



## *How the West Wing Was Won, 2016*



## *Outcomes & Implications*



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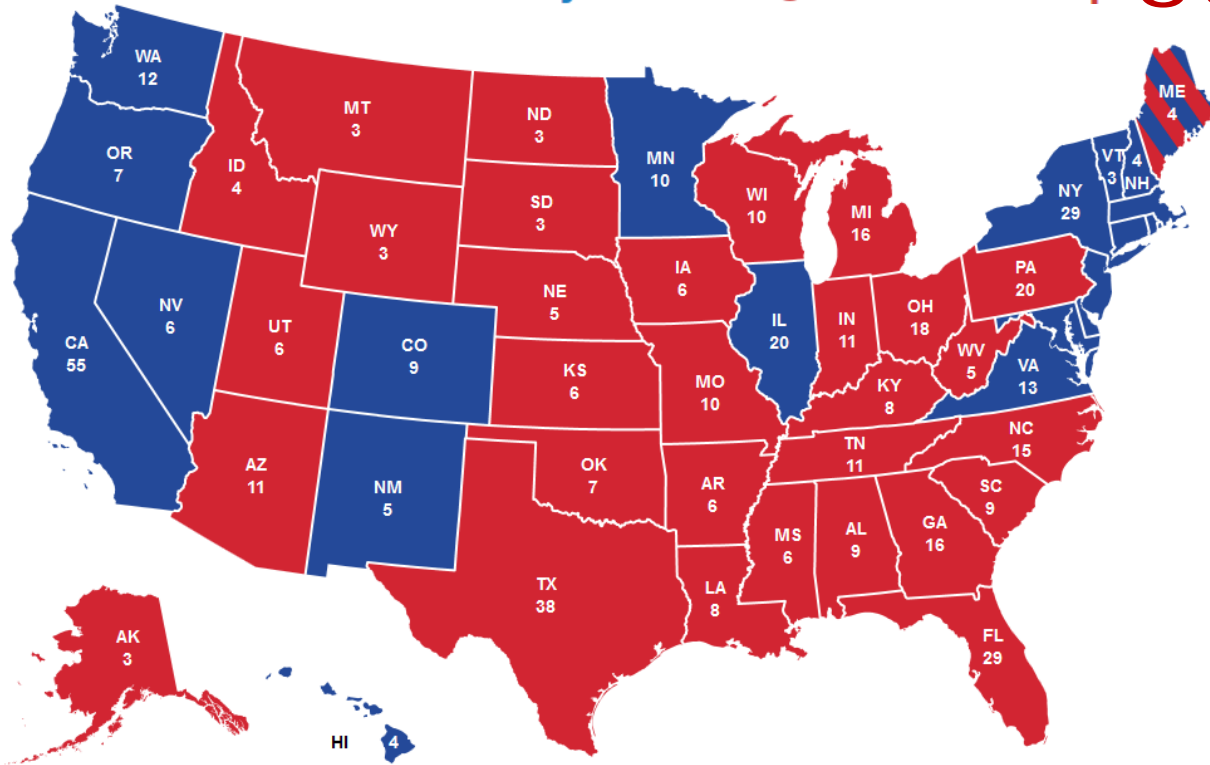
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# RESULTS: Big Night for the GOP

**232** Hillary Clinton  **Donald J. Trump** **306**



Candidate	Popular Vote	Percent
TRUMP	62,985,106	45.9%
CLINTON	65,853,625	48.0%
JOHNSON	4,489,233	3.3%
STEIN	1,457,222	1.1%

<http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/index.html>

## HOUSE: D+7

	114 <sup>th</sup>	115 <sup>th</sup>
GOP	247	241
DEM	188	194

## SENATE: D+2

	114 <sup>th</sup>	115 <sup>th</sup>
GOP	54	52
DEM / IND	46	48

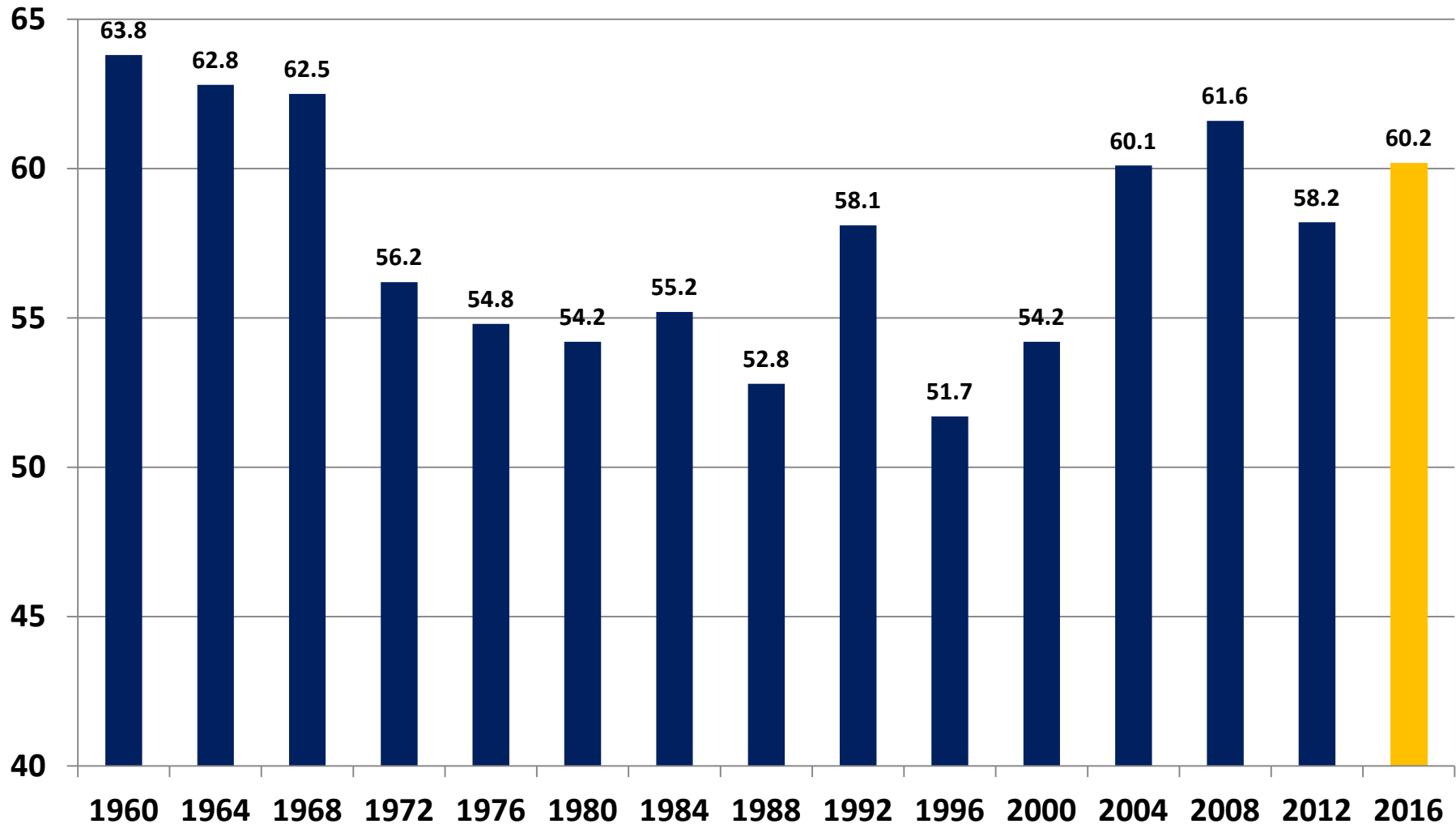
## GOVERNORS: R+2

	2016	2017
GOP	31	33
DEM	18	16
IND	1	1



# TURNOUT: Above 2012, Below '08 & '04

## U.S. Voter Turnout as % of Eligible Voters





# ELECTORATE: Younger, Better Educated, Less White

## *Demographics Were Not Destiny*

	SHARE OF THE ELECTORATE			
	2004	2008	2012	2016
White	77%	74%	72%	70%
African Americans	11%	13%	13%	12%
Hispanics	8%	9%	10%	11%
Asian Americans	2%	2%	3%	4%
18-29	17%	18%	19%	19%
65+	24%	23%	16%	15%
Not College Grad	58%	55%	53%	50%
College Grad	42%	45%	47%	50%
Male	46%	47%	47%	48%
Female	54%	53%	53%	52%





# HOW TRUMP WON

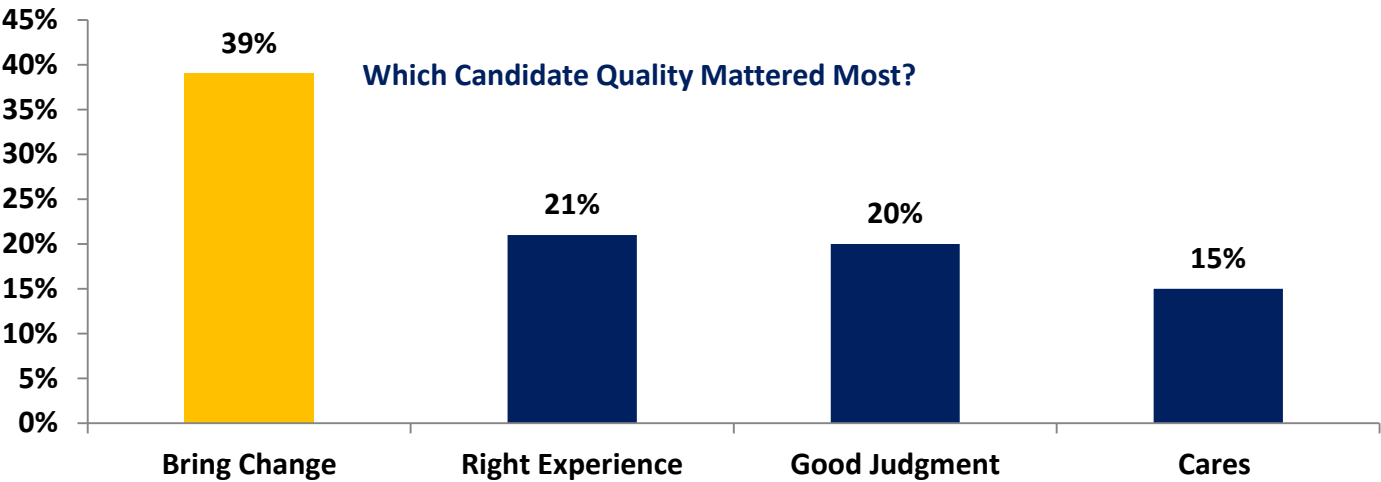
## *5 Reasons*





# #1. Americans Want Change

## Change Mattered Most



## TRUMP Dominated Change Voters

Can Bring Needed Change	Right Experience	Good Judgment	Cares About People Like Me
T+69	C+82	C+40	C+23

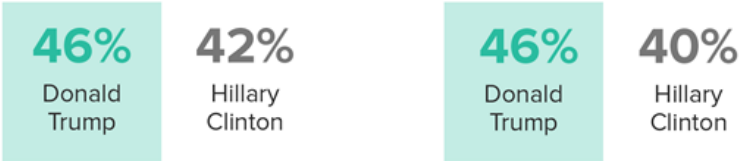


# #2. Trump Favored on Key Issues

## Trump Did Best on Issues That Mattered to Voters, According to 25K-Voter Exit Poll

### ECONOMIC ISSUES

Who will do more to grow the economy? Who will do more to create jobs?

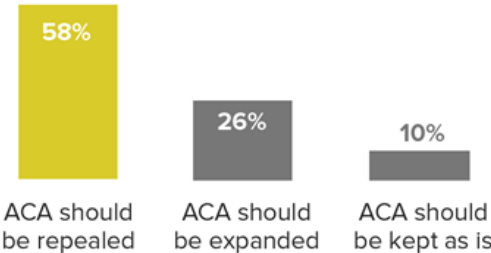


### SECURITY ISSUES

Who do you trust more on defense? Who do you trust more on terrorism?

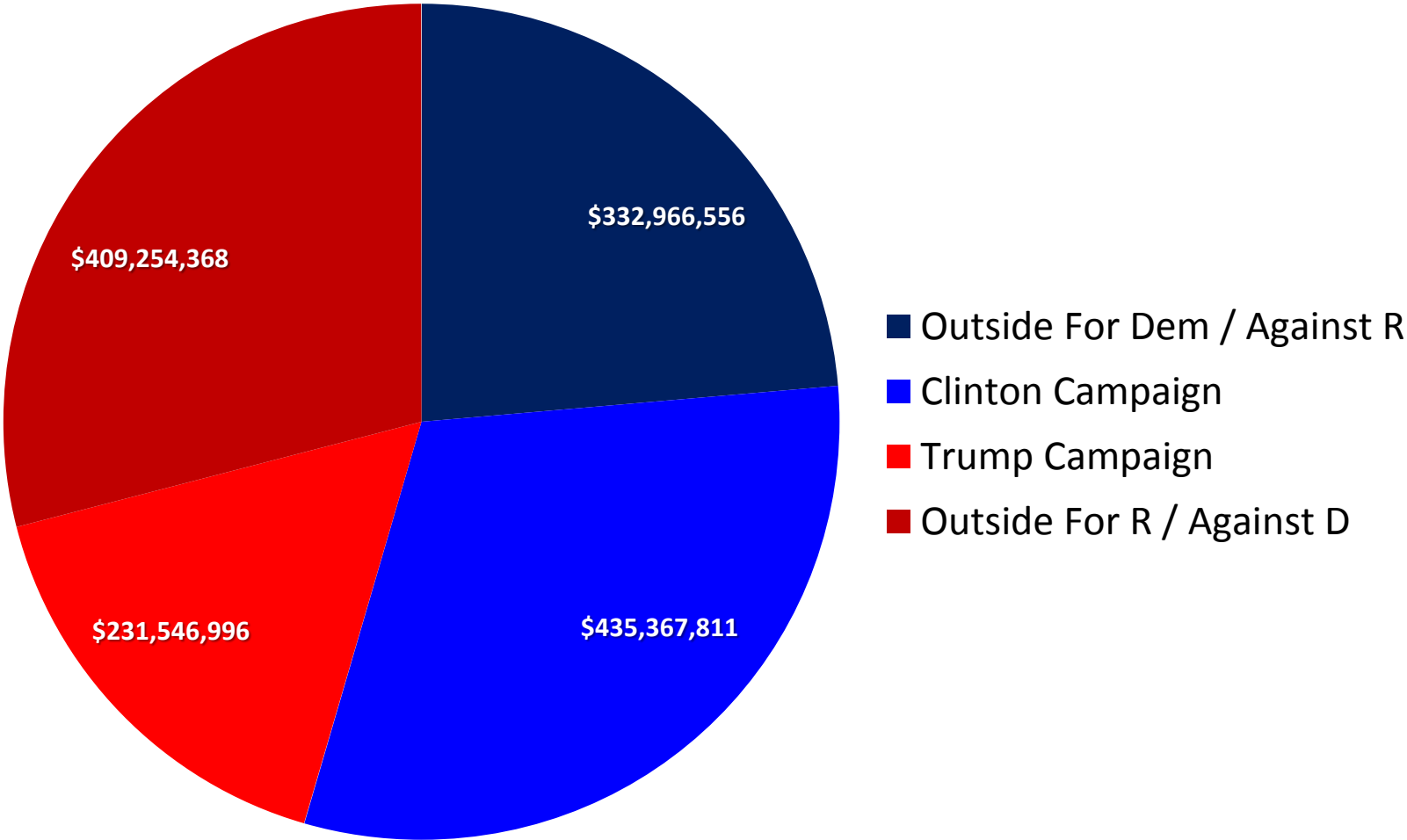


### DISCONTENT WITH THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT





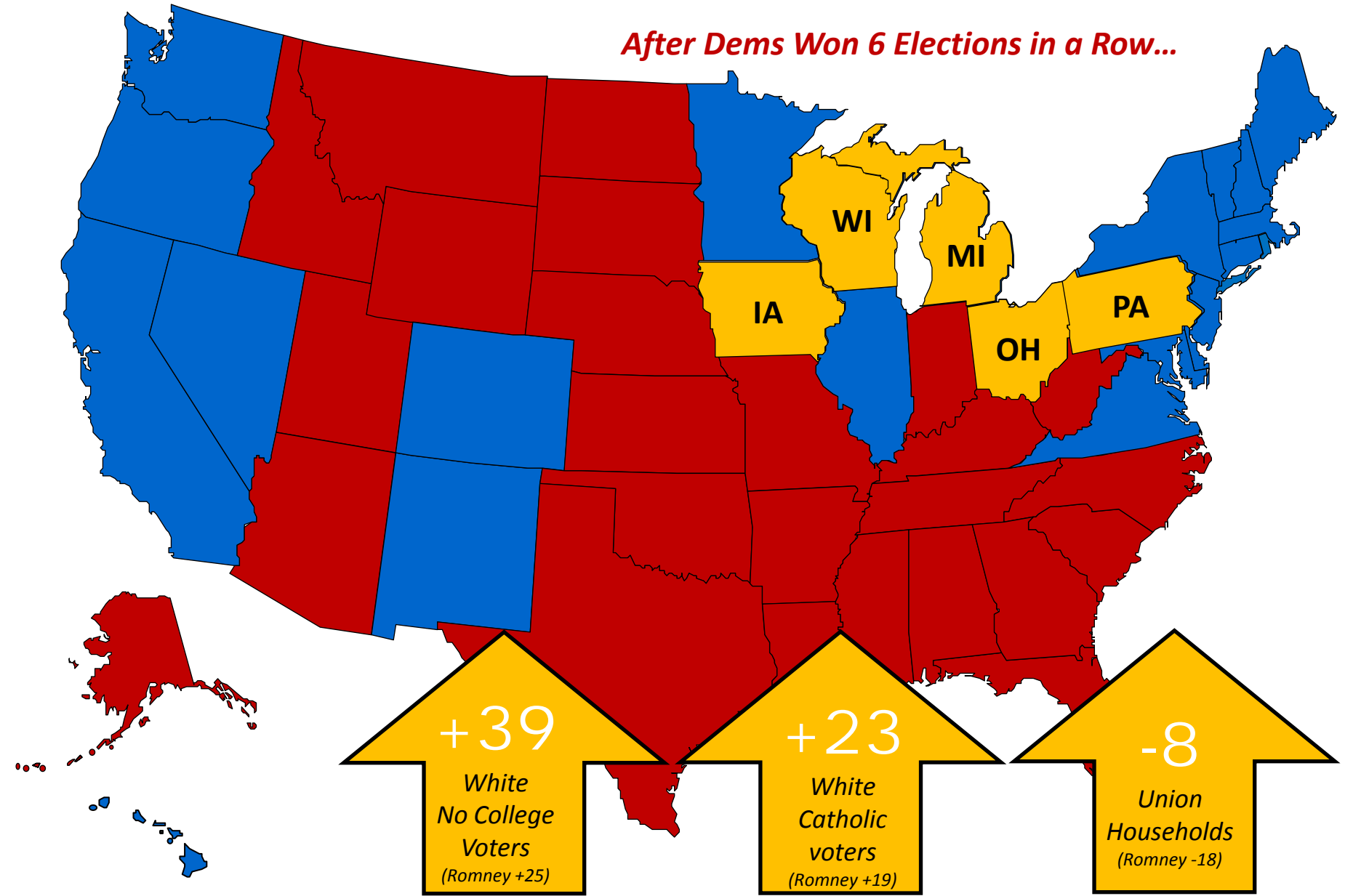
Share of Disclosed Outside Spending (Presidential)





# #4. Trump Coalition Breached “Big Blue Wall”

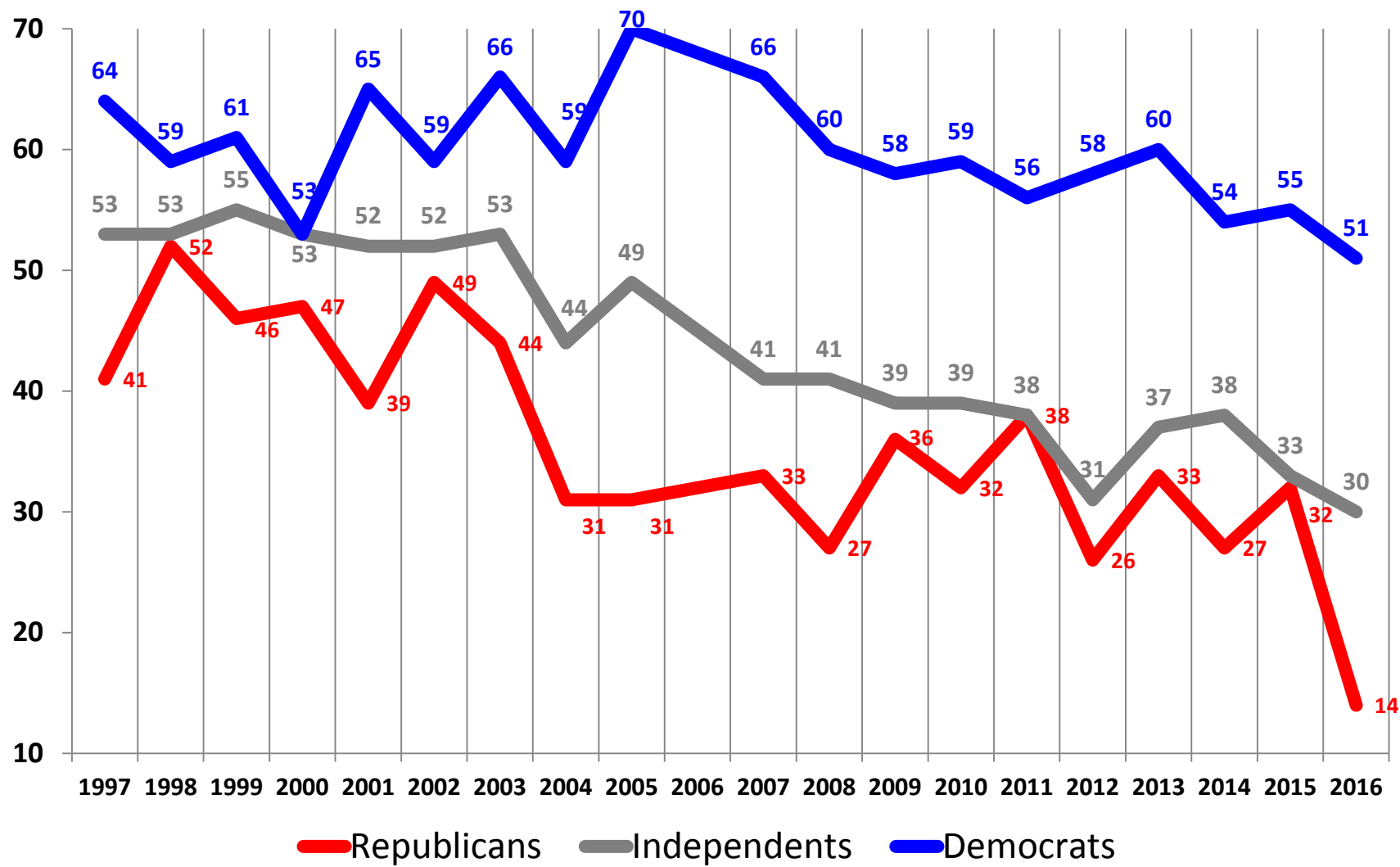
*After Dems Won 6 Elections in a Row...*





# #5. Ran Against the Media Establishment

*Great Deal/Fair Amount of Trust in Mass Media by Party*







# WHY CLINTON LOST






## *5 Reasons*



# #1. “Obama Coalition” Less Committed

*Weaker Support for Clinton ‘16 than Obama ‘12*



Demographic	Hispanics	Unmarried Women	Asian Americans	Millennials	African Americans
<b>Dem Share vs 2012</b>	 <b>-8 points</b>	 <b>-7 points</b>	 <b>-11 points</b>	 <b>-5 points</b>	 <b>-7 points</b>

*Only Minor Drop-Off in Pro-Dem Turnout*

Obama 2008	69.5M
Obama 2012	65.9M
Clinton 2016	65.8M



## #2. Too Much Baggage



# FBI



**61%**  
say Clinton not  
"honest &  
trustworthy"  
(though Trump was 63%)



# #3. Americans Don't Like "Third Terms"

*After 8 Years Americans Usually Seek a Rebalancing*

Incumbent President	Year	Election Eve Incumbent Approval	Intended Successor's Fate
Truman	1952	32%	Lost
Eisenhower	1960	58%	Lost
Johnson	1968	42%	Lost
Reagan	1988	51%	Won
Clinton	2000	57%	Lost
George W Bush	2008	25%	Lost
Obama	2016	56%	Lost



# #4. Trump Message Clearer



*In the campaign’s closing weeks of ads...*

**10.2%**  
*of **Trump** ads  
featured **Clinton***

**100%**  
*of **Clinton** ads  
featured **Trump***



# #5. Third Parties Absorbed Critical Votes

*Spoiler Alert!*

STATE	CLINTON DEFICIT / LEAD	JOHNSON	STEIN
MI (16)	-10,704	172,136	51,463
WI (10)	-22,748	106,674	31,072
PA (20)	-44,292	146,715	49,941
FL (29)	-112,911	207,043	64,399
AZ (11)	-91,234	106,327	34,345
3 <sup>rd</sup> party impact cut both ways			
NH (4)	+2,736	30,777	6,496
CO (9)	+136,386	144,121	38,437
NV (6)	+27,202	37,384	N/A





# CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OUTCOMES & ANALYSIS





# No States Split WH-Senate Vote (1<sup>st</sup> time ever)

State	Trump 2016	Senate Outcome
IL	-16	DEM Pick Up
WI	+1	GOP Hold
NV	-2	DEM Hold
PA	+1	GOP Hold
CO	-2	DEM Hold
NH	-1	DEM Pick Up
IA	+10	GOP Hold
OH	+8	GOP Hold
FL	+1	GOP Hold
NC	+4	GOP Hold
IN	+19	GOP Hold
MO	+19	GOP Hold
GA	+5	GOP Hold
AZ	+5	GOP Hold



# Did Trump Have Coattails?

## Contested States Where Senate Republican Ran *Ahead* of Trump

Senate Margin	State	Trump Margin
+24.5	IA	+9.6
+21.4	OH	+8.6
+14.2	GA	+5.7
+12.3	AZ	+4.1
+7.7	FL	+1.3
+5.8	NC	+3.8
+3.4	WI	+1.0
+1.7	PA	+1.2
-0.1	NH	-0.4
-14.2	IL	-16.0

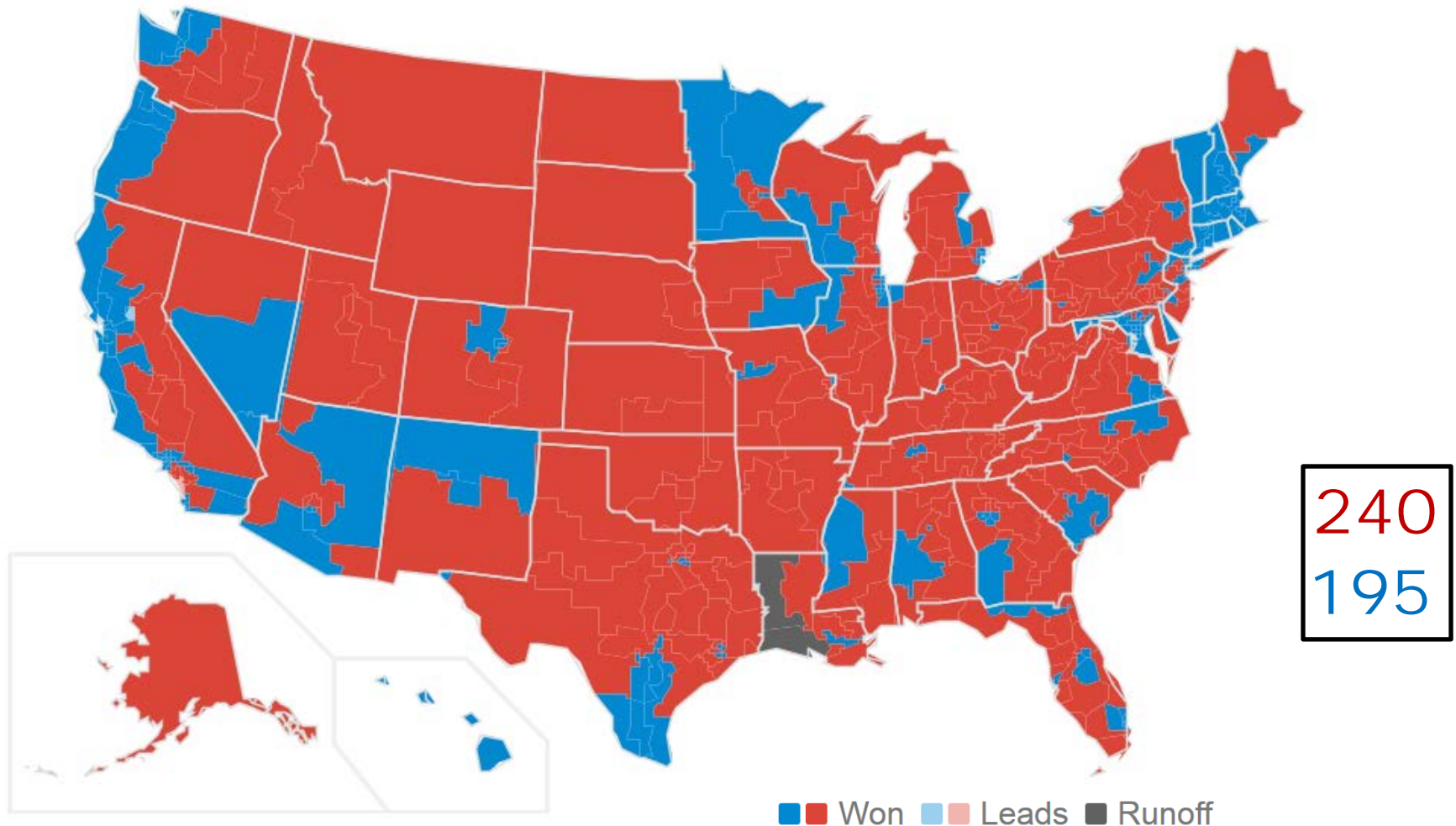
## Contested States Where Senate Republican Ran *Behind* / Tied Trump

Senate Margin	State	Trump Margin
+9.7	IN	+19.3
+3.2	MO	+18.6
-2.4	NV	-2.4



# ***GOP Retained Control of House, Lost Net 7***

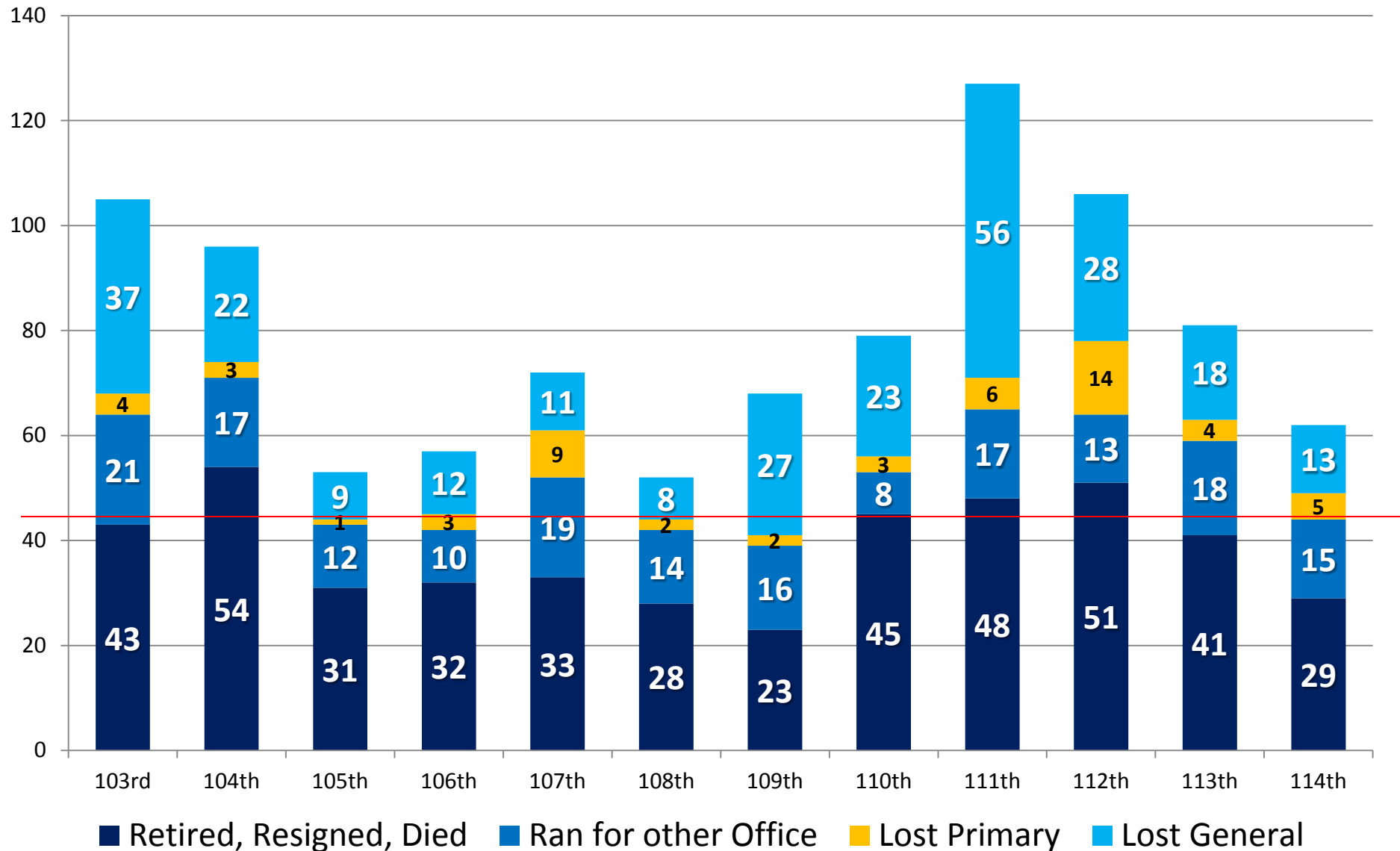
<b>GOP Ran Uncontested</b>	<b>GOP Incumbent Won Reelection</b>	<b>GOP Open Seat Held</b>	<b>GOP Captured Dem Seat</b>	<b>DEM Captured GOP Seat</b>	<b>DEM Open Seat Held</b>	<b>DEM Incumbent Won Reelection</b>	<b>DEM Ran Uncontested</b>
29	206	25	3	10	15	136	35





# House GOP Helped by Fewer Retirements

*Fewest Voluntary House Departures Since 2006*







# **7 ELECTION CONCLUSIONS**



# #1. Education is the New Cultural Divide

## States Where More Voters Have Advanced Degrees Go Dem, Fewer GOP

State	% Advanced degree	Rank
District of Columbia	28.00%	
Massachusetts	16.40%	1
Maryland	16.00%	2
Connecticut	15.50%	3
Virginia	14.10%	4
New York	14.00%	5
Vermont	13.30%	6
New Jersey	12.90%	7
Colorado	12.70%	8
Illinois	11.70%	9
Rhode Island	11.70%	9
Delaware	11.40%	11
New Hampshire	11.20%	12
Washington	11.10%	14
California	10.70%	15
Oregon	10.40%	16
New Mexico	10.40%	16
Minnesota	10.30%	18
United States average	10.30%	--
Kansas	10.20%	19
Pennsylvania	10.20%	19
Hawaii	9.90%	21
Georgia	9.90%	21
Maine	9.60%	23
Missouri	9.50%	24
Michigan	9.40%	25

State	% Advanced degree	Rank
Arizona	9.30%	26
Utah	9.10%	27
Alaska	9.00%	28
Florida	9.00%	28
Nebraska	8.80%	30
North Carolina	8.80%	31
Ohio	8.80%	32
Texas	8.50%	33
Kentucky	8.50%	33
Wisconsin	8.40%	35
South Carolina	8.40%	35
Montana	8.30%	37
Indiana	8.10%	38
Wyoming	7.90%	39
Tennessee	7.90%	39
Alabama	7.70%	40
Nevada	7.60%	41
Idaho	7.50%	42
Iowa	7.40%	43
Oklahoma	7.40%	43
South Dakota	7.30%	45
Mississippi	7.10%	46
Louisiana	6.90%	47
North Dakota	6.70%	48
West Virginia	6.70%	48
Arkansas	6.10%	50



## #2. *Everything We Thought We Knew About Campaigns...*



**More Paid Staff**



**More Field Offices**



**More Voters Contacted**



**More Money Raised**



**More TV Ads Run**



**Better Analytics**



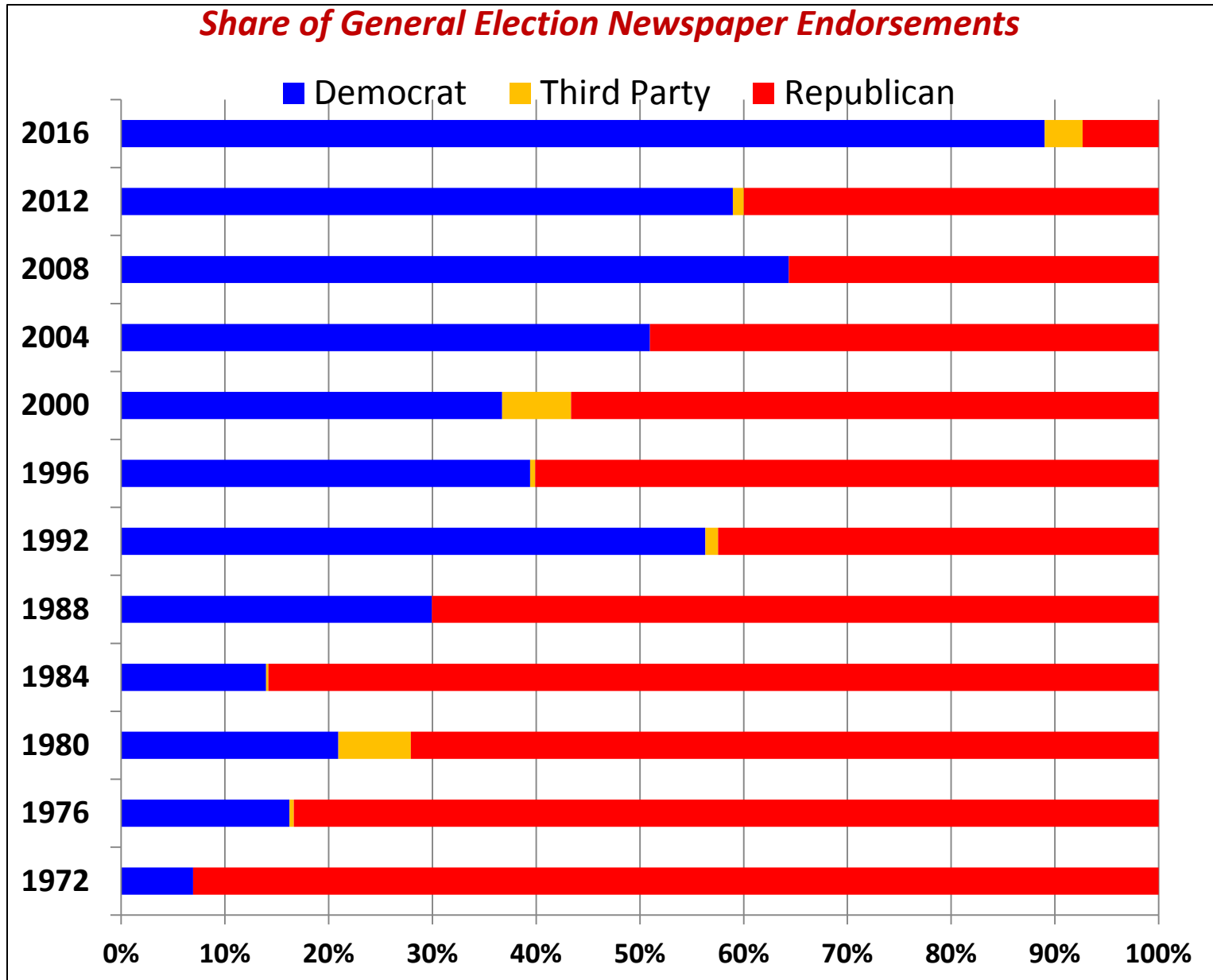
**More Debate Prep**



**More Popular Surrogates**



### 3. Newspaper Endorsements Don't Matter





# #4. This Ain't Your Father's GOP

## Trump Changing the GOP Agenda

Leftward

within GOP mainstream

Rightward

### Oppose Trade Deals



### Broad Tax Cuts



### Crack Down on Immigration



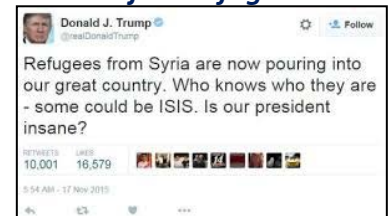
### Punish Wall Street



### Unfettered 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment



### Reject Refugees



### Reject Entitlement Reforms



### Muscular Military



### Resist Criminal Justice Reforms





# #5. Populism Is the New Normal

## *Skepticism Towards “Big Business”*

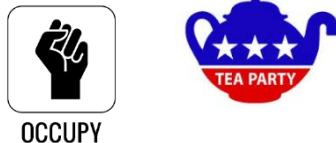
More aggressive oversight



Tougher Antitrust Oversight



Anti-Crony Capitalism Meets  
Too Big To Fail



## *Globalization “Re-Think”*

More aggressive trade enforcement



Tougher reviews of in-bound M&A



Existing Relationships at Risk



## *Push for Systemic “Reforms”*

Alternative media empowered



“Tax-the-rich” / Fair Share

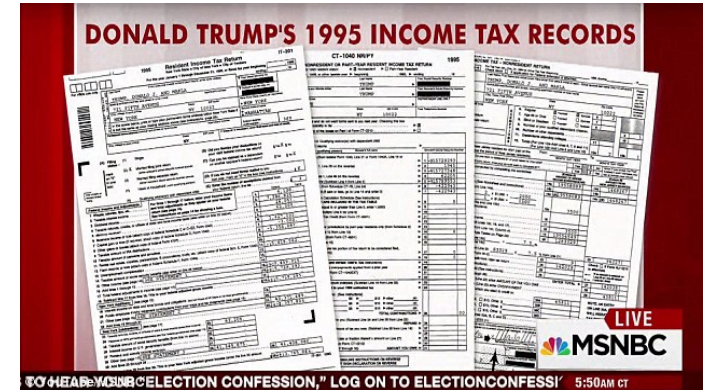


Restrict Lobbying by ex-Members





## #6. Everything is On the Record





## #7. Why This Election Will Leave a Mark

### *Annus Horribilis, By the Numbers*

62% have unfavorable view of incoming President, highest in history (Gallup)

8 in 10 voters say campaign left them repulsed rather than excited. (NYT/CBS)

81% of Evangelicals embraced a candidate who committed each of the “seven deadly sins” (greed, lust, gluttony, hubris, wrath, vainglory & sloth) during the campaign. (Exit poll)

84% of Liberals championed a candidate who intentionally frustrated transparency in government & made millions from Wall Street, multinationals and foreign entities weak on human rights. (Exit poll)

A majority of elected officials in both political parties believes the **FBI** inappropriately politicized its investigations.

82% of voters believe the Mainstream Media was biased in its coverage (Suffolk)

75 ongoing lawsuits involve President-Elect Trump (Media Matters)



2017

# The Road Ahead





# Key Periods Between Elections

Nov. 8 – Dec. 9

## Lame Duck Session

*Fund government into 2017; Defense;  
rest TBD*

## "First 100 Days"

*Roll out Cabinet & SCOTUS nominations; Undo  
Obama Executive Orders & Regulations;  
Introduce signature legislative initiatives*



695 Days Until the 2018  
Midterm Elections

*(from 11/30/16)*

## 115<sup>th</sup> Congress

*Major early actions include March 15<sup>th</sup> Debt  
Ceiling & Budget Reconciliation process*



# Lame Duck: What Gets Done?

## 16 Legislative Days scheduled post-election

(Nov. 14-17; Nov. 29-Dec. 8; Dec. 13-16 tbd)

Must Do	Strong Chance	Possible	
FY17 funding (CR into Q1 2017)	Pick Committee chairs & member assignments	Water Resources Development Act + Flint	Mine workers' pension reform
Leadership elections	National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA)	Energy Bill (+CA wild fire relief)	Veterans Administration reform
	Defense supplemental / Emergency spending	Fix JASTA (passed over veto)	"Orphaned" tax extenders
		Mental Health	School Nutrition
		Cures / Innovation health research	Post Office reauthorization
		Privacy: Block Rule 41 change; ECPA & ECTR	Medicare reforms (HOPD, Pt. B)





# First Two Years Are Critical



**Crime Bill; Brady Bill; Assault Weapons Ban; 100,000 cops**

**NAFTA; GATT**

**Reinventing Gov't Initiative**

**Deficit Reduction Bill (tax hike)**

**AmeriCorps**

**Family & Medical Leave Act**

**No Child Left Behind**

**2001 Tax Cuts (10-year cuts)**

**Patriot Act; DHS Bill**

**US-Russia Nuclear Arms deal**

**FTAs launched/concluded:  
Singapore, Chile, Australia,  
Morocco, CAFTA**

**\$787B Stimulus package**

**Affordable Care Act**

**Dodd-Frank**

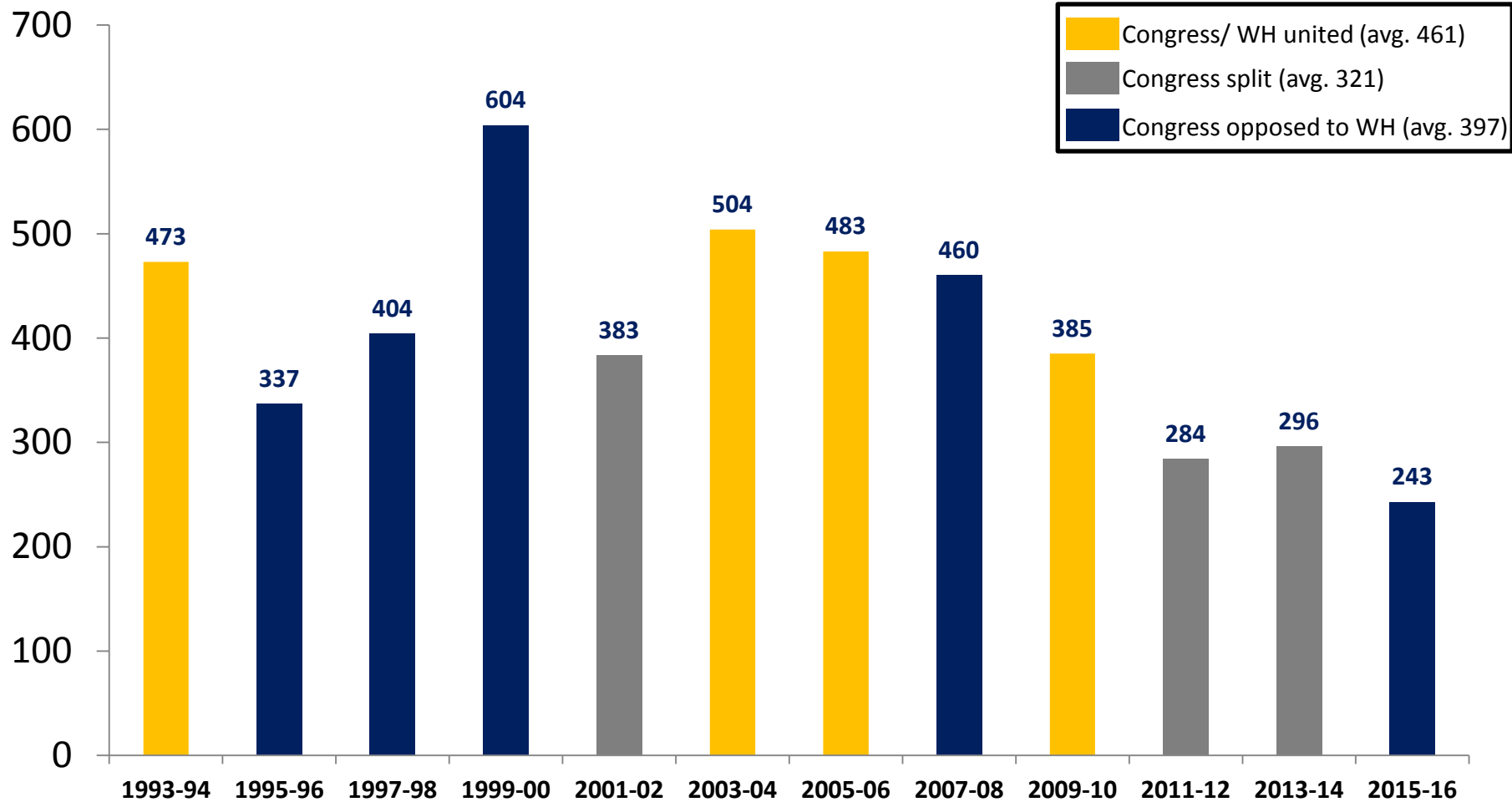
**2010 Tax Deal**

**Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act**



# Unified Control Usually Means More Legislation

## Number of Laws Made by Congress





# Areas Ripe for Significant Legislation in 2017



Tax Reform (repatriation) + Infrastructure



Securing the Borders / Legal Immigration



Trade Enforcement



Repeal & Replace ACA



Domestic Energy Production



Telecom Act Modernization & Cyber



Debt Ceiling / Sequestration Relief



Dodd-Frank Reform





# Trump Regulatory Agenda = Reversing Obama Regs+

*Live by the Phone & Pen, Die by the Phone & Pen*

## OBAMA ACTIONS AT RISK

- ✓ **ENERGY & CLIMATE**
  - ✓ Paris Climate Accords
  - ✓ EPA Clean Power Initiative
  - ✓ Keystone pipeline
- ✓ **TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES**
  - ✓ Treasury §385 regulations
  - ✓ Fiduciary Rule
  - ✓ Volker Rule
- ✓ **LABOR**
  - ✓ NLRB /DOL – Overtime Rule
  - ✓ Joint Employer Liability Standard
  - ✓ Persuader Rule
  - ✓ Contractor disclosure
- ✓ **HEALTH CARE**
  - ✓ ACA implementation delays
- ✓ **TELECOM & TECH**
  - ✓ Net Neutrality
  - ✓ Business Data Services re-regulation
- ✓ **OTHER**
  - ✓ DHS enforcement & deportations
  - ✓ Gun control
  - ✓ LGBT rights

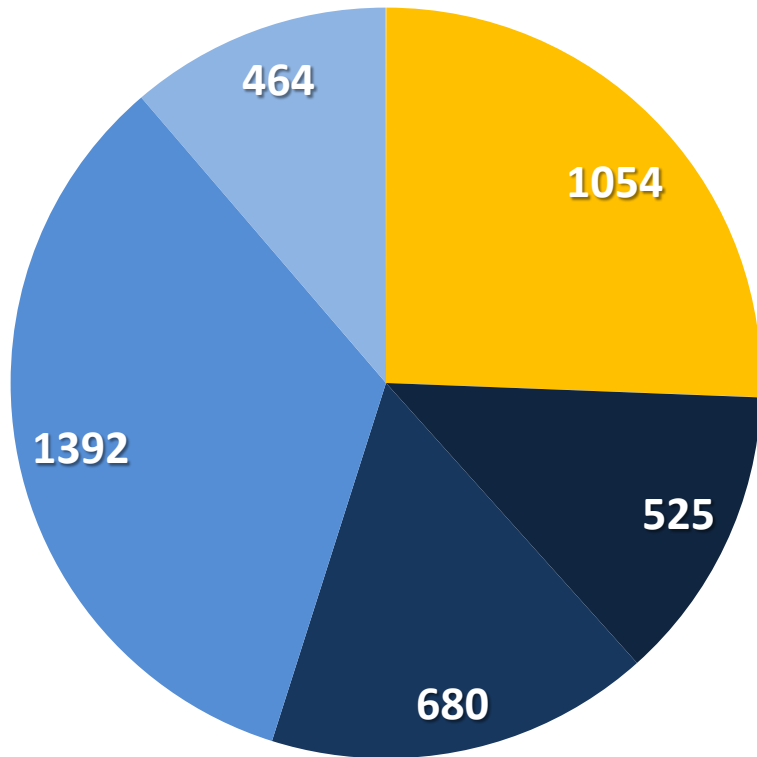
## TRUMP ACTIONS EXPECTED

- ✓ **TRADE**
  - ✓ Import tariffs
  - ✓ New thresholds for countervailing & anti-dumping duties via
  - ✓ Declare currency manipulation
- ✓ **IMMIGRATION**
  - ✓ Accelerate deportations ~2x (to 500k)
  - ✓ Cut-off fed'l grants to sanctuary cities
  - ✓ Slow pace of legal visas
  - ✓ Increase prevailing wage via new formula
- ✓ **HEALTH CARE**
  - ✓ Move towards premium support model, possibly thru CMMI authority
  - ✓ Expedite state Medicaid waivers
- ✓ **ENERGY & CLIMATE**
  - ✓ Expedite leasing on fed'l lands
  - ✓ Reform RFS
- ✓ **TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES**
  - ✓ Overturn Estate Tax regulations
  - ✓ Replace CFPB director; change in enforcement



# New Players Guarantee Energetic Action

## 4,115 New Policy Makers



- President-Appointed, Senate-Confirmed
- President-Appointed, No Confirmation
- Non-career Executive Service
- Confidential or policy-determining role
- Non-competitive positions by law

### Key Changes in the House of Representatives

- ~60 Freshman Members
- New GOP Chairs: Appropriations, Ed & Workforce, Energy & Commerce, Veterans Affairs Committees
- New DEM Ranking Members: Budget & Veterans Affairs

### Key Changes in U.S. Senate

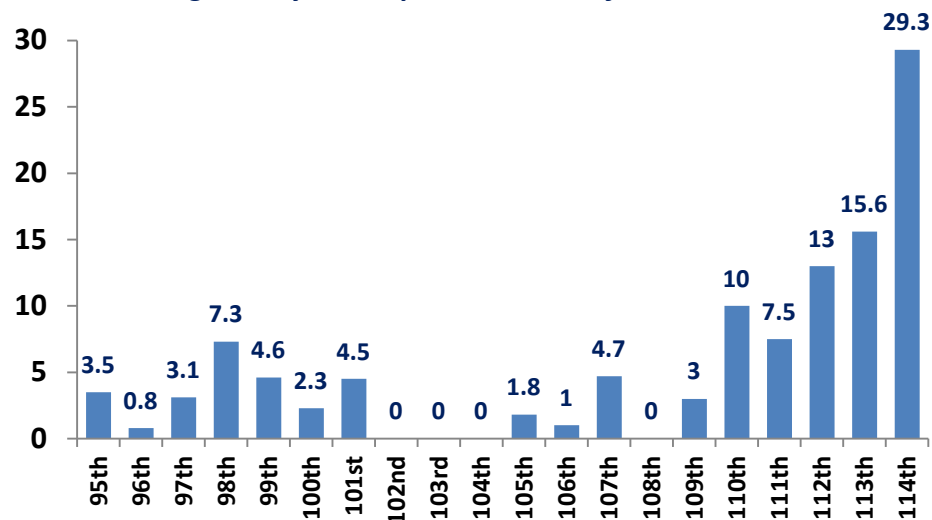
- 6 Freshman Senators
- New GOP Chairs: Banking, EPW, (more as Senators join Administration)
- New DEM Ranking Sens: Appropriations, Budget, EPW, HELP, Homeland Security



# Key Congressional Dynamics in 2017

## Confirmation Crisis Coming?

Avg. # "nays" cast per Cabinet confirmation vote

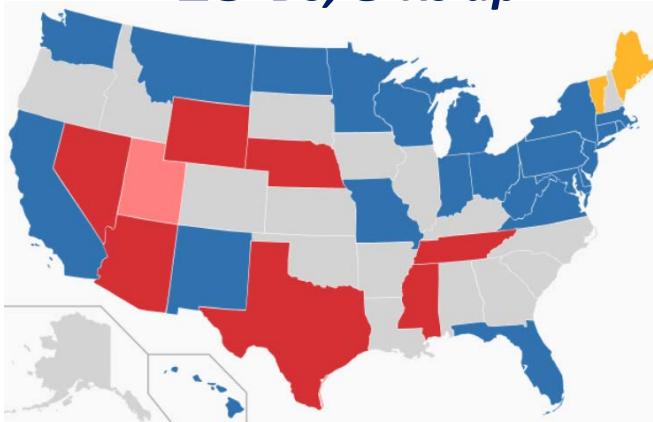


## GOP Civil War Resolved (for now)



## 2018 Battlefield Favors GOP

25 Ds, 8 Rs up



## Dem Civil War Commencing





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