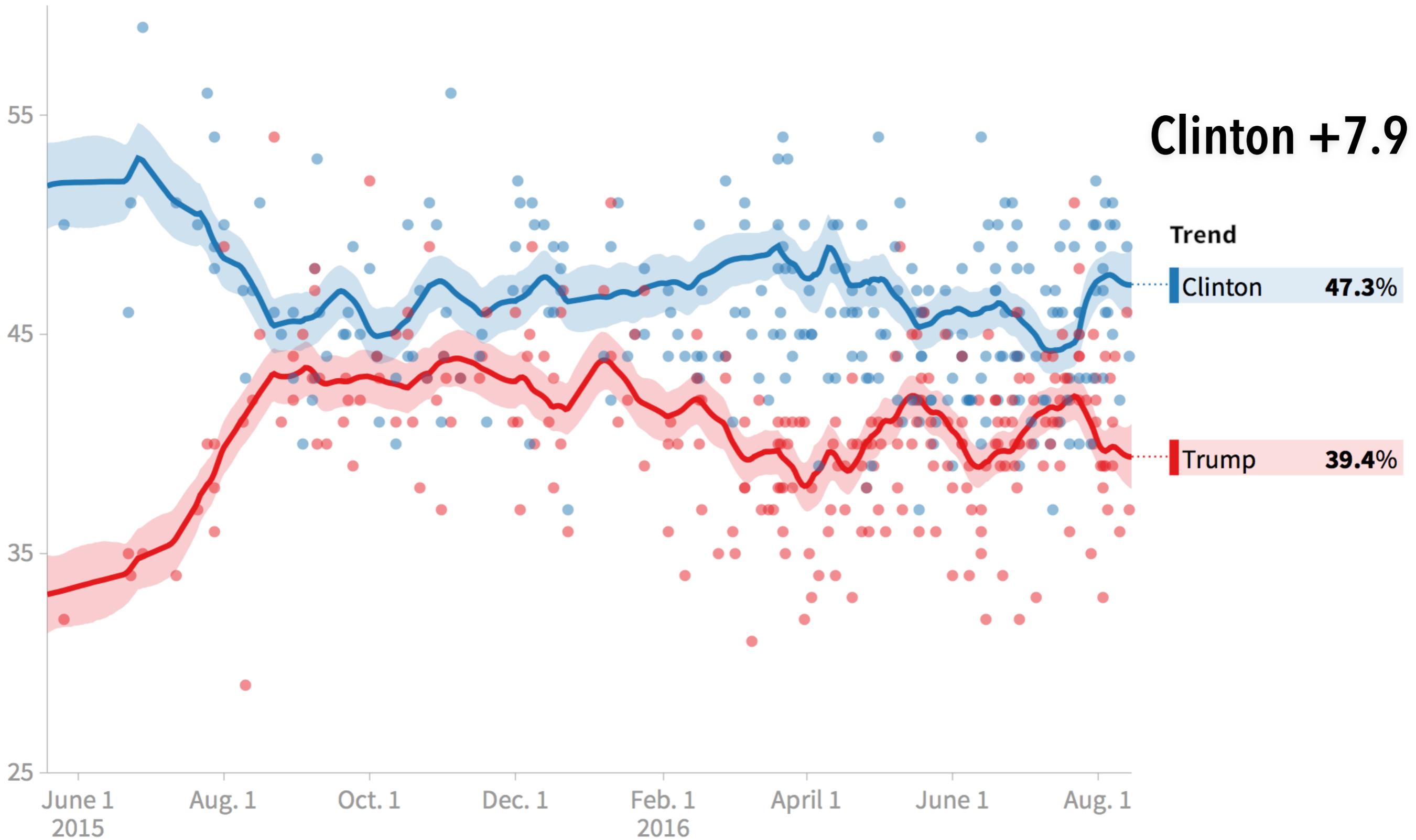


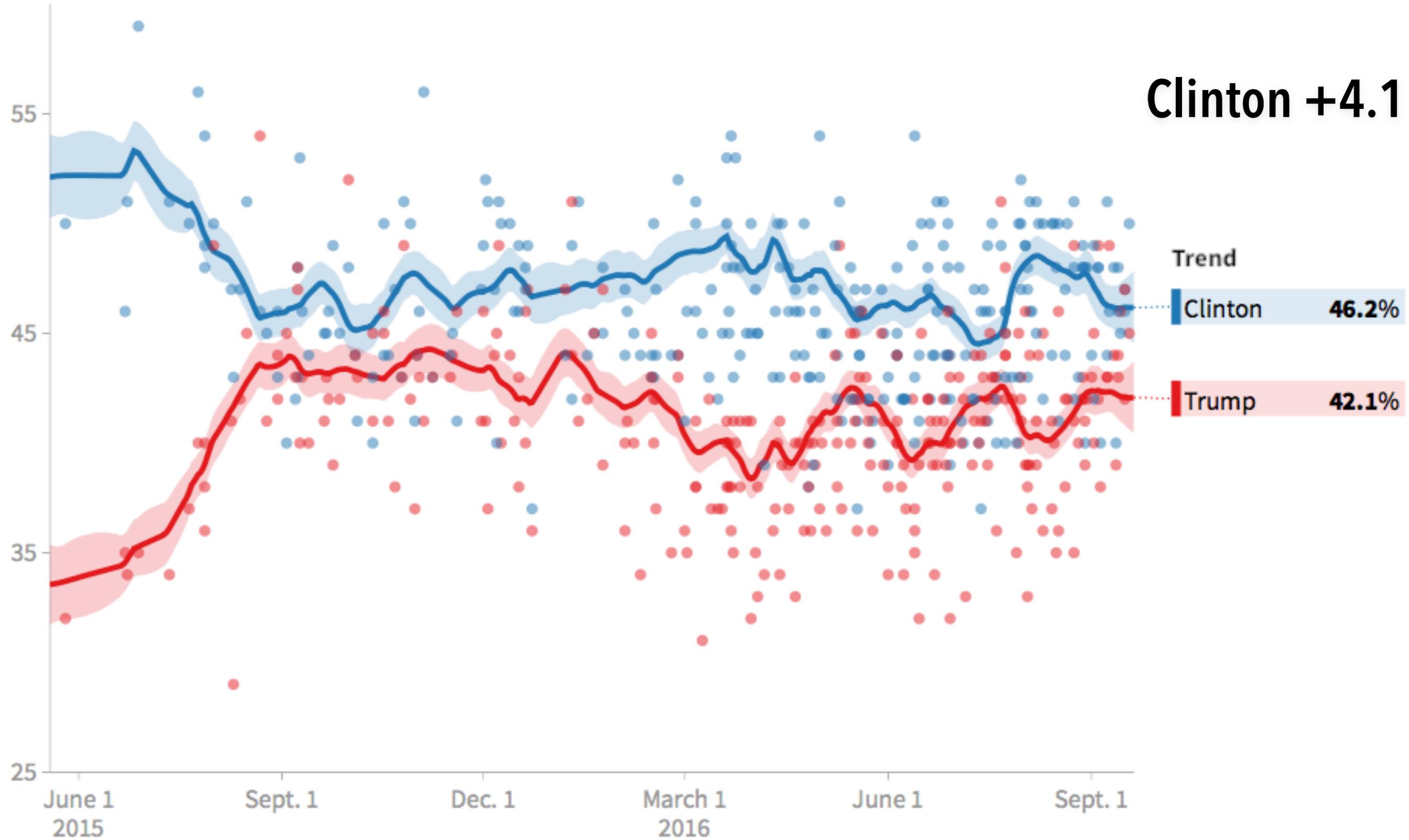
# What is happening in the US election, why, and how it matters for Australia.

Professor Simon Jackman  
United States Studies Centre  
University of Sydney

# state of the race: August 15



# state of the race: September 20



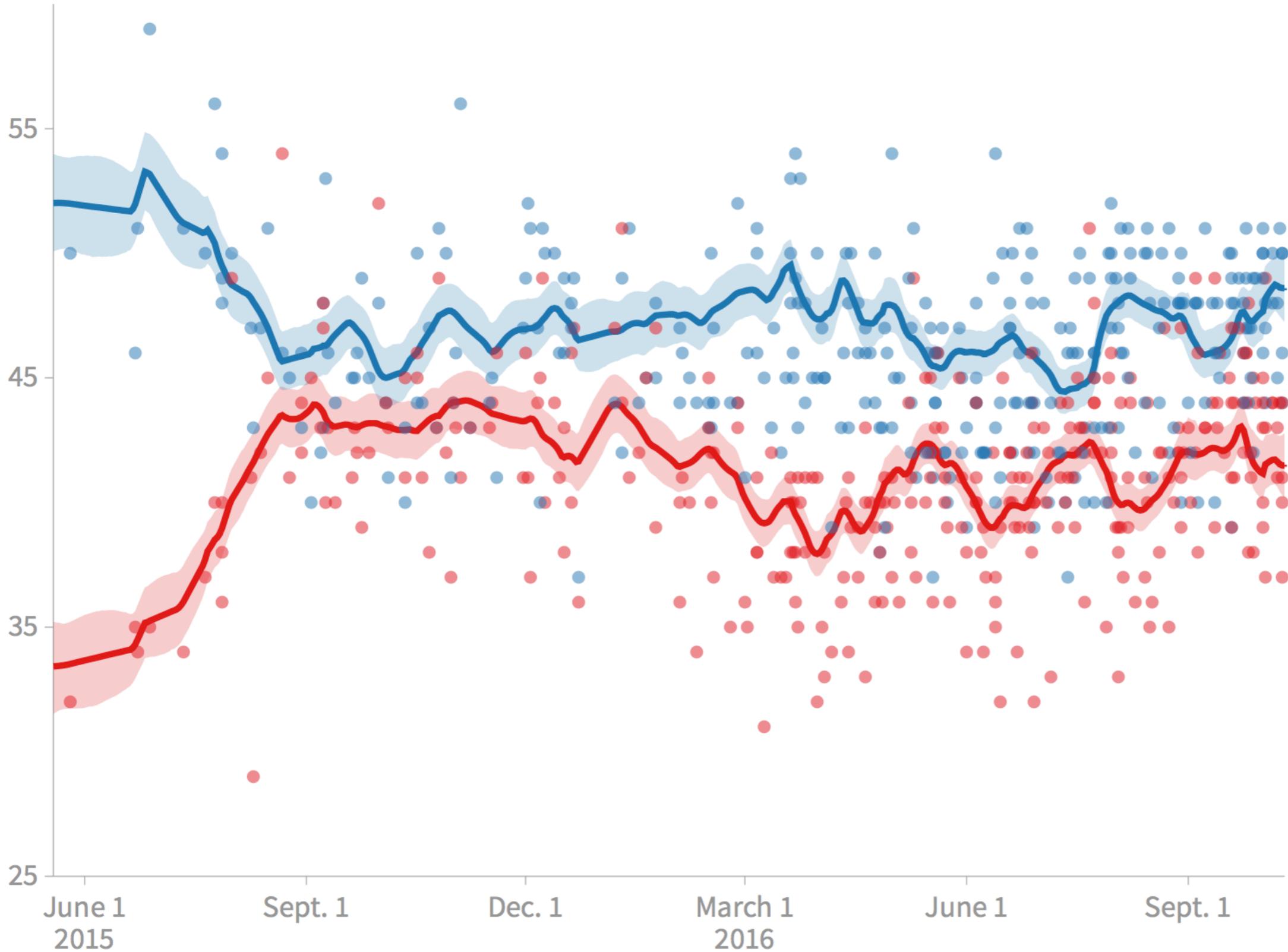
# state of the race: October 12

**Clinton +7.1**

Trend

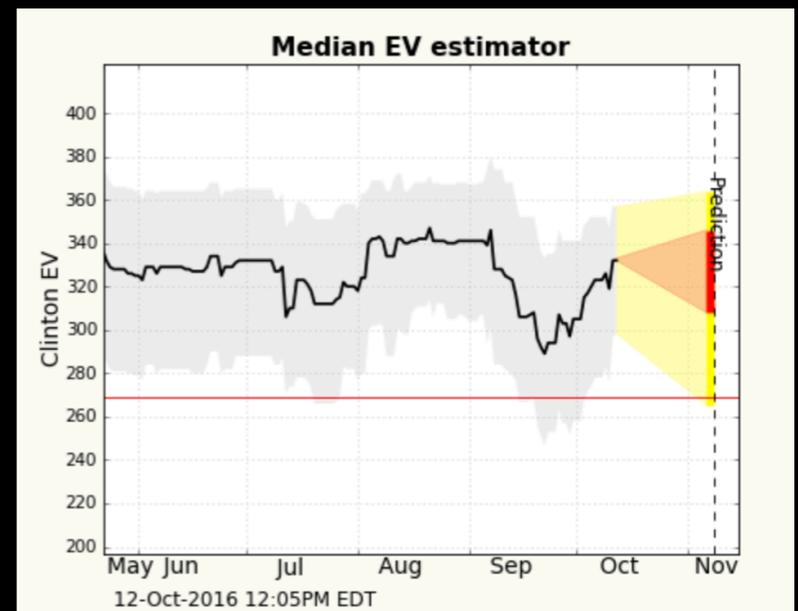
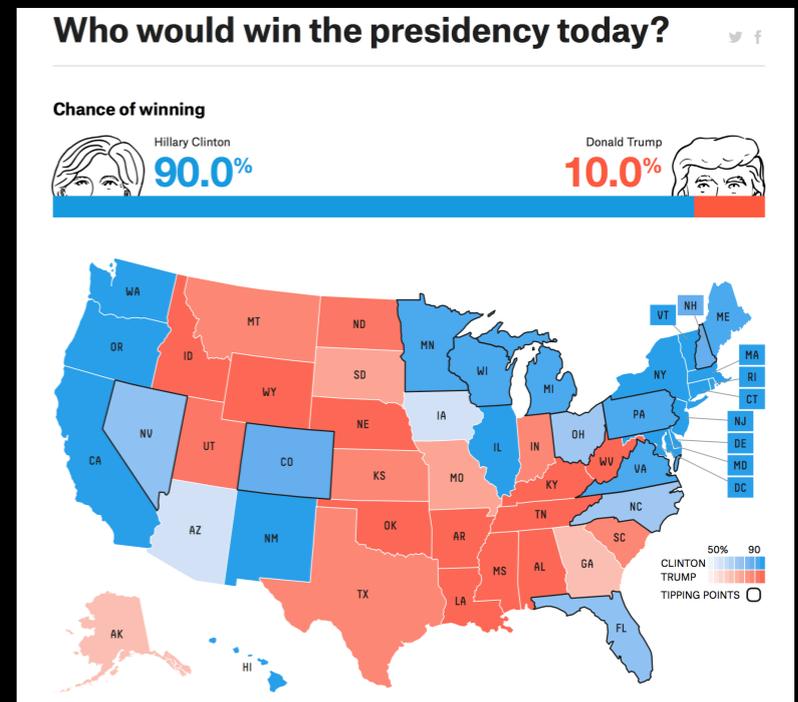
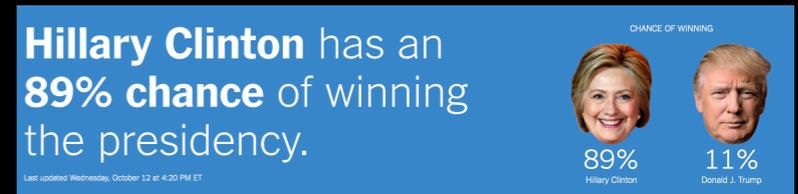
Clinton **48.6%**

Trump **41.5%**



# probability that Clinton wins

- 📌 NYTimes Upshot: 89%
- 📌 538: Polls plus 82.6%
- 📌 538: Polls only 86.3%
- 📌 538: Nowcast 90%
- 📌 Sam Wang (PEC): 97%



# rise of Trump?

 "economic anxiety"

 "anti-immigration"

 "anti-globalization"

 "populism"

 perhaps, but...

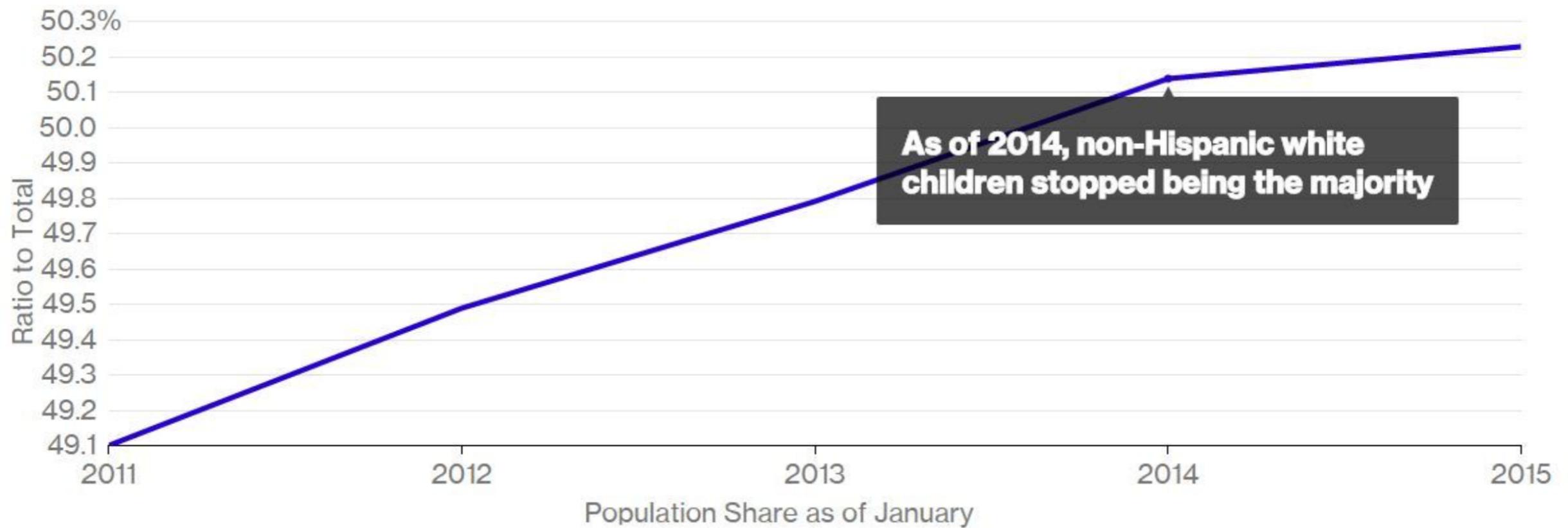
# race & American electoral politics

- 📌 race powerfully undergirds the current configuration of American politics
- 📌 true at an aggregate, demographic level
- 📌 true at an individual, attitudinal level

## Minorities No More

Americans who aren't non-Hispanic white now make up the majority of the nation's population under 5 years old

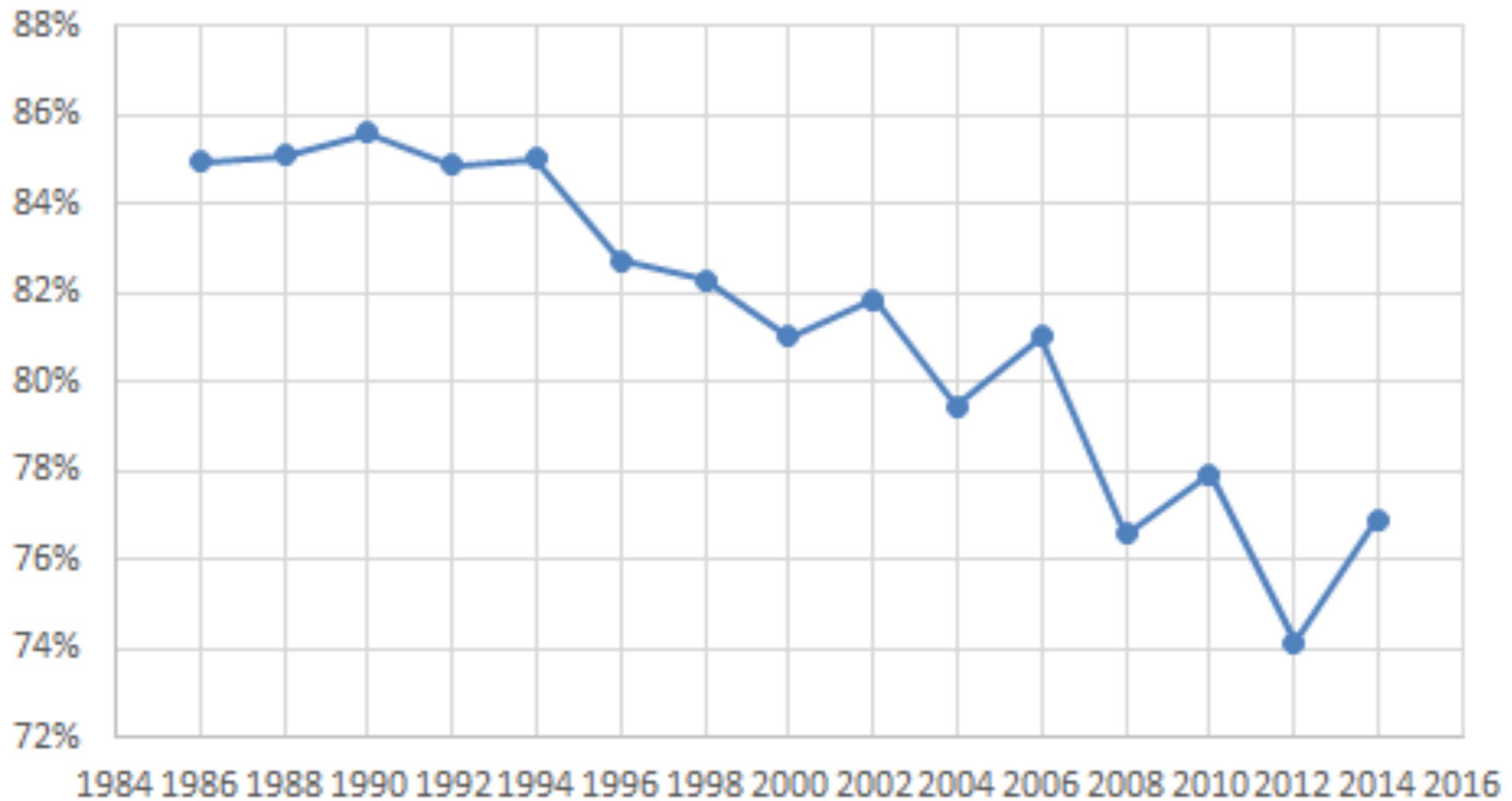
■ Minority Population



Source: Census Bureau estimates, 2015 data are short-term projections

# whites are a smaller proportion of the electorate

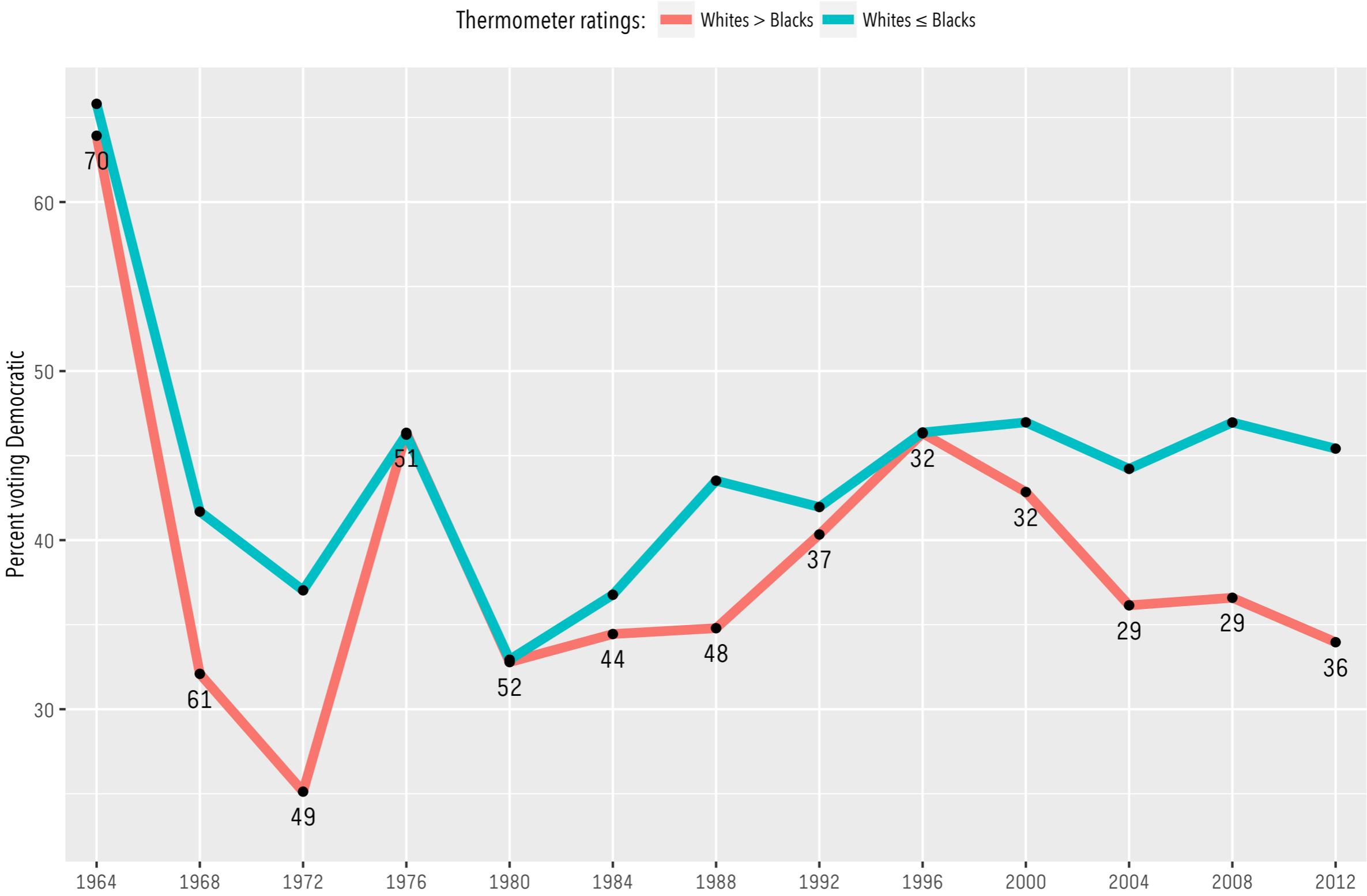
## Non-Hispanic White Share of Electorate



Source: Current Population Survey, November supplements; United States Elections Project

**beliefs about race powerfully shape  
white political attitudes**

# ANES 1964-2012, white respondents, vote for Democratic presidential candidates, by ethnocentrism

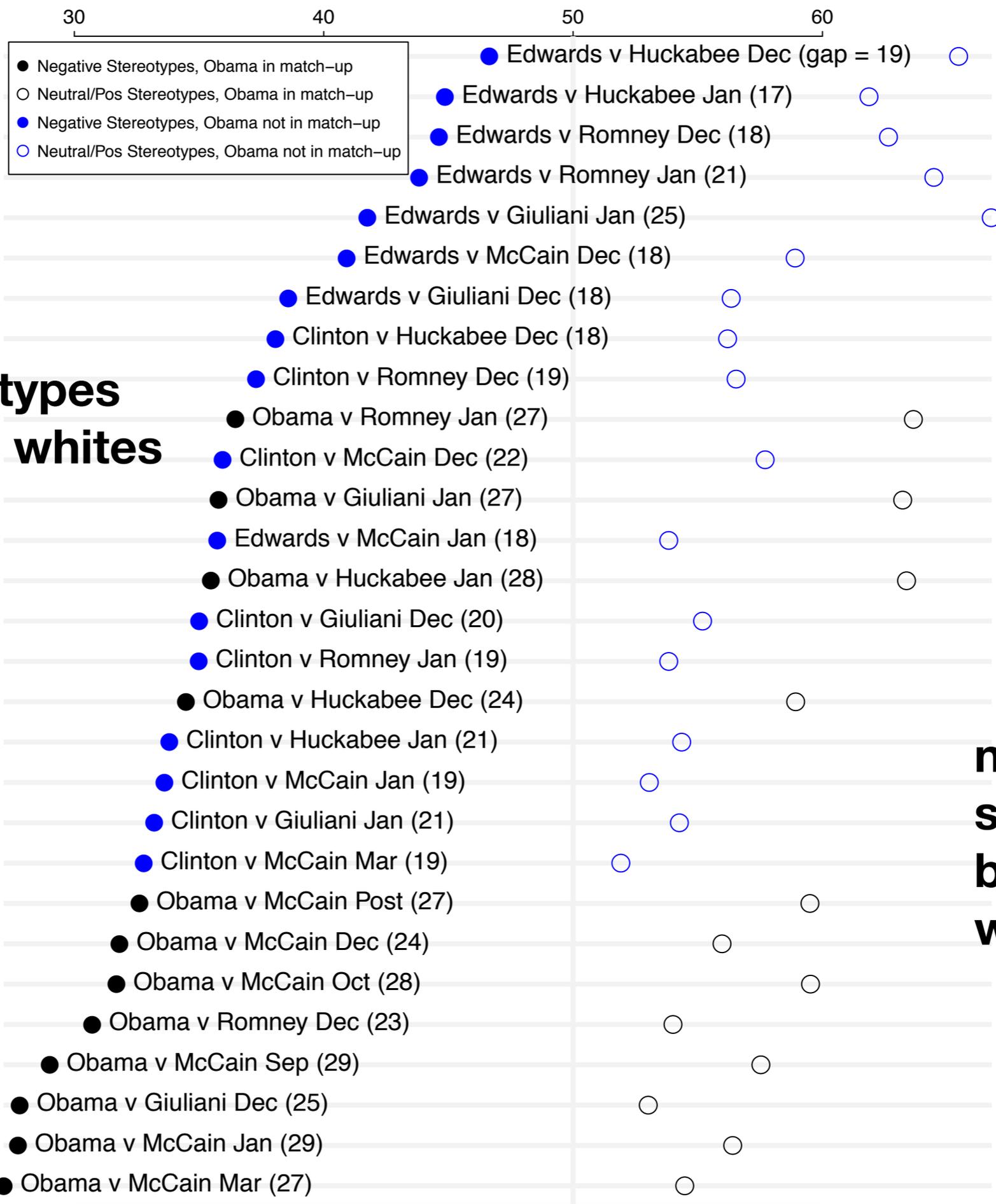


# stereotypes

Now some questions about different groups in our society. Rate each group on the following scale, where "1" means you think almost all the people in that group are "lazy"; and "7" means that you think almost everyone in the group is "hardworking."

	lazy - hardworking	unintelligent - intelligent
Whites	3.9	3.9
African-Americans	3.3	3.4
% W > B	39%	33%
% W > B (either)	45%	

N = 12,351 white respondents (September 2008)



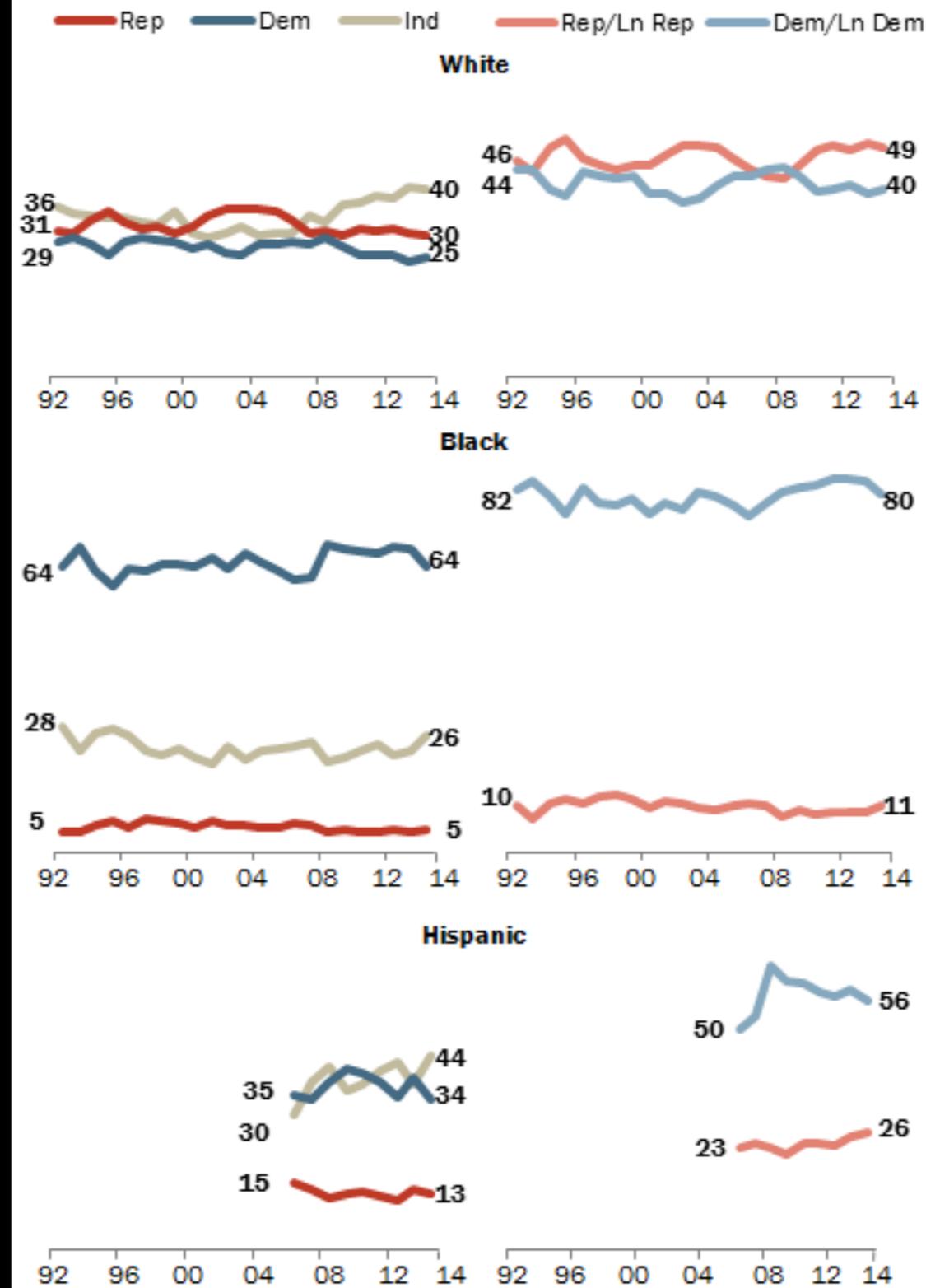
**negative stereotypes  
blacks vis-a-vis whites**

**neutral/positive  
stereotypes of  
blacks vis-a-vis  
whites**

VOTE FOR DEMOCRAT (%)

# More Whites Lean Republican Than in 2009; Blacks Overwhelmingly Align with Democratic Party

% who identify as/lean toward ...



Data points represent annual totals based on monthly political surveys conducted by Pew Research in each calendar year. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

# How deplorable are Trump supporters?

Sep 13th 2016, 14:53 BY THE DATA TEAM



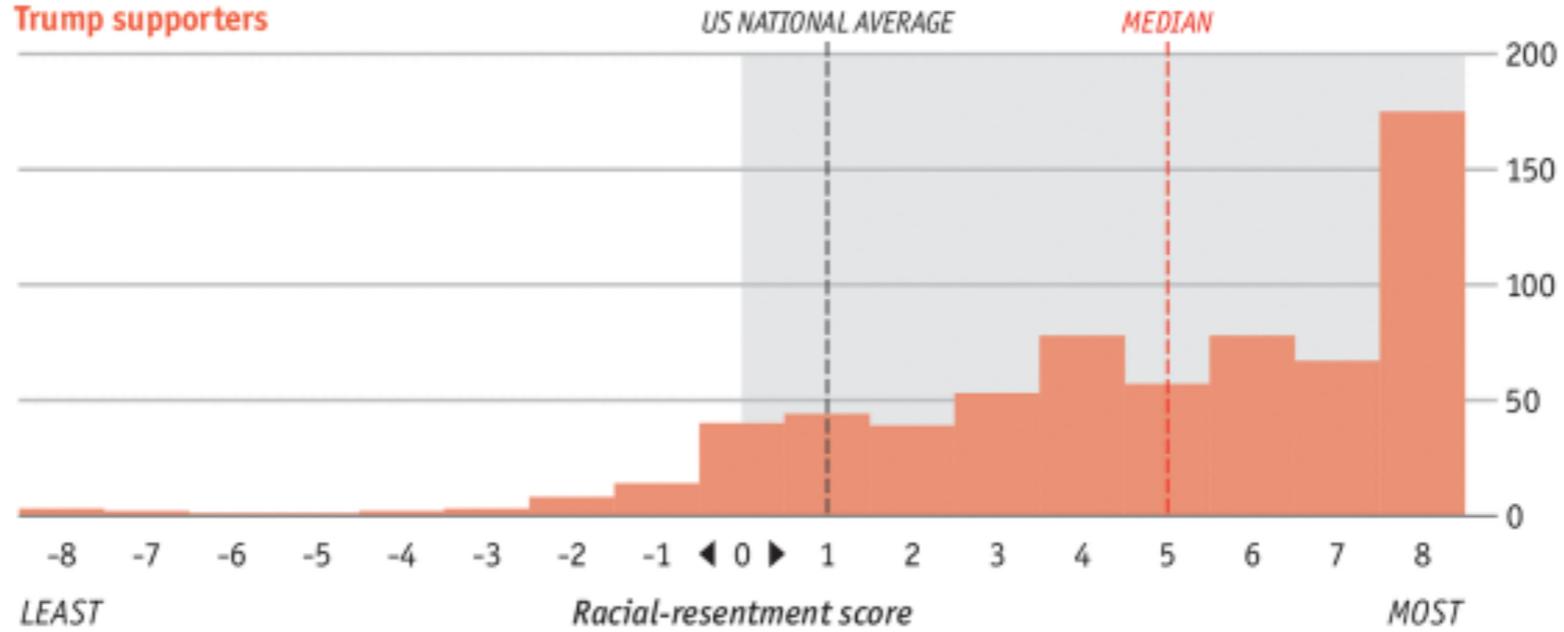
Like 9.2K

Tweet

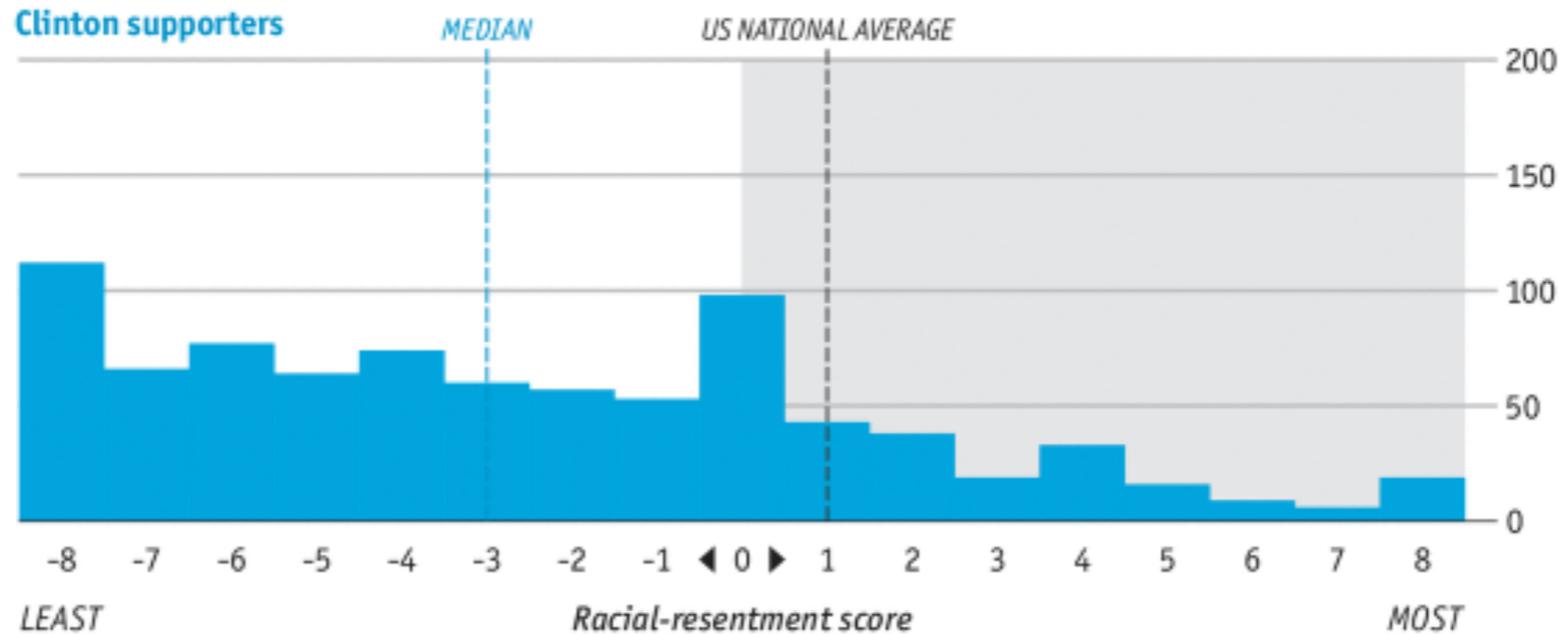
## Nonsense and sensitivity

Number of respondents for each racial-resentment score\*

### Trump supporters



### Clinton supporters



Sources: YouGov; *The Economist*

\*Based on four survey questions asked on July 30th and August 6th 2016

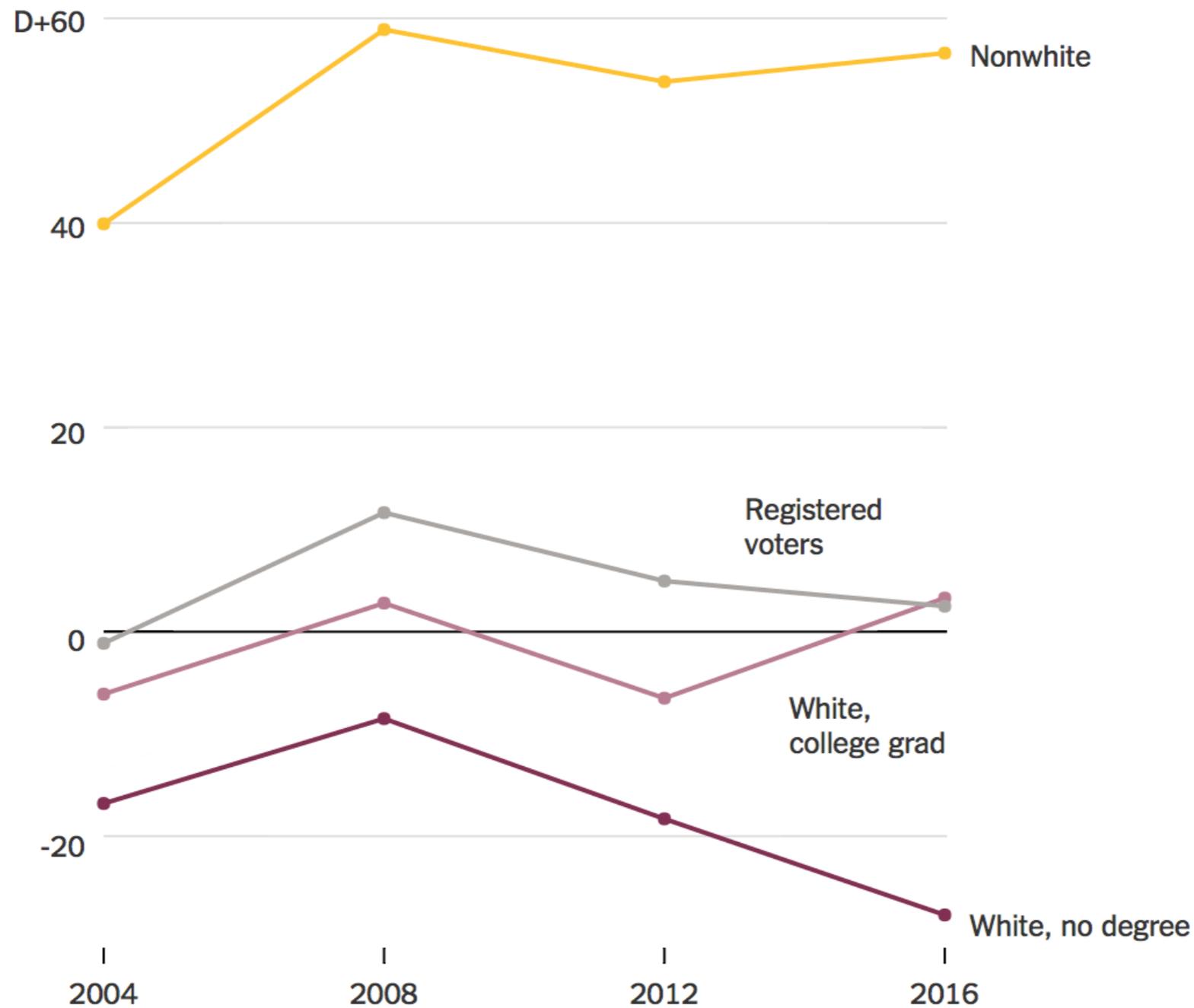
# the changing American electorate

- 📌 1992: whites 87%, Clinton vs Bush, 39-41 - Clinton wins
- 📌 2012: whites 72%, Obama vs Romney, 39-59 - Obama wins
- 📌 2012: blacks 93-6; Hispanics 71-27; Asians 73-26.

# Clinton Suffers Big Losses With Less-Educated White Voters

Early 2016 polls look a lot like pre-election polls in 2012, except with a far larger education gap among white voters.

**Presidential vote preference of registered voters in live-interview pre-election surveys, 2004–2016.**

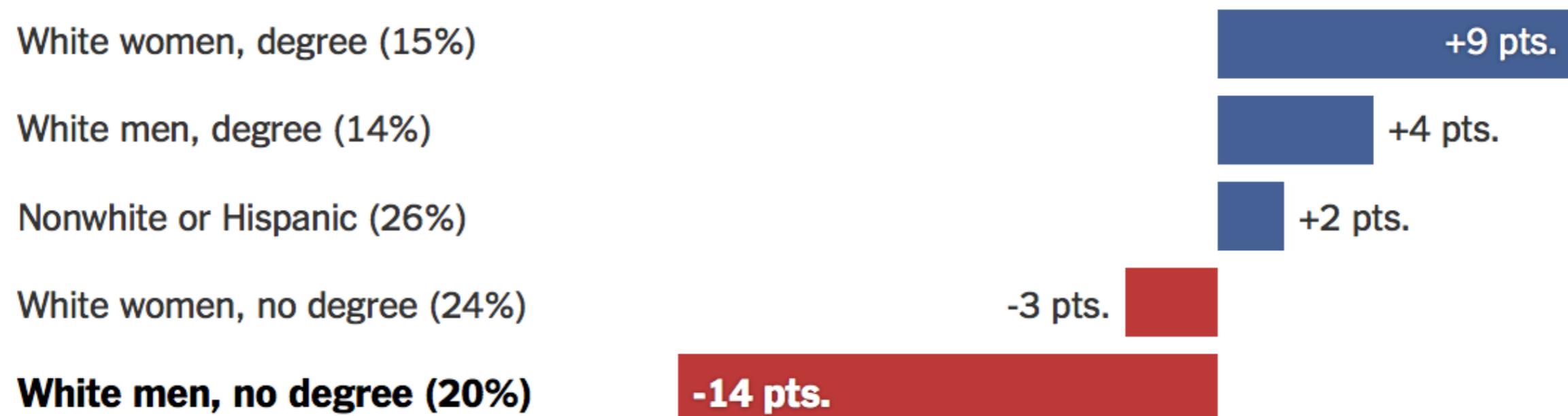


Source: 2004 (n=11,480), 2008 (n=19,350) and 2012 (n=17,694). Data is an Upshot analysis of polls archived at the Roper Center. The data for 2016 is an average of live-interview surveys conducted in July and reported vote choice among white voters.

# The One Reason the Election Is Close

Hillary Clinton is largely performing as well or better than Barack Obama did in 2012, except among white men without a degree.

**Change in presidential vote preference (pct. margin) between 2016 and 2012 pre-election polls of registered voters by race and education (share of the electorate in parenthesis)**



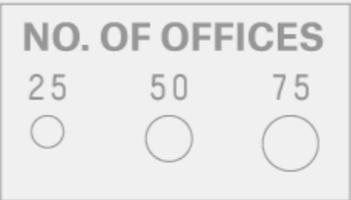
Source: Upshot model based on national polls, Upshot analysis polling data from the Roper Center (n=17,745), and the Census Current Population Survey (Nov. 2012).

# In light of recent events...

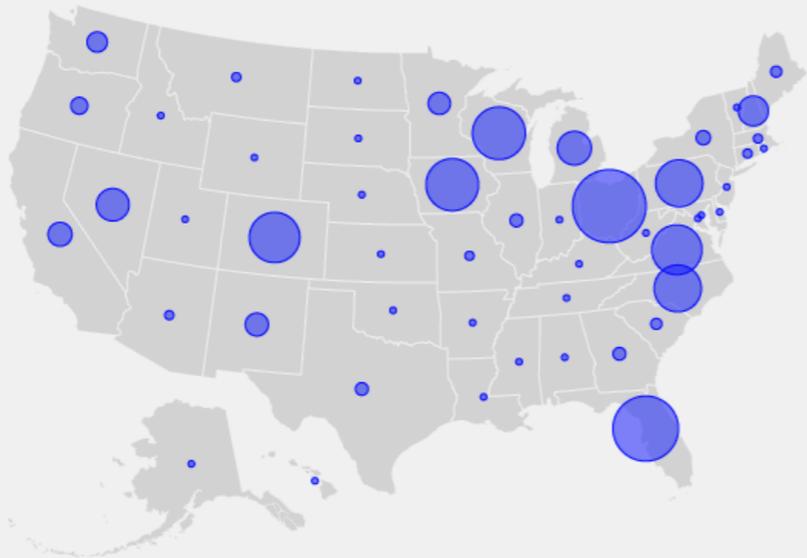
- Within 36hrs of Trump video tape being dropped, 30% of Republican Senators disendorsed him, almost all women.
- Many Republican governors: Sandoval (Nevada),
- Party famous: Condi Rice, Romney, Bushes, Schwarzenegger, Pawlenty, McCain.
- RNC pulled support: Trump has **close to zero ground game.**

# No one has matched Obama's ground game

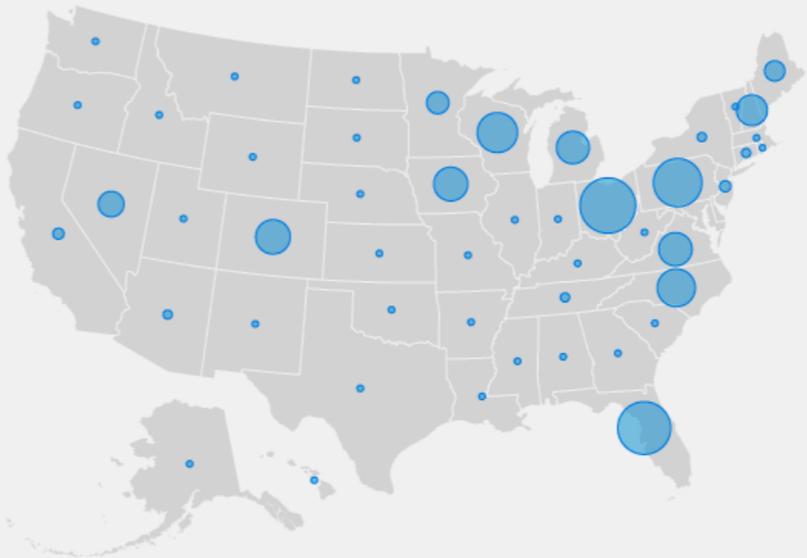
Number of campaign offices by state for each candidate



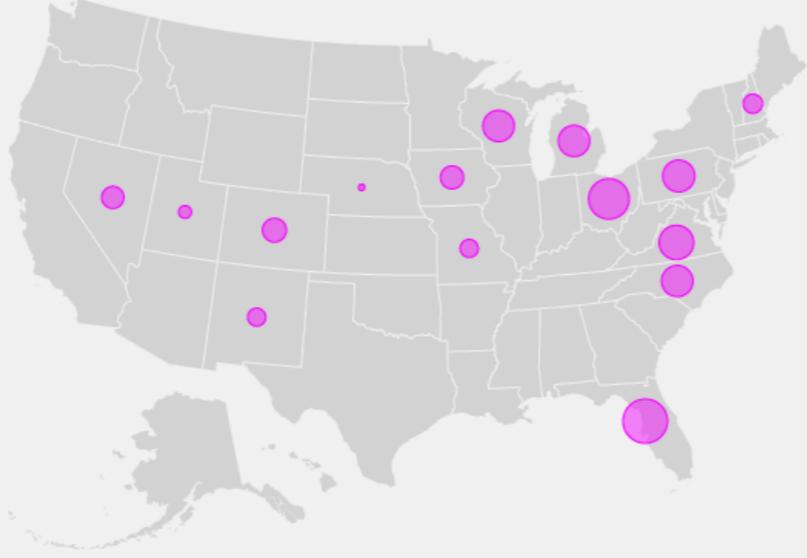
**OBAMA '12**



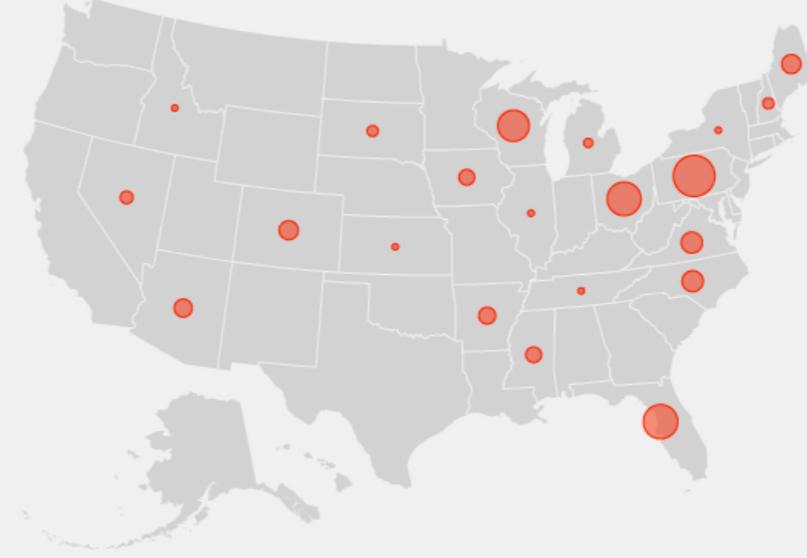
**CLINTON '16**



**ROMNEY '12**



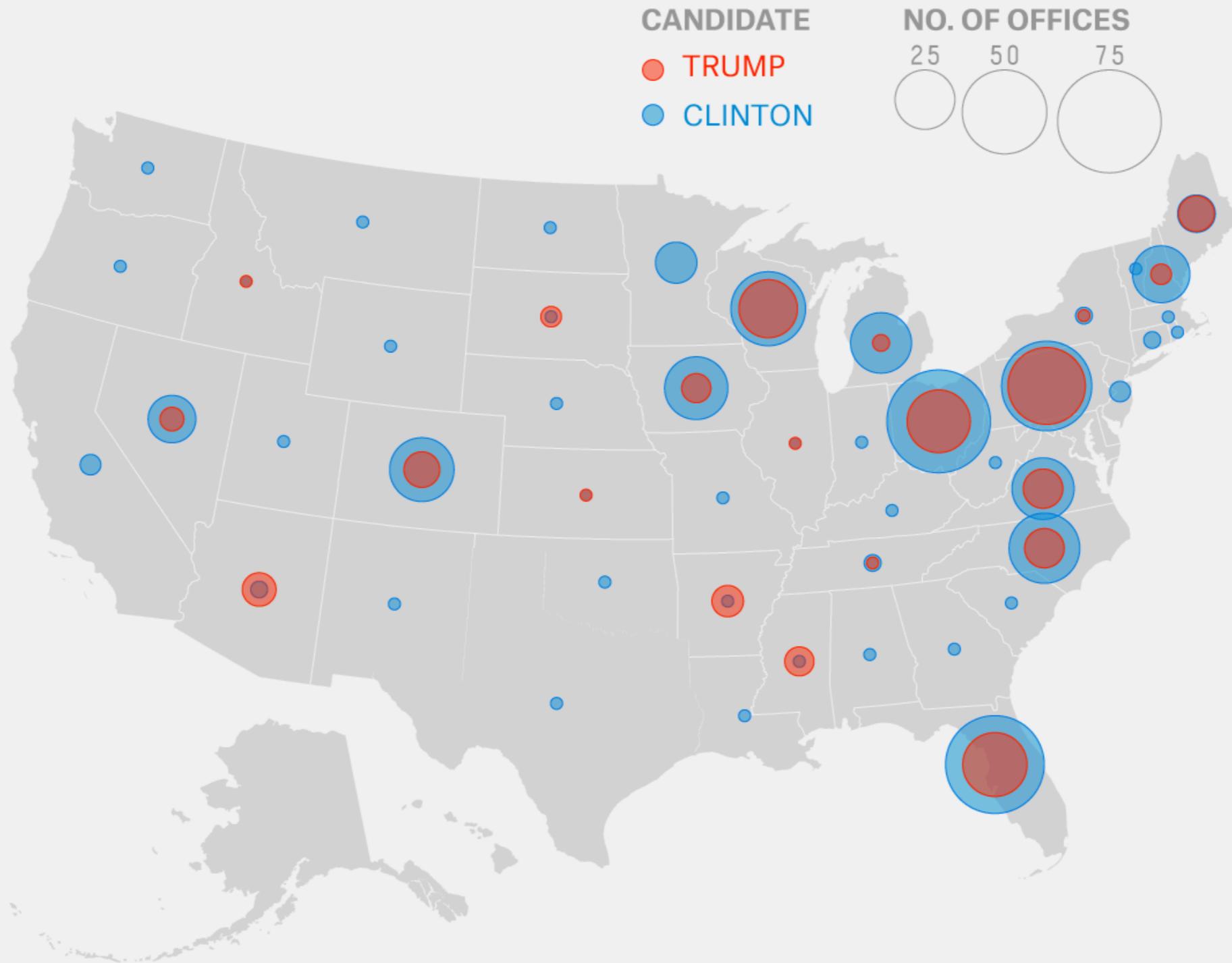
**TRUMP '16**



SOURCES: AMERICAN POLITICS RESEARCH, HILLARYCLINTON.COM, DONALDJTRUMP.COM, LOCAL GOP WEBSITES

# Clinton is outpacing Trump in the field

Number of 2016 campaign offices by state for each candidate



# Australian attitudes towards Trump and Clinton

If [**Hillary Clinton**|**Donald Trump**] wins the U.S. presidential election, should Australia's relationship with the United States become:

	<b>Trump</b>	<b>Clinton</b>
<b>Much closer</b>	2	4
<b>Somewhat closer</b>	2	14
<b>Remain the same</b>	24	69
<b>Somewhat less close</b>	31	9
<b>Much less close</b>	40	4

# Australian attitudes towards Trump and Clinton

If [**Hillary Clinton**|**Donald Trump**] wins the U.S. presidential election, should Australia's relationship with the United States become:

## C L I N T O N

<b>TRUMP</b>	<b>Much closer</b>	<b>Somewhat closer</b>	<b>Remain the same</b>	<b>Somewhat less close</b>	<b>Much less close</b>
<b>Much closer</b>	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.9
<b>Somewhat closer</b>	0.1	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.3
<b>Remain the same</b>	0.5	2.0	20.0	1.0	0.5
<b>Somewhat less close</b>	0.9	5.5	22.7	2.1	0.3
<b>Much less close</b>	2.1	6.4	25.2	4.7	1.7

Source: ABC 2016 VoteCompass post-election survey (weighted)