Election Chartbook

A compendium of slides
on the 2016 election

National Journal LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

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*Submit suggestions and feedback to* cyan@nationaljournal.com

Chapter 1

Reference Slides and Election Indicators

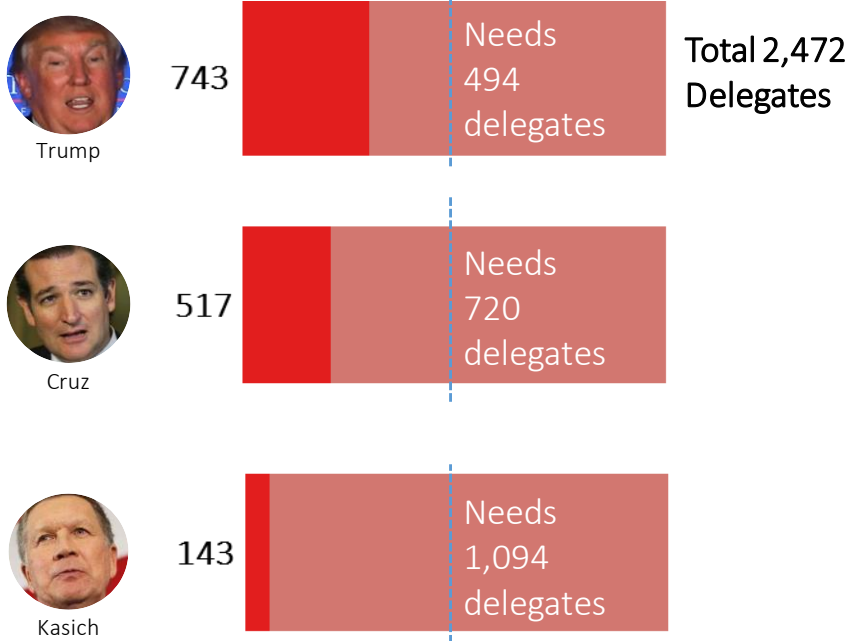# Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump Maintain Lead in Delegate Counts

Democratic Delegate Count

■ Allocated Delegates

2,383 Delegates Needed to Win the Democratic Nomination
1,959 Delegates Remaining

Clinton

1749

Needs 635 delegates

Total 4,763 Delegates

Sanders

1061

Needs 1,325 delegates
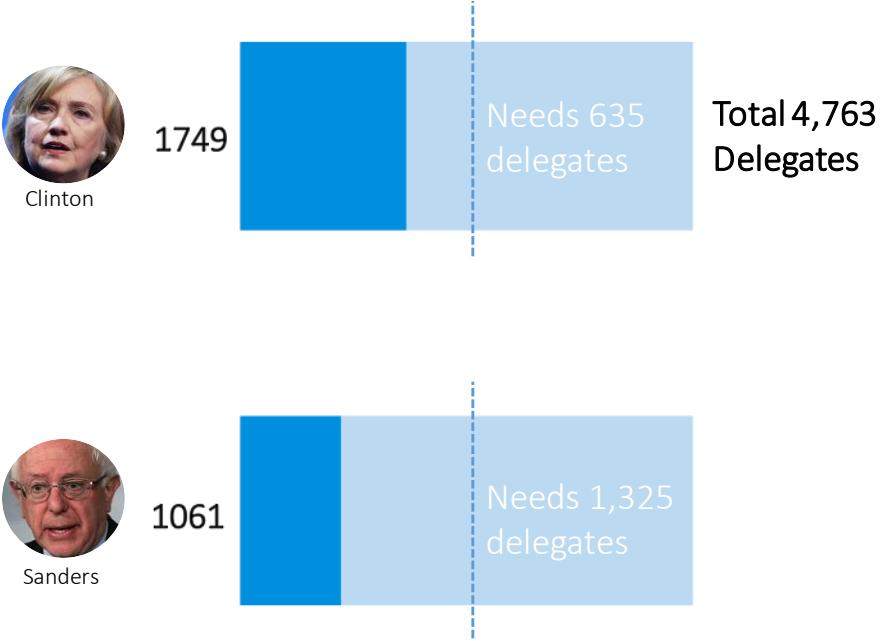
Republican Delegate Count

■ Allocated Delegates

1,237 Delegates Needed to Win the Republican Nomination
882 Delegates Remaining

Trump

743

Needs 494 delegates

Total 2,472 Delegates

Cruz

517

Needs 720 delegates

Kasich

143

Needs 1,094 delegates

Delegate count as of April 8, 2016

Sources: Associated Press, Delegate Tracker; Politico, Delegate Tracker.

5 Republicans and Democrats are Still in the Presidential Race

Democrat and Republican Candidates for the 2016 Presidential Election

Clinton

Cruz

Kasich

Sanders

Trump

Notes
- Scott Walker and Rick Perry both dropped out of the Republican race in September
- Jim Webb and Lincoln Chafee dropped out of the Democratic race in October; Webb may run as an independent
- Vice President Joe Biden decided not to run on October 21st
- Lawrence Lessig dropped out of the Democratic race on November 2nd
- Bobby Jindal dropped out of the Republican race on November 17th
- Lindsey Graham dropped out of the Republican race on December 21st
- George Pataki dropped out of the Republican race on December 29th
- Martin O'Malley and Mike Huckabee dropped out after the Iowa Caucus on February 1st
- Rand Paul and Rick Santorum dropped out of the Republican race on February 3rd
- Carly Fiorina and Chris Christie dropped out of the race on February 10th
- Jim Gilmore dropped out of the race on February 14th
- Jeb Bush dropped out of the Republican race on February 20th, following the South Carolina GOP primary
- Ben Carson dropped out of the Republican race on March 4th
- Marco Rubio dropped out of the race after losing the Florida primary to Donald Trump on March 15th

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Alicia Parlapiano, and Karen Yourish, "Who is Running for President (and Who's Not)?" New York Times, March 16, 2016.

2016 Election Calendar

- 🟦 Election Date
- 🟨 Debate
- 🟪 FEC Deadline
- 🟩 Convention

March · **April** · **May** · **June** · **July** · **August** · **September** · **October** · **November** · **December**

Mar. 1: Caucuses (AK GOP, CO Dem., CO GOP, MN, ND GOP, WY GOP)
  Primaries (AL, AR, GA, MA, OK, TN, TX, VT, VA)
Mar. 3: Fox News GOP Primary Debate
Mar. 5: LA Primary, GOP Caucuses (KY, ME, KS), Dem. Caucuses (KS, NE)
Mar. 6: ME Dem. Caucus, PR GOP Primary, Democratic Primary Debate
Mar. 8: Primaries (MI, MS, ID Rep.), HI GOP Caucus
Mar. 9: Univision/The Washington Post Democratic Primary Debate
Mar. 10: CNN/Salem Radio GOP Primary Debate
Mar. 15: Primaries (IL, MO, FL, NC, OH), MP GOP caucus
Mar. 22: AZ Primary, Caucuses (ID Dem., UT Dem., UT Rep.)
Mar. 26: Dem. Caucuses (AK, HI, WA)

Apr. 5: WI Primary
Apr. 9: WY Dem. Caucus
Apr. 14: CNN/NY1 Democratic Primary Debate ***RECENTLY ADDED***
Apr. 15: FEC Filing Deadline
Apr. 19: NY Primary
Apr. 26: Primaries (CT, DE, PA, MD, RI)

May 3: IN Primary
May 10: Primaries (NE GOP, WV)
May 17: Primaries (KY Dem., OR)
May 24: WA GOP Primary

June 7: Primaries (CA, MT, NJ, NM, SD), ND Dem. Caucus
June 14: DC Dem. Primary
June 28: UT Primary

July 15: FEC Filing Deadline
July 18-21: Republican Nat'l Convention (Cleveland, OH)
July 25-28: Democratic Nat'l Convention (Philadelphia, PA)

Sept. 26: First Presidential Debate

Oct. 4: Vice Presidential Debate
Oct. 9: Second Presidential Debate
Oct. 15: FEC Filing Deadline
Oct. 19: Third Presidential Debate

Nov. 8: Election day

Sources: Washington Post, "2016 Primary Debate Schedules," March 16, 2015; FrontloadingHQ, "The 2016 Presidential Primary Calendar," 2016.

2016 Presidential Primary Debate Calendar

GOP Debates

Date	Sponsors	Location
Aug 6, 2015	Fox News, Facebook	Cleveland, OH
Sep 16, 2015	CNN, Salem Media Group	Simi Valley, CA
Oct 28, 2015	CNBC	Boulder, CO
Nov 10, 2015	Fox Business Network, WSJ	Milwaukee, WI
Dec 15, 2015	CNN, Salem Media Group	Las Vegas, NV
Jan 14, 2016	Fox Business Network	North Charleston, SC
Jan 28, 2016	Fox News	Des Moines, IA
Feb 6, 2016	ABC, IJReview	Manchester, NH
Feb 13, 2016	CBS News	Greenville, SC
Feb 25, 2016	CNN, Telemundo	Houston, TX
Mar 3, 2016	Fox News	Detroit, MI
Mar 10, 2016	CNN, Salem Media Group	Miami, FL
Mar 21, 2016	Fox News (*Cancelled*)	Salt Lake City, UT

Democratic Debates

Date	Sponsors	Location
Oct 13, 2015	CNN, Nevada Democratic Party	Las Vegas, NV
Nov 14, 2015	CBS News, KCCI, the Des Moines Register	Des Moines, IA
Dec 19, 2015	ABC News, WMUR	Manchester, NH
Jan 17, 2016	NBC, Congressional Black Caucus Institute	Charleston, SC
Feb 4, 2016	MSNBC	Durham, NC
Feb 11, 2016	PBS	Milwaukee, WI
Mar 6, 2016	CNN	Flint, MI
Mar 9, 2016	Univision, Washington Post	Miami, FL
Apr 14, 2016	CNN	Brooklyn, NY
May 2016	TBD	TBD

Commission on Presidential Debates Decides on Debate Sites for General Election

■ Presidential Debate   ■ Vice Presidential Debate

September 2016

				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

October 2016

						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

First Presidential Debate:
September 26, 2016
Wright State University
Dayton, Ohio

Vice Presidential Debate:
October 4, 2016
Longwood University
Farmville, Virginia

Second Presidential Debate:
October 9, 2016
Washington University in St. Louis
St. Louis, Missouri

Third Presidential Debate:
October 19, 2016
University of Nevada
Las Vegas, Nevada

Source: Commission on Presidential Debates, "Commission on Presidential Debates Announces Sites and Dates for 2016 General Election Debates," September 23, 2015.
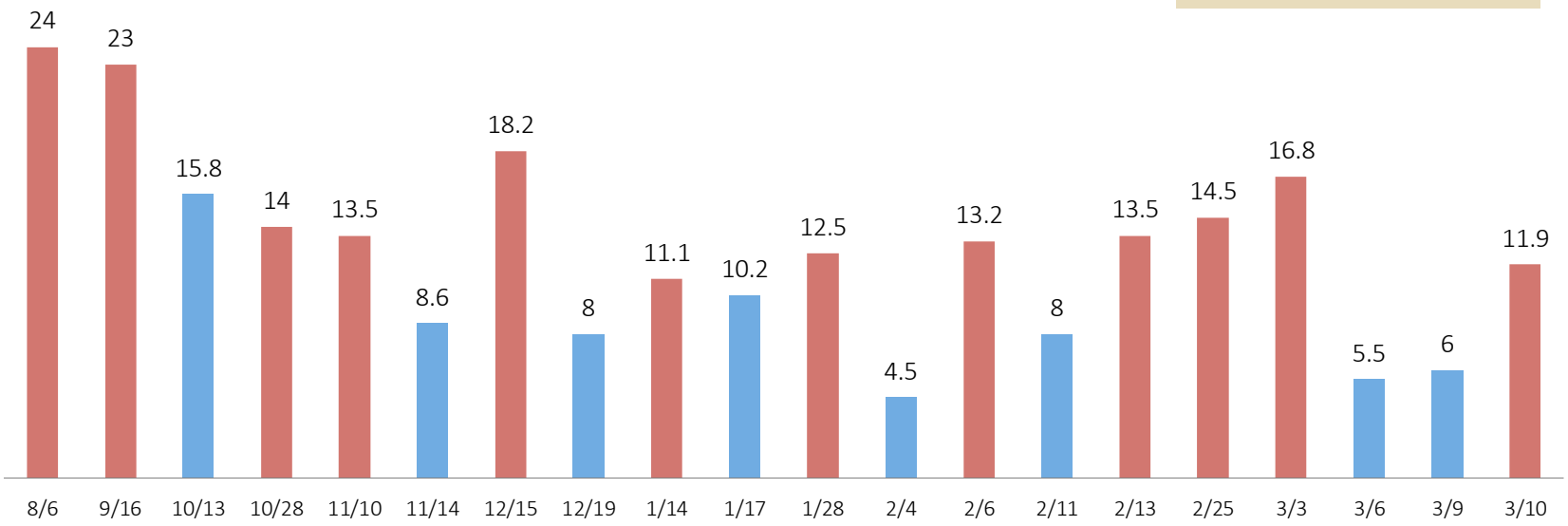
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Republican Debates Tend to Be More Popular Than Democratic Debates

Viewership of Presidential Primary Debates
Millions of Viewers

Legend: ■ Republican primary debate ■ Democratic primary debate

Analysis
- The average viewership of GOP debates is 15.5 million, and 8.3 million for Democratic debates

Data values by date:
- 8/6: 24
- 9/16: 23
- 10/13: 15.8
- 10/28: 14
- 11/10: 13.5
- 11/14: 8.6
- 12/15: 18.2
- 12/19: 8
- 1/14: 11.1
- 1/17: 10.2
- 1/28: 12.5
- 2/4: 4.5
- 2/6: 13.2
- 2/11: 8
- 2/13: 13.5
- 2/25: 14.5
- 3/3: 16.8
- 3/6: 5.5
- 3/9: 6
- 3/10: 11.9

Source: National Journal Research 2016.

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35 States and Territories Hold Primary Contests in March But Schedule Stretches Through June

Presidential Primary Calendar Map, by State

| February | March | April | May | June |

*States and territories with two colors hold their party contests in different months.

Analysis
- The 2016 race is expected to remain close deep into the primaries for both parties as later contentious states may play pivotal roles in delegate counts.

American Samoa

Democrats Abroad

District of Columbia

Guam

N. Mariana Islands

Puerto Rico

Virgin Islands
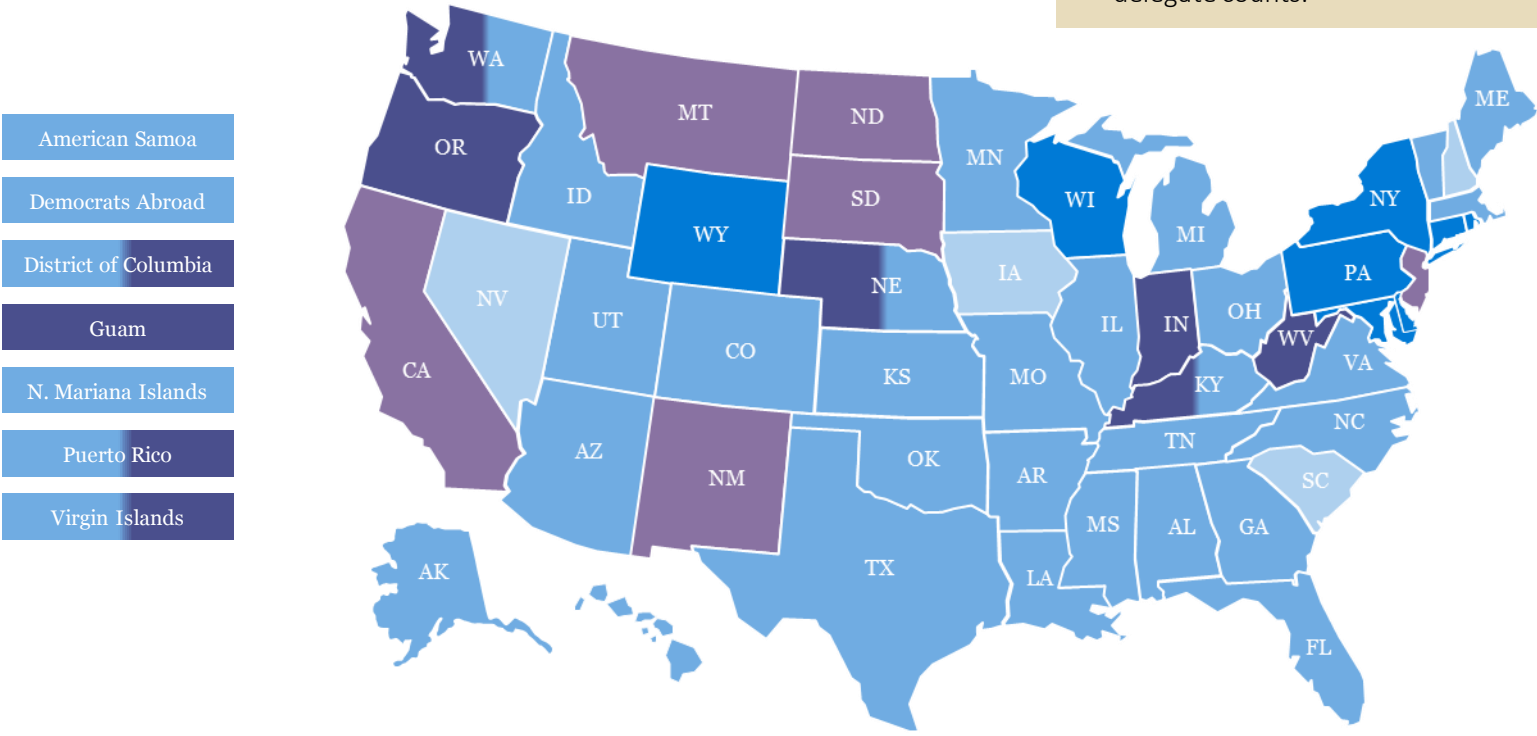
Source: Wilson Andrews, Kitty Bennett and Alicia Parlapiano, "2016 Primary Results and Calendar," New York Times, February 10, 2016.

Presidential Primaries Move Northeast and West Through April

Primary Calendar, March-April

Date	State	Dem Delegates	GOP Delegates
March 22	Arizona	85	58*
	Idaho (Democratic Caucus)	27	-
	Utah	37	40
March 26	Alaska (Democratic Caucus)	20	-
	Hawaii (Democratic Caucus)	34	-
	Washington State (Democratic Caucus)	118	-
April 5	Wisconsin	96	42†
April 9	Wyoming (Democratic Caucus)	18	-
April 19	New York	291	95
April 26	Connecticut	70	28
	Delaware	31	16*
	Maryland	118	38†
	Pennsylvania	210	71†
	Rhode Island	33	19

*Winner-take-all
†Winner-take-most
Democratic Delegates are allocated proportionally unless they are unpledged to a candidate.

Source: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers, and Tom Giratikanon, "2016 Delegate Count and Primary Results," The New York Times, March 17, 2016.

Primaries Enter Home Stretch, Finishes With Big Delegate Prizes in California and New Jersey

Primary Calendar, May-June

Date	State	Dem Delegates	GOP Delegates
May 3	Indiana	92	57†
May 7	Guam (Democratic Caucus)	12	-
May 10	Nebraska (Republican Primary)	-	36*
	West Virginia	37	34
May 17	Kentucky (Democratic Primary)	61	-
	Oregon	74	28
May 24	Washington State (Republican Primary)	-	44
June 4	Virgin Islands (Democratic Caucus)	12	-
June 5	Puerto Rico (Democratic Caucus)	67	-
June 7	California	546	172†
	Montana	27	27*
	New Jersey	142	51*
	New Mexico	43	24
	North Dakota (Democratic Caucus)	23	-
	South Dakota	25	29*
June 14	District of Columbia (Democratic Primary)	45	-

*Winner-take-all
†Winner-take-most
Democratic Delegates are allocated proportionally unless they are unpledged to a candidate.

Source: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers, and Tom Giratikanon, "2016 Delegate Count and Primary Results," The New York Times, March 17, 2016.

Hillary Clinton Holds a Commanding Lead with Superdelegates

Democratic Delegates

4,764 Total Delegates

2,382 needed to win

712 Superdelegates
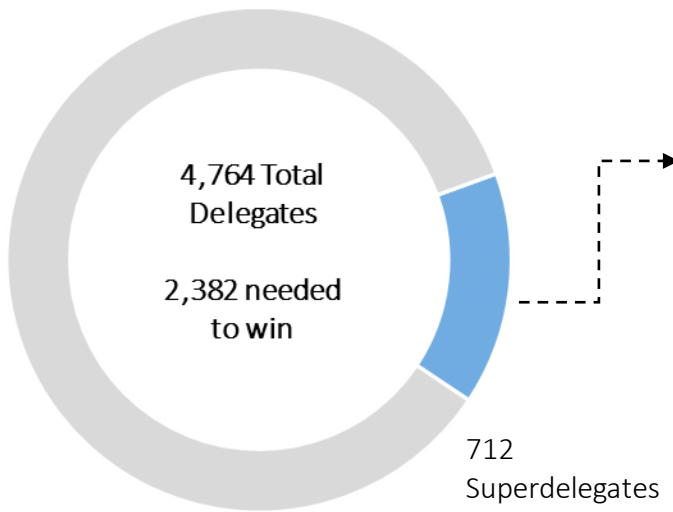
Superdelegates who:

■ Support Clinton (469)

■ Support Sanders (31)
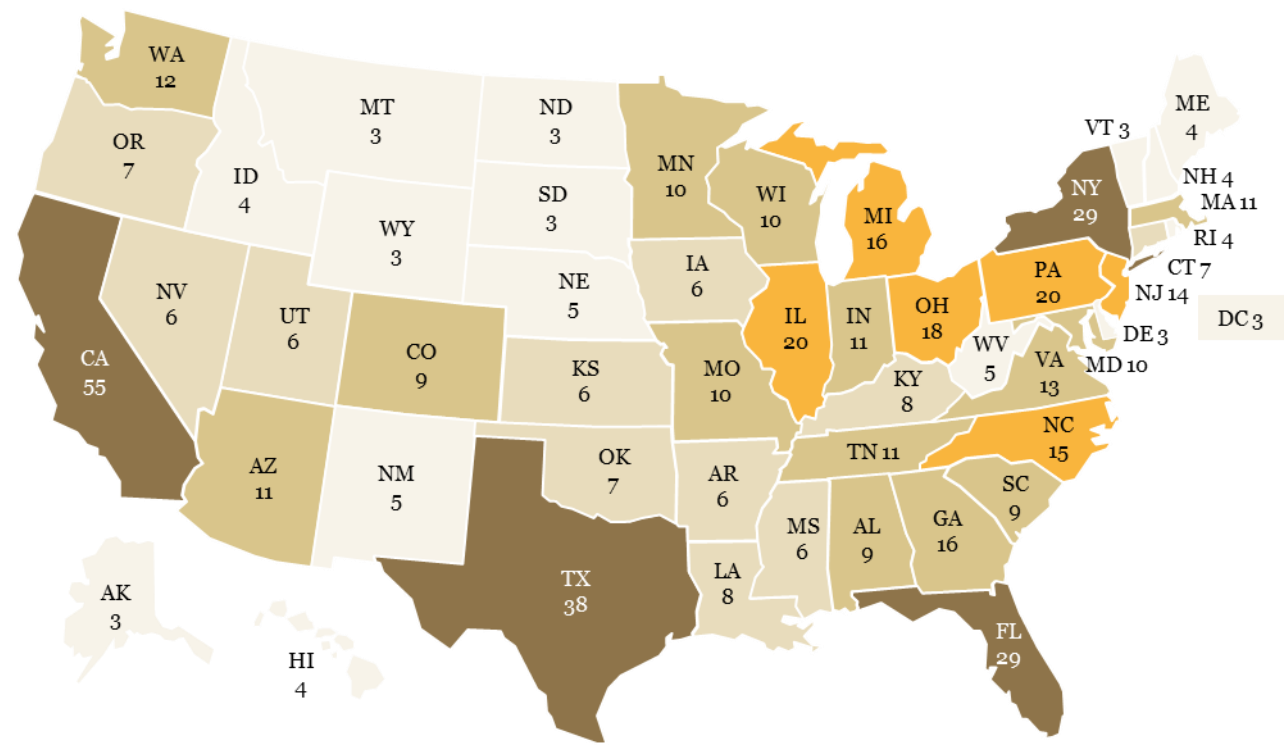
■ Remain uncommitted/Did not Respond (212)
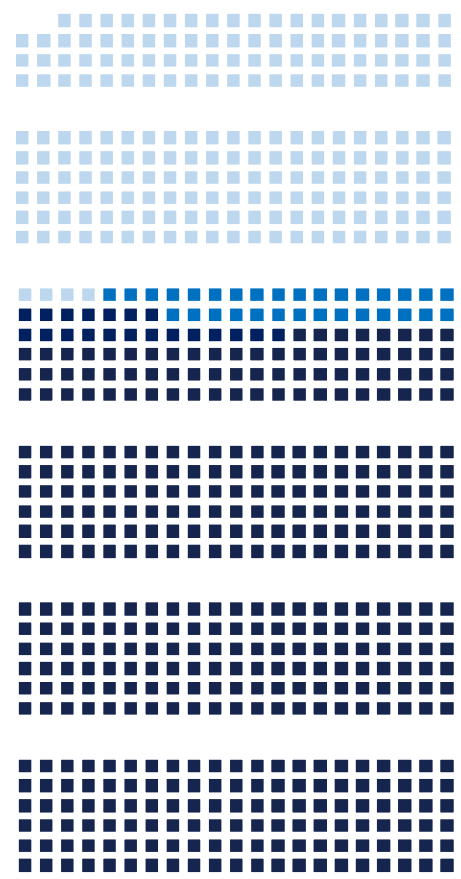
- Superdelegates are Democratic convention delegates, most often elected officials or party officials, can support any candidate regardless of the outcome of the states' primaries and caucuses

- Superdelegates constitute about 30% of the delegates necessary to win the Democratic nomination

- About 66% of the superdelegates currently support Clinton

- In 2008, Hillary Clinton also maintained a large superdelegate lead prior to Super Tuesday; despite this advantage, she lost the Democratic nomination to Barack Obama

Source: Bloomberg Politics, "Who's Winning the Presidential Delegate Count?" April 8, 2016.

California, Texas, Florida and New York Hold Large Electoral Power

Number of Electoral Votes Per State

◻ 3-5 ◻ 6-8 ◻ 9-13 ◻ 14-25 ◼ 26-55

WA 12 · OR 7 · MT 3 · ND 3 · ID 4 · WY 3 · SD 3 · NV 6 · UT 6 · CO 9 · NE 5 · KS 6 · MN 10 · WI 10 · MI 16 · IA 6 · IL 20 · IN 11 · OH 18 · CA 55 · AZ 11 · NM 5 · OK 7 · MO 10 · AR 6 · KY 8 · WV 5 · VA 13 · NC 15 · TN 11 · SC 9 · GA 16 · MS 6 · AL 9 · LA 8 · TX 38 · FL 29 · NY 29 · PA 20 · NJ 14 · DE 3 · MD 10 · DC 3 · VT 3 · ME 4 · NH 4 · MA 11 · RI 4 · CT 7 · AK 3 · HI 4

Analysis
- The **Electoral College** consists of 538 electors, and a majority of 270 electoral votes is needed to elect a President.
- Each state's electors is determined by the number of Representatives and an additional two for the Senators.
- Except for Maine and Nebraska, states have a **"winner-take-all" system** which allots all the electoral votes in the state to the winning candidate

Source: U.S. Electoral College, "Distribution of Electoral Votes," National Archives, December 10, 2010; National Journal Research, 2015.

Based on Past Presidential Elections, Democrats May Hold a Slight Advantage Heading into 2016 General Election

States That Voted Consistently in the Past Six Presidential Elections

■ Voted Republican every election since 1992   ■ Voted Democratic every election since 1992
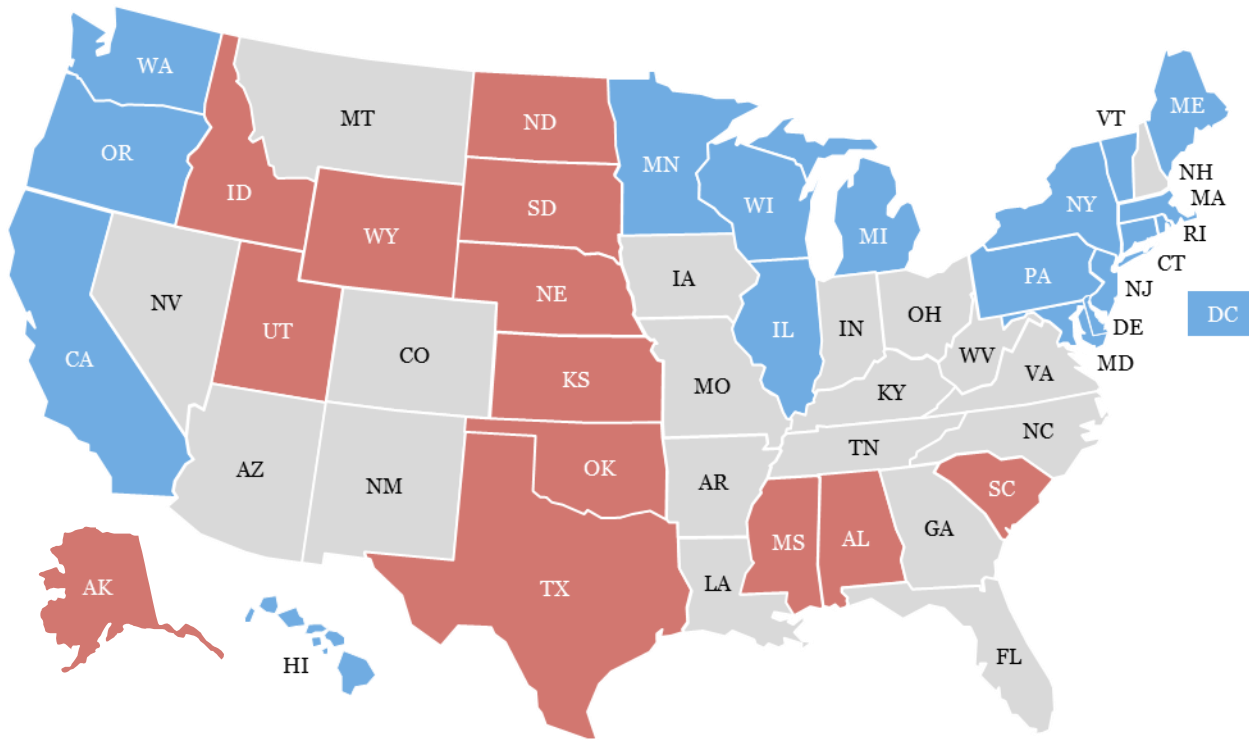
Share of Electoral Votes Historically Won by Democrats and Republicans since 1992

| 242 | 194 | 102 |

270 needed to win presidential election

Analysis

- Democrats won 18 states plus the District of Columbia six times in a row, which in 2016 would earn **242 electoral votes**, about 90 percent of the 270 electoral votes needed to win.

- In contrast, Republicans consistently carried 13 states over the last six elections, which in 2016 would earn the party **102 electoral votes**, 38 percent of the 270 needed to win.

- For more information on the political climate of the presidential primary, read Charlie Cook's analysis.

Sources: Archives.gov, "US Electoral College"; National Journal, Charlie Cook, "Is Clinton's Tide Shifting?"; Politifact.com, "18 States Have Voted Democratic in Six Consecutive Elections with 242 Electoral Votes, George Will Says"

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34 States Allow A Form of In-Person Early Voting

In-Person Early Voting Laws, by State

■ Early In-Person Voting   ■ No Early In-Person Voting
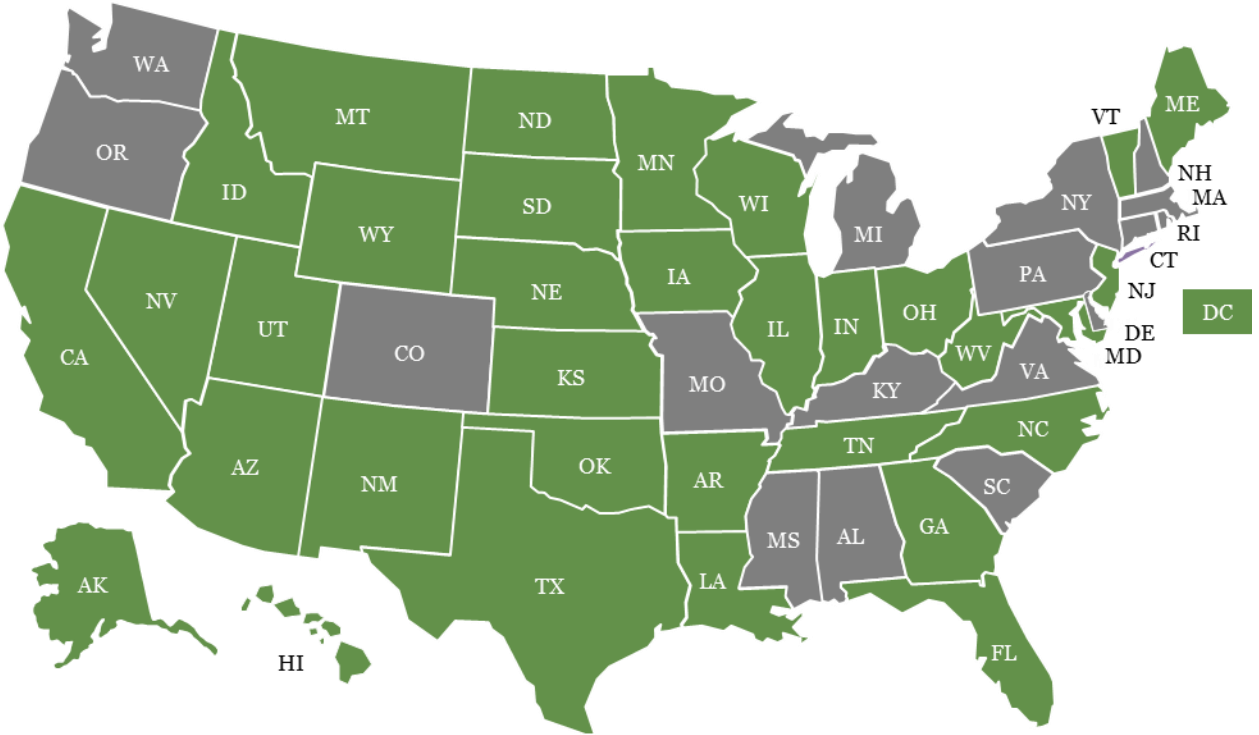
Analysis
- 13 highlighted states do not legally have early voting but have **"In-person absentee" voting**, allowing a voter to apply in person for an absentee ballot, without an excuse, and cast that ballot in one trip to an election official's office.

Sources: National Conference of State Legislatures, "Absentee and Early Voting," January 5, 2016; U.S. Vote Foundation, "State Election Dates and Deadlines," Accessed February 12, 2016

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The Democratic Advantage:
A Diversifying Electorate

Percentage of Voters in Past Presidential Elections by Race

■ Whites   ■ Blacks   ■ Hispanics   ■ Asians

81%

74%

12%

13%

5%

8%

2%

3%

2000   2004   2008   2012
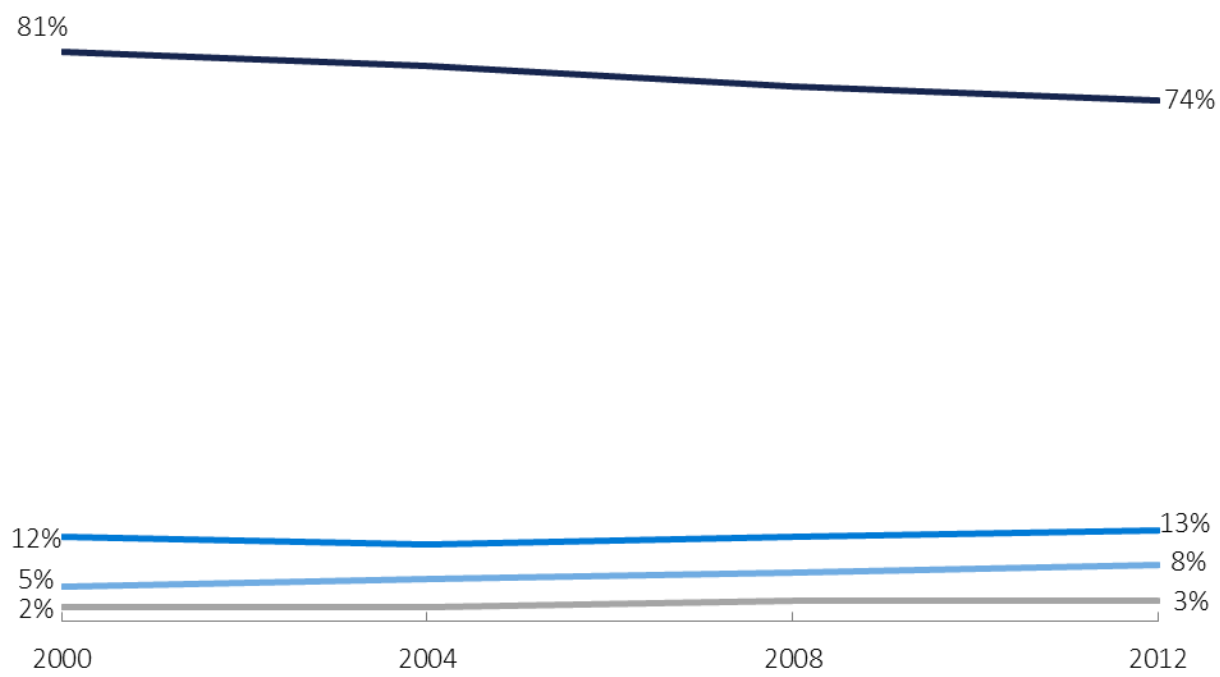
Analysis
• Democrats' hopes of holding the White House rest on remobilizing the Obama coalition of millennials, single women, and **nonwhite voters**
• Minorities are less likely to vote GOP; the trend of a **diversifying electorate** in recent elections is an advantage for Democrats

Contributions from Josh Krashaaur

Sources: Thom File, "The Diversifying Electorate – Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012 (and Other Recent Elections)," Census.gov, May 2013

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The GOP Advantage:
Desire for Change

Percentage Responding to Question:

"All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel things are on the wrong track?"

■ Wrong Direction   ■ Right Direction

Wrong Direction: 70%

Right Direction: 20%

'09   '10   '11   '12   '13   '14   '15
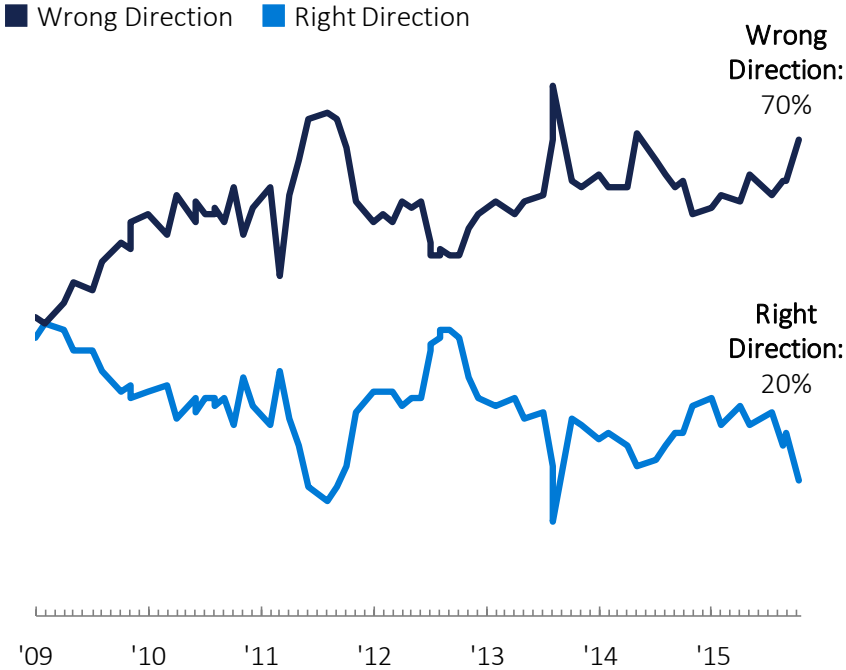
Obama's Presidential Job Approval (Gallup Poll)

■ Disapprove   ■ Approve

Disapprove: 50%

Approve: 46%

'11   '12   '13   '14   '15   '16
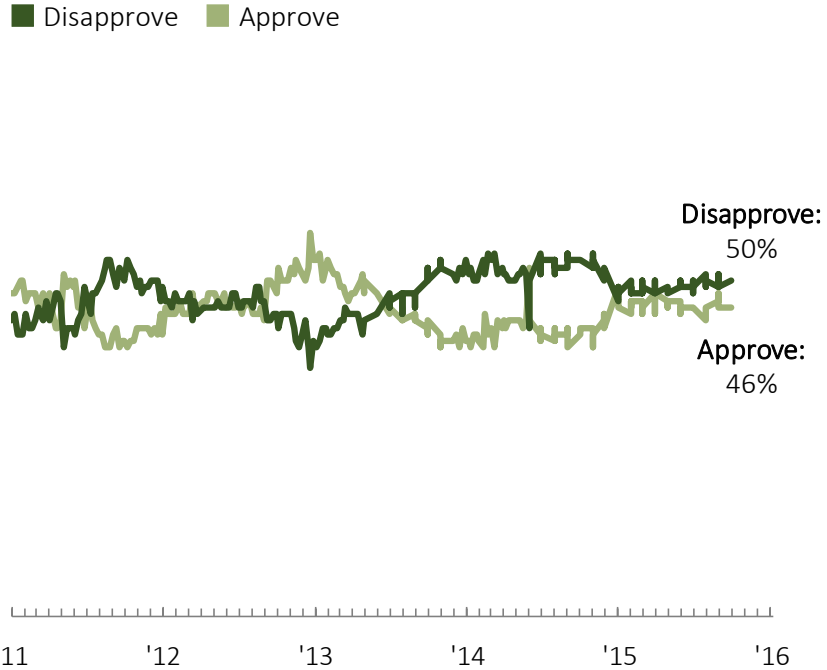
Sources: Gallup.com, Jan 4-10, 2016; NBC/WSJ Poll, Dec 6-9, 2015.

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Americans 45 and Over are More Likely to Vote Than Younger Americans

Reported Voting Rates in Presidential Election Years, by Age
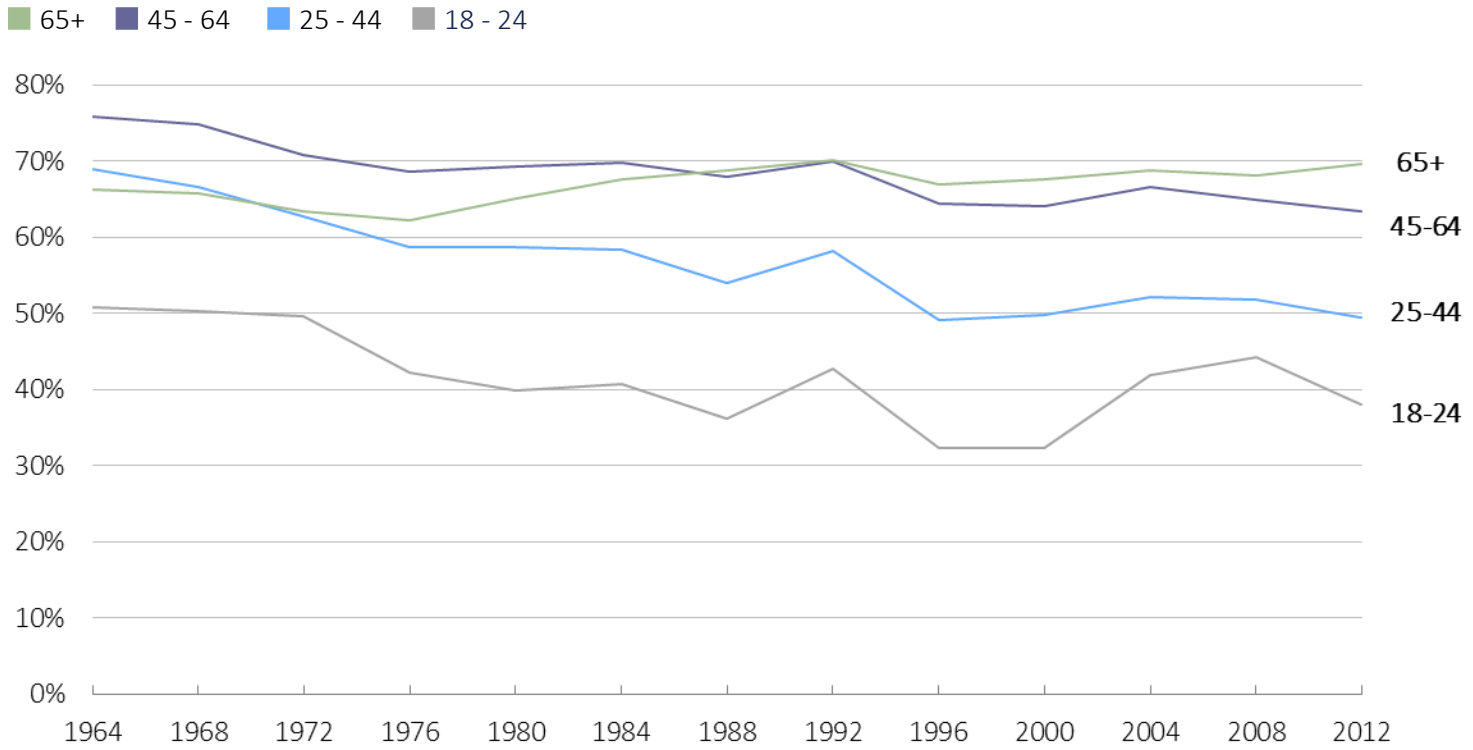
In Recent Years, Females Hold a Stronger Presence Than Males at the Polls

Reported Voting Rates in Presidential Election Years, by Gender
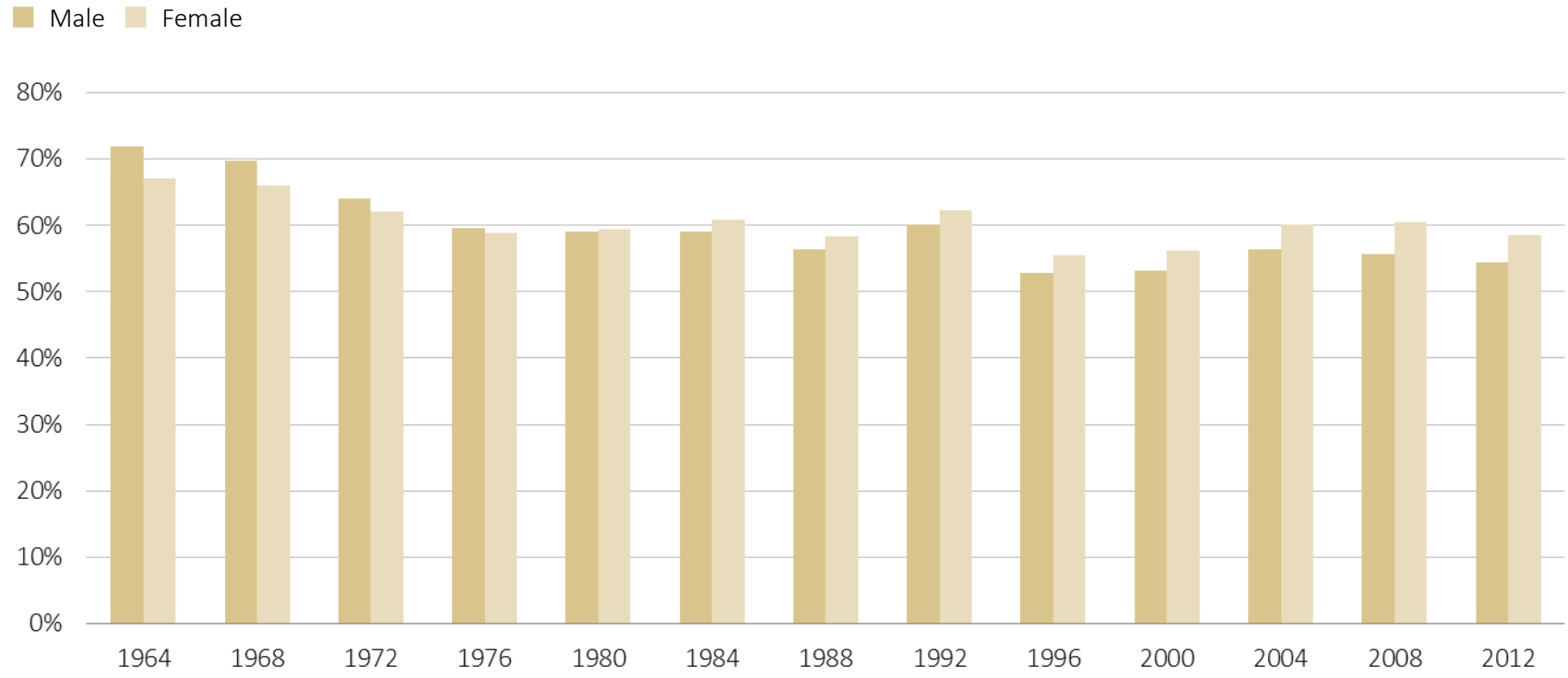
Identification with U.S. Political Parties Nears All-Time Low

U.S. Party Identification
Yearly averages, all adults

■ Republican   ■ Independent   ■ Democratic
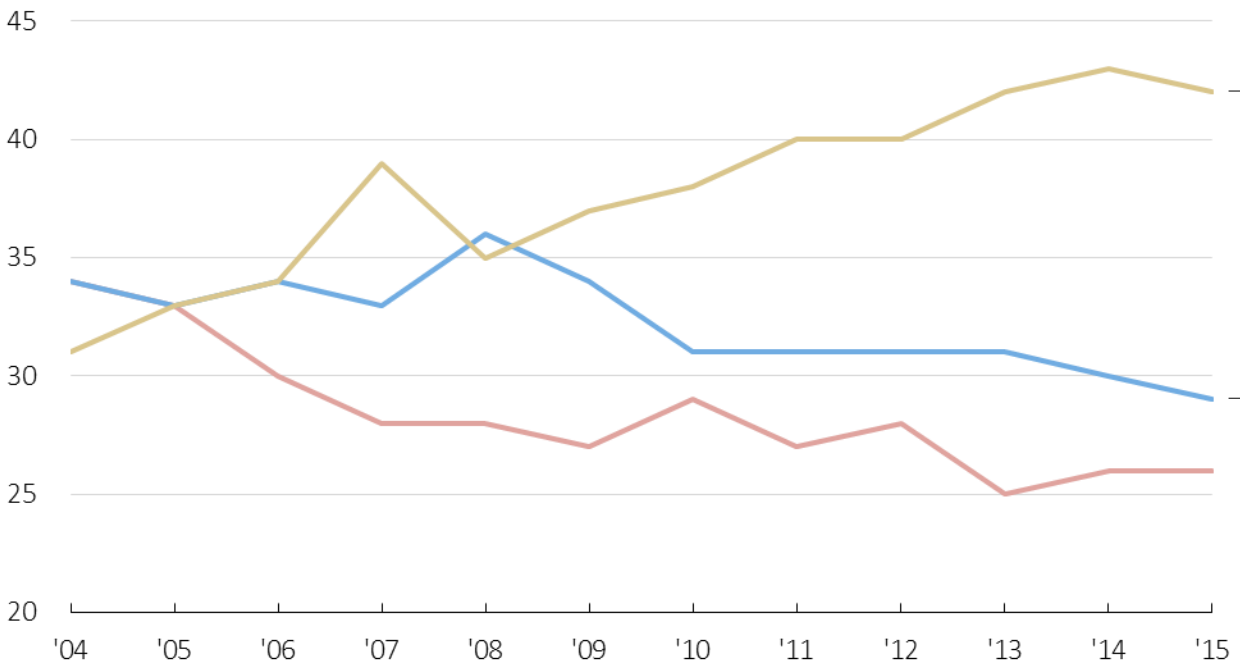
When asked which party they lean towards, **independents** split evenly between Democrats (16%) and Republicans (16%)

The number of adults identifying as **Democrats** (29%) is at an all-time historical low since Gallup began asking this question in 1958

Source: Gallup, "Democratic, Republican Identification Near Historical Lows," January 11, 2016.

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Government is Seen As Biggest Problem in US Second Year in a Row

Percentage of Respondents on Most Important Problem Facing the US

Annual average percentage across monthly measures for each year

■ Government ■ Economy ■ Unemployment ■ Iraq/ISIS ■ Immigration

[] Government
13% Economy
8% Unemployment, Immigration
3% Iraq/ISIS
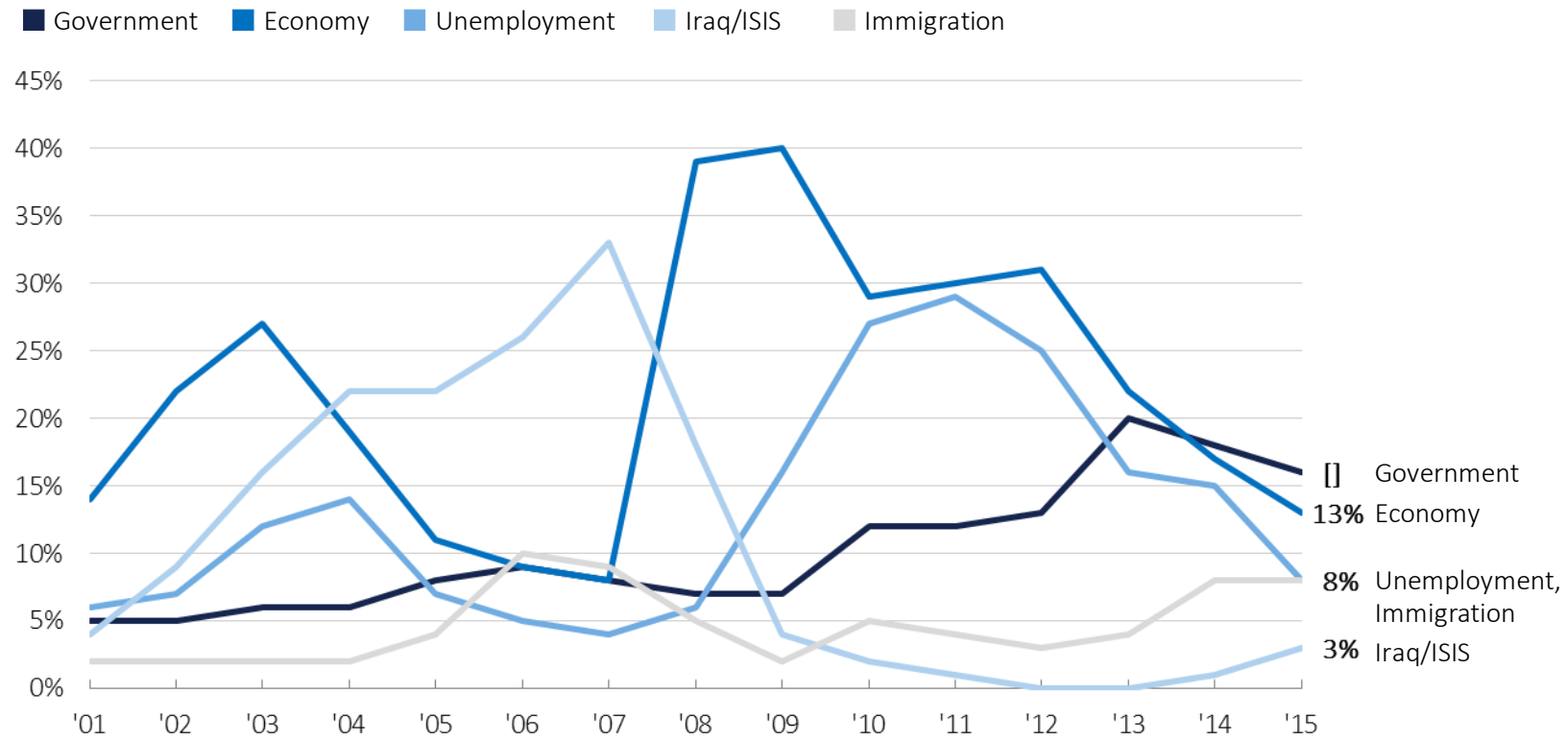
Sources: Lydia Saad, "Government Named Top U.S. Problem for Second Straight Year," Gallup, January 4, 2016

Chapter 2

Democratic Primary and Caucus Results

Clinton Slows Commanding Lead in Late March, As Sanders Increases Momentum

Date	State	Clinton	Sanders	Date	State	Clinton	Sanders	Date	State	Clinton	Sanders
Feb. 1	IA	23	21	Mar. 5	KS	9	24	Apr. 26	MD		
Feb. 9	NH	9	15	Mar. 6	ME	9	16	Apr. 26	CT		
Feb. 20	NV	20	15	Mar. 8	MS	32	4	Apr. 26	DE		
Feb. 27	SC	39	14	Mar. 8	MI	63	67	Apr. 26	PA		
Mar. 1	AL	44	9	Mar. 12	NM	4	2	Apr. 26	RI		
Mar. 1	AS	4	2	Mar. 15	FL	141	73	May 3	IN		
Mar. 1	AR	22	10	Mar. 15	IL	76	73	May 7	GU		
Mar. 1	CO	28	38	Mar. 15	MO	34	34	May 10	WV		
Mar. 1	Dem. Abroad	4	9	Mar. 15	NC	59	45	May 17	KY		
Mar. 1	GA	73	29	Mar. 15	OH	81	62	May 17	OR		
Mar. 1	MA	46	45	Mar. 22	AZ	42	33	Jun. 4	VI		
Mar. 1	MN	31	46	Mar. 22	ID	5	18	Jun. 5	PR		
Mar. 1	OK	17	21	Mar. 22	UT	6	27	Jun. 7	CA		
Mar. 1	TN	44	23	Mar. 26	AK	3	13	Jun. 7	MT		
Mar. 1	TX	147	75	Mar. 26	HI	8	17	Jun. 7	NJ		
Mar. 1	VT	0	16	Mar. 26	WA	9	25	Jun. 7	ND		
Mar. 1	VA	62	33	Apr. 5	WI	38	48	Jun. 7	NM		
Mar. 5	LA	37	14	Apr. 9	WY			Jun. 7	SD		
Mar. 5	NE	10	15	Apr. 19	NY			Jun. 14	DC		

Total (before superdelegates):
Clinton: 1279
Sanders: 1031

Sources: RealClearPolitics, "Democratic Delegate Count," Election 2016, April 8, 2016.

Hillary Clinton Sweeps South and Holds a Substantial Lead in the Democratic Presidential Primary Over Bernie Sanders

The Democratic Presidential Primary Race Thus Far

■ Hillary Clinton ■ Bernie Sanders

Total Democratic Delegates: 4,765
Delegates Needed to Clinch Nomination: 2,383
Remaining Delegates: 1,955
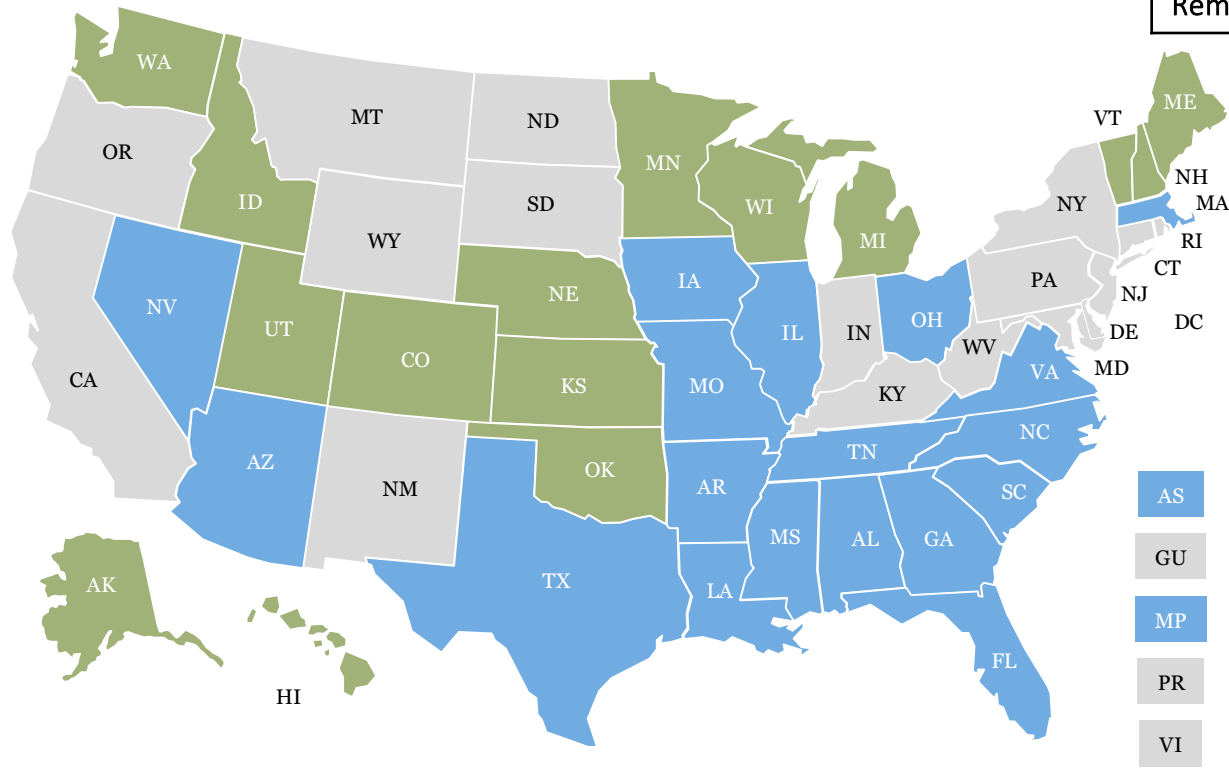
Clinton
- Currently has **1,749** delegates
- Needs to win approx. **32%** of remaining delegates to clinch nomination

Sanders
- Currently has **1,061** delegates
- Needs to win approx. **68%** of remaining delegates to clinch nomination

These numbers are accurate as of March 28, 2016, 11:00 A.M.

Sources: Wall Street Journal, "The Race So Far," March 14, 2016; AP, "2016 Delegate Tracker," March 16, 2016.

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Sanders Rallies Support at Iowa Universities But Clinton's Supporters Across the State Bring About a Tie

Iowa Democratic Presidential Caucuses Map, Results by County

Analysis

- Sanders pulled some of his biggest margins over Clinton in **Story and Johnson counties** the homes of Iowa's two largest public universities.

- **Six precincts resulted in a tie**, in these cases the winner was determined by a **coin toss** as defined in Democratic party election rules. **Clinton won all of these tosses**, however this did not affect the overall outcome.

Sioux City ●

Cedar Rapids ●

Des Moines ●

Davenport ●
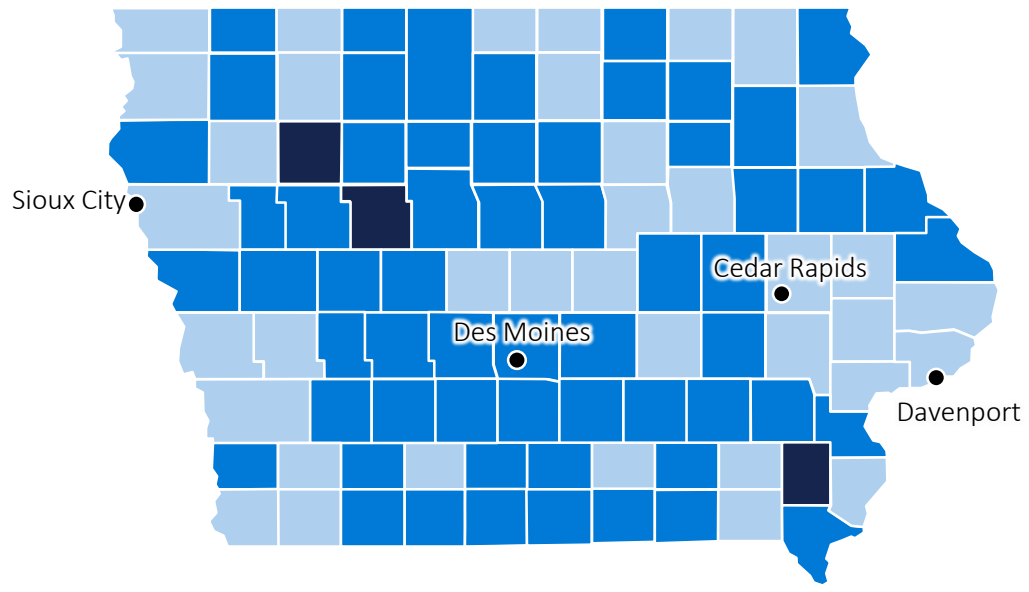
Legend	Candidate	Delegates Received	State Delegate Equivalent	Percentage Vote
	Hillary Clinton	26	701	49.9%
	Bernie Sanders	21	697	49.6%
	Martin O'Malley	0	8	0.6%
	Tie (Clinton-Sanders)			

Iowa Dems Split By Age, Income, Ideology in Virtual Tie

Gender
- Men
- Women

Hillary Clinton — 44% / 53%
Bernie Sanders — 50% / 42%
Martin O'Malley — 3% / 3%

Education
- College Degree
- No College Degree

Hillary Clinton — 51% / 48%
Bernie Sanders — 44% / 47%
Martin O'Malley — 3% / 3%

Age
- 17*-29
- 30-44
- 45-64
- 65+

Hillary Clinton — 14% / 37% / 58% / 69%
Bernie Sanders — 84% / 58% / 35% / 26%
Martin O'Malley — 2% / 2% / 4% / 3%

Income
- < 30k
- 30-49k
- 50-99k
- 100k+

Hillary Clinton — 41% / 47% / 50% / 55%
Bernie Sanders — 57% / 50% / 44% / 37%
Martin O'Malley — 1% / 2% / 4% / 4%

Ideology (Liberalism)
- Very
- Somewhat
- Moderate

Hillary Clinton — 39% / 50% / 58%
Bernie Sanders — 58% / 44% / 35%
Martin O'Malley — 1% / 3% / 4%

*17 year olds who will turn 18 before the general election are allowed to participate in the Iowa caucuses

Source: The New York Times, "Iowa Entrance Polls," February 2, 2016.

Iowa Photo Finish Between Clinton and Sanders Could Reflect Long Race Ahead; Young Voters Support Sanders

Key Takeaways from the 2016 Democratic Iowa Caucus

Democratic Result	Takeaways
Clinton ekes out win over Sanders in closest result in Iowa Democratic caucus history	• The close result shows that **Sanders represents legitimate competition** for Clinton, who held a 50 point lead over Sanders in Iowa polling six months ago • Clinton's ground game and data-driven organizational tactics in Iowa represented a strategic shift from her 2008 effort in the state • **Iowa was considered one of the best demographic states for Sanders** – mostly white, and extremely liberal • The same holds for **New Hampshire, where Sanders will likely be the favorite** to win the nation's first primary
Clinton captures 'traditional' and non-white votes	• **The majority of Caucus goers were over 50**; Clinton carried voters 65 and older by 43 points and Democrats who had caucused before by 24 points • **Clinton won non-white voters by 18 points** in preliminary entrance polls; however non-white voters constituted only one-tenth of the Democratic electorate in Iowa • If Clinton continues to garner a large lead among nonwhite voters, she will likely continue to be the favorite for the Democratic nomination
Sanders captures 'insurgent' vote	• Enthusiasm for Sanders stems largely from first-time caucus goers and young voters (17-29 year olds); **Young voters chose Sanders by a 6-1 ratio**

Sources: Amy Walter, "Making Sense of Iowa," Cook Political Report, Feb 2, 2016; James Hohmann, "The Daily 202," The Washington Post, Feb 2, 2016; Harry Enten, "Bernie Sanders Needs More Than The Tie He Got In Iowa," FiveThirtyEight, Feb 2, 2016; S.V. Date, "Clinton Got Obama's Iowa Tactics, Not His Voters," National Journal, Feb 2, 2016.

Sanders Sweeps New Hampshire
As Clinton Looks Forward to South Carolina

Iowa Democratic Presidential Caucuses Map, Results by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Bernie Sanders	144,391	60.0%	13
	Hillary Clinton	92,191	38.3%	9
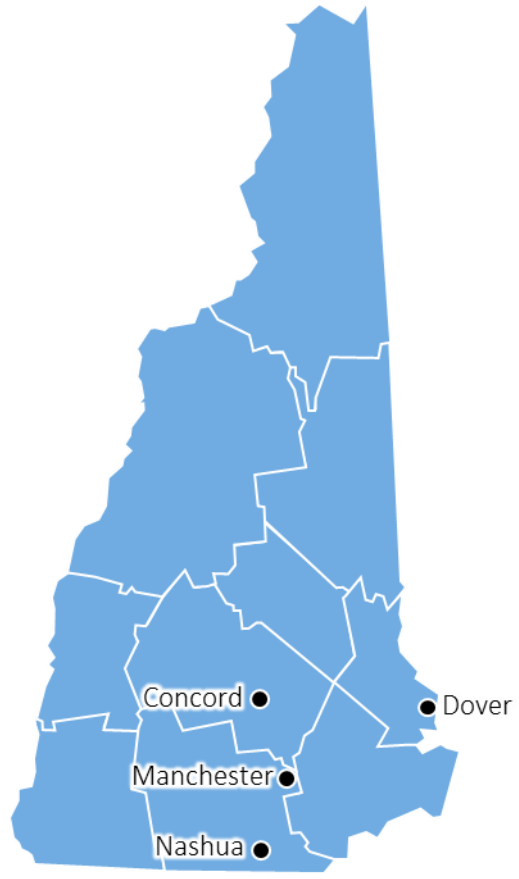
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton only **received the majority of votes in 4 precincts out of 300** across the state.
- Bernie Sanders swept the western and northern portions of the state while the **populous Merrimack Valley proved to be more contentious**.
- Sanders was able to capture almost 60% of the vote amongst precincts that favored Hillary Clinton over Barack Obama in the 2008 primary.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers and Tom Giratikanon, "New Hampshire Primary Results," New York Times, February 10, 2016; CNN "2016 Election Center – New Hampshire," February 10, 2016.

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Sanders Sweeps Nearly All Demographic Groups in NH
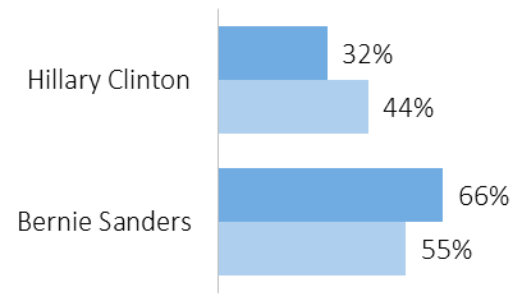
Gender

■ Men ■ Women

Hillary Clinton
- 32%
- 44%

Bernie Sanders
- 66%
- 55%

Education

■ College Degree ■ No College Degree

Hillary Clinton
- 43%
- 31%

Bernie Sanders
- 56%
- 67%

Age

■ 18-29 ■ 30-44 ■ 45-64 ■ 65+

Hillary Clinton
- 16%
- 32%
- 45%
- 55%

Bernie Sanders
- 83%
- 66%
- 53%
- 44%
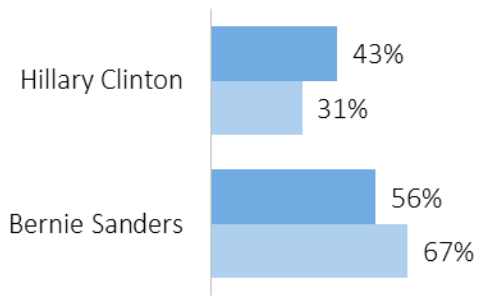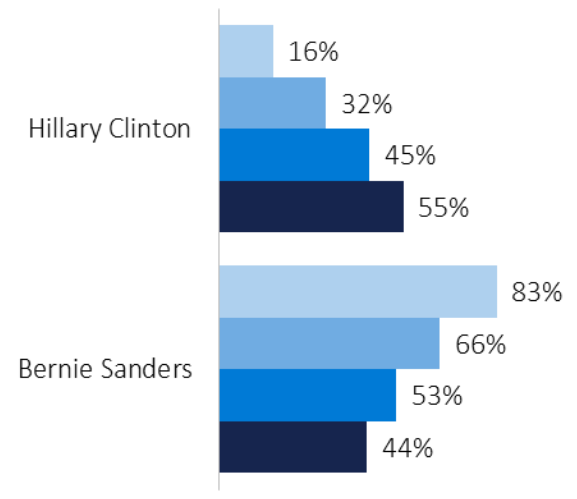
Income

■ < 30k ■ 30-49k ■ 50-99k ■ 100-199k ■ 200k+
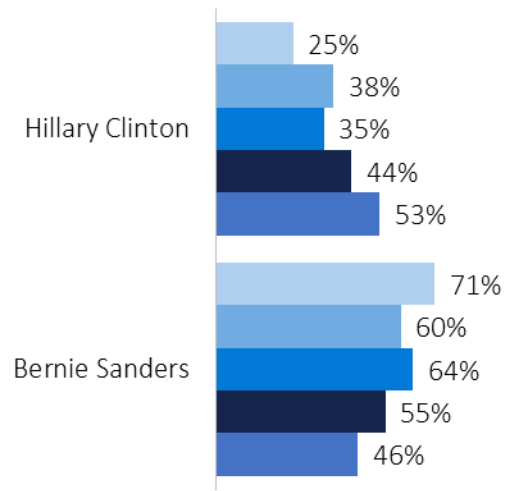
Hillary Clinton
- 25%
- 38%
- 35%
- 44%
- 53%

Bernie Sanders
- 71%
- 60%
- 64%
- 55%
- 46%

Ideology (Liberalism)

■ Very ■ Somewhat ■ Moderate

Hillary Clinton
- 33%
- 42%
- 39%

Bernie Sanders
- 66%
- 57%
- 58%
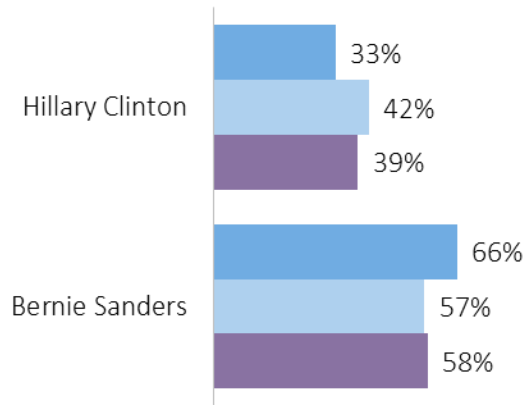
Source: The New York Times, "New Hampshire Exit Polls," February 9, 2016.

Clinton Wins Nevada, Sanders Wins Latino Vote

Nevada Democratic Caucus Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes*	Percentage	Delegates
■ (blue)	Hillary Clinton	6,316	52.6%	19
■ (light blue)	Bernie Sanders	5,678	47.3%	15
■ (dark navy)	Tie			

* Vote totals for the contest are county convention delegates won.
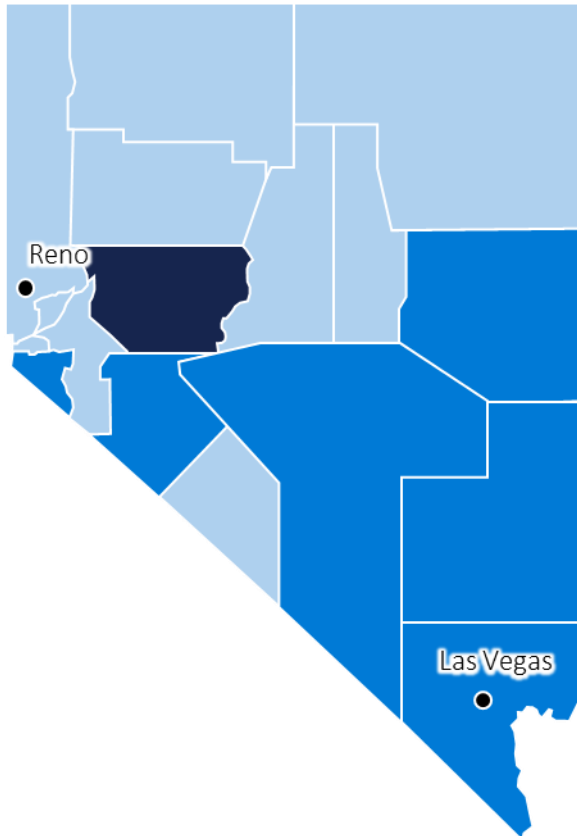
Analysis

- **Clinton made a big 9-point win in Clark County**: the most populous and most ethnically diverse county in the state.
- While he failed to capture the African American vote, **Sanders bested Clinton among Latino caucus-goers, taking an estimated 53%.** Latino caucus-goers were estimated to be 19% of the total caucus-goer population.
- Early estimates show that the caucuses received **a low turnout** with only 80,000 of the state's 470,000 registered democrats coming out to caucus.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers, and Tom Giratikanon, "South Carolina Primary Election Results," New York Times, February 20,2016; CNN, "Nevada Entrance Polls," February 20, 2016; Office of Nevada Secretary of State Barbara K. Cegavske, "January 2016 Voter Registration Statistics, Active Voters by County and Party," February 1, 2016.

Clinton Dominates in Alabama, Winning Every County

Alabama Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Hillary Clinton	309,680	77.8%	44
	Bernie Sanders	76,376	19.2%	9
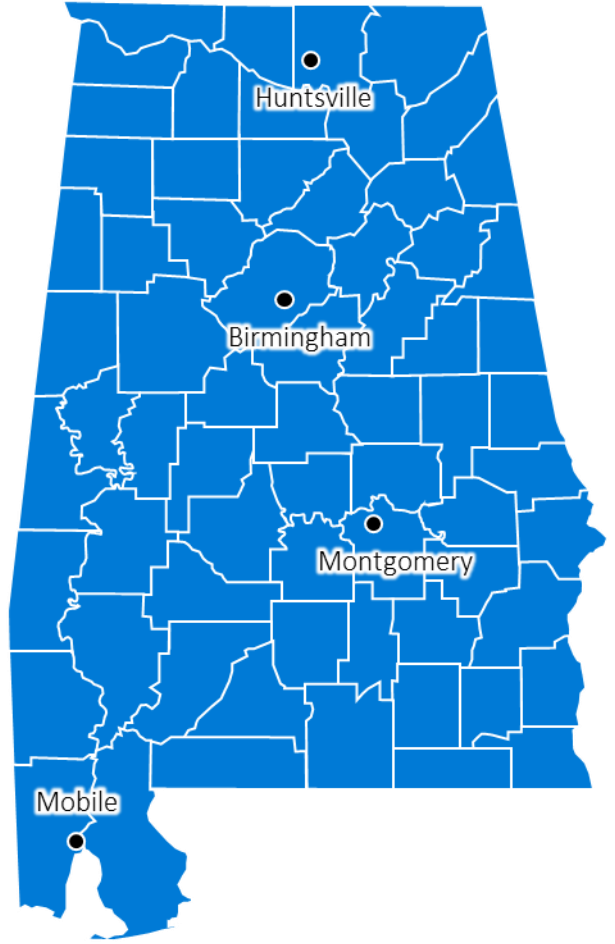
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton wins almost **80% of the vote in Alabama.**
- **Clinton's ties to African-American leaders** in the state proved to boost her performance in the state over Bernie Sanders.

Clinton Dominates Her Adopted Home State of Arkansas by Almost 60 Percentage Points

Arkansas Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Hillary Clinton	309,680	77.8%	44
	Bernie Sanders	76,376	19.2%	9
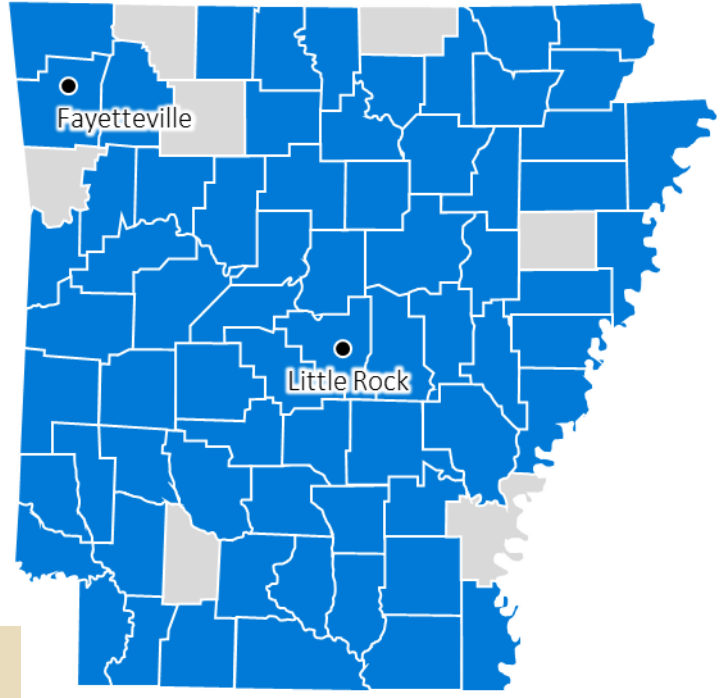
Analysis
- **Hillary Clinton wins Arkansas**, a state where she once served as the first lady.
- **Clinton campaigned in the state four times since the summer**, and Former President Bill Clinton frequently visits the state.
- **Bernie Sanders conceded the state to her early on** the in the election.

Fayetteville

Little Rock

■ Less than 100% of precincts reporting

Sources: The Washington Post, "Super Tuesday State Results," Campaign 2016, March 2, 2016; Lily Mihalik, Anthony Pesce, and Ben Welsh, "Live Results from the Arkansas Primary," Los Angeles Times, March 1, 2016; US Census Arkansas County Map , February 19, 2016; Amanda Terkel, "Hillary Clinton Cruises to Easy Win in Arkansas Primary," Huffington Post, March 1, 2016.

Sanders Beats Clinton in Contested Colorado Caucuses

Colorado Dem. Caucuses Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	71,711	58.9%	35
	Hillary Clinton	49,134	40.4%	24
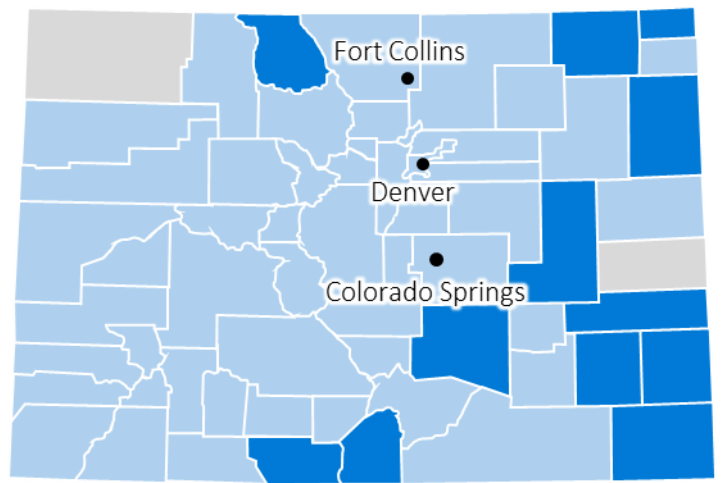
Analysis
- The turnout for this year's Colorado Democratic caucus **surpassed that of the 2008 caucus.**
- Sanders generated an **impressive turnout among young adults** especially in Denver and Boulder.
- While top Democratic donors and party elites widely supported Clinton in Colorado, the majority of caucus goers supported Sanders, highlighting a party divide.

Less than 100% of precincts reporting

Sources: Washington Post, "Super Tuesday state results," Kristen Wyatt, "Bernie Sanders' Colorado win underscores party divide," Associated Press, March 2, 2016.

Clinton Beat Sanders by 44 Percentage Points in Georgia

Georgia Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Hillary Clinton	536,250	71.2%	70
■	Bernie Sanders	213,317	28.3%	28
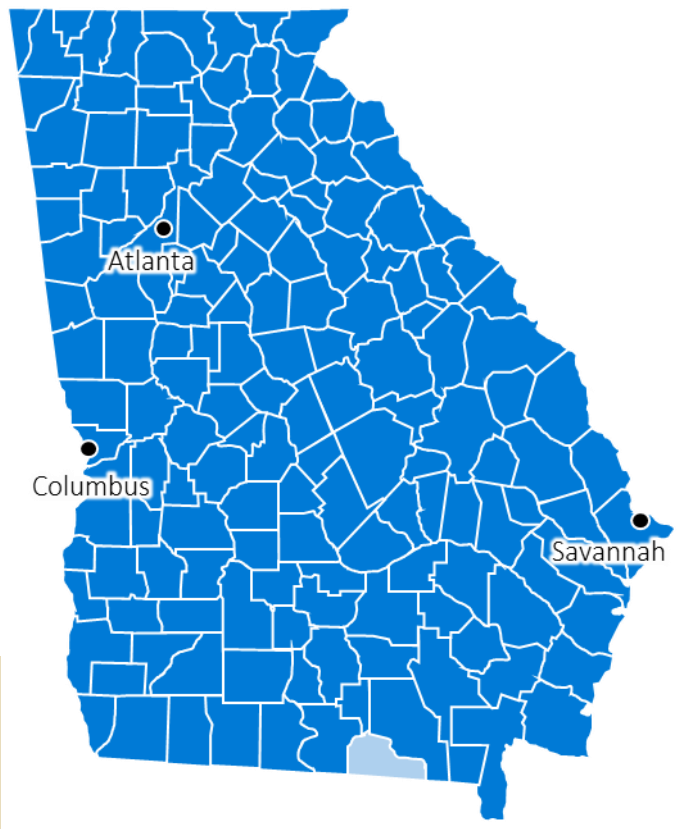
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton won in every county in Georgia except Echols County where Bernie Sanders won by 4 votes.
- Clinton's largest victory was in DeKalb County were she **won by 43 percentage points.**
- The Atlanta Journal-Constitution analyzed 18 years of primary elections in Georgia and found that **DeKalb county holds the best record for picking winners in Democratic races.**

Sanders Upsets Clinton in Oklahoma, Appealing to Many Young, Low-Income and White Voters

Oklahoma Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	174,054	51.9%	20
	Hillary Clinton	139,338	41.5%	16

Oklahoma City

Lawton
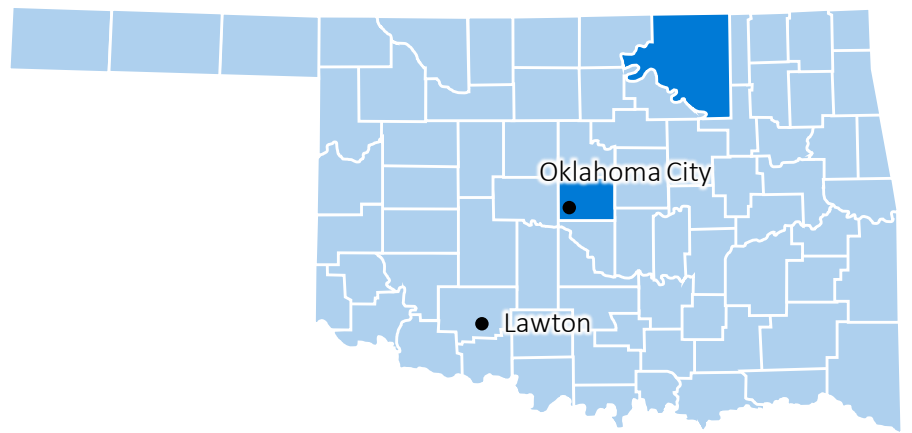
Analysis
- **Bernie Sanders won big among young voters**, winning 82% of voters aged 18-29 and 73% of voters aged 30-44.
- Winning Oklahoma was an upset for Sanders, however it was the Southern state in which he stood the best chance – **Oklahoma has many low-income, white voters, many of whom supported Sanders.**

Sources: Washington Post, "Super Tuesday state results"; CNN Politics, "Oklahoma Exit Polls."

Massachusetts Democratic Primary Produces a Nail-Biter, Clinton Edges Out Sanders Thanks to Boston

Massachusetts Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Hillary Clinton	600,041	50.1%	45
	Bernie Sanders	582,801	48.7%	43
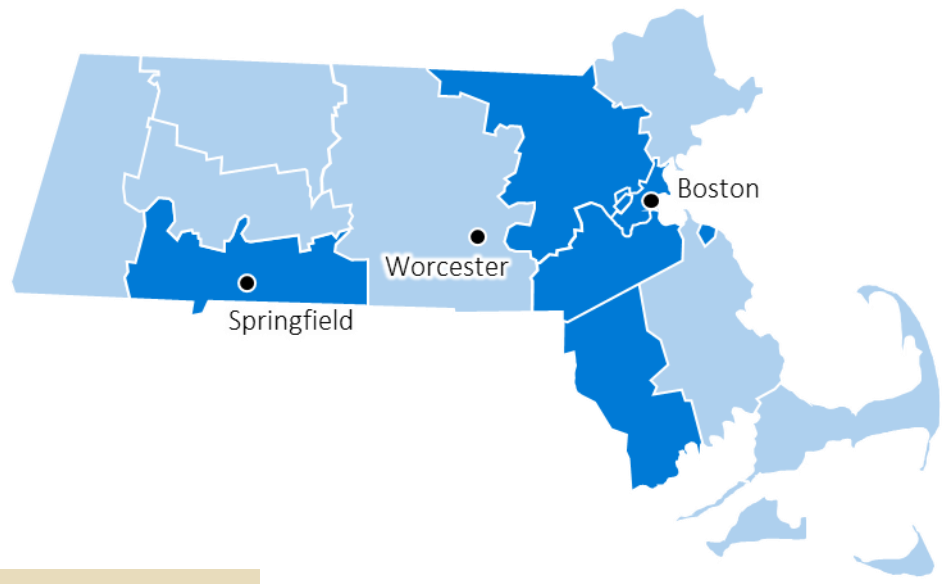
Analysis
- **Clinton leaned heavily on the diverse Boston metro area.** She won the city proper by an estimate 16-point margin, but surrounding townships were significantly closer.
- **Sanders had considerable support in the central and western portions of the state**, winning by 30-point margins in several townships.
- **The wealthier communities of the cape and eastern coasts were highly contested;** many townships were decided within a 5-point margin.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Massachusetts Primary Results," The New York Times, March 2, 2016; The Washington Post "Super Tuesday state results," March 2, 2016; The Guardian, "Super Tuesday results: track the votes live, state by state," March 2, 2016.

Bernie Breathes a Sigh of Relief Thanks to Widespread Support in Minnesota

Minnesota Dem. Caucuses Results, by Congressional District

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	114,265	61.7%	46
	Hillary Clinton	71,047	38.3%	28
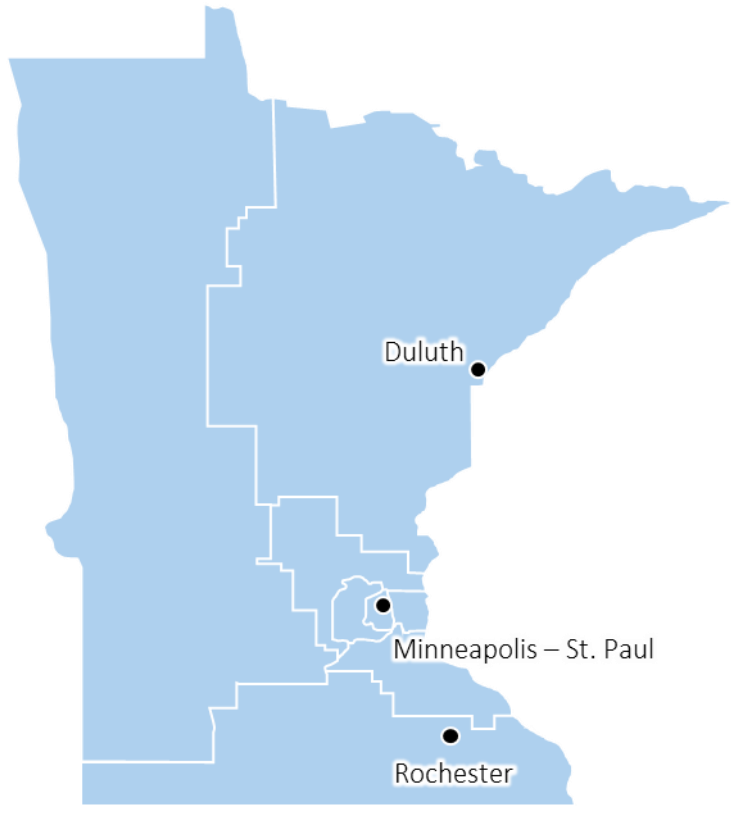
Analysis
- **Clinton did best west of Downtown Minneapolis** in Minnesota's 3rd Congressional District, but still lost by 7 points.
- **Sanders continued his pattern of succeeding in largely White, liberal areas**, but did surprisingly well in Minnesota's 5th District which includes diverse Downtown Minneapolis.

Duluth

Minneapolis – St. Paul

Rochester

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Minnesota Primary Results," The New York Times, March 2, 2016; The Washington Post "Super Tuesday state results," March 2, 2016.

Hillary Clinton Wins Tennessee Primary by a Large Margin

Tennessee Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Hillary Clinton	245,304	66.1%	41
	Bernie Sanders	120,333	32.4%	22

Analysis
- **Clinton dominated among black voters in Tennessee**, winning almost 90% of black voters.
- Clinton also won 82% of voters 65 and older and almost nearly split voters aged 18-44 with Sanders.

Sources: Washington Post, "Super Tuesday state results"; CNN Politics, "Tennessee Exit Polls"

Clinton Dominates in Texas as Expected

Texas Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Hillary Clinton	536,250	71.2%	70
	Bernie Sanders	213,317	28.3%	28
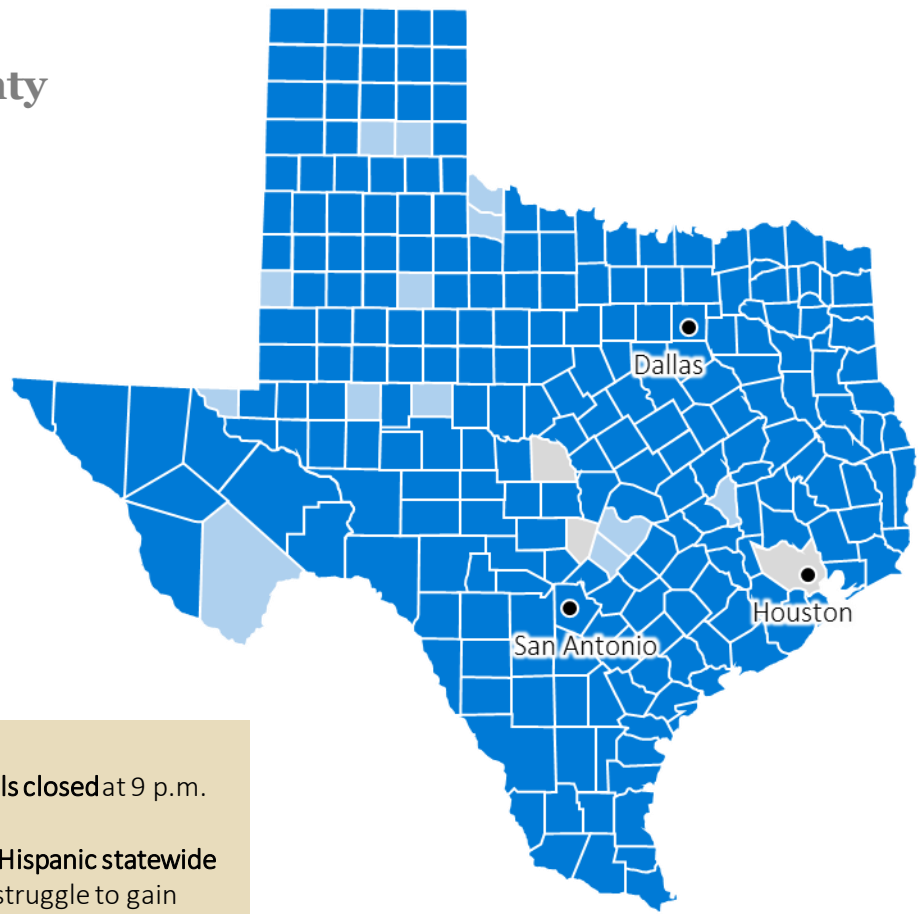
Analysis
- As predicted, Hillary Clinton was called the winner as soon as the polls closed at 9 p.m. eastern time.
- According to the Pew Research Center, Texas has **one of the largest Hispanic statewide eligible voter shares in the country** and **Bernie Sanders** continues to struggle to gain traction with that voter base.

Less than 100% of precincts reporting

Sources: The Washington Post, "Super Tuesday State Results," Campaign 2016, March 2, 2016; Lily Mihalik, Anthony Pesce, and Ben Welsh, "Live Results from the Texas Primary," Los Angeles Times, March 1, 2016; David A. Graham, "Trump's Super Tuesday," The Atlantic, March 2, 2016; US Census Texas County Map February 19, 2016.

Virginia Paints a Picture of Larger Democratic Race, Clinton Popular With Minorities, Sanders with Rural Whites

Virginia Dem. Primary Results, by County and Municipality

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Hillary Clinton	504,376	64.3%	61
	Bernie Sanders	275,974	35.2%	32
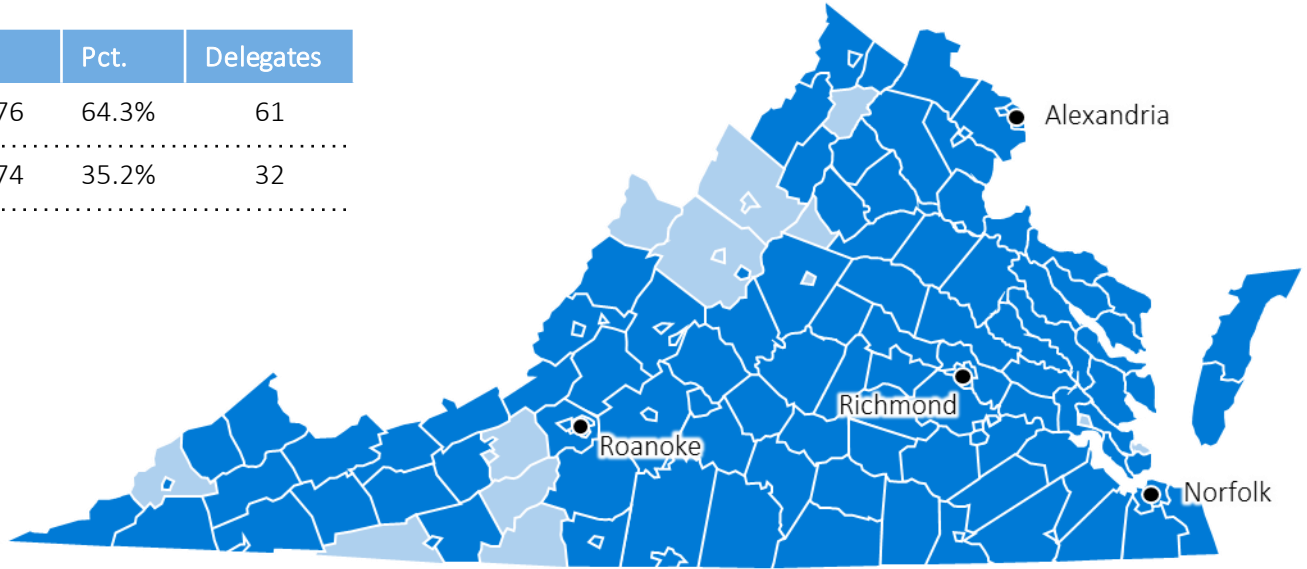
Analysis

- **Virginia serves as a microcosm of Clinton's diverse support base.** She scored landslide wins in the southern, African-American inhabited areas of the state. She also remained on top in the wealthier, White areas of Northern Virginia.
- **Sanders struggled across the state,** but did best in the poorer, Whiter western areas of the Blue Ridge Mountains and Valley.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Virginia Primary Results," The New York Times, March 2, 2016; The Washington Post "Super Tuesday state results," March 2, 2016;.

Bernie Sweeps His Home State of Vermont, Winning by More than 70 Points

Vermont Dem. Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	115,634	86.1%	16
	Hillary Clinton	18,274	13.6%	0

Burlington

Montpelier
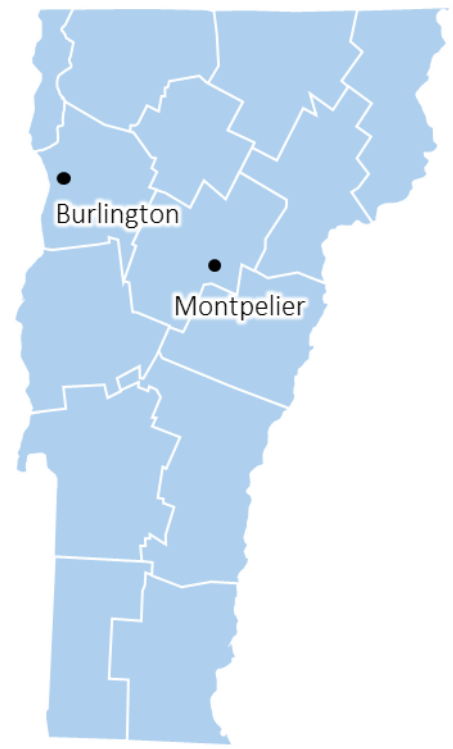
Analysis
- Sanders dominated his home state of Vermont, winning across almost every demographic – 91% of men and 83% of women voted for Sanders.
- About half of the Democratic electorate in Vermont said that honesty was the most important quality – these votes almost unanimously went to Sanders.

Sources: Washington Post, "Super Tuesday state results"; Dave Green, "Vermont Exit Polls: Sanders Swamps Clinton Across Board."

Clinton Claims Another Decisive Win In Louisiana

Louisiana Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Hillary Clinton	221,615	71.1%	37
■	Bernie Sanders	72,240	23.2%	14

Shreveport

Baton Rouge

New Orleans
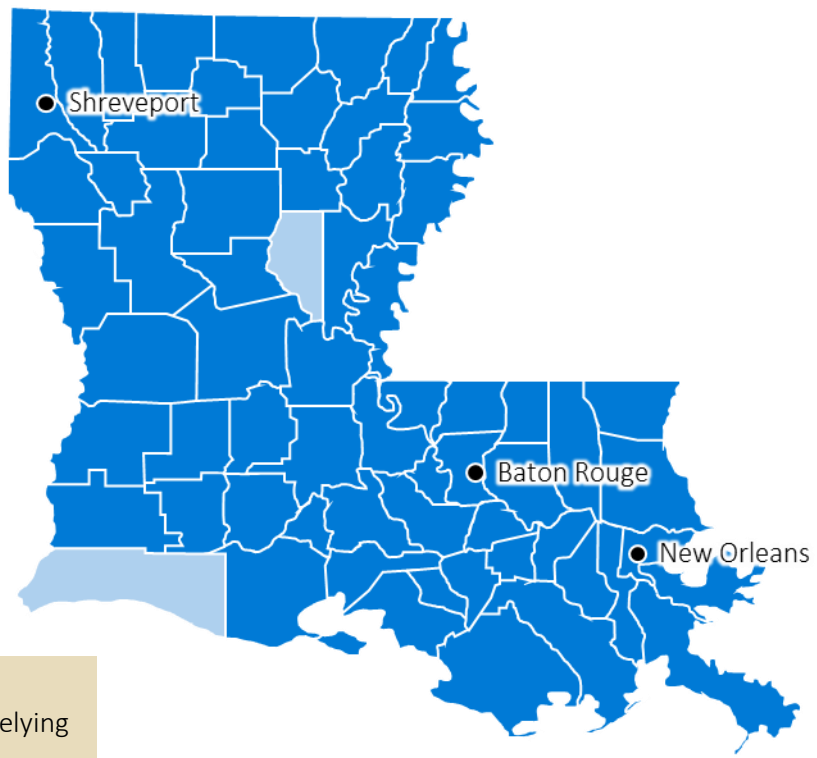
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton appreciated widespread support throughout the state, most likely relying on her strong support within the African American community.
- While exit polling has not been released for the state, Bernie Sanders' two county-level wins were in two of the counties with the highest White population in the state.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Louisiana Primary Results," The New York Times, March 7, 2016; The Washington Post "Louisiana Primary Election Results," March 7, 2016; National Journal Research, 2016.

Cruz and Sanders Score Wins in Maine, Rubio Falls Behind Kasich in Fourth Place Finish

Maine GOP Caucuses Results

| Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
Ted Cruz	8,550	45.9%	12
Donald Trump	6,070	32.6%	9
John Kasich	2,270	12.2%	2
Marco Rubio	1,492	8.0%	0

Maine Dem. Caucuses Results

Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
Bernie Sanders	2,231	64.3%	15
Hillary Clinton	1,232	35.5%	7

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Maine Primary Results," The New York Times, March 7, 2016; The Washington Post "Maine Primary Election Results," March 7, 2016.

Sanders Rides To Win in Nebraska With Support in University Towns

Nebraska Dem. Caucuses Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	19,120	57.1%	15
	Hillary Clinton	14,340	42.9%	10
	Tie			
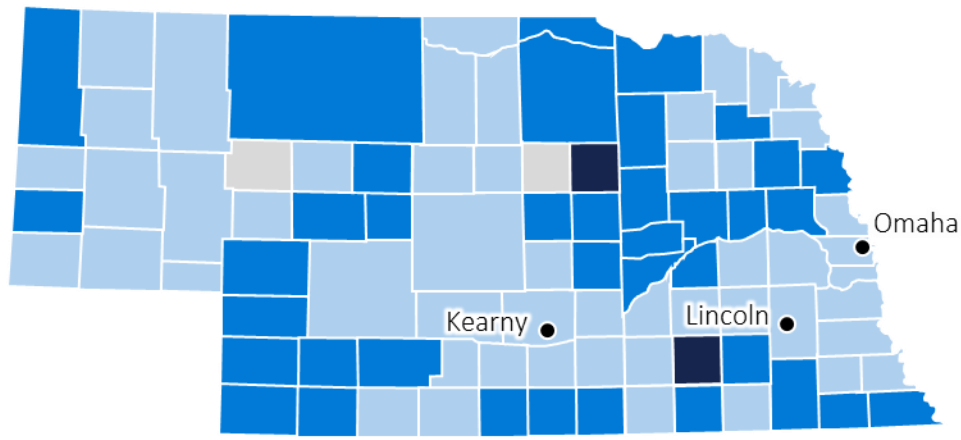
Precincts reporting no votes for any candidate.

Analysis
- Many counties received less than 50 votes for either candidate, **as more than two-thirds of votes the state's votes were cast in Omaha and Lincoln.**
- **Sanders buried Clinton by over 20 points** in the university towns of Lincoln and Kearny.
- Clinton came within 9-points of Sanders in Omaha's Douglas County.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Nebraska Primary Results," The New York Times, March 7, 2016; The Washington Post "Nebraska Primary Election Results," March 7, 2016.

Sanders Campaign Gains Momentum, Scores Two-Thirds of the Vote in Kansas Caucuses

Kansas Dem. Caucuses Results, by County

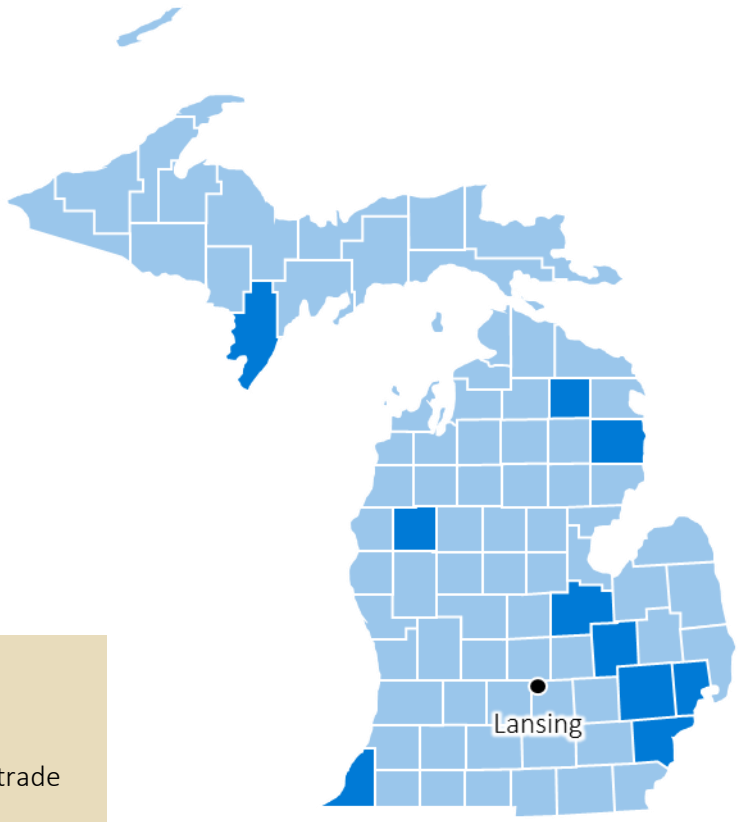| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	26,450	67.7%	23
	Hillary Clinton	12,593	32.3%	10
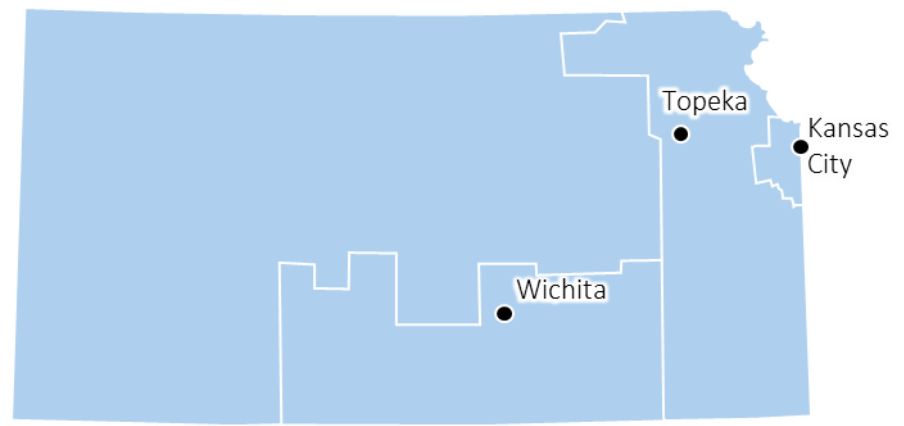
Analysis
- Sanders enjoyed widespread support across the state, with his smallest lead being a 24-point win in the 3rd District comprised of the Kansas portion of Kansas City.
- Despite being a largely Republican state, liberal White voters who support what some call "prairie populism" helped provide a marginally higher turnout than the last caucuses held in 2008.

Sanders Wins Michigan Primary in Historic Upset

Michigan Dem. Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	595,073	49.8%	68
	Hillary Clinton	576,723	48.3%	59

Lansing

Analysis
- Bernie Sanders narrowly defeated Hillary Clinton in Michigan
- The **polls leading up to the primary had Clinton ahead by double digits**
- Sanders worked to win the delegate-heavy state by attacking Clinton's policies on trade and her connection to Wall Street

Sources: CNN, "2016 Election Center: Michigan," March 9, 2016; The Washington Post, "Michigan Primary Election Results," Campaign 2016, March 9, 2016; US Census Michigan County Map , March 8, 2016; Manuela Tobias and Nolan D. McCaskill, "Bernie Sanders Wins Michigan in Stunning Upset," Politico, March 8, 2016.

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Clinton Continues Her Sweep Across the South With A Win in Mississippi

Mississippi Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Hillary Clinton	182,282	82.6%	29
	Bernie Sanders	36,284	16.5%	4
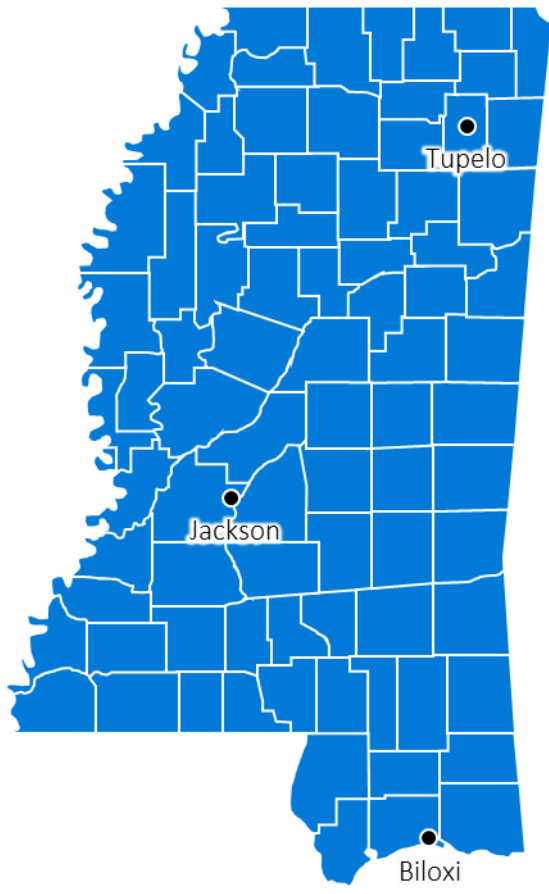
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton continued her pattern of doing well in Southern states with high African American populations. **In some counties she scored over 90 percent of the vote.**
- Bernie Sanders was unable to gain more than 40% of the vote in any county across the state.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Mississippi Primary Results," The New York Times, March 9, 2016

Clinton Rounds Out Her Sweep of the South With a Florida Win

Florida Dem. Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Hillary Clinton	1,094,289	64.5%	101
■	Bernie Sanders	564,564	33.3%	51
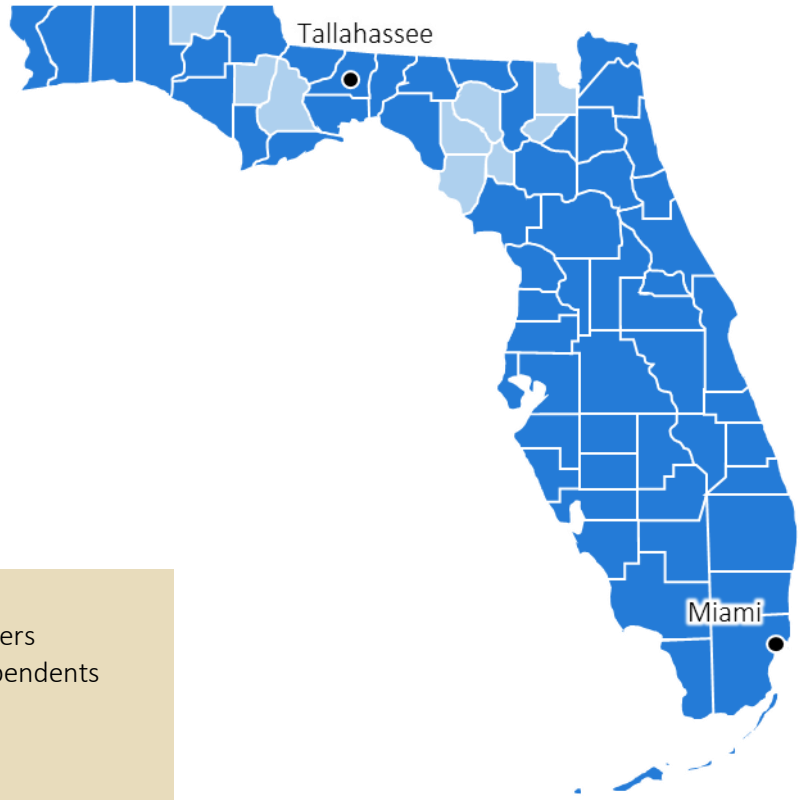
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton wins over a majority of the votes in Florida over Bernie Sanders
- Clinton was expected to easily win Florida as the closed primary kept independents from participating in the polls

Ohio Started Close But
Cleveland Brings it Home For Clinton

Ohio Dem. Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
🟦	Hillary Clinton	679,266	56.5%	76
🟦	Bernie Sanders	513,550	42.7%	57

Cleveland

Columbus

Cincinnati
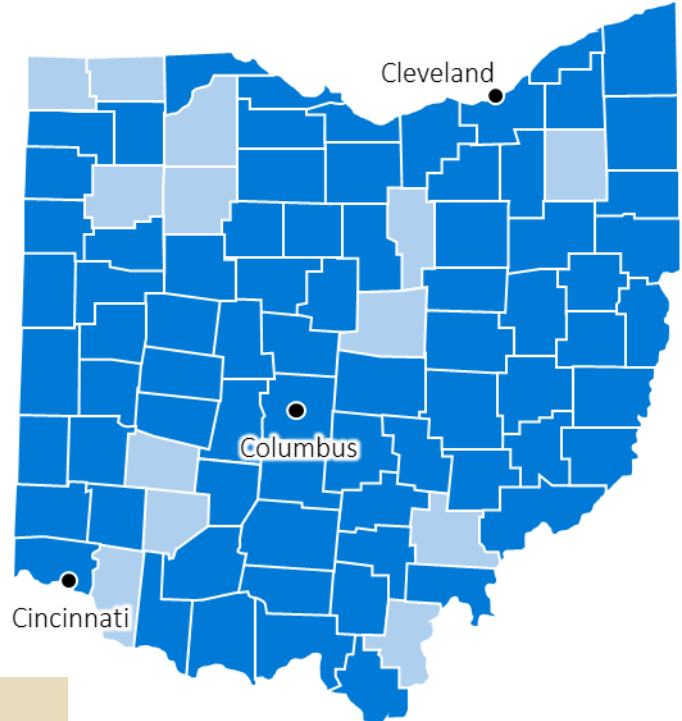
Analysis

- Hillary Clinton was catapulted to the win thanks to Cuyahoga County, home of Cleveland. The county casted about 20% of the state's votes and voted overwhelmingly for Clinton, 63-36.
- Clinton and Sanders remained close throughout most of the state, often posting margins within 10 points.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers and Tom Giratikanon, "New York Times Primary Results and Calendar," The New York Times, March 16, 2016; Kevin Schaul and Samuel Granados, "US Primary Results by State," Washington Post, March 16, 2016.

Clinton Finishes Her Southern Sweep With a Win in North Carolina

North Carolina Dem. Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Hillary Clinton	616,383	54.6%	59
	Bernie Sanders	460,316	40.8%	45
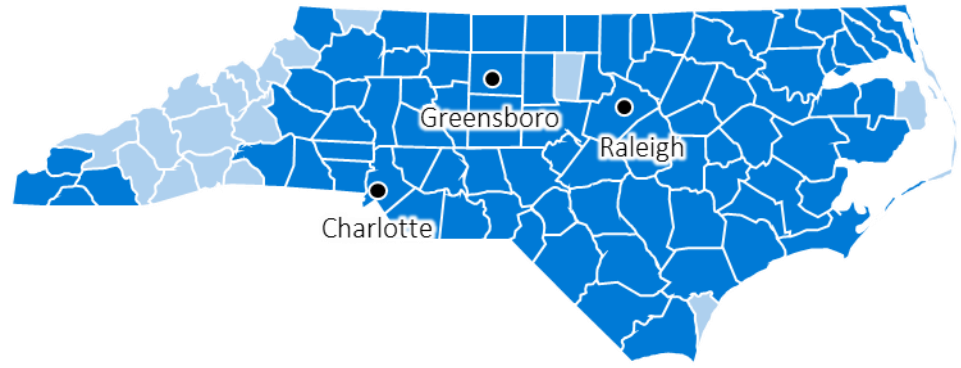
Analysis
- Bernie Sanders' largest base of support was centered in the mountainous, western portion of the state, home to the Appalachian peaks.
- Hillary Clinton rose to the win with the help of African American voters in the central portion of the state.
- Sanders and Clinton remained close along the coast, posting tight margins.

Hillary Clinton Barely Wins in Illinois With Critical Support in Chicago Pushing Her Over the Threshold

Illinois Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Hillary Clinton	1,002,832	50.5%	68
	Bernie Sanders	968,227	48.7%	67

Chicago

Springfield
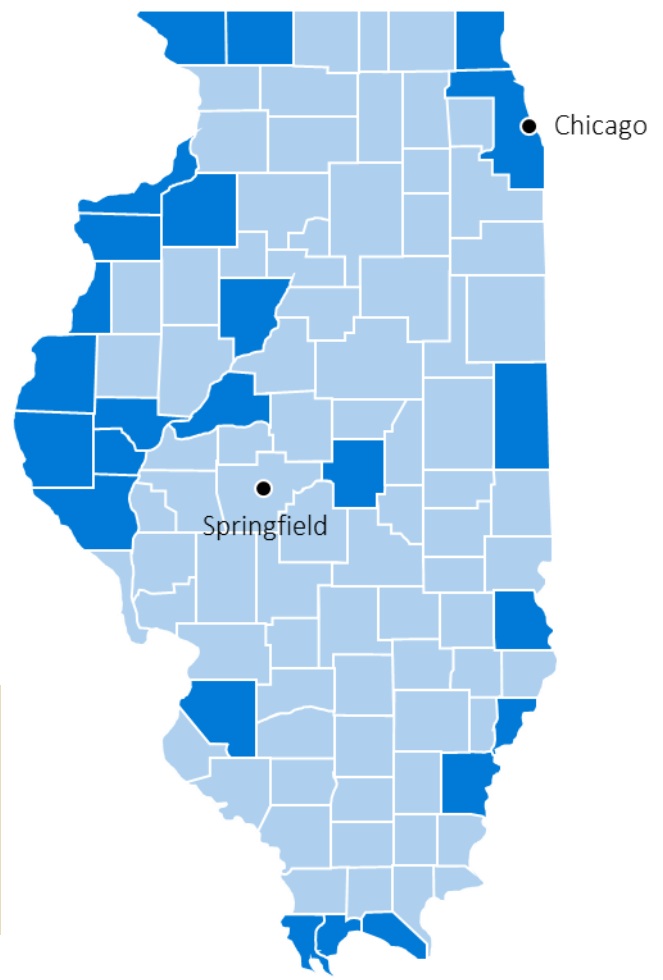
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton continued to gain **majority support amongst black voters** allowing her to win the critical Chicago vote, which propelled her to victory
- Although it was by a small margin, Sander's loss in in Clinton's childhood state **blunted the momentum he had after his surprise win in Michigan**.

Sources: U.S. Census Illinois County Maps; The New York Times, "Illinois Primary Results," March 16, 2016; Allan Rappeport, " Hillary Clinton Wins Illinois Primary," The New York Times, March 16, 2016.

Sanders Eligible For a Recount in Missouri, But Would Have Negligible Effect on Delegate Count

Missouri Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Hillary Clinton	310,602	49.6%	32
	Bernie Sanders	309,071	49.4%	32
	Tie			
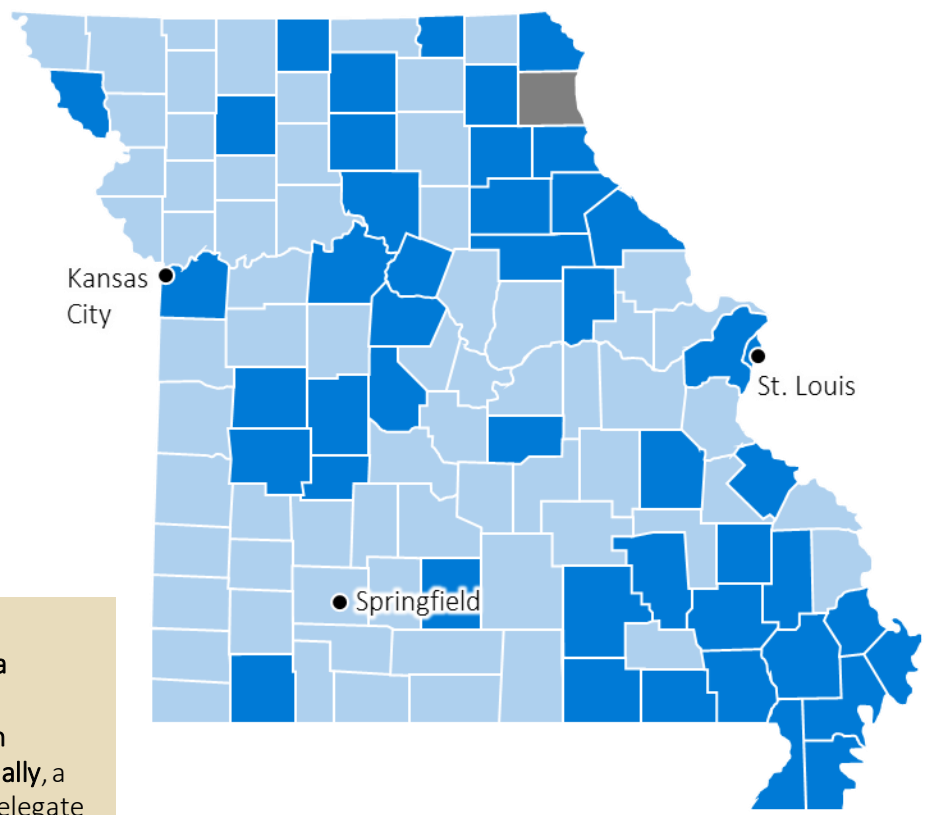
Kansas City

St. Louis

Springfield

Analysis
- Missouri law states that **a recount must be provided at the request of a candidate who has lost by less than half of one percentage point.**
- Forcing a recount would, at most, **give a win that's more symbolic than substantia**l. Since Democratic party delegates are allocated **proportionally**, a recount would most likely result in the same or an extremely similar delegate allocation.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers, and Tom Giratikanon, "Missouri Primary Results," The New York Times, March 17, 2016; Nicholas J.C. Pristor, "Potential Missouri Recount Process Could Take Months," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 17, 2016.

Sanders' Campaign Efforts Fall Short in Arizona

Arizona Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Hillary Clinton	234,294	57.8%	41
	Bernie Sanders	160,933	39.7%	22
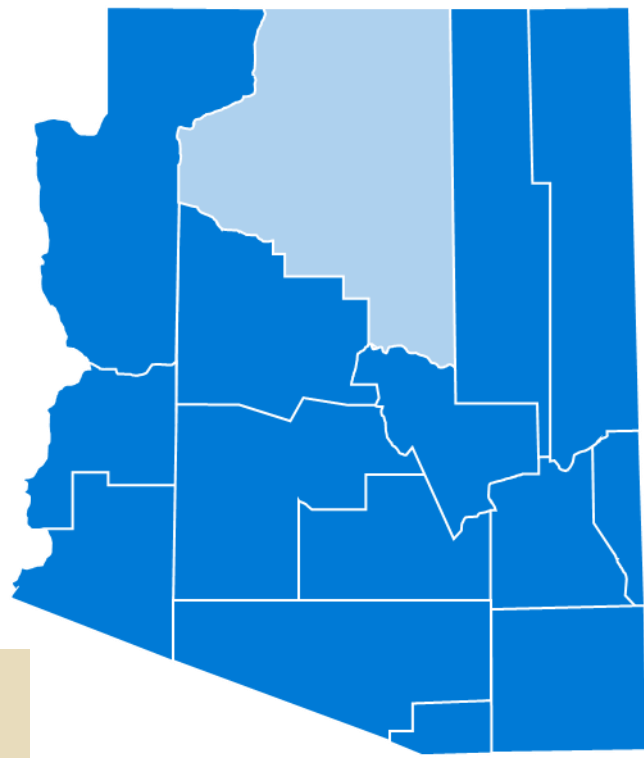
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton won in Arizona, **the state in which she won in the 2008 primary**
- **Bernie Sanders had spent large amounts of money and time in Arizona** in an attempt to win over voters, but he fell short on election day

Sources: The New York Times, "Arizona Primary Results," Election 2016, March 23, 2016; US Census Arizona County Map, March 15, 2016; Yvonne Wingett Sanchez, "Hillary Clinton Wins Arizona Primary, as Bernie Sanders Takes Utah, Idaho, USA Today, March 23, 2016.

Sanders' Large Margin In Utah Helps Keep Campaign Hopes Alive

Utah Dem. Caucuses Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	52,185	79.7%	18
	Hillary Clinton	12,993	19.8%	5
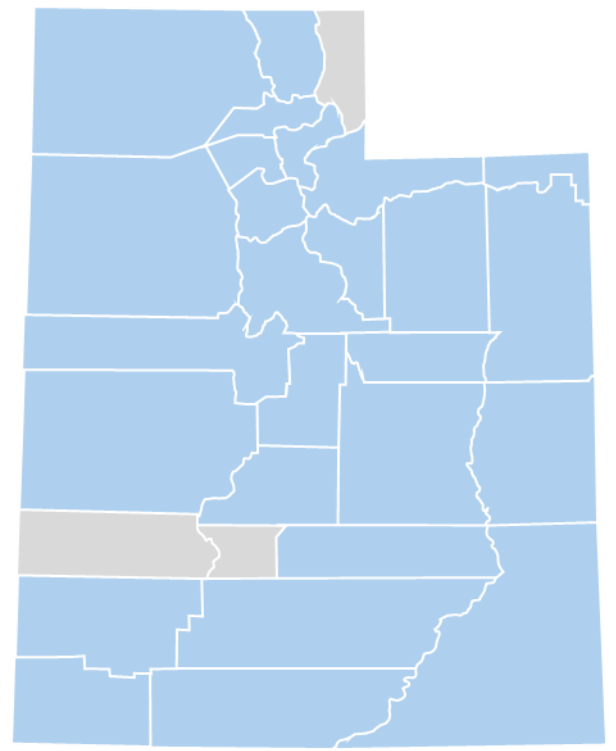
No precincts reporting.

Analysis
- **Sanders posted big wins across the state**, even winning Salt Lake City's county by over 50 points.
- **Clinton was only able to garner more than 35% support in one county.** (This was in Millard County, where only 25 votes were cast in total.)

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Utah Primary Results," The New York Times, March 23, 2016; The Washington Post "Utah Primary Election Results," March 23, 2016.

Sanders Wins in Idaho,
Large Margin Helps Him in Delegate Race

Idaho Dem. Caucuses Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	18,640	78.0%	17
	Hillary Clinton	5,065	21.2%	5
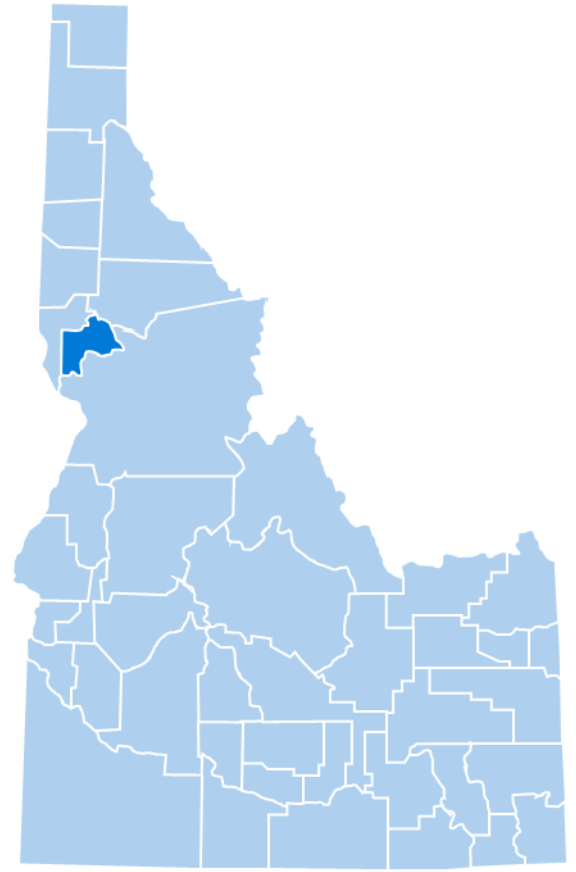
Analysis
- Sanders enjoyed support throughout the state, winning most counties by 30-40 point margins.
- Despite her single win in the panhandle, Clinton's base of support was consolidated along Idaho's southern border.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Idaho Primary Results," The New York Times, March 23, 2016; The Washington Post "Idaho Primary Election Results," March 23, 2016.

Sanders Sweeps Washington State By Large Margin

Washington State Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes*	Pct.	Delegates**
	Bernie Sanders	19,159	72.7%	74
	Hillary Clinton	7,140	27.1%	27

*Votes are represented as the number of legislative district delegates won.
** Delegates have yet to be officially allocated. The expected proportional allocation according to Washington Democratic Party rules is shown.
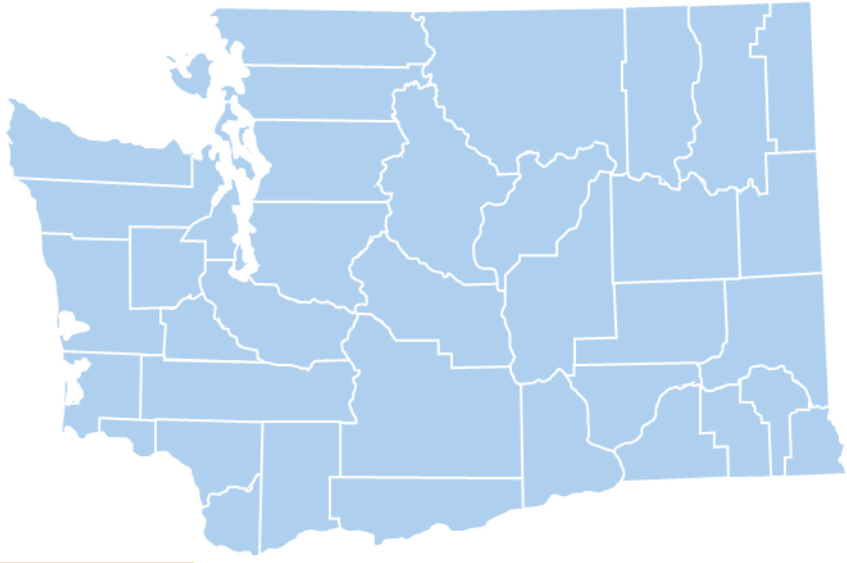
Analysis
- Only 34 of Washington's 101 pledged delegates at stake were officially allocated immediately after the caucuses. The remaining 64 will be allocated proportionally according to caucus results at the congressional level caucuses and the state convention (May 21st and June 18th respectively.)
- Clinton saw little support across the state, with her best county-level performance being a 20-point loss.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Washington State Caucus Results," The New York Times, March 28, 2016; The Green Papers Staff, "Washington Democrat Presidential Nominating Process," The Green Papers, March 28, 2016.

Sanders Wins in Hawaii
After High Turnout, Delayed Official Results

Hawaii Dem. Caucus Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	23,530	69.8%	17
	Hillary Clinton	10,125	30.0%	8

Analysis
- Official results from the caucuses were delayed for many hours after Hawaii's decision against releasing partial results. **The first projection came from a crowd-sourced Google-doc which accurately predicted the official outcome within 1 percentage point.**
- **Heavy turnout** is another factor possibly contributing in delayed results, as many sources reported thousands of new members and long lines at some caucus sites.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Hawaii Caucus Results," The New York Times, March 28, 2016; Steph Solis, "Amid Hawaii Delays, the Internet Turned to a Google Doc for Caucus Results," USA Today, March 27, 2016.

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Sanders Beats Clinton by Wide Margin in Alaska

Alaska Dem. Caucuses Results

Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
Hillary Clinton	440	81.6%	13
Bernie Sanders	99	18.4%	3

*Votes are represented as the number of state convention delegates won.

Sanders Gains Momentum After
Sixth Straight Primary Win in Wisconsin

Wisconsin Dem. Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Bernie Sanders	567,936	56.5%	47
	Hillary Clinton	432,767	43.1%	36

Analysis
- Nearly 200,000 of the 1 million total votes were cast in Milwaukee county, the state's most populous and diverse county. Clinton edged out Sanders 52-48.
- While minorities made up less than 20% of primary voters, Clinton won among this group by 14 points.
- Sanders continued to sweep younger voters, scoring over 80% of voters under the age of 30.
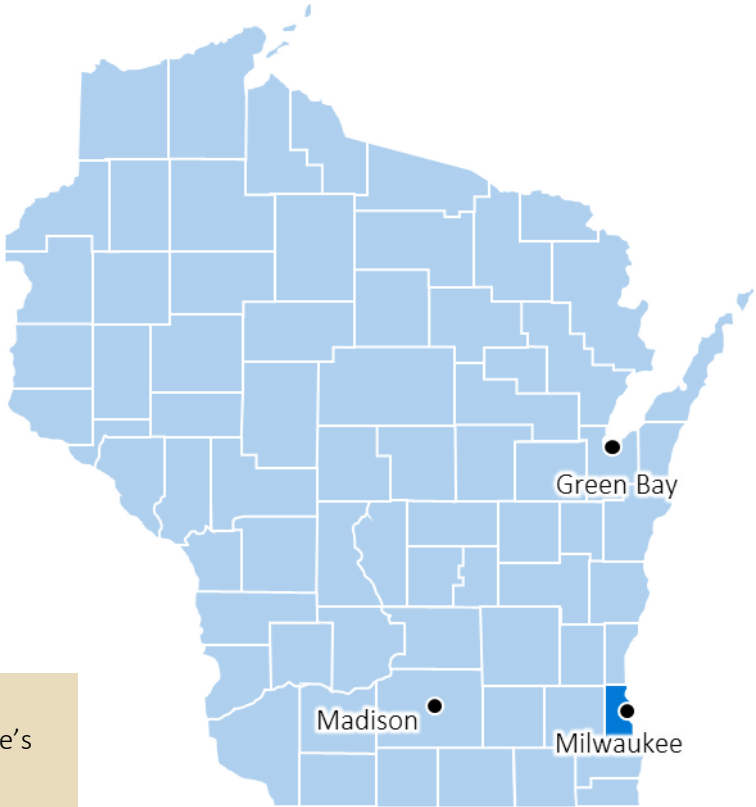
Green Bay

Madison

Milwaukee

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers and Tom Giratikanon, "Wisconsin Primary Results," The New York Times, April 6, 2016; CNN "Wisconsin Exit Polls," CNN Election Center, April 6, 2016; Niall Stanage, "5 Takeaways from Wisconsin," The Hill, April 6, 2016.

Overwhelming Victory for Bernie Sanders in Wisconsin

Gender
■ Men ■ Women

Hillary Clinton
- Men: 35%
- Women: 49%

Bernie Sanders
- Men: 64%
- Women: 50%

Education
■ College Degree ■ No College Degree

Hillary Clinton
- College Degree: 41%
- No College Degree: 45%

Bernie Sanders
- College Degree: 58%
- No College Degree: 55%

Age
■ 17*-29 ■ 30-44 ■ 45-64 ■ 65+

Hillary Clinton
- 17*-29: 18%
- 30-44: 33%
- 45-64: 54%
- 65+: 62%

Bernie Sanders
- 17*-29: 82%
- 30-44: 66%
- 45-64: 46%
- 65+: 37%

Income
■ < 30k ■ 30-49k ■ 50-99k ■ 100+
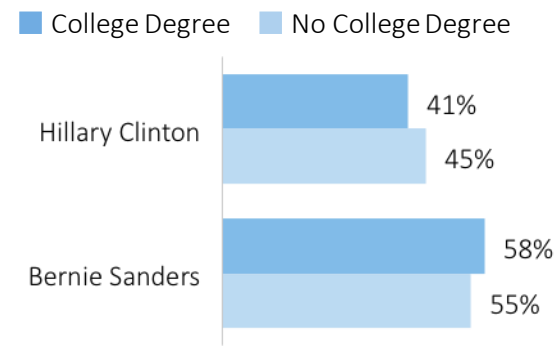
Hillary Clinton
- < 30k: 41%
- 30-49k: 46%
- 50-99k: 39%
- 100+: 46%

Bernie Sanders
- < 30k: 58%
- 30-49k: 54%
- 50-99k: 61%
- 100+: 54%

Race**
■ White ■ Black

Hillary Clinton
- White: 40%
- Black: 69%

Bernie Sanders
- White: 59%
- Black: 31%
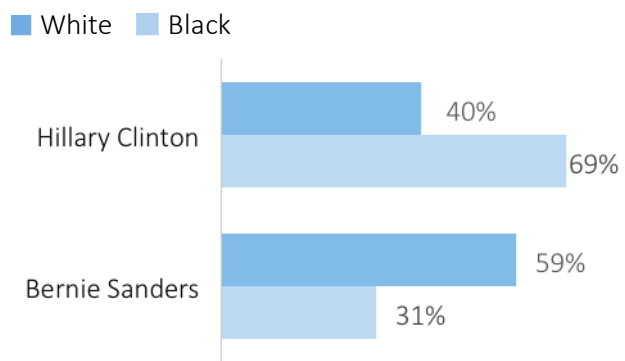
*17 year olds who will turn 18 before the general election are allowed to participate in the Iowa caucuses

** Hispanic/Latino, Asian, and other were excluded because the total race populations polled in WI were all each under 3%

Source: CNN Politics, "Wisconsin Exit Polls," 2016 Election Center, April 5, 2016.

Chapter 3

Republican Primary and Caucus Results

Cruz Wins in Early April States, Bringing His Delegate Count Close to Trump's Lead

Date	State	Trump	Cruz	Date	State	Trump	Cruz	Date	State	Trump	Cruz
Feb. 1	IA	7	8	Mar. 5	ME	9	12	Apr. 1	ND	0	10
Feb. 9	NH	11	3	Mar. 6	PR	0	0	Apr. 5	WI	6	36
Feb. 20	SC	50	0	Mar. 8	HI	11	7	Apr. 19	NY		
Feb. 23	NV	14	6	Mar. 8	ID	12	20	Apr. 26	CT		
Mar. 1	AL	36	13	Mar. 8	MI	25	17	Apr. 26	DE		
Mar. 1	AK	11	12	Mar. 8	MS	25	15	Apr. 26	MD		
Mar. 1	AR	16	15	Mar. 10	VI	0	0	Apr. 26	PA		
Mar. 1	GA	42	18	Mar. 12	WY	1	9	Apr. 26	RI		
Mar. 1	MA	22	4	Mar. 12	GU	0	1	May 3	IN		
Mar. 1	MN	8	13	Mar. 12	DC	0	0	May 10	NE		
Mar. 1	OK	13	15	Mar. 15	FL	99	0	May 10	WV		
Mar. 1	TN	33	16	Mar. 15	IL	53	9	May 17	OR		
Mar. 1	TX	48	104	Mar. 15	MO	25	15	May 24	WA		
Mar. 1	VT	8	0	Mar. 15	NC	29	27	Jun. 7	CA		
Mar. 1	VA	17	8	Mar. 15	NM	9	0	Jun. 7	MT		
Mar. 1	CO	0	6	Mar. 15	OH	0	0	Jun. 7	NJ		
Mar. 5	KS	9	24	Mar. 22	AS	1	1	Jun. 7	NM		
Mar. 5	KY	17	15	Mar. 22	AZ	58	0	Jun. 7	SD		
Mar. 5	LA	18	18	Mar. 22	UT	0	40	**Total***		743	517

*Sources: RealClearPolitics, "Republican Delegate Count," Election 2016, April 8, 2016.*

*Before unpledged delegates, as of April 8

Trump Must Capture More Than Half of Remaining Delegates To Clinch Nomination; Kasich Mathematically Cannot Clinch

The Republican Presidential Primary Race Thus Far

■ Donald Trump   ■ Ted Cruz   ■ John Kasich   ■ Marco Rubio

Total Republican Delegates: 2,472
Delegates Needed to Clinch Nomination: 1,237
Remaining Delegates: 882
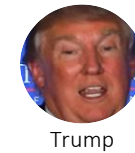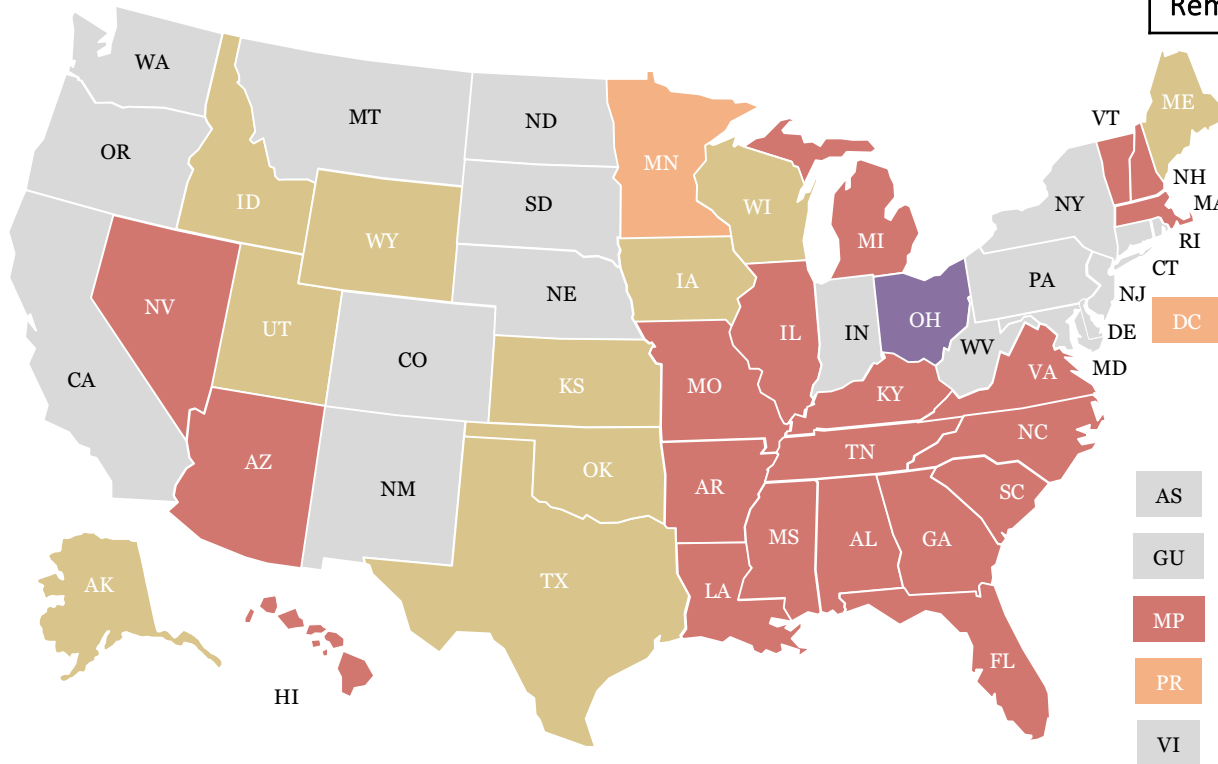
Trump
- Currently has **743** delegates
- Needs to win approx. **56%** of remaining delegates to clinch nomination

Cruz
- Currently has **517** delegates
- Needs to win approx. **82%** of remaining delegates to clinch nomination

Kasich
- Currently has **143** delegates
- Needs to win approx. **124%** of remaining delegates to clinch nomination
- Without adding delegates bound to candidates who have dropped out, it is mathematically impossible for Kasich to win a majority of delegates

AS

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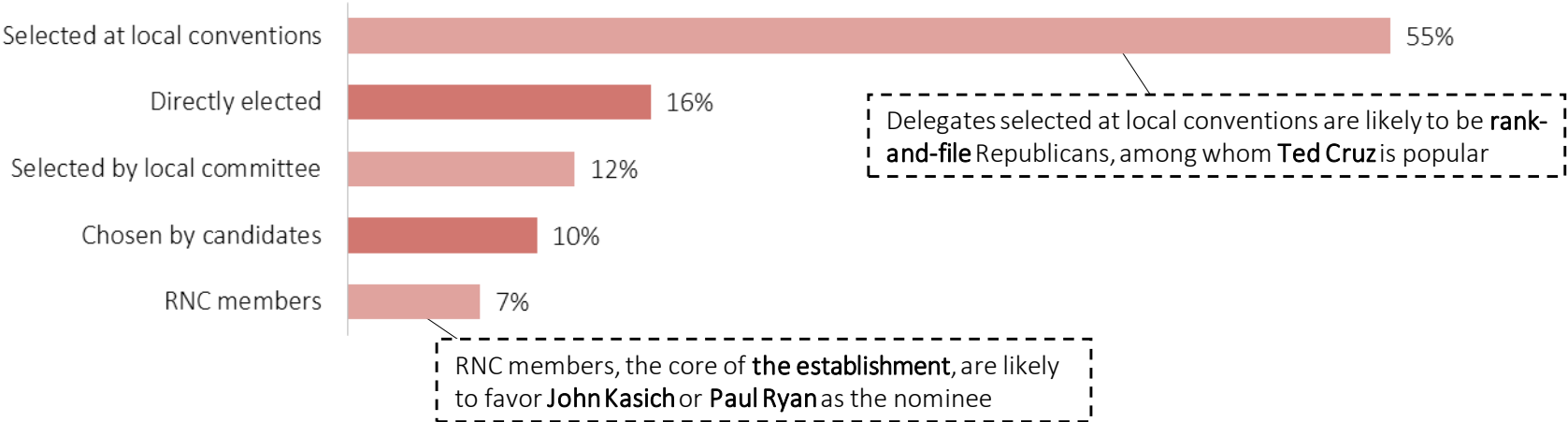*These numbers are accurate as of April 7, 2016, 3:00 P.M.*

Sources: Wall Street Journal, "The Race So Far," March 14, 2016; AP, "2016 Delegate Tracker," April, 2016; Politico, "2016 Delegate Count Tracker," April, 2016.

GOP Delegate Selection Favors Cruz in Contested Convention

How Delegates Are Selected For the GOP Convention

■ More likely to support the candidates they are designated to
■ Less likely to support the candidates they are designated to

Selected at local conventions	55%
Directly elected	16%
Selected by local committee	12%
Chosen by candidates	10%
RNC members	7%

> Delegates selected at local conventions are likely to be **rank-and-file** Republicans, among whom **Ted Cruz** is popular

> RNC members, the core of **the establishment**, are likely to favor **John Kasich** or **Paul Ryan** as the nominee

Analysis

- Because most delegates are neither chosen by candidates nor directly elected, the winner in the first round of voting (likely Trump) will not necessarily have an advantage once delegates become unbounded after the first round of voting
- The GOP rank-and-file has more influence than the establishment in deciding a brokered convention.

Sources: Nate Silver, "Ted Cruz, Not Paul Ryan, Would Probably Win A Contested Convention," FiveThirtyEight, April 6, 2016.

Could a Non-Candidate Win the GOP Nomination?

Potential Brokered Convention Nominees

Paul Ryan
Speaker of the House
Representative from Wisconsin
According to Predictwise, betting markets give Speaker Ryan a 3% chance of winning the nomination. Ryan has denied any interest in the nomination, just as he did the speakership before he accepted the role. Ryan has a high national profile and is popular with the establishment as well as conservative grassroots.

Scott Walker
Governor of Wisconsin
Former Presidential Candidate
Scott Walker first said that in a contested convention the nominee would likely be someone not in the race, before endorsing Ted Cruz who has almost no chance of winning the nomination without a contested convention. Walker has continued to raise money and travel through his fundraising organization.
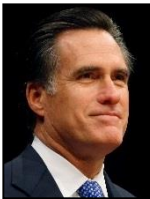
Mitt Romney
Former Governor of Massachusetts
Former GOP Presidential Nominee
Mitt Romney is the only candidate other than Ryan that Predictwise gives a chance at winning the nomination, with 1%. Romney is a twice failed Presidential candidate, so he is hardly a promising choice, especially amid the anti-establishment political climate.

Marco Rubio
Senator from Florida
Former Presidential Candidate
While Rubio is fresh off an embarrassing defeat by Trump in his native Florida, he does have the advantage of having won a state primary and delegates pledged to him, especially if candidates with no delegates turn out to be ineligible by convention rules.

Why a brokered convention is possible:
The rules of the convention have not yet been set. A panel of 112 party officials will have the power to change the rules of the convention just days before the convention. The rules committee could alter the rules to make a non-candidate eligible.
**Why it might not work:**
If Trump comes close to winning half of the delegates and the delegates at the convention choose another candidate, the GOP could suffer a from backlash from Trump's supporters that would be damaging to the party. Also, many voters may feel alienated by a candidate who no one voted for in a primary election.

Cruz Rises to Victory Over Trump, Rubio's Support Around Cities Shows Resiliency in Campaign

Iowa Republican Presidential Caucuses Map, Results by County

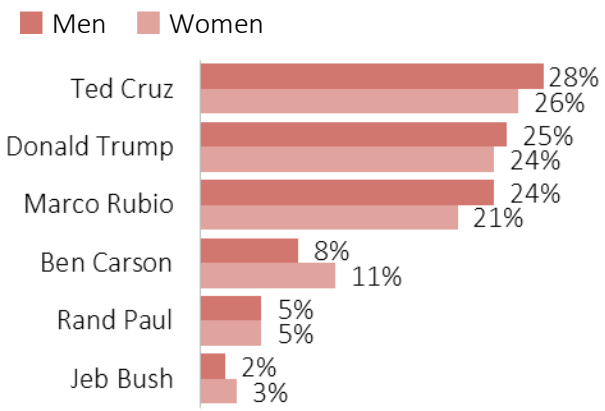| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Ted Cruz	51,666	27.6%	8
	Donald Trump	45,427	24.3%	7
	Marco Rubio	43,165	23.1%	7
	Ben Carson	17,395	9.3%	3
	Rand Paul	8,481	4.5%	1
	Jeb Bush	5,238	2.8%	1
	Tie (Cruz-Trump)			
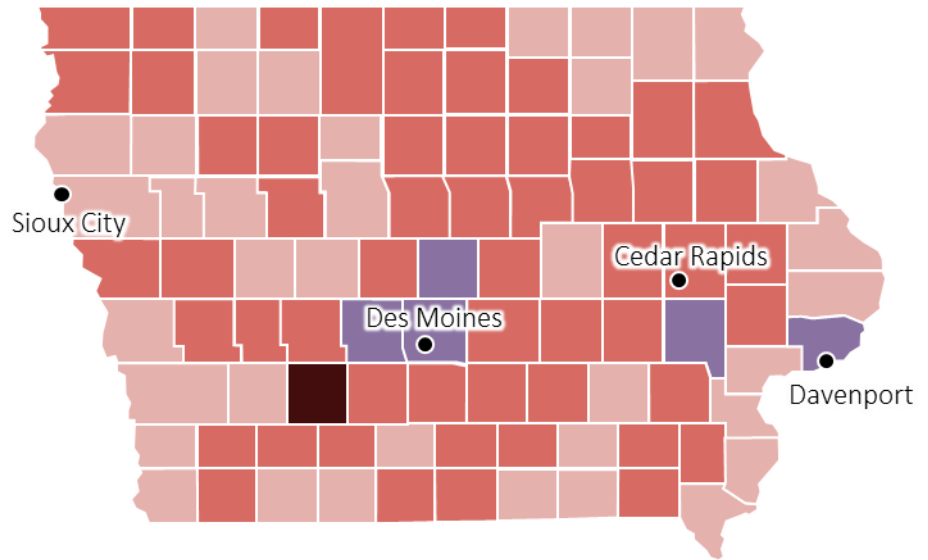
Analysis
- Rubio fared best in the metropolitan areas of Des Moines and Davenport as well as in Johnson County, home of the University of Iowa.
- Cruz was able to ride to victory on the support of evangelical voters across the state.
- Trump mobilized many first-time caucus goers, however pundits believe he mobilized turnout not only amongst his supporters but also amongst his opposition.
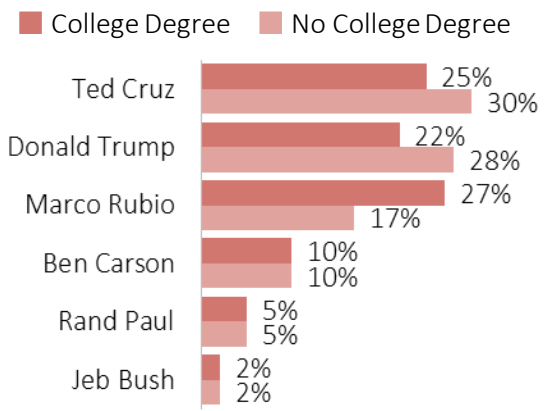
Sources: Lily Mihalik, Anthony Pesce, and Ben Welsh, "Live results from the 2016 Iowa caucuses," LA Times, February 2, 2016; David Byler, "How Demographics Could Affect Iowa GOP Outcome," Real Clear Politics, January 29, 2016; Lazaro Gamio and Scott Clement, "Iowa Caucus Entrance Polls," The Washington Post, February 1, 2016.

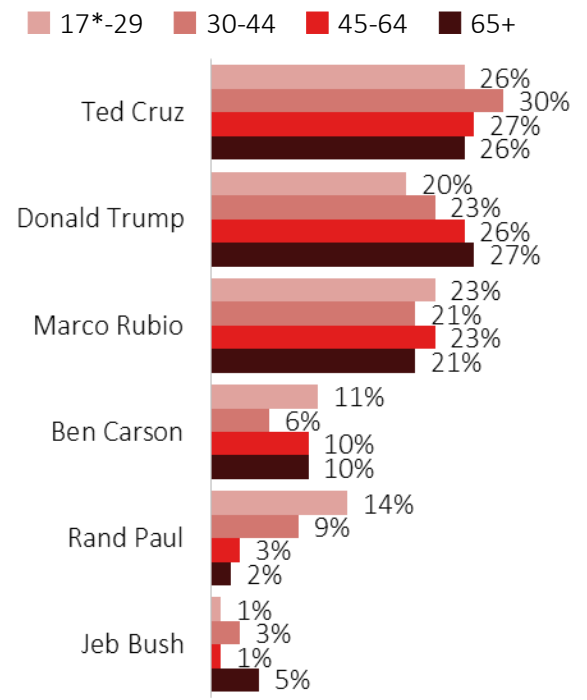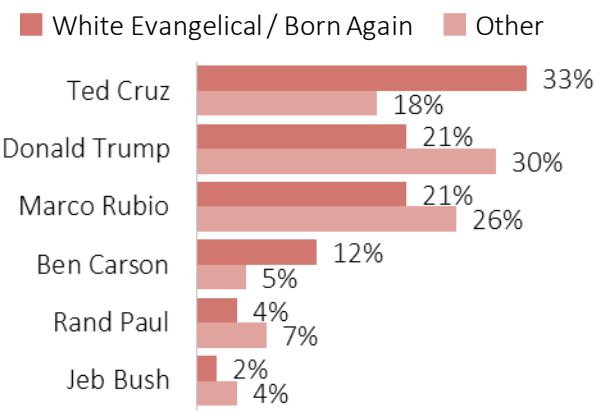# Cruz Wins Evangelical, Very Conservative Voters in Iowa

Gender

■ Men ■ Women
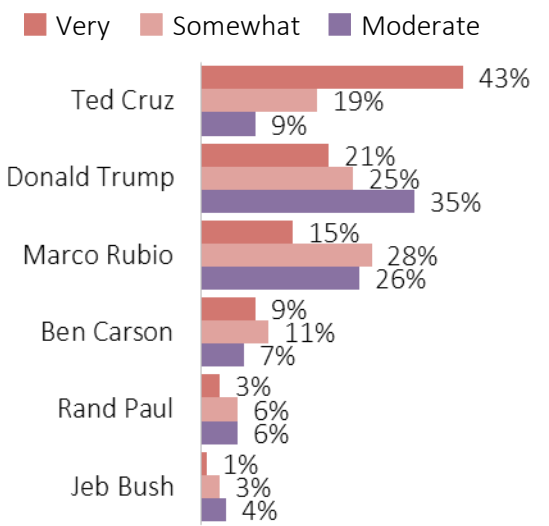
Candidate	Men	Women
Ted Cruz	28%	26%
Donald Trump	25%	24%
Marco Rubio	24%	21%
Ben Carson	8%	11%
Rand Paul	5%	5%
Jeb Bush	2%	3%

Education

■ College Degree ■ No College Degree

Candidate	College Degree	No College Degree
Ted Cruz	25%	30%
Donald Trump	22%	28%
Marco Rubio	27%	17%
Ben Carson	10%	10%
Rand Paul	5%	5%
Jeb Bush	2%	2%

Age

■ 17*-29 ■ 30-44 ■ 45-64 ■ 65+

Candidate	17*-29	30-44	45-64	65+
Ted Cruz	26%	30%	27%	26%
Donald Trump	20%	23%	26%	27%
Marco Rubio	23%	21%	23%	21%
Ben Carson	11%	6%	10%	10%
Rand Paul	14%	9%	3%	2%
Jeb Bush	1%	3%	1%	5%

Religion

■ White Evangelical / Born Again ■ Other

Candidate	White Evangelical / Born Again	Other
Ted Cruz	33%	18%
Donald Trump	21%	30%
Marco Rubio	21%	26%
Ben Carson	12%	5%
Rand Paul	4%	7%
Jeb Bush	2%	4%

Ideology (Conservative)

■ Very ■ Somewhat ■ Moderate

Candidate	Very	Somewhat	Moderate
Ted Cruz	43%	19%	9%
Donald Trump	21%	25%	35%
Marco Rubio	15%	28%	26%
Ben Carson	9%	11%	7%
Rand Paul	3%	6%	6%
Jeb Bush	1%	3%	4%

*17 year olds who will turn 18 before the general election are allowed to participate in the Iowa caucuses

Source: The New York Times, "Iowa Entrance Polls," February 2, 2016.

Trump's Loss Could Have Ripple Effect in Other States; Rubio's Strong Finish Positions him as Establishment Favorite

Key Takeaways from the 2016 GOP Iowa Caucus

GOP Result	Takeaways
Ted Cruz beats Donald Trump by nearly 4 percentage points, despite record turnout	• **Evangelicals fueled Cruz's victory**, which showed the value of Cruz's robust ground operations in Iowa • Turnout was about 185,000, **a record for the GOP Iowa Caucus**, which pundits predicted would be good news for Trump; however **Trump may have brought out nearly as many supporters as detractors** • Despite the loss, **Trump is still likely to be favored** in next week's New Hampshire primary • With Trump's veneer of invincibility punctured, the question remains whether the Iowa results will deflate his numbers elsewhere
Marco Rubio finishes a strong third, outperforming predictions	• The GOP primary has become a **three-way race between Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio and Donald Trump** • Rubio bolstered his case to consolidate the support of the Republican establishment and those uneasy about the prospect of Trump or Cruz
Chris Christie, Jeb Bush and John Kasich combine to receive less than 7 percent of the vote	• Christie's and Bush's investments in Iowa proved to be ineffective, which could negatively impact their support in New Hampshire • **A strong Rubio showing in New Hampshire could force some of the other establishment candidates out of the race**

Sources: Amy Walter, "Making Sense of Iowa," Cook Political Report, Feb 2, 2016; Jonathan Martin, "Ted Cruz Wins Republican Caucuses in Iowa," New York Times, Feb 1, 2016; James Hohmann, "The Daily 202," The Washington Post, Feb 2, 2016; Adam Wollner, "Donald Trump: No Longer Invincible," National Journal, Feb 2, 2016

Trump Scores First Win in New Hampshire While Kasich's Second Place Finish Renews Hope for Campaign

Iowa Republican Presidential Caucuses Map, Results by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
▇	Donald Trump	97,276	35.3%	10
	John Kasich	43,414	15.8%	3
	Ted Cruz	32,164	11.7%	2
	Jeb Bush	30,418	11.0%	2
	Marco Rubio	29,010	10.5%	0
	Chris Christie	20,501	7.4%	0
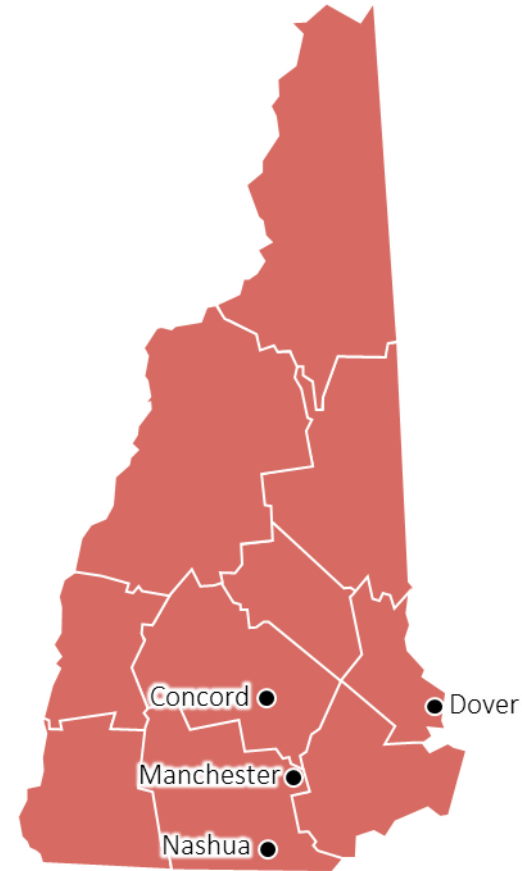
Analysis
- John Kasich's supporters were primarily from the western and northern portions of the state while Donald Trump succeeded in capturing voters in a large variety of locales.
- There was **almost no difference** in Republican voting patterns **between urban areas and sparsely populated areas** with candidates capturing almost identical proportions of the electorate in both settings.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers and Tom Giratikanon, "New Hampshire Primary Results," New York Times, February 10, 2016; CNN "2016 Election Center – New Hampshire," February 10, 2016.

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Trump Sweeps Nearly All Demographic Groups in NH

Gender

- ■ Men   ■ Women

Candidate	Men	Women
Donald Trump	37%	32%
John Kasich	16%	16%
Ted Cruz	12%	11%
Jeb Bush	8%	13%
Marco Rubio	10%	13%
Chris Christie	8%	7%

Education

- ■ College Degree   ■ No College Degree

Candidate	College Degree	No College Degree
Donald Trump	29%	41%
John Kasich	19%	12%
Ted Cruz	11%	12%
Jeb Bush	12%	9%
Marco Rubio	12%	10%
Chris Christie	8%	7%

Age

- ■ 18-29   ■ 30-44   ■ 45-64   ■ 65+

Candidate	18-29	30-44	45-64	65+
Donald Trump	37%	35%	35%	29%
John Kasich	11%	12%	18%	19%
Ted Cruz	16%	12%	11%	10%
Jeb Bush	10%	7%	11%	15%
Marco Rubio	12%	19%	8%	11%
Chris Christie	5%	5%	9%	8%

Religion

- ■ White Evangelical / Born Again   ■ Other

Candidate	White Evangelical / Born Again	Other
Donald Trump	27%	37%
John Kasich	11%	18%
Ted Cruz	23%	8%
Jeb Bush	11%	11%
Marco Rubio	13%	11%
Chris Christie	4%	8%

Ideology (Conservative)
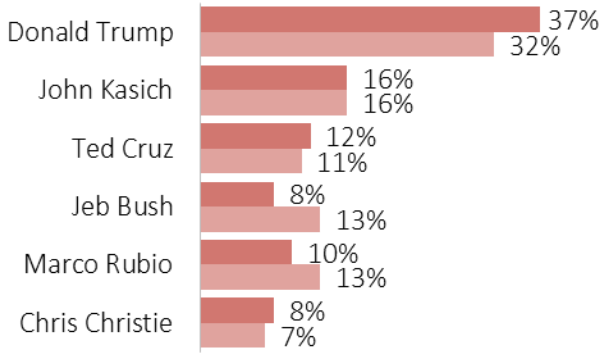
- ■ Very   ■ Somewhat   ■ Moderate

Candidate	Very	Somewhat	Moderate
Donald Trump	35%	36%	32%
John Kasich	7%	14%	28%
Ted Cruz	23%	9%	4%
Jeb Bush	8%	10%	14%
Marco Rubio	13%	12%	8%
Chris Christie	4%	9%	8%
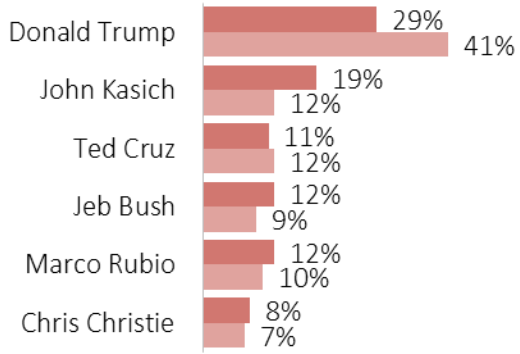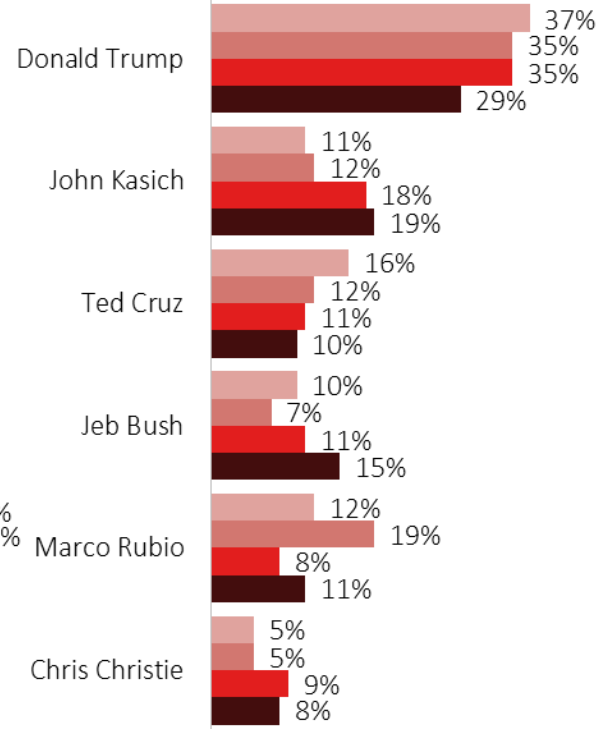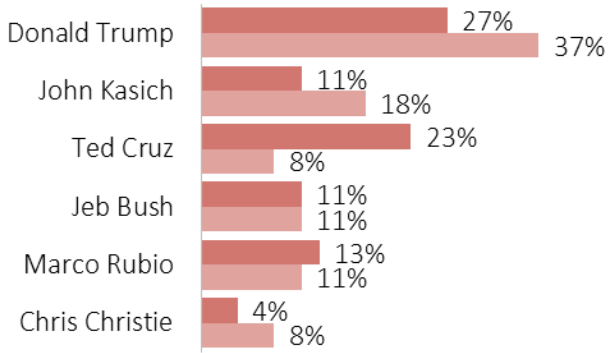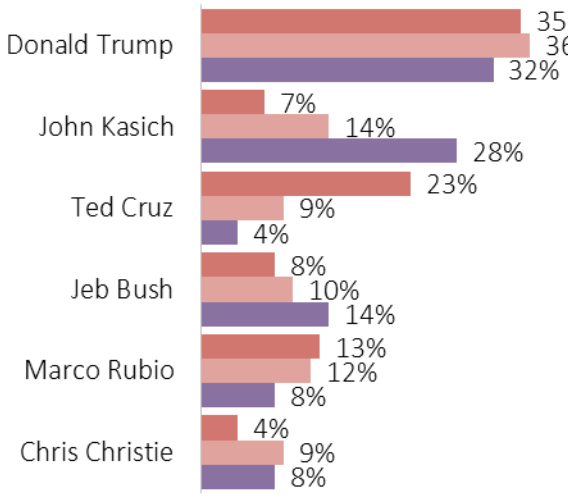
Source: The New York Times, "New Hampshire Exit Polls," February 9, 2016.

Trump Scores A Big Win in South Carolina, While Rubio Continues to Fare Well Around Cities

South Carolina GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Donald Trump	239,851	32.5%	44
■	Marco Rubio	165,881	22.5%	0
	Ted Cruz	164,790	22.3%	0
	Jeb Bush	57,863	7.8%	0
	John Kasich	56,206	7.6%	0
	Ben Carson	53,326	7.2%	0
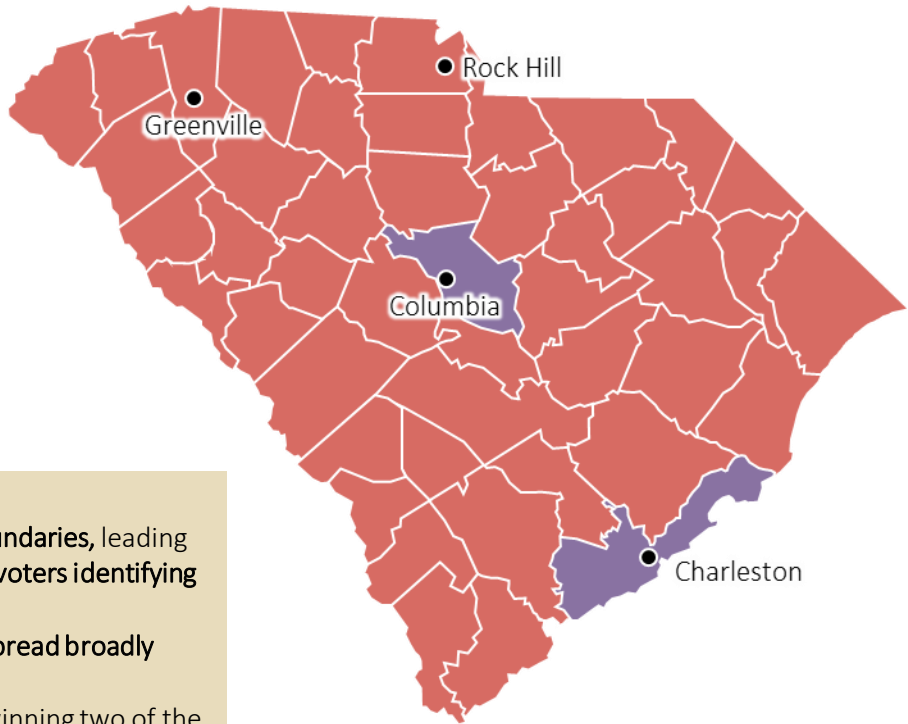
Analysis

- Trump garnered support across both geographic and demographic boundaries, leading in nearly every major exit poll category except college graduates, and voters identifying as 'very conservative'.
- Cruz matched Rubio closely in vote count, however his support was spread broadly across the state leading to no county-level wins.
- Rubio continued his trend of besting Trump in metropolitan areas by winning two of the top-three most populous counties.
- Nearly 22% of the vote was split between the bottom-three candidates. Ben Carson fared best in the evangelical northwest, while Kasich and Bush supporters trended towards the costal regions in the south and east.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers, and Tom Giratikanon, "South Carolina Primary Election Results," New York Times, February 20, 2016; Edison Research, "South Carolina Exit Polls," New York Times, February 20, 2016.

Trump Had a Commanding Win in Alabama for Super Tuesday

Alabama GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	371,715	43.4%	36
	Ted Cruz	180,601	21.1%	13
	Marco Rubio	159,799	18.7%	1
	Ben Carson	37,969	4.4%	0
	John Kasich	18,523	2.2%	0
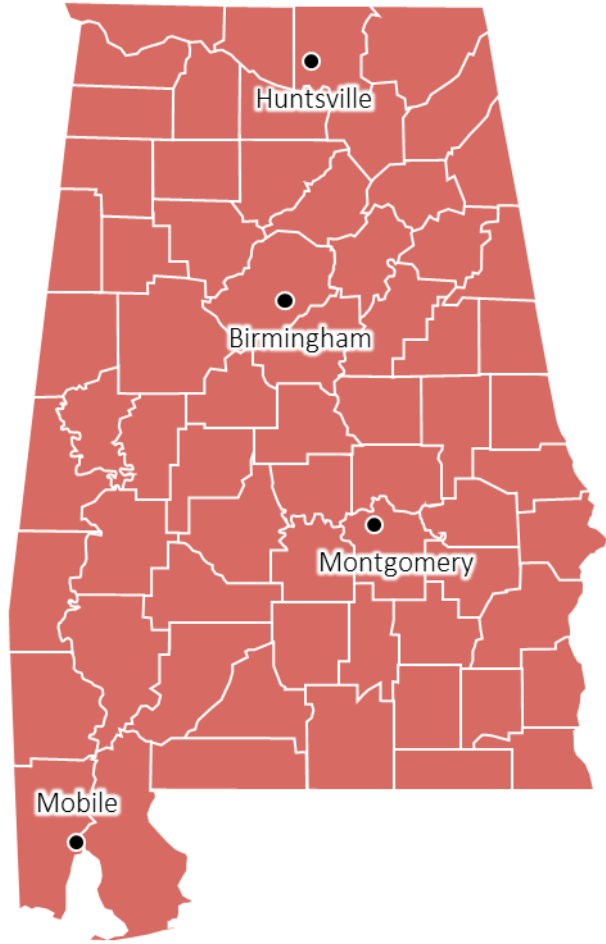
Analysis

- **Donald Trump won all the counties** in the state of Alabama.
- Trump said he was "tremendously relieved" that the **controversy linking him to the Ku Klux Klan** had not hurt him with voters in Alabama.
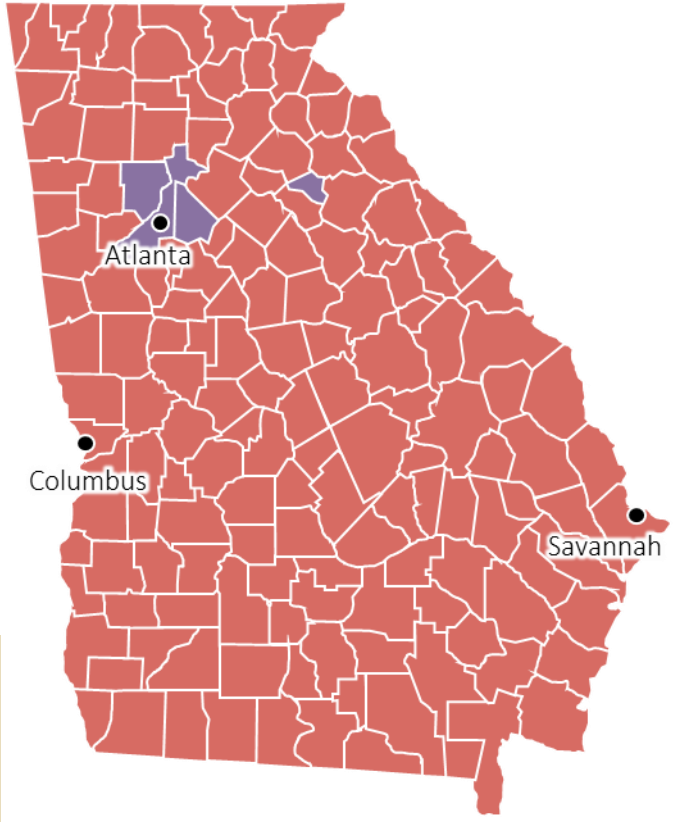
Sources: The Washington Post, "Super Tuesday State Results," Campaign 2016, March 2, 2016; Lily Mihalik, Anthony Pesce, and Ben Welsh, "Live Results from the Arkansas Primary," Los Angeles Times, March 1, 2016; US Census Alabama County Map , February 19, 2016; Andy Borowitz, "Trump Tremendously Relieved that K.K.K. Ties Did Not Hurt Him in Alabama," New Yorker, March 1, 2016.

Ted Cruz Beats Donald Trump In Alaska By Slim Margin

Alaska GOP Caucuses Results

Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
Ted Cruz	7,973	36.4%	12
Donald Trump	7,346	33.5%	11
Marco Rubio	3,318	15.1%	5
Ben Carson	2,401	10.9%	0
John Kasich	892	4.1%	0

Trump, Cruz Battle it Out in Arkansas, While Rubio Walks Away with Two Counties

Arkansas GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	129,867	32.7%	16
	Ted Cruz	121,031	30.5%	14
	Marco Rubio	99,309	25.0%	9
	Ben Carson	22,664	5.7%	0
	John Kasich	14,862	3.7%	0
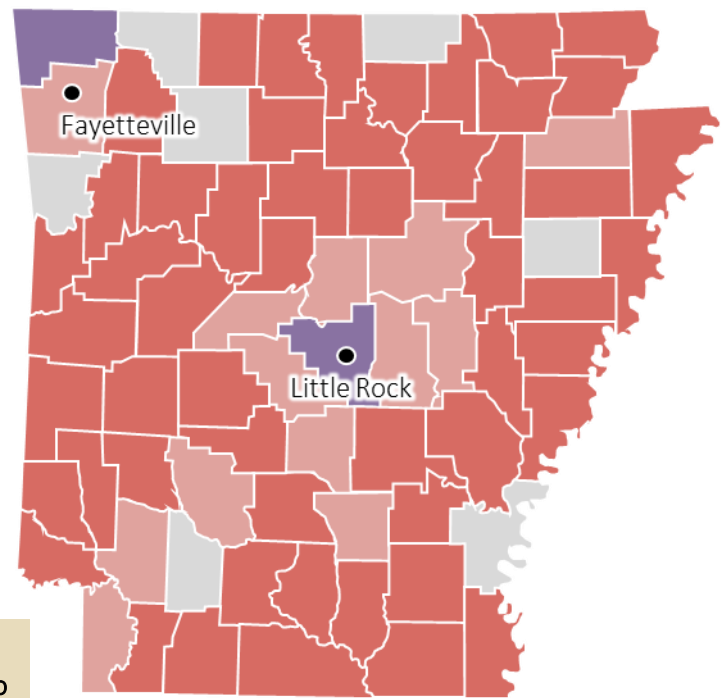
Analysis
- Governor Asa Hutchinson and other state Republican leaders publically endorsed Marco Rubio ahead of the primary in Arkansas.
- Donald Trump drew large crowds to rallies in the state, one rally at the Northwest Arkansas Regional Airport drew a crowd of 5,000 and 2,000 had to be turned away.

Less than 100% of precincts reporting

Sources: The Washington Post, "Super Tuesday State Results," Campaign 2016, March 2, 2016; Lily Mihalik, Anthony Pesce, and Ben Welsh, "Live Results from the Arkansas Primary," Los Angeles Times, March 1, 2016; US Census Arkansas County Map , February 19, 2016; John Mortiz, "Trump Wins Republican Presidential Primary in Arkansas," Arkansas Online, March 1, 2016.

Trump Captures All But Four Counties in Georgia, Rubio Scoops Up Those Four

Georgia GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	500,743	38.8%	40
	Marco Rubio	315,514	24.4%	14
	Ted Cruz	304,629	23.6%	18
	Ben Carson	50,396	6.2%	0
	John Kasich	72,206	5.6%	0

Analysis
- **Marco Rubio** had a sizable lead over **Donald Trump** in Clarke, Cobb, DeKalb, and Fulton counties.
- While there were **more Republican votes than Democratic votes**, Hillary Clinton had almost 36,000 more votes than Trump.

Sources: Ana Santos, "Donald Trump Won All But These Four Counties in Georgia," The Atlanta-Journal Constitution, March 2, 2016; Lily Mihalik, Anthony Pesce, and Ben Welsh, "Live Results from the Georgia Primary," Los Angeles Times, March 1, 2016; David A. Graham, "Trump's Super Tuesday," The Atlantic, March 2, 2016; US Census Georgia County Map, February 19, 2016.

Cruz Wins Oklahoma, Capturing the State's Religious Vote

Oklahoma GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Ted Cruz	157,941	34.4%	14
	Donald Trump	130,141	28.3%	12
	Marco Rubio	119,562	26.0%	11
	Ben Carson	28,572	6.2%	0
	John Kasich	16,515	3.6%	0
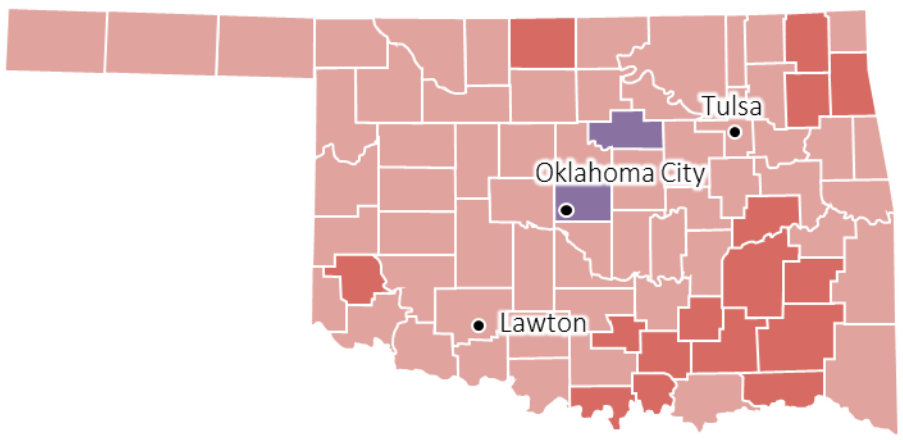
Analysis
- **Cruz won big among religious voters**, which constituted approximately 75% of the electorate.
- Cruz won 39% of voters who identify as evangelical Christian; however, **among non-religious voters, Cruz only garnered 18% of the vote, while Trump carried 40%.**
- Prior to the contest, Rubio was expected to do well in Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

Sources: Washington Post, "Super Tuesday state results"; CNN Politics, "Oklahoma Exit Polls."

Trump Sweeps Massachusetts, Kasich Enjoys A Close Second Place Finish Atop Rubio

Massachusetts GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Donald Trump	306,492	49.2%	22
	John Kasich	112,897	18.0%	8
	Marco Rubio	111,898	17.9%	8
	Ted Cruz	59,936	9.6%	4
	Ben Carson	16,143	2.6%	0
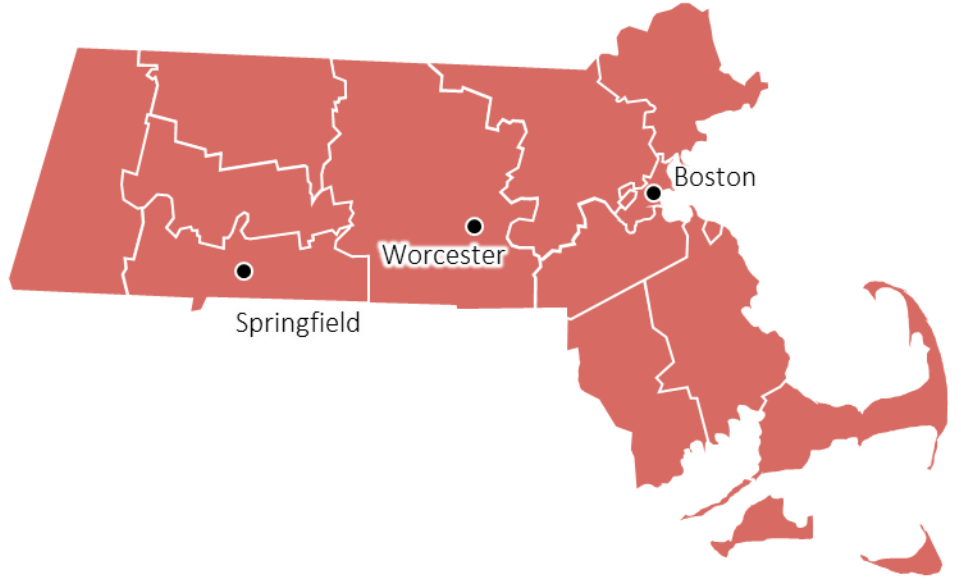
Analysis
- **Trump swept the state**, picking up wins in every county and most townships.
- **Kasich** became a surprising challenger in the state, **winning several townships on western the outskirts of Boston.**
- **Rubio's support centered around Boston,** and thinned toward the central portions of the state.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Massachusetts Primary Results," The New York Times, March 2, 2016; The Washington Post "Super Tuesday state results," March 2, 2016; The Guardian, "Super Tuesday results: track the votes live, state by state," March 2, 2016.

Marco Rubio Scores First Win in Minnesota, Cruz Scores Second While Trump Makes a Distant Third

Minnesota GOP Caucuses Results, by Congressional District

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Marco Rubio	41,073	36.8%	14
	Ted Cruz	32,242	28.9%	13
	Donald Trump	23,650	21.2%	10
	Ben Carson	8,084	7.2%	0
	John Kasich	6,443	5.8%	0
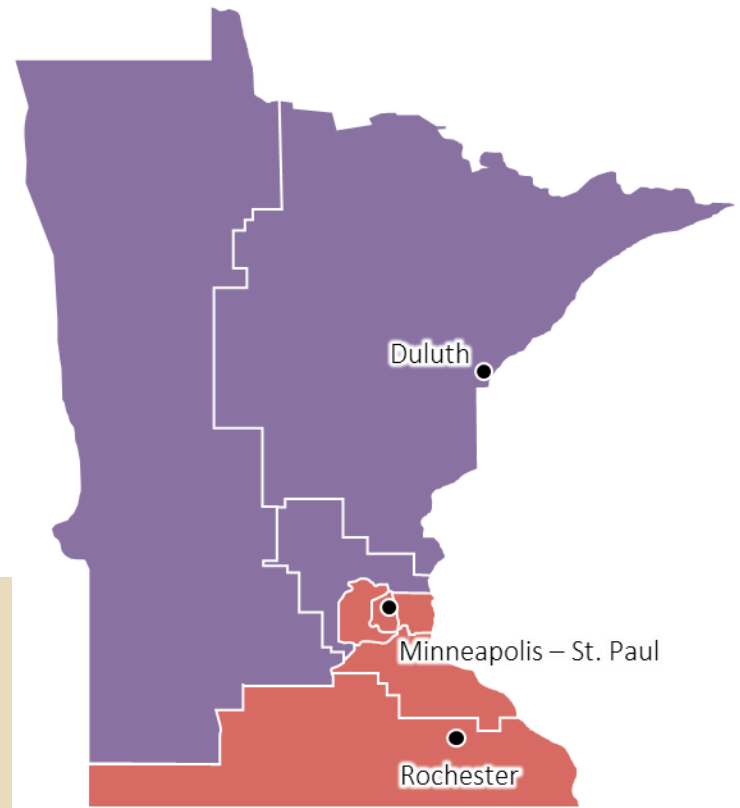
Analysis
- **Rubio scores his first win** thanks to powerful 20-point wins in the Minneapolis area.
- **Cruz appreciated large support in the Northern areas of the state,** and came within 5-points of Rubio in southern areas outside of the Twin Cities.
- **Trump struggled across the state**, managing only one second place finish in the northeastern "Arrowhead" region.

Duluth

Minneapolis – St. Paul

Rochester

Donald Trump Wins Tennessee Primary by a Large Margin; Rubio Breaks 20% Threshold to Earn Delegates

Tennessee GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	332,702	38.9%	31
	Ted Cruz	211,159	24.7%	14
	Marco Rubio	180,944	21.2%	9
	Ben Carson	64,846	7.6%	0
	John Kasich	45,243	5.3%	0

Analysis
- Trump performed especially well among voters who think somebody outside of the establishment should be the next president.
- Trump won about 45% of voters without a college degree; he also won approximately 46% of voters with an income below $50,000.
- Cruz and Rubio each won 25% of voters with college degrees.

Sources: Washington Post, "Super Tuesday state results," CNN Politics, "Tennessee Exit Polls"

Cruz Wins His Home State and Calls for Other Candidates to Unite Against Trump

Texas GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Ted Cruz	1,238,698	43.8%	99
	Donald Trump	757,225	26.8%	33
	Marco Rubio	501,889	17.7%	3
	John Kasich	120,164	4.2%	0
	Ben Carson	117,685	4.2%	0
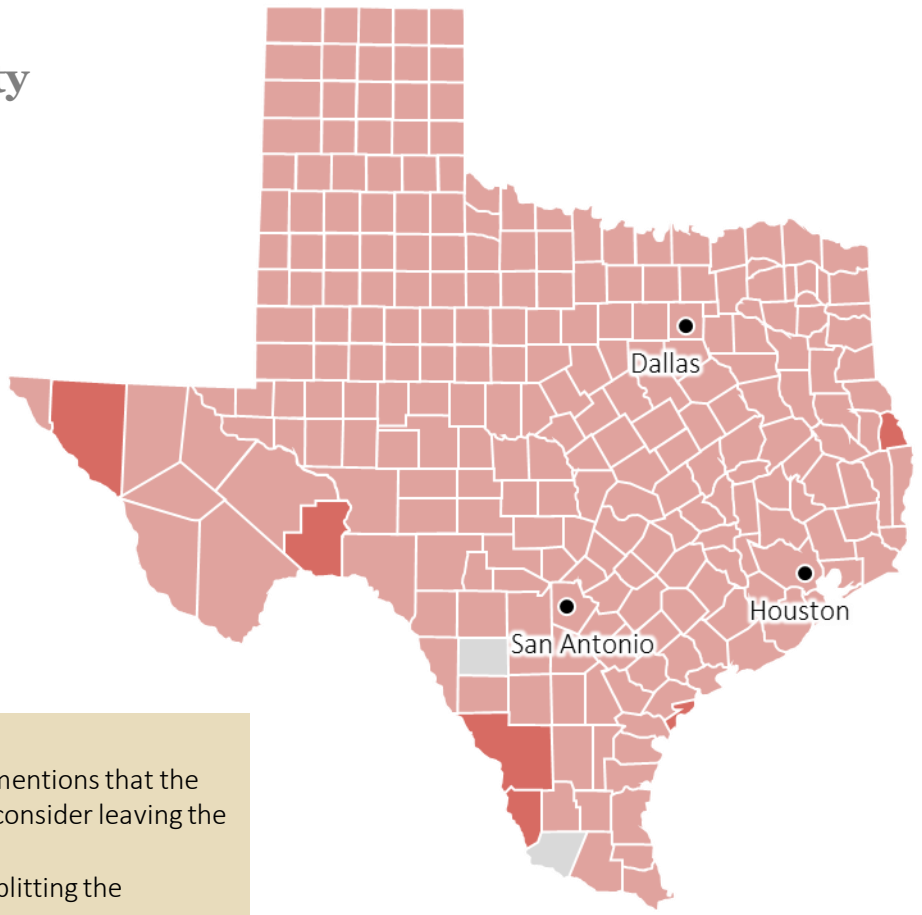
Analysis

- After winning his home state and neighboring Oklahoma, **Ted Cruz** mentions that the other candidates in the race, who have not yet won a state, should consider leaving the race.
- Cruz says the only way to stop **Donald Trump** is to unite instead of splitting the delegates among several other candidates.

Dallas

Houston

San Antonio

Less than 100% of precincts reporting

Sources: The Washington Post, "Super Tuesday State Results," Campaign 2016, March 2, 2016; Lily Mihalik, Anthony Pesce, and Ben Welsh, "Live Results from the Texas Primary," Los Angeles Times, March 1, 2016; David A. Graham, "Trump's Super Tuesday," The Atlantic, March 2, 2016; US Census Texas County Map February 19, 2016.

Trump Manages a Significant Win in Virginia, Rubio Challenges Trump But Falters Outside of Cities

Virginia GOP Primary Results, by County and Municipality

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	356,077	34.7%	17
	Marco Rubio	327,423	31.9%	16
	Ted Cruz	173,360	16.9%	8
	John Kasich	96,677	9.4%	5
	Ben Carson	60,105	5.9%	3
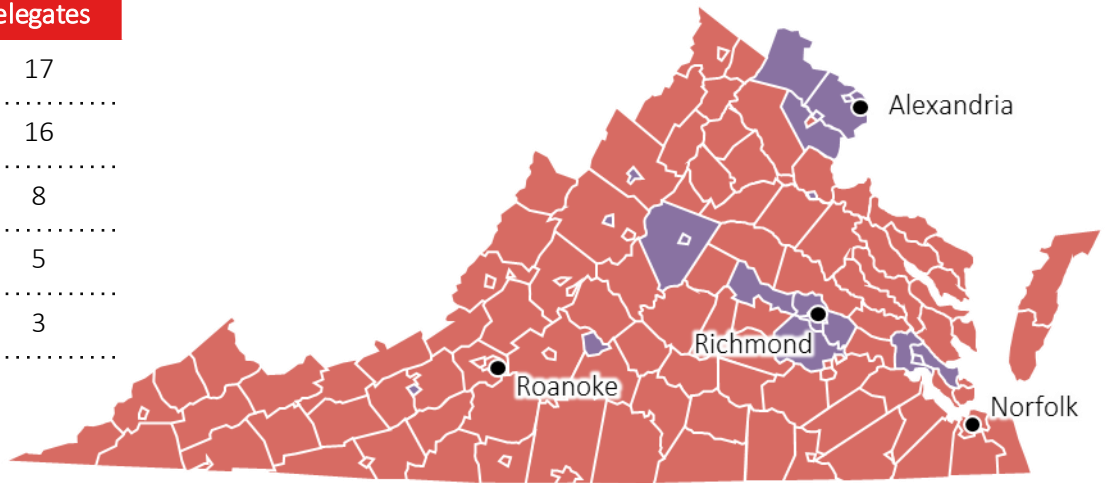
Analysis
- Rubio put up a strong fight in the Virginia suburbs of Washington D.C. as well as in the denser areas of Charlottesville, Williamsburg, and Richmond.
- Trump scored large, decisive wins in both the Blue Ridge to the west and the Eastern Coast, but his major weaknesses in cities exposes a hole in his campaign strategy.
- Votes for Carson, Cruz, and Kasich collectively made up nearly one-third of votes cast, pulling a large portion of votes away from the two front-runners.

Trump Narrowly Edges Kasich in Vermont

Vermont GOP Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	19,952	32.8%	6
	John Kasich	18,501	30.4%	6
	Marco Rubio	11,740	19.3%	0
	Ted Cruz	5,921	9.7%	0
	Ben Carson	2,539	4.2%	0
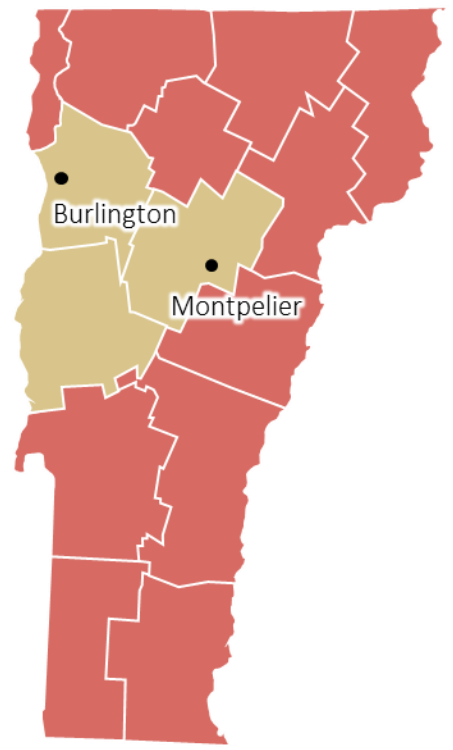
Analysis
- According to exit polls, many Trump supporters had made their decision to vote for him more than a month ago.
- Kasich's frequent visits to Vermont evidently made an impact, as nearly 40% of voters made their decision to vote for Kasich within the days leading up to the primary.

Sources: Washington Post, "Super Tuesday state results"; Dave Green, "Vermont Exit Polls: Sanders Swamps Clinton Across Board."

Trump Edges Out Cruz in Louisiana, Rubio's Distant Third Challenges Campaign Future

Louisiana GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	124,818	41.4%	18
	Ted Cruz	113,949	37.8%	18
	Marco Rubio	33,804	11.2%	5
	John Kasich	19,355	6.4%	0
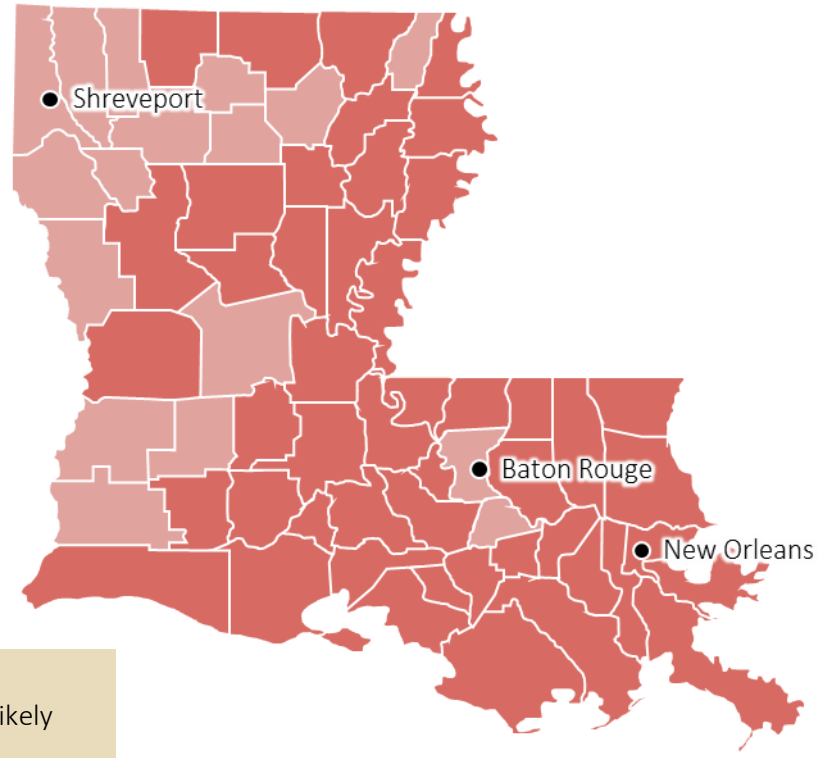
Analysis
- Cruz did exceptionally well in northern and western portions of Louisiana, most likely riding on spillover support from his neighboring home state of Texas.
- Trump won by wide margins in the Southern portions of the state, with large support around New Orleans.
- Rubio struggled to produce double-digit support anywhere outside of New Orleans, reproducing his now established pattern of consolidating his support in cities.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Louisiana Primary Results," The New York Times, March 7, 2016; The Washington Post "Louisiana Primary Election Results," March 7, 2016.
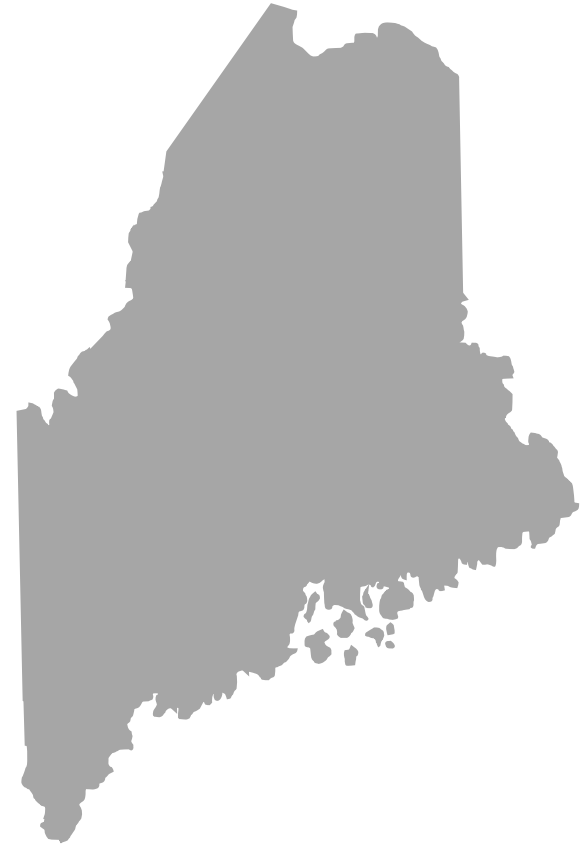
Cruz and Sanders Score Wins in Maine, Rubio Falls Behind Kasich in Fourth Place Finish

Maine GOP Caucuses Results

Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
Ted Cruz	8,550	45.9%	12
Donald Trump	6,070	32.6%	9
John Kasich	2,270	12.2%	2
Marco Rubio	1,492	8.0%	0

Maine Dem. Caucuses Results

Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
Bernie Sanders	2,231	64.3%	15
Hillary Clinton	1,232	35.5%	7

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Maine Primary Results," The New York Times, March 7, 2016; The Washington Post "Maine Primary Election Results," March 7, 2016.

Surprising Turnout in Kansas GOP Caucuses Helps Cruz Pummel Trump by 25 Points

Kansas GOP Caucuses Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Ted Cruz	35,207	48.2%	24
	Donald Trump	17,062	23.3%	9
	Marco Rubio	12,189	16.7%	6
	John Kasich	7,795	10.7%	1
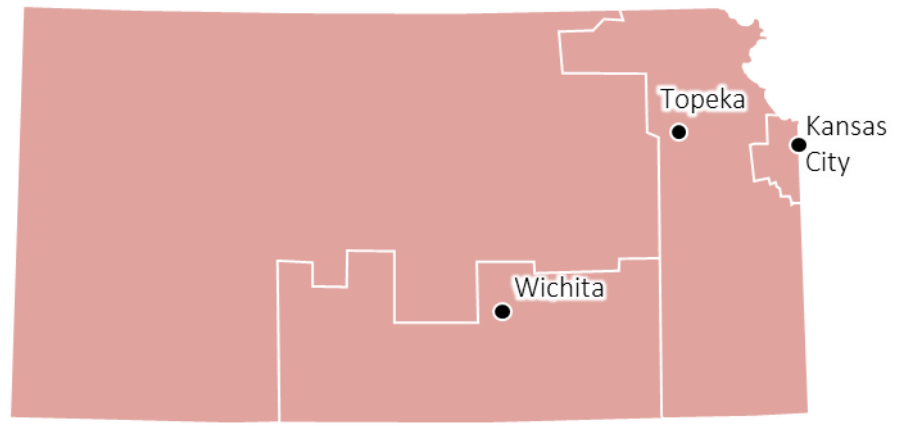
Analysis
- Turnout for the caucuses was almost double than in 2012.
- **Trump** showed a rare third-place showing behind Marco Rubio in the 3rd district, comprised of the Kansas portion of Kansas City.
- Trump's strong stance on immigration may have hurt him in Wichita, a city that has a 20 percent Hispanic population. **Cruz beat Trump in this district by 36 points.**

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Kansas Primary Results," The New York Times, March 7, 2016; The Washington Post "Kansas Primary Election Results," March 7, 2016; Jonathan Martin, "Ted Cruz Keeps Up Pressure on Donald Trump; Bernie Sanders Takes 2 on Super Saturday," The New York Times, March 5, 2016.

Rubio Scores Second Win in Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico GOP Primary Results

Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
Marco Rubio	27,485	73.8%	23
Donald Trump	5,052	13.6%	0
Marco Rubio	3,340	9.0%	0
John Kasich	516	1.4%	0

*Puerto Rico does not participate in the general election for president but holds a primary for both the Republican and Democratic nomination processes.
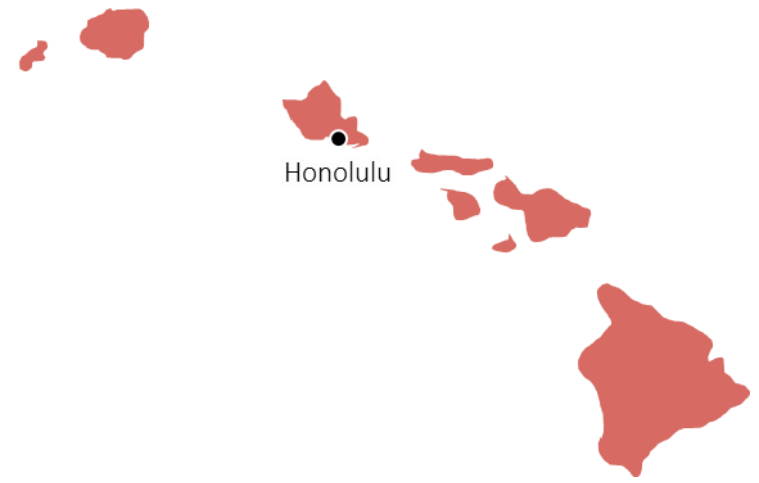
Sources: CNN Politics, "2016 Election Center – Puerto Rico," March 6, 2016.

Rubio and Kasich Did Not Win Any Delegates in Hawaii

Hawaii GOP Caucus Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
■	Donald Trump	5,677	42.4%	11
	Ted Cruz	4,379	32.7%	7
	Marco Rubio	1,759	13.1%	0
	John Kasich	1,413	10.6%	0

Honolulu

Analysis
- In an interview with Hawaii News Now, **Trump said that Hawaii is "very important"** and then praised his hotel in Waikiki
- Senator Sam Slom had called on Hawaii Republicans to support Ted Cruz before the caucuses

Ted Cruz Takes Idaho By Wide Margin

Idaho GOP Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Ted Cruz	100,742	45.4%	20
	Donald Trump	62,278	28.1%	12
	John Kasich	35,347	15.9%	0
	Marco Rubio	16,517	7.4%	0
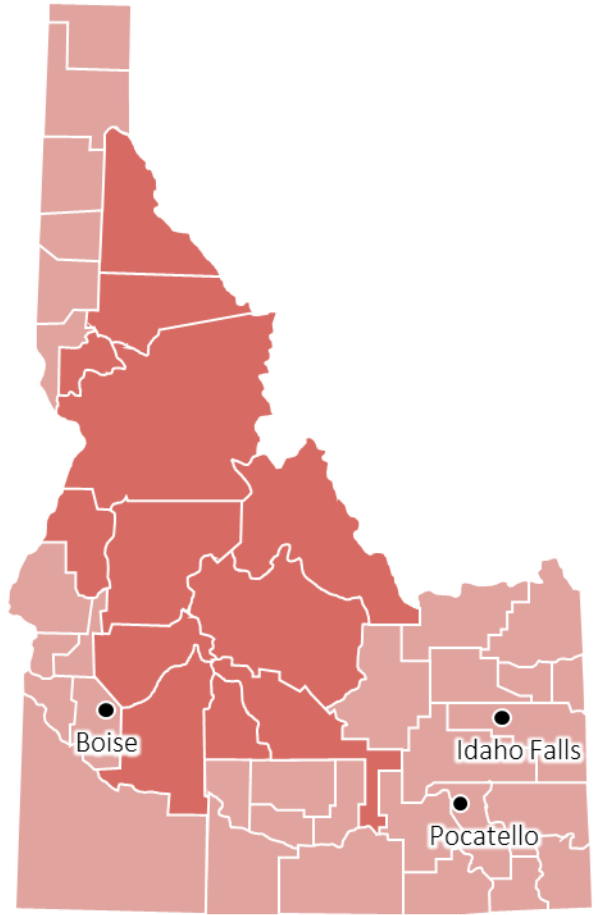
Analysis
- **More than 20% of the vote came from Ada county, home of Boise.** Cruz beat Trump here by 10 points.
- In 2012, Idaho held caucuses seeing a turnout slightly over 50,000. This year the state switched to primaries which led to a quadrupling of votes to over 220,000.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Idaho Primary Results," The New York Times, March 9, 2016; New York Times, "2012 Idaho Republican Caucuses," March 7, 2012.

Following a Week of Attacks from the GOP Establishment, Trump Wins Big in Michigan

Michigan GOP Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	483,487	36.5%	25
	Ted Cruz	329,855	24.9%	17
	John Kasich	321,577	24.3%	17
	Marco Rubio	123,646	9.3%	0
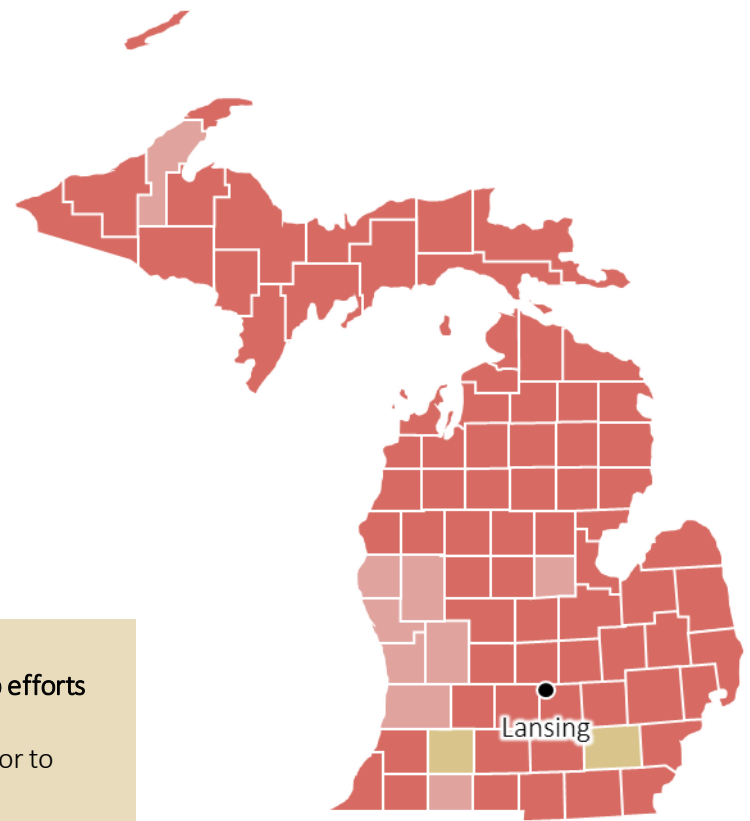
Analysis
- Donald Trump's win in Michigan increased the pressure on the GOP's anti-Trump efforts ahead of the key races on March 15th
- John Kasich was hoping to pull off a surprise win since Michigan is a close neighbor to Ohio

Lansing

Donald Trump Wins in Mississippi, Ted Cruz Makes Strong Second

Mississippi GOP Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	191,216	47.3%	24
	Ted Cruz	146,543	36.3%	13
	John Kasich	35,717	8.8%	0
	Marco Rubio	20,691	5.1%	0
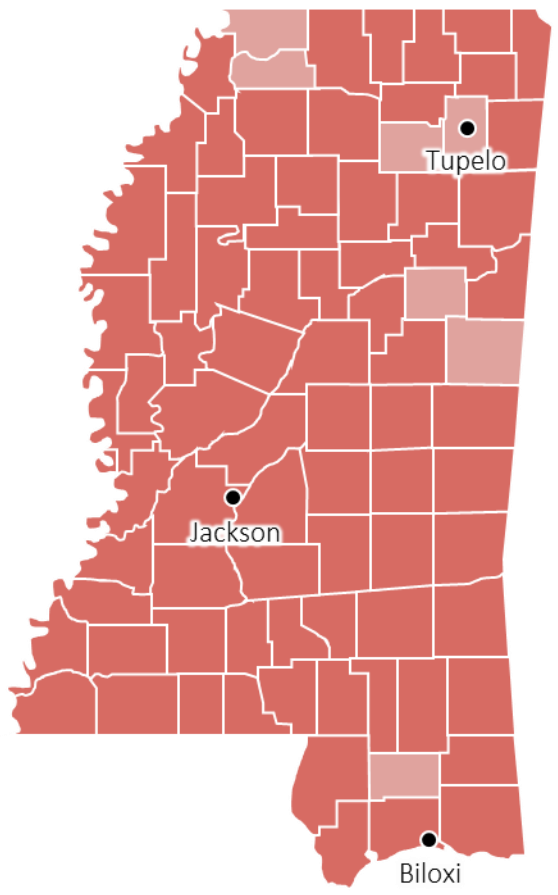
Analysis
- While Donald Trump scored the majority of the vote in many counties, **none of Ted Cruz's county wins were with 50% or more of the vote.**
- Marco Rubio's campaign shows signs of growing problems as he was largely unable to escape fourth-place finishes behind Kasich even in the state's cities.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Mississippi Primary Results," The New York Times, March 9, 2016

Rubio Suspends Florida Campaign
After Loss to Trump

Florida GOP Primary Results, by County

| Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	1,075,094	45.8%	99
	Marco Rubio	635,024	27.0%	0
	Ted Cruz	402,479	17.1%	0
	John Kasich	158.955	6.8%	0
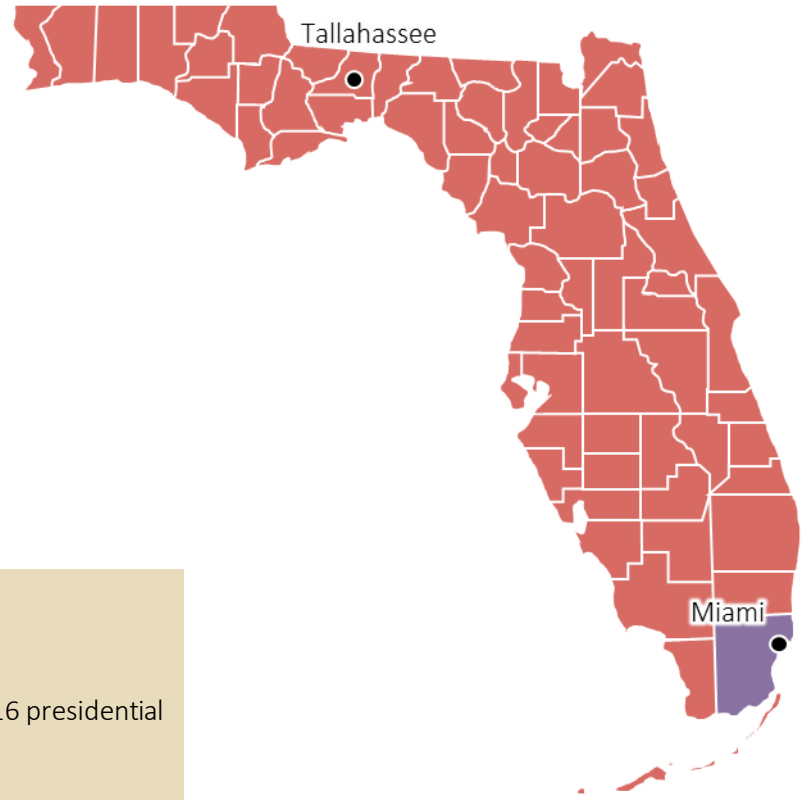
Analysis
- **Donald Trump** won a little under half the votes in Florida's primary election
- Florida is home to a large population of immigrants from Cuba
- Following Trump's win in Florida, **Marco Rubio** officially drops out of the 2016 presidential race

Sources: CNN, "Florida," 2016 Election Center, March 16, 2016; US Census Florida County Map, March 10, 2016.

Kasich Wins His Home State, Trump Puts Up Strong Fight in the East

Ohio GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	John Kasich	956,859	46.8%	66
	Donald Trump	727,832	35.7%	0
	Ted Cruz	267,581	13.1%	0
	Marco Rubio	59,345	2.9%	0
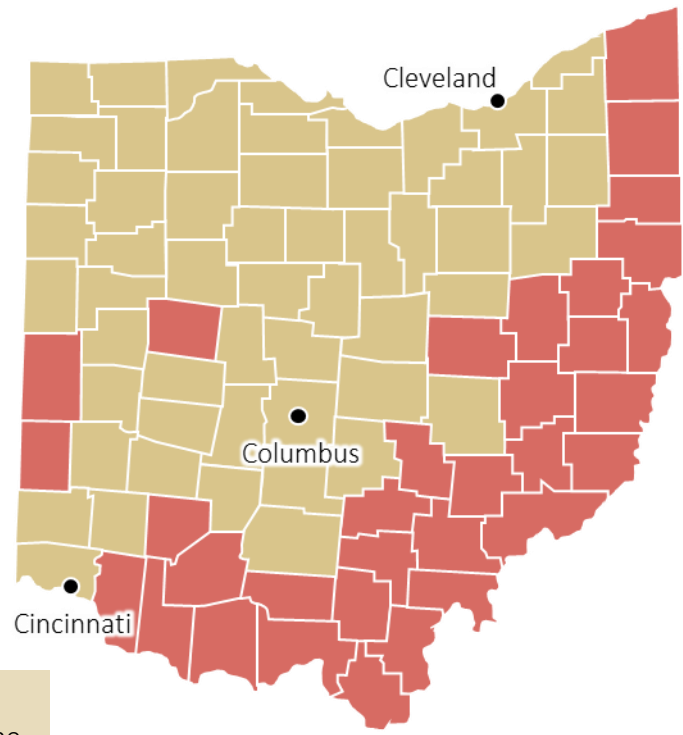
Analysis
- **Donald Trump's strong support in the east** could be a preview of future primaries in the border states of West Virginia and Pennsylvania.
- **John Kasich enjoyed his strongest support in the "three C's":** Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Columbus.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers and Tom Giratikanon, "New York Times Primary Results and Calendar," The New York Times, March 16, 2016; Kevin Schaul and Samuel Granados, "US Primary Results by State," Washington Post, March 16, 2016.

Donald Trump Wins North Carolina With Ted Cruz at a Very Close Second

North Carolina GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	458,151	40.2%	29
	Ted Cruz	418,650	36.8%	27
	John Kasich	144 299	12.7%	9
	Marco Rubio	87,858	7.7%	6
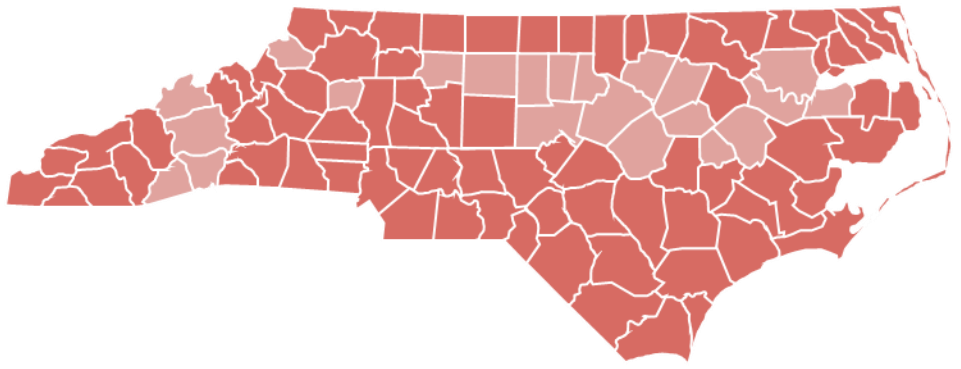
Analysis
- Donald Trump won Mecklenberg County, home to Charlotte, with barely a third of the vote as voters were fairly evenly divided between all four candidates.
- Ted Cruz did surprisingly well in the central portions of the state, home to fewer evangelicals and more college graduates than other portions of the state.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers and Tom Giratikanon, "New York Times Primary Results and Calendar," The New York Times, March 16, 2016; Kevin Schaul and Samuel Granados, "US Primary Results by State," Washington Post, March 16, 2016.

Even After Last Week's Chicago Trump Rally Was Cancelled, Trump Wins in Illinois

Illinois GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	548, 528	38.8%	49
	Ted Cruz	428,363	30.3%	9
	John Kasich	278,244	19.7%	4
	Marco Rubio	122,206	8.7%	0
	Tie			
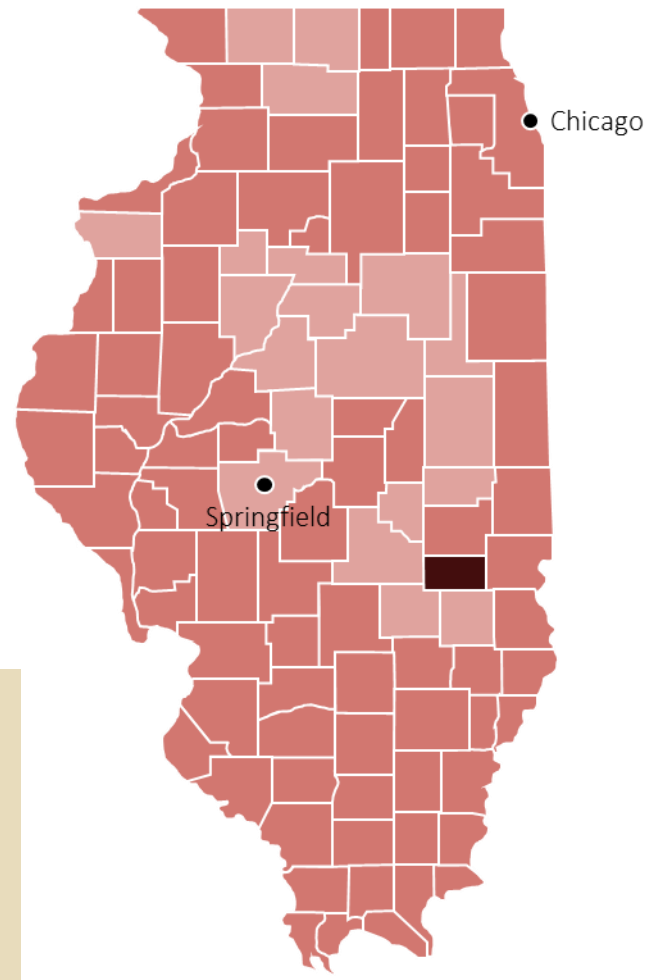
Analysis

- Donald Trump **won in Illinois by a comfortable margin** even after his Chicago rally event was cancelled due to violence.
- Trump's victory fits into the general narrative of Trump being able to weather controversies without it significantly affecting his support
- Ted Cruz's strong second-place performance over John Kasich in a Mid-western state reinforces that Ted Cruz's appeal extends outside of the South and **he will remain the chief challenger to Donald Trump**

Sources: U.S. Census Illinois County Map; The New York Times, "Illinois Primary Results," March 16, 2016; Allan Rappeport, "Donald Trump Wins Illinois," The New York Times, March 15, 2016; CNN, "Illinois Primary Results," March 16, 2016.

Cruz Campaign Eligible for a Recount in Missouri, Primary Decided by Less Than 2000 Votes

Missouri GOP Primary Results, by Congressional District

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates*
	Donald Trump	382,093	40.8%	37
	Ted Cruz	380,367	40.6%	15
	John Kasich	94,533	10.1%	0
	Marco Rubio	57,006	6.1%	0

*Current delegate allocation, may change if a recount is requested.

Delegate Allocation

12 delegates allocated to winner of statewide vote

5 delegates allocated for each congressional-level win

Analysis

- Missouri law states that **a recount must be provided at the request of a candidate who has lost by less than half of one percentage point.**
- **Congressional districts 2, 4, and 5 were all decided by less than one percentage point,** less than 550 votes in each case. These three districts each have a reasonable likelihood of flipping during a recount.
- **Military and oversees absentee ballots will be counted through Friday** and may further affect current results.

Kansas City

St. Louis

Springfield

Decided by less than 550 votes, could flip in a recount.
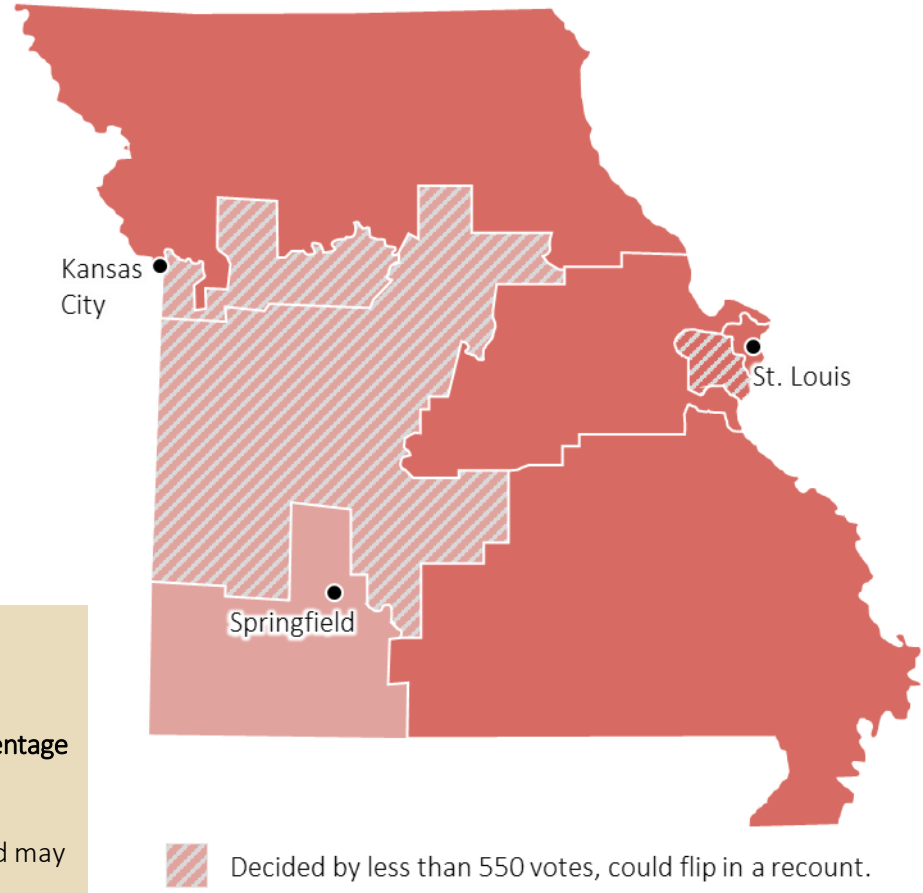
Sources: Missouri Secretary of State, "2016 Presidential Preference Primary, Unofficial Results by Congressional Districts," March 16, 2016; KSPR News, "Missouri GOP Announces Plan for Awarding Delegates Won in Primary," KSPR ABC33, March 17, 2016.

Trump Continues to Dominate the GOP Field and Walks Away With a Win in Arizona

Arizona Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Donald Trump	246,543	47.1%	58
	Ted Cruz	129,429	24.7%	0
	John Kasich	52,462	10.0%	0
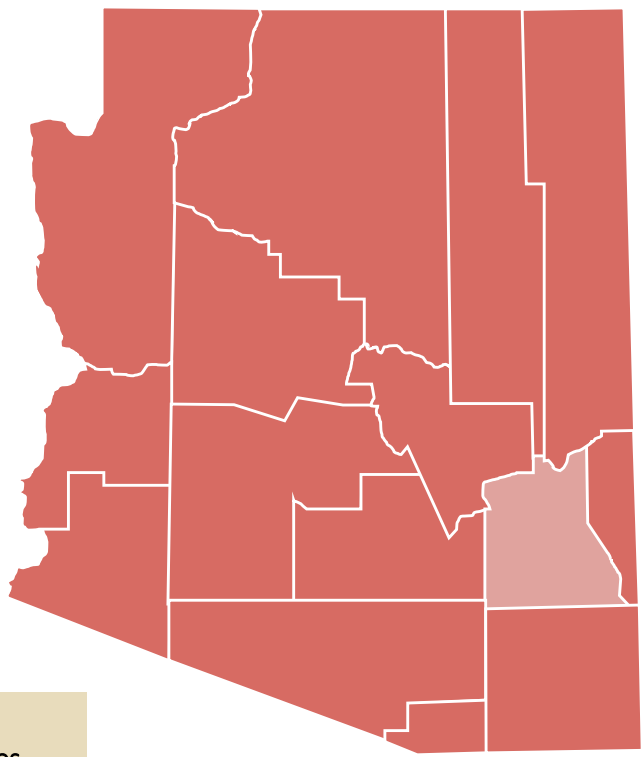
Analysis
- Due to Arizona's primary being winner-take-all, **Trump walked away with 58 delegates**
- **Trump's victory in Arizona was expected** after his tough stance on immigration lined up with many of the residents in Arizona

Sources: The New York Times, "Arizona Primary Results," Election 2016, March 23, 2016; US Census Arizona County Map, March 15, 2016; Dan Nowicki, "Trump Wins Arizona Republican Primary; Cruz Takes Utah," USA Today, March 23, 2016.

Ted Cruz Wins Utah After
Trump Inadvertently Alienates Mormon Community

Utah GOP Caucuses Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Ted Cruz	118,904	69.2%	40
	John Kasich	29,015	16.9%	0
	Donald Trump	23,984	14.0%	0
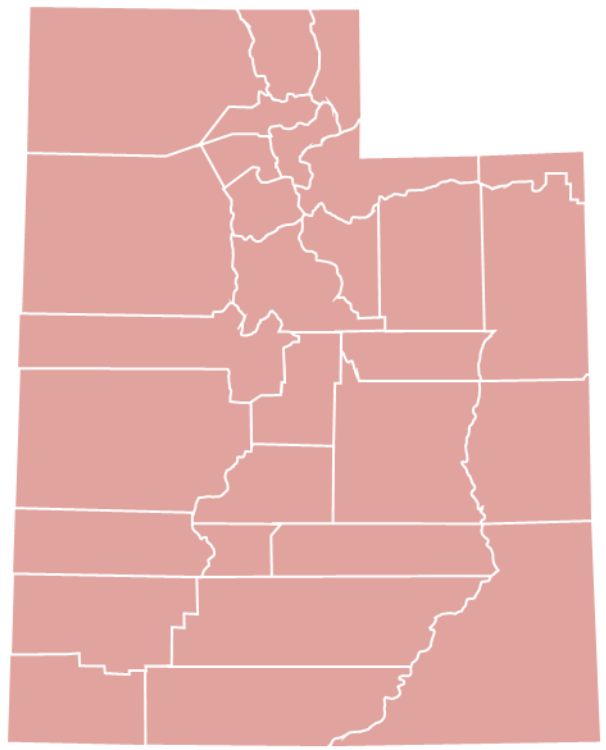
Analysis
- **Many qualities that strengthen Trump's appeal in other states hurt him deeply amongst Mormons in Utah.** From his frequent dirty remarks to his hard stance against immigration, most of Trump's hallmarks are fundamentally opposite of Mormon history and values.

Sources: Wilson Andres, Matthew Bloch, Jeremey Bowers, and Tim Giratikanon, "Utah Primary Results," The New York Times, March 23, 2016; The Washington Post "Utah Primary Election Results," March 23, 2016; Jack Jenkins, "How Donald Trump Could End the Republican Lock on the Mormon Vote," The Atlantic, March 22, 2016.

Ted Cruz Beats Donald Trump Wisconsin, Reigniting Possibilities of a Contest Convention

Wisconsin GOP Primary Results, by County

Legend	Candidate	Votes	Pct.	Delegates
	Ted Cruz	531,129	48.2%	36
	Donald Trump	386,290	35.1%	6
	John Kasich	155,200	14.1%	-
	Tie (Cruz-Trump)			

Green Bay

Madison

Milwaukee
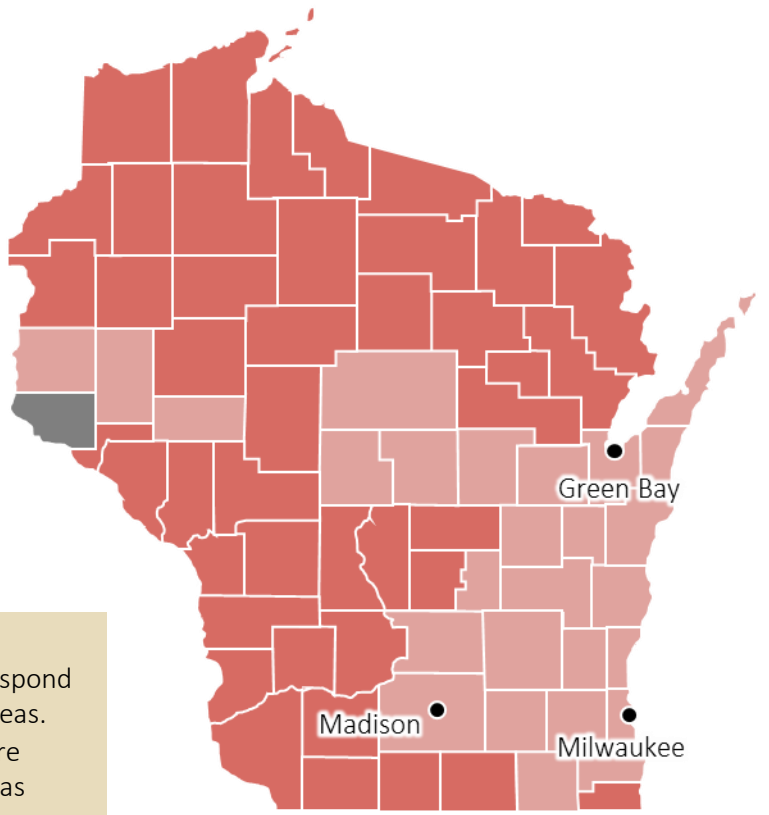
Analysis

- Donald Trump's support in the northern and western portions of the state correspond to **high populations of lower-income and less educated voters** located in these areas.
- Ted Cruz support along the shores of Lake Michigan is notable as this area is more affluent and educated than other portions of the state. Some credit these votes as **votes against Donald Trump rather than in support of a Ted Cruz presidency.**
- **John Kasich did worse than many expected**. While his best showing was in the university town of Madison, he failed to escape single digits in many counties.

Sources: Wilson Andrews, Matthew Bloch, Jeremy Bowers and Tom Giratikanon, "Wisconsin Primary Results," The New York Times, April 6, 2016; CNN "Wisconsin Exit Polls," CNN Election Center, April 6, 2016; Niall Stanage, "5 Takeaways from Wisconsin," The Hill, April 6, 2016.

Ted Cruz Sweeps Nearly All Demographic Groups in WI

Gender
■ Men ■ Women

Ted Cruz
- 48%
- 48%

John Kasich
- 14%
- 15%

Donald Trump
- 35%
- 35%

Education
■ College Degree ■ No College Degree

Ted Cruz
- 48%
- 48%

John Kasich
- 18%
- 12%

Donald Trump
- 31%
- 38%

Age
■ 18-29 ■ 30-44 ■ 45-64 ■ 65+

Ted Cruz
- 44%
- 48%
- 50%
- 46%

John Kascih
- 21%
- 14%
- 12%
- 16%
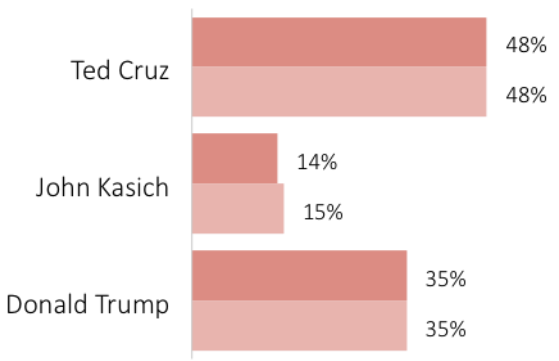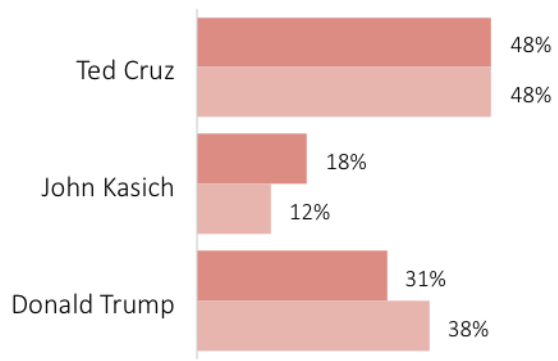
Donald Trump
- 33%
- 33%
- 36%
- 35%
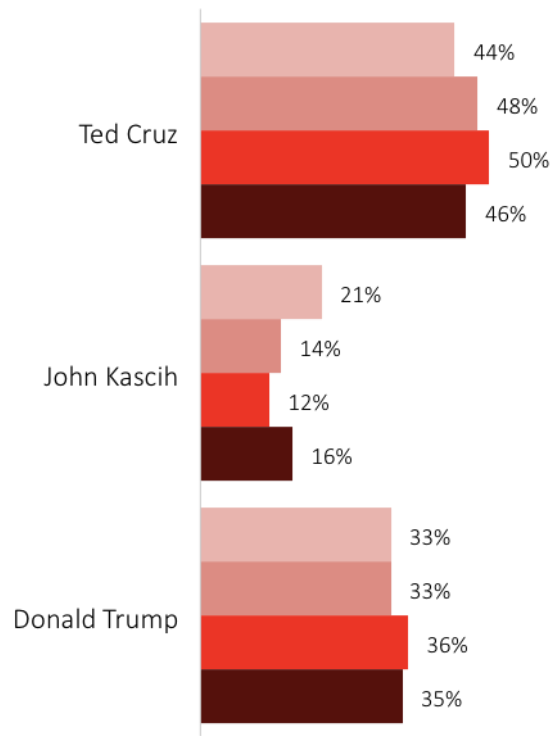
Religion
■ Evangelical / Born Again Christian ■ Other

Ted Cruz
- 55%
- 43%

John Kasich
- 10%
- 18%

Donald Trump
- 34%
- 36%
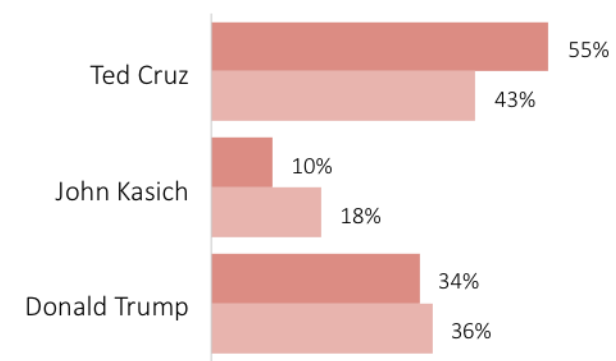
Source: CNN Politics, "Wisconsin Exit Polls," April 5, 2016.

Chapter 4

Polling Numbers and Other Statistics

NationalJournal LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Clinton's Lead Over Sanders Has Been Slipping in Recent Months

January 2015 – April 2016 Polling Numbers, by Democratic Candidate

■ Clinton ■ Sanders ■ Undecided
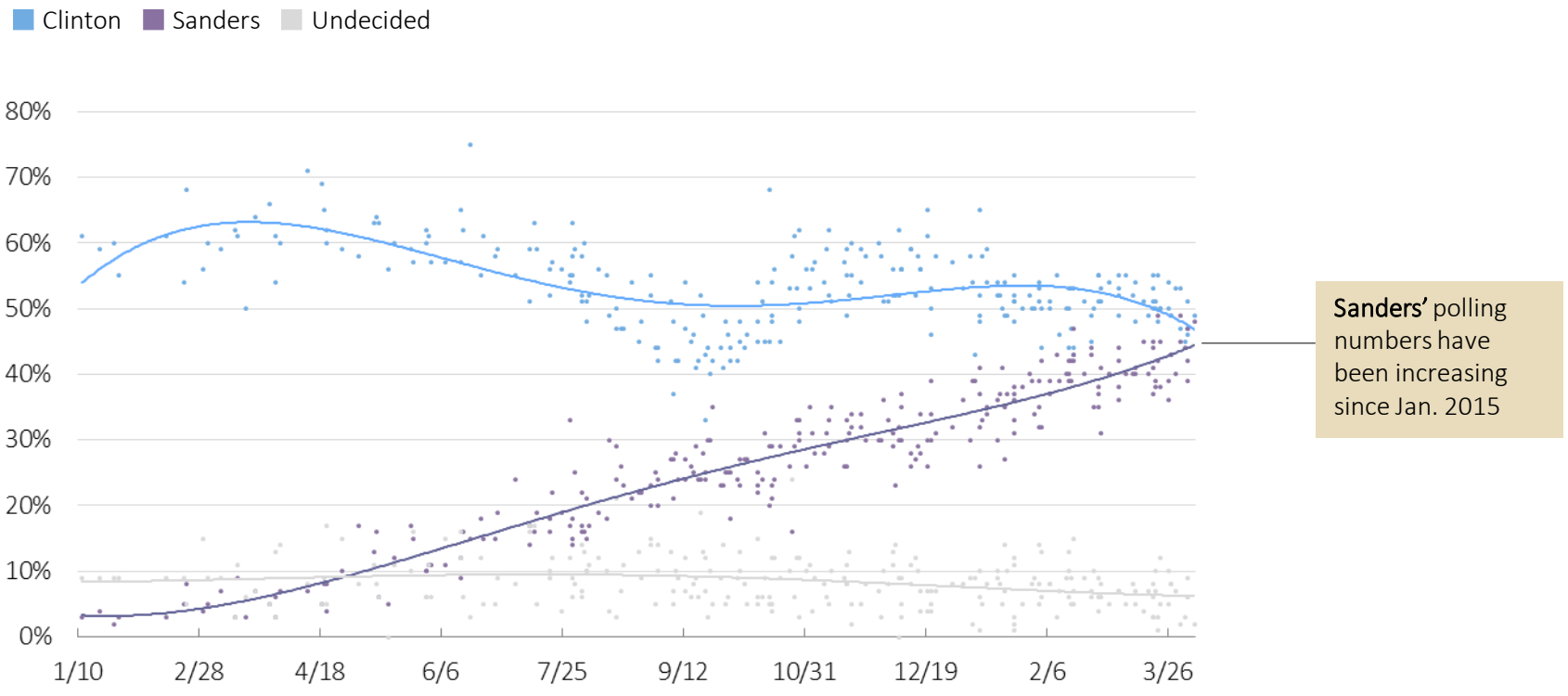
Sanders' polling numbers have been increasing since Jan. 2015

Trump Has Consistently Been at the Top Since the Summer

September 2015 – April 2016 Polling Numbers, by GOP Candidate

■ Trump ■ Cruz ■ Kasich

Kasich and Cruz both rose in the polls after Rubio dropped out
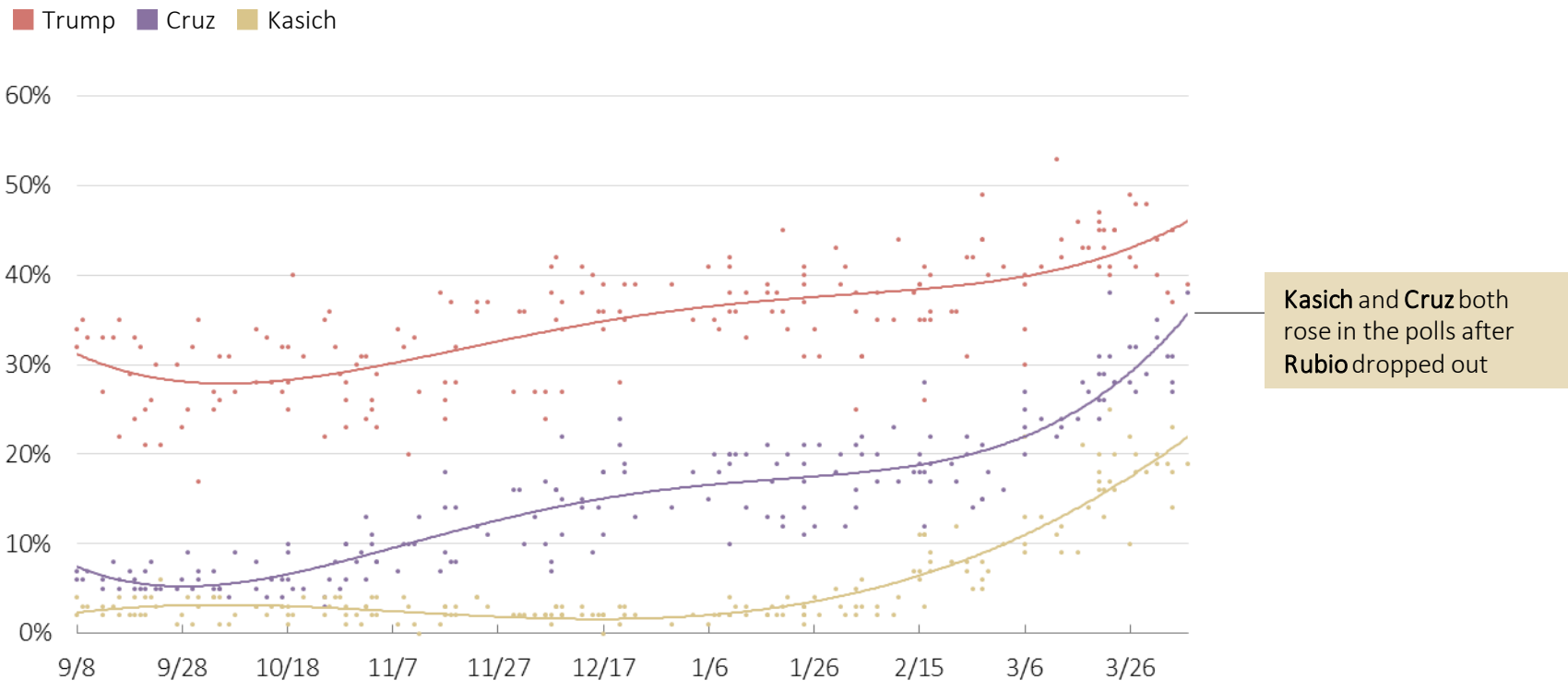
Source: HuffPost Pollster, "Poll Chart: 2016 National Republican Primary," April 8, 2016.

Clinton Leads in New York State Polling, But Sanders is Not Too Far Behind

Mar 2015-Apr 2016 New York State Polling Numbers, by Dem Candidate

■ Clinton   ■ Sanders   □ Undecided

Clinton has maintained her lead over Sanders in New York polling

Trump is in the Lead in New York State Polling

Mar 2015-Apr 2016 New York State Polling Numbers, by GOP Candidate

■ Trump ■ Kasich ■ Cruz

Trump has a significant lead in New York polls

Cruz is only slightly outperforming Kasich in the polls
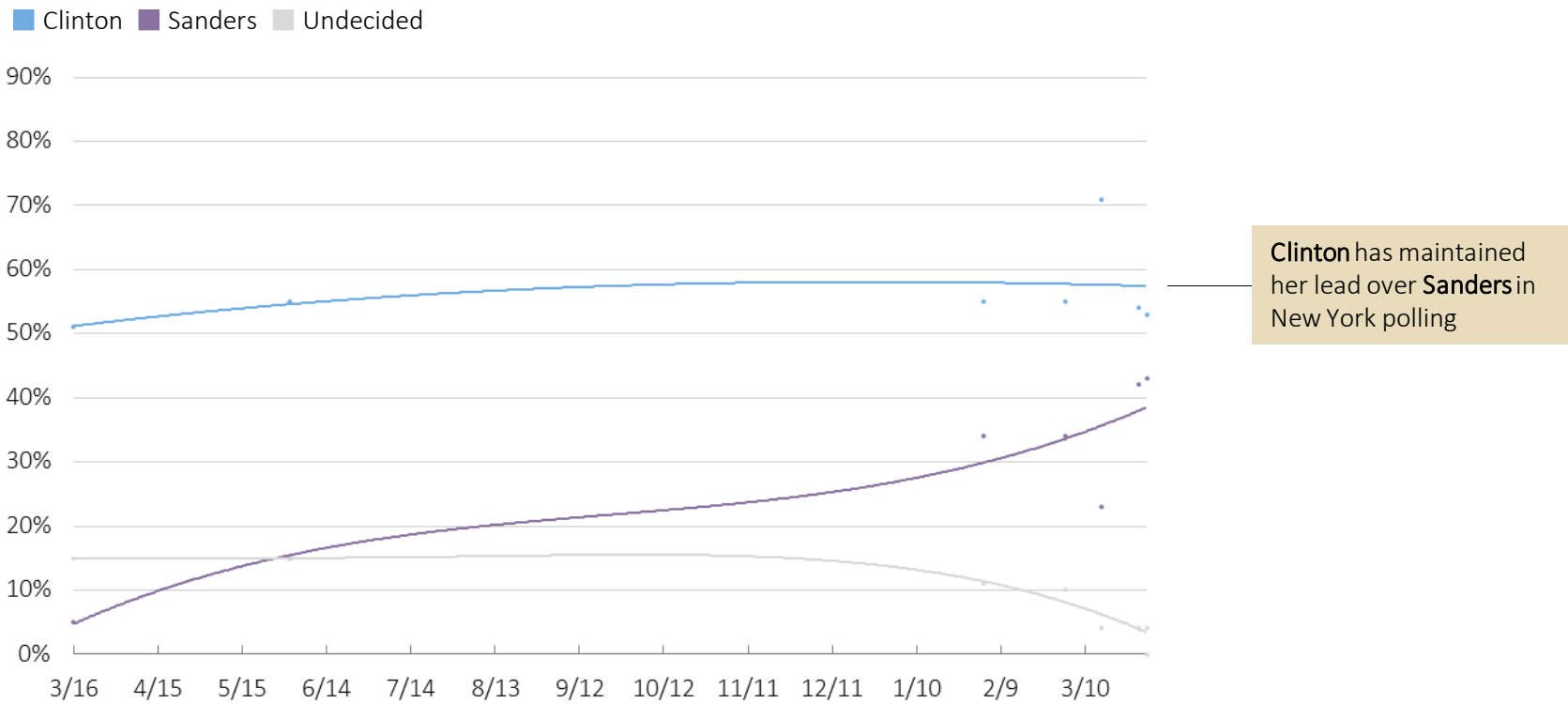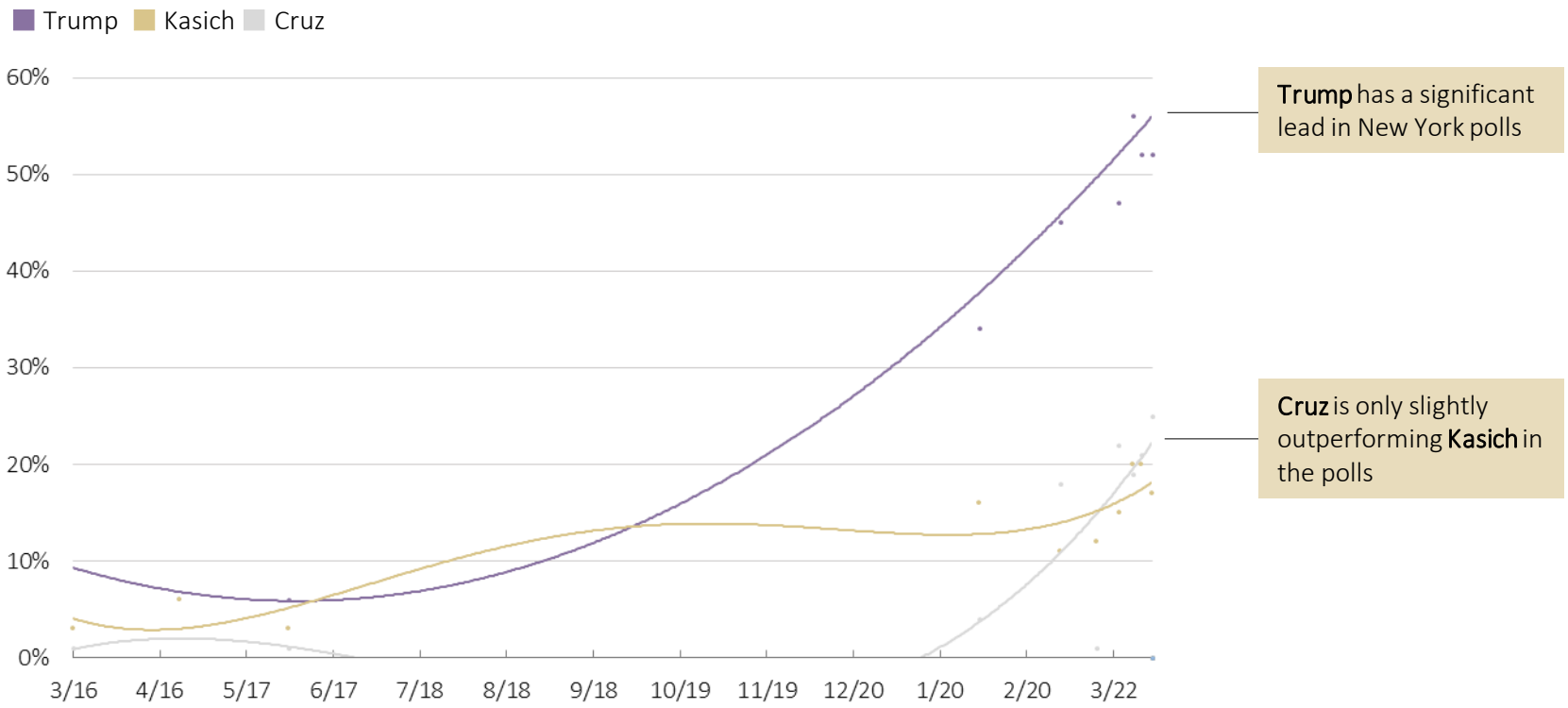
Source: HuffPost Pollster, "Poll Chart: 2016 New York Republican Presidential Primary," April 7, 2016.

Clinton Leads in Pennsylvania Despite Sanders' Growth in the Polls

Jan 2015-Apr 2016 Pennsylvania State Polling Numbers, by Dem Candidate

■ Clinton ■ Sanders ■ Undecided

Sanders' polling numbers steadily increased since Jan. 2015

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Trump is in the Lead in Pennsylvania State Polling

June 2015-Apr 2016 Pennsylvania State Polling Numbers, by GOP Candidate

- Trump
- Kasich
- Cruz

Trump has maintained a lead in the polls for the past few months

Kasich has generally polled higher than **Cruz** in Pennsylvania polling
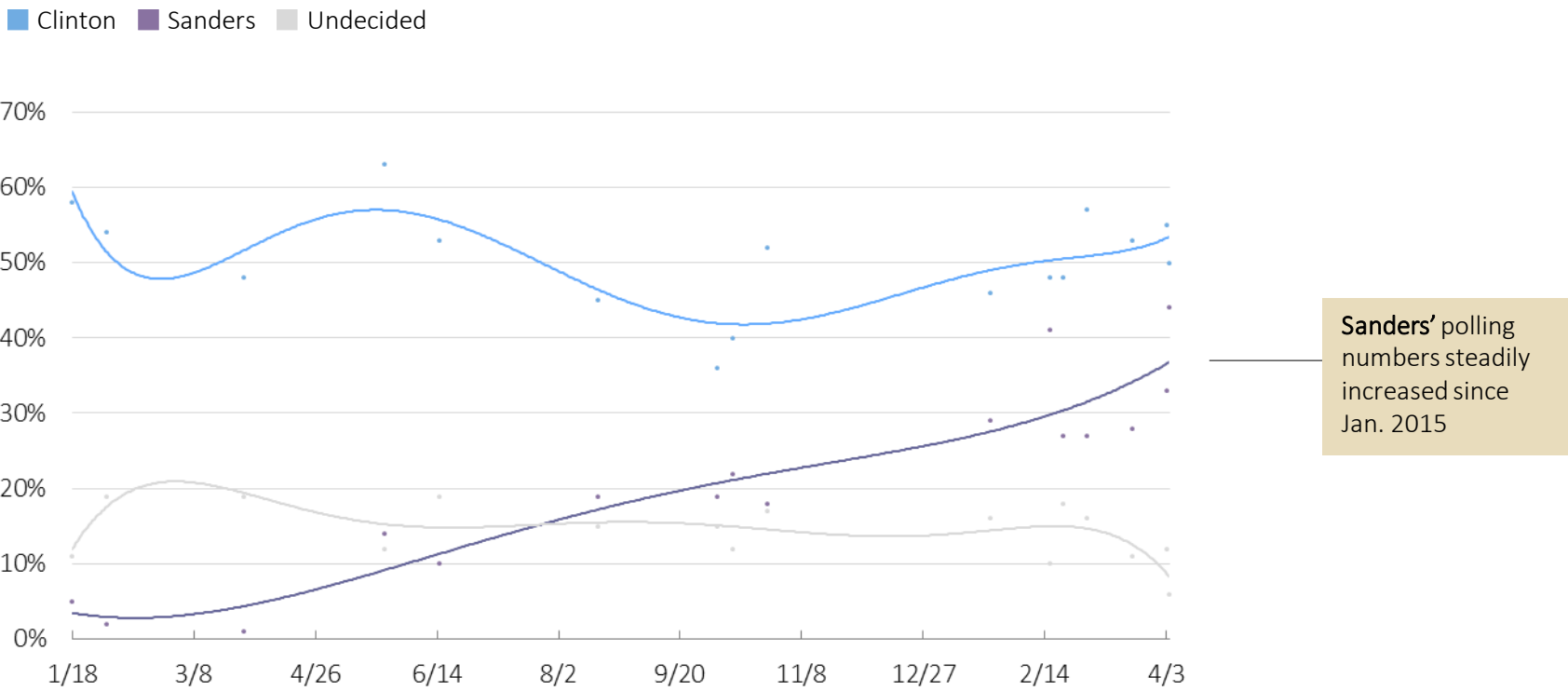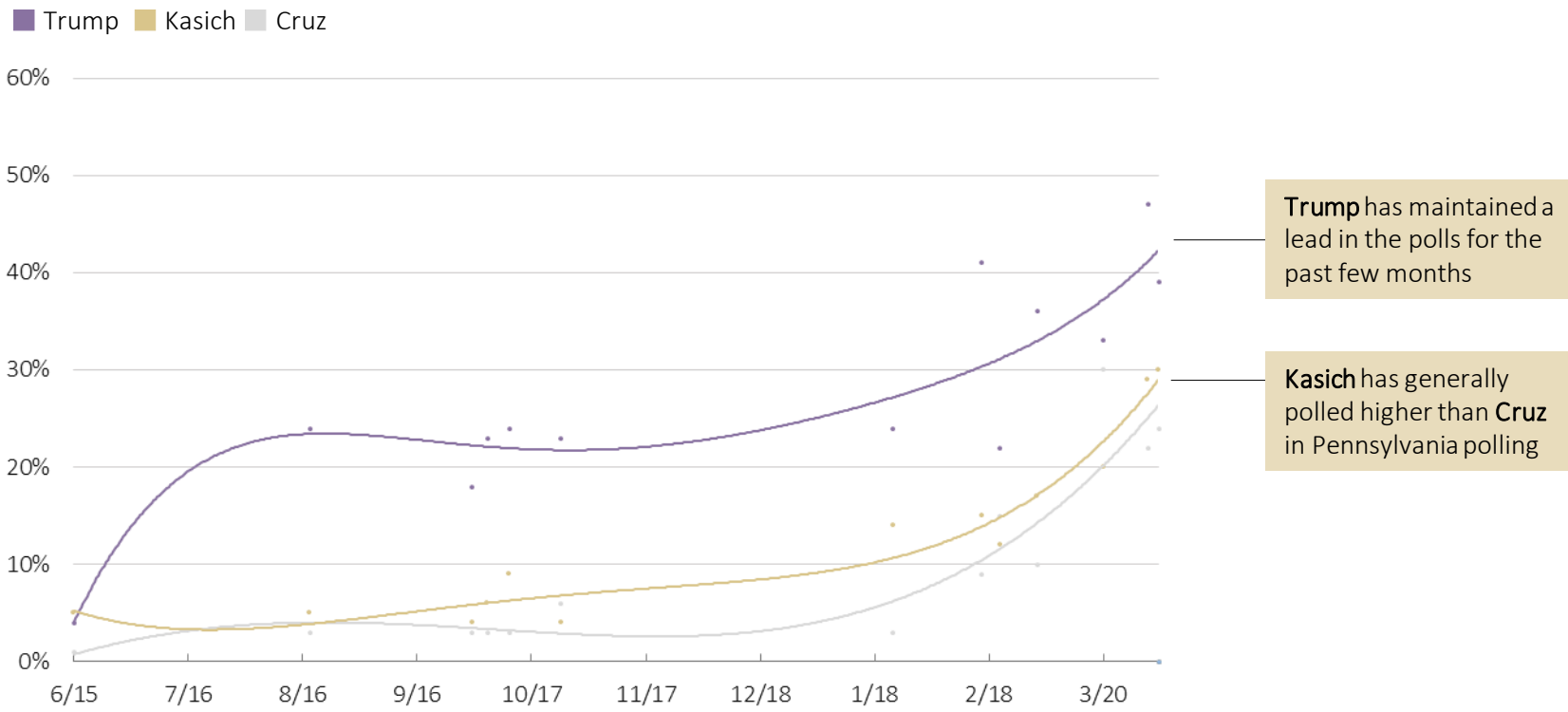
Source: HuffPost Pollster, "Poll Chart: 2016 Pennsylvania Republican Presidential Primary," April 7, 2016.

NationalJournal LEADERSHIP COUNCIL

Hillary Clinton's Favorability Has Declined Since 2011

Jan 2009 – Apr 2016 Hillary Clinton Favorability Ratings

🟩 Favorable   🟦 Undecided   🟥 Unfavorable
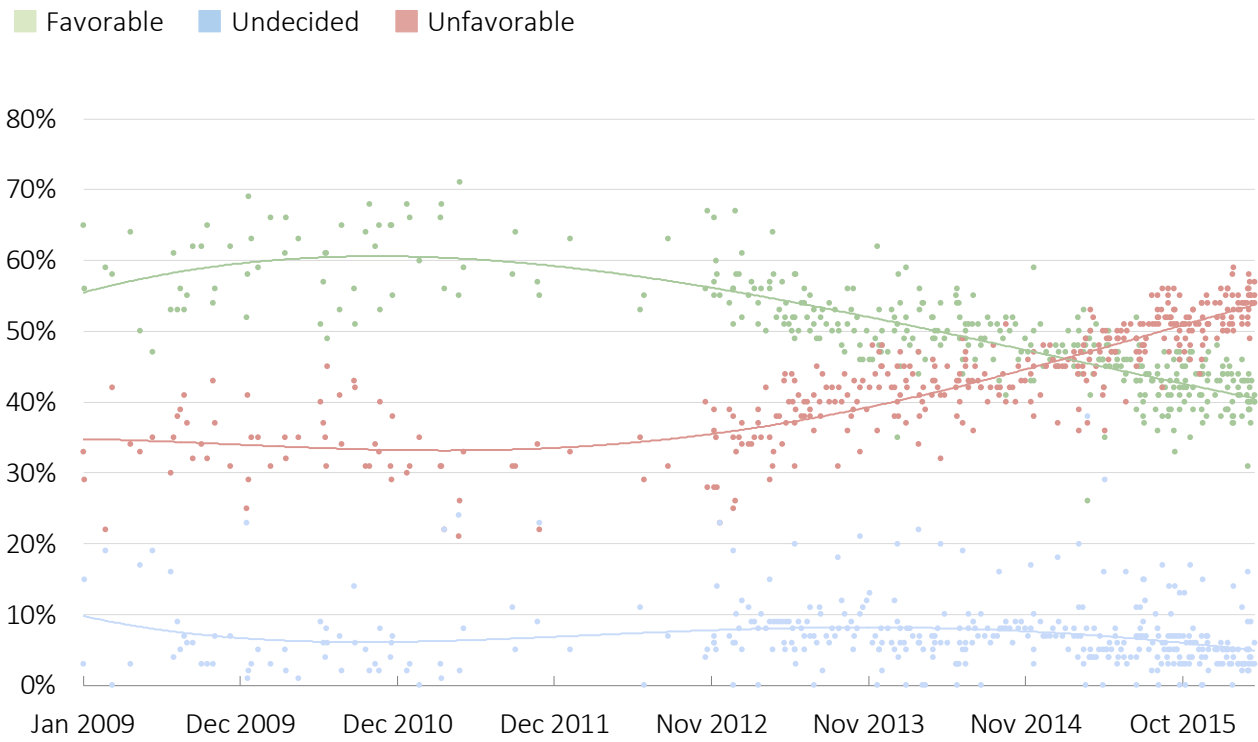
Analysis
- Hillary Clinton's favorability has steadily declined over the past few years
- She has been more unfavored than favored since mid-2015

Source: HuffPost Pollster, "Poll Chart: Hillary Clinton Favorable Rating," April 8, 2016.

Bernie Sanders' Favorability Has Consistently Risen Since March 2015

Mar 2015 – Apr 2016 Bernie Sanders Favorability Ratings

■ Favorable   ■ Undecided   ■ Unfavorable
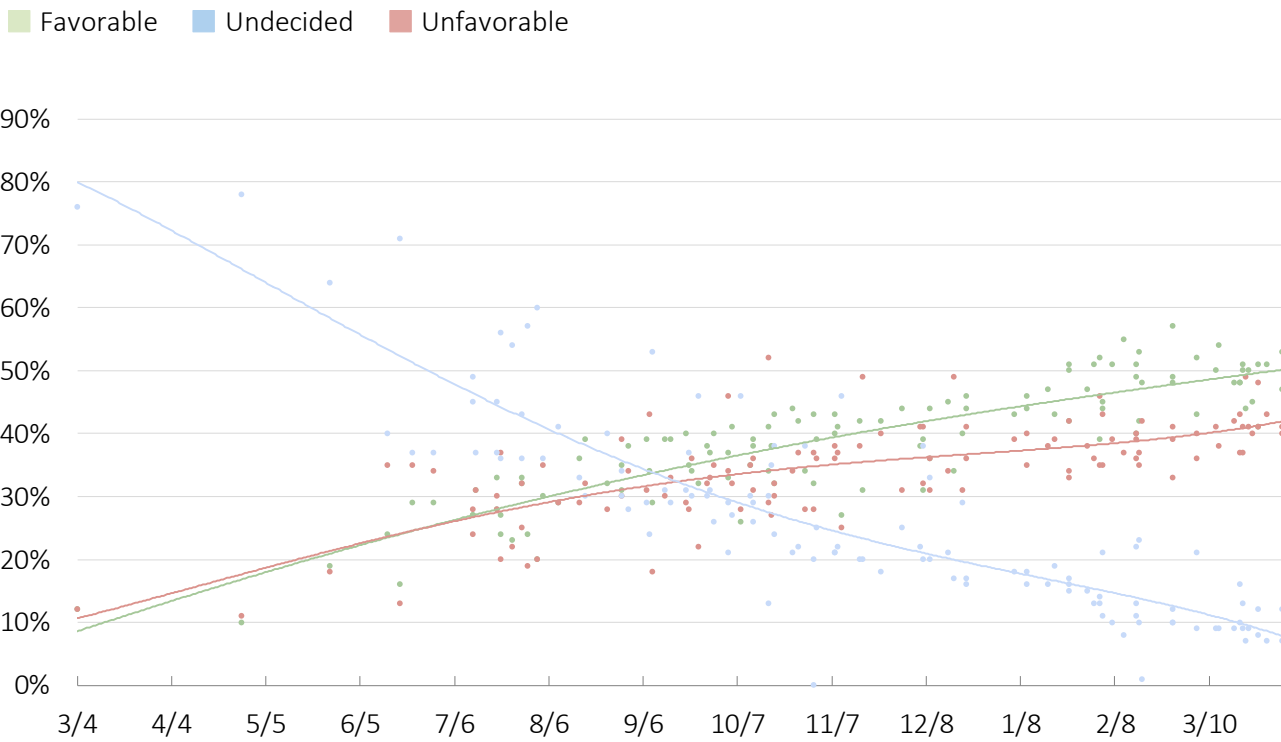
Analysis
- Sanders' favorability has steadily increased since March 2015
- The percentage of people undecided about Sanders has dropped significantly as he became more well known over the course of his campaign
- The percentage of people who see Sanders unfavorably has also risen, but Sanders has generally been seen more favorably than unfavorably since July 2015

Source: HuffPost Pollster, "Poll Chart: Bernie Sanders Favorable Rating," April 8, 2016.

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Donald Trump's Favorability Has Decreased in Recent Months

May 2015 – Apr 2016 Donald Trump Favorability Ratings

🟩 Favorable 🟦 Undecided 🟥 Unfavorable
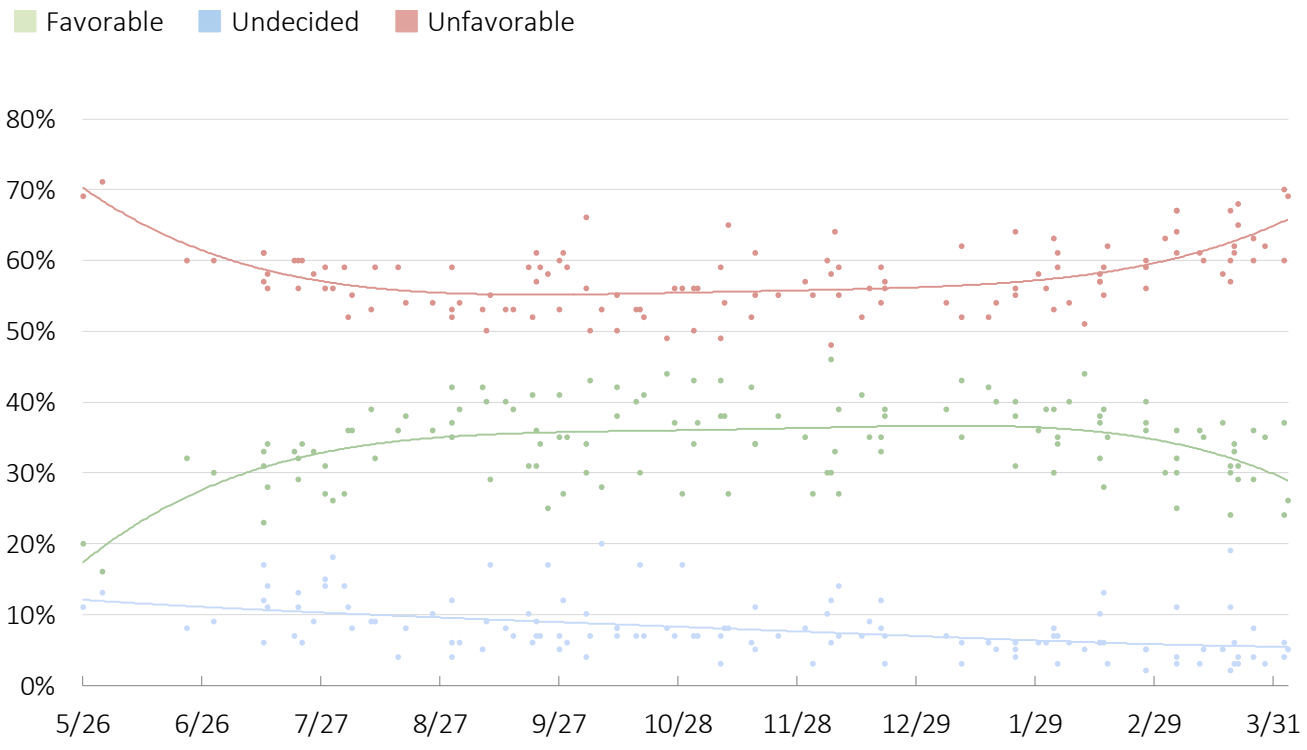
Analysis
- Donald Trump has consistently been more unfavored than favored since May 2015
- Over the past few months, his favorability rating has decreased and his unfavorability rating has increased

Source: HuffPost Pollster, "Poll Chart: Donald Trump Favorable Rating," April 8, 2016.

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Ted Cruz Has Been More Unfavored than Favored Throughout His Tenure as Senator

June 2013 – Apr 2016 Ted Cruz Favorability Ratings

■ Favorable   ■ Undecided   ■ Unfavorable
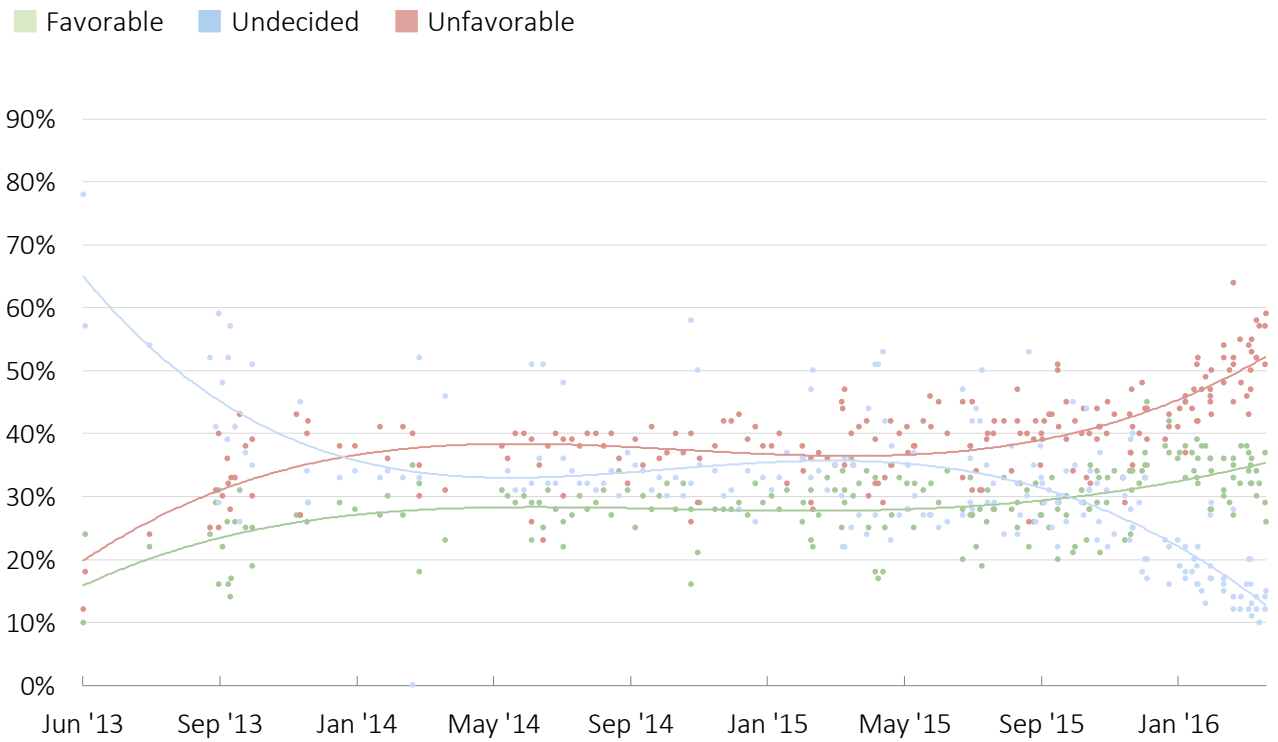
Analysis
- Ted Cruz has always been more unfavored than favored, since June 2013
- While his favorability has slightly increased over the past few months, his unfavorability rating has also increased

John Kasich's Favorability Has Risen Since January 2016

May 2015 – Apr 2016 John Kasich Favorability Ratings

■ Favorable ■ Undecided ■ Unfavorable
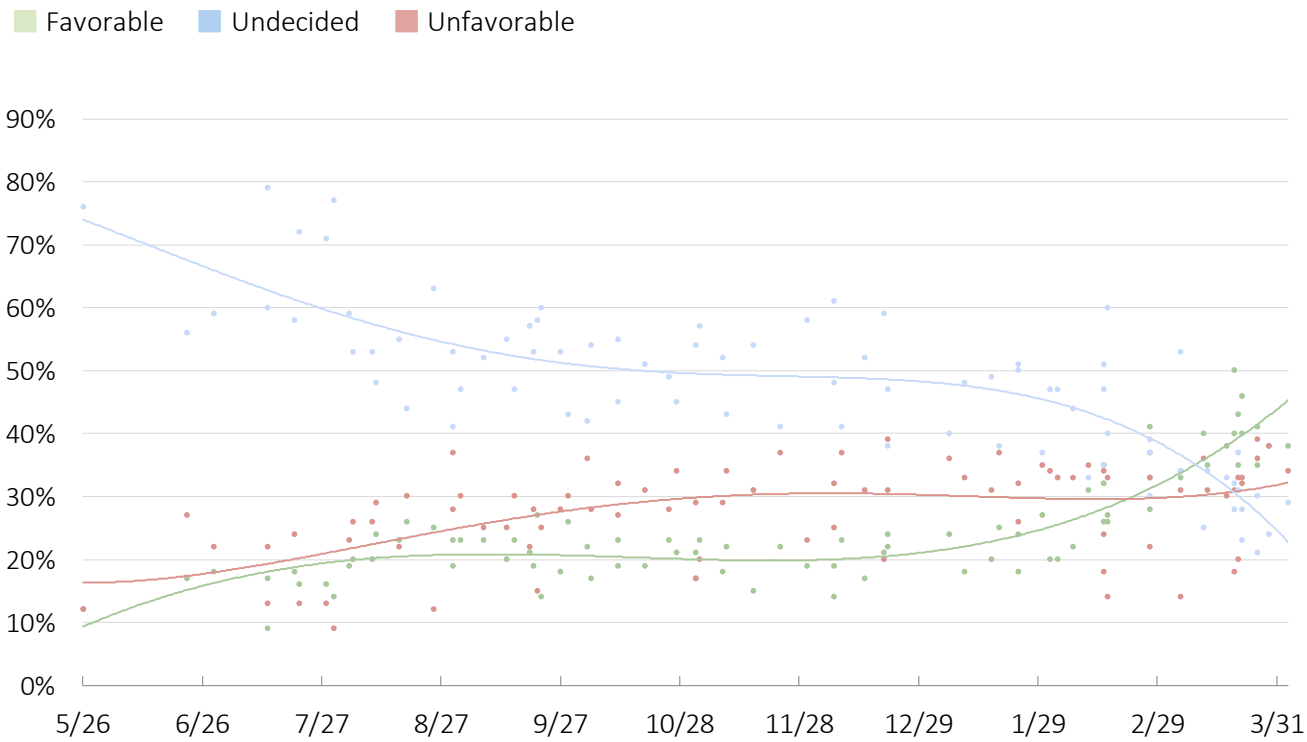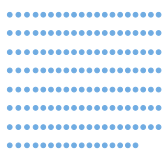
Analysis
- John Kasich has had a higher favorable rating than unfavorable rating since the end of January
- His favorability rating has risen, while his unfavorable rating has mostly stayed the same

Source: HuffPost Pollster, "Poll Chart: John Kasich Favorable Rating," April 8, 2016.

Clinton and Cruz Lead in Number of Endorsements From Governors and Members of Congress

Number of Endorsements From Political Leaders
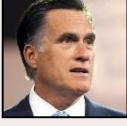
Candidate	Representatives		Senators		Governors		Total
Ted Cruz	32	•••••••••••••••••• ••••••••	3	•••	5	•••••	40
John Kasich	8	•••••••	2	••	2	••	12
Donald Trump	6	•••••	1	•	3	•••	10
Hillary Clinton	159	•••••••••••••• •••••••••••••• •••••••••••••• •••••••••••••• •••••••••••••• •••••••••••••• •••••••••••••• ••••••••••••	40	•••••••••••••••••••• ••••••••••••••••••••	13	••••••••••••	212
Bernie Sanders	7	•••••••					7

Source: Aaron Bycoffe, "The Endorsement Primary," FiveThirtyEight, April 8, 2016.

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Scott Walker Endorses Ted Cruz

Former Candidates Endorsement Tracker

Former Candidate		Endorsement	Former Candidate		Endorsement
Scott Walker		Ted Cruz	Jeb Bush		None
Ben Carson		Donald Trump	Rand Paul		Will not endorse
Carly Fiorina		Ted Cruz	Mitt Romney (2012 nominee)		None, but has made calls from Rubio and Kasich
Chris Christie		Donald Trump	Mike Huckabee		Will not endorse
Rick Santorum		Marco Rubio	Lindsay Graham		Jeb Bush (no longer a candidate)
Bobby Jindal		Marco Rubio	Martin O'Malley		None

Source: National Journal Research, 2016; Corbis, 2016; Lisa de Moraes, "Chris Christie Joins Carly Fiorina In Quitting Race As Hopes Dashed For Podium At CBS' Debate – Update," Deadline, February 10, 2016.

With Rubio Out, Cruz Leads GOP Endorsement Race

Endorsements From Sitting Reps, Senators and Governors

■ Representative Endorsements   ■ Senator Endorsements   ■ Governor Endorsements
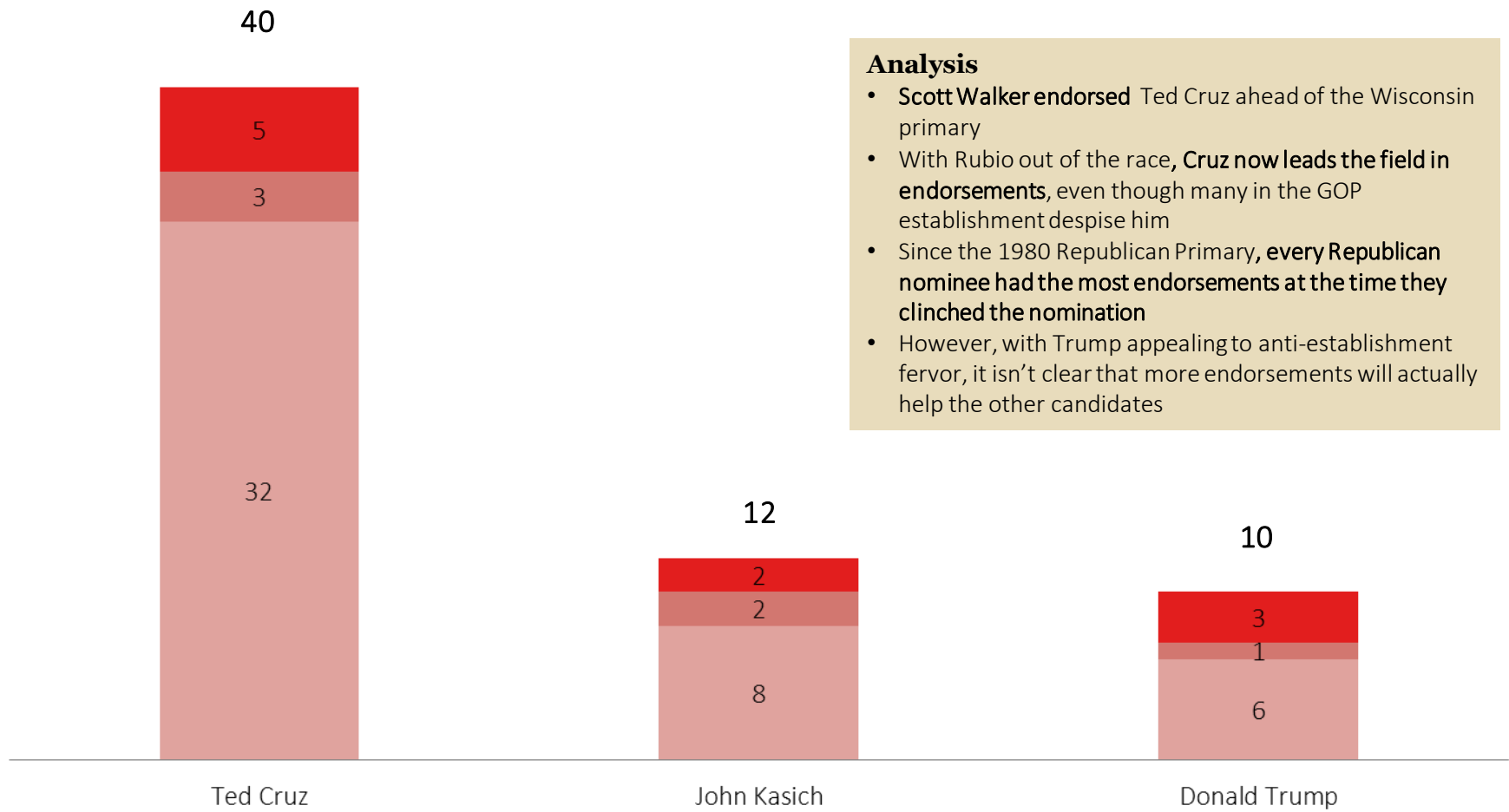
Analysis
- Scott Walker endorsed Ted Cruz ahead of the Wisconsin primary
- With Rubio out of the race, **Cruz now leads the field in endorsements**, even though many in the GOP establishment despise him
- Since the 1980 Republican Primary, **every Republican nominee had the most endorsements at the time they clinched the nomination**
- However, with Trump appealing to anti-establishment fervor, it isn't clear that more endorsements will actually help the other candidates

Ted Cruz — 40
- 5 (Governor)
- 3 (Senator)
- 32 (Representative)

John Kasich — 12
- 2 (Governor)
- 2 (Senator)
- 8 (Representative)

Donald Trump — 10
- 3 (Governor)
- 1 (Senator)
- 6 (Representative)

Source: Aaron Bycoffe, "The Endorsement Primary," FiveThirtyEight, April 8, 2016.

Clinton Leads Sanders in Endorsements by Vast Margin

Endorsements From Sitting Reps, Senators and Governors

■ Representative Endorsements   ■ Senator Endorsements   ■ Governor Endorsements
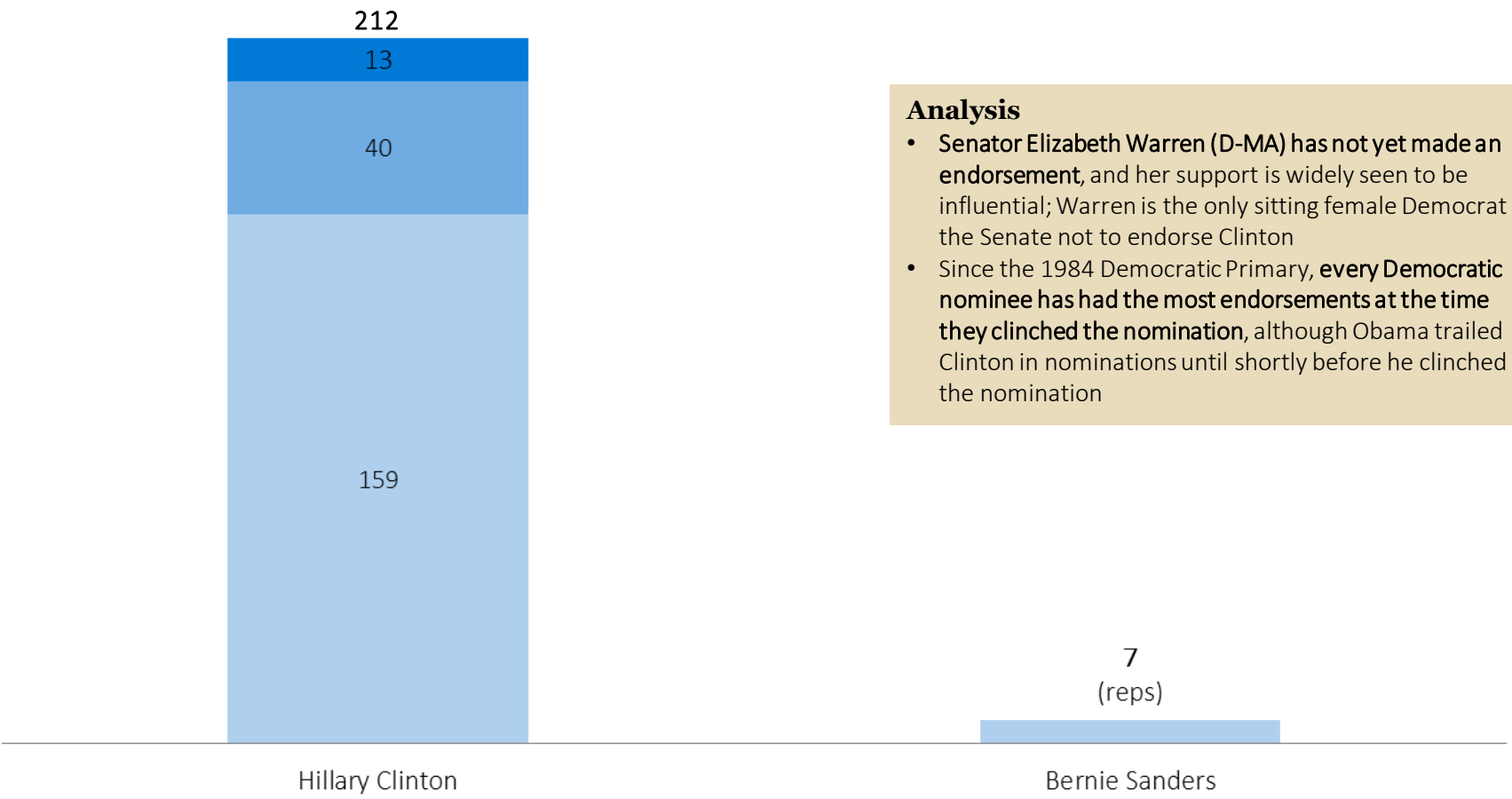
Analysis
- **Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) has not yet made an endorsement**, and her support is widely seen to be influential; Warren is the only sitting female Democrat in the Senate not to endorse Clinton
- Since the 1984 Democratic Primary, **every Democratic nominee has had the most endorsements at the time they clinched the nomination**, although Obama trailed Clinton in nominations until shortly before he clinched the nomination

212

13

40

159

7
(reps)

Hillary Clinton

Bernie Sanders

Source: Aaron Bycoffe, "The Endorsement Primary," FiveThirtyEight, April 8, 2016.

Each Candidate Has Significant Endorsers

Notable Endorsements, by Candidate

Candidate		Endorsements
Donald Trump		• Former Presidential Candidate Ben Carson • Former Presidential Candidate and New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie • Former Alaska Governor Sarah Palin • Former MA Senator Scott Brown
Ted Cruz		• Former Presidential Candidate Scot Walker • Former Presidential Candidate Carly Fiorina • Former Texas Governor Rick Perry • Representative Steve King (R-IA) • Gun Owners of America
Marco Rubio		• Former Presidential Candidate Rick Santorum • Former Presidential Candidate George Pataki • Governor of South Carolina Nikki Haley • Governor of Kansas Sam Brownback
Hillary Clinton		• Human Rights Campaign • Governor of New York Andrew Cuomo • Planned Parenthood • 13 out of the 14 Female Democrats in the Senate
Bernie Sanders		• Bill McKibbon, founder of 350.org • *The Nation* • MoveOn.org • Raúl Grijalva (D-AZ) • Spike Lee

Source: National Journal Research, 2016.

Hillary Clinton is Currently the Favorite to Win the Presidential Race

2016 Winner of Race for President

Predictwise Odds, April 4, 2016
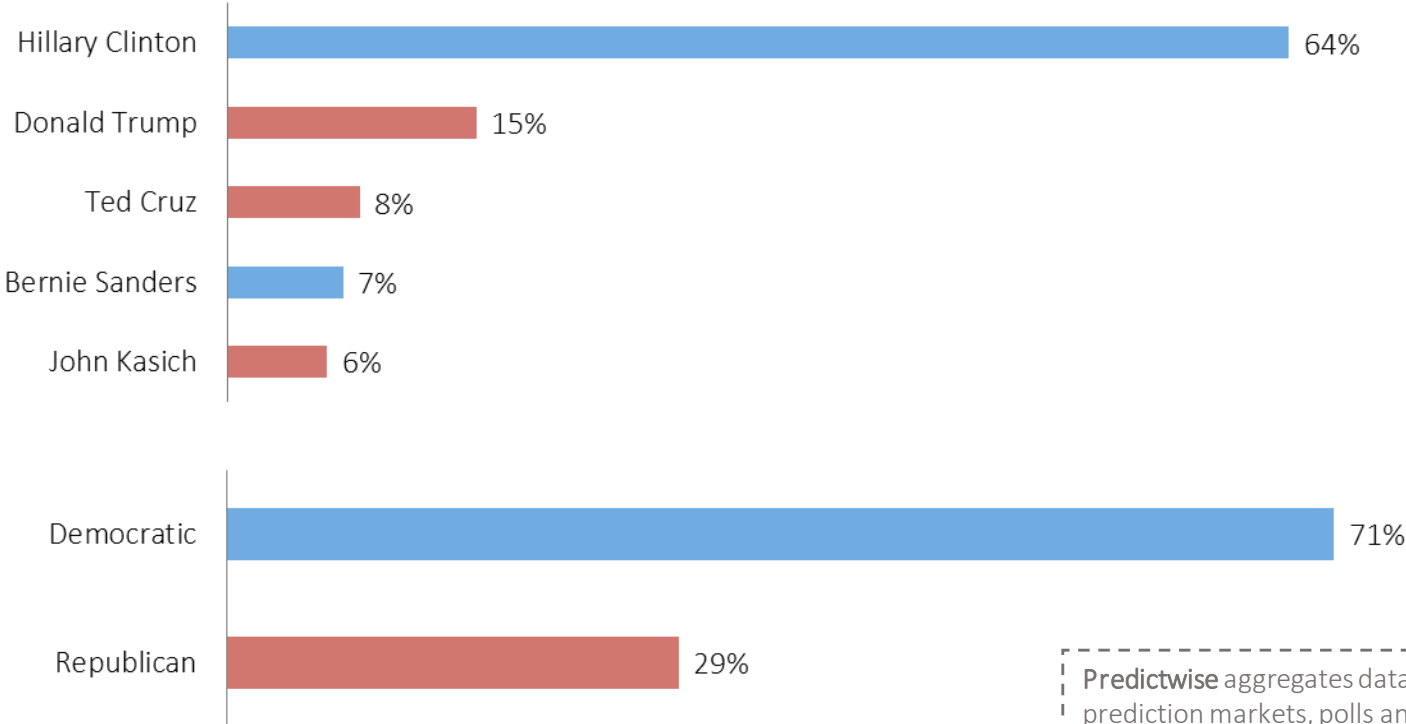
Predictwise aggregates data from political prediction markets, polls and other sources to make predictions on issues in the public domain. Sources include: PredictIt, Betfair, Huffpost Pollster and OddsChecker.

Sources: Predictwise, 2016.

Trump's Odds of Winning the Nomination Have Dropped 20% in Recent Weeks

2016 Republican Nomination for President

Predictwise Odds, April 4, 2016

Donald Trump — 53%
Ted Cruz — 27%
John Kasich — 12%
Paul Ryan — 6%
Mitt Romney — 1%
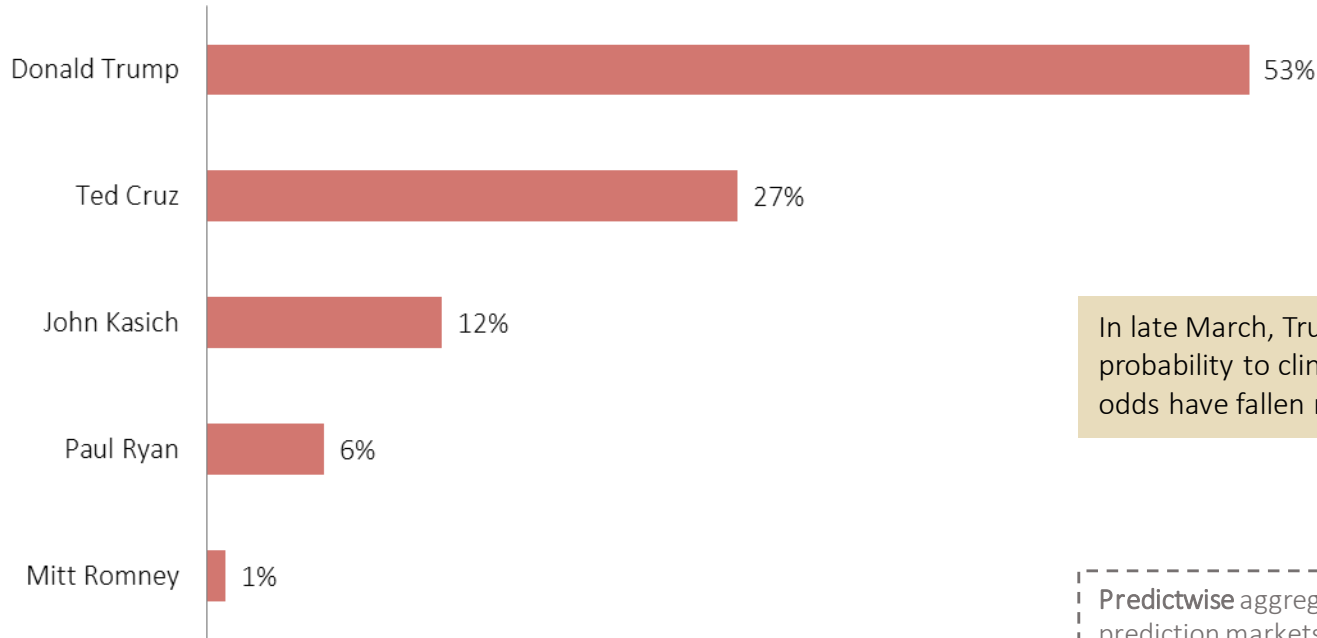
In late March, Trump reached an 80% probability to clinch the nomination, but his odds have fallen more than 20% since then

Predictwise aggregates data from political prediction markets, polls and other sources to make predictions on issues in the public domain. Sources include: PredictIt, Betfair, Huffpost Pollster and OddsChecker.

Sources: Predictwise, 2016.

Betting Markets Favor a Contested GOP Convention

Will There Be a Second Ballot at the GOP Convention?

Predictwise Odds, April 4, 2016

Yes ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬▬ 70%

No ▬▬▬▬▬▬▬ 30%
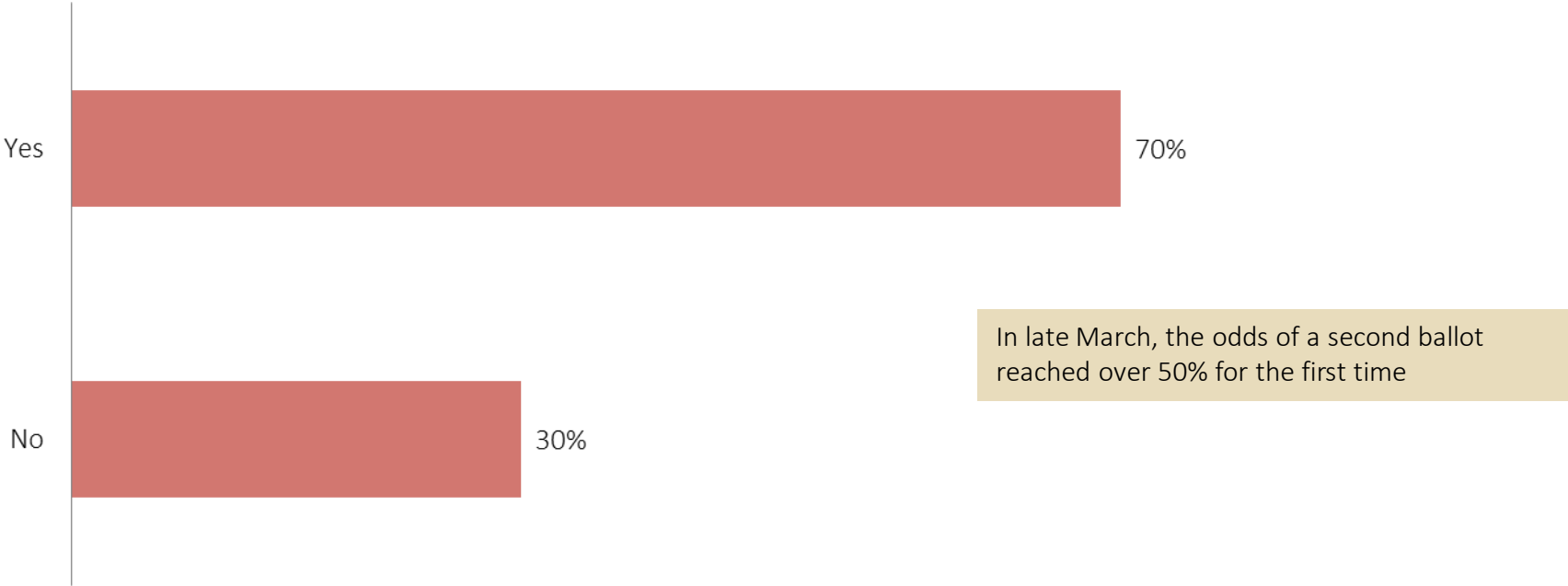
In late March, the odds of a second ballot reached over 50% for the first time

Predictwise aggregates data from political prediction markets, polls and other sources to make predictions on issues in the public domain. Sources include: PredictIt, Betfair, Huffpost Pollster and OddsChecker.

Sources: Predictwise, 2016.

Hillary Clinton is a Heavy Favorite to Win the Democratic Nomination

2016 Democratic Nomination for President
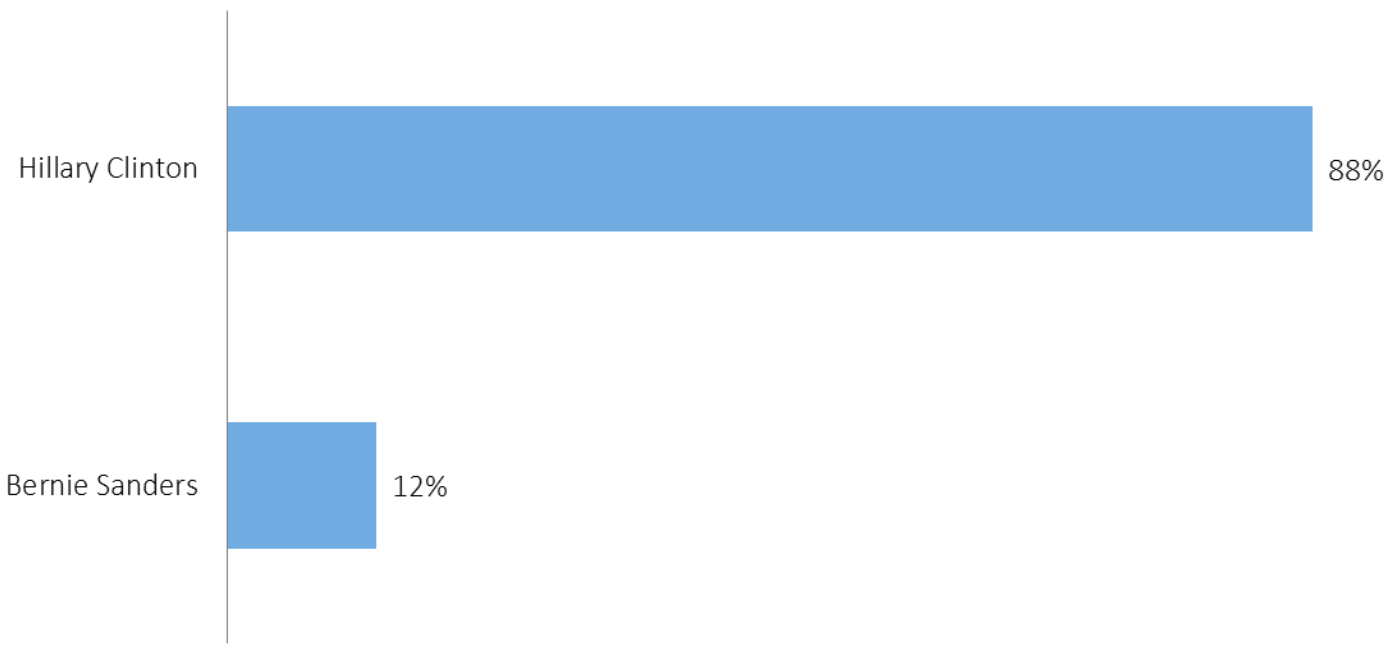
Predictwise Odds, April 4, 2016

Hillary Clinton 88%

Bernie Sanders 12%

Predictwise aggregates data from political prediction markets, polls and other sources to make predictions on issues in the public domain. Sources include: PredictIt, Betfair, Huffpost Pollster and OddsChecker.

Sources: Predictwise, 2016.

Vermont and South Carolina Had Large Numbers of Voters from Rural Areas at Democratic Primaries

Percent of People from Rural Areas Voting in Democratic Primaries, by State

Based on entrance and exit polls for each state primary

■ 0-25% ■ 26% - 50% ■ 51% - 75% ■ 76% - 100%
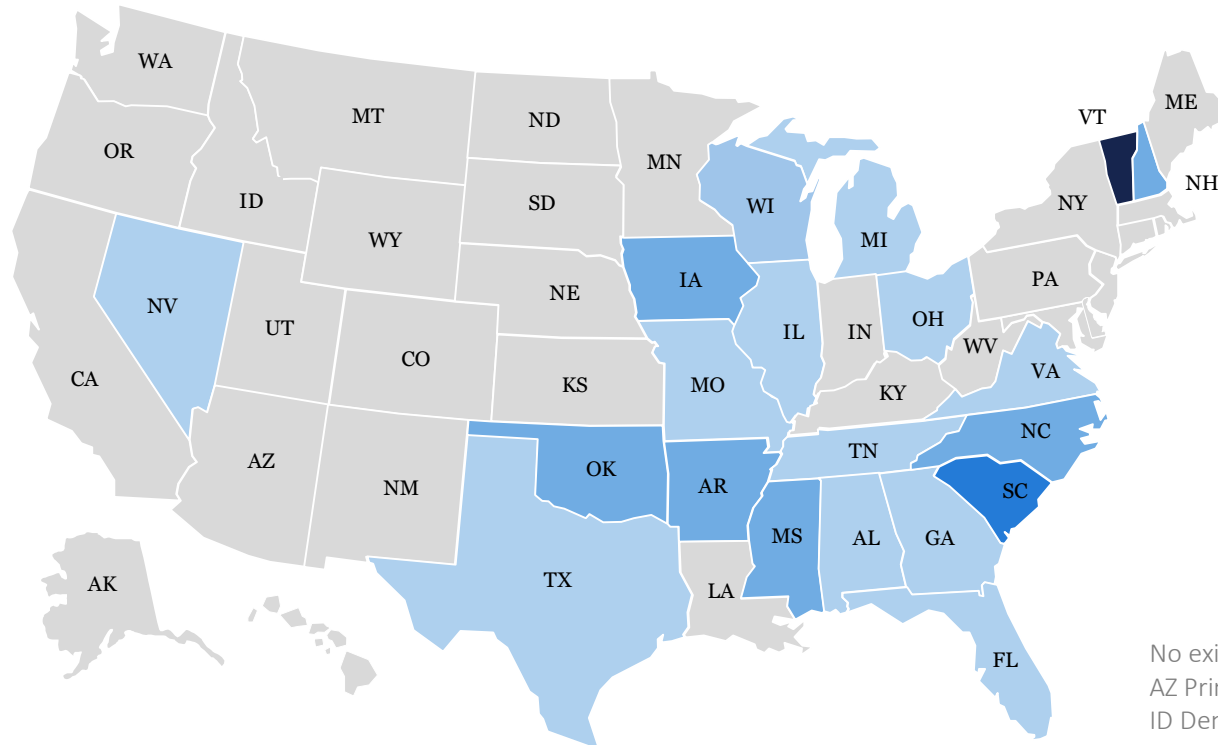
No exit poll data available:
AZ Primary
ID Dem., UT Dem., AK Dem.,
HI Dem., WA Dem.

Source: CNN, 2016 Election Center, April 6, 2016.

Vermont and Mississippi Had Large Numbers of GOP Rural Voters at the Polls

Percent of People from Rural Areas Voting in GOP Primaries, by State

Based on entrance and exit polls for each state primary

Legend: ▮ 0-25% ▮ 26% - 50% ▮ 51% - 75% ▮ 76% - 100% ▮ No data
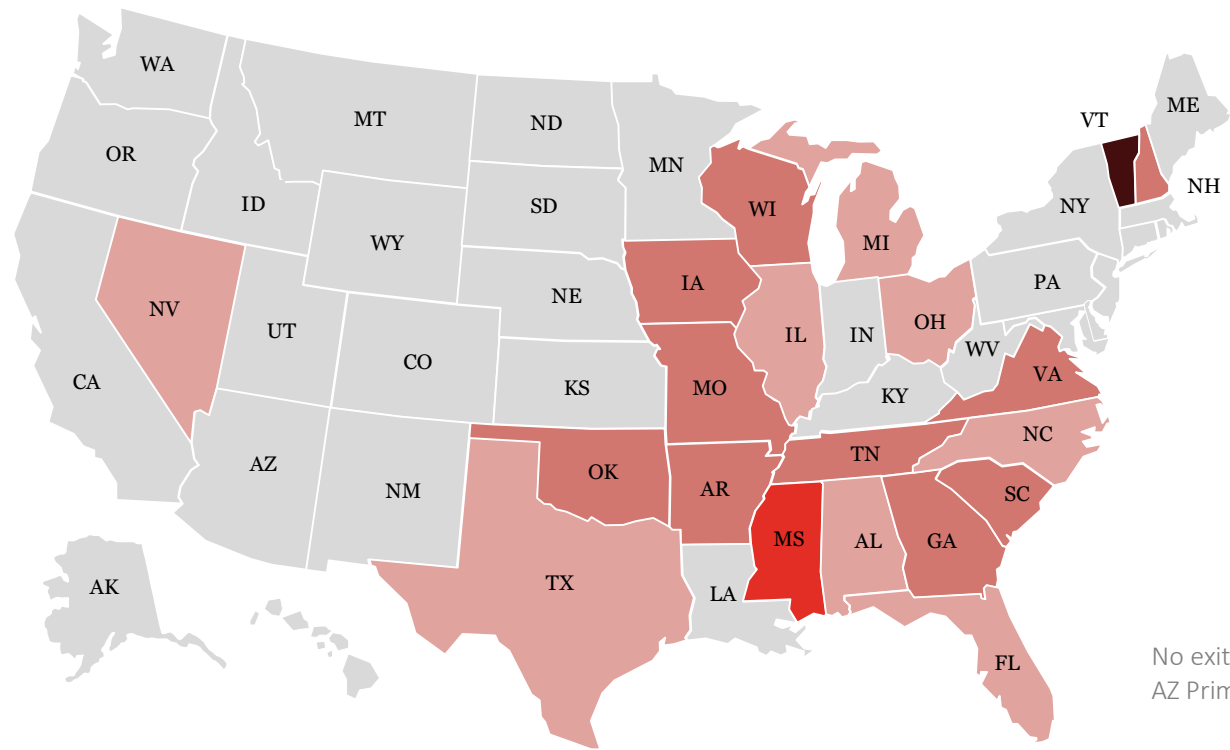
No exit poll data available:
AZ Primary and UT GOP

Source: CNN, 2016 Election Center, April 6, 2016.

Chapter 5

Campaign Finance and Super PACs

Key FEC Filing Dates in 2016

■ Monthly deadline   ■ Quarterly deadline   ■ Pre-General/Post-General deadlines*   ■ Year-end deadline*   *applies to all filers*
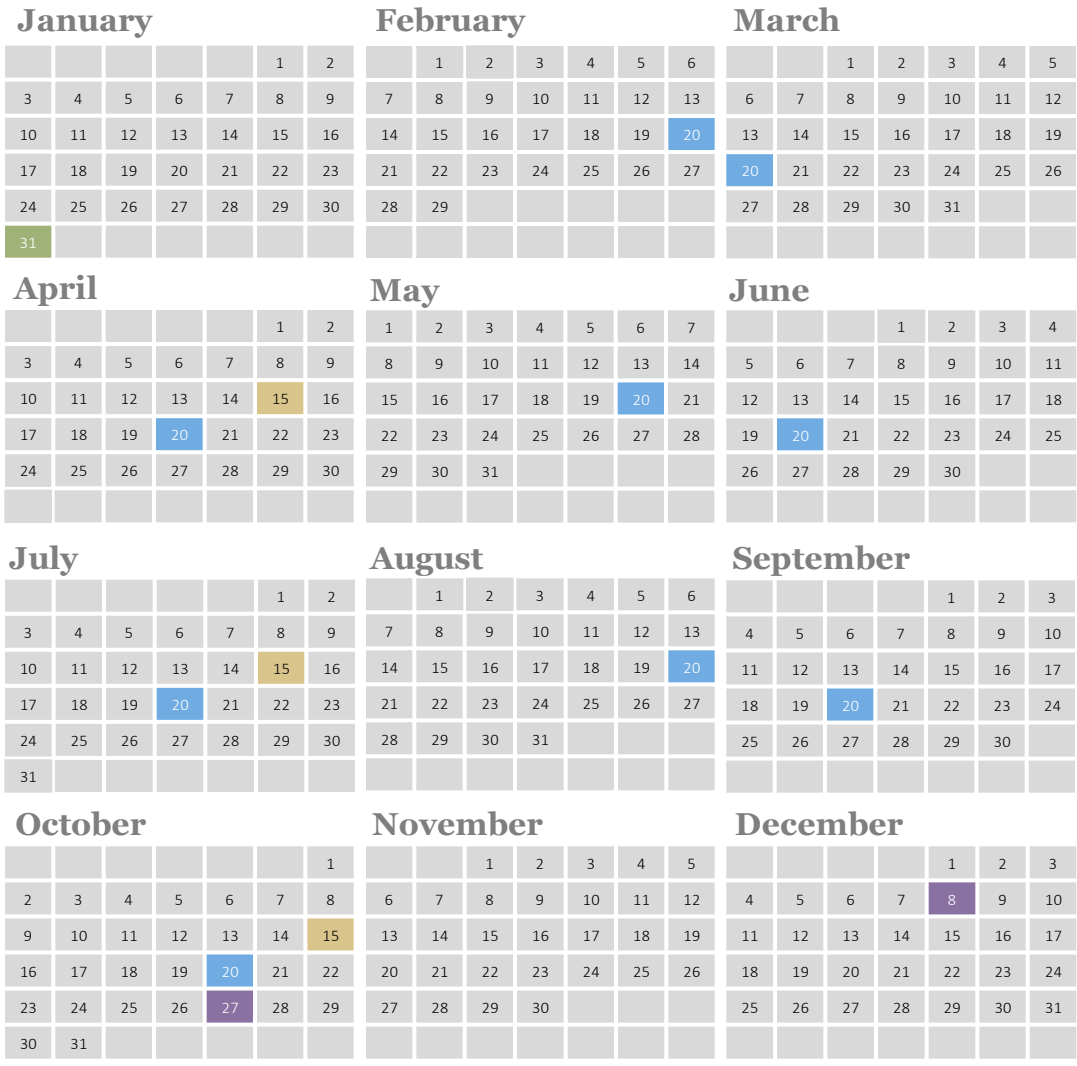
Report Deadlines for Monthly Filers	Report Deadlines for Quarterly Filers
Jan. 31 (Year-End 2015)	Jan. 31 (Year-End 2015)
Feb. 20	Apr. 15
Mar. 20	Jul. 15
Apr. 20	Oct. 15
May 20	Oct. 27 (Pre-General)
Jun. 20	Dec. 8 (Post-General)
Jul. 20	
Aug. 20	
Sep. 20	
Oct. 20	
Oct. 27 (Pre-General)	
Dec. 8 (Post-General)	

Source: Federal Election Commission, "2016 Reporting Dates."

FEC Filing Frequencies by Type of Committee

Type of Committee	Nonelection (odd-numbered) Year (e.g. 2015)	Federal Election (even-numbered) Year (e.g. 2016)
House and Senate Campaign Committees	Quarterly	Quarterly
Presidential Campaign Committees	Quarterly	Monthly* or Quarterly (*Only if on January 1 of the election year, the committee has received/anticipates receiving contributions aggregating $100,000 or more OR has made/anticipates making expenditures aggregating $100,000 or more)
National Party Committees	Monthly	Monthly
State, District, and Local Party Committees	Monthly or Semi-annual* (*Committees file semi-annual reports only if they file quarterly reports in election years)	Monthly or Quarterly* (*Committees that do not engage in reportable federal election activity can opt to file quarterly reports)
Separate Segregated Funds (SSF) PAC	Semi-annual* (*If SSF opts for monthly filing in election years, they must file only November & December monthly reports in a nonelection year)	Monthly or Quarterly
Nonconnected (Super) PAC	Monthly or Semi-annual* (*Super PACs file semi-annual reports only if they file quarterly reports in election years)	Monthly or Quarterly

Sources: Federal Election Commission, "Campaign Guide for Nonconnected Committees," May 2008; Federal Election Commission, "Campaign Guide for Corporations and Labor Organizations," January 2007; Federal Election Commission, "Campaign Guide for Political Party Committees," August 2013; Federal Election Commission, "2015 Reporting Dates"

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Advocacy Groups Engage Differently in the Campaign Field

Types of Advocacy Organizations and Level of Campaign Engagement

Advocacy Group	Explanation	Most Common Types of Groups	Level of Campaign Engagement
501(c) Groups	Tax-exempt nonprofit organizations, 29 different types, which can engage in varying amounts of political activity depending on the type.	• 501(c)(3) – groups that operate for religious, educational, charitable, scientific reasons • 501(c)(4) – civic leagues, social welfare organizations, local associations of employees • 501(c)(5) – labor, agricultural, horticultural organizations • 501(c)(6) – business leagues, chambers of commerce, real estate boards	**Some** - political engagement is allowed, as long as it doesn't interfere with the organizations primary purpose but organizations cannot engage in political campaign activities
527 Group	Tax-exempt group that raises money for political activities	• Political parties • Candidates • Committees	**High** – this group is heavily focused on campaign activities
PACs (Political Action Committees)	Raises and spends money contributions for the purpose of electing or defeating candidates	• Business-represented PACs • Labor-represented PACs • Ideological interest PACs	**High** – this group is heavily focused on campaign activities
Super PAC	Independent political action committees that make no contributions to candidates or political parties	• Business-represented Super PACs • Labor-represented Super PACs • Ideological interest Super PACs • Individual Super PACs	**High but indirect** – this group participates in the campaign field by independently supporting races

Source: Center for Responsive Politics, "Types of Advocacy Groups," Open Secrets, 2015; National Journal Research, 2015.

Sanders Outpaced Clinton in Campaign Fundraising in February 2016

February 2016 Receipts and Disbursements, in Millions

■ Democrat Receipts ▨ Democrat Disbursements ■ Republican Receipts ▨ Republican Disbursements
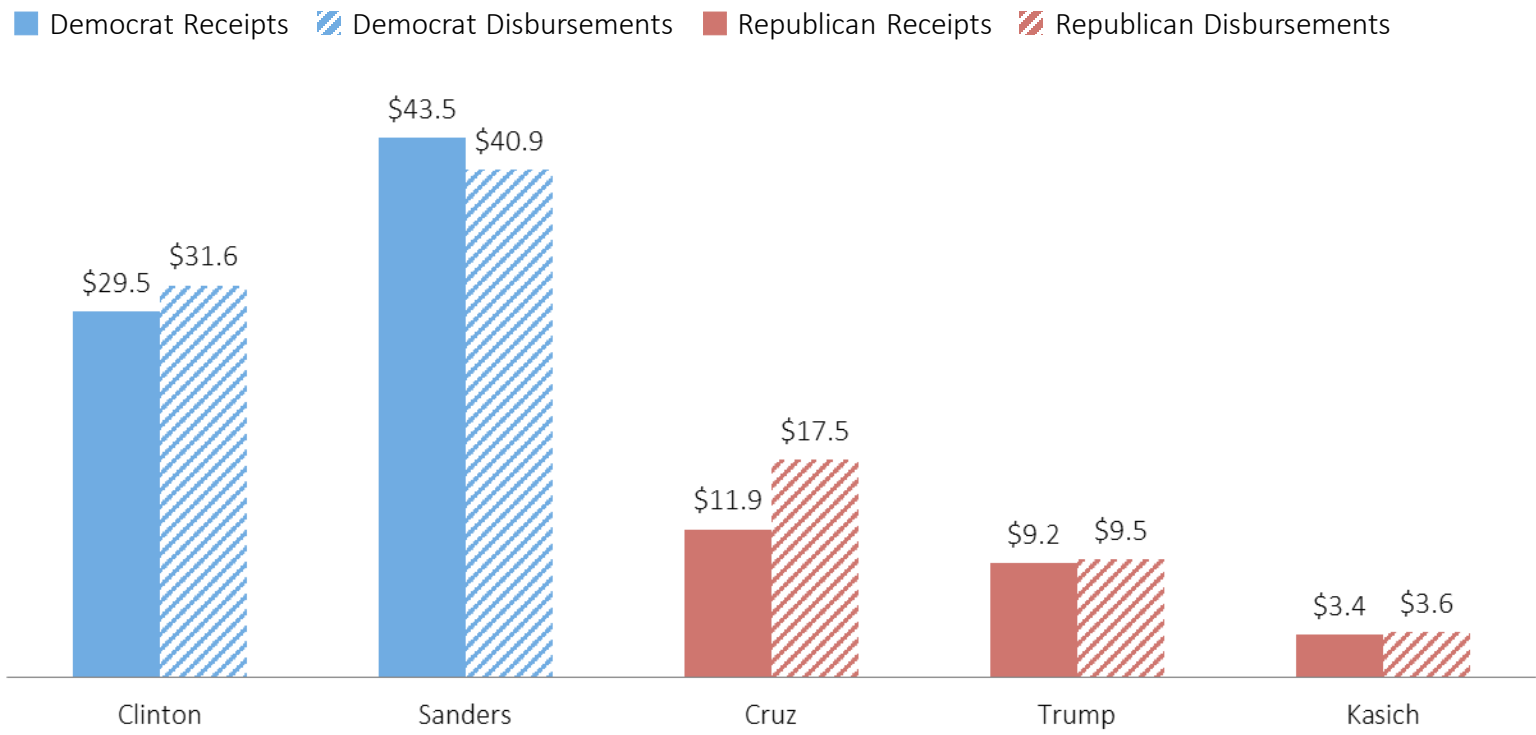
Source: Federal Election Commission, March 2016.

Clinton and Sanders Remain Top Fundraisers So Far in the Campaign

Total Campaign Receipts as of February 29, in Millions

■ Democrat   ■ Republican

Clinton	Sanders	Cruz	Trump	Kasich
$159.9	$139.8	$66.5	$34.7	$12.1
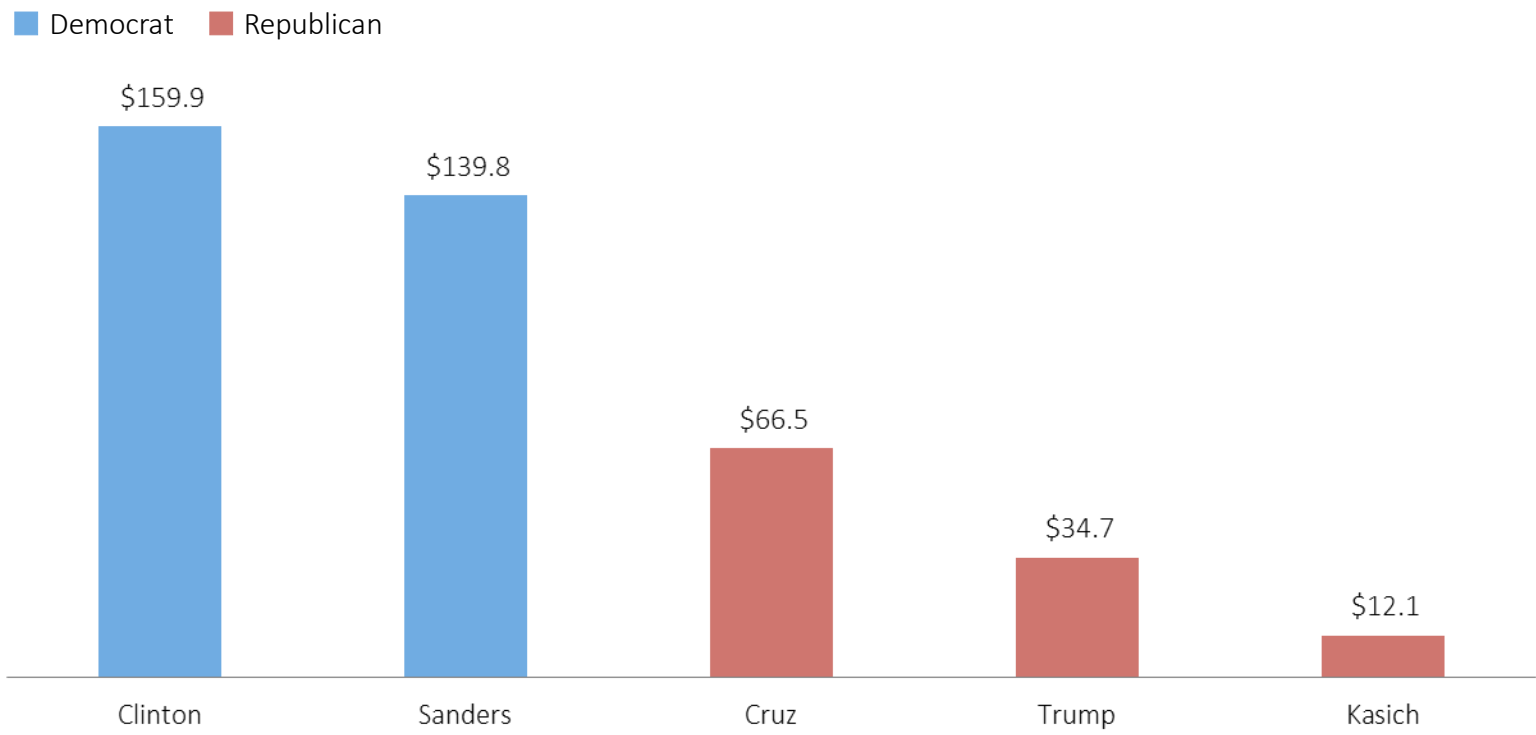
Source: Federal Election Commission, March 2016.

Clinton and Sanders Have Spent the Most Throughout Presidential Campaign

Total Campaign Disbursements as of February 29, in Millions

■ Democrat ■ Republican

Clinton	Sanders	Cruz	Trump	Kasich
$129.1	$122.5	$58.5	$33.4	$10.8
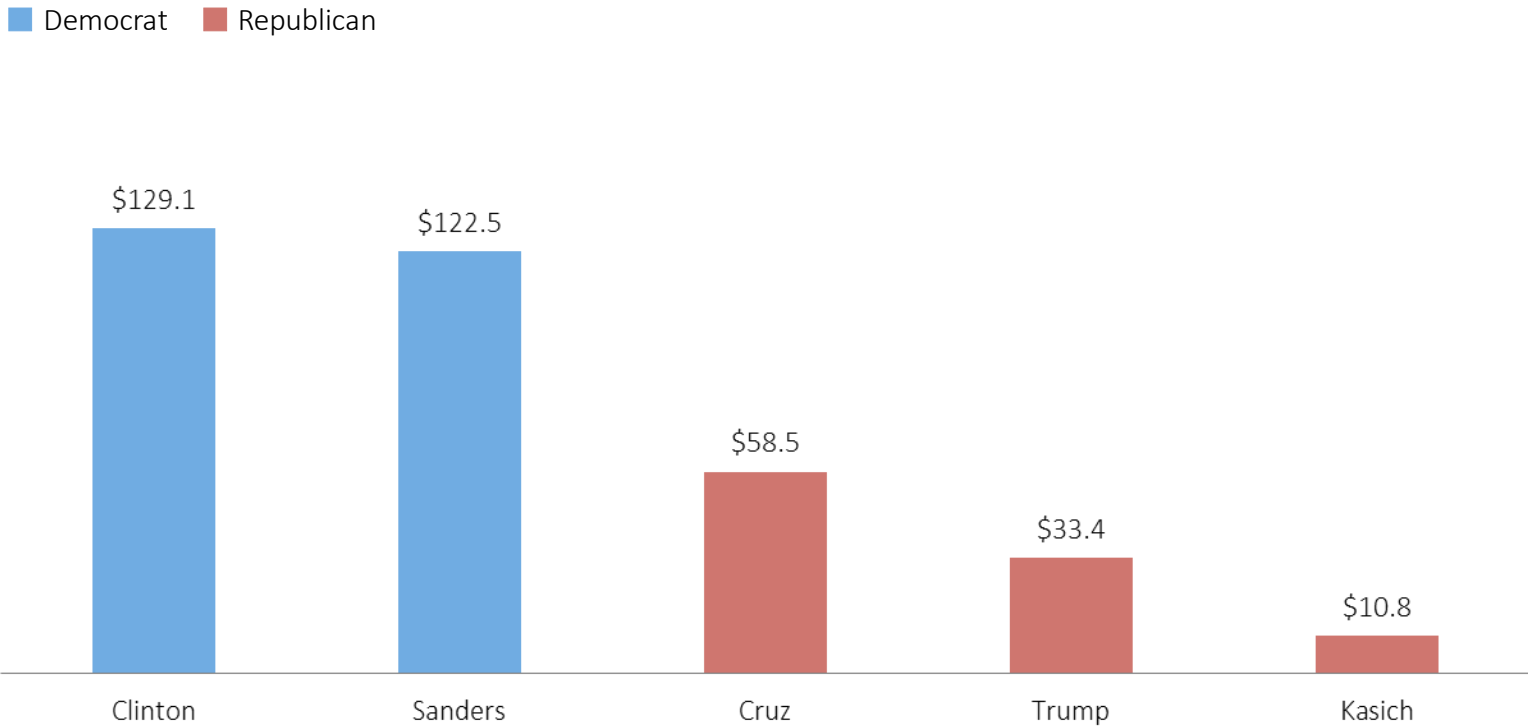
Source: Federal Election Commission, March 2016.

Clinton and Sanders Have More Cash on Hand Than Republican Candidates

Total Cash on Hand as of February 29, in Millions

Democrat   Republican

Clinton: $30.8
Sanders: $17.2
Cruz: $8.0
Trump: $1.3
Kasich: $1.3

Source: Federal Election Commission, March 2016.

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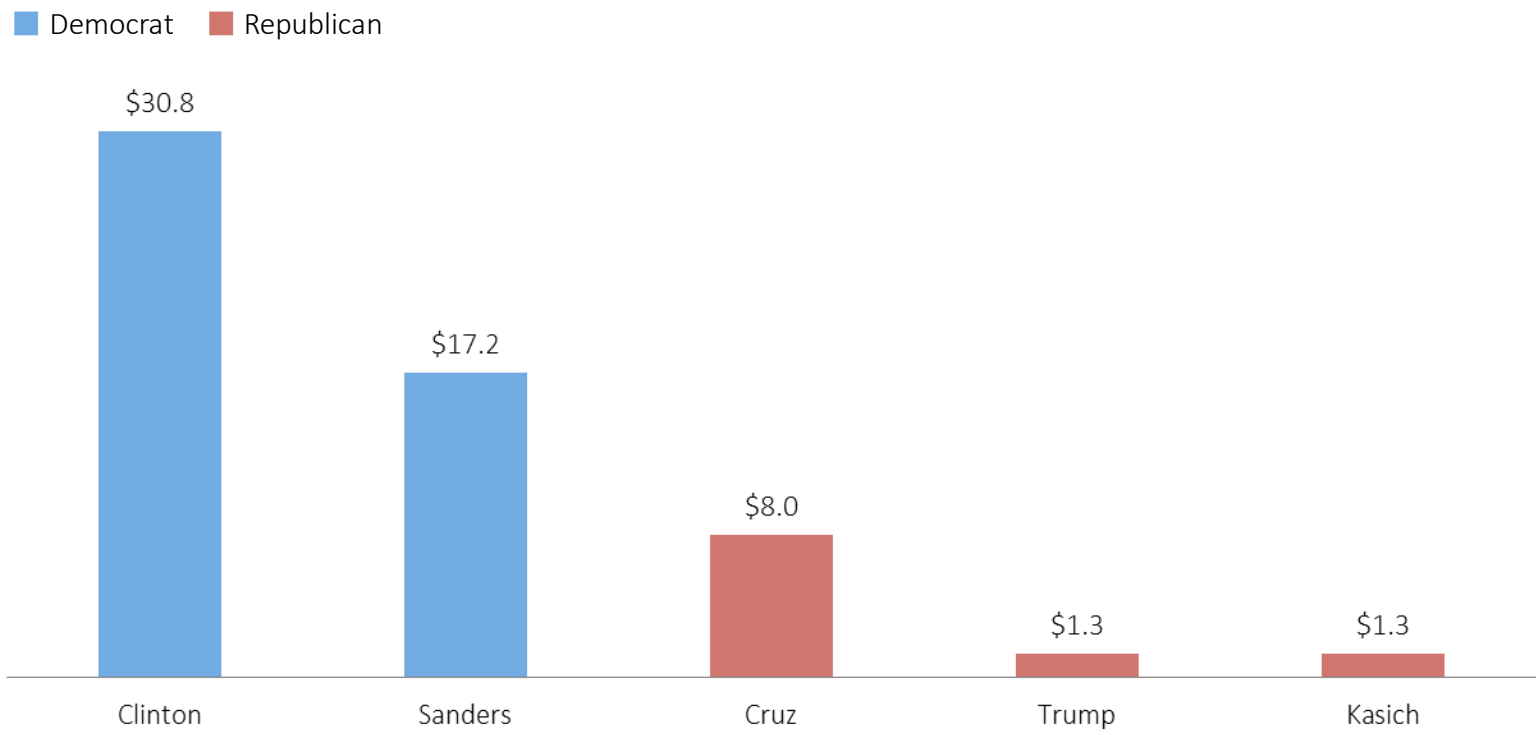
With Super PAC Support, Clinton Has a Significant Lead in Campaign Fundraising

Super PAC Money vs. Campaign Fundraising in the 2016 Primaries (millions of dollars)

■ Total Campaign Fundraising as of February 29   ■ Super PAC funds raised as of February 29

Sanders' campaign fundraising is only $20 million behind Clinton's, but super PAC money puts Clinton's total significantly ahead of Sanders'.
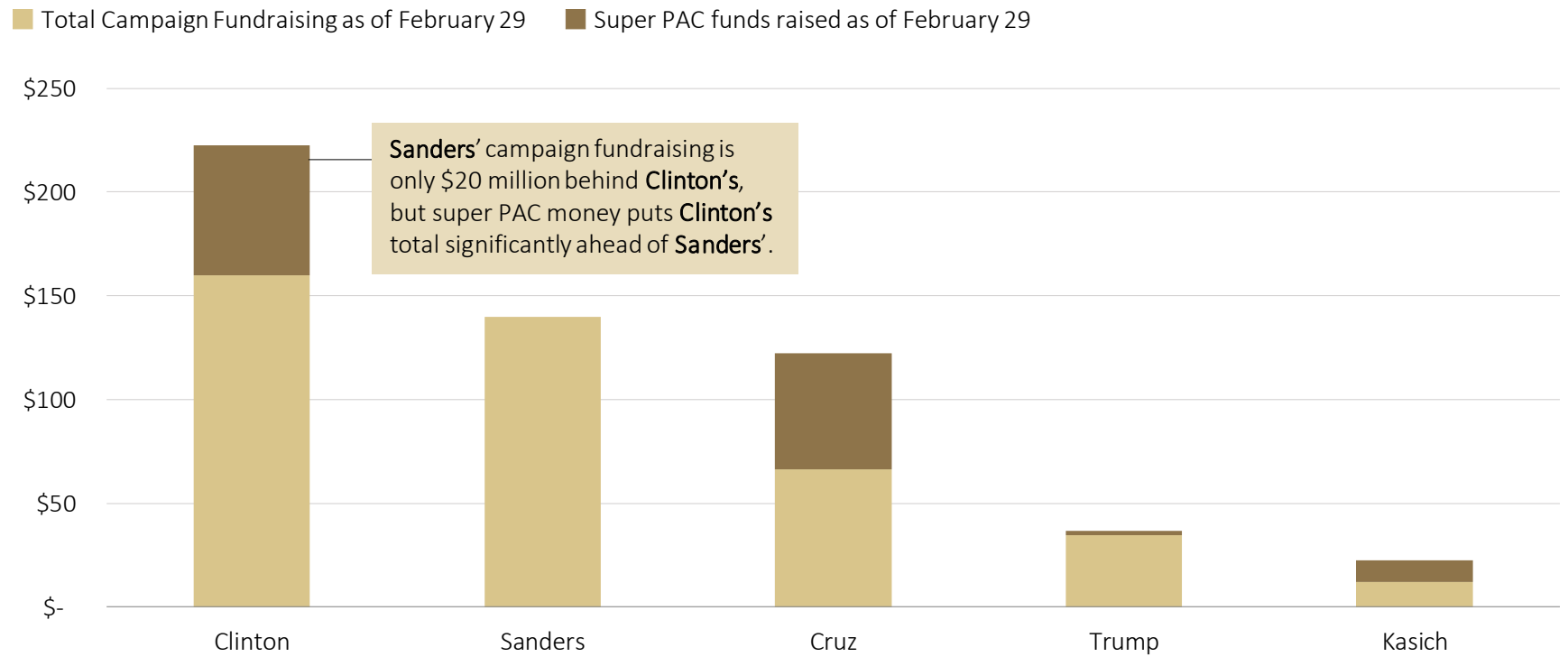
Sources: New York Times, "Which Presidential Candidates Are Winning the Money Race," April 5, 2016

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Almost All 2016 Presidential Candidates Have Super PAC Support

Presidential Candidates and Their Associated Independent-Expenditure Organizations (Super PACs)

Clinton

- Priorities USA Action
- Correct the Record

Sanders

Cruz

- Keep the Promise

Kasich

- New Day for America

Trump

- Make America Great Again

Notes
- **Keep the Promise** refers to a network of 4 super PACs supporting **Ted Cruz:** Keep the Promise PAC, Keep the Promise I, II, and III
- **Bernie Sanders** has said that he does not want support from a super PAC
- **Clinton's** PAC **Priorities USA Action** supported President Obama's re-election bid in 2012

Not a super PAC, but is a nonprofit or 527 organization that can accept unlimited contributions

Sources: Matea Gold and Cristina Rivero, "The 2016 Presidential contenders and their big-money backers," Washington Post, August 11, 2015

Chapter 6

Issues and Events Impacting the Election

Supreme Court Cases and Presidential Actions Helped Define the Major Issues for 2016 Presidential Election

Timeline of Events Affecting the 2016 Election

June 2015

(King v. Burwell) Decision

The Supreme Court ruled to uphold federal subsidies for all eligible Americans under the Affordable Care Act. This effectively upheld the ACA's constitutionality making its repeal a major rallying cry for Republican presidential candidates. For Democratic candidates, especially Hillary Clinton, preserving and championing the ACA took on added significance.

June 2015

(Obergefell v. Hodges) Decision

The Supreme Court ruled the 14th amendment required all states to grant and honor same-sex marriage licenses. The decision brought the issue to the fore within the Republican primary causing social issues to become a major criteria when vetting candidates.

June 2015

Congress Approved and Obama Signed Trade Promotion Authority for Trans-Pacific Partnership

Congress granted Obama authority to negotiate the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) without Congressional amendment. Democratic candidates denounced TPP as undermining U.S. labor with Republicans split over the issue. Establishment candidates largely favored the deal while outsider candidates like Trump and Cruz considered it bad for the economy.

July 2015

The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) was Announced

The JCPOA or the "Iran Deal", was announced and Republicans quickly lambasted it. For Republicans, it provided a contrast on how they would be a stronger commander-in-chief than Democrats. For Democrats, the deal was seen as evidence of their prudence and measured leadership contrasted with the Republican's hot-headedness.

Aug 2015

Obama Announced Finalized Clean Power Plan

President Obama announced the Clean Power Plan, which empowered the EPA to regulate carbon emissions. Democrat candidates largely supported the measure seeing it as a critical step to combating climate change. Republican candidates viewed the plan as imposing burdensome regulations upon states, which would aversely impact the economy.

Source: InfoPlease, February 2016; BBC, "Russia Joins War in Syria: Five Points," October 1, 2015; Allie Maloy, "Obama Unveils Major Climate Change Proposal," CNN, August 3, 2015.

National Security Became One of the Top Issues Towards the End of 2015 Due to Syria and Terrorism

Timeline of Events Affecting the 2016 Election

Sep 2015

Russia Entered Syria and Began Air Campaign to Support Syrian Dictator Bashar al-Assad

Russian airplanes and ground troops entered Syria to support Syrian leader Bashar al-Assad. Further questions about U.S. Middle Eastern strategy were discussed in the presidential debate, especially on the Republican side. Republicans used Russian presence as an example of continued U.S. weakness under Obama.

Oct 2015

Obama Announced U.S. Ground Troops in Syria

A rift began to appear between Democratic candidates on national security with Hillary Clinton largely supportive of Obama's Syria strategy while Bernie Sanders wanted all U.S. troop withdrawn from Syria. A similar rift emerged in the Republican campaign with most Republicans calling for a more "muscular" strategy with an increased troop presence, while others called for the U.S. to embrace a less "interventionist" foreign policy in the Middle East.

Nov 2015

Paris Terrorist Attack

ISIL operatives killed 130 people and caused widespread panic across France. National security became a top concern amongst voters, especially Republicans. Republican candidates called into question the vetting process for Syrians and Iraqis entering the U.S. causing a major discussion about whether the U.S. should be letting in Syrians or Iraqis at all. Democrats tried to differentiate themselves as the more welcoming party and painted Republicans as fear-mongering.

Dec 2015

San Bernardino Terrorist Attack

Two gunmen, who were a couple, attacked a social services clinic killing 14 and injuring 22 people. One of the perpetrators, Tashfeen Malik, was a Pakistani immigrant and a permanent legal resident. Her immigrant status made fears over Middle Eastern immigrants more acutely felt and made terrorism the dominant topic in the national conversation.

Source: InfoPlease, February 2016; BBC "Russia Joins War in Syria: Five Points," October 1, 2015; Allie Maloy, "Obama Unveils Major Climate Change Proposal," CNN, August 3, 2015.

Justice Antonin Scalia's Unexpected Death Has Put Added Significance onto the 2016 Presidential Election

Timeline of Events Affecting the 2016 Election

Jan 2016 ○ **U.S. and Iran Prisoner Exchange**
U.S. and Iran exchanged prisoners resulting in five U.S. prisoners being released. Four returned to the U.S. and one remained in Tehran. Democratic candidates pointed to the exchanges as proving that diplomacy could produce results without the need for military intimidation. Republican candidates pushed back against this sentiment pointing to an incident where Iran held U.S. sailors hostage, albeit temporarily.

Feb 2016 ○ **Some of Hillary Clinton's Emails Were Marked As Classified**
Some of Hillary Clinton's emails from her time as Secretary of State were retroactively labeled as containing classified information. Republican candidates pointed to this as showing how reckless Clinton was and how she cannot be trusted to handle sensitive information. The Democratic candidates continued to consider the email a smear campaign with Clinton arguing major Republican officials like Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice used a similar private email server while handling retroactively classified material.

Feb 2016 ○ **Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia Died**
On February 13th, Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia died. A discussion began on whether Obama should appoint a new Supreme Court justice or whether it should wait until the next president. Consequently, the presidential election took on added significance as the winner was seen as the one who would appoint Scalia's successor and determine if the court would have a liberal or conservative majority.

Source: InfoPlease, February 2016; BBC, "Russia Joins War in Syria: Five Points," October 1, 2015; Allie Maloy, "Obama Unveils Major Climate Change Proposal," CNN, August 3, 2015.

Public Opinion on the Issues as Election Approaches

Gay Marriage

- Support: 60%
- Oppose: 37%

Cannabis

- Legalize: 58%
- Keep Illegal: 40%

Gun Laws

- More Strict: 55%
- Same: 33%
- Less Strict: 11%

Obamacare

- Leave Alone: 12%
- Modify: 51%
- Repeal: 35%

Syrian Refugees

- Accept: 43%
- Ban Entrance: 50%

Taxes

- Tax Rich More: 52%
- Don't Tax More: 45%
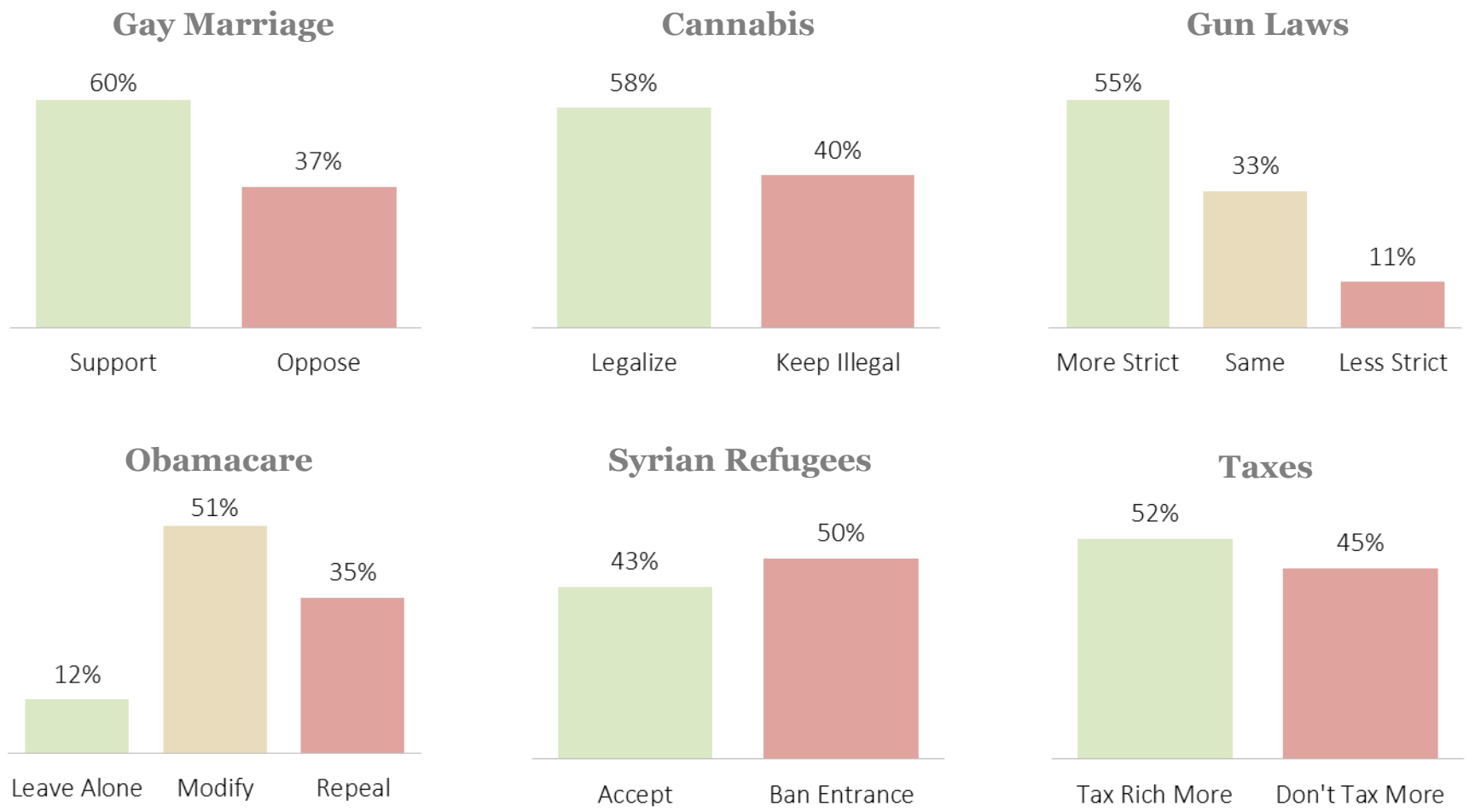
Source: Gallup, 2015; Justin Worland, "Most Americans Say the Rich Aren't Taxed Enough," Time, February 22, 2015; Rebecca Shabad, "Poll: Majority Opposes Accepting Syrian Refugees into US," CBS News, December 23, 2015; David Knowles and Ben Brody, "Bloomberg Politics Poll: Majority of Americans Say Obamacare Should Get Time to Work," Bloomberg Politics, April 17, 2015; Bryan Beutler, "Obamacare Is More Popular Than It Seems—If You Discount These People's Opinions," The New Republic, April 20, 2015.

Clinton Supports Gun Control to Prevent Gun Violence; Trump Wants to Protect the Second Amendment

Comparison of Clinton's and Trump's Gun Violence Plans

	Hillary Clinton's Proposals	Donald Trump's Proposals
Background Checks	Comprehensive background checks; Close Charleston loophole that allows gun sales to proceed if background check not completed within 3 days	Fix, but do not expand, background check system – states should put criminal and mental health records into the system
Mental Health	Close loopholes that allow people with severe mental illnesses to purchase and possess guns	Expand mental health treatment programs
Federal Crimes	Make straw-purchasing a federal crime	Bring back Project Exile – Felons committing violent crimes involving firearms are prosecuted federally and go to prison for 5 years with no parole or early release
Gun bans	Prohibit the sale of assault weapons	No bans on any kind of guns
Miscellaneous	• Increase funding for inspections of gun dealers; revoke licenses of dealers who knowingly break the rules • Repeal gun industry's immunity protection – "Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act" • End unregulated internet gun sales and gun show loophole • Prohibit all domestic abusers, including those in dating relationships, from possessing weapons	• Protect 2nd amendment • Concealed carry permit should be valid across state lines • Allow military personnel to carry firearms on bases and at recruiting centers

Sources: Donald J. Trump, "Protecting our Second Amendment Rights Will Make America Great Again," DonaldJTrump.com; Hillary Clinton, "Gun violence prevention," HillaryClinton.com.

Hillary Clinton is More Liberal than Bernie Sanders on Gun Control

Comparison of Clinton and Sanders' Gun Control Proposals

Proposal	Clinton	Sanders
Comprehensive background checks	✓	✓
Close Charleston loophole allowing gun sales to proceed if background check not completed within 3 days	✓	
Repeal gun industry's immunity protection – "Protection of Lawful Commerce in Arms Act"	✓	
Increase funding for inspections of gun dealers; revoke licenses of dealers who knowingly break the rules	✓	
Make straw-purchasing a federal crime	✓	
End unregulated internet gun sales and gun show loophole	✓	✓
Prohibit all domestic abusers, including those in dating relationships, from possessing weapons	✓	
Prohibit the sale of assault weapons	✓	✓

Analysis
- Though Sanders' view on nearly every policy issue falls on the far left, the one exception is gun control, as he represents a state with a deep hunting and gun culture. However, he has announced support for a few measures to curb gun violence and also emphasizes the importance of addressing mental health issues
- Sanders' campaign has yet to release a gun control plan, despite promising to do so in October 2015 in the wake of several mass shootings

Source: John Wagner, "Bernie Sanders says he is pulling together a plan to address gun violence," Washington Post, October 5, 2015; HillaryClinton.com; Jessica Taylor, "Bernie Sanders Walks a Fine Line on Gun Control," NPR, June 24, 2015; Dan Merica, "Where is Bernie Sanders' Gun Control Plan?" CNN, February 18, 2016.