Nativism and the 2016 US Elections: Putting Trump into context
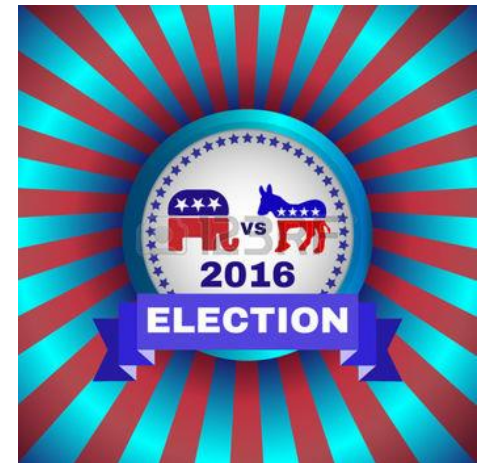
Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto
October 2015

Cliff Young
President USPA

Taking a 30,000 foot look

2014/04/19 16:27:34

Polls right now don't mean much!

Time Before Election	U.S. Presidential
One week	1.7%
One month	2.7%
Two months	3.8%
Three months	4.8%
Six months	5.8%
Nine months	6.9%
Twelve months	7.9%

Source: Ipsos analysis of 300 polls across 40 markets from 1980 through current

Putting Elections into Context

Change versus Continuity Elections

Change

Middling

Continuity

Scenario favorable to the Opposition Candidate	Scenario favorable to the Government Candidate

Government Approval

Right track / wrong direction

Economic optimism

More Negative

Government Approval

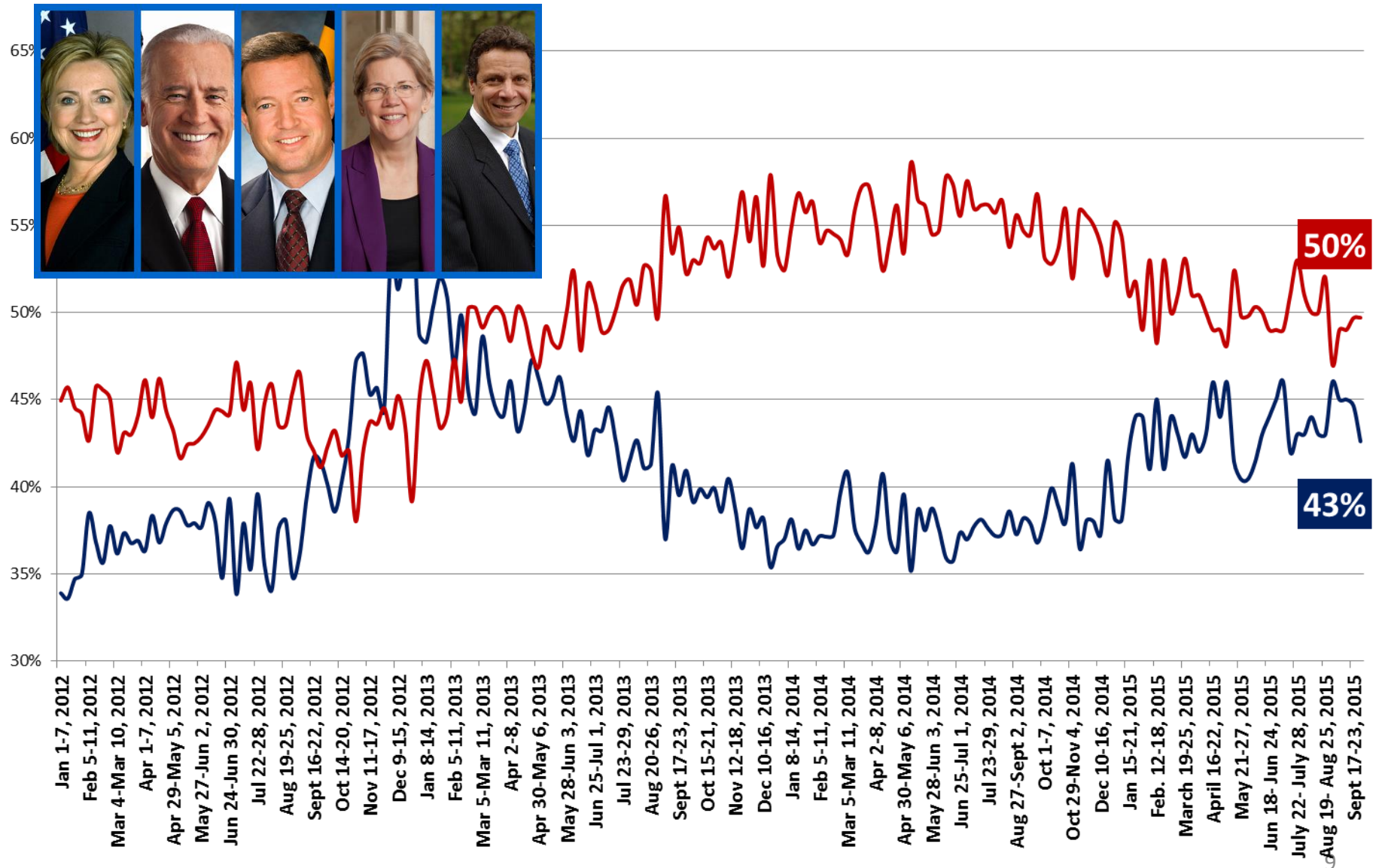Right track / wrong direction

Economic optimism

More Positive

Probability of victory at different approval rates

Government approval rating	Incumbent	Successor
40%	55%	6%
45%	78%	14%
50%	90%	28%
55%	96%	49%
60%	98%	71%

Source: Ipsos analysis of over 450 elections

So where are we today?

Ipsos Public Affairs

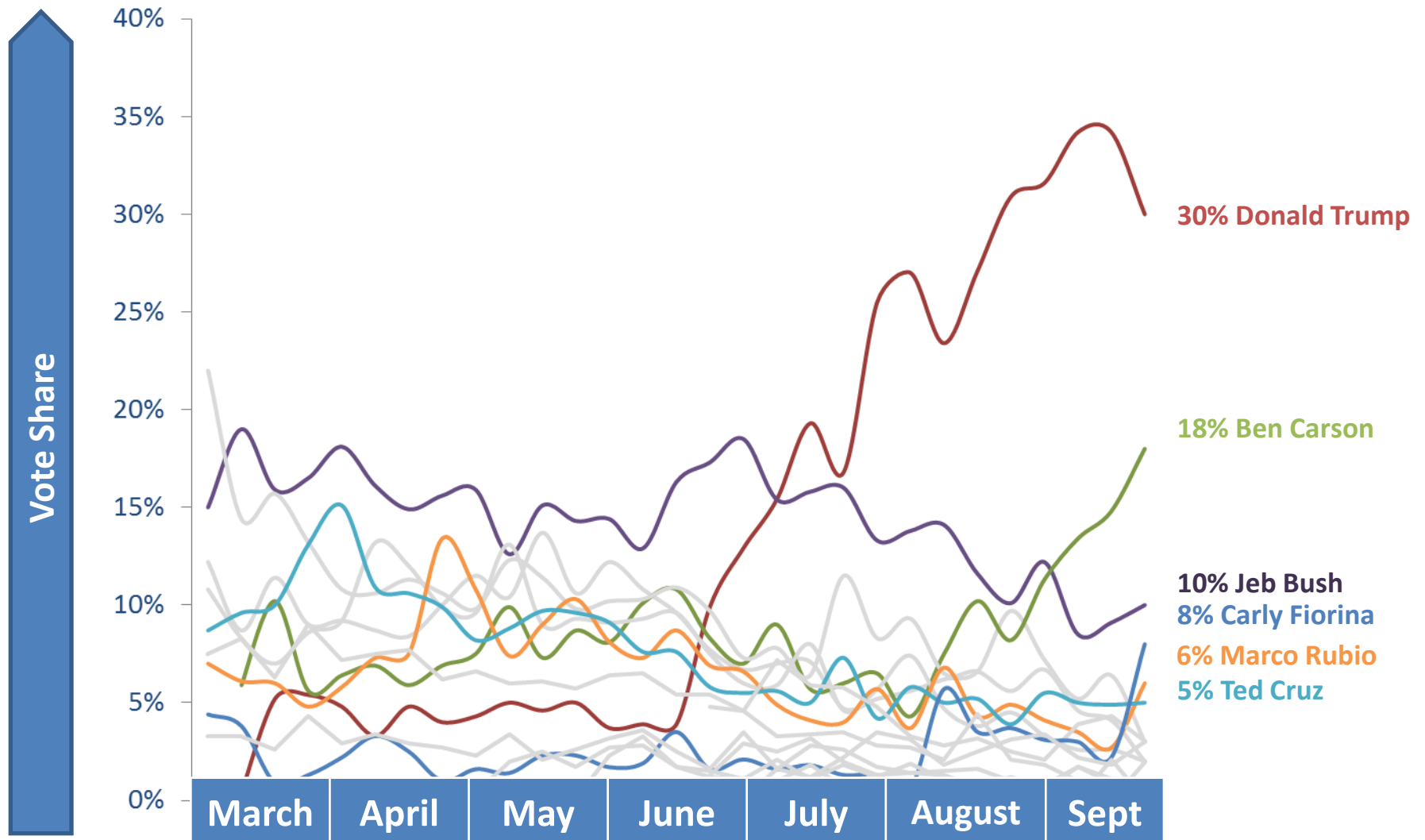# Presidential Approval: Ipsos-Reuters

We believe it will be a Republican Year

We give Republicans 70% chance of winning

Looking at the Republican Primaries

Polling: Non-Establishment Candidates in the Lead (Trump-Carson)
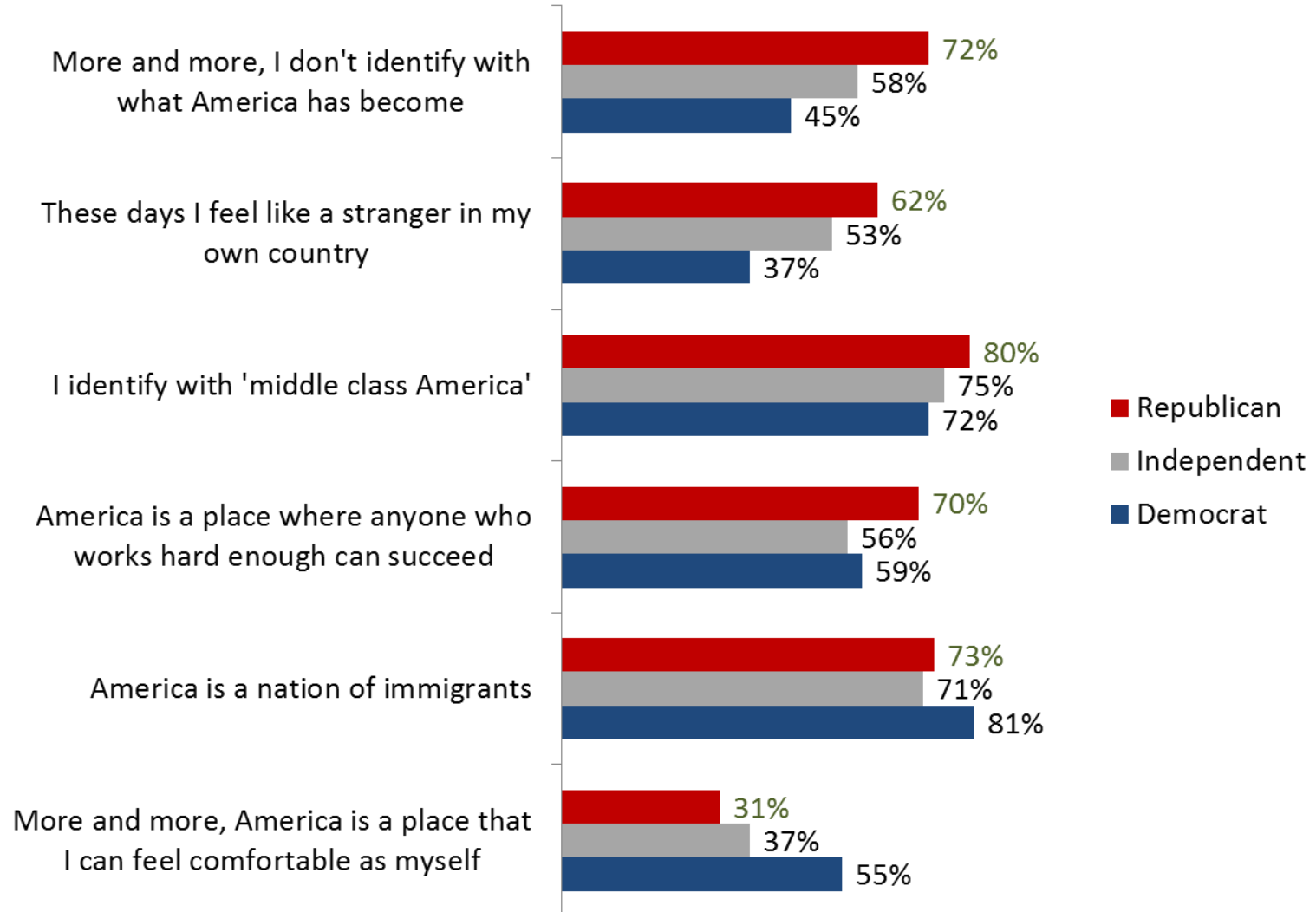

30% Donald Trump

18% Ben Carson

10% Jeb Bush
8% Carly Fiorina
6% Marco Rubio
5% Ted Cruz

Vote Share

March | April | May | June | July | August | Sept

Why?

Importance of Nativism

American "Nativist" Sentiments
Percentage Agree with Each Statement

More Nativist → **Less Nativist**

More and more, I don't identify with what America has become
- Republican: 72%
- Independent: 58%
- Democrat: 45%

These days I feel like a stranger in my own country
- Republican: 62%
- Independent: 53%
- Democrat: 37%

I identify with 'middle class America'
- Republican: 80%
- Independent: 75%
- Democrat: 72%

America is a place where anyone who works hard enough can succeed
- Republican: 70%
- Independent: 56%
- Democrat: 59%

America is a nation of immigrants
- Republican: 73%
- Independent: 71%
- Democrat: 81%

More and more, America is a place that I can feel comfortable as myself
- Republican: 31%
- Independent: 37%
- Democrat: 55%

Legend:
- Republican
- Independent
- Democrat

Source: Ipsos Poll, Sept 2015

Who Are the Strong Nativists?

75% white

66% are Age 45+

63% no bachelor's degree
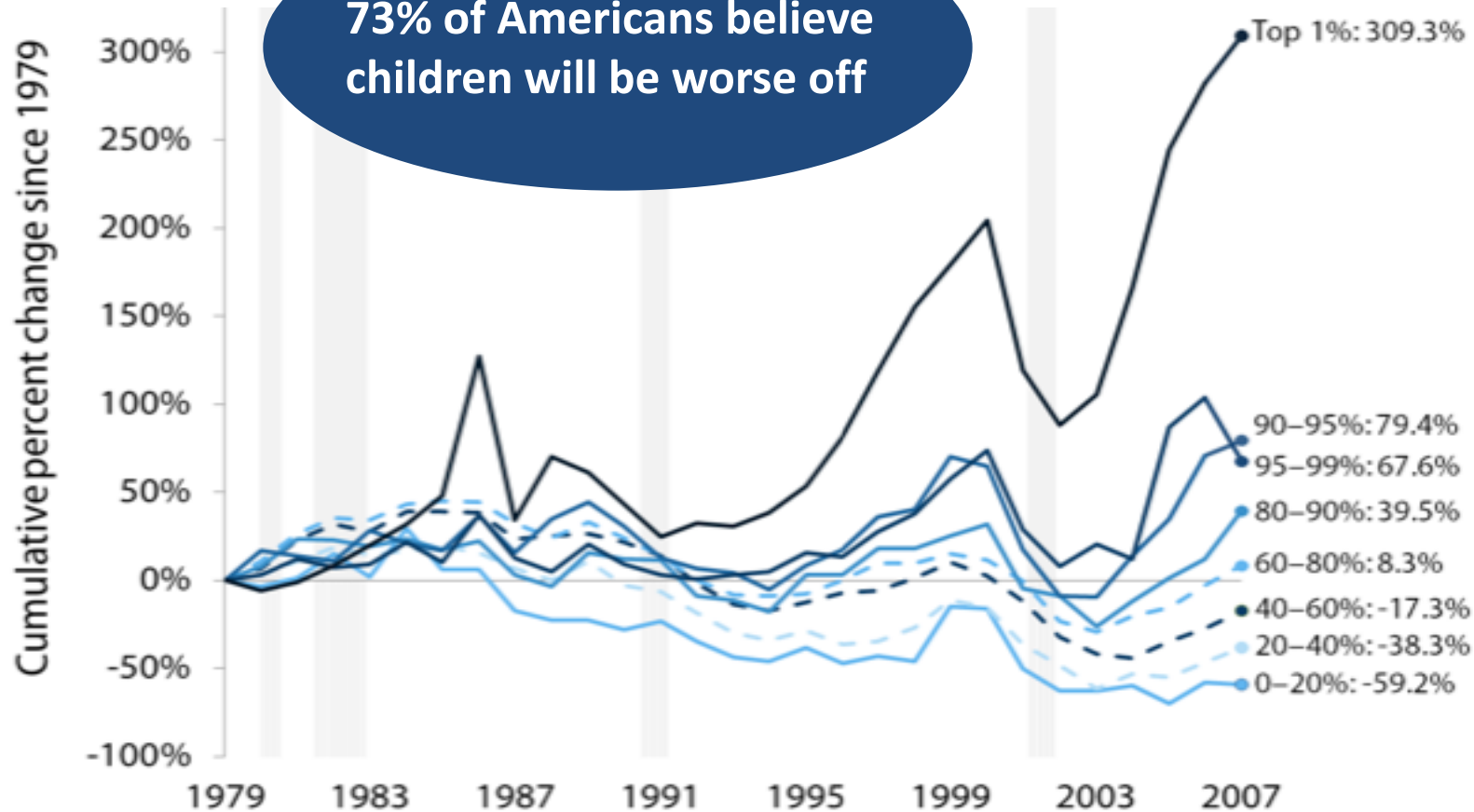
64% are Republicans

65% not currently working

Source: Ipsos Poll, Sept 2015

2016 in context

And as a leading indicator

Increasing inequality a real concern

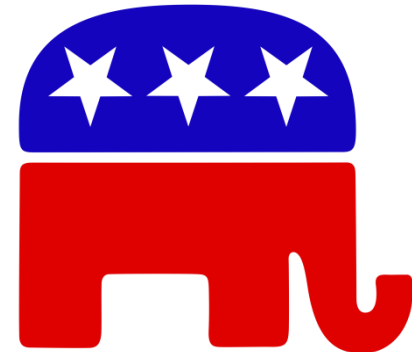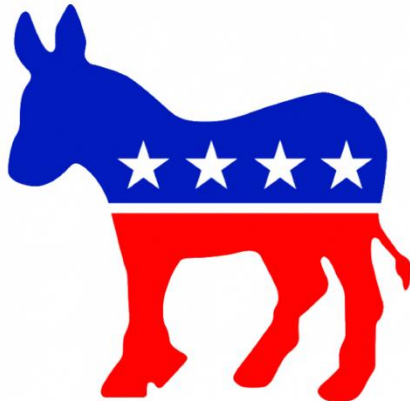73% of Americans believe children will be worse off

Cumulative percent change since 1979

- Top 1%: 309.3%
- 90–95%: 79.4%
- 95–99%: 67.6%
- 80–90%: 39.5%
- 60–80%: 8.3%
- 40–60%: -17.3%
- 20–40%: -38.3%
- 0–20%: -59.2%

Differential Framing of the Inequality - Opportunity Problem

Middle Class Economics

VS.

Nativism

Reflections

— **Will probably be a Republican year**

— **Election about Inequality and fear of the future**

— **Expect increased nativist populism in US**