Session #3 – Fork in the Road:
The Elections of 2020 Amidst the Great Unknowns

30 October 2020
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Sonoma State University
Department of Political Science
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What’s the Plan for This Class?

• Session I, 16 October: “The Big Picture” – on Polling; Models of the Vote; How 2020 is Different; Media; and Overall 2020 Election Conditions

• Session II, 23 October: Debates; Money, Campaign Finance & Spending; Information Processing & “Mass Publics;”

• Session III, 30 October: Predictions; Models; What to Watch for; Big Patterns vs. “Black Swans;” More on Ballot Measures & Down-Ballot Effects; House & Senate Contests

• ALWAYS: Your questions, comments, and concerns....
We are but THREE Plus DAYS OUT – 3+!!
(That’s About 3 days, 15 hours!!)

Yet TODAY? FUNDAMENTALS Matter...

The Politics of November 2020:
Where Do Things Sit? How is This NOT 2016?
Remember This: Fundamentals *Matter*....

The 2020 Elections are the PIVOT Election...

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### Fundamental Enthusiasm Numbers; “Anxious” Voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U.S. registered voters</th>
<th>Rep/Rep-leaning Independents</th>
<th>Dem/Dem-leaning Independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*GALLUP*

- 69% of voters more enthusiastic than in prior years; up from 50% in 2016
- 64% of voters afraid of what will happen if their candidate loses
- 77% of voters say stakes are higher this year than in previous elections
Enthusiasm Numbers; “Anxious” Voters, cont’d

Voters Fearful About Election Outcome

% Who strongly agree with the statement "I am afraid of what will happen if my candidate for President does not win."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>U.S. registered voters</th>
<th>Rep/Rep-leaning independents</th>
<th>Dem/Dem-leaning independents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final Preelection Favorable Ratings, 1992-2020

% With favorable opinion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republican candidate</th>
<th>U.S. adults</th>
<th>Likely voters</th>
<th>Democratic candidate</th>
<th>U.S. adults</th>
<th>Likely voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2020</td>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Biden</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Romney</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>McCain</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Kerry</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Gore</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Dole</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What Fundamentals Matter??

Job Approval in June Historically Correlates with Reelection

Presidential job approval ratings in June of first term for incumbent presidents seeking reelection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Approval Rating</th>
<th>Reelection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.W. Bush</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.H.W. Bush</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eisenhower</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truman</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gallup
Why TURNOUT Matters...in Midterms AND Presidential Elections...

% Absolutely Certain They Will Vote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADITIONAL DEM CONSTITUENCIES</th>
<th>TRADITIONAL GOP CONSTITUENCIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afr. Am.</td>
<td>Hispanics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gallup, Sept. 29

Yearly Per Capita Change in State/Nat’l Personal Income

Evaluation of Current State/Nat’l Economic Conditions

Other Factors: Conflict; Events

Presidential Approval

OUR MODEL – Presidential Approval and Economic Conditions:

Where's the Pandemic & Protests?
#MeToo Matters...More Than Ever in a Model?

## Evaluations of Economic Conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF ECONOMIC CONCERN</th>
<th>TIME PERIOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CURRENT</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Finances</td>
<td>FINAN1: Personal Finances Now vs. Year Ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California Economic Conditions</td>
<td>CALFIN1: California Economy Now</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Electoral Votes Allocated to Each State

Trump Won With Minority of Total County Population

Population residing in counties carried by respective presidential candidates (in millions)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Candidate 1</th>
<th>Candidate 2</th>
<th>Total county population</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Obama</td>
<td>Romney</td>
<td>Obama: 134, Romney: 180</td>
<td>+46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>W. Bush</td>
<td>Gore</td>
<td>W. Bush: 149, Gore: 133</td>
<td>+16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>Dole</td>
<td>Clinton: 101, Dole: 168</td>
<td>+67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* total population, all ages not just voters

Sources: William H. Frey, Brookings
### Why Demographics Matter!

People & Party Changes, 2020 to 2036

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#### 2020 Electoral College Map

(a projection based on a graduated weighted average of state polls)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Electoral Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biden</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Biden needs 270 votes to win.

Map template courtesy of Northeastern University.
Biden vs. Trump: Electoral College Forecast
Forecasted votes in the electoral college for 2020 U.S. presidential candidates Joe Biden/Donald Trump

Democrat (safe/leaning)  Toss-up  Republican (safe/leaning)

183  96  134  53  72

270 votes to win

As of October 25, 2020. Based on polling averages
Source: 270toWin.com
The electoral divide

Favors GOP (191 electoral votes)
- Strongly
- Likely

Favors Democrats (253)
- Strongly
- Likely

Battleground states (94)

Winning Margins in U.S. Elections
Electoral votes won by elected candidates in U.S. presidential elections since 1980

Donald Trump 2016: 304
Barack Obama 2008: 365
Barack Obama 2004: 286
George W. Bush 2000: 271
George W. Bush 2004: 379
Bill Clinton 1996: 370
Bill Clinton 1992: 426
George H.W. Bush 1988: 525
Ronald Reagan 1984: 489

Source: U.S. National Archives and Records Administration
SO...let’s do a forecast...

Open Up a NEW Window on Your Computers...

https://www.270towin.com/
https://www.270towin.com/ - Biden Worst Case?

https://www.270towin.com/ - Biden Best Case?
Spending Updates, Through This Friday, 30 October 2020

The POINT: Money, Cash, Dollars – are a necessary, but not sufficient condition for success.
FINAL SIX DAYS OF U.S. AD SPENDING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Biden Campaign</th>
<th>DNC</th>
<th>Democratic Groups</th>
<th>Trump Campaign</th>
<th>RNC</th>
<th>Republican Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$50M</td>
<td>$2.5M</td>
<td>$109.8M</td>
<td>$10.1M</td>
<td>$12.6M</td>
<td>$40.8M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Advertising Analytics; Cross Screen Media’s “2020 Political Spending Projections.”
Advertising $$$ First Half of the Year
Current Polling #’s, Yet a “Combined” (RVs + LVs) Sample

Based on surveys conducted Oct 23-25, 2020. Sample sizes vary, with the margin of error ranging between 1 to 3% per demographic.
Let’s Take a DEEP Dive Into Polling: 2020 vs. 2016

The Pollster for ABC News is Gary Langer

https://www.langerresearch.com/
https://www.langerresearch.com/our-depth/gary-langer/
This is a TEST!! What do You Notice Here??
What do You Notice Here??

2020 Candidates and the Economy

2020 Candidates and the Economy

Wisconsin

Michigan

Views of the nation’s economy

Trust more to handle...

Excellent/ good
Not so good/poor
Trump
Biden

Excellent/ good
Not so good/poor
Trump
Biden

What do You Notice Here??

Biden leads by four points in Florida

Race was tied at 48-48 in September, though the margin in both polls are within the margin of error.

September

Now

Source: the NBG News / Marist poll conducted Oct. 25-27, 2020. Margin of error for 743 likely voters is +/- 4.4%.

Graphic: Robin Muccari / NBG News
### NBC News/Marist Poll Florida Annotated Questionnaire

**October 2020**

FL Adults: n=1,125; MoE +/- 3.6
FL Registered Voters: n=1,001; MoE +/- 3.9
FL Likely Voters: n=743; MoE +/- 4.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FL Adults Column %</th>
<th>FL Registered Voters Column %</th>
<th>FL Likely Voters Column %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Do you approve or disapprove of the job Donald Trump is doing as president?</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote Unsure</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>September 2020</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote Unsure</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### THE 2020 BATTLEGROUND

**FLORIDA**

**Overall:** 2016 +1 2020 TIED

**Hispanics:** 2016 +27 2020 +4

**White College Graduates:** 2016 +27 2020 +3

**Data Download:** 2016 STATE EXIT POLLS, NBC NEWS / MARIST POLL, AUG. 31 - SEPT. 7, +/- 4.5
The map above shows the county level and vote share results of the 2016 US Presidential Election. The darker the blue the more a county went for Hillary Clinton and the darker the red the more the county went for Donald Trump.

This map helps explain why Trump was able to win, despite winning over 2.2 million fewer votes (at the time of writing) than Clinton. Her votes were very concentrated in only a few states whereas Trump’s votes came from a wide enough geographic area to capture the Electoral College.

Overall Trump won approximately 2,600 counties to Clinton’s 500, or about 84% of the geographic United States. However, Clinton won 88 of the 100 largest counties (including Washington D.C.). Without these 100 largest counties she would have lost by 11.5 million votes.
Profound Split Between Urban And Rural Communities In The United States

2016 Presidential by State

2016 Presidential by County

Source: The Guardian
Trump Voters Clearly Valued Change Over Experience . . .

... Even Though They Had Reservations About Trump Personally

Voter Views of Donald Trump:

- Had a favorable opinion of him: 38%
- Is honest and trustworthy: 33%
- Qualified to be President: 38%
- Temperament to Serve Effectively as President: 35%
Clinton Underperformed Obama With Key Democratic Groups

How Well Did Trump Do?

• Their Plan was a state-by-state, Electoral College (EC) plan...not a Pop Vote plan;
• They won EVERY battle except – NH; CO; & NV (only 19 Evs there);
• They won with HUGE margins (65-74% of the vote in previously red / Romney areas in the Rustbelt (PA; OH; MI; WI);
• Trump won 200 – TWO HUNDRED – counties that previously went for Obama in 2008 AND 2012!
HOW VETERANS PLAN TO VOTE

If the presidential election were held today, whom would you vote for?

- 52.4% for I would not vote
- 42.3% for Joe Biden
- 4.6% for Donald Trump
- 0.8% for A Third-Party Candidate

Source: Poll of 1,733 Military Times readers who identify as veterans, conducted online between Oct. 1 and Oct. 13, 2020, by Military Times in partnership with Syracuse University's Institute for Veterans and Military Families.

Check THIS Out!

Absentee and Early Votes Cast by Young People in Key States: 2020 vs. 2016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>2020 Early Votes Cast by Youth (Ages 18-29)</th>
<th>2016 Early Votes Cast by Youth (Ages 18-29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>252,000</td>
<td>362,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>253,000</td>
<td>342,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>234,000</td>
<td>317,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>228,000</td>
<td>305,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>239,000</td>
<td>252,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>233,000</td>
<td>252,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>230,000</td>
<td>230,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>298,000</td>
<td>368,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>283,000</td>
<td>342,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>212,000</td>
<td>119,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>241,000</td>
<td>213,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>148,000</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>27,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2020 early vote data for youth in Pennsylvania is not available.

Does This Trend Continue?

• In Texas, young people have already cast nearly two-thirds as many early votes as they did in all of 2016.

• In Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Maine and Minnesota, early votes by young voters have exceeded the 2016 margin of victory in each state — meaning young voters could theoretically be the deciding factor.

Does This Trend Continue?

• The share of early voters who are between 18 and 29, compared to 2016, is up by 13 percent in North Carolina, 19 percent in Arizona and 36 percent in Minnesota, according to an analysis of TargetSmart data by Simon Rosenberg, a Democratic strategist, for Clean and Prosperous America and New Democratic Network.

• The trend is also showing up among older millennials, between 30 and 39, whose early-vote share nationally is up by 21 percent, compared to 2016.
The Last 48 Hours Have Had A LOT of STATE-BY-STATE Polls...

Why does that MATTER???
**Popular Vote Deficits (in thousands)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Deficit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>John Quincy Adams</td>
<td>-38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>Rutherford B. Hayes</td>
<td>-252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Benjamin Harrison</td>
<td>-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>George W. Bush</td>
<td>-547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>-2840</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Votes | % of Vote**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Votes</th>
<th>% of Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>65,516,951</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>62,844,908</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7,639,968</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>136,001,827</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Clinton Margin** +2,672,043 +2.0%

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**Electoral vote margin in states decided by 1.5 points or less.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Margin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The short list of presidents who lost the popular vote, but won the Electoral College

- **Trump 2016**: +14% (Popular margin) +16% (Electoral margin)
- **Bush 2000**: +0.9% (Popular margin) +16% (Electoral margin)
- **Harrison 1888**: +0.3% (Popular margin) +16% (Electoral margin)
- **Hayes 1876**: +0.3% (Popular margin) +16% (Electoral margin)

Data from Dave Leip’s Atlas of US Presidents, New York Times projections, and the Cook Political Report

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US popular vote

Twice in the past 16 years a Democrat has lost the US presidential election despite winning the popular vote

**Popular vote in millions**

- **Gore 2000**: 51.0 (Democrat) +0.5 mln
- **Bush 2004**: 59.5
- **Bush 2008**: 62.0
- **Obama vs. McCain 2008**: 69.5 (Obama) 59.9 (McCain)
- **Obama vs. Romney 2012**: 65.9 (Obama) 60.9 (Romney)
- **Clinton vs. Trump 2016**: 64.4 +2.1 mln (Clinton) 62.3 (Trump)

**Sources:** Federal Election Commission, US Elections Project, Cook Political Report
Obama in Rare Club – The First Presidential Candidate Since Dwight Eisenhower to top 51% TWICE

2012: 51.1% is the Gold Standard Now...

• In fact, in American history, this is a feat that's only been pulled off by six presidents: Andrew Jackson, Ulysses S. Grant, William McKinley, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eisenhower, and now, Barack Obama.

• In case you're wondering if Reagan made the cut, he came close, but ended up with 50.7% in 1980. Plenty of other candidates might have had a better shot at this, were it not for third-party candidates.
Quick 3-4 Minute Break....

The Voting “Process”

- **Absentee Voting**: In two-thirds of the states, any qualified voter may vote absentee without offering an excuse, and in one-third of the states, an excuse is required. Some states offer a permanent absentee ballot list: once a voter asks to be added to the list, s/he will automatically receive an absentee ballot for all future elections.

- **All-Mail Voting**: In a handful of states, a ballot is automatically mailed to every eligible voter (no request or application is necessary). Polling places may also be available for voters who would like to vote in-person. Other states may permit the all-mail option for specific types of elections.

- As for early in-person voting, it is available in four-fifths of the states. In these states, any qualified voter may cast a ballot in person during a designated period prior to Election Day.

The Voting “Process”

Mail voting rules
- Ballots mailed
- Absentee allowed for all
- Excuse required


The Voting “Process”

Online System for Tracking Absentee Ballots

Legend
- Required in statute or rule for all voters
- Only for military/overseas voters
The Voting “Process”

No Excuse Required to Vote
Absentee (or by Mail)

Legend
- No excuse absentee/mail ballot voting
- All-mail elections
*Rhode Island lists a number of excuses to vote absentee, including "no specific reason necessary."

The Voting “Process”

Verifying Authenticity of
Absentee/Mailed Ballots

Legend
- Compare signature on ballot envelope with signature on file
- Verify that ballot envelope has been signed
- Requires a witness signature as well as a voter signature
- Requires a notarized signature
- Requires photocopy of ID to be returned with ballot
*Alabama also requires a signature from a rotary or 2 witnesses
When Absentee And Mail Ballots Are Pre-Processed

Upon receipt
AZ GA MN NV
AK CO DC HI
ID IL IN KS
MA MT NE NJ
NY SD TN UT
VA WA

Before Election Day
FL IA MI NH
NC OH AR CA
CT DE KY LA
ME MD MO NM
ND OK OR RI
SC TX VT WV
WG

On Election Day
PA WI AL MS

When Processing for Absentee/Mail Ballots Begins

Legend
- Prior to Election Day
- During Election Day
- Close of Polls on Election Day
All flaxen was their poll
United States, absentee ballots in the 2016 presidential election

Sources: Merlin Heidemanns; The Economist
Who Has Already Voted?? As of 0900 Today...

Total Early Votes: 83,940,065 • In-Person Votes: 29,923,292 • Mail Ballots Returned: 54,016,773 • Mail Ballots Outstanding: 34,245,005

Note: Some states do not differentiate between mail ballots and in-person votes.

Total Early Vote
State plots may not be shaded using the same scale

Party registration statistics are provided only for states that have party registration

Total Voted by Party Registration

Reporting states with party registration data: AZ, CA, CO, CT, FL, IA, KS, KY, LA, MD, ME, NC, NE, NJ, NM, NV, OK, OR, PA, SD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>18,878,475</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>12,108,126</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor</td>
<td>259,220</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Party Affiliation</td>
<td>9,352,893</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>40,598,714</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Pivot Counties That Matter...

Pivot Counties
The 206 counties that voted twice for President Obama and then voted for President Trump

Trump Wins in 2016 – Where? What Counties Did He Flip?
Changes, Shifts in PA Voter Reg.
Where Are We on Ballot Measure $$$?:

Second-Most Expensive Elections in the Free World!

$750,495,495.18 in 27,551 contributions

Important: Adjustments may apply for ballot measures. Find out more.

http://powersearch.sos.ca.gov/advanced.php
Where Are We on Ballot Measure $$$?:
Don’t Forget – Due Monday, 02 Nov!!

http://powersearch.sos.ca.gov/advanced.php

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposition</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Total Raised</th>
<th>Contributions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proposition 15</td>
<td>Increases funding for public schools, community colleges, and local government services</td>
<td>$139,036,360.41</td>
<td>-10,159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support</td>
<td>$67,959,273.30</td>
<td>1,874</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppose</td>
<td>$71,077,087.12</td>
<td>3,285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proposition 16 - ACA 11 (Resolution Chapter 31), Mullin. The home protection for seniors, severely disabled, farm workers, and others in need of protection.

Total Raised: $45,589,848.62

Support: $48,524,796.00

Oppose: $41,050.00

Proposition 20 - Restricts parole for non-violent offenders. Authorizes felony sentences for certain offenses.

Total Raised: $24,448,631.52

Support: $21,128,085.00

Oppose: $3,320,546.52

Proposition 21 - Expands local governments’ authority to enact rent control on residential property. Initiative.

Total Raised: $134,647,207.85

Support: $42,361,419.03

Oppose: $92,285,788.82

Proposition 22 - Changes employment classification rules for app-based transportation and delivery drivers.

Total Raised: $219,604,743.20

Support: $196,022,761.49

Oppose: $23,582,981.71

Proposition 23 - Authorizes state regulation of kidney dialysis clinics. Establishes minimum staffing and other requirements.

Total Raised: $114,732,249.95

Support: $30,102,045.04

Oppose: $84,630,204.91

The Good News?
CA Politics is Fun!
The Four Rules to Remember...

- DD increases Turnout (↑ T.O. “bump”);
- Most measures fail; some variation by subject matter & TYPE; polling key toplines...
- Not all Money is the same...
- The Midterm Forest vs. Specific Measures as a “Tree” in a Presidential Election Year

“Unintended Consequences” for CA Politics?

- Interest Groups, some Legislators, & often Governors (Candidates?) run to the voters...
- Seek redemption through the ballot box
- The threat (or is it liberator?) that is the “parallel legislature”
- Continuous elections & implications for the future
- “The Gun Behind the Door” syndrome

- DD has important palliative effects on electoral turnout, increases information about politics and civic engagement...
- DD releases the pain but does not deal with the underlying causes, frustrations.
- How does DD complicate the CA political environment?
Evidence of the Nattering Naybobs of Negativism

Direct Democracy in the U.S.

- Approximately 70% of Americans live in states with the initiative process
- “Initiative States” tend to have overall lower levels of taxation
- But around 60% of initiatives fail nationwide
- In CA, about 2 out of 3 measures that appear on the ballot fail
- Why?
  - Most literature has focused on campaign effects & the role of Campaign spending & Finance / CF.
  - There are many research reasons for this rate of failure.
YES & NO Arguments

• Ballot initiatives are easier to defeat than to pass
  • Over 60% of ballot initiatives fail
  • Why?

• It is possible that it is easier to argue against a proposal rather than in support of one

• Thus, the “easy money” is on opposing ballot measures, not supporting them;

• Or, by moving “second” and not “first”

More Nuance Needed Here:
The Process of DD as a 5 Stage Game

• Stage #1: Drafting Stage (“Title and Summary”)
• Stage #2: Signature Qualification Stage
• Stage #3: Campaign Stage
• Stage #4: Adjudication Stage
• Stage #5: Implementation Stage

• What does this look like in reality?
Direct Legislation Use in CA, 1912–2018
What’s Trending in DD/Initiative Territory?

• TELs are trending up in support / resistance to spending;

• NPPs play a key T.O. role in November 2020;

• DD Polling / Tracking data is suspect – why?

• Measures by SUBJECT MATTER vs. TYPE;

• Timing & Nature of Coalitions;

• “Outsider” vs. “Insider” Strategies...
2018 vs. 2020: Both parties are seeing an increase in women winning House primaries

Source: Rutgers University’s Center for American Women and Politics
Stand Back – A Wave’s Effects? Really?

In the last four House wave elections, roughly two-thirds of vulnerable incumbents from the president’s party still won.

Incumbent party's retention rates in the past four House wave elections:

- Incumbent running:
  - When the district’s PVI favors...
    - Incumbent party by 10 points or more: 39%
    - Incumbent party by 5-10 points: 61%
    - Incumbent party by 0-5 points: 77%
    - Challenging party by 0-5 points: 5%
    - Challenging party by 5-10 points: 15%
    - Challenging party by 10 points or more: 33%

Analysis:
- Incumbents are hard to beat, even in wave elections.
- In the last four Housewave elections, 96% of incumbents from the president’s party in districts with a PVI favoring the other party by 0-5 points still won.
- However, when those seats were open, the president’s party only held 8% of them.

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: It Comes Down to THREE...

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

A good night for the GOP probably means holding a 51-seat Senate majority next year. A bad night for the Republicans might put the Democrats in the mid-50s.

Source: Dr. David McCuan, Professor & Chair, Dept. of POLS

ONLY 20 Seats in 2020 are “Uncontested”

Number of U.S. House races without a major party candidate by year (1920-2020)

Source: Ballotpedia
While Republicans Leaving at Higher Rates

Congressional incumbent turnover, 2012-2020
including retirements, resignations, primary defeats, and additional departures

Last updated Sept. 15, 2020
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;

Source: Dr. David McCuan, Professor & Chair, Dept. of POLS

What & Where to Watch for Directions, Guideposts?

Bucks County, PA and Northampton County, PA
[https://www.votespa.com/Resources/Pages/Contact-Your-Election-Officials.aspx](https://www.votespa.com/Resources/Pages/Contact-Your-Election-Officials.aspx)

Waukesha County, WI
[https://www.waukeshacounty.gov/OfficialElectionResults](https://www.waukeshacounty.gov/OfficialElectionResults)

Pinnellas County, FL
[https://www.votepinellas.com/Election-Results](https://www.votepinellas.com/Election-Results)
Where to Find Info.: The Politics of 2020

- http://politicalscience.sonoma.edu/election-resource
- www.thegreenpapers.com (A Great Starting Point)
- https://www.kqed.org/voterguide (Bay Area Focus)
- https://healthyelections.org/
- https://electionupdates.caltech.edu
- www.polidata.org
- www.votesmart.org
- http://election.princeton.edu
- www.politico.com
- www.centerforpolitics.org (UVA)
- www.electoralmaps.org
- www.uselectionatlas.org
- https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/roper-2020-topic-tracker-vote-president

Places for Still More Political Info.:

www.smartvoter.org
www.factcheck.org
www.vote.caltech.edu
http://www.pewresearch.org/topics/voter-participation/

Websites for Polling...Data...and DD:

http://www.ppic.org/survey/
https://igs.berkeley.edu/research/berkeley-igs-poll
https://igs.berkeley.edu/library/california-ballot-measure-guides
http://www.iandrinstitute.org/
http://www.iandrinstitute.org/data.cfm
More Websites for Politics & Elections Info.

- [http://www.electproject.org/](http://www.electproject.org/)
- Early Voting Numbers also available here: [https://electproject.github.io/Early-Vote-2020G/index.html](https://electproject.github.io/Early-Vote-2020G/index.html)
- [elections.gmu.edu](http://elections.gmu.edu)
- [www.pollster.com](http://www.pollster.com)
- [www.gallup.com](http://www.gallup.com)
- [www.pollsandvotes.com](http://www.pollsandvotes.com)
- [www.cqpolitics.com](http://www.cqpolitics.com)
- [www.rollcall.com](http://www.rollcall.com) : [www.thehill.com](http://www.thehill.com)
- [www.fivethirtyeight.com](http://www.fivethirtyeight.com)
- [www.pewresearch.org](http://www.pewresearch.org)
- [http://blog.lib.umn.edu/cspg/smartpolitics/](http://blog.lib.umn.edu/cspg/smartpolitics/)

Just on money / $$$ below:

- [www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org)  [www.maplight.org](http://www.maplight.org)  [www.followthemoney.org](http://www.followthemoney.org)
- [www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org) (The CRP, $$)  [http://funderscommittee.org/](http://funderscommittee.org/)  (Dem. $$)
- [www.campaignfinance.org](http://www.campaignfinance.org)

Top CA Elections Resources

- CVF Online Guide: [www.calvoter.org](http://www.calvoter.org)
  [https://calvoter.org/covg](https://calvoter.org/covg)
- Voter’s Edge: [http://votersedge.org/](http://votersedge.org/)
  [https://votersedge.org/ca/](https://votersedge.org/ca/)
- California Choices Guide: [http://www.californiachoices.org](http://www.californiachoices.org)

Election Law Litigation Websites:

- [https://healthyelections-case-tracker.stanford.edu/](https://healthyelections-case-tracker.stanford.edu/)
- [https://www.scotusblog.com/election-litigation/](https://www.scotusblog.com/election-litigation/)
- [https://electioncases.osu.edu/](https://electioncases.osu.edu/)
- [https://moritzlaw.osu.edu/election-law/information-analysis/](https://moritzlaw.osu.edu/election-law/information-analysis/)
- [https://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/litigation/](https://moritzlaw.osu.edu/electionlaw/litigation/)