

United States Centre public lecture

Who will be the next US President?

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Professor of International Relations and Director of the US Centre, LSE*

Hashtag for Twitter users: **#LSEUSelects**

The logo for LSE events, with 'LSE' in white on a red square and 'events' in a red sans-serif font.

Who will be the next US President?

Lawrence R. Jacobs

Director, Center for the Study of Politics & Governance

Humphrey School, University of Minnesota

US Social Media

“Queen Elizabeth Promises To ‘Take Back America’ If Trump Elected”



2016 is different

- **Where's the party-guided “invisible primary” process?**
 - ❖ **Trump neither electable nor ideologically consistent**
 - ❖ **Unprecedented number of senior GOP officeholders** ran for president – party failed to cull out & Trump won with pluralities
- **Trump is dual threat:** win GOP nomination or run as independent
- **Trump's effectiveness in drawing “free” press coverage** – series of mistaken political obituaries (McCain as “traitor,” racial outbursts, skipping debate, Pope as “disgrace”)
- **Departures from longstanding policy commitments:** Bill Clinton's Third Way & Ronald Reagan's New Right

Why Trump and Sanders?

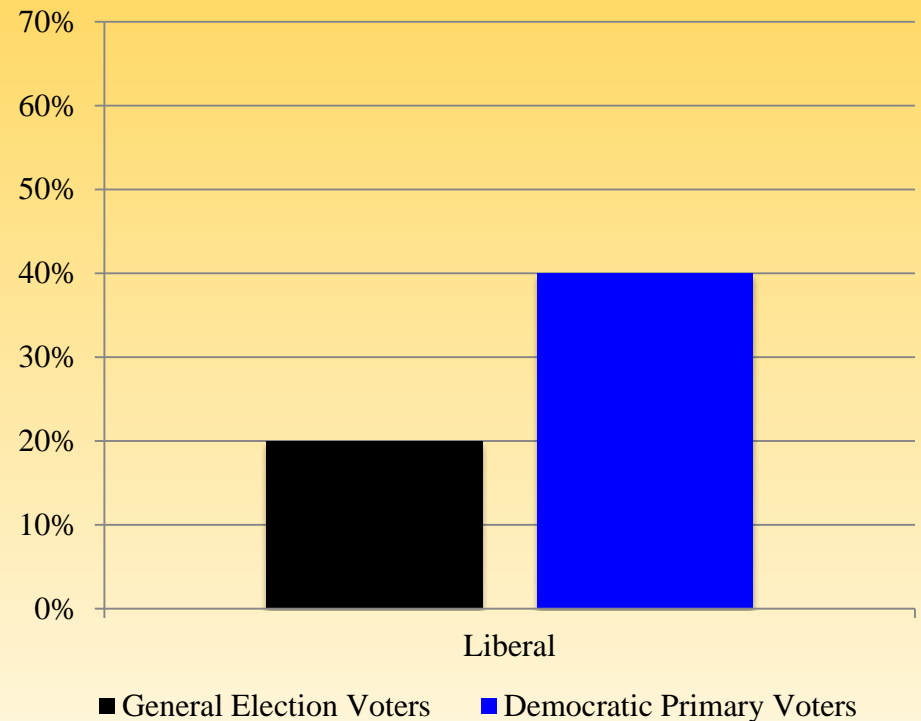
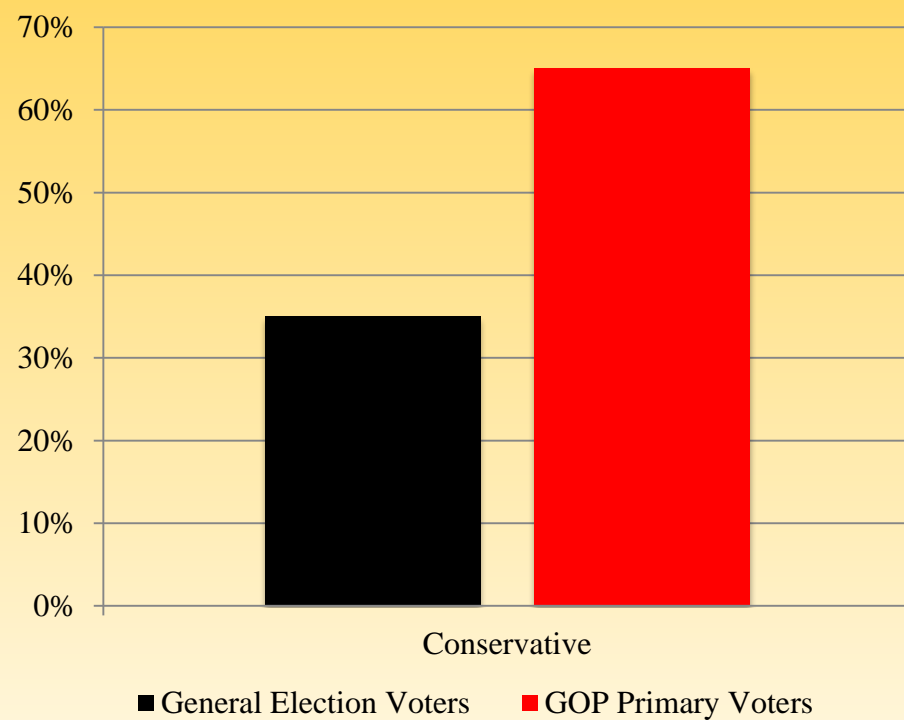


#1. When will the parties take control?

No one in charge to stop Trump or Sanders:

- **Party reforms of 1970s shifted control** over nominations to delegates selected in state caucuses and primaries from January to June.
- **National conventions (usually) ratify outcomes in caucuses and primaries**
- **Neither Sanders nor Trump loyal to parties**
- **Superdelegates or unpledged delegates** – party leaders and elected officials (about 20%) but not determined nomination yet
- **Historic irony:** shift of power from party leaders to caucuses and primaries heralded as “democratic” but narrow and selective
 - Nomination decided by 16% of eligible voters
 - Liberal and conservative party bases dominate
 - State idiosyncrasies

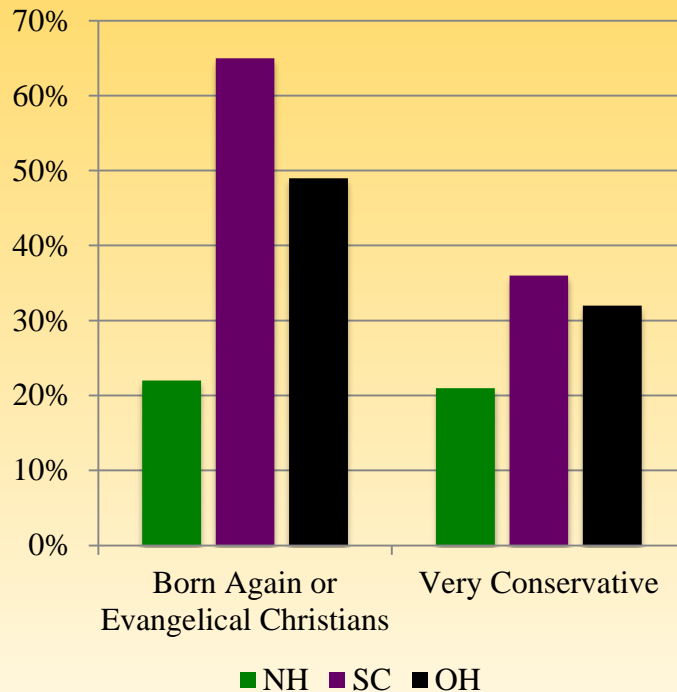
Primary Voters: More Ideological (2008)



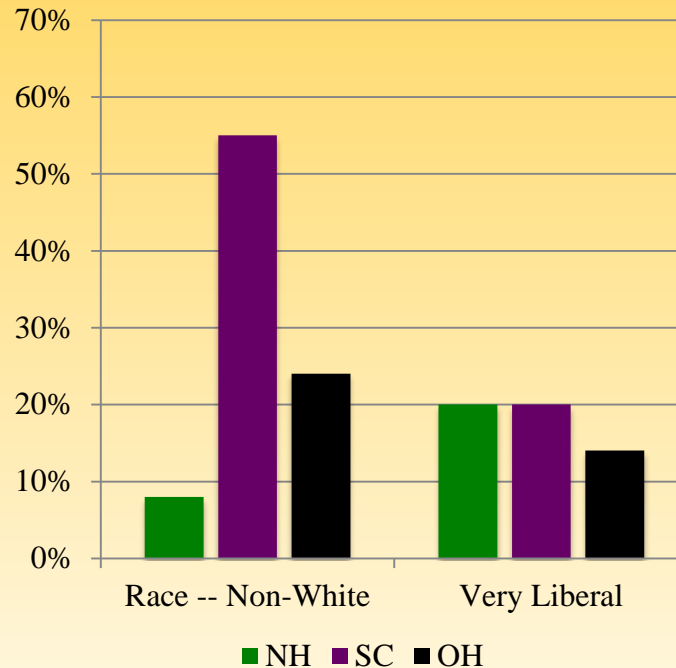
Source: Exit Polls 2008

The Distinctiveness of State Primary Voters

Republican 2012 Elections



Democratic 2008 Elections



Source: Exit Polls

NH Race—Non-White Based on US Census Data for the State

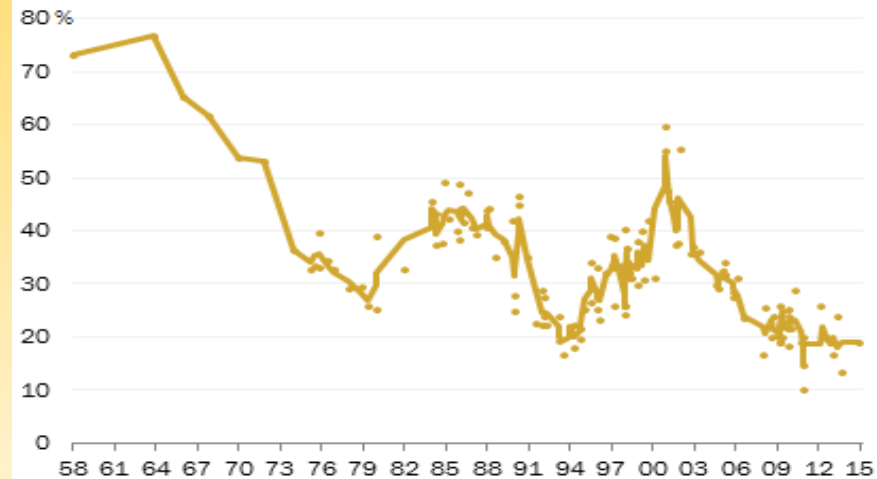
#2. Why the revolt against experienced government officials?



Political Distrust - “Stupid Government” vibe

Public trust in government: 1958-2015

Trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time ...



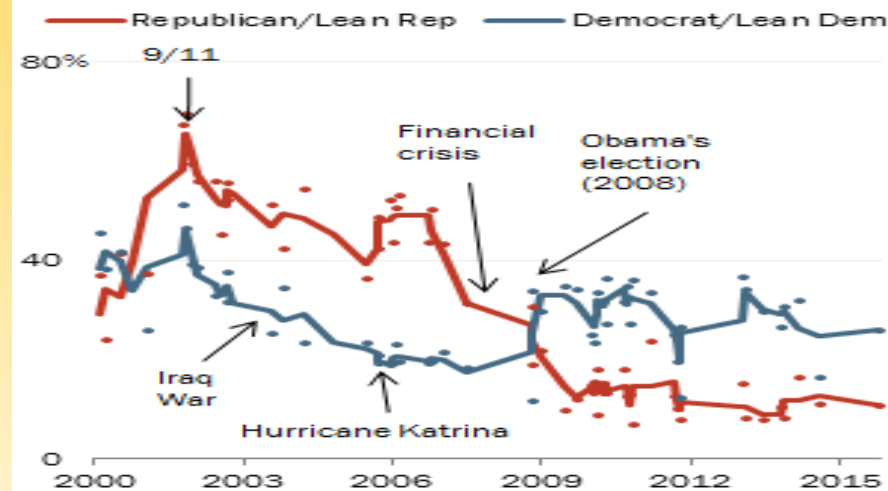
Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. From 1976-2014 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

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Why? Why Not?

Trust in government by party: 2000-2015

Trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time ...

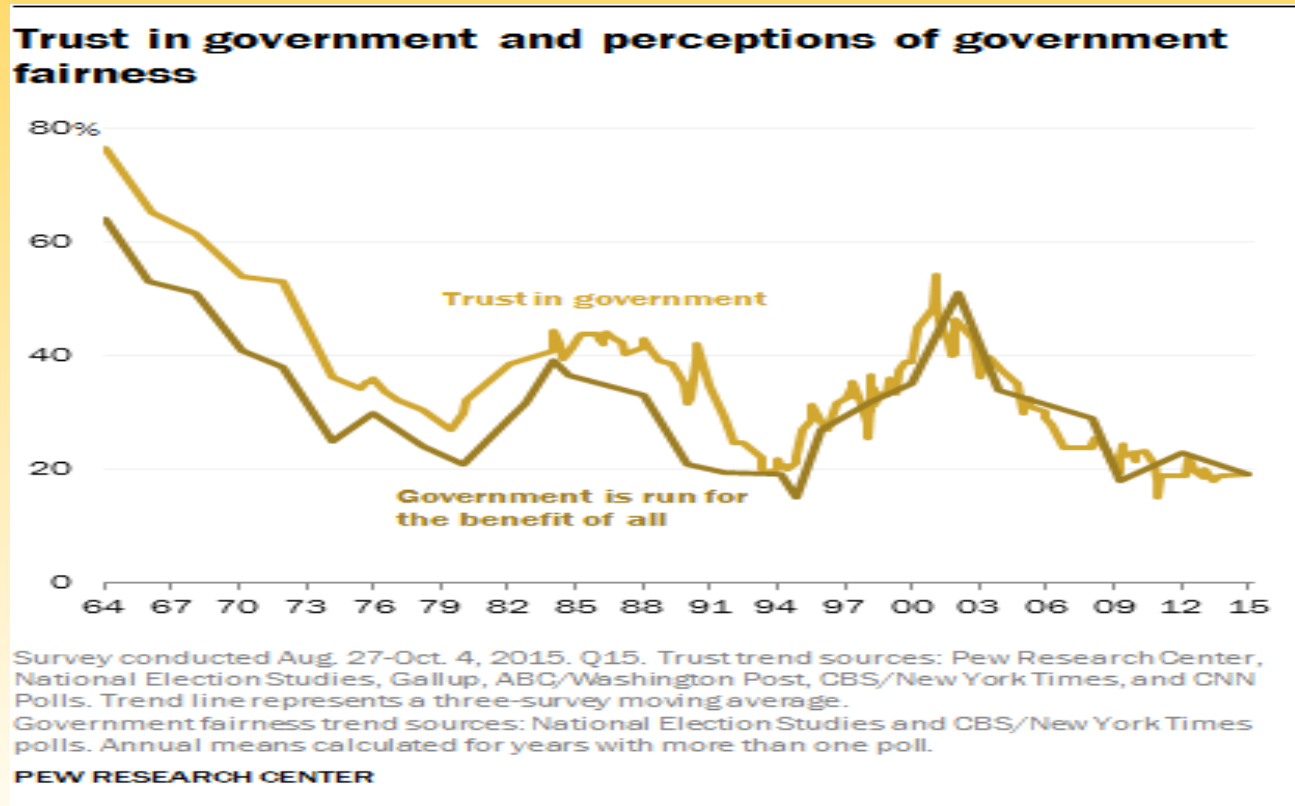


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Government run by few big interests

Sanders: “Let’s not insult the intelligence of the American people. People aren’t dumb. Why does Wall Street make huge political contributions?”

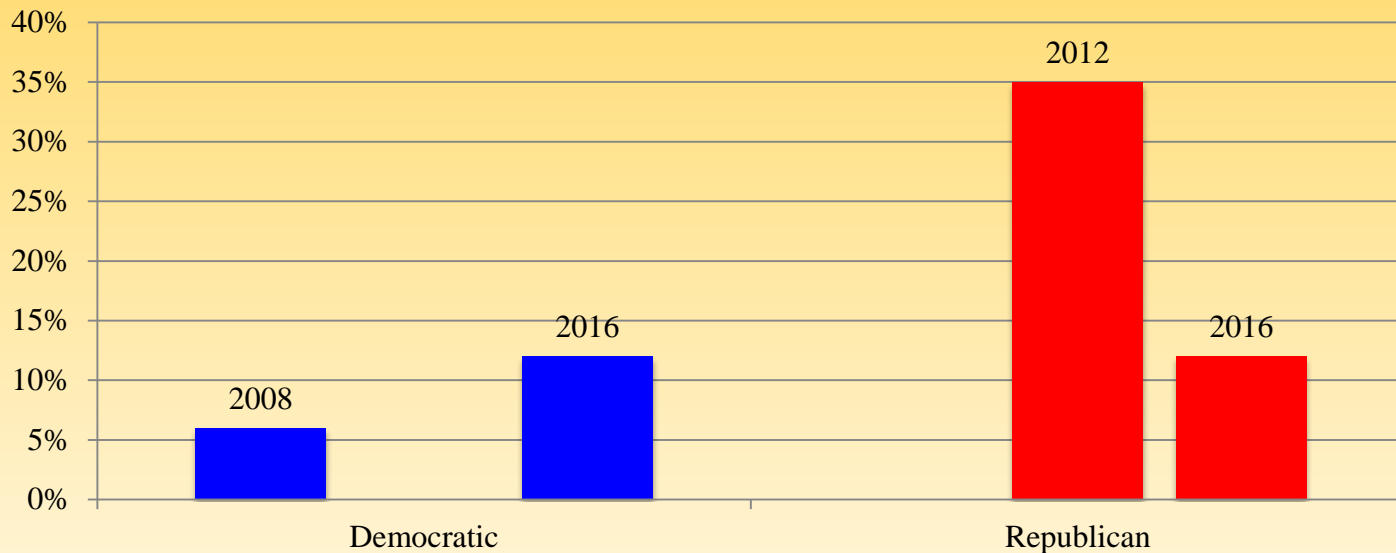


#3. Where are old party red lines? Intensity of anti-establishment attitudes



GOP Strategic voting – Decline

Winning in November is the most important candidate quality among list of four traits (NH primary voters in 2016 and last primary)

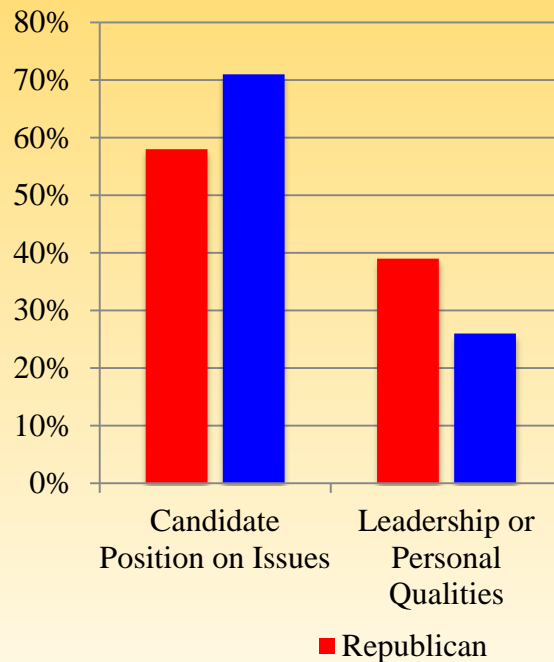


Source: Exit Polls.

* No Democratic Primary in 2012 because President Obama was an incumbent

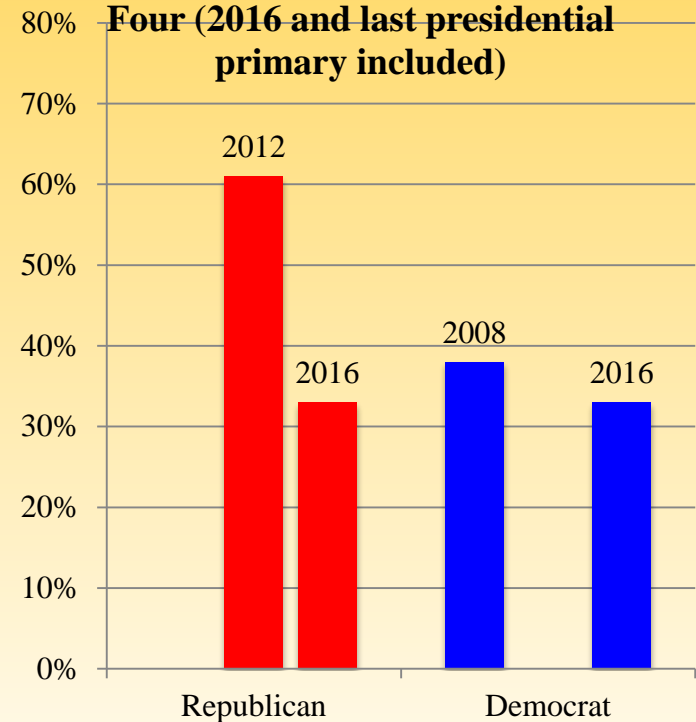
Issues that matter: Bread-&-Butter out, Angry In (NH 2016)

**Most Important Aspect in
Choosing Primary
Candidates**



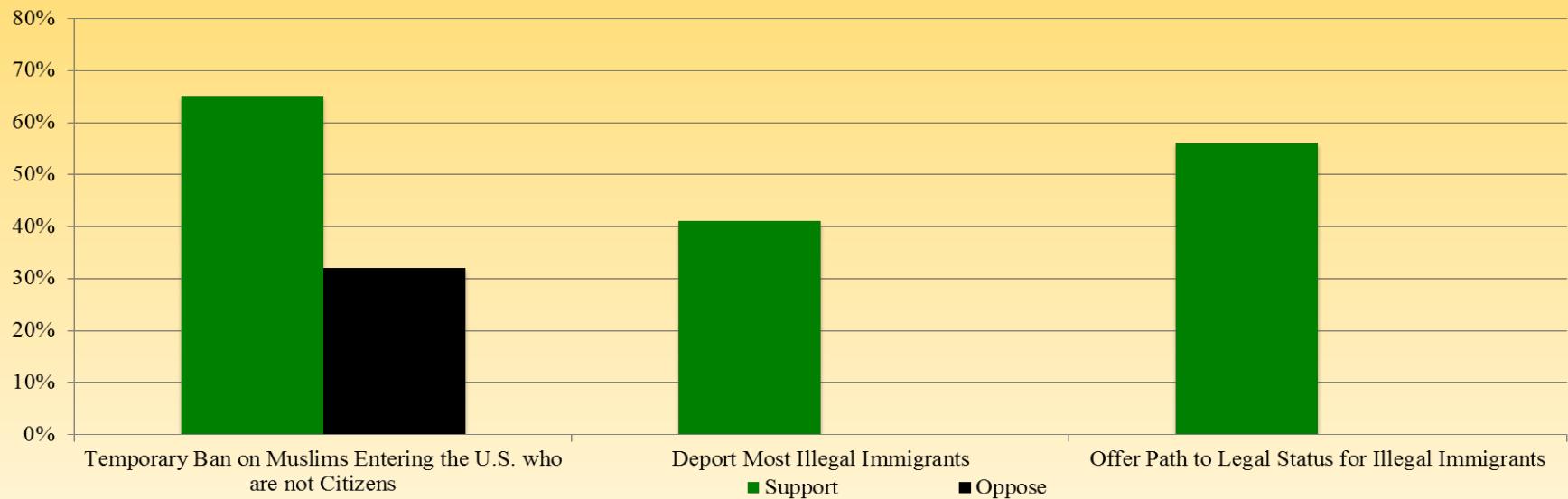
Source: 2016 NH Exit Polls

**Economy Selected as Most
Important Issue from List of
Four (2016 and last presidential
primary included)**



GOP Revolt against “Political Correctness”

Issues Republicans Support in 2016 NH Primary



Caveats

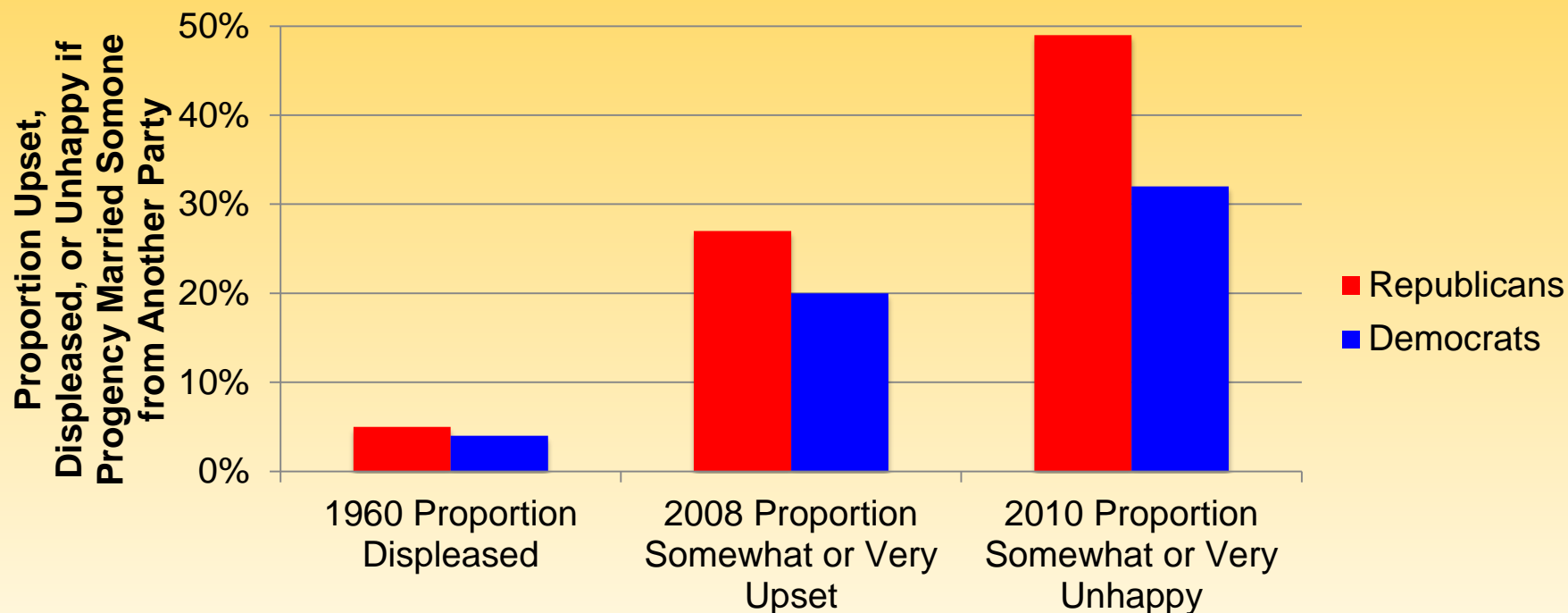
- **Sanders is not Trump: experience, policy, temperament**
- **Trump's path to nomination is stronger than Sanders's but challenges**
 - ❖ **Clinton remains favorite to beat Sanders**
 - Advantage with minority voters in diverse states (South, SW)
 - Ahead in March 1 primaries (double digit leads in GA, TX, VA)
 - +90% of Superdelegates committed to Clinton
 - ❖ **Trump's challenges:**
 - **Consolidation of race into 2 or 3 person race:** Can Trump expand support from 1/3 vote share?
EG: Trump won South Carolina with 32.5% - Are 67.5% opposed?
 - **How does Trump handle intense, sustained scrutiny and attacks in smaller field?**

Trump's path to presidency, if he is nominated



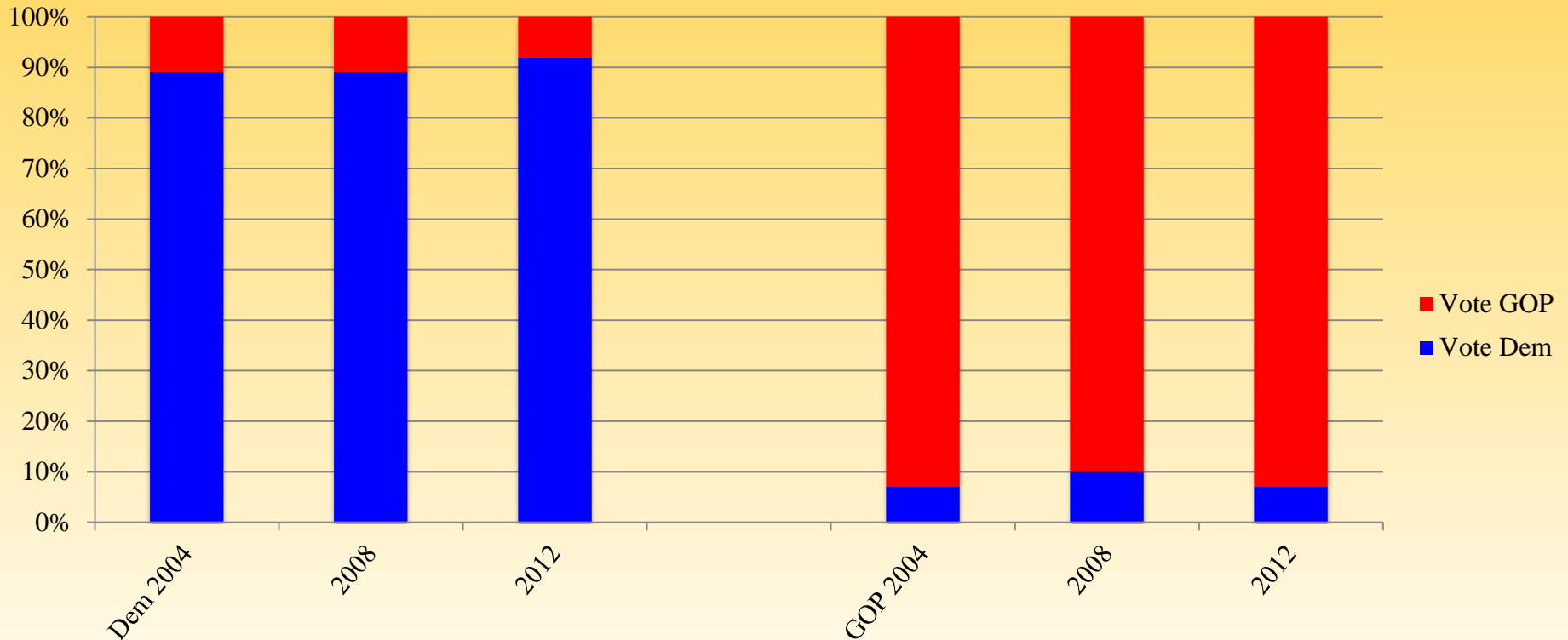
#1 Party as tractor beam

How dare you marry a Democrat (or Republican)!



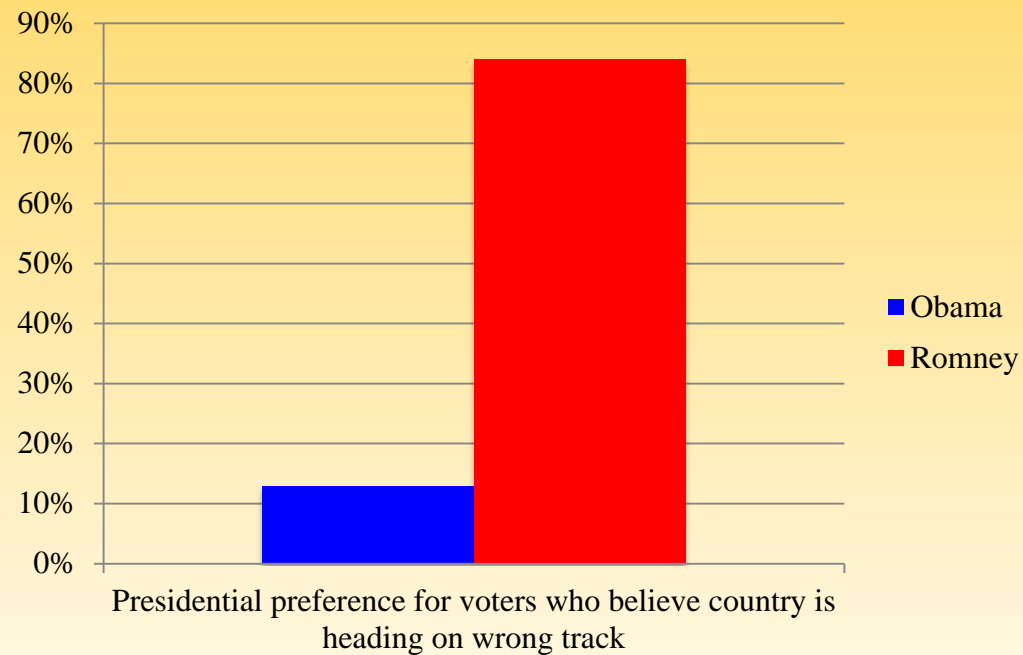
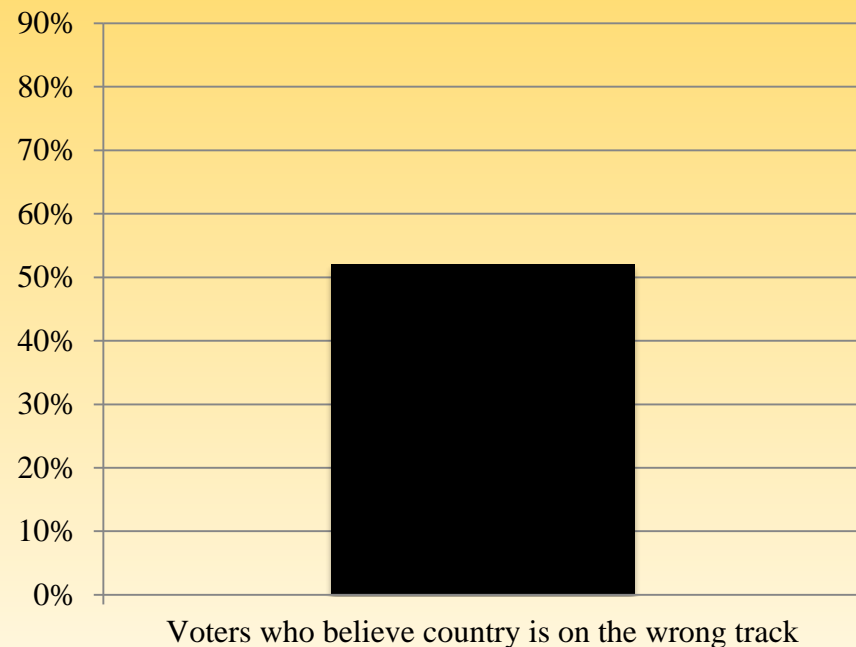
Source: Shanto Iyengar et al, "Affect, Not Ideology," POQ 9/12

Rally Around the Party



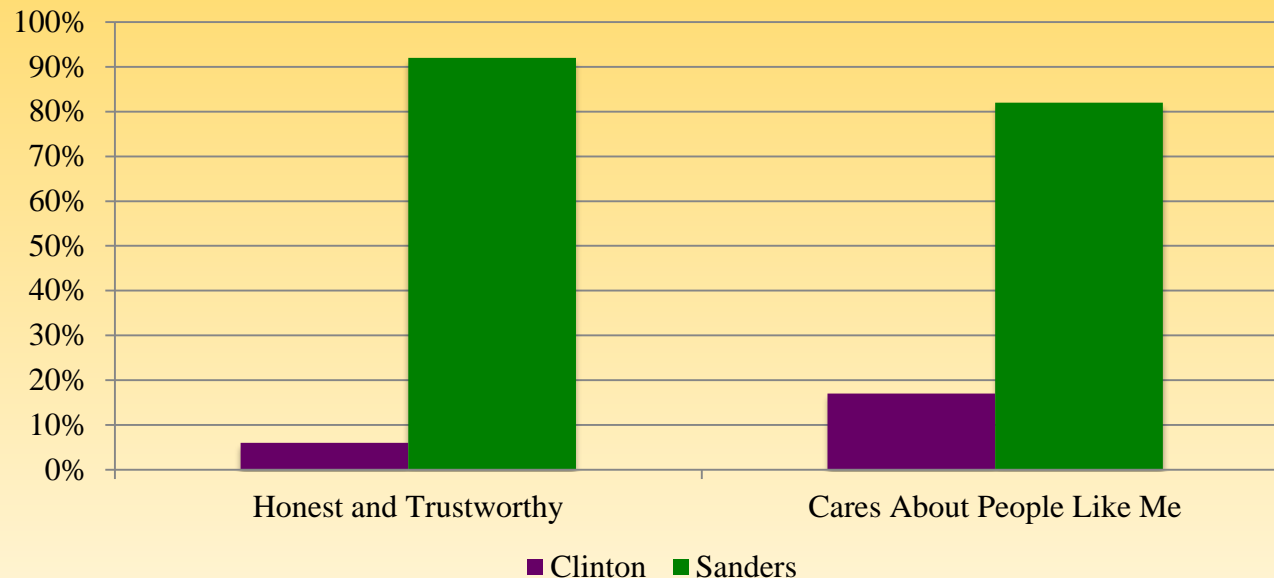
Source: National Election Pool General Election Exit Polls 2004, 2008; CNN.com 2012

#2. 2016 will be referendum on Obama Punishing “In” Party (2012)



Source: National Election Pool General Election Exit Polls

#3. Clinton is damaged candidate (2016)



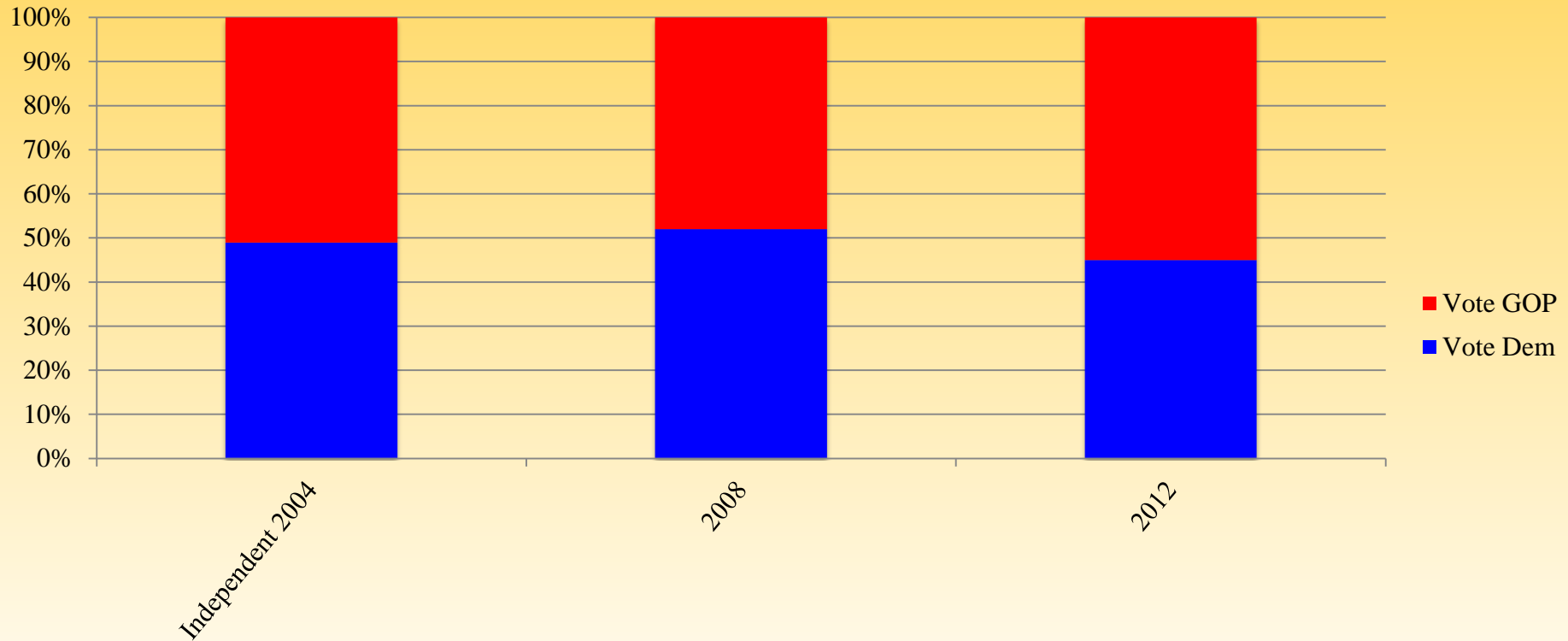
Source: Exit Polls 2016 NH

Trump's hurdles if nominee:

#1. Defections of GOP and Conservative

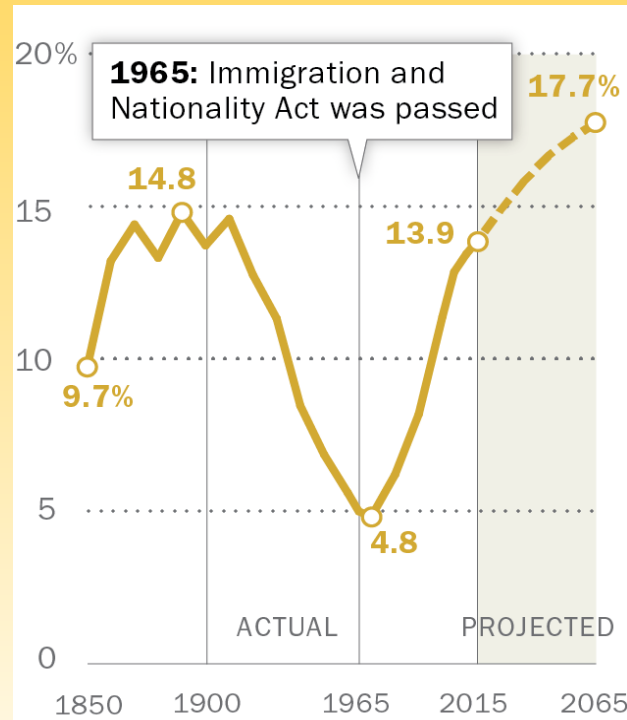


#2. Fight for swing voters



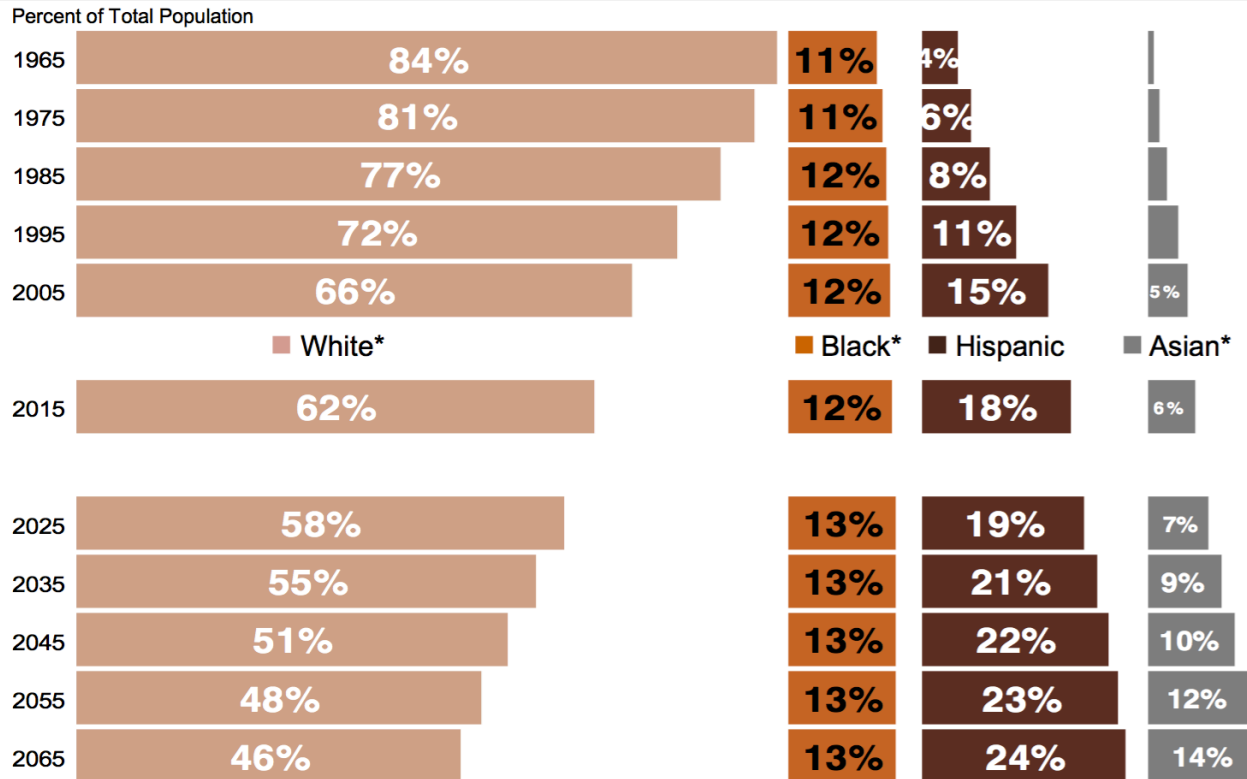
Source: National Election Pool General Election Exit Polls 2004, 2008; CNN.com 2012

#3. Trump's insult of Hispanics & immigrants: Second Great Immigration (Foreign-Born as % of US Citizens)



Source: Gibson and Jung (2006) for 1850 to 1890. Edmonston and Passel (1994) estimates for 1900-1955; Pew Research Center estimates for 1960-2015 based on adjusted census data; Pew Research Center projections for 2015-2065

Demographic Change Continues as Hispanic Share Rises to 24% by 2065

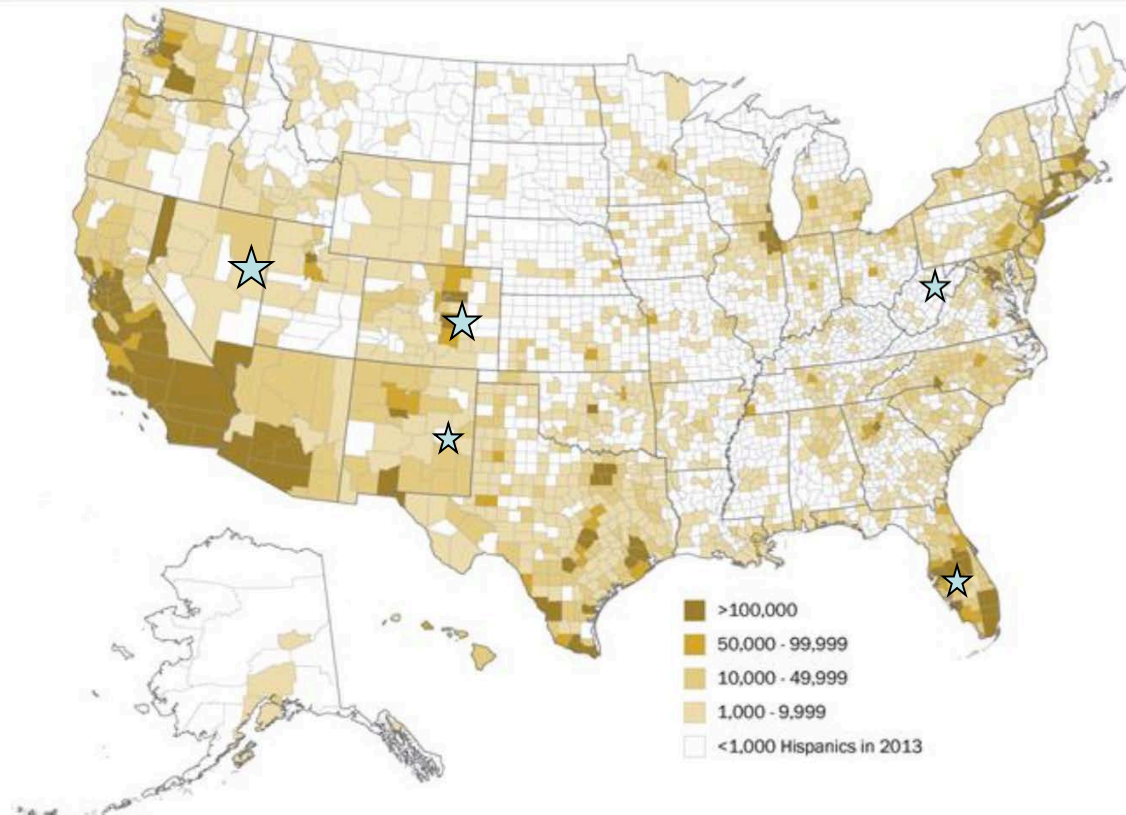


Source: Pew Research Center population estimates and projections (2015). *Not Hispanic. "Other" races not shown

The New Electorate

	1980	2008	2012
Vote for Republican Presidential Candidate	55%	55%	59%
White Voters as Proportion of Electorate	89%	74%	72%

Where Were Hispanic Populations in 2013?



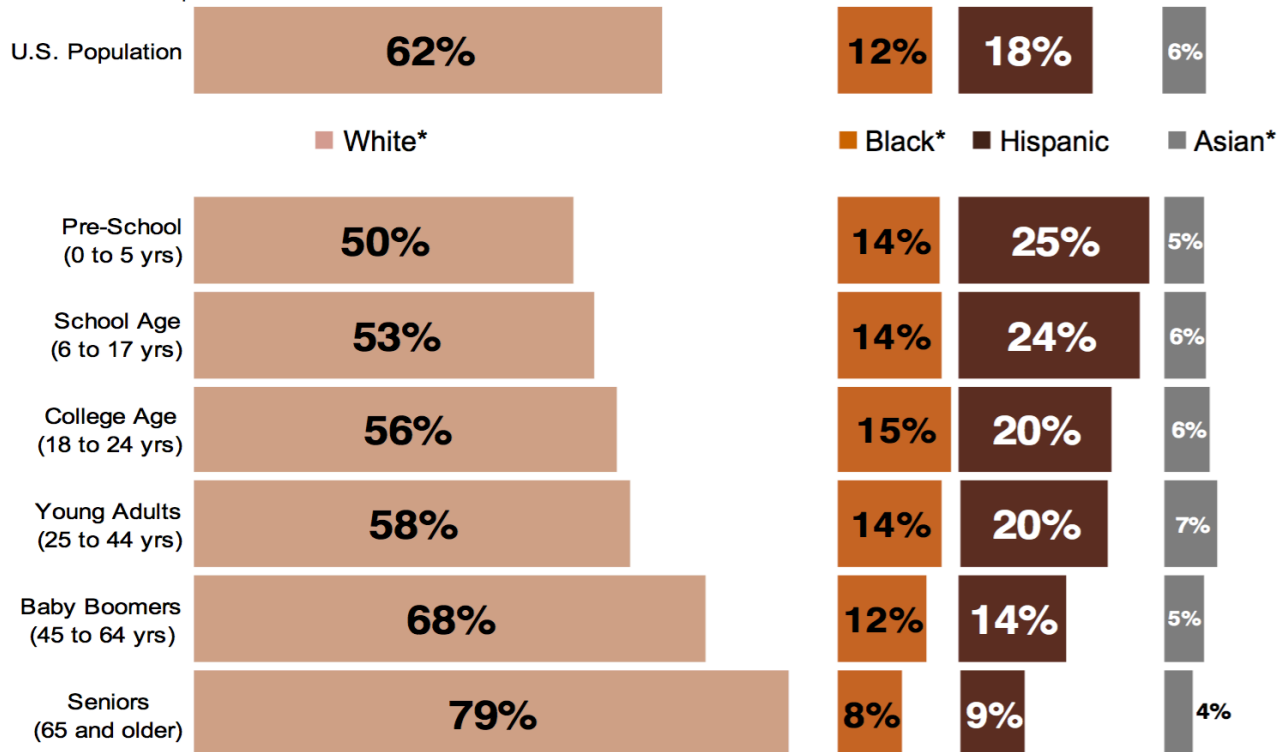
Source: Pew Research Center





The New Face of America

Percent of Total Population

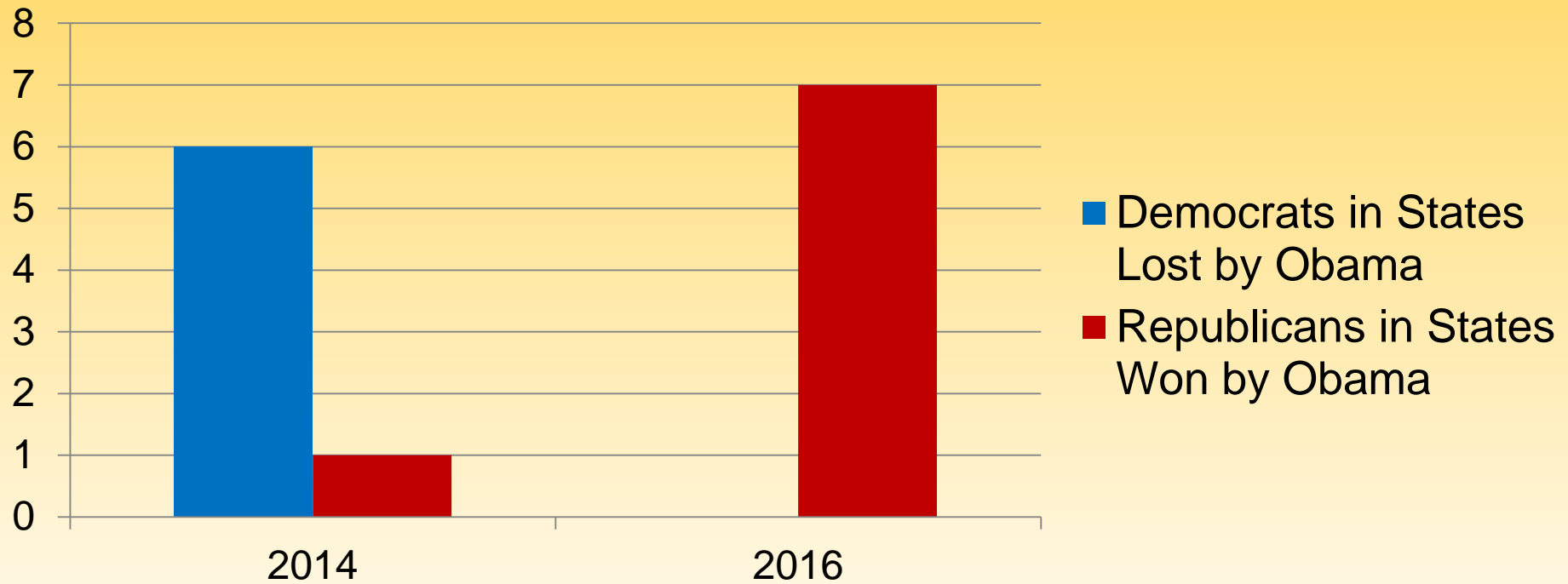


Source: Pew Research Center population estimates and projections (2015). *Not Hispanic. "Other" races not shown

Battle over GOP 54 Seat Majority in US Senate



Unfriendly GOP Senate Map in 2016



Sources: <http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/results/president>

But Uncertain Democratic Path to Majority

- Most vulnerable Republicans: Kirk & Johnson
- Pitched GOP battles with uncertain outcomes: Toomey, Ayotte, Portman, open Rubio seat (FL), Burr
- Dem vulnerabilities: open Reid seat (Nevada)

First - Do's and Don'ts of Polling

➤ Helpful:

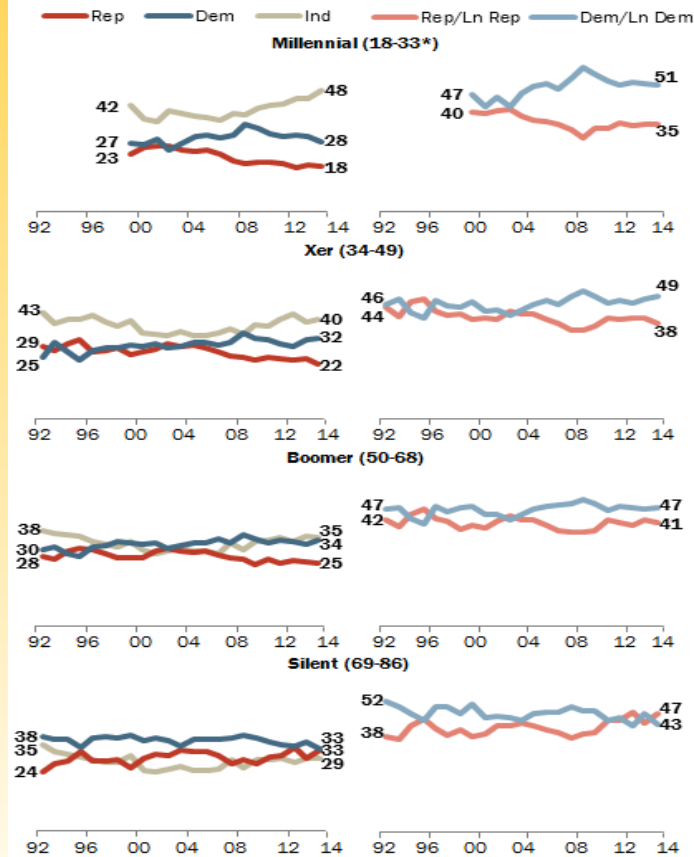
- Reveal relative strength
- Tool to target time to investigate candidates
- Access to analysis used by candidates & press

➤ Use with care

- Only **snapshot** of now, not prediction of future
- Most relevant polls cover **state contests**; no national referendum
- **Techie talk**: automated polling; “poll screens,” sample cell phones
- **Change is certain** – candidates drop out, news, performance
- Rough guide – **margin & range of error**

Generation Gap in Partisan Affiliation

% who identify as/lean toward...

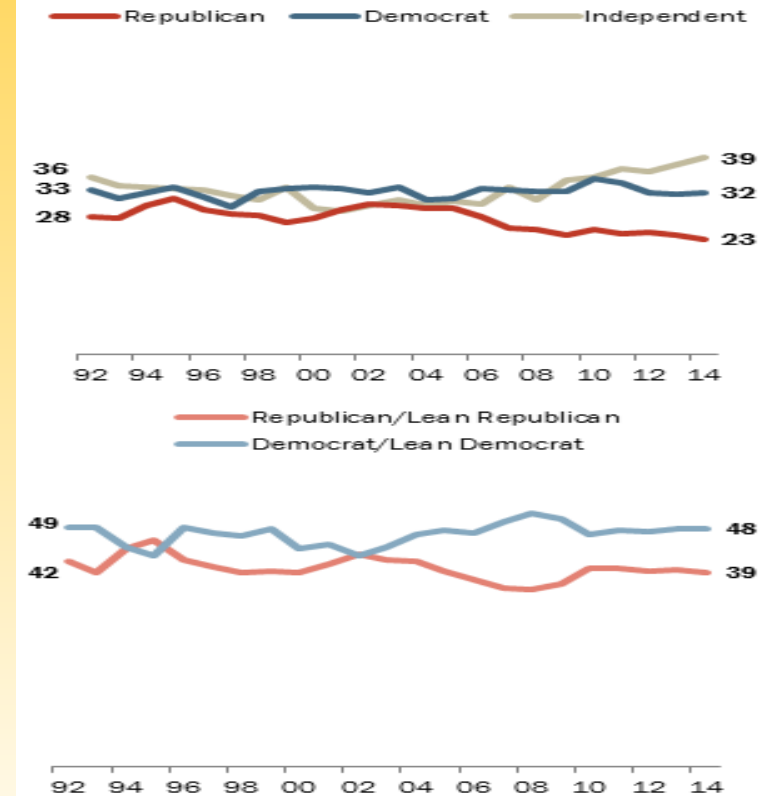


Data points represent annual totals based on monthly political surveys conducted by Pew Research in each calendar year. *Age ranges are for 2014.

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Share of Political Independents Continues to Increase

% who identify as/lean toward ...



Data points represent annual totals based on monthly political surveys conducted by Pew Research in each calendar year.

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