Unprecedented: Pandemics, Politics, Protests, Polls, Polarization, and Process: The 2020 General Election as a Rolling Crisis

Prepared for OLLI, Stolman Memorial Lecture, Sonoma State University
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Thank You!

• In these wild times, THANK YOU for…
• Supporting OLLI;
• Supporting SSU;
• Creating Community with Us;
• And for your feedback:
  david.mccuan@sonoma.edu
In 2016, Exit Polls Revealed…

- For better than 1 in 5 voters (21%);
- Of these voters, 56% voted for Donald Trump; 41% voted for Hillary Clinton.
- 26% of Trump voters cited that Supreme Court nominees were, “the most important factor” in their voting for the candidate. Only 18% of Clinton voters said the same.
Does This Sentiment Change, Post-RBG?

Supreme Court Is One of the Less Salient Voting Issues for 2020

Share of voters who said each of the following are “very important” in deciding whom to vote for in the 2020 presidential election:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>All Voters</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The economy</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coronavirus</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National security</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The environment</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations with China</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Poll conducted July 31-Aug. 2, 2020, among 1,991 registered voters, with a margin of error of ±3%.

Following Blockbuster Summer Session, Supreme Court Looms Larger for the Left

Share of the following who said the Supreme Court was “very important” in deciding whom to vote for in the 2020 presidential election:

- **Democrats**: 57% (July 31-Aug. 2 vs. 48% May 2-3)
- **Clinton voters**: 61% (July 31-Aug. 2 vs. 54% May 2-3)
- **Republicans**: 53% (July 31-Aug. 2 vs. 53% May 2-3)
- **Trump voters**: 53% (July 31-Aug. 2 vs. 52% May 2-3)

Polls conducted in 2020 among roughly 2,000 registered voters each, with margin of error of ±4% for responses shown.
Assumptions About American Politics

• There are **THREE FUNDAMENTAL VARIABLES** of American Politics:

  Fiscal Stress
  Uncertainty
  Discretion

  – How are these relevant today?
  – What of the impact of these moving forward towards 2020, onto 2024?

What to Watch For? / State of the Race?
Some Rules at the Start –
The 7 Commandments of 2020

1. Presidential Approval: +/- 42%?? (as reported by Gallup.com)
2. The Electoral College (EC) Rule / Demo. Roll-off
3. This WILL BE a close race (NO Democratic Candidate has received more than 53% of the Popular Vote since 1964)
4. Economic “growth” and the pocketbook
5. Social upheaval and protest politics vs. pandemic politics?
6. Who votes? When do they vote? How do they vote?
7. Some areas (Counties!) of the country matter more than others…

What to Consider this Day:
Mail-In Ballots are MAILED OUT in CA in TWO WEEKS!!

...Lingering Effects?...

45 Days ...14 days...(1094 HOURS!!)
### 2020: A YEAR UNLIKE ANY OTHER

**Four Concurrent “Super-Disruptors”**

(Since 1900 only 3 other years had 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Recession</th>
<th>Pandemic</th>
<th>Mass Protests</th>
<th>Intense Election</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### How THIS Election IS Different

**The Great Acceleration**

- **TECHNOLOGY**
  - 4TH Industrial Revolution Speeds Up
  - Digital Disintermediation Expedited
  - New Tech Regulation (aka “Techlash”)

- **GLOBALIZATION**
  - New World Disorder
  - Demographics Will Drive Declines
  - Nationalism > Globalism

- **CULTURE**
  - New Psychology & Priorities Post-COVID
  - Leadership Leaving Washington
  - More Diversity & Inclusive America

- **POLITICS**
  - Bigger Government
  - Party Civil Wars & Realignment
  - New Reform Era
The Political Barometer Tests for 2020

Satisfaction With the Way Things Are Going in the U.S., Recent Trend

GALLUP

Political Barometer Tests, cont’d

Gallup's Economic Confidence Index, Recent Trend

Gallup’s Economic Confidence Index summarizes Americans’ ratings of current economic conditions and their assessment of whether the economy is getting better or worse.

GALLUP
Political Barometer Tests, cont’d

President Donald Trump's Job Approval in 2020

GALLUP

Political Barometer Tests, cont’d
Why Presidential Approval Matters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Incumbent</th>
<th>Net June Approval</th>
<th>Net October Approval</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Eisenhower</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>-27</td>
<td>-25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Bush I</td>
<td>-17</td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Bush II</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AVERAGE**

| 12.6 | 14.7 | 2.1 |
Political Barometer Tests, cont’d
Modeling the EVs for November 2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Late October Net Approval</th>
<th>Predicted Electoral Votes for:</th>
<th>Probability of Trump Victory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>Biden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>262</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-5</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-10</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-15</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-20</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conventions Matter a Lot Less

Adults Watching a "Great Deal" or "Some" of the Conventions

How much, if any, of the Democratic convention\^ Republican convention did you watch -- none of it, very little, some of it or a great deal?

- Democratic convention
- Republican convention

Based on U.S. adults. \^ Democratic convention not measured in 1996. 1996-2016 wording: How much, if any, of the Republican/Democratic convention did you watch on TV this week -- none of it, very little, some of it or a great deal?

GALLUP
**Biden Besting 2016 Margins Among White Voters, Underperforming Among Voters of Color**

Hillary Clinton won the popular vote by 2.1 percentage points four years ago, compared with an 8-point lead for Joe Biden over President Trump in the latest Morning Consult Political Intelligence tracking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latest</th>
<th>2016 exits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>White voters</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Nominee</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else/No opinion</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Donald Trump</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black voters</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Nominee</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else/No opinion</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Donald Trump</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hispanic voters</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Nominee</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else/No opinion</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Donald Trump</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voters of other races</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Nominee</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someone else/No opinion</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Donald Trump</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Polls conducted Sep. 11-13, 2020, among 10,392 likely voters, and Oct. 18-Nov. 9, 2016, among 25,066 Americans who voted early or on Election Day, with margins of error for responses shown ranging from ±1% to ±4%.

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democrat, 2016</th>
<th>Republican, 2016</th>
<th>Share of all voters, 2016</th>
<th>Projected change in share of eligible voters, 2016-2020</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White, noncollege</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>-2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, college</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/other race</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors’ analysis of States of Change data. Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding. For more details, see Appendix in Roy Teixeira and John Halpin, "The Path to 270 in 2020" (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2019), available at https://www.americanprogress.org/?p=476315.

**Young women break big for Biden. Among men, it’s close.**

- **Gen Z men**
  - Biden: 44%
  - Trump: 42%
- **Gen Z women**
  - Biden: 69%
  - Trump: 65%

- **Millennial men**
  - Biden: 45%
  - Trump: 42%
- **Millennial women**
  - Biden: 25%
  - Trump: 28%

Data: Hart Research/POS analysis for NBC News and Quibi, Polls January-August 2020
Yet, the Trump Plan is a **Base+** Campaign

As Unemployment Rate Slowly Falls, 1 in 2 Voters Say Economy Is Recovering

Taking into account the four-week stock market low following the S&P 500's record high and the unemployment rate falling to 8.4% last month, voters say the economy is changing at the following rates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Recovering</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
<th>Not changing</th>
<th>Worsening</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All voters</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MORNING CONSULT

Poll conducted Sept. 8-10, 2020, among 1,389 registered voters, with a margin of error of +/-2%.

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Favorability of Both Less <50%

Americans' Views of 2020 Presidential Candidates

Next, we’d like to get your overall opinion of some people in the news. As I read each name, please say if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of that person — or if you have never heard of them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Favorable</th>
<th>Unfavorable</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Biden</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Pence</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamala Harris</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GALLUP, AUG. 31-SEP. 13, 2020
2020 Elections
Battleground States

By about 100,000 votes, Trump beat Clinton in Wisconsin, Michigan & Pennsylvania, giving him 46 electoral votes for those states.

Trump won 306 electoral votes to Clinton’s 232 (270 of 538 needed to win)

Source: Office/Press, Politico, December 2015.
2020 Elections
Who Would be Better on the Issues?

Dealing with the economy
Trump: 40%
Biden: 50%

Dealing with crime
Trump: 42%
Biden: 45%

Dealing with health care
Trump: 14%
Biden: 50%

Dealing with the coronavirus
Trump: 33%
Biden: 49%

Dealing with foreign policy
Trump: 19%
Biden: 49%

Source: Offsite/Pres. WH/HHS News August 2020

2020 Elections
Men vs. Women Voters

Men vs. Women Voters
National Polling

Men
Trump: 46%
Biden: 44%

Women
Trump: 36%
Biden: 56%

Source: Offsite/Pres. WH/HHS News May 2020

FOR INSTITUTIONAL INVESTOR USE ONLY — NOT FOR USE WITH THE PUBLIC
Vote by mail rules by state

Which Senate seats are in play in 2020?

Democrats need to pick up four seats to gain a majority in the Senate.

- Democrat-held seat
- Republican-held seat
- Potentially competitive

23 Republican seats in play
13 potentially competitive

12 Democratic seats in play
2 potentially competitive

*Both Senate seats in Ga. will be on the ballot, and both are competitive.
Down Ballot Races, US Senate Contests

These THREE races matter most for Democrats’ chances to regain the Senate.

HOWEVER, the map is much more favorable to the out-party in 2022.

“Outside edge” races to add here:

Colorado; Georgia; & Iowa

Then Montana; Minnesota; & Michigan

---

Down Ballot Effects, cont’d

Voters across the political spectrum think it would be better for the country if the same party controlled both the White House and the Senate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Democrats hold a lead over Republican incumbents in three key Senate races.
Let’s Take a Quick 3-4 Minute Break…

Part II: Demographics as Destiny; A Pocketbook, Wave ”Change” Election?

• How and why the 2020-2024 period is different:
  – The “Rising American Electorate” / The R.A.E.
  – Politics as changing in dramatic ways: Online? No rules?
  – Changing rules and “Laws” of American politics?

• There are three divides emerging amongst voters: **An Ideological Divide**, **A Cultural Divide**; and **A Racial Divide**.*

*PLUS….Add a **Gender Divide**? An **Education Divide**?
FIVE Demographic Trends of Interest
Also Reflected by US Census & CA Pop Data

- Δ with Income Earners; Economic Growth vs. Economic Stress
- Δ with Married Couples / Marital Status
- Δ with Ethnicity
- Δ with Education Levels; Gaps of Achievement & Earning Power; Labor Force Impacts
- Δ with Locational Nexus, “the Exurbs”


How Changing Demos is Changing Politics: Watch the “Exurbs”

Labor Markets Are Changing – More Women Than EVER on the Payrolls

U.S. nonfarm employment by gender
January 1964 to December 2019

- Men
- Women

76.2m vs. 76.1m
What's Missing in Our Election Models?

#MeToo - Matters...More Than Ever?
Focus on the RAE!

The RAE makes up 53% of the Voting Age Population (VAP)

- unmarried women,
- people of color, and young people.

Unmarried Women 25%
Latinos 10%
Youth 22%
African Americans 12%
Other Races 6%

Growth of the RAE

The RAE is responsible for 80% of the growth in U.S. population between 2000 and 2010.

RAE also makes up more than half of the Voting Eligible Population (VEP) but was only 47% of the electorate in 2008 and 42% in 2010.

51% in 2016.
52-54% in 2020?
Four Regions of California

Bay Area: Includes
- Alameda
- Contra Costa
- Marin
- Monterey
- Napa
- San Francisco
- Santa Clara
- Santa Cruz
- San Mateo
- Solano
- Sonoma

Central & Mountain

Southern California: Includes
- Imperial
- Orange
- Riverside
- San Bernardino
- San Diego
- Ventura

Los Angeles County

Figure 1: Latino Population Share in California (1950 to Present)

- 1950: 7.2%
- 1960: 9.1%
- 1970: 10.8%
- 1980: 19.2%
- 1990: 25.4%
- 2000: 32.4%
- 2010: 37.6%
- 2012: 38.1%

Source: LAO (lao.ca.gov)
Yet Participation Rates of Younger Voters Are Uneven

Yet Participation Rates of Younger Voters Are Uneven

California Population Compared to Public School Enrollment (by Ethnic Background)

California Population (2011)

- White: 39.7%
- Asian: 13.6%
- Hispanic or Latino: 38.1%

California Public School Enrollment (2010-2011)

- White: 26.6%
- Asian* 11.1%
- Hispanic or Latino: 51.4%

Source:
- * includes both “Asia” and “Filipino” groups
- Ed-Data Education Data Partnership: Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity in Public Schools (http://www.ed-data.k12.ca.us/_largetable/edfactsracial\Student-09\New.asp?reportNumber=1209&year=2011&level=0&report=enrollmentethnicity\enrollmentbyethnicitychart)
- United States Census Bureau: State & County QuickFacts: California (http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06000.html)
CA Voter Reg. Trends, 2003-2019

REGISTRATION BY POLITICAL PARTY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Date</th>
<th>Democratic</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>No Party Preference</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>October 1, 2019</td>
<td>8,956,480</td>
<td>4,793,833</td>
<td>5,435,431</td>
<td>1,142,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44.1%</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 5, 2016</td>
<td>7,438,655</td>
<td>4,767,259</td>
<td>4,141,860</td>
<td>911,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43.1%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 3, 2012</td>
<td>7,429,684</td>
<td>5,170,592</td>
<td>3,617,466</td>
<td>810,548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43.6%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1, 2008</td>
<td>6,636,067</td>
<td>5,197,897</td>
<td>3,011,371</td>
<td>691,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.7%</td>
<td>33.5%</td>
<td>19.4%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 4, 2007</td>
<td>6,599,660</td>
<td>5,254,795</td>
<td>2,980,622</td>
<td>691,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42.5%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 30, 2003</td>
<td>6,735,349</td>
<td>5,448,469</td>
<td>2,484,275</td>
<td>769,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43.6%</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

America's majority minority future

Non-white share of population by county

Date: IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota, U.S. Census Bureau Chart: Noama Ahmed/Avico
South region has seen the nation’s biggest Latino population growth since 2008

Latino population growth, 2008-2018, by U.S. region

Note: Population estimates are as of July 1 for each year. Hispanics are of any race.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

U.S. counties with largest Hispanic population, 2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Hispanic population</th>
<th>% of population that is Hispanic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles County, California</td>
<td>4,920,000</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris County, Texas</td>
<td>2,040,000</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami-Dade County, Florida</td>
<td>1,910,000</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maricopa County, Arizona</td>
<td>1,380,000</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook County, Illinois</td>
<td>1,320,000</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverside County, California</td>
<td>1,210,000</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bexar County, Texas</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Bernardino County, California</td>
<td>1,170,000</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Diego County, California</td>
<td>1,140,000</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange County, California</td>
<td>1,090,000</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas County, Texas</td>
<td>1,070,000</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Population estimates are as of July 1. Hispanics are of any race. Estimates rounded to the nearest 10,000.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER
The RAE Collides With...
Age & Rates of Cohort Growth

U.S. Hispanic population reached nearly 60 million in 2018
In millions

U.S. Hispanic population growth has slowed
Average annual growth rate in U.S. Hispanic population

Note: Population estimates for 1980-2018 are as of July 1 for each year. Hispanics are of any race.

Note: Based on annual population estimates as of July 1 for each year. Hispanics are of any race.
Deep Divides In 2016, by Ideology & Education

### 2016 electorate was deeply divided along ideological lines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideological Consistency</th>
<th>Clinton Share</th>
<th>Trump Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mostly liberal</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly conservative</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mostly conservative</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Clinton Share</th>
<th>Trump Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent/other</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Among validated voters in 2016, wide gap among whites by education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Clinton Share</th>
<th>Trump Share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>College grad</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-college grad</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes
- Based on 3,014 validated 2016 general election voters.
- Validated voters are those found to have voted in any of five commercial voter files, corrected for questionable matches. Votes are from a post-election survey and excludes those who refused to answer or reported voting for a candidate other than Trump, Clinton, Johnson, Stein. 
- Notes include only whites ages 18 and older.
- Republican, Democrat, and Independent/other includes non-voters.

### For item in the ideological consistency scale, see report
- The partisan divide on political values grows even wider, Oct. 5, 2017
- Notes: Based on 3,014 validated 2016 general election voters.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 12, 2016.

Pew Research Center
Generational Guide – *Gen Z* Matters Moving Fwd

- **The Silent Generation**: Born between 1928 and 1945 (74-90 years old)
- **Baby Boomers**: Born between 1946 and 1964 (55-73 years old)
- **Gen X**: Born between 1965 and 1979 (40-54 years old)
- **Millenials**: Born between 1980 and 1994 (25-39 years old)
- **Gen Z / iGen**: Born between 1995 and 2012 (7-24 years old)
- **Gen Alpha**: A return to the first letter of the alphabet for the next generation, born beginning in 2013 and expected to continue until 2025 (the oldest of this group are just 6 years old)
**Gen Z at the Ballot Box**

*Generation Z* cast 4.5 million votes, or 4 percent of the total number of votes, in the 2018 midterm elections — a sizable number given that it only counts those who turned 18 after 2014.

Analysis of U.S. Census data by Pew Research Center in May 2019 found that 30 percent of *Gen Zers* ages 18-21 turned out in the first midterm election of their adult lives (in Nov 2018).

In fact, the three younger generations — Gen X, millennials and Gen Z, or those ages 18-53 in 2018 — cast 62.2 million votes, compared with 60.1 million cast by baby boomers and older generations.

According to the report, *Gen Z’s* impact will likely be felt more in the 2020 presidential election, when they are projected to be **10 percent of eligible voters**. For details, go to pewresearch.org.

---

**SEVEN IMPORTANT TRENDS**

1. Reversing a trend of declining generational trust, *Gen Z* adults put slightly more faith in capitalism than millennials. *Gen Z* adults also have the most positive view of socialism of any generation.

2. Collectively, Google and Apple’s suite of products make up 11 out of the top 25 brands that *Gen Z* adults are most likely to use on a daily basis.

3. *Gen Z* is widely distrustful of institutions and powerful interests, from Wall Street to the news media. Seventy-eight percent say there is a lot of corruption in America.

4. *Gen Z* liberals are more likely to boycott a brand for political reasons. 39 percent of the young did so in the past year.

5. The first digitally native generation has a starkly different media diet. A 48 percent plurality get their news from social media, and a majority are on YouTube daily.

6. *Gen Z* Republicans are far more comfortable with “large government” and socialism than older Republicans. They also hold more socially liberal views.

7. *Gen Z* adults are far less America-centric than older adults. They are less likely to say that being an American is important to their identity, and more skeptical that the U.S. sets a good example for the rest of the world.
CULTURE WARS HAVE BECOME BUSINESS BATTLES

WHY ENGAGE?
STAKEHOLDERS DEMANDING

“Wokeforce”  Consumers

HOW TO ENGAGE?
ACTIONS > WORDS

Ad Spending  Advocacy

Investors  Activists

Climate Action 100+
Global Investors Driving Business Transformation

POLITICS: THE PARTIES ARE REALIGNING

EDUCATION GAP
Voters With College Degrees: Party ID

GENDER GAP
Women: Congressional Control Preference

RACE GAP
White Men as a Share of House Members

GEOGRAPHY GAP
Dem share of vote in counties with Whole Foods

Dem share of vote in counties with Cracker Barrel
Part III: All Bets Are Off; Where is The Vote? Pre-COVID19

What might the 2020 Electoral Map look like?

Part III: All Bets Are Off; Fundamental Rules Are Out
Where is The Vote? The Fight for the Exurbs!
Part III: All Bets Are Off; Fundamental Rules Are Out – Where is The Vote? Edges of the Cities & New Suburbs

Part III: Battle for the ’Burbs
Part III: All Bets Are Off; Fundamental Rules Are Out

Where is the Vote? Concentrated "Pockets"

The Evolving Bifurcation of the Presidential Vote

The Evolving Electoral Map

Over the past 15 years, most states have voted with the same party, with only a few real swing states, like Florida and Ohio. That changed in 2016, when Trump flipped parts of what had been thought to be an unbreakable "Blue Wall," including Wisconsin, Michigan, and Pennsylvania.
Part III: Where is The Vote? Bifurcated Aging of One State - MN

Part III: All Bets Are Off; Where is The Vote? The “Corridor” in Wisconsin
Part III: Where is The Vote? Punctuated by the “Swingers”

What to Watch? 2020 GLOCAL Dynamics & Outcomes Affected Up, Down the Ballot

- The Calendar & Key Dates; Labor Day, 9/29, 10/7, 10/15, 10/22
- Changes in the General vs. Voting Populations; Demographic shifts; the “RAE”
- Gallup “Generic Ballot Test” / “Enthusiasm” Poll / & Presidential Approval Numbers; Macroeconomic Indicators & Conditions;
- Emotions rule now
- Congress & Senate differences; 2020 vs. 2022
- Dominant media “narrative” of “protest politics” framed by anti-incumbency / anti-establishment “symbolic” politics;
- “Protest” + “Symbolic” Politics = Negative Mobilization;
- The Conventional Wisdom is Often Wrong – Fundamental Electoral Rules in Error?
Final Data Points…

- FIVE U.S. Counties are barometers for the 2020 Election:
  - AZ, Maricopa County;
  - FL, Miami-Dade County;
  - MI, Kent County;
  - PA, Beaver County;
  - WI, Milwaukee County;

Why these Counties?

- Feelings of “Political Homelessness” by these purple voters;
- Obama-Trump voters;

A Candidate’s Most Precious Resource – It’s Their Time; The Glocal Angle

Trump’s Small-Town Rallies
Since his inauguration, President Trump has held 67 rallies in 63 cities. Of the 63 cities, only 21 were ranked among the 200 most populous cities.

- 33 cities with populations of less than 100,000 people
- 19 cities with populations of less than 50,000 people
- 8 cities with populations of less than 30,000 people
- 3 cities with populations of less than 10,000 people

President Donald Trump greeted cheering crowds at the Target Center on Thursday, Oct. 10, 2019, in Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Roughly 7 in 10 Obama-Trump voters approve of the President’s job performance, while similar shares of Obama-nonvoters disapprove of him.

Obama-Trump voters prioritize issues such as border security and terrorism; Obama-nonvoters are more likely to say health care is their top issue.

Biden is more popular among Obama-Trump voters than Sanders or Warren, although he’s still underwater with that voting bloc.
Final Points, cont’d…Down Ballot

- Does “America First = American Alone?”
- POTUS tweeted 140 times the FIRST WEEK of the public Impeachment proceedings;
- 22 states are GOP-owned; both Governorships AND BOTH sides of the state Legislature
- The GOP currently controls 58 Legislatures, Dems 40
OLLI Stolman Memorial Lecture

Resources on US Politics Climate for 2020:

All Politics is GLOCAL
**Where to Find Info.: The Politics of 2020**

- [www.thegreenpapers.com](http://www.thegreenpapers.com)
- [www.votesmart.org](http://www.votesmart.org)
- [www.smartvoter.org](http://www.smartvoter.org)
- [www.factcheck.org](http://www.factcheck.org)
- [www.vote.caltech.edu](http://www.vote.caltech.edu)
- [http://election.princeton.edu](http://election.princeton.edu)
- [www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org) (The CRP, $$)
- [www.politico.com](http://www.politico.com)
- [www.centerforpolitics.org](http://www.centerforpolitics.org) (UVA)
- [www.electoralmaps.org](http://www.electoralmaps.org)
- [www.uselectionatlas.org](http://www.uselectionatlas.org)

**Places for Still More Political Info.:**

Latest “Fed Listens” Reports:

**Websites for Polling…Data…and DD:**

- [http://www.ppic.org/survey/](http://www.ppic.org/survey/)
- [https://igs.berkeley.edu/research/berkeley-igs-poll](https://igs.berkeley.edu/research/berkeley-igs-poll)
- [https://igs.berkeley.edu/library/california-ballot-measure-guides](https://igs.berkeley.edu/library/california-ballot-measure-guides)
- [http://www.iandrinstitute.org/](http://www.iandrinstitute.org/)
- [http://www.iandrinstitute.org/data.cfm](http://www.iandrinstitute.org/data.cfm)
More Websites for Politics & Elections Info.
- elections.gmu.edu
- www.pollster.com
- www.gallup.com
- www.pollsandvotes.com
- www.cqpolitics.com
- www.rollcall.com; www.thehill.com
- www.fivethirtyeight.com
- www.pewresearch.org
- http://blog.lib.umn.edu/cspg/smartpolitics/

Just on Money, Cash, Dollars, $$$: 
- www.opensecrets.org
- www.maplight.org
- www.followthemoney.org
- www.campaignfinance.org

Top CA Elections Resources
- CVF Online Guide: www.calvoter.org
  https://calvoter.org/covg
- Voter’s Edge:
  http://votersedge.org/
  https://votersedge.org/ca/
- Official CA Voter’s Guide:
  http://www.voterguide.sos.ca.gov/
- California Choices Guide: http://www.californiachoice.org
The "Normal Vote" Issue

Democratic Normal Vote

FIGURE 3-4  Democratic Normal Vote with Presidential Vote, 1968-2008


Note: The normal vote calculations are a simplified version of Philip E. Converse's original analysis. See Philip E. Converse, "The Concept of a Normal Vote," in Elections and the Political Order, ed. Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes (New York: Wiley, 1966), 8-59.
### Policy Response: Congress

**Next Phase(s) of Legislation – State of Negotiations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overall Size</strong></td>
<td>$3.4 Trillion “HEROES Act”</td>
<td>$1 Trillion “HEALS Act”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State &amp; Local</strong></td>
<td>$1 Trillion Top Issue</td>
<td>No new funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liability Protections</strong></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Top Issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unemployment</strong></td>
<td>Continue until Jan 31, 2021</td>
<td>Continue until Dec 31, 2020 and reduced by half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal Stimulus Checks</strong></td>
<td>Bipartisan support</td>
<td>Bipartisan support (but left out of “Skinny” Deal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PPP</strong></td>
<td>Bipartisan support</td>
<td>Bipartisan support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Funding for Schools</strong></td>
<td>Bipartisan support</td>
<td>Bipartisan support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing Assistance</strong></td>
<td>Bipartisan support</td>
<td>Bipartisan support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>US Postal Service</strong></td>
<td>$25 Billion in emergency funding</td>
<td>$10 Billion in loan forgiveness (included in “Skinny” Deal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Shutterstock Images; HEROES Act, HEALS Act; Delivering Immediate Bailout for America’s Families, Schools and Small Businesses Act
2016 Presidential Election Margin by Congressional District

2016 Nationwide Pres. Election Results by Closeness in County
Town and country
Population density and vote share, by county, US presidential election 2016

Trump wins in more rural areas

Clinton wins in more urban areas

Sources: Atlas of US Presidential Elections; Census Bureau; The Economist
What’s Also NOT Included in Our Models?