

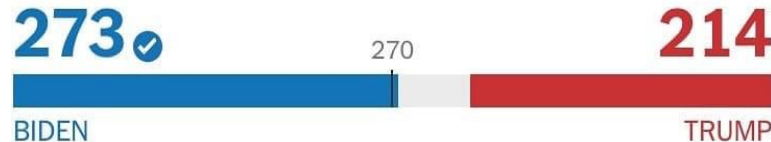


The 2020 Elections

Kathryn Pearson
Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Minnesota

BIDEN BEATS TRUMP

Harris Is First Woman Elected
Vice President



[See full presidential results >](#)

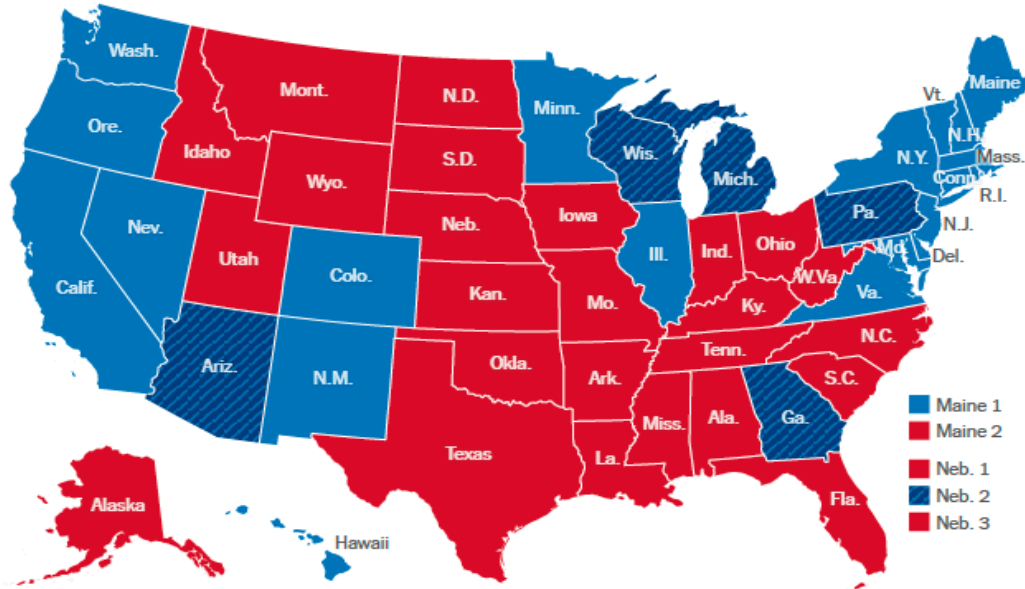
Presidential Election Results: Biden Wins

Joseph R. Biden Jr. was elected the 46th president of the United States on Nov. 7. Mr. Biden defeated President Trump after winning Pennsylvania, which put his total of Electoral College votes above the 270 he needed to clinch the presidency.

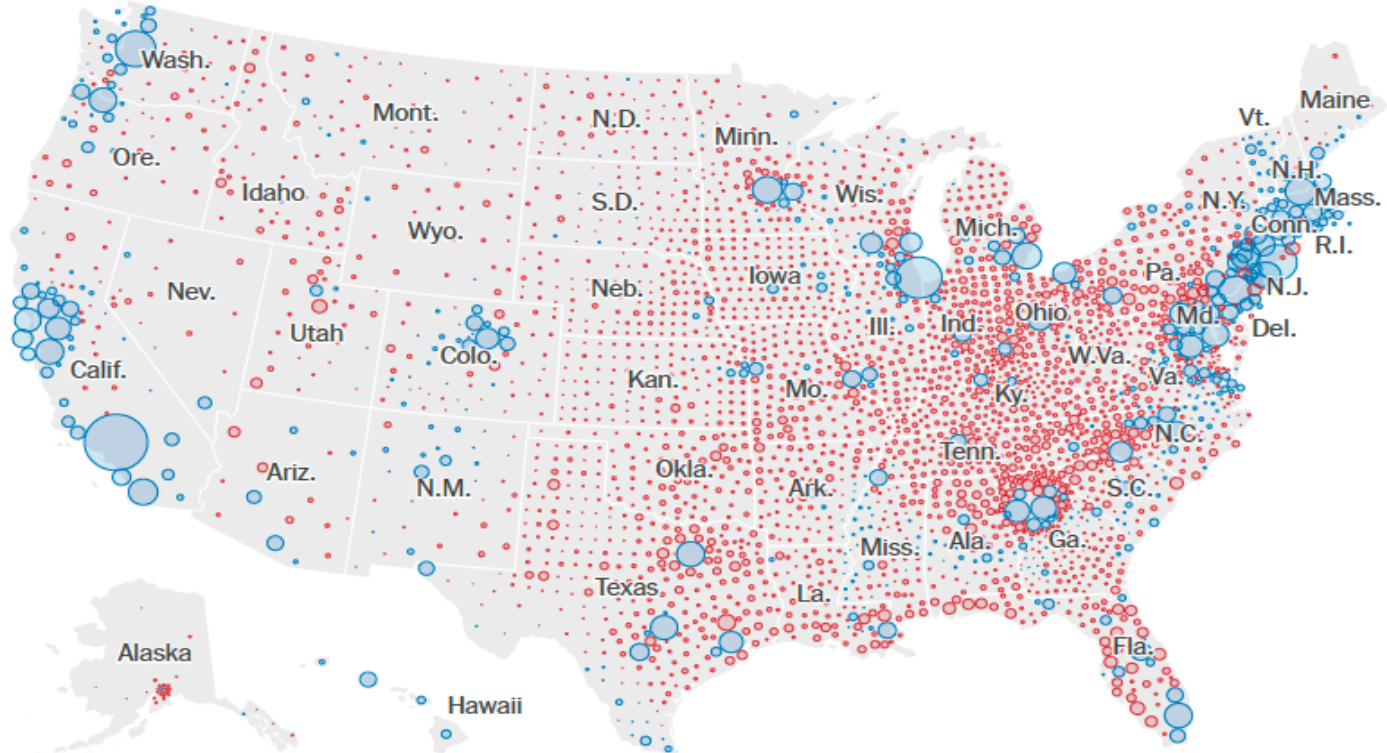
306
Biden

270
TO WIN

232
Trump



Partisan Divides



Source: *New York Times*

Unprecedented: no concession from the losing candidate

AT&T

2:40 PM

98%



Tweet



Donald J. Trump
@realDonaldTrump



STOP THE COUNT!

8:12 AM · 11/5/20 · [Twitter for iPhone](#)

97.3K Retweets **257K** Quote Tweets **556K** Likes



Donald J. Trump @realDonaldTrump · 17s



We have claimed, for Electoral Vote purposes, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (which won't allow legal observers) the State of Georgia, and the State of North Carolina, each one of which has a BIG Trump lead. Additionally, we hereby claim the State of Michigan if, in fact,.....



10



13



70



[Show this thread](#)

ELECTION OFFICIALS NATIONWIDE FIND NO FRAUD

Justices Signal Likely Reprive For Health Act

Two Conservatives Side With Liberal Faction

By ADAM LIPTAK

WASHINGTON — At least five Supreme Court justices, including two members of its conservative majority, indicated on Tuesday that they would reject attempts by Republicans and the Trump administration to kill the Affordable Care Act.

It was not clear whether the court would strike down a provision of the act that initially required most Americans to obtain insurance or pay a penalty, a requirement that was rendered toothless in 2017 after Congress zeroed out the penalty. But the bulk of the sprawling 2010 health care law, President Barack Obama's defining domestic legacy, appeared likely to survive its latest encounter with the court.

Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and Justice Brett M. Kavanaugh said striking down the so-called individual mandate did not require the rest of the law to be struck down as well.

"Congress left the rest of the law intact when it lowered the penalty to zero," Chief Justice Roberts said.

Justice Kavanaugh made a similar point. "It does seem fairly clear that the proper remedy would be to sever the mandate provision and leave the rest of the act in place — the provisions regarding pre-existing conditions and the rest," he said.

The court's three-member liberal wing — Justices Stephen G. Breyer, Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan — also indicated their support for the law. That suggested there were at least five votes to uphold almost all of it.

Three members of the court's conservative majority, Justices Clarence Thomas, Samuel A. Alito Jr. and Neil M. Gorsuch, seemed poised to vote to strike down the law. The court's newest member, Justice Amy Coney Barrett, was harder to read, though she has been publicly critical of earlier rulings.

Continued on Page A16

Fighting a False Claim

The president and his allies have baselessly claimed that rampant voter fraud stole victory from him. State officials say there were no irregularities that affected the outcome.

KANSAS
TRUMP +15



'Kansas did not experience any widespread, systematic issues with voter fraud, intimidation, irregularities or voting problems.'

The office of Secretary of State Scott Schwab, a Republican

MICHIGAN
BIDEN +3



'We have not seen any evidence of fraud or foul play in the actual administration of the election. What we have seen is that it was smooth, transparent, secure and accurate.'

The office of Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson, a Democrat

MINNESOTA
BIDEN +7



'I don't know of a single case where someone argued that a vote counted when it shouldn't have or didn't count when it should. There was no fraud.'

Secretary of State Steve Simon, a Democrat

OHIO
TRUMP +8



'There's a great human capacity for inventing things that aren't true about elections. The conspiracy theories and rumors and all those things run rampant.'

Secretary of State Frank LaRose, a Republican

PENNSYLVANIA
BIDEN +6-87



'Many of the claims against the commonwealth have already been dismissed, and repeating these false attacks is reckless. No active lawsuit even alleges, and no evidence presented so far has shown, widespread problems.'

The office of Attorney General Josh Shapiro, a Democrat

WASHINGTON
BIDEN +20



'It's just throwing grass at the fence at this point. See what sticks.'

The office of Secretary of State Kim Wyman, a Republican

Results as of Tuesday at 6:40 p.m. Eastern.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Members of Both Parties Praise Process — Rejection of the President's Narrative

This article is by Nick Corasaniti, Reid J. Epstein and Jim Rutenberg.

PHILADELPHIA — Election officials in dozens of states representing both political parties said that there was no evidence that fraud or other irregularities played a role in the outcome of the presidential race, amounting to a forceful rebuke of President Trump's portrait of a fraudulent election.

Over the last several days, the president, members of his administration, congressional Republicans and right wing allies have put forth the false claim that the election was stolen from Mr. Trump and have refused to accept results that showed Joseph R. Biden Jr. as the winner.

But top election officials across the country said in interviews and statements that the process had been a remarkable success despite record turnout and the complications of a dangerous pandemic.

'There's a great human capacity for inventing things that aren't true about elections,' said Frank LaRose, a Republican who serves as Ohio's secretary of state. 'The conspiracy theories and rumors and all those things run rampant. For some reason, elections breed that type of mythology.'

Steve Simon, a Democrat who is Minnesota's secretary of state,

said: "I don't know of a single case where someone argued that a vote counted when it shouldn't have or didn't count when it should. There was no fraud."

'Kansas did not experience any widespread, systematic issues with voter fraud, intimidation, irregularities or voting problems,' a spokeswoman for Scott Schwab, the Republican secretary of state in Kansas, said in an email Tuesday. 'We are very pleased with how the election has gone up to this point.'

The New York Times contacted the offices of the top election officials in every state on Monday and Tuesday to ask whether they suspected or had evidence of illegal voting. Officials in 45 states responded directly to The Times. For four of the remaining states, The Times spoke to other state-wide officials or found public comments from secretaries of state; none reported any major voting issues.

Statewide officials in Texas did not respond to repeated inquiries. But a spokeswoman for the top elections official in Harris County, the largest county in Texas with a population greater than many states, said that there were only a few minor issues and that "we had a very successful election." On Tuesday, the Republican lieutenant

Continued on Page A15

Trump Marshals Federal Power To Overturn His Election Defeat

By PETER BAKER
and LARA JAKES

WASHINGTON — President Trump, facing the prospect of leaving the White House in defeat in just 70 days, is harnessing the power of the federal government to resist the results of an election that he lost, something that no sitting president has done in American history.

In the latest sign of defiance, the president's senior cabinet secretary fueled concerns on Tuesday that Mr. Trump would resist handing over power to President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. after legal challenges to the vote. "There will be a smooth transition to a second



PHOTO BY JACQUELYN MATHIAS

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo expects a Trump victory.

retary Mark T. Esper as well as the heads of three other agencies while installing loyalists is a key po-

El Paso Buckles Under Strain as Infections Soar

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

U.S. Hits Record High

1,076 as of Tuesday — and is more than doubling its supply of mobile morgues, to 10 from four.



Donald J. Trump 
@realDonaldTrump

Why does the Fake News Media continuously assume that Joe Biden will ascend to the Presidency, not even allowing our side to show, which we are just getting ready to do, how badly shattered and violated our great Constitution has been in the 2020 Election. It was attacked,..

8:46 PM · 11/15/20 · Twitter for iPhone

26.1K Retweets 3,551 Quote Tweets 109K Likes



Donald J. Trump 
@realDonaldTrump · 50m
Replying to @realDonaldTrump

....perhaps like never before! From large numbers of Poll Watchers that were thrown out of vote counting rooms in many of our States, to millions of ballots that have been altered by Democrats, only for Democrats, to voting after the Election was over, to using Radical Left

 [This claim about election fraud is disputed](#)

 3,036  12.3K  60.2K 



Donald J. Trump 
@realDonaldTrump · 50m

....owned Dominion Voting Systems, turned down by Texas and many others because it was not good or secure, those responsible for the safeguarding of our Constitution cannot allow the Fake results of the 2020 Mail-In Election to stand. The World is watching!

 [This claim about election fraud is disputed](#)



The Washington Post

metropolitan Washington.

SU V1

g rain 74/65 • Tomorrow: Mostly cloudy, showers 77/68 B8

Democracy Dies in Darkness

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2020 • \$2

York Times

MBER 25, 2020

\$3.00

Washington Edition

Today, mostly cloudy, showers for some, high 73. **Tonight**, mostly cloudy, showers in areas, fog, low 64. **Tomorrow**, mostly cloudy, showers, high 77. Weather map, Page A24.

PRESIDENT AGAIN REJECTS PROMISE TO HONOR A VOTE

*Unclear Ballot Rules
Add to the Anxiety*

*G.O.P. Vows Respect
for Election Result*



ELECTION 2020

Trump again says he may not abide by election results

PLEDGES DEFERENCE TO A HIGH COURT RULING

Democratic officials strategize about potential options

BY PHILIP RUCKER,
AMY GARDNER
AND ANNIE LINSKEY

President Trump reiterated Thursday that he may not honor the results should he lose reelection, reaffirming his extraordinary refusal to commit to a peaceful transition of power and

totals. He said he might not accept the results if they show him losing to Democratic nominee Joe Biden. He said it was imperative to quickly fill the Supreme Court vacancy created by the death of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg because the nation's high court could determine the winner of the election.

Political Context: The Fundamentals Matter (even in a very strange election)

- Incumbency?
- State of the Nation
- Electoral College and Political Geography
- Narrowly – and deeply – divided electorate

INCUMBENTS

Since the founding, sitting incumbent presidents have run for reelection 31 times

20 Wins

11 Losses

They have won about twice as often as they have lost. (65%)

1792 **Washington**

1800 Adams

1804 **Jefferson**

1812 **Madison**

1820 **Monroe**

1828 J.Q. Adams

1832 **Jackson**

1840 Van Buren

1864 **Lincoln**

1872 **Grant**

1888 Cleveland

1892 Harrison

1900 **McKinley**

1904 **T Roosevelt**

1912 Taft

1916 **Wilson**

1932 Hoover

1936 **F.D. Roosevelt**

1940 **F.D. Roosevelt**

1944 **F.D. Roosevelt**

1948 **Truman**

1956 **Eisenhower**

1972 **Nixon**

1976 Ford

1980 Carter

1984 **Reagan**

1992 G.H.W. Bush

1996 **Clinton**

2004 **G.W. Bush**

2012 **Obama**

2020 Trump

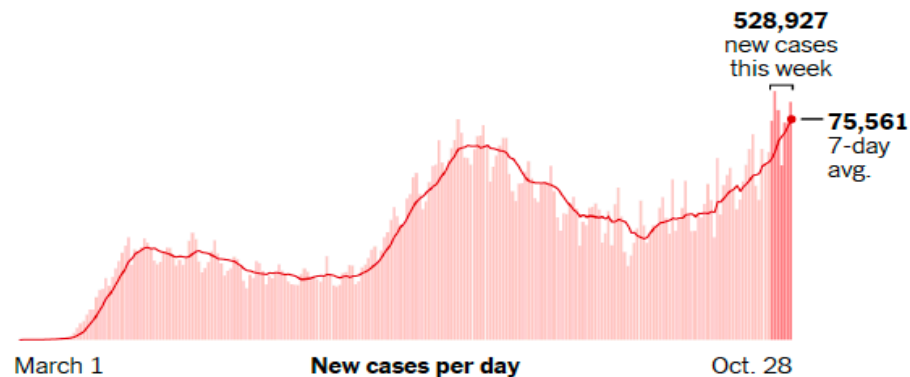
Source: Hans Noel

Referendum on President Trump



PHOTO ILLUSTRATIONS: BLOOMBERG, GETTY IMAGES (2)

Coronavirus



United States Records Its Worst Week Yet for Virus Cases

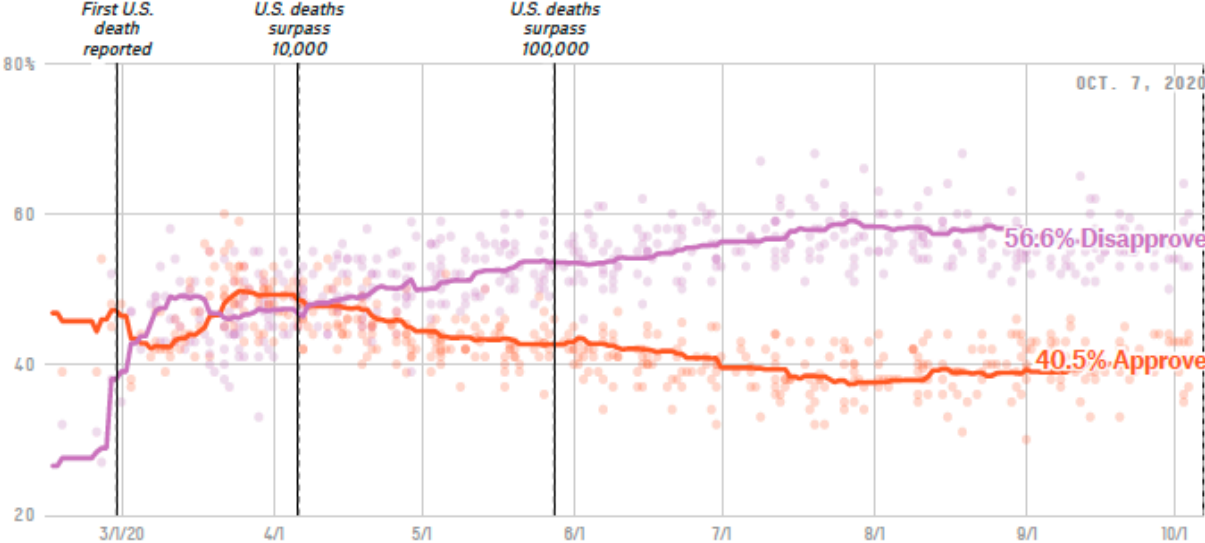
By Lauren Leatherby Oct. 30, 2020

New York Times

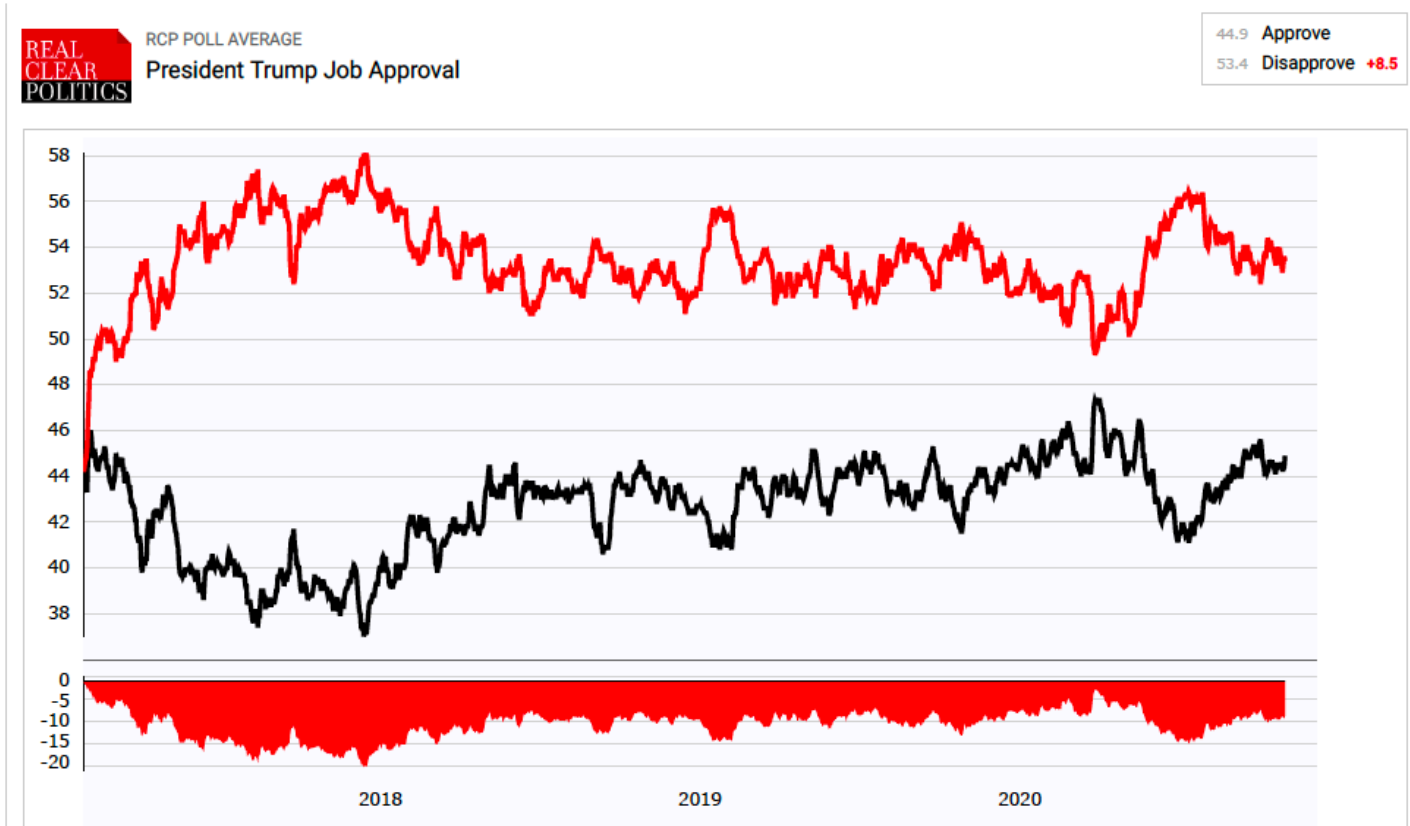
Coronavirus

Do Americans approve of Trump's response to the coronavirus crisis?

A calculation of the share of all Americans who approve of the president's handling of the coronavirus outbreak



Consistent Presidential Disapproval, 2017-Present





Donald Trump



Joseph R. Biden Jr.

Was your vote for president mainly:

For your candidate
71% of voters

52

47

Against his opponent
24%

30

67

National Exit Polls: **preliminary estimates** from exit polls of 15,590 voters conducted by Edison Research for the National Election Pool. These surveys interviewed voters outside of polling places or early voting sites, or by phone (to account for mail-in voters).

Fivethirtyeight's Electoral College Forecast Nov. 2

Biden ▾ 319

125 Trump ▾

220

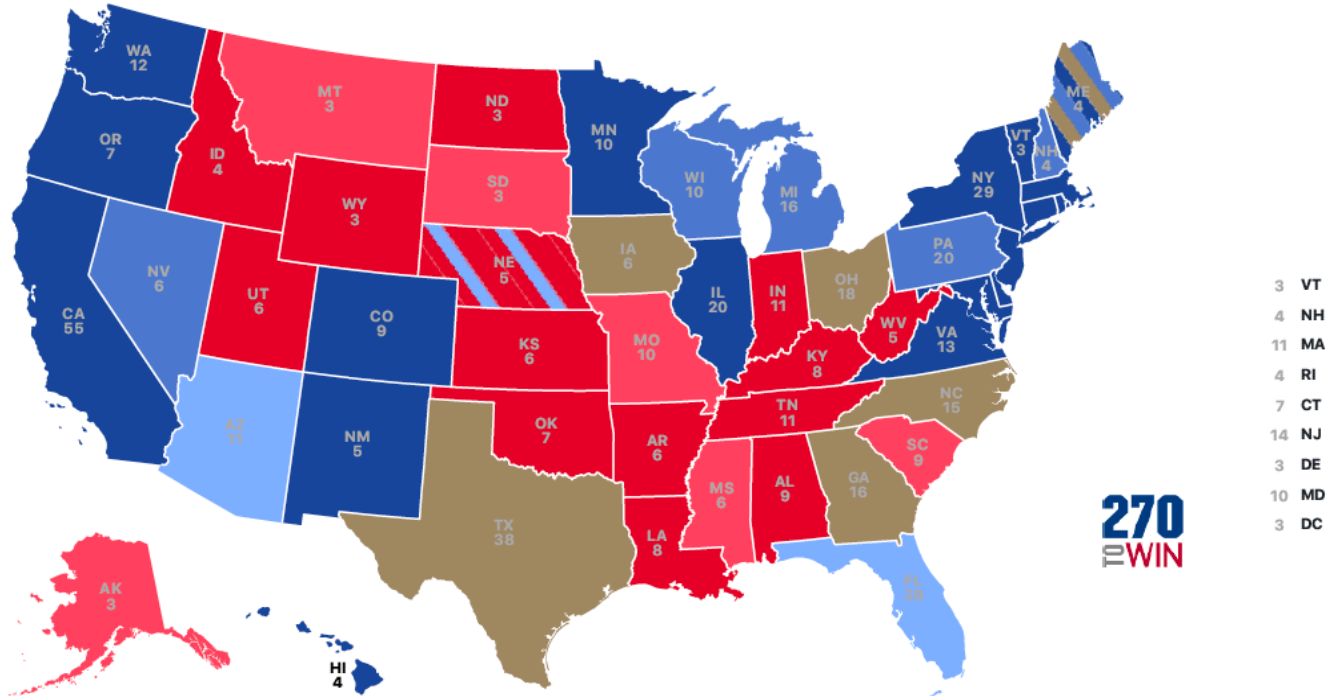
58

41

94

34

91

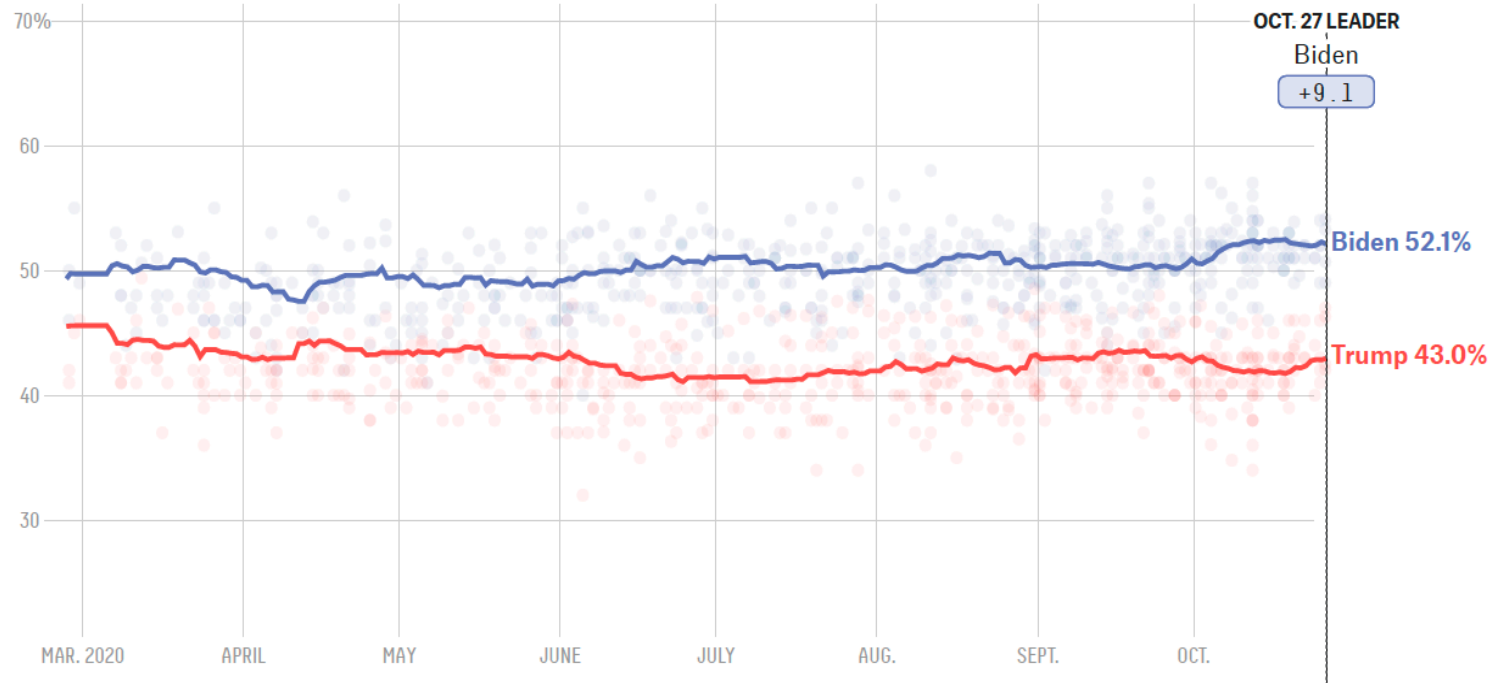


Map Updated: Nov. 2, 2020 at 20:00 UTC (3:00 PM EST)

2020 Polls

Who's ahead in the national polls?

An updating average of 2020 presidential general election polls, accounting for each poll's quality, sample size and recency



The Polls Were Off in 2020 – Again!

- Once again, polls underestimated support for Trump and other Republicans
- 2016 explanations:
 - State polls didn't properly weight (account for) respondents without a college degree
 - 18 point gap among whites with/without college degrees in vote choice
 - Large number of undecided voters appeared to break sharply to Trump in the final stretch
- What happened in 2020? Possibilities:
 - Pollsters were wrong about what happened in 2016 and so the fixes left them no better off
 - Survey research has gotten even more challenging since 2016, and whatever steps pollsters took to improve after 2016 were canceled out by a new set of problems
 - Biden supporters more likely to respond to polls
 - Higher turnout than expected

[Donald J. Trump wins Alaska](#) · 10:38 AM ET

National Exit Polls: How Different Groups Voted

The numbers on this page are **preliminary estimates** from exit polls conducted by Edison Research for the National Election Pool. These surveys interviewed voters outside of polling places or early voting sites, or by phone (to account for mail-in voters).

Results from interviews with 15,590 voters are shown below. These numbers will be updated as more data becomes available, and they will eventually be adjusted to match the actual vote count.

While exit polls offer an initial indication of how groups voted on election night, they are not perfect. The polls are not precise enough to distinguish between, say, 53 percent support or 50 percent support from a certain group. Like any survey, they are subject to sampling error, and they rely on estimates of how many people voted in each group.

Demographic



Donald Trump



Joseph R. Biden Jr.

Are you male or female?

Male 48% of voters	53%	45%
Female 52%	42	57



Donald Trump



Joseph R. Biden Jr.

On most political matters, do you consider yourself:

Liberal 24% of voters	10	89
Moderate 40%	33	64
Conservative 37%	84	14

No matter how you voted today, do you usually think of yourself as a:

Democrat 37% of voters	6	94
Republican 35%	93	6
Independent or something else 28%	40	54

Gender and Race in 2020



Donald Trump



Joseph R. Biden Jr.

Are you white or nonwhite?

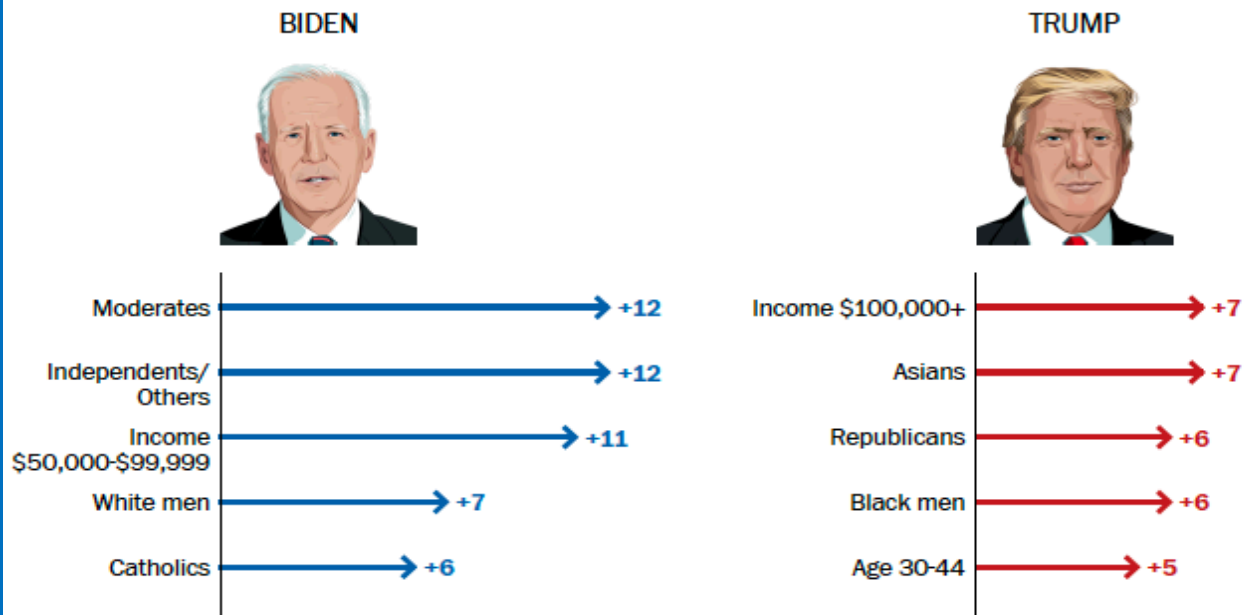
White 67% of voters	58	41
Nonwhite 33%	26	71

What is your gender and racial or ethnic heritage?

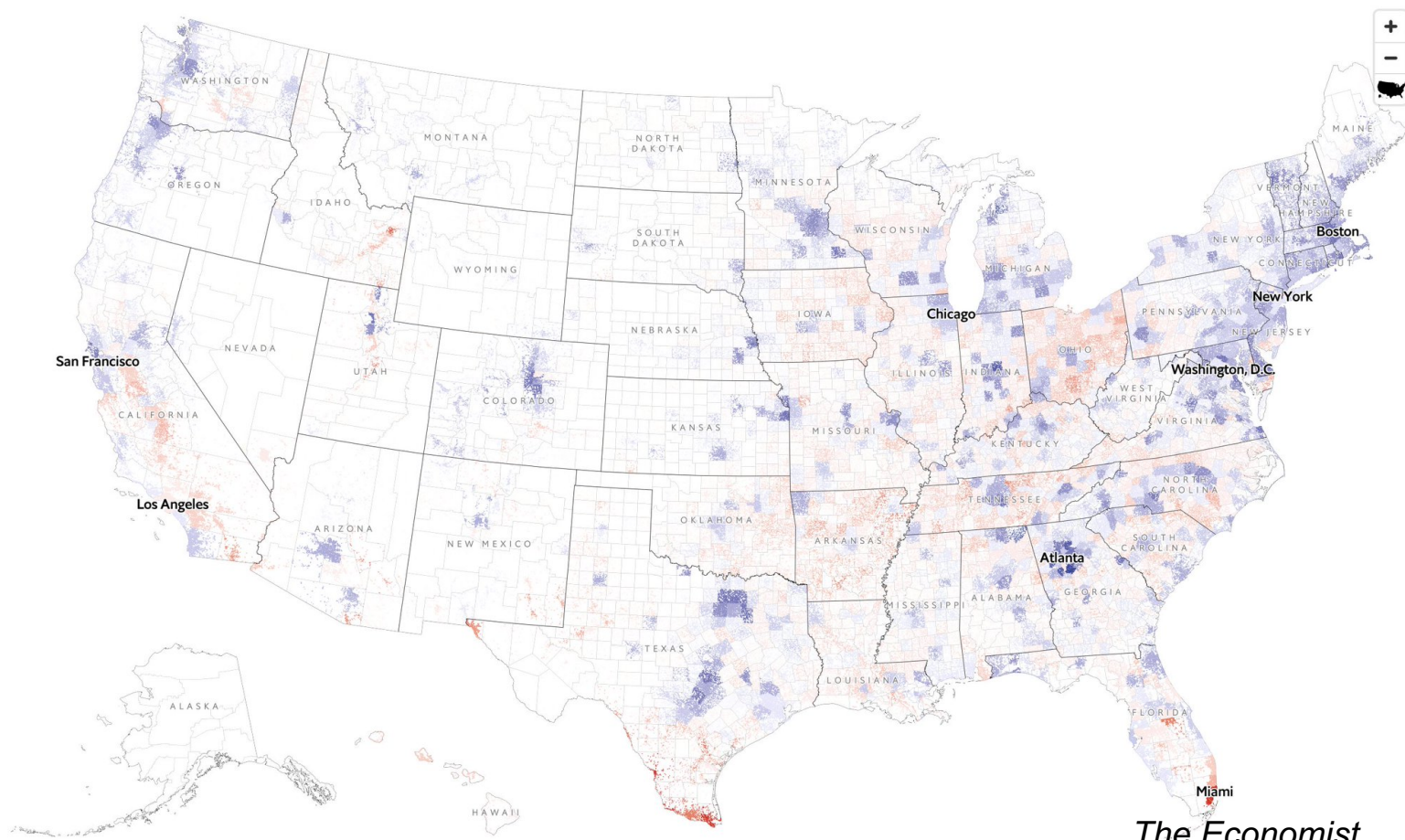
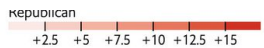
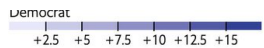
White men 35% of voters	61	38
White women 32%	55	44
Black men 4%	19	79
Black women 8%	9	90
Latino men 5%	36	59
Latino women 8%	30	69
All other races 8%	38	58

How independents, Latino voters and Catholics shifted from 2016 and swung states for Biden and Trump

These are the biggest demographic shifts in the 2020 election



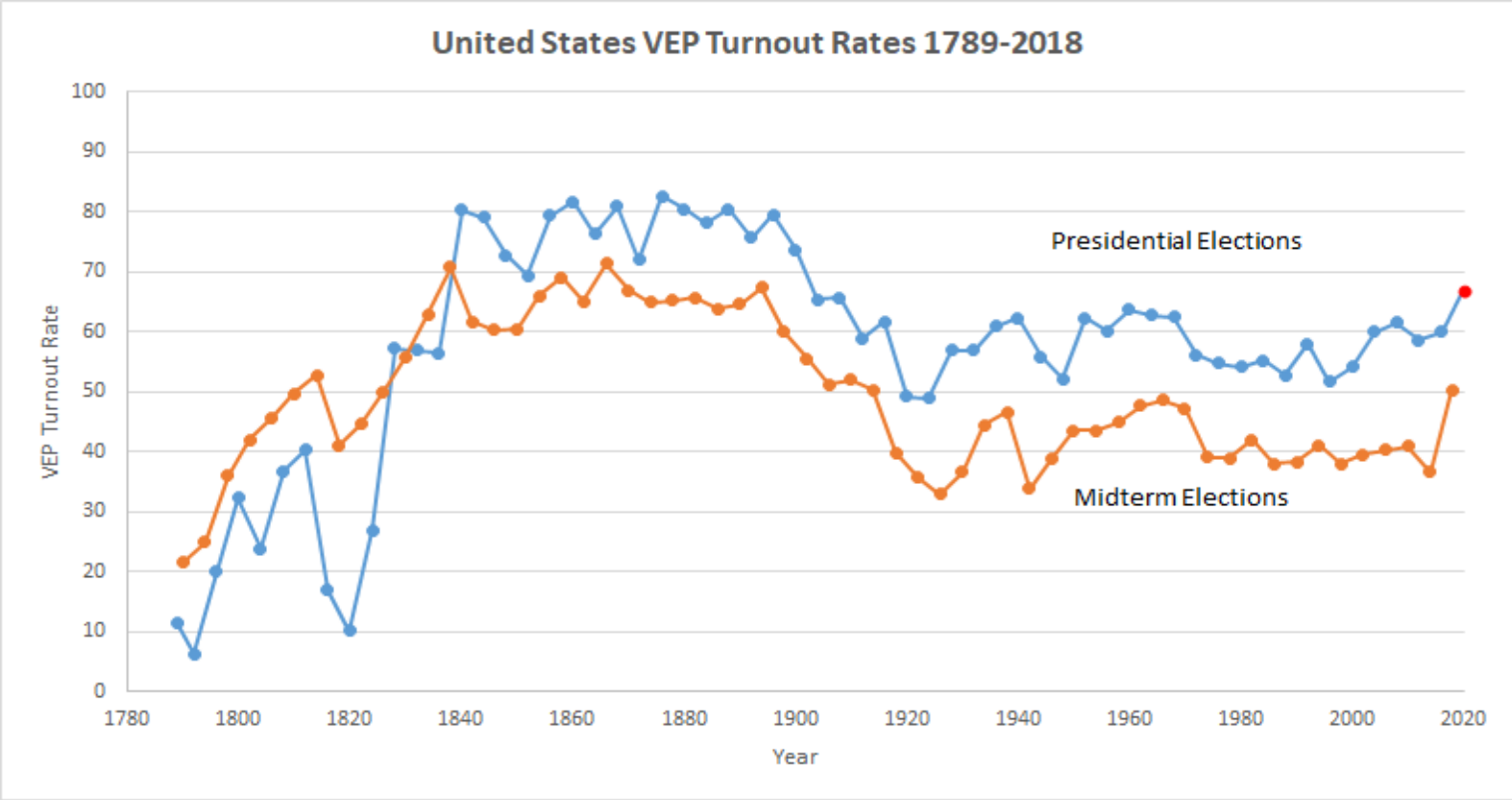
Change in win margin 2016-20, scaled by population density



The Economist

Estimated margin for counties with less than 95% of votes reported

Record Voter Turnout: 66.4%



Source: Michael McDonald

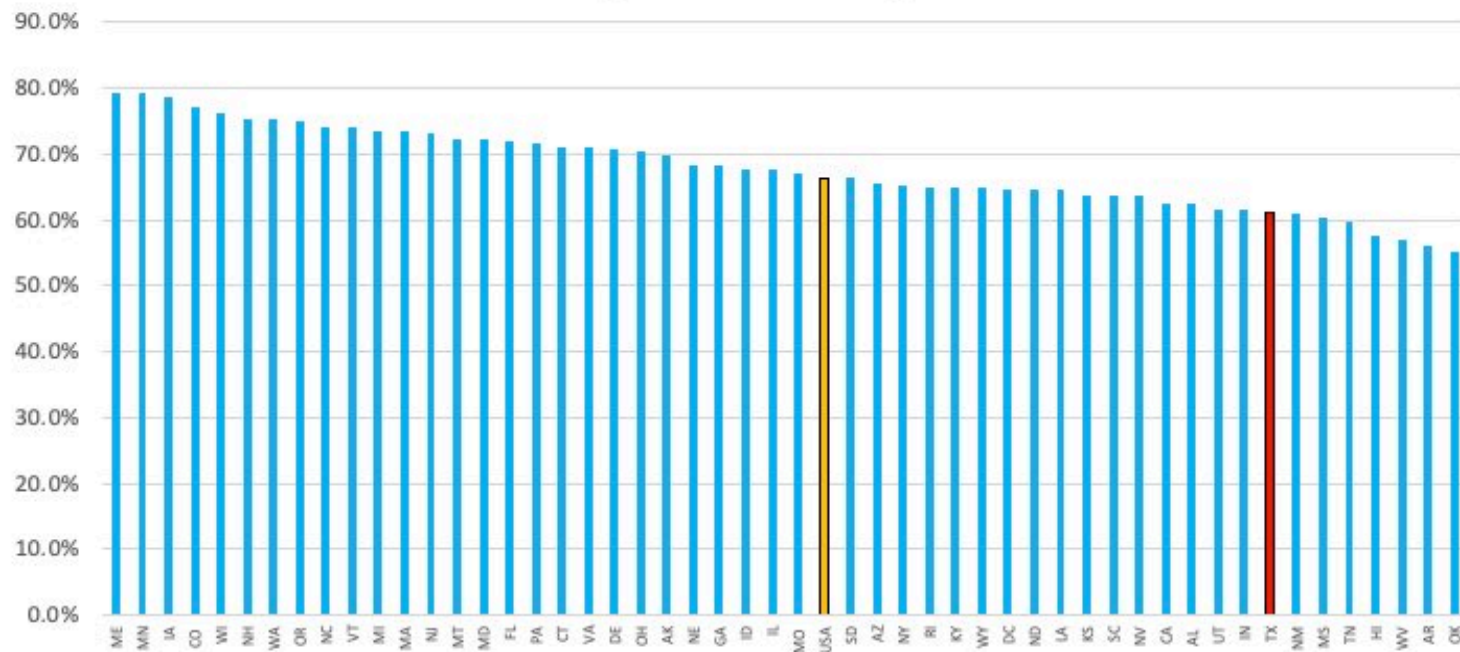


State Voting Laws Matter

- States vary greatly, with consequences for residents and the country
- Ease of voter registration and absentee ballots
- In Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, officials couldn't begin processing and counting absentee ballots until Election Day
- In Michigan, clerks could begin processing ballots only the day before Election Day

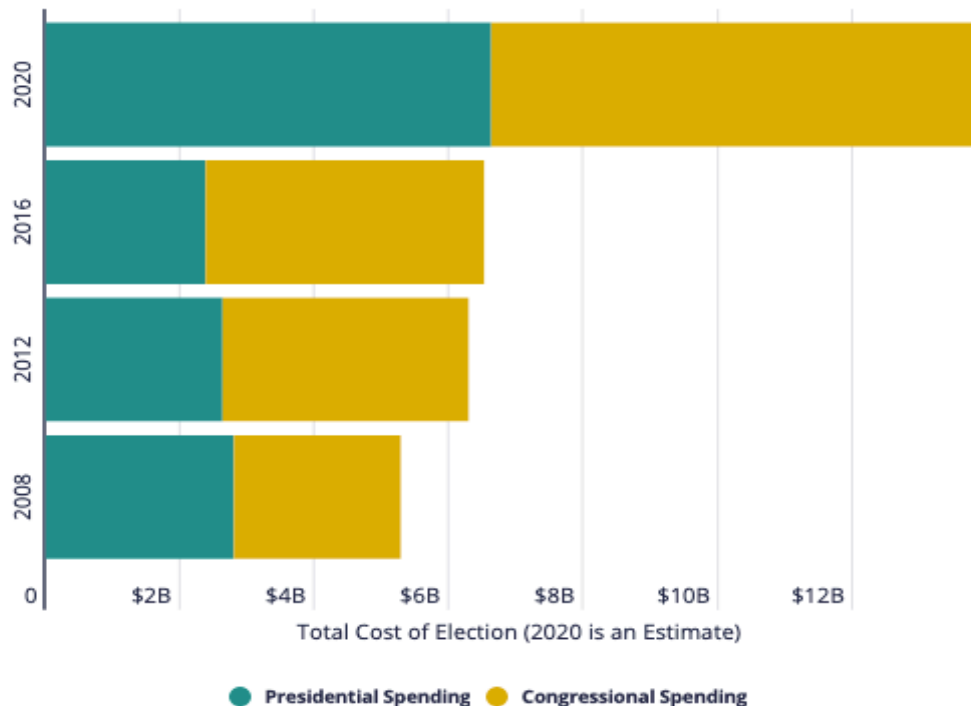
2020 Turnout Rates

% of eligible voters casting votes



2020 Election to Crush Spending Records

OpenSecrets projects total federal spending in the 2020 election will near \$14 billion, establishing itself as the most expensive election in U.S. history by a large margin.



Share

MN Senator Tina Smith (D) Re-elected, 48.8% - 43.5%



U.S. House Elections

Democrats lost at least 6 seats, but not the majority

Most incumbents reelected

Combination of incumbency advantage and partisan advantage

U.S. House Election Results

Democrats held onto their majority in the House after securing the 218 seats needed to control the chamber. Republicans narrowed their disadvantage by flipping at least nine seats.

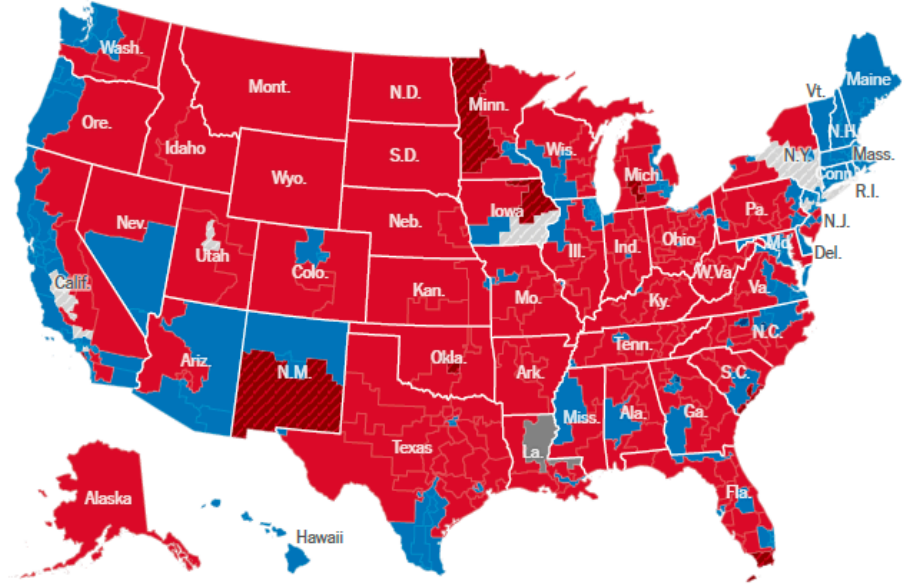
218
Dem.

15
remaining

202
Rep.

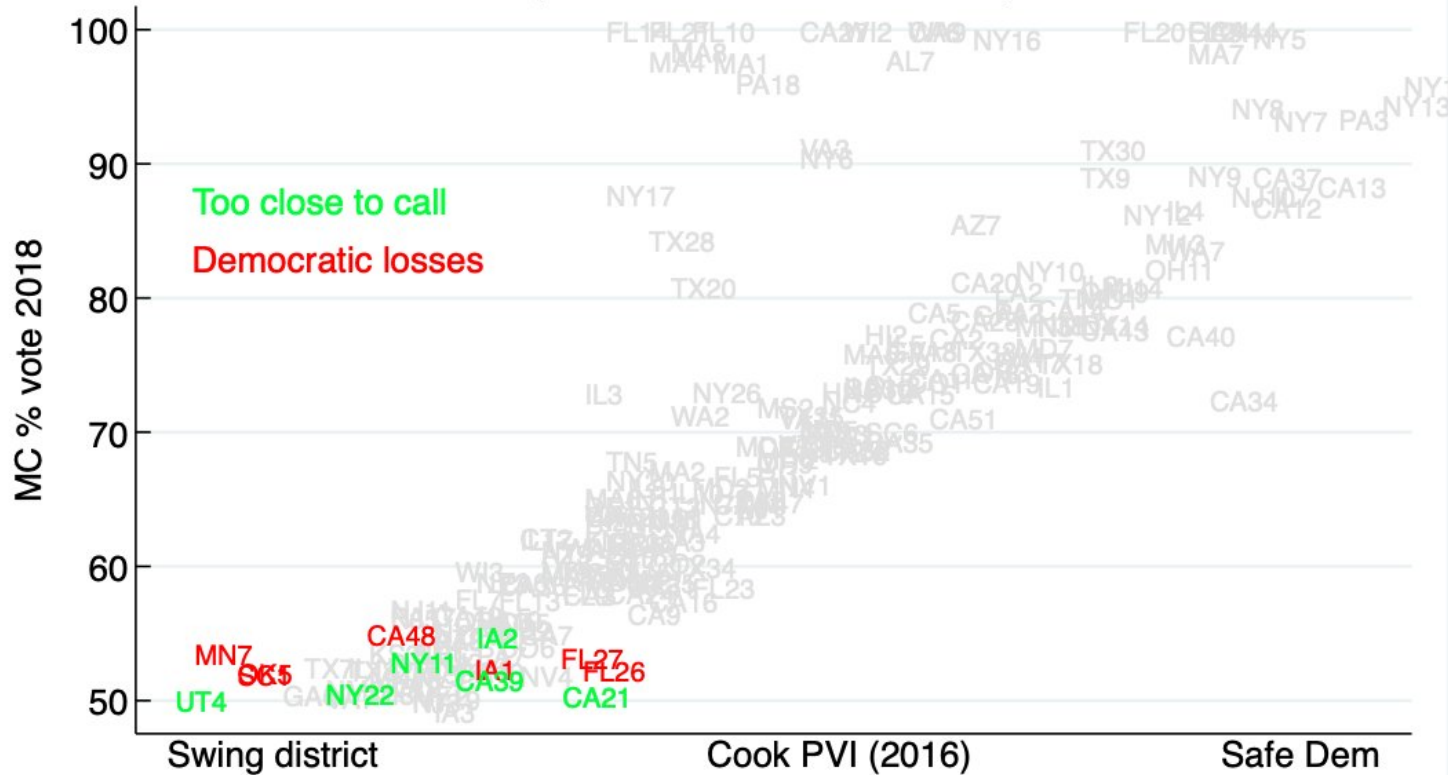
Flipped 3 seats

218



House Democrats' losses concentrated in vulnerable districts

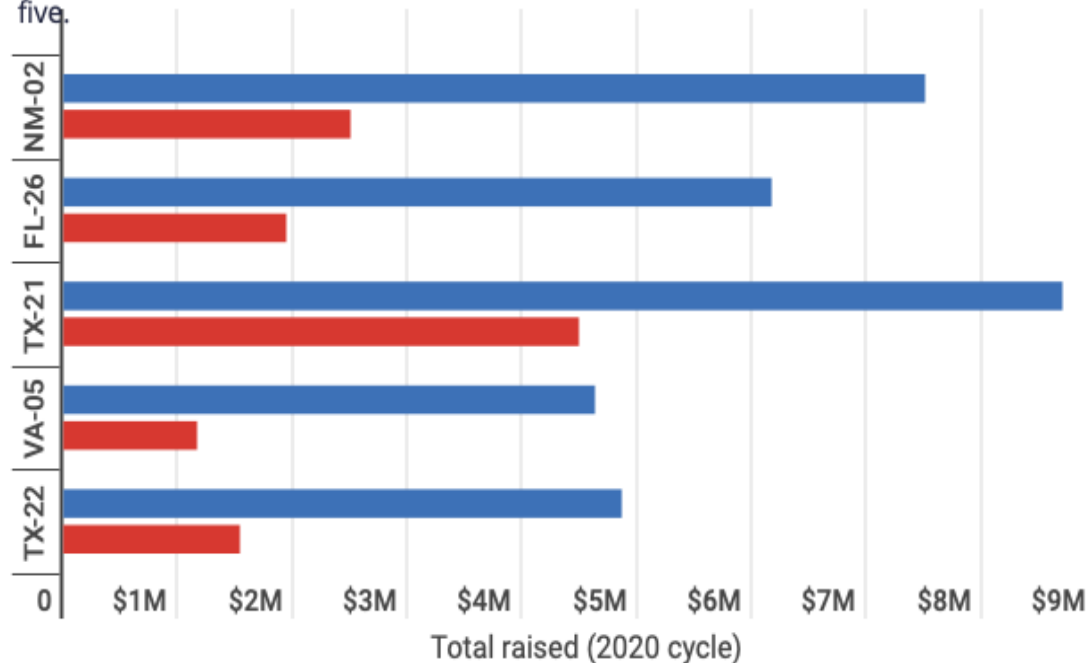
(2020 elections as of Nov. 9)



Source: Sarah Binder

Republicans win toss-up House races with less funding

In nine of the most competitive House races, Democrats outraised GOP candidates by over \$3 million. Of these races, six have been called and Republicans have won five.



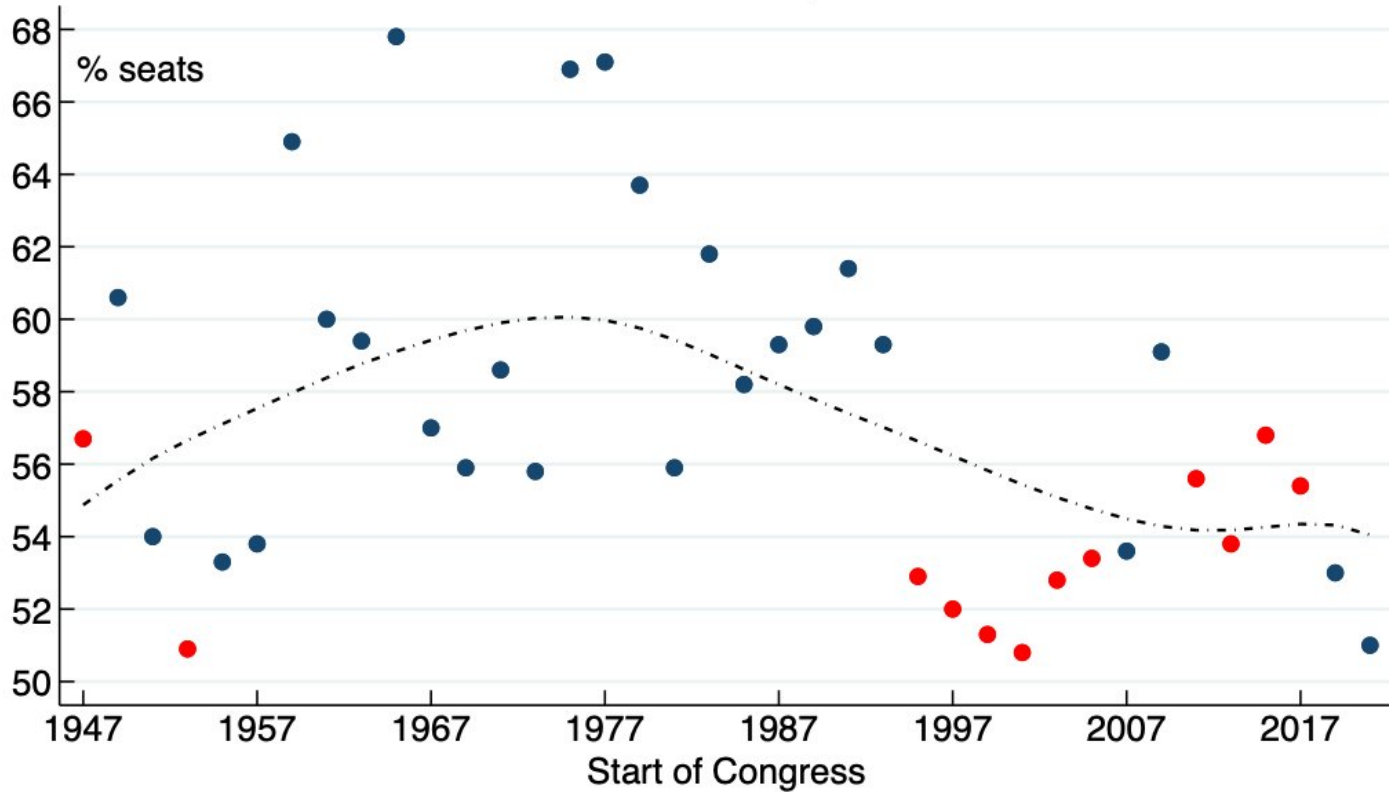
● Democrat Fundraising ● Republican Fundraising

Biden did not
have coattails

Trump did not
seem to hurt
Republican
candidates

Republicans expected to win narrowly		
DISTRICT	MARGIN	RPT.
Alaska 1	R+27	56%
Calif. 50	R+4	78%
Calif. 4	R+6	81%
Calif. 22	R+7	✓ 86%
Colo. 3	R+6	✓ 94%
Fla. 15	R+11	✓ 94%
Fla. 16	R+11	✓ 98%
Fla. 18	R+15	✓ 94%
Kan. 2	R+14	✓ >98%
Ky. 6	R+18	✓ 93%
Mich. 6	R+16	✓ 96%
Mont. 1	R+12	✓ 98%
N.Y. 1	R+23	77%
N.C. 8	R+7	✓ 90%
N.C. 9	R+11	✓ 92%
N.C. 11	R+12	✓ >98%
Ohio 10	R+17	✓ 89%
Ohio 12	R+14	✓ 96%
Pa. 1	R+15	✓ 89%
Pa. 16	R+24	✓ 84%
Texas 3	R+12	✓ >98%
Texas 31	R+9	✓ >98%
Texas 2	R+14	✓ 97%
Texas 6	R+9	✓ 93%
Texas 25	R+14	✓ 95%
Wash. 3	R+10	>98%

House Democrats' majority will likely be their slimmest of the postwar era*

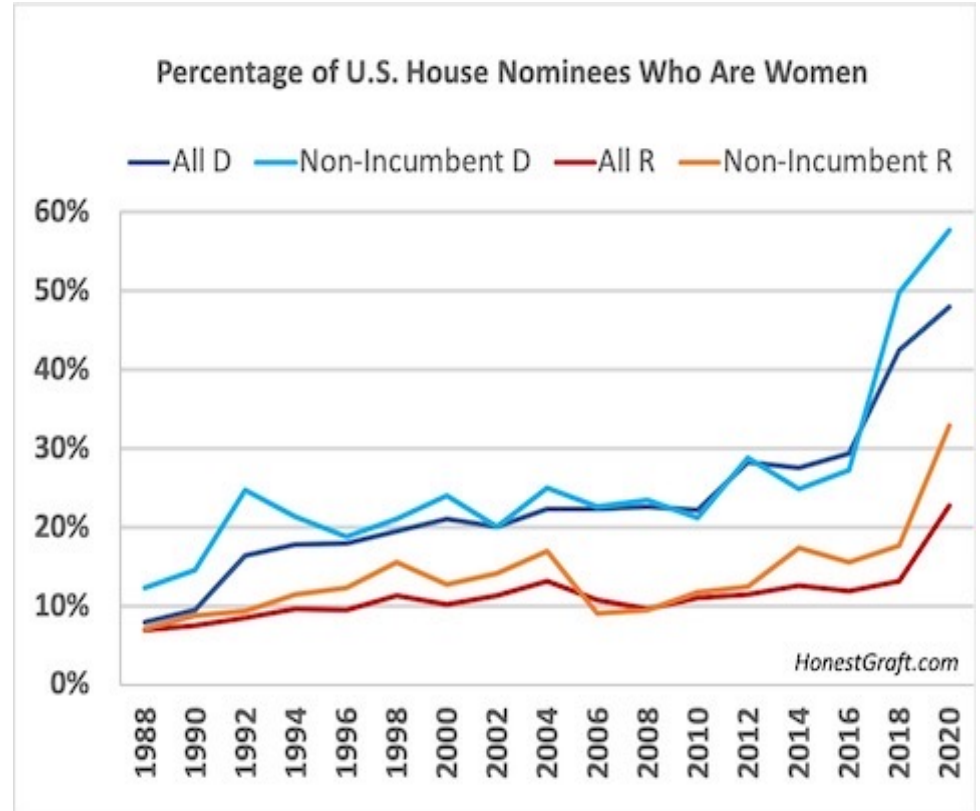


* 8 seats yet to be called (Nov. 10, 2020)

Source: Sarah Binder

Women setting records

- 298 women House candidates
 - 204 Democratic women, 94 Republican women
- At least 117 (89D, 28R) women will serve in the U.S. House, a new record
- 24 (16D, 8R) women will serve in the U.S. Senate





Minnesota U.S. House

- Jim Hagedorn (1)
- ***Michelle Fischbach (7)***
- Tom Emmer (6)
- Jim Stauber (8)
- Angie Craig (2)
- Dean Phillips (3)
- Betty McCollum (4)
- Ilhan Omar (5)

Rep. Collin Peterson (MN - 7) defeated

- MN - 7 voters supported Trump in 2016 and 2020 by around 30 points
- Michelle Fischbach spent \$1.7 million, Peterson spent \$1.8 million
- \$13,796,314 in outside spending
 - \$8.1 million in support of Fischbach

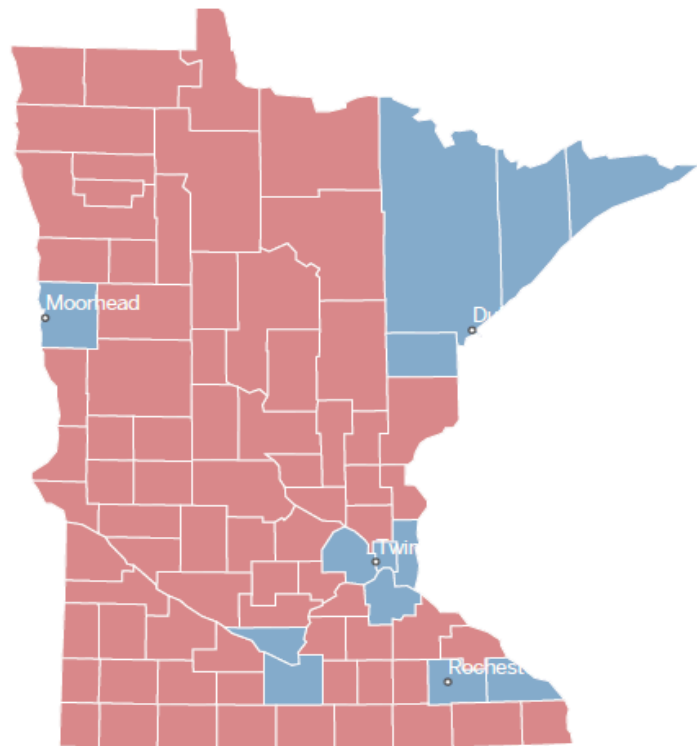
PETERSON, AG COMMITTEE CHAIR, DEFEATED AFTER THREE DECADES IN HOUSE

By Chuck Abbott
11/4/2020



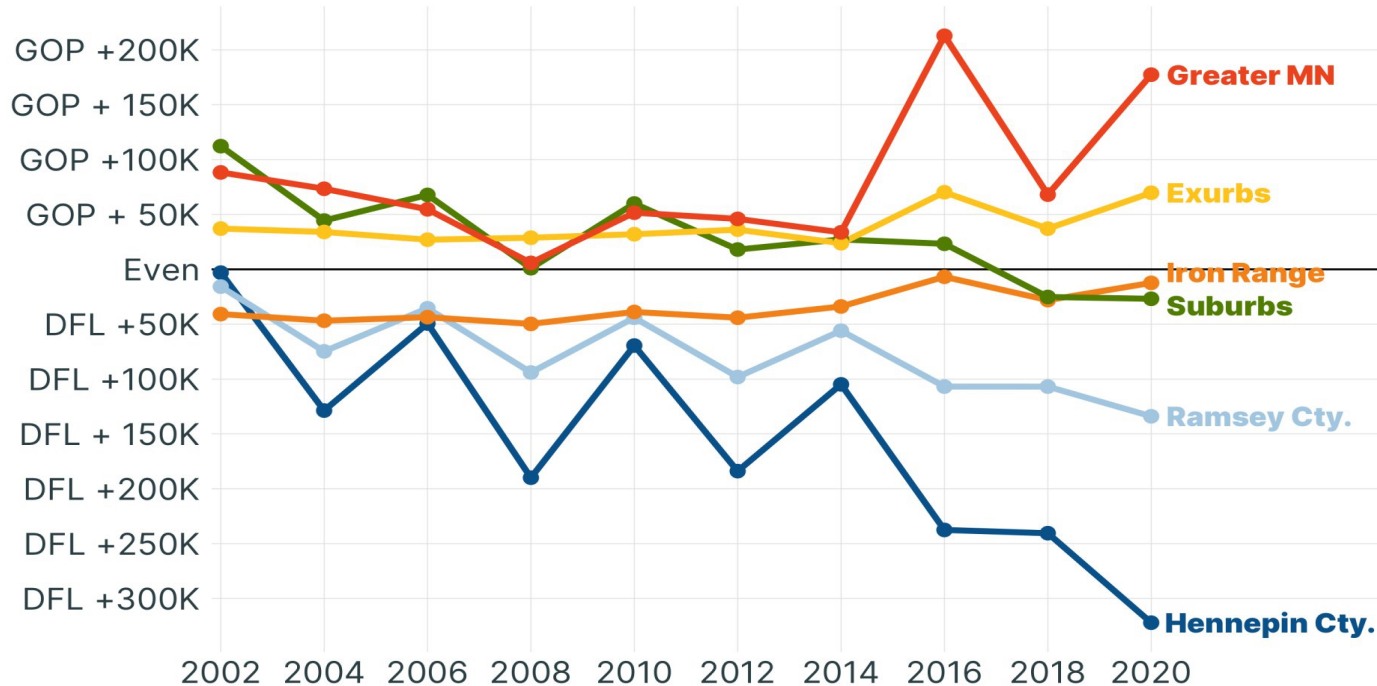
Minnesota

- Biden: 52.6%
- Trump: 45.4%
- 3rd party: 1.6%
- Turnout: 79.9%



Electoral margins, 2002-2020

In presidential or gubernatorial race each year



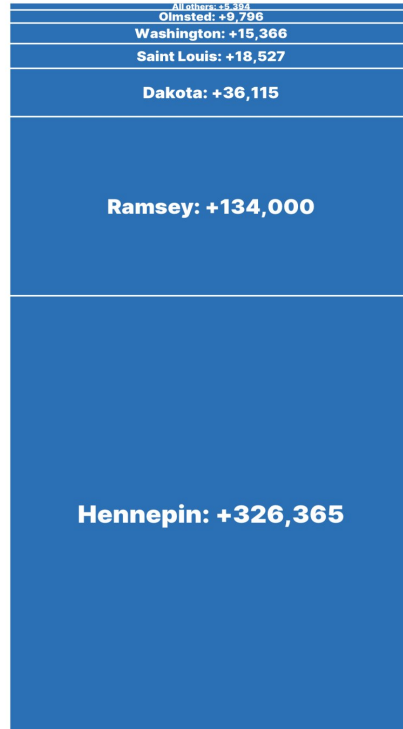
Suburban counties are Anoka, Carver, Dakota, Scott and Washington. Exurban counties are Chisago, Isanti, Le Sueur, Mille Lacs, Sibley, Sherburne and Wright. "Iron Range" is St. Louis, Aitkin, Carlton, Cook, Itasca, Koochiching and Lake counties.

Source: MN Secretary of State. Graph by David H. Montgomery.

Cumulative 2020 victory margin by MN county

Net votes gained by winner in counties won by Biden and Trump

Total: +545,563



Biden won

Total: +313,183



Trump won

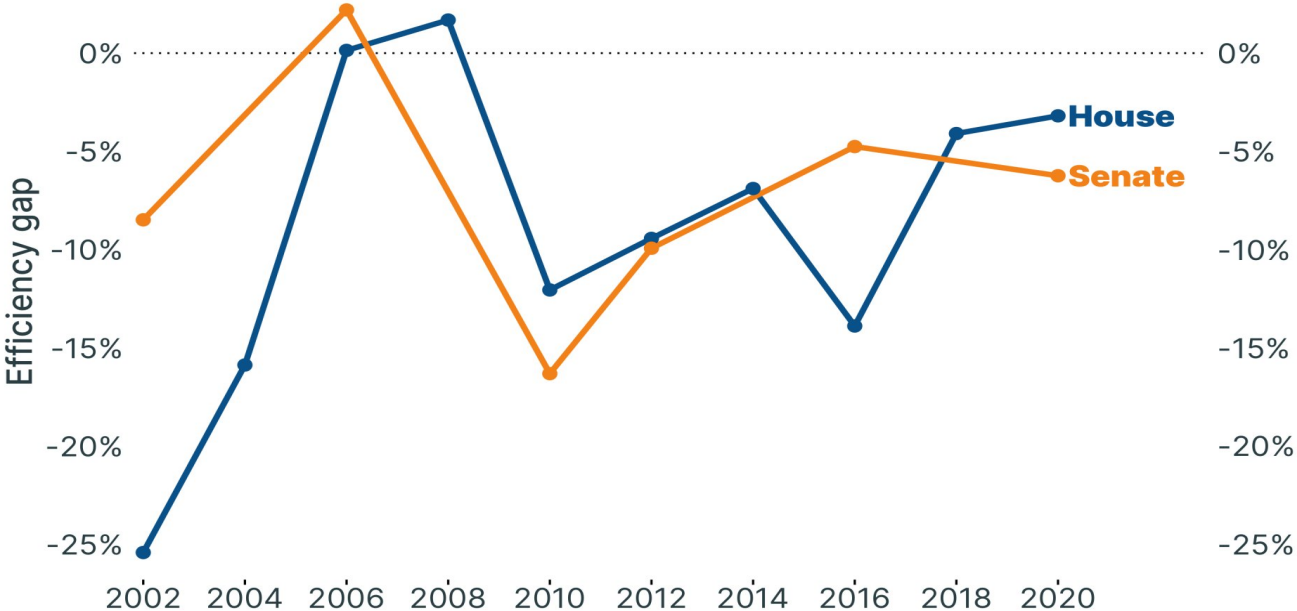


Minnesota Legislature

- Republicans maintain control of Minnesota State Senate
 - 34-31-2
- “Efficiency gap” hurts DFL
- DFL maintains control of Minnesota State House, 70-64
- Republicans picked up seats
- Divided government

DFL faces "efficiency gap" in legislative races

A negative value means DFL candidates for the Minn. Legislature "wasted" more votes in uncompetitive races in a year than Republicans



Source: Nicholas Stephanopoulos and Eric McGhee, MN Secretary of State.
Graph by David H. Montgomery | MPR News



President Biden and a Republican Senate (?)*

- Democrats' agenda of economic stimulus, strengthening the ACA, and paring back 2017 tax cuts will be tough
- Biden will be the first president since George H.W. Bush to start without unified party control*
- House Democrats will need to make deals with Senate
- Intra-party divisions
- Budget deals will be necessary to keep the govt. running, debt—ceiling increase in the summer

*depends on 2 GA run-off elections

Conclusion

- Institutions and Rules Matter
 - The Electoral College shapes candidates' strategies and outcomes
 - Advantages Republicans
 - Also shaped President Trump's unsuccessful strategy of overturning an election
 - Senate filibuster – and deeply partisan politics - will hinder Biden
- Variation in state laws have significant implications for both votes and outcomes