

The 2020 U.S. Presidential Election and the Future of American Politics: A Movement Toward National Political Healing?

Putting things into perspective:

New Deal Democratic majority:

- The South, traditionally Democratic since the Civil War.
- Roman Catholic/ethnics brought into the Democratic party, given their recognition with the presidential nomination of Al Smith. Mobilized ethnic women.
- Economic collapse/Great Depression, 24% unemployment, hence many “poor.”

Coalition maintained by voters coming of age and participating.

Changing base of American politics brought about by the end of WWII:

- Rapid expansion of higher education—population 18-years old and older who are college graduates: 1960, 15.5%; 1970, 21.6%; 1980, 32.9%; 1990, 42.8%; 2000, 51.4%; 2004, 55.5%.

College enrollments—1940, 1M; 1950, 2M; 1960, 4M; 1970, 8M; 1980, 12M; 1990, 14M; 2000, 15M; 2006, 18M (est.).

- Redistribution of income (1968 constant dollars) —

| | <u>1956</u> | <u>1968</u> | <u>1980</u> |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Under \$10,000 | 82.0% | 60.0% | 39.0% |
| \$15,000 plus | 05.0% | 15.0% | 34.0% |

- Creation of a “new middle class” based on consumption, a movement from scarcity to abundance—by the mid-1970s:
 - fossil fuel consumption 1 ½ times the rest of American history;
 - leisure time 5 times to \$45 billion; in 1992 dollars the expenditures on recreation in 1980, \$159 billion; in 1990, \$292 billion;
 - toys, 500%;
 - TV sets, from 1/10th of 1% to 97.1% being watched 30% of one’s waking hours; by 1990 over 90% were color sets and 1992, 60%+ had cable television.

Demographic groups and the political parties

1. Both political parties contained substantial numbers of “poor” and “well off” though conventional wisdom...
 - a) By 1956, Republicans **and Democrats** competing equally for the votes of the “Above Average.”
 - b) By 1964, Republicans **and Democrats** competing equally for the votes of the “college educated.”
 - c) By 1964, Republicans **and Democrats** competing equally for the votes of “professionals” by occupation.
2. Suburban movement of the 1950s, of today—
 - a) Initially projected by writers of the time to benefit Republicans, but...
 - b) Middle class became the home of the Democrats, the principal architects of the current economic policies with national government regulation; the “new middle class” grew up with the regulated economy and were the principal beneficiaries of it, hence....
3. New Deal conflict was one between Catholics and Protestants, but, today....
 - a) Catholics moved up the economic ladder, became part of the “new middle class.”
 - b) Political attachments of Catholics were holding, but....
 - Generally, 60% of the Catholics considered themselves Democrats since the New Deal, but that attachment dropped to 51% in 1968 and further to 47% in 1972, the subsequent gains being among the category “independent” though there was a bounce back to 53% in 1976!
 - In terms of votes, though, Catholics began to desert Democratic presidential candidates in 1952 (51% R) ... 1956 and 1972 (56% R).
4. Partisan conflict shifted from religion to race—blacks v. whites—with the nationalization of the race issue **WITHIN** the Democratic Party, especially by the mid-1960s with the Civil Rights Acts and Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Focus on the South:

Civil War + Agricultural Economic Base = Democratic TRADITION, but...

— Civil War relegated to the dust bin of history; a new Republican respectability emerged with the 1964 Goldwater presidential campaign.

— Region moved from agriculture to INDUSTRY, from rural farm to METROPOLITAN, hence....

— abandonment of the central cities by the more affluent, both white AND black.

— Only an ever weakening TRADITION helps maintain a strong STATE Democratic party/elected officials

SOUTH (partisan identification)

| | '37 | '40 | '44 | '48 | '52 | '56 | '60 | '64 | '68 | '72 | '76 | '80 |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Dem | 76 | 76 | 71 | 74 | 69 | 59 | 55 | 56 | 43 | 44 | 57 | 41 |
| Rep | 16 | 15 | 21 | 16 | 17 | 26 | 27 | 22 | 22 | 23 | 16 | 24 |
| ind | 08 | 08 | 08 | 10 | 14 | 15 | 18 | 23 | 35 | 33 | 28 | 35 |

— Analogy of partisanship to religion!

— Impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, with respect to voter registration in the 11 states of the South; focus on blacks, but, in reality, 5 whites were registered for every 1 black, beginning in 1966!

— With respect to the Electoral College, the South steadily has increased its proportion from 31% in the 1960s, to 32% in the 1970s, to 37% in the 1980s, to 39% in the 1990s, to 41% of the necessary (270 votes to win) in the 2000s as shown in Table 1 below. It is now the STRONGEST region for the Republican Party in presidential politics.

— The South has moved from the strongest region of support for the Democratic party and its candidates to the STRONGEST REGION OF SUPPORT FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATES while the Northeast has moved to the STRONGEST REGION OF SUPPORT FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATES.

5. **Race AND religion.** While race remains a source of political conflict, religion re-emerged as a source of political conflict in late-1980s/early-1990s, but now it is among Protestants, Mainline versus Fundamentalist, the latter being the most loyal supporters of the Republican Party and its candidates.
6. **CONCLUSION: *The future of American Politics.***

Cycles of political control — “critical” elections theory TIED TO ECONOMICS

Table 1. Shift in Partisan Control, Major Political Offices, 1994 and 1995/6

| | <u>1994</u> | | | <u>1995/6</u> | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| | <u>Dem</u> | <u>Rep</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Dem</u> | <u>Rep</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| President/1992 and 1996 | | | | | | |
| % of vote | 43.0 | 37.4 | 18.9 | 49.2 | 40.7 | 8.4 |
| Electoral College | 370 | 168 | 0 | 379 | 159 | 0 |
| Congress | | | | | | |
| House | | | | | | |
| % of vote* | 50.9 | 45.5 | 3.6 | 45.4 | 52.4 | 2.2 |
| Number of seats | 258 | 176 | 1 | 197 | 236 | 1 |
| Senate | | | | | | |
| Number of seats | 57 | 43 | 0 | 46 | 53 | 0 |
| Governors | 30 | 18 | 2 | 18 | 31 | 1 |
| State Legislatures | | | | | | |
| Lower House | | | | | | |
| Number of seats | 3186 | 2223 | 0 | 2817 | 2603 | 0 |
| % of seats | 58.9 | 41.1 | | 51.9 | 48.1 | |
| Upper House | | | | | | |
| Number of seats | 1132 | 799 | 0 | 1021 | 905 | 0 |
| % of seats | 58.6 | 41.4 | | 53.0 | 47.0 | |

*Number of votes cast in 1992 was 96,239,000 and 1994 was 69,770,000.

Source: Calculated from statistics presented in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1996* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1996), pp. 270-280.

Table 2. Shift in Partisan Control, Major Political Offices, 2004/6 and 2007/8

| | <u>2004/6</u> | | | <u>2007/8</u> | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|------------|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| | <u>Dem</u> | <u>Rep</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Dem</u> | <u>Rep</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| President/2004 and 2008 | | | | | | |
| % of vote | 48.3 | 50.7 | 1.0 | 52.6 | 46.1 | 1.3 |
| Electoral College | 251 | 286 | 0 | 364 | 174 | 0 |
| Congress | | | | | | |
| House | | | | | | |
| % of vote** | 46.6 | 49.2 | 4.2 | 52.2 | 44.3 | 3.5 |
| Number of seats | 202 | 232 | 0 | 233 | 202 | 0 |
| Senate | | | | | | |
| Number of seats | 45 | 55 | 0 | 51* | 49 | 0 |
| Governors | 22 | 28 | 0 | 28 | 22 | 0 |
| State Legislatures | | | | | | |
| Lower House | | | | | | |
| Number of seats | 2702 | 2675 | 34 | 2971 | 2422 | 18 |
| % of seats | 49.9 | 49.4 | 0.6 | 54.9 | 44.8 | 0.3 |
| Upper House | | | | | | |
| Number of seats | 952 | 964 | 6 | 1010 | 909 | 3 |
| % of seats | 49.5 | 50.1 | 0.3 | 52.5 | 47.3 | 0.2 |

*Includes Independent Lieberman (CT) and Socialist Sanders (VT), both of whom organize with the Democrats, bringing that total to 51 seats.

**Number of votes cast in 2004 was 113,192,000, and in 2006 it was 80,568,000.

Sources: Calculated from statistics presented in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2008* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2008), pp. 245, 249, 250, 252, and 253.

Table 3. National Exit Poll (in percentages), 2006

| Voters | Demographic Characteristic | Democrats | Republicans |
|---------------|--|------------------|--------------------|
| 100% | All Voters | 54% | 46% |
| 52 | Women | 56 | 44 |
| 48 | Men | 52 | 48 |
| 79 | White | 48 | 52 |
| 10 | Black | 89 | 11 |
| 08 | Hispanic | 70 | 30 |
| 02 | Asian | 62 | 38 |
| 12 | Age 18 to 29 | 61 | 39 |
| 24 | Age 30 to 44 | 54 | 46 |
| 34 | Age 45 to 59 | 54 | 46 |
| 29 | Age 60 and older | 52 | 48 |
| 03 | Did not complete high school | 64 | 36 |
| 21 | High school graduate | 56 | 44 |
| 31 | Some college education | 52 | 48 |
| 27 | College graduate | 50 | 50 |
| 18 | Postgraduate education | 59 | 41 |
| 55 | All Protestants | 45 | 55 |
| 43 | White Protestants | 38 | 62 |
| 26 | All Catholics | 56 | 44 |
| 19 | White Catholics | 51 | 49 |
| 02 | Jewish | 88 | 12 |
| 24 | White evangelical, born-again Christian | 29 | 71 |
| 07 | Family income under \$15,000 | 69 | 31 |
| 12 | \$15,000 to 29,999 | 63 | 37 |
| 21 | \$30,000 to 49,999 | 57 | 43 |
| 22 | \$50,000 to 74,999 | 51 | 49 |
| 16 | \$75,000 to 99,999 | 52 | 48 |
| 23 | \$100,000 and over | 48 | 52 |
| 36 | Republican | 08 | 92 |
| 25 | Independent | 59 | 41 |
| 39 | Democrat | 93 | 07 |
| 22 | East | 64 | 36 |
| 27 | Midwest | 53 | 47 |
| 30 | South | 46 | 54 |
| 21 | West | 56 | 44 |
| 20 | Liberal | 87 | 11 |
| 47 | Moderate | 60 | 38 |
| 32 | Conservative | 20 | 78 |

Table 4. Political Party Regional Strongholds with States Won by Senators Barack Obama and Hillary Rodham Clinton and State Electoral College Votes, 2008

| Democratic Stronghold | | Swing States | | Republican Stronghold | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| Northeast | EC | Midwest | EC | South | EC |
| <i>Connecticut</i> | 7 | <i>Illinois</i> | 21 | <i>Alabama</i> | 9 |
| <i>Delaware</i> | 3 | Indiana | 11 | Arkansas | 6 |
| <i>Maine</i> | 4 | <i>Iowa</i> | 7 | Florida** | 27 |
| <i>Maryland</i> | 10 | Kentucky | 8 | <i>Georgia</i> | 15 |
| Massachusetts | 12 | Michigan** | 17 | <i>Louisiana</i> | 9 |
| New Hampshire | 4 | <i>Minnesota</i> | 10 | <i>Mississippi</i> | 6 |
| New Jersey | 15 | Missouri* | 11 | <i>North Carolina</i> | 15 |
| New York | 31 | Ohio | 20 | <i>South Carolina</i> | 8 |
| Pennsylvania | 21 | West Virginia | 5 | Tennessee | 11 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | <i>Wisconsin</i> | 10 | <i>Texas</i> | 34 |
| <i>Vermont</i> | 3 | | 120 | <i>Virginia</i> | 13 |
| <i>Washington, DC</i> | 3 | | | | 153 |
| | 117 | | | Mountains/ Plains | |
| Pacific Coast | | | | Arizona | 10 |
| <i>Alaska</i> | 3 | | | <i>Colorado</i> | 9 |
| California | 55 | | | <i>Idaho</i> | 4 |
| <i>Hawaii</i> | 4 | | | <i>Kansas</i> | 6 |
| <i>Oregon</i> | 7 | | | <i>Montana</i> | 3 |
| <i>Washington</i> | 11 | | | <i>Nebraska</i> | 5 |
| | 80 | | | <i>Nevada</i> | 5 |
| | | | | New Mexico | 5 |
| | | | | <i>North Dakota</i> | 3 |
| | | | | Oklahoma | 7 |
| | | | | South Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | <i>Utah</i> | 5 |
| | | | | <i>Wyoming</i> | 3 |
| | | | | | 68 |
| Grand Total | <u>197</u> | | <u>120</u> | | <u>221</u> |
| EC Deficit | (73) | | | | (49) |

Source: Earl Black and Merle Black, *Divided America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007)

Compiled from "Democratic Delegate Counts - Election Guide 2008 - Dem. Delegates," <http://politics.nytimes.com/election-guide/2008/results/delegates/index.html>, accessed June 4, 2008. *Italics*=won by Obama; Normal=won by Clinton; *tie; **no delegates for violation of primary scheduling rules; restored to half delegations by the Democratic National Committee, May 31, 2008.

Table 5. Political Party Regional Strongholds by Electoral College (EC) Vote, 2008

| Democratic Stronghold | | Swing States | | Republican Stronghold | |
|------------------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------|------------------------------|------------|
| Northeast | EC | Midwest | EC | South | EC |
| Connecticut | 7 | Illinois | 21 | Alabama | 9 |
| Delaware | 3 | Indiana | 11 | Arkansas | 6 |
| Maine | 4 | Iowa | 7 | Florida | 27 |
| Maryland | 10 | Kentucky | 8 | Georgia | 15 |
| Massachusetts | 12 | Michigan | 17 | Louisiana | 9 |
| New Hampshire | 4 | Minnesota | 10 | Mississippi | 6 |
| New Jersey | 15 | Missouri | 11 | North Carolina | 15 |
| New York | 31 | Ohio | 20 | South Carolina | 8 |
| Pennsylvania | 21 | West Virginia | 5 | Tennessee | 11 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | Wisconsin | 10 | Texas | 34 |
| Vermont | 3 | | 120 | Virginia | 13 |
| Washington, DC | 3 | | | | 153 |
| | 117 | | | Mountains/ Plains | |
| Pacific Coast | | | | Arizona | 10 |
| Alaska | 3 | | | Colorado | 9 |
| California | 55 | | | Idaho | 4 |
| Hawaii | 4 | | | Kansas | 6 |
| Oregon | 7 | | | Montana | 3 |
| Washington | 11 | | | Nebraska* | 5 |
| | 80 | | | Nevada | 5 |
| | | | | New Mexico | 5 |
| | | | | North Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | Oklahoma | 7 |
| | | | | South Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | Utah | 5 |
| | | | | Wyoming | 3 |
| | | | | | 68 |
| Obama | 194 | | 96 | | 74 |
| McCain | 3 | | 24 | | 147 |

Source: Earl Black and Merle Black, *Divided America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007, 2008)

Compiled from "After the Vote: State by State," *The New York Times*, Section P, November 8, 2008, pp. P10-P20; "2008 General Election," North Carolina State Board of Elections, <http://www.sboe.state.nc.us/content.aspx?id=69/results.enr.clarityelections.com/NC/7937/13362/en/summary.html>, accessed November 10, 2008; "Statewide Races," Missouri Secretary of State, <http://www.sos.mo.gov/enrweb>, accessed November 10, 2008. **Blue**=Obama (365); **Red**=McCain (173).
 *Obama received one (1) Electoral College vote from the Omaha, Nebraska, congressional district.

Table 6. National Exit Poll for President, 2008 (in percentages).

| Voters | Demographic Characteristic | Obama | McCain | Other/NA |
|---|-----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 100% | All Voters | 53% | 47% | 0% |
| 53 | Women | 56 | 43 | 1 |
| 47 | Men | 49 | 48 | 3 |
| 74 | White | 43 | 55 | 2 |
| 13 | Black | 95 | 4 | 1 |
| 9 | Hispanic | 67 | 31 | 2 |
| 2 | Asian | 62 | 35 | 3 |
| 3 | Other | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| 18 | Age 18-29 | 66 | 32 | 2 |
| 29 | Age 30-44 | 52 | 46 | 2 |
| 37 | Age 45-64 | 5 | 49 | 1 |
| 23 | Age 60 and older | 47 | 51 | 2 |
| 4 | No High School | 63 | 35 | 2 |
| 20 | High School Graduate | 52 | 46 | 2 |
| 31 | Some College | 51 | 47 | 2 |
| 28 | College Graduate | 50 | 48 | 2 |
| 17 | Postgraduate | 58 | 40 | 2 |
| 54 | All Protestants | 45 | 54 | 1 |
| 42 | White Protestants | 34 | 65 | 1 |
| 27 | All Catholics | 54 | 45 | 1 |
| 2 | Jewish | 78 | 21 | 1 |
| 38 | Evangelical, Born Again Christian | 41 | 57 | 1 |
| 39 | Democrat | 89 | 10 | 1 |
| 29 | Independent | 52 | 44 | 4 |
| 32 | Republican | 9 | 90 | 1 |
| 22 | Liberal | 89 | 10 | 1 |
| 44 | Moderate | 60 | 39 | 1 |
| 34 | Conservative | 20 | 78 | 2 |
| Is This the First Year You Ever Voted? | | | | |
| 11 | Yes | 69 | 30 | 1 |
| 89 | No | 50 | 48 | 2 |

Source: "Dissecting the Changing Electorate," *The New York Times*, November 9, 2008, Week in Review Section, p. 5; For detailed income categories "President - Election Center 2008 - Elections & Politics from CNN.com, <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/polls/#USP00p1>, accessed November 8, 2008. N=17,836.

Table 7. Political Party Regional Strongholds by Electoral College (EC) Vote, 2012

| Democratic Stronghold | | Swing States | | Republican Stronghold | |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|------------------------------|------------|
| Northeast | EC | Midwest | EC | South | EC |
| Connecticut | 7 | Illinois | 20 | Alabama | 9 |
| Delaware | 3 | Indiana | 11 | Arkansas | 6 |
| Maine | 4 | Iowa** | 6 | Florida** | 29 |
| Maryland | 10 | Kentucky | 8 | Georgia | 16 |
| Massachusetts | 11 | Michigan | 16 | Louisiana | 8 |
| New Hampshire** | 4 | Minnesota | 10 | Mississippi | 6 |
| New Jersey | 14 | Missouri | 10 | North Carolina** | 15 |
| New York | 29 | Ohio** | 18 | South Carolina | 9 |
| Pennsylvania | 20 | West Virginia | 5 | Tennessee | 11 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | Wisconsin** | 10 | Texas | 38 |
| Vermont | 3 | | 114 | Virginia** | 13 |
| Washington, DC | 3 | | | | 160 |
| | 112 | | | Mountains/ Plains | |
| Pacific Coast | | | | Arizona | 11 |
| Alaska | 3 | | | Colorado** | 9 |
| California | 55 | | | Idaho | 4 |
| Hawaii | 4 | | | Kansas | 6 |
| Oregon | 7 | | | Montana | 3 |
| Washington | 12 | | | Nebraska | 5 |
| | 81 | | | Nevada** | 6 |
| | | | | New Mexico | 5 |
| | | | | North Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | Oklahoma | 7 |
| | | | | South Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | Utah | 6 |
| | | | | Wyoming | 3 |
| | | | | | 71 |
| Obama | 190 | | 80 | | 62 |
| Romney | 3 | | 34 | | 169 |

Source: Earl Black and Merle Black, *Divided America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007, 2008)

**“Battleground” states.

Compiled from “How the States Voted,” *The New York Times*, Section P, November 8, 2012, p. P11; for the Florida results see Real Clear Politics, “Florida: Romney v. Obama,” accessed November 14, 2012 at http://www.realclearpolitics.com/epolls/2012/president/fl/florida_romney_vs_obama-1883.html. Obama won Florida with 50.0% of the vote to Romney’s 49.1%. Blue=Obama (332); Red=Romney (206).

Table 8. National Exit Poll for President, 2012 (in percentages).

| Voters | Demographic Characteristic | Obama | Romney | Other/NA |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 100% | All Voters | 51% | 48% | 1% |
| 53 | Women | 55 | 44 | 1 |
| 47 | Men | 45 | 52 | 3 |
| 72 | White | 39 | 59 | 2 |
| 13 | Black | 93 | 06 | 1 |
| 10 | Hispanic | 71 | 27 | 2 |
| 3 | Asian | 73 | 26 | 1 |
| 2 | Other | 58 | 38 | 4 |
| 19 | Age 18-29 | 60 | 37 | 3 |
| 27 | Age 30-44 | 52 | 45 | 3 |
| 38 | Age 45-64 | 47 | 51 | 2 |
| 16 | Age 60 and older | 44 | 56 | 0 |
| 03 | No High School | 64 | 35 | 1 |
| 21 | High School Graduate | 51 | 48 | 1 |
| 29 | Some College | 49 | 48 | 3 |
| 29 | College Graduate | 47 | 51 | 2 |
| 18 | Postgraduate | 55 | 42 | 3 |
| 53 | Protestant/Other Christian | 45 | 54 | 1 |
| 25 | Catholic | 54 | 45 | 1 |
| 02 | Jewish | 78 | 21 | 1 |
| 07 | Something Else | 74 | 23 | 3 |
| 12 | None | 70 | 26 | 4 |
| 39 | White Protestant/Other Christian | 30 | 69 | 1 |
| 26 | Evangelical, Born Again Christian | 21 | 78 | 1 |
| 38 | Democrat | 92 | 07 | 1 |
| 29 | Independent | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| 32 | Republican | 06 | 93 | 1 |
| 25 | Liberal | 86 | 11 | 3 |
| 41 | Moderate | 56 | 41 | 3 |
| 35 | Conservative | 17 | 82 | 1 |

Source: CBS News, National Exit Poll for President, <http://www.cbsnews.com/election-results-2012/exit.shtml?state=P&jurisdiction=0&party=R&tag=contentBody:exitLink>, accessed November 14, 2012. N=26,565

Table 9. Political Party Regional Strongholds by Electoral College (EC) Vote, 2016

| Democratic Stronghold | | Swing States | | Republican Stronghold | |
|------------------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------|------------------------------|------------|
| Northeast | EC | Midwest | EC | South | EC |
| Connecticut | 7 | Illinois | 20 | Alabama | 9 |
| Delaware | 3 | Indiana | 11 | Arkansas | 6 |
| Maine# | 4 | Iowa** | 6 | Florida** | 29 |
| Maryland | 10 | Kentucky | 8 | Georgia | 16 |
| Massachusetts | 11 | Michigan | 16 | Louisiana | 8 |
| New Hampshire** | 4 | Minnesota | 10 | Mississippi | 6 |
| New Jersey | 14 | Missouri | 10 | North Carolina** | 15 |
| New York | 29 | Ohio** | 18 | South Carolina | 9 |
| Pennsylvania | 20 | West Virginia | 5 | Tennessee | 11 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | Wisconsin** | 10 | Texas | 38 |
| Vermont | 3 | | 114 | Virginia** | 13 |
| Washington, DC | 3 | | | | 160 |
| | 112 | | | Mountains/ Plains | |
| Pacific Coast | | | | Arizona | 11 |
| Alaska | 3 | | | Colorado** | 9 |
| California | 55 | | | Idaho | 4 |
| Hawaii | 4 | | | Kansas | 6 |
| Oregon | 7 | | | Montana | 3 |
| Washington | 12 | | | Nebraska | 5 |
| | 81 | | | Nevada** | 6 |
| | | | | New Mexico | 5 |
| | | | | North Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | Oklahoma | 7 |
| | | | | South Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | Utah | 6 |
| | | | | Wyoming | 3 |
| | | | | | 71 |
| Clinton | 169 | | 30 | | 33 |
| Trump | 24 | | 84 | | 198 |

Source: Earl Black and Merle Black, *Divided America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007, 2008)

**“Battleground” states.

Compiled from “Election 2016,” *The New York Times* online accessed September 6, 2017, at <https://nytimes.com/elections/results/president?mcubz=0>.

#Maine gave 3 Electoral College votes to Clinton and 1 Electoral College vote to Trump. **Red**=Trump (306); **Blue**=Clinton (232).

Table 10. National Exit Poll for President, 2016 (in percentages).

| Voters | Demographic Characteristic | Clinton | Trump | Other/NA |
|---------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 100% | All Voters | 51% | 48% | 1% |
| 53 | Women | 54 | 41 | 4 |
| 47 | Men | 41 | 52 | 5 |
| 71 | White | 37 | 57 | 5 |
| 12 | Black | 89 | 08 | 3 |
| 11 | Hispanic | 66 | 28 | 5 |
| 04 | Asian | 65 | 27 | 6 |
| 03 | Other | 56 | 36 | 2 |
| 19 | Age 18-29 | 55 | 36 | 8 |
| 25 | Age 30-44 | 51 | 41 | 7 |
| 40 | Age 45-64 | 44 | 52 | 3 |
| 16 | Age 65 and older | 45 | 52 | 2 |
| 18 | High School or less | 46 | 51 | 3 |
| 32 | Some College | 43 | 51 | 5 |
| 32 | College Graduate | 49 | 44 | 5 |
| 18 | Postgraduate | 58 | 37 | 4 |
| 52 | Protestant/Other Christian | 39 | 56 | 3 |
| 23 | Catholic | 46 | 50 | 3 |
| 03 | Jewish | 71 | 23 | 6 |
| 08 | Something Else | 62 | 29 | 7 |
| 15 | None | 67 | 25 | 7 |
| 74 | All Others | 60 | 34 | 5 |
| 26 | Evangelical, Born Again Christian | 16 | 80 | 2 |
| 36 | Democrat | 89 | 08 | 2 |
| 31 | Independent | 42 | 46 | 9 |
| 33 | Republican | 08 | 88 | 2 |
| 26 | Liberal | 84 | 10 | 5 |
| 39 | Moderate | 52 | 40 | 6 |
| 35 | Conservative | 16 | 81 | 2 |

Source: Fox News, [National] Exit Polls, <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/elections/2016/exit-polls> accessed September 6, 2017. N=24,537

Table 11. Political Party Regional Strongholds by Electoral College (EC) Vote, 2020

| Democratic Stronghold | | Swing States | | Republican Stronghold | |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|------------------------------|------------|
| Northeast | EC | Midwest | EC | South | EC |
| Connecticut | 7 | Illinois | 20 | Alabama | 9 |
| Delaware | 3 | Indiana | 11 | Arkansas | 6 |
| Maine# | 4 | Iowa** | 6 | Florida** | 29 |
| Maryland | 10 | Kentucky | 8 | Georgia** | 16 |
| Massachusetts | 11 | Michigan** | 16 | Louisiana | 8 |
| New Hampshire | 4 | Minnesota** | 10 | Mississippi | 6 |
| New Jersey | 14 | Missouri | 10 | North Carolina** | 15 |
| New York | 29 | Ohio** | 18 | South Carolina | 9 |
| Pennsylvania** | 20 | West Virginia | 5 | Tennessee | 11 |
| Rhode Island | 4 | Wisconsin** | 10 | Texas | 38 |
| Vermont | 3 | | 114 | Virginia | 13 |
| Washington, DC | 3 | | | | 160 |
| | 112 | | | Mountains/ Plains | |
| Pacific Coast | | | | Arizona** | 11 |
| Alaska | 3 | | | Colorado | 9 |
| California | 55 | | | Idaho | 4 |
| Hawaii | 4 | | | Kansas | 6 |
| Oregon | 7 | | | Montana | 3 |
| Washington | 12 | | | Nebraska# | 5 |
| | 81 | | | Nevada** | 6 |
| | | | | New Mexico | 5 |
| | | | | North Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | Oklahoma | 7 |
| | | | | South Dakota | 3 |
| | | | | Utah | 6 |
| | | | | Wyoming | 3 |
| | | | | | 71 |
| Biden | 189 | | 56 | | 61 |
| Trump | 4 | | 58 | | 170 |

Source: Earl Black and Merle Black, *Divided America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007, 2008)

**“Battleground” states.

Compiled from “Election 2020,” *The New York Times* online accessed November 14, 2020, at https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/results-president.html?action=click&pgtype=Article&state=default&module=stylIn-elections-2020®ion=TOP_BANNER&context=storyline_menu_recirc

#Maine gave 3 Electoral College votes to Biden and 1 to Trump. Nebraska gave 1 Electoral College vote to Biden and 4 to Trump. **Blue**=Biden (306). **Red**=Trump (232).

Table 12. National Exit Poll for President, 2020 (in percentages) N=15,590

| Voters | Demographic Characteristics | Biden | Trump |
|---------------|---|--------------|--------------|
| 53% | Women | 56 | 43 |
| 47 | Men | 48 | 49 |
| 65 | White | 42 | 57 |
| 12 | Black | 87 | 12 |
| 13 | Hispanic/Latino | 66 | 32 |
| 04 | Asian | 63 | 31 |
| 06 | Other | 58 | 40 |
| 17 | Age 18-29 | 62 | 35 |
| 24 | Age 30-44 | 52 | 45 |
| 38 | Age 45-64 | 50 | 49 |
| 22 | Age 65 and older | 48 | 51 |
| 19 | Never Attended College | 48 | 51 |
| 22 | Attended College But Received No Degree | 48 | 49 |
| 15 | Associate's Degree (2 year) | 52 | 46 |
| 27 | Bachelor's Degree | 51 | 46 |
| 16 | Advanced Degree (e.g., Law, MA, MBA, PhD, etc.) | 62 | 36 |
| 43 | Protestant or other Christian | 39 | 60 |
| 25 | Catholic | 52 | 47 |
| 02 | Jewish | 00 | 00 |
| 08 | Something Else | 69 | 29 |
| 22 | None | 65 | 31 |
| 28 | White Evangelical Born-Again Christian | 24 | 76 |
| 72 | All Others | 62 | 36 |
| 37 | Democrat | 94 | 06 |
| 35 | Republican | 06 | 93 |
| 28 | Independent | 54 | 40 |
| 24 | Liberal | 89 | 10 |
| 40 | Moderate | 64 | 33 |
| 37 | Conservative | 14 | 84 |

Source: The New York Times, National Exit Polls: How Different Groups Voted (accessed November 4, 2020) https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/11/03/us/elections/exit-polls-president.html?action=click&pgtype=Article&state=default&module=styl-n-elections-2020®ion=TOP_BANNER&context=election_recirc; ABC News, Your Voice,/Your Vote, National Exit Poll (accessed November 4, 2020) <https://abcnews.go.com/Elections/exit-polls-2020-us-presidential-election-results-analysis>.

Table 13. Classification of Presidential Elections

| <u>Election Date</u> | <u>Interval in years</u> | <u>Critical Election Classification</u> | <u>Party in Control</u> |
|----------------------|------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 1836 | ** | Converting | Democrat |
| 1864 | 28 | Realigning | Republican |
| 1892/96 | 28(32) | Converting | Republican |
| 1928/32 | 36 | Realigning | Democrat |
| 1960/64 | 32 | Converting | Democrat |
| 1994/96 | 34 (32) | Realigning | Republican |

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