

Unstable American Politics and the 2020 Election

Professor David Brady



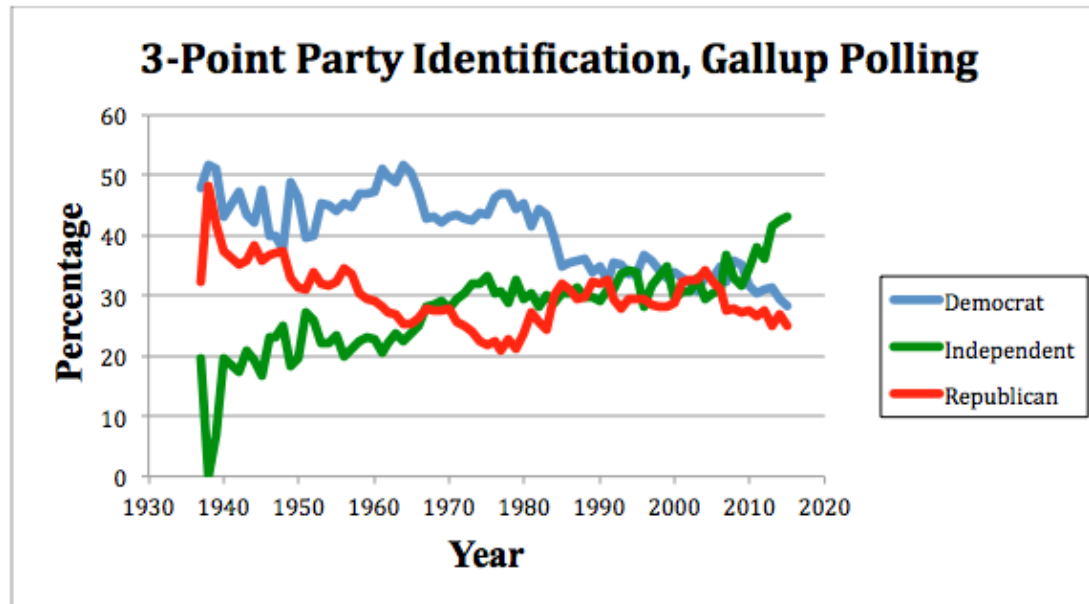
29 July 2020

Changes in American Politics and the 2020 Election

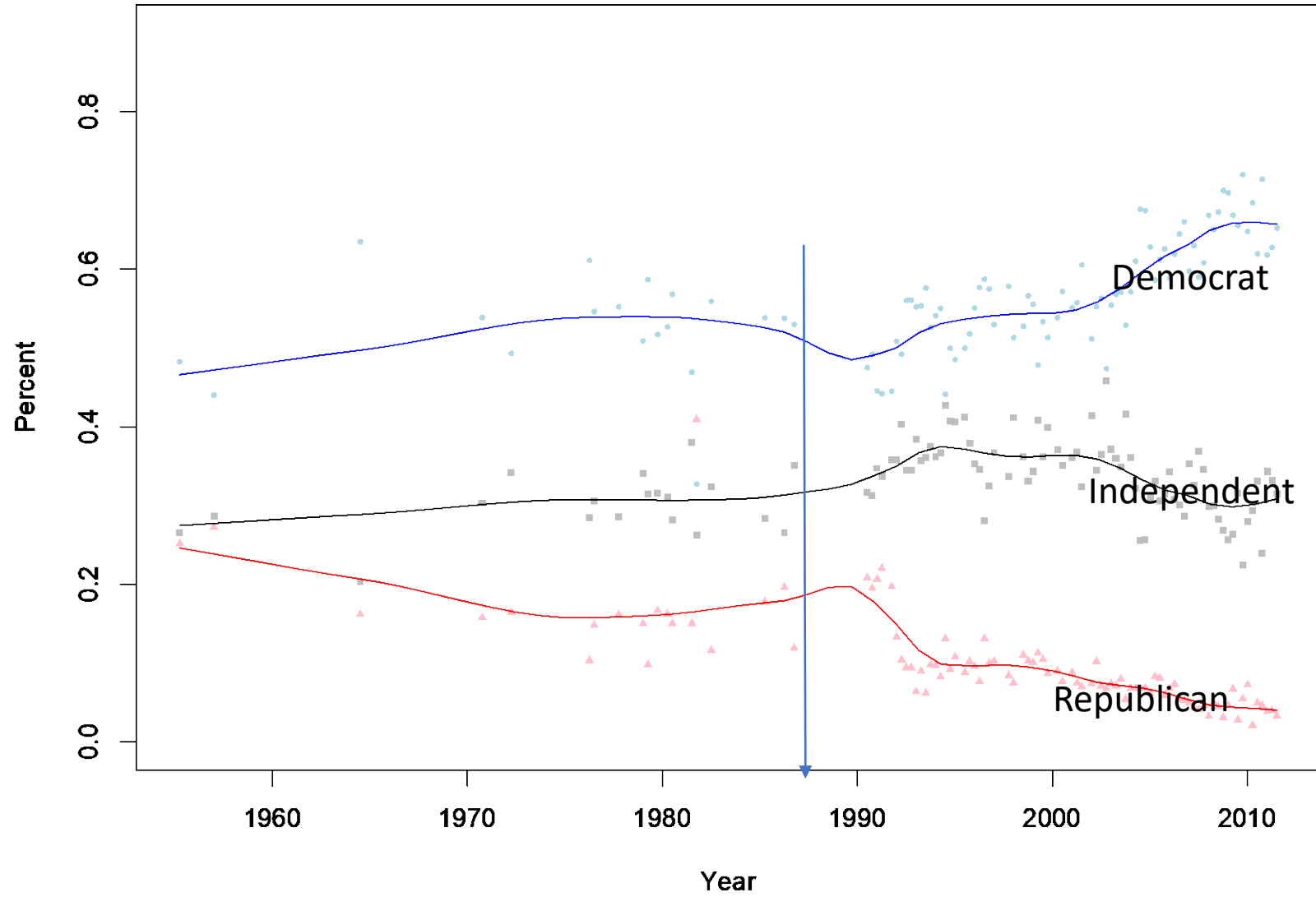
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The Changes

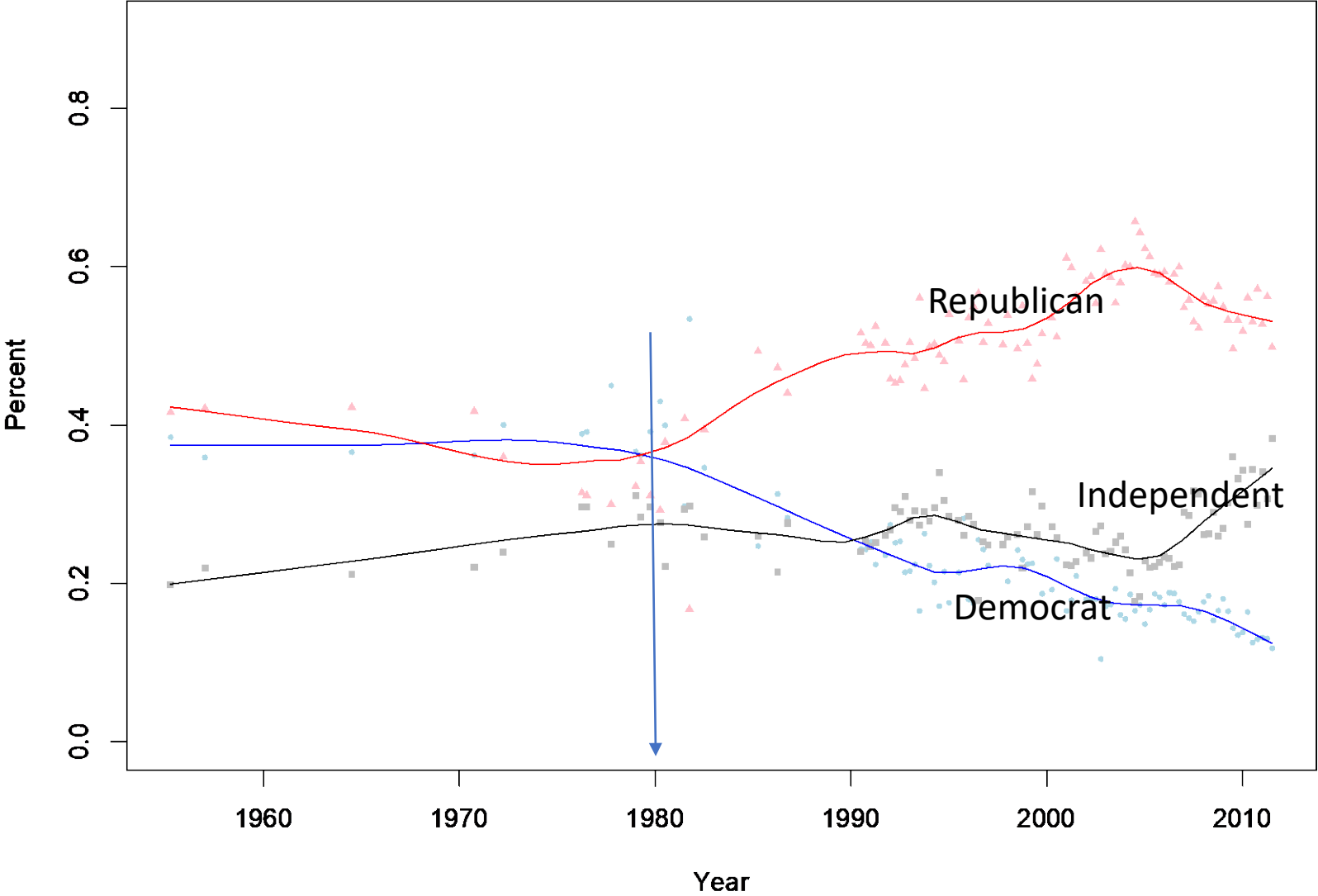
Figure 1



Party Identification for Liberals

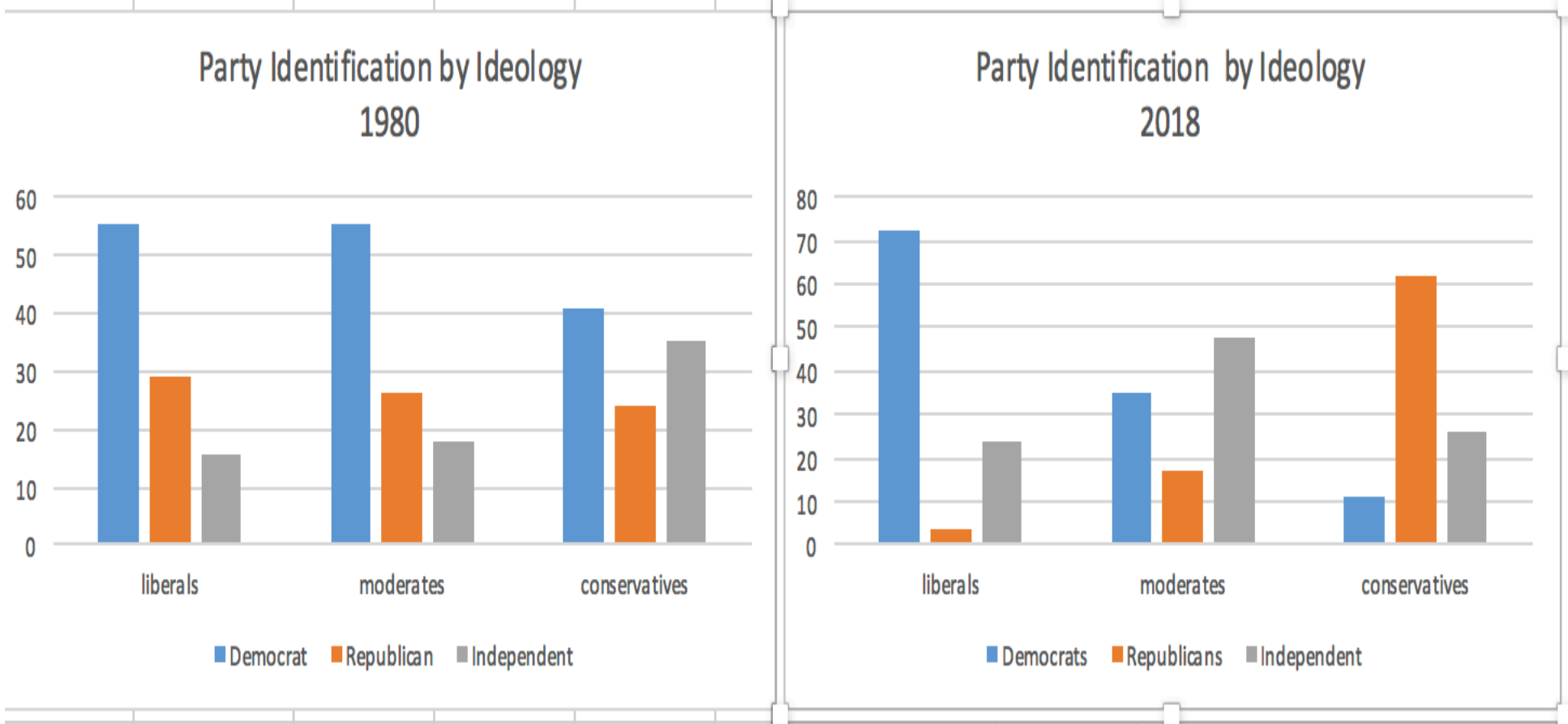


Party Identification for Conservatives



Sorting by Ideology into Parties: 1980 -2018

Blue =Dem
 Red =Rep
 Grey =Indp



41%
 34%
 25%

moderate
 conservative
 liberal

40%
 32%
 28%

Change in ID by Region from 1980 to 1990

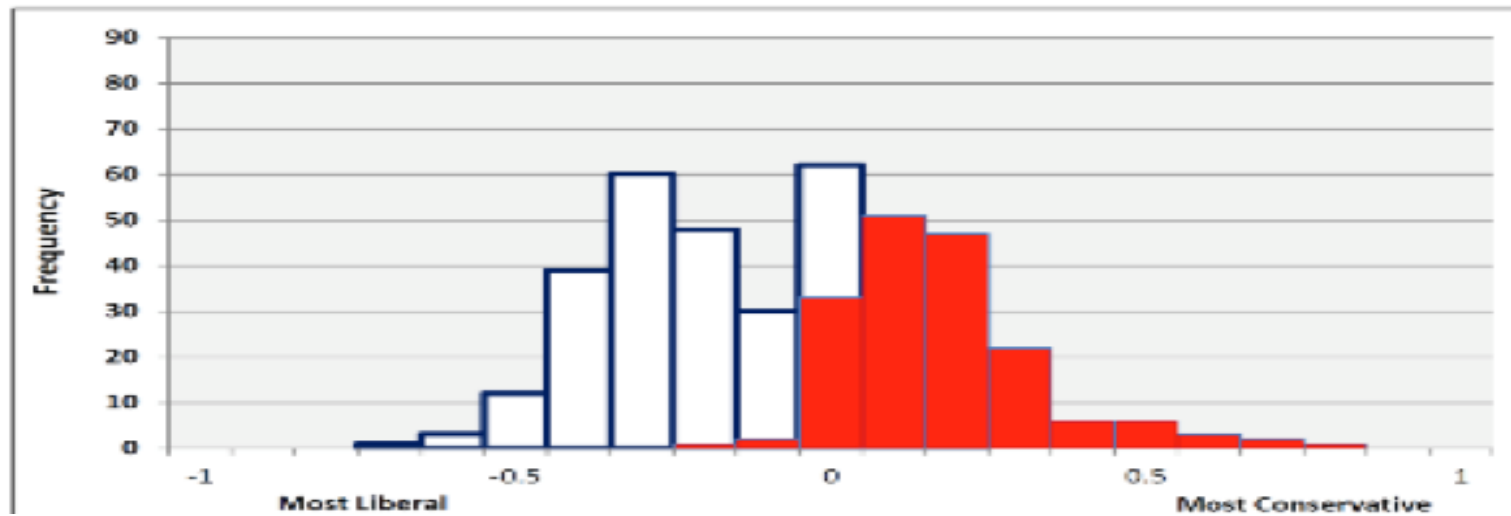
Region	Democratic	Republican
South	-16.1 [-12.1, -20.1]	+14.5 [9.5, 19.5]
New England	-12.1 [-3.8, -20.4]	+7.5 [-3.2, 18.2]
Border (KY, MD, MO, WV)	-8.5 [-1.8, 15.2]	+5.1 [-3.5, 13.7]
Mid-Atlantic (NY, NJ, PA, DE)	-11.2 [-7.2, -15.2]	+9.4 [3.7, 15.1]
Midwest (OH, MI, IN, IL, WI, MN)	-8.8 [-5, -12.6]	+9.2 [3.8, 14.6]
Plains (IA, ND, SD, NE, KS)	-3.5 [-11.9, 4.9]	+6.5 [-4.5, 17.5]
Rocky (MT, CO, ID, WY, UT, NV)	-0.6 [-12.6, 11.2]	+5.9 [-5.2, 17]
Pacific (CA, OR, WA)	-11.8 [-7, -16.6]	+7.9 [1.6, 14.2]
Southwest (TX, AZ, NM, OK)	-14.4 [-7.5, -21.3]	+13.6 [6.7, 20.5]

95% CI in brackets

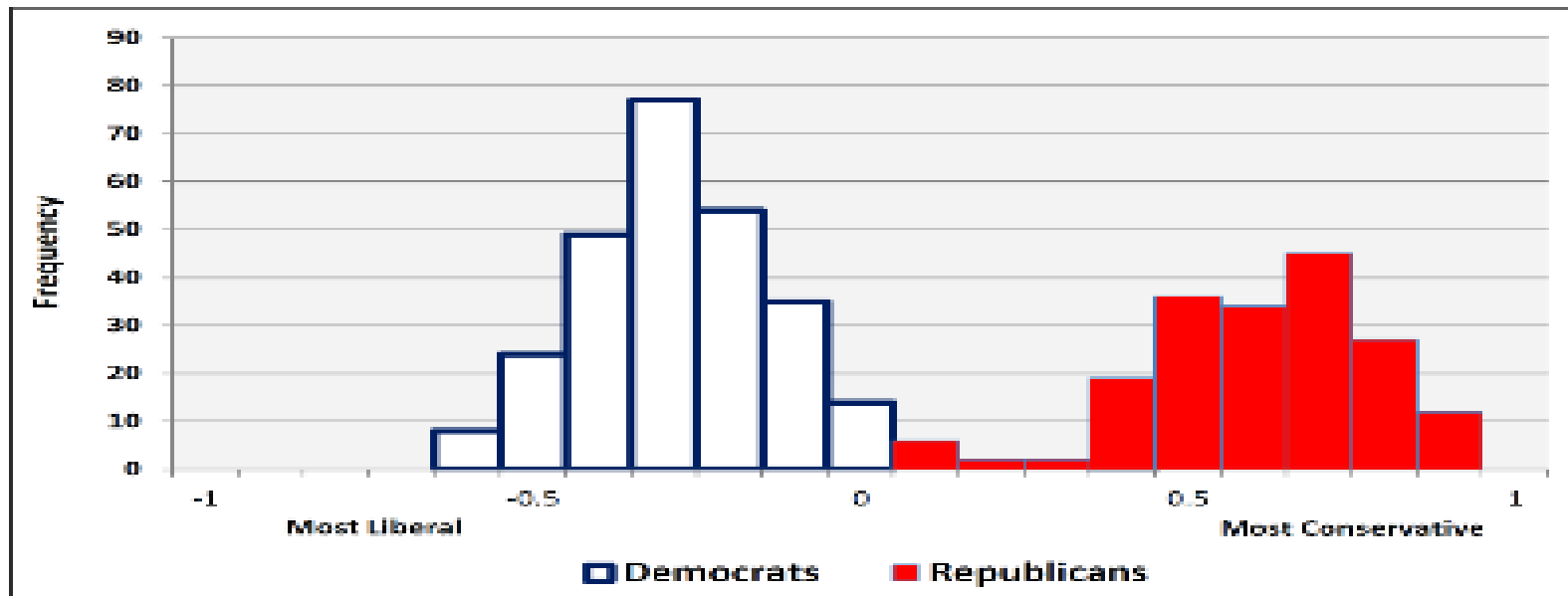
- The Current Party Parity System has had several consequences related to U.S. Politics
 - 1. Partisan voting in Congress
 - 2. elections are more competitive
 - 3. presidents who are dividers, not unifiers
 - 4 partisans of both parties misperceiving the other
 - **Results in a Very Unstable Political System**
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Party Voting in Congress

87th Congress, 1961-1963

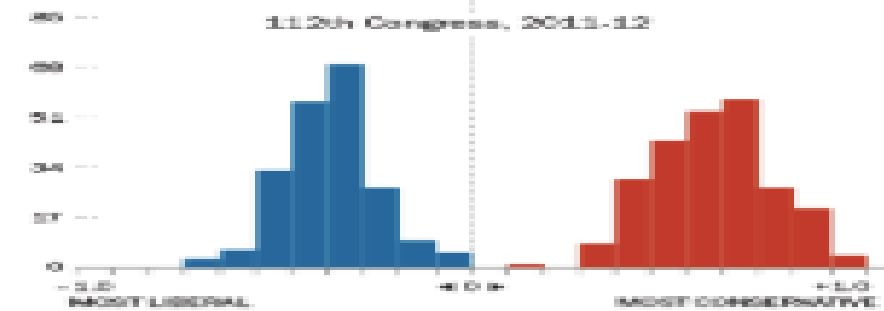
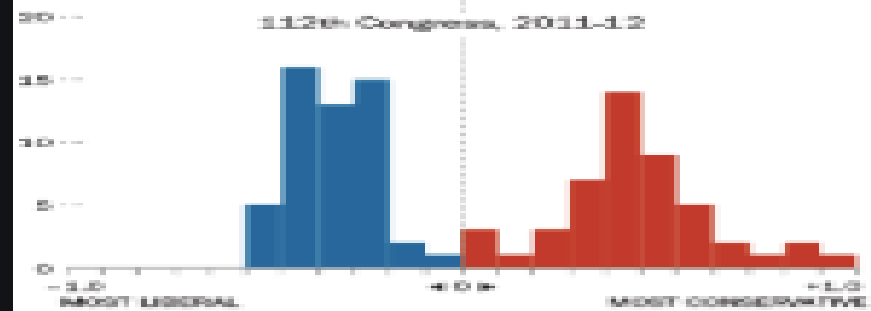
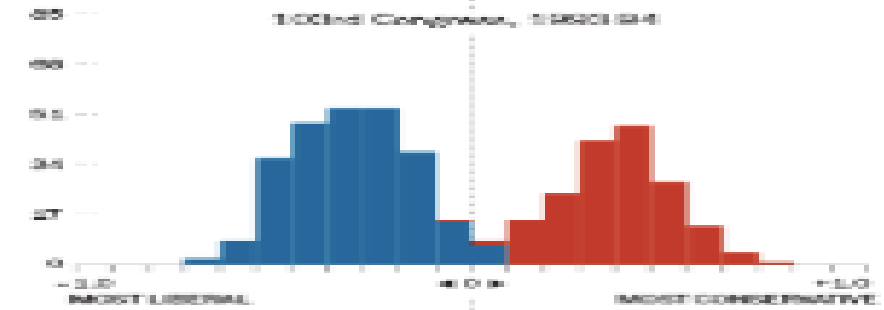
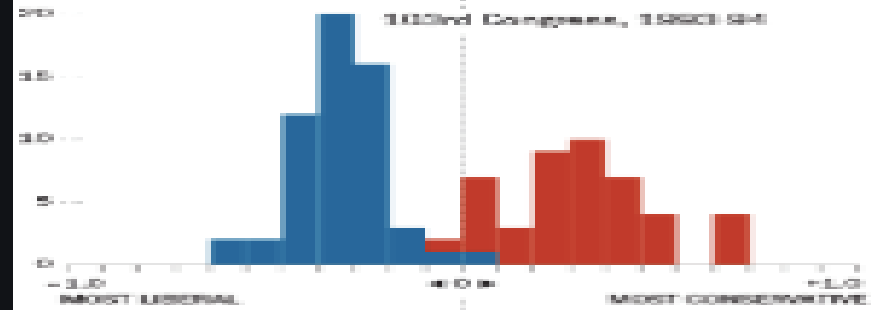
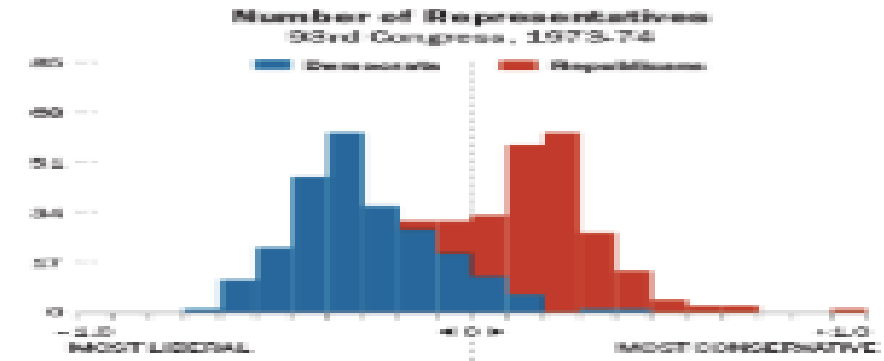
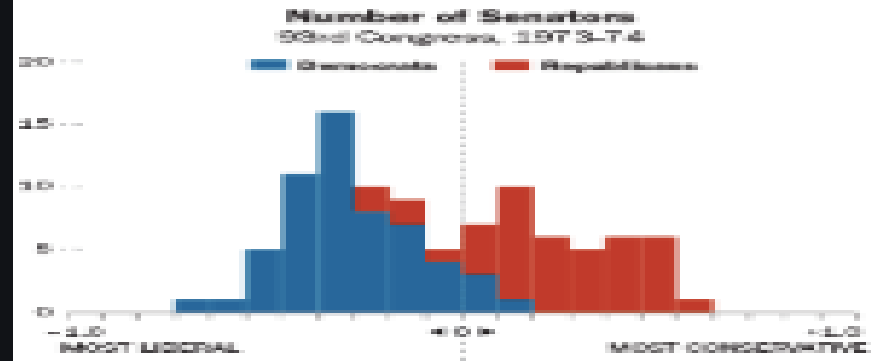


111th Congress, 2009-2011



In Congress as Well as Public, the Center Increasingly Cannot Hold

Ideological scores of senators and representatives based on roll-call votes. Negative numbers represent liberal views and positive numbers conservative views



Source: Royce Campbell, Jeff Leake, James Lo, Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole and Howard Rosenthal, Voteview.com

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Elections are Closer

1950-1992

Post 1993

President

Congress

President

Congress

- Won by. **10+ points**

H- 85 + seats ave.

- **Less than 3 percent.**

H- 35 seat margin

- w/out

- 64 ,72 **8+ points**

20 of 21 Dem.

- **In two popular vote**

10 of 12 Rep.*

- **5 of 11 55% +**

5 had 100 + Dem

- **winner lost**

- **8 of 11. 50% or more**

- **0 won with 55%**

S-53 to 47 margin

- **S- 57 to 43 margin**

- **Reps 16 Of 24 yrs.***

- **Dems 34 of 42 yrs.**

** Partially result of rural states plus majority- minority districts*

Dividers not Unifiers

Presidential Years With Largest Gaps in Approval Ratings by Party, Gallup Polls, 1953-2014

President	Year in office	Dates of year	Avg. approval, Republicans	Avg. approval, Democrats	Avg. party gap
			%	%	Pct. pts.
Obama	4	Jan 12-Jan 13	10	86	76
G.W. Bush	4	Jan 04-Jan 05	91	15	76
G.W. Bush	5	Jan 05-Jan 06	86	14	72
Obama	5	Jan 13-Jan 14	11	82	71
Obama	6	Jan 14-Jan 15	9	79	70
G.W. Bush	6	Jan 06-Jan 07	79	9	70
Obama	2	Jan 10-Jan 11	12	81	69
Obama	3	Jan 11-Jan 12	12	80	68
G.W. Bush	7	Jan 07-Jan 08	73	7	66
Obama	1	Jan 09-Jan 10	23	88	65

GALLUP'

Trump yr.	1	86	9	77
	2	88	8	80
	3	88	9	79
	4	87	8	79

Inaccurate Partisan Stereotypes

Republicans believe

38 % of Democrats are LGBT (6%)

36 % of Democrats are atheists/agnostics (9%)

Democrats believe

44 % of Republicans make more than \$250k/year (2%)

44 % of Republicans are senior citizens (21 %)

An Era of Uncertainty

→ Every Two Years Americans Have an Opportunity to Change their Government

President/Senate/House elected independently

→ 8 different patterns of party control:

RRR RRD RDR RDD

DDD DDR DRD DRR

An Era of Republican Majorities

	President	House	Senate
1896	R	R	R
1898	R	R	R
1900	R	R	R
1902	R	R	R
1904	R	R	R
1906	R	R	R
1908	R	R	R
1910	R	D	R
1912	D	D	D
1914	D	D	D
1916	D	D	D
1918	D	R	R
1920	R	R	R
1922	R	R	R
1924	R	R	R
1926	R	R	R
1928	R	R	R
1930	R	R/D	Tie

An Era of Democratic Majorities

	President	House	Senate
1932	D	D	D
1934	D	D	D
1936	D	D	D
1938	D	D	D
1940	D	D	D
1942	D	D	D
1944	D	D	D
1946	D	R	R
1948	D	D	D
1950	D	D	D
1952	R	R	R

An Era of Divided Government

	President	House	Senate
1954	R	D	D
1956	R	D	D
1958	R	D	D
1960	D?	D	D
1962	D	D	D
1964	D	D	D
1966	D	D	D
1968	R	D	D
1970	R	D	D
1972	R	D	D
1974	R	D	D
1976	D	D	D
1978	D	D	D
1980	R	D	R
1982	R	D	R
1984	R	D	R
1986	R	D	D
1988	R	D	D
1990	R	D	D
1992	<i>D</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>D</i>

An Era of Unstable Majorities

	President	House	Senate
1992	D	D	D
1994	D	R	R
1996	D	R	R
1998	D	R	R
2000	D/R	R	Tie
2002	R	R	R
2004	R	R	R
2006	R	D	D
2008	D	D	D
2010	D	R	D
2012	D	R	D
2014	D	R	R
2016	D/R	R	R
2018	R	D	R

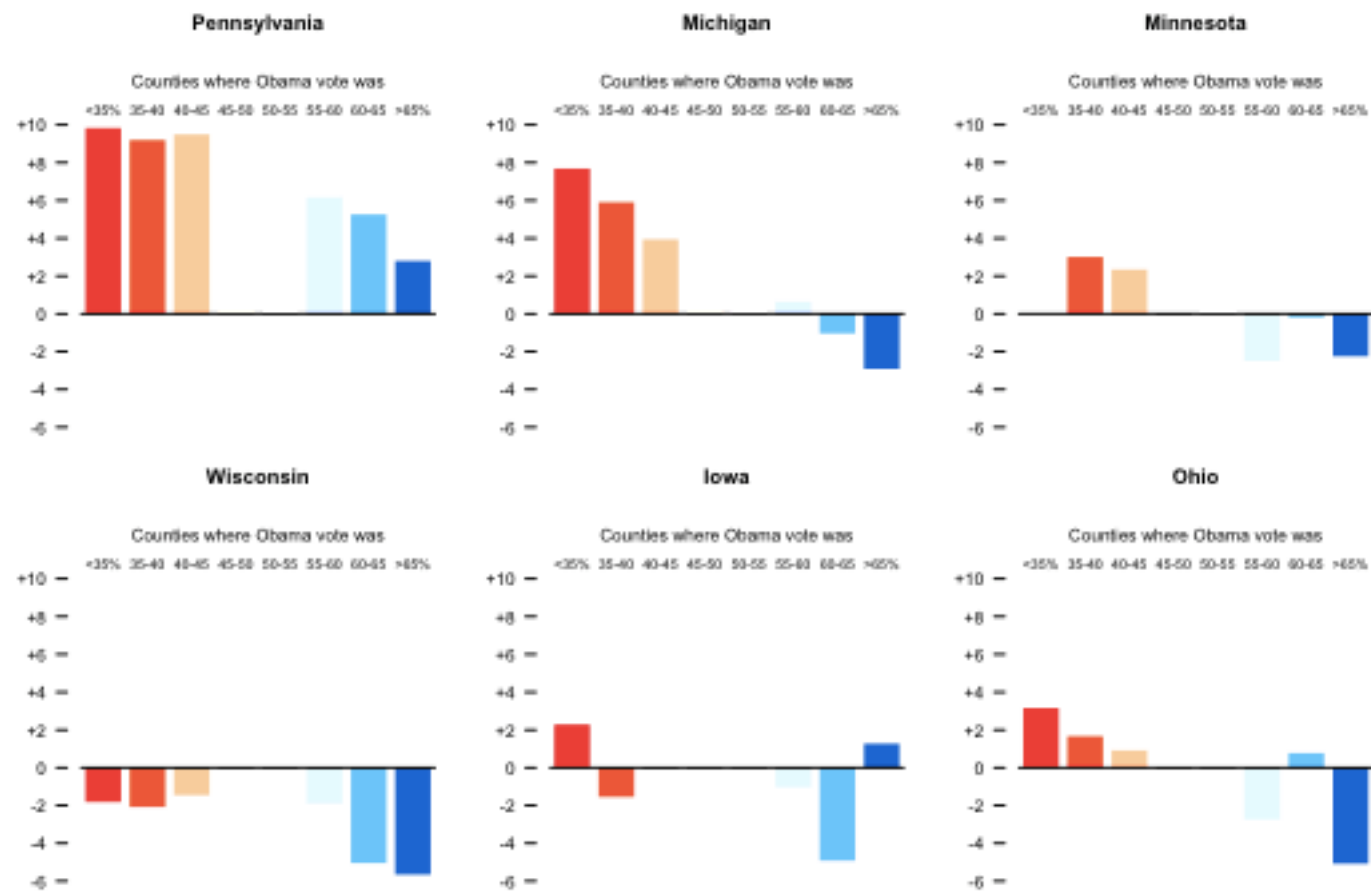
Figure 3: An Era of Indecision: 1874-1896



Table 3: Clinton and Trump's head-to-head margins, broken down by party identification and time period.

	Pre-campaign			Primary Campaign			Post-Labor Day			Post-Election		
	Dem Rep Ind			Dem Rep Ind			Dem Rep Ind			Dem Rep Ind		
Clinton	84	8	36	82	8	36	88	4	28	88	4	34
Trump	8	68	32	7	76	40	6	89	46	7	92	50

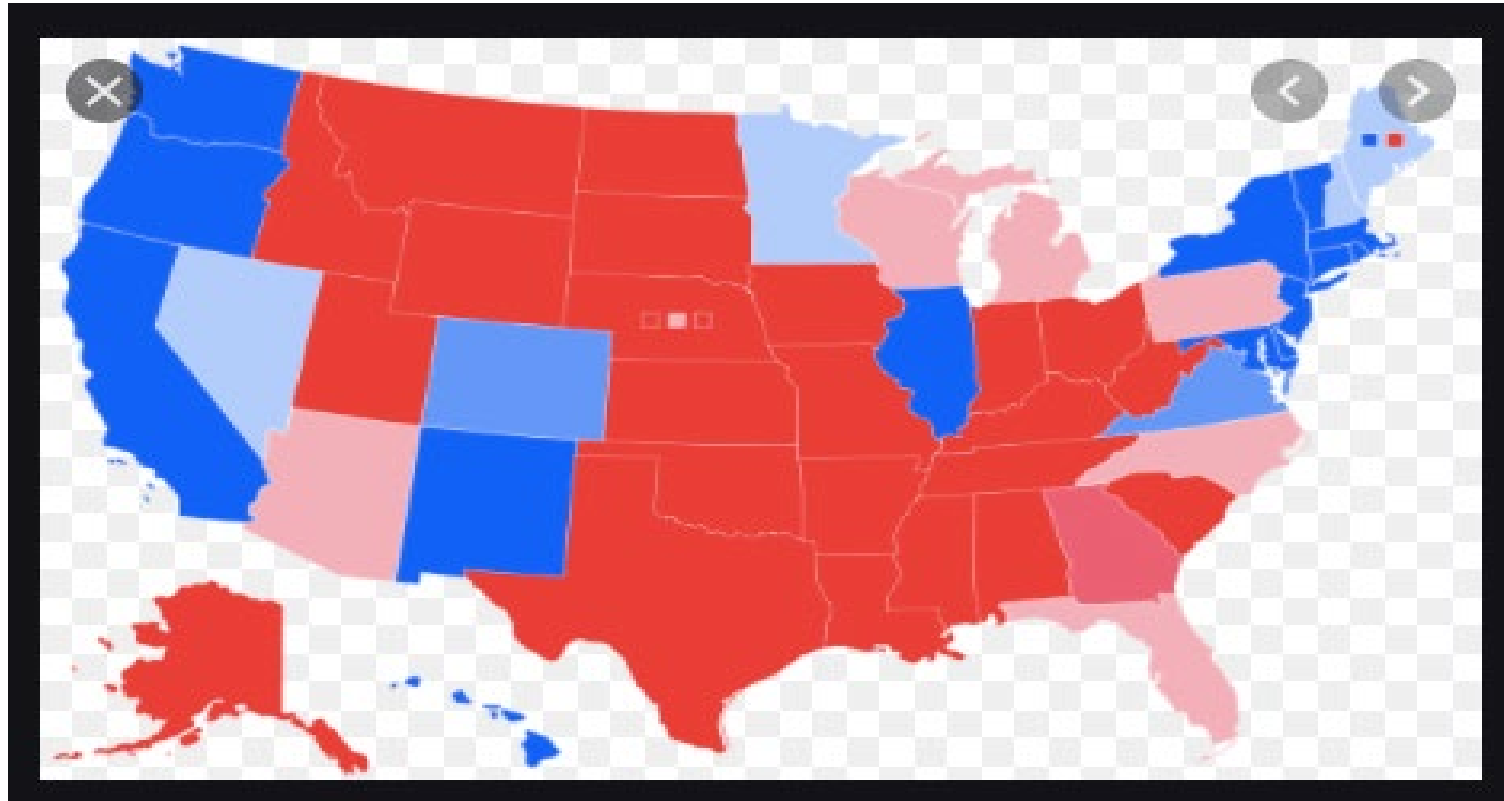
Figure 7



Party Identification in July in 2016 and 2020: with and without leaners

	Three 2016	Point Id 2020	With 2016	Leaners 2020
Democrats	35.7	36.9	47.7	47.7
Republicans	28.1	31.4	39.4	39.4
Independents	30.9	26.1	10.6	10.7

Swing States in 2020



Arizona, Florida, N.Carolina, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Michigan and perhaps Georgia

Table 1: Race, Education, Gender, and Age as Factors in 2018 Elections

The four gaps in American politics

Percentage voting Democratic

	2018	2016	2014		2018	2016	2014
Race				Education			
Non-white	76%	74%	75%	College	59%	52%	46%
White	44%	37%	38%	Non-college	49%	44%	46%
	32%	37%	37%		10%	8%	0%
Gender				Age			
Female	59%	54%	51%	18-29	67%	55%	54%
Male	47%	41%	41%	30-44	56%	48%	50%
	12%	13%	10%	45-64	50%	45%	45%
				65+	48%	45%	41%
					19%	10%	13%

Table 2: Education, Gender and Age as Factors in 2018 Elections for White Voters

The gaps among whites

	2018	2016	2014
Gender			
Female	49%	43%	42%
Male	39%	31%	33%
	10%	12%	9%
Education			
College	53%	45%	41%
Non-college	37%	29%	34%
	16%	16%	7%
Age			
18-29	56%	43%	43%
30-44	48%	54%	40%
45-64	40%	34%	36%
65+	43%	39%	36%
	13%	4%	7%

The Four Gaps in American Politics: 2016-2020 Elections

	2016		2020		Biden-Clinton difference
	Clinton	Trump	Biden	Trump	
Race					
Non-White	65	13	65	19	- 6
White	31	45	42	49	+ 7
Gender					
Female	44	33	51	38	+ 2
Male	35	42	45	44	+ 8
Education					
College	46	36	54	38	+6
Non-College	37	37	45	43	+ 2
Age					
Under 30	40	20	51	30	+1
30-44	45	33	54	30	+12
45-64	39	41	49	43	+ 8
65+	32	50	40	53	+5

Gaps Among Whites 2016-2020 Elections

Gender	2016		2020		Biden-Clinton difference
	Clinton	Trump	Biden	Trump	
Female	34	42	43	47	+ 4
Male	29	49	41	51	+10
Education					
College	41	42	50	42	+ 7
Non-College	27	47	36	55	+ 1
Age					
Under 30	29	29	50	35	+15
30-44	34	41	46	41	+12
45-64	33	48	41	54	+ 2
65+	25	56	36	57	+10

Presidential Vote Intention: July 2016-July 2020

	JULY 2016			JULY 2020		Difference	
	Clinton	Trump		Biden	Trump	B	T
Registered Voters	40	37		48	41	+8	+4
Democrats (47%)	78	5	(47%)	90	4	+12	-1
Republicans (37%)	6	78	(39%) +2	6	88	+10	0
Liberal Democrats	77	3		93	2	+16	-1
Moderate Democrats	74	8		74	5	+3	-3
Conservative Reps	4	84		3	94	-1	+10
Moderate Reps	8	67		15	74	+7	+7
Pure Independents	13	40		22	36	+8.	-4

The end

