

AGENDA EINER TRUMP ADMINISTRATION UND NEUE WAHLANALYSEN

Verantwortlich
und Redaktion:
DR. LARS HÄNSEL

US-EXPERTEN GABEN ERSTE PROGNOSEN FÜR DIE KOMMENDE TRUMP PRÄSIDENTSCHAFT AB UND PRÄSENTIERTEN ANALYSEN DES WAHLVERHALTENS

November 2016

Das American Enterprise Institute lud am 10. November 2016 zu einer Paneldiskussion unter dem Titel „What happened and what’s next?“ ein. Als Experten diskutierten Michael Barone, resident fellow des AEIs, John Fortier, Direktor des Bipartisan Policy Center, Henry Olson, senior fellow des Ethics & Public Policy Center, Norman J. Ornstein, resident scholar des AEIs unter der Moderation von Karlyn Bowman, public opinion analyst des AEI.

www.kas.de/usa

www.kas.de

www.uspolitik.info

Mit dem Wahlsieg von Donald Trump hatten in der amerikanischen Hauptstadt nur wenige gerechnet, nicht zuletzt auch aufgrund seiner nicht ausgearbeiteten Pläne. Diese rücken nach seiner Wahl nun unmittelbar in den Fokus. Unter den Experten herrscht Einigkeit, dass seine Agenda aufgrund der nahezu unmöglich erscheinenden Umsetzbarkeit der Wahlversprechen nur sehr schwer abzuschätzen ist. Auch Norman J. Ornstein schätzt die Wahlversprechen als größtenteils nicht und nur in einigen wenigen Aspekten als teilweise umsetzbar ein. So gestaltet sich beispielsweise die Forderung den Kohlesektor wieder zu beleben, aufgrund niedriger Gaspreise und der internationalen Marktsituation, schwierig. Verschiedene Interessenströmungen, insbesondere auch unter republikanischen Kongressmitgliedern, werden Trump in seiner Agenda ausbremsen, so Ornstein. Als Beispiel nannte Ornstein die deutlich unterschiedliche Sichtweise auf eine Reform des öffentlichen Rentensystems von Trump und von der republikanischen Partei. Ebenso erscheint eine parteiübergreifende Unterstützung seiner Agenda unwahrscheinlich. Am wahrscheinlichsten sieht Ornstein ein Infrastrukturprogramm, das von Trump auch während des Wahlkampfes gefordert worden war. Dies gebe ihm die Chance der weißen Arbeiterklasse zu zeigen, dass er Arbeitsplätze schafft und sich für ihre Belange einsetzt. Hinsichtlich des neuen Krankenversicherungssystems („Affordable Care Act“), das viele Republikaner abschaffen wollen, sieht Ornstein in der Realität jedoch „das Ersetzen von Obamacare mit Obamacare“. Der schlimmste Fall wäre laut ihm die Abschaffung ohne eine Einführung eines alternativen Programmes. Diese würde ein Vakuum hervorrufen und Chaos schaffen, da 20 Millionen Einwohner unter

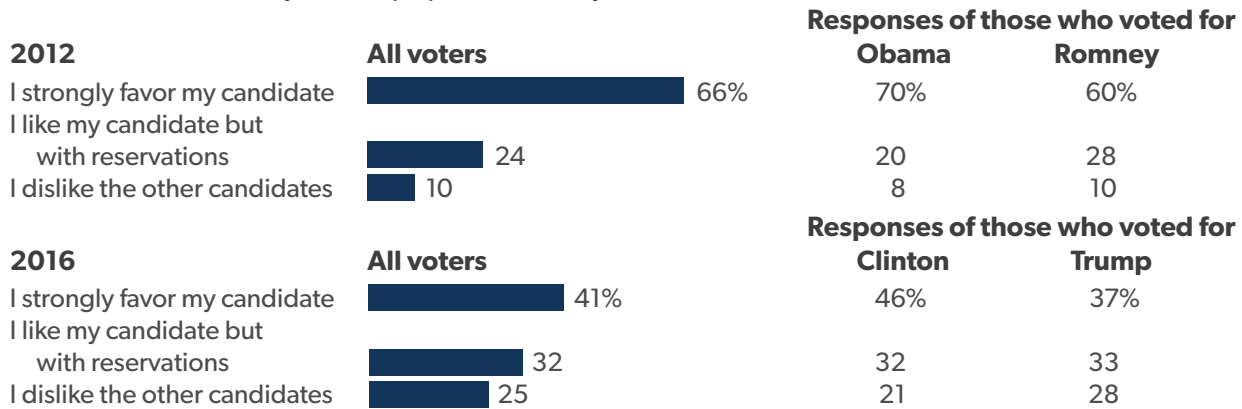
dem Affordable Care Act jüngst versichert worden sind. Ornstein benennt Handelskriege und einen möglichen Krieg gegen den Islam als weitere mögliche negative Auswirkungen, die eine Trump Administration zur Folge haben könnte. Des Weiteren sieht er jedoch auch das „Outsourcen“ von Ministerposten als Möglichkeit. Dies würde bedeuten, dass Trump eher als „non-executive chairman“ agieren würde. Seine Politiken entsprächen in diesem Fall dann eher doch dem Elitenkonsens, den Experten in die Politik hinein tragen würden.

Hinsichtlich der Wahlanalysen zeigte Michael Barone Parallelen der US-Wahl zum Brexit-Referendum auf: Menschen, die in der Stadt wohnen, haben in beiden Abstimmungen für die „etablierte Position“ (Verbleib in der EU, Hillary Clinton) gestimmt. Karlyn Bowman führte abschließend, mit Blick auf die Umfragen nach der Wahl aus, dass lediglich 2% aller Befragten eine positive Meinung gegenüber beiden Kandidaten hatten (Siehe Anhang). Des Weiteren war die Kategorie „Can bring needed change“ der wichtigste Einflussfaktor hinsichtlich der Wahlentscheidung. Diese gewann Trump deutlich mit 83% zu 14%. Trump kann somit als Kandidat des Wandels bezeichnet werden. Clinton gewann zwar die übrigen Kategorien „right experience“, „cares about people like me“ und „good judgement“, diese waren jedoch vergleichsweise unwichtig für die Wahlentscheidung. Weiterführend mochten nur 37% der Trump Wähler ihren Kandidaten uneingeschränkt (Clinton 46%). Laut Bowman war das Gender-Gap in dieser Wahl mit 24 Punkten das Größte, das je gemessen wurde. Frauen stimmten zu 54% für Clinton und zu 42% für Trump. Männer wählten dahingegen zu 41% demokratisch und zu 53% republikanisch.

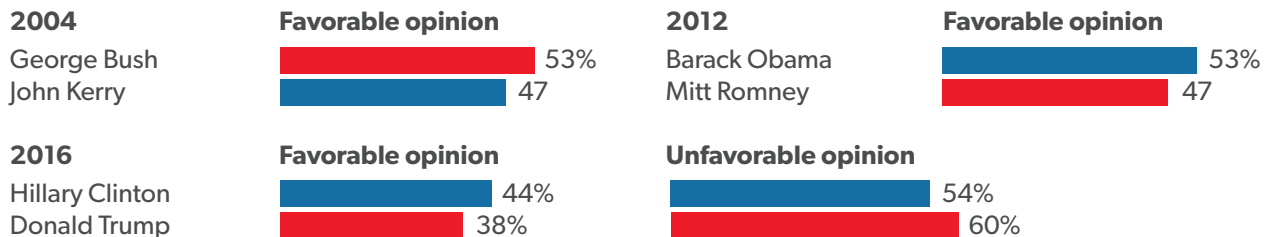
Assessing the 2016 Candidates

One of the persistent themes in this election was dissatisfaction with the major party candidates, and the data from the exit poll on this page illustrate the point. Voters in 2016 were much less likely than voters in 2012 to strongly favor their candidate, 66 to 41 percent. Voters in 2016 also had less favorable views of the candidates. Forty-four percent of voters had a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton; 38 percent in a separate question had a favorable opinion of Donald Trump. In a question from the exit poll not shown here, 2 percent of voters had a favorable opinion of both candidates. In a question about which candidate qualities mattered most, 39 percent of voters, the top response, chose “can bring needed change.” They voted 83 to 14 percent for Trump.

Q: Which best describes your vote for president today?

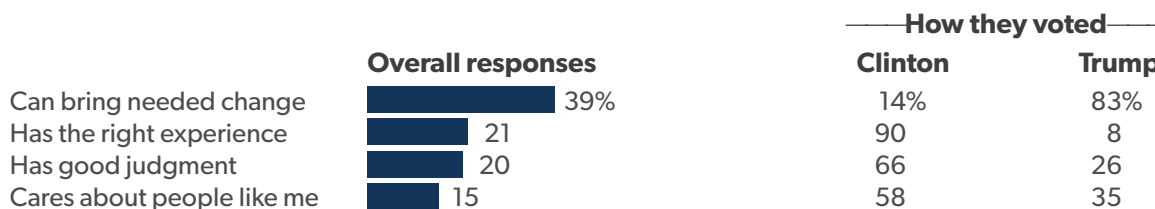


Q: Is your opinion of _____ favorable or unfavorable?



Note: Twelve percent of people who voted for Clinton said they had an unfavorable opinion of her, and 20 percent of people who voted for Trump said they had an unfavorable opinion of him.

Q: Which one of these four candidate qualities mattered most in deciding how you voted for president?



Source (all pages): National exit poll data reported by *The New York Times* and CNN as of November 9, 2016. Complete sources available upon request.

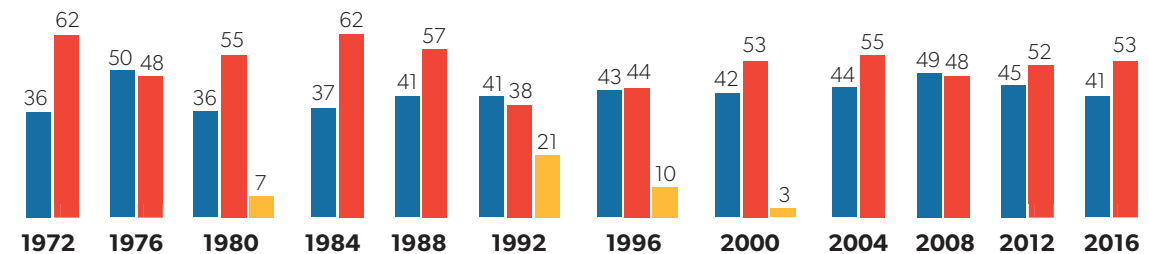
National Exit Polls 1976–2016: How Groups Voted

As we have done in past elections in our reviews of exit poll results, we look now at how key groups have voted over time. In recent elections, men have voted for Republican presidential candidates and women for Democratic ones. In 2016, their votes were mirror images of one another. The gender gap at 24 points was larger in this election than it has ever been. It was 22 points in 2000. The marriage gap has always exceeded the gender gap, and it did once again in 2016. Married people, 58 percent of voters, supported Donald Trump by 53 to 43 percent. Not married voters, 42 percent of voters, supported Clinton by 55 to 38 percent.

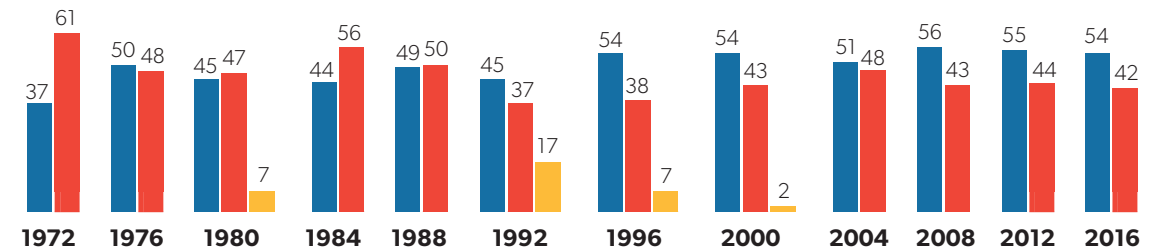
Vote for presidential candidate (percent)

■ Democratic ■ Republican ■ Independent

Men



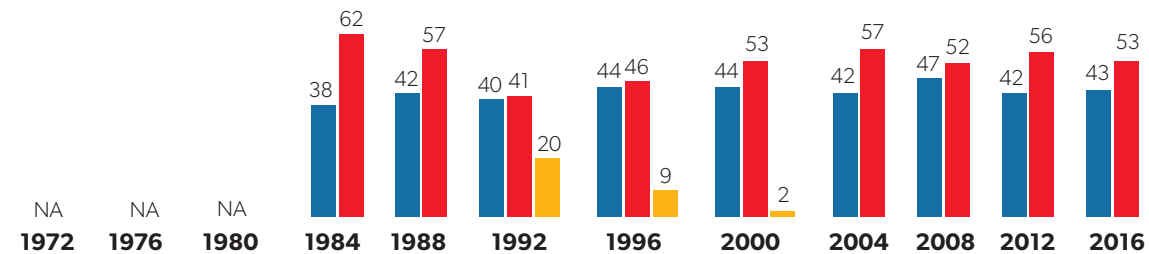
Women



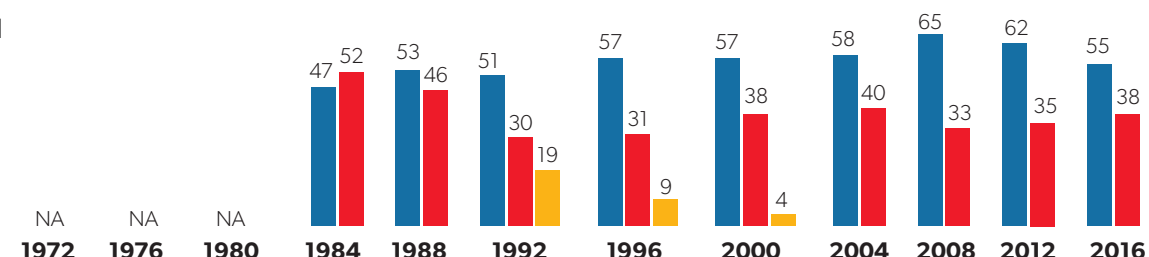
Gap (points)

2 0 17 13 15 5 17 22 14 12 18 24

Married



Not married

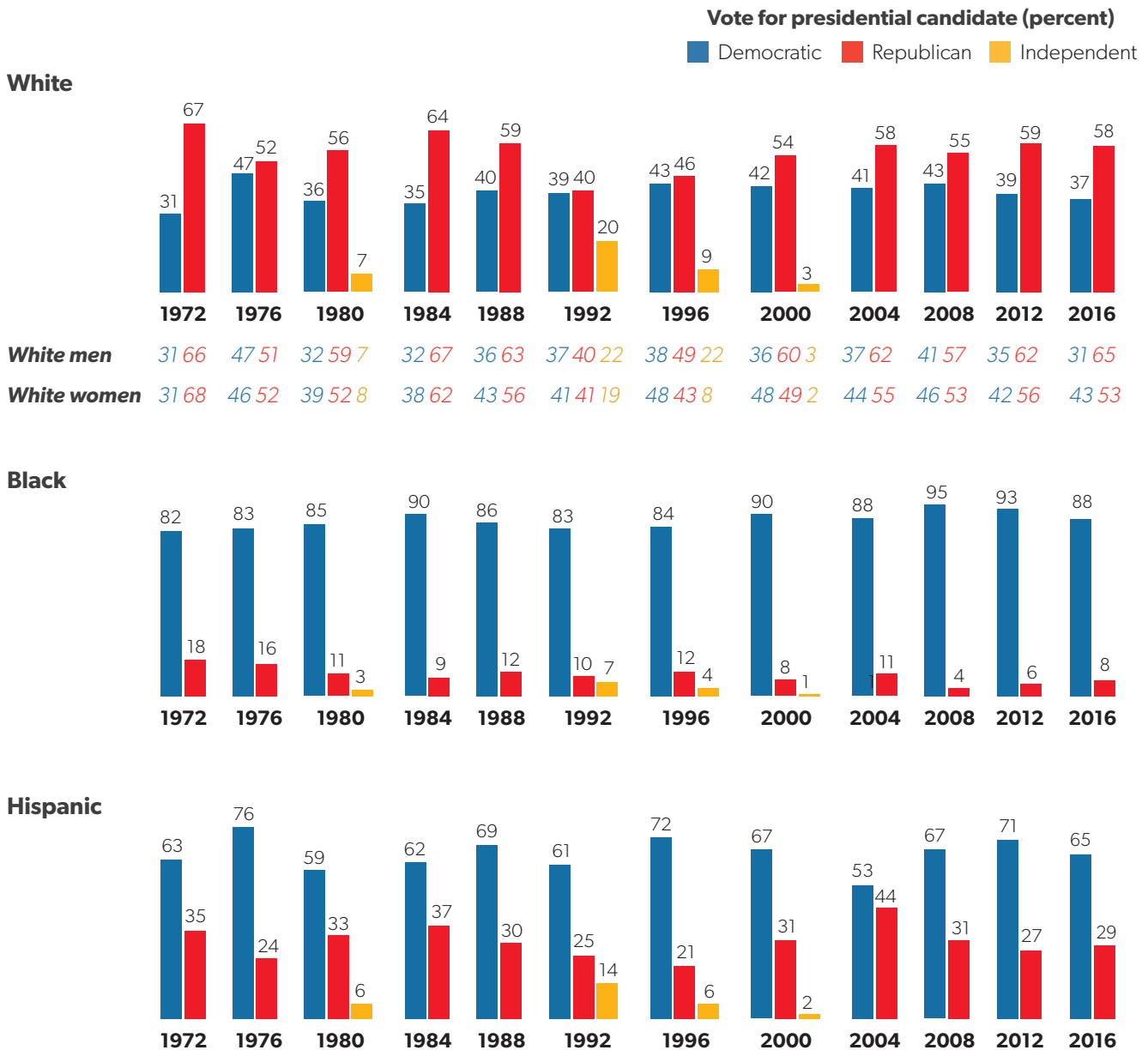


Gap (points)

19 22 22 28 28 33 37 41 27

Racial and Ethnic Voting Over Time

Whites were 70 percent of voters in 2012, down two percentage points from 2008. Majorities of them, including majorities of white men and white women, supported Trump, but women were less enthusiastic. The black share of the electorate did not grow in 2016. They were slightly less enthusiastic about Clinton than they were about Barack Obama in 2008 or 2012. The Hispanic share of the electorate was one point larger in 2016 than in 2012. Trump won roughly the same share of this group than Mitt Romney did in 2012, but a smaller share than George W. Bush won in 2004.



Note: Some studies contend that the national exit poll does not accurately measure the size of various minority voter populations or their attitudes.

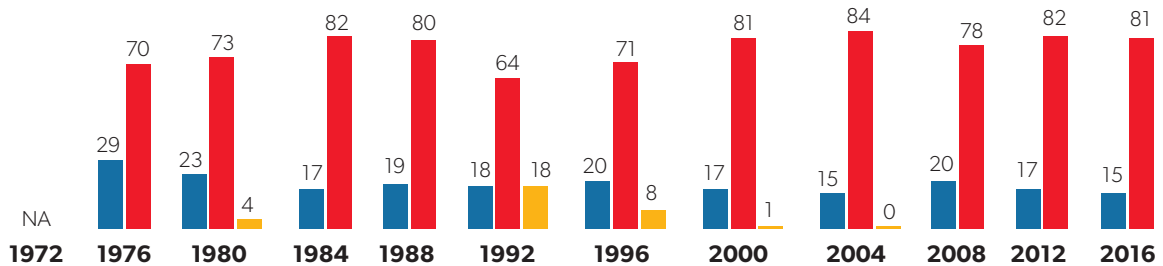
Ideology and Party ID

There was talk that conservative and Republican voters would defect from Donald Trump. It didn't appear to happen. Eighty-one percent of conservatives voted for him, a response in line with past conservative support for recent GOP nominees. Republican and Democratic voters were loyal to their parties. Ninety percent of Republican voters supported Trump; 89 percent of Democratic voters supported Clinton. Independents broke for Trump. Democrats were a larger share of voters than Republicans this year, 37 to 33 percent.

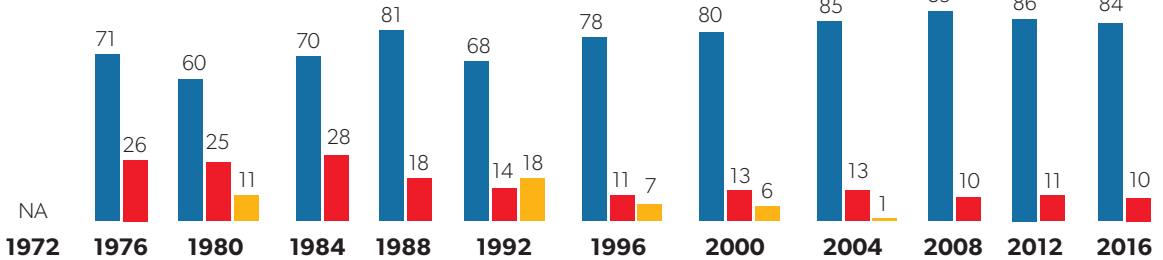
Vote for presidential candidate (percent)

■ Democratic ■ Republican ■ Independent

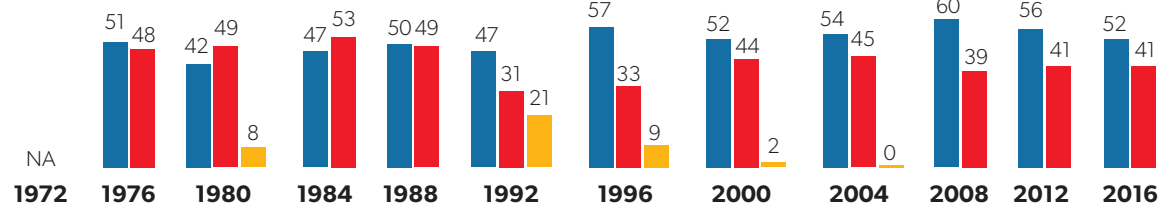
Conservatives



Liberals



Moderates



Reps.	6	93	9	90	9	86	7	92	8	9	10	73	13	80	8	91	6	93	9	90	6	93	7	90
Dems.	33	64	77	22	67	26	74	25	82	17	77	10	84	10	86	11	89	11	89	10	92	7	89	9
Inds.	33	65	43	54	30	55	36	63	43	55	38	32	43	35	45	47	49	48	52	44	45	50	42	48
	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012	2016												

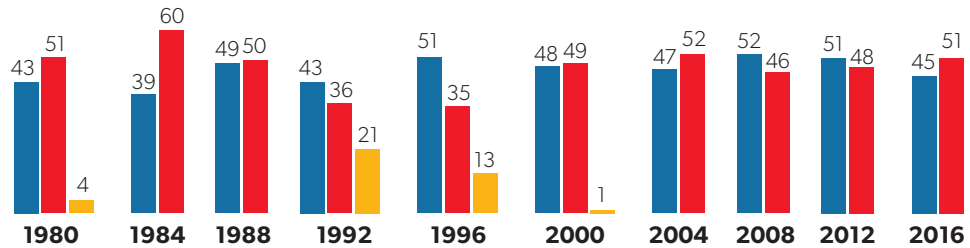
Voters by Education

“Some college” voters, a group with a solid track record of voting for the winner, supported Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton by 52 to 43 percent. Voters with a college degree voted Democratic by 49 to 45 percent. Voters with a post-graduate degree have voted more Democratic than Republican in recent elections. They did so once again, pulling the proverbial lever for Clinton by 58 to 37 percent.

Vote for presidential candidate (percent)

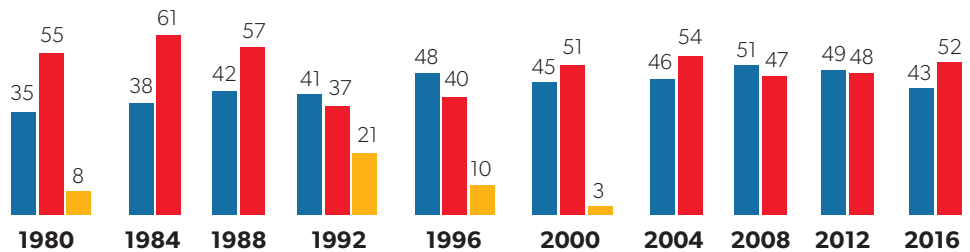
■ Democratic ■ Republican ■ Independent

H.S. graduate*

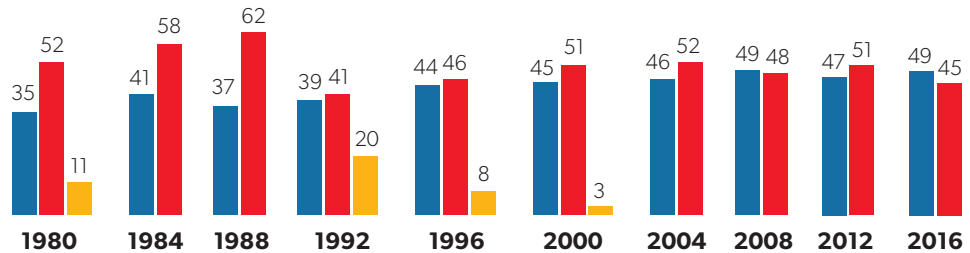


Note: *In 2016, results shown among “high school graduates or less.”

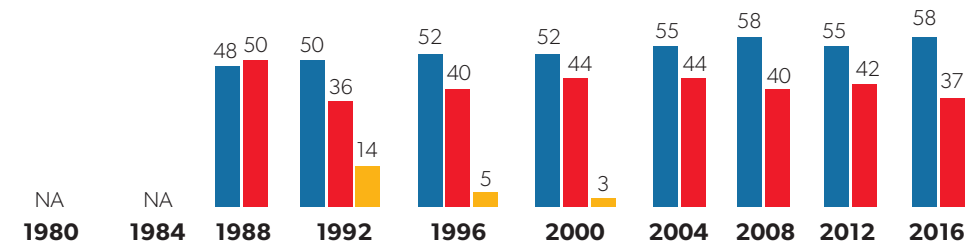
Some college



College graduate



Post-graduate



Note: From 1980–2012, exit polls reported votes among those without a high school degree separately. They are not shown here because they made up a very small share of the electorate.

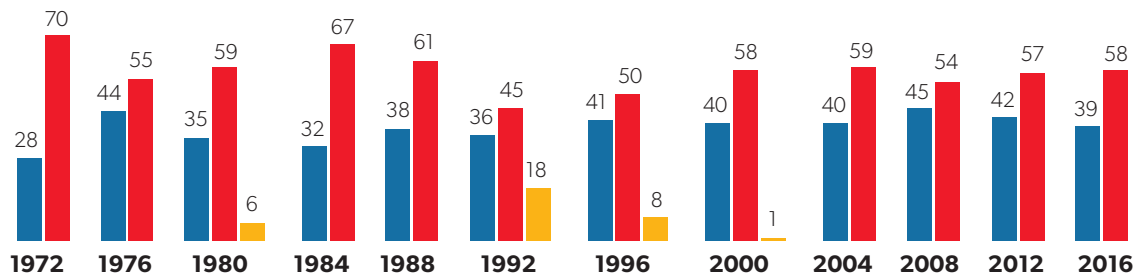
Voters by Religion

Protestants voted for Donald Trump as did Catholics, although Catholics did so by a smaller margin. Jews voted by a large margin, 71 to 24 percent, for Hillary Clinton, continuing a pattern from the past. Eight in ten white born-again or evangelical voters cast their ballots for Trump; 16 percent did so for Hillary Clinton. Voters who checked the box “no religion” on this question were 15 percent of voters; they supported Clinton by 68 to 26 percent.

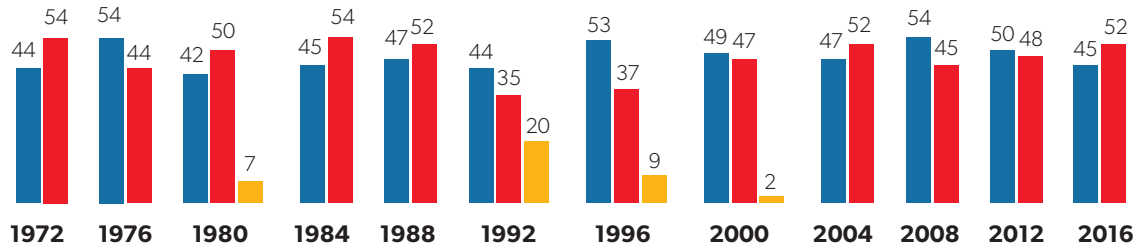
Vote for presidential candidate (percent)

■ Democratic ■ Republican ■ Independent

Protestants

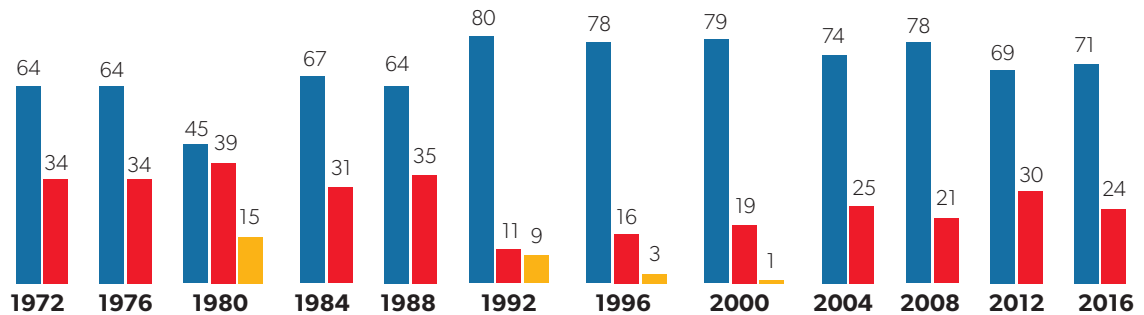


Catholics

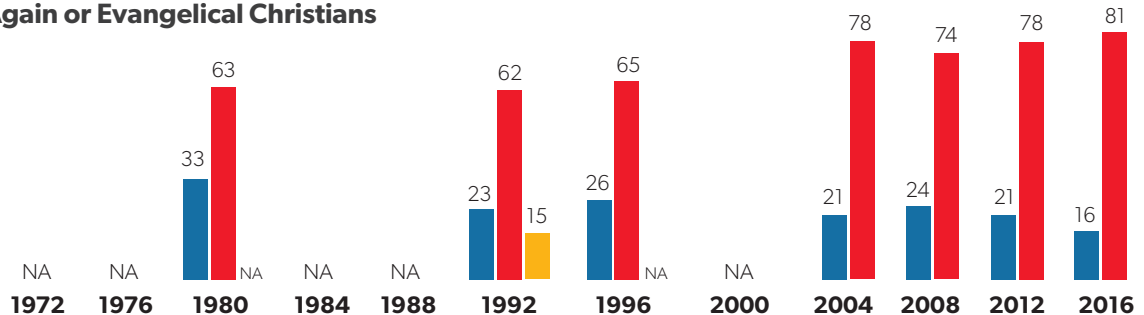


White Catholics 42 57 52 46 40 51 7 42 57 43 56 42 37 22 48 41 10 46 51 2 43 56 47 52 40 59 NA

Jews



White Born-Again or Evangelical Christians



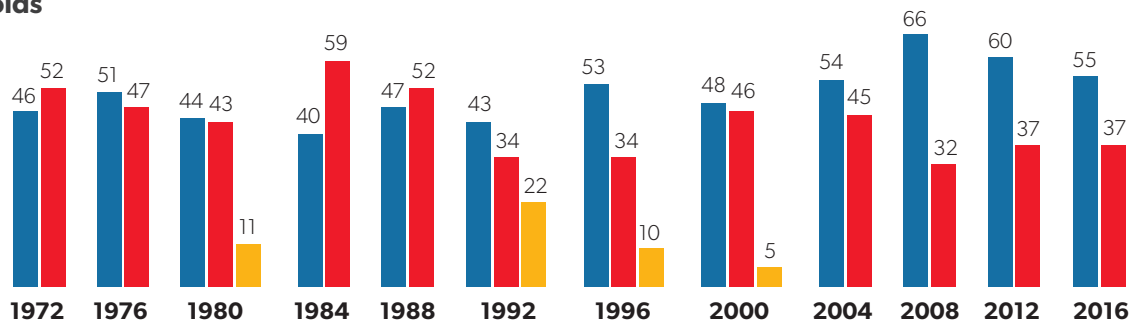
Other Groups

Here we look at three different groups: The Millennial share of the electorate was what it was in 2012 (19 percent). They were less enthusiastic about Hillary Clinton (55 percent) than they were about Barack Obama in 2008 (66 percent) or 2012 (60 percent). First-time voters were 10 percent of the electorate, and they supported Clinton by 56 to 40 percent. Donald Trump got 43 percent of the union household vote.

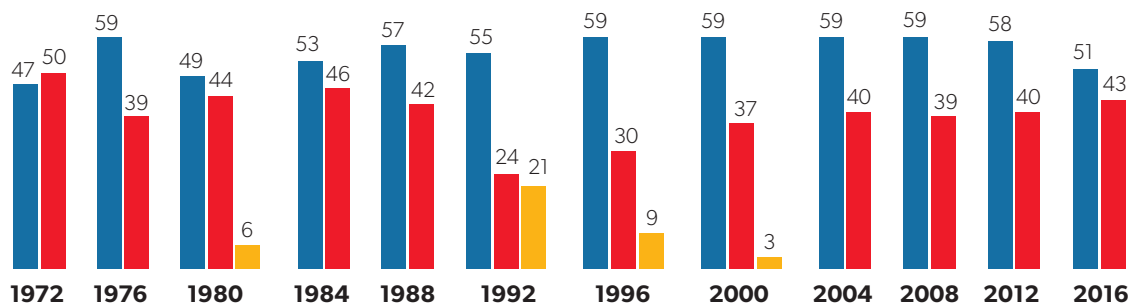
Vote for presidential candidate (percent)

■ Democratic ■ Republican ■ Independent

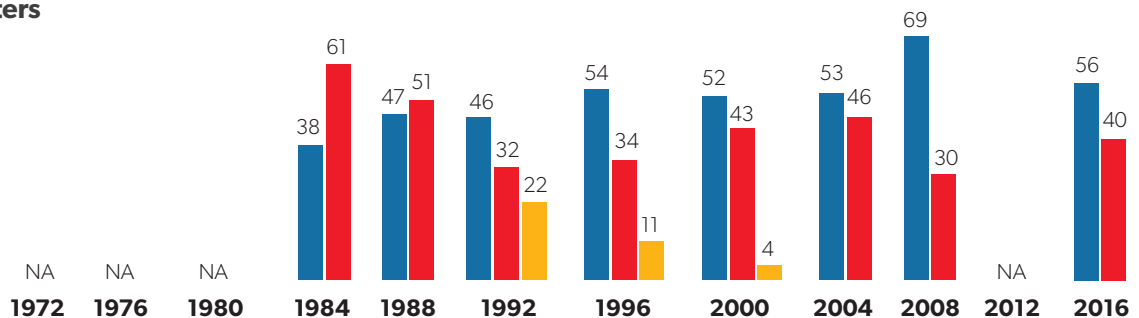
18–29-year-olds



Members of a union household



First-time voters



AEI POLITICAL REPORT CONTRIBUTORS

Karlyn Bowman, Senior Fellow;
Norman Ornstein, Resident Scholar;
Michael Barone, Resident Fellow.

Editors: **Heather Sims**, **Eleanor O’Neil**.
 Design: **Claude Aubert**.

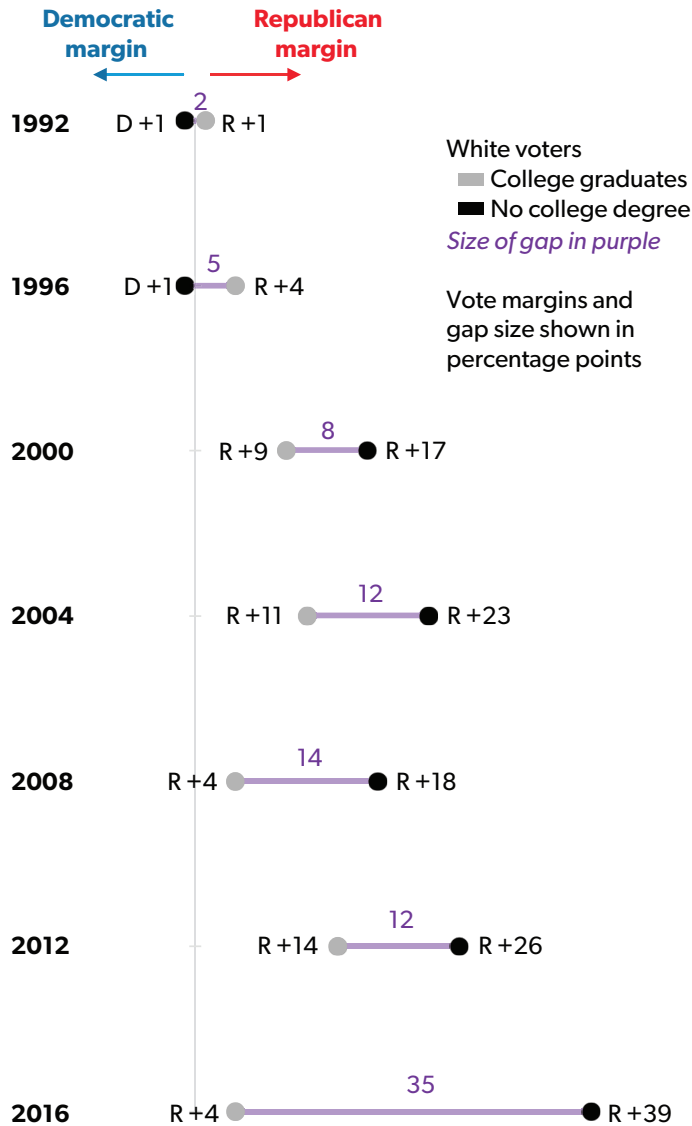
The survey results reported here were obtained in part from searches of the AEI poll archive, the iPoll Databank, and other resources provided by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at Cornell University.

The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI) is a nonpartisan, nonprofit, 501(c)(3) educational organization and does not take institutional positions on any issues. The views expressed here are those of the author[s].

The Education Gap Among White Voters

White voters without a college degree have voted more Republican than white college graduates in presidential elections since 2000, but in 2016, exit polls show the divide between the two groups was more than twice as wide as in any election since at least 1992. White voters without a college degree supported Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton 67 percent to 28 percent, while white college graduates supported Trump by a narrower 4-point margin (49 percent to 45 percent).

Presidential vote, 1992–2016



2016 presidential vote by state

State	White voters	
	College grads	No degree
AZ	R +4	R +22
CA	D +24	R +23
CO	D +13	R +21
FL	R +27	R +36
GA	R +41	R +66
IL	D +12	R +10
IN	R +20	R +43
IA	R +6	R +18
KY	R +27	R +50
ME	D +24	R +21
MI	R +8	R +31
MN	D +9	R +27
MO	R +29	R +46
NV	R +8	R +24
NH	D +13	R +18
NJ	D +8	R +44
NM	D +13	R +30
NY	D +10	R +29
NC	R +18	R +44
OH	R +22	R +27
OR	D +30	R +19
PA	Tie	R +32
SC	R +33	R +57
TX	R +32	R +55
UT	R +9	R +36
VA	R +4	R +47
WA	D +28	R +6
WI	D +12	R +28

Source: 1992–2012 national exit poll data compiled by Pew Research Center; 2016 exit poll data reported by CNN.

Trade, Immigration, and Obamacare

In the national presidential exit poll, 42 percent of voters said trade with other countries takes away US jobs, and 70 percent said illegal immigrants working in the US should be offered a chance to apply for legal status. Both responses remained relatively unchanged from the first time exit pollsters asked these questions in 1992 and 2012, respectively. Almost half (47 percent) said Obamacare went too far. In the states where exit pollsters asked about these issues, opinion of trade and Obamacare varied, while a majority in every state supported a chance for legal status.

Q: Overall, would you say trade with other countries creates more US jobs, takes away US jobs, or has no effect on US jobs?

Q: Should most illegal immigrants working in the United States be offered a chance to apply for legal status or deported to the country they came from?

Q: Do you think the 2010 federal health care law, also known as Obamacare, did not go far enough, was about right, or went too far?

National Exit Polls

	Trade		Illegal immigrants		Obamacare				
	Creates US jobs	Takes away US jobs	Chance for legal status	Should be deported	Did not go far enough	Was about right	Went too far		
1992	43%	41%	2012	70%	30%				
2016	38	42	2016	70	25	2016	30%	18%	47%

Note: In 1992, the question about trade was worded "loses more jobs for the US" instead of "takes away US jobs."

2016 State-by-State Exit Polls

	Trade		Illegal immigrants		Obamacare		
	Creates US jobs	Takes away US jobs	Chance for legal status	Should be deported	Did not go far enough	Was about right	Went too far
AZ	--	--	77%	18%	--	--	--
CA	43%	37%	71	25	42%	23%	30%
CO	--	--	78	16	--	--	--
FL	39	34	70	23	30	13	47
GA	--	--	73	21	--	--	--
IL	40	42	74	24	35	22	40
IN	--	--	67	30	--	--	--
IA	42	37	66	28	--	--	--
ME	--	--	67	31	--	--	--
MI	31	50	67	27	30	20	44
MN	--	--	--	--	32	14	50
MO	--	--	62	35	--	--	--
NV	32	43	71	21	--	--	--
NH	41	44	71	27	--	--	--
NM	--	--	82	15	--	--	--
NY	39	46	79	18	34	24	39
NC	39	39	69	25	--	--	--
OH	32	48	59	35	23	20	53
OR	--	--	78	17	--	--	--
PA	34	53	--	--	--	--	--
TX	--	--	71	22	--	--	--
VA	41	46	73	24	27	22	47
WA	--	--	75	18	--	--	--
WI	35	50	69	26	28	18	49