2016 Election Outlook
It ain’t over ‘til it’s over

Who’s likely to come out on top in races for –
Governors’ Races
The House of Representatives
The Senate
The White House
A few words about polling in this election

• Most polling is based on “3-4s” or “4-4s” – data collected by polling companies over the years based on voters who have voted in three or four out of the last four elections

• In this election, there’s a lack of data from newly critical groups: “0-4s” and “1-4s.” These are voters of all demographics and ages who are voting in their first or second presidential elections

• The poll is only as good as the sample: Polls which reveal lopsided leads in an otherwise close race indicates lopsided sampling

• Polling is a hint at outcomes, not a guarantee
How’s the country feeling?

• President Obama Job Approval
  Approve  51.4
  Disapprove  45.4

• 2016 Generic Congressional Vote
  (who do you dislike the least?)
  Democrats  46.5
  Republicans  42.1

• Direction of Country
  Right Direction  29.2
  Wrong Track  64.7

• Congressional Job Approval
  Approve  14.7
  Disapprove  77.2
Who will run the States? No big shift seen

Current gubernatorial breakdown

- Republicans: 31
- Democrats: 18
- Independent: 1 (Alaska)

What’s the guesstimate 30 days out?

- Republicans: 30
- Democrats: 16
- Independent: 1
- Toss Ups: 3
  - Indiana – open race
  - New Hampshire – Dem incumbent
  - North Carolina – GOP incumbent
Control of Congress – Up for Grabs?

• Public approval of Congress is still a sad 14-16%
• The public attitude is “they’re all idiots – except my member”
• Media noise about Trump taking down the Republican Party or Clinton dividing the Democrats is overstated
• Ditto negative noise about chamber leadership – see Speaker Ryan’s primary win
• Very little identifiable coattails effect – positive or negative – by either candidate, but it’s beginning to be trackable in some states
• The numbers this cycle in both chambers work against Republicans
• Number of toss up races is pretty constant 19 days out
House remains GOP-controlled – by how much?

435 voting members – 114th Congress House membership breakdown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What’s the guesstimate 19 days out? GOP majority shrinks marginally

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toss Ups</td>
<td>11    - three D districts, eight R districts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: realclearpolitics.com
A tight battle for control of the Senate

100 voting members – 114th Congress membership breakdown
(The magic number to move a bill to the floor for debate/amendment/final vote is 60 votes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(both caucus with the Democrats)

What’s the guesstimate 19 days out? Senate could go 50-50 for the first time in 16 years*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toss Ups</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*If the Senate breaks 50-50, then the party of the sitting Vice President, as president of the Senate, controls the chamber
A tight battle for control of the Senate, cont’d.

Toss up states – only one Democrat seat in play

IN: Open – Sen. Dan Coats (R) retiring
PA: Sen. Pat Toomey (R)
NV: Open – Sen. Harry Reid (D) retiring
NC: Sen. Richard Burr (R)
NH: Sen. Kelly Ayotte (R)
MO: Sen. Roy Blunt (R)

GOP seats “leaning” Democrat

IL: Sen. Mark Kirk (R)
WI: Sen. Ron Johnson (R)

Note: No incumbent Democrat seats “lean” GOP, i.e. no Republican pickups expected; Florida’s seat held by Sen. Marco Rubio (R) is rated as only “leaning” GOP

Boldface – Incumbents considered “in trouble.”
And now let’s turn to the highly entertaining race for the White House...
The run for the White House as seen by a neighbor to the North...

“This election is like watching your next door neighbor play with dynamite and fireworks after 16 beers in the hot sun”

-- A Canadian Tweet
How many see the Clinton-Trump race...

“Each party has chosen a presumptive nominee whom America loathes. Each party is about to nominate the least liked candidate from his or her field as it stood a year ago.”

-- Fortune Magazine, May 2016
Who’s running for president?

**Democrat**

*Hillary Rodham Clinton* – former first lady, NY senator, Obama secretary of state

**Republican**

*Donald John Trump, Sr.* – real estate developer/investor, television producer, author

**Libertarian**

*Gary Johnson* – Former two-term governor of New Mexico

**Green**

*Dr. Jill Stein* – Mother, organizer, physician, and environmental health advocate
Where’s the support?

- **Independents**: Trump polls 45% to Clinton’s 40% -- significant undecided at 15%
- **Men**: Trump attracts 50% of all men polled to Clinton’s 41%
- **Women**: Clinton pulls in 54% of women polled, with Trump attracting about 36%
- **Rural**: Trump consistently polls about 74% support to Clinton’s 9%
- **Hispanics**: The vote is generally splitting 70% Clinton, 30% Trump
- **Blacks**: Trump polls about 26% with all black voters, but Clinton leads with 70%
- **Age**: Among 18-30, Clinton leads Trump leads 68% to 20%. Among voters 45 and older, Trump sits at 50%, with Clinton at 45%
- **White, high school grads**: Trump polls 53%, Clinton 24%. Trump’s key constituency is among whites who did not graduate from college
- **White, college grads**: Clinton leads Trump 55% to 44%
- **Gays**: When polled, 20% of gay voters support Donald Trump, 80% Clinton
Regardless of who wins the election, what single issue or challenge are you most interested in having the next president address when he or she takes office next January? [OPEN-ENDED]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Republicans/Republican leaners</th>
<th>Democrats/Democratic leaners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The economy</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigation</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense/National defense/Homeland security</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthcare/Healthcare costs/Healthcare reform</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobs/Unemployment</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The federal deficit/The budget</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy/affairs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun control</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages/Earning a decent wage</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The environment/Pollution</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty/The poor/Homelessness</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race relations/Equal rights</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restoring respect to the office of president</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral issues/Ethics/Religion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Security</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big government/Government invasion of privacy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign finance reform</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wars</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicare</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family/Youth issues</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Care for the elderly</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade/Foreign trade</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay rights issues</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas prices</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare/Welfare reform</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appointments to Supreme Court</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations with China</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prescription drugs/High cost of prescription drugs</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm/Agricultural issues</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Less than 0.5%

Jan. 21-25, 2016

GALLUP
This will make your head hurt...
Do the voters get it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>Some</th>
<th>Not much/Nothing at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Donald Trump</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All voters</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep/Lean Rep</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem/Lean Dem</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hillary Clinton</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All voters</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep/Lean Rep</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dem/Lean Dem</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Based on registered voters. Don’t know/Refused responses not shown. Source: Survey conducted Sept. 15-18, 2016.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
Agbiz issues – where do they each stand?

Agribank 8.16

**CLINTON**

**Biofuels** – Supports ‘stronger’ RFS to boost non-corn ethanol and advanced biofuels production, increase USDA loan guarantee programs, supports E15, E85 and biodiesel blends

**Trade** – Opposes TPP as finalized, wants U.S. jobs protection, enviro protections, would renegotiate NAFTA, review all bilateral trade treaties

**GM Food Labeling** – Supports biotech ingredients, wants labeling

**Estate Tax** – Lower the exemption to $3.5 million, reduce exemption for couples to $7 million; increase tax rate to 45%

**Rural development** – Increase Rural Business Investment Companies (RBIC) to provide more capital, strengthen USDA grant programs, expand New Markets Tax Credit to encourage investment

**TRUMP**

General support for biofuels, keep the RFS, move to higher ethanol blends

Hates TPP, new negotiators to focus on trade deficits, renegotiate NAFTA, opposes multinational treaties, wants trade promotion authority

Supports biotech, opposes mandatory GE food labeling

Permanent repeal of ‘death tax’

Appointed national ag advisory committee, including six sitting governors, along with other elected state officials
The keys to the castle...

• On November 8, it’s all about turnout – even though this election is more “who I’m voting against” rather than “who I’m voting for”
• Too many public admissions of “I’m staying home” – biggest risk is among Millennials who aren’t energized by either Trump or Clinton, or who opt to vote for a third party candidate
• Absentee ballots/early voting have begun
• With a strong 15% of voters undecided 19 days out, each candidate must rally his/her base, as well as target demographics, i.e. women, minorities, Millennials, Joe Six Pack, etc.
• Trump has a tough time breaking through his 40% hard base; Clinton has the same problem with her 42% hard base
• No strong indications of any substantial coattails effect for House/Senate candidates from either candidate. House and Senate races mounting their own get-out-the-vote efforts
Voter preferences – 10/19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CLINTON</th>
<th>TRUMP</th>
<th>SPREAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RCP Poll Average</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Clinton +6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four-way Race</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Clinton +7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorability Rating</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavorability Rating</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ELECTION 2016**
(national polling average)

SOURCE: realclearpolitics.com
The way you win the White House – 10/19

*Current Electoral College Distribution*
*(270 needed to win)*

*Clinton/Kaine* 260

*Trump/Pence* 170

Toss Ups 108

BUT...
And the winner is...unknown

Toss-up electoral vote states – 108

Florida (29)
Ohio (18)
North Carolina (15)
New Hampshire (4)
Nevada (6)
Minnesota (10)
Indiana (11)
Iowa (6)
Maine (2)
Arizona (11)
Those who really know...
The International Society for Astrological Research

• Clinton/Kaine = “Venus” Trump/Pence = “Mars”
  (In Roman mythology Mars and Venus were lovers)

• Aleksandar Imsiragic, Serbian astrologer: Trump wins – “Mythologically, he’s Orion, a giant with golden hair...born under a full moon eclipse...”

• Shelley Ackerman, astrologer: Clinton wins – Her October 26 b’day is in a time slot shared by Halloween – “the sun is traveling within the Via Combusta, the fiery way...” “That part of the zodiac is literally when the (stuff) hits the fan.” “On election day, the moon ends up right at Tim Kaine’s sun...”

• Glenn Perry, astrologer: “Trump is so Martian...embodies the mood of the electorate too much...”
Trump positives to his base supporters...

• He’s a true outsider in DC
• He appeals to those who feel disenfranchised, who feel they have no voice; he has talked publicly about issues politicians normally avoid, e.g. illegal immigrants, jobs, the economy and social issues
• He approaches government as a business, one that makes a profit, pays its bills and increases its employment base
• He intends to put in charge of departments and agencies individuals who are equally outsiders and who have practical knowledge
• He wants to restore what he believes is the lost respect of the U.S. around the world
Trump negatives to his critics...

• He’s bombastic; unpredictable and erratic
• He’s accused of being a serial misogynist
• He’s a master of criticism – he points fingers and blames, he calls names
• His policies are generalities and lack details
• His economic proposals, in many cases, generally aren’t doable
• His surrogates are better versed than he is
• He lacks foreign policy experience, as does his running mate
Clinton positives to her base supporters...

• She has 30 years of experience as an attorney, first lady of Arkansas, first lady of the U.S., two-term U.S. senator from New York, and secretary of state
• She would make history as the first woman elected president
• She’s highly intelligent, tenacious and ambitious
• She understands how the DC system operates, has strong relationships in Congress and has general respect from DC insiders
• She’s “tough”
Clinton’s negatives to her critics...

• She’s the ultimate DC insider
• A Clinton presidency represents four more years of the Obama Administration
• She believes in heavy-handed regulatory oversight
• She’s untrustworthy; her grasp of the truth is convenient
• She carries unresolved issues, e.g. Benghazi, personal email server, pay-to-play State Department access, the Clinton Foundation
• She’s squandered the first-woman-president advantage; she doesn’t generate excitement among the Obama base, i.e. minorities, women, Millennials, etc.
OKAY THEN- WHICH PARTY WERE YOU LEAST DISILLUSIONED BY?
THANK YOU!
“Vote as if your ballot determines nothing whatsoever—except the shape of your own character. Vote as if the public consequences of your action weigh nothing next to the private consequences. The country will go whither it will go, when all the votes are counted. What should matter the most to you is whither you will go, on and after this November’s election day.”

-- Matthew J. Franck, PhD, Professor Emeritus, Political Science, Radford University, Radford, Virginia,