

Elections, Expectations, and Uncertainty

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Why Decide to Run for President?

- 1. Normally, the high point of a distinguished political career
- 2. Politician dissatisfied with options in current career path
- 3. Politician has belief that his/her party needs new direction that he or she can provide.
- 4. Individual well known in other professional pursuit thinks skills in that field can be transferred to political arena.
- 5. Politician whose career was interrupted decides to try to come back into electoral politics.
- 6. Highly ambitious politician decides not to wait for a better chance to come along in the future.
- 7. Win, and you'll be mentioned in history books for ever. Lose, and few people will remember who you were.

Times to Remember

1 February Iowa Caucuses

9 February New Hampshire Primary

20 February South Carolina Primary (Republicans/GOP)

Nevada Caucus (Democrats)

23 February Nevada Caucus (Republicans)

27 February South Carolina (Democrats)

1 March Super Tuesday (20 states have primaries or caucuses)

15 March Florida

A Dynasty Election: Is It Still Possible?



Republican Candidates



Democratic Candidates



Dynasties Not Unusual in American State Politics

- Six Frelinghuysen family members have served as Congressmen or Senators from New Jersey since 1789.
- One family has held the same Michigan seat in Congress for 90 years: John D. Dingell (1925-1955; John D. Dingell, Jr. (1955-2015), Deborah Dingell (2015-present)
- Four Washburn brothers served simultaneously in the House of Representatives, from Maine, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Illinois.
- Kennedy dynasty in Massachusetts is matched with Lodge dynasty (Henry Cabot Lodge (House 1887-93; Senate 1893-1924), Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (Senator 1939-1952, UN ambassador, 1953-61), John Davis Lodge (House, 1947-51, Governor CT, 1951-1955), George C. Lodge (unsuccessful Senate candidate, 1962; government official, Harvard Business School Professor.

Winning Presidential Elections Difficult

- American 2-Party System emerges in current form for the first time in the 1860 Presidential election.
- Civil War cripples Democratic party in national elections: Democrat elected president twice from 1860-1912: in 1884 and 1892---and the same Democrat both times:
 - Grover Cleveland
 - 39 Elections since 1860
 - Republicans win 23
 - Democrats 16
 - Since 1952, 9 to 7



Hard for Either Party to Win 3X in a Row

- Republicans: 1896-1912
- Republicans: 1920-1932
- Democrats 1932-1952
- Republicans: 1980-1992



Real Clear Politics: National Poll Data for past week

Poll	Date	Trump	Carson	Rubio	Cruz	Bush	Fiorina	Huckabee	Christie	Kasich	Paul	Graham	Pataki	Santorum	Jindal	Spread
RCP Average	11/15 - 11/19	27.5	19.8	12.5	11.3	5.5	3.5	3.3	3.0	2.8	2.5	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.0	Trump +7.7
FOX News FOX News	11/16 - 11/19	28	18	14	14	5	3	3	3	2	2	0	1	0	--	Trump +10
ABC/Wash Post ABC/Wash Post WP	11/16 - 11/19	32	22	11	8	6	4	3	2	3	3	1	0	1	0	Trump +10
PPP (D) PPP (D)	11/16 - 11/17	26	19	13	14	5	4	4	3	3	2	1	1	0	0	Trump +7
Bloomberg Bloomberg erg	11/15 - 11/17	24	20	12	9	6	3	3	4	3	3	1	1	1	--	Trump +4

Iowa Republican Presidential Caucus

Poll	Date	Trump	Carson	Cruz	Rubio	Bush	Fiorina	Jindal	Huckabee	Christie	Paul	Kasich	Santorum	Graham	Pataki	Spread
RCP Average	10/29 - 11/19	25.7	21.0	15.3	11.3	5.0	4.3	4.0	3.0	2.7	2.0	1.7	1.3	0.7	0.0	Trump +4.7
CBS/YouGov CBS/YouGov	11/15 - 11/19	30	19	21	11	5	4	2	1	2	2	1	2	0	0	Trump +9
CNN/ORCCN N/ORC	10/29 - 11/4	25	23	11	13	5	4	4	2	3	2	2	0	2	0	Trump +2
PPP (D)PPP (D)	10/30 - 11/1	22	21	14	10	5	5	6	6	3	2	2	2	0	0	Trump +1

New Hampshire Republican Presidential Primary

Poll	Date	Trump	Rubio	Cruz	Carson	Bush	Kasich	Christie	Paul	Fiorina	Huckabee	Graham	Santorum	Jindal	Pataki	Spread
RCP Average	11/11 - 11/19	26.6	12.0	10.0	9.8	7.6	7.2	5.8	4.4	4.2	1.0	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.2	Trump +14.6
Boston Globe/SuffolkBoston Globe	11/17 - 11/19	22	11	9	10	8	9	4	3	4	1	0	0	--	0	Trump +11
CBS/YouGovCBS/YouGov	11/15 - 11/19	32	13	10	10	6	8	5	6	6	1	1	1	0	0	Trump +19
FOX NewsFOX News	11/15 - 11/17	27	13	11	9	9	7	6	3	3	1	1	1	0	0	Trump +14
WBUR/MassINCWBUR/MassINC	11/14 - 11/15	23	13	8	13	7	7	6	5	4	1	2	1	1	1	Trump +10
GravisGravis	11/11 - 11/11	29	10	12	7	8	5	8	5	4	1	0	0	1	0	Trump +17

South Carolina Republican Presidential Primary

Poll	Date	Trump	Carson	Rubio	Cruz	Bush	Fiorina	Graham	Kasich	Huckabee	Paul	Christie	Santorum	Jindal	Spread
RCP Average	10/13 - 11/19	27.5	21.8	12.3	11.3	6.8	3.8	2.3	2.0	2.0	1.3	1.0	0.5	0.3	Trump +5.7
CBS/YouGovCBS/YouGov	11/15 - 11/19	35	19	16	13	5	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	0	Trump +16
PPP (D)PPP (D)	11/7 - 11/8	25	21	13	15	8	5	2	3	2	2	1	1	0	Trump +4
Monmouth Monmouth	11/5 - 11/8	27	28	11	9	7	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	Carson +1
ClemsonClemson	10/13 - 10/23	23	19	9	8	7	6	3	2	2	1	1	0	1	Trump +4

Florida Republican Presidential Primary

Poll	Date	Trump	Carson	Rubio	Cruz	Bush	Fiorina	Kasich	Paul	Christie	Huckabee	Graham	Jindal	Santorum	Pataki	Spread
RCP Average	10/28 - 11/16	32.0	18.0	17.3	10.7	9.0	3.3	3.0	2.5	1.5	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	Trump +14.0
Florida Atlantic UniversityFAU	11/15 - 11/16	36	15	18	10	9	2	3	4	0	0	0	--	--	--	Trump +18
Florida Times-UnionFL Times	11/11 - 11/11	23	22	18	12	11	5	3	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	Trump +1
Bay News 9/News 13Bay News 9/News 13	10/28 - 11/1	37	17	16	10	7	3	3	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	Trump +20

Democratic Candidates National Polls

Poll	Date	Sample	MoE	Clinton	Sanders	O'Malley	Spread
RCP Average	11/15 - 11/19	--	--	55.8	30.2	4.4	Clinton +25.6
FOX NewsFOX News	11/16 - 11/19	366 RV	5.0	55	32	3	Clinton +23
ABC/Wash PostABC/ WP	11/16 - 11/19	352 RV	6.0	60	34	3	Clinton +26
PPP (D)PPP (D)	11/16 - 11/17	538 RV	4.2	59	26	7	Clinton +33
Bloomberg Bloomberg	11/15 - 11/17	385 RV	5.0	55	30	3	Clinton +25
Rasmussen ReportsRas mussen	11/15 - 11/16	506 LV	4.5	50	29	6	Clinton +21

Iowa Democratic Presidential Caucus

Poll	Date	Clinton	Sanders	O'Malley	Spread
RCP Average	10/29 - 11/19	54.0	35.3	5.0	Clinton +18.7
CBS News/ YouGovCB S/YouGov	11/15 - 11/19	50	44	5	Clinton +6
CNN/ ORCCNN/ ORC	10/29 - 11/4	55	37	3	Clinton +18
PPP (D)PPP (D)	10/30 - 11/1	57	25	7	Clinton +32

New Hampshire 2016 Democratic Primary

Poll	Date	Clinton	Sanders	O'Malley	Spread
RCP Average	11/11 - 11/19	45.0	40.7	3.7	Clinton +4.3
CBS News/ YouGov CBS/ YouGov	11/15 - 11/19	45	52	3	Sanders +7
FOX News FOX News	11/15 - 11/17	44	45	5	Sanders +1
Gravis Gravis	11/11 - 11/11	46	25	3	Clinton +21

South Carolina Democratic Presidential Primary

Poll	Date	Clinton	Sanders	O'Malley	Spread
RCP Average	11/5 - 11/19	71.0	21.3	2.7	Clinton +49.7
CBS News/YouGov CBS/YouGov	11/15 - 11/19	72	25	2	Clinton +47
PPP (D)PPP (D)	11/7 - 11/8	72	18	5	Clinton +54
Monmouth Monmouth	11/5 - 11/8	69	21	1	Clinton +48

Florida Democratic Presidential Primary

Poll	Date	Clinton	Sanders	O'Malley	Spread
RCP Average	10/14 - 11/16	62.3	20.7	2.3	Clinton +41.6
Florida Atlantic UniversityFAU	11/15 - 11/16	66	22	4	Clinton +44
Bay News 9/ News 13Bay News 9/ News 13	10/28 - 11/1	66	24	3	Clinton +42
UNFUNF	10/14 - 10/19	55	16	0	Clinton +39

Republican Voters Rate Republican Candidates

GOP Candidate Images

Among Republicans/Republican-leaning independents

Ranked by "net favorable"

	% Favorable	% Unfavorable	Net favorable (pct. pts.)	Net favorable: Oct.24-Nov.6 (pct. pts.)	Change in net favorable (pct. pts.)
Ben Carson	64	15	49	61	-12
Marco Rubio	60	12	48	39	+9
Ted Cruz	58	13	45	36	+9
Mike Huckabee	57	19	38	39	-1
Carly Fiorina	49	16	33	26	+7
Chris Christie	52	26	26	12	+14
Donald Trump	58	35	23	20	+3
Jeb Bush	49	33	16	16	0
John Kasich	30	21	9	6	+3

Nov. 7-21, 2015

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Clinton Favorability Rating Among Democrats

Net Favorables Among Democrats/Leaners

	Clinton net favorable	Sanders net favorable	Difference, Clinton vs. Sanders
	%	%	(pct. pts.)
ALL DEMOCRATS	63	38	+25
RACE			
Non-Hispanic whites	55	50	+5
Non-Hispanic blacks	89	21	+68
IDEOLOGY			
Conservative/Moderate	55	19	+36
Liberal	73	62	+11

Oct. 25-Nov. 7, 2015

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Approve/Disapprove of Obama Job Performance?

Pollster	Dates	Pop.	Approve	Disapprove	Undecided	Margin
Gallup NEW!	11/20 - 11/22	1,500 A	43	52	-	Disapprove +9
CBS NEW!	11/19 - 11/22	1,205 A	42	47	11	Disapprove +5
Rasmussen NEW!	11/18 - 11/22	1,500 LV	43	56	-	Disapprove +13
ARG NEW!	11/17 - 11/20	1,100 A	43	54	3	Disapprove +11
ABC/Post NEW!	11/16 - 11/19	1,003 A	46	50	4	Disapprove +4
FOX NEW!	11/16 - 11/19	1,016 RV	40	54	6	Disapprove +14
Gallup	11/16 - 11/19	1,500 A	45	51	-	Disapprove +6

Big Issues: Attitude Changes over Short Time

Changes in Americans' Levels of Concern About National Problems

% "A great deal" of concern

	2014	2015	Change
	%	%	(pct. pts.)
The possibility of future terrorist attacks in the U.S.	39	51	12
Race relations	17	28	11
Illegal immigration	33	39	6
Crime and violence	39	43	4
Drug use	34	38	4
The quality of the environment	31	34	3
Climate change	24	25	1
The Social Security system	46	46	0
The way income and wealth are distributed in the U.S.	--	46	--
Hunger and homelessness	43	43	0
The size and power of the federal government	48	46	-2
The availability and affordability of healthcare	57	54	-3
The economy	59	53	-6
The availability and affordability of energy	37	28	-9
Unemployment	49	37	-12

"The way income and wealth are distributed in the U.S." was not asked in 2014

Campaign Issues: Immigration & Refugees

- Failure to pass comprehensive immigration reform law now extends to both George Bush and Barack Obama's administration.
- What to do about "undocumented" "illegal" residents is major dividing point.
- Obama administration has both high numbers of migrants deported, and high numbers of aliens it has tried to protect.
- Refugee crisis in Europe presses US to increase migrant quota.
- Paris terrorist attack increases pressure to stop or reduce number and origin of migrants.

Security and Foreign Policy

- Republican candidates say Obama foreign policy has been too weak, and not active enough.
- Clinton, Sanders, and O'Malley all say withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan and Iraq correct. Oppose ground troops in IS areas.
- Republicans calling for increase in defense spending and modernization of ships, planes, and weapons.

Domestic Social Policy

- Health Insurance Reform: Republicans pledge to end “Obamacare,” but have not developed alternative plans. Gallup poll shows a majority supports mandatory health insurance for the first time since 2008.
- Education: Republicans generally want more local government control over education policy; Democrats favor nationwide standards. “Common Core” curriculum reforms from Bush administration were popular, but now widely opposed.
- Gay marriage: strong divide along conservative/liberal and evangelical/mainline Protestant/Catholic lines.

Abortion: A Continuing & Shifting Debate

U.S. Adults' Self-Identified Position on the Abortion Issue

■ % "Pro-choice" ■ % "Pro-life"



Question wording: With respect to the abortion issue, would you consider yourself to be pro-choice or pro-life?

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The Continuing Legal Fight over Abortion

- In 1992, Supreme Court ruled that states could not impose “an undue burden” on those seeking to obtain an abortion.
- Texas passed law earlier in 2015 that requires abortion clinics to meet higher medical standards than for most non-hospital medical facilities in the state. Supreme Court agreed on 13 November to hear challenge to constitutionality of the Texas law. Court might issue a ruling by July 2016.
- Court divided: Justices Ginsburg, Breyer, Sotomayor, and Kagan support abortion rights; Scalia, Thomas, Roberts, and Alito oppose abortion; Kennedy is a swing vote on the issue. Any court decision can have major impact on presidential election.

Is Economy Better than People Think?

- “The economic outlook score last week was -20, reflecting 38% of Americans saying the economy is "getting better" and 58% saying it is "getting worse." While similar to the outlook scores seen in recent weeks, the economic outlook has been significantly lower since July compared with earlier in the year. Lower economic outlook scores largely brought down the overall index scores found since July, as current conditions scores have not dropped.”
- Actual data: Commerce Department increased 3rd Quarter GDP growth to 2.3 percent, up from early estimate of 1.5%
- Dollar/Euro exchange rate now \$1.06
- October US auto sales up 14% from Oct. 2014; US may set sales record this year.

Some Additional Articles to Read

Politics and the New Machine. New Yorker, November 16, 2015

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2015/11/16/politics-and-the-new-machine>

Why Hillary Clinton Is Probably Going to Win

<http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2015/04/why-hillary-clinton-is-probably-going-to-win.html#>

Hillary Can't Count on the Economy

<http://cookpolitical.com/story/9001>

Presidential Primary Schedule

<http://www.thegreenpapers.com/P16/paag.phtml>

The Families Funding the 2016 Presidential Election

http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2015/10/11/us/politics/2016-presidential-election-super-pac-donors.html?_r=0

What the Public Knows: Pew Research Foundation Findings April 2015

<http://www.people-press.org/2015/04/28/what-the-public-knows-in-pictures-words-maps-and-graphs/>

Contrasting Partisan Perspectives on Campaign: Pew Research Foundation Findings October 2015

<http://www.people-press.org/2015/10/02/contrasting-partisan-perspectives-on-campaign-2016/>

Suggestions for Other Electronic Sources

- Atlantic Monthly
- New Yorker Magazine
- Huffington Post
- The Drudge Report
- Real Clear Politics
- Politico
- Bill O'Reilly (Fox News)
- Rachel Maddow (MSNBC)
- NBC Nightly News with Lester Holt
- Google News
- C-SPAN
- Roll Call
- El Nuevo Herald
- The Forward
- <http://amerikawoche.com/>