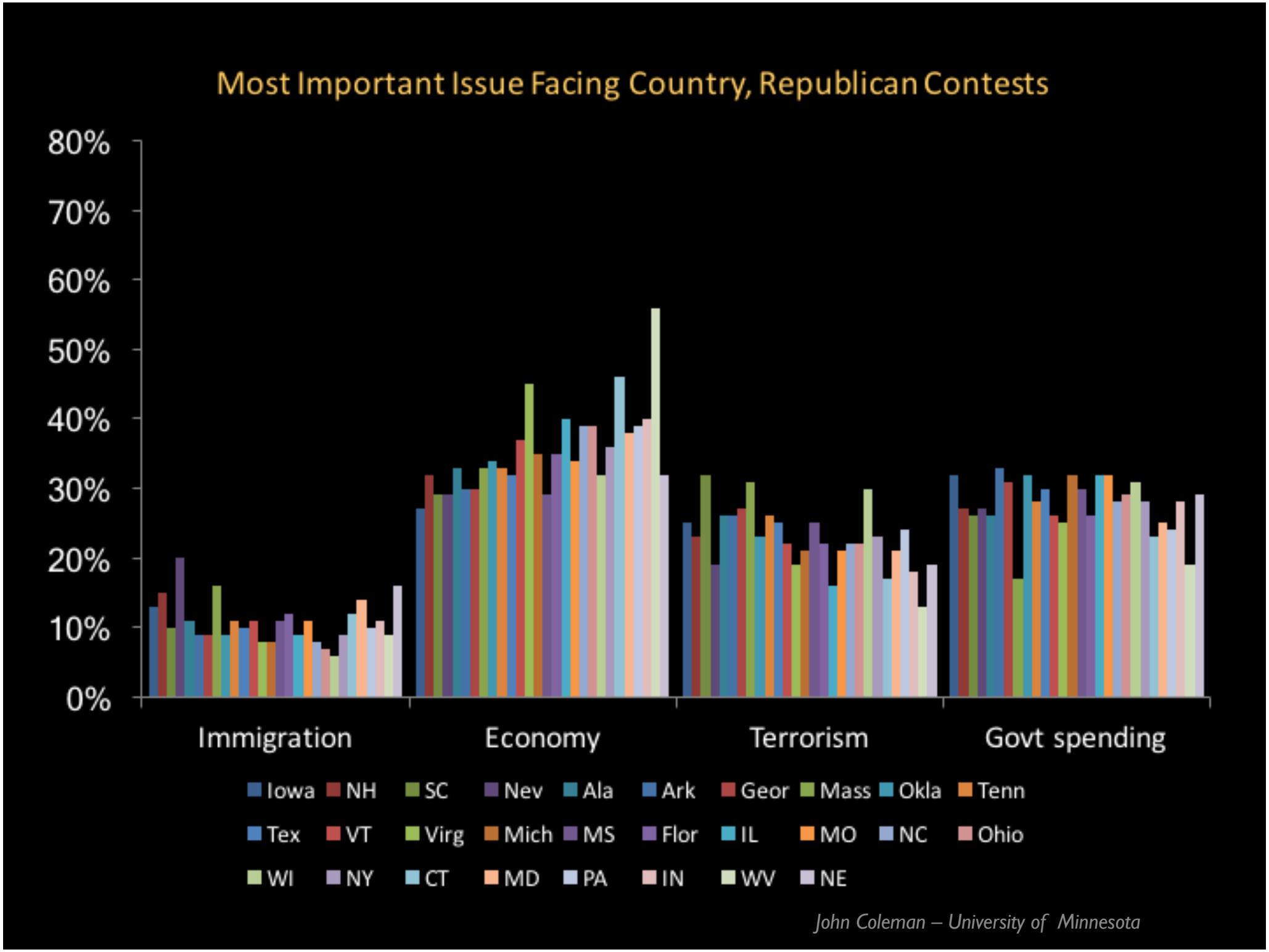
Most Important Issue Facing Country, Republican Contests
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Immigration
Economy
Terrorism
Govt spending
Iowa NH SC Nev Ala Ark Geor Mass Okla Tenn
Tex VT Virg Mich MS Flor IL MO NC Ohio
WI NY CT MD PA IN WV NE
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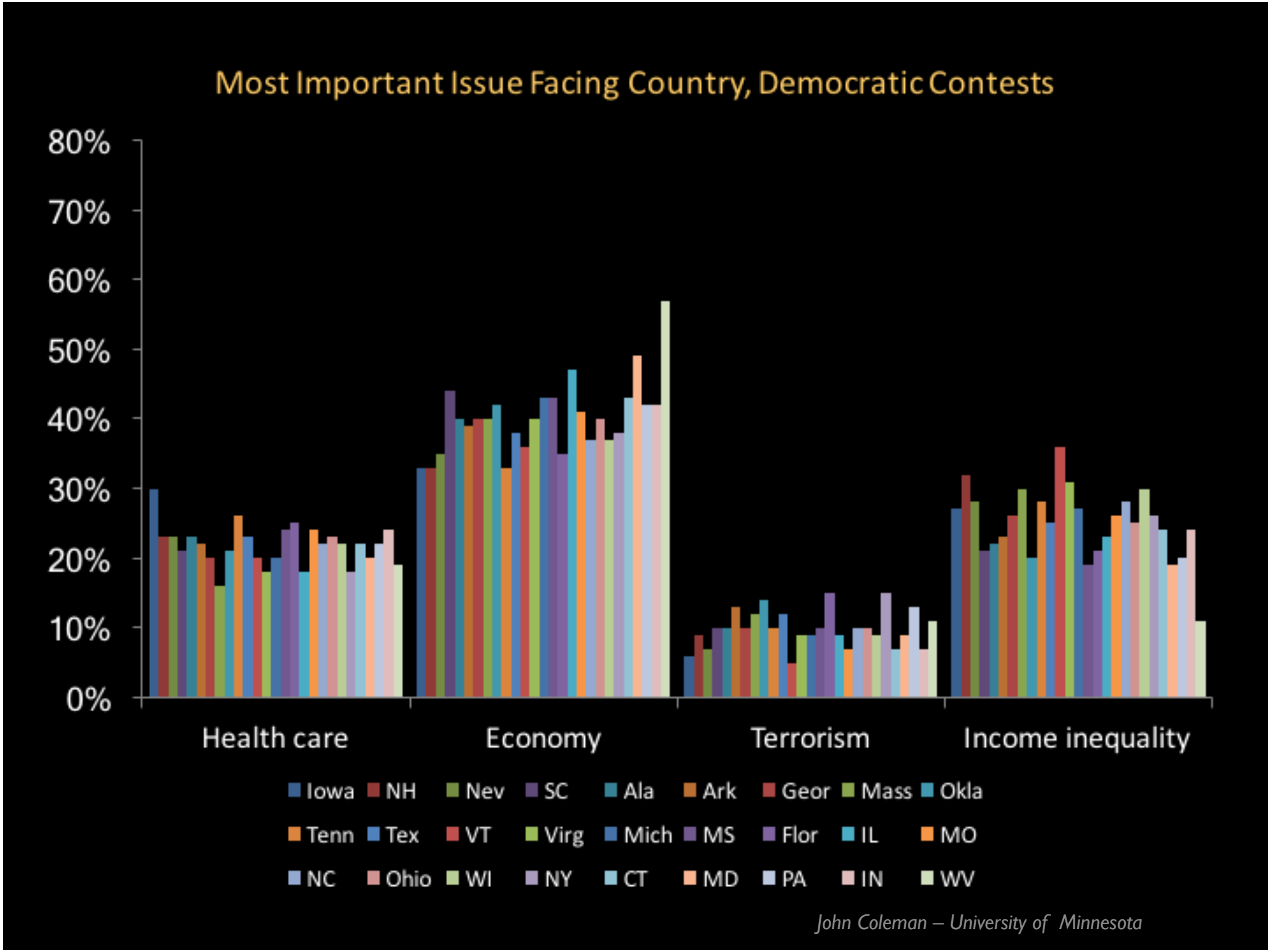
Most Important Issue Facing Country, Democratic Contests
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Health care
Economy
Terrorism
Income inequality
Iowa NH Nev SC Ala Ark Geor Mass Okla
Tenn Tex VT Virg Mich MS Flor IL MO
NC Ohio WI NY CT MD PA IN WV
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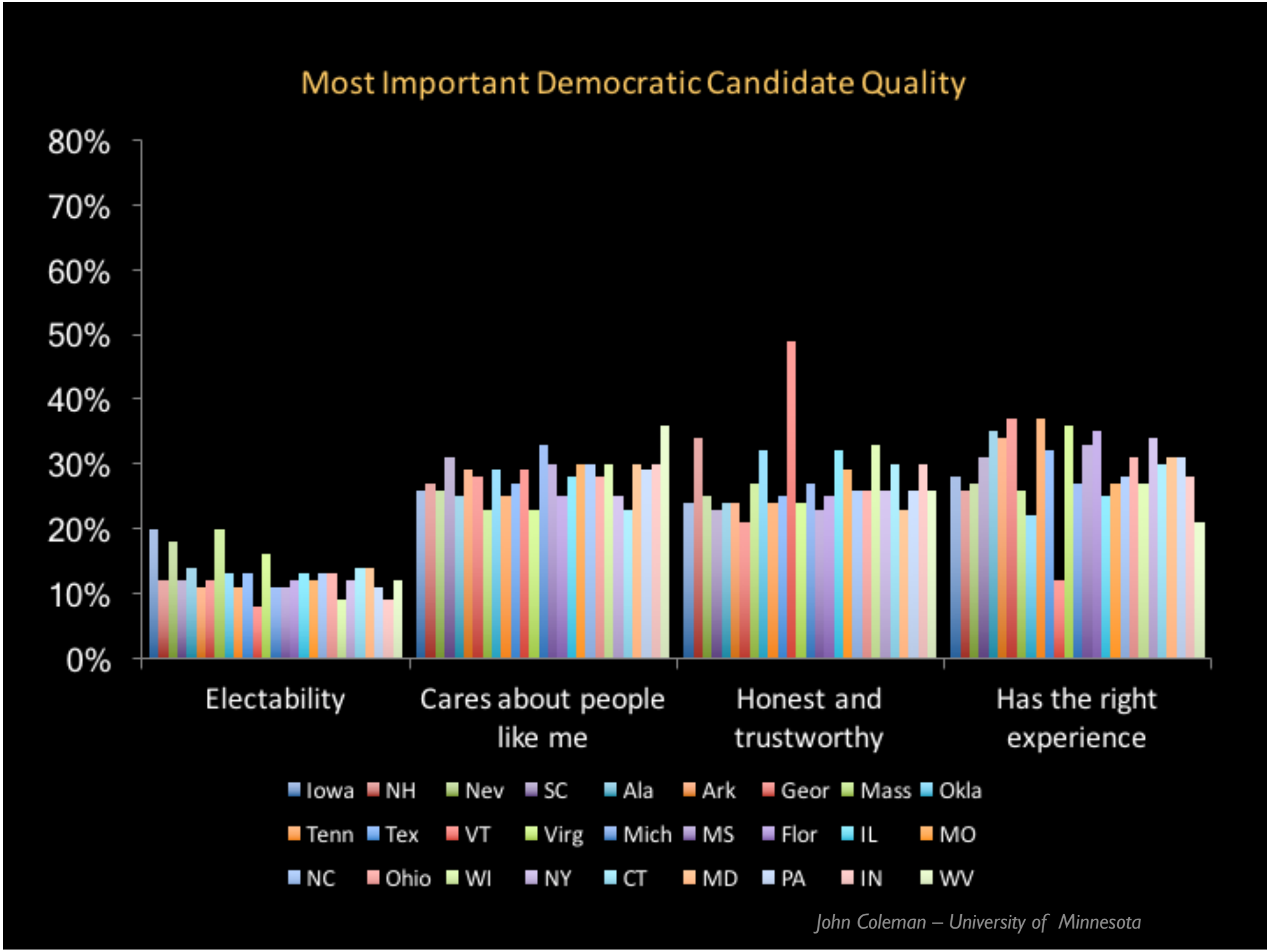
Most Important Democratic Candidate Quality
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Electability
Cares about people like me
Honest and trustworthy
Has the right experience
Iowa NH Nev SC Ala Ark Geor Mass Okla
Tenn Tex VT Virg Mich MS Flor IL MO
NC Ohio WI NY CT MD PA IN WV
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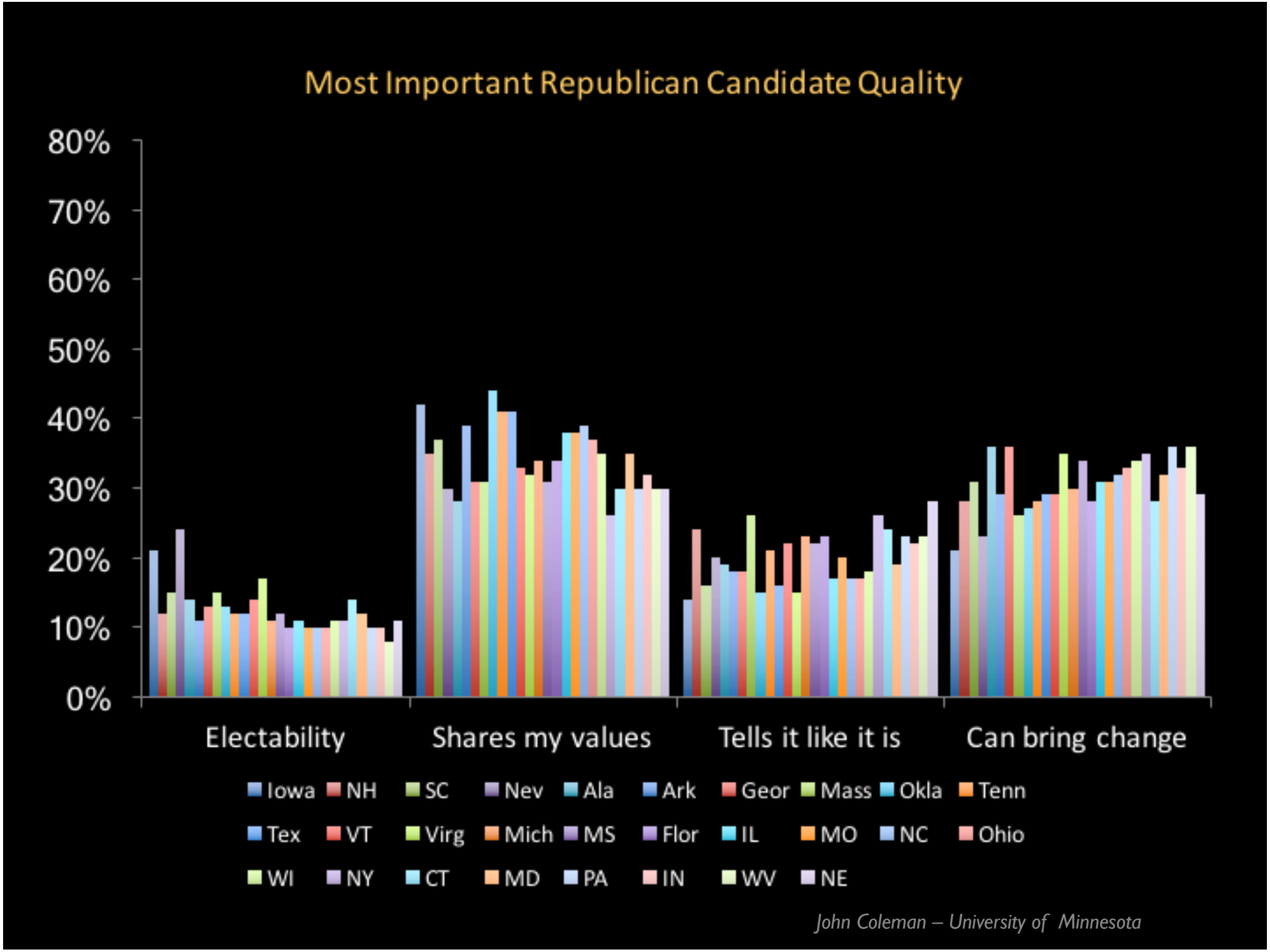
Most Important Republican Candidate Quality
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Electability
Shares my values
Tells it like it is
Can bring change
Iowa NH SC Nev Ala Ark Geor Mass Okla Tenn
Tex VT Virg Mich MS Flor IL MO NC Ohio
WI NY CT MD PA IN WV NE
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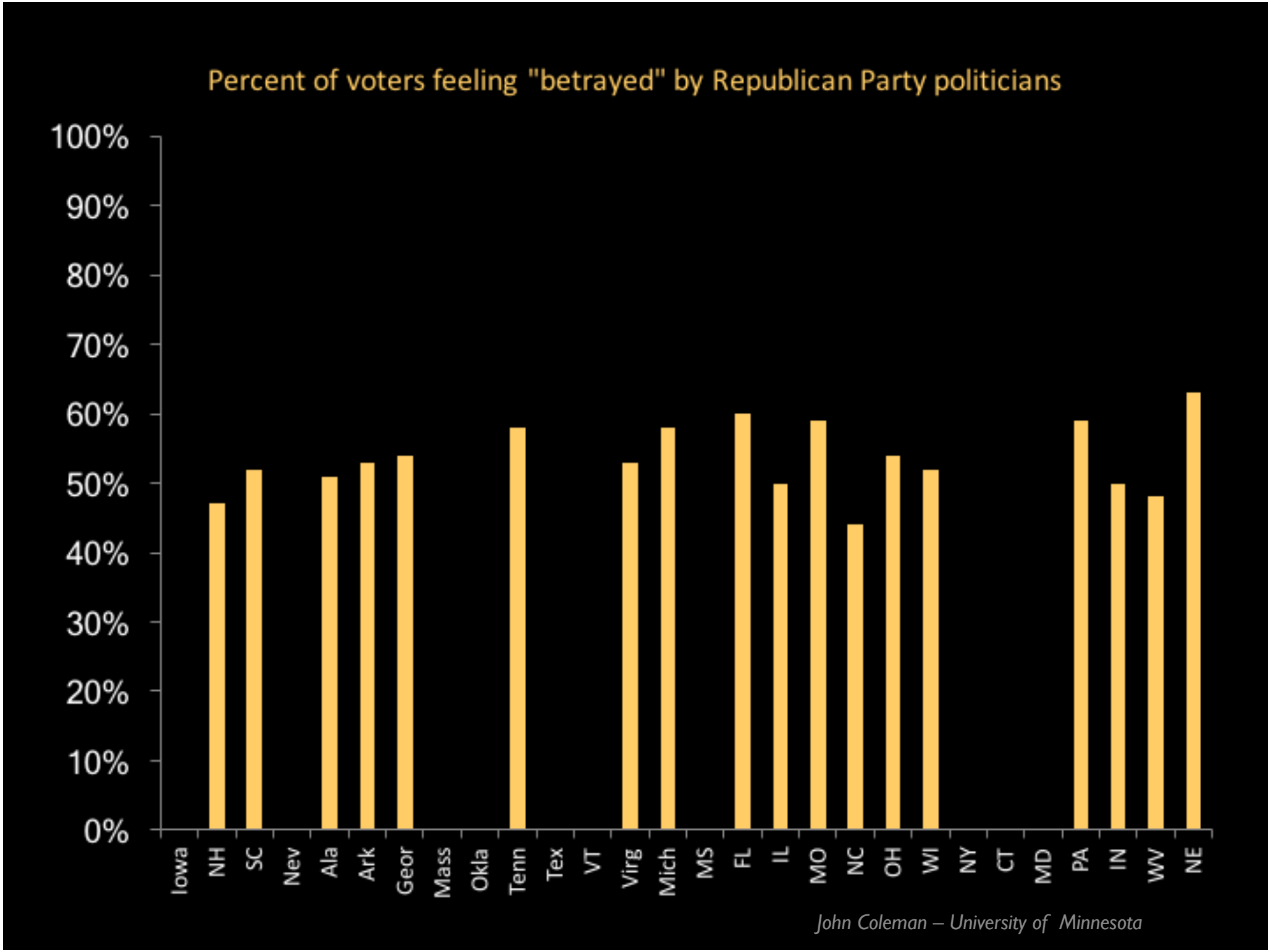
Percent of voters feeling "betrayed" by Republican Party politicians
100%
90%
80%
70%
60%
50%
40%
30%
20%
10%
0%
Iowa
NH
SC
Nev
Ala
Ark
Geor
Mass
Okla
Tenn
Tex
VT
Virg
Mich
MS
FL
IL
MO
NC
OH
WI
NY
CT
MD
PA
IN
WV
NE
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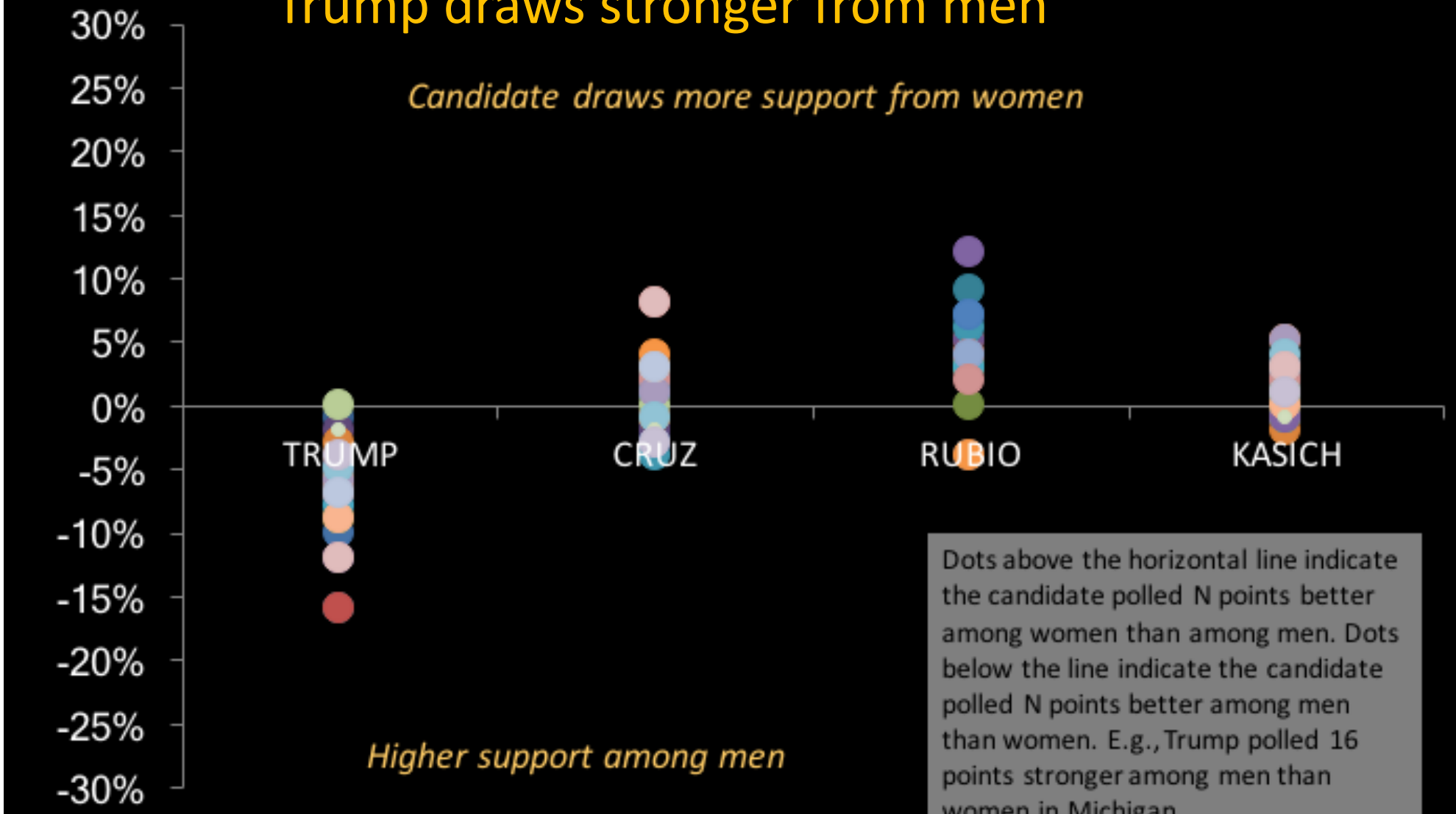
Results from the Nomination Process: Support Groups

Trump draws stronger from men



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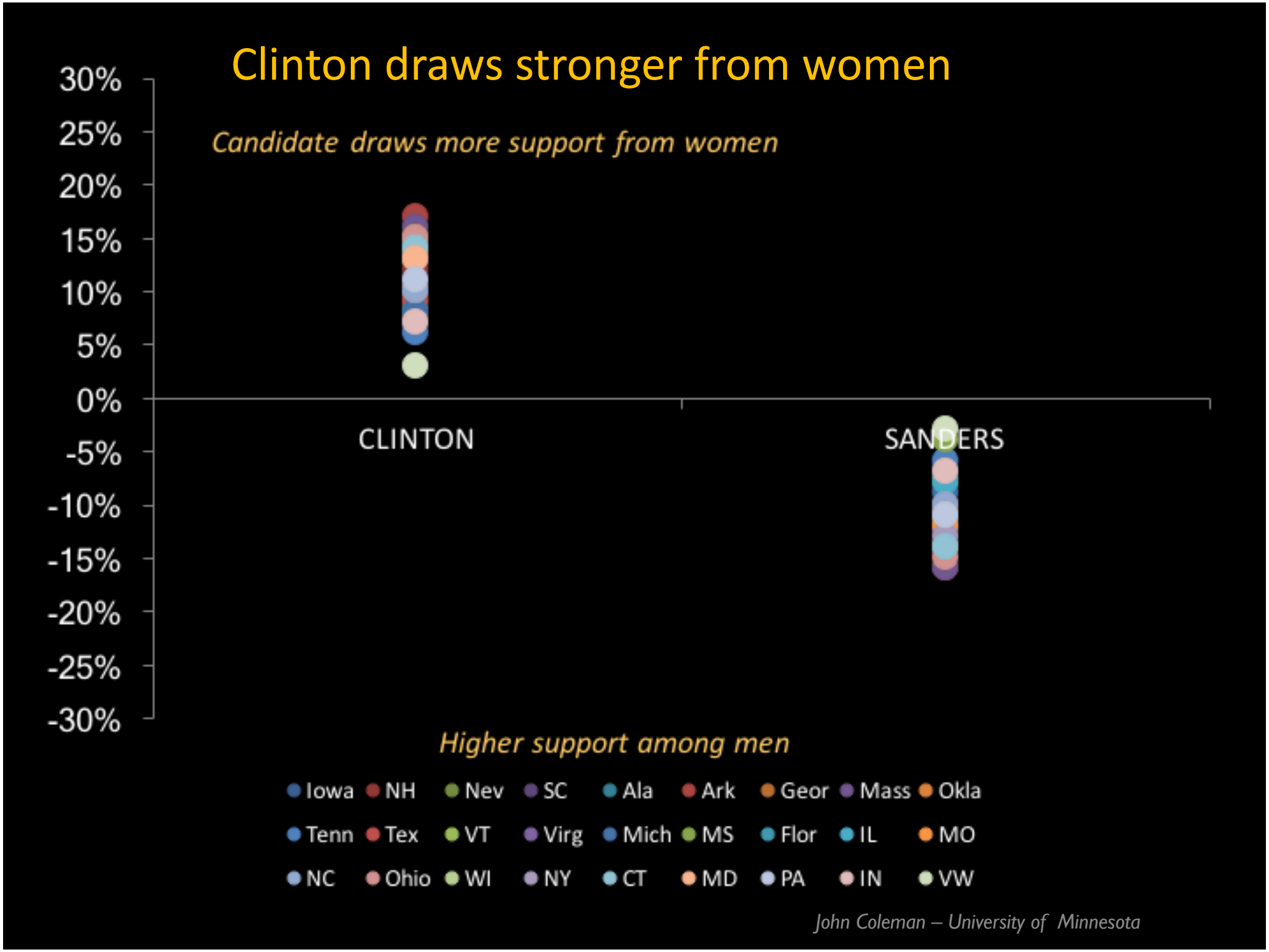
Clinton draws stronger from women



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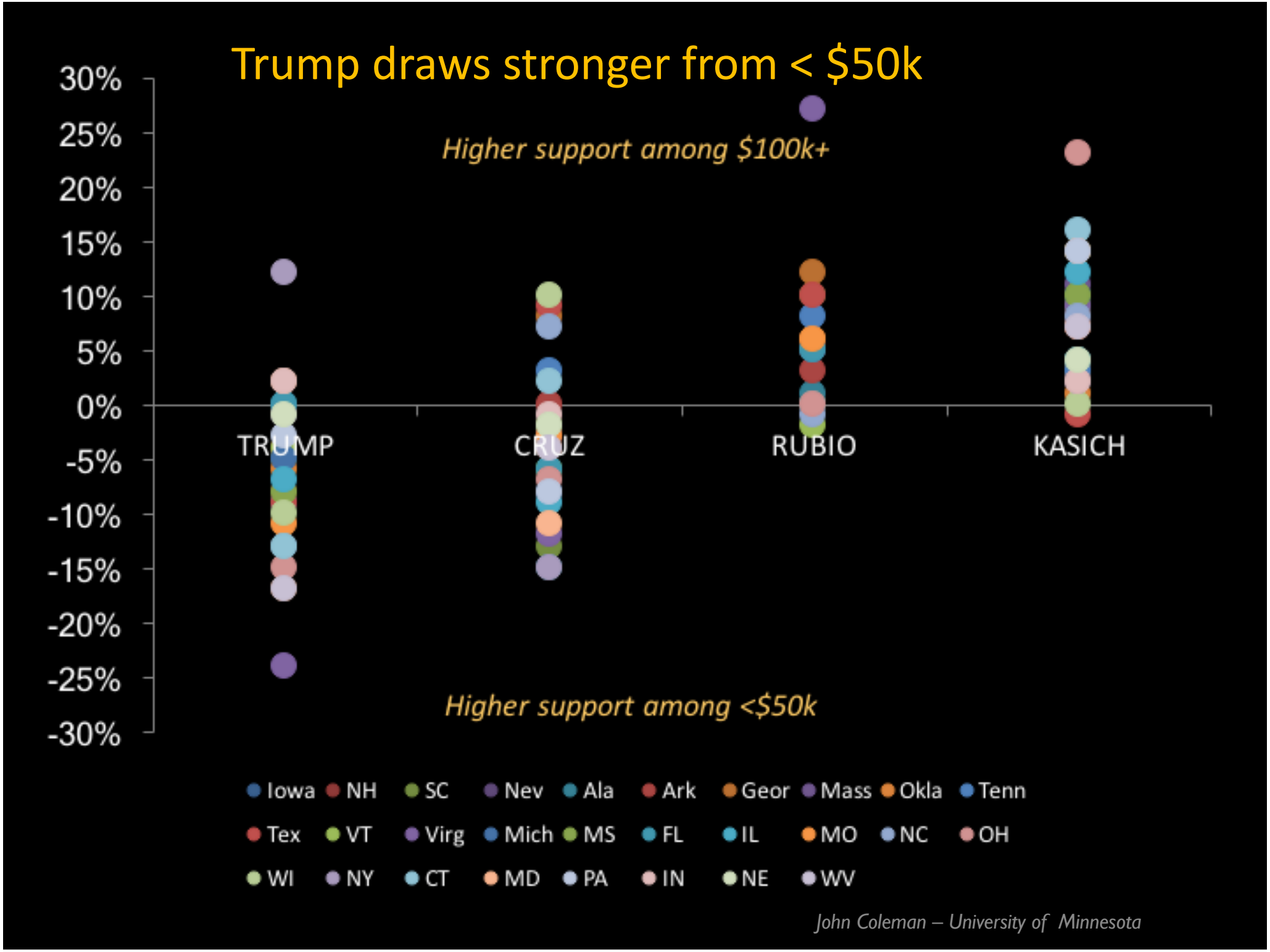
Trump draws stronger from < $50k



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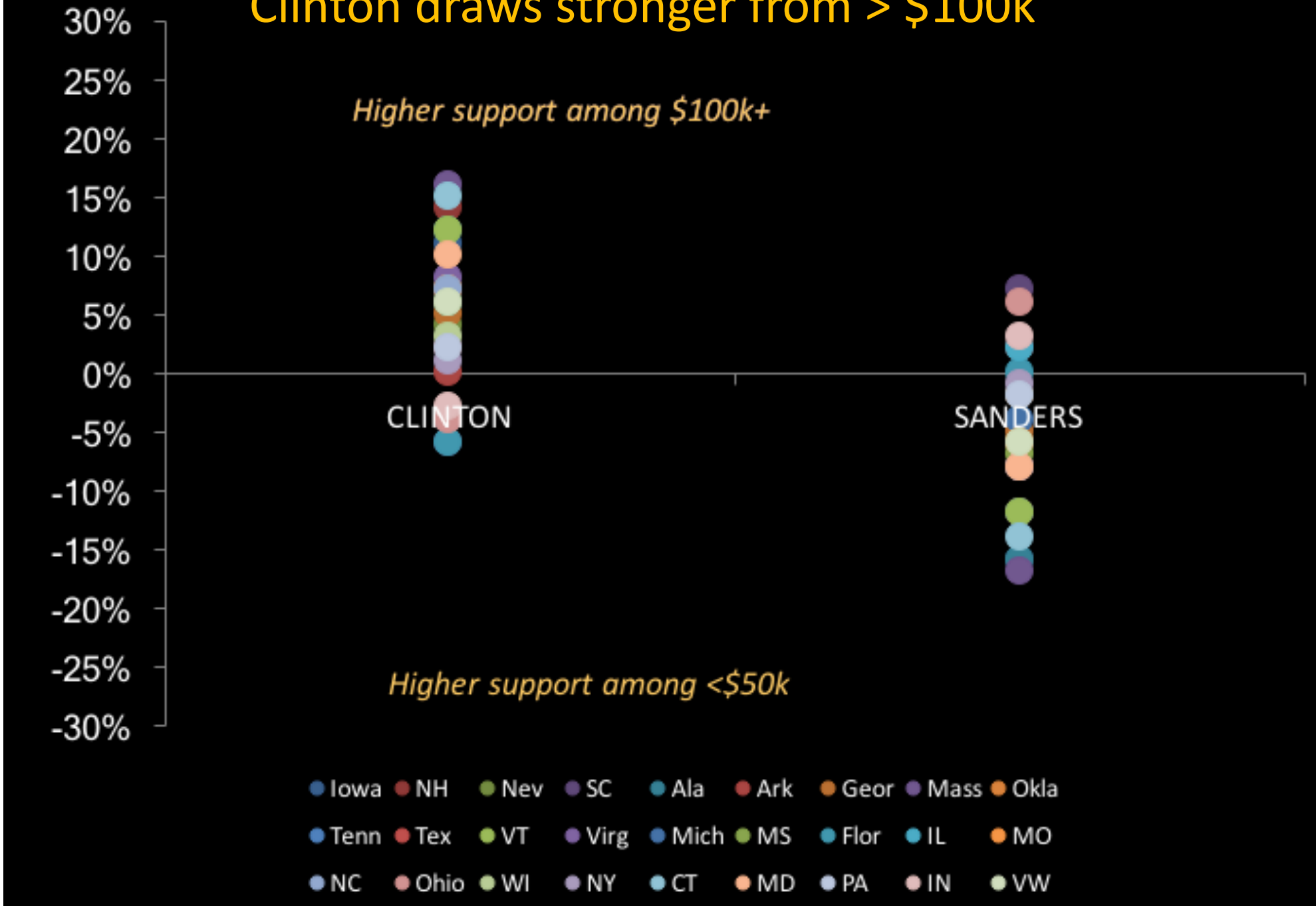
Clinton draws stronger from > $100k



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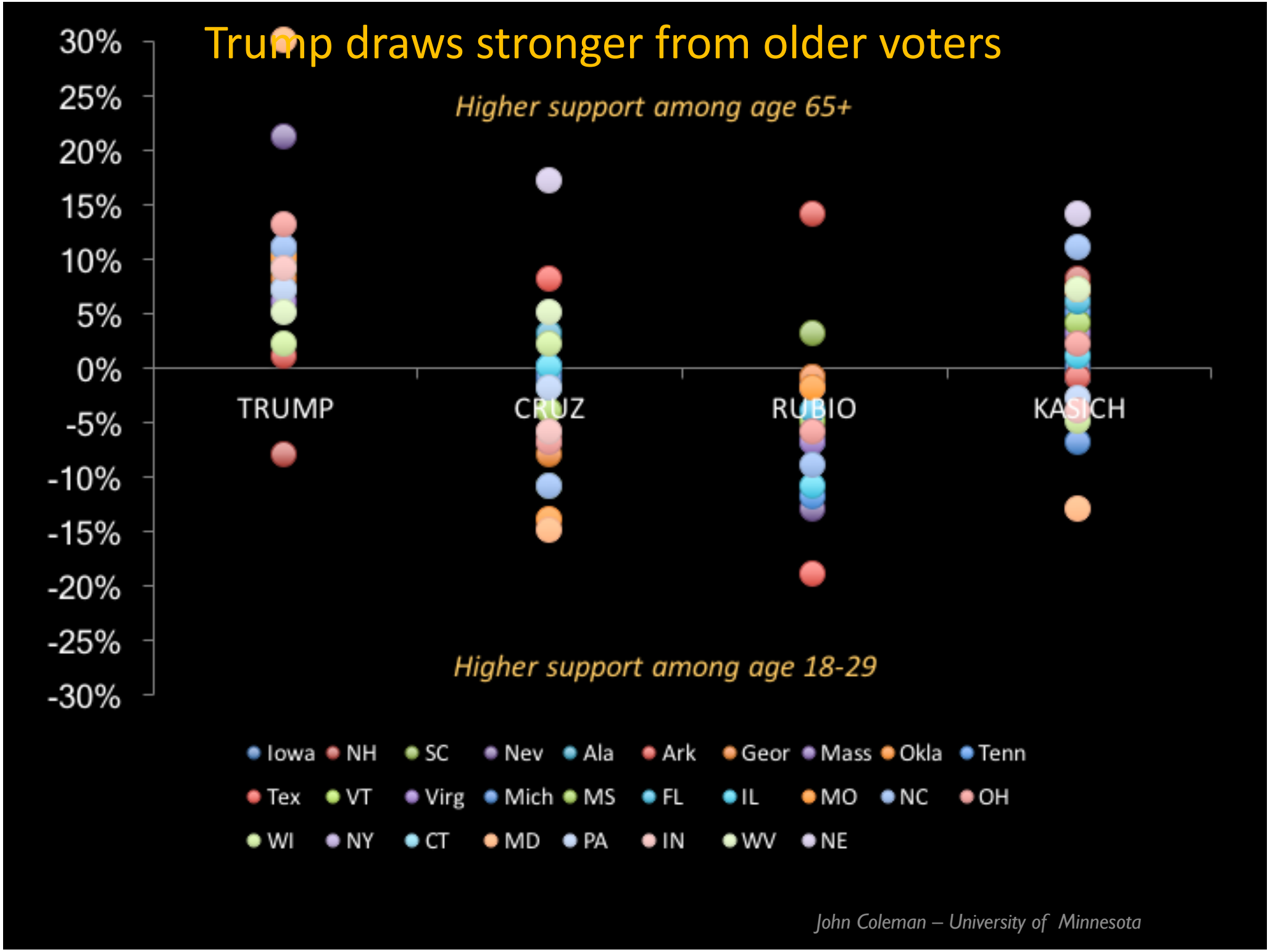
Trump draws stronger from older voters



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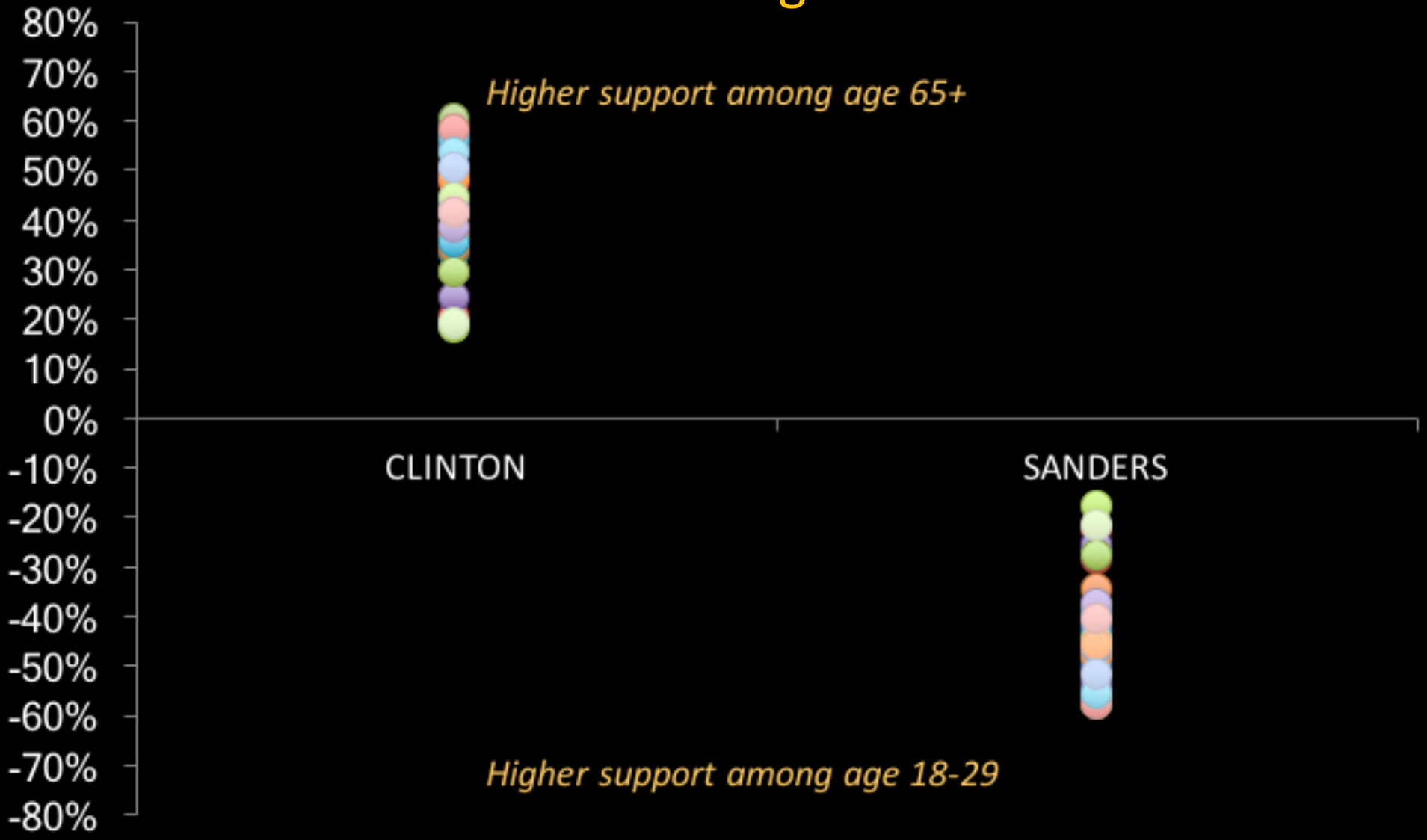
Clinton also draws stronger from older voters



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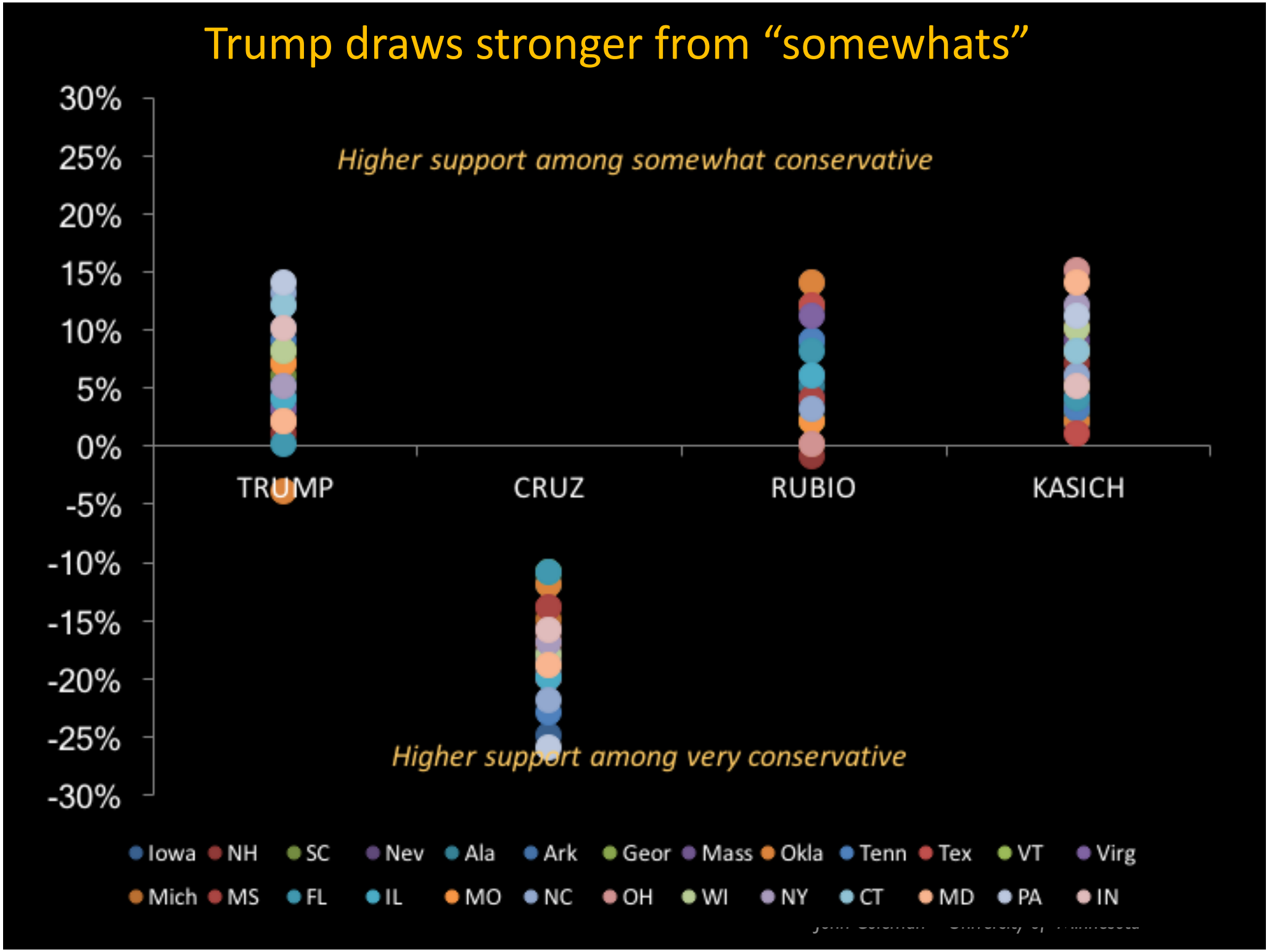
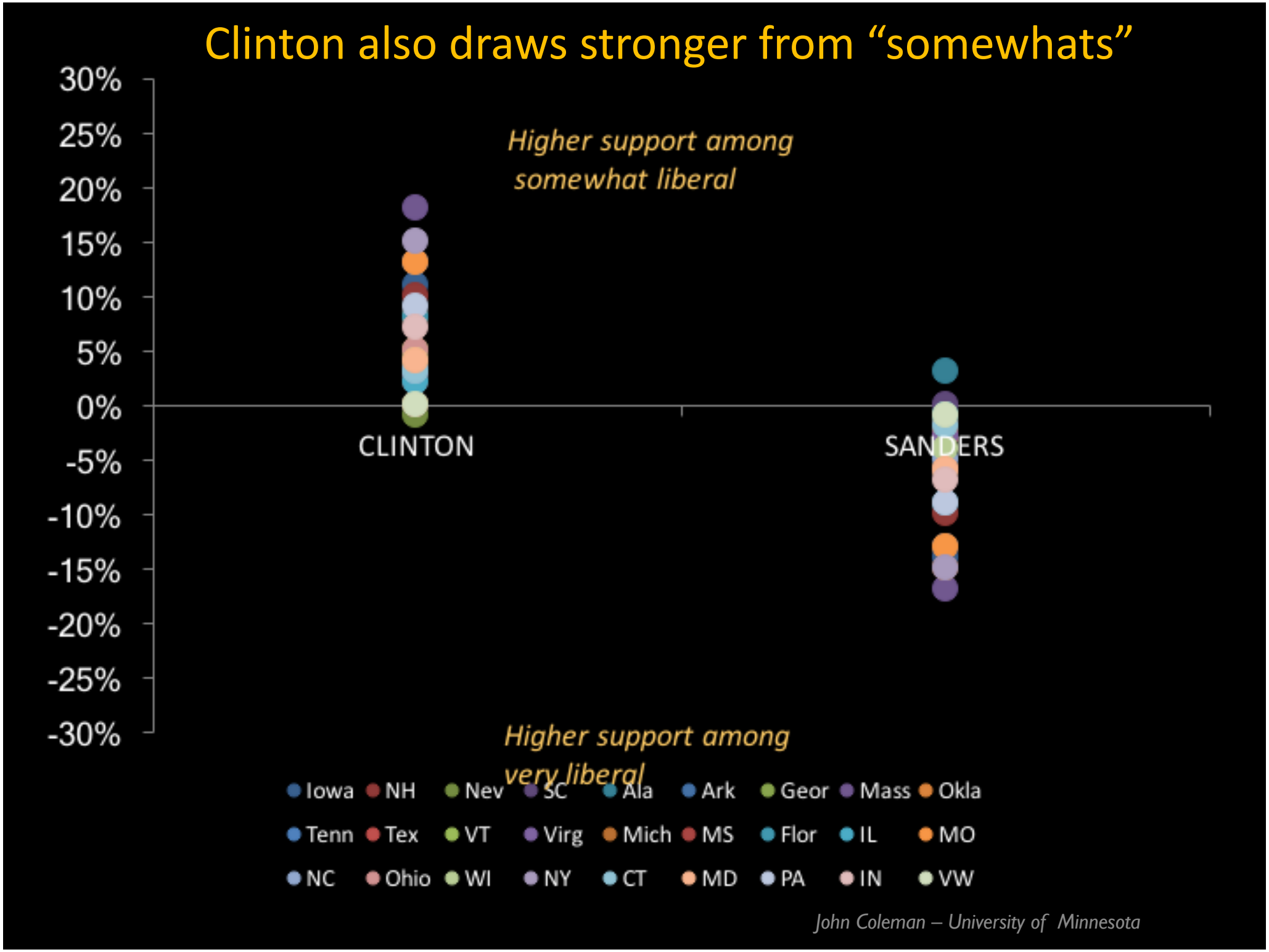
Trump draws stronger from “somewhats”



Clinton also draws stronger from “somewhats”



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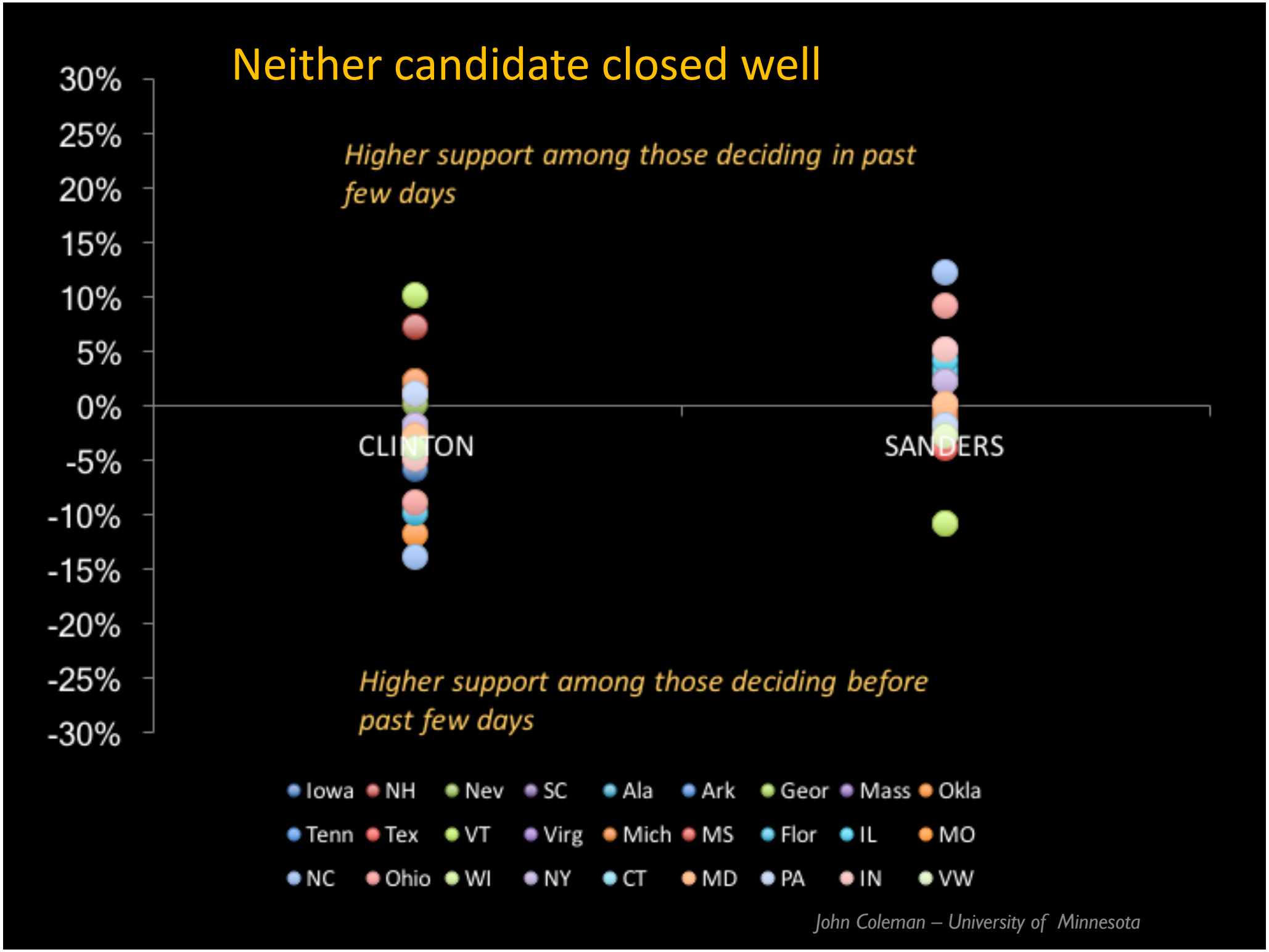
Neither candidate closed well



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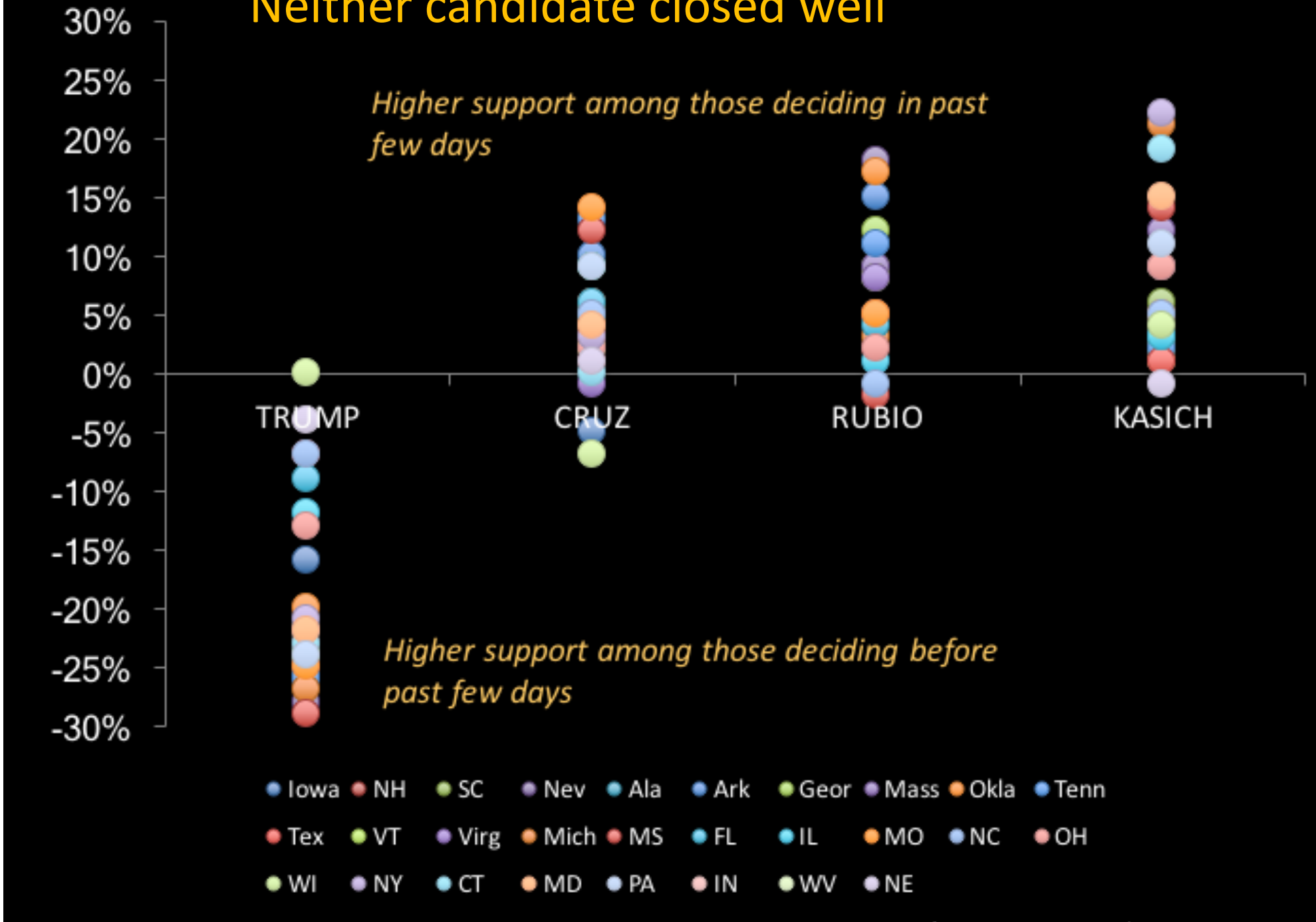
Neither candidate closed well



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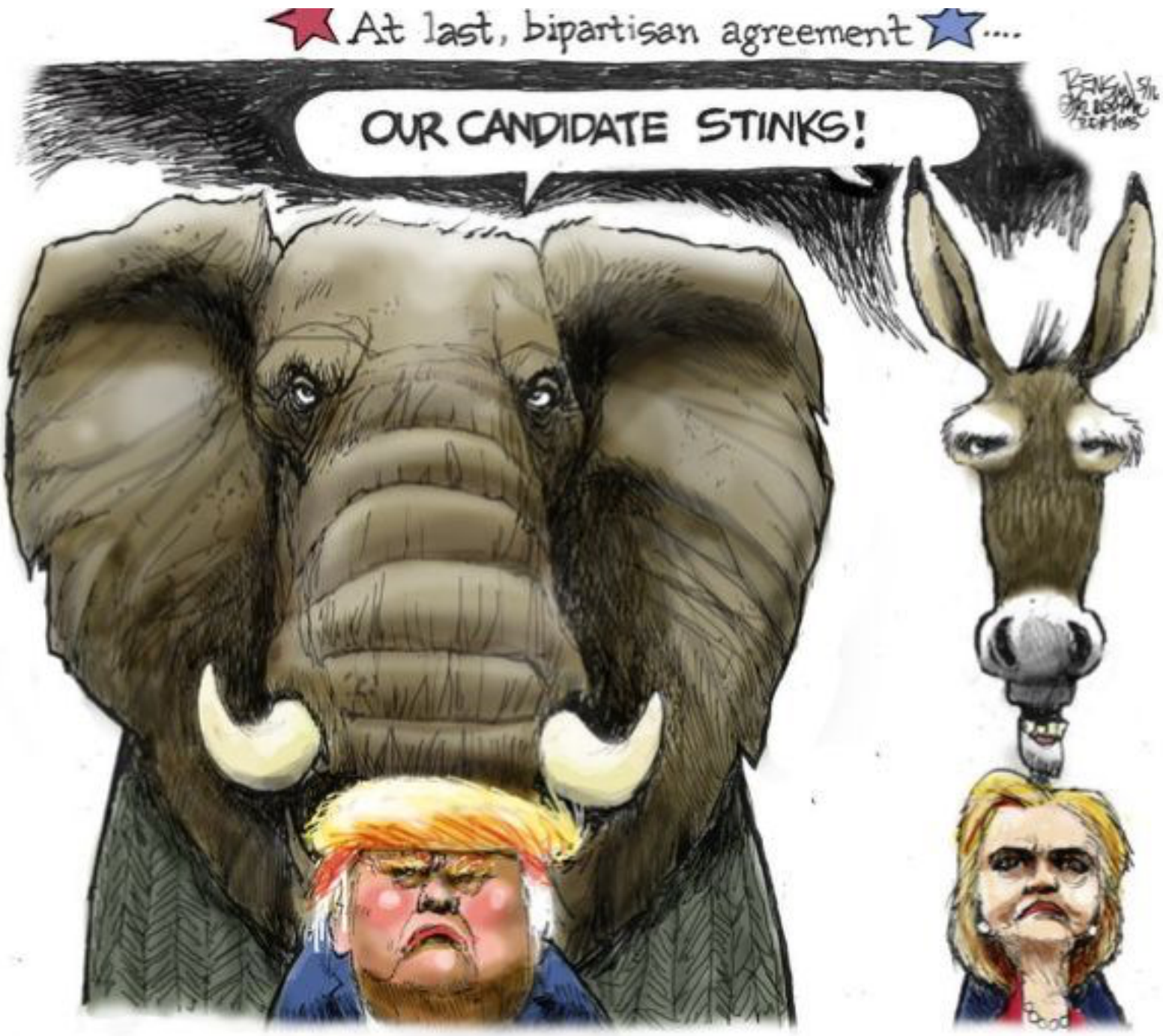

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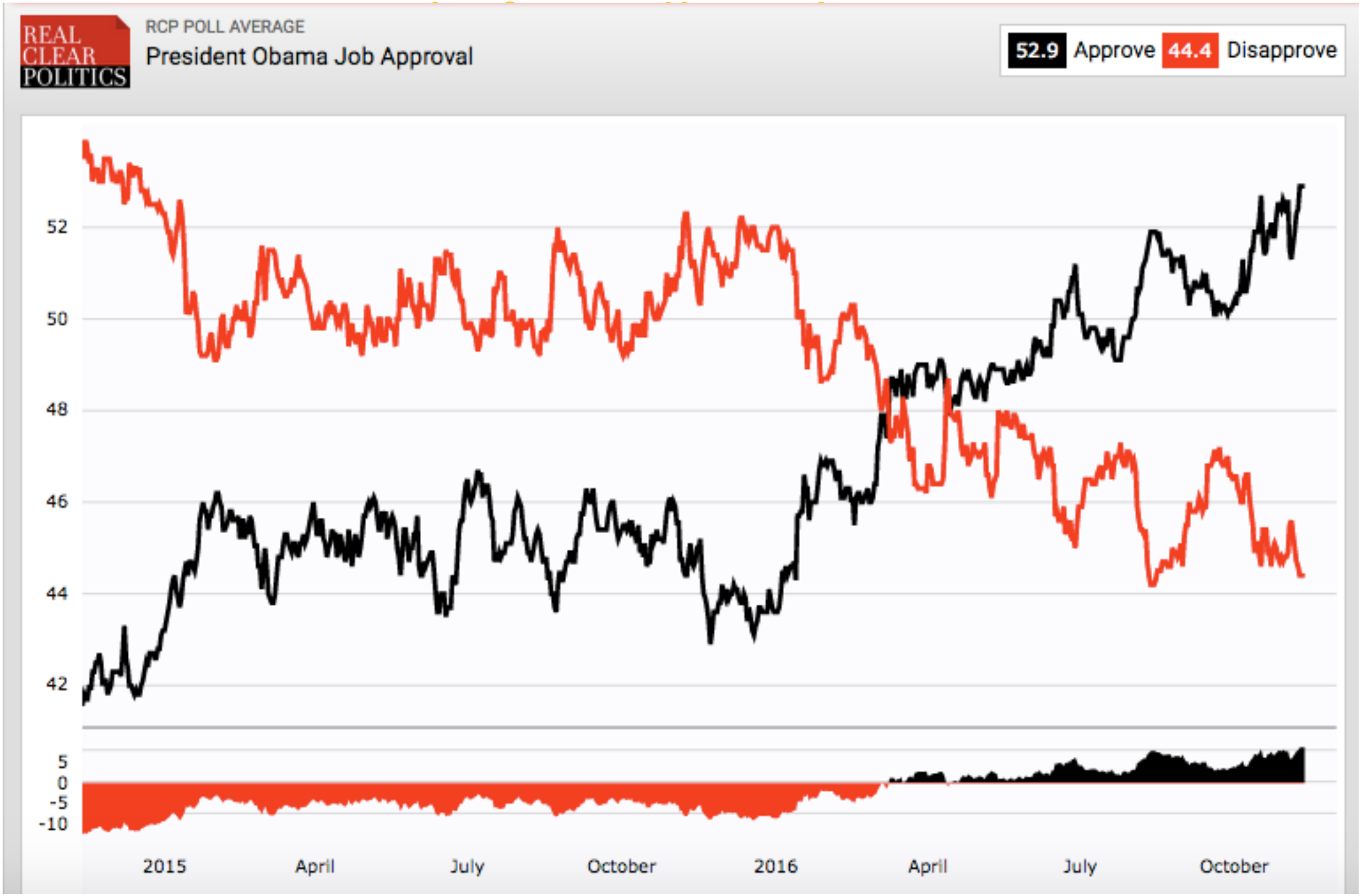
Results from the General Election

Predictions from Models Mixed

Presumed Clinton advantages: money, demographics, ground game, higher turnout among higher educated

Presumed Trump advantages: time for a change, economy improved but modest, low presidential approval in 2015, Republican strength in states



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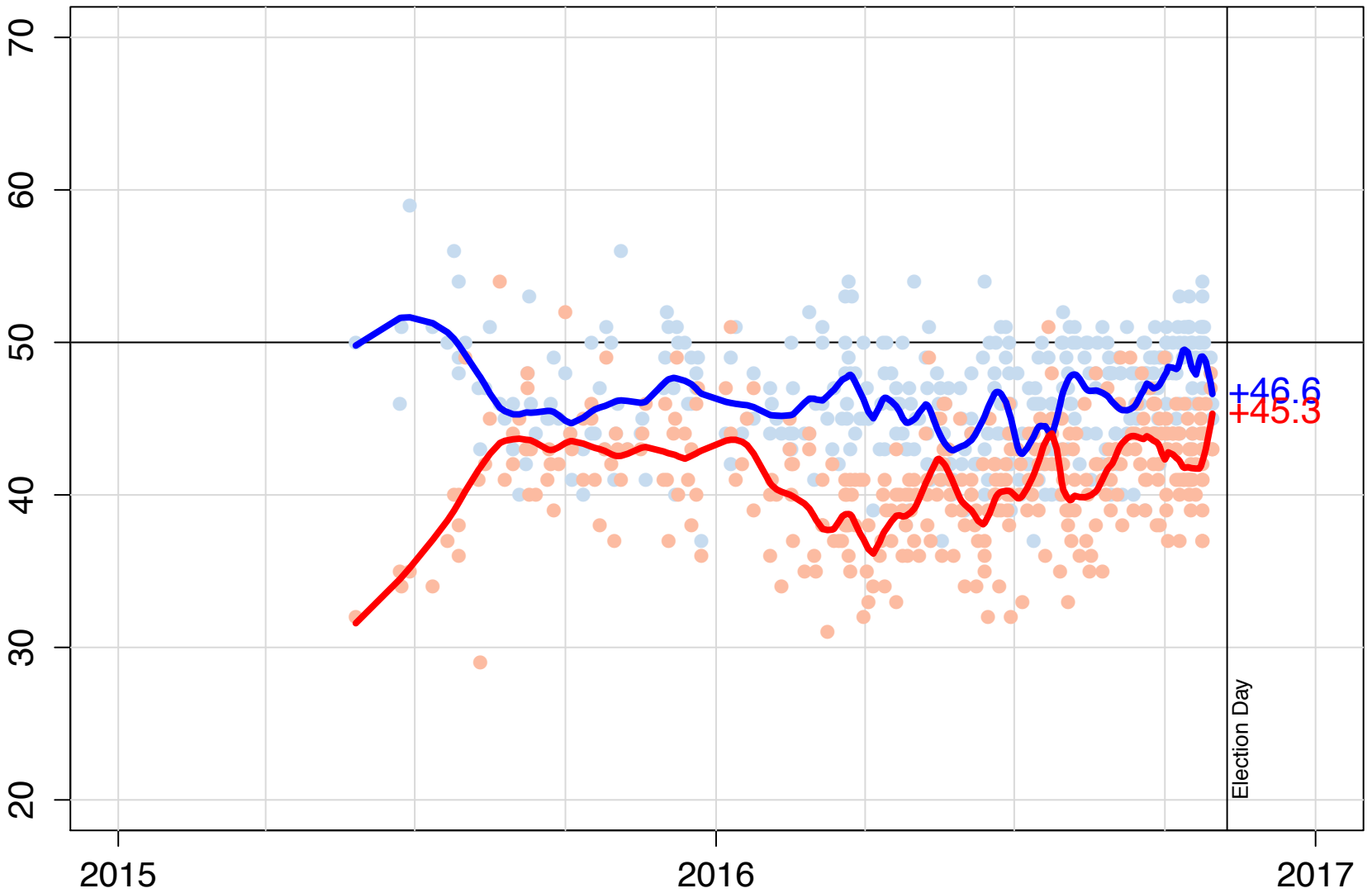
Trump vs Clinton in National Polls

Two–party vote (Latest poll 2016–10–30)



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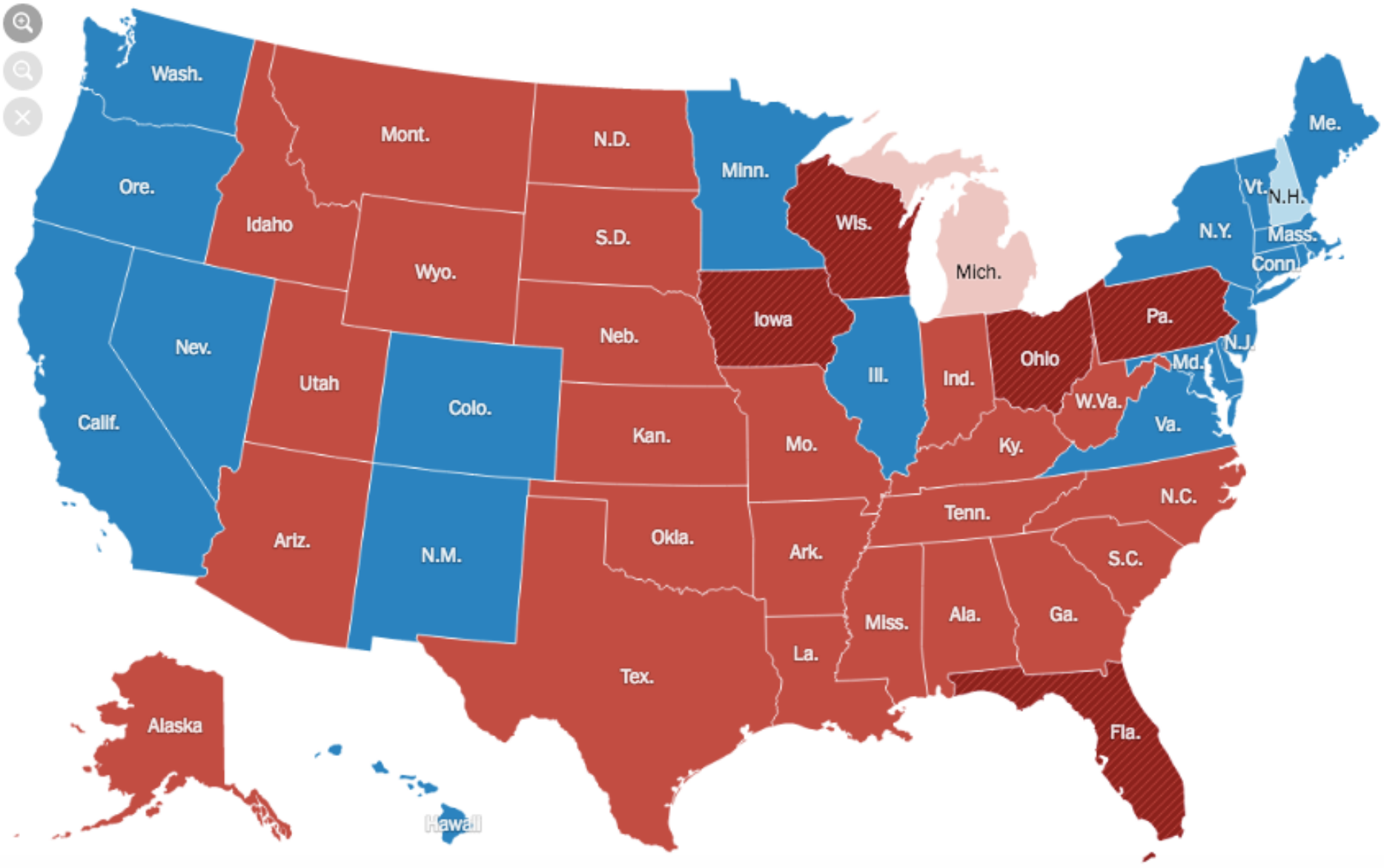
Presidential Election Results, 2016



Source: New York Times

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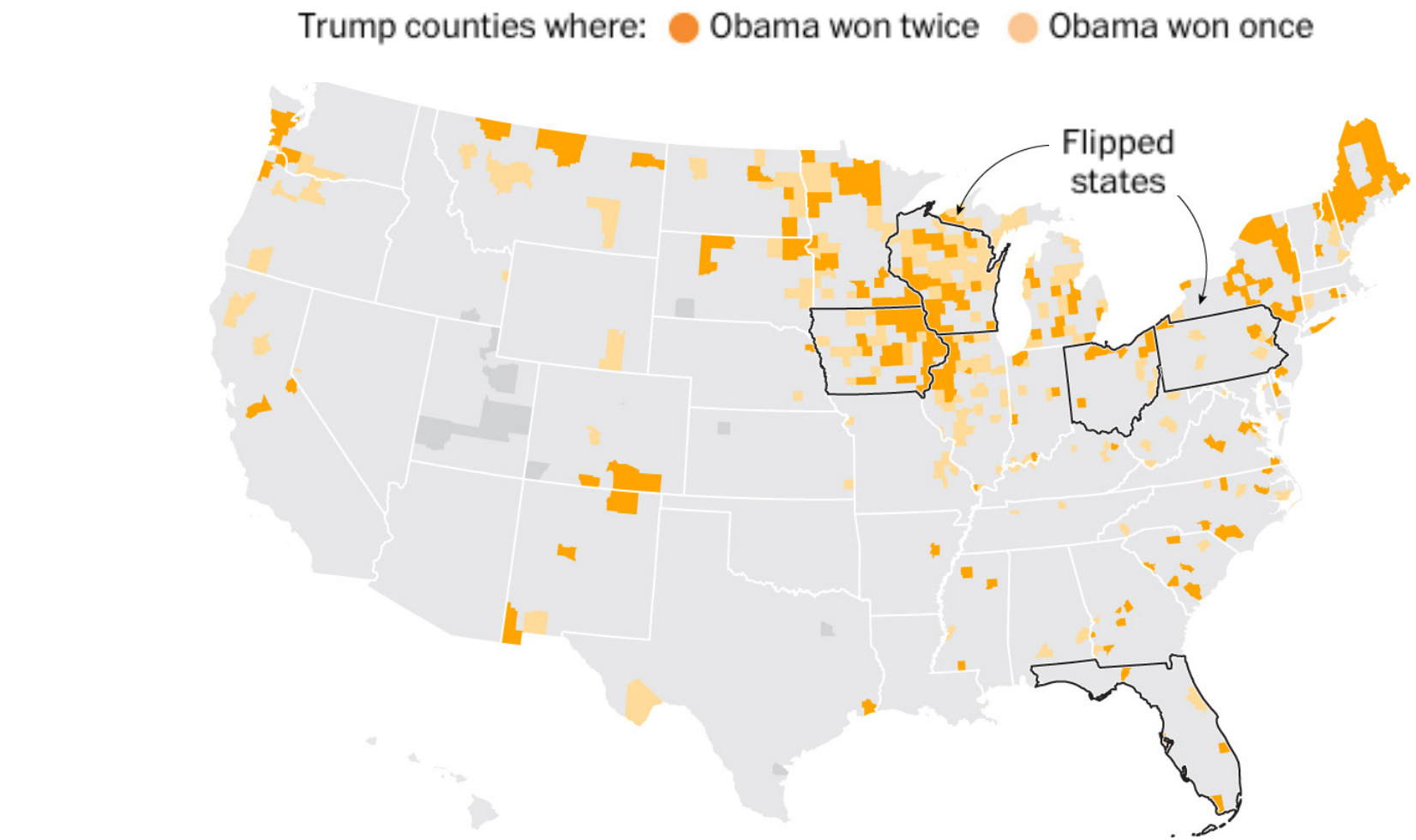
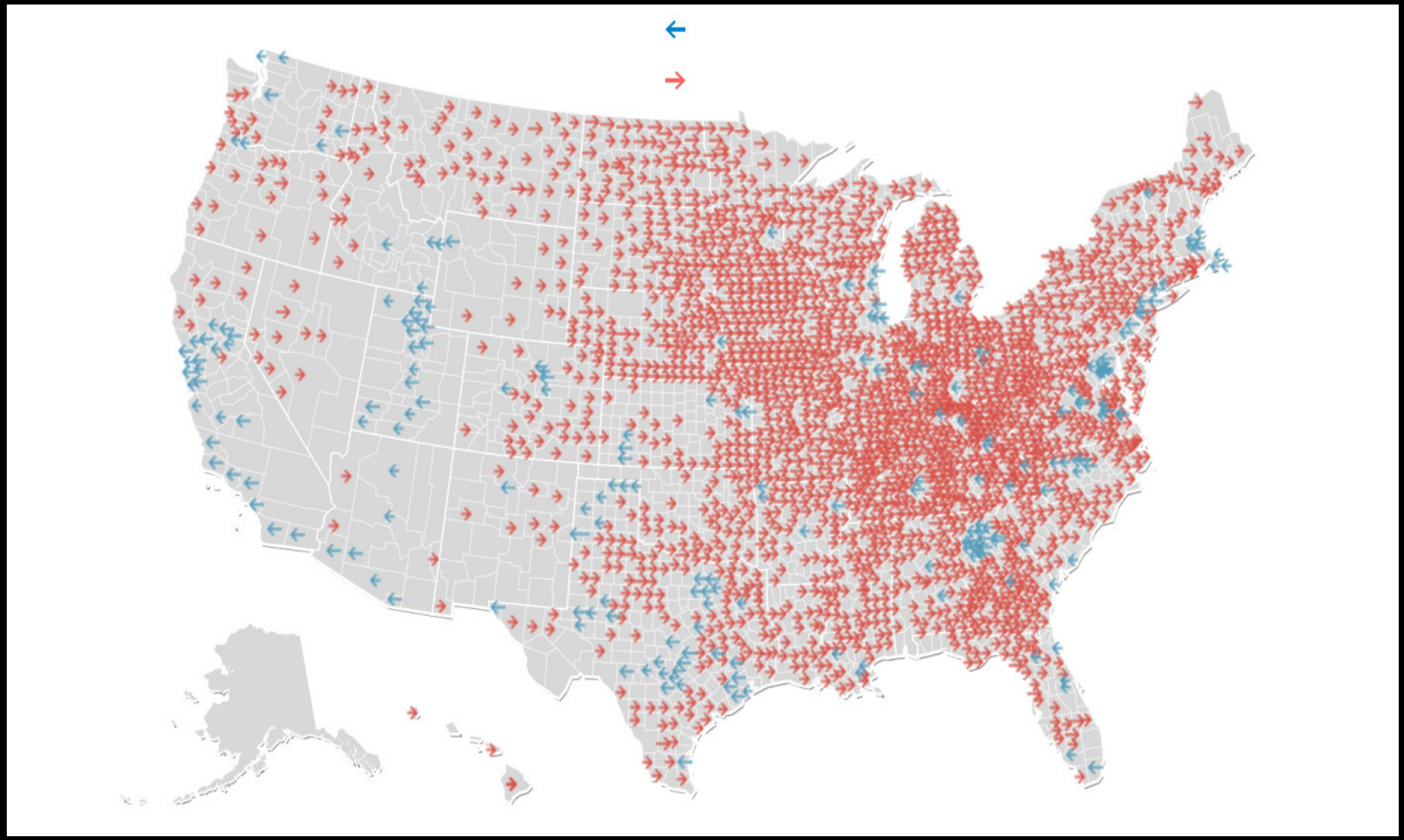
County Flips, 2016



Counties Obama won twice	**209** for Trump	467 for Clinton
Counties Obama won once	**194** for Trump	13 for Clinton

Source: Washington Post

Most Counties Move Right, 2016



Source: Washington Post

What Happened?

Republicans returned home to GOP

Clinton vulnerabilities

Economy: improving but slow historically

Trump disciplined in messaging (Really? Yes)

Economic anxiety: decades in the making

Cultural anxiety: issues, identity, values

Social inequality: the “rigged system”

Insurgencies indicated power of “change”

Results from the General Election: Support Groups

Over 60% Say US on Wrong Track

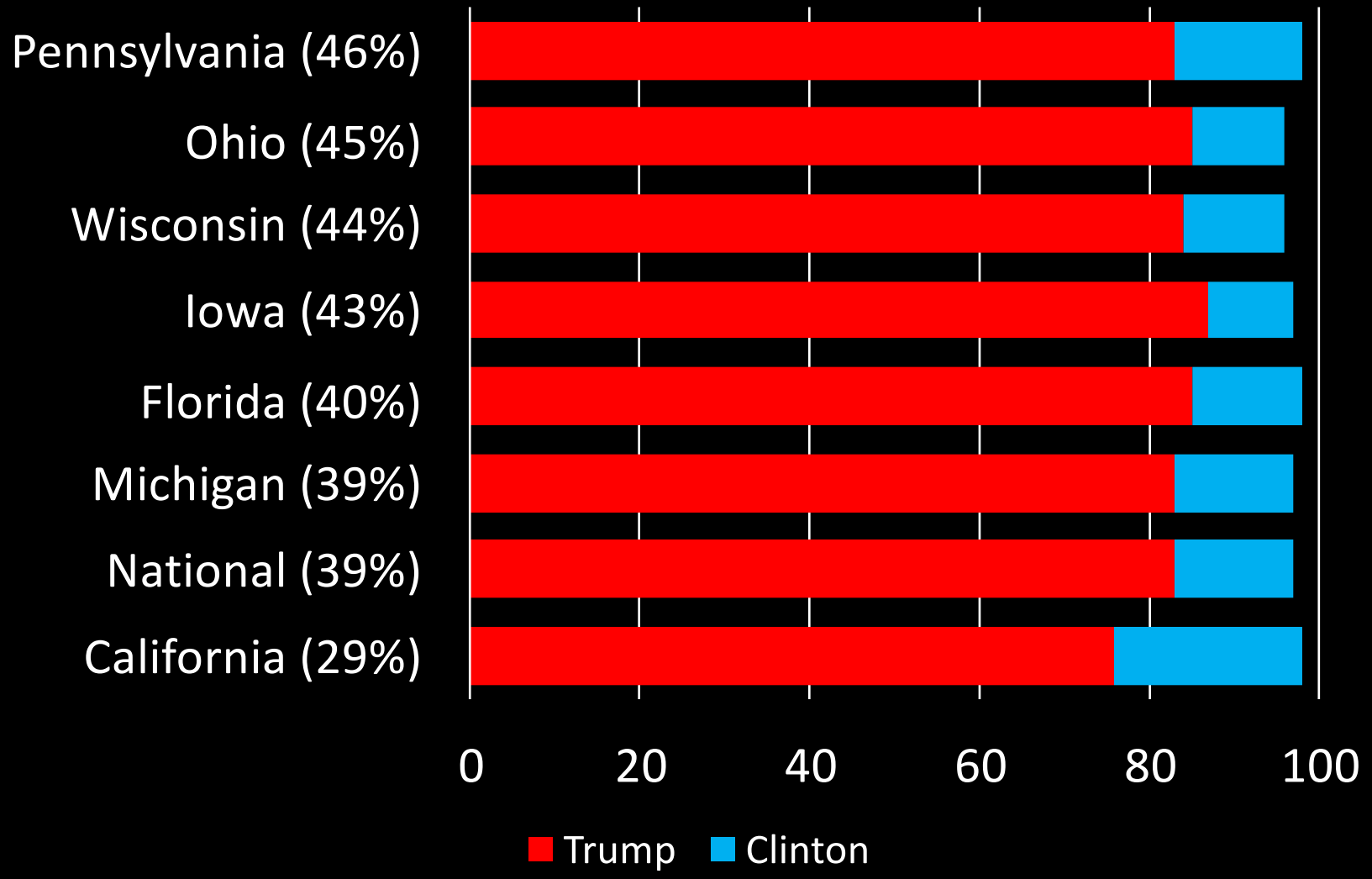
direction of the country

	clinton	trump	other/no answer
right direction **33%**	**90%**	8%	2%
wrong track **62%**	25%	**69%**	6%

24537 respondents

Source: CNN, exit polls

”Can Bring Change” is Most Important Candidate Quality: Vote Choice



Source: CNN, exit polls

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Clinton and Trump Supporters

Clinton

- Women +12 pts
- 18-29 +18
- 30-44 +8
- Black/Latino/Asian/O +53
- Moderate +11
- < $50,000 +11
- Relig services < mthly +14
- College graduate +9

Trump

- Men +12 pts
- 45-64 +9
- 65+ +8
- White +21
- Independent +6
- >$50,000 +2
- Mthly/+ relig services +12
- <HS/HS/some college +8

The Gender Gap and Race/Ethnicity

Black women:	+90 pts Clinton (+93 ‘12)
Latino women:	+42 pts Clinton (+53 ‘12)
White women:	+10 pts Trump (+14 ‘12)
Black men:	+67 pts Clinton (+76 ‘12)
Latino men:	+39 pts Clinton (+32 ‘12)
White men:	+32 pts Trump (+27 ’12)

The Age Gap and Race/Ethnicity

Black 18-29:	+72 pts Clinton (+83 ‘12)
Latino 18-29:	+46 pts Clinton (+51 ‘12)
White 18-29:	+5 pts Trump (+7 ‘12)
Black 45-64:	+81 pts Clinton (+86 ’12)
Latino 45-64:	+38 pts Clinton (+38 ‘12)
White 45-64:	+29 pts Trump (+23 ‘12)

Education & Gender Gap Among Whites

Women not college grad: +28 pts Trump

Men not college grad: +49 pts Trump

Women college grad: +6 pts Clinton

Men college grad: +15 pts Trump

Who Would Be the Better Closer?

Decided in last week (13%):	+5 pts Trump
Decided before then (85%):	+2 pts Clinton
Decided in last month (26%):	+10 pts Trump
Decided before then (73%):	+5 pts Clinton

Results from the General Election: Minnesota and Wisconsin

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Trump and Clinton Support in MN,WI

Minnesota

Women	+7 pts
18-29	+3
45-64	+10
White	+7
Black/Latino/Asian/O	+49
$50k-100k	+3
> $100,000	+11
Rural	+23
College graduate	+14
<HS/HS/some college	+17
Independent	+9
Can bring chg is MIQ (44%)	+73
Decided in last week	+22

Wisconsin

Women	+10 pts
18-29	+3
45-64	+15
White	+11
Black/Latino/Asian/O	+55
$50k-100k	+6
>$100,000	+2
Rural	+27
College graduate	+16
<HS/HS/some college	+16
Independent	+10
Can bring chg is MIQ (44%)	+72
Decided in last week	+29

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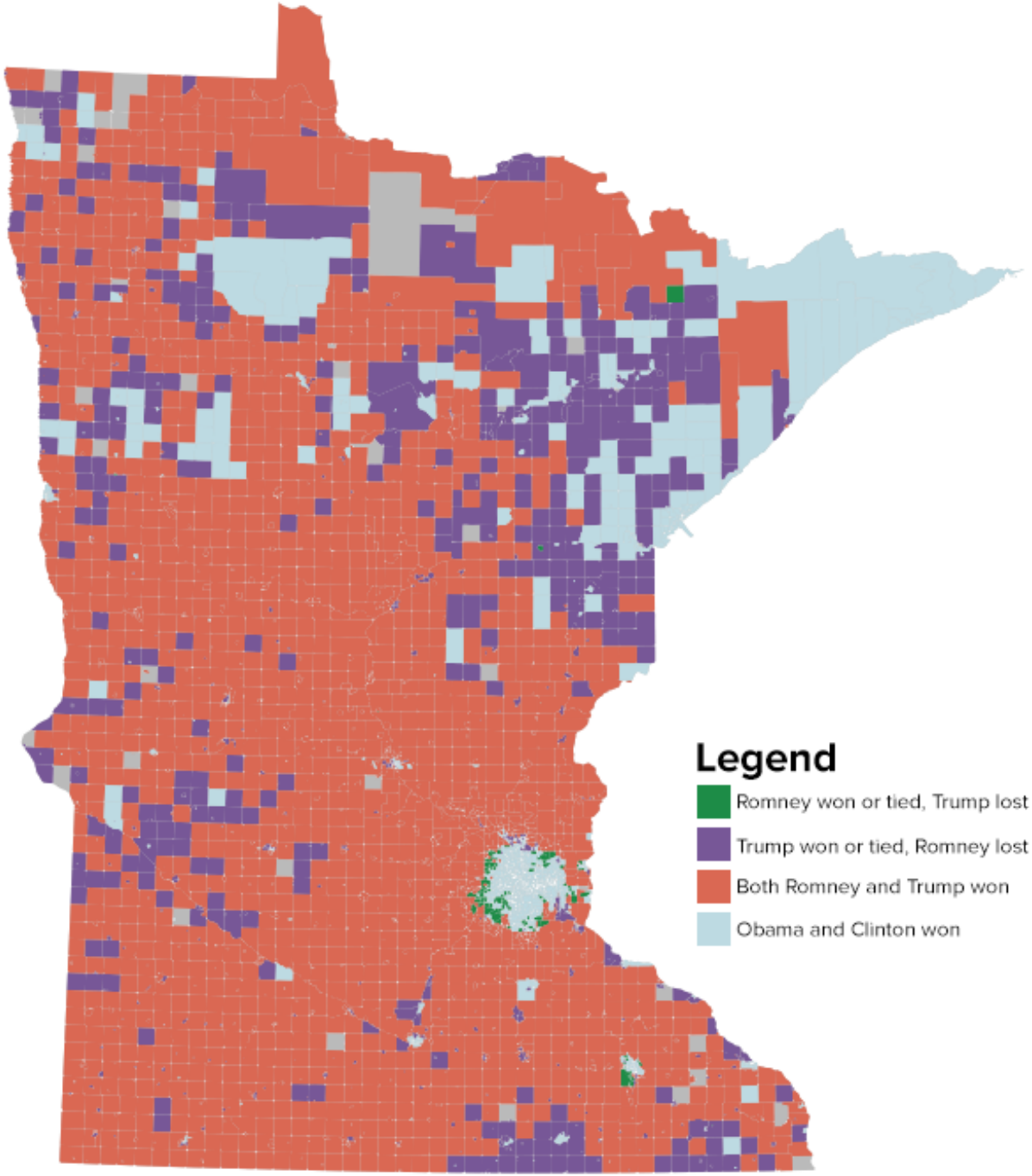
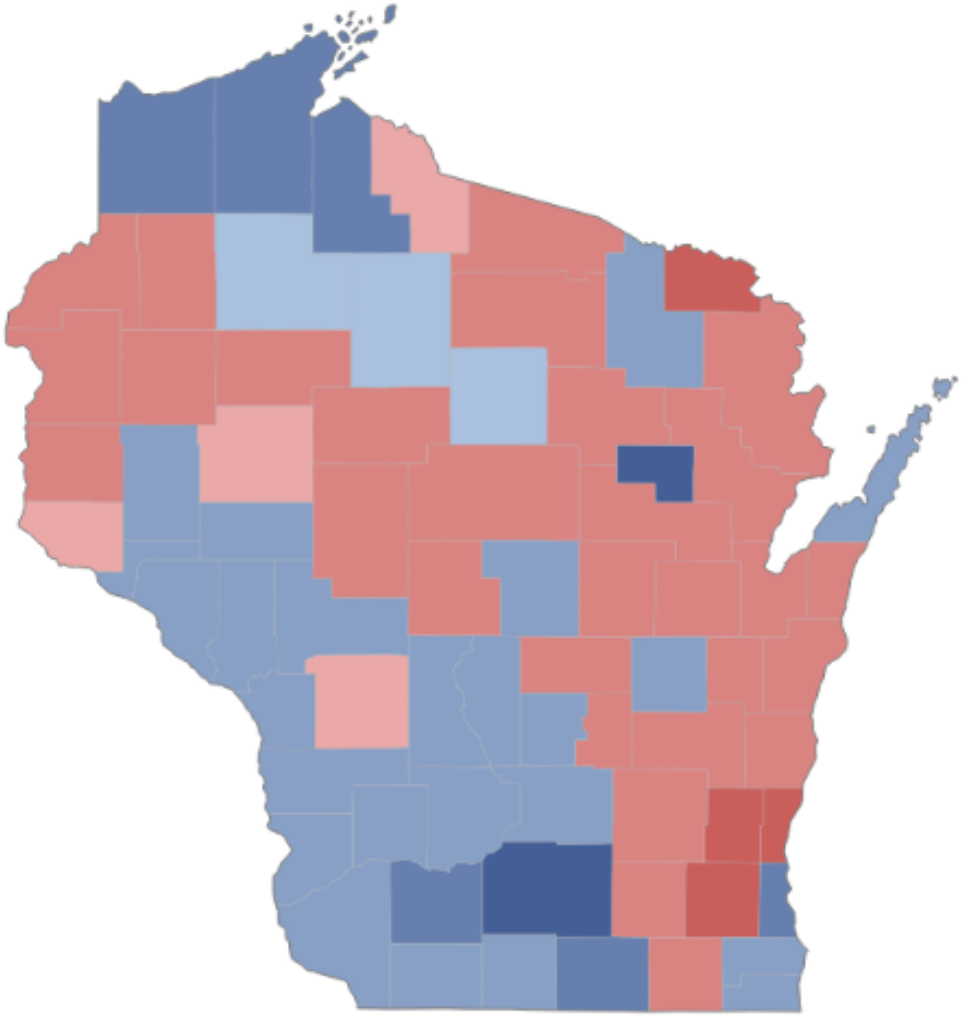
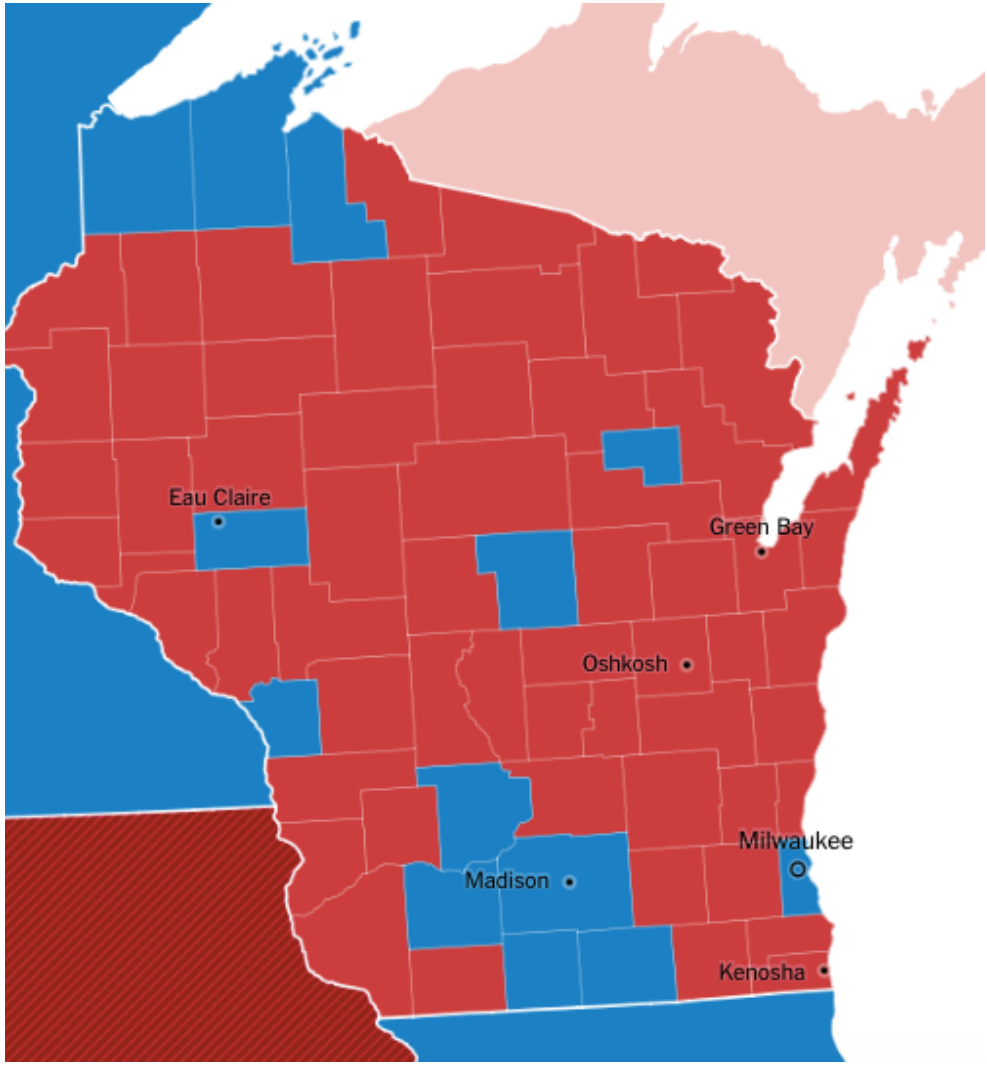
Precinct Results MN, 2016 & 2012 Compared



Source: MinnPost

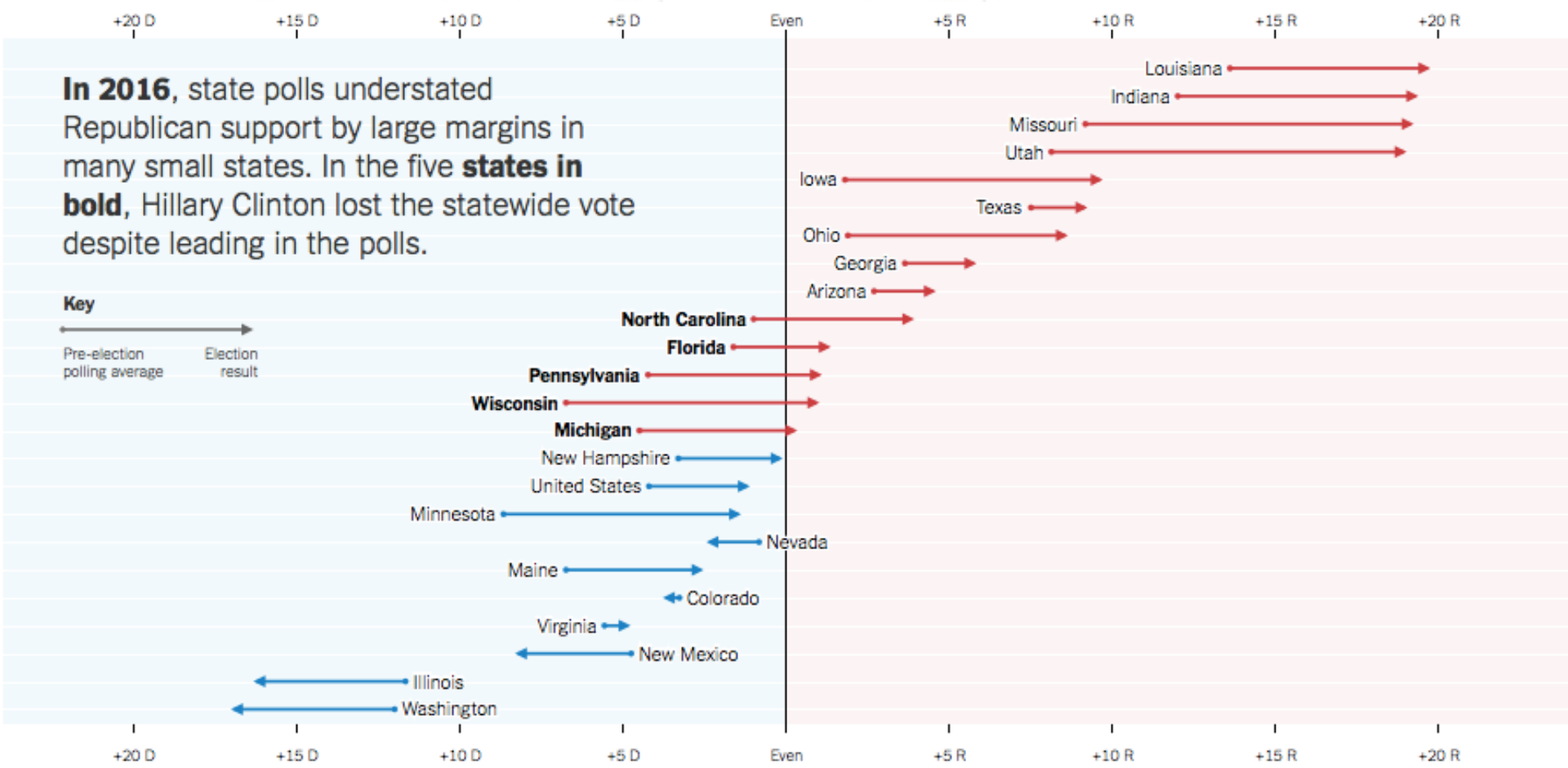
Wisconsin Presidential Results By County 2012 and 2016





Source: New York Times

State Polling Errors, 2016



Arrows show simple average of state polls conducted in the three weeks before Election Day in states with at least three polls, compared with the projected final election result.

Source: New York Times

What's Ahead

A historic period of Republican strength
… but deep dissatisfaction among R voters

Republicans face demographic challenges
… but Democrats do as well

History suggests Democratic gains in midterms
… so potentially short R window at national level
… on the 3rd hand, good states for R in 2018 US Senate races

What's Ahead

Both parties need ways to address economic anxiety

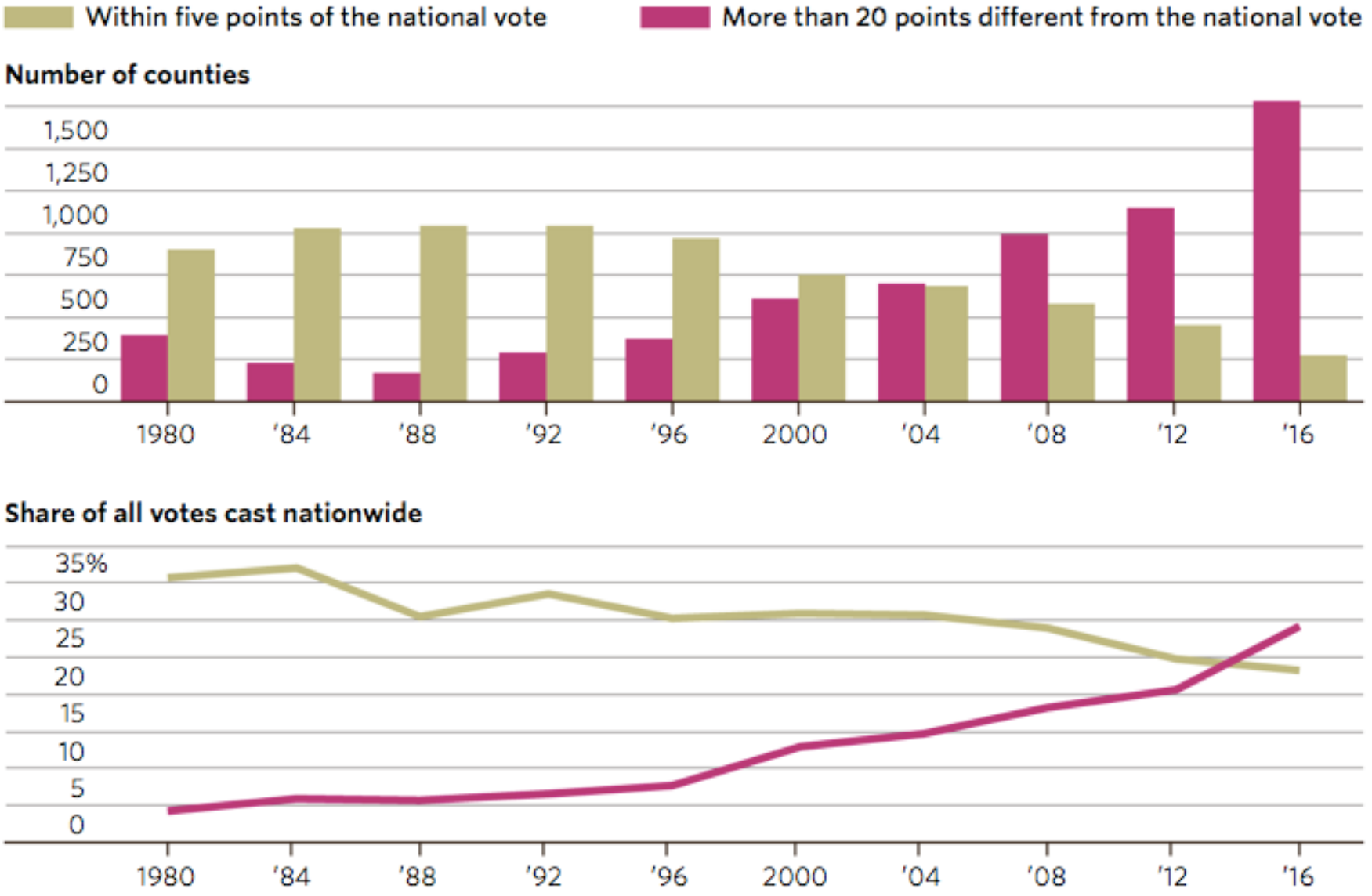
Both will need to wrestle with "opportunity" and "security" – opposites? complements?

Both will need to determine how their policies work in a more "horizontal" culture created by technology

Trump as a "centrist," working as a "third way" president (Eisenhower, Nixon, Clinton)?

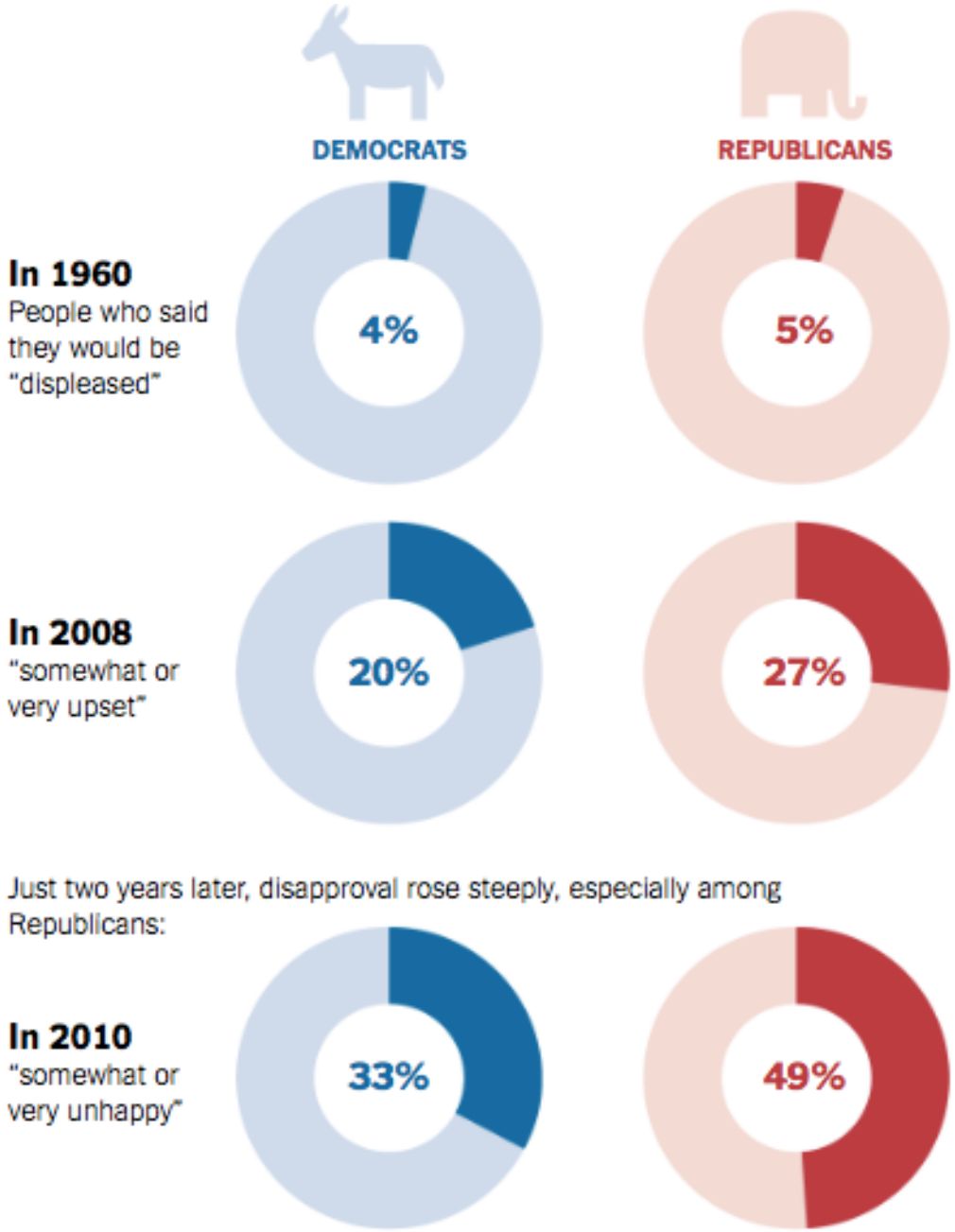
A Final Note on Polarization

Growing Geographical Polarization



Source: Wall Street Journal

Percent "Unhappy" if Child Married Across Party Lines



Source: Courtesy of Howard Lavine, Univ of Minnesota