

RIETI BBL Seminar Handout

“A Week Before the U.S. Election:
Who is up, who is down?”

October 29, 2024

Bruce STOKES

Visiting Senior Fellow, German Marshall Fund of the United States

<https://www.rieti.go.jp/en/index.html>

The Horse Race a Week Before the U.S. Election

Bruce Stokes

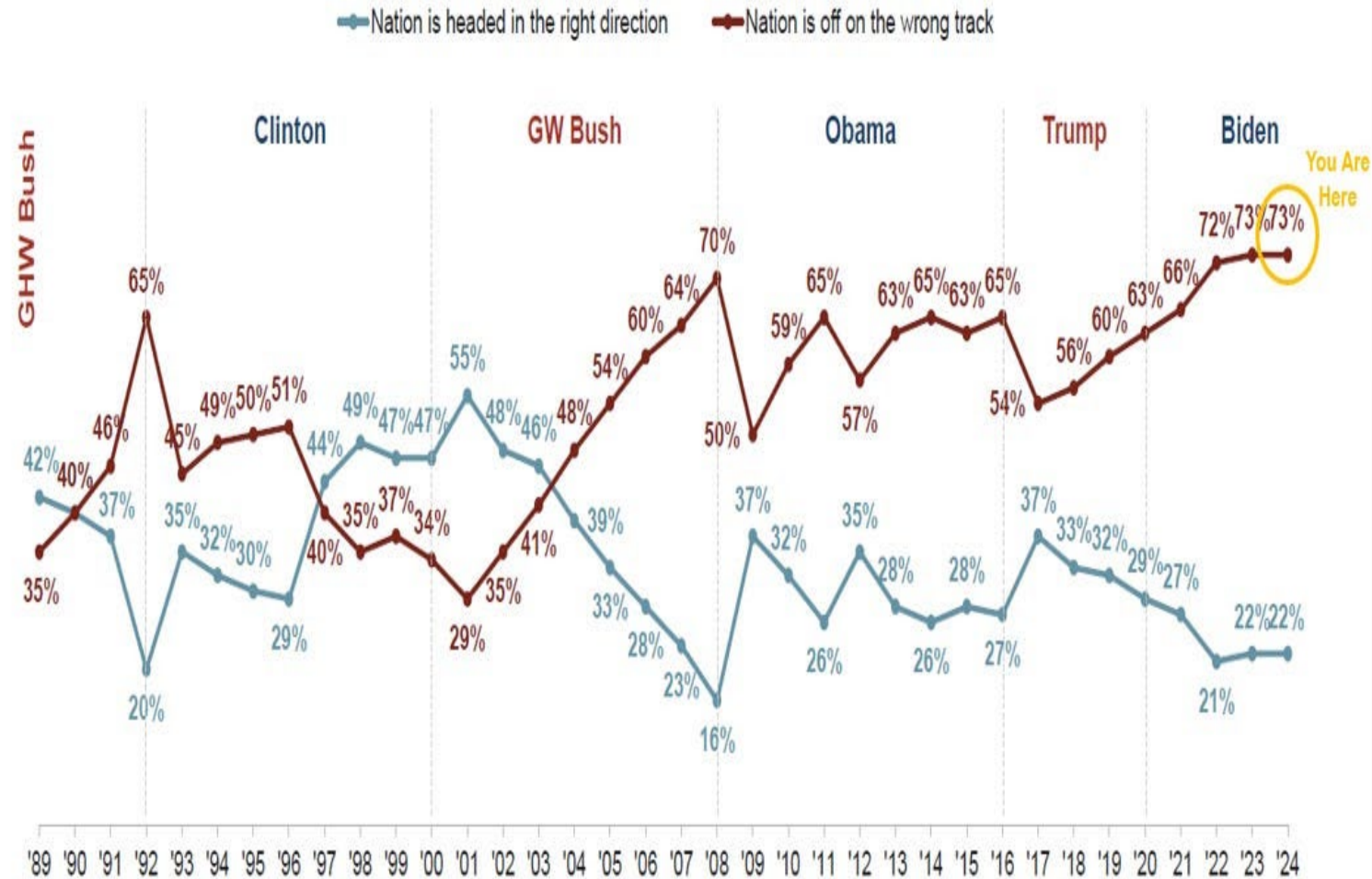
German Marshall Fund

October 29, 2024

Voters' Concerns

A Record High Percentage of People Think the Nation is on the Wrong Track, But They Have Felt This Way for 28 of the Last 36 Years

PERCEIVED DISORDER IS DRIVING DISCONTENT IN 2024

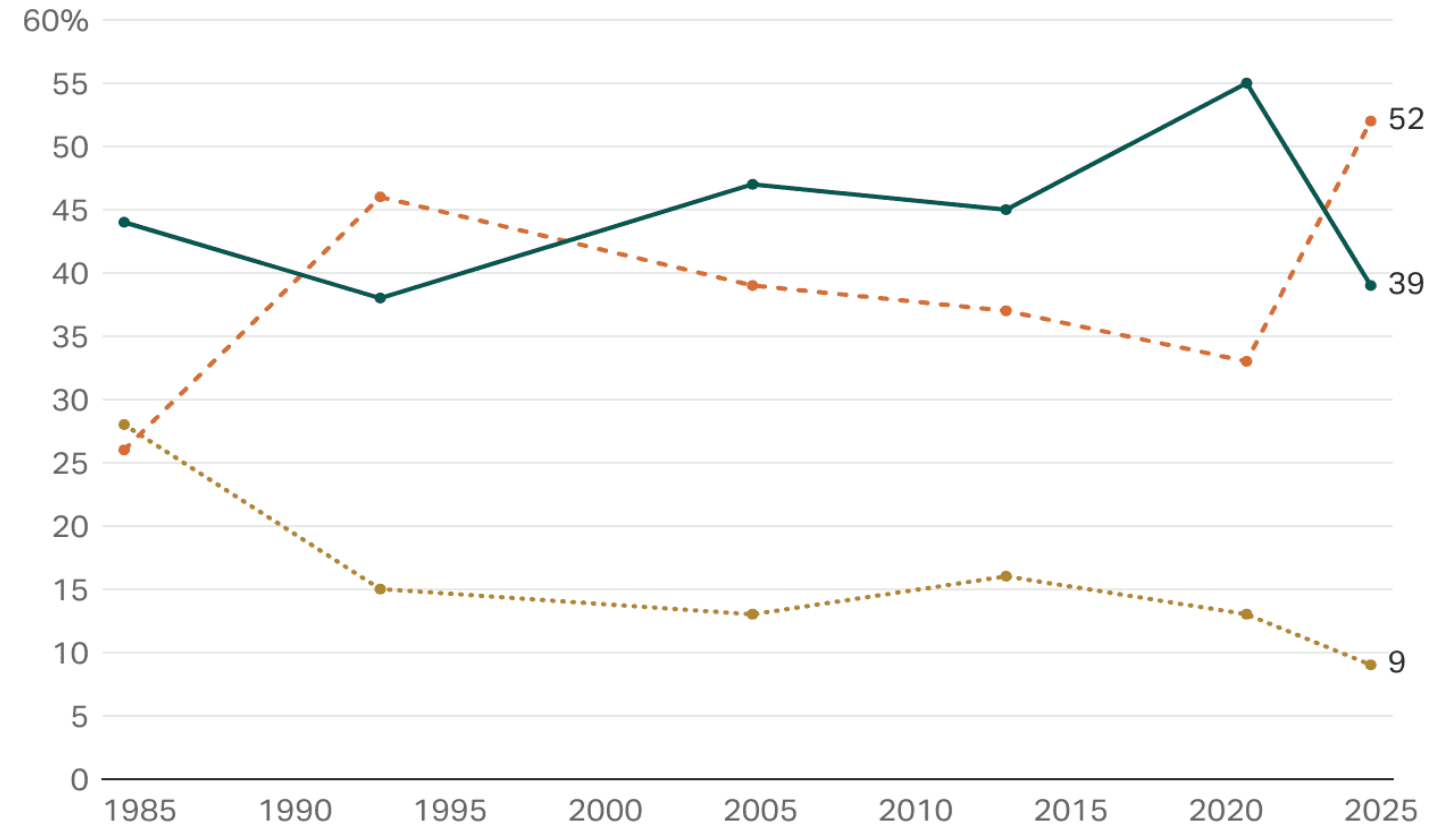


And Half the
Country
Believes They
Were Better Off
Four Years Ago

Americans' Assessments of Being Better Off Than Four Years Ago

Would you say you and your family are better off now than you were four years ago, or are you worse off now?

— % Better off — % Worse off — % Same (vol.)



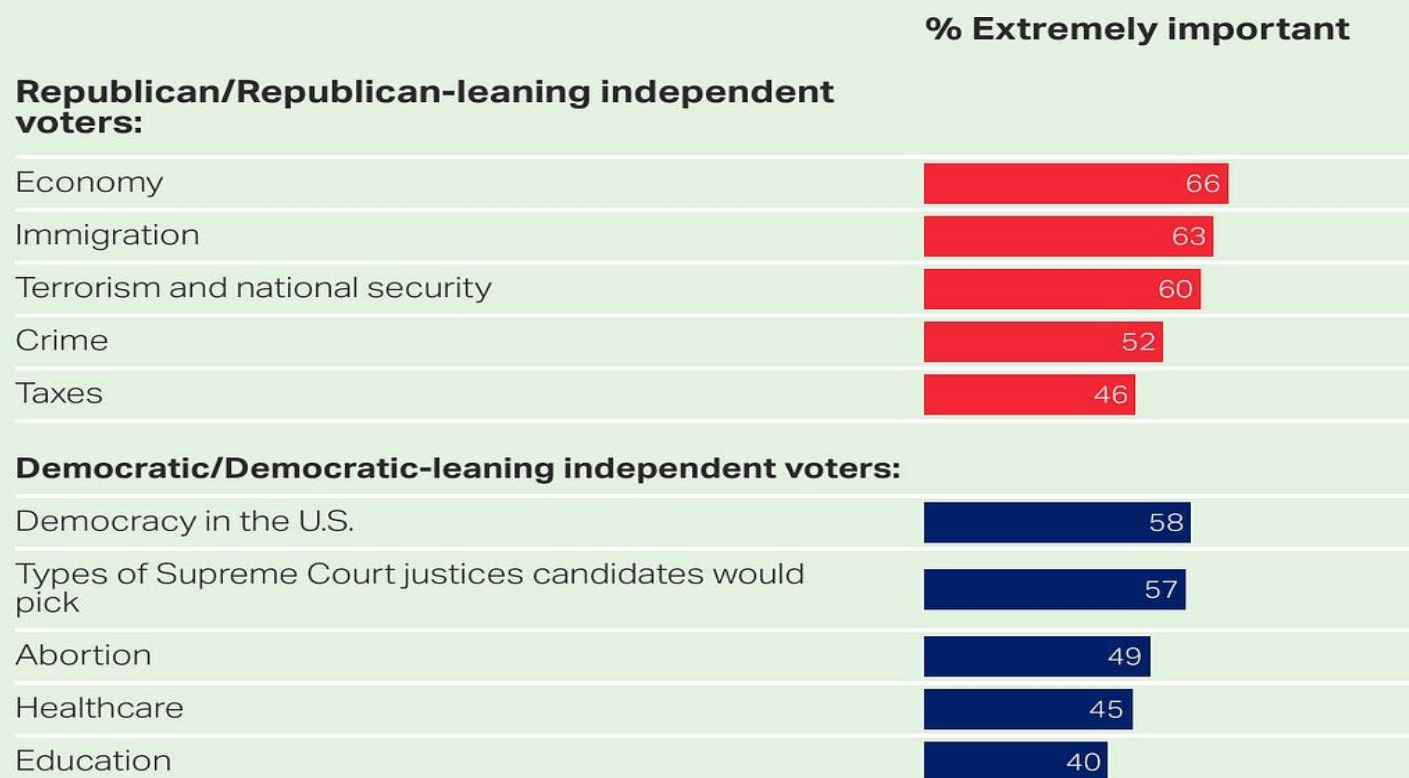
(vol.) = volunteered response; No opinion not shown

^Data from 1992 based on question wording: I'd like you to compare your situation today with what it was four years ago. Are you better off than you were four years ago, or not?

Republican Voters and Democratic Voters Are Concerned About Different Issues

Republican and Democratic Voters' Top Five Voting Issues

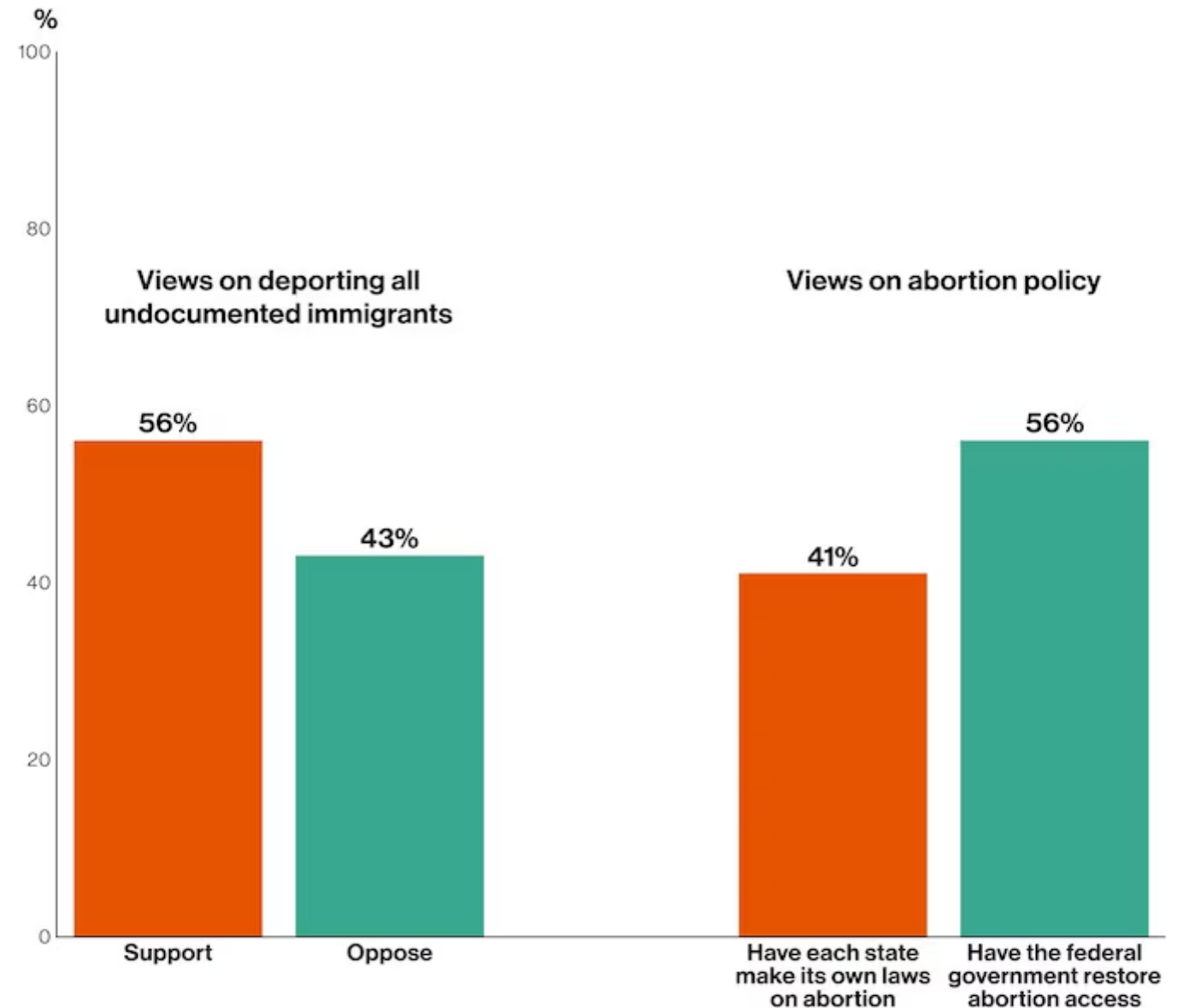
Now I am going to read a list of some of the issues that will probably be discussed in this year's presidential election campaign. As I read each one, please tell me how important the candidates' positions on that issue will be in influencing your vote for president -- extremely important, very important, somewhat important or not important.



Sept. 16-28, 2024

Immigration and
Abortion Divide
Voters: a
Majority Back
Mass
Deportation, a
Similar Majority
Back Abortion
Access

Deportation and Abortion: Divergent Views

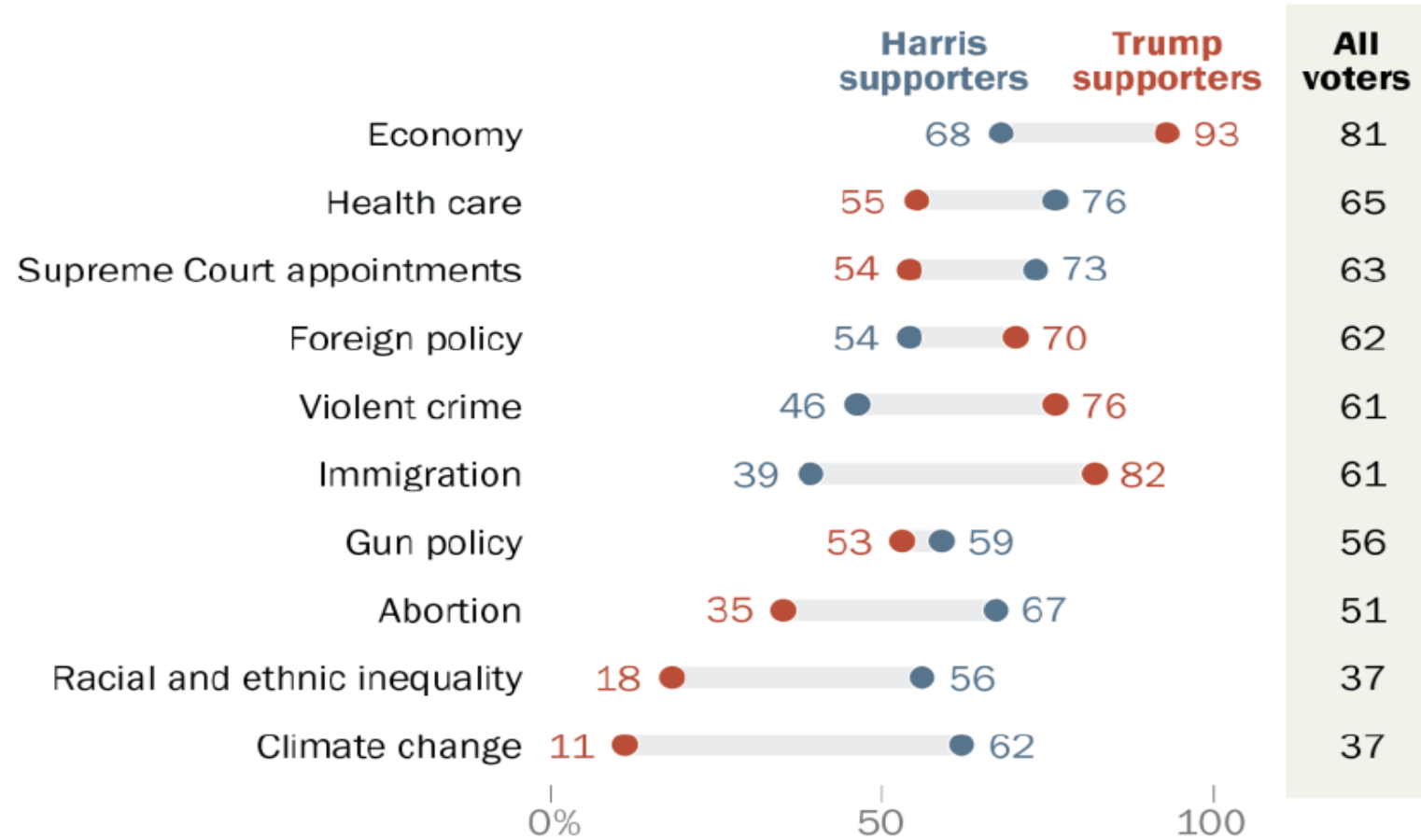


SOURCE: ABC NEWS/IPSOS POLL

Polarization
Over All
Priorities is
Stark: 51 Points
on Climate, 43
Points on
Immigration, 32
Points on
Abortion

The economy is the top issue for voters in the 2024 election

*% of registered voters who say each is **very important** to their vote in the 2024 presidential election*



Note: Based on registered voters.

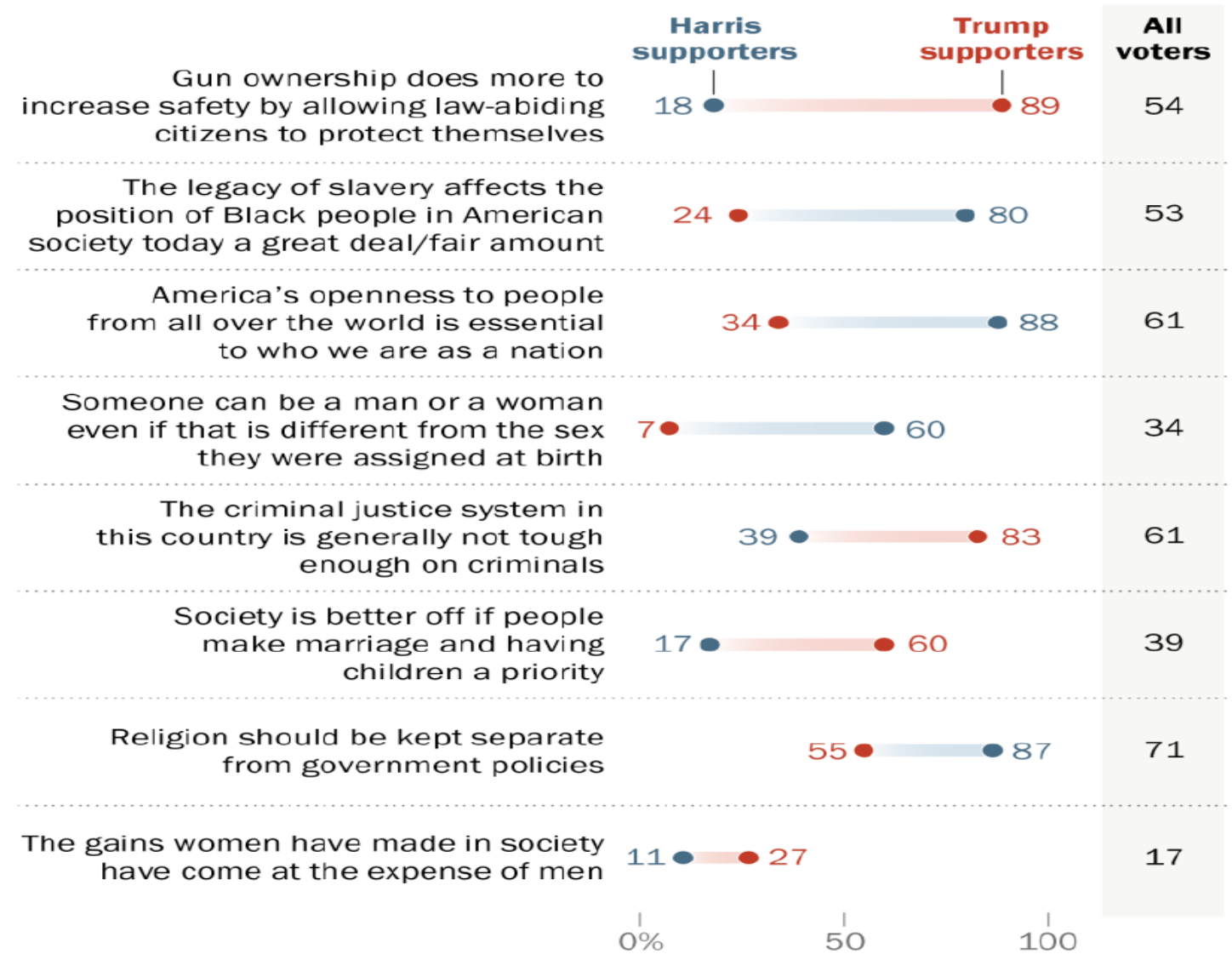
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

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Cultural
Polarization Also
Could Not Be
Greater: 71 Points
on Guns, 56
Points on the
Legacy of Slavery,
53 Points on
Sexual Identity

How Harris, Trump supporters view key cultural issues

% of registered voters who say ...



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 8-14 and Aug. 5-11, 2024.

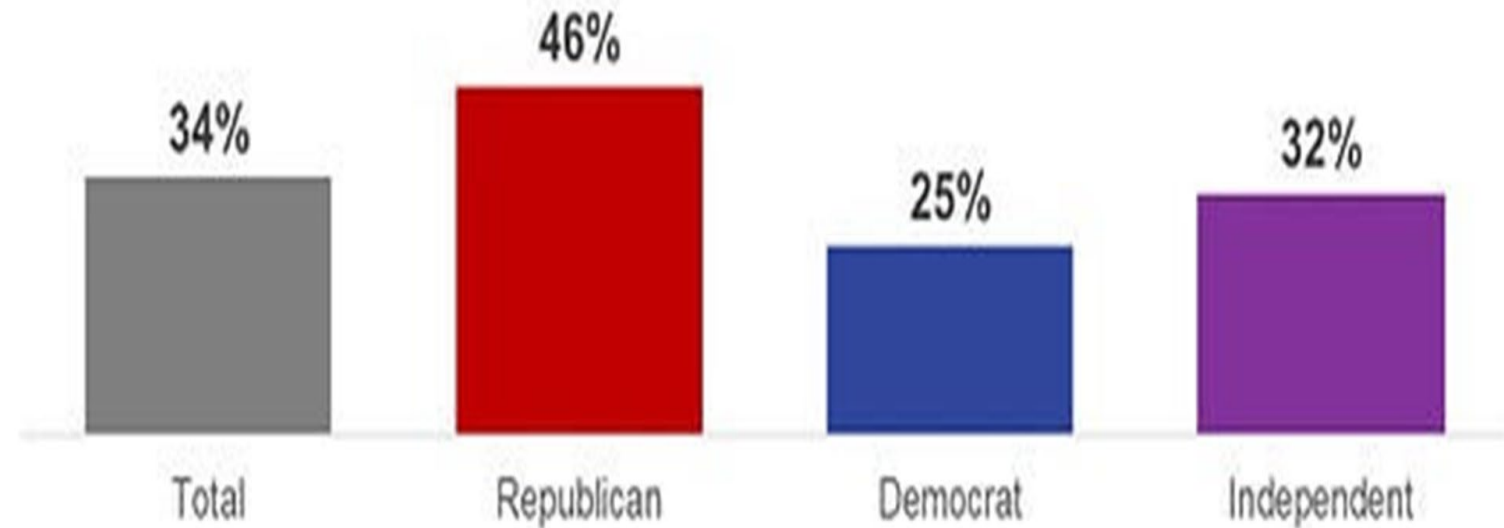
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Nearly Half of
Republicans and a
Quarter of
Democrats Are
Looking for a
Strong Leader
Unencumbered
by the Courts or
Congress

Republicans are more receptive to a leader with fewer limitations

The country is in a crisis and needs a strong president who should be allowed to rule without too much interference from courts and Congress

% Agree



Support for More Rule by Executive Order and by Trump Supporters For Going After Political Opponents and Firing Government Workers

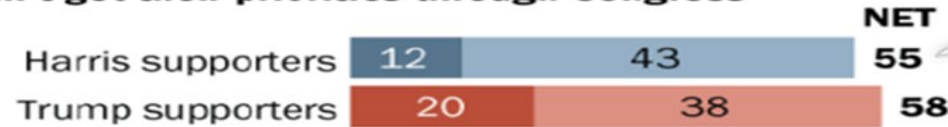
Harris, Trump supporters differ widely on acceptability of several presidential actions if their candidate wins

% of each candidate's supporters who say it would ____ be acceptable *for their candidate* to do each of the following if they were elected president

Definitely

Probably

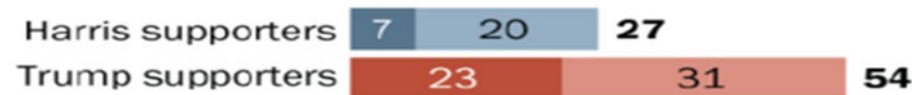
Use executive orders to make policies when they can't get their priorities through Congress



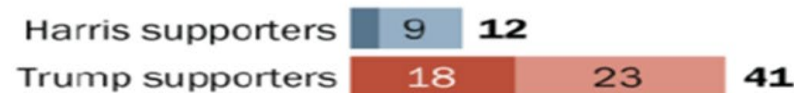
55% of Harris supporters say it would be acceptable for Harris to do this if she were elected.

58% of Trump supporters say it would be acceptable for Trump to do this if he were elected.

Order federal law enforcement officials to investigate political opponents of the other party



Fire any federal government workers at any level who are not personally loyal to them



Pardon friends, family or political supporters who have been convicted of a crime



Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

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International Concerns

Americans Are Less and Less Satisfied with the U.S. Position in the World

On the whole, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the position of the United States in the world today?

— % Satisfied

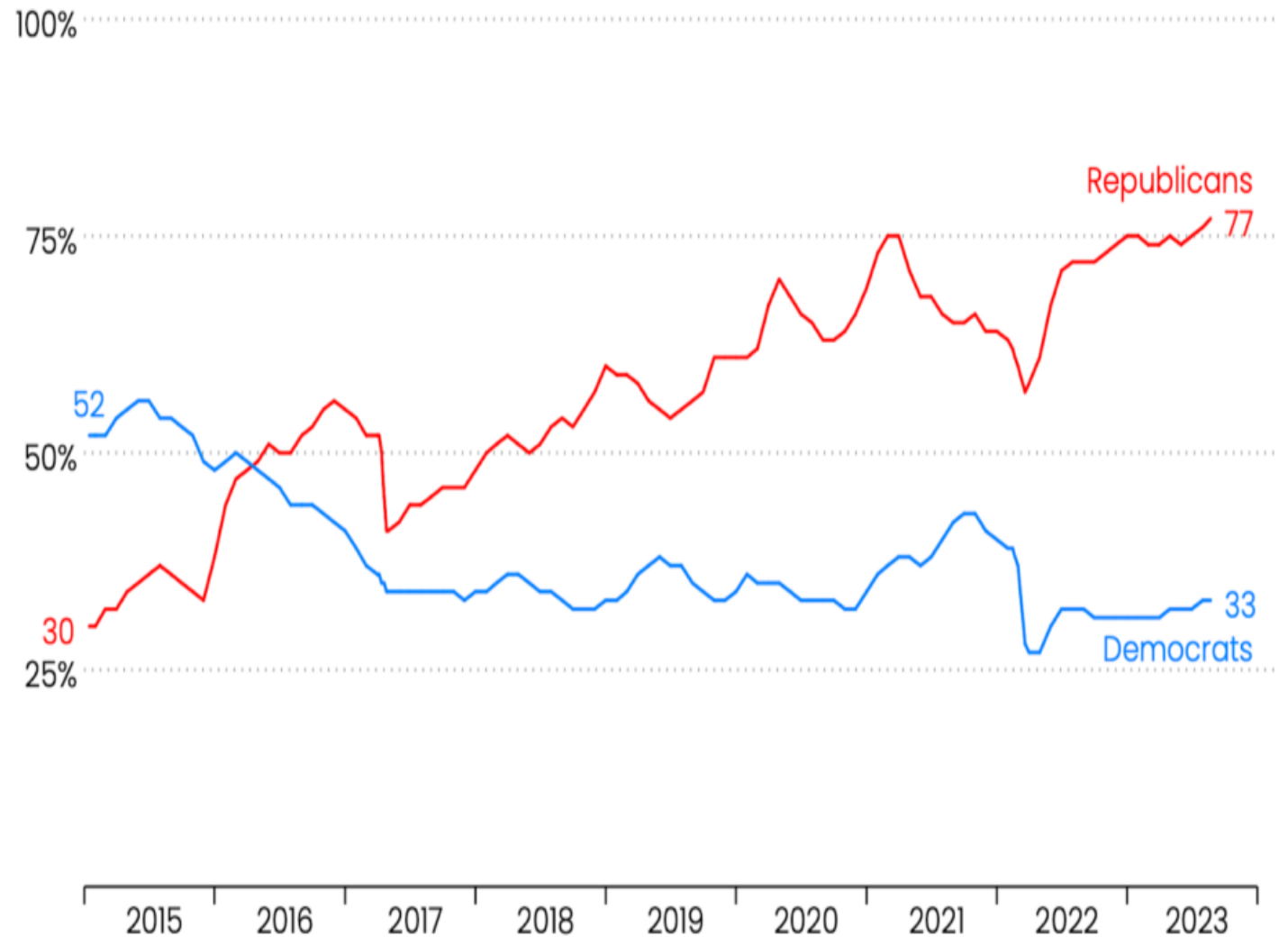


GALLUP

Starting With President Trump, Isolationism Among Republicans Has Grown

Republicans are becoming increasingly isolationist

Percent saying the U.S. should be less involved in solving problems overseas

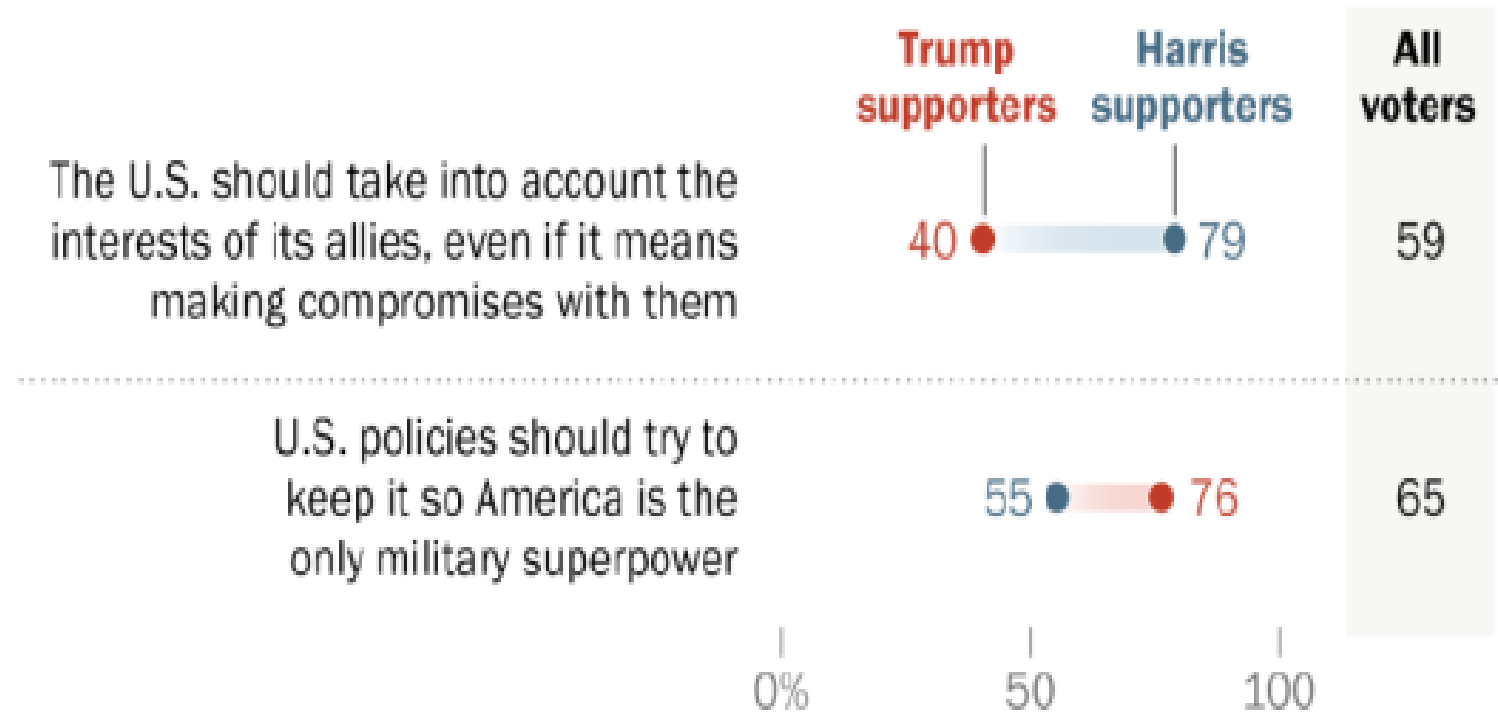


SOURCE: Civiqs tracking polls (accessed August 23, 2023)

Eight-in-Ten
Harris
Supporters Back
Comprise With
Allies, Only
Four-in-Ten
Trump
Supporters
Agree

Harris and Trump supporters on the importance of working with U.S. allies, America's superpower role

% of registered voters who say ...



Note: Based on registered voters.

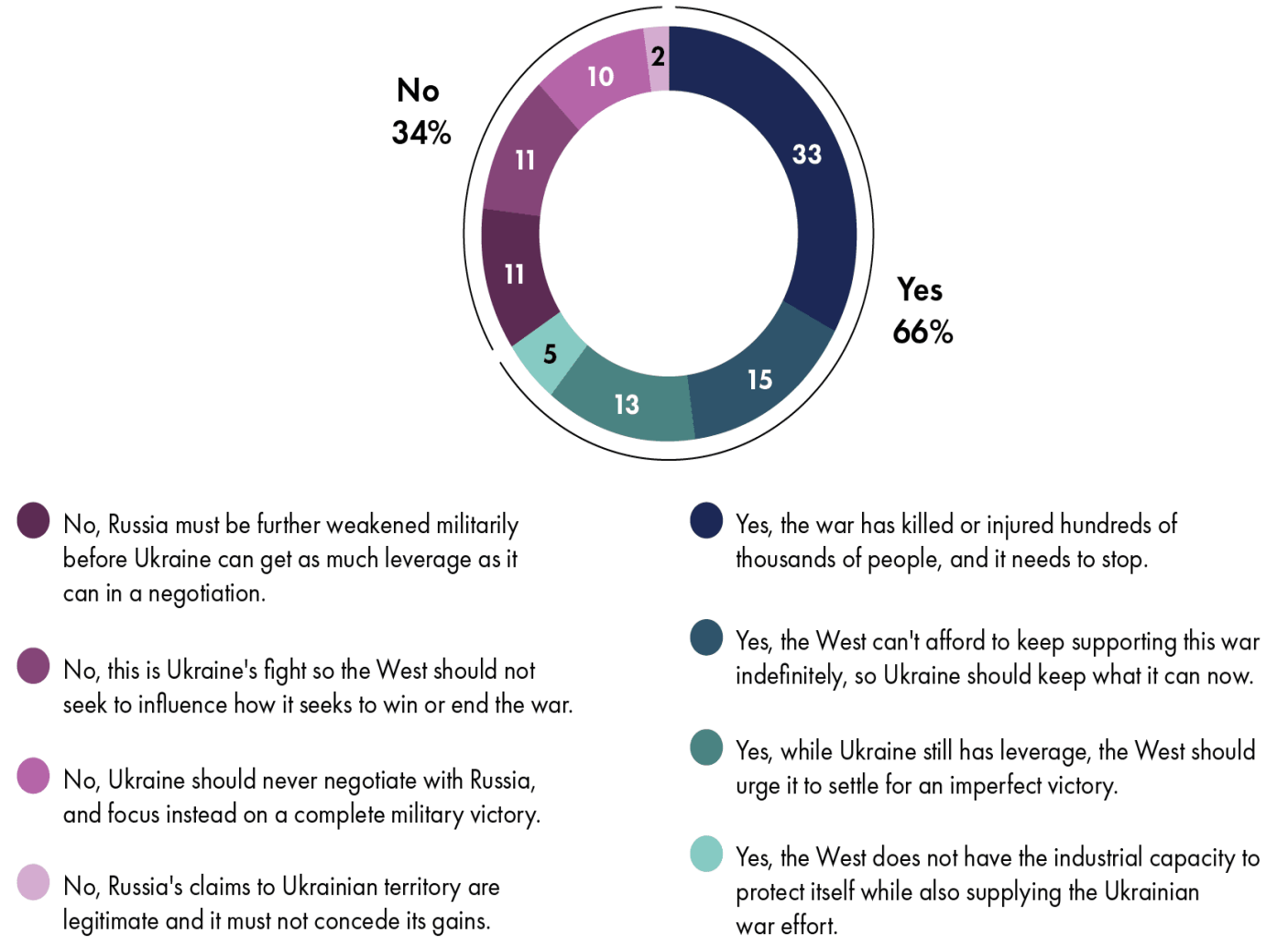
Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 8-14 and Aug. 5-11, 2024.

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By Two-to-One Voters Believe That the U.S. Should Push for a Negotiated Settlement in Ukraine

Should the NATO member countries, including the US, push for a negotiated settlement for the war in Ukraine?

Pick the response option that best matches your opinion.



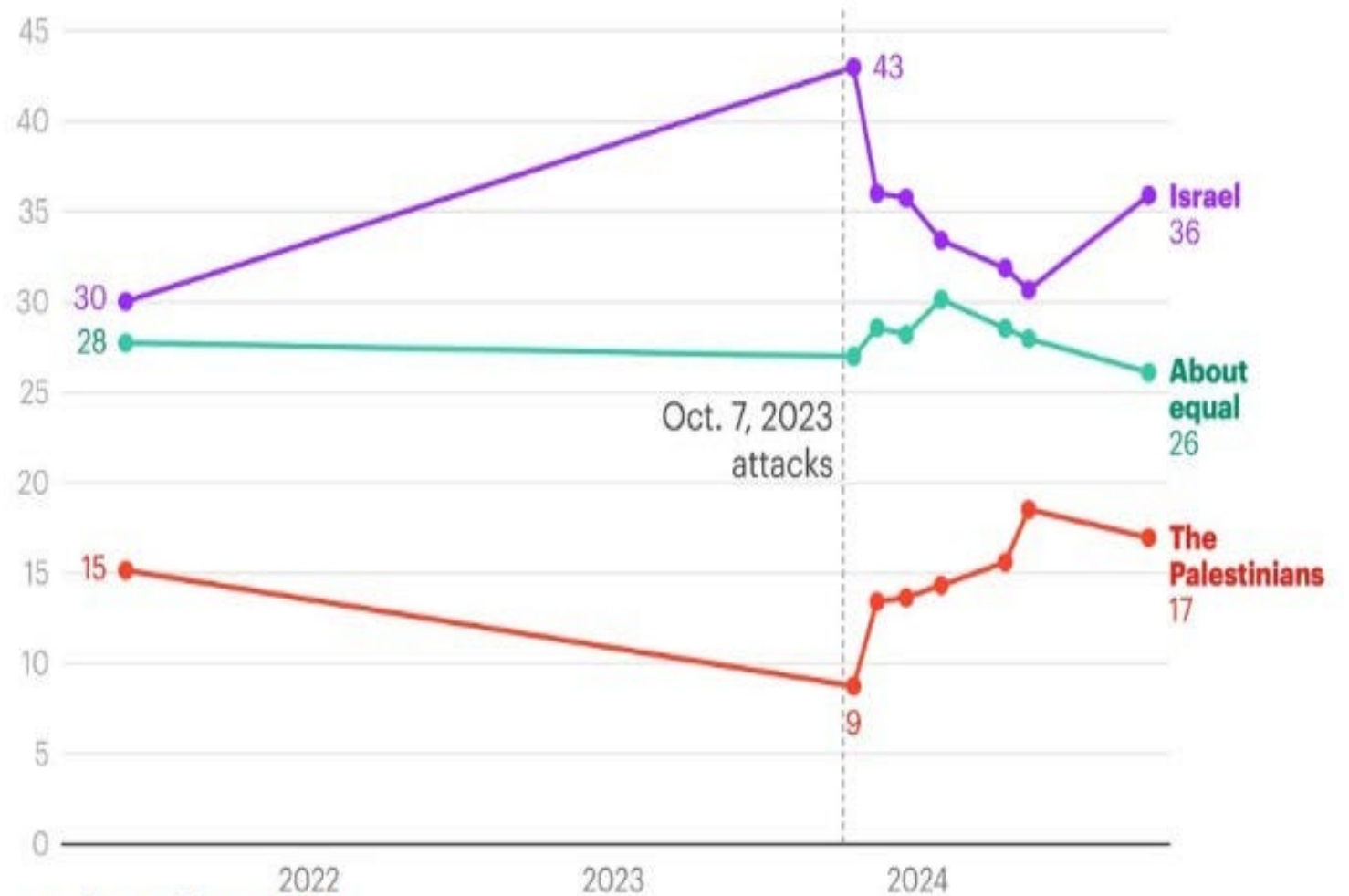
Numbers shown as percentages

Source: Institute for Global Affairs

In the Last Few Months There Has Been a Rebound in Americans' Support for Israel

Do Americans sympathize more with the Israelis, the Palestinians, or both about equally?

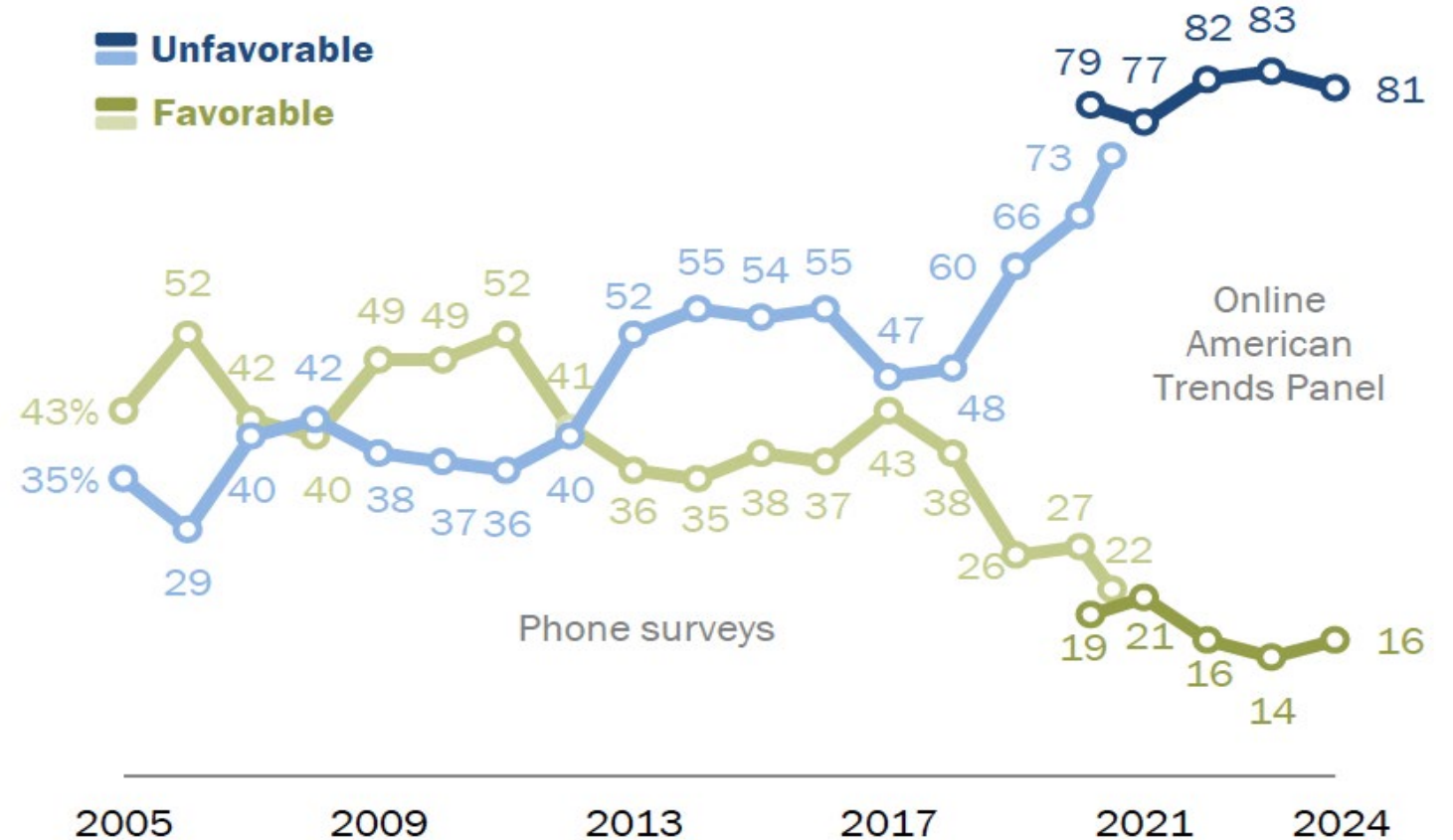
Do your sympathies lie more with...? (% of U.S. adults)



Americans' Negative Views of China Have Never Been Worse, They Are Now More Negative Than After Tiananmen

Most Americans hold an unfavorable view of China

% who have a(n) ___ opinion of China



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted April 1-7, 2024. Q4b.

"Americans Remain Critical of China"

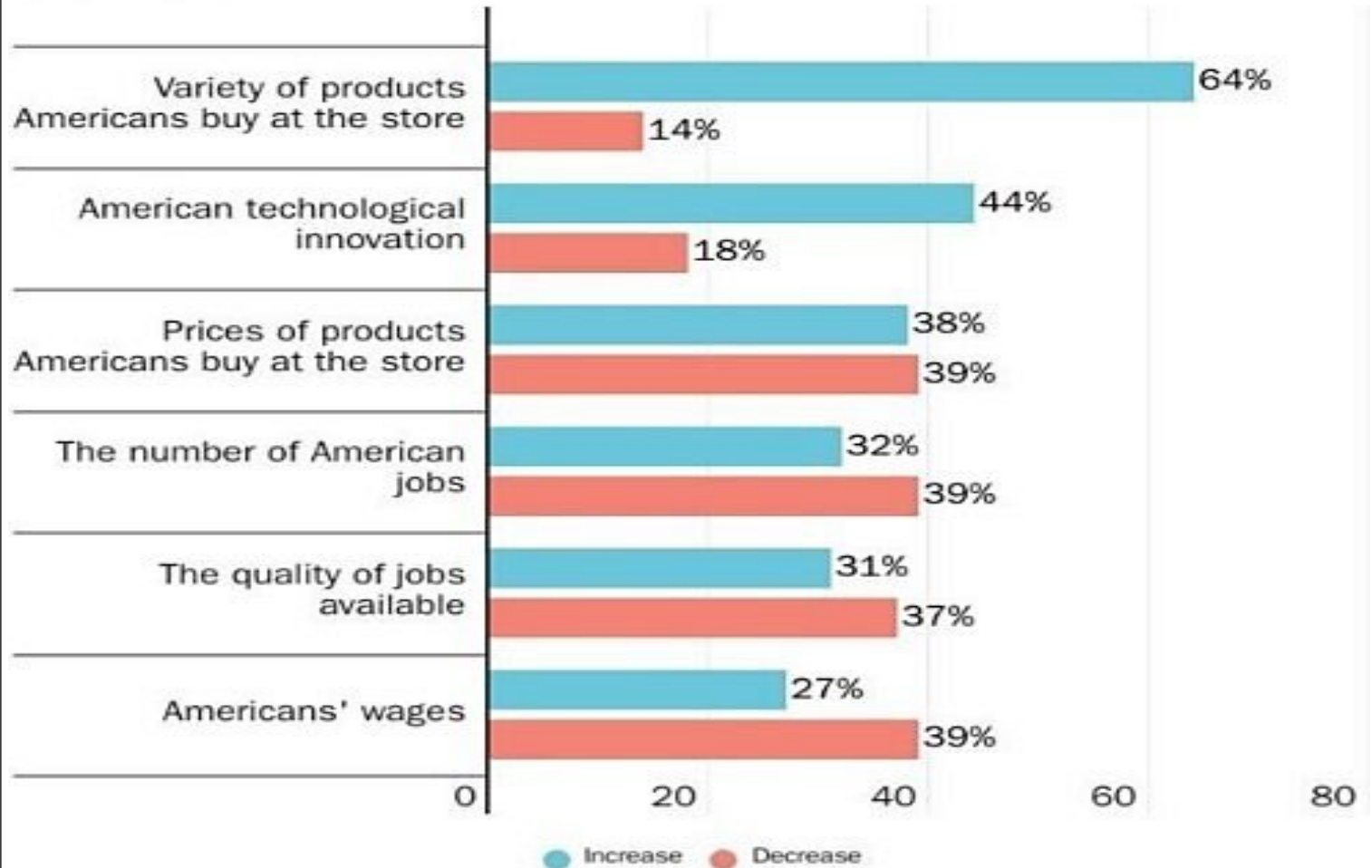
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Americans Believe
Trade Has
Boosted
Consumer Choice
and Innovation,
But That It Has
Also Destroyed
Jobs and Lowered
Wages

Figure 2

Most Say Global Trade Has Increased the Variety of Products Americans Can Buy

Do you think free trade agreements with other countries generally increase or decrease...



Source: Cato Institute 2024 Globalization and Trade National Survey

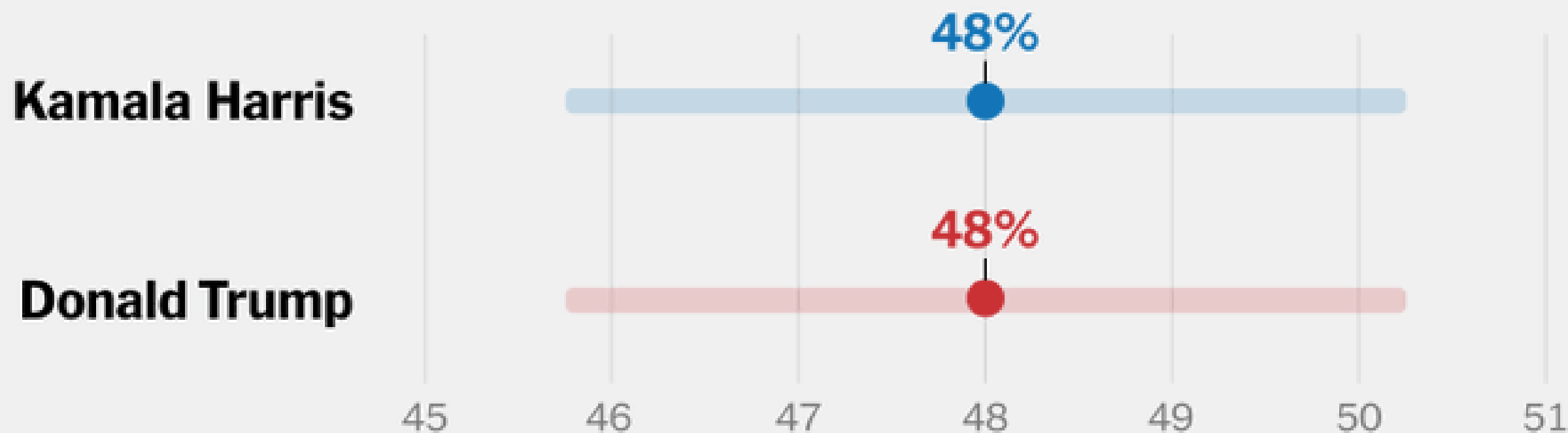
Note: Share saying "no difference" not shown

The Horse Race

THE NEW YORK TIMES/SIENA COLLEGE POLL

Oct. 20 to 23

If the 2024 presidential election were held today, who would you vote for if the candidates were **Kamala Harris** and **Donald Trump**?



Among likely voters. Shaded areas represent margins of error.

All the Major
National Polls
Have the Race
Tied (Within the
Margin of Error)

How the Times/Siena poll compares

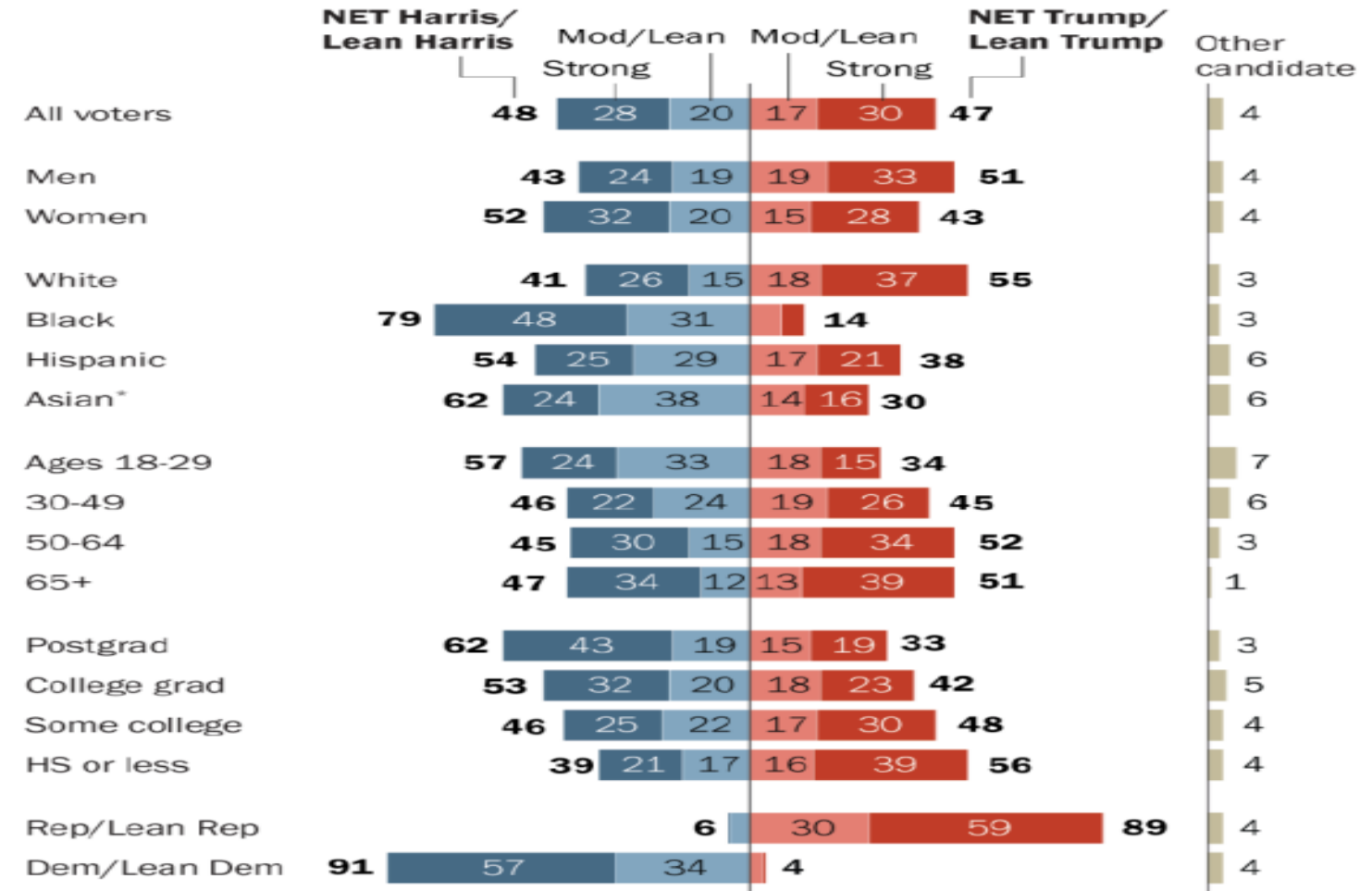
	HARRIS	TRUMP	MARGIN
Times/Siena Likely voters Oct. 20-23	48%	48%	Even
Polling average As of 5 a.m. Oct. 25	49%	48%	Harris +1
Wall Street Journal/Fabrizio, Lee & Associates/GBAO Registered voters Oct. 19-22	46%	49%	Trump +3
Reuters/Ipsos Likely voters Oct. 16-21	48%	45%	Harris +3
Monmouth University Likely voters Oct. 17-21	47%	44%	Harris +3
USA Today/Suffolk University Likely voters Oct. 14-18	50%	49%	Harris +1
AtlasIntel Likely voters Oct. 12-17	48%	51%	Trump +3

Notes: Margins are calculated using unrounded vote shares when available. The Times's polling average is as of 5 a.m. Eastern on Oct. 25. • By Lily Boyce and June Kim

Race, Education, Age, and Gender Divide American Voters

Trump is favored among older voters and men; Harris performs better among younger voters, women

% of all registered voters who say that if the 2024 presidential election were held today, they would vote for ...



* Estimates for Asian voters are representative of English speakers only.

Note: Based on registered voters. White, Black and Asian voters include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanic voters are of any race. "Other candidate" includes those who say they would vote for or lean toward Chase Oliver, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Jill Stein, Cornel West Oliver or someone else. No answer responses are not shown.

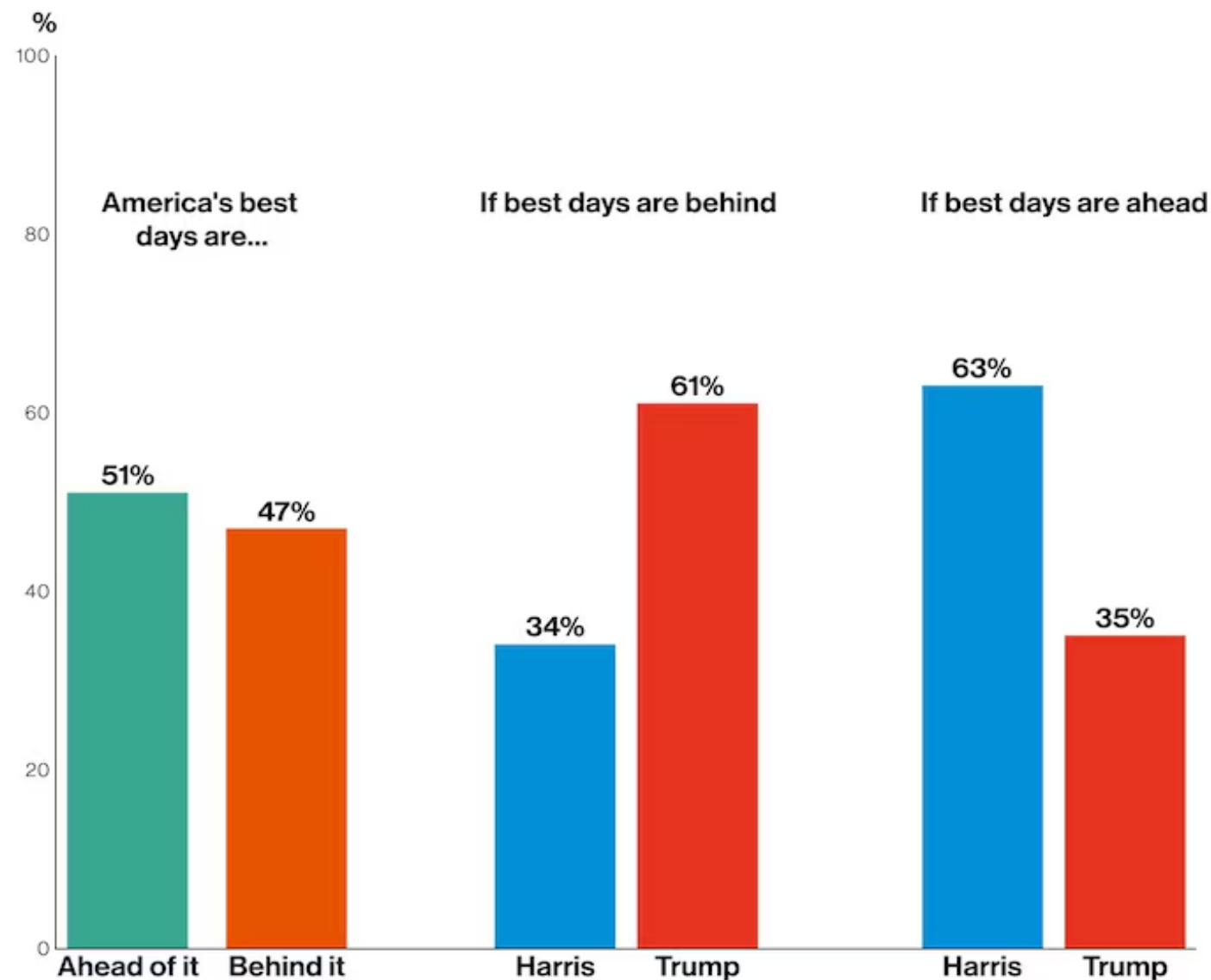
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

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Pessimists
Prefer Trump,
Optimists Prefer
Harris

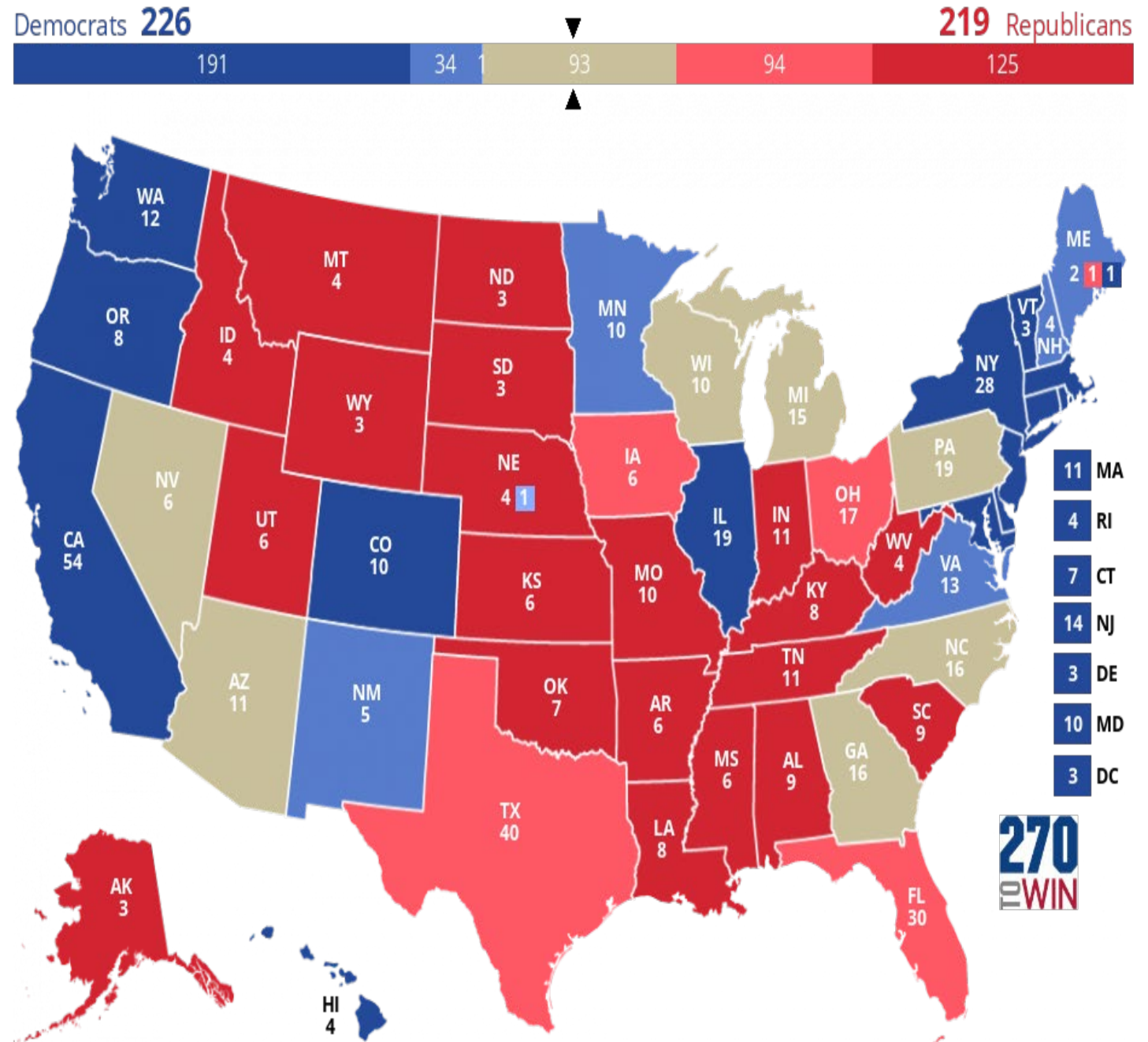
Optimism and Vote Preference

AMONG REGISTERED VOTERS



SOURCE: ABC NEWS/IPSOS POLL

The Election Will
Be Determined
by These Seven
Swing States



It All Comes Down to the Accuracy of the Polls in the Battleground States

IS THE POLLING RIGHT THIS TIME?








If Polls Miss as in 2022

Harris vs Trump (NYT as of 10/20)		
AZ		+2
GA		+2
NC		+1
NV		+3
MI		+6
PA		+6
WI		+3
Winner		303-235

If Current Polls Right

Harris vs Trump (NYT as of 10/20)		
AZ		+2
GA		+2
NC		Even
NV		Even
MI		Even
PA		Even
WI		+1
Winner		277-261

If Polls Miss as in 2020

Harris vs Trump (NYT as of 10/20)		
AZ		+4
GA		+3
NC		+3
NV		+3
MI		+5
PA		+4
WI		+9
Winner		312-226

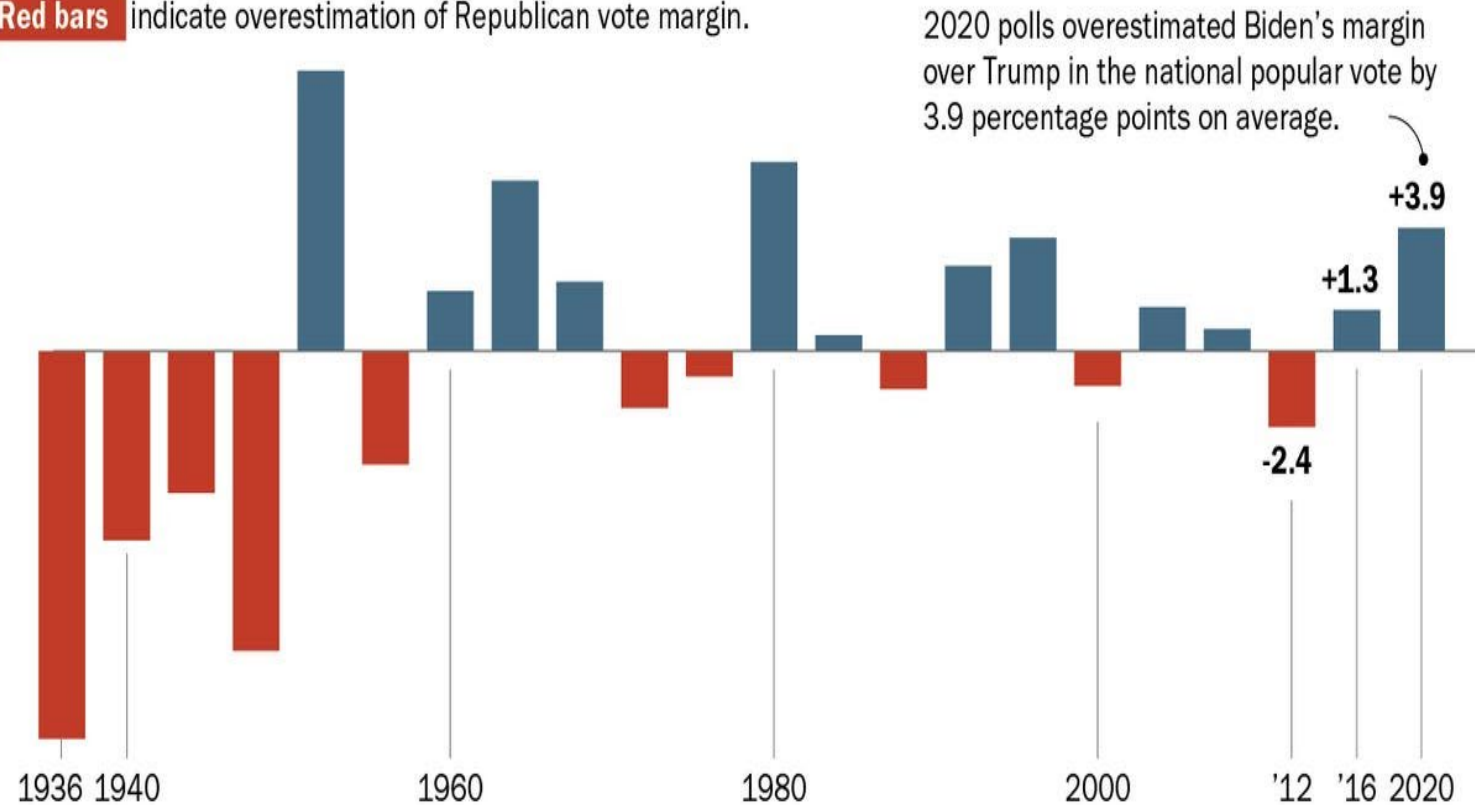
Going Back to
1952, Polls
Have Been
Twice As Likely
to Overestimate
the Democratic
Vote Margin in
Presidential
Elections

Polling errors in U.S. presidential elections

Bars represent average signed error

Blue bars indicate overestimation of Democratic vote margin.

Red bars indicate overestimation of Republican vote margin.



Note: The average signed error is the difference between the actual margin separating the candidates in the general election and the average margin in the polls. A negative error means that the Republican candidate's margin was overstated and a positive error means the Democratic candidate's margin was overstated.

Source: American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) Task Force on 2020 Pre-Election Polling: An Evaluation of the 2020 General Election Polls

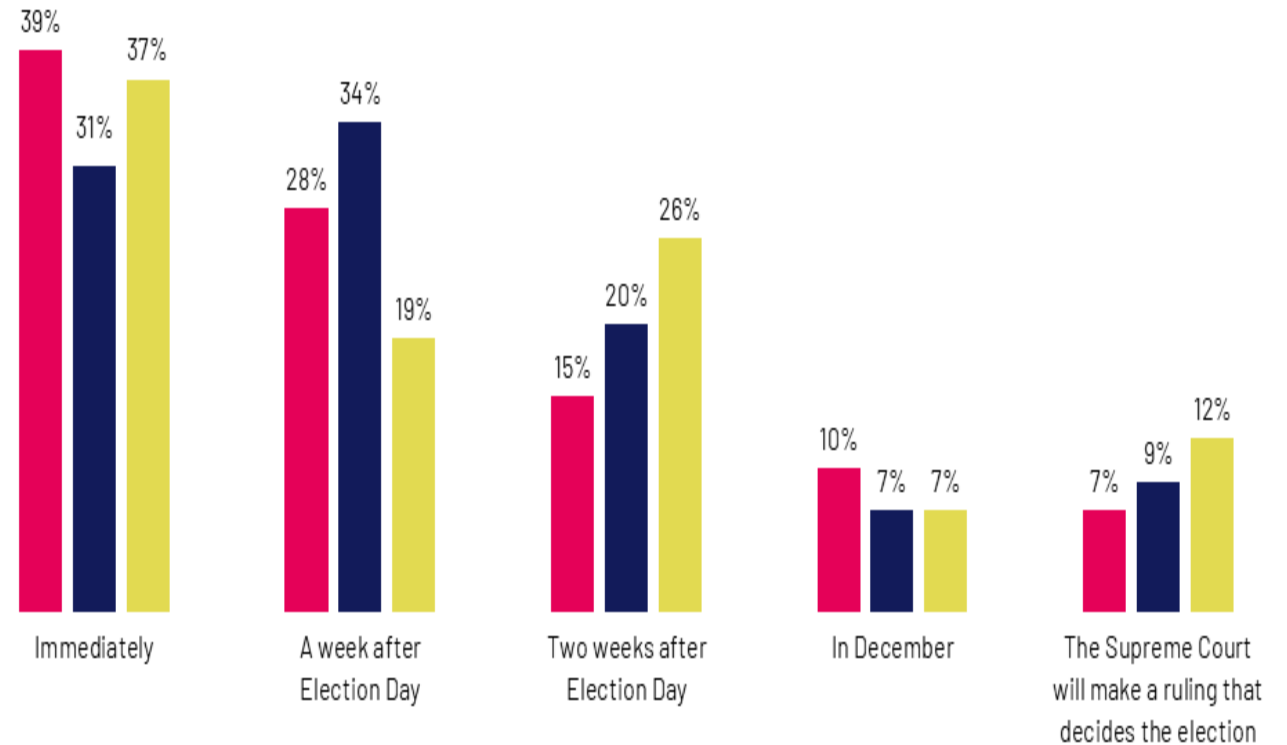
Don't Expect to
Know Who Won
on Election
Night:
Americans
Expect It Could
Take Weeks

One in ten think the Supreme Court will decide the Presidential election

Q: When do you believe the outcome of this year's elections will be determined?



● Republican ● Democrat ● Independents



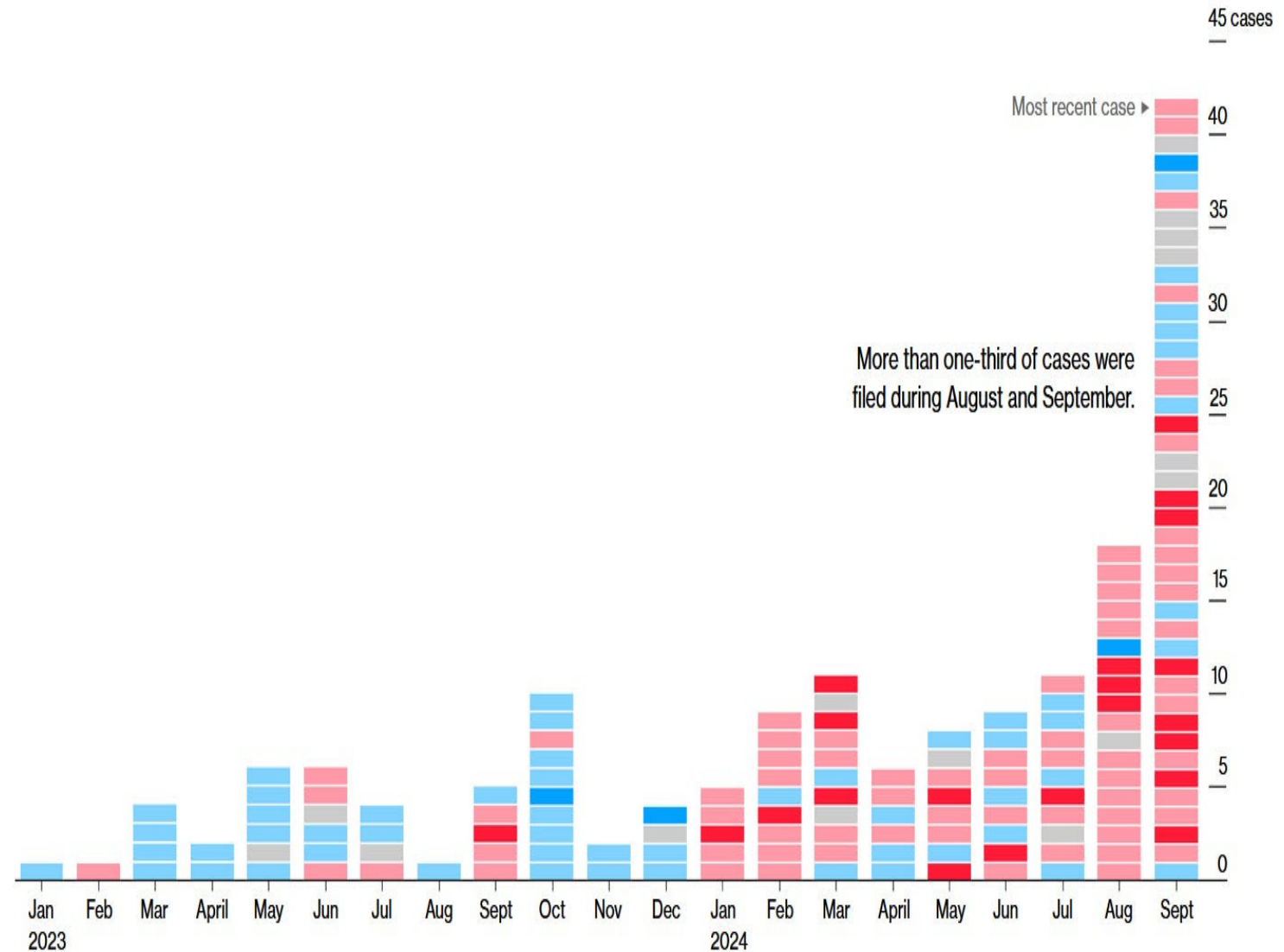
Source: **Ipsos Consumer Tracker**, fielded October 1 - October 2, 2024 among 1,085 U.S. adults.

In Part Because
Through
September There
Had Already Been
119 Court
Challenges to
Election Laws and
Procedures: 78 of
Them by
Republicans

2024 Election Fights Mount as Vote Nears

Cases by date filed and partisan affiliation of plaintiff

Republican or conservative Democrat, progressive or liberal
Republican National Committee Democratic National Committee All other cases

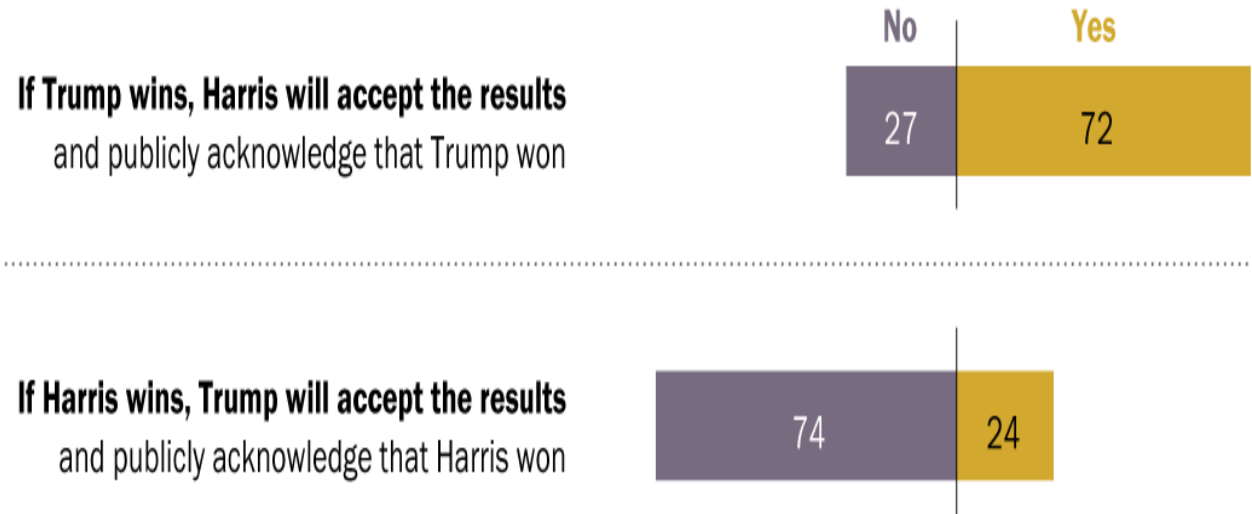


Source: Bloomberg analysis of court filings

Ominously, Three-in-Four Registered Voters Don't Believe Trump Will Accept the Outcome if He Loses

Sharp divide in voters' views of whether Harris and Trump will concede if they lose the election

% of registered voters who say ...

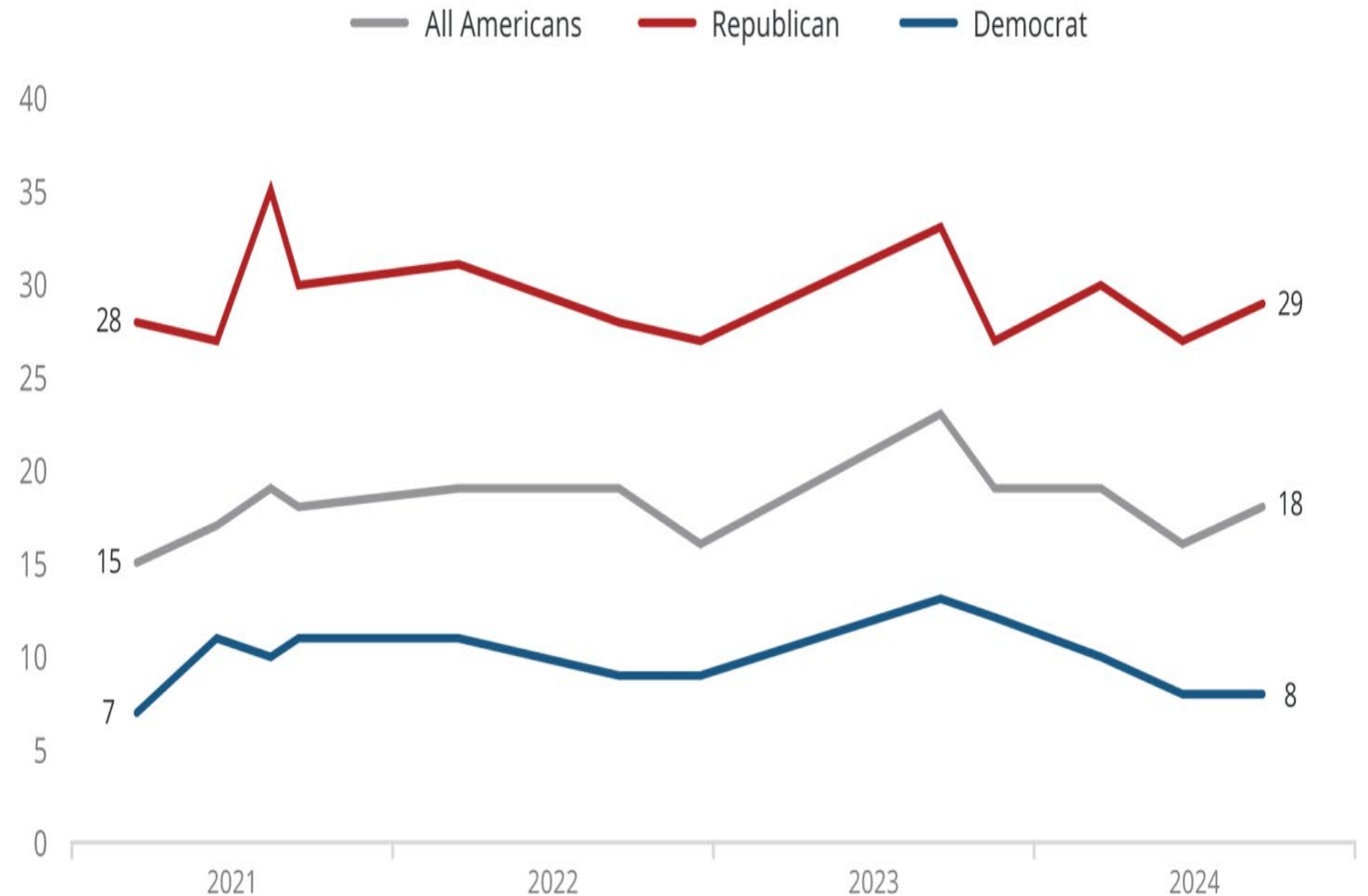


Note: Based on registered voters. Win is defined as “receiving enough votes cast by eligible voters in enough states.” Refer to the Topline for full question wording.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2024.

And The Potential
for Violence is
Ever Present:
Nearly 3 in 10
Republicans Say
Violence May Be
Needed to Save
the Country

FIGURE 16. Support for Political Violence Over Time, by Party Affiliation

Percent who agree that because things have gotten so far off track, true American patriots may have to resort to violence in order to save our country:





















Source: PRRI Surveys 2021-2024.

Whoever Wins the
White House
However,
Americans
Increasingly Prefer
Divided
Government, So
Such an Outcome
May Be the Most
Likely



No Consistent Governing Alignment >2 Years Since 2014

	<u>2013-2014</u>	<u>2015-2016</u>	<u>2017-2018</u>	<u>2019-2020</u>	<u>2021-2022</u>	<u>2023-2024</u>
WH						
S						
H						

Average Duration of Control

	House	Senate
20 th Century	11.1 yrs	9.0 yrs
21 st Century	4.8 yrs	4.0 yrs

Bruce Stokes
German Marshall Fund
bruceestokes@gmail.com
@bruceestokes