

**AWPP**

American Wire Producers Association

# **A National Overview and a Look Ahead to November**

Glen Bolger



**PUBLIC OPINION  
STRATEGIES**



# Public Opinion Quiz



# 1. Which voter group comprised the larger portion of the 2012 electorate?



Larger Voter Group

**Age 18-29**



...or...

**Age 65+**



*Data from a national CNN Exit Poll of 25,565 adults, conducted November 6, 2012.*



## 2. What percent of the vote did President Obama win among white women in 2012?

### 2012 Obama Vote Percentage (Among White Women)



31%-35%

36%-40%

41%-45%

46%-50%

51%-55%

56%-60%

61%-65%



*Data from a national CNN Exit Poll of 25,565 adults, conducted November 6, 2012.*

### 3. What % of Americans say they did not watch live TV “yesterday”, other than live sports?

#### % Didn't Watch Live TV

Under 20%

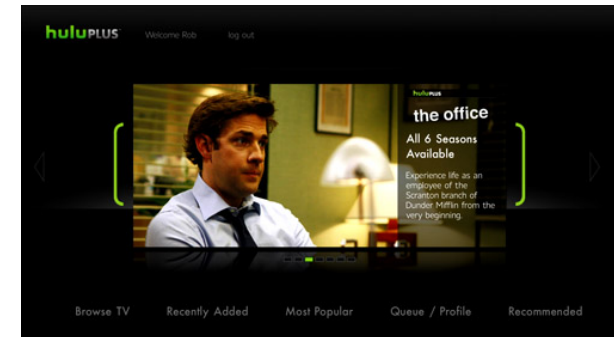
20%-29%

30%-39%

40%-49%

50%-59%

60%+



*Data from a national Public Opinion Strategies survey of 1,200 registered voters, conducted June 13-17, 2015.*

## 4. What percent of Americans say they support the Supreme Court legalizing gay marriage?

“The U.S. Supreme court could decide that gays have a constitutional right to marry which would have the effect of legalizing gay marriage throughout the country. Would you favor or oppose the Supreme Court taking this action?”



Under 20%

20%-29%

30%-39%

40%-49%

50%-59%

60%-69%

70%+



*Data from a national NBC/Wall Street Journal poll of 1,000 adults, conducted April 26-30, 2015.*

## 5. What percent of Americans say they have graduated from a four-year college/university?

“What is the last grade that you completed in school?”



**Under 20%**

**20%-29%**

**30%-39%**

**40%-49%**

**50%-59%**

**60%-69%**

**70%+**



*Data from a national NBC/Wall Street Journal poll of 1,000 adults, conducted April 26-30, 2015.*

## **6. Identify the phrase that describes the highest percent of GOP primary voters and the lowest percent.**

**A supporter of the Tea Party Movement**

**A supporter of the Right-to-Life Movement**

**Someone who enjoys listening to conservative talk radio**

**A supporter of the goals of the National Rifle Association**



**A supporter of the traditional definition of marriage as between one man and one woman**

*Data from a national NBC/Wall Street Journal poll of 1,000 adults, conducted April 26-30, 2015.*





**Mood of the Country**

# The mood of the country remains pessimistic.

## *The Mood of the Country*

Last Time Mood Was Positive:

145 Months Ago...

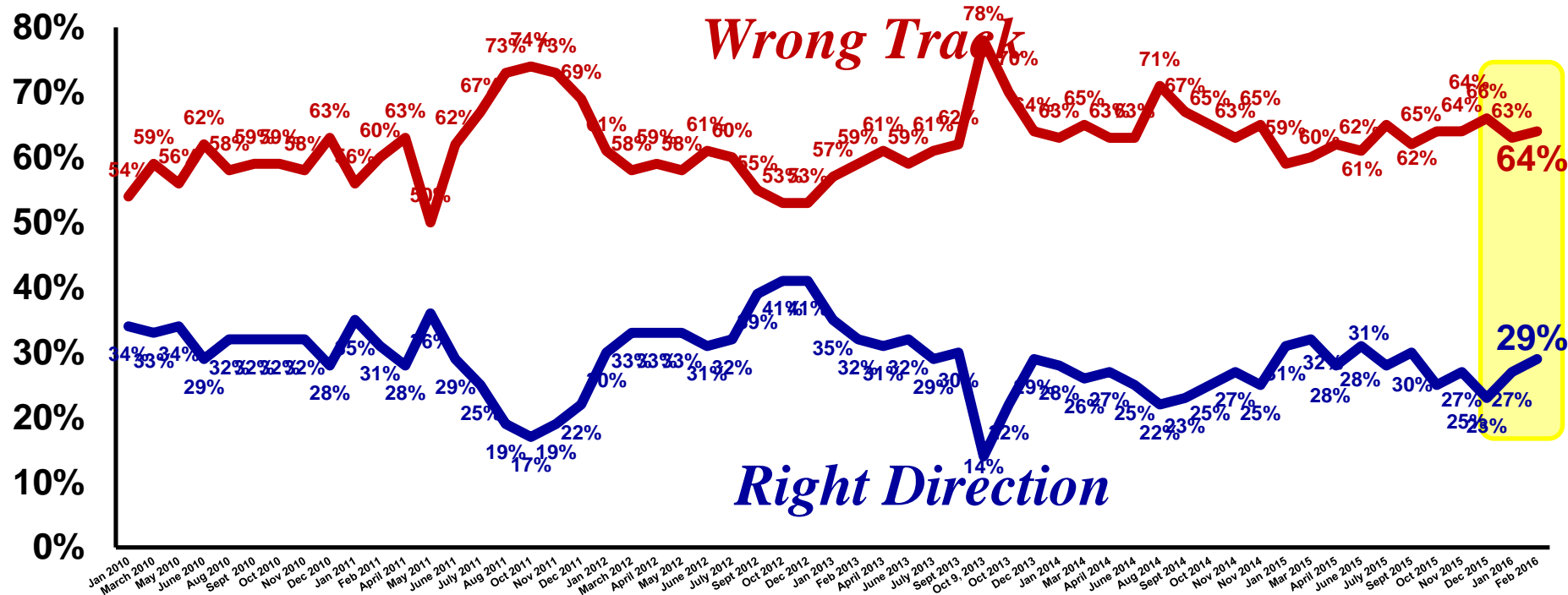
01/2004: 47% RD—43% WT

USA Today/Suffolk 2/11– 2/15: 27% - 63%

NBC News/WSJ 2/7 – 2/11: 29% - 64%

Rasmussen Reports 2/7 – 2/11: 30% - 64%

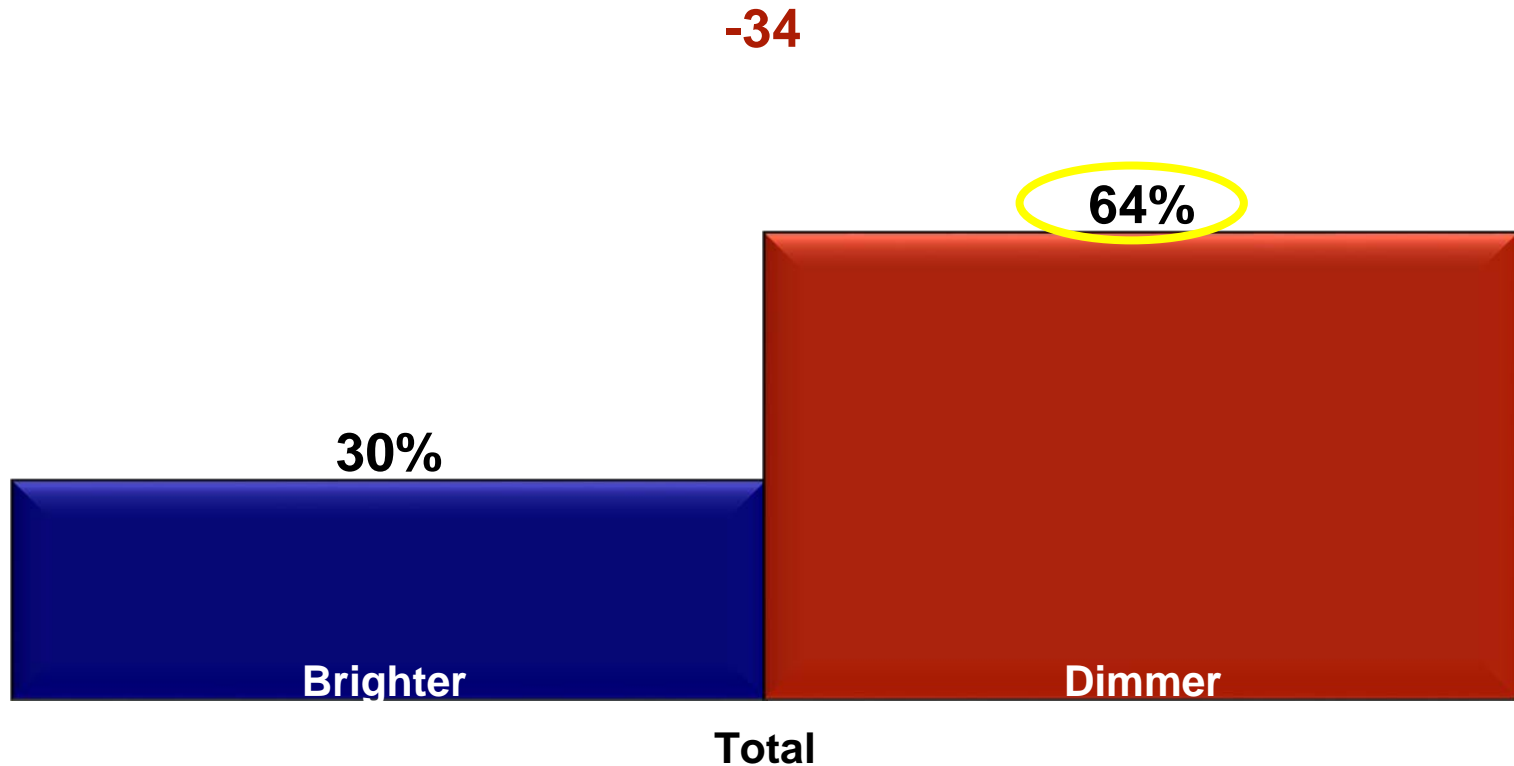
Reuters/Ipsos 1/30 – 2/03: 29% - 60%



Trend data from monthly NBC News/Wall Street Journal polling of American adults.

# And, that young adults today have a dimmer future than their parents had at their age.

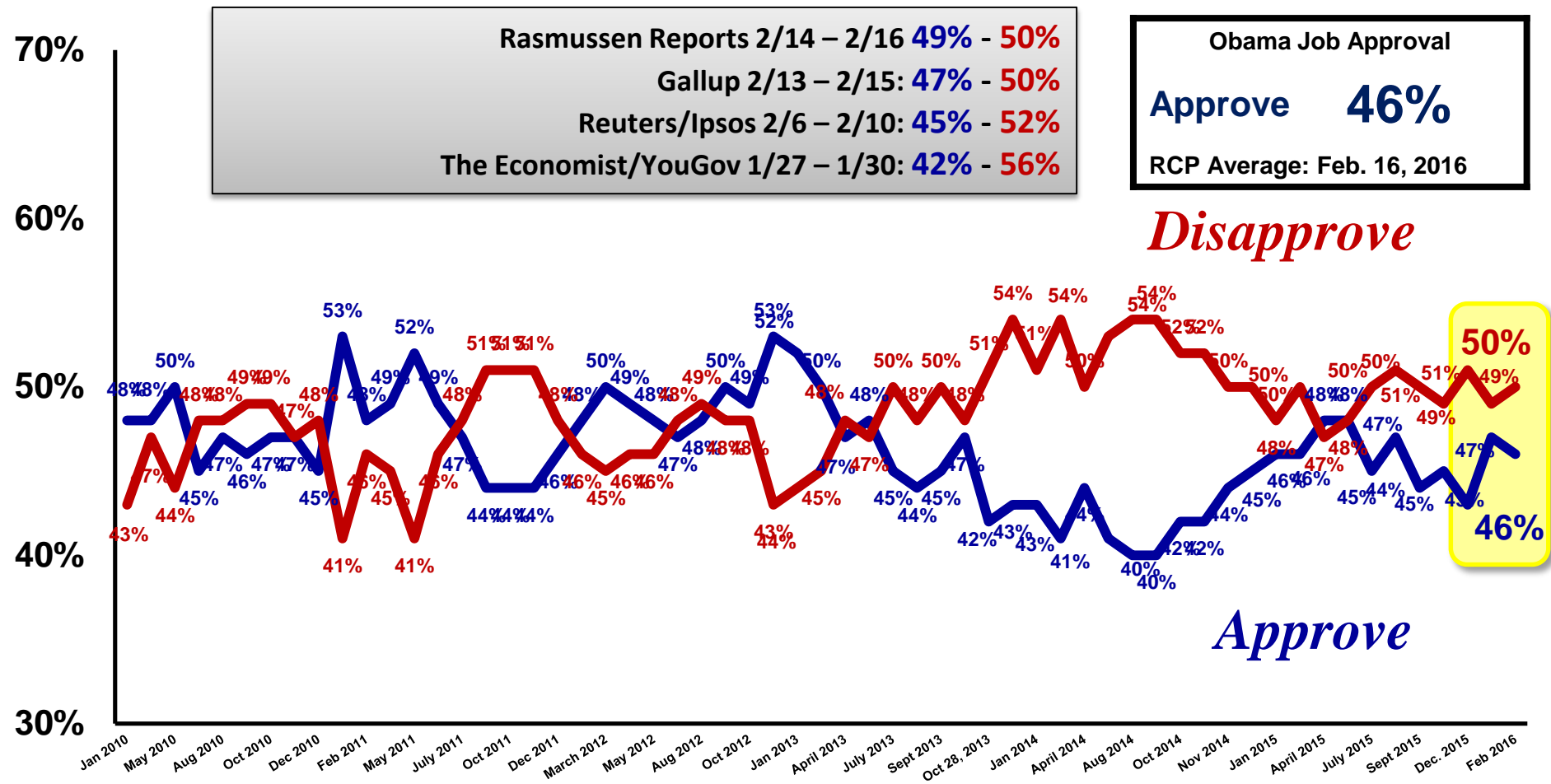
*Do you feel young adults today have a brighter or a dimmer future than their parents had at that age?*



*Data from a Bloomberg Politics National Poll of 1,001 adults nationwide, conducted September 18-21, 2015.*

# President Obama's approval rating is upside-down.

## Barack Obama: Job Approval





# And, Congress is incredibly unpopular.

*Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?*

The Economist/YouGov 1/27 – 1/30: **10%** - **69%**

Monmouth 1/15 – 1/18: **15%** - **78%**

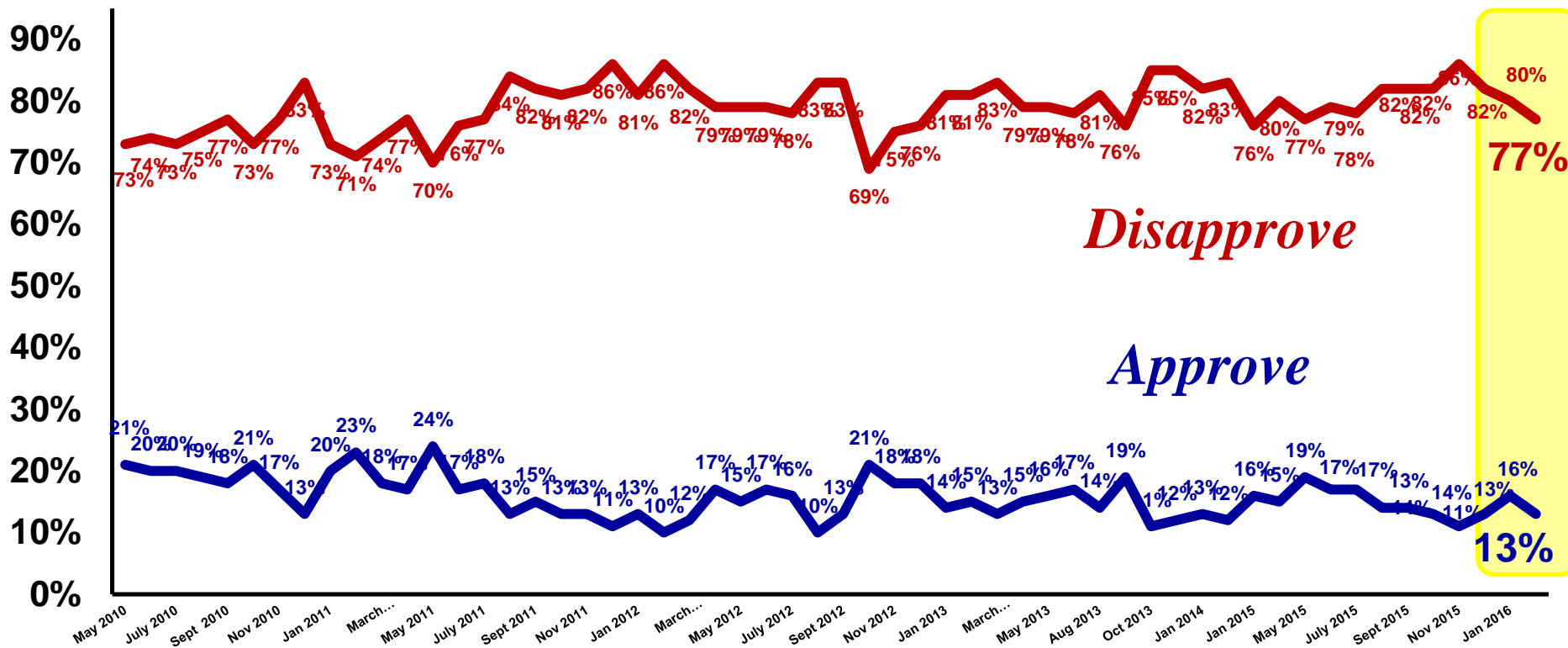
Gallup 1/06 – 1/10: **16%** - **80%**

CBS/NY Times 1/07 – 1/10: **15%** - **75%**

Congressional Job Approval

**Approve 14%**

RCP Average: Feb. 4, 2016



*Trend data from monthly Gallup polling of American adults.*

# Heading into the Election Year

	December 2007	December 2015
<b>Direction of the Country</b>	Right Direction – 22% Wrong Track – 63%	Right Direction – 20% Wrong Track – 70%
<b>Presidential Approval</b>	Approve – 34% Disapprove – 60%	Approve – 43% Disapprove – 51%
<b>*Similar Policies/ Different Policies</b>	Similar – 21% Different – 73%	Similar – 25% Different – 73%
<b>*Generic Vote (Presidential)</b>	Democrat – 49% Republican – 39%	Democrat – 44% Republican – 44%

*\*Data Taken from November 2007*

# Defining News Events of 2015



# Economic concerns persist:

There continues to be lingering anger around who people believe government economic policies have helped since the recession.

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Large banks and financial institutions **71%**

Large corporations **67%**

Wealthy people **66%**

Poor people **32%**

Small businesses **28%**

**Middle class people 26%**

*\*Pew Research Center: Feb 18-22 2015*



# The "political middle" in the US House has disappeared.

**1982**

**Make-Up of House of Representatives:**

**344 Members  
(79%)**

*Most  
Conservative  
Democrat*

*Most  
Liberal  
Republican*

**GOP Caucus**

**Dem Caucus**

**2013**

**Make-Up of House of Representatives:**

**4 Members  
(1%)**

*Most  
Conservative  
Democrat*

*Most  
Liberal  
Republican*

**GOP Caucus**

**Dem Caucus**

*Source: National Journal Vote Rankings from a presentation by Mehlman Vogel Castagnetti.*

# And, the Senate is even more polarized.

## 1982 Make-Up of the Senate:

58 Members  
(58%)

Most  
Conservative  
Democrat

Most  
Liberal  
Republican

**GOP Caucus**

**Dem Caucus**

## 2013 Make-Up of the Senate:

0 Members  
(0%)

Most  
Conservative  
Democrat

Most  
Liberal  
Republican

**GOP Caucus**

**Dem Caucus**

Source: National Journal Vote Rankings from a presentation by Mehlman Vogel Castagnetti.

The background of the slide is a composite image. The top half features a red-tinted American flag with the stars and stripes visible. On the right side, the dome of the United States Capitol building is partially visible, also in a red tint. The bottom half of the slide is a solid blue color, with a faint, blue-tinted image of the US Capitol dome and its columns visible on the right side. The text "The Issues" is centered in the white band between the red and blue sections.

# The Issues

# The national agenda has significantly shifted to a new concern about national security and terrorism.

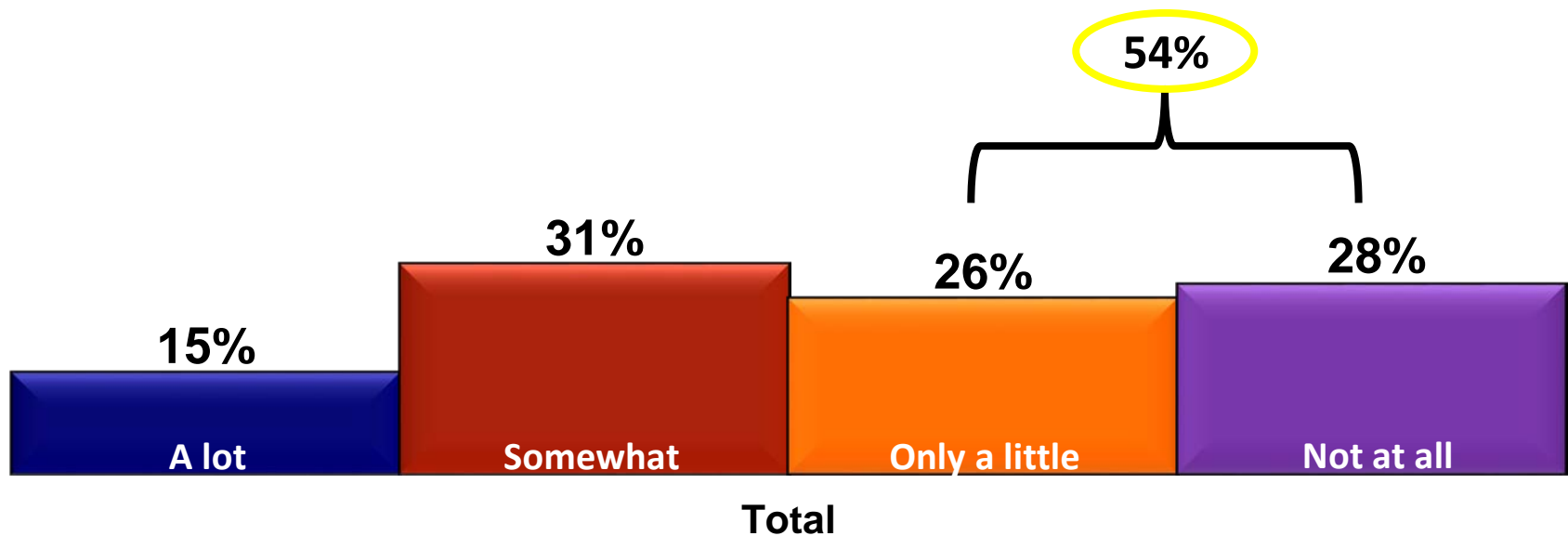
<u>Top Priority for the Federal Government</u>	April 2015	Today	Net Difference
National security and terrorism	21%	40%	+19%
Job creation and economic growth	29%	23%	-6%
The deficit and government spending	17%	11%	-6%
Health care	13%	9%	-4%
Climate change	8%	7%	-1%
Immigration	6%	5%	-1%
Religious and moral values	6%	3%	-3%

*Data from a NBC/WSJ survey of 1,000 adults nationwide, conducted December 6-9, 2015.*



# A majority of Americans feel the economy improved only a little or none at all in 2015.

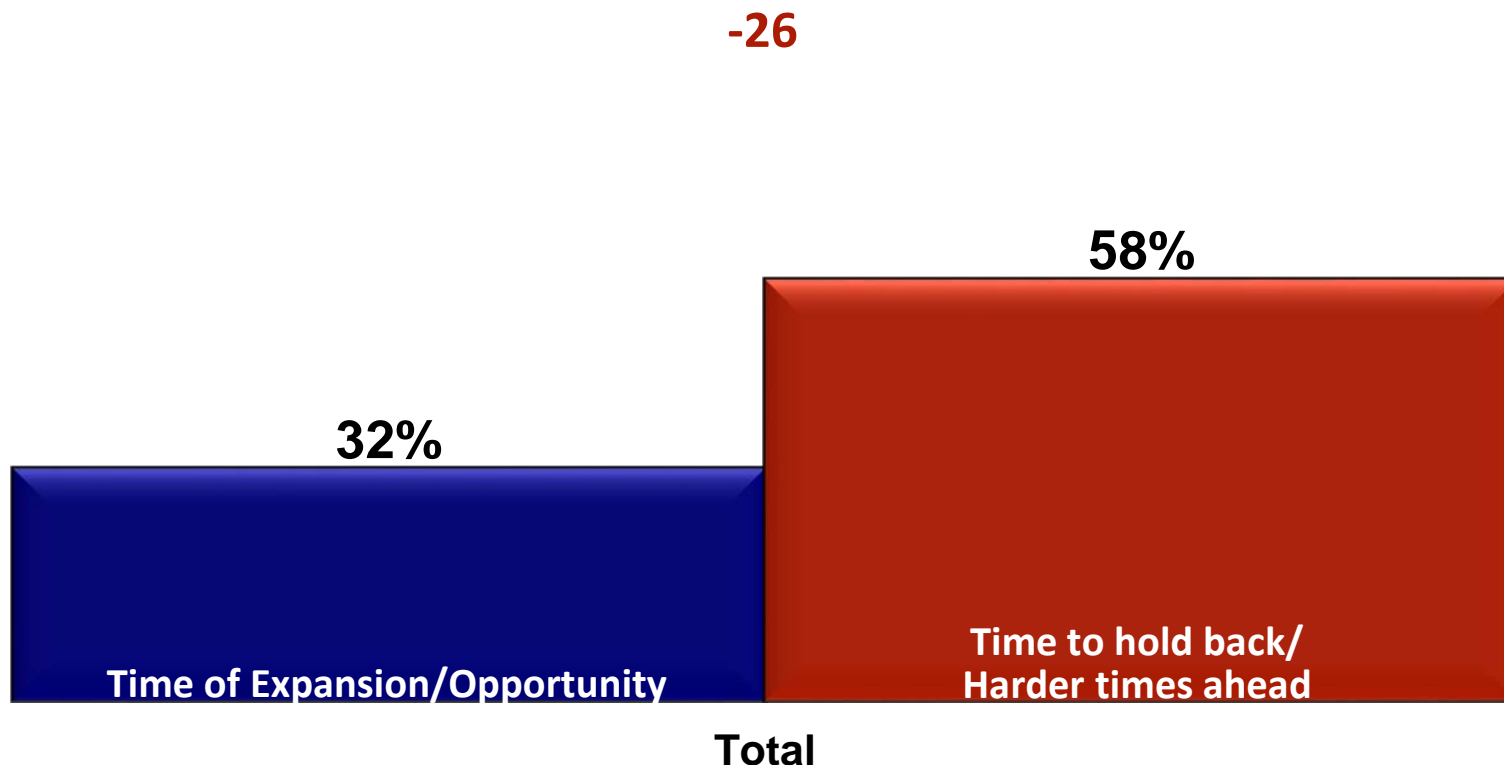
*Now thinking about 2015, were there important and real indications the economy improved a lot, somewhat, only a little, not at all?*



*Data from an NBC News/WSJ poll of 800 registered voters nationwide, conducted January 9-13, 2016.*

# Most Americans fear harder economic times ahead in 2016.

*In looking at 2016, do you think that it will be a time of economic expansion for you and your family and an opportunity to move ahead, or do you think that it will be a time to hold back and save because harder times are ahead?*



*Data from an NBC News/WSJ poll of 800 registered voters nationwide, conducted January 9-13, 2016.*



# **How Much President Obama Has Meant to the Democrats**

# President Obama is the most damaging recent two-term president to his party's standing in the House.

## Change in House Seats Held by the President's Party

	First Mid-Term	Second Mid-Term	Net
Barack Obama	<b>-63</b>	<b>-13</b>	<b>-76</b>
Richard Nixon	<b>-12</b>	<b>-48</b>	<b>-60</b>
Bill Clinton	<b>-52</b>	<b>+5</b>	<b>-47</b>
Ronald Reagan	<b>-26</b>	<b>-5</b>	<b>-31</b>
George W. Bush	<b>+8</b>	<b>-30</b>	<b>-22</b>



## The same holds true for the Senate.

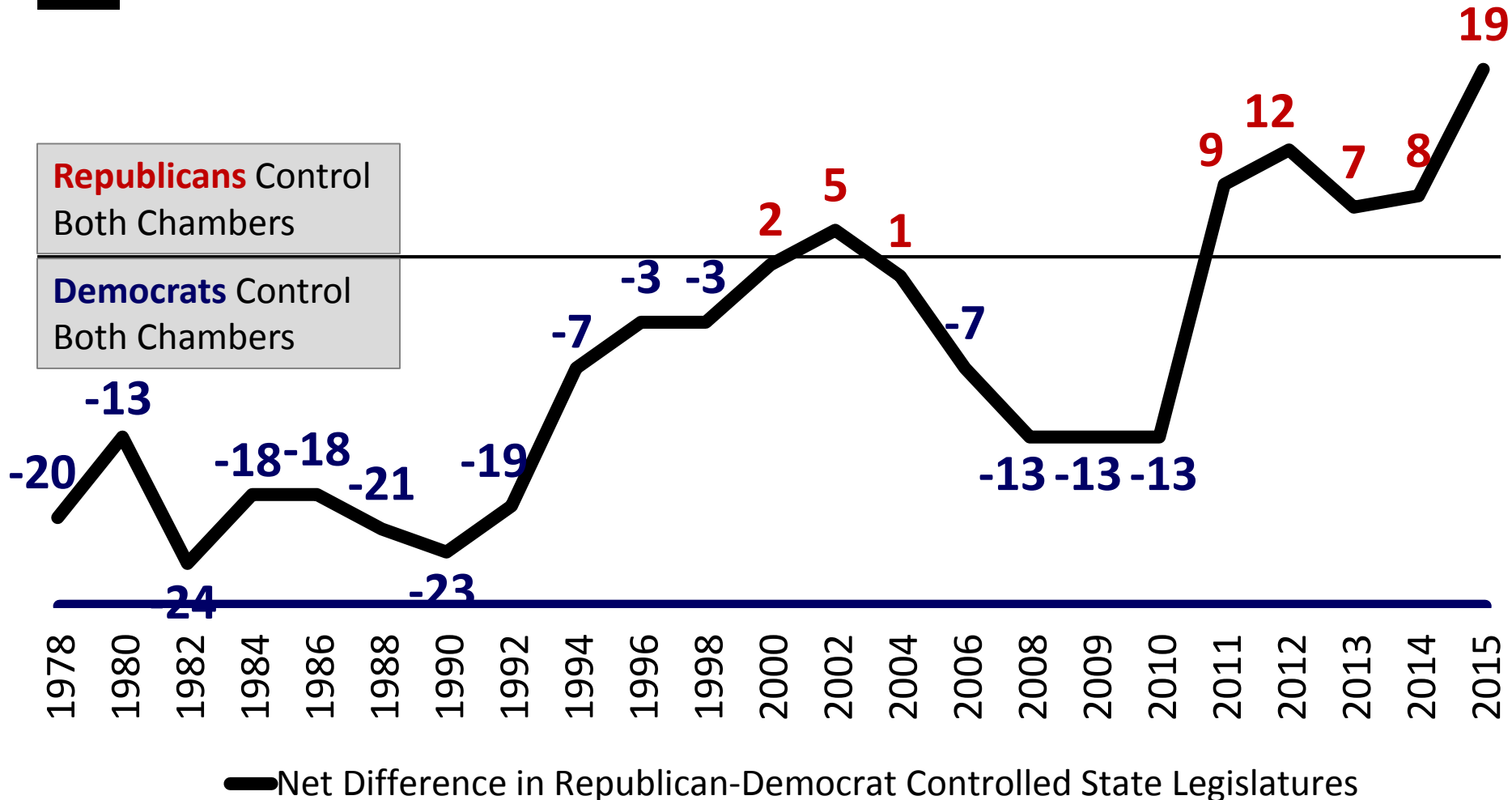
### Change in Senate Seats Held by the President's Party

	First Mid-Term	Second Mid-Term	Net
Barack Obama	<b>-6</b>	<b>-7</b>	<b>-13</b>
Bill Clinton	<b>-8</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>-8</b>
Ronald Reagan	<b>+1</b>	<b>-8</b>	<b>-7</b>
George W. Bush	<b>+2</b>	<b>-6</b>	<b>-4</b>
Richard Nixon	<b>+2</b>	<b>-5</b>	<b>-3</b>

# President Obama is the most damaging recent two-term president to his party's composition of state legislatures.

Pew  
Research  
Center

*Net Difference In Partisan Control of State Legislatures*



# Should the next president take an approach similar to that of the current president or should the next president take a different approach?

Clinton – July 1999

Bush – April 2007

Obama – July 2015

Similar  
Approach to  
Current  
Administration

44%

21%

30%

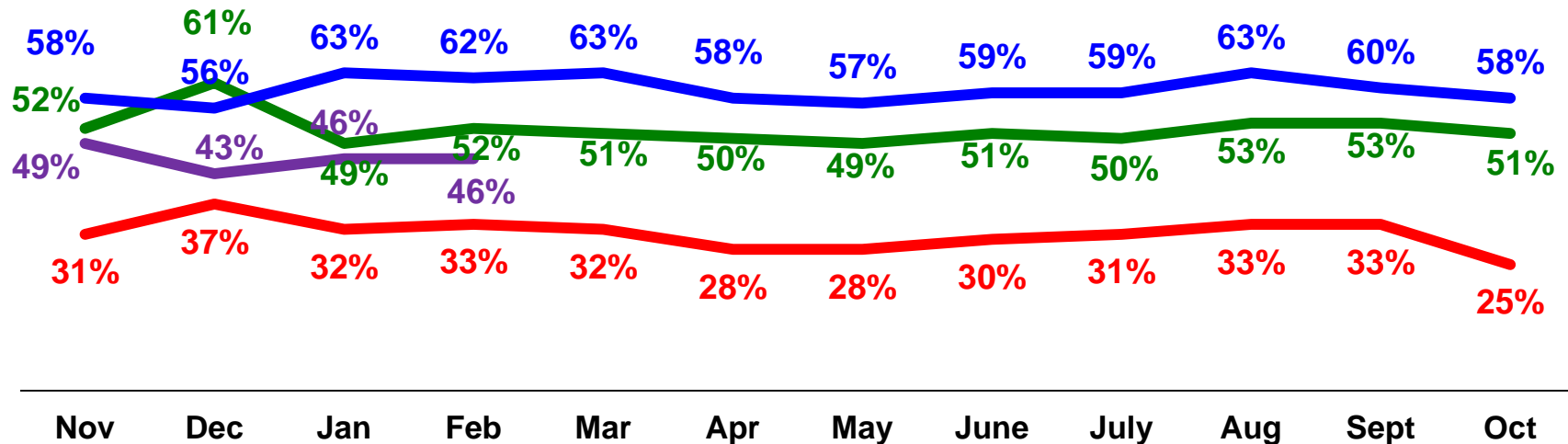
Different  
Approach from  
Current  
Administration

45%

74%

67%

# Approval Ratings of Recent Two-Term Presidents Leading Up To The Next Presidential Election



Reagan: ■

Clinton: ■

Bush (43): ■

Obama: ■



# **What We're Looking For in a President**



# Americans want a “change” candidate now even more than in 2008.





**Time for a Person  
Who Will Bring  
Greater Changes**

<u>2008</u>	<u>2016</u>
<b>54%</b>	<b>61%</b>

**Time for a More  
Experienced and  
Tested Person**

<u>2008</u>	<u>2016</u>
<b>42%</b>	<b>36%</b>

## Experience vs. Change Among All Primary Voters

	March 2015		January 2016	
	Experience and Tested	Will Bring Change	Experience and Tested	Will Bring Change
Total	38%	59%	36%	61%
 Primary Voters	30%	66%	20%	78%
 Primary Voters	48%	50%	53%	42%



# **Road to 2016: The Democrats**

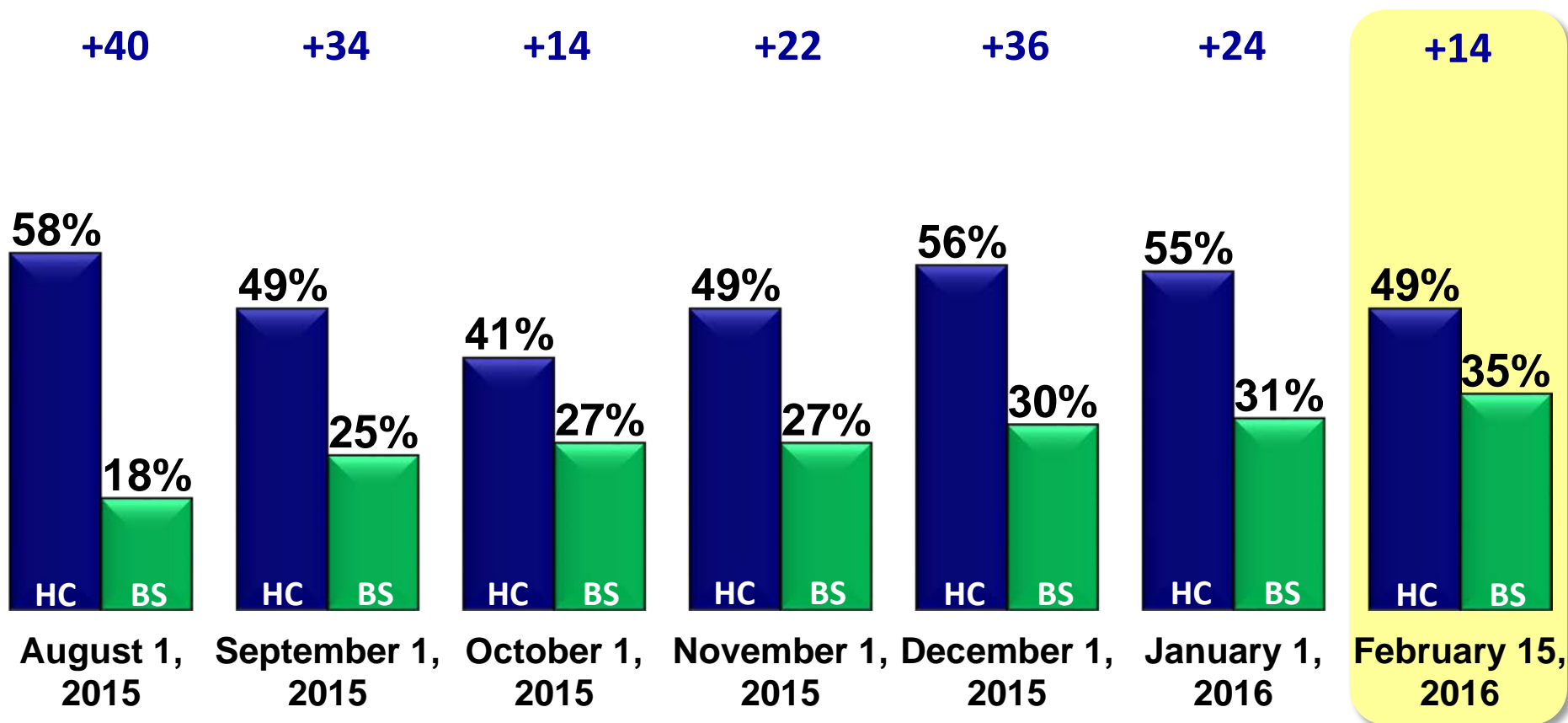


**This is what conventional wisdom said  
would happen.**



# But, the race for Democratic nominee has become closer than expected...

*If the Democratic primary for President were being held today, and the candidates were Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders, for whom would you vote?*

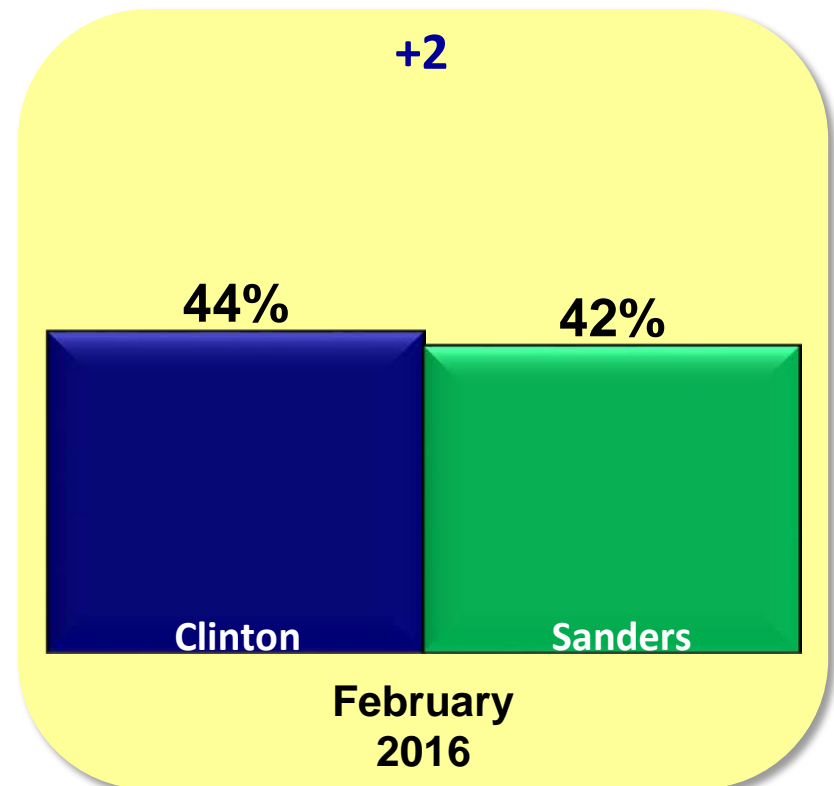
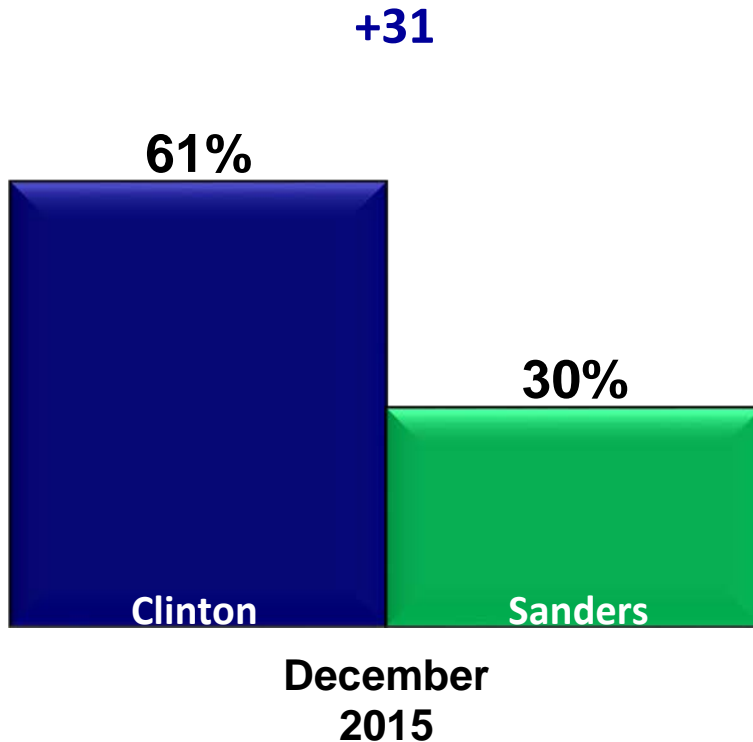


Data from [realclearpolitics.com](http://realclearpolitics.com).



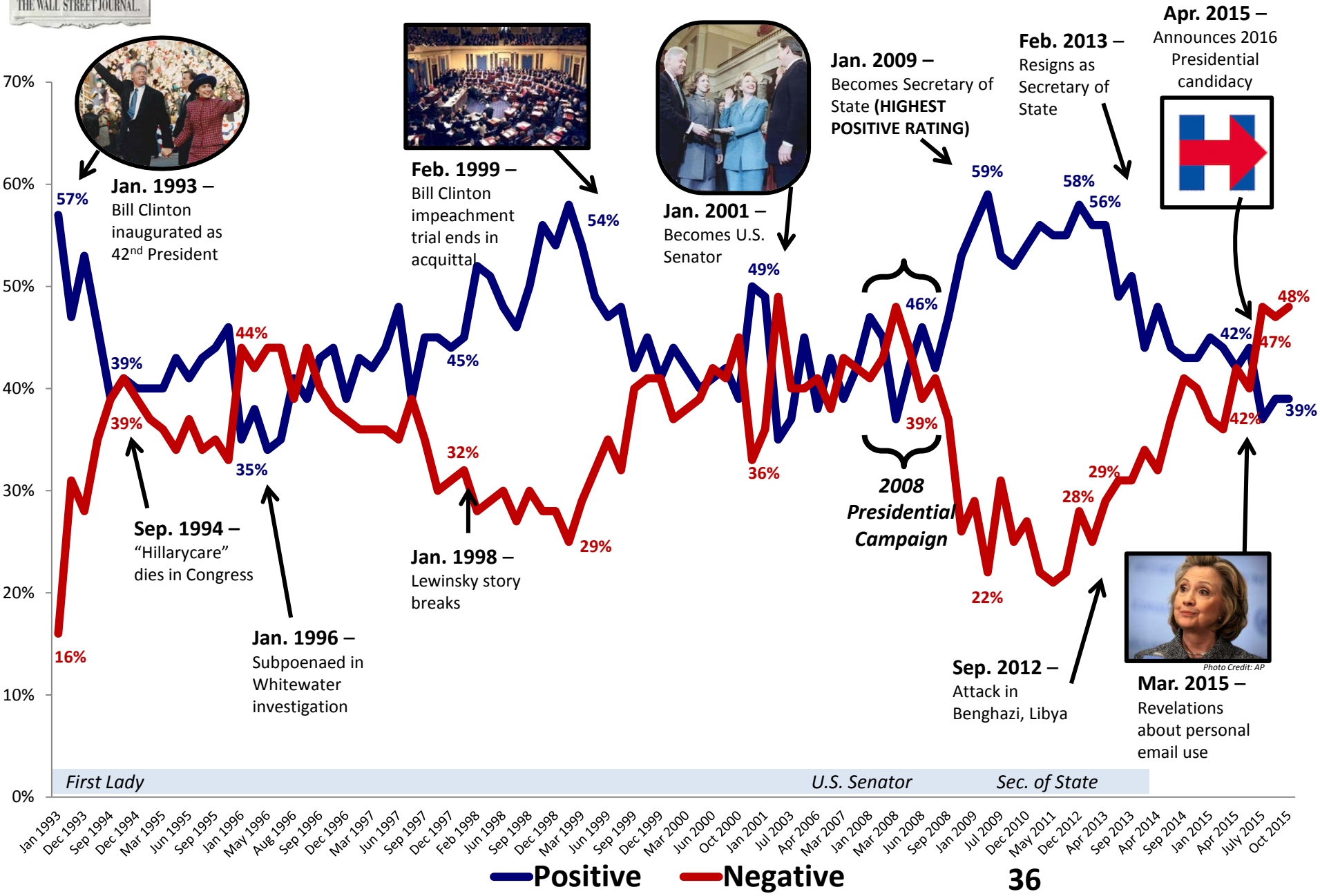
# With the new Q poll showing Hillary just TWO POINTS ahead of Bernie.

*If the Democratic primary for President were being held today, and the candidates were Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders, for whom would you vote?*



*Data from Quinnipiac University polls of 1,140 registered voters nationwide, conducted December 16-20, 2015 and of 1,125 registered voters nationwide, conducted February 2-4, 2016.*

# Hillary Clinton's Positive/Negative Rating Through the Years

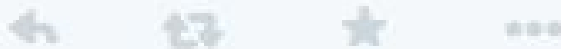


# Hillary is Not The Titanic, But She is Taking on Water.



**Robert Montgomery** @rmandetroit - Jun 19

"@ByronYork Glen Bolger: 'I think that Hillary's going to lose to Bernie Sanders in Iowa and New Hampshire.'" Wouldn't that be something?! 🙄



**Rebecca Berg** @rebeccagberg - Jun 19

GOP pollster **Glen Bolger** at #FFC: "I think Hillary Clinton is going to lose to **Bernie Sanders** in IA. I think she will lose to (him) in NH."



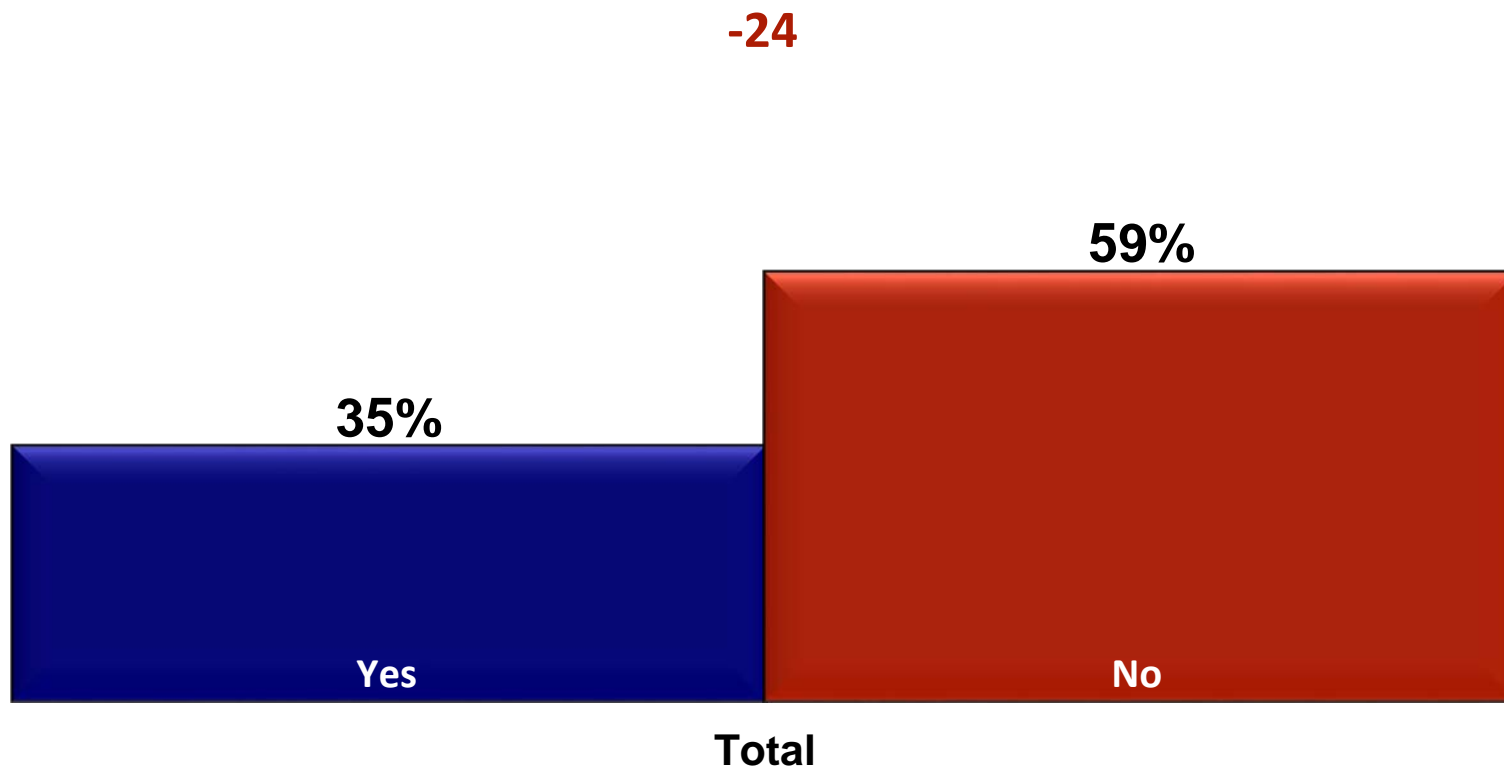
**Daniel Strauss** @DanielStrauss4 - Jun 19

Glen Bolger: "I think Hillary is going to lose to **Bernie Sanders** in Iowa." But predicts she'll still eventually win the nomination.



# Most Americans believe she is untrustworthy.

*Would you say that – Hillary Clinton is honest and trustworthy or not?*







*Data from a Quinnipiac survey of 1,140 registered voters nationwide conducted December 16-20, 2015.*

# Here is why Secretary Clinton is the likely Democratic nominee.

*National – January 2016*

*Iowa – February 2016*

			Difference Score			Difference Score
White	53%	38%	+15%	49%	46%	+3%
Non-White	69%	27%	+42%	--	--	--
Ages 50+	71%	22%	+49%	64%	31%	+33%*
Democrats	66%	30%	+36%	56%	39%	+17%

\*Average of two age groups: Ages 45-64 and Ages 65+

The background of the image is a composite of two elements. The upper portion features a close-up, slightly blurred view of the American flag, with the stars and stripes flowing across the frame. The lower portion shows a blue-tinted, semi-transparent image of the United States Capitol dome, which is partially obscured by the flag's stripes. The overall color palette is dominated by red, white, and blue.

# **The Road to 2016: The Republicans**



# We would usually break the GOP primary contenders into the following lanes...

*Mainstream/Establishment*



*Business*



*Tea Party*



*Evangelical*



**But, this year candidates seem to fit into different lanes - insiders, outsiders and insurgents.**

### *Insiders*



### *Outsiders*

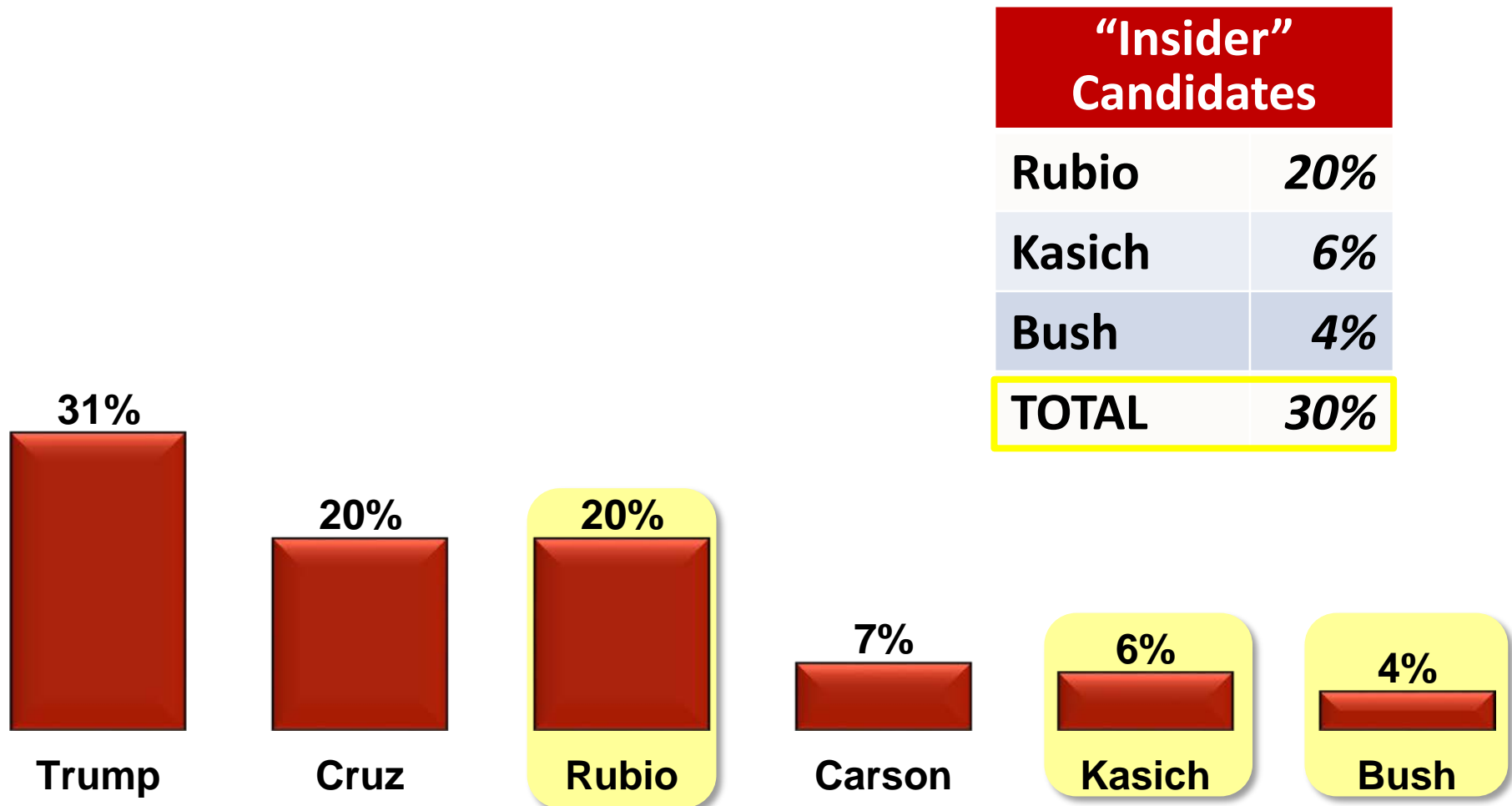


### *Insurgents*



# And, right now, the “insiders” are losing.

## *Current GOP Primary Ballot Scores*



*Data from realclearpolitics.com as of 2/15/2016. Only showing those polling above 1%.*



# **The Electoral Structure of the 2016 Campaign**

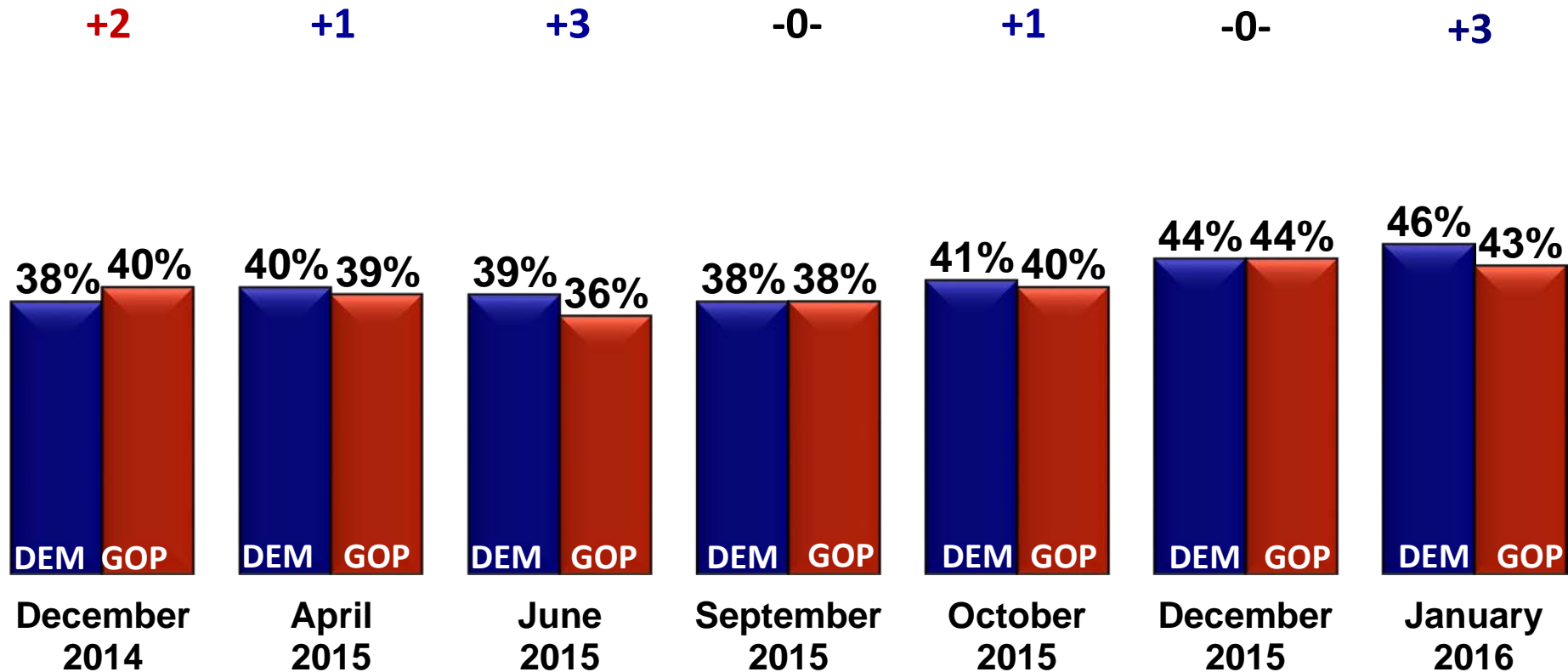


158  
≈  
50%

**“Just 158 families have provided nearly half of the early money for efforts to capture the White House.”**  
NYT Oct. 15, 2015

# On a “generic ballot,” it’s a dead heat.

*Do you think it would be better for the country to have a Democrat or a Republican as the next president?*

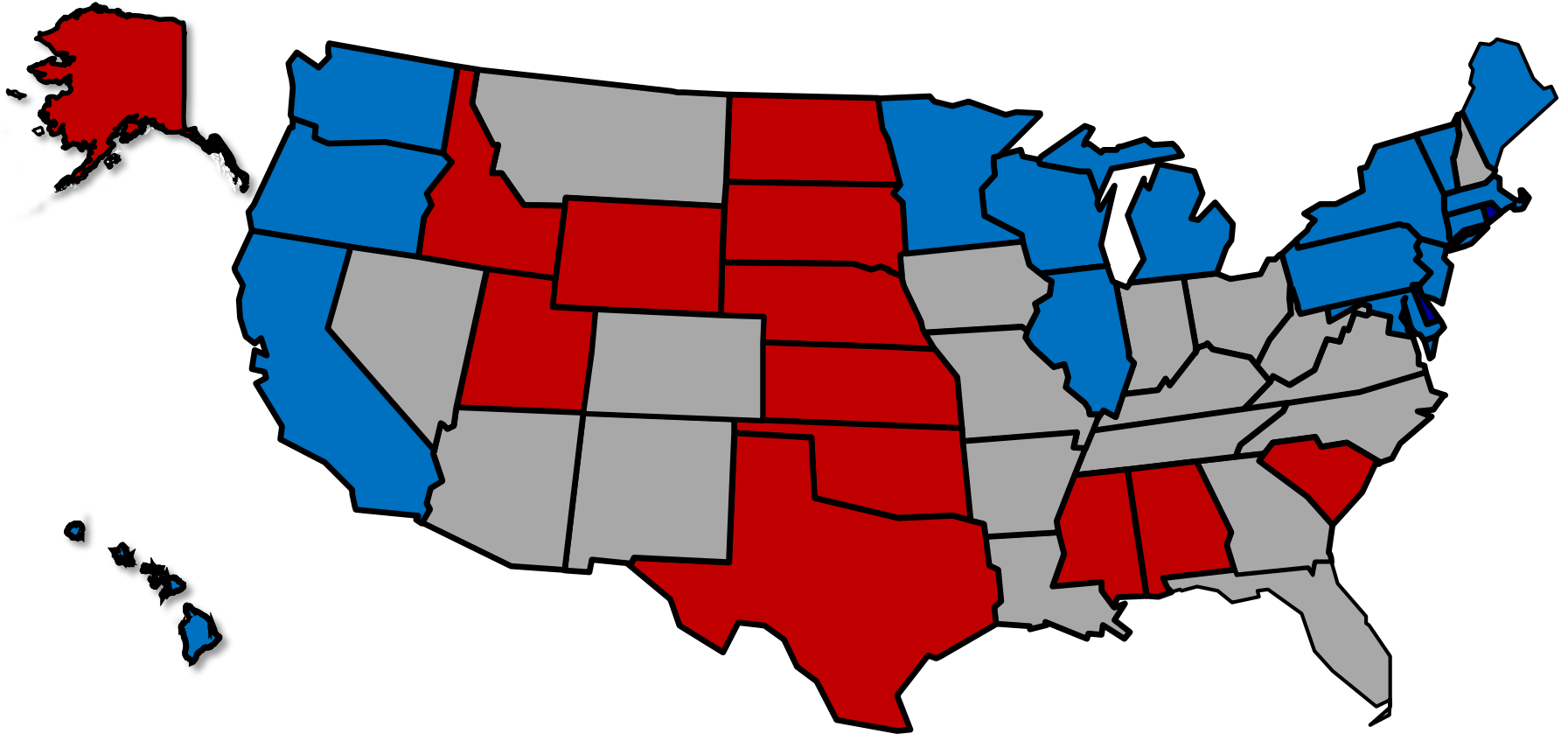


Data from NBC/WSJ surveys of 1,000 adults nationwide. December 2015 and January 2016 survey asked, “What is your preference for the outcome of the 2016 presidential election – that a Democrat be elected president or that a Republican be elected president?”



## Democrats start with the “big blue wall.”

**242** electoral votes from 18 states + District of Columbia won by Democratic presidential candidate the last 6 elections in a row...



...only need to win **28** of the **194** EVs in toss-up states.

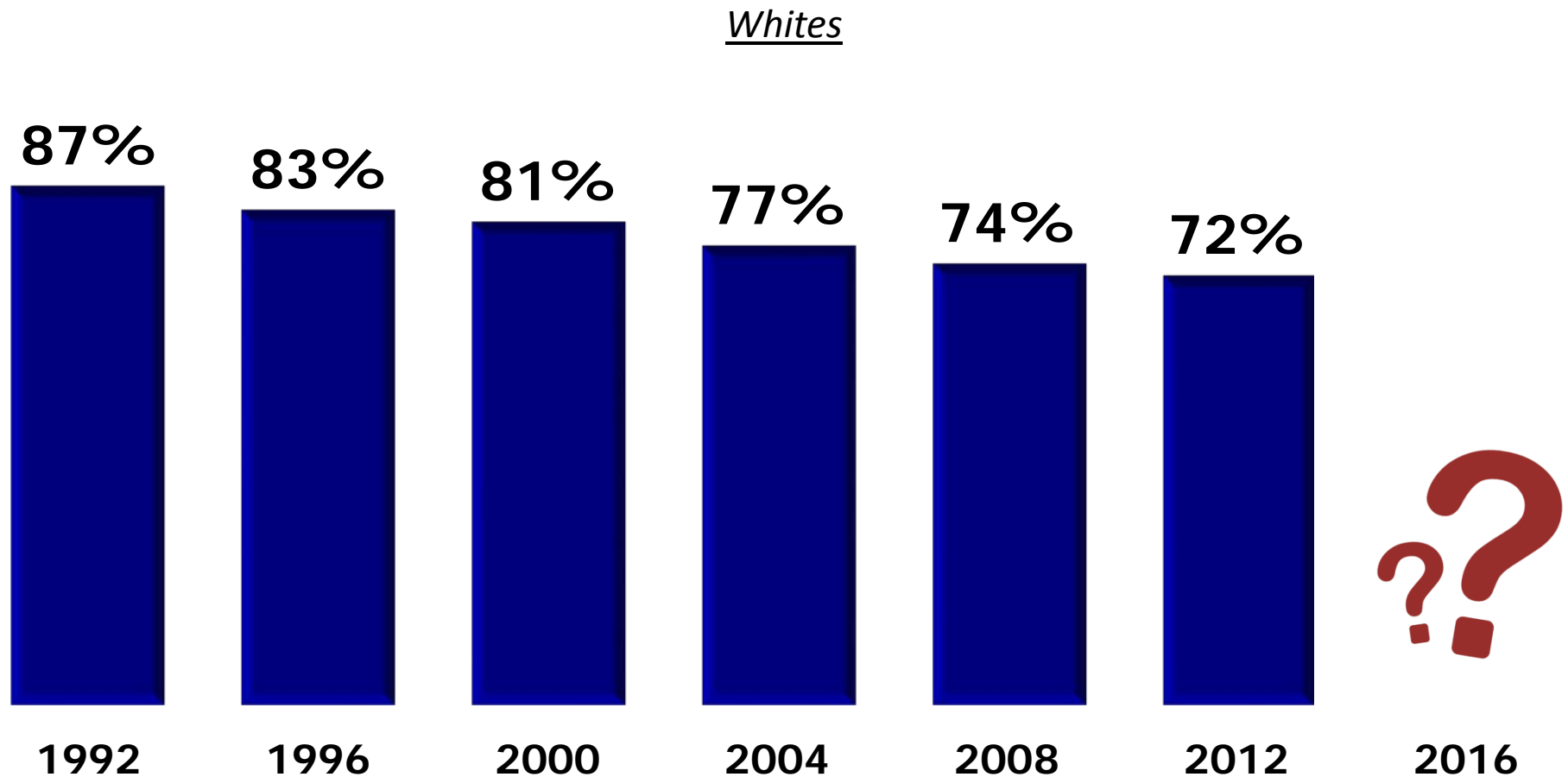
*Clinton 1992 or 1996 States: AZ, AR, GA, KY, LA, MO, MT, TN, and WV*

**As the Democrats have built margins in their key counties, they have held Pennsylvania comfortably and moved Florida and Ohio into the blue column.**

*Statewide Margins v. "True Blue" Counties Margins*

	Florida Statewide Margin	Miami-Dade County Margin	Ohio Statewide Margin	Cuyahoga County Margin	PA Statewide Margin	Philadelphia County Margin
2000	<b>GOP +537</b>	<b>DEM +39,275</b>	<b>GOP +165,019</b>	<b>DEM +167,814</b>	<b>DEM +204,840</b>	<b>DEM +348,223</b>
2004	<b>GOP +380,978</b>	<b>DEM +48,637</b>	<b>GOP +118,601</b>	<b>DEM +226,903</b>	<b>DEM +144,248</b>	<b>DEM +412,106</b>
2008	<b>DEM +236,450</b>	<b>DEM +139,280</b>	<b>DEM +262,224</b>	<b>DEM +258,542</b>	<b>DEM +620,478</b>	<b>DEM +478,759</b>
2012	<b>DEM +74,309</b>	<b>DEM +208,459</b>	<b>DEM +166,272</b>	<b>DEM +256,613</b>	<b>DEM +309,840</b>	<b>DEM +492,339</b>

The percentage of white voters has been dropping over the last six presidential elections.



## Let's look at the exit polls from 2012.

### Example One: The 2012 Election Exit Poll

	% of Electorate	Republican Margin	Net Republican Margin
White Men	34%	+27%	+9.2%
White Women	38%	+14%	+5.3%
African Americans	13%	-87%	-11.3%
Latinos	10%	-44%	-4.4%
Asians	3%	-47%	-1.4%
Others	2%	-20%	-0.4%
TOTAL	100%		-3.0%

**Knowing the proportion each group makes up of the electorate and the margins by which they support one candidate over the other, we can guess the outcome of the election.**

*Example Two: Good Republican Margins (2014 Election Exit Poll Results) at Projected 2016 Turnout*

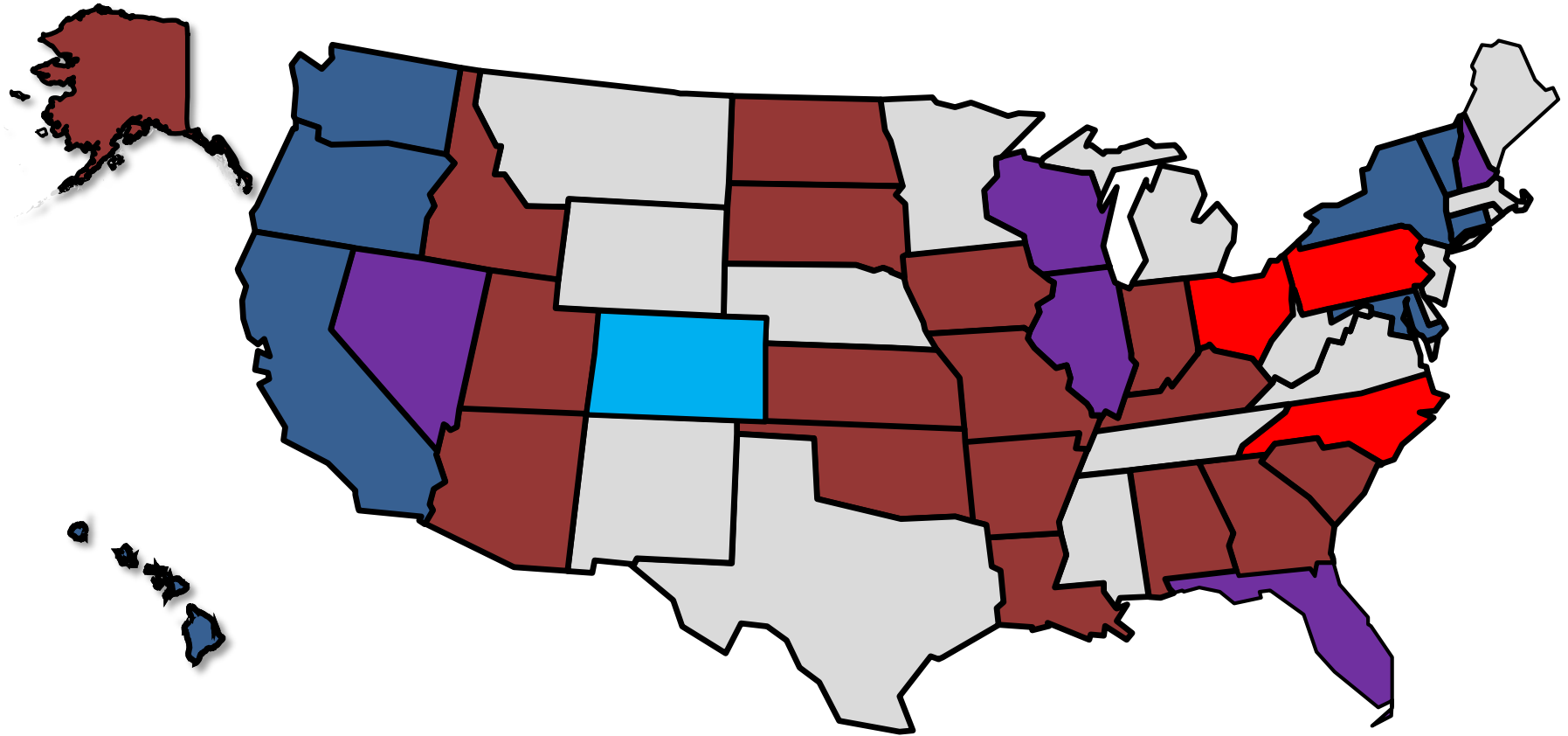
	% of Electorate	Republican Margin	Net Republican Margin
White Men	<b>33%</b>	<b>+31%</b>	<b>+10.2%</b>
White Women	<b>37%</b>	<b>+14%</b>	<b>+5.2%</b>
African Americans	<b>13%</b>	<b>-79%</b>	<b>-10.3%</b>
Latinos	<b>11%</b>	<b>-26%</b>	<b>-2.9%</b>
Asians	<b>4%</b>	<b>+1%</b>	<b>+0.0%</b>
Others	<b>2%</b>	<b>-2%</b>	<b>-0.0%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100%</b>		<b>+2.3%</b>









# 2016 Senate Races



# Republicans' path to holding the Senate travels through the Big Blue Wall and its True Blue Counties.

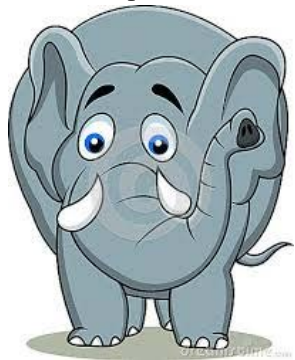


 Solid/Likely Republican      Solid/Likely Democratic   
 Lean Republican      Lean Democratic   
 Toss Up      No Senate Race 

Cook Political Report Senate Race Ratings, 11/23/2016

# Republicans' U.S. Senate control is very much up-for-grabs in '16.

## Senate Battleground Favors Dems



Total Seats Up in 2016

24

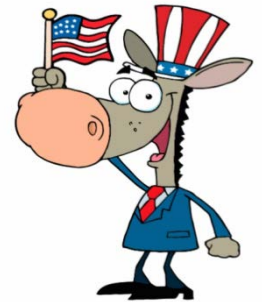
### Romney '12 Margin

+14	Murkowski (AK)
+9	McCain (AZ)
+9	Blunt (MO)
+8	Isakson (GA)
+2	Burr (NC)

Safer

### Obama '12 Margin

Wyden (OR)	+12
Reid (NV)	+7
Bennet (CO)	+5



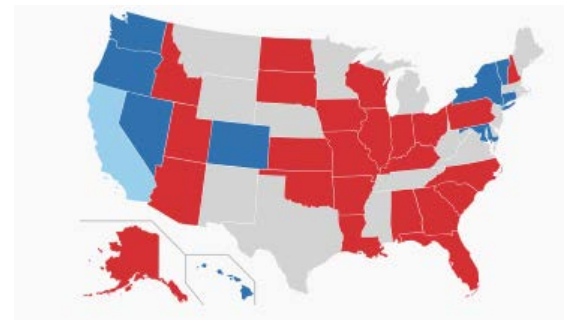
Total Seats Up in 2016

10

(CA) Open

-1	Rubio (FL)
-3	Portman (OH)
-5	Toomey (PA)
-6	Grassley (IA)
-6	Ayotte (NH)
-7	Johnson (WI)
-17	Kirk (IL)

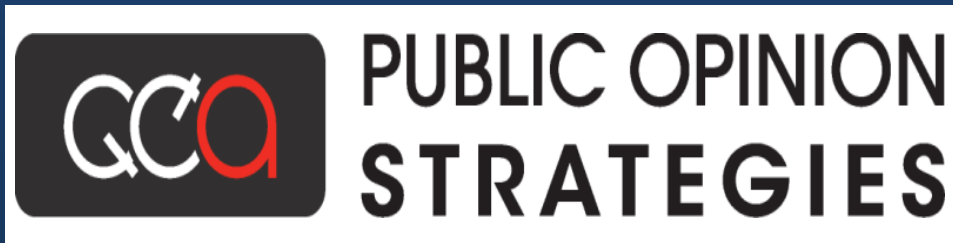
Less Safe



MEHLMAN CASTAGNETTI  
ROSEN BINGEL & THOMAS

Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United\\_States\\_presidential\\_election,\\_2012](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_presidential_election,_2012)

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