



# *America Decided... America's Divided*



*Everything Changed and Nothing Changed*

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# MAIN TAKEAWAYS

- **Voters wanted more competent but also more moderate leadership:**
  - Trump lost for failing to manage COVID competently & excessive chaos / division
  - House Democrats lost where voters feared overly-aggressive Progressivism
- **Our nation remains narrowly & deeply divided:**
  - Senate & House nearly tied, key EC states close, minimal state-gov't change
  - Biden had no coattails, enters with a narrower mandate... manage COVID & lower the volume... his ability to do more will depend on his success managing the pandemic
- **The big questions remain mostly unresolved:**
  - Both parties face huge internal battles over future direction & leadership
    - Biden is a transitional leader, not the future of the Democratic Party
    - Trump is out but hardly gone
  - Big policy directional questions were deferred (climate, inequality, immigration, systemic racism, etc.)

# THE RESULTS: A SPLIT DECISION

**Democrats Capture the White House & Gain in the Senate**  
**Republicans Gain in the House & States**



	WHITE HOUSE	U.S. SENATE	U.S. HOUSE	STATE LEG. CHAMBERS	GOVS
LAST ELECTION	Republican	53R – 47D	235D – 199R	59R – 39D	26R – 24D
<b>AFTER</b> <i>(So Far)</i>	<b>Democratic</b>	<b>50R* – 48D</b>	<b>222D – 213R</b>	<b>61R – 37D</b>	<b>27R – 23D</b>
NET GAIN	<b>FLIP</b>	<b>D+1</b>	<b>R+14**</b>	<b>R+2</b>	<b>R+1</b>

# BIDEN WINS POPULAR VOTE, ELECTORAL COLLEGE



**Joe Biden** ✓

**306 Electoral Votes**

**80,086,825 votes**

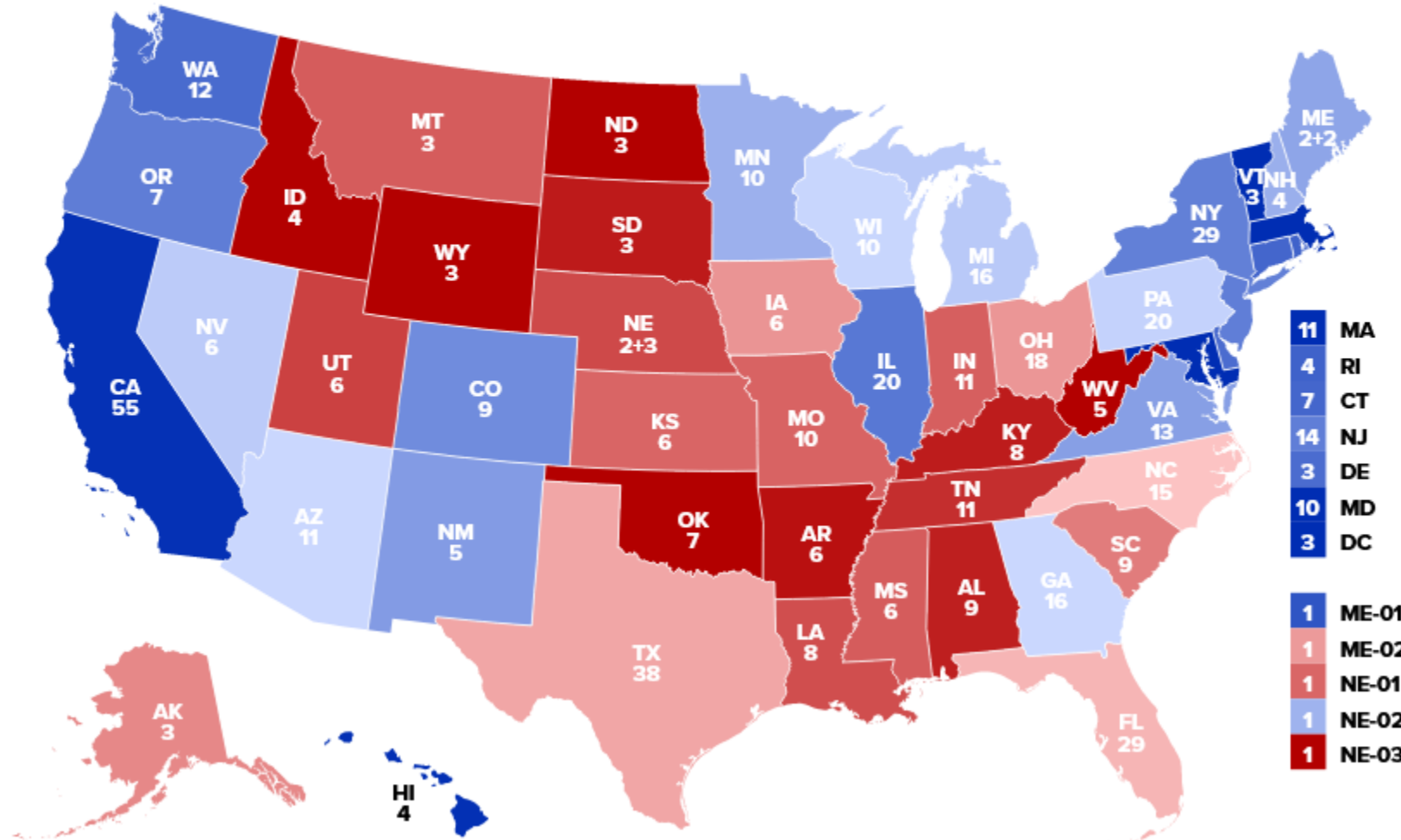
51.1%

**Donald Trump**

**232 Electoral Votes**

**73,902,604 votes**

47.1%



**10 LESSONS FROM 2020:**  
***What the Elections Say About the  
Nation & the Future***

# #1. HISTORIC ENGAGEMENT

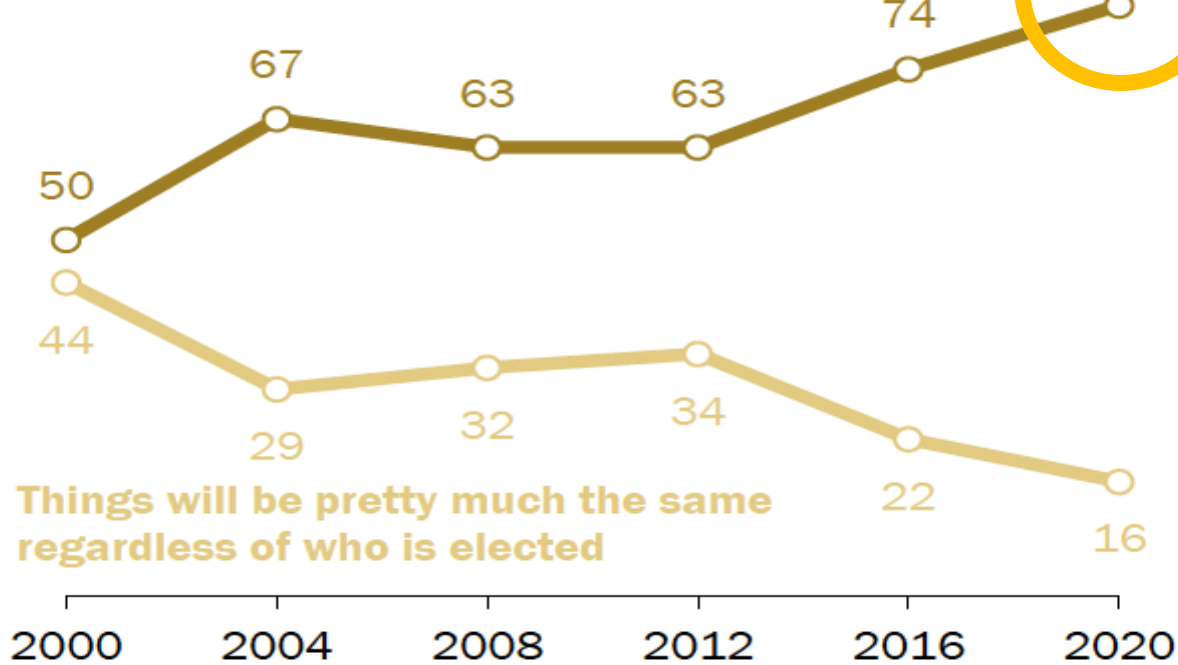
*Americans Remain Eager to Protest, March & Vote in an Age of Hyper-Activism*

# AMERICANS BELIEVED "IT REALLY MATTERS WHO WINS"



*% of registered voters who say ...*

**It really matters who wins the presidential election**



**Things will be pretty much the same regardless of who is elected**

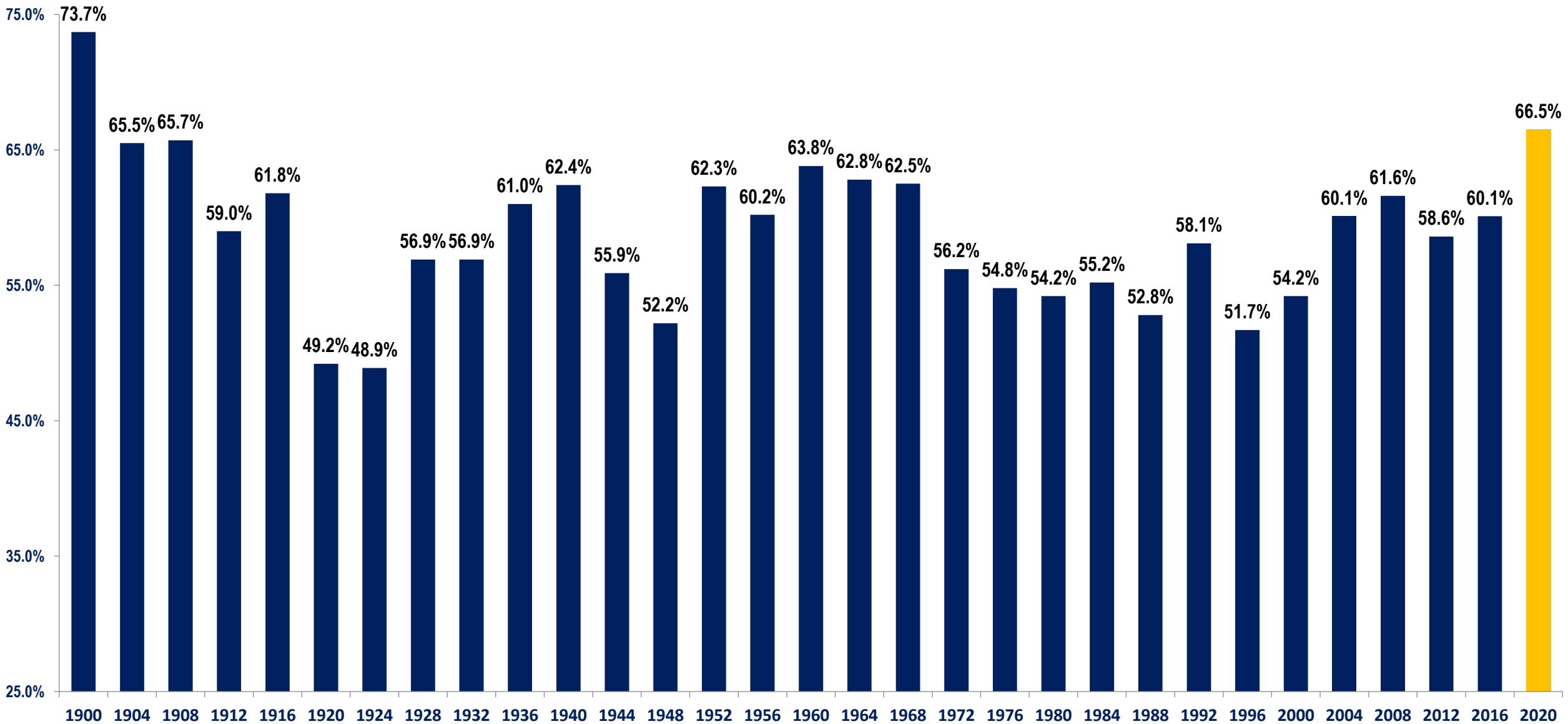
Notes: Based on registered voters. Volunteered and don't know responses not shown. Data for prior years from June surveys.  
Source: Telephone survey of U.S. adults conducted July 23-Aug. 4, 2020.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER**



# HIGHEST VOTER TURNOUT SINCE 1900

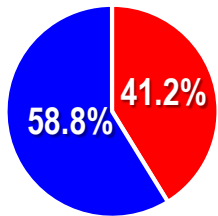
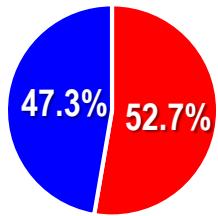
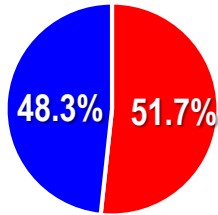
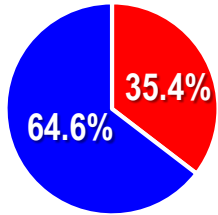
## *U.S. Voter Turnout as % of Eligible Voters*



# SPENDING ON THE 2020 ELECTIONS CRUSHED ALL PRIOR RECORDS

## Total Election Spending (Open Secrets)

### Partisan Breakdown



■ Presidential

■ Congressional

**2020**



**2016**



**2012**



**2008**

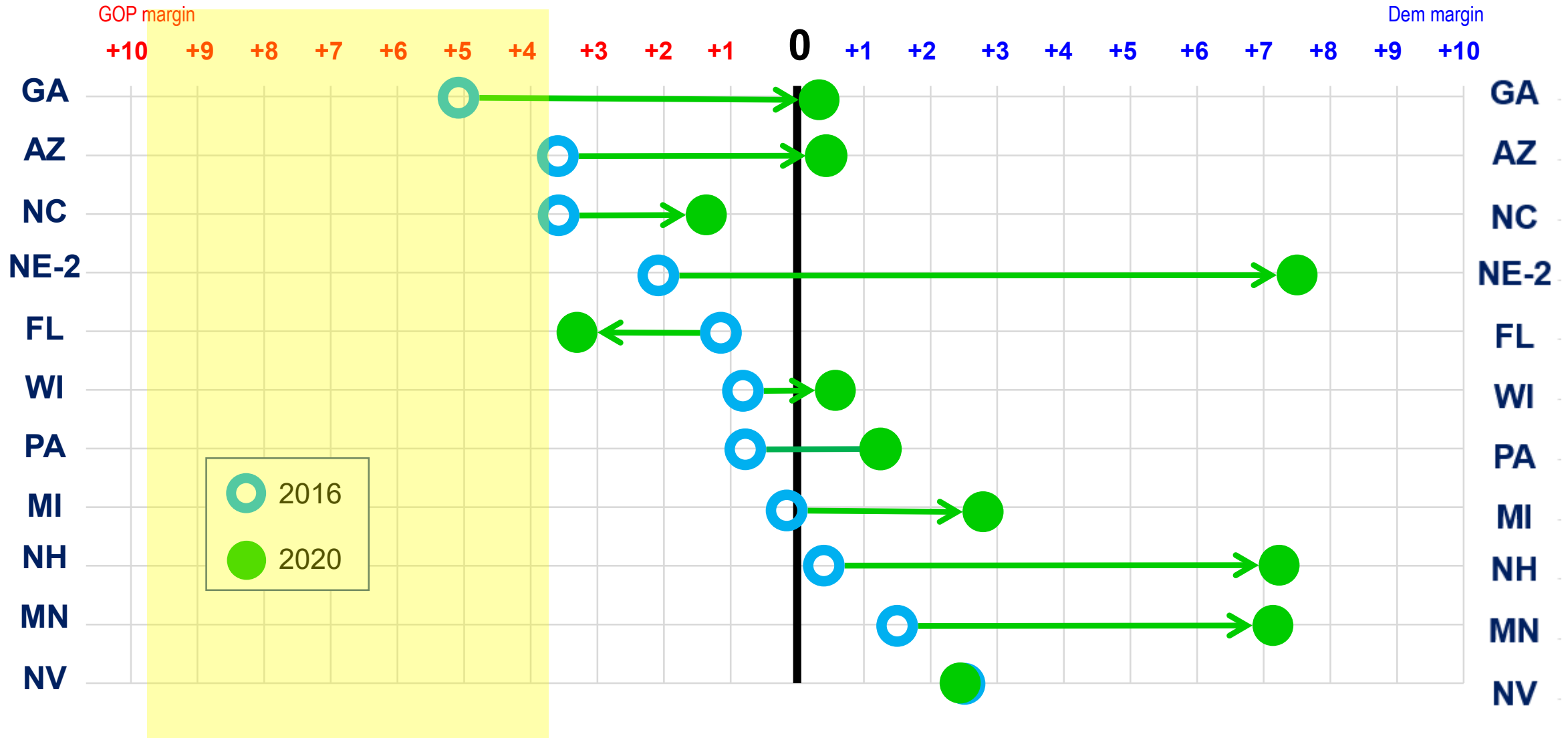


## **#2. VERY CLOSE OUTCOME**

***American Politics Remain Closely Divided, No Breakthroughs in 2020***

# THE BATTLEGROUND: CRITICAL STATES SHIFTED JUST ENOUGH

Seven States Within 3% Margin in 2020, Eight in 2016



# FEWER VOTES DECIDED ELECTORAL COLLEGE IN 2020 THAN 2016

**While the Popular Vote Margin Grew from 3M+ (Clinton) to 5.5M+ (Biden),  
The Margin in Key Electoral States Remained Tight**

## 2016 ELECTION

**TRUMP 306 – 232 CLINTON**

STATE	VOTE MARGIN	EV's
MI	10,704	16
WI	22,746	10
PA	44,929	20

Change 38,874 votes from  
Trump to Clinton (half total  
margin + 1 per state) and it's  
**278-260 CLINTON**

## 2020 ELECTION

**BIDEN 306 – 232 TRUMP**

STATE	VOTE MARGIN	EV's
GA	12,670*	16
WI	20,565*	10
PA	80,555*	20

*\* 11/18 5pm; Still counting, margins will adjust*

Change 56,898 votes\* from  
Biden to Trump (half total  
margin + 1 per state) and it's  
**278-260 TRUMP**

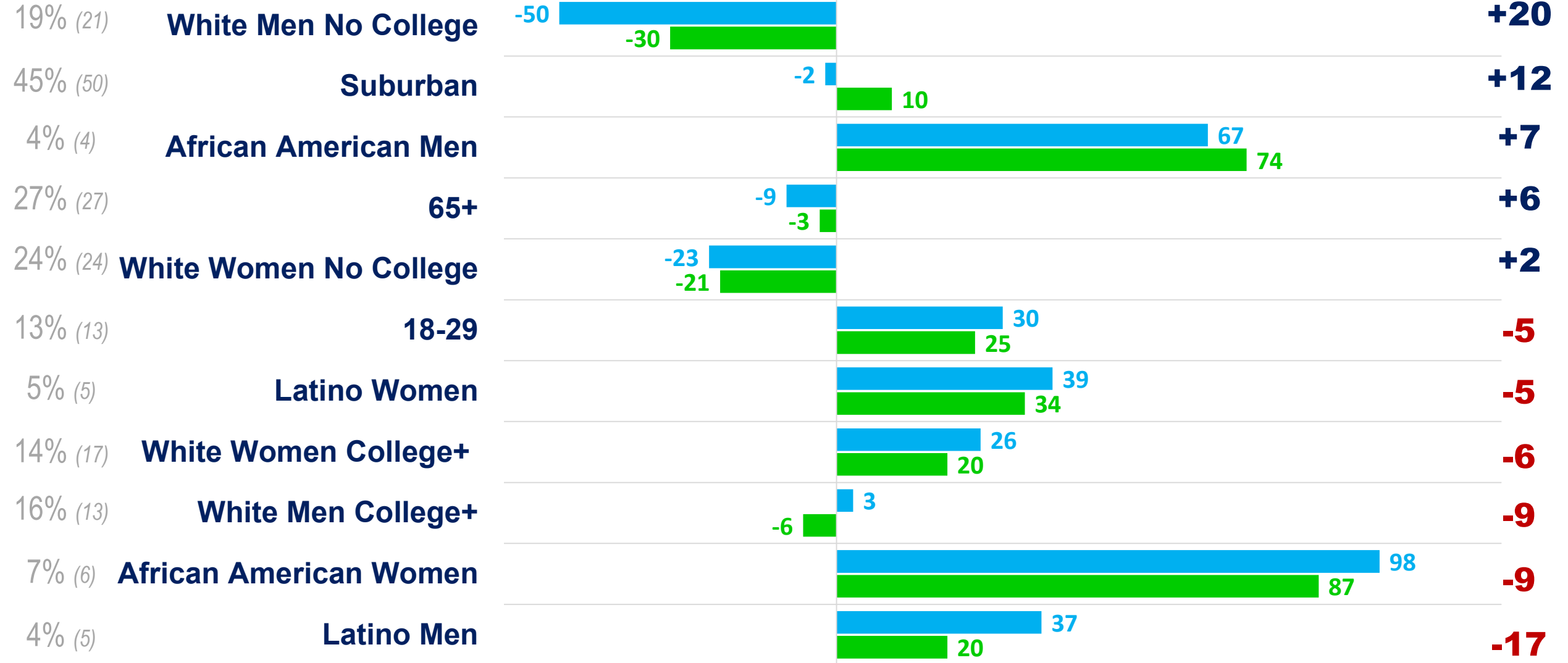
# BIDEN CUT INTO TRUMP'S COALITION, TRUMP INTO CLINTON'S

Share of 2020  
Electorate (2016)

■ 2016 Clinton Margin

■ 2020 Biden Margin

Biden vs  
Clinton



## **#3. NO COATTAILS**

***Americans Chose Divided Government &  
A Narrow Mandate for 46***

# ELECTORATES SEEKING MAJOR CHANGE SHOW IT DOWNBALLOT

## Coattails for Presidents With Big Messes to Clean Up

YEAR / PRESIDENT	Popular Vote	Senate Seats	House Seats	Governors
<b>2008 / OBAMA</b>	<b>+7.27%</b>	<b>+8</b>	<b>+21</b>	<b>+1</b>
<b>1980 / REAGAN</b>	<b>+9.74%</b>	<b>+12</b>	<b>+34</b>	<b>+4</b>
<b>1932 / FDR</b>	<b>+17.8%</b>	<b>+11</b>	<b>+97</b>	<b>+11</b>
<b>1920 / HARDING</b>	<b>+26.2%</b>	<b>+10</b>	<b>+63</b>	<b>+7</b>
<b>1860 / LINCOLN</b>	<b>+10.13%</b>	<b>+2 (of 66)</b>	<b>+30**</b>	
<b>2020 / BIDEN</b>	<b>+3.9%*</b>	<b>+1***</b>	<b>-14*</b>	<b>-1</b>

\* Still counting, margins may adjust

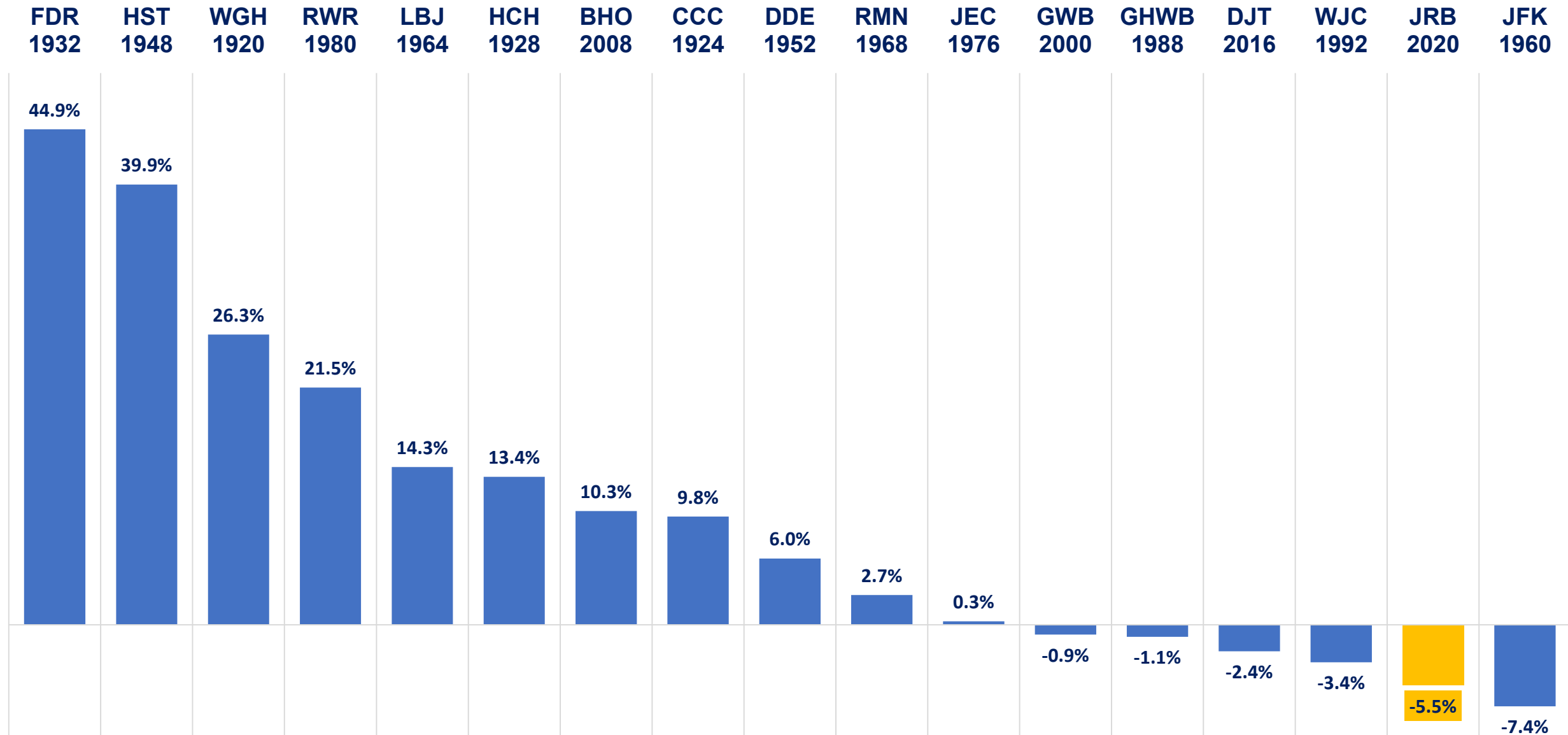
\*\* Pending GA runoff elections

\*\*\* +30 for the Unionists



# WEAKEST HOUSE COATTAILS SINCE 1960

## Change in President's Party Share of House Seats at First Election

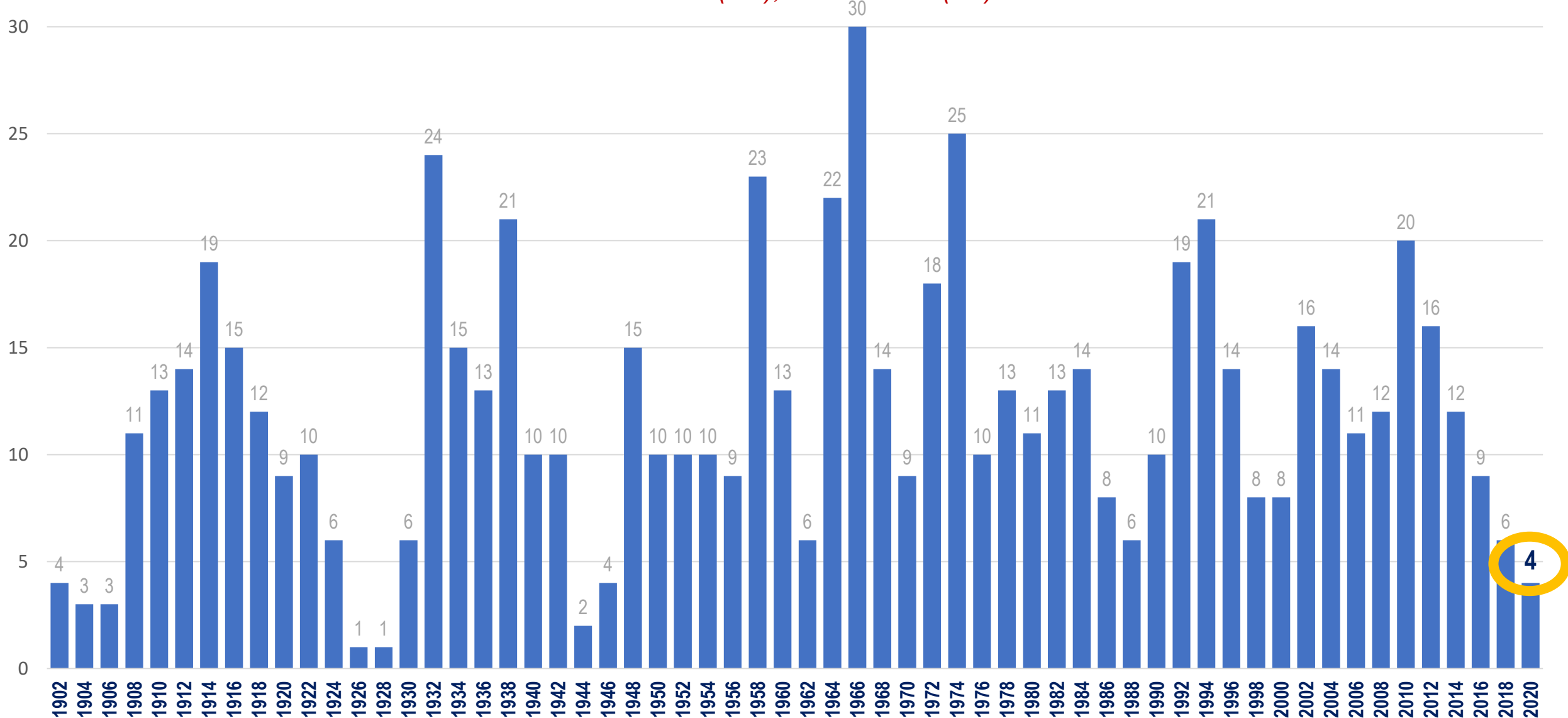


Source: Author's calculations assuming Dems have 222 seats in 117<sup>th</sup> Congress

# IN THE STATES: A “NO CHANGE” ELECTION (GOP +2)

## Fewest Legislative Chamber Switches Since 1946

*R+2 in 2020 (NH), D+2 in 2019 (VA)*



# #4. VOTERS HISTORICALLY DISRUPTED

*Focused on COVID & ECONOMY...*

*Sought Competence > Change*

# MOST DISRUPTED ELECTORATE SINCE 1968

In the 31 Presidential Election Years Since 1900...



11

9

8

6

2

Years with Two Super-Disruptors: 1972, 2004

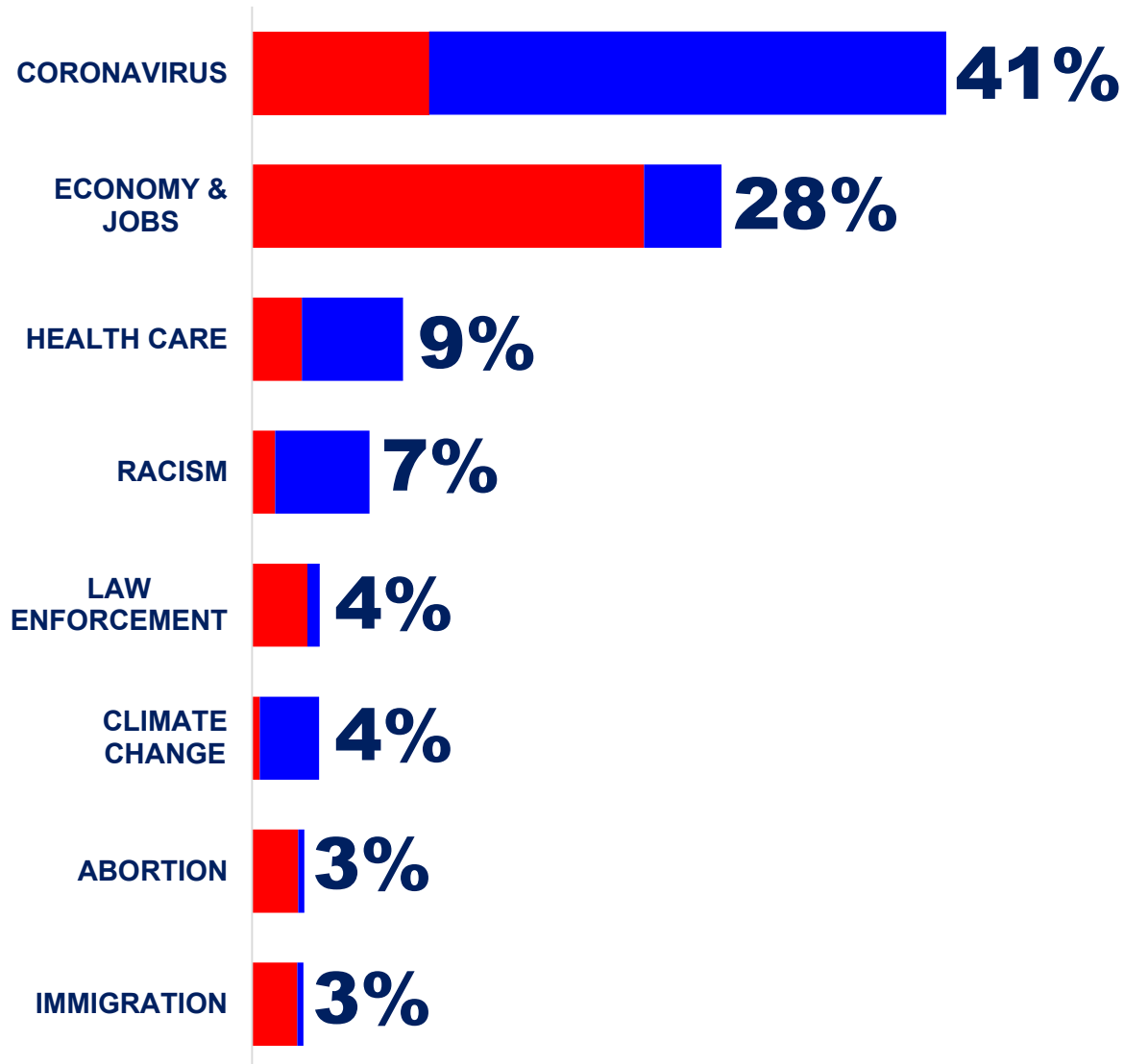
Years with Three Super-Disruptors: 1932, 2008

Years with Four Super-Disruptors: 1968, 2020

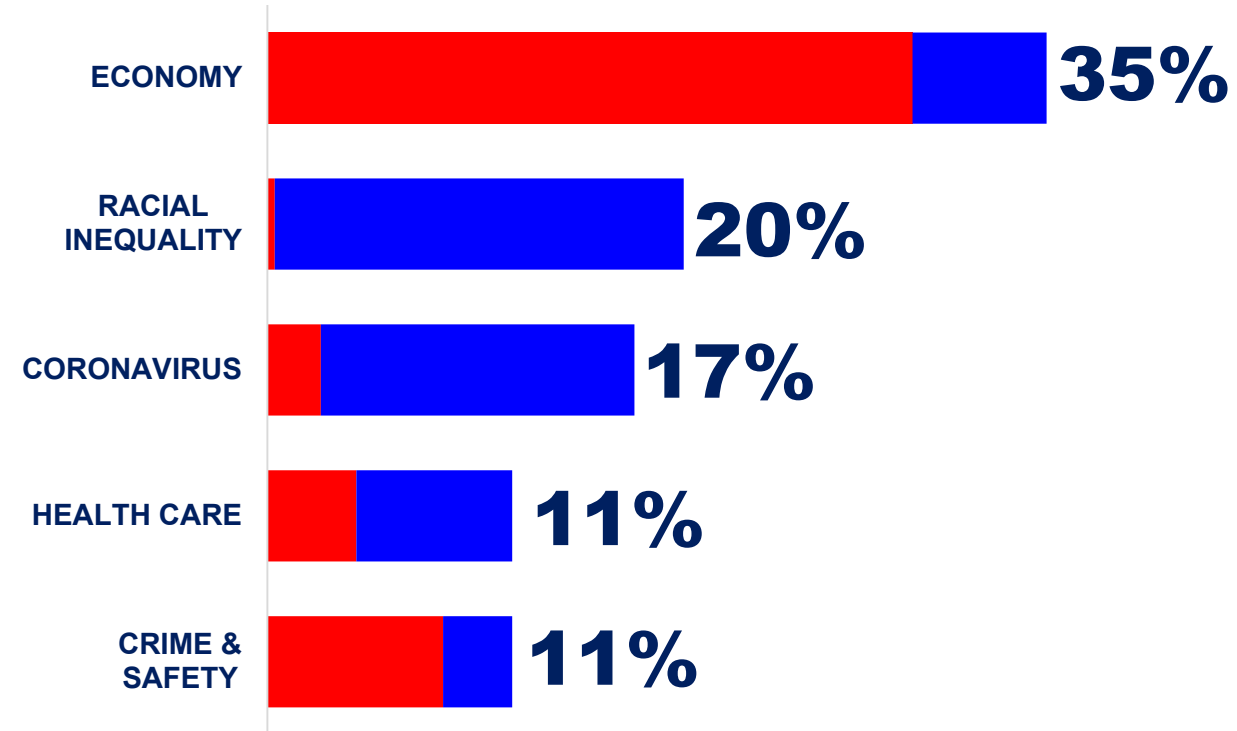
White House Changed Parties

# THE ISSUES: COVID & THE ECONOMY

## Most Important Issue Facing the Country

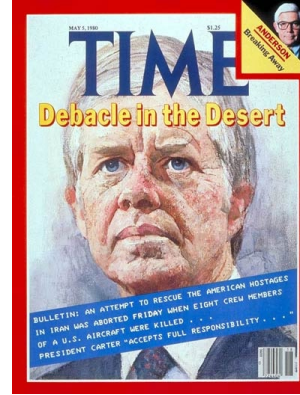
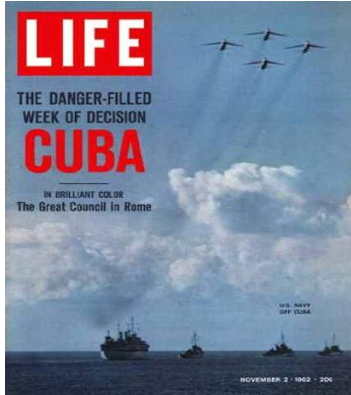


## Most Important Issue to Your Vote



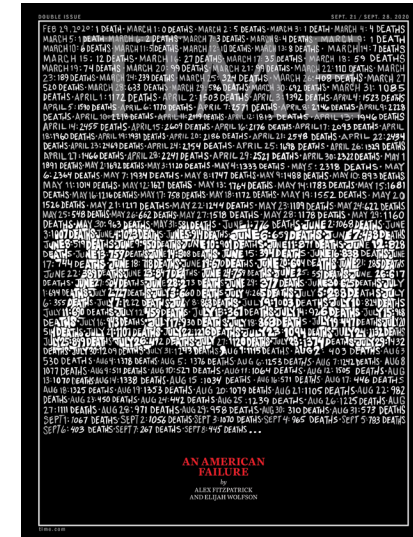
# THE ADMINISTRATION'S POOR PANDEMIC RESPONSE SUNK THE PRESIDENT

## Crises Define Leaders



**55%** disapproved of Pres. Trump's handling of the coronavirus (47% strongly)

**83%** said the fed'l government's response to the coronavirus was an **important factor** in their vote (**39%** single most important factor)



# PANDEMIC PERCEPTIONS TURNED HEAVILY ON MEDIA PREFERENCES

## Media Diets Massively Shaped Perceived Pandemic Reality

*“The U.S. has controlled the outbreak as much as it could”*

*“The U.S. has not controlled the outbreak as much as it could”*

If your only news comes from:



If your only news comes from:



# ECONOMIC REALITIES SHAPED PERCEPTIONS

## Are You Better Off Today Than You Were Four Years Ago?

2020 (Sept 14-28)

56%

2012 (Dec 14-17)

45%

2004 (Oct. 22-24)

47%

1992 (Oct. 23-25)

38%

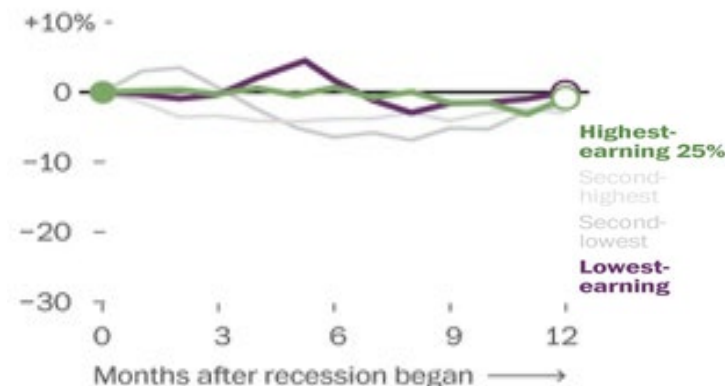
1984 (July 27-30)

44%

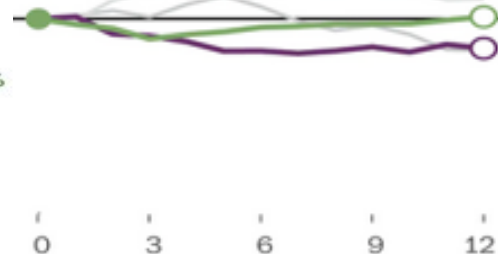
## Americans Face Two Very Different Recessions

Job growth (or loss) since each recession began, based on weekly earnings

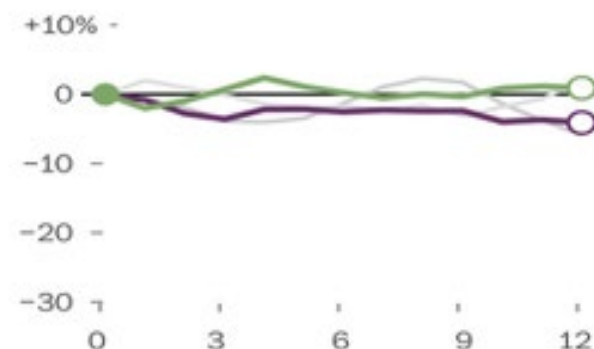
1990 recession



2001 recession



2008 recession



Coronavirus crisis





# **#5. THE ELECTORATE IS NOT MONOLITHIC**

*You Won't Bring All Americans Together  
Until You Understand Them*

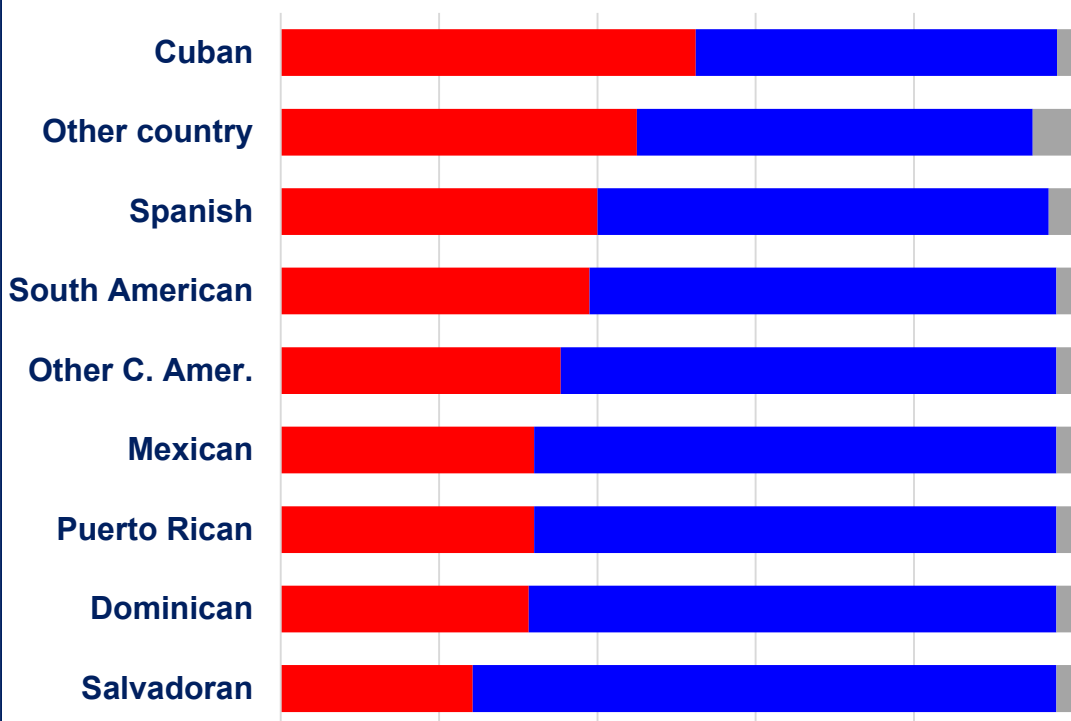
# DIVERSE AMERICANS ARE NOT MONOLITHIC

## *Appeal to Them As Individuals*

There is no “Hispanic Vote”... There Are Many

Vote by Family Heritage

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%



■ Trump ■ Biden ■ Other

Immigration & Civil Rights Matter Greatly,  
But Other Issues Matter Too

Top Issues for Americans of Color  
(American Election Eve poll)

LATINO	BLACK	ASIAN
Coronavirus pandemic (55%)	Coronavirus pandemic (55%)	Coronavirus pandemic (58%)
Jobs & the Economy (41%)	Racial Justice (37%)	Jobs & the Economy (44%)
Health care costs (32%)	Jobs & the Economy (34%)	Health care costs (37%)

# THERE'S A SIGNAL IN THE NOISE: MIND THE DISRUPTION

## Why Did >73M Americans Vote to Reelect Donald Trump?

*(Most are not deplorable racists brainwashed by Fox News & Facebook friends)*



### Concern that Globalization Harms > Helps

*Many Americans bemoan the “hollowing out of the middle class” as businesses outsourced >2M U.S. manufacturing jobs to China & low wage nations via “free trade”*



### Fear the New Economy Is Leaving them Behind

*Many Americans feel disrupted by the knowledge economy; they see their “fly-over states” getting left behind by the “super star” technology and investment elites on the Coasts*



### Anger at “Political Correctness” / Elite Condescension

*Many Americans feel under attack for being proud of their country & lifestyles (God, guns & football) and resent “elitist” condescension by the media and liberal politicians*



### Profound Disagreement with “Socialism”

*Many Americans strongly disagree with the policies offered by some on the Left (e.g. defunding the police, decriminalizing the border, ending fossil fuels, higher taxes)*

# STATE'S SCIENCE & TECH LEADERSHIP HIGHLY PREDICTIVE

## 21 of Top 25 States for Biden

RANK	STATE	RANK	STATE
1	Massachusetts	11	Minnesota
2	Colorado	12	Connecticut
3	California	13	Pennsylvania
4	Maryland	14	New Jersey
5	Washington	15	N. Carolina
6	Utah	16	Texas
7	New Hampshire	17	Arizona
8	Virginia	18	New Mexico
9	Delaware	19	Michigan
10	Oregon	20	Illinois

21	New York
22	Georgia
23	Rhode Island
24	Ohio
25	Wisconsin

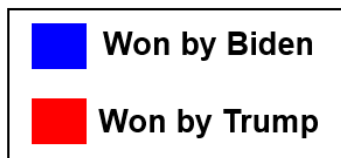
## STATE TECHNOLOGY AND SCIENCE INDEX



## 21 of Bottom 25 States for Trump

RANK	STATE	RANK	STATE
26	Idaho	36	Alaska
27	Indiana	37	Hawaii
28	Vermont	38	Nebraska
29	Montana	39	Wyoming
30	Kansas	40	Tennessee
31	Missouri	41	North Dakota
32	Alabama	42	South Dakota
33	Florida	43	Maine
34	Iowa	44	Kentucky
35	S. Carolina	45	Oklahoma

46	Nevada
47	Louisiana
48	Arkansas
49	West Virginia
50	Mississippi



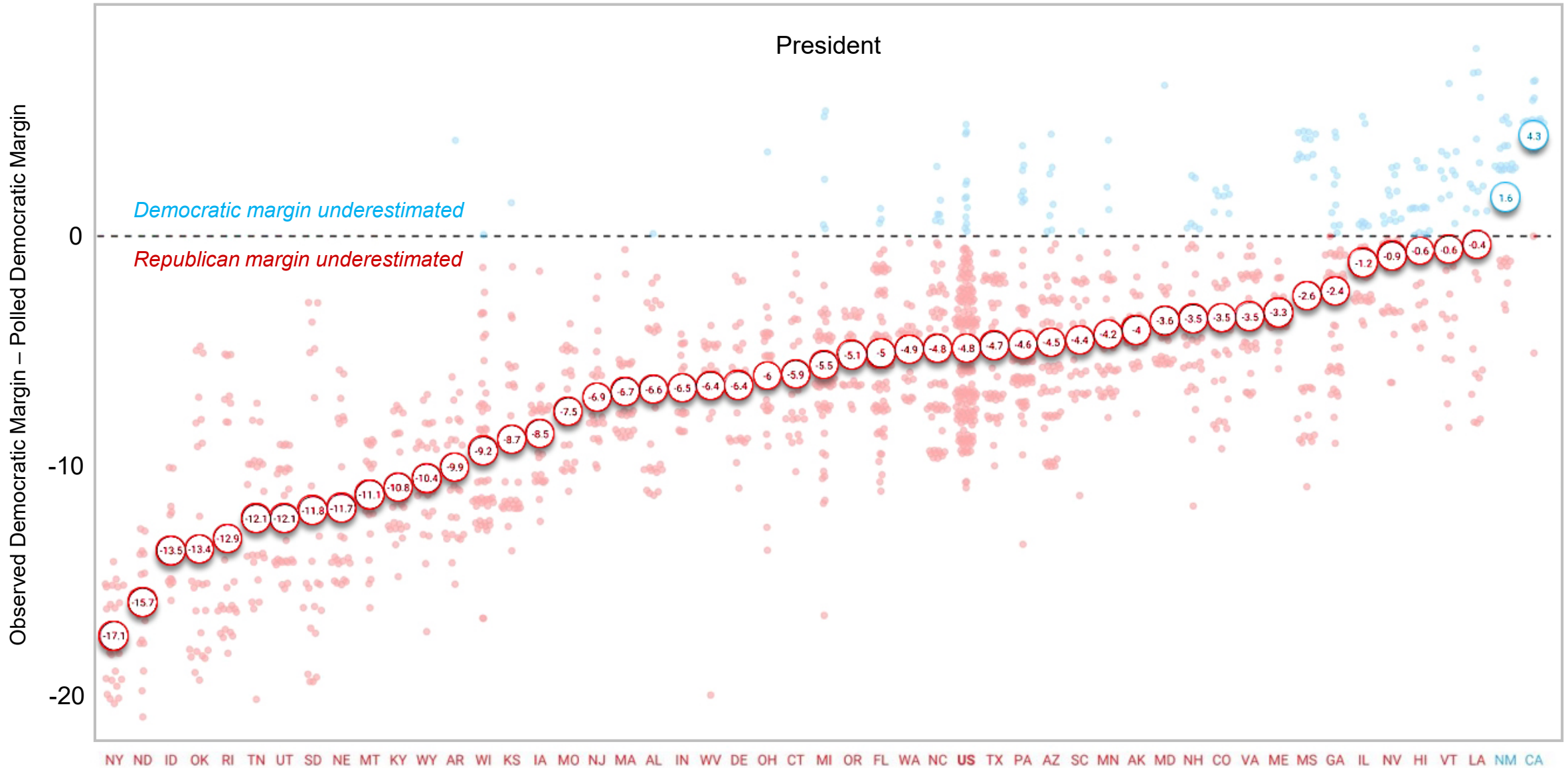
## #6. ANOTHER POLLING FAIL

### *We're Flying Blind: Pre- and Post-Election Misses*

*(How will you reach stakeholders if you don't know who they are or where they stand?)*

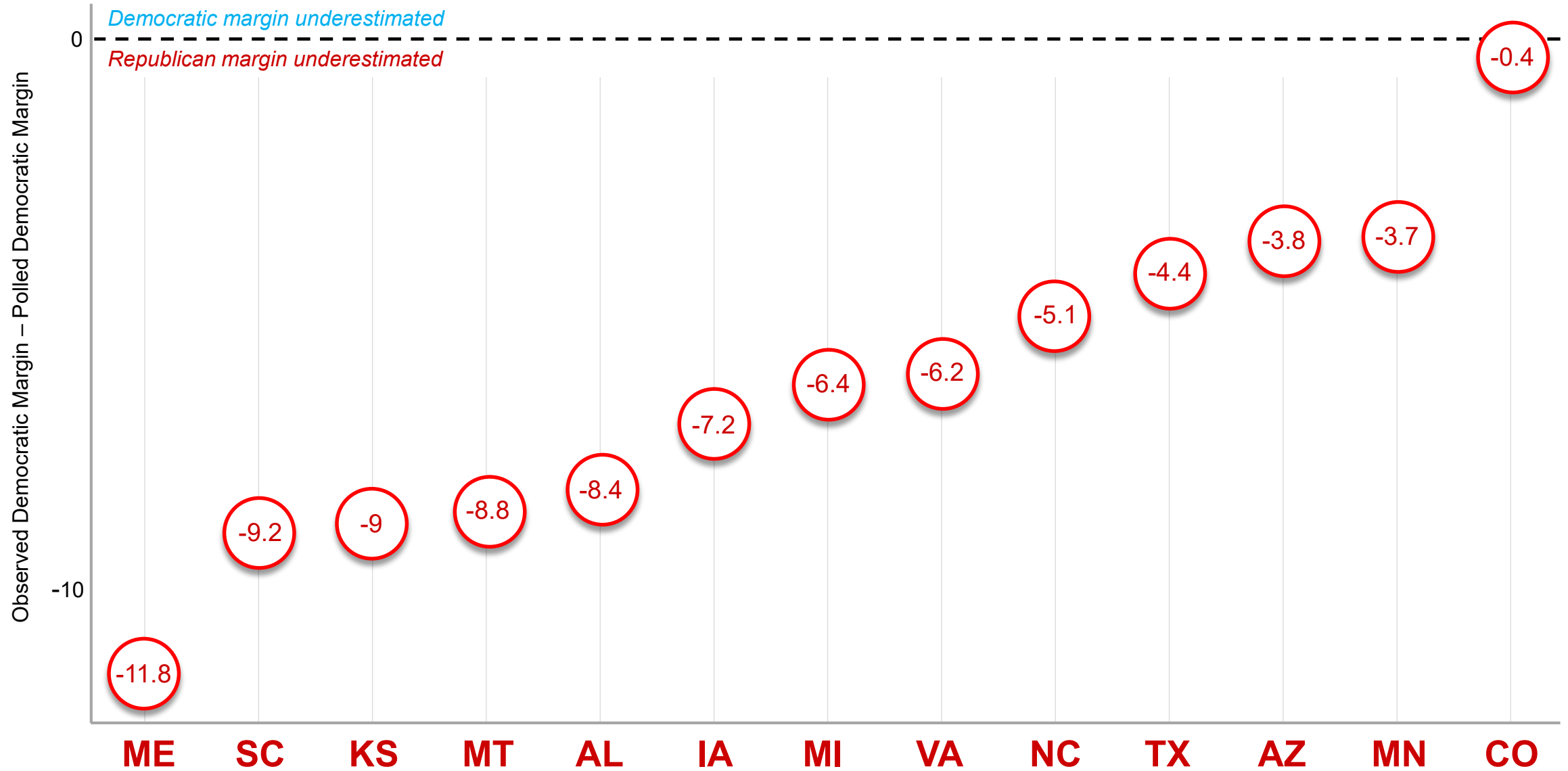
# PRE-ELECTION POLLS SIGNIFICANTLY UNDER-COUNTED TRUMP SUPPORT

## Presidential Poll Accuracy by State *(vote totals as of 11am 11/13; All polls within 2 weeks of election)*



# NOT JUST TRUMP / PRESIDENTIAL: SENATE POLLING MISSED GOP VOTERS

## Senate Poll Accuracy by State (vote totals as of 11am 11/13; All polls within 2 weeks of election)



# EVEN THE EXIT POLLS DON'T AGREE

## Large & Inexplicable Disparities Between the Two Competing Exit Polls



### WHO VOTED (Estimated Share of 2020 Electorate)

65% (67%)	White	74%
13%	Latino / Hispanic	10%
22%	65+ (seniors)	27%
34% (35%)	White No College	44%

### HOW WE VOTED

Trump +1 (B+9)	White Women College+	Biden +20
Trump +12	Household Income >\$100k	Biden +4
Biden +60	African American Men	Biden +75
Biden +3 (B+2)	Suburban	Biden +10

Sources (Linked):  
[Edison Research](#)  
[AP VoteCast](#)

Shows Initial data published 11/4 and (italics = adjusted data published 11/10 if different from initial)



# **#7. WHAT TO EXPECT IN 2021**

## ***Challenging Politics, Challenging Times***

# SENATE CONTROL DETERMINED IN 2 GEORGIA RUNOFFS 1/5/21



## Results of Major Statewide GA Races Since 2000

YEAR	PRESIDENT	SEN. SEAT 1	SEN. SEAT 2	GOVERNOR	LT. GOV	SEC. STATE
2020	49.5%	49.8%	48.5% (all Rs)			
2018				50.2%	51.6%	51.9%
2016	50.4%		54.8%			
2014		52.9%		52.7%	58.0%	57.5%
2012	53.3%					
2010			58.3%	53.0%	54.5%	56.2%
2008	52.2%	57.4%				
2006				57.9%	54.1%	54.1%
2004	60.0%		57.9%			
2002		52.8%		51.3%	51.9%	61.1%
2000	54.7%					

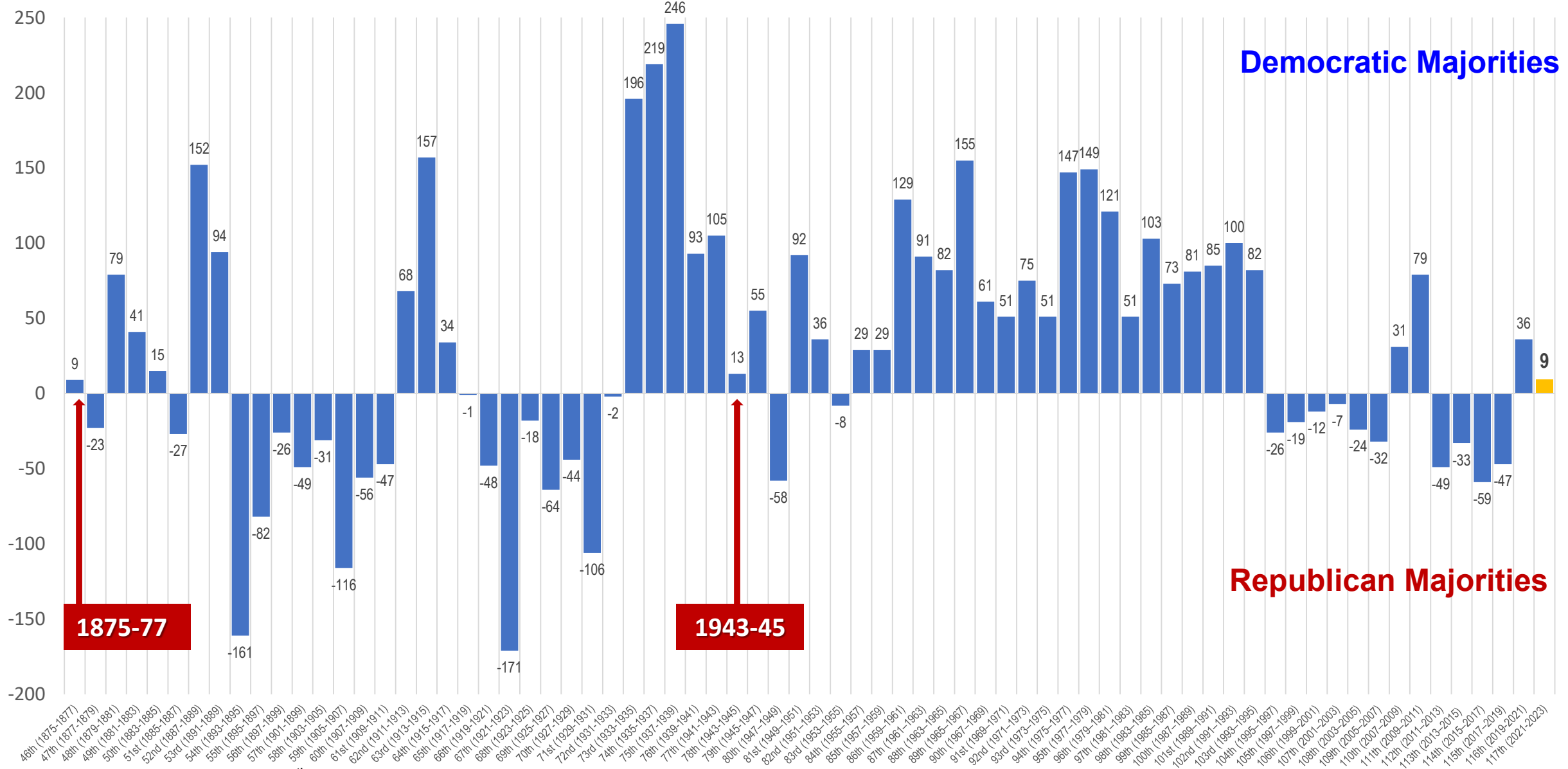
# FIRST NEWLY-ELECTED DEMOCRAT WITHOUT A D-LED SENATE SINCE 1884



YEAR	1ST TERM DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTS	SENATE MAJORITY PARTY	HOUSE MAJORITY PARTY
2020	Biden	GOP*	DEM
2008	Obama	DEM	DEM
1992	Clinton	DEM	DEM
1976	Carter	DEM	DEM
1964	Johnson	DEM	DEM
1960	Kennedy	DEM	DEM
1948	Truman	DEM	DEM
1932	FDR	DEM	DEM
1912	Wilson	DEM	DEM
1884	Cleveland	GOP	DEM
1856	Buchanan	DEM	DEM
1852	Pierce	DEM	DEM

# SMALLEST DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY IN HOUSE SINCE 1875-77

## Democratic Party Margins in the U.S. House, 1875-2021



Source: [House](#); Assumes 222 D – 213 R in 117<sup>th</sup>

# THE POLITICS: HOW MUCH CAN GET DONE IN 2021?



## THE CASE FOR MORE

Top 3 leaders are **Deal Makers** with 113 years combined experience

Crises (**COVID & economy**) demand cooperation & agreement

**Moderates** in both parties want progress on problems

Senate GOP & House Dem **Majorities At Risk** in purple states & districts

**Mainstream Media** will paint compromise as courageous

## THE CASE FOR LESS

**Wings** of parties oppose “dealing with the enemy,” preferring causes to compromise

Pandemic has become **Partisan**, economic needs debated

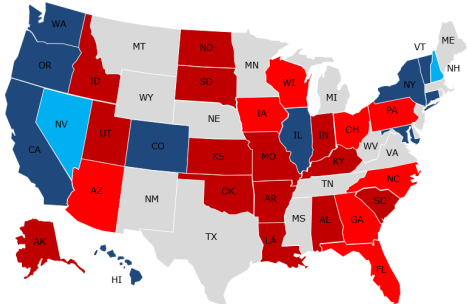
**Ideologues** in both parties want “purity”

Politicians who compromise are more likely to face **Primary Challenges** from the fringes of their parties

**Social Media** will paint compromise as treachery



2022 Senate Races



# KEY BIDEN ATTRIBUTES & CONSIDERATIONS

## It's Possible That Only He Can Fix It



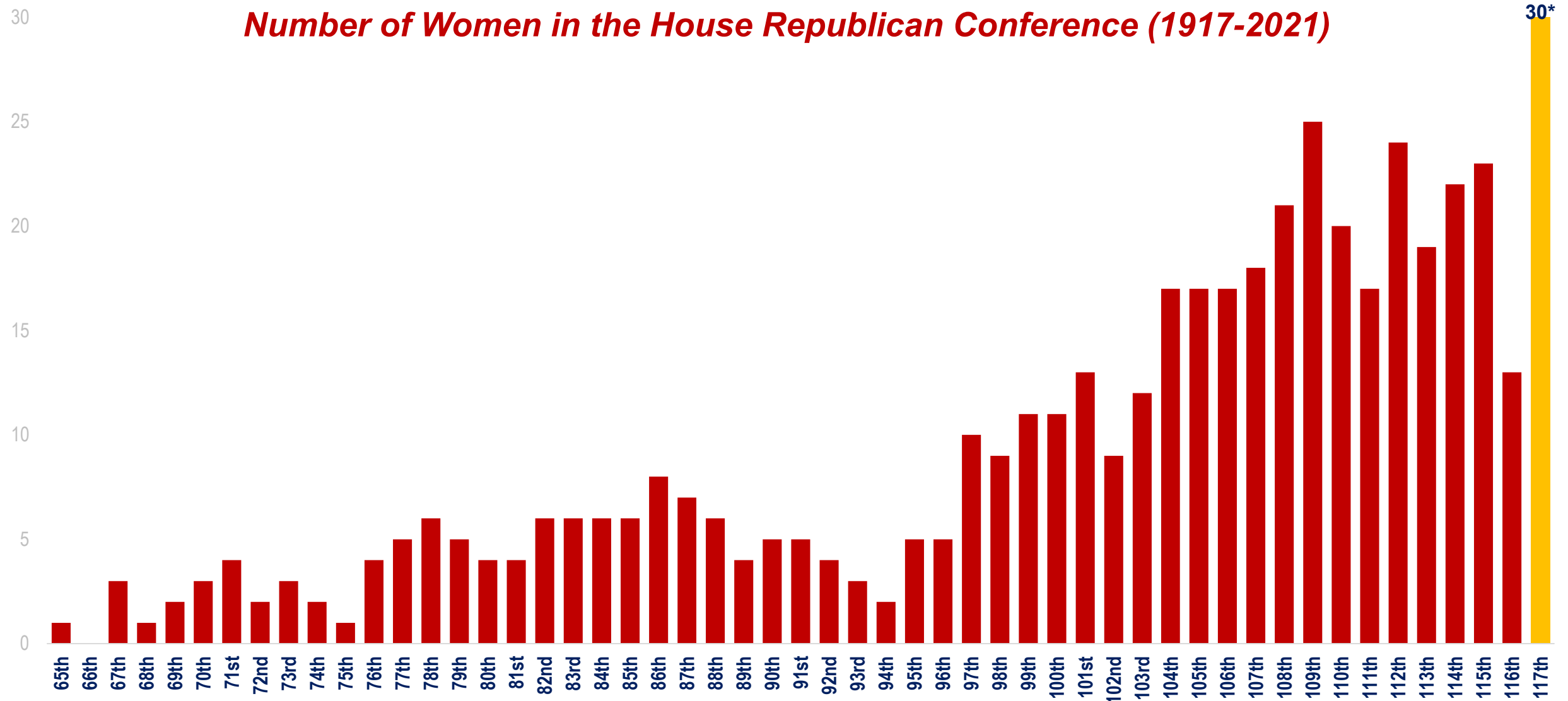
1. He's a **Legislator** more than an **Executive** (very comfortable cutting deals)
2. He's **Party Centrist** more than an **Ideological Moderate** (willing to compromise with anyone)
3. He's an **Institutionalist** (with great respect for the people, processes & protocol that make government work)
4. He retains an **Optimistic view of the GOP** (works well with Sen. McConnell, believes there are more Howard Baker / Bob Doles out there)
5. He's a **Transitional figure and he knows it** (trying to govern well rather than lead a revolution)

# **#8. BOTH PARTIES IN TRANSITION**

*Historic Uncertainty about the Parties'  
Future Leadership & Direction*

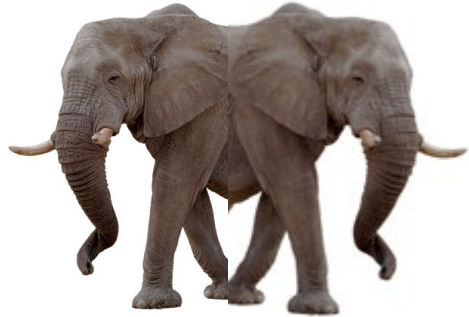
# SOME GOOD NEWS: MOST EVER REPUBLICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. HOUSE

*Number of Women in the House Republican Conference (1917-2021)*





# THE FIVE FACES OF THE GOP, 2021+



## The Republican Civil War for the Future

	<b>GOP REFORMERS</b>	<b>NEW DEAL-MAKERS</b>	<b>NEW REAGANITES</b>	<b>NEW #RESISTANCE</b>	<b>TRUMPISTS</b>
<b>MOTTO</b>	<b>Be Competent &amp; Non-Partisan</b>	<b>We Came to Govern</b>	<b>Take Back the Right</b>	<b>America First Nationalism</b>	<b>It's Trump's Party</b> (he can tweet if he wants to)
<b>LEADERS</b>	<b>Gov. Hogan</b> (MD) <b>Gov. Baker</b> (MA) <b>Gov. Scott</b> (VT)	<b>Collins</b> <b>Murkowski</b> <b>Romney</b>	<b>Rubio</b> <b>Sasse</b> <b>Toomey</b>	<b>Cotton</b> <b>Cruz</b> <b>Hawley</b>	<b>Pres. Trump</b> <b>VP Pence</b> <b>Trump Family</b>
<b>PHILOSOPHY</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most popular U.S. governors are Blue State GOP</li> <li>• Socially moderate</li> <li>• Fiscally conservative</li> <li>• Pragmatic problem solvers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Legislate to solve problems</li> <li>• Democrats are the opposition, not the enemy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reformicons:</li> <li>• Free enterprise + Future of Work</li> <li>• Limited gov't + Modern safety net</li> <li>• Strong defense</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Control the border</li> <li>• Fight political correctness</li> <li>• End unfair trade deals, put America first</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DJT made America great... only he can fix it again</li> <li>• Democrats, Big Tech &amp; Media stole election</li> </ul>

Core Challenge: Republicans have won the popular vote for President once since 1988.

# DEMOCRATS: INCREMENTALISM OR AGGRESSIVE PROGRESSIVISM?

## The Democratic Civil War for the Future

PROGRESSIVES

MODERATES



HEALTH CARE



ENERGY & ENVIRONMENT



TAX



TECH & TELECOM



CIVIL RIGHTS



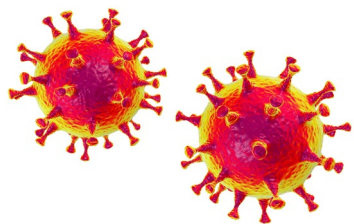
IMMIGRATION



# **#9. MACRO TRENDS THAT MATTER**

***Regardless of Washington, Big Changes Are Coming, All Around the World***

# CONTEXT: KEY MACRO TRENDS



## PANDEMIC

### DOMINATING 2021

- Global infections peak in winter; U.S. lacks testing / tracing / masking
- Recovery undermined by mistrust/fear (masks, vaccines), state deficits & inequality



## TECHNOLOGY

### ACCELERATION

- Accelerating 4<sup>th</sup> Industrial Revolution Hyper-Digital Transformation hits eds, meds & Feds
- Ongoing Techlash drives policy in Congress, agencies, states & global



## GEOPOLITICS

### DEGLOBALIZATION

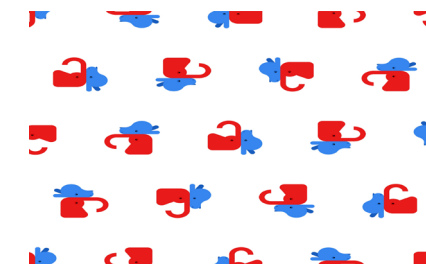
- Soft Power Vacuum (neither U.S. nor China trusted); Nationalism > Globalism
- U.S.-China Decoupling on tech, “critical” goods & sectors



## CULTURE

### HYPER-ACTIVISM

- BOTH left & right energized by 2020 election, anger amplified on cable & social media
- TRUST deficit exacerbated (government, media, elections, medicine)



## POLITICS

### REALIGNMENT

- Both parties face Civil Wars & future-defining identity crises
- Reform era accelerated, anchored by need for resilience economy

# GEOPOLITICS: NEW WORLD ORDER TAKING SHAPE

## Great Power Rivalry Returns

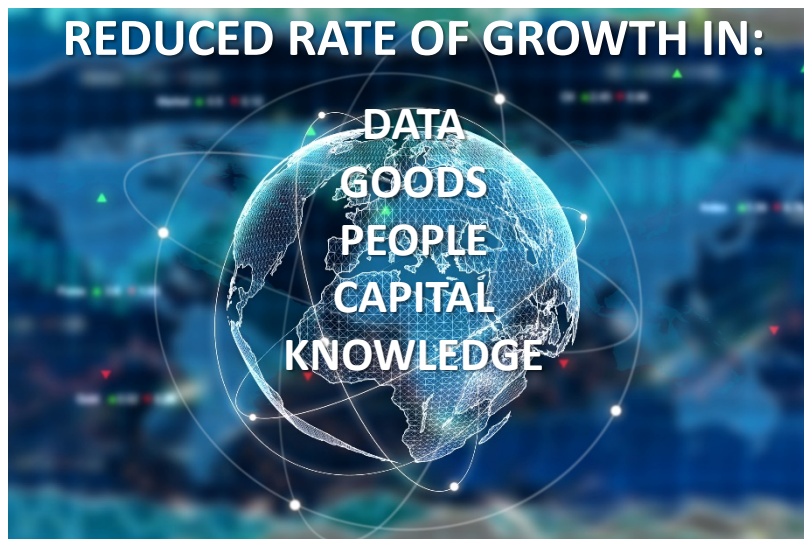


## Multilateralism Remade

### NEW MISSIONS, MANDATES, MODELS



## Cross-Border Flows Slow



## Trade Economics Disrupted



# **#10. RECOMMENDATIONS**

***Engaging Washington in the Biden Era &  
Reasons for Faith in America***

# TIMETABLE: THE NEXT ~780 DAYS IN BIDEN'S WASHINGTON



	Lame Duck & Transition (Nov-Jan 5th)	First 100 Days (Jan 20-Apr 30)	First 2 Years (Jan 20 – Midterms)
<b>POLITICS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recounts &amp; Lawsuits</li> <li>• Leadership Elections</li> <li>• GA Senate runoffs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inauguration &amp; Confirmations</li> <li>• Intra-Party Civil Wars</li> <li>• Temporary return of civility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>2022 Midterms</b> (both small Majorities at risk, many primaries?)</li> <li>• 2024 race begins (Will Biden run again? Will Trump?)</li> </ul>
<b>PROCESS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transition planning</li> <li>• <b>Trump Lame Duck: EOs, deals, purges &amp; pardons, "midnight" regulations (no CRA), sanctions</b></li> <li>• "Lame Duck" Session</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Fill Cabinet, White House &amp; Executive Branch jobs (4,013)</b></li> <li>• House will pass many bills that die in the Senate</li> <li>• 1<sup>st</sup> Trip abroad</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>New Normal</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Chaos → Calm</li> <li>-Aspirational → Practical</li> <li>-Throw for TDs → Run for 1<sup>st</sup> D's</li> <li>-Intra-Party deals → Inter-Party</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>McConnell controls floor</b></li> </ul>
<b>POLICY</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• COVID stimulus</li> <li>• FY21 funding</li> <li>• Nat'l Defense Auth. Act</li> <li>• Health, tax "extenders"</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reverse Trump EOs / Regs</li> <li>• Rejoin Paris, WHO, COVAX</li> <li>• COVID &amp; economy dominate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Increased oversight</b> (pandemic profiteering, systemic failures, tech, health)</li> <li>• <b>Post-Trump reforms</b> (eg Hatch Act; Presidential tax returns, etc.)</li> <li>• <b>Bipartisan Issues</b> (e.g. Big Tech, China, infrastructure)</li> </ul>

# RECOMMENDATION: STRATEGY FOR ENGAGING WASHINGTON IN 2021

## Employer engagement may hold the key:

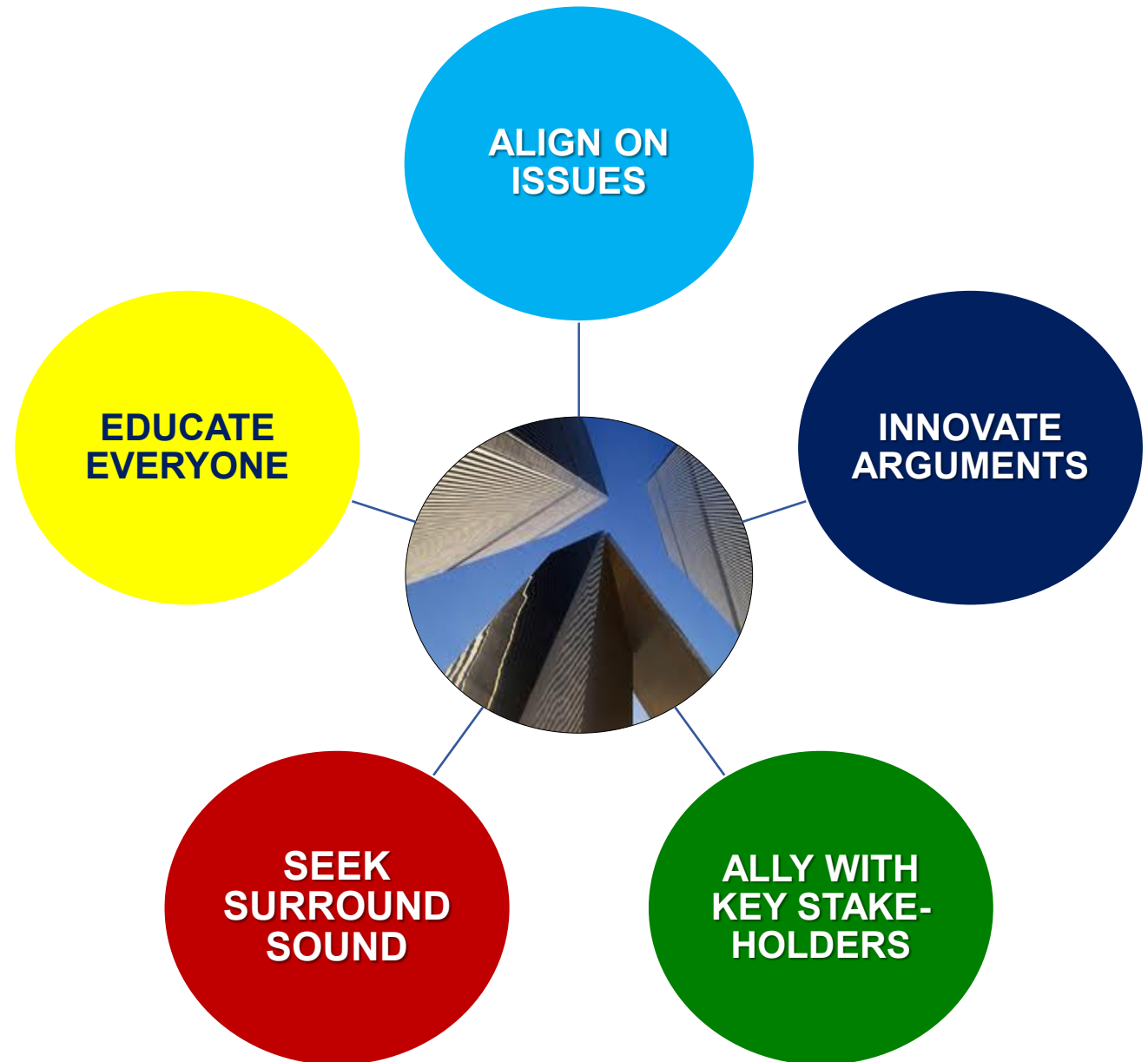
- Bipartisan coalitions succeeded in 2015-16:
- TSCA reform
- 21<sup>st</sup> Century Cures Act
- FAST Act (infrastructure)
- Trade Promotion Authority

## Successful efforts require:

- Partnering with stakeholders on problems & solutions
- Working with high-impact NGOs & policy makers on both sides, aligning issues with values
- Running persistent, bipartisan, surround sound campaigns

## Business leaders expected to step up:

- On issues of global & national concern
- Employees, customers, investors & activists looking for C-Suite leadership





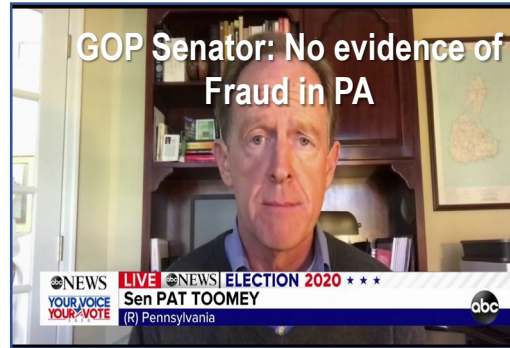
# REASONS FOR HOPE FOR THE FUTURE

## Reports of the Death of Our Democracy Are Greatly Exaggerated

No Foreign Interference



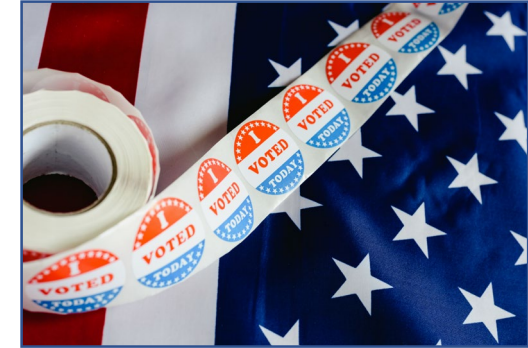
No Evidence of Fraud



Max Turnout, Not Intimidation



No Violence



**Our System of Checks & Balances Held, Limiting President Trump as It Will President Biden**



**The Arsenal of Democracy**

For future slides: [bruce@mc-dc.com](mailto:bruce@mc-dc.com)

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