

Presidential Elections 2020

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Outline

- Introduction
- What's Different in the 2020 Election?
- Why Presidential Elections Are Important
- The Election of 2020 in Historical Context
- Background Factors Shaping the 2020 Election
- The Nature of Presidential Elections and Recent Changes in the Context, esp. Political Polarization
- Fundraising and Overall Costs of Election
- Political Parties and Nominating Process
- Conventions
- The Campaign: Purpose and Effects
- Voting and How We Count the Vote: Electoral College
- Reforms

Introduction: The 2020 Elections

- 2016 in retrospect: Trump victory over Clinton, and speculation about what it means for U.S. political culture and future elections.
- Clinton wins popular vote but loses to Trump in Electoral College.
- Narrow win by Trump in Wisconsin.
- Working and middle class left behind economically, and cultural divide as well, esp. urban v. rural/small town.
- A poorly informed electorate that often misjudges candidates and platforms.
- Poor media coverage of how the two parties/candidates differ. Too little substantive content, too much on horserace and personalities.

Introduction II: 2016 Election

Republican Contest

- For Republicans: From many to one. Those who “suspended” their campaigns early: Walker, Christie, Fiorina, Paul, Huckabee, Santorum, Jindal, Perry, Graham, and Pataki, and then Bush after S.C. and Rubio after FL. Then Carson, and finally Cruz and Kasich after Indiana primary losses. The **winnowing** effect.
- The stop Trump movement failed, and eventually most establishment Republicans supported Trump. 85-90% in polls today, even with impeachment inquiry. Will that change?

2016 Election Continued

- No need to summarize the many primaries and caucuses of 2016. They served their purpose of **testing** candidates and seeing who does well. From Iowa and New Hampshire to Super Tuesday primaries in 11 states.
- Cruz did well in some, but Trump eventually emerges and wins over most. Kasich never really catches on, and Cruz fails to attract much support. However, did well in Wisconsin!

Introduction III: Democratic Primaries and Caucuses

- For Dems, Sanders and Clinton close in some states, and Sanders wins big in many others. O'Malley never caught on, nor the others (Lincoln Chafee, Jim Webb).
- Sanders does far better than early expectations, esp. in caucus states. A reflection of public frustration and disappointment among Dems.
- Still, Clinton prevailed in terms of delegates won and super-delegates.
- Sanders campaign protests “rigged” process of delegate selection.
- Trump also complained that the system was rigged and unfair.

Why Did Trump Win in 2016? What Does It Imply for 2020?

- It was a close election. Trump won Electoral College vote. But Clinton won the popular vote by about **2.9 million votes or 2.1 percent**. This is very unusual to say the least.
- In three states, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, Trump won by **0.2, 0.7 and 0.8** percentage points, respectively — and by about 11,000, 47,000, and 23,000 votes. Those three wins gave Trump 46 electoral votes.
- So could say that less than 1 percent of voters in three states determined the outcome.
- If Clinton had done one point better in each state, she'd have won the electoral vote, too. So **almost any factor** could have made the difference in this outcome.

Among the Explanations for 2016

- James Comey's intervention with his letter to Congress nine days before the election.
- Russian intervention/WikiLeaks/fake news.
- Biased media coverage, esp. for Clinton.
- Clinton not spending time or more time in Wisconsin, MI, or PA.
- Clinton's poor favorability rating.
- Jill Stein, Green Party candidate.
- Voter ID laws and other forms of voter suppression.
- Poor turnout among minorities and younger voters.
- Turnout for Democrats down from 2012. **In WI, turnout dropped in 2016 compared to 2012.** Still, 69.6% of eligible voters voted.

2020 Presidential Election

- Who is likely to win Democratic nomination? As of October 15 debates, still 12 candidates with significant support: Joe Biden, Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders, Kamala Harris, Pete Buttigieg, Julián Castro, Cory Booker, Tulsi Gabbard, Amy Klobuchar, Beto O'Rourke, Tom Steyer, Andrew Yang. Others as well, and possibly late entrants.
- Will any Republican challenger to Trump do well? Primaries will be very limited.
- Polls are a guide, but not very reliable at this stage.

2020 Election II

- Still, many polls on Biden v. Trump, Sanders v. Trump, Warren v. Trump, and more, both national and for specific states. See **RealClear Politics** for updates.
- What will make a difference? State of the economy? Health care concerns? Trump himself and his record? Muller report? Impeachment inquiries and likely House vote to impeach? Majority of Americans now favor the inquiry, roughly 50 to 43 percent as of 10/22. Any chance that the Senate will convict?
- Turnout of both Republicans and Democrats will be critical, esp. among those groups that often do not vote. Hence campaigns focus on voter registration and turnout.

What About Voter Attention to Issues?

- Did the press in 2016 focus enough on core issues? Too much attention to Clinton's e-mails and not enough on policy proposals? Number of studies suggest this was so.
- Will we see a repeat in 2020? Very likely, esp. on social media, but likely also mainstream media.
- Should a presidential election mainly be about **issues** and the fundamental **character** of a new presidential administration?
- This includes appointees, program priorities, policy proposals for health care, taxes and spending, infrastructure, immigration, environment and energy, climate change, foreign policy and national security?
- Why does the press almost always focus on personality, and personal attributes of candidates. Who is likeable? Who is trustworthy? Who is honest?

Why Presidential Election Are Important

- Elections are about the **direction of government**. We say, “**elections have consequences**,” and they do.
- Two very different visions: Democrats & Republicans. Different **values** and **views of governmental roles**: from taxing and spending priorities and regulatory actions to health care and foreign policy.
- Also different positions on appointments, including **Supreme Court and other federal court nominations**.
- Debates and media coverage miss much of this. Instead, focus is on who is liked, smart, trusted, experienced.
- **But what is important for presidency?** What do you think?

Historical Context: Electoral and Popular Votes Nationwide

- **George H.W. Bush v. Dukakis** 1988, sweep. 426-111 electoral vote: 48,886,597 to 41,809,476.
- **Bush v. Clinton** 1992, sweep. 370-168 electoral vote. 44,909,326 to 39,103,882
- **Clinton v. Dole** 1996, sweep. 379-159 electoral vote. 45,590,703 to 37,816,307
- **George W. Bush v. Al Gore** 2000. Very close. 271-266 electoral vote, 50,456,002 to 50,999,897. Nader: 2,882,955. Supreme Court gave Bush Florida vote.
- **Bush v. Kerry** 2004, fairly close. 286-251 electoral vote, 62,040,610 v. 59,028,439.

More Recent Contests

- **Obama v. McCain** 2008, strong win for Obama. 365-173 electoral vote, 69,456,897 to 59,934,814.
- **Obama v. Romney** 2012, still a solid win for Obama. 332-206 electoral vote, 65,899,660 to 60,932,152.
- **Trump v. Clinton** 2016, relatively narrow win for Trump. Electoral vote of 304 to 227; popular vote: 46.1% to 48.2%, or 62,984,828 to 65,853,514. Clinton wins popular vote by more than 2% and nearly 3 million votes.

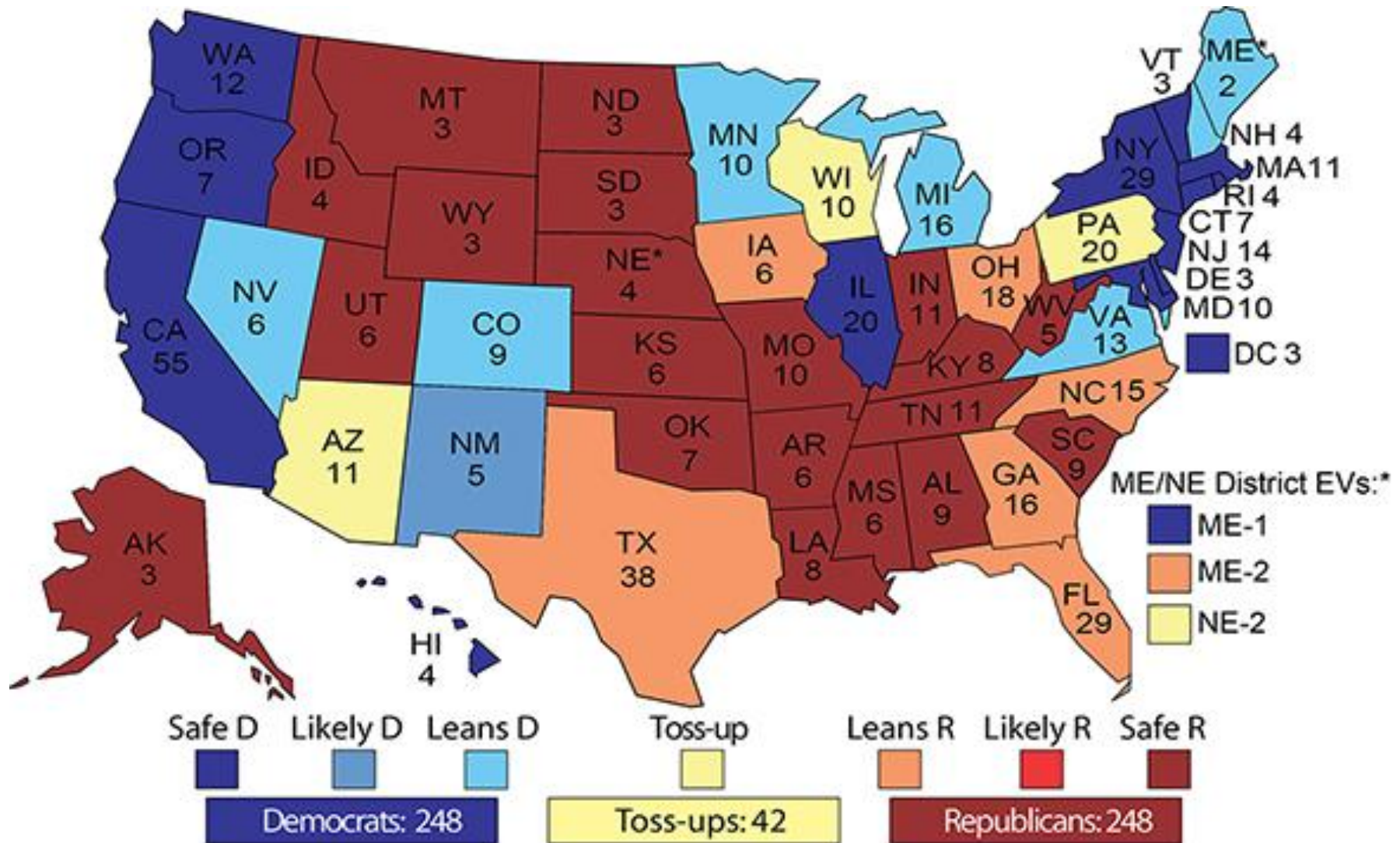
Historical Vote in Wisconsin: 1984-2016

- **2016: 47.2% Trump; 46.5% Clinton (very close)**
- 2012: 52.8% Obama; 45.9% Romney
- 2008: 56.2% Obama; 42.3% McCain
- **2004: 49.75% Kerry; 49.3% Bush (very close)**
- **2000: 47.8% Gore; 47.6% Bush (very close)**
- 1996: 48.8% Clinton; 38.5% Dole; 10.4% Perot
- 1992: 41.1% Clinton; 36.8% H.W. Bush; 21.5% Perot
- 1988: 51.4% Dukakis; 47.8% H .W. Bush
- 1984: 54.2% Reagan; 45.0% Mondale

Presidential Election Basics

- We **vote by states**, and thus **electoral vote** is what really counts.
- Most states predictably D or R or leaning one way or other. So Reps do not campaign much in NY or CA in general election. Dems ignore Miss. and Alabama.
- General election campaigns focus on **large and competitive** states, such as OH, PA, and FL, reflecting Electoral College strategy. **See map next slide.** Relatively few states are “toss-up” or uncertain, but **WI now among them.**

Larry Sabato's Sept. 19 Projections: To Win, Need 270 Electoral Votes



*Two states, Maine and Nebraska, award electoral votes by congressional districts (all others are awarded winner-take-all statewide). Nebraska's two statewide electoral votes, and two of its three districts, are rated Safe Republican. Maine's statewide

Why Campaigns and Votes Matter

- Relatively small changes in vote can make difference between winner and loser. In **WI in 2016**, noted previously, margin was **22,748 votes**.
- Hence import of the campaign. Motivate and move swing voters, including Independents, and partisans.
- What campaigns are about: fundraising and expenditures, endorsements, television and, especially today, social media ads (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram), campaign activities/events themselves, taking positions on issues, news media coverage, and esp. turnout of partisans and independents.
- Reports on latest polls. Who is ahead and who is behind? But misleading for the general election since what counts is winning states and electoral vote.

Some Background Factors Shaping 2020 Election: Will Cover Each in Turn

- Rising Partisan polarization
- Voter attitudes toward government and politics and political trust. Quite negative.
- Rising economic inequality, cultural divides, and voter anger in general.
- Voting trends, esp. lower turnout levels and withdrawal from politics or disinterest.
- Composition of the electorate changing demographically, with long-run implications.

Partisan Polarization

- We have the most divisive partisan polarization in over 100 years. Evident in political commentary in varied media.
- Measured as party differences on votes in Congress.
- Gerrymandering of House districts encourages such polarization compared to previous decades. Most members are from relatively safe districts.
- Intense partisan polarization began around 1987, rose rapidly after 1994 elections and 2002.
- Partisan gulf is especially wide on social safety net, environmental and energy policies (including climate change), labor unions, equal opportunity, scope of gov't., and immigration. And, of course, over Donald Trump.

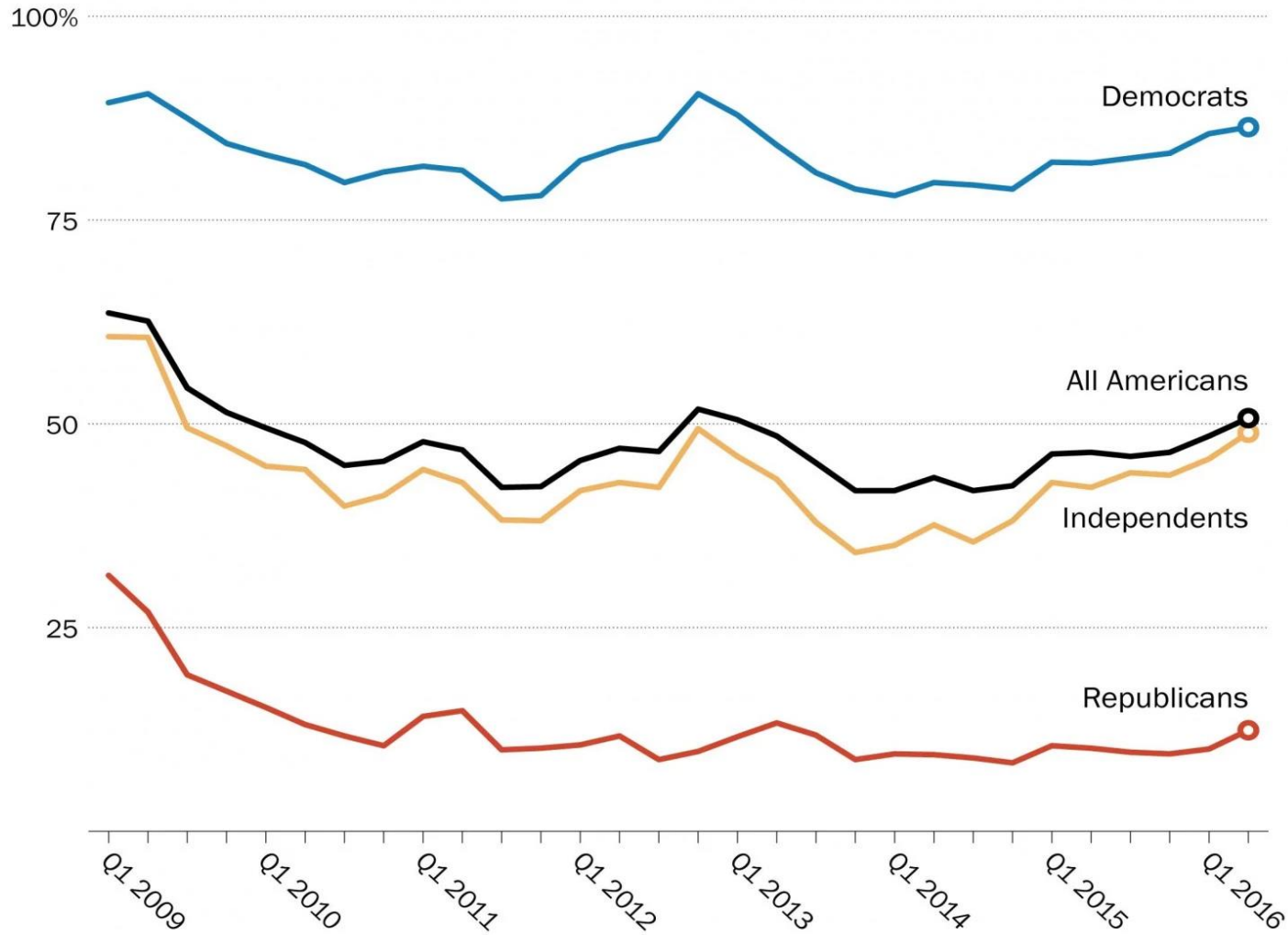
Partisan Polarization II

- These differences were negligible in late 1980s in the George H.W. Bush administration, but now very wide.
- Ex: Obama approval ratings in WI 2015: 93% among Democrats and 6% among Republicans: more divided than nation as a whole.
- **Next two slides show** Obama approval rating by party, and same for Trump.
- **This pattern extends to nearly all policy dialogue—** health care, environmental protection, climate change, immigration, foreign policy, gun control, abortion, same-sex marriage, energy policy and renewables.

Obama Approval Ratings by Party

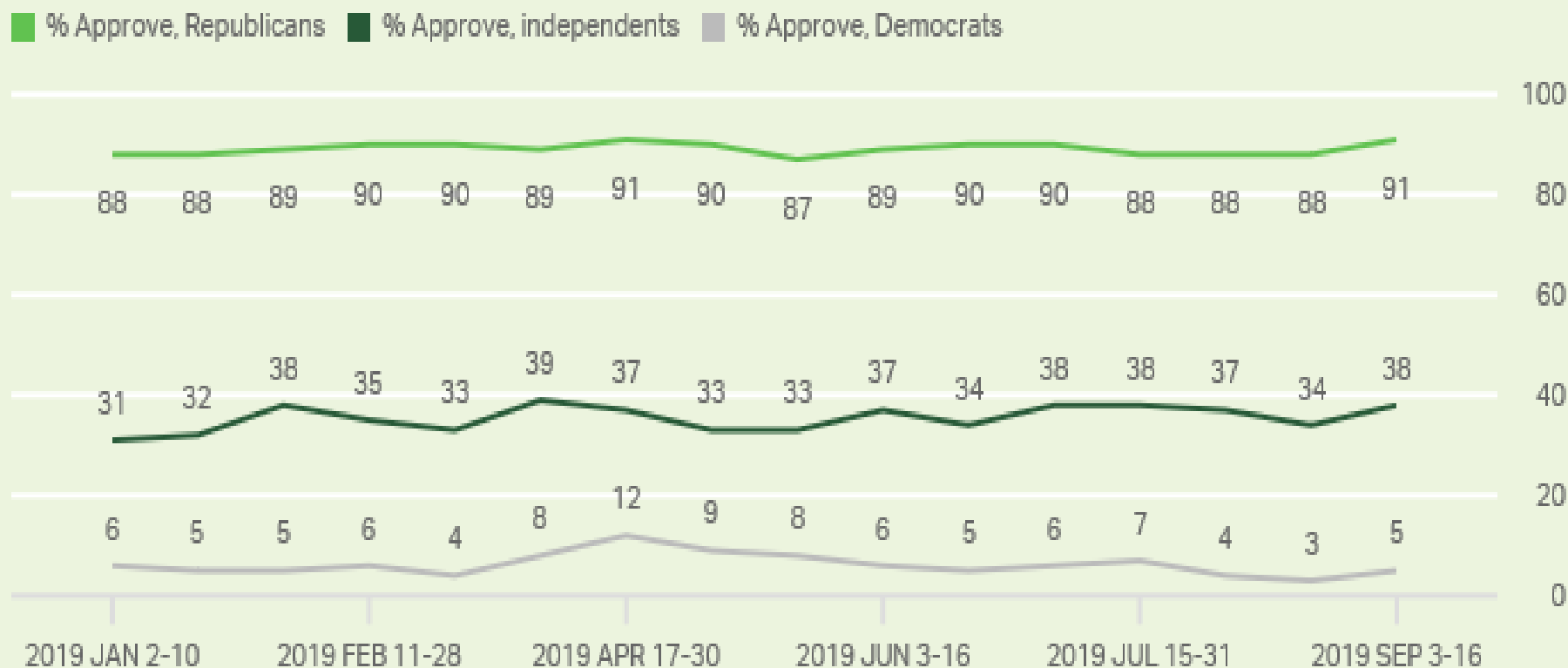
Average quarterly approval of Barack Obama by party

Data from Gallup.



Trump Approval Ratings by Party

President Donald Trump's Job Approval Ratings, 2019



Recent Quinnipiac Poll of Trump Job Approval Shows Decline of Republican Support: Released October 23, 2019

	Tot	Rep	Dem	Ind
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Approve	38%	83%	3%	29%
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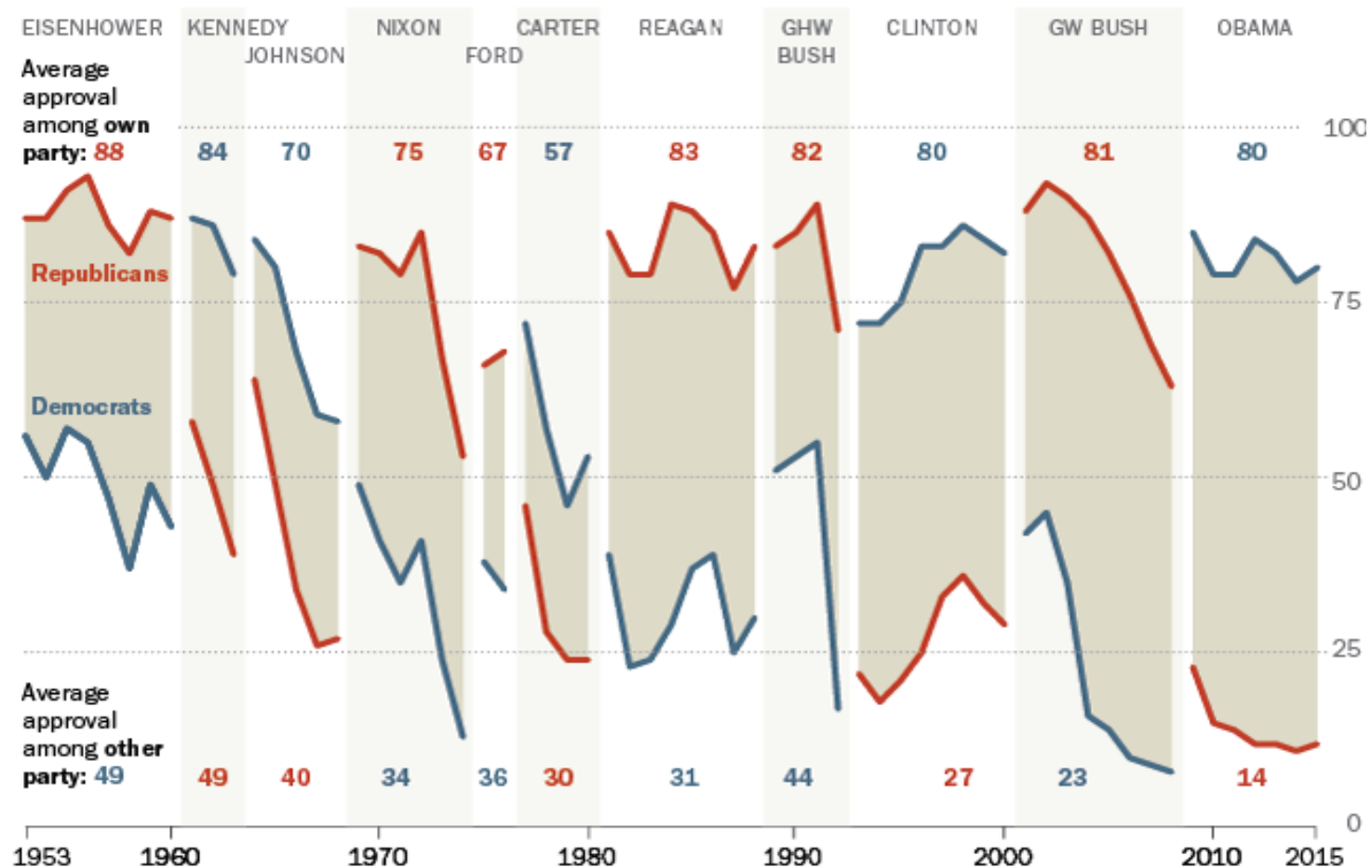
Disapprove	58	12	96	64
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DK/NA	5	5	1	7
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Party Polarization Widens Over Time

Polarization and presidential approval: supporters stay loyal, opposition intensifies

% approving of president's job performance, by party



Source: 2014 Political Polarization in the American Public

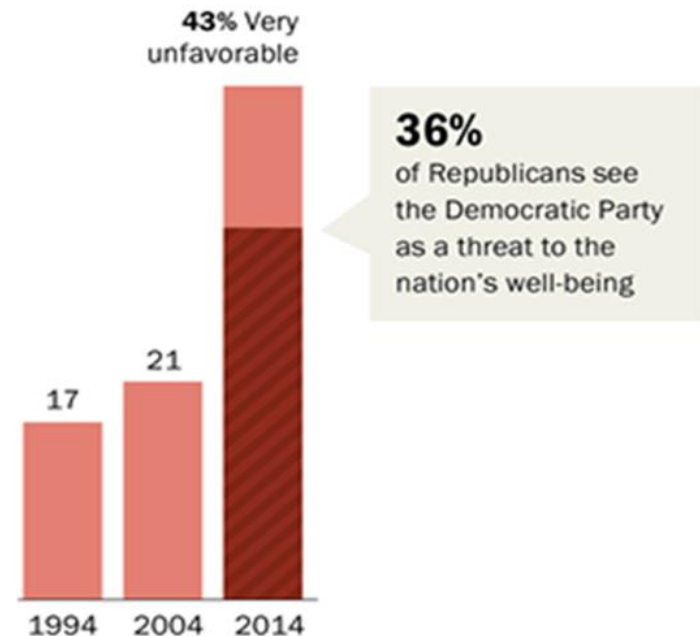
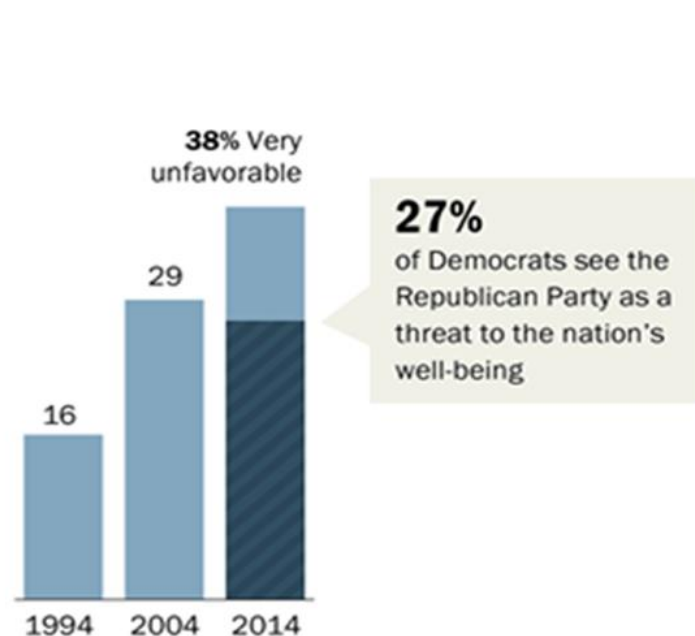
Note: Data from Eisenhower through George H.W. Bush from Gallup. Because some earlier data did not include partisan leaning, Republicans and Democrats in this graphic do not include leaners. Obama's rating is as of Dec. 13, 2015.

Parties Also View Each Other with Great Distrust: 2014 Study

Beyond Dislike: Viewing the Other Party as a 'Threat to the Nation's Well-Being'

Democratic attitudes about the **Republican Party**

Republican attitudes about the **Democratic Party**



Source: 2014 Political Polarization in the American Public

Notes: Questions about whether the Republican and Democratic Parties are a threat to the nation's well being asked only in 2014. Republicans include Republican-leaning independents; Democrats include Democratic-leaning independents (see Appendix B).

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

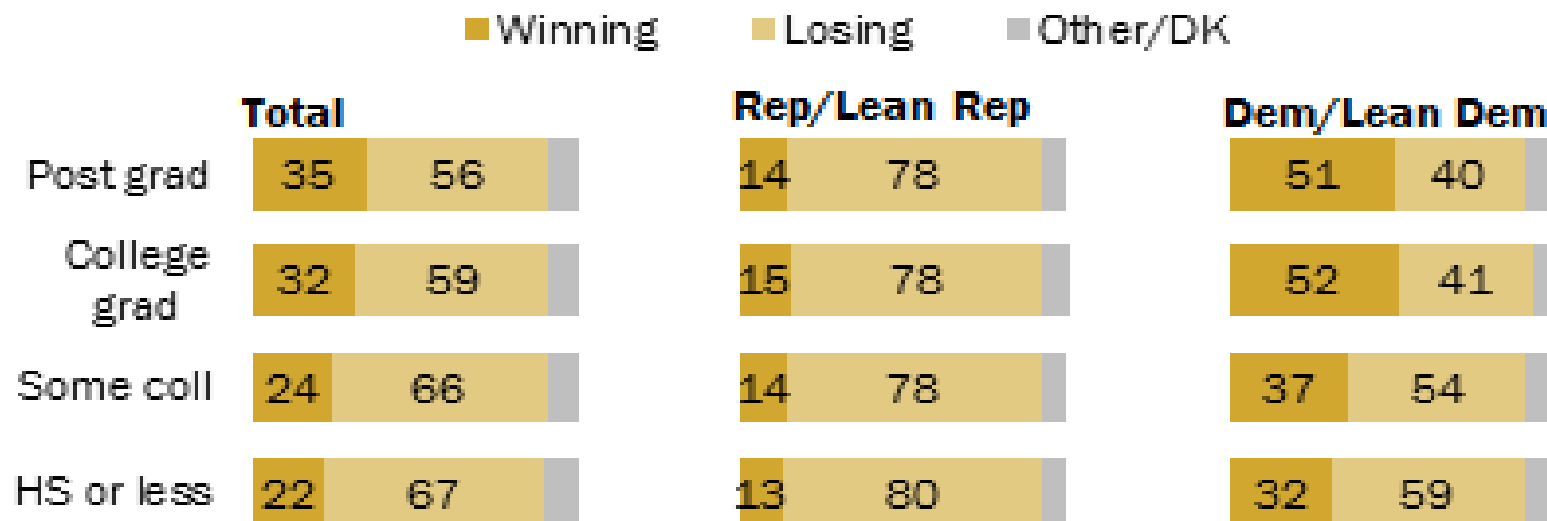
Voter Attitudes Toward Government

- Many changes in recent years.
- Look at voter anger, confidence and trust, and overall satisfaction with “the ways things are going.”
- Plus, Wisconsin specific polling data.

Americans Think They Are Losing in Politics: 2015 Survey

Most Americans Feel Like Their Side Is ‘Losing’ – Except Well-Educated Democrats

On issues that matter to you in politics today, would you say your side has been winning or losing more? (%)



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q110.

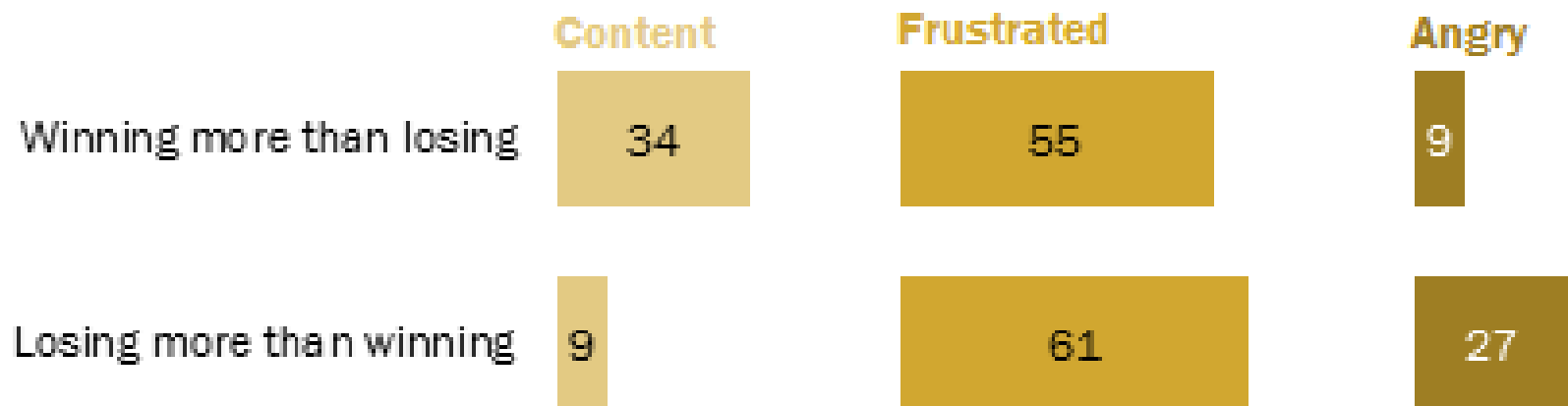
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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This Builds Anger at Government

Those Who Feel Their Side Is 'Losing' at Politics Are More Likely to be Angry at Government

Feeling toward government among those who say their side has been winning/losing more often (%)



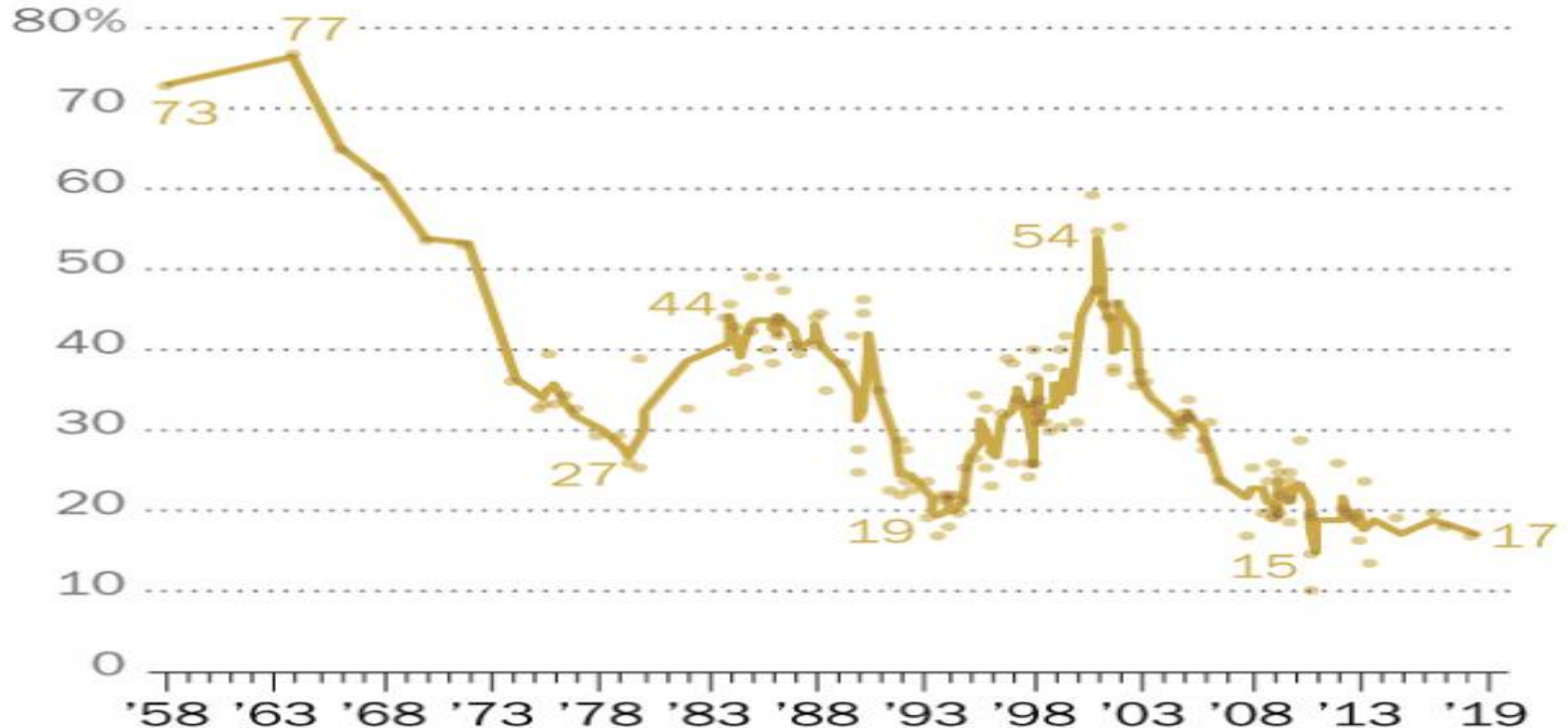
Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q110. Don't know responses not shown.

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Trust in Government: At Historic Low

Public trust in the federal government remains at historic low

% who say they trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time



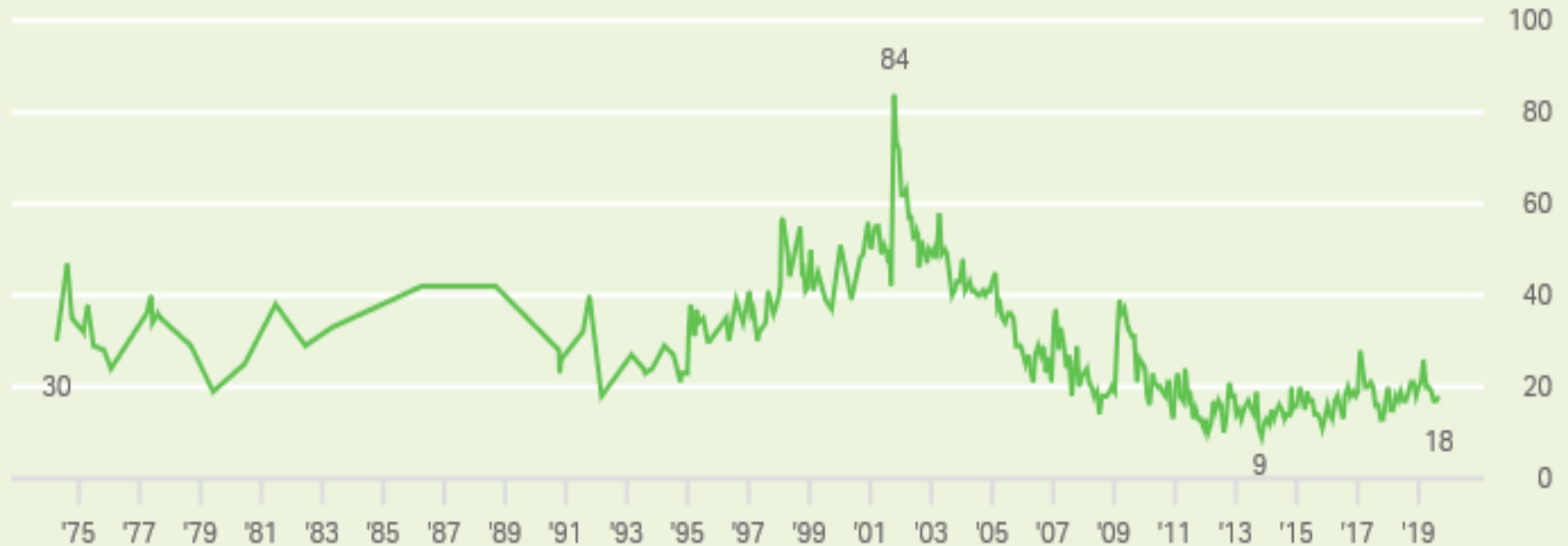
Note: From 1976-2019 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

Confidence in Congress Also Very Low

Congressional Job Approval

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

■ % Approve

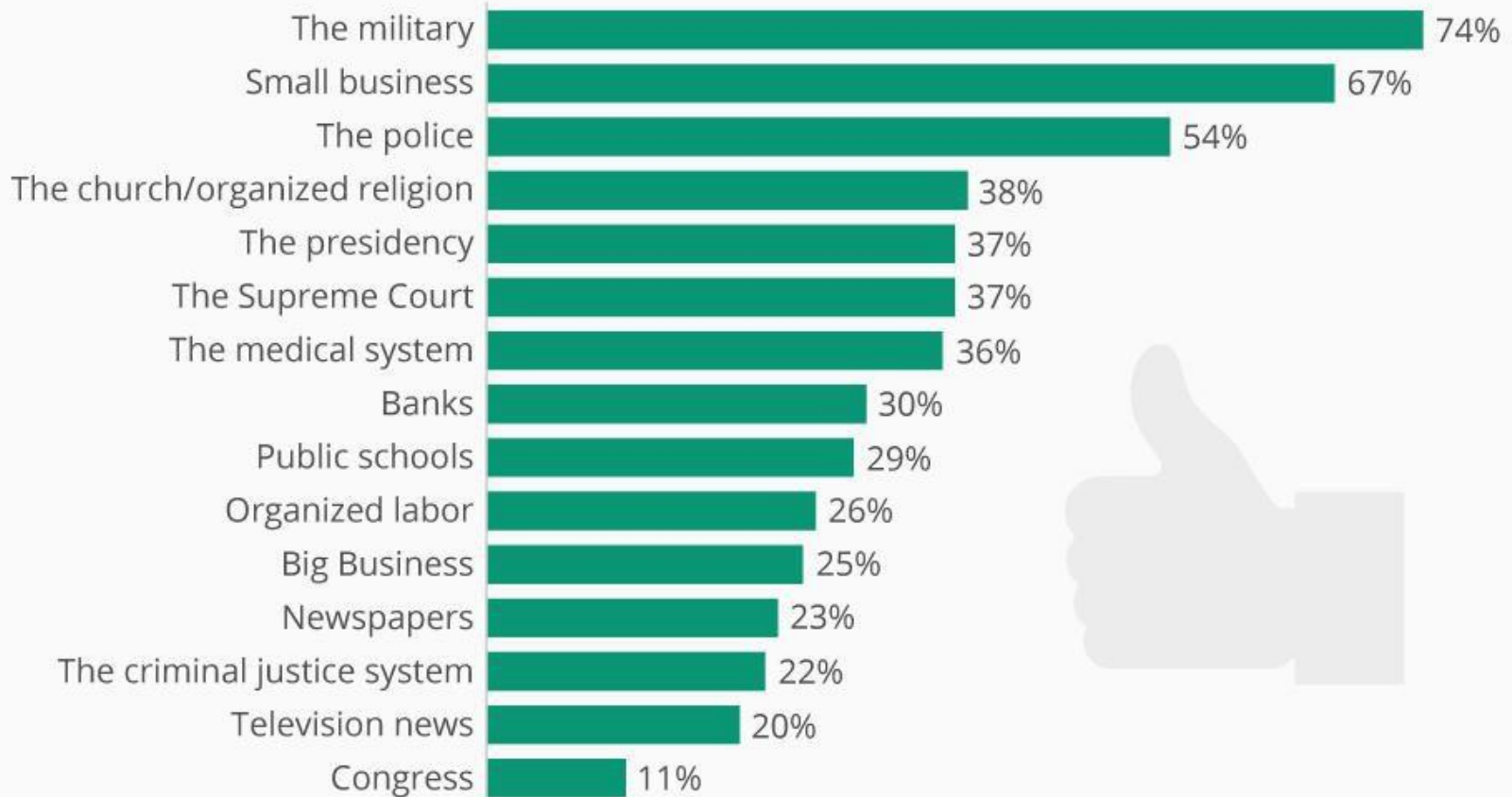


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But Confidence in Other Institutions Is Also Down. Varies a Lot by Institution

The Institutions Americans Trust Most And Least

Share of U.S. adults trusting the following a great deal/quite a lot (June 2018)



Polls on Satisfaction with Way Things Are Going: Not Satisfied

Satisfaction With the Way Things Are Going in the U.S.

■ % Satisfied



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Wisconsin: Marquette Polls 2019

- **April:** 46% of registered voters in Wisconsin approved of the job Trump is doing as president. 52% disapprove.
- **October 2019:** Biden leads Trump 50% to 44%, six-point difference. Warren leads Trump 47% to 46%, essentially a tie.
- Among Dems, Biden first choice, followed by Warren and Sanders.
- Trump approval stood at 46%, with 51% disapproval. Higher approval rating than in national polls.
- October poll showed 46% saying there is enough cause for impeachment, 49% say there is not.
- Partisan gulf on this question is wide. 88% of Dems favor impeachment but 92% of Republicans are opposed.

Earlier Marquette Polls: Craig Gilbert on Wisconsin Electorate August 18, 2019

- “Since he entered the White House, Trump’s approval rating with **blue-collar whites of all ages** in Wisconsin is only slightly more positive than negative: 50% approve, 45% disapprove.” Based on three year of Marquette poll.
- “That is a little worse than Trump’s numbers with this same demographic group in national polls.”
- “The Marquette polling shows Trump’s standing among non-college whites varies dramatically by gender, age, marital status and religion – many of the chief dividing lines in modern politics.”
- “In fact, Trump’s true demographic base in Wisconsin is not blue-collar white voters collectively, but **blue-collar white men**, and — above all — **blue-collar white evangelicals**, who support him overwhelmingly.”

More from Craig Gilbert

- “While Hillary Clinton lost **non-college whites** in Wisconsin by **29 points**, Democrat Tony Evers lost them by **17 points** in his narrow victory for governor and Sen. Tammy Baldwin lost them by **just 5** in her comfortable re-election victory.”
- Charles Franklin: “The wide-open question is what Democratic positions and which Democratic candidates can convert that opportunity into actual support and votes.”

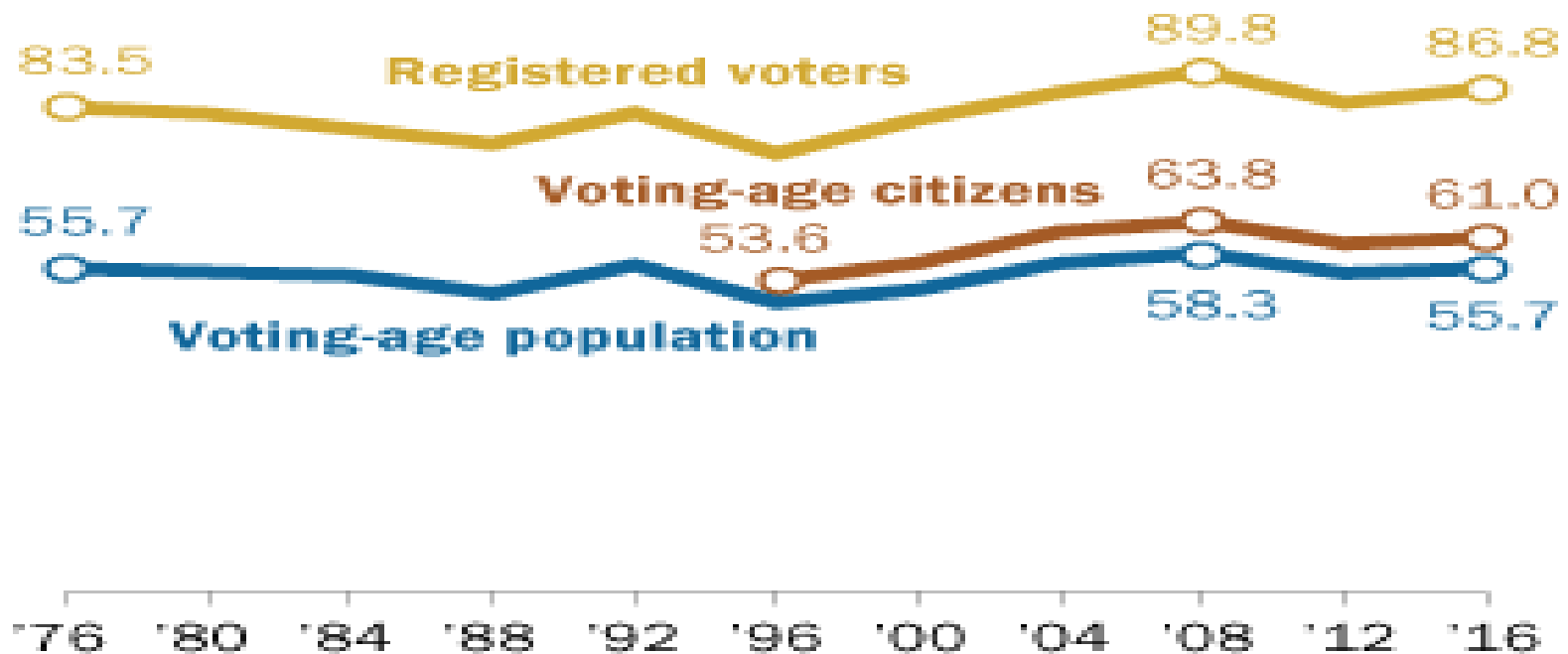
Now Look at **Voter Turnout**

- Turnout matters a great deal
- Wisconsin has high turnout compared to most other states
- But turnout varies greatly by demographic categories, such as age groups, minority populations, restrictions on voting.
- Changing party identification of election will make a big difference long term.

National Voter Turnout: A Decline in 2016 Compared to 2008

Turnout in U.S. presidential elections

Votes cast as a share of ...

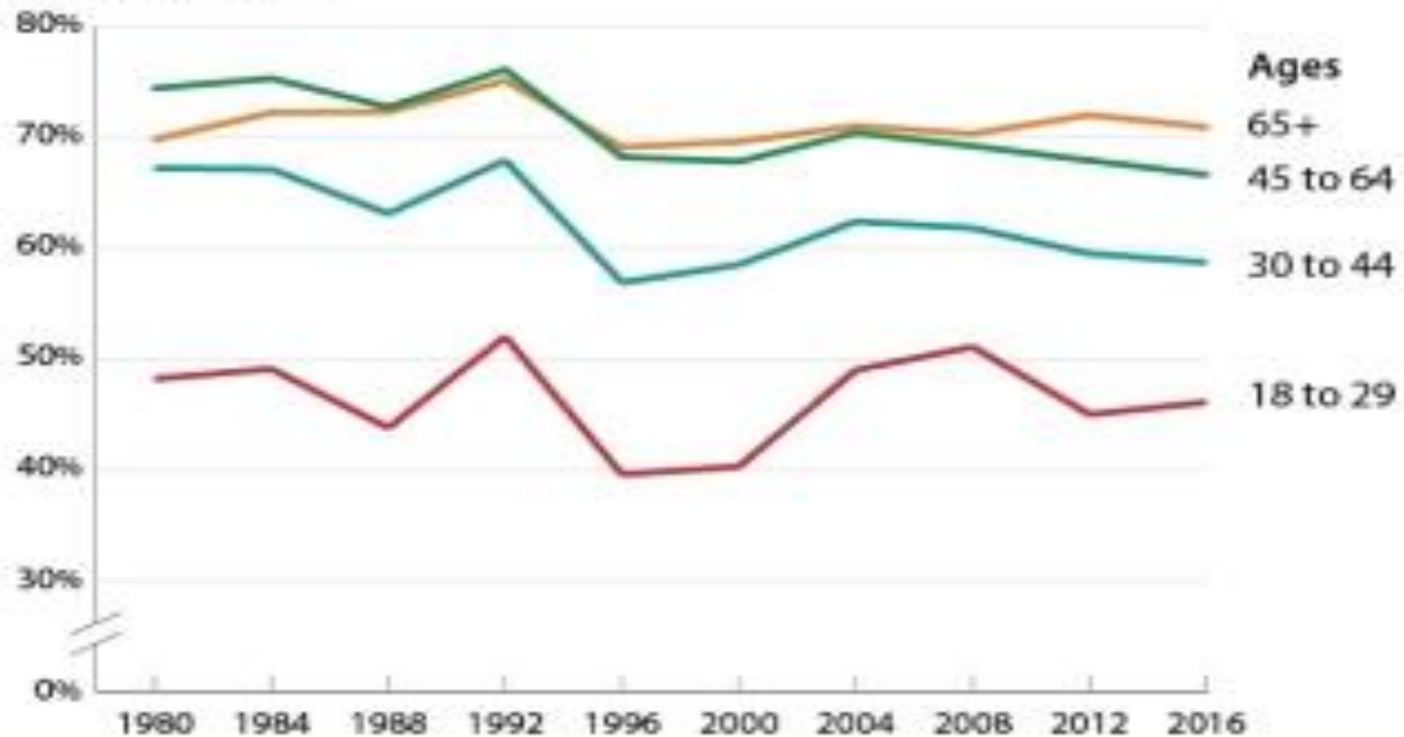


Source: Census Bureau (population estimates), House Clerk's office and Pew Research Center (vote totals).

Lower Voting by Young: But Increasing



Voting Rates by Age



Voting Varies Greatly by State: 2018 Data; Turnout Higher in 2016 and Other Presidential Elections

TOP 10 TURNOUT STATES HAVE
SAME DAY REGISTRATION AND VOTE AT HOME POLICIES

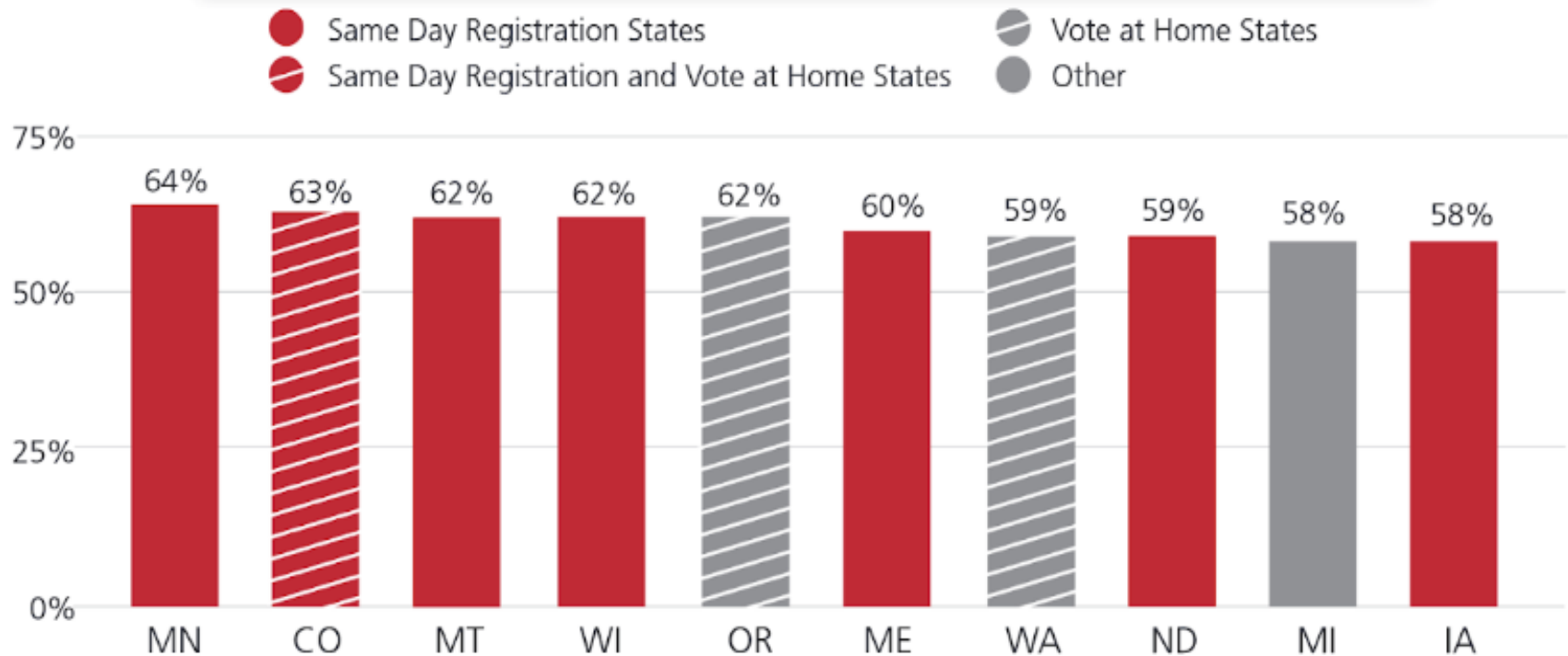


Figure 2

Source: U.S. Elections Project, State election websites

Lowest Turnout States

**BOTTOM TEN TURNOUT STATES HAVE FOUR WEEK
REGISTRATION DEADLINES**

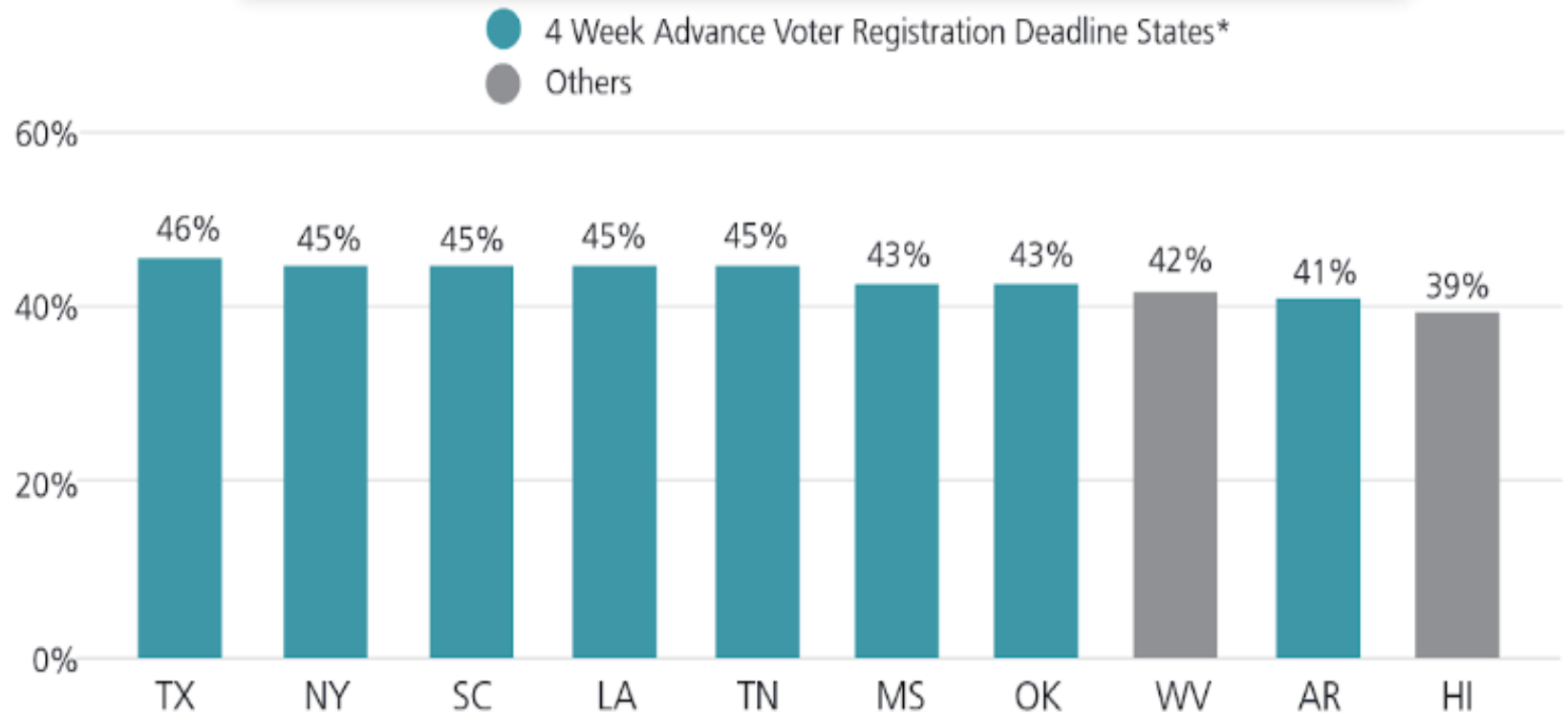
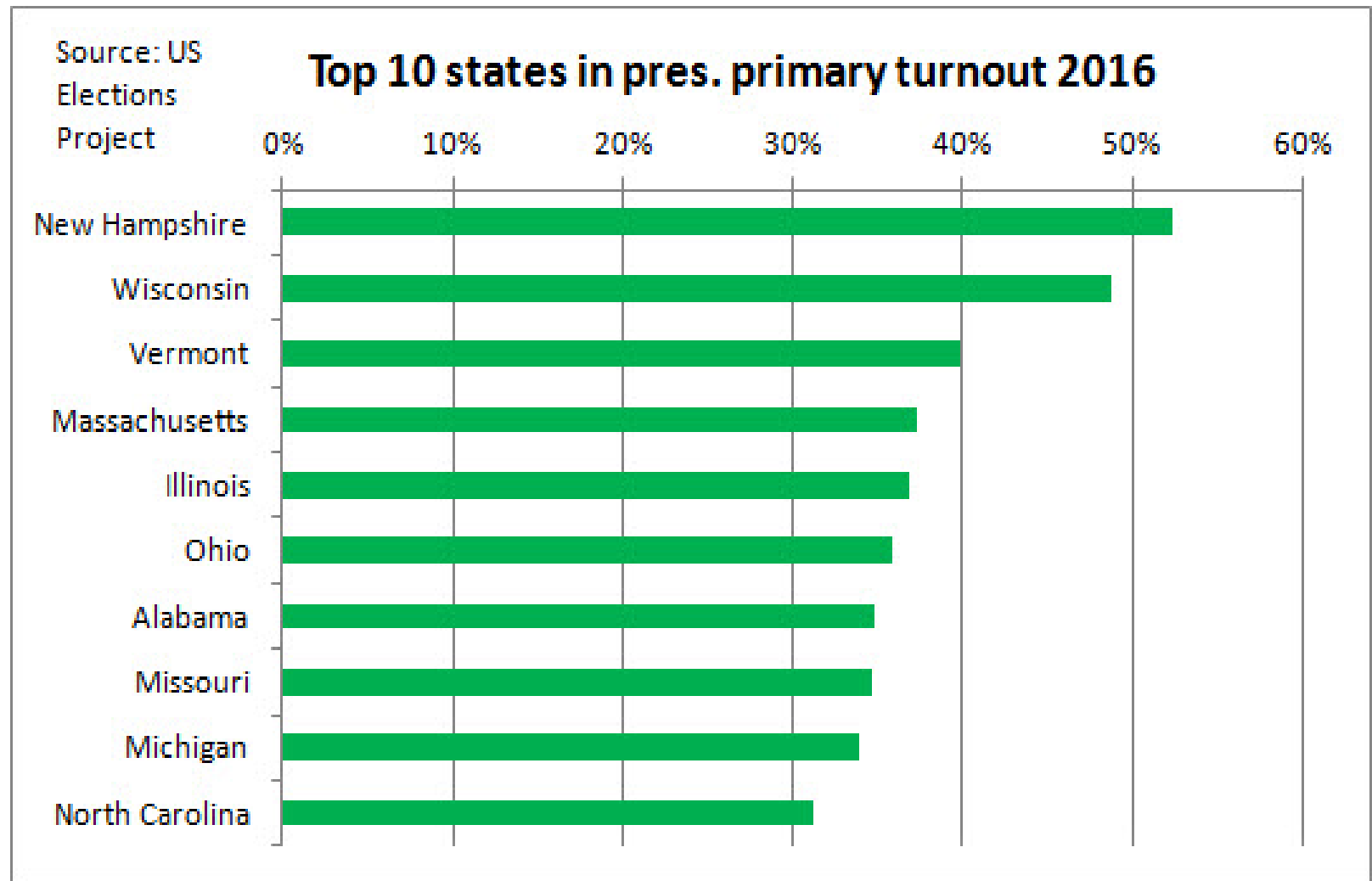


Figure 3

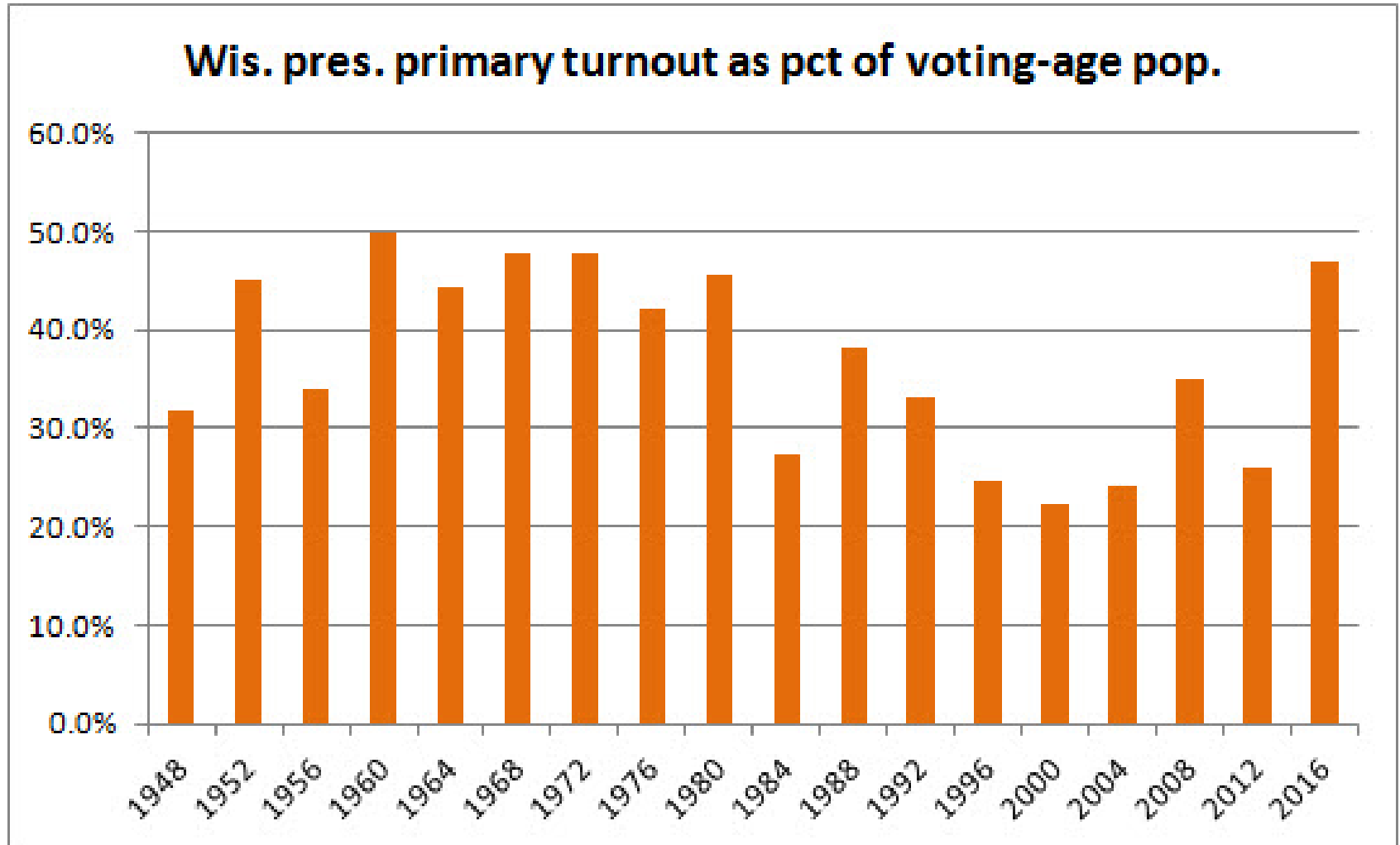
Source: U.S. Elections Project, State election websites

* 4 Week deadline states include those that had their main voter registration deadline 25-31 days before their election. For more, see methodology, p.37.

Top Turnout States 2016 Primaries: April 6, 2016



Wisconsin Primary April 5, 2016: Close to a Record High Turnout for the State



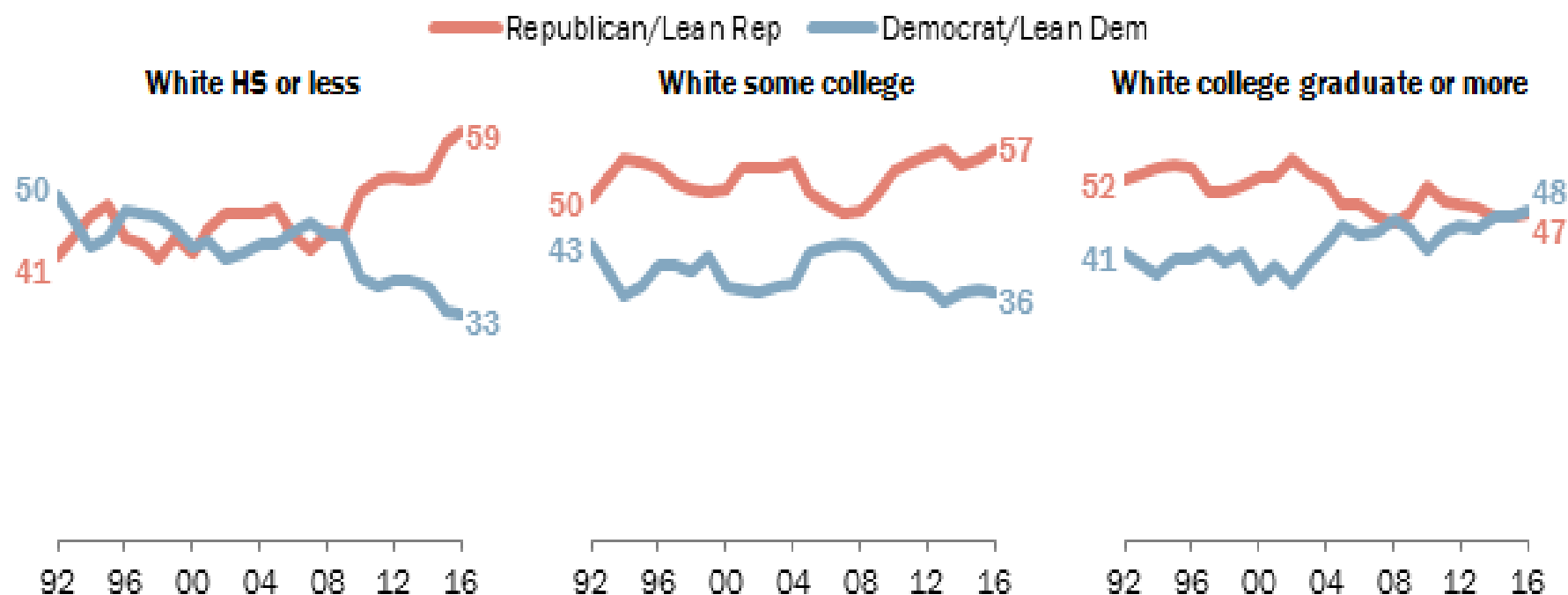
Yet Voter Turnout Declined for General Presidential Election in 2016

- Madison newspaper report:
- “Turnout was down in most counties throughout the state, but **particularly in Milwaukee County**, where nearly 60,000 fewer votes were cast this year than in 2012. Clinton earned about 43,000 fewer votes in the Democratic stronghold than Obama did four years ago.”
- Enough to award Trump the Wisconsin electoral vote in 2016?

Role of Education in Party ID

White voters with no college experience move toward the Republican Party

% of white registered voters who identify as ...



Notes: Based on white registered voters. Whites include only those who are not Hispanic.

Source: Annual totals of Pew Research Center survey data; 2016 data based off surveys conducted January-August.

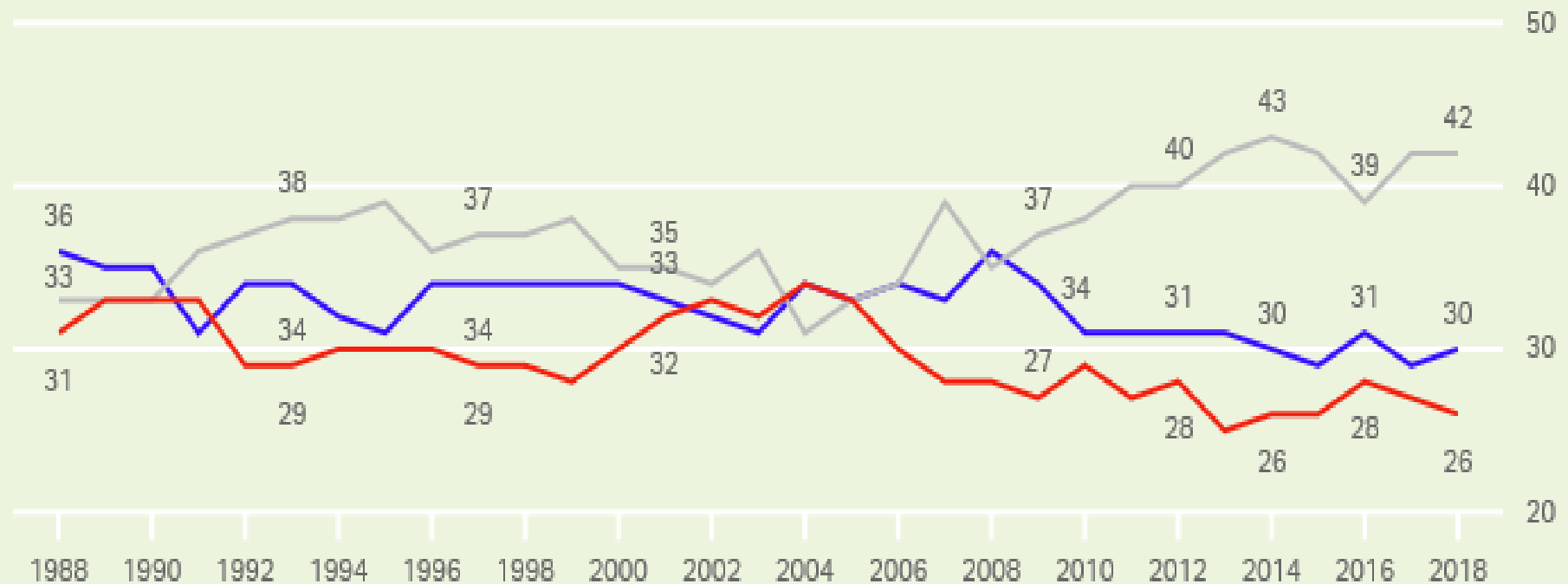
Education, Income, and Party ID

- White, low education group is really two quite different groups of voters
- One is **white working class** (low education and low income). Leans Democratic historically. Shifted to Trump in 2016 on cultural issues.
- The other is **white, high income**, which is strongly Republican in all elections of late. A major shift.
- White, high education, high income group increasingly tends Democratic although previously Republican.
- White, high education, low income group also Democratic.

Relative Party Fortunes Over Time: Both Parties Lose Support, Ind. Gain

U.S. Party Identification, Yearly Averages, 1988-2018

■ % Democrats ■ % Independents ■ % Republicans



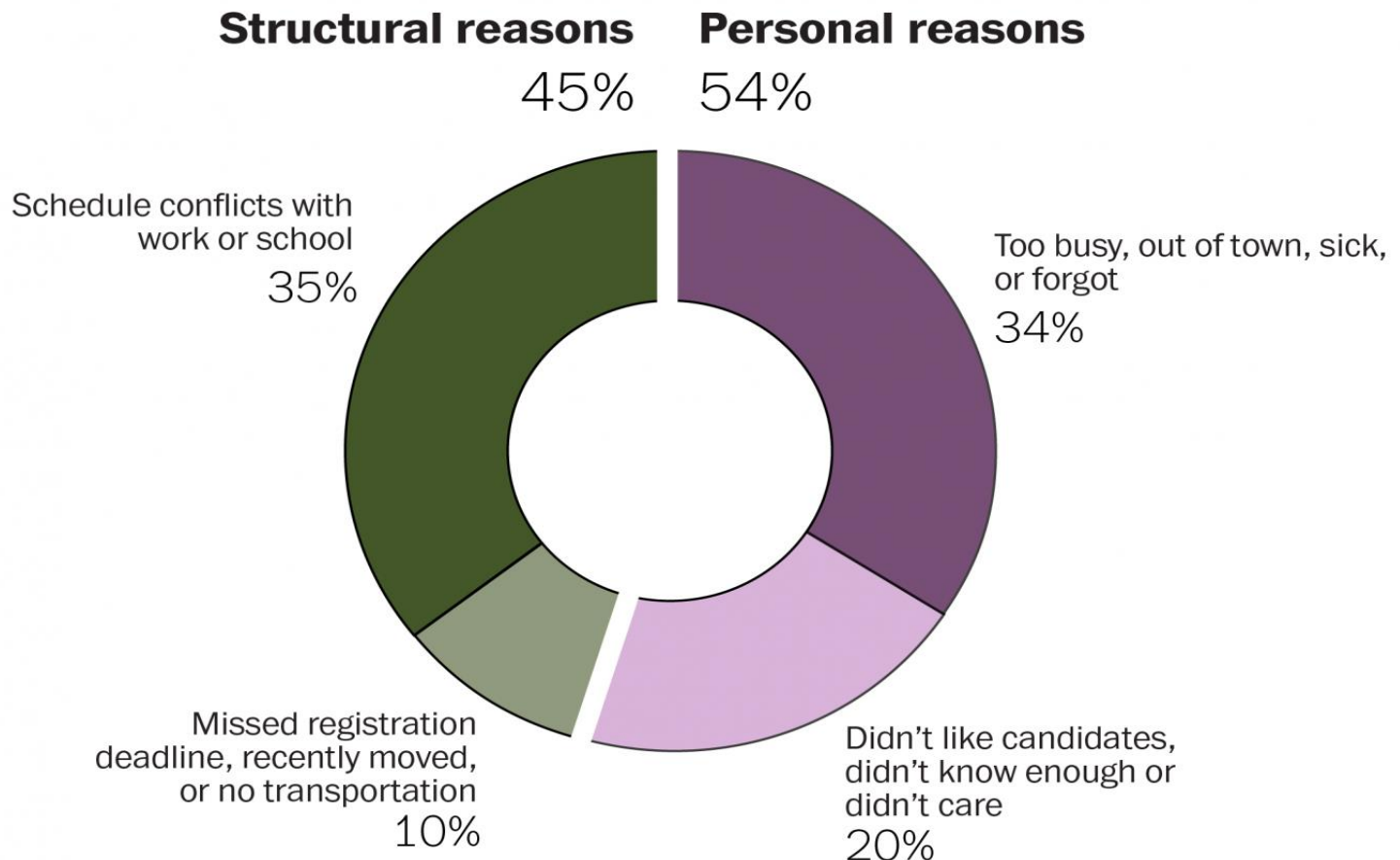
Based on multiple-day polls conducted by telephone

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Why People Do Not Vote

Why didn't you vote, America?

Registered voters' reasons for not voting in the 2014 midterms



Nonvoters Are Not Typical

- They are more likely to be poor, be reliant on government programs, be without health Insurance, and without retirement accounts.
- As a writer in NY Times put it in Nov. 2015:
- “Many people who in fact most use and need social benefits are simply **not voting at all**. Voter participation is low among the poorest Americans, and in many parts of the country that have moved red, the rates have fallen off the charts.”
- “West Virginia ranked 50th for turnout in 2012; also in the bottom 10 were other states that have shifted sharply red in recent years, including Kentucky, Arkansas and Tennessee.”

Electoral Reforms to Increase Voter Turnout

- Remove restrictions on voting: Revise voter ID laws, ease registration requirements, end or modify purges of voter rolls, increase number of days on which polls are open, expand the times of day, make absentee voting easier, make student voting easier, etc.
- Broad public support for reforms.
- These actions often tend to be somewhat partisan, though not entirely.
- E.g., majorities in each party favor end to partisan gerrymandering, although Republican state legislators (in WI and other states) tend to oppose where they currently benefit.

Turn to Cost of Elections

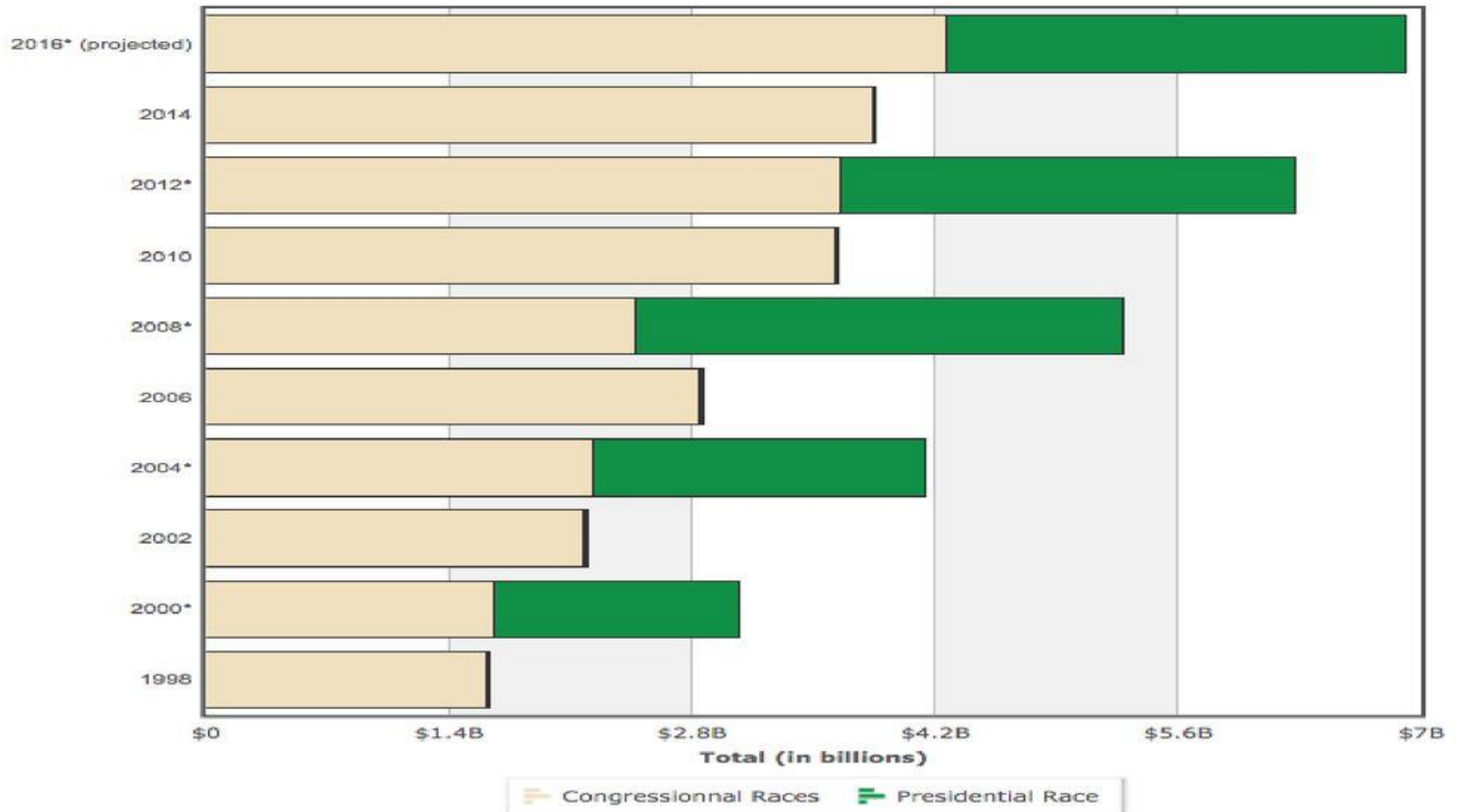
- Rising costs of elections and what difference it makes.
- Campaign finance laws and court rulings.
- Arguments for changing the laws to make elections less dependent on large donors and “dark” money.

Cost of Elections: 2016 Data

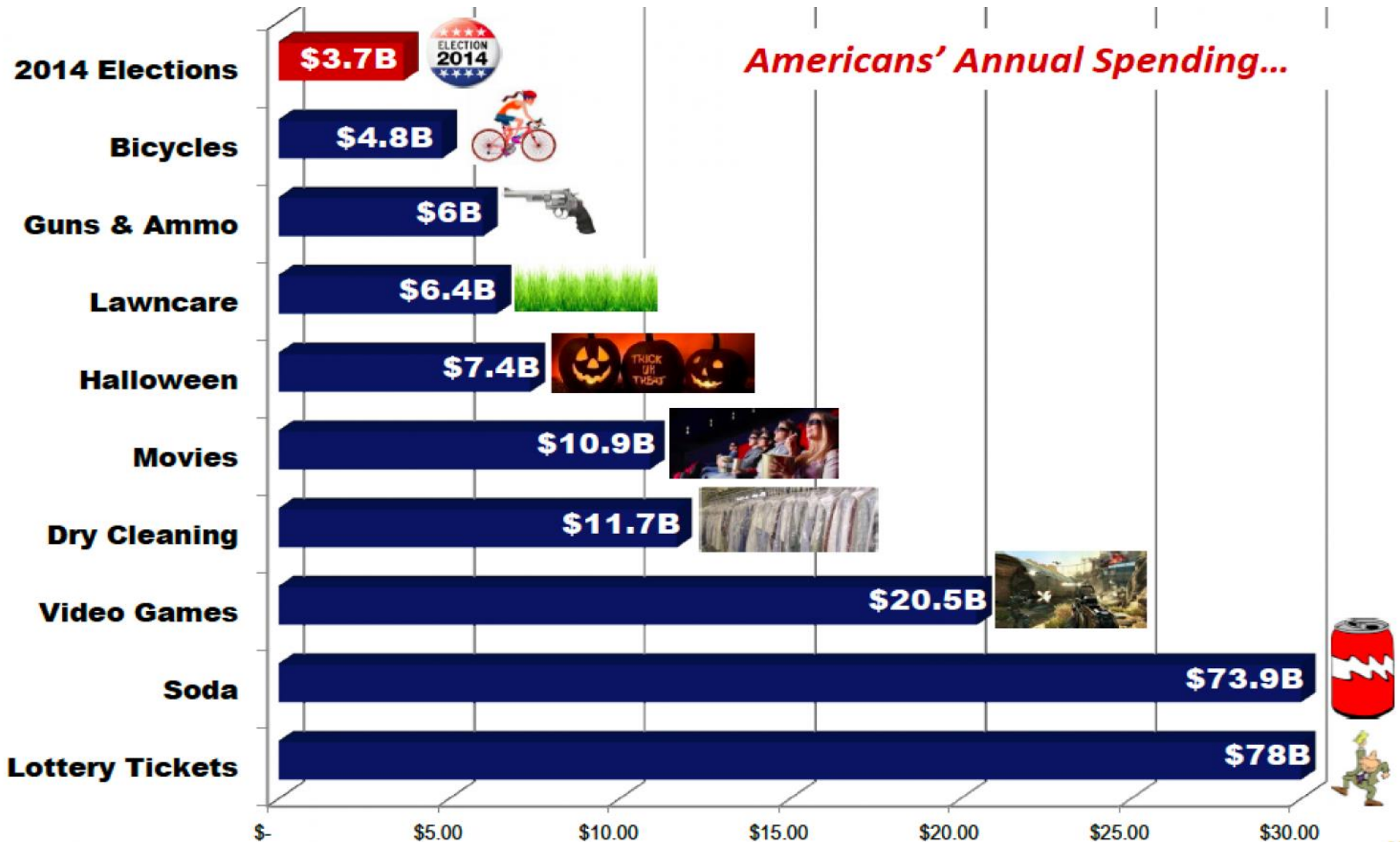
- \$6.5 billion for both presidential and congressional elections in direct spending, according to OpenSecrets
- **\$2.4 billion** for **presidential races** alone, including spending by campaigns, party committees and outside sources, such as PACs.
- Clinton's losing campaign cost \$768 million versus \$398 million for Trump, or nearly 2 to 1.
- The Democratic National Committee and other liberal groups spent more than Republican counterparts that year.
- However, Trump benefited greatly from **free TV time**. Trump received about **\$5 billion in free media**, according to one estimate compared to \$3.2 billion for Clinton. **OpenSecrets** doesn't count these amounts.

Cost of U.S. Elections Rises Over Time

Total Costs of Elections 1998-2016



But Also Put Costs in Context: Dated, But Still Informative



Spending on Elections: Role of Political Action Committees or PACs

- Citizens United Supreme Court case.
- PACs and super PACs (independent expenditure-only committees).
- Under recent court rulings, PACs can raise unlimited amount of money from corporations, unions, associations and individuals, also can spend unlimited sums to advocate for or against political candidates. But they cannot contribute **directly** to candidates or **coordinate** campaign with them.

Cost of Elections III

- Dark money, where the identity of the donor is not revealed. So-called social welfare organizations (IRS rules) need not reveal sources.
- *NY Times* reported that just “**158 families** have provided **nearly half of the early money** for efforts to capture the White House.”
- By April 2016, Washington Post reported that about 41 percent of the Super-PAC money raised by the groups by the end of February “**came from just 50 mega-donors and their relatives.**” Thirty-six of those were Republican supporters who accounted for about 70 percent of the money from top 50.
- What might be done? Too much of a role for wealthy and special interests? Overturn Citizens United? New legislation to control spending? Or let it ride?

Turn to Political Parties and Nominating Process

- Process is party focused
- It reflects party rules and changes over the past few decades
- Is the process now responsive to voters?
- Is that a good thing?
- Media coverage of primaries and caucuses
- Party platforms

Political Parties and Nominating Process I

- Two party system, with occasional third-party candidates. Not a parliamentary system.
- Parties select nominees through caucuses and primaries, a mostly democratic process.
- Yet both parties have relied on “super-delegates” who reflect views of elected officials and party leaders. Different rules on how they must vote at the convention between Democrats and Republicans.
- Is this fair? Many Bernie Sanders backers said it was not because their percentage in caucuses sometimes exceeded allocated delegates.
- These are the party rules. Intent is to keep the process accountable to the party.

Nomination Process II

- Who participates in the nominating process? Ex. Iowa caucuses.
- Much attention, **but participants in 2016 were only 15% of Iowa eligible voters!**
- Dropped to even lower in Washington, Alaska, Wyoming, but hard to know what the rate was.
- So are the caucuses representative of the party backers in the state? Are primaries better? Sanders did much better in caucuses than primaries. Takes participants much longer and not everyone can spend that much time.
- Media and candidate attention to early contests: Iowa and NH and South Carolina. But a distortion of the national trends.

Wisconsin Primary April 7, 2020

- **Democrats:** 77 delegates will be awarded proportionally for the 2020 convention both statewide and within each congressional district.
- **Republicans:** 52 delegates, winner take all by state (28 delegates) and individual district (8 districts x 3 delegates =24).

Media Coverage of Nominating Process

- Not just about candidates and positions, and speeches and rallies.
- Also about media coverage and how positive or negative it is.
- 2016: Trump had extensive and favorable media coverage for much of early 2016.
- In contrast, Clinton had largely negative coverage, and yet still did better than Sanders and Trump.

Media Coverage of Clinton 2016

- Paul Krugman column June 20, 2016 reporting on study of news coverage in 2015:
- “Also, Mrs. Clinton faced immense, bizarre hostility from the news media. Last week Harvard’s Shorenstein Center released [a report](#) on media treatment of the candidates during 2015, showing that Mrs. Clinton received by far the most unfavorable coverage.”
- “Even when reports focused on issues rather than alleged scandals, **84 percent of her coverage was negative — twice as high as for Mr. Trump.** As the report notes, “Clinton’s negative coverage can be equated to millions of dollars in attack ads, with her on the receiving end.”

National Party Conventions

- Republicans: **Cleveland , Ohio**, July 18-21, 2016
- Democrats: **Philadelphia**, July 25-28, 2016.
- **For 2020**: Republicans: **Charlotte, NC, August 24-27.**
- Democrats: **Milwaukee, WI, July 13-16.**
- Purpose: select presidential **nominees** as well as vice presidential nominees. Finalize **party platforms**.
- Platforms set out the party positions on dozens of issues, —on health care, education, environment, climate change, entitlements, abortion, etc.
- Most people don't look at them, but there are enormously helpful. Easy to find them online.
- Media do not cover either. They present the contest as individuals and their personal beliefs and positions. But party platforms are better indicator of presidency.

Party Platforms

- Always a very big difference between the two major parties.
- Many people who are not super attentive to politics fail to see these differences.
- Media sources do a poor job of highlighting them. Why?
- Can find all party platforms online at U.C., Santa Barbara American Presidency Project, from 1840 to 2016 and soon 2020. Those since 2004 in PDF format. Others still verbatim and easily readable online:
<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/presidential-documents-archive-guidebook/national-political-party-platforms>

The Election Campaign

- Post convention, largely beginning in the fall of election year.
- What campaigns try to do
- Effects of campaigns
- The vote itself and how we count it.
- Reforms

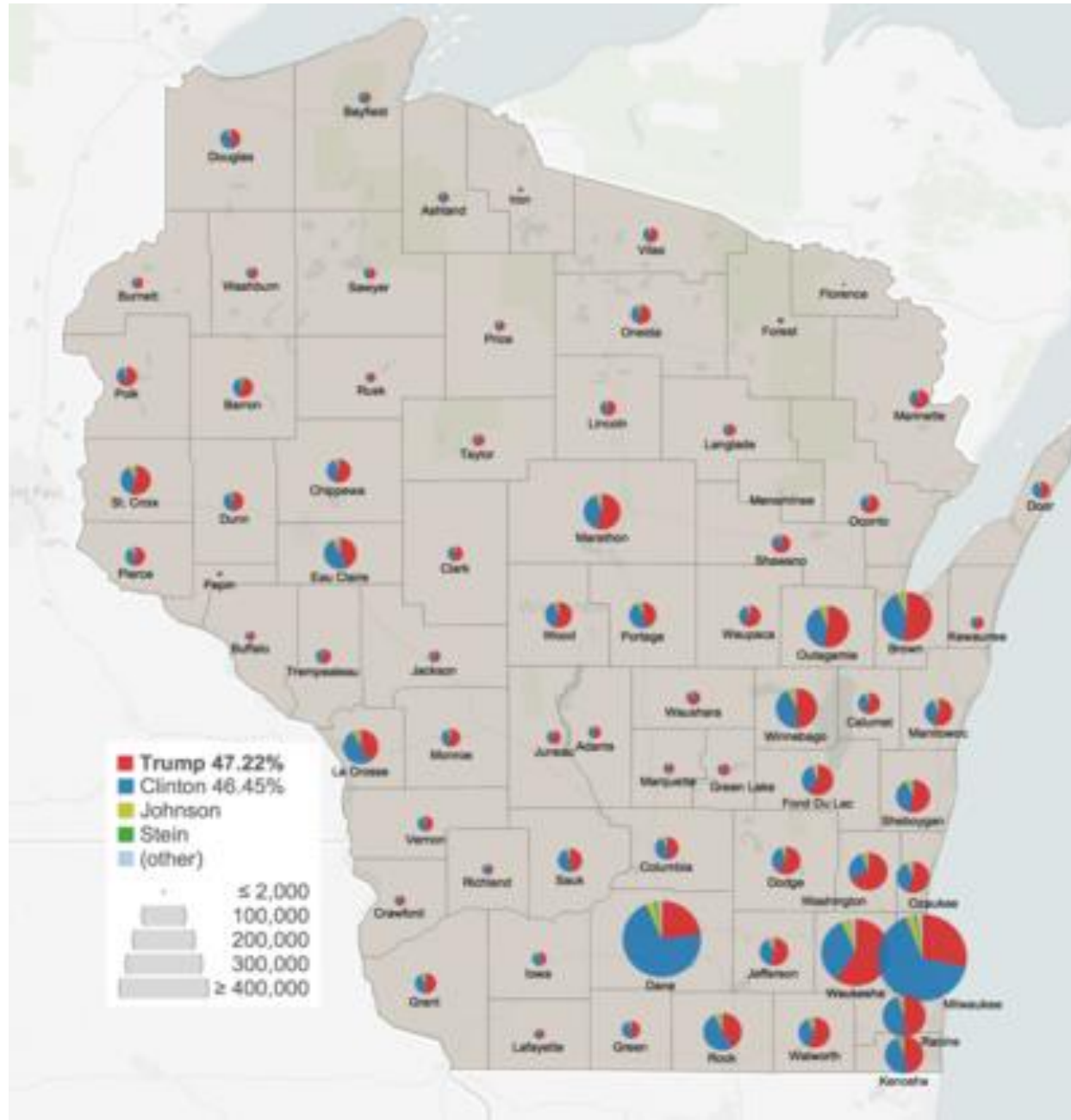
The Campaign

- Candidates, themes, messages, money.
- Focus on competitive states.
- Spend on TV ads and social media in those states, now the primary way to campaign and what consumes most of budget.
- Role of PACs and outside groups.
- Negative advertising and other disinformation campaigns, with much of that now on social media.
- Purpose to motivate supporters to vote and to swing a few non-committed voters.
- What would we like to see?
- Shorter campaign? See Canada as example, next slide.
- Focus on issues and programs of parties to highlight differences?
- More or fewer debates?

U.S. Election in Perspective

- **Length** of U.S. presidential election campaign.
- Two years, and a great deal of activity. Two major parties and many candidates. TV and social media ads, large campaign staffs and much money spent, endless travel, meetings, talks, interviews, TV coverage, debates.
- But compare this to Canada, a parliamentary system.
- Whole campaign in 2015 over in 78 days (two and a half months).
- The new Prime Minister was in office two weeks after the election. Election Oct. 19, and in office on Nov. 4.
- In U.S., the election is the Tuesday following the first Monday in November (Nov. 2 to 8), and president takes office January 20, or two and a half months later. 2020: **Tuesday, November 3.**

Election Results 2016 Wisconsin



2016 Presidential Election at the County Level

Numbers on the map represent change in Democratic votes between the 2016 Election and the 2012 Presidential Election as well as the percentage change in vote between each election



Hillary Clinton (D) - 1,382,536 (46.4%)



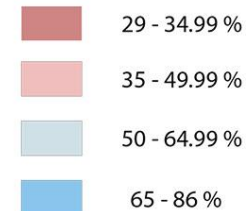
Donald Trump (R) - 1,405,284 (47.2%)



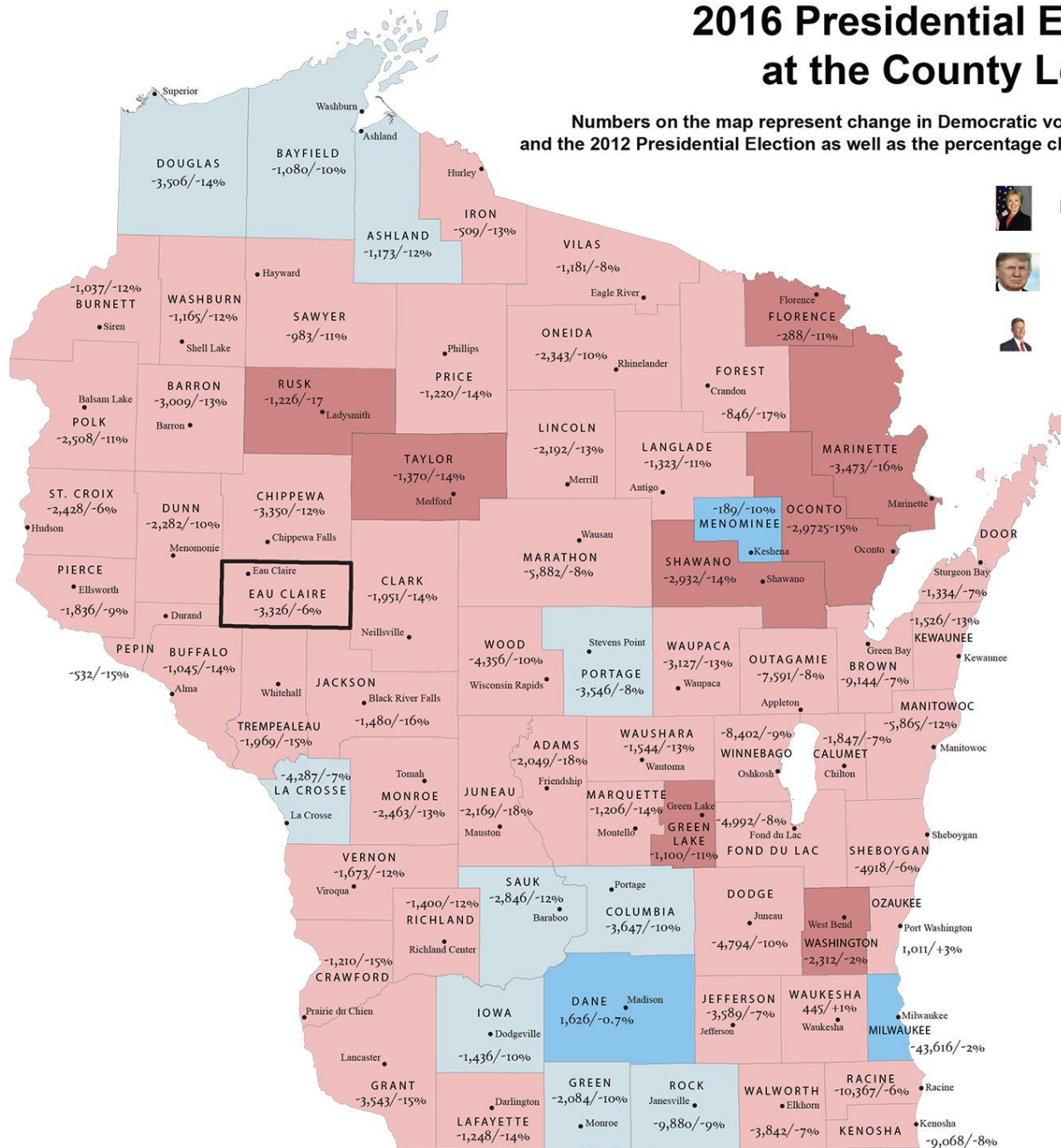
Gary Johnson (L) - 106,674 (3.6%)

*Official Results as of 12/14/2016

Percent Clinton Vote



*Eau Claire County Plurality Win for Clinton at 49.7%



The Vote: What Matters Most?

- State of the economy: very big factor
- Public attitudes toward incumbent president
- Public sense of where the nation is and the need for change. America heading in the right or wrong direction. Plenty choose the latter.
- Views of national and global risks (e.g., terrorisms, economy, climate change)
- Views of the two parties, esp. support for each of the major parties.
- Views of the two-party nominees and their positions.
- Turnout of voters, esp. for Democrats.
- **Macro factors as well as micro factors.**

How We Count the Vote:

The Electoral College

- Electoral college. Vote by state, winner take all. Fair? Still the right way to count the vote?
- Popular vote doesn't matter. See Al Gore or Hillary Clinton.
- Overall vote for the party doesn't matter in state legislative and congressional elections. Single member districts and gerrymandering. Mostly safe seats.
- Voting turnout and other patterns.
- Campaigns push for high turnout by their supporters; and increasingly, also for low turnout by competing party. Hence state laws intended to suppress the vote by certain groups.

What Kind of Reforms Needed?

- Do we need to reform presidential elections?
- Campaign finance? End of dark money through enforcing IRS rules? Transparency: where the money is coming from?
- TV ads and negativity? Improve media coverage of candidates and positions?
- Voter registration? Make automatic at 18 or with driver's license?
- Keep or end voter ID laws?
- How we vote? Hours of open polls? Easy absentee ballots? Internet voting?
- What might be done to increase voter interest and voting levels? To increase voter knowledge of issues and candidates?
- Reform Electoral College itself through constitutional amendment?

Sources for News: Wisconsin and the Nation: Handout Has The Links

- WisconsinEye: www.wiseye.org/
- Wisconsin Vote.Org: [www.wisconsinvote.org/candidates -and-races](http://www.wisconsinvote.org/candidates-and-races) (Wisconsin Public Radio and TV)
- Politifact Wisconsin: www.politifact.com/wisconsin
- RealClearPolitics: election news and poll results: www.realclearpolitics.com/
- FiveThirtyEight: polls and new: <https://fivethirtyeight.com/>
- Election Central: www.uspresidentialelectionnews.com
- Politico. Political news: www.politico.com
- Policy 2020 Brookings: www.brookings.edu/policy2020/
- New York Times: www.nytimes.com/
- Washington Post: www.washingtonpost.com
- Center for Responsive Politics: www.opensecrets.org and Federal Election Commission (www.fec.gov). Campaign spending data.
- League of Women Voters: www.vote411.org/, voting/elections site.
- Wisconsin Journal-Sentinel: www.jsonline.com/ (subscription needed)
- Wisconsin State Journal: www.Madison.com/wsj (subscription needed).

Questions?

- Who do you think is going to be nominated among Democrats?
- Will challenges to President Trump in primaries succeed at least in part?
- Can Trump be reelected? What would cause him **not** to be? Impeachment and Senate trial?
- What are the implications for the two major parties going forward?
- What are the implications for American politics and government?