



What Happened in the 2016 Election? Understanding the Presidential Race and Losses Down the Ballot

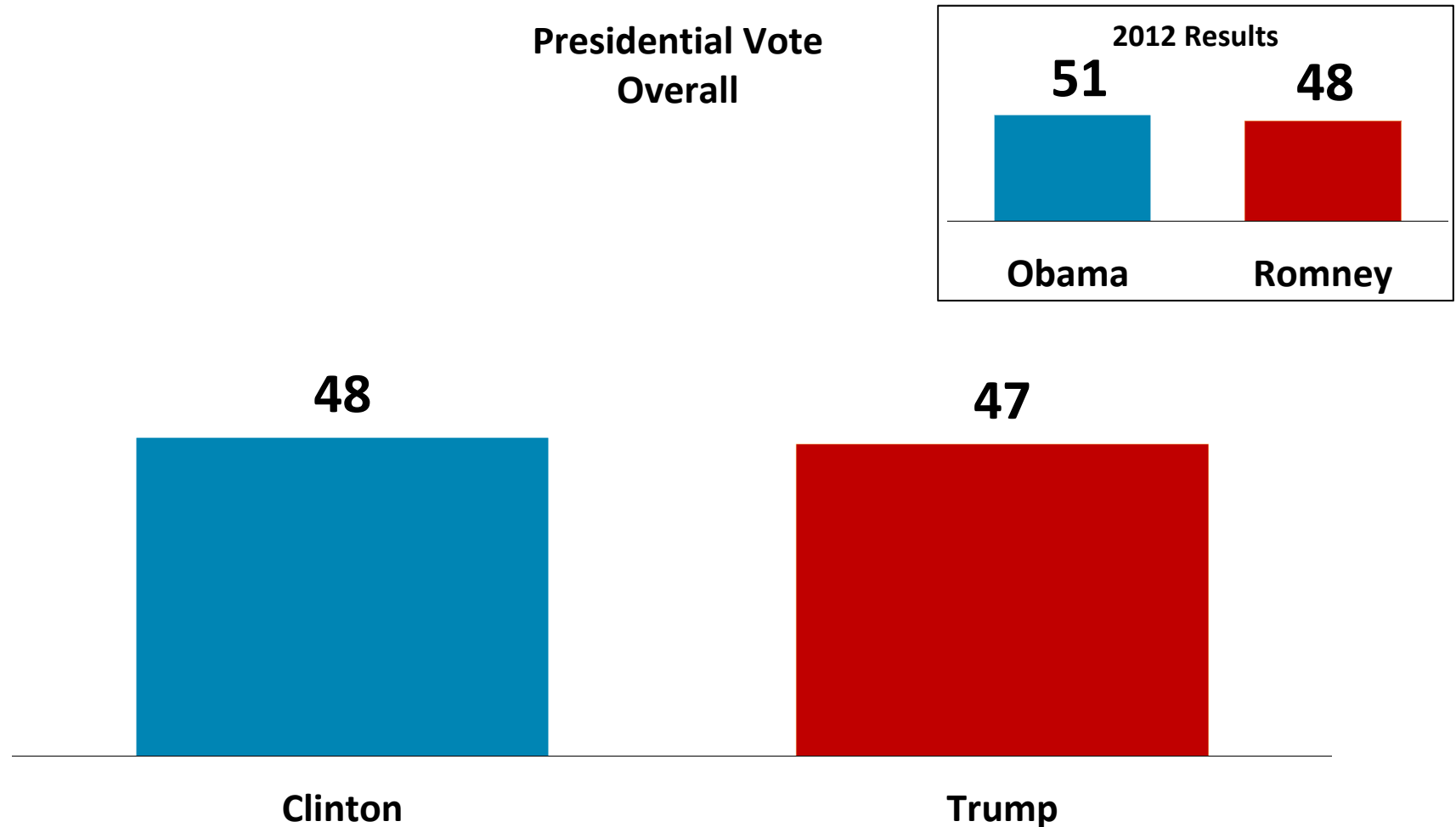
Analyzing the Impacts of Turnout, the Economy, Change, Racism, and Sexism

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Lessons from 2016

- 1. There's real anger and frustration in the electorate with the status quo. They took great risks for change.**
- 2. Demographics are not destiny.**
- 3. Women candidates have to be likeable as well as competent, while the same is not true for male candidates.**
- 4. Turnout and enthusiasm are important.**
- 5. Having a strong economic message is critical.**
- 6. People have to have a reason to vote for someone and not just against.**
- 7. Democrats have significant ground to make up with the working class and have to get back to their working class roots.**

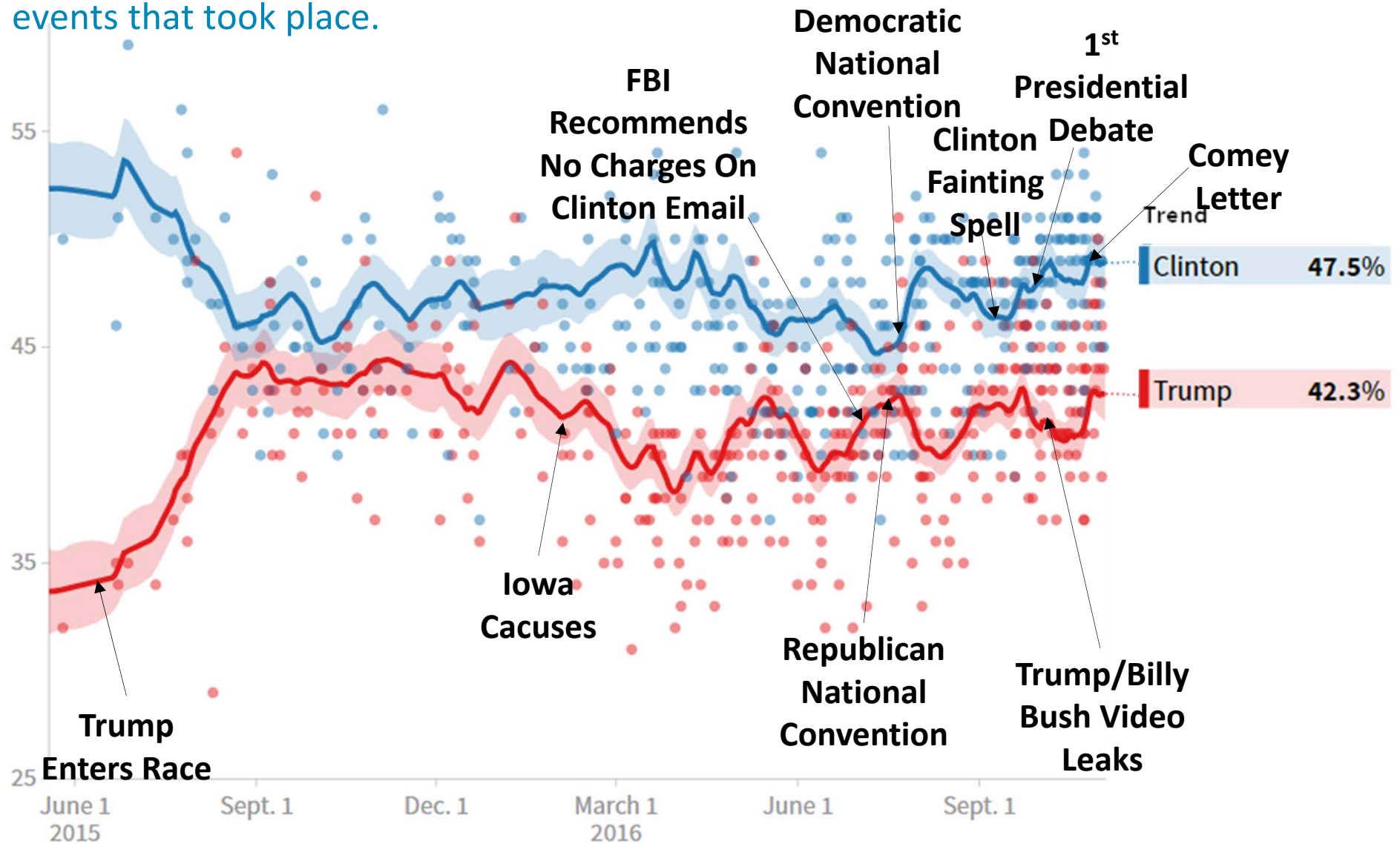
In terms of national popular vote, Trump narrowly lost the popular vote to Clinton, compared to Obama who won his reelection in 2012 over Romney by a margin of 3 points nationally.



Source: <http://www.politico.com/2016-election/results/map/president>

Source: <http://elections.nbcnews.com/ns/politics/2012/all/president/#.WByf9iu9ldM>

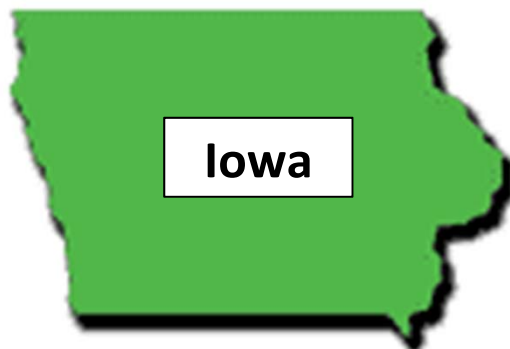
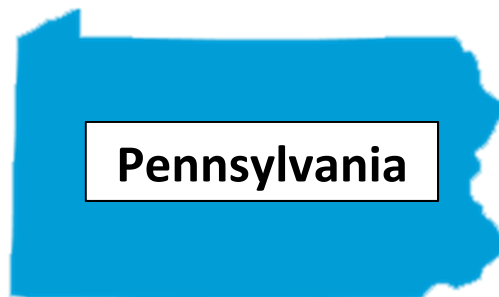
Huffpollster's polling average had the race significantly farther apart than the final results showed, but the race was very volatile the whole way due to all of the major events that took place.



Source: <http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster/2016-general-election-trump-vs-clinton>

Trump completely changed the electoral map. He won 6 states that had previously voted for Obama 2012 – Ohio, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Florida.

**States That Flipped Red
From 2012**



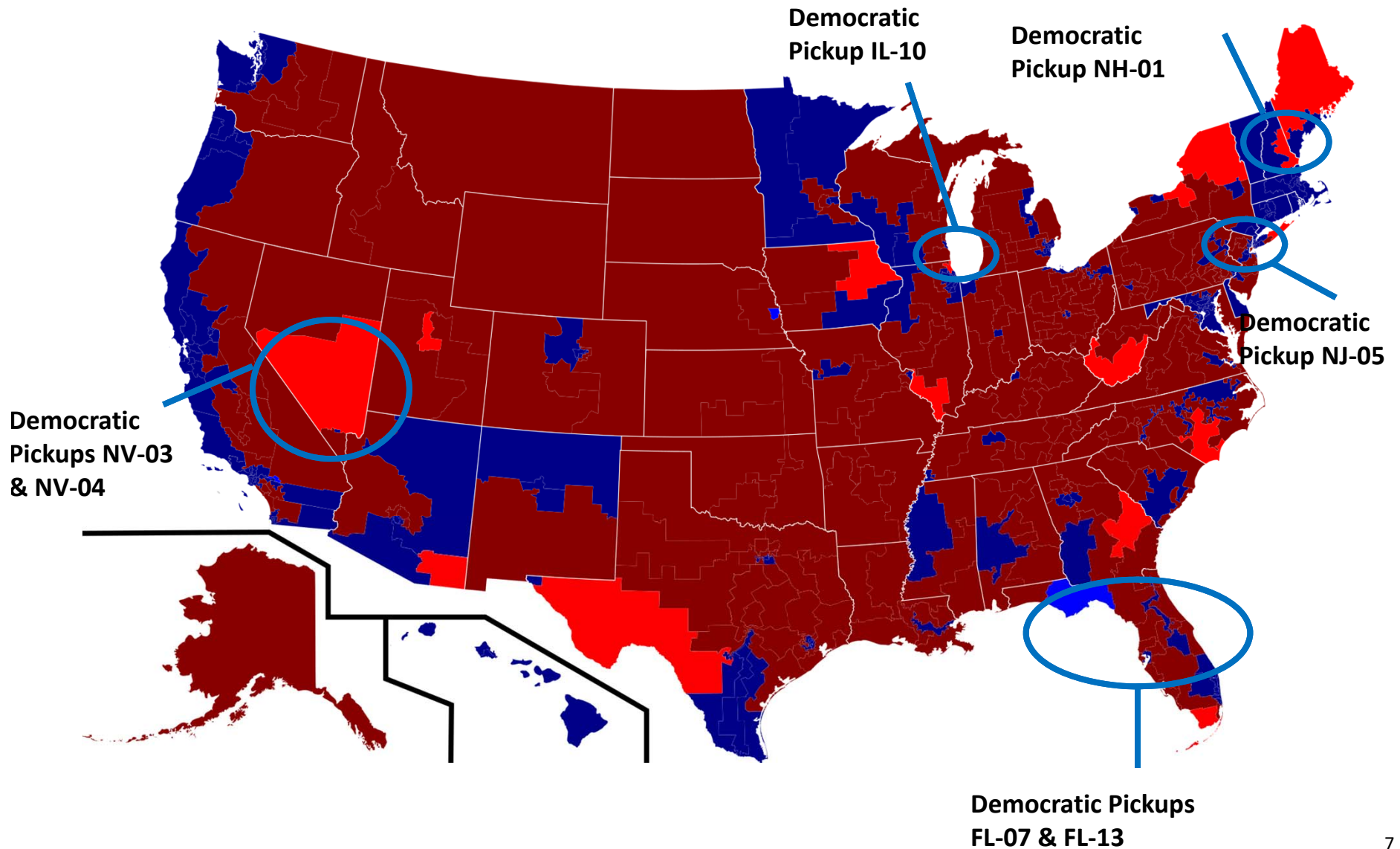
Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/elections/results/president>

Democrats netted 2 seats by winning in Illinois and New Hampshire, but will still be in the minority in the Senate.

State	Incumbent Party	Open Seat	Incumbent	Democratic Candidate	Final Results	Result
Florida	R	--	Marco Rubio	Patrick Murphy	Rubio – 52% Murphy – 44%	Republican Hold
Illinois	R	--	Mark Kirk	Tammy Duckworth	Duckworth – 54% Kirk – 40%	Democratic Pickup
Indiana	R	Open	Todd Young	Evan Bayh	Bayh – 42% Young – 52%	Republican Hold
Nevada	D	Open	Joe Heck	Catherine Cortez Masto	Cortez Masto – 47% Heck – 45%	Democratic Hold
New Hampshire	R	--	Kelly Ayotte	Maggie Hassan	Hassan – 48% Ayotte – 48%	Democratic Pickup
Ohio	R	--	Rob Portman	Ted Strickland	Portman – 58% Strickland – 37%	Republican Hold
Pennsylvania	R	--	Pat Toomey	Katie McGinty	McGinty – 47% Toomey – 49%	Republican Hold
Wisconsin	R	--	Ron Johnson	Russ Feingold	Feingold – 47% Johnson – 50%	Republican Hold
Missouri	R	--	Roy Blunt	Jason Kander	Kander – 46% Blunt – 49%	Republican Hold
North Carolina	R	--	Richard Burr	Deborah Ross	Burr – 51% Ross – 45%	Republican Hold

Source: <http://www.politico.com/>

Democrats picked up seats in Nevada, Florida, Illinois, New Hampshire, and New Jersey, but will still be in a deep minority when the next Congress opens.

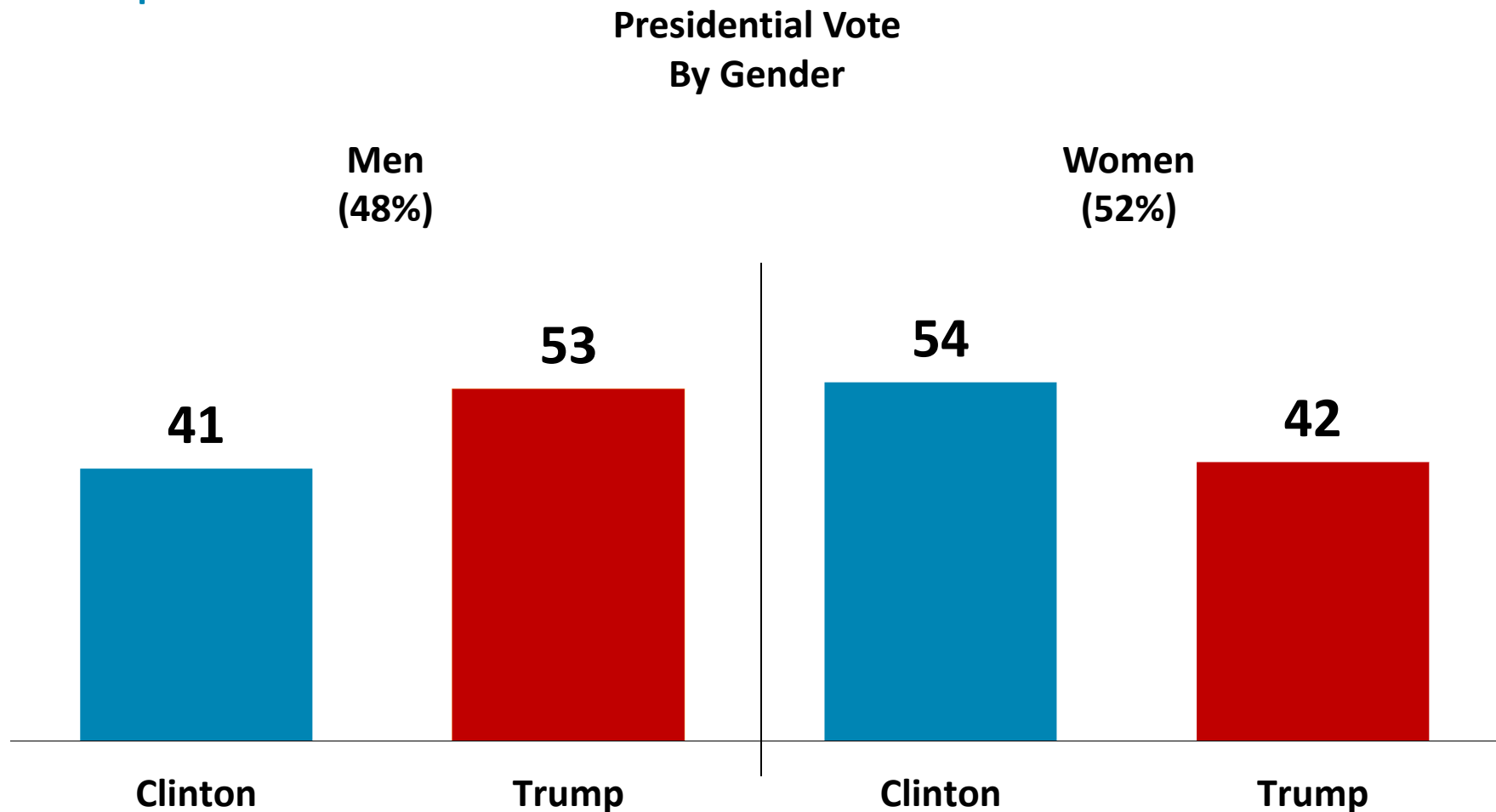


Source: Ballotpedia

The 2016 Election Results By Demographics



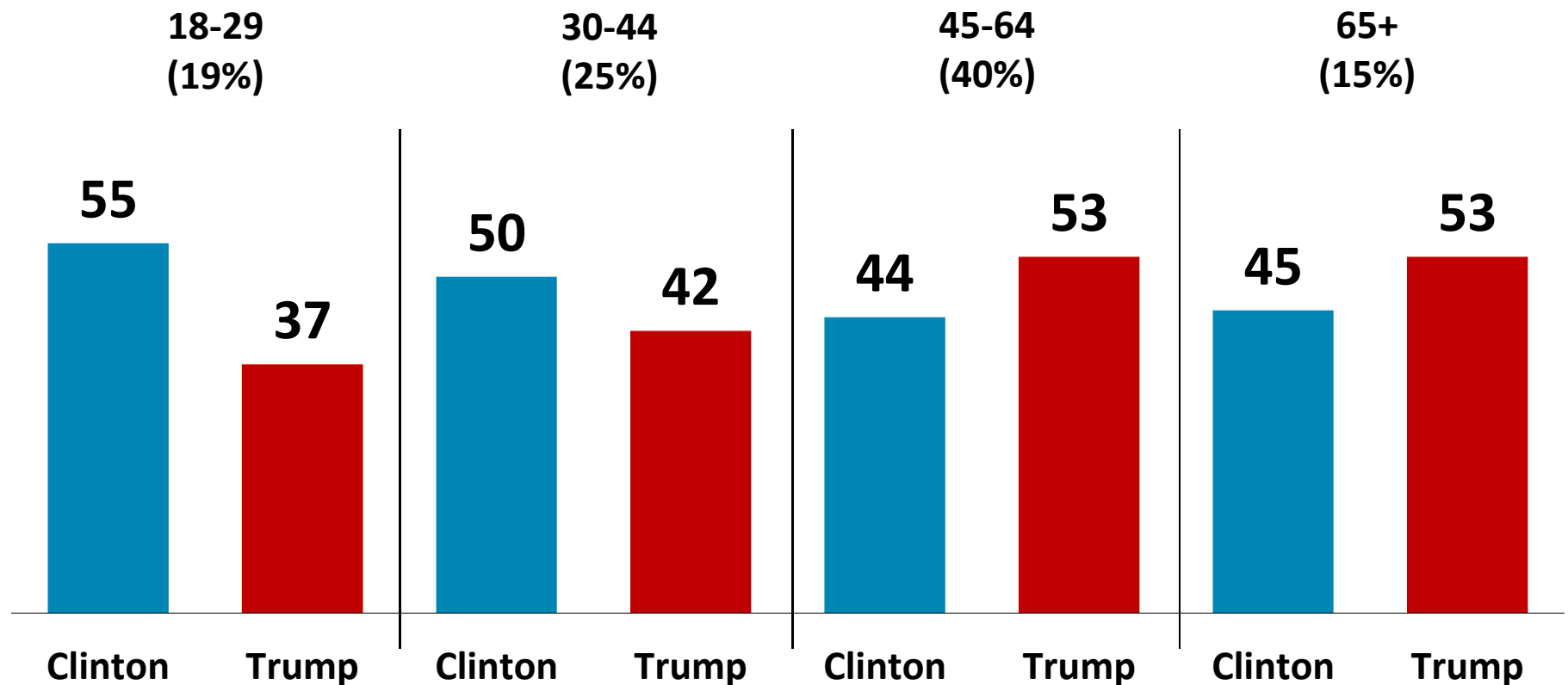
There was a 24 point gender gap in this election, with women favoring Clinton 54% to 42%, while men supported Trump 53% to 41%.



Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

Breaking down the election results by age, younger voters were much more supportive of Clinton than were older voters, who voted for Trump and comprised a larger portion of the electorate.

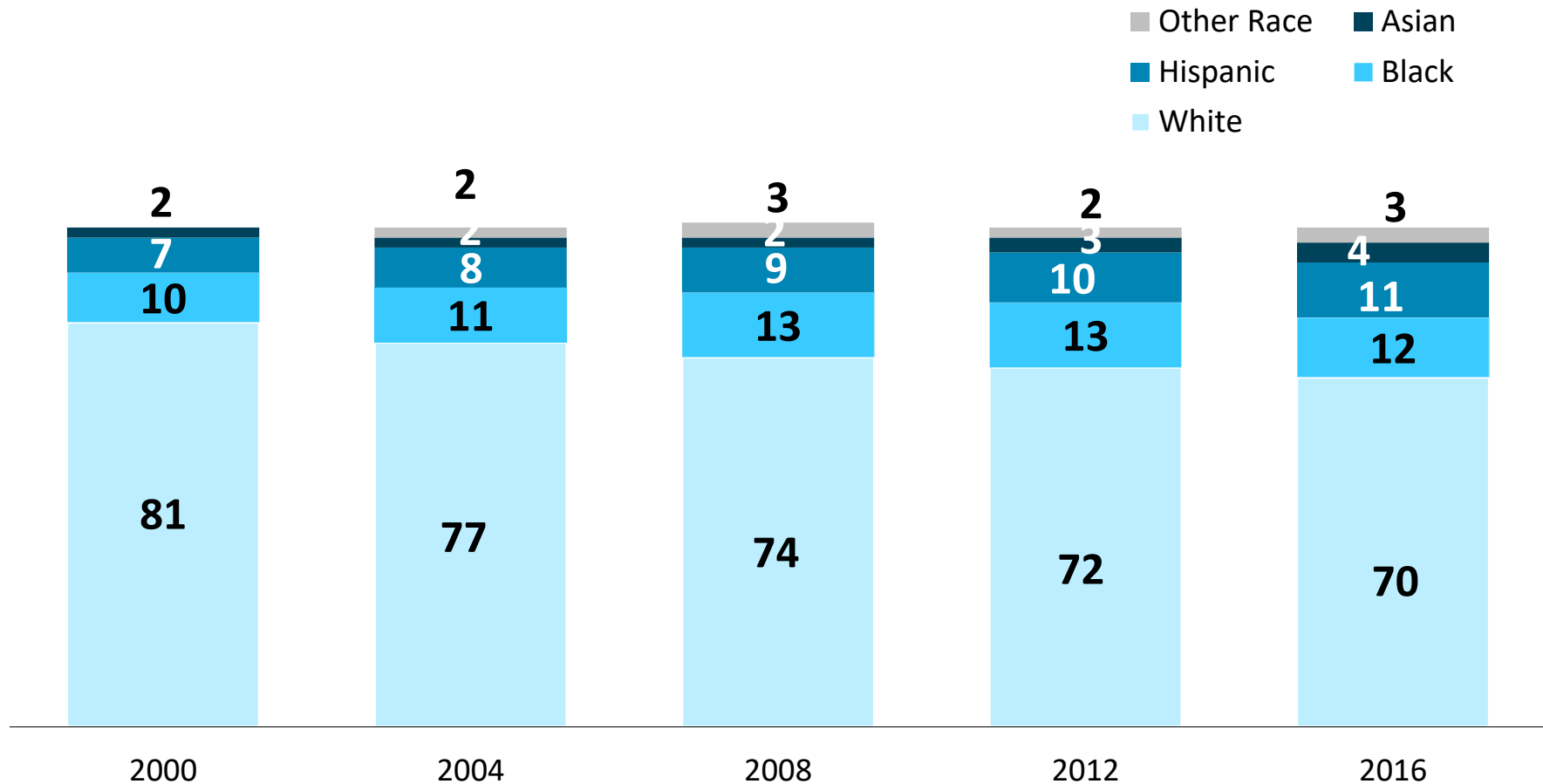
Presidential Vote By Age



Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

The presidential electorate has become more and more racially diverse over time, a trend that tends to favor Democrats.

U.S. Presidential Electorate Over Time By Race

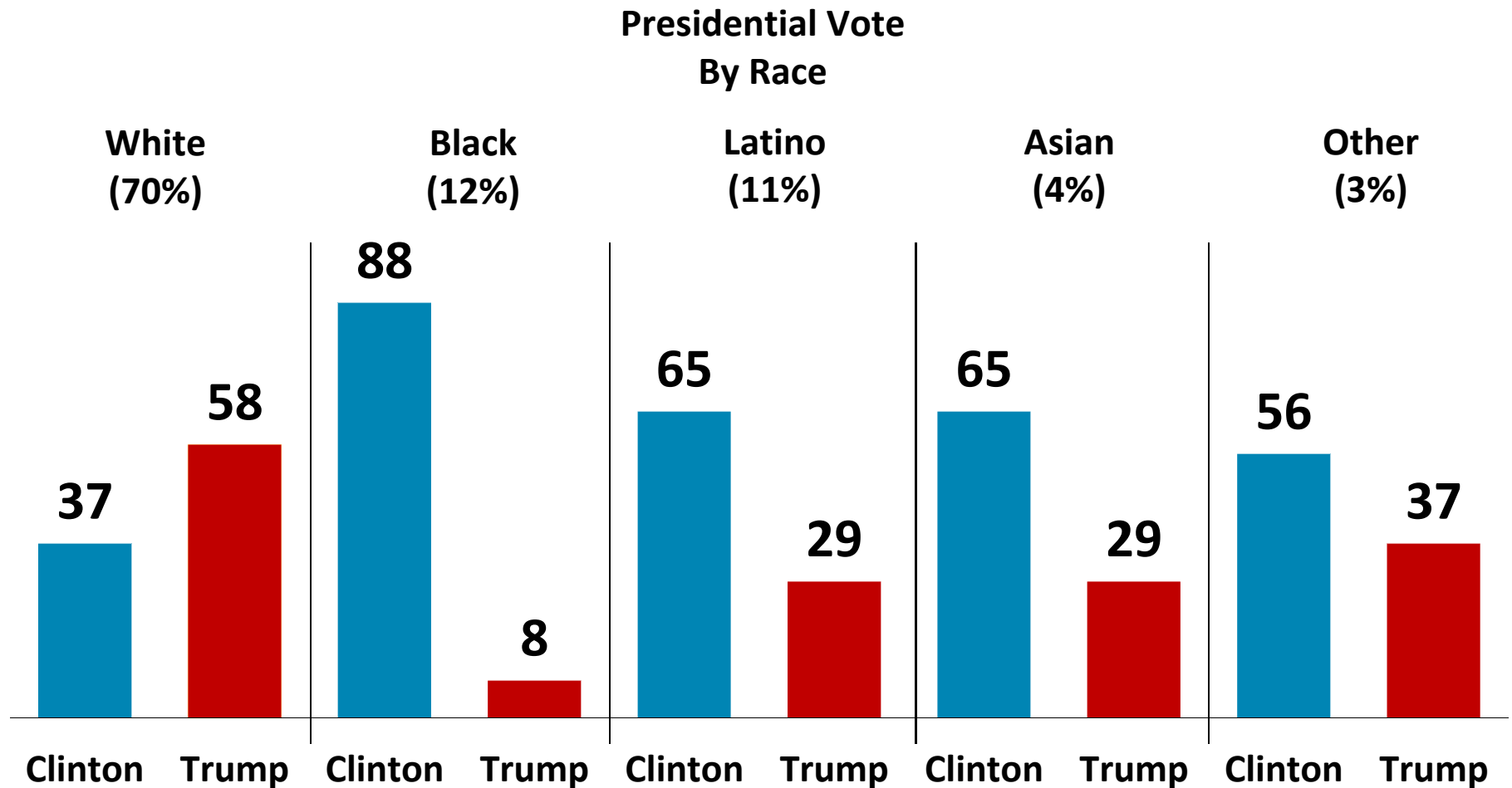


Source: <http://ropercenter.cornell.edu/polls/us-elections/how-groups-voted/how-groups-voted-2000/>

Source: <http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/results/president/exit-polls>

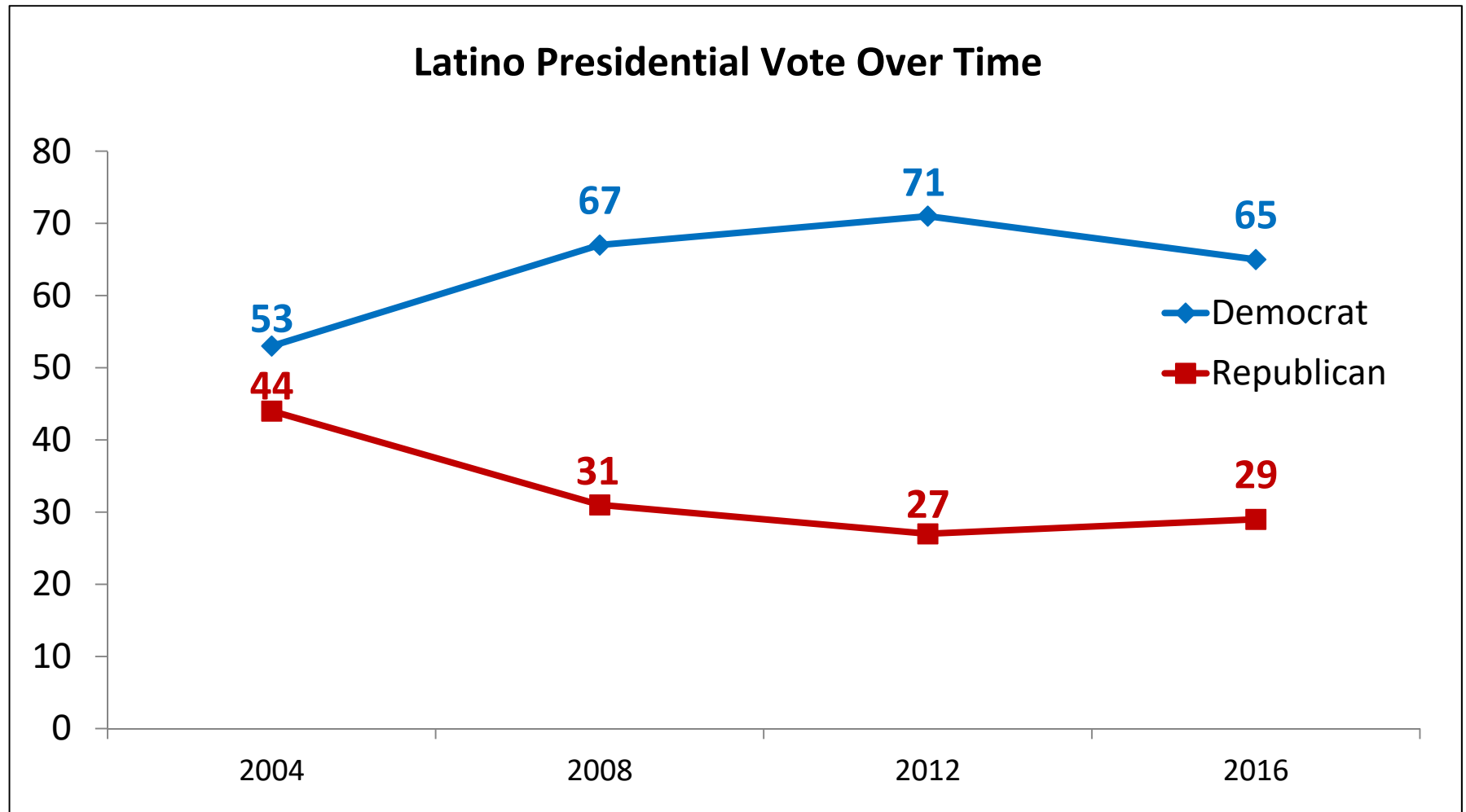
Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

Trump's huge 21 point margin with white voters helped him to overcome the significant deficits that he had with voters of color and allowed him to win the Electoral College.



Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

Since 2004, the Latino vote has become much more solidly Democratic and Republicans have lost ground among Latinos from George Bush's high water mark of 44% in 2004. In the long term, Republicans will have to improve their vote share among Latinos to continue to remain viable nationally.

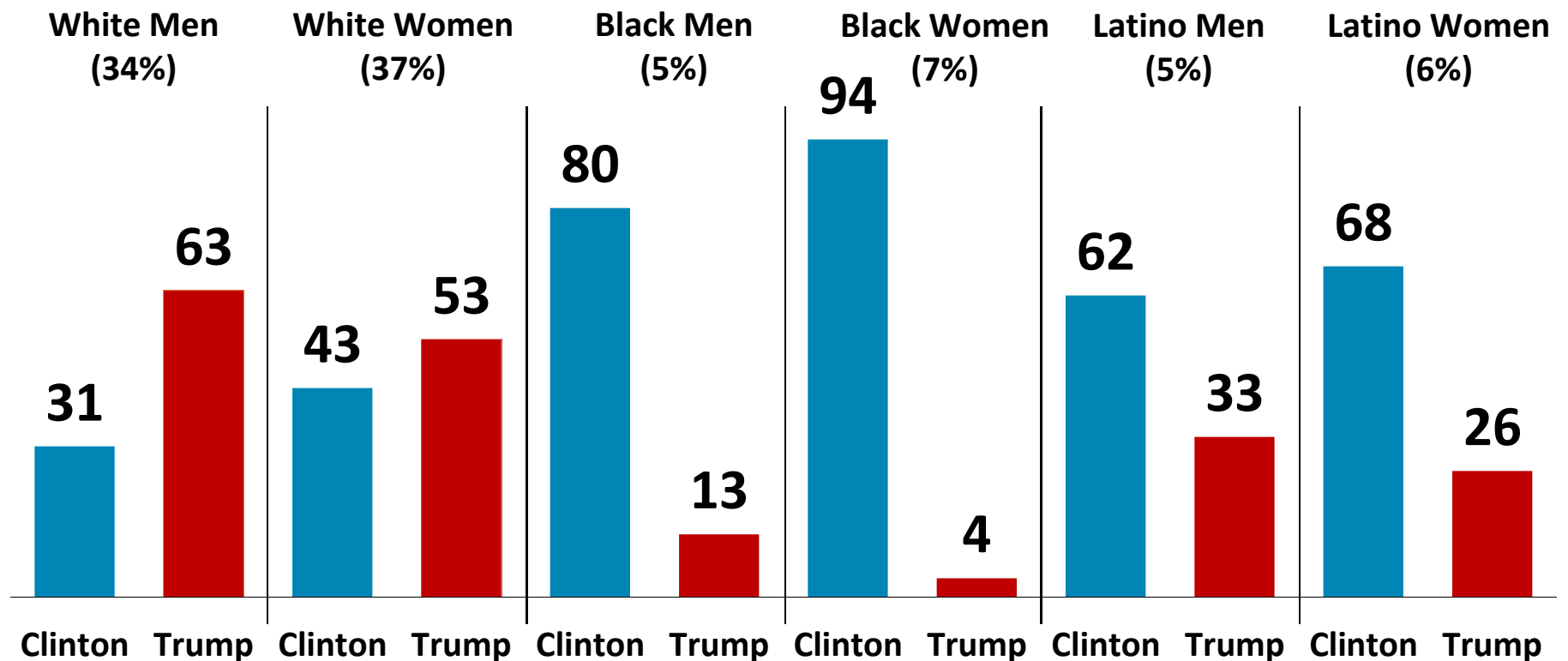


Source: <http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/results/president/exit-polls>

Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-nolls>

Women and men of color were both supportive of Clinton, but women of color were even more supportive than their male counterparts. Among white men and women, Trump won white men overwhelmingly and won white women, but by a smaller margin.

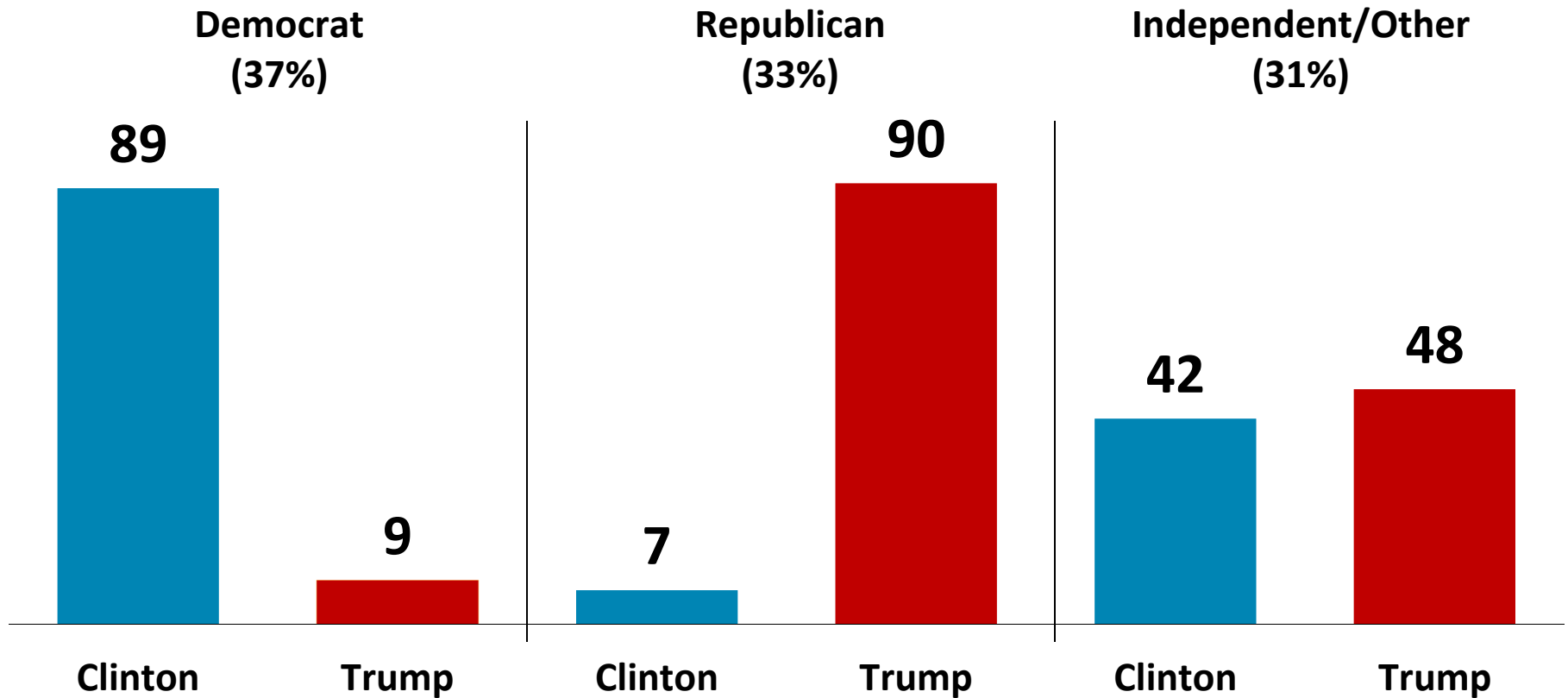
Presidential Vote By Race/Gender



Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

Both Clinton and Trump consolidated their respective party bases. The decisive factor was that independents went to Trump by 6 points.

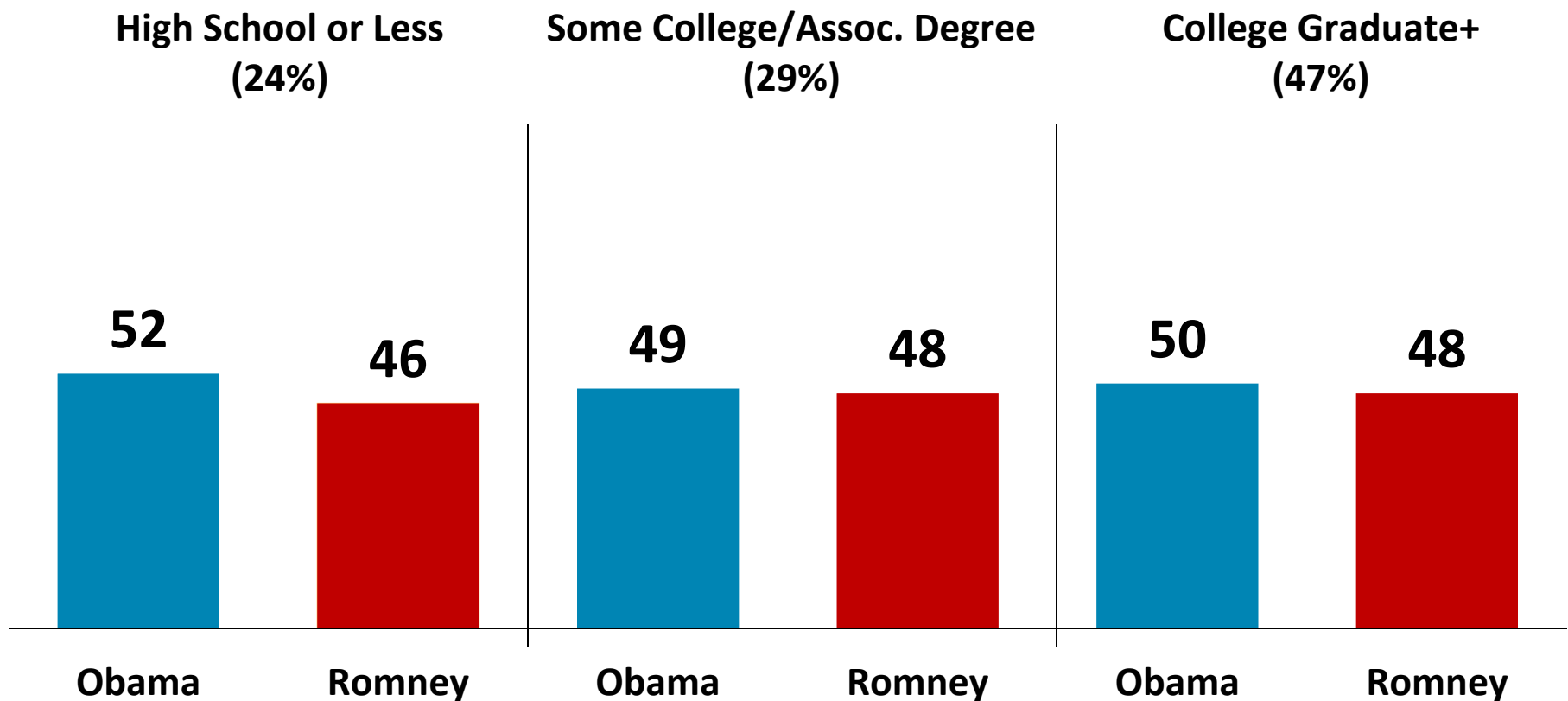
Presidential Vote By Party Identification



Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

In 2012, Obama won voters of all education levels, but other than voters who only had a high school level of education or less, the difference between Obama's vote share and Romney's was not very significant.

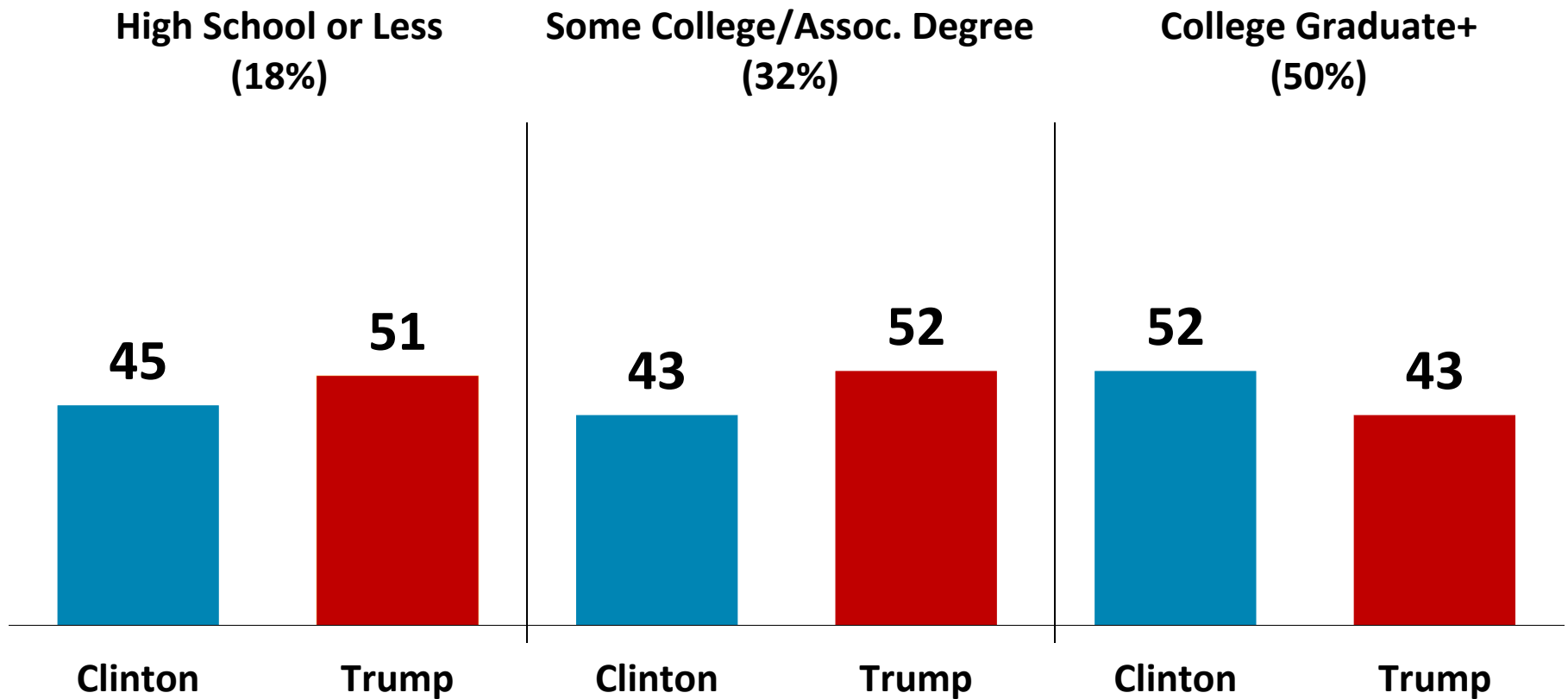
Presidential Vote By Education 2012



Source: <http://elections.nbcnews.com/ns/politics/2012/all/president/#exitPoll>

Education level was a major cleavage in the electorate for this election, with people without college degrees much more supportive of Trump, while people with a college education or higher supported Clinton 52% to 43%.

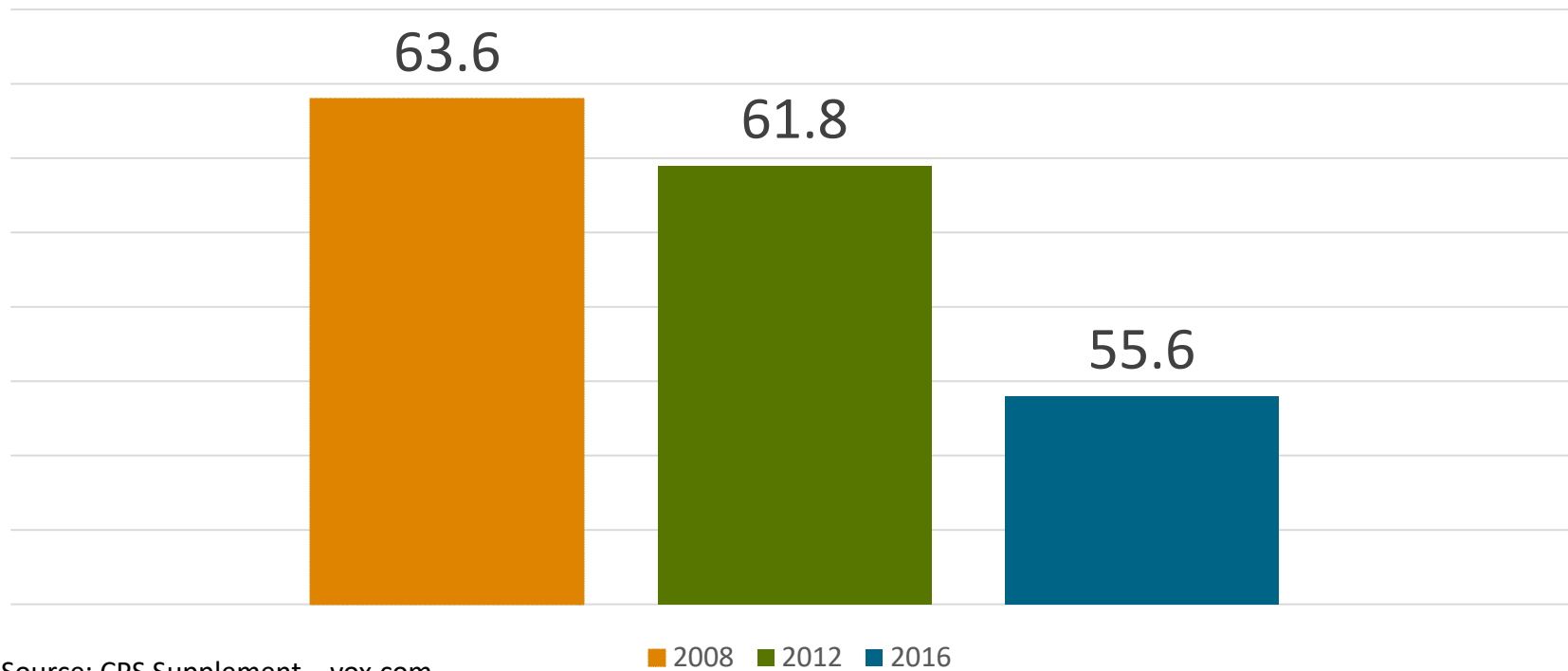
Presidential Vote By Education 2016



Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

According to preliminary figures, turnout in 2016 was down compared to 2008 and 2012, contrary to expectations. Lower turnout hurt Democrats.

% Turnout of Voting Eligible Population



Source: CPS Supplement – vox.com

Turnout was down with African Americans, women, and millennials.

Turnout increased among rural voters and white voters, and Democrats underperformed with these groups.

- Rural voters went from -8 in 2008 to -28 in 2016.
- Married women outnumbered unmarried women 30% of the electorate to 23%. We did improve with married women -7 to +2, but declined among unmarried women +36 to +29.
- 70% of the electorate was white.
- Note that we have never won white women, but the Clinton/Trump dynamic didn't improve our vote.

WHITE WOMEN - YEAR	Republican	Democrat
2004	55% Bush	44% Kerry
2008	53% McCain	46% Obama
2012	56% Romney	42% Obama
2016	53% Trump	43% Clinton

- Clinton also got the lowest percentage of white men.

WHITE MEN - YEAR	Republican	Democrat
2004	62% Bush	37% Kerry
2008	57% McCain	41% Obama
2012	62% Romney	35% Obama
2016	63% Trump	31% Clinton

Lack of an economic message and vision hurt Democrats up and down the ballot, and is one of the two biggest factors in our losses.

- Democrats do not win then they are behind on the economy.

	Republicans	Democrats	Net	Net – September Battleground
The economy	55	38	+17 R	+11 R
Jobs	50	44	+6 R	+7 R

Source: Lake Research Battleground Poll

- On election eve, a Democracy Corps poll showed Democrats behind (-6) on the economy. Exit polls showed Clinton behind Trump (46% to 49%) on the economy
- A populist economic message combined with a reform agenda can win.
- 63% of Americans of think the economy is not good or poor, and we lost them (-32%) (31% Clinton to 63% Trump).

Our economic framing should describe lived experiences; embrace progressive values; and provide an aspirational call to a better life, centering on what people and families need, not what will grow or help the economy.

Best Messages on the Economy

(source: Lake Research Partners Research Brief – Words that Work: Messaging for Working People)

[FAMILY COMES FIRST] Everyone knows – family comes first. Whether it’s for that newborn you swear already smiles, your elderly mom, or your spouse nursing an injury, being there and providing for family isn’t negotiable. Every working person deserves to be paid enough to set their kids up for a bright future, and return the support they once received to their parents, and to speak up, with one clear voice, for a better workplace. Working people deserve to make more than a decent living; we deserve to have a decent life.

[VALUE WORK] America has so much good work to be done, roads to be paved, kids to be taught, energy to be generated. All work has value and all working people have rights. But when people are given a work schedule that constantly changes or told to work more for less, the workplace isn’t fair. We cannot allow anyone to be paid less than a living and left scrambling to retire. People’s hard work should be recognized and rewarded. We must act together for fair wages, the right to speak up for each other, and earn paid time when loved ones need us.

[CHANGED RULES] We need a better balance between the right to profit and the rights of those who produce these profits. A handful of wealthy CEOs and politicians have rigged the rules in their favor and hard work, ingenuity and perseverance are not rewarded the way they used to be. Wages ought to reflect a fair return on work. We can create an economy where working people have a say at work, including raising wages and improving benefits. We need an economy that works for everyone. America should work for we the people, not just the wealthy and well connected.

[SECURE FOUNDATION] America is a land of entrepreneurs. Many of us want to create the next big thing for ourselves that would also create new jobs for others. But right now many people live paycheck to paycheck, working unreliable hours, with few or no benefits. Launching a new venture requires first making ends meet today and having something left over to launch a new venture tomorrow. To restore opportunity, we need basic standards – good wages, strong benefits, secure retirement, and time to be with family. Reaching for the stars first requires standing on a secure foundation.

In terms of different personal qualities of the candidates, in the Battleground survey, Clinton had an advantage over Trump on every dimension except for “says what they believe.”

More Confidence in/Better Represents	Trump	Clinton	Net	Net from September Battleground
Strong Leader	44%	48%	+4 C	+1 T
Cares About People Like You	35%	51%	+16 C	+10 C
Represents Your Values	35%	49%	+14 C	+8 C
Honest and Trustworthy	33%	38%	+5 C	+4 T
Says What They Believe	58%	33%	+15 T	+29 T
Has Temperament Needed To Serve	28%	60%	+32 C	+26 C

Thinking specifically about the personal qualities of the candidates running for President... I am going to read you a list of personal qualities. Please listen as I read the list and tell me, for each one, who better represents this quality - Donald Trump, or Hillary Clinton to deal with this issue.

Source: Lake Research Partners/Tarrance Group Battleground Poll, October 8 – 13, 2016. N=1000 registered likely voters/Split Sample A/B with a margin of error of +/-3.1%.

Change was the top trait that mattered to voters, and the Democratic ticket didn't have credibility on it.

Which candidate quality mattered most?

	Clinton	Trump	Other/No Answer
Cares about me (15%)	58	35	7
Can bring about change (39%)	14	85	3
Right experience (21%)	90	8	2
Good judgment (20%)	66	26	8

Perceptions of race and immigration were strongly correlated with the vote.

View of a U.S. Wall along the Mexican border

	Clinton	Trump	Other/No opinion
Support (41%)	10	86	4
Oppose (54%)	76	17	7

Does the country's criminal justice system....

	Clinton	Trump	Other/no opinion
Treat all fairly (43%)	23	74	3
Treat blacks unfairly (48%)	71	22	7

Being white, non-college educated, and living near a high concentration of people of color was one of the strongest predictors of voting for Trump.

V.O. Keys research

Perceptions of Gender Roles and Sexism

- We got a sobering reminder of how difficult it is to elect a woman president. Women suffer more for being less likable (Lee Family Foundation).
- A record high number of voters disliked both candidates (18%). Normally, they would have gone for the candidate they disliked less (HRC) or thought was more qualified (+14 HRC).
 - Instead they voted solidly for Trump – 29% Clinton, 49% Trump, 22% other/no answer
- Being authoritarian was one of the strongest predictor of voting Trump.
- Only 38% of Trump voters say they have a lot or a fair amount of respect for women.
- In a PPRI poll, a slight majority (51%) of Americans say that since the 1950's, our culture and way of life has changed for the worse. Only 48% say that it has changed for the better.

Looking Ahead to 2018

- Democrats will have to win seats in several red and swing states to stay even in the Senate – Indiana, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, West Virginia, Florida, Ohio, and Wisconsin. There is tremendous overlap with open governor races.
- Democrats will need to communicate a strong economic message that resonates with working class voters, and captures the populist spirit that drove much of this election.
- In the wake of Trump's presidential victory, Democrats suffered major losses down the ballot – Democrats now only fully control 13 state legislatures. If Democrats lose one more state legislature, they will also lose the power to stop the ratification of constitutional amendments. As such, it will be crucial for Democrats to focus energy and fundraising on races down the ballot as well as in the House and the Senate.
- Catalyzing turnout among loyal Democratic voting blocks (racial minorities, unmarried women, and young voters) will be more important than ever before.

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