

THE 2016

PRIMARIES



Donald Trump
Businessman and TV personality



Key Primary Advantages

- Can command the stage, has freedom to say anything
- Draws crowds & media; high name ID; riveting figure
- Billionaire, can self-fund if he wants
- Massive television coverage amounts to in-kind donation from press

Key Primary Disadvantages

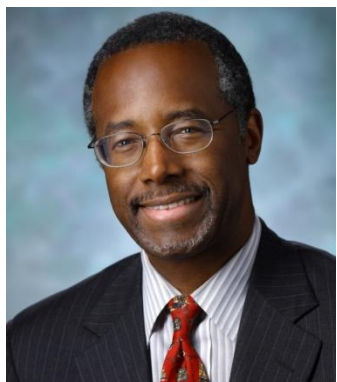
- GOP holds very mixed views about him, more negative than most of real contenders
- More novelty than plausible nominee
- Makes outlandish & controversial statements
- Strongly opposed by a near-unanimous GOP leadership

Polling Average

37%

Iowa Polling 28%

NH Polling 27%



Ben Carson
Neurosurgeon & activist



Key Primary Advantages

- High favorability in party: strong support from white evangelical Christian conservatives
- Political outsider, no baggage from office

Key Primary Disadvantages

- Total lack of campaign experience shows
- Heightened profile of national security & foreign policy in campaign weakens him
- Sedate tone a poor fit for moment

9%

Iowa Polling 8%

NH Polling 5%

<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/>
<http://elections.huffingtonpost.com/pollster>



Ted Cruz
Senator, TX



- Dynamic debater & canny, often underestimated politician
- Anti-establishment nature plays well with base; can he pick up Carson/Trump backers if they fade?
- Strong early fundraising % solid understanding that race is marathon, not sprint

- Disliked on both sides of Senate aisle
- Strong Tea Party support ensures establishment resistance to candidacy
- Can he unite the party, or is he just a factional candidate?

17%
Iowa Polling 31%
NH Polling 12.5%



Marco Rubio
Senator, FL



- Dynamic speaker and politician
- Generational contrast with Jeb...and Hillary
- Starting to win support from party leaders, who may see him as their only plausible, winning nominee

- Went left on immigration, hurt him with base
- Is he raising enough money and building a strong enough organization?
- Hardline social issues positions might be giving establishment pause

12%
Iowa Polling 12.5%
NH Polling 14%



Chris Christie
Governor, NJ

CHRISTIE2016
TELLING IT LIKE IT IS

- Commanding speaker and stage presence
- Improving his favorability amongst Republicans
- The rising establishment alternative in NH

- Large parts of party still don't like him
- Big crowd of similar candidates in NH
- Doesn't fit ideological mood of party

4%

Iowa Polling
2%

NH Polling
11%



Jeb Bush
Ex-Governor, FL

Jeb!
2016

- Conservative gubernatorial resume
- National Bushworld money and organization, has already raised huge sums
- Personifies establishment, which typically produces GOP nominees

- Bush fatigue is real and deep
- Well-known and not well-liked
- Establishment appears to be moving away from him
- Early ad blitz has not moved needle, numbers have only worsened

6%

Iowa Polling
5%

NH Polling
7%



John Kasich
Governor, OH



- Long moderate-conservative record plus two terms as swing-state Ohio governor
- Could be fallback for GOP establishment forces
- Well-funded in New Hampshire

- Supported Medicaid expansion, backs Common Core — shares some of Bush’s liabilities but lacks Jeb’s immense funding
- Unscripted style can lead to unforced errors
- Jon Huntsman 2.0? Will not have path without strong NH showing

2%

Iowa Polling
1%

NH Polling
8%



Carly Fiorina
Former business exec



- The only woman in the field, severe critic of Clinton
- Former CEO of HP – run major organisation & has wealth to partly self-fund
- Strong on debate stage & on camera
- Political outsider, no baggage from office

- Lost only race (2010 Senate) badly
- Major liabilities from time as HP CEO
- Seems over-reliant on debate performances, fundraising has been poor

2%

Iowa Polling
2%

NH Polling
4%



Rand Paul
Senator, KY



- National ID and fundraising network; benefits from father's previous efforts

- Dovish views on national security are out of GOP mainstream
- May be losing support from father's base by altering positions
- Poor fundraising so far

3%
Iowa Polling
3%
NH Polling
4%



Mike Huckabee
Ex-Governor, AR



- Well-known from his Fox News program
- Iowa Caucus winner from 2008
- Has the kind of profile that appeals to blue collar social conservatives

- Increasingly overshadowed by other socially conservative candidates

2%
Iowa Polling
2%
NH Polling
1%



George Pataki
Ex-Governor, NY

Dropped out Dec 30th 2015



Rick Santorum
Ex-Senator, PA
RICK SANTORUM

- Credibility with social conservatives
- Been around primary track – surprise 2nd place in 2012

- Yesterday’s news: harder to stand out in much stronger 2016 field
- Not as economically conservative as others

1%
Iowa Polling
1%
NH Polling
0.3%



Rick Perry
Ex-Governor, TX

- Strong
- Better than Obama in 2012

Dropped out Sept 14th 2015

- Bombed in much weaker 2012 field
- Failed to

running
already and unable to pay
staff



Bobby Jindal
Governor, LA

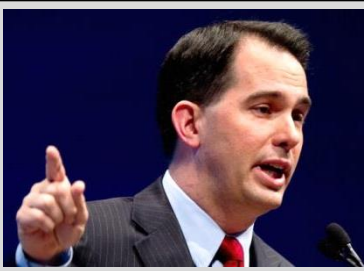


- Deep an
- Knows

Dropped out Nov 17th 2015

• Att

Louisiana



Scott Walker
Governor, WI
SCOTT WALKER

Dropped out Sept 24th 2015

- Conservative
- Checks the wings of the
- In Iowa
- Nationally

- Lack of polish, too-conservative position
- Needs to prove he knows foreign policy



Lindsey Graham
Senator, SC
16 GRAHAM
PRESIDENT

Dropped out Dec 21st 2015

- Prominent
- Media star

- Vehemently disliked
- Hurt many conservatives



Jim Gilmore
Ex-Governor, VA
Gilmore
FOR AMERICA

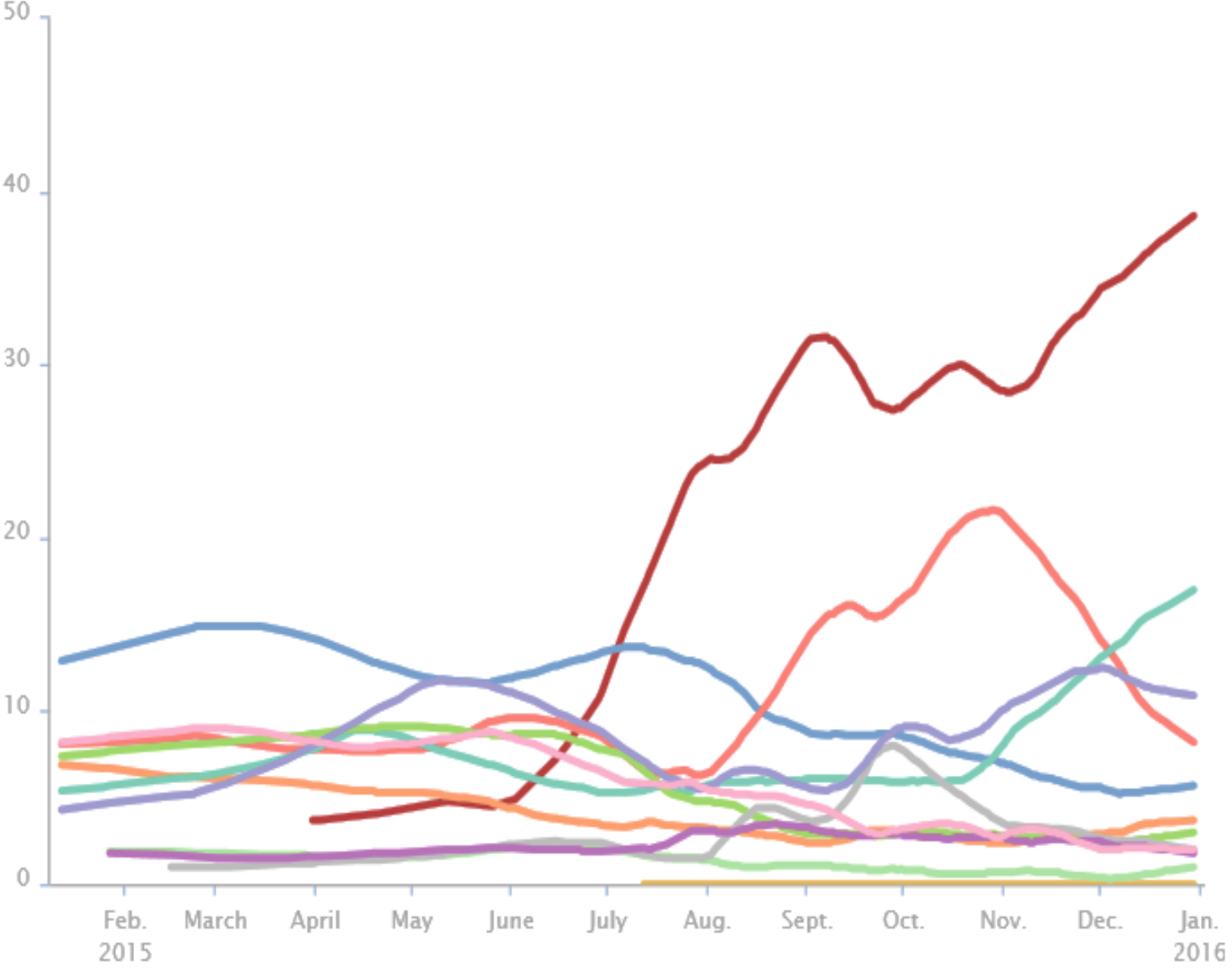
- Record as tax-cutter
- Military record, intelligence officer during Cold War

- Largely anonymous in party: left office in 2002: "Jim Who?"
- Totally left out of debates

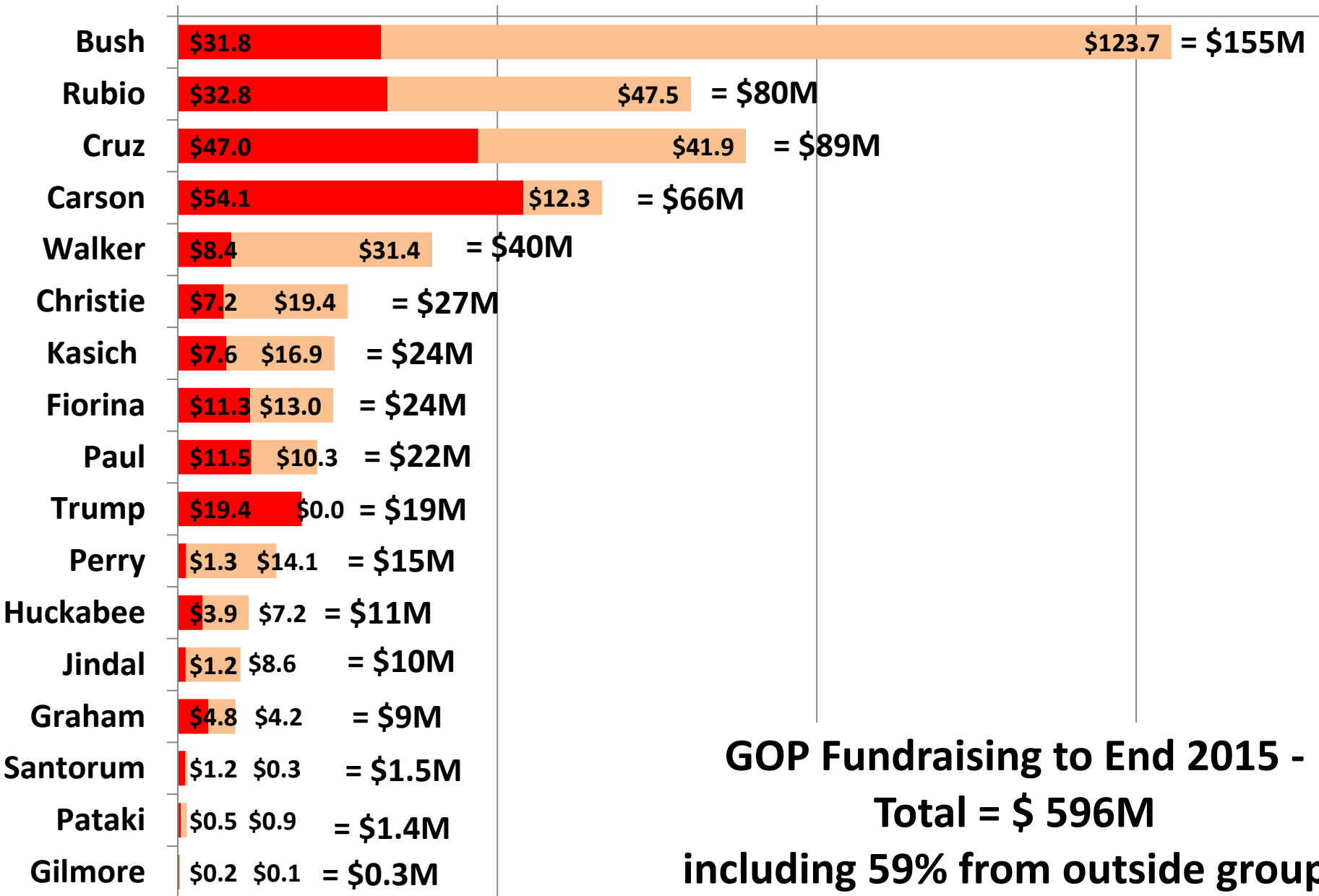
0.0%
Iowa Polling
0%
NH Polling
0%

Pollster Trend

- Donald Trump
- Ted Cruz
- Marco Rubio
- Ben Carson
- Jeb Bush
- Chris Christie
- Rand Paul
- Carly Fiorina
- Mike Huckabee
- John Kasich
- Rick Santorum
- Jim Gilmore
- Lindsey Graham
- Bobby Jindal
- George Pataki



\$0 \$50 \$100 \$150



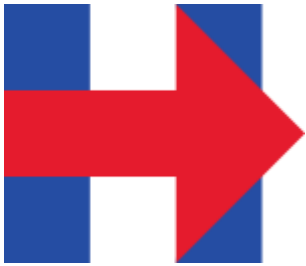
**GOP Fundraising to End 2015 -
Total = \$ 596M**

including 59% from outside groups

■ Campaign \$M ■ Outside \$M



Hillary Clinton
Ex-Secretary of State



- Still stronger than she was eight years ago
- Overwhelming support from party leaders
- Support from women, minorities hard to overcome, particularly after Iowa and New Hampshire
- Strong performance in Democrat debates, Benghazi Select Committee

- Danger signs in early states could snowball
- Private e-mails, Clinton Foundation scandals still playing out
- Keeping Bill in check — and on the porch

55%

Iowa Polling
52%

NH Polling
46%



Bernie Sanders
Senator (Ind), VT



- New Hampshire lead, decent Iowa polling could help him get off to strong start
- Small-donor fundraising strength
- Drawing big crowds

- Outsider in what is very much an insider process
- Little appeal to non-white voters
- Big crowds don't predict wins

33%

Iowa Polling
37%

NH Polling
48%



Martin O'Malley
Ex-Governor, MD



- Liberal record and policy achievements

- Baltimore baggage
- Candidacy largely invisible so far

2%

Iowa Polling
5%

NH Polling
2.5%



Joe Biden
Vice President



- Vast experience

- VP

Chose not to run

- Gaffe machine

Friday

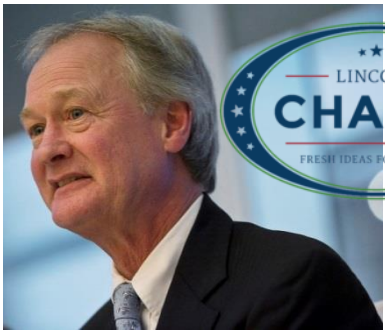


Jim Webb

Ex-Senator, VA



Dropped out Sept 24th 2015



Lincoln Chafee

Ex-Governor, RI

Dropped out Sept 24th 2015



Larry Lessig

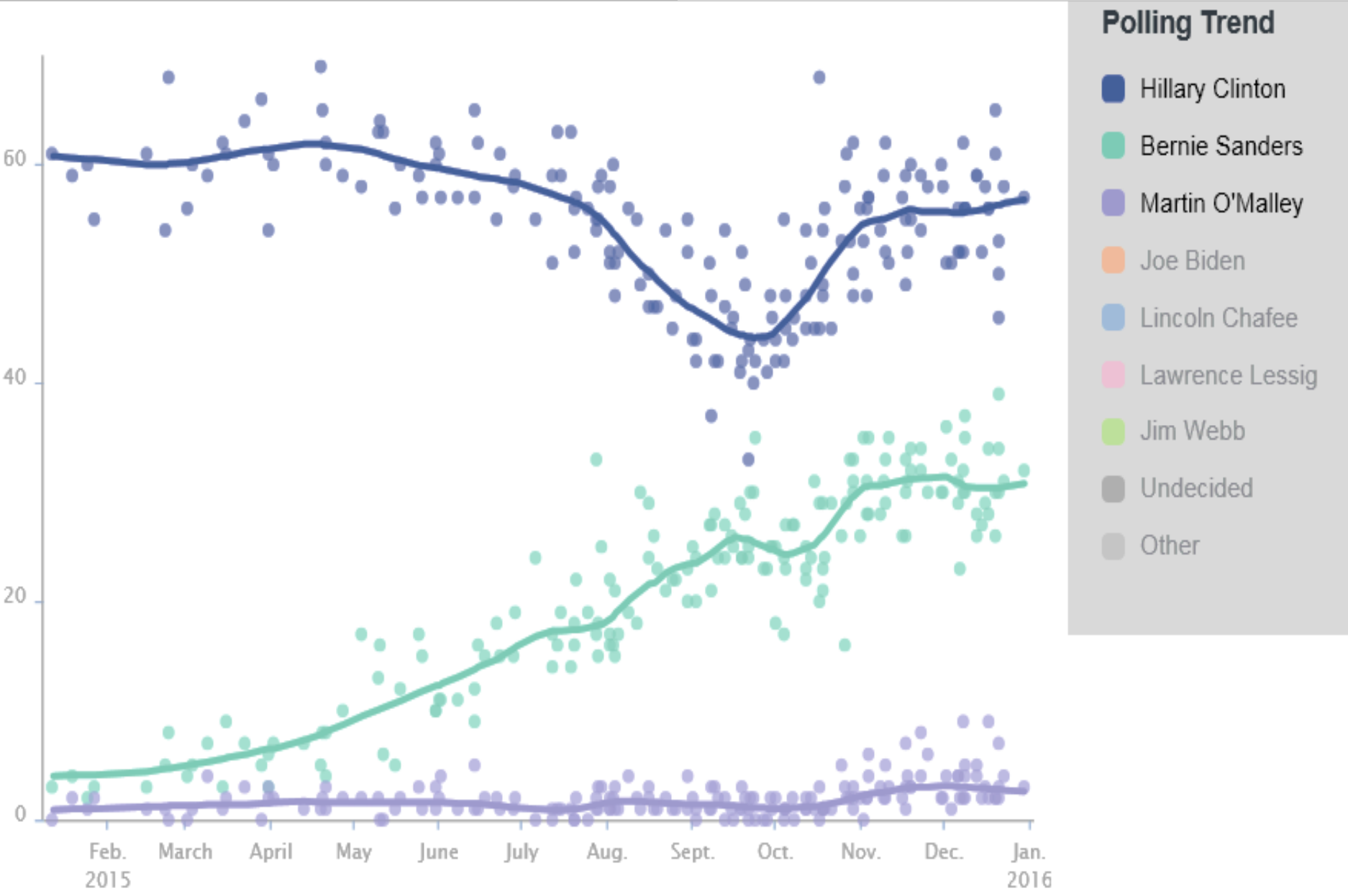
Harvard Law Professor



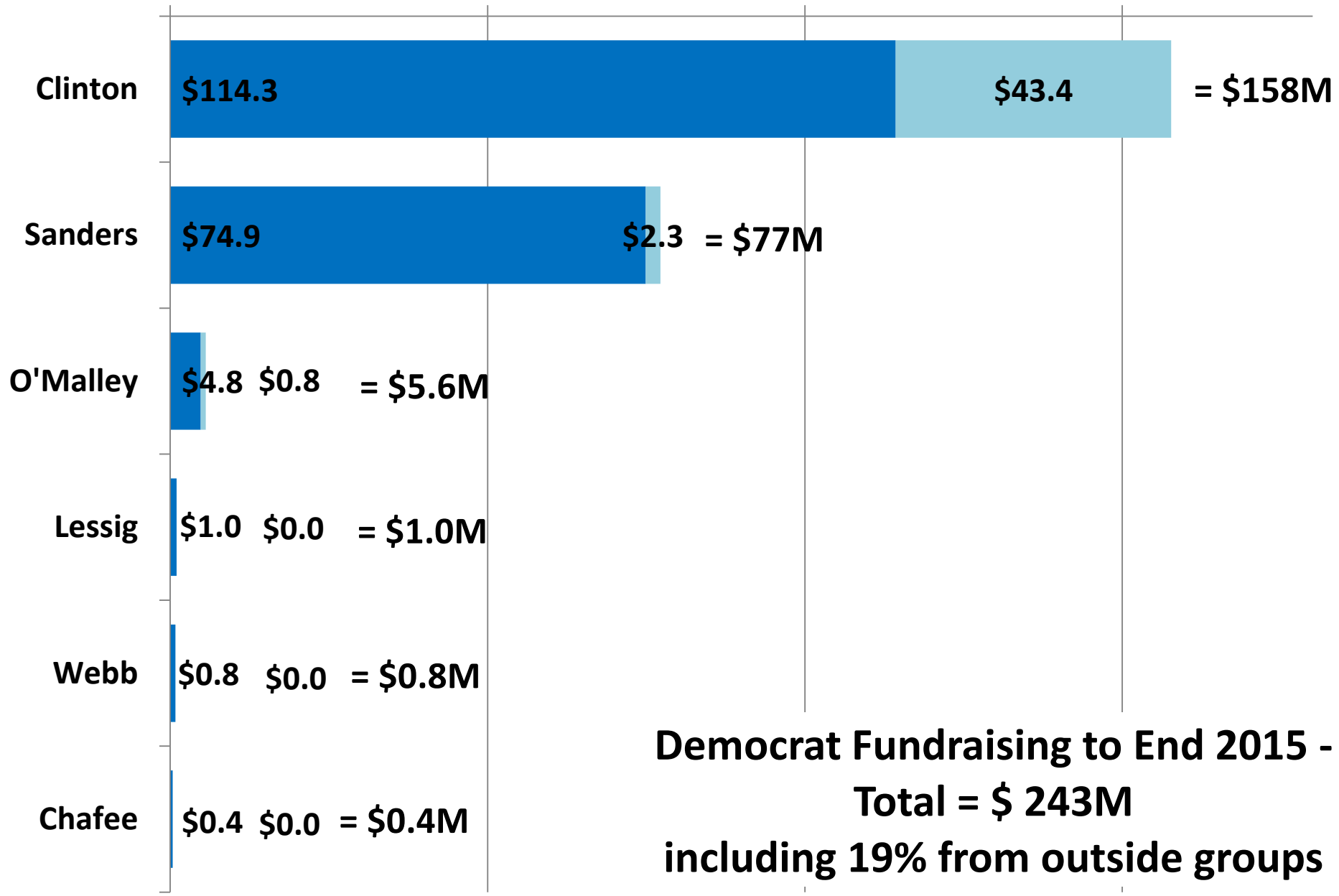
Fix Democracy First.

Dropped out Nov 2nd 2015





\$0 \$50 \$100 \$150



**Democrat Fundraising to End 2015 -
Total = \$ 243M
including 19% from outside groups**

■ Campaign \$M ■ Outside \$M

February Primaries and Caucuses



Democrat Iowa Caucus results – Feb 1st 2016



0%



50%

50%

Turnout

2016	171000	↓22%
2008	220000	

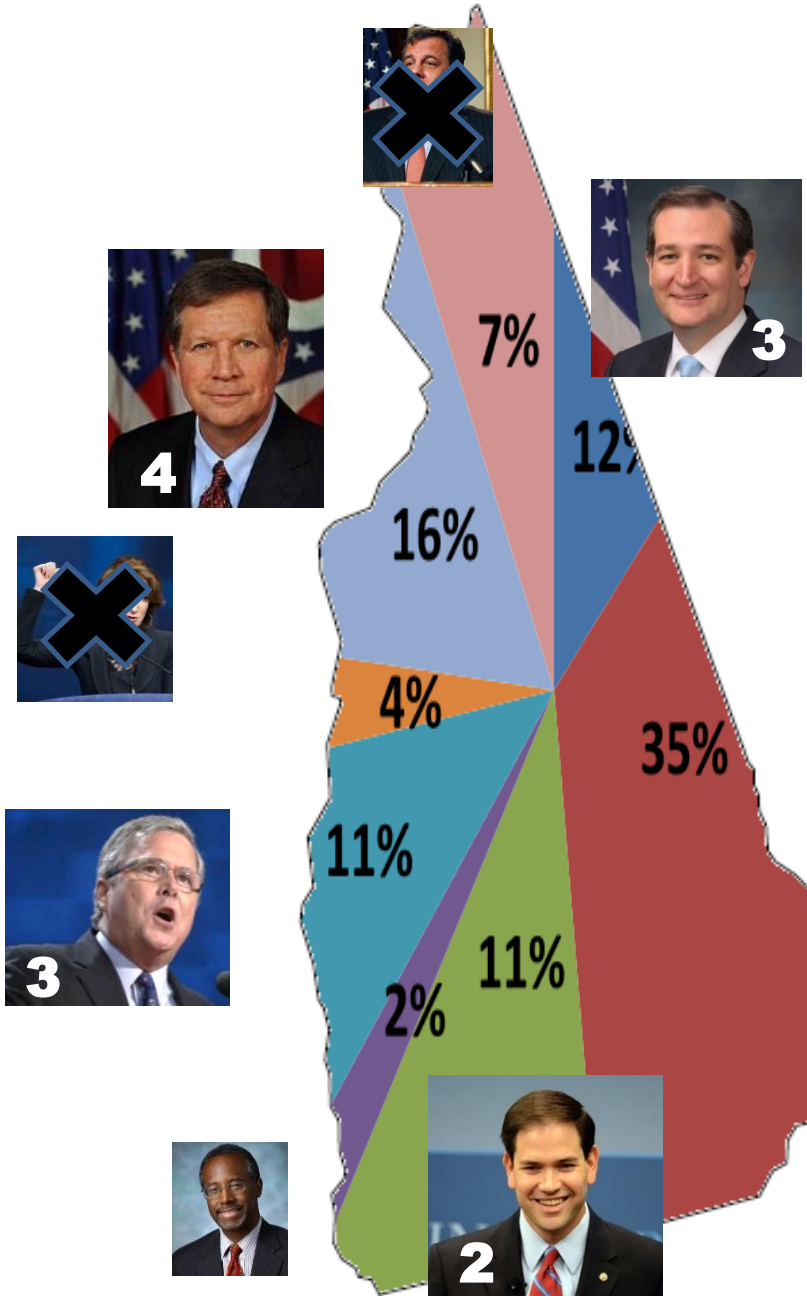
Iowa pop 3.1M

586,835 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed caucus = **29%**

Republican New Hampshire primary results – Feb 9th 2016

Proportional allocation

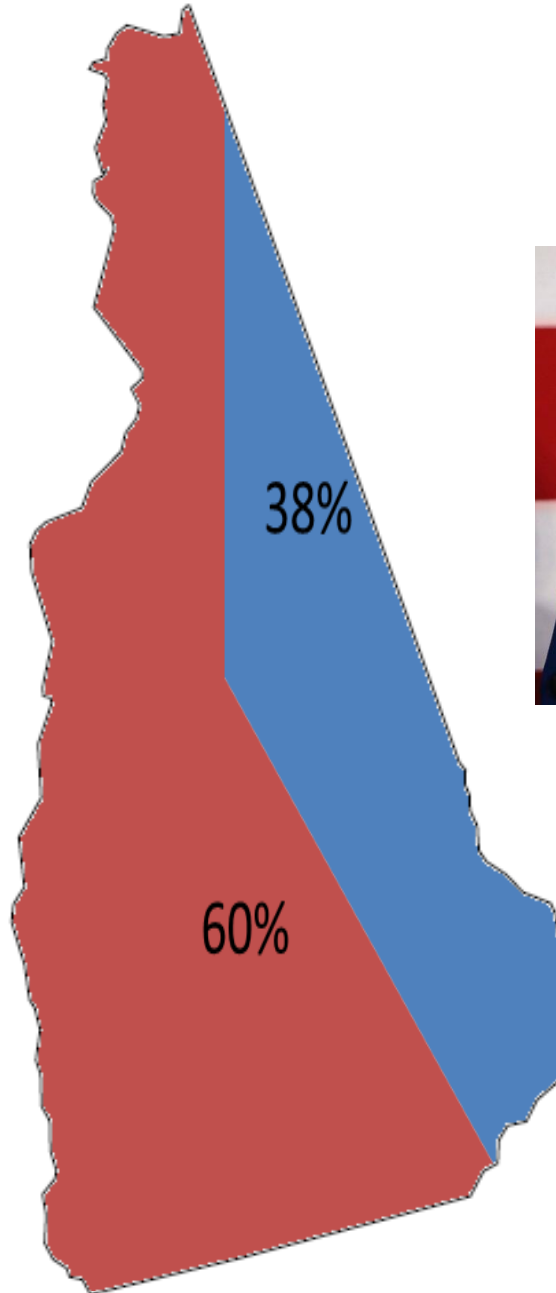


<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	284120	↑15%
2012	248,000	
2008	240,000	

N Hampshire pop 1.3M
 262 111 registered Republicans
 389 472 Undeclared voters
Turnout in semi-open primary = **43.6%**



Democrat New Hampshire primary results – Feb 9th 2016



Turnout

2016 **250,974** ↓13%

2008 287,556

N Hampshire pop 1.3M

231,376 registered Democrats

389 472 Undeclared voters

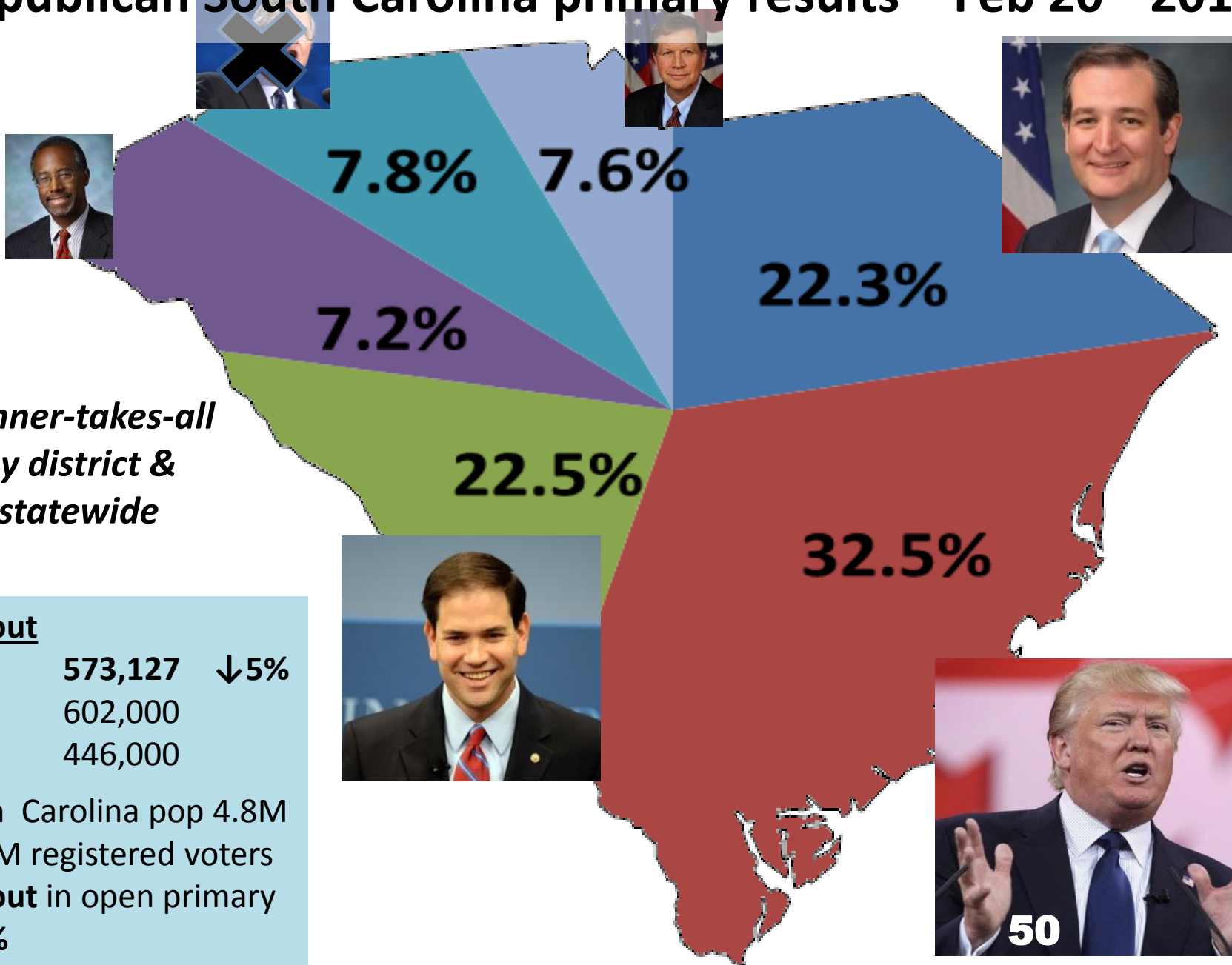
Turnout in semi-open primary =
40.4%

Turnout

Overall 2-party Turnout in
semi-open primary = **61%**

**(Record Turnout –
c.f. 60% in 2008)**

Republican South Carolina primary results – Feb 20th 2016



**Winner-takes-all
by district &
statewide**

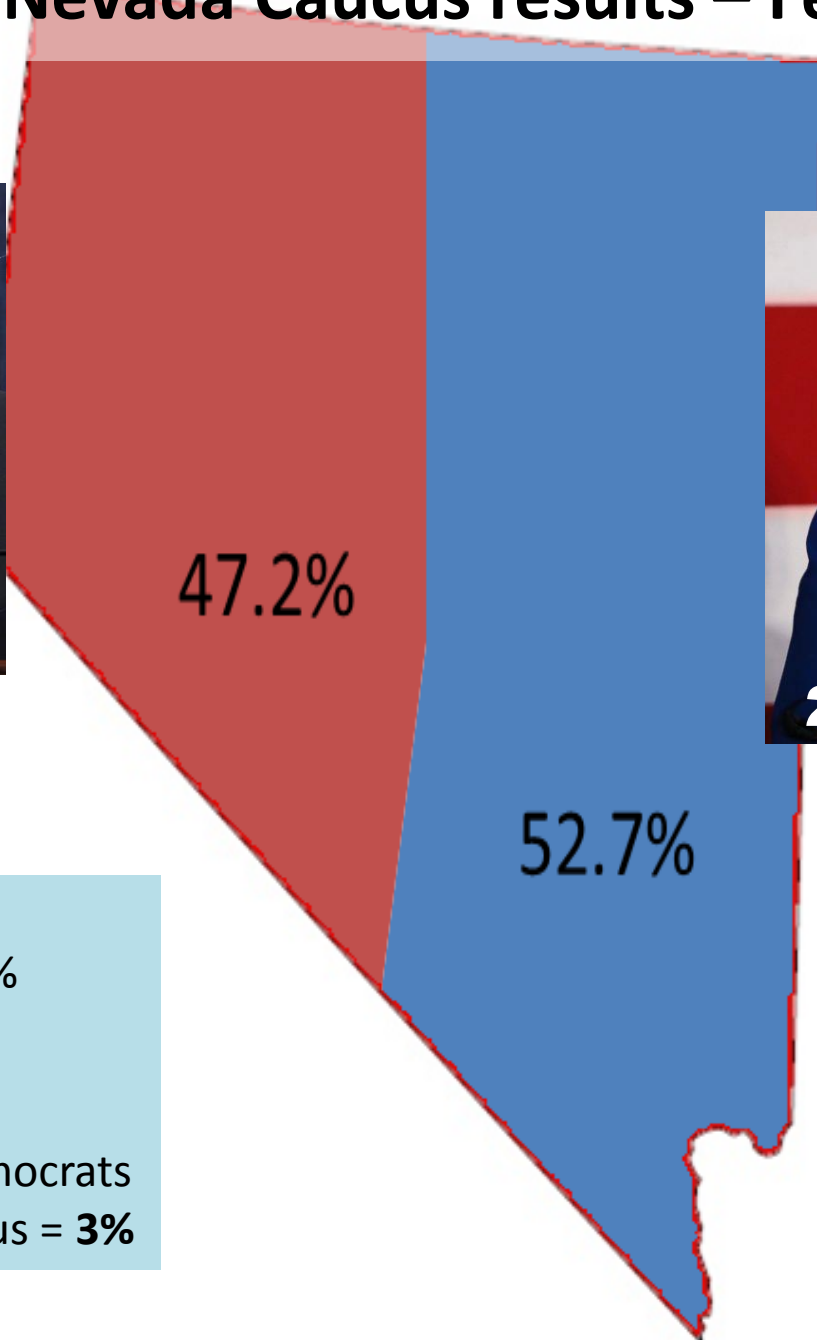
Turnout

2016	573,127	↓5%
2012	602,000	
2008	446,000	

South Carolina pop 4.8M
2.95 M registered voters

Turnout in open primary
= **19%**

Democrat Nevada Caucus results – Feb 20th 2016



Turnout

2016 **11835** **↑10%**

2008 10742

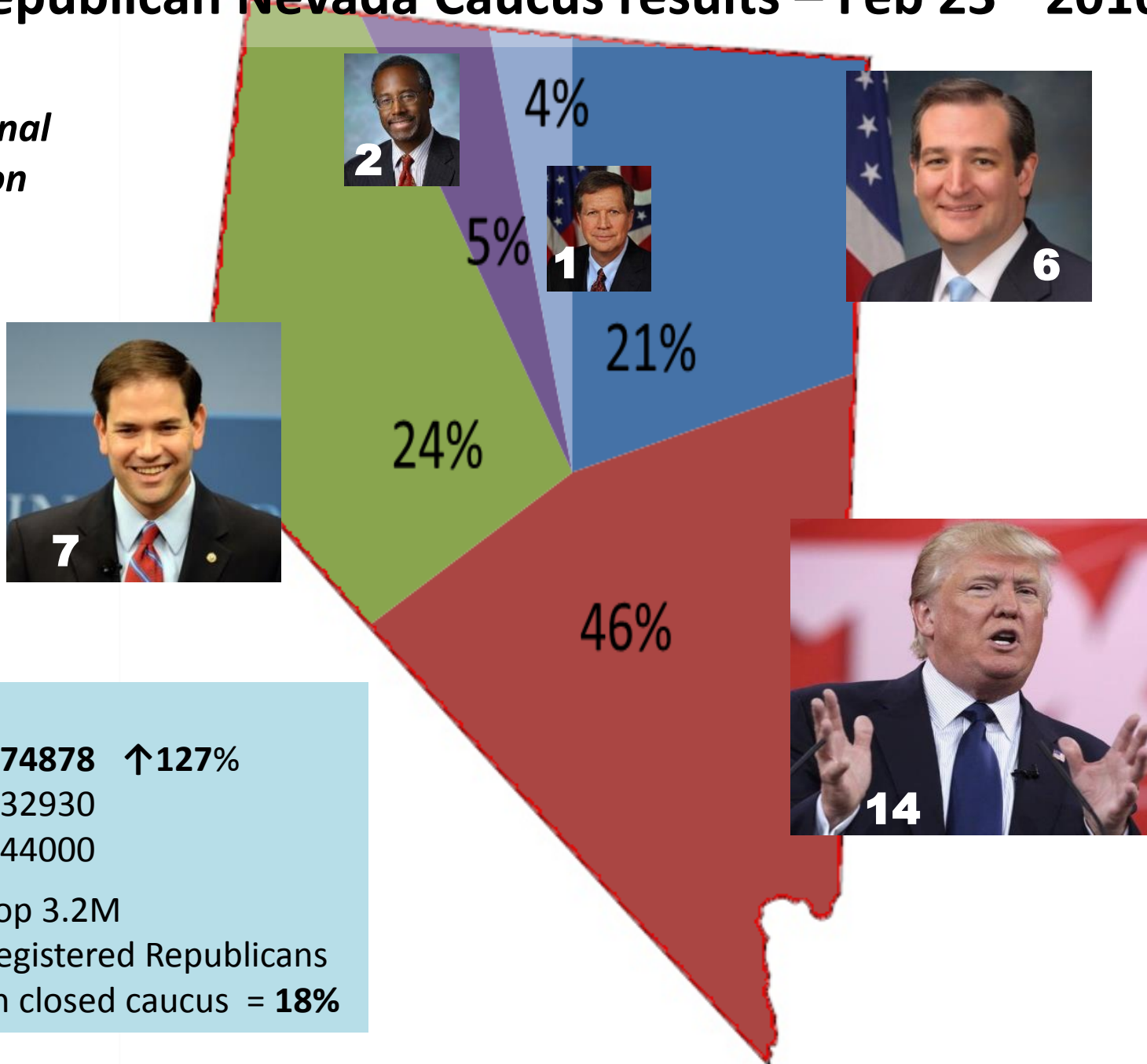
Nevada pop 3.2M

471,342 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed caucus = **3%**

Republican Nevada Caucus results – Feb 23rd 2016

Proportional allocation



Turnout

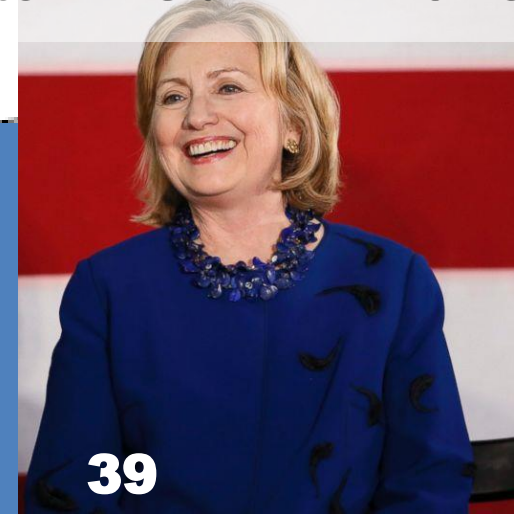
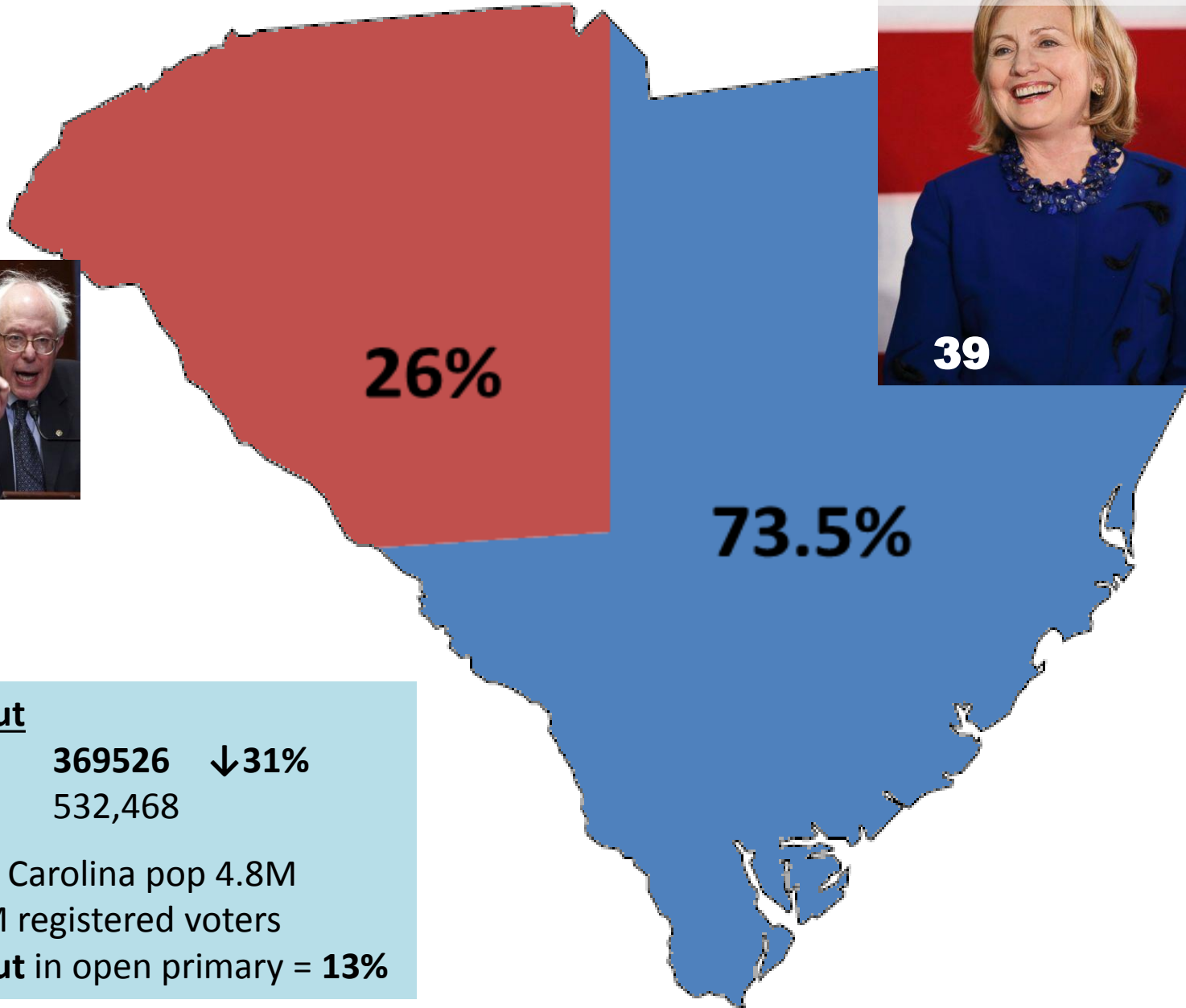
2016	74878	↑127%
2012	32930	
2008	44000	

Nevada pop 3.2M

423,308 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = **18%**

Democrat South Carolina primary results – Feb 27th 2016



Turnout

2016 369526 ↓31%

2008 532,468

South Carolina pop 4.8M

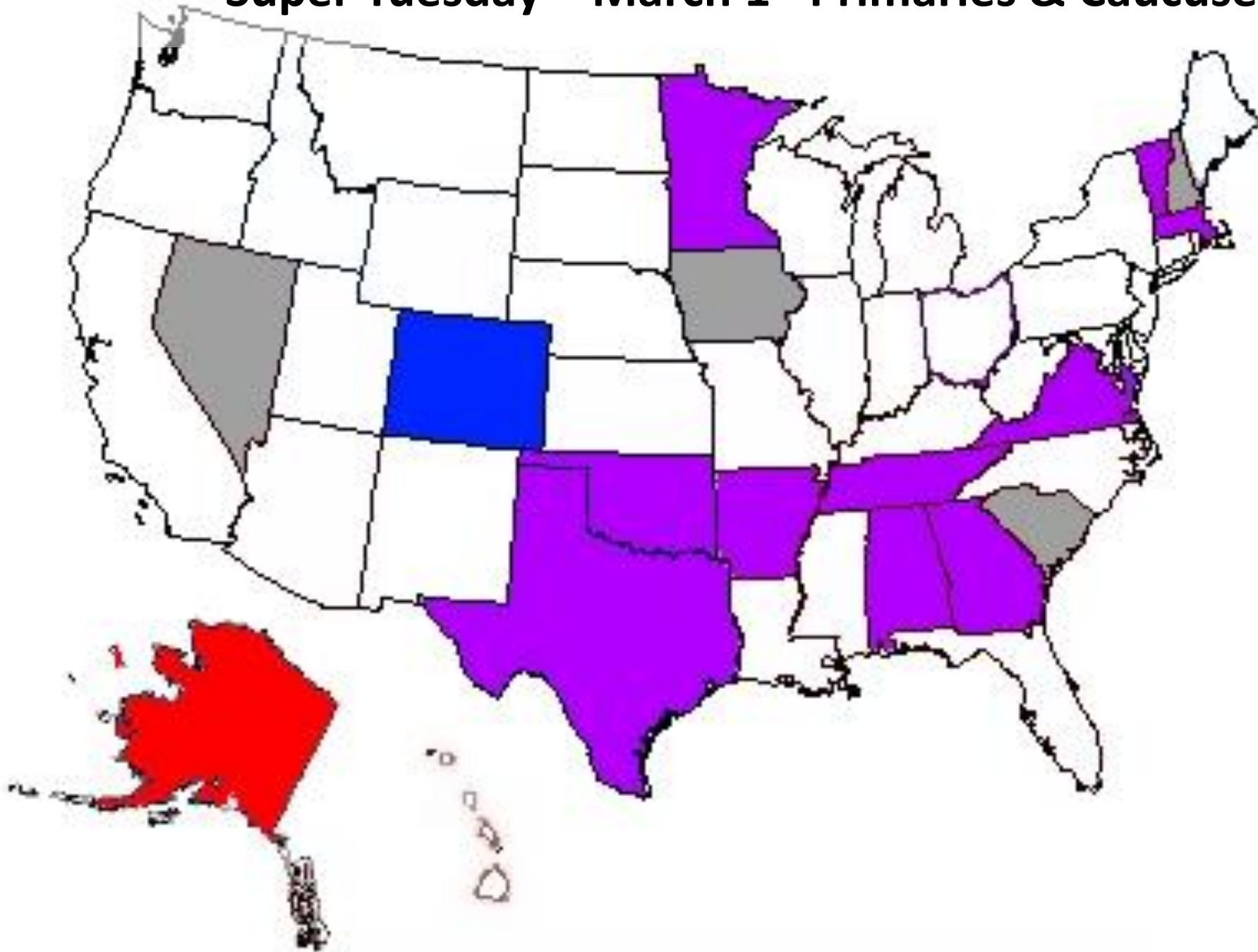
2.95 M registered voters

Turnout in open primary = **13%**

**SUPER
TUESDAY**

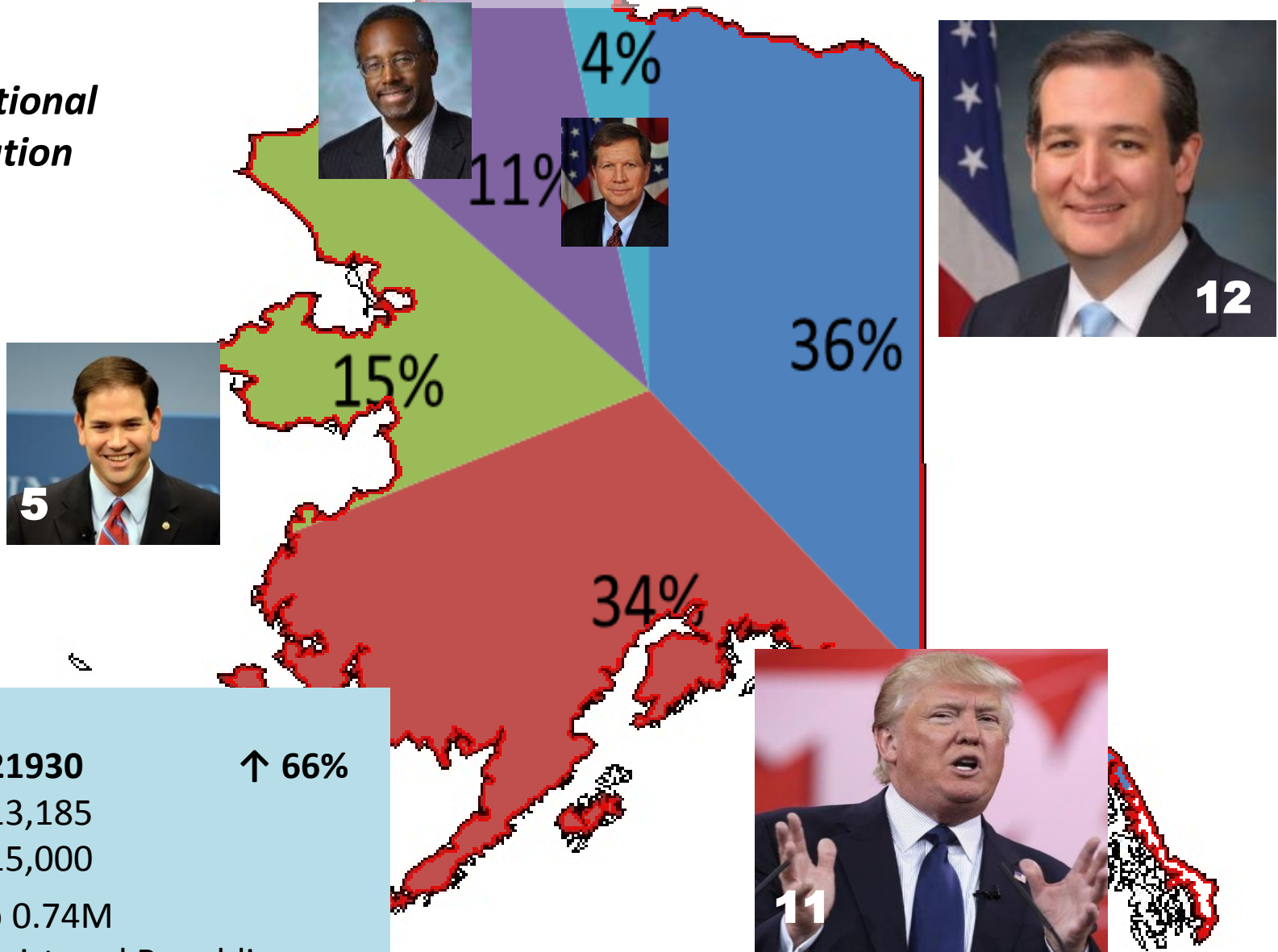
1st March 2016

Super Tuesday – March 1st Primaries & Caucuses



GOP Alaska caucus results – March 1st 2016

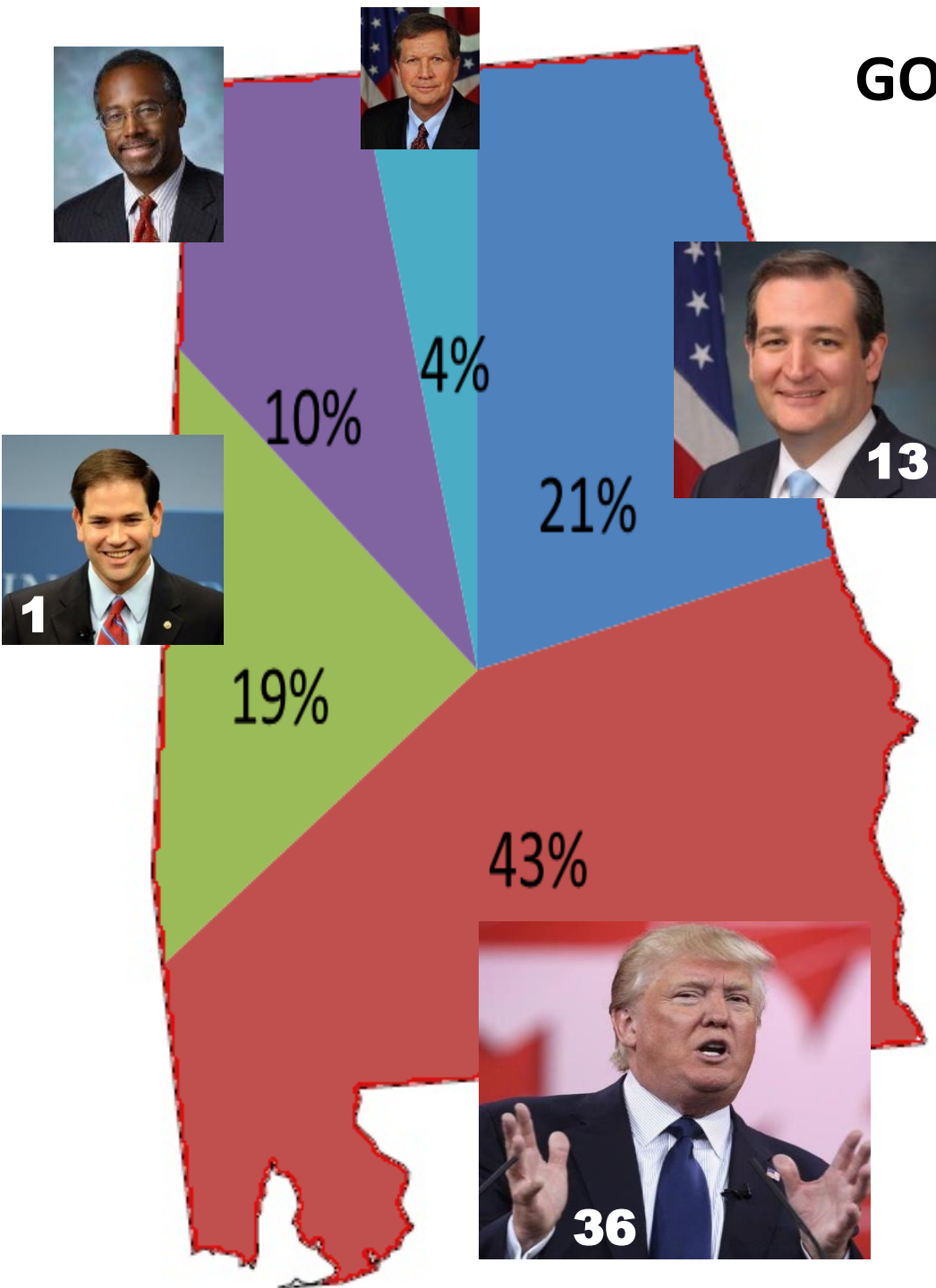
Proportional allocation



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	21930	↑ 66%
2012	13,185	
2008	15,000	
Alaska pop 0.74M		
135,938 registered Republicans		
Turnout in closed caucus = 10.2%		

GOP Alabama primary results – March 1st 2016

*Winner-takes-most
allocation*



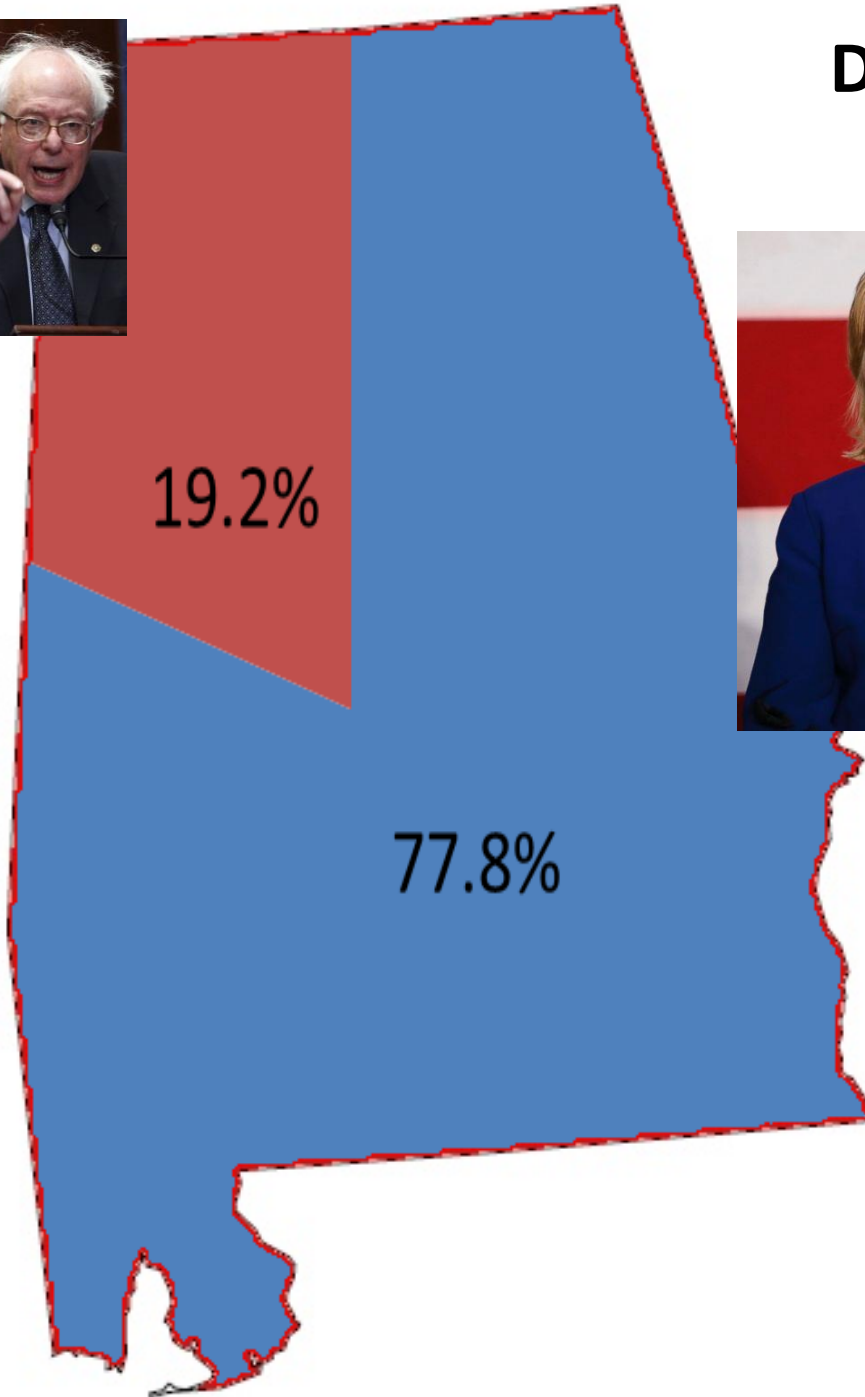
Turnout

2016	837632	↑ 39%
2012	601,357	
2008	552209	

Alabama pop 4.9M

Turnout in open primary = **29%**

Democrat Alabama primary results – March 1st 2016



Turnout

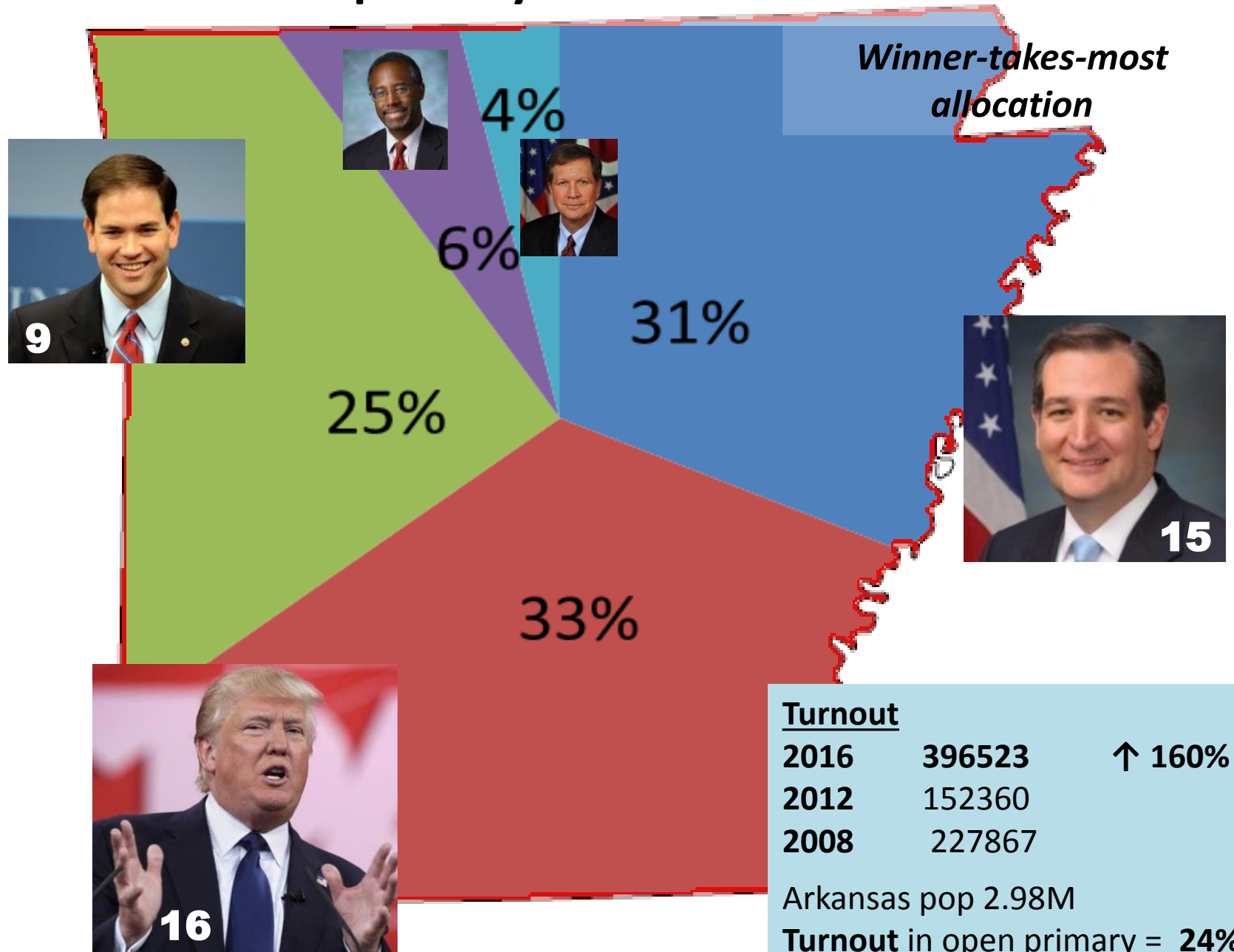
2016	386327	↓ 27%
2008	526071	

Alabama pop 4.9M

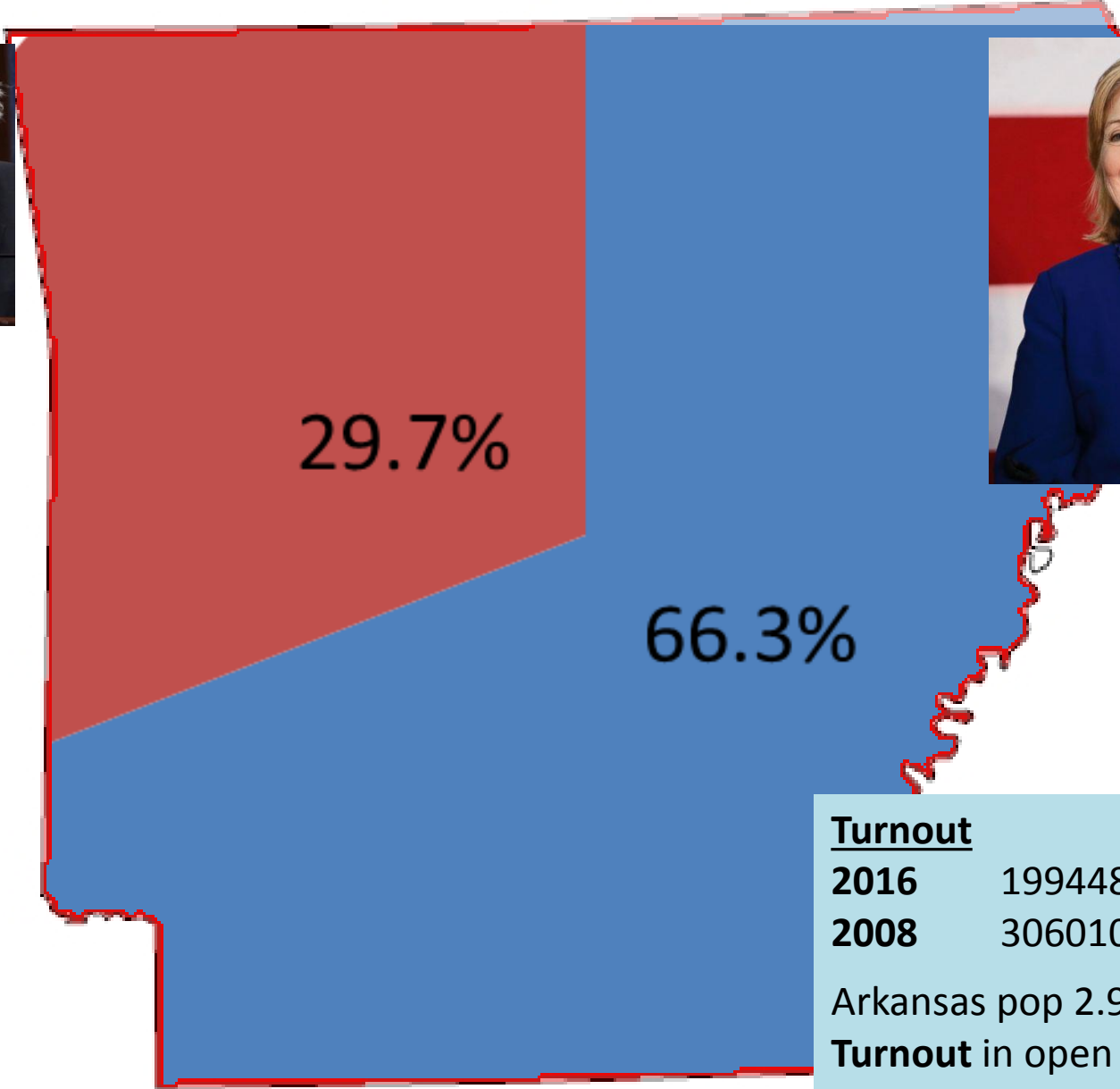
Turnout in open primary = 13%

2016 2-party turnout = 43%

GOP Arkansas primary results – March 1st 2016



Democrat Arkansas primary results – March 1st 2016



Turnout

2016	199448	↓ 35%
2008	306010	

Arkansas pop 2.98M

Turnout in open primary = **12%**

2016 2-party turnout = 37%

Democrat Colorado caucus results – March 1st 2016



58.9%

40.4%

Turnout

2012 121184 <-> 0%

2008 120971

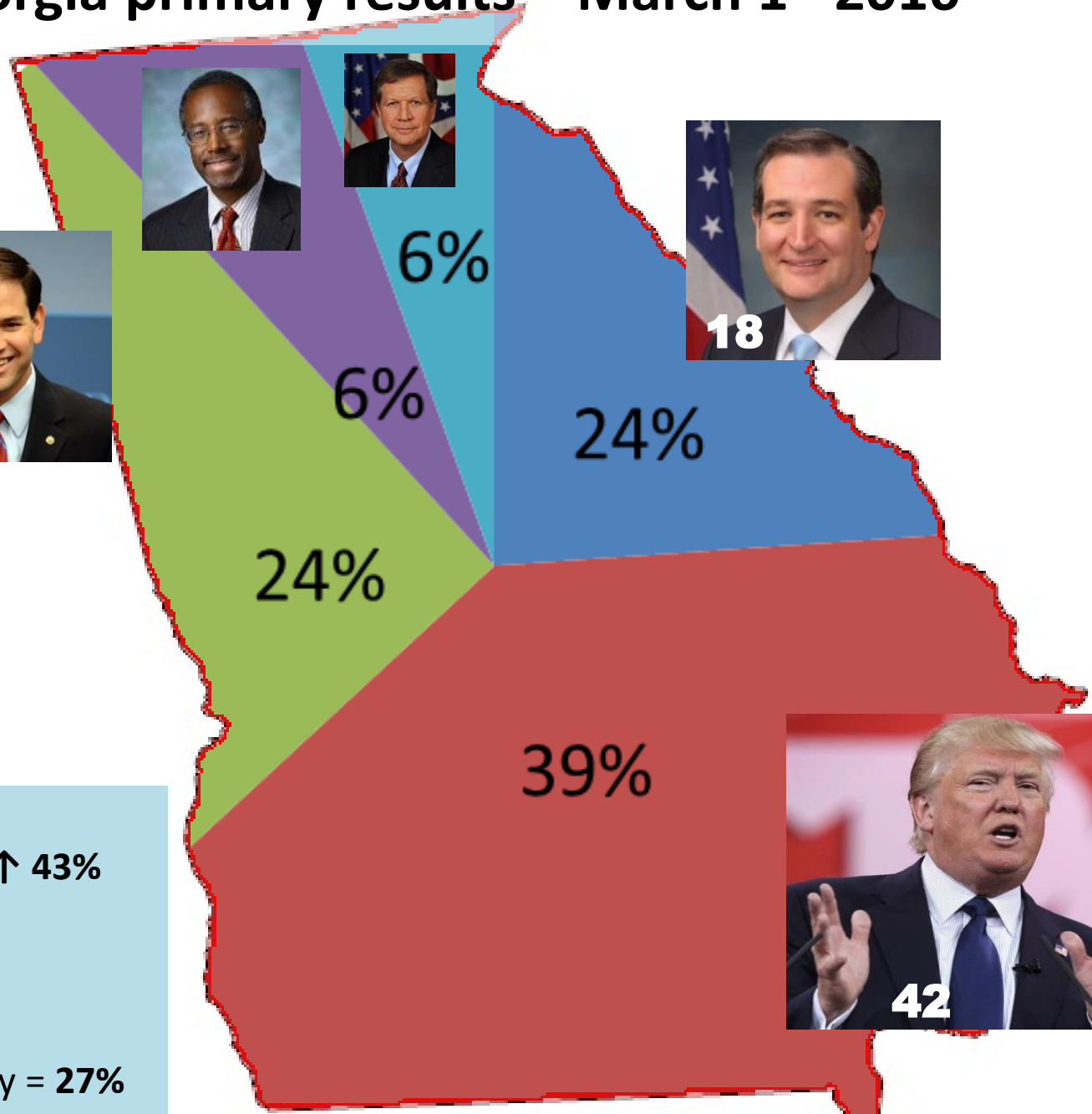
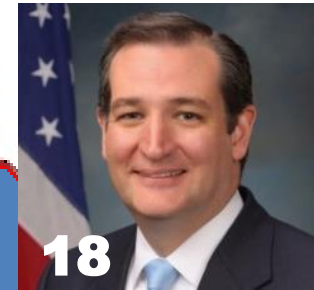
Colorado pop 5.46M

918,259 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed caucus = **13%**

GOP Georgia primary results – March 1st 2016

Winner-takes-most allocation



Turnout

2016	1275601	↑ 43%
2012	893335	
2008	963541	

Georgia pop 10.2M

Turnout in open primary = **27%**

Democrat Georgia primary results – March 1st 2016



28.2%



71.3%

Turnout

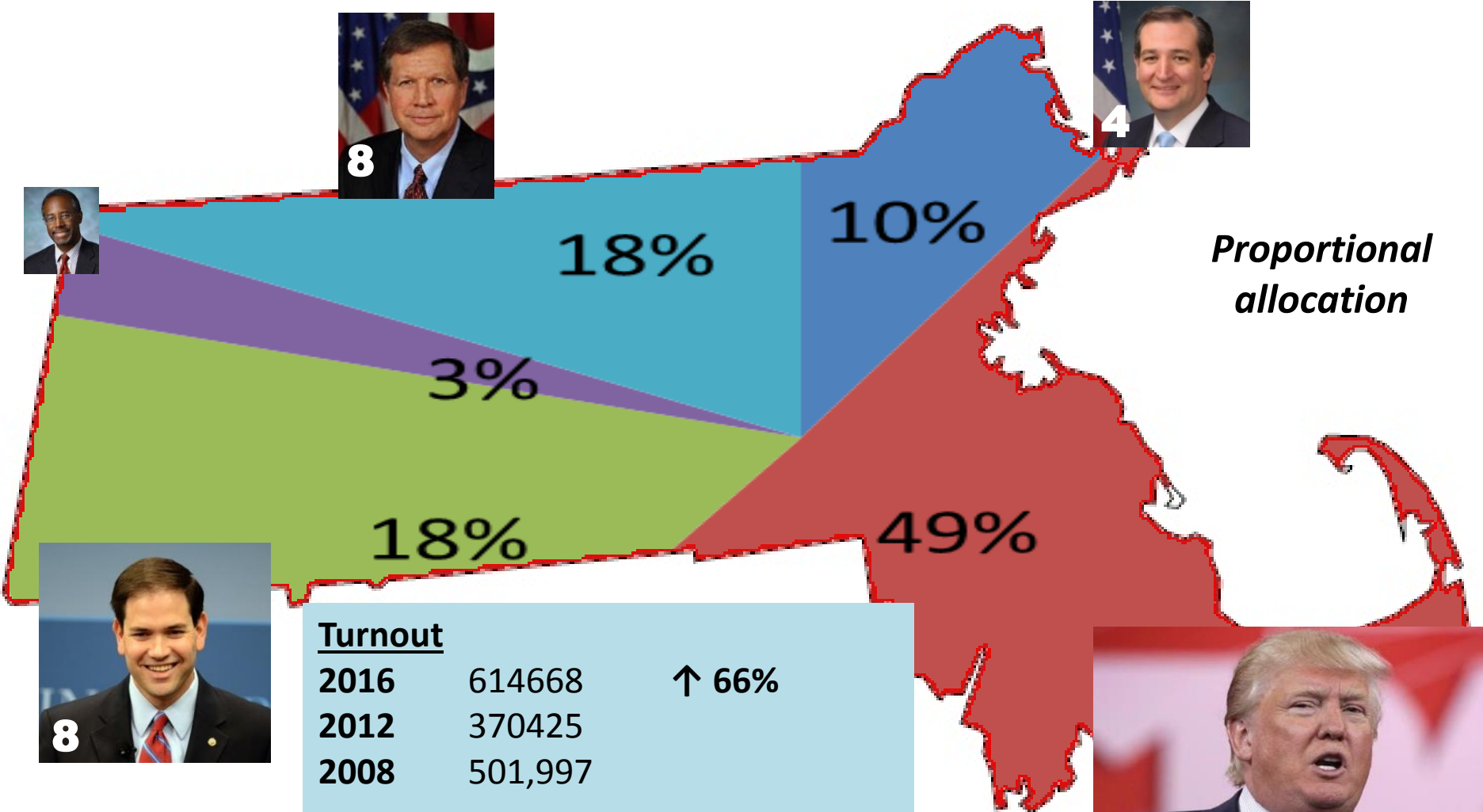
2016	757340	↓ 27%
2008	1034273	

Georgia pop 10.2M

Turnout in open primary = 16%

2016 2-party turnout = 43%

GOP Massachusetts primary results – March 1st 2016



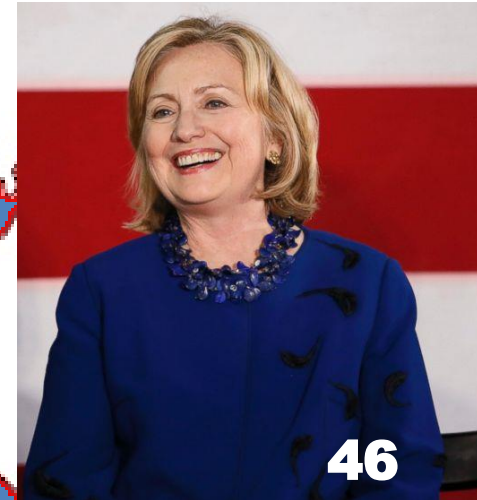
Turnout

2016	614668	↑ 66%
2012	370425	
2008	501,997	

Massachusetts pop 6.8M
468,295 Registered Republicans
2,277,760 Unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open primary = **22%**

Democrat Massachusetts primary results – March 1st 2016



48.7%

50.1%

Turnout

2016	1198652	↓ 5%
2008	1263766	

Massachusetts pop 6.8M

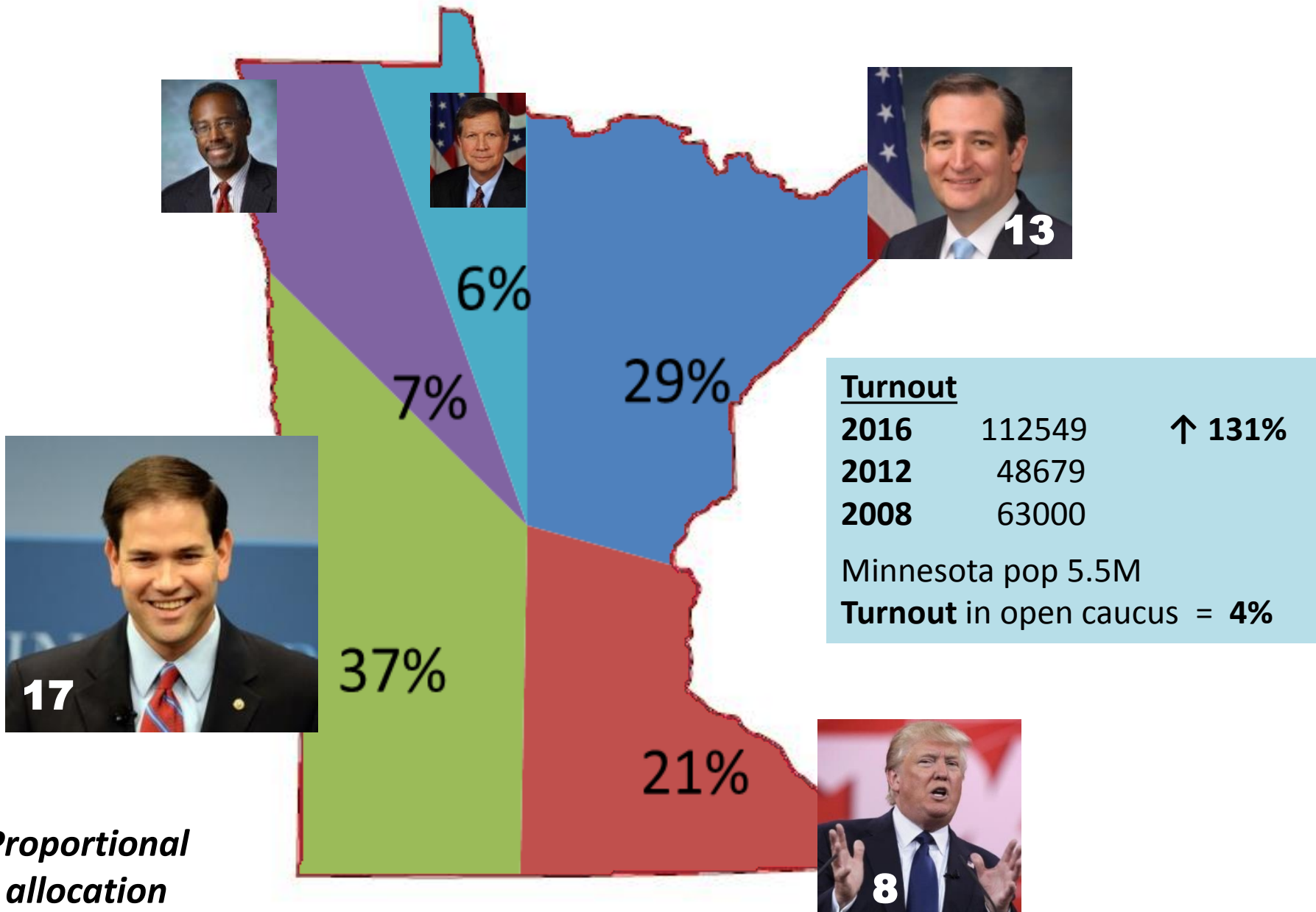
1,490,335 Registered Democrats

2,277,760 Unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open primary = **32%**

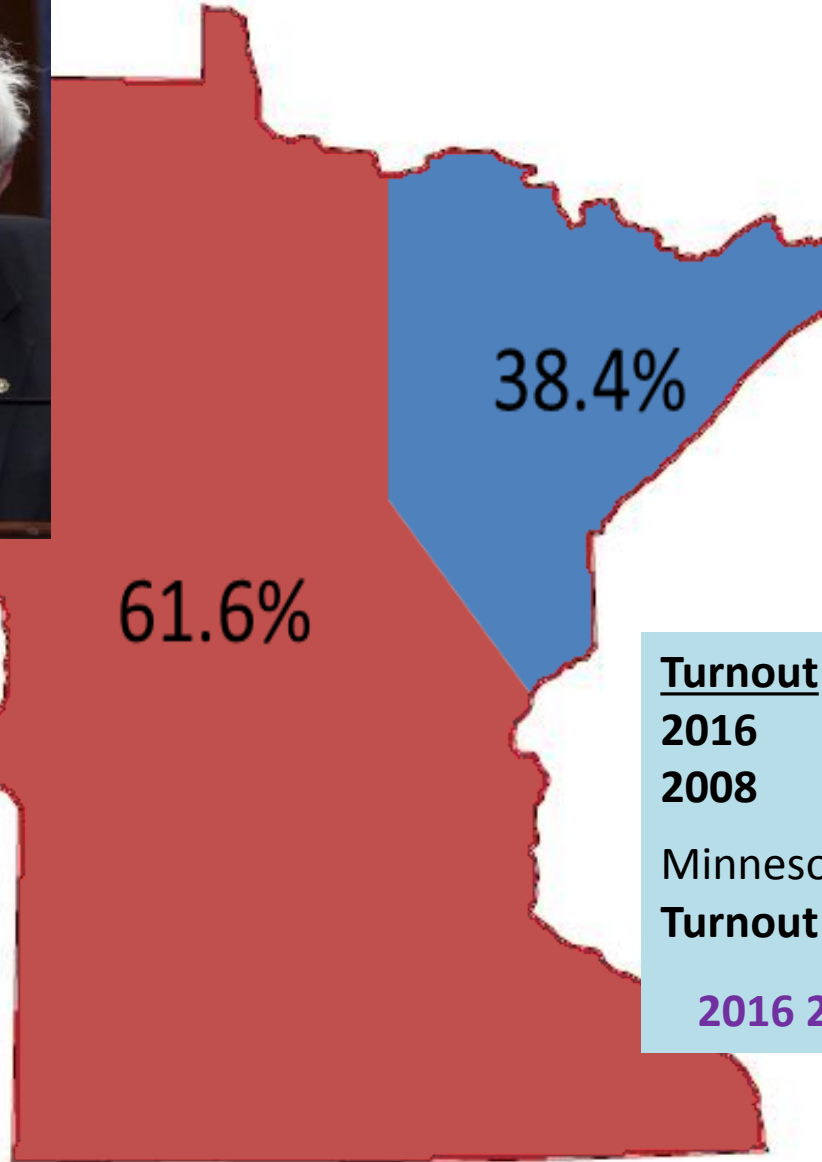
2016 2-party turnout = 43%

GOP Minnesota Caucus results (non-binding) – March 1st 2016



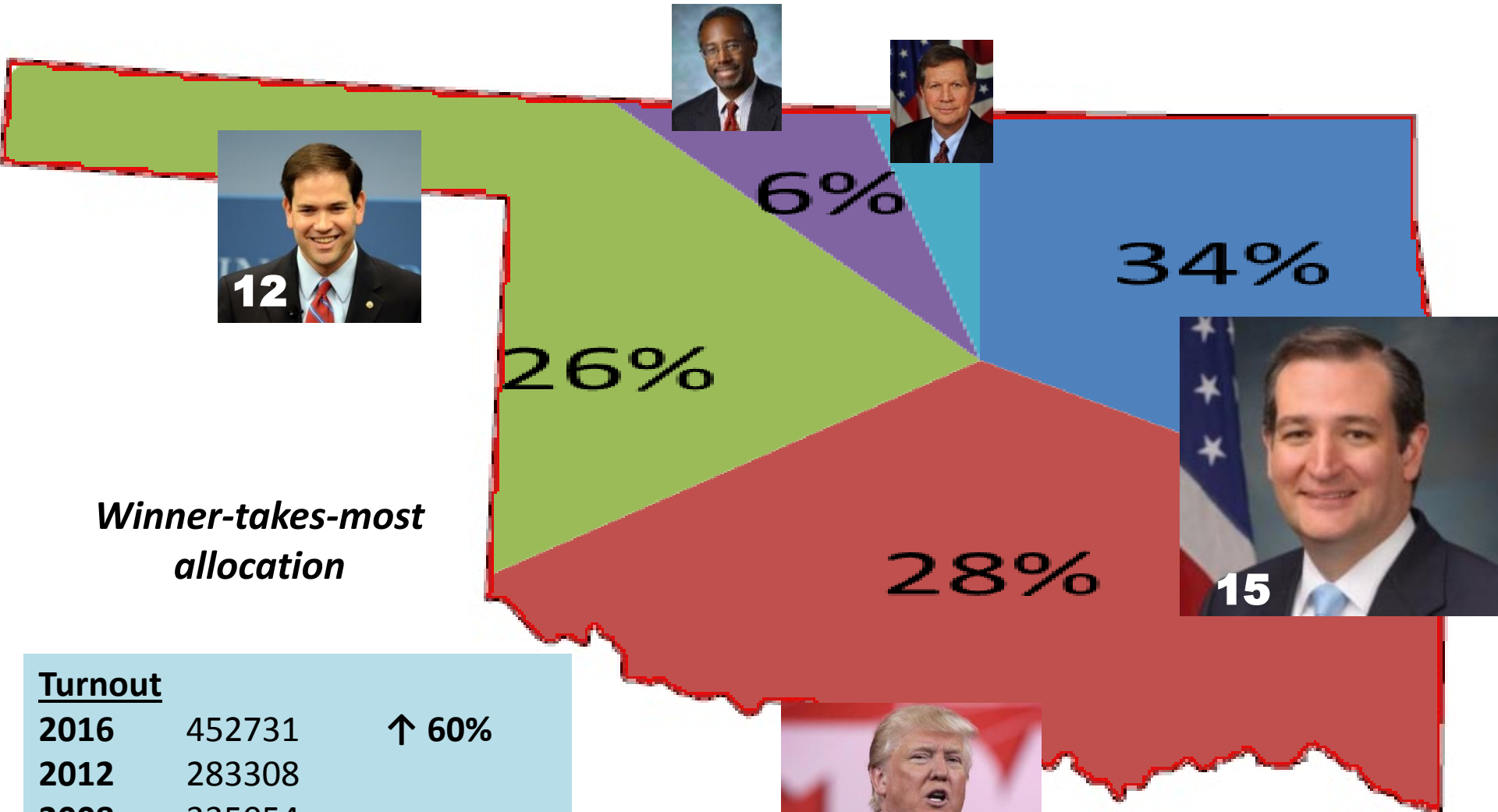
*Proportional
allocation*

Democrat Minnesota caucus results – March 1st 2016



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	191645	↓ 10%
2008	212415	
Minnesota pop 5.5M		
Turnout in open caucus = 6%		
2016 2-party turnout = 10%		

GOP Oklahoma primary results – March 1st 2016



Winner-takes-most allocation

<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	452731	↑ 60%
2012	283308	
2008	335054	
Oklahoma pop 3.91M		
880,130 Registered Republicans		
Turnout in closed primary = 51%		



Democrat Oklahoma primary results – March 1st 2016



51.9%

41.5%

Turnout

2016	313392	↓ 13%
2008	358610	

Oklahoma pop 3.91M

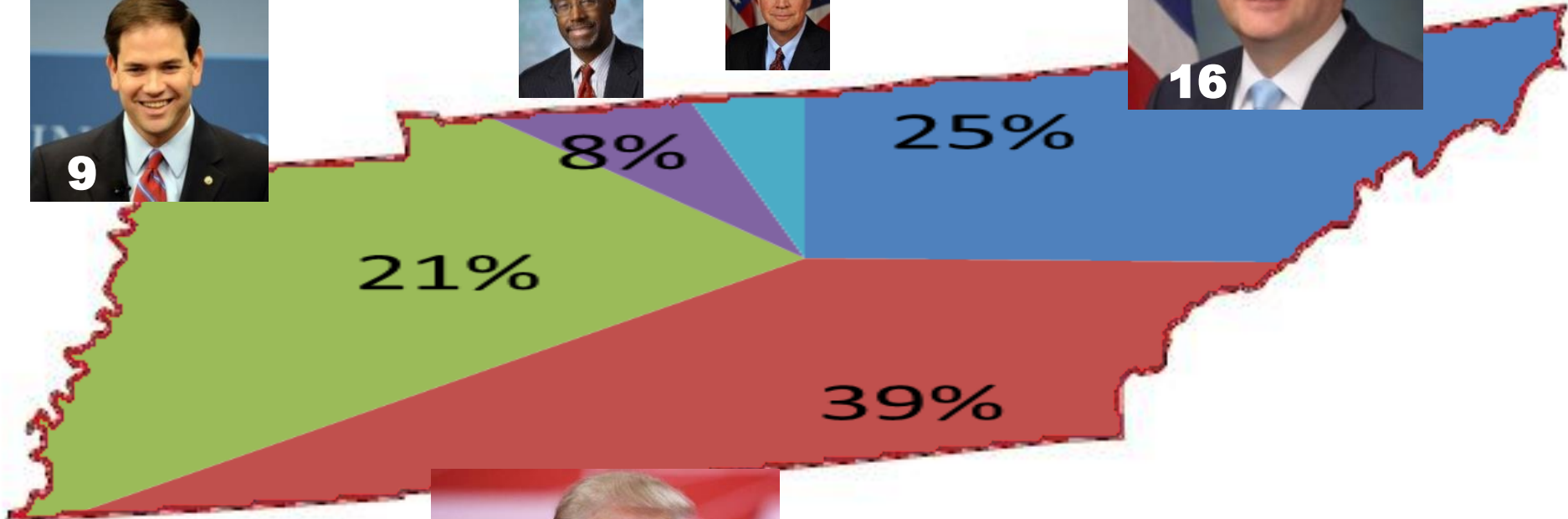
832,059 Registered Democrats

Turnout in closed primary = 38%



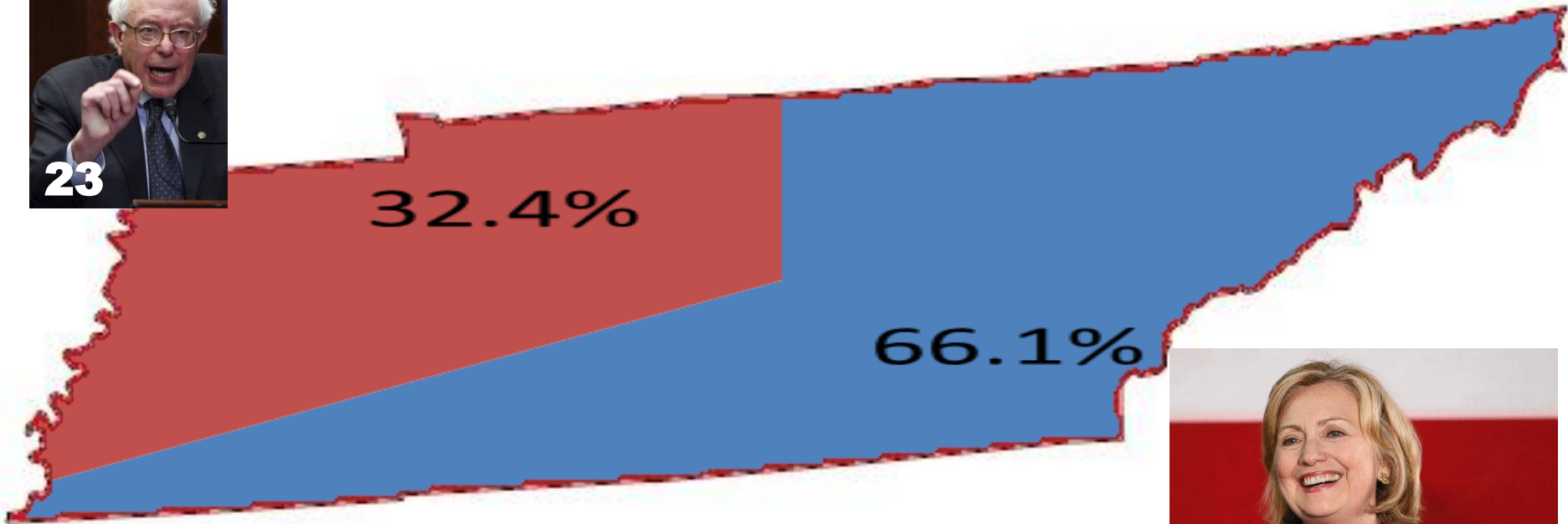
GOP Tennessee primary results – March 1st 2016

Winner-takes-most allocation



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	834939	↑ 54%
2012	541796	
2008	553815	
Tennessee pop 6.6M		
Turnout in open primary = 21%		

Democrat Tennessee primary results – March 1st 2016



Turnout

2016 365637 ↓ 21%

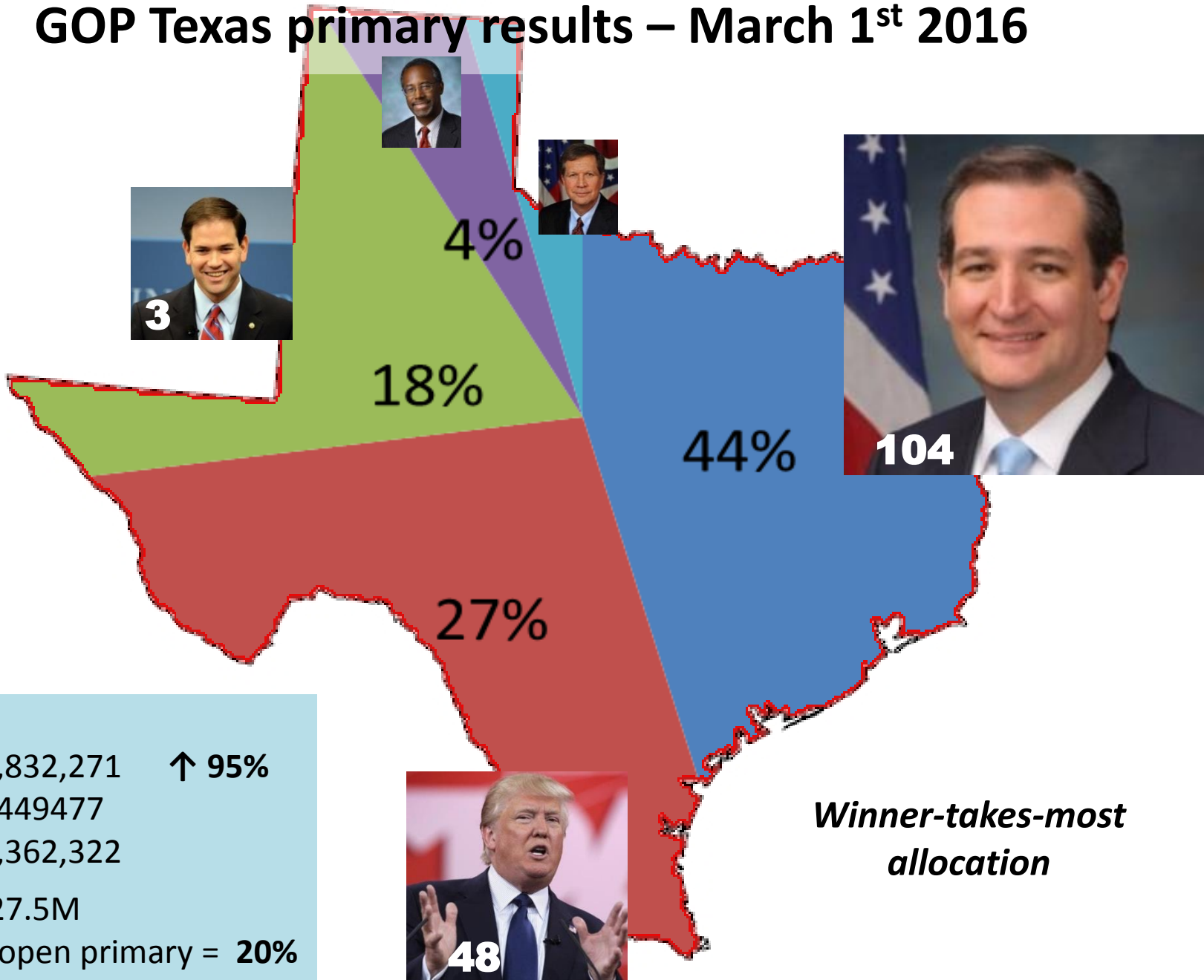
2008 592277

Tennessee pop 6.6M

Turnout in open primary = **9%**

2016 2-party turnout = 31%

GOP Texas primary results – March 1st 2016



Turnout

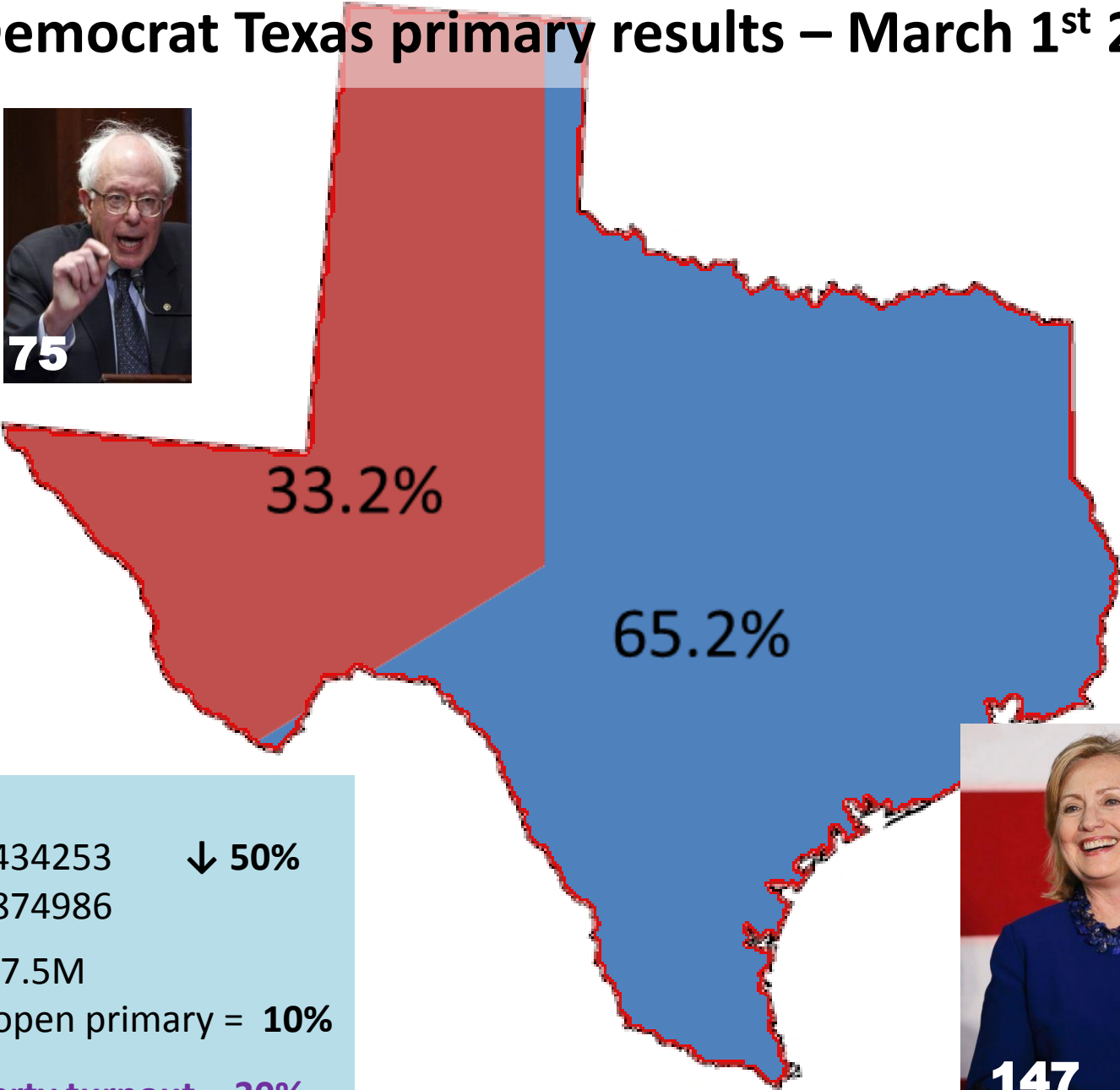
2016	2,832,271	↑ 95%
2012	1,449,477	
2008	1,362,322	

Texas pop 27.5M

Turnout in open primary = 20%

*Winner-takes-most
allocation*

Democrat Texas primary results – March 1st 2016



Turnout

2016	1434253	↓ 50%
2008	2874986	

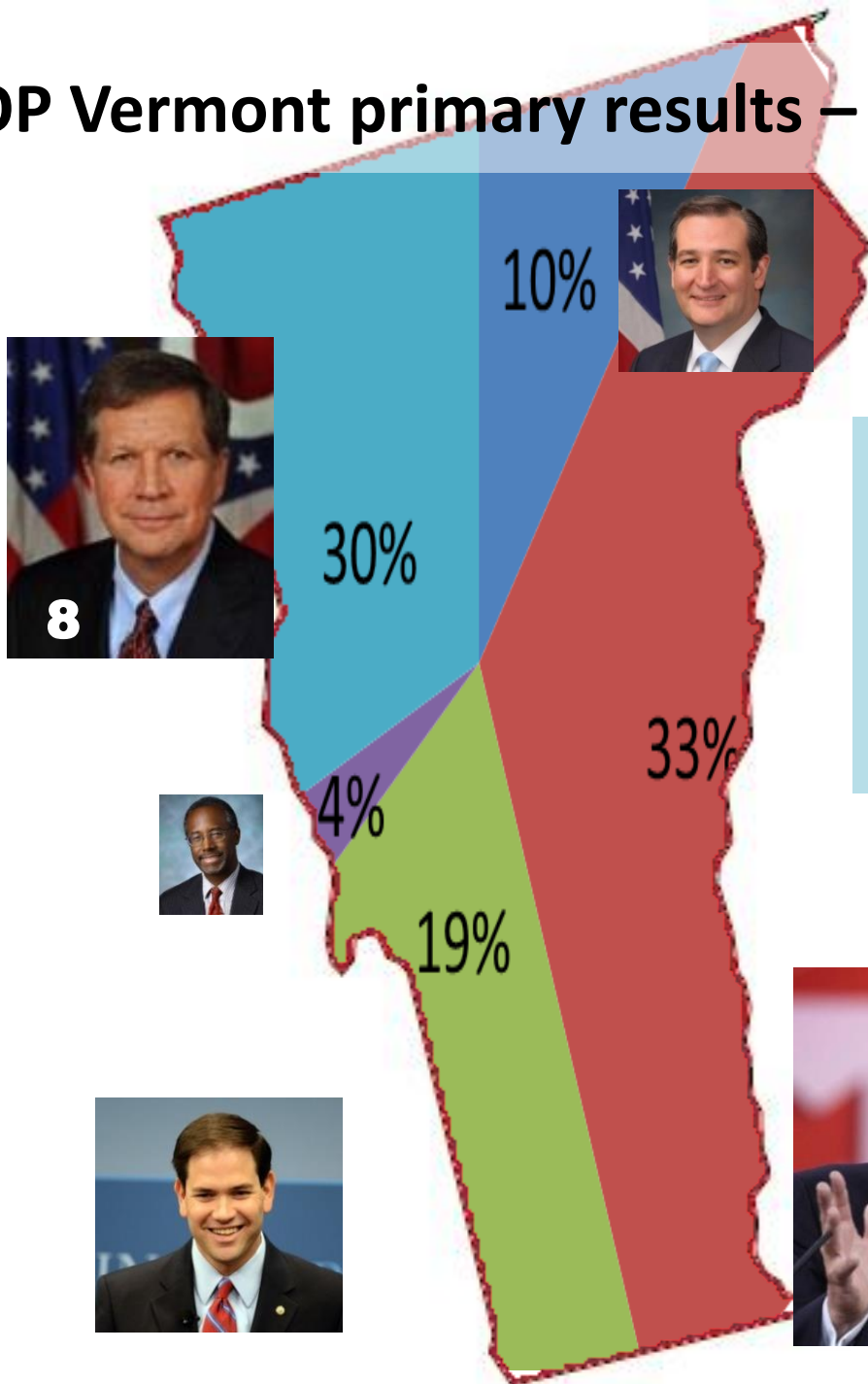
Texas pop 27.5M

Turnout in open primary = 10%

2016 2-party turnout = 30%



GOP Vermont primary results – March 1st 2016



Winner-takes-most allocation

Turnout

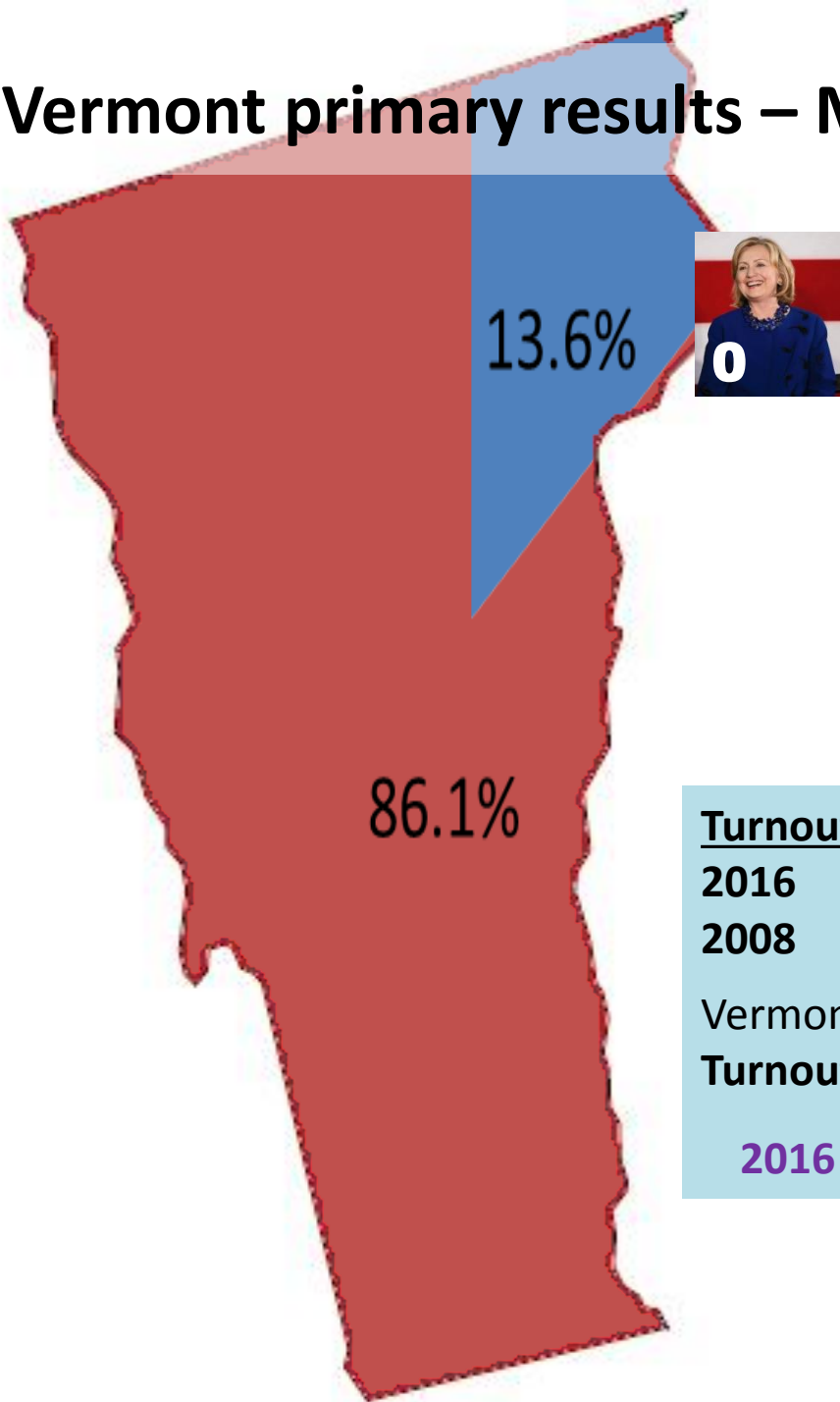
2016	58,762	<-> 0%
2012	58551	
2008	40120	

Vermont pop 0.63M

Turnout in open primary = **13%**



Democrat Vermont primary results – March 1st 2016



Turnout

2016	134198	↓ 12 %
2008	151707	

Vermont pop 0.63M

Turnout in open primary = **30%**

2016 2-party turnout = 44%

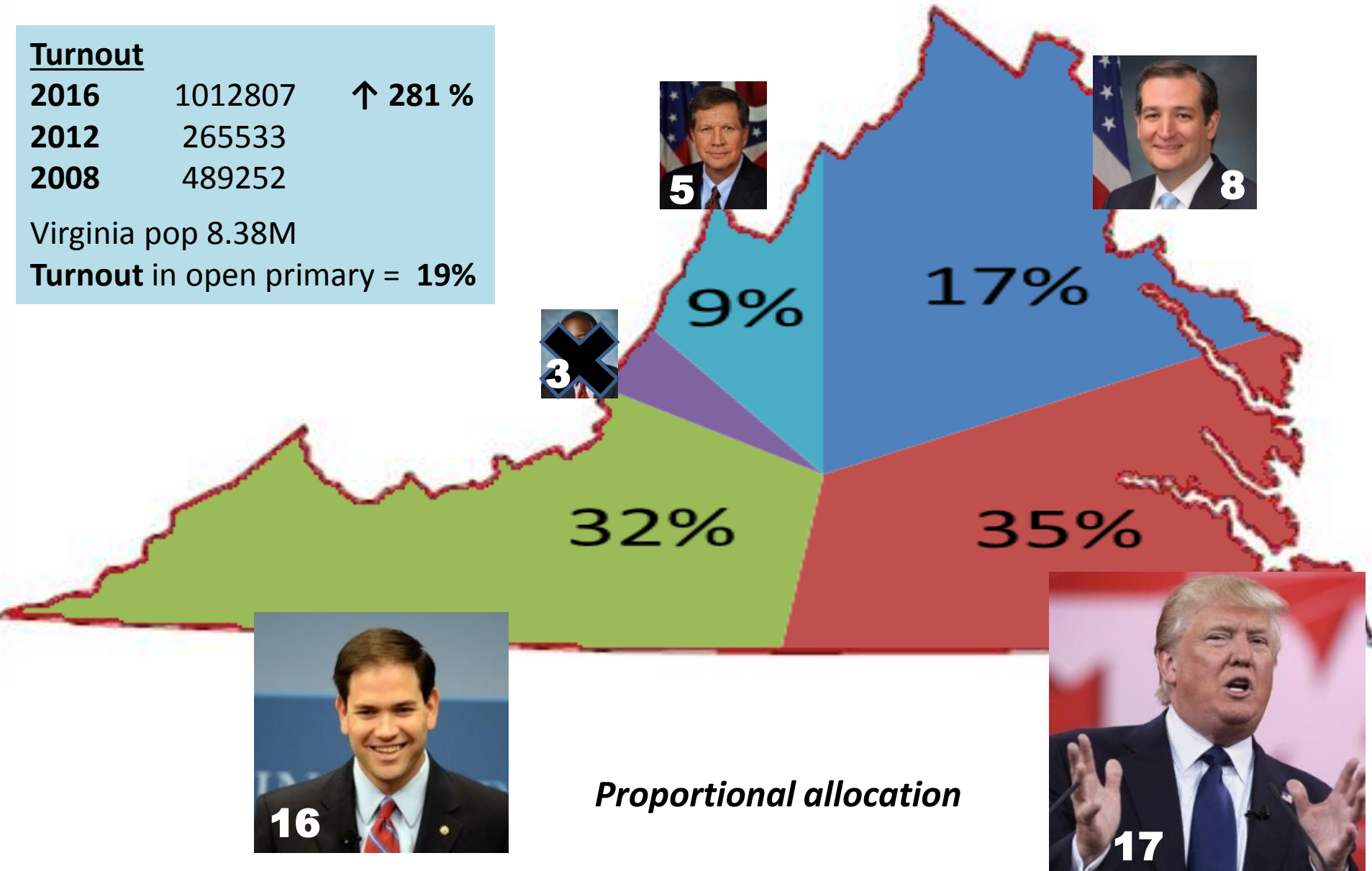
GOP Virginia primary results – March 1st 2016

Turnout

2016	1012807	↑ 281 %
2012	265533	
2008	489252	

Virginia pop 8.38M

Turnout in open primary = 19%



Democrat Virginia primary results – March 1st 2016

Turnout

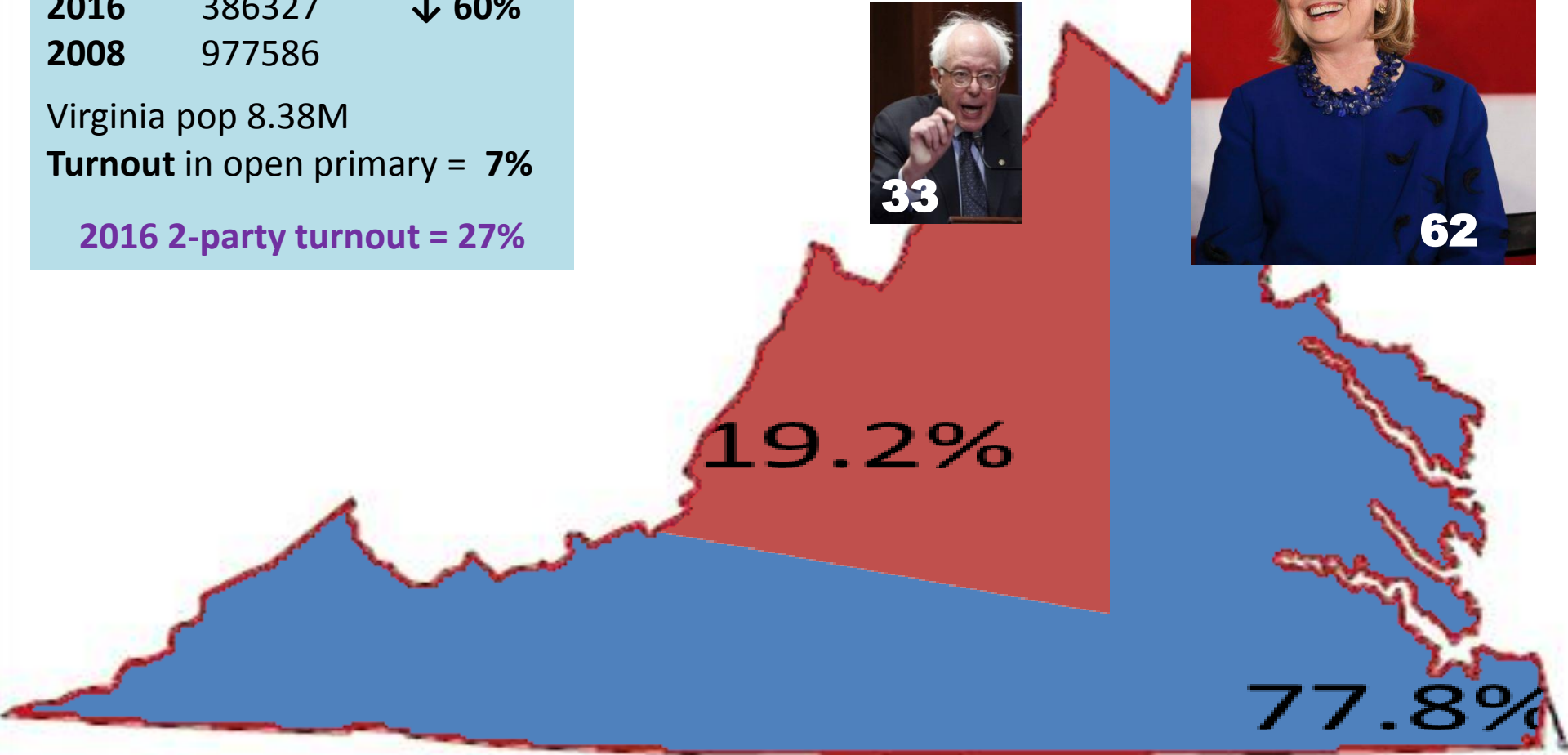
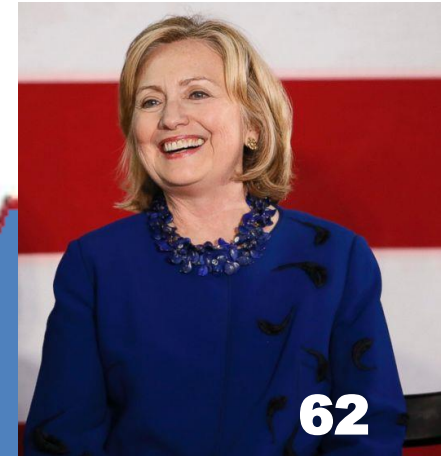
2016 386327 ↓ 60%

2008 977586

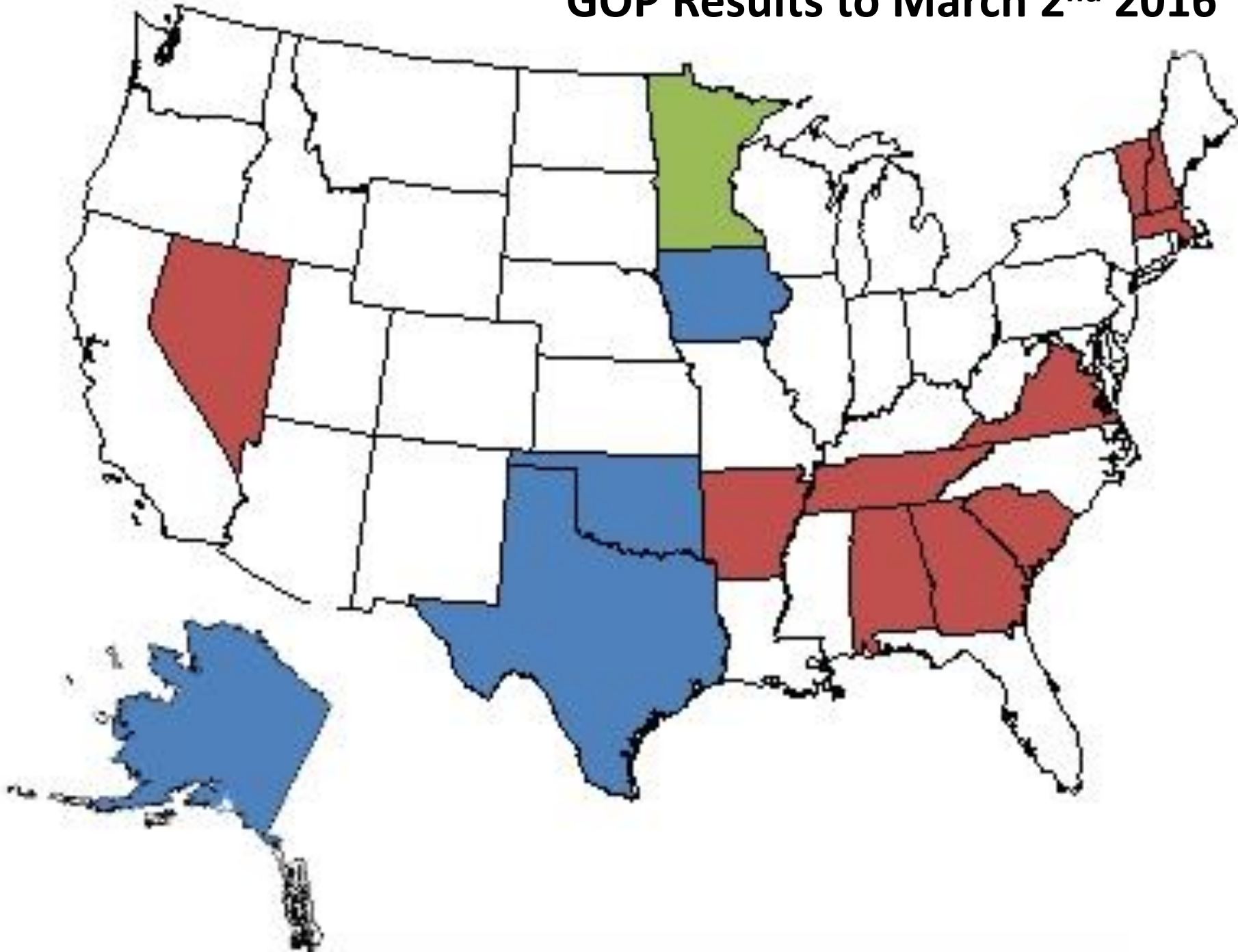
Virginia pop 8.38M

Turnout in open primary = 7%

2016 2-party turnout = 27%



GOP Results to March 2nd 2016





332 pledged: 332
unpledged: 0
TRUMP



1237 delegates
needed to win



230 pledged: 230
unpledged: 0
CRUZ



1237 delegates
needed to win



113 pledged: 113
unpledged: 0
RUBIO



1237 delegates
needed to win



27 pledged: 27
unpledged: 0
KASICH



1237 delegates
needed to win



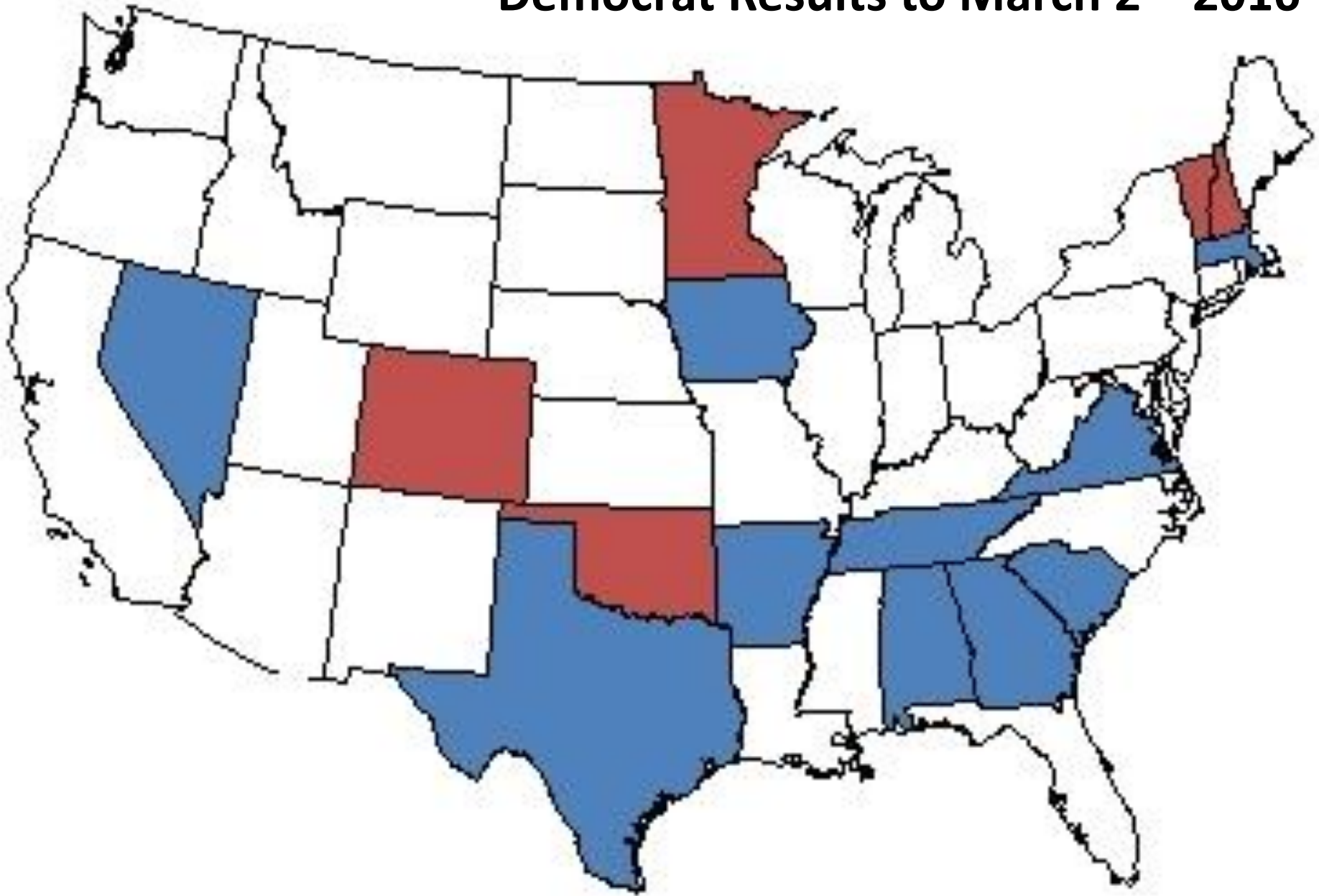
7 pledged: 7
unpledged: 0
CARSON



1237 delegates
needed to win



Democrat Results to March 2nd 2016



total delegates: 4765



1074 *pledged: 606*
super: 468
CLINTON



2383 delegates
needed to win

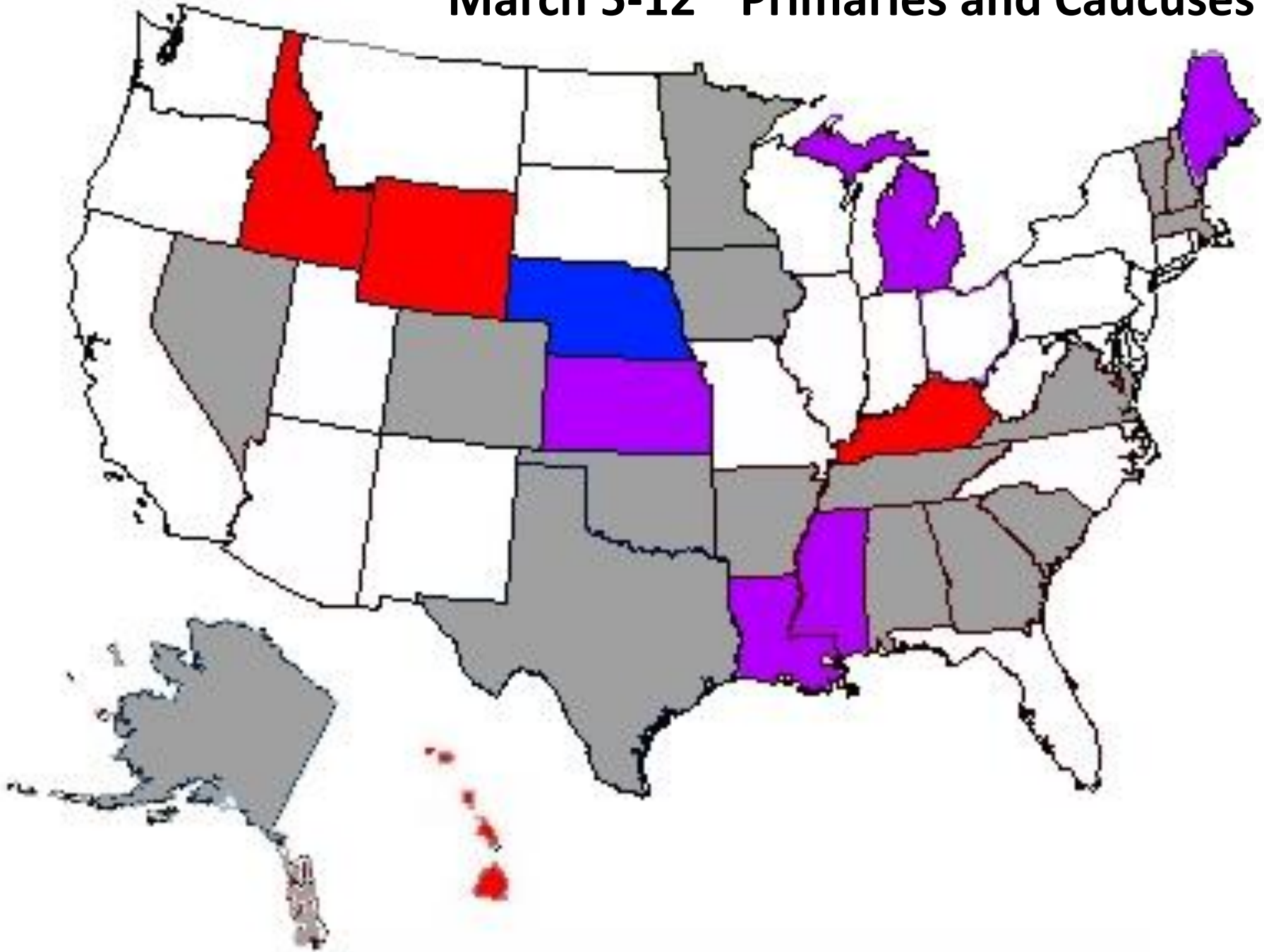


426 *pledged: 405*
super: 21
SANDERS

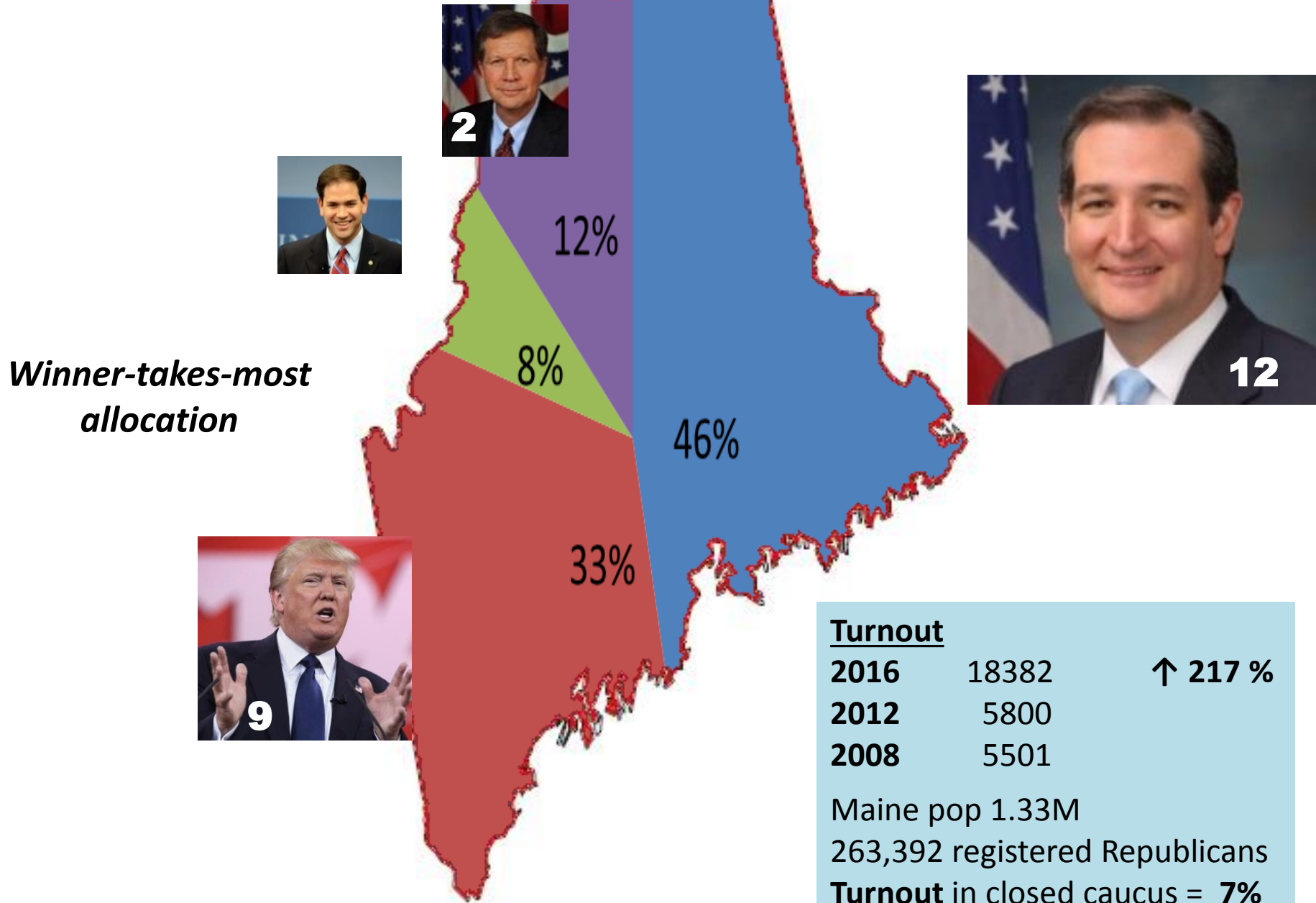


2383 delegates
needed to win

March 5-12th Primaries and Caucuses

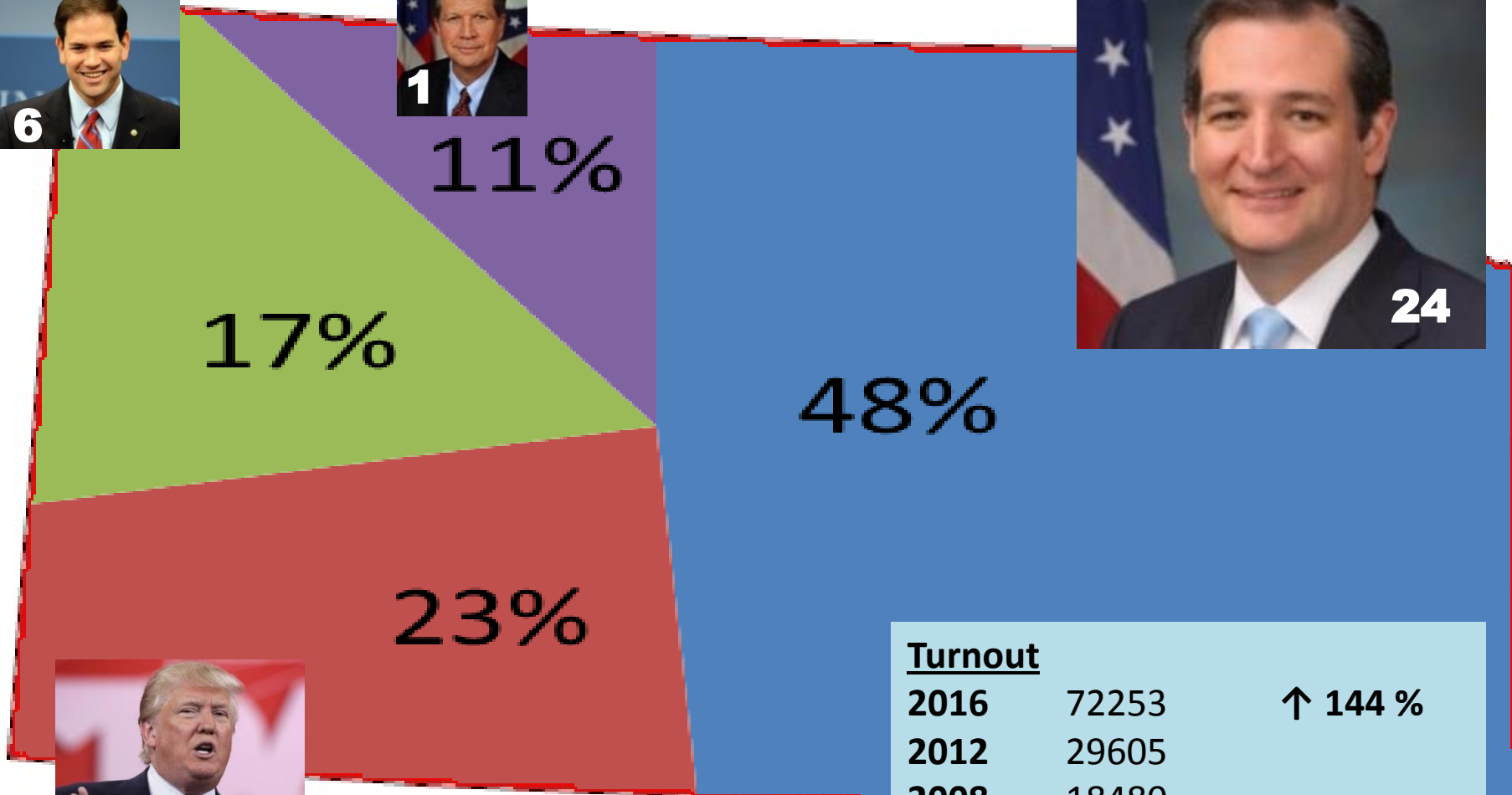


GOP Maine Caucus results – March 5th 2016



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	18382	↑ 217 %
2012	5800	
2008	5501	
Maine pop 1.33M		
263,392 registered Republicans		
Turnout in closed caucus = 7%		

GOP Kansas Caucus results – March 5th 2016



Proportional allocation

Turnout

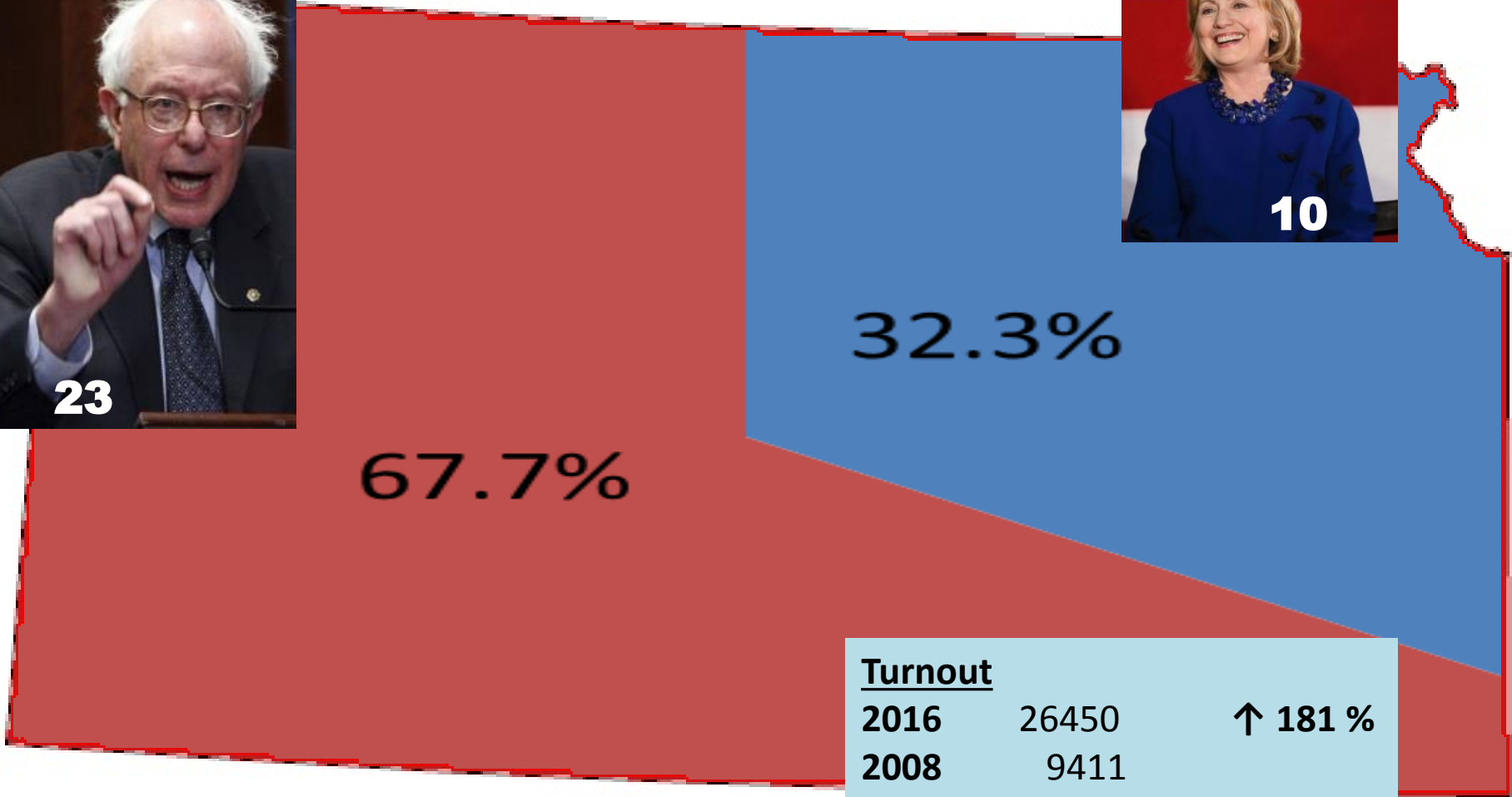
2016	72253	↑ 144 %
2012	29605	
2008	18480	

Kansas pop 2.91M

760,159 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = **10 %**

Democrat Kansas Caucus results – March 5th 2016



Turnout

2016	26450	↑ 181 %
2008	9411	

Kansas pop 2.91M

408,601 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed caucus = **6 %**

GOP Louisiana primary results – March 5th 2016



*Proportional
allocation*

11%

6%

38%

41%



Turnout

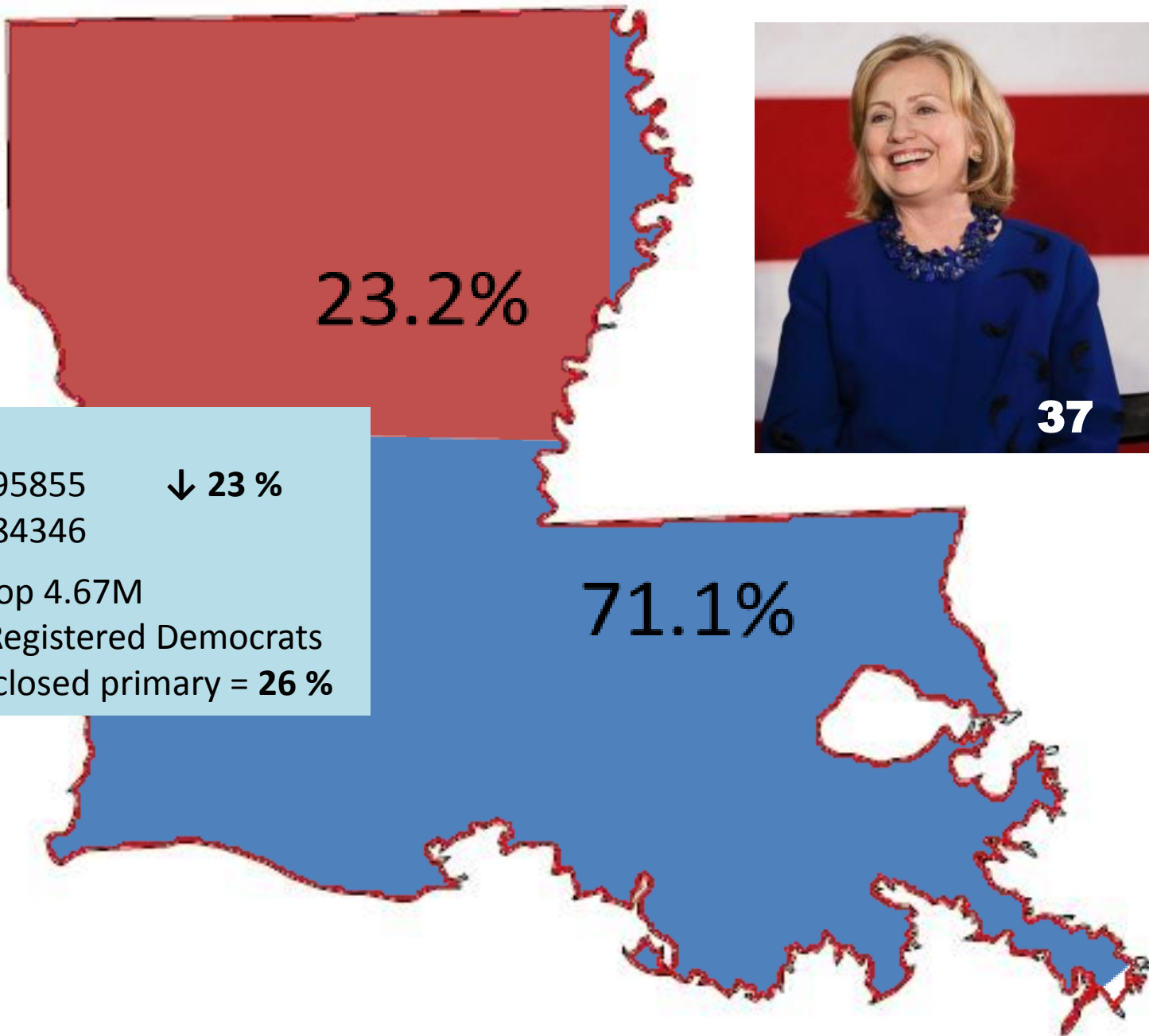
2016	291906	↑ 57 %
2012	186377	
2008	161169	

Louisiana pop 4.67M

838,512 Registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = **35%**

Democrat Louisiana Primary results – March 5th 2016



Turnout

2016	295855	↓ 23 %
2008	384346	

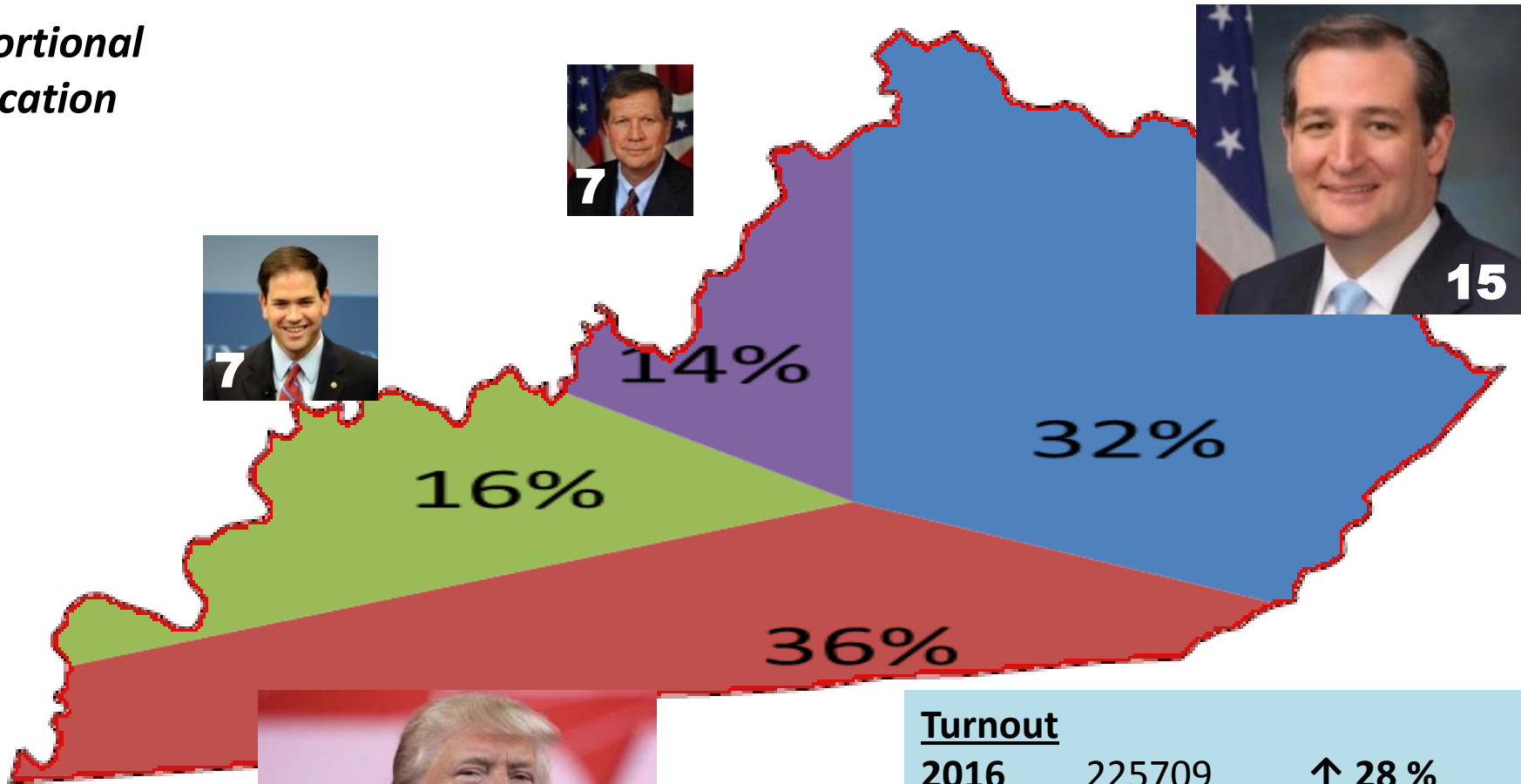
Louisiana pop 4.67M

1,329,394 Registered Democrats

Turnout in closed primary = **26 %**

GOP Kentucky caucus results – March 5th 2016

Proportional allocation



Turnout

2016	225709	↑ 28 %
2012	176082	
2008	183488	

Kentucky pop 4.42M

1,288,797 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = **18%**

Democrat Nebraska Caucus results – March 5th 2016



57.1%

42.9%



Turnout

2016

↓ %

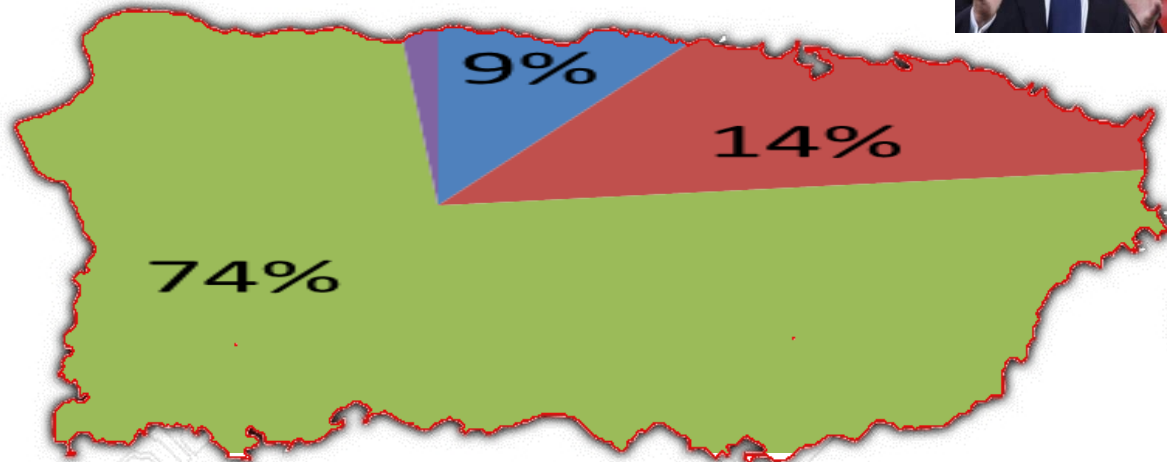
2008

Nebraska pop 1.9 M

Turnout in semi-open caucus = %

GOP Puerto Rico primary results – March 5th 2016

Winner-take-most allocation



Turnout

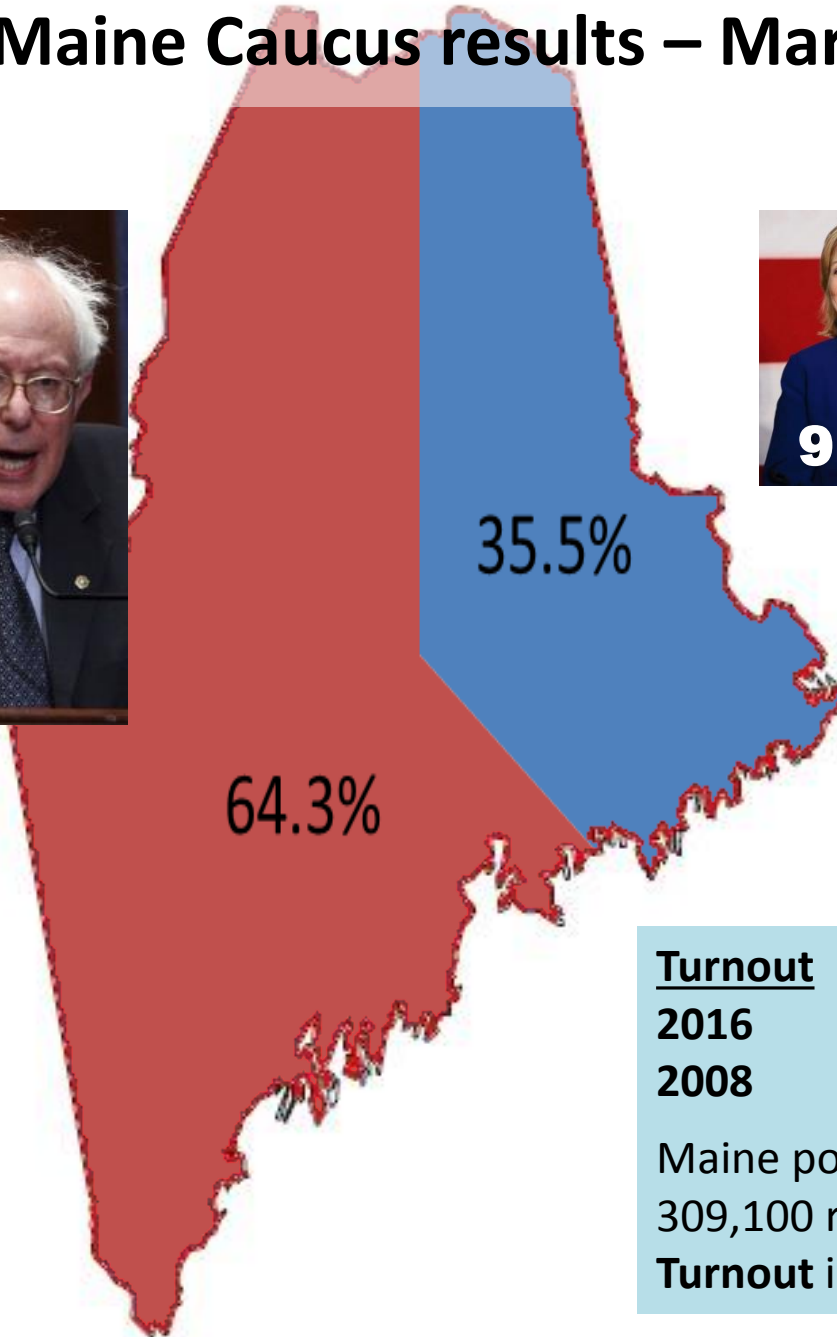
2016 36,393

Puerto Rico pop 3.47M

2830237 registered voters

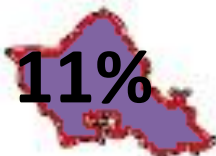
Turnout of all voters in open primary = **1.3%**

Democrat Maine Caucus results – March 6th 2016



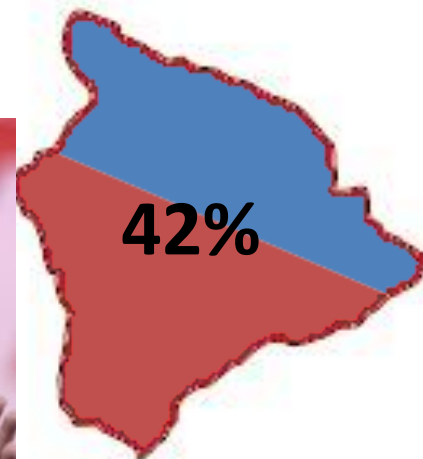
<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	3463	<-> 0%
2008	3476	
Maine pop 1.33M		
309,100 reg		
Turnout in closed caucus = 1%		

GOP Hawaii caucus results – March 8th 2016



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	15,672	↑ 53 %
2012	10,228	
2008	11,620	

Hawaii pop 1.43M
Turnout in closed caucus (although anyone can register on the night, so in reality like an open caucus) = **2%**



Proportional allocation

GOP Idaho Primary results – March 8th 2016



Turnout

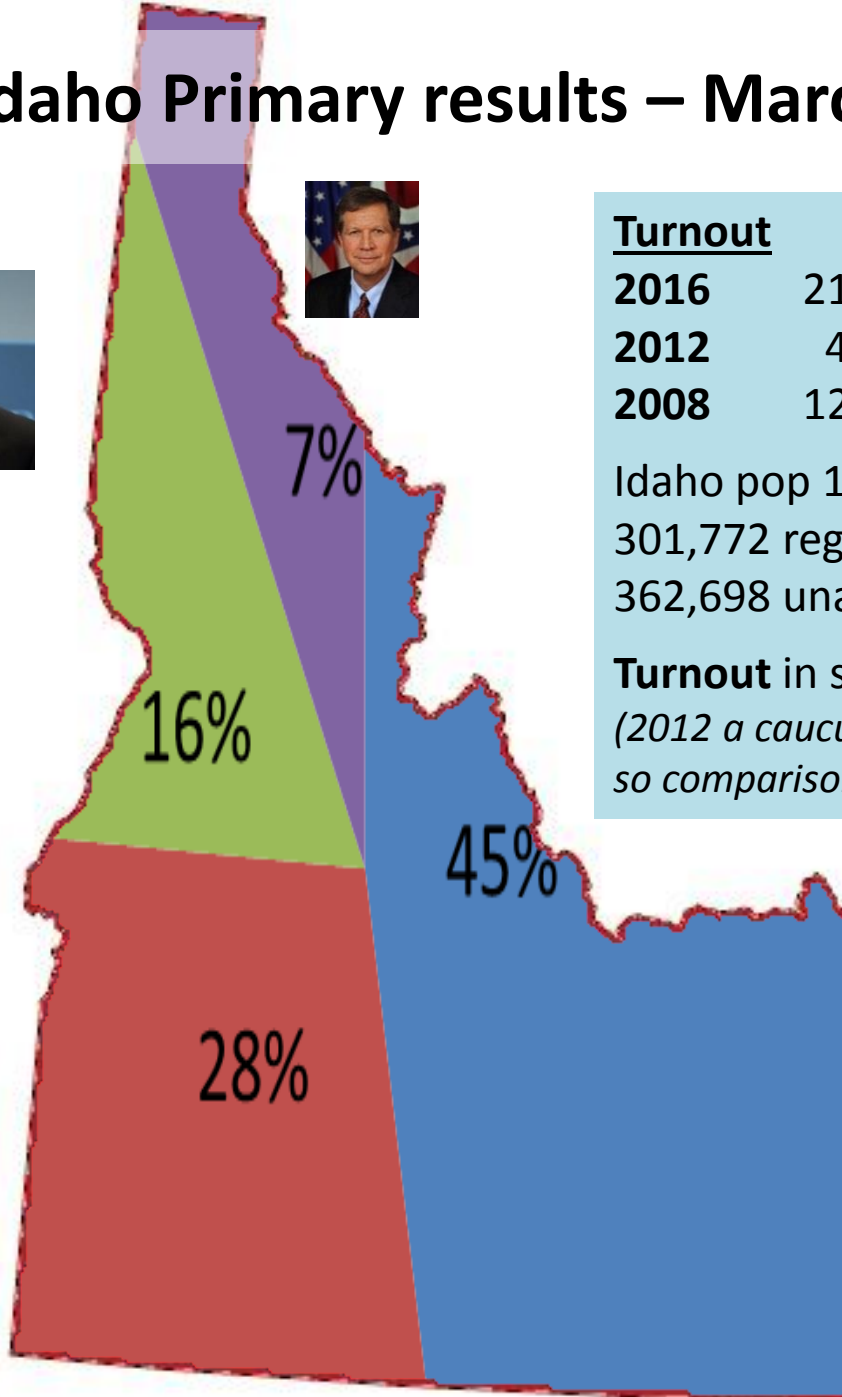
2016	215284	↑ 398%
2012	44655	
2008	125570	

Idaho pop 1.43M

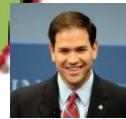
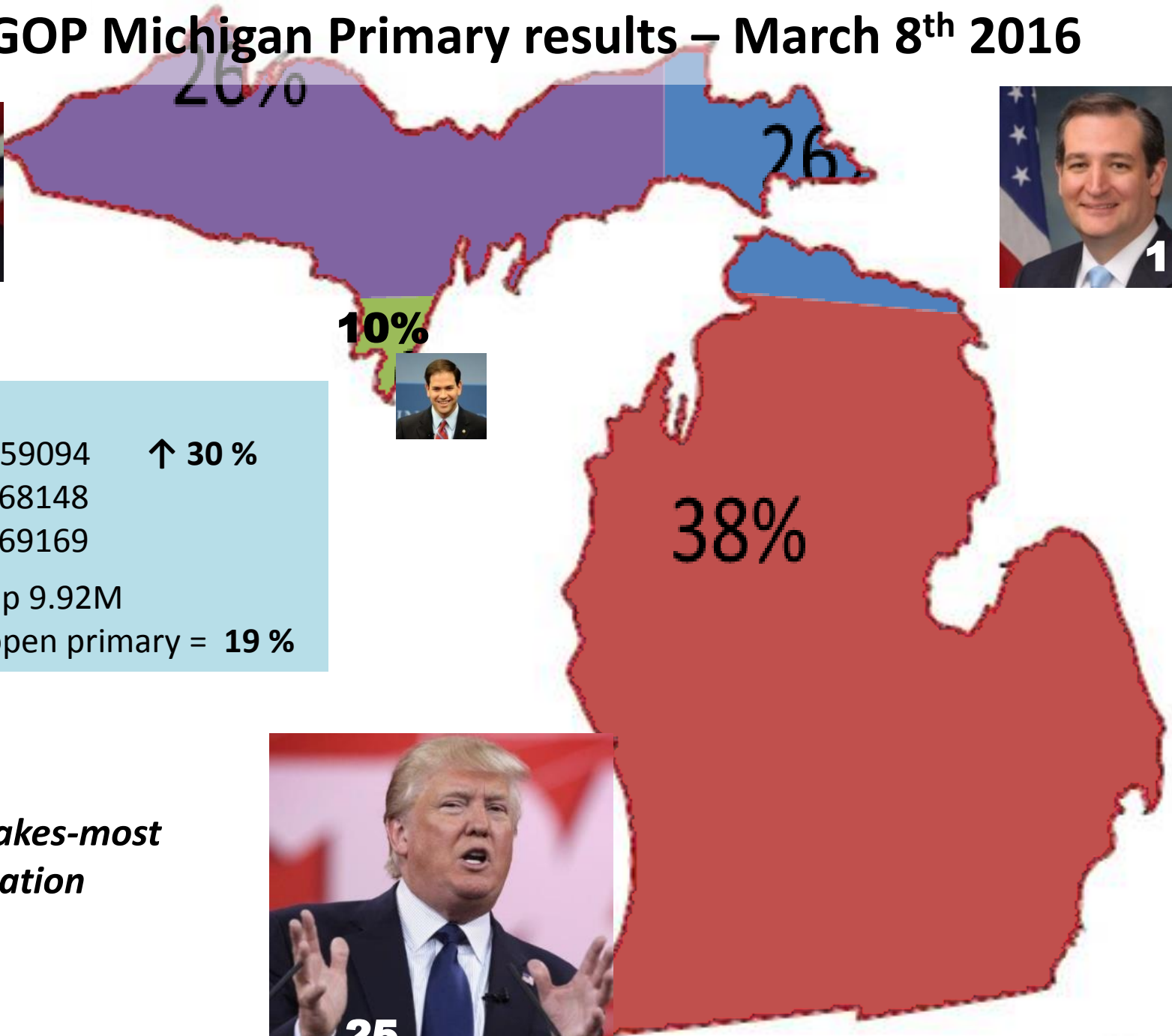
301,772 registered Republicans,
362,698 unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open primary = **33%**
(2012 a caucus and 2008 a v late primary,
so comparisons of limited value)

**Winner-takes-most
allocation**



GOP Michigan Primary results – March 8th 2016



Turnout

2016	1259094	↑ 30 %
2012	968148	
2008	869169	

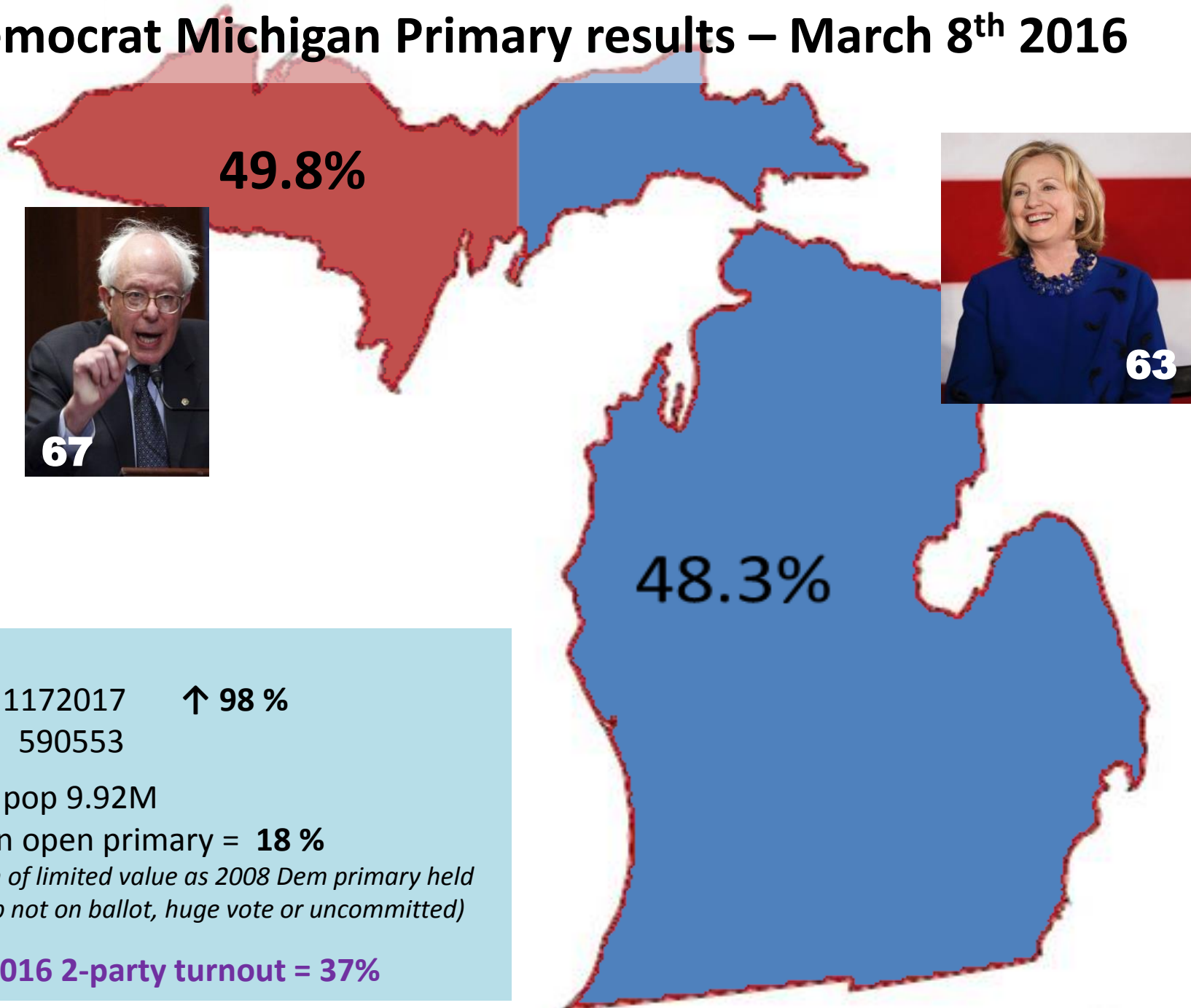
Michigan pop 9.92M

Turnout in open primary = 19 %

*Winner-takes-most
allocation*



Democrat Michigan Primary results – March 8th 2016



Turnout
2016 1172017 ↑ 98 %
2008 590553

Michigan pop 9.92M
Turnout in open primary = **18 %**
(comparison of limited value as 2008 Dem primary held too early, Ob not on ballot, huge vote or uncommitted)

2016 2-party turnout = 37%

GOP Mississippi Primary results – March 8th 2016

Winner-takes-most allocation

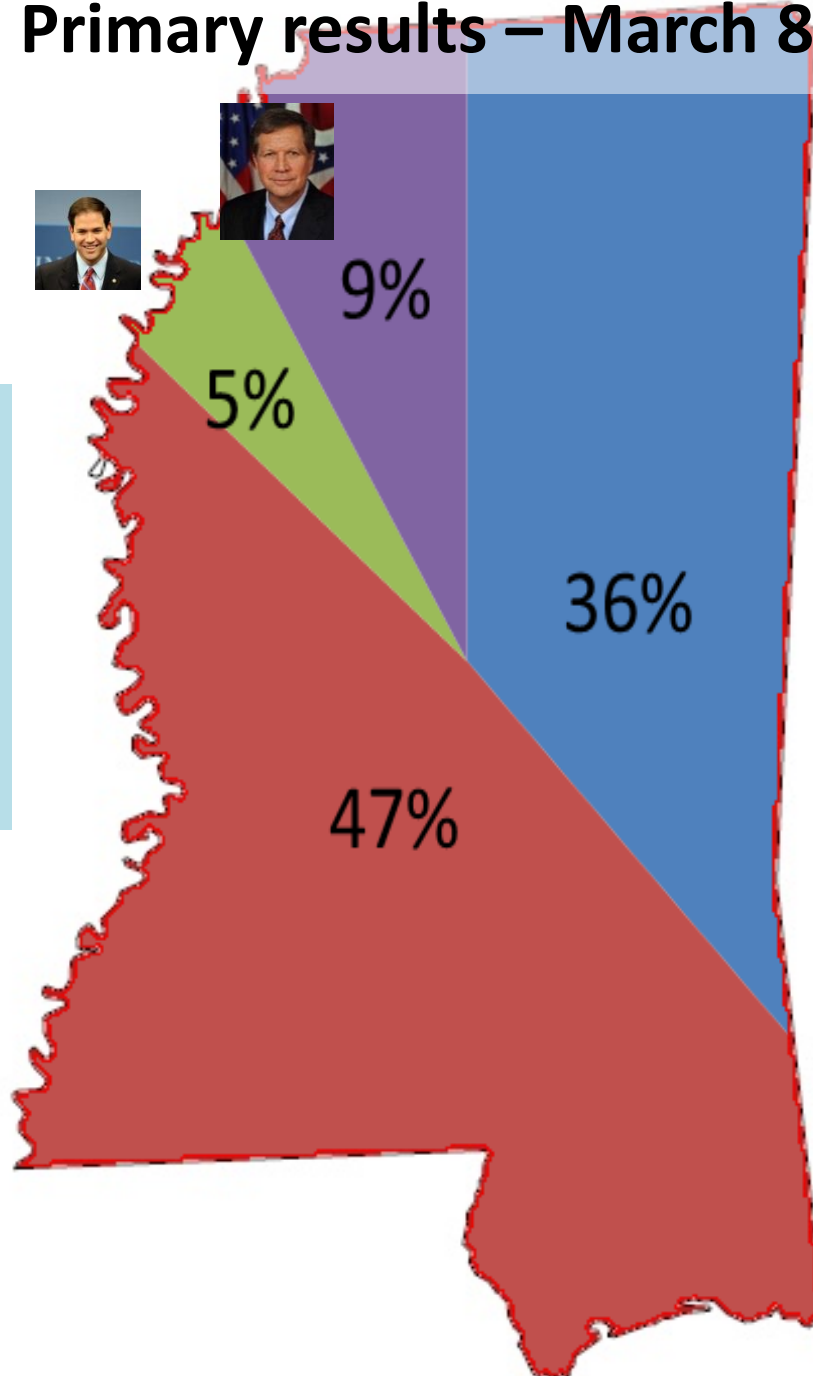
Turnout

2016	395,405	↑ 41 %
2012	280,278	
2008	143,286	

Mississippi pop 2.99M

Turnout in open primary = **17 %**

(N.B. Mississippi voter reg data v poor)



Democratic Mississippi Primary results – March 8th 2016



16.5%



82.6%

Turnout

2016	218795	↓ 48 %
2008	424723	

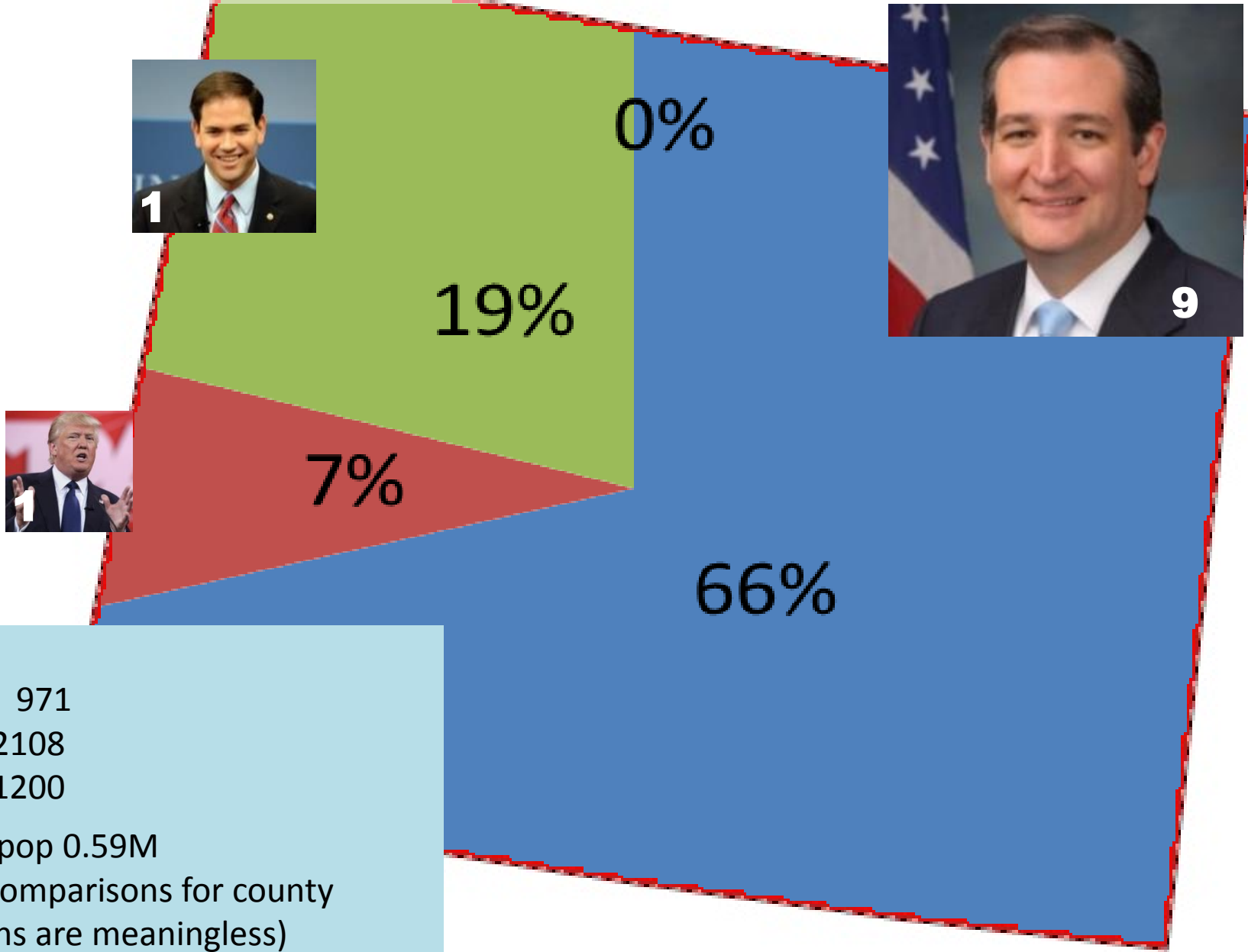
Mississippi pop 2.99M

Turnout in open primary = 10%

2016 2-party turnout = 27%

(N.B. Mississippi voter reg data v poor)

GOP Wyoming County Conventions – March 12th 2016

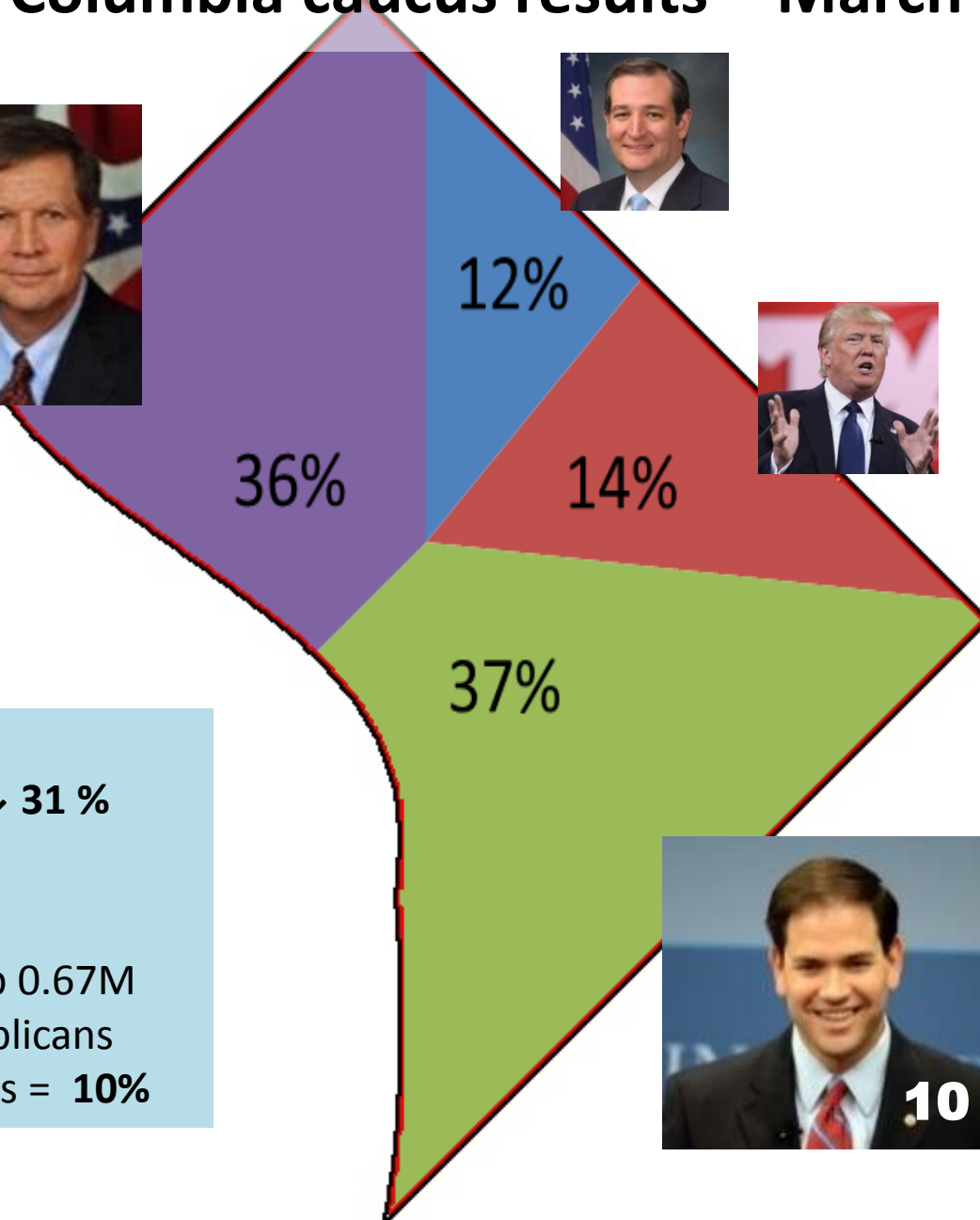


Turnout

2016	971
2012	2108
2008	1200

Wyoming pop 0.59M
(Turnout comparisons for county conventions are meaningless)

GOP District of Columbia caucus results – March 12th 2016

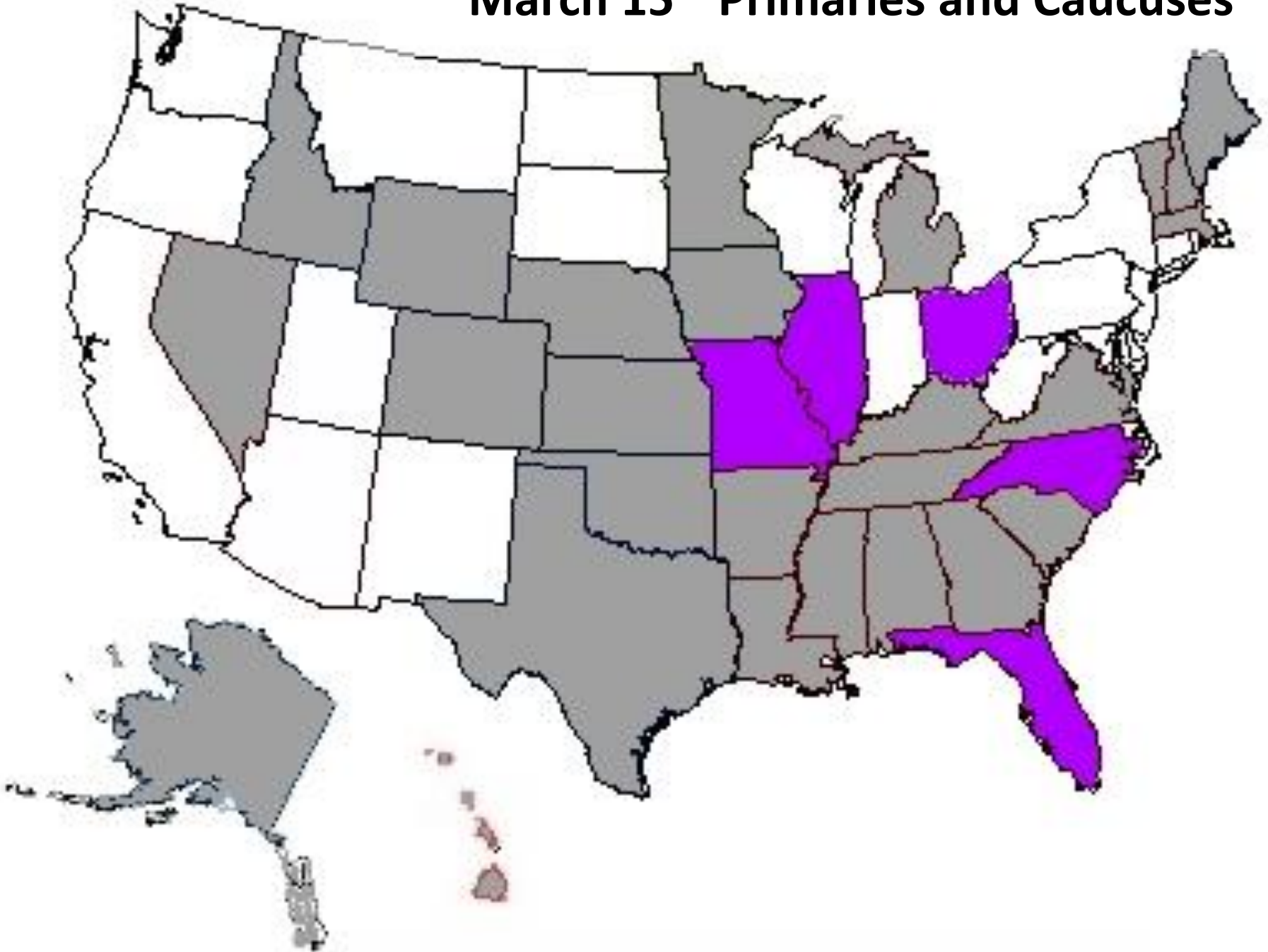


Winner-takes-most allocation

<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	2839	↓ 31 %
2012	4134	
2008	6211	

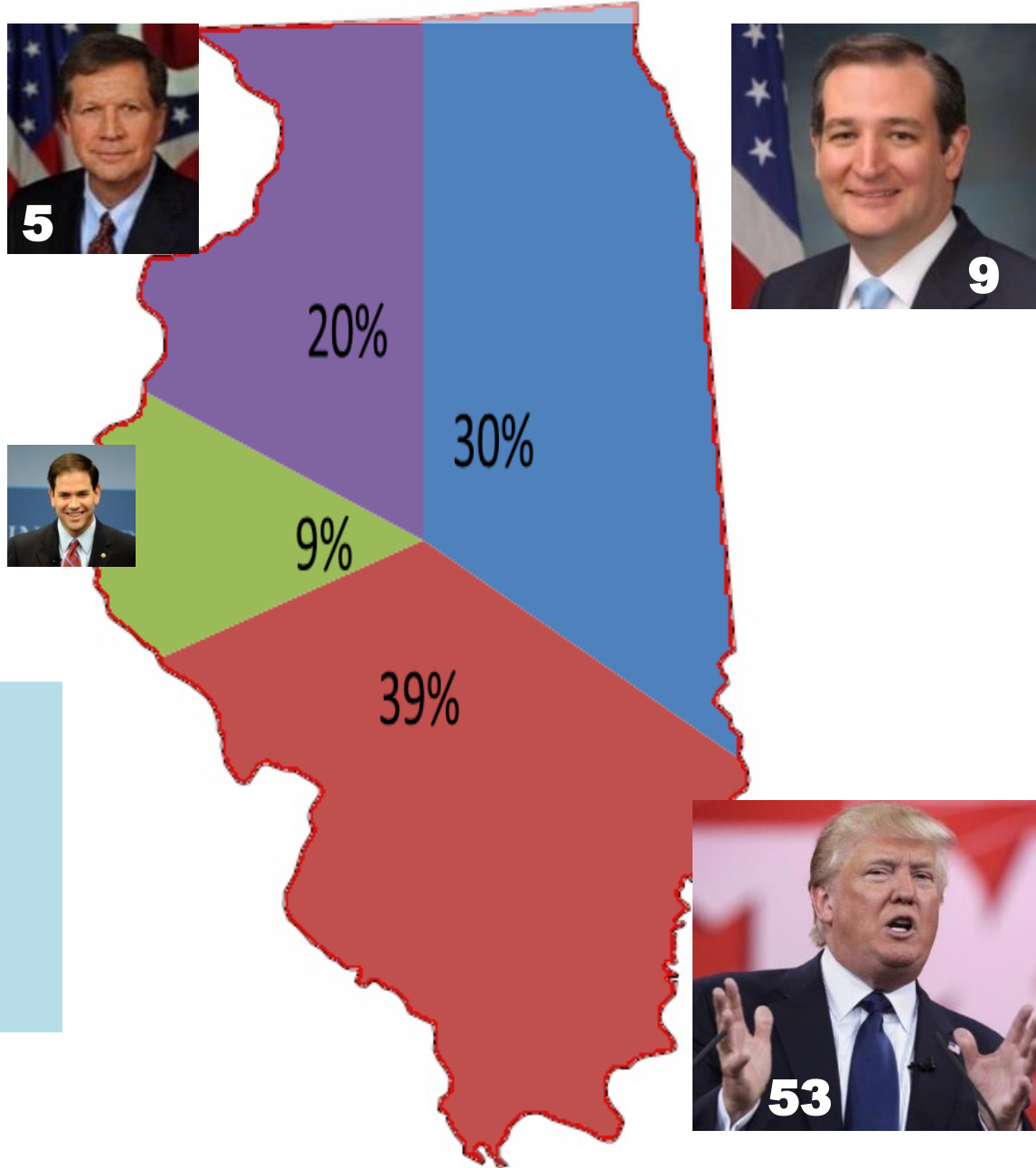
District of Columbia pop 0.67M
27,228 registered Republicans
Turnout in closed caucus = **10%**

March 15th Primaries and Caucuses



GOP Illinois primary results – March 15th 2016

Winner-takes-most allocation



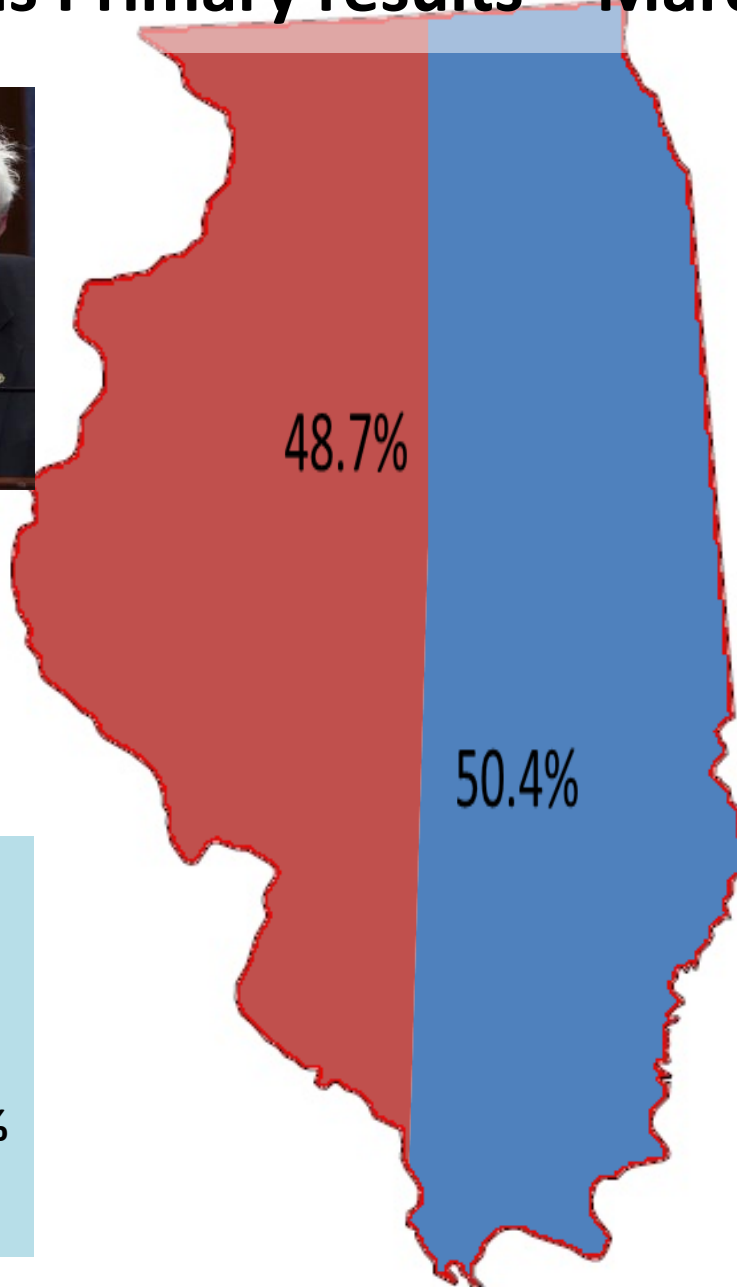
Turnout

2016	1415584	↑ 56 %
2012	907919	
2008	899442	

Illinois pop 12.9M

Turnout in open primary = **19%**

Democrat Illinois Primary results – March 15th 2016



Turnout

2016 1989650 <-> 0 %

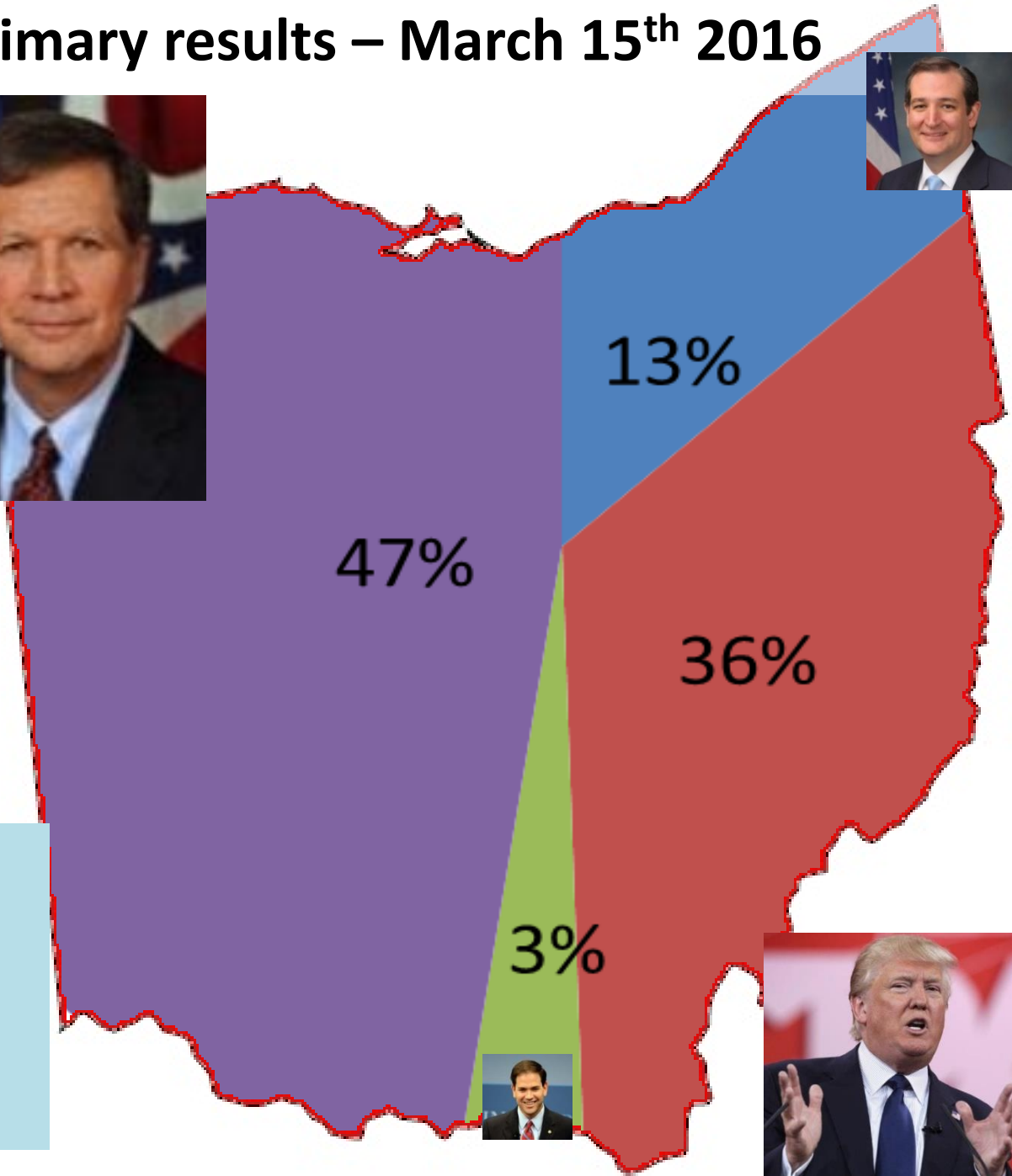
2008 1986164

Illinois pop 12.9M

Turnout in open primary = 27%

2016 2-party turnout = 46%

GOP Ohio primary results – March 15th 2016



*Winner-takes-all
allocation*

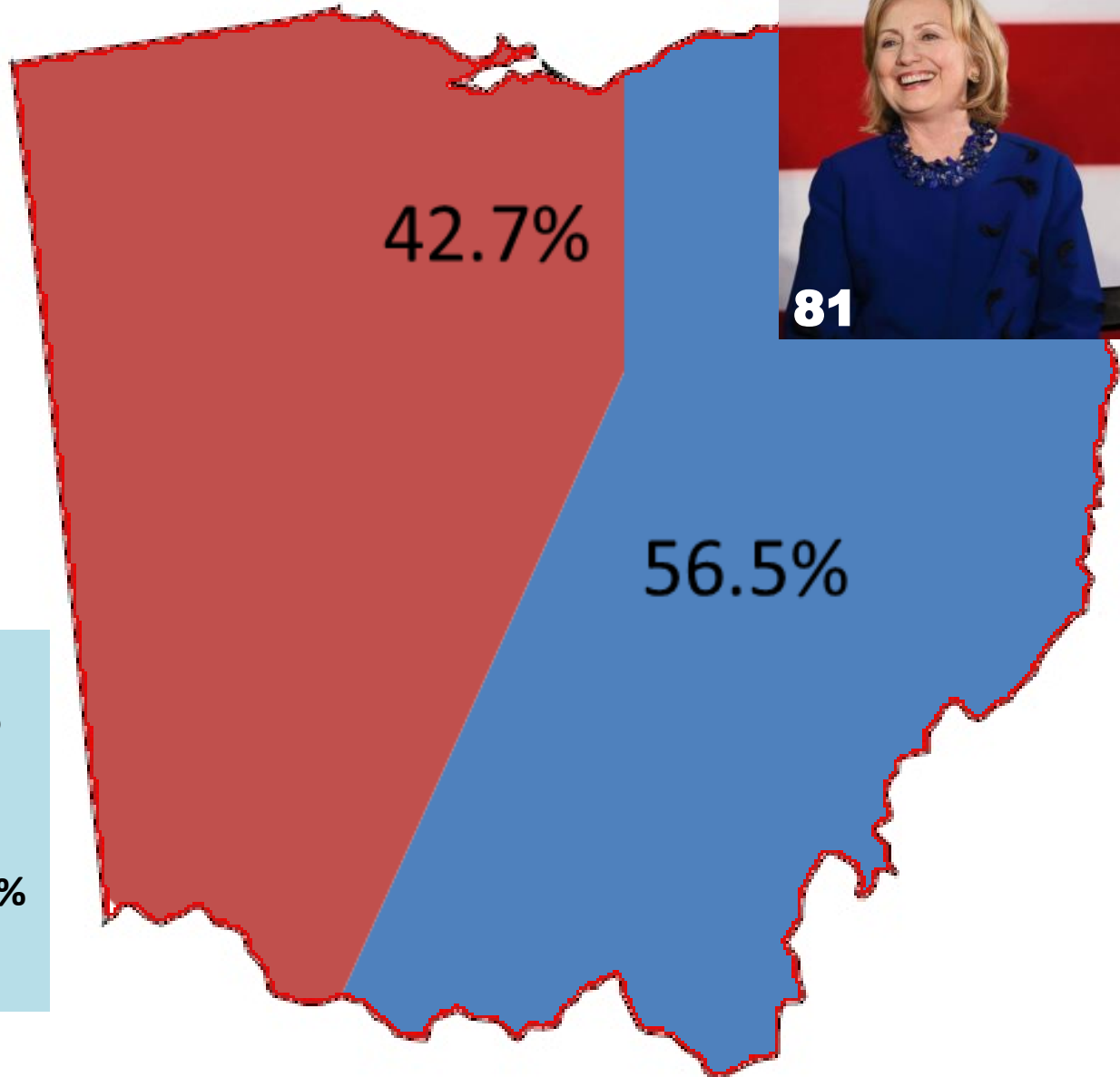
Turnout

2016	2043043	↑ 72 %
2012	1189530	
2008	1095917	

Ohio pop 11.6M

Turnout in open primary = 27%

Democrat Ohio Primary results – March 15th 2016



Turnout

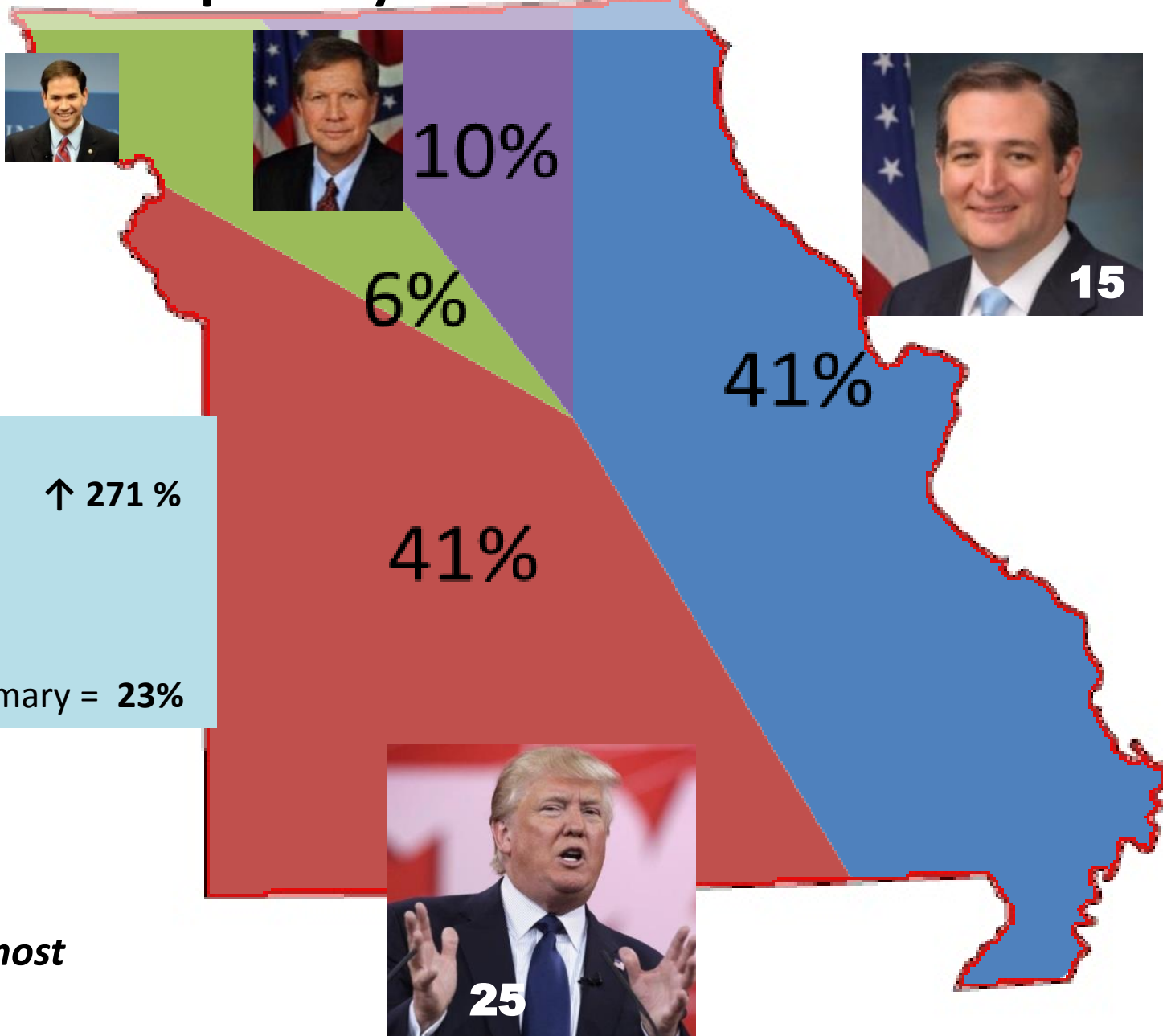
2016	1202163	↓ 48 %
2008	2315389	

Ohio pop 11.6M

Turnout in open primary = **16%**

2016 2-party turnout = 43%

GOP Missouri primary results – March 15th 2016



Turnout

2016	933783	↑ 271 %
2012	252000	
2008	589000	

Missouri pop 6.08M

Turnout in open primary = 23%

*Winner-takes-most
allocation*

Democrat Missouri Primary results – March 15th 2016



49.4%



49.6%

Turnout

2016 626077 ↓ 22 %

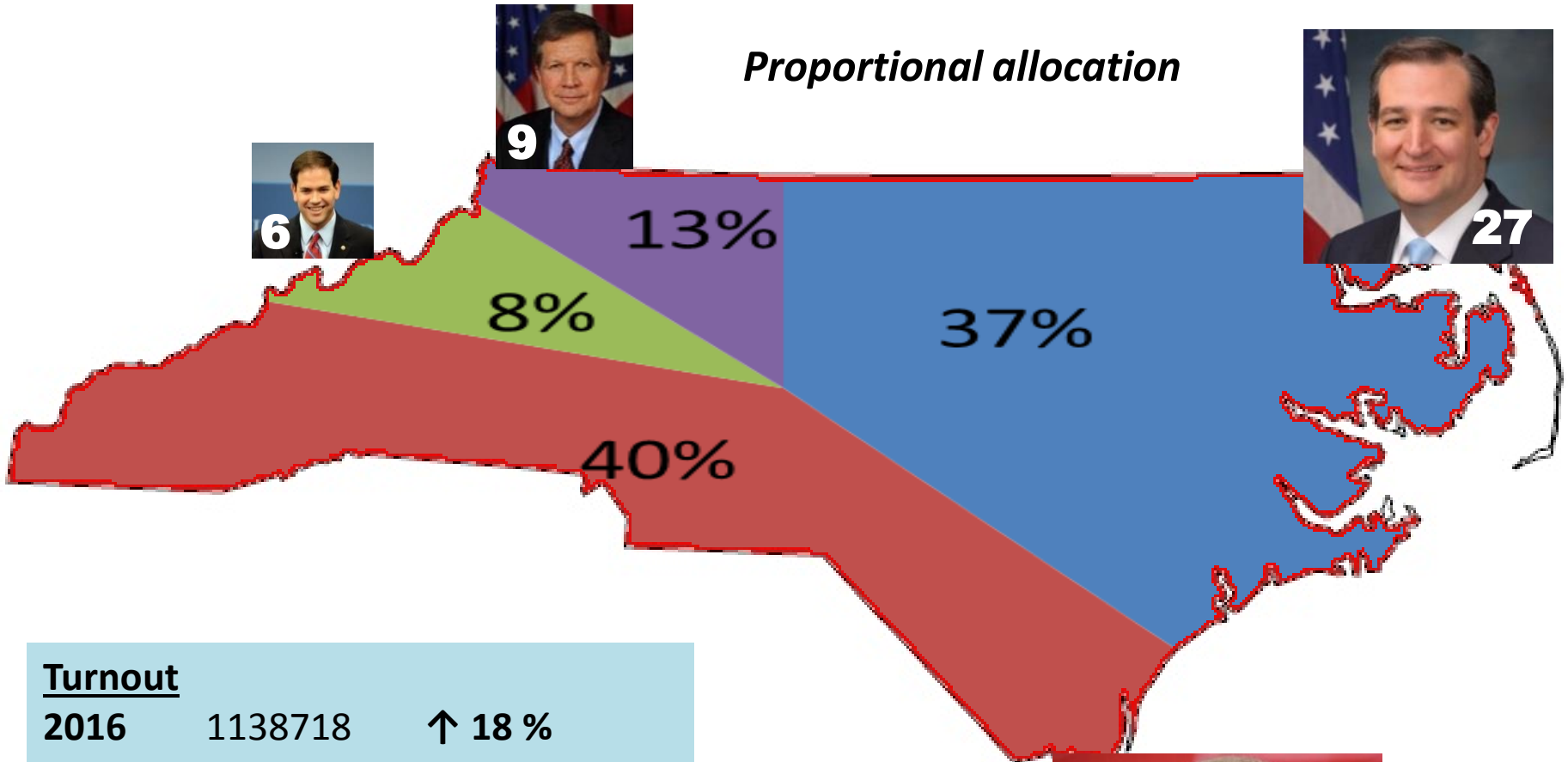
2008 805244

Missouri pop 6.08M

Turnout in open primary = **16%**

2016 2-party turnout = 39%

GOP North Carolina primary results – March 15th 2016



Turnout

2016	1138718	↑ 18 %
2012	966901	
2008	503,987	

North Carolina pop 10.0M

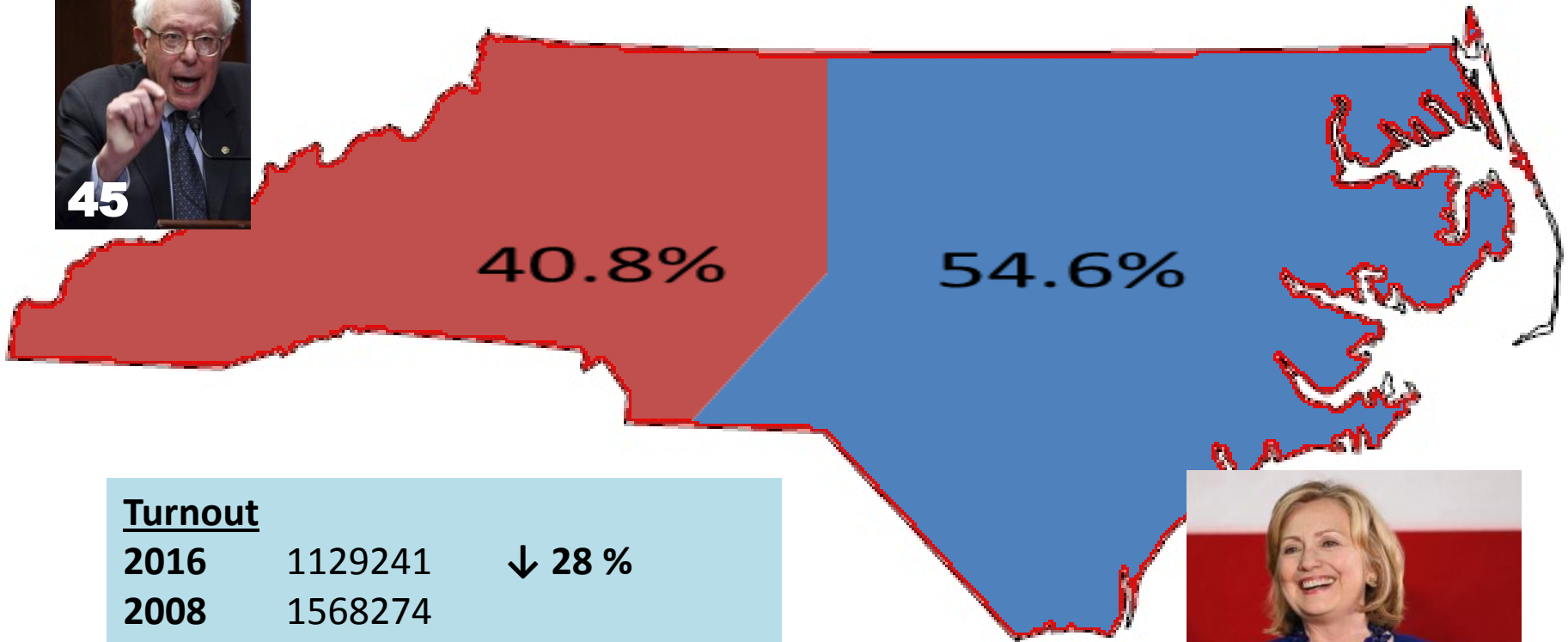
1,984,434 registered Republicans

1,855,714 unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open primary = **30%**



Democrat North Carolina Primary results – March 15th 2016



Turnout

2016	1129241	↓ 28 %
2008	1568274	

North Carolina pop 10.0M

2,643,259 registered Democrats

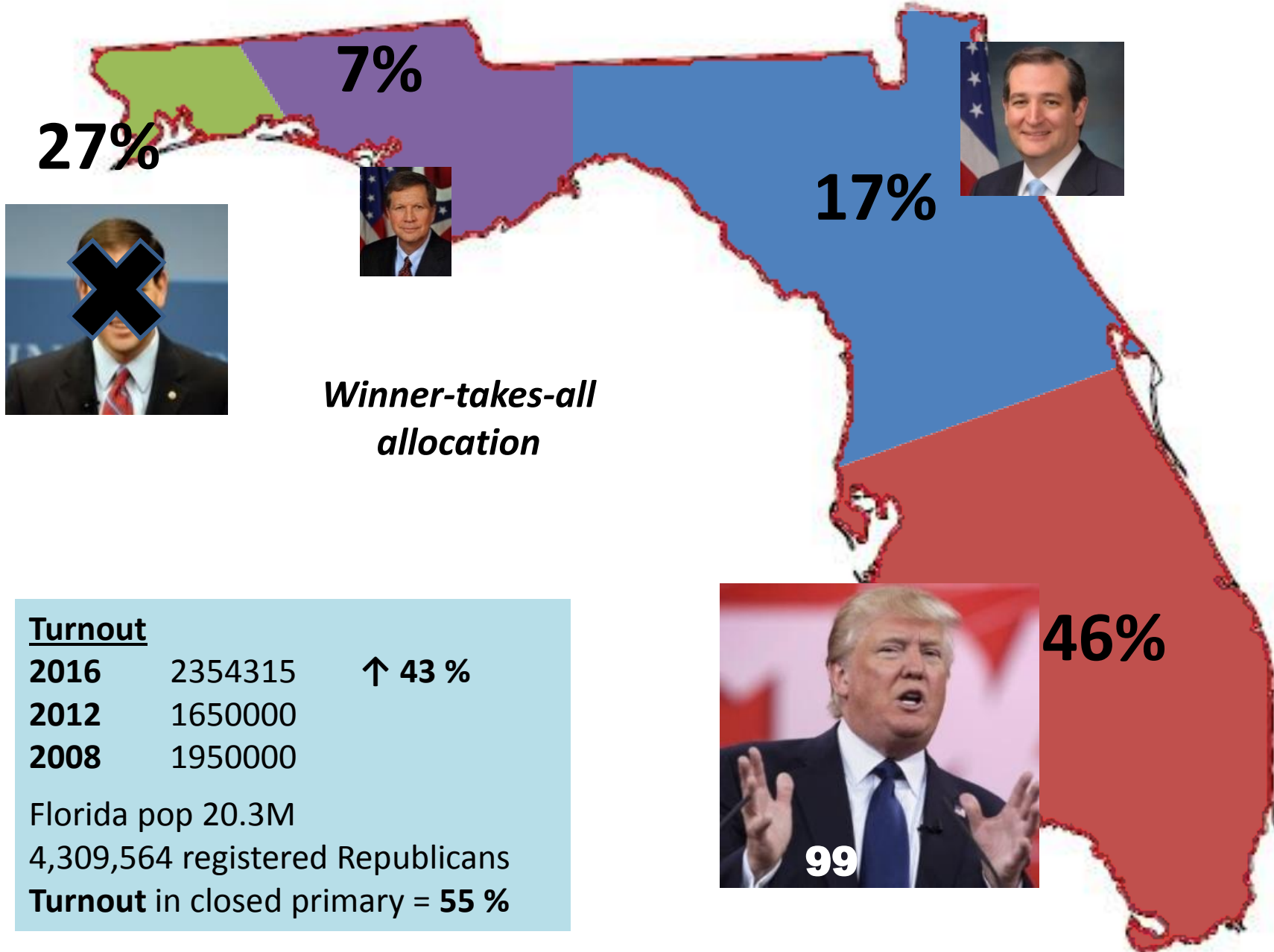
1,855,714 unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open primary = **25%**

2016 2-party turnout = 35%



GOP Florida primary results – March 15th 2016



*Winner-takes-all
allocation*

Turnout

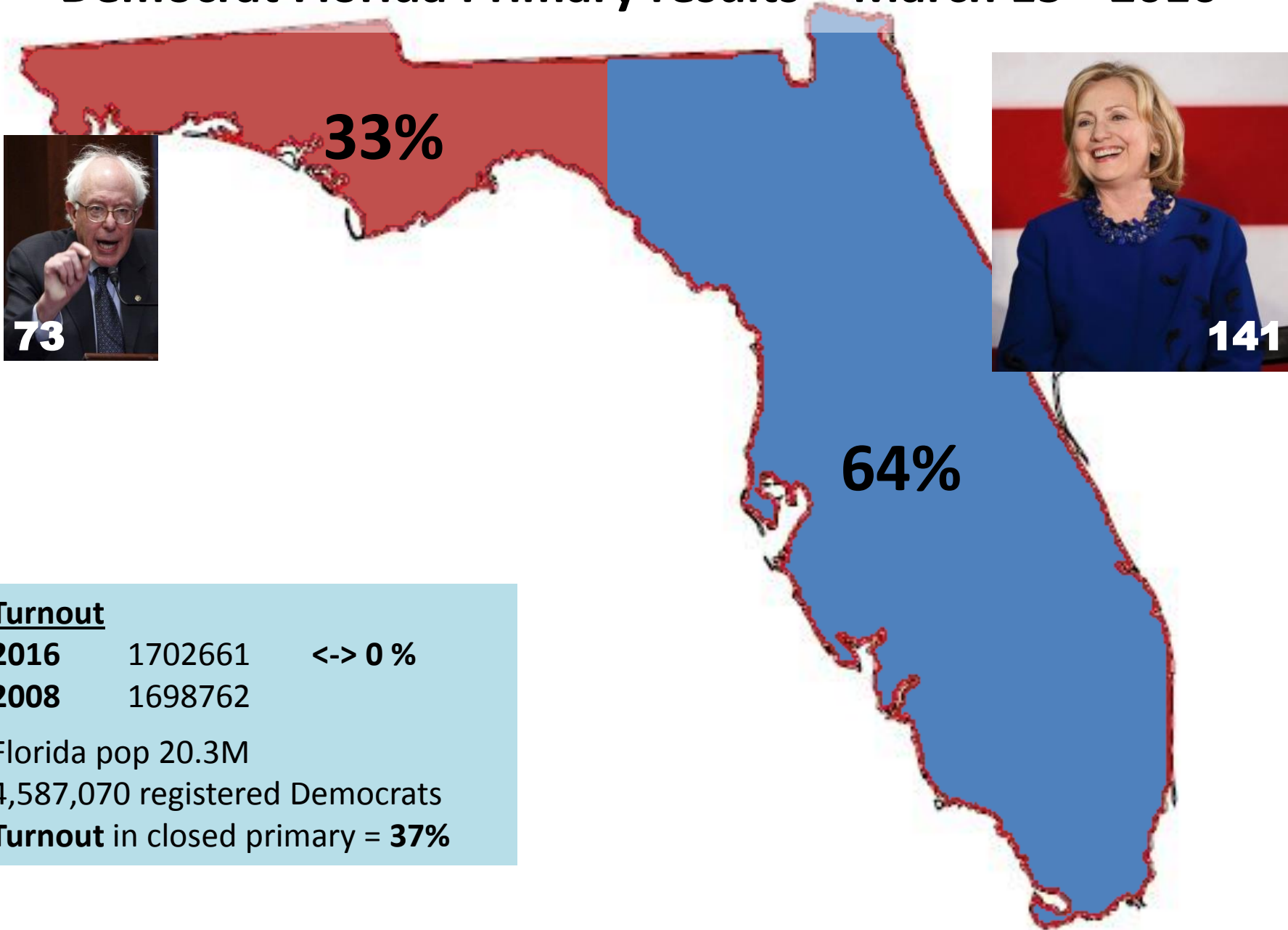
2016	2354315	↑ 43 %
2012	1650000	
2008	1950000	

Florida pop 20.3M

4,309,564 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = **55 %**

Democrat Florida Primary results – March 15th 2016



Turnout

2016 1702661 <-> 0 %

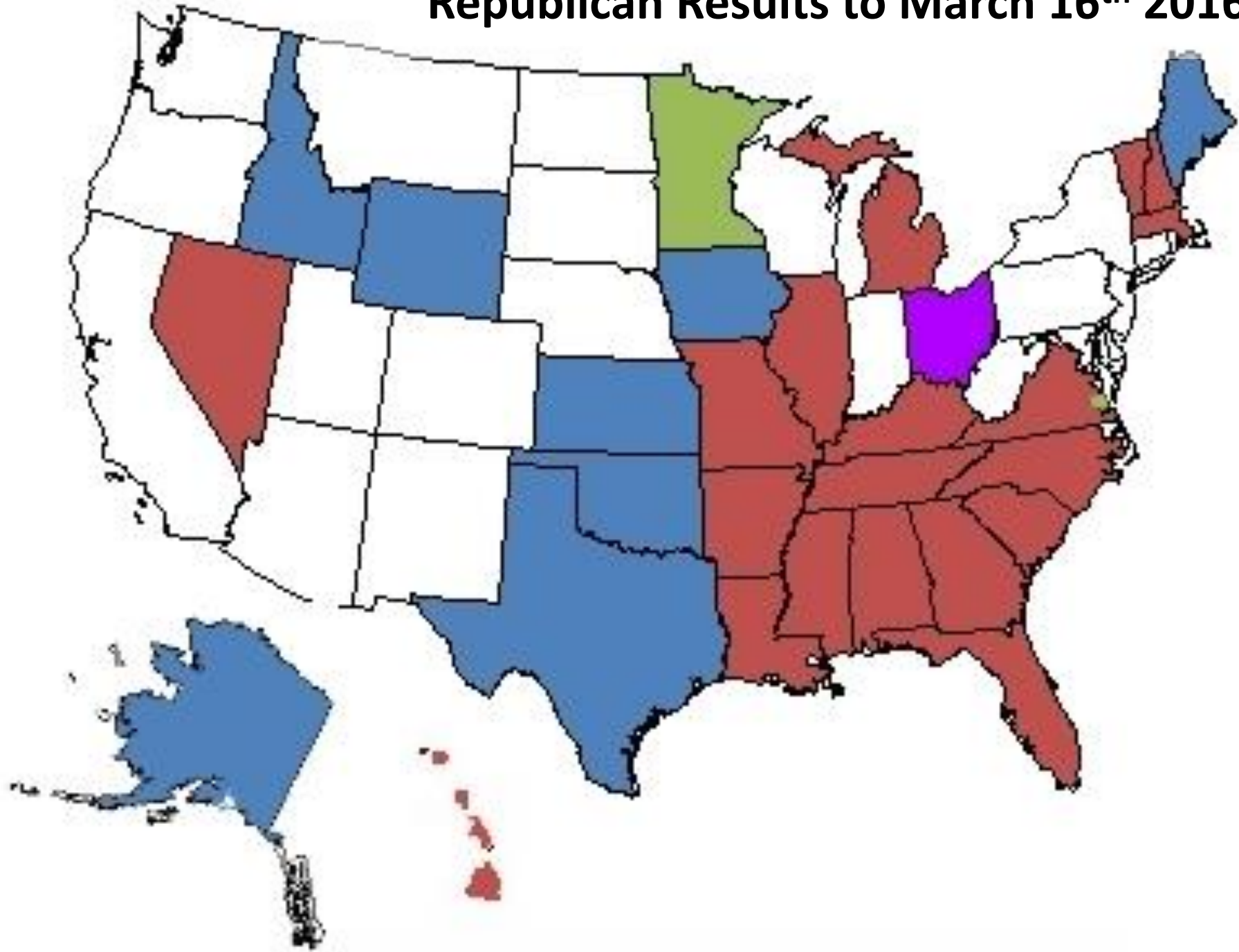
2008 1698762

Florida pop 20.3M

4,587,070 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed primary = **37%**

Republican Results to March 16th 2016



cnn delegate estimate

total delegates: 2472



662 pledged: 662
unpledged: 0
TRUMP



1237 delegates
needed to win



408 pledged: 408
unpledged: 0
CRUZ



1237 delegates
needed to win



143 pledged: 143
unpledged: 0
KASICH



1237 delegates
needed to win



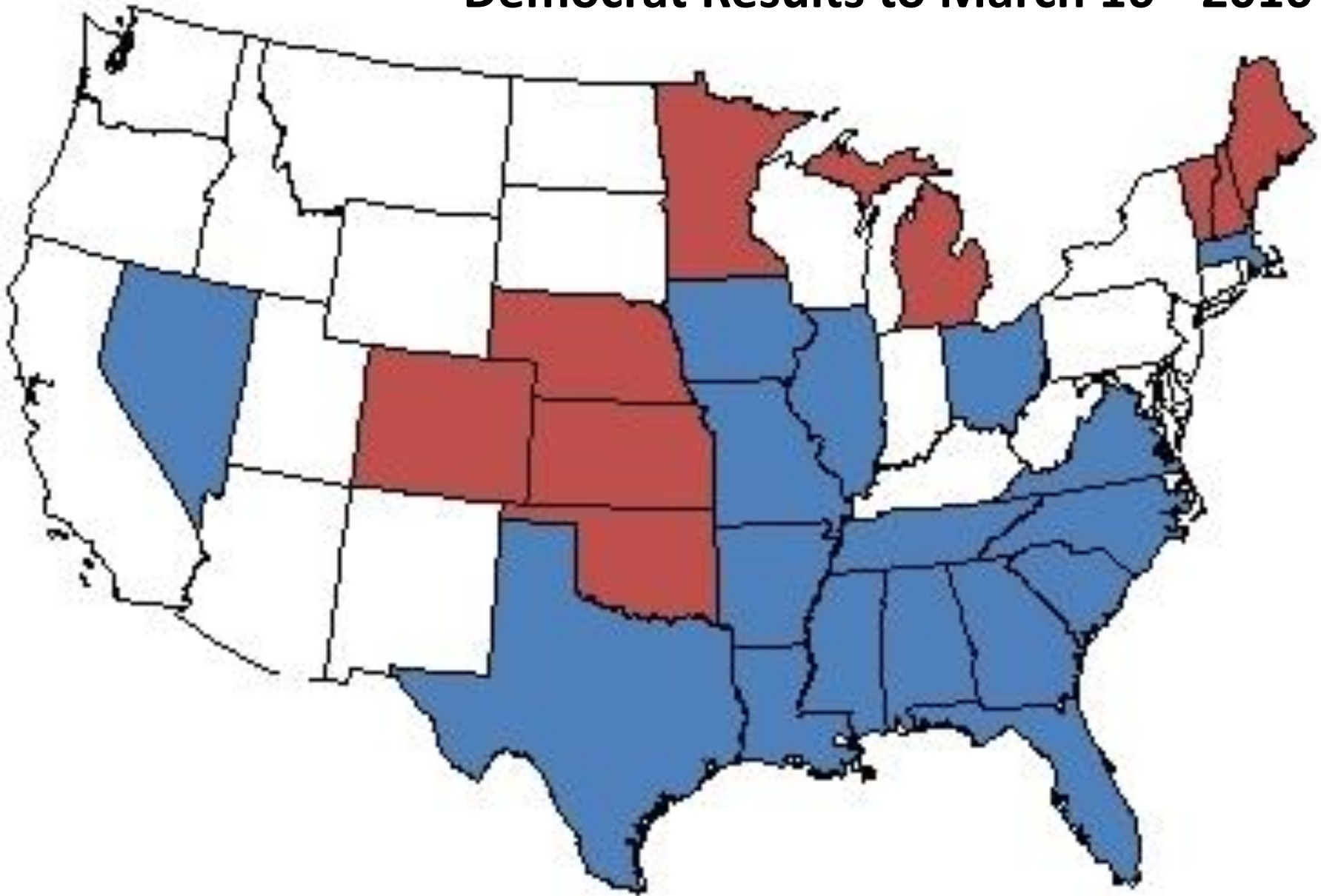
171 pledged: 171
unpledged: 0
RUBIO



1237 delegates
needed to win



Democrat Results to March 16th 2016



cnn delegate estimate

total delegates: 4765



1588 pledged: 1116
super: 472
CLINTON



2383 delegates
needed to win



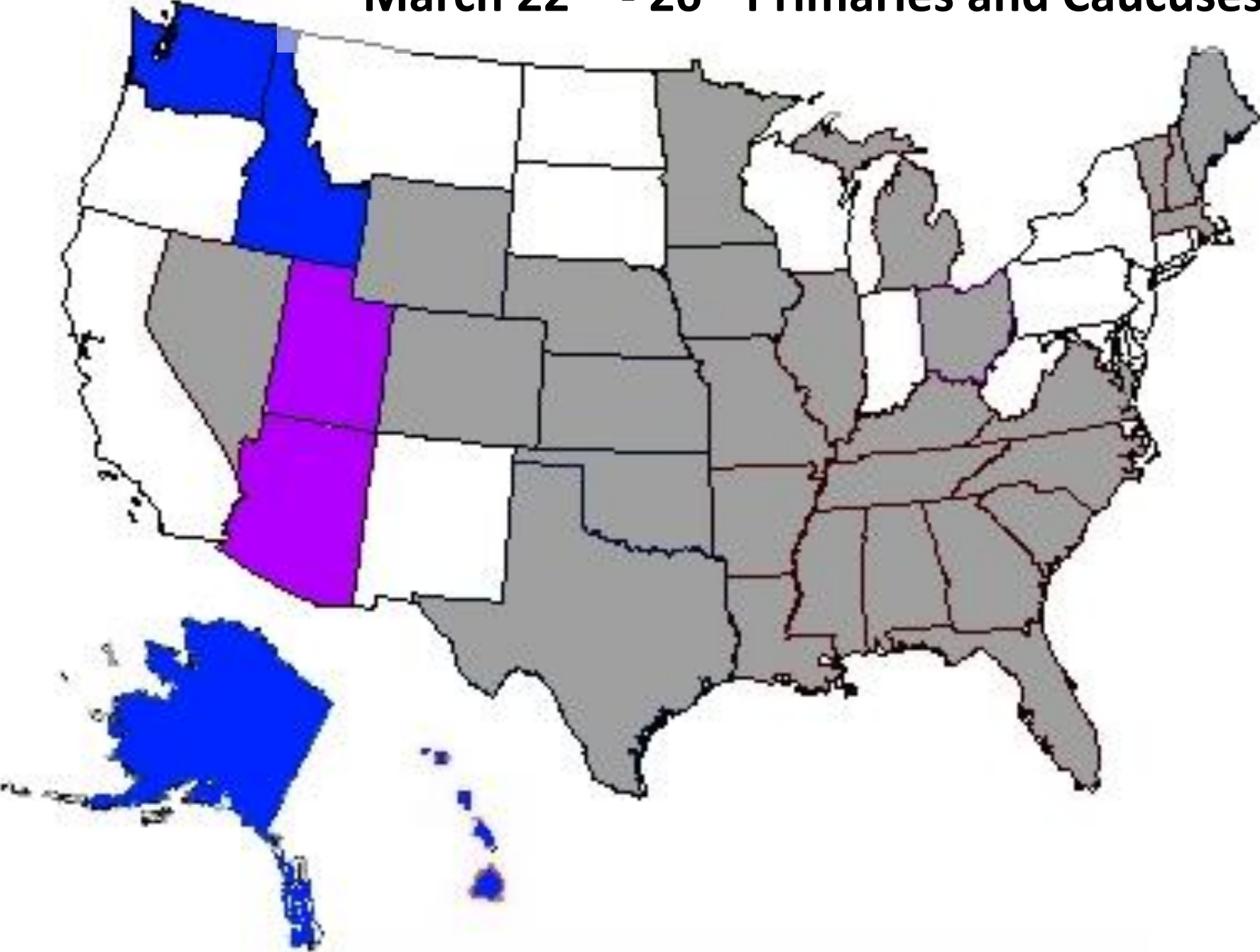
817 pledged: 794
super: 23
SANDERS



2383 delegates
needed to win

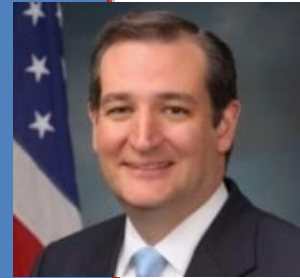
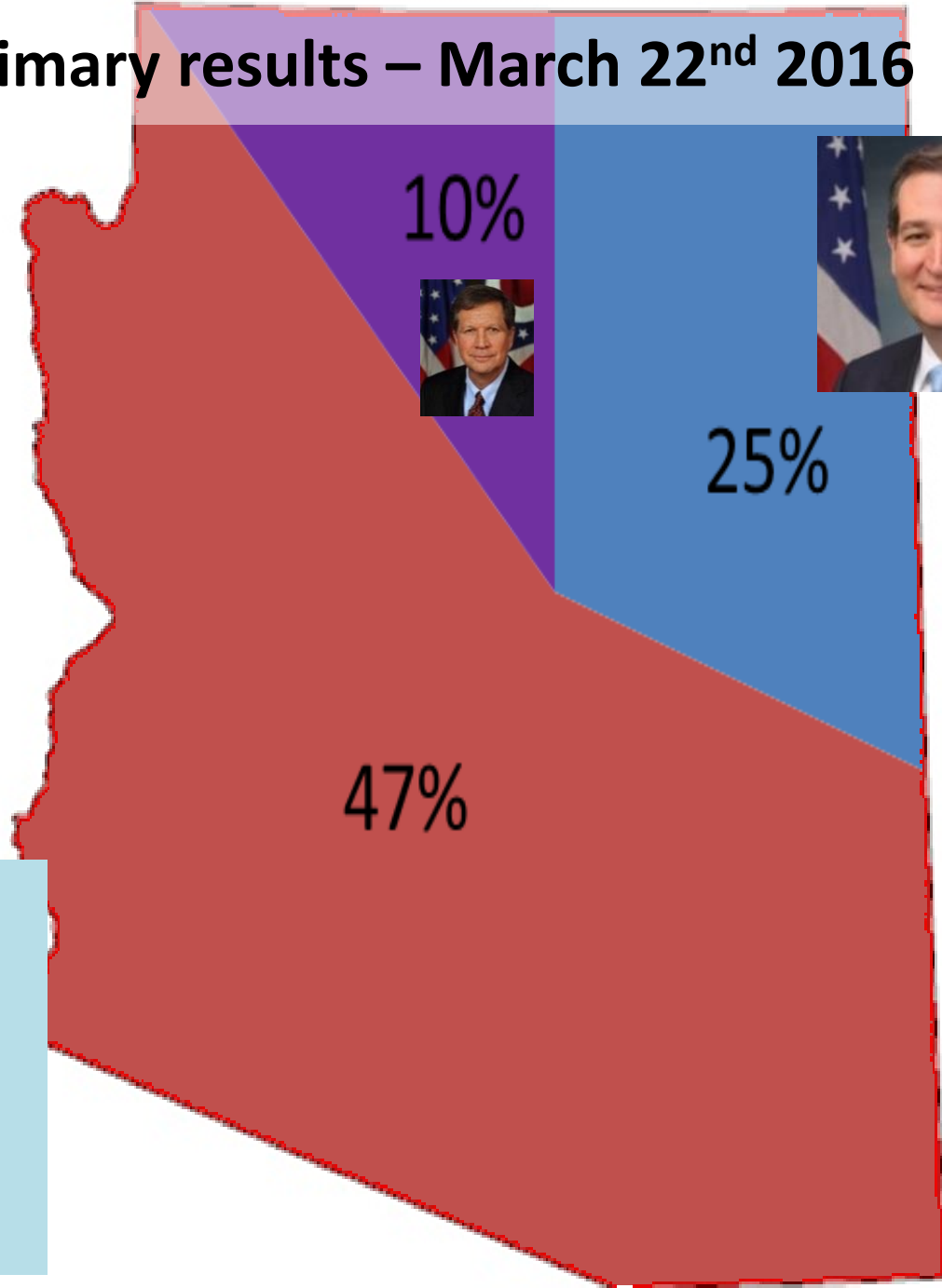


March 22nd - 26th Primaries and Caucuses



GOP Arizona primary results – March 22nd 2016

Winner-takes-all allocation



Turnout

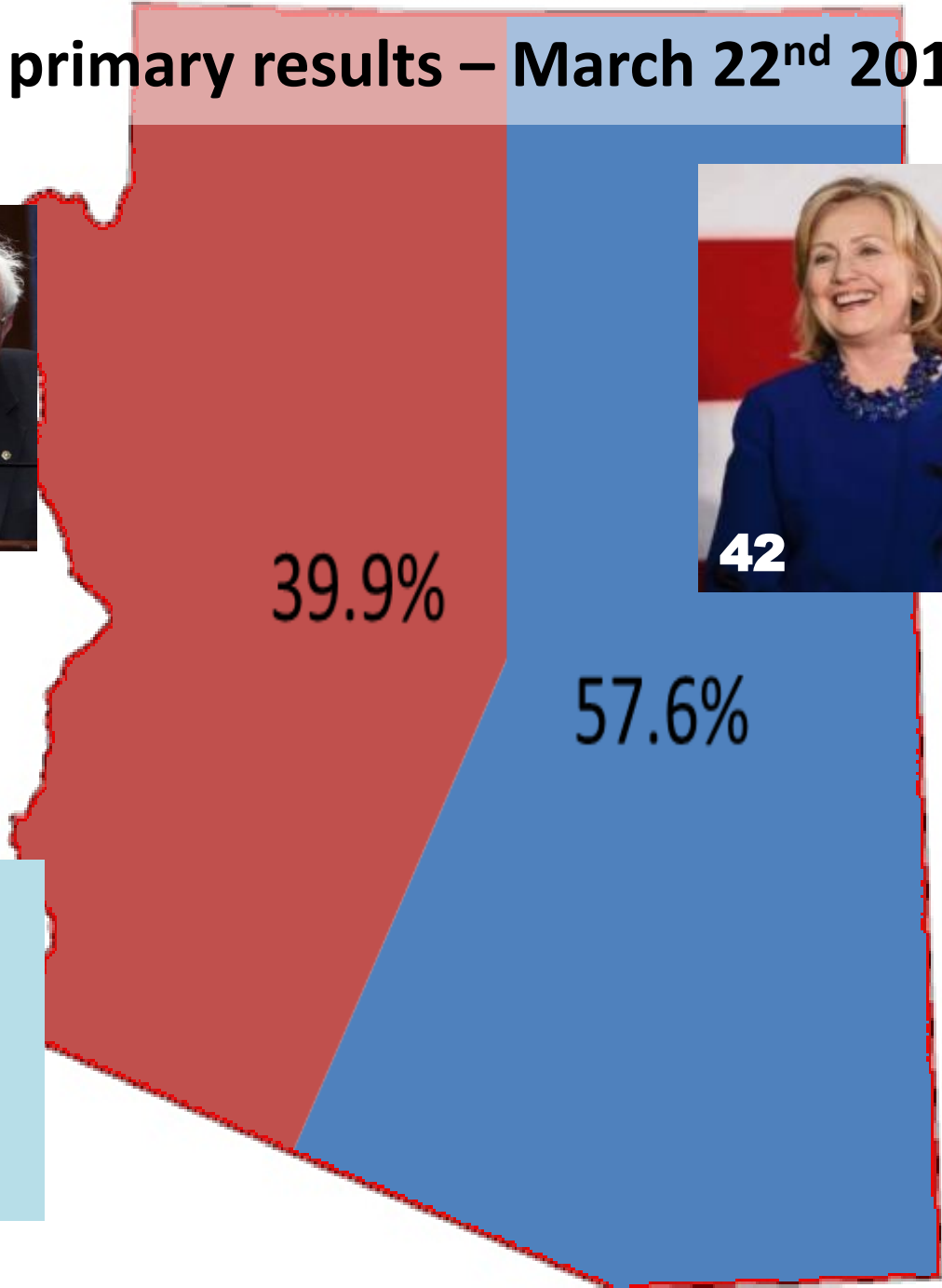
2016	530749	↑ 5%
2012	507086	
2008	513576	

Arizona pop 6.8M

1,105,521 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = **48 %**

Democrat Arizona primary results – March 22nd 2016



Turnout

2016	409013	↓ 3%
2008	422627	

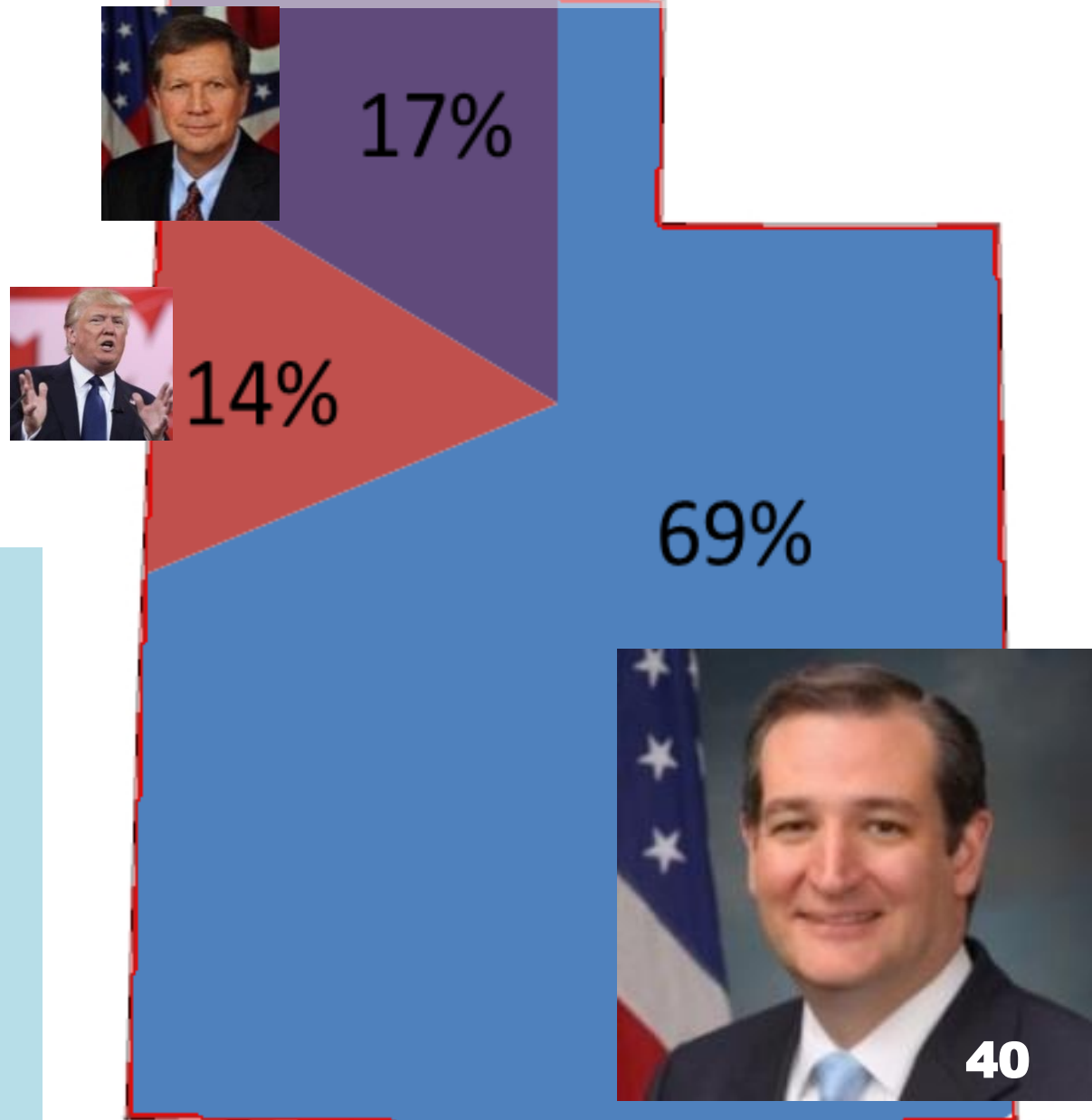
Arizona pop 6.8M

917,411 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed primary = **45%**

GOP Utah Caucus results – March 22nd 2016

*Winner-takes-most
allocation*



Turnout

2016	177204	↓ 27%
2012	242272	
2008	295985	

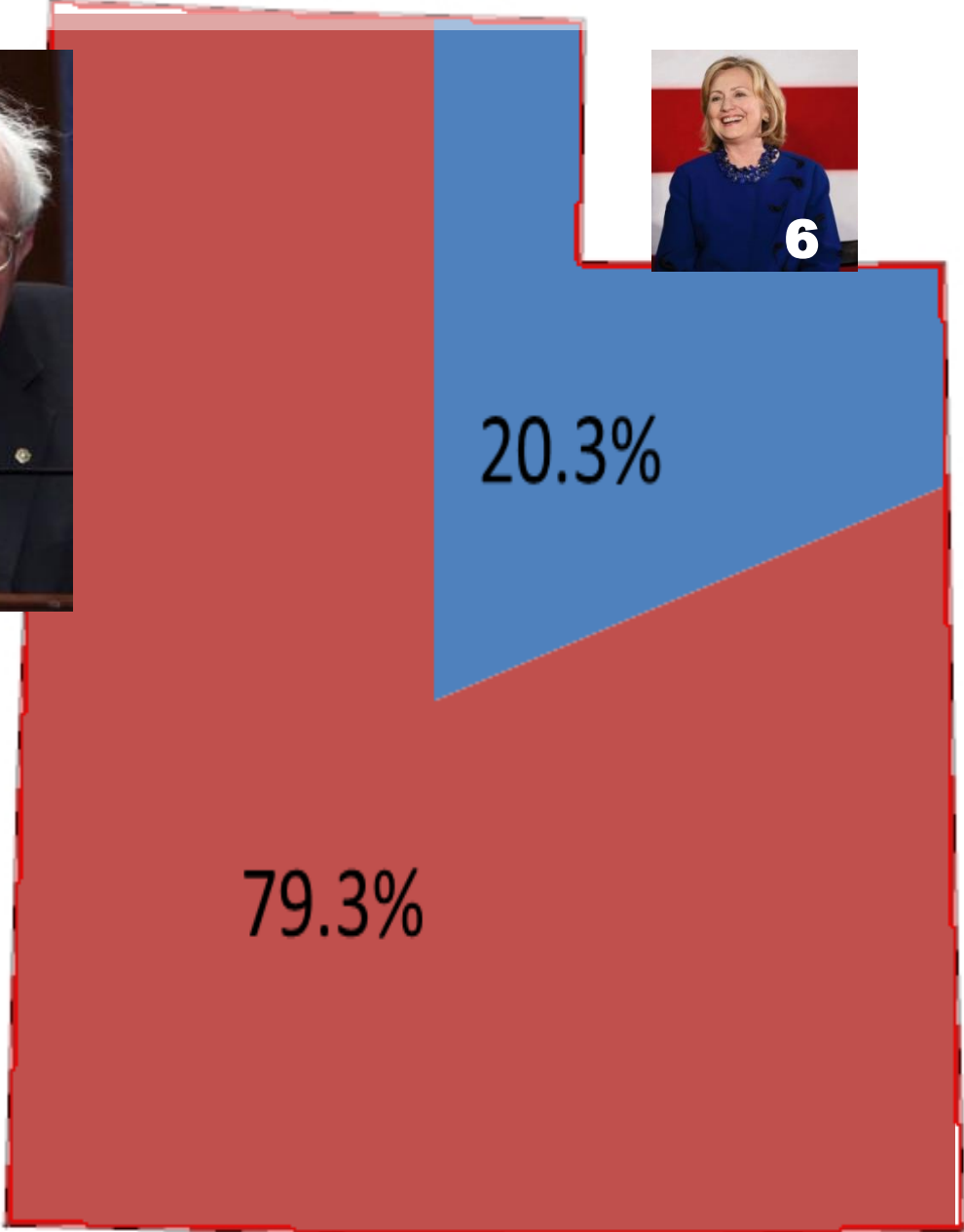
Utah pop 3M

596111 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = **30%**

N.B. Comparisons are of limited value as 2012 & 2008 races were open primaries

Democrat Utah Caucus results – March 22nd 2016



Turnout

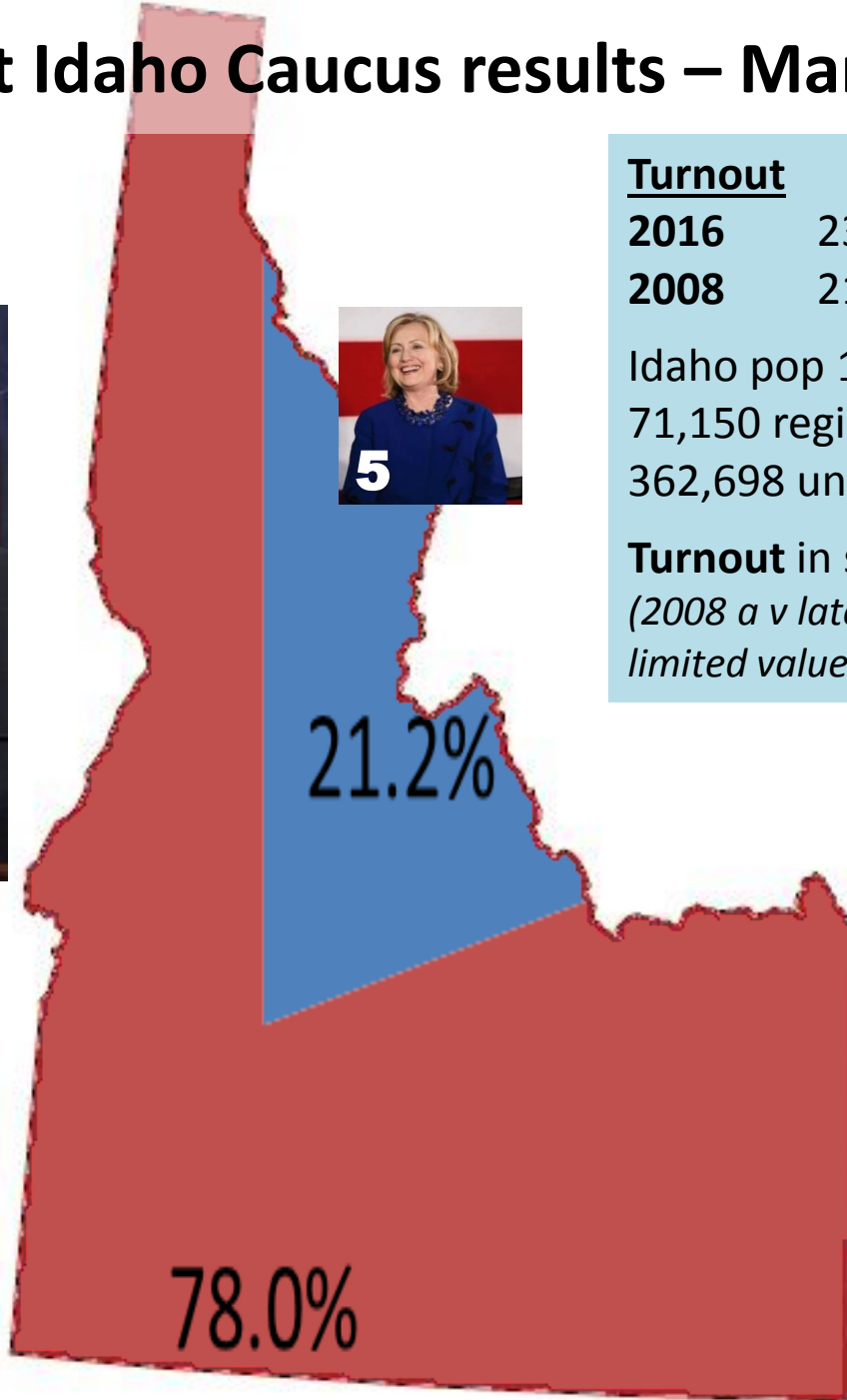
2016	77324	↓ 41%
2008	131371	

Utah pop 3M
125,406 registered Democrats,
501225 unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open caucus = **12%**

N.B. Comparisons are of limited value as 2012 & 2008 races were open primaries

Democrat Idaho Caucus results – March 22nd 2016



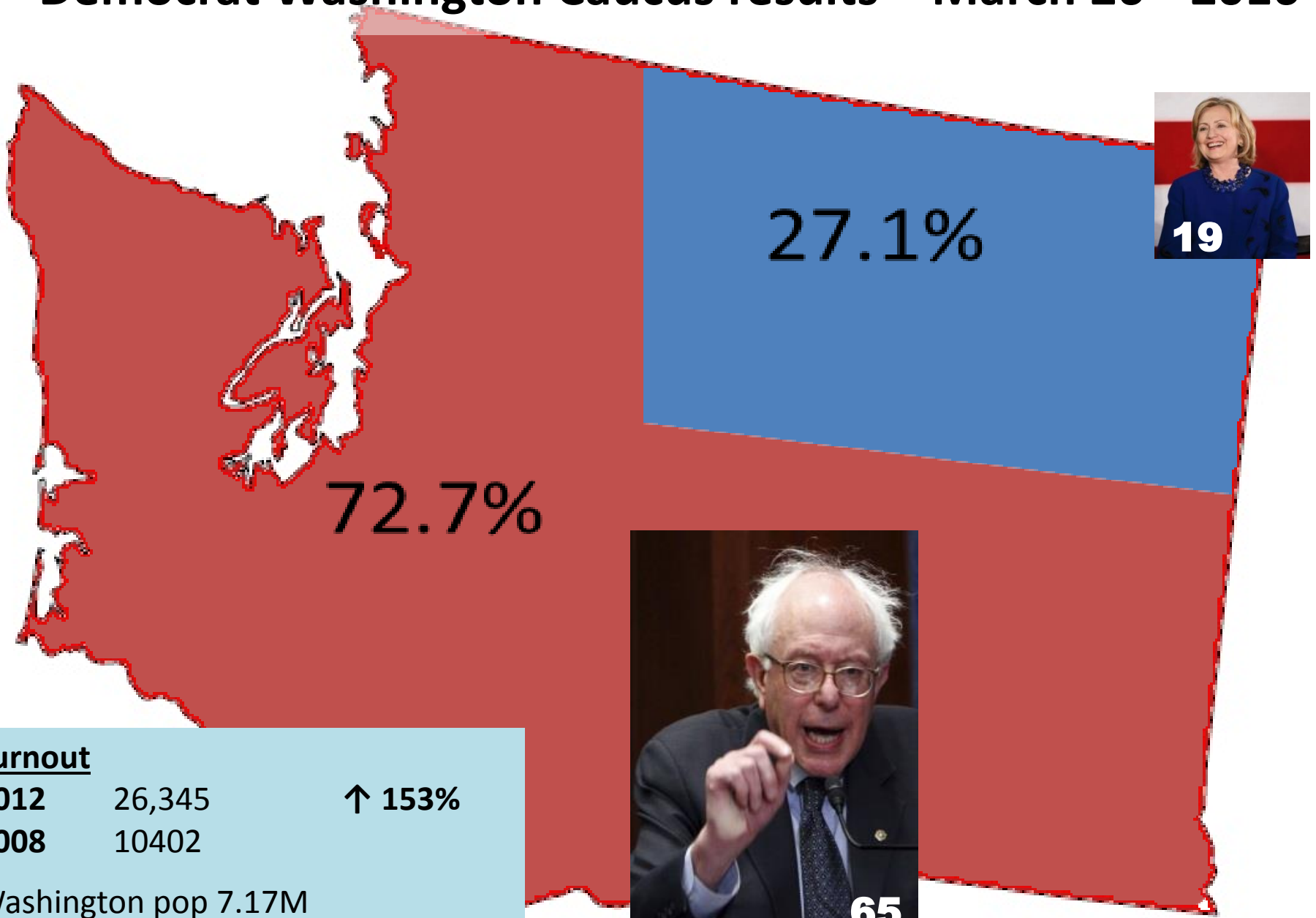
Turnout

2016	23884	↑ 13%
2008	21221	

Idaho pop 1.43M
71,150 registered Democrats,
362,698 unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open caucus = **6%**
(2008 a v late primary, so comparisons of limited value)

Democrat Washington Caucus results – March 26th 2016



Turnout

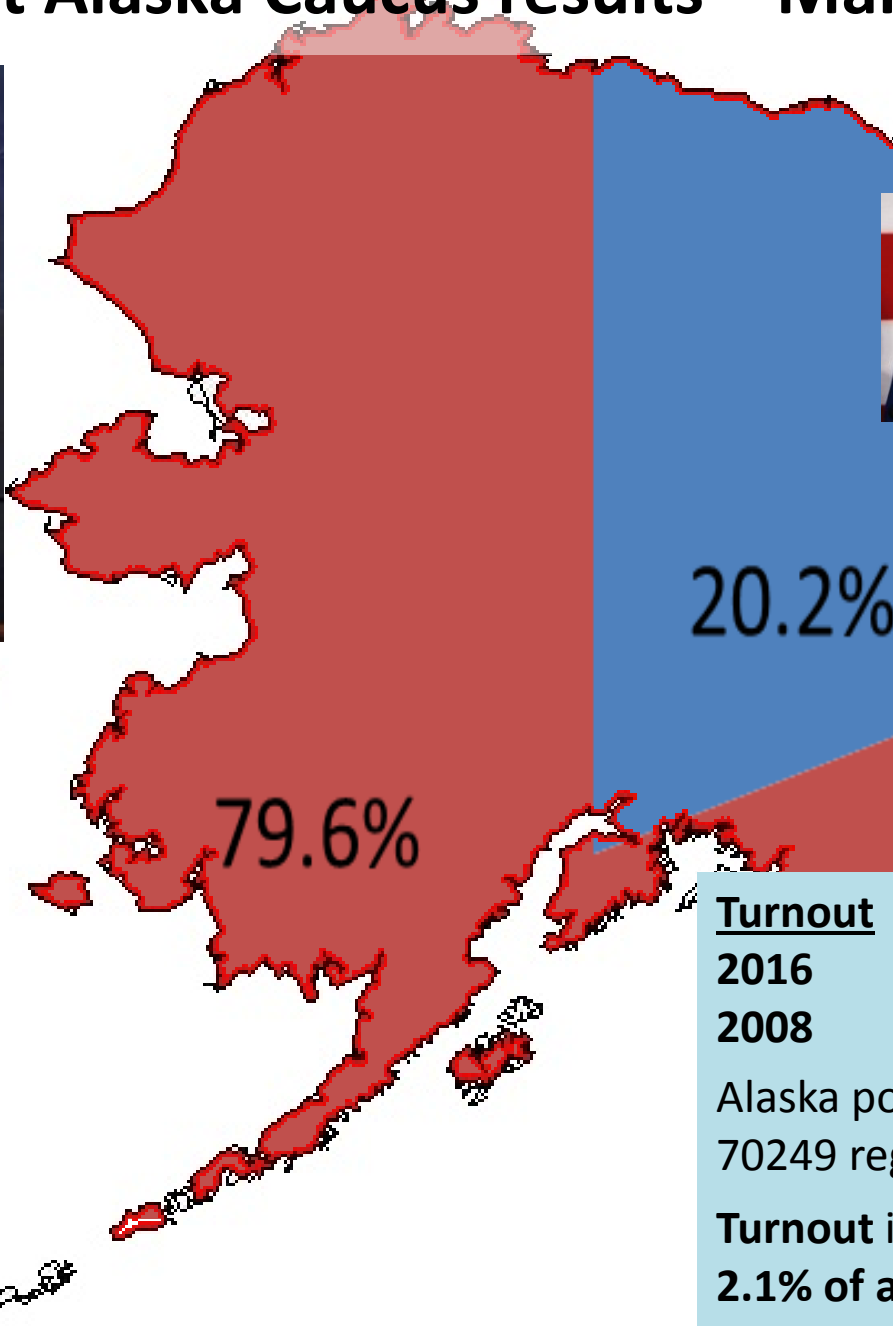
2012	26,345	↑ 153%
2008	10402	

Washington pop 7.17M

Turnout in semi-open caucus = **0.7 %**



Democrat Alaska Caucus results – March 26th 2016



Turnout

2016	10610	↑ 19%
2008	8880	

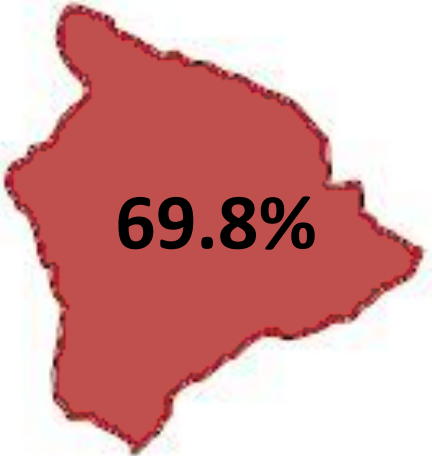
Alaska pop 0.74M

70249 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed caucus:

2.1% of all registered voters

Democrat Hawaii Caucus results – March 26th 2016



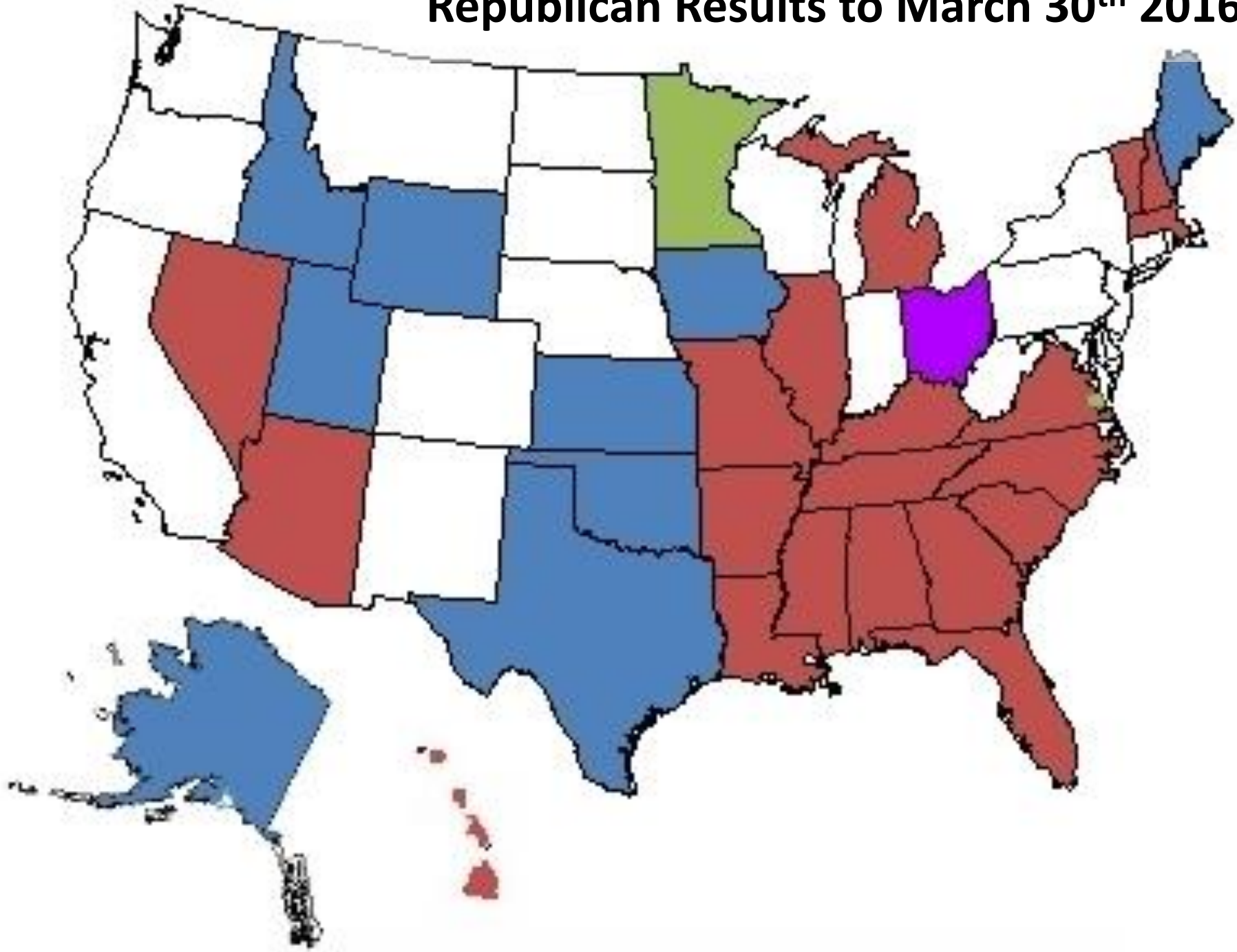
Turnout

2016	33716	↑ 280%
2008	8880	

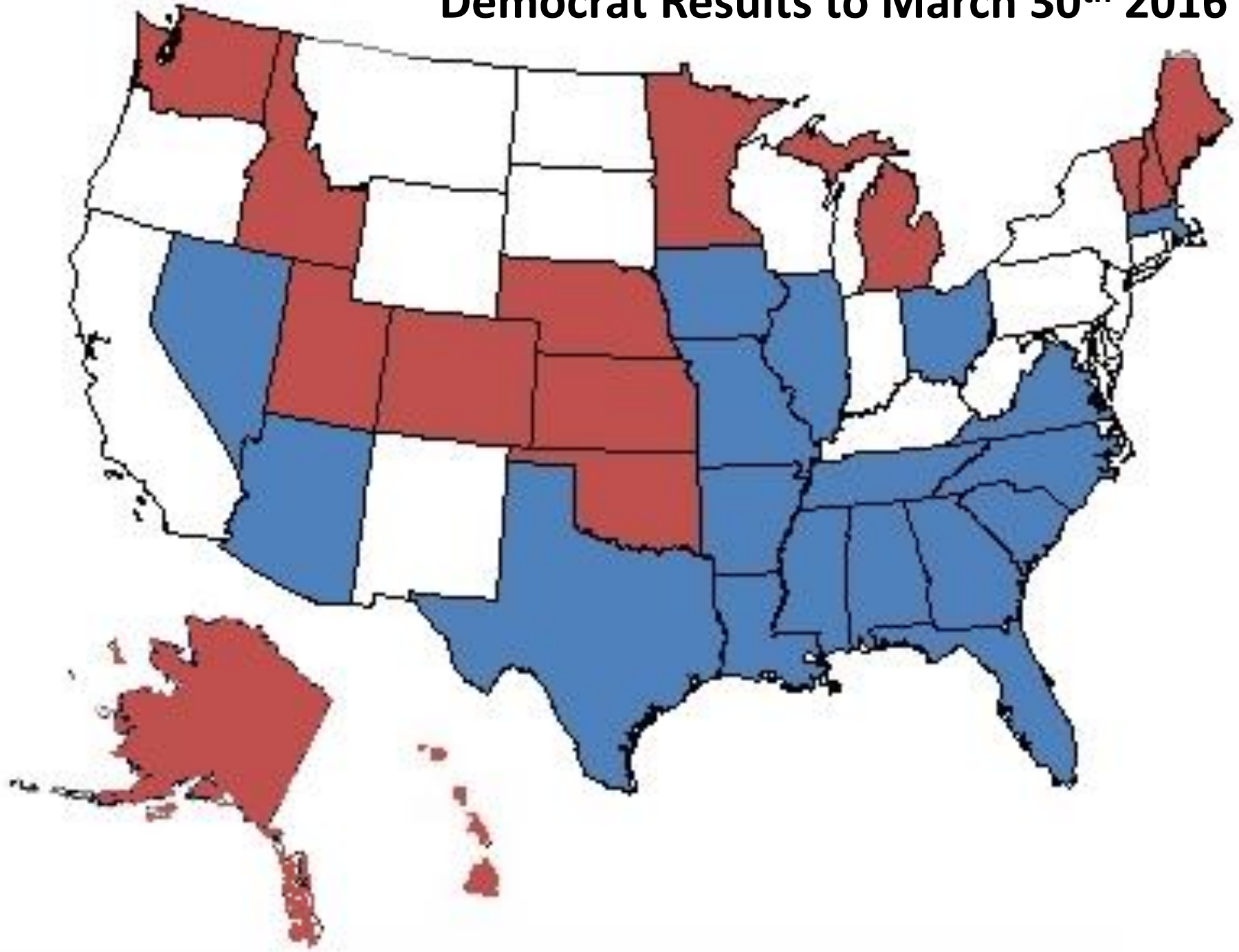
Hawaii pop 1.43M

Turnout in open caucus = 5%

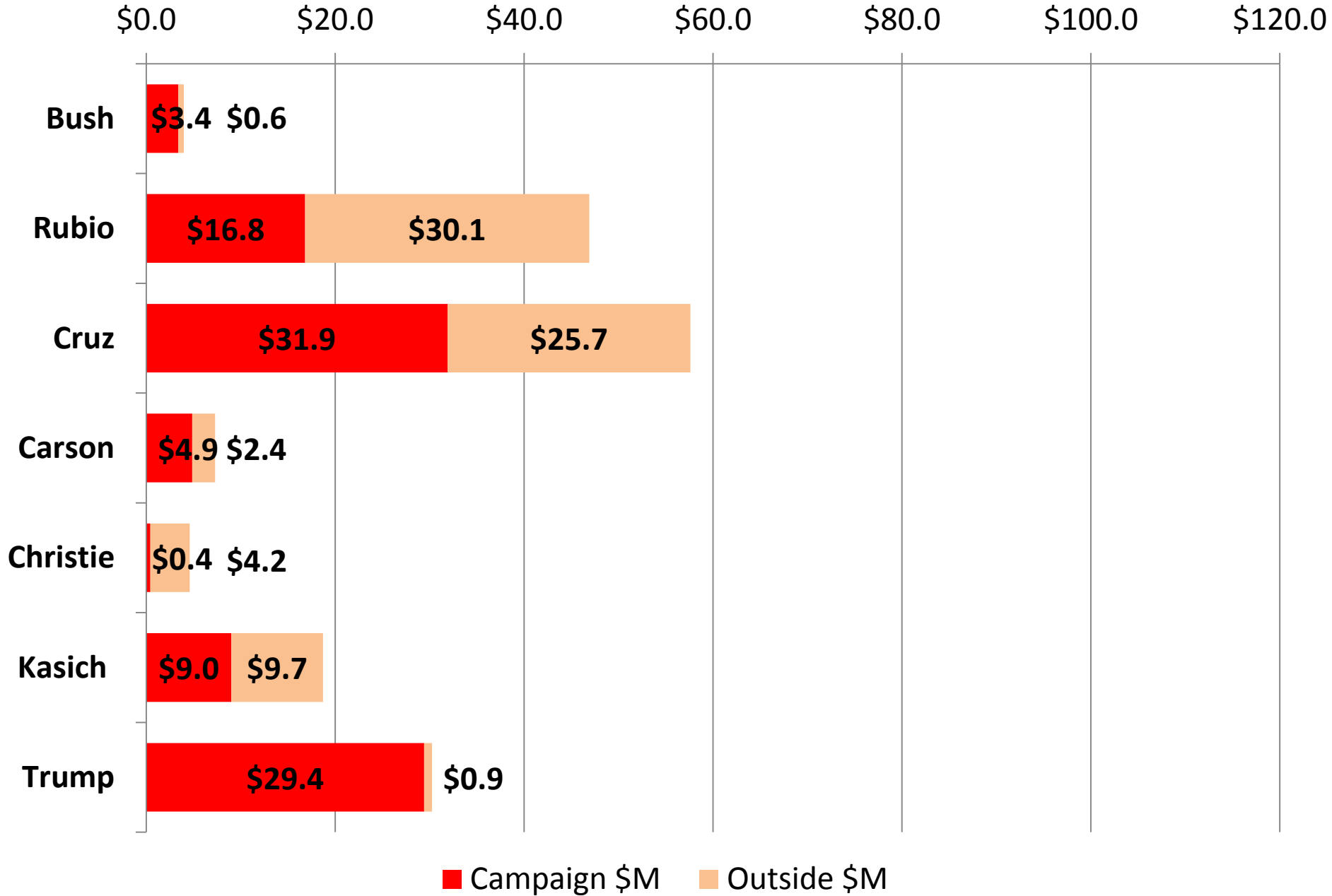
Republican Results to March 30th 2016



Democrat Results to March 30th 2016



GOP Fundraising Jan-March 2016



■ Campaign \$M ■ Outside \$M

Democrat Fundraising Jan-March 2016

\$0.0 \$20.0 \$40.0 \$60.0 \$80.0 \$100.0 \$120.0

Clinton

\$76.6

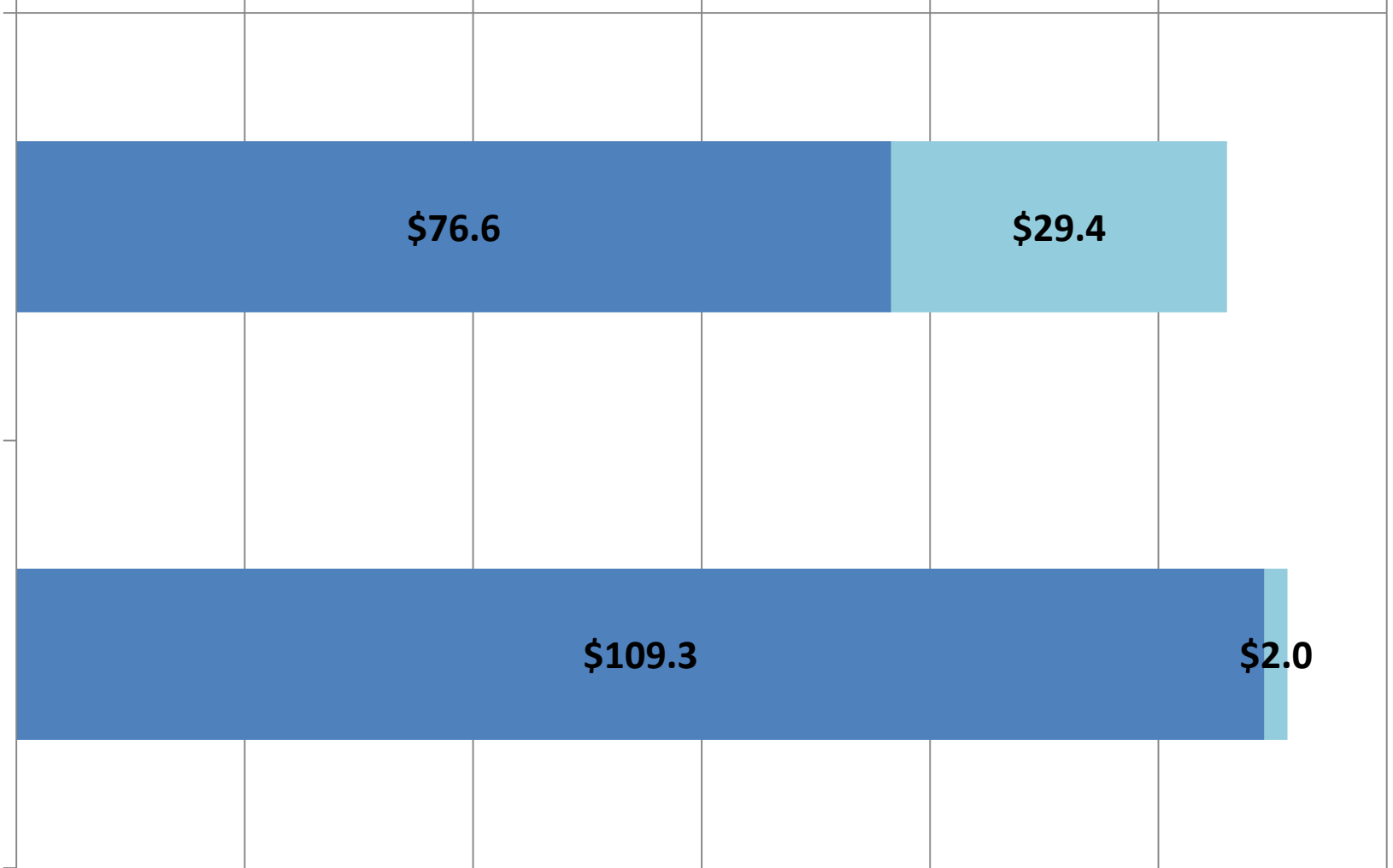
\$29.4

Sanders

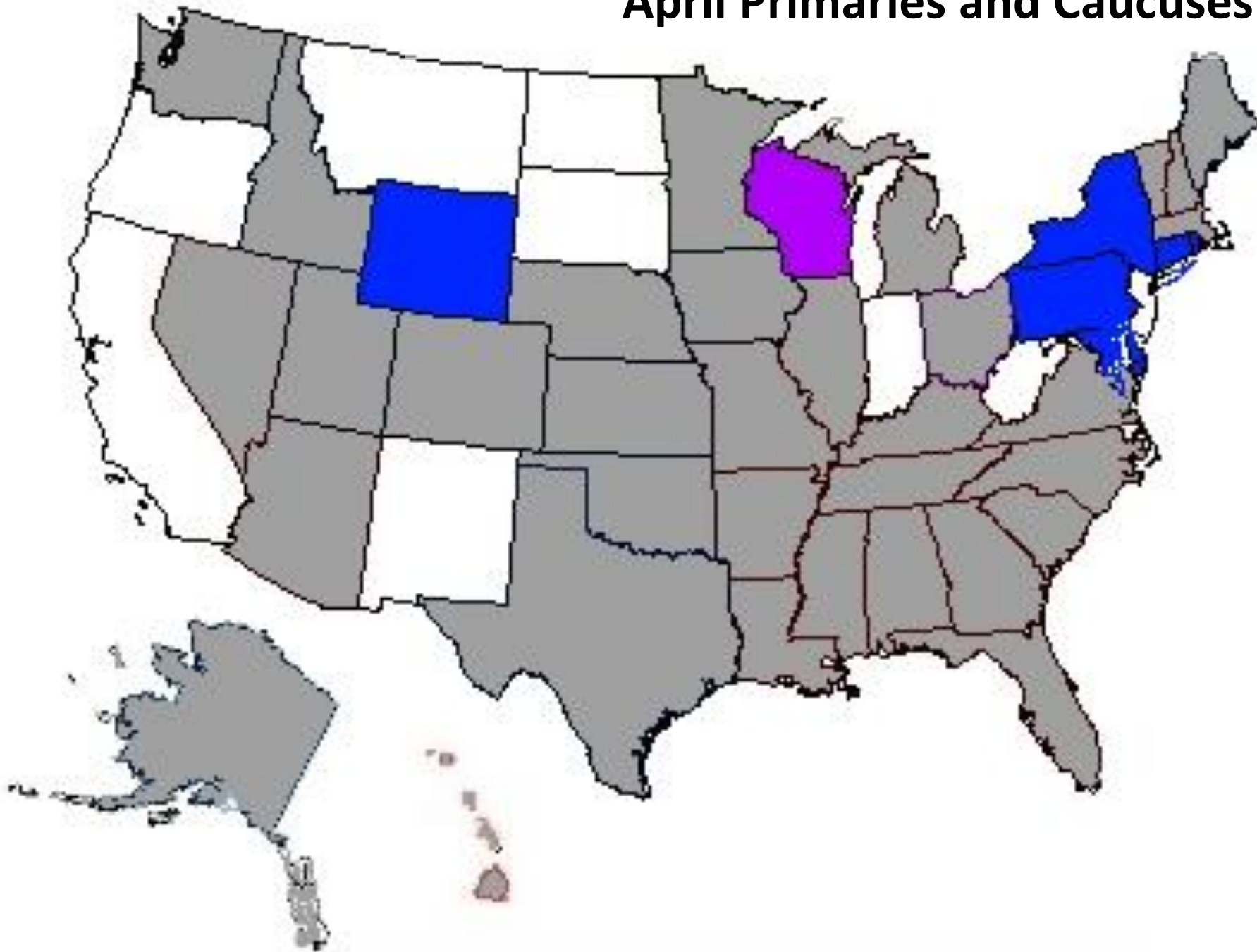
\$109.3

\$2.0

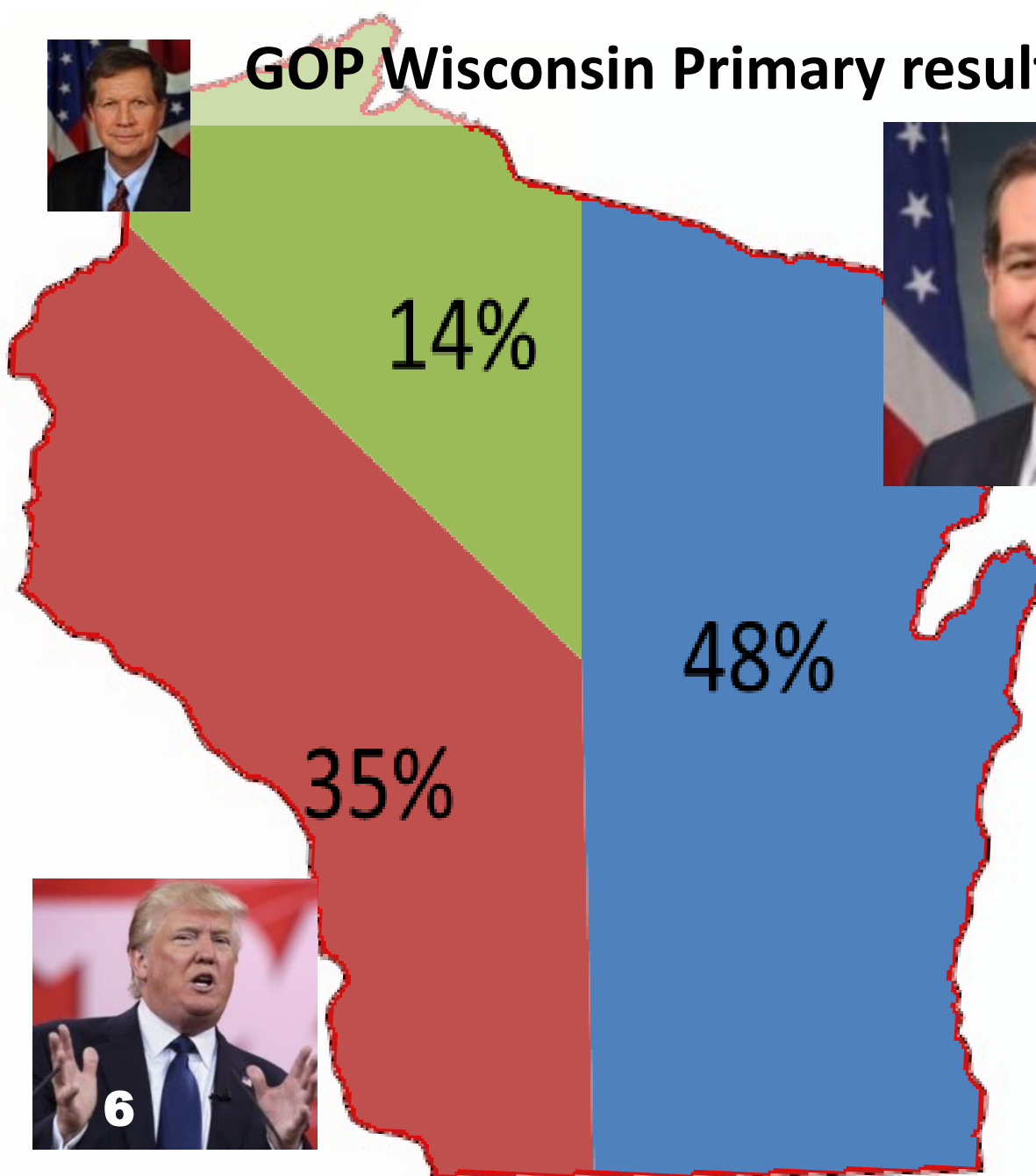
■ Campaign \$M ■ Outside \$M



April Primaries and Caucuses



GOP Wisconsin Primary results –April 5th 2016



Winner-takes-all district & statewide allocation

Turnout

2016	1,092,311	↑ 39 %
2012	785,163	
2008	396,402	

Wisconsin pop 5.8 M

Turnout in open primary = **32 %**

Democrat Wisconsin Primary results –April 5th 2016



56.5%

43.1%



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	996,155	↓ 10 %
2008	1,101,666	
Wisconsin pop 5.8 M		
Turnout in open primary = 29 %		

Democrat Wyoming Caucuses – April 9th 2016



55.7%

44.3%

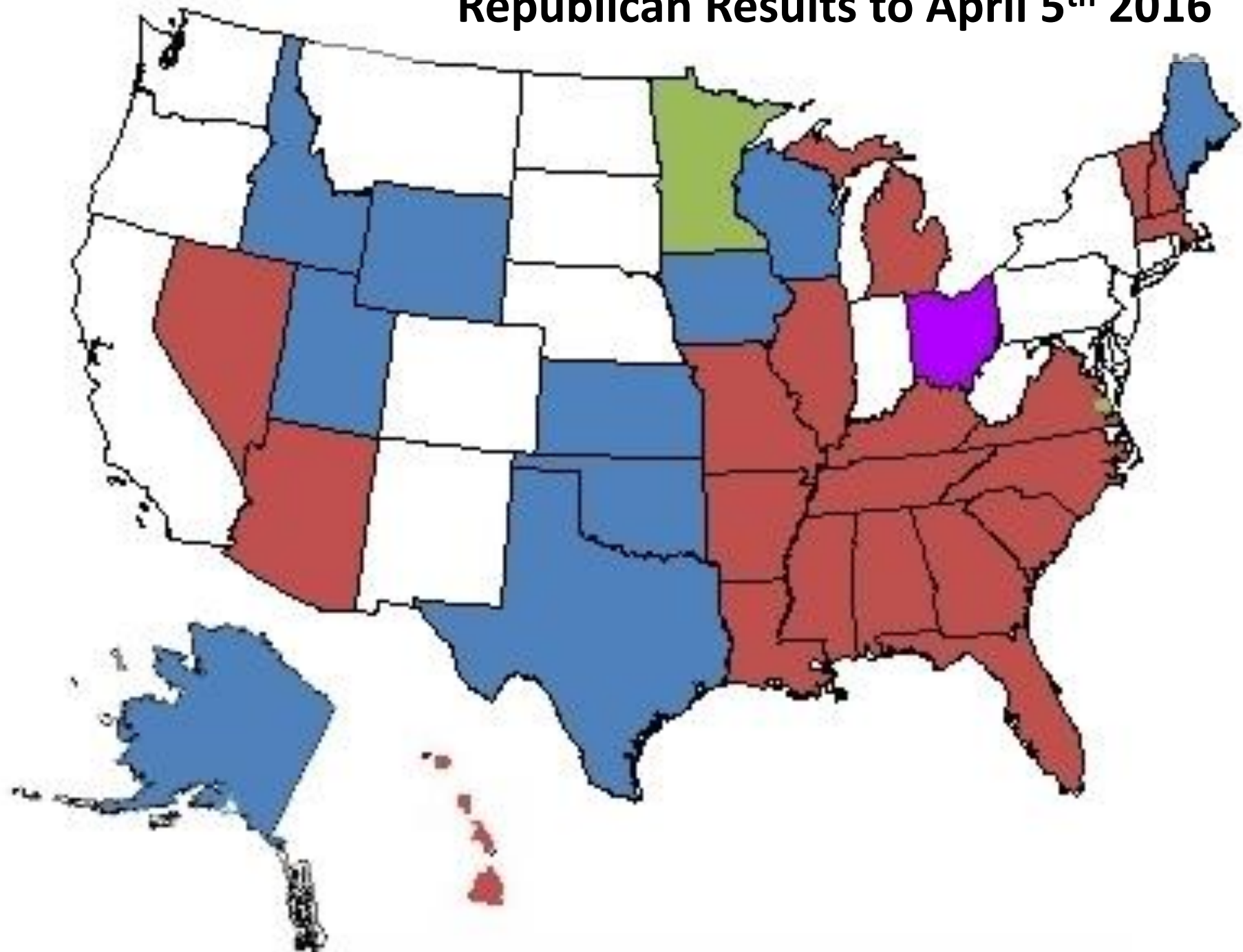
Turnout

2016 (not reported)

2008

Wyoming pop 0.59M

Republican Results to April 5th 2016



cnn delegate estimate

total delegates: 2472



746 pledged: 746
unpledged: 0
TRUMP



1237 delegates needed to win



538 pledged: 538
unpledged: 0
CRUZ



1237 delegates needed to win



145 pledged: 145
unpledged: 0
KASICH



1237 delegates needed to win



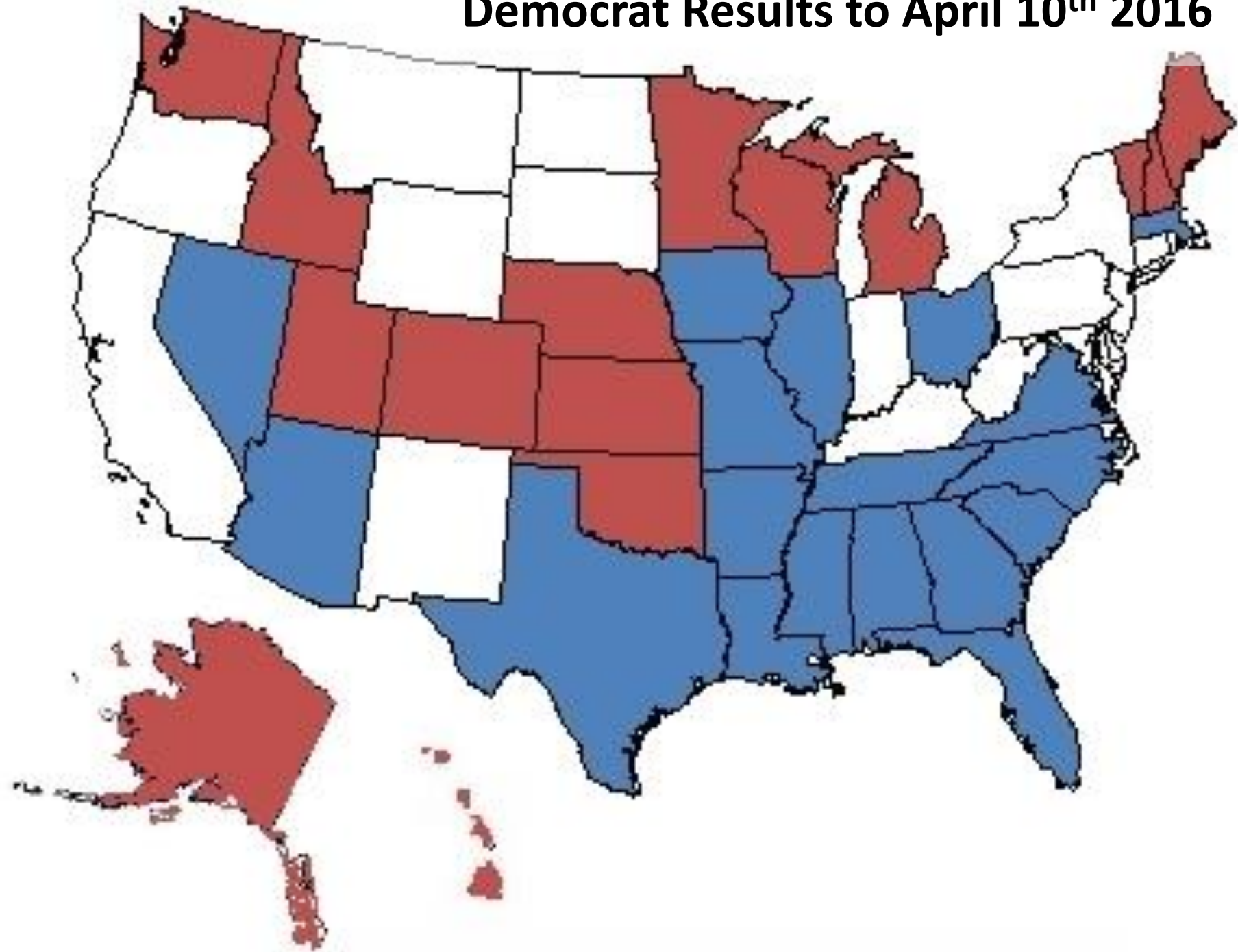
173 pledged: 173
unpledged: 0
RUBIO



1237 delegates needed to win



Democrat Results to April 10th 2016



cnn delegate estimate

total delegates: 4765



1790 pledged: 1304
super: 486
CLINTON



2383 delegates
needed to win



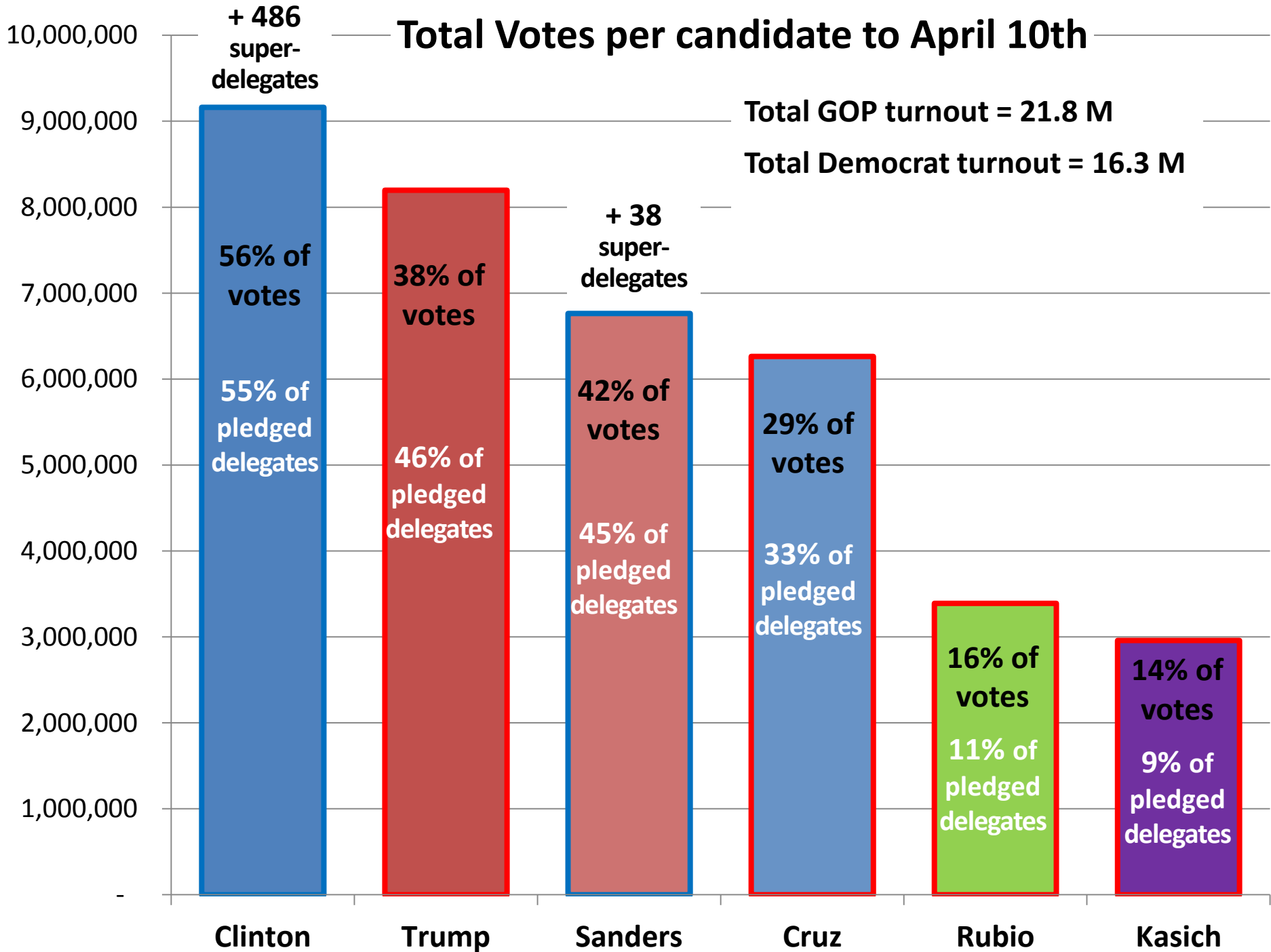
1113 pledged: 1075
super: 38
SANDERS



2383 delegates
needed to win



Total Votes per candidate to April 10th



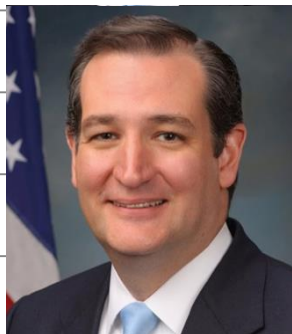
Match-up Polls 9th April

50.7



Sanders (D)

40.6



Cruz (R)

3 week Averages from

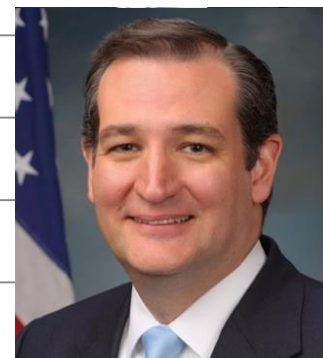
[RealClearPolitics.com](https://www.realclearpolitics.com)

46.2



Clinton (D)

43.4



Cruz (R)

53.9



Sanders (D)

37.4



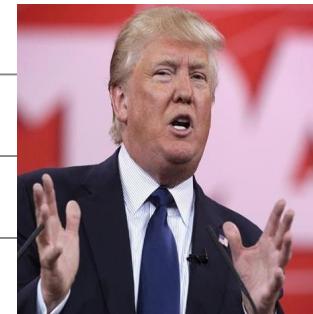
Trump (R)

49.4



Clinton (D)

38.5



Trump (R)

GOP New York Primary results –April 19th 2016

Turnout

2016 868,987 ↑ 356%

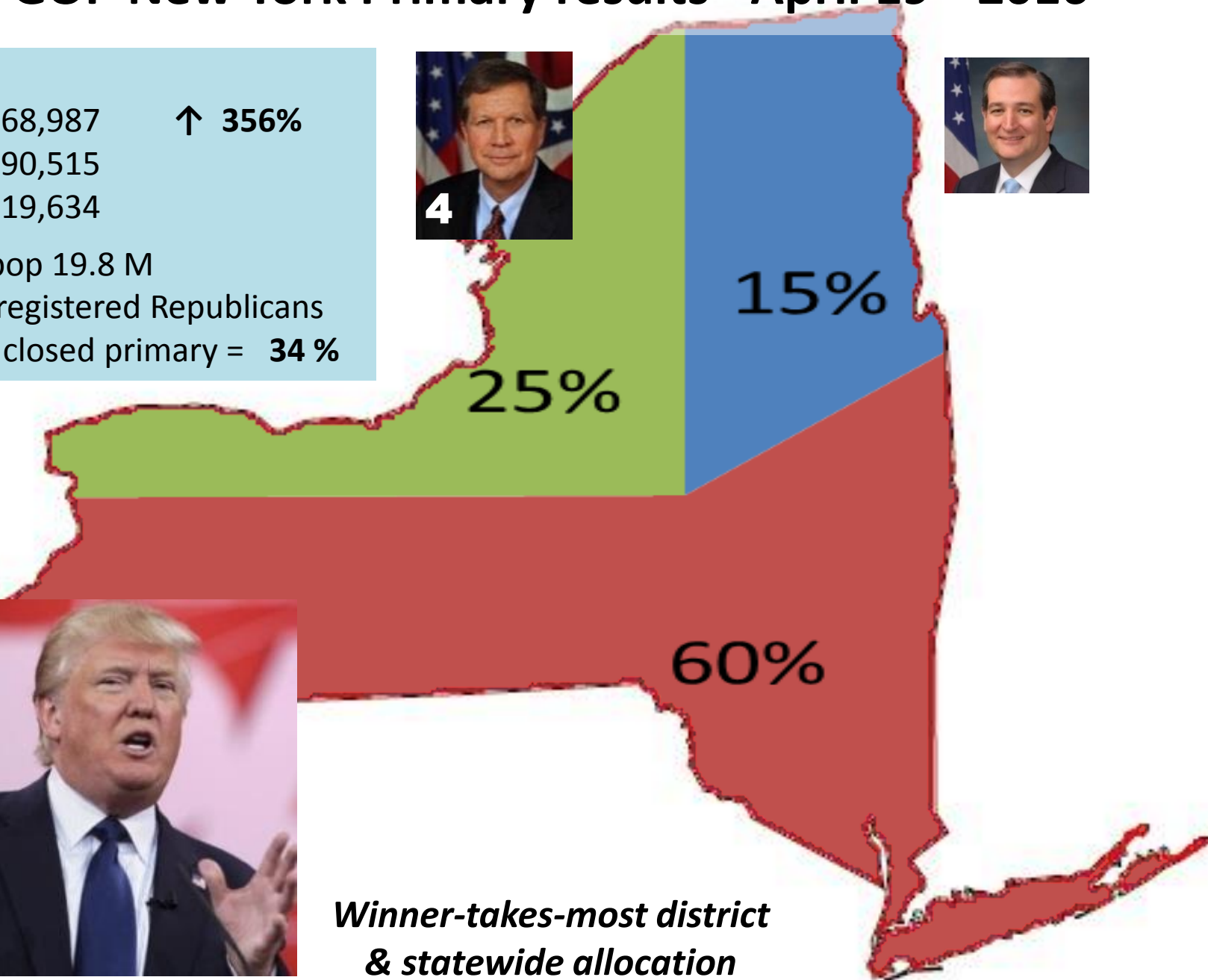
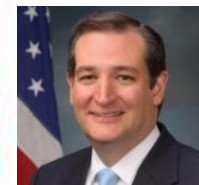
2012 190,515

2008 619,634

New York pop 19.8 M

2,554,996 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = 34 %



*Winner-takes-most district
& statewide allocation*

Democrat New York Primary results –April 19th 2016

Turnout

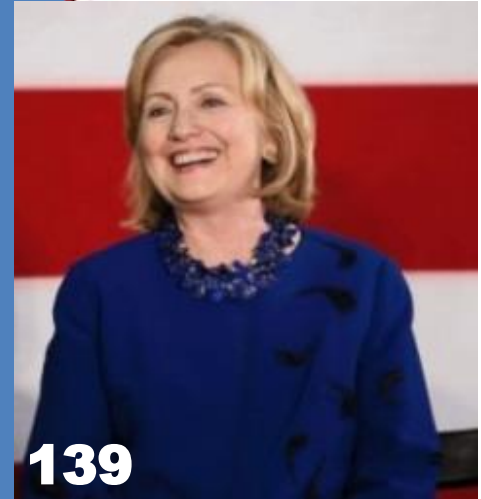
2016 1,817,552 <-> 0 %

2008 1,819,515

New York pop 19.8 M

5,268,431 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed primary = 34 %



42.0%

58.0%

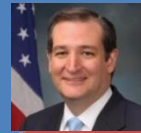


GOP Connecticut Primary results –April 26th 2016



28%

12%



58%



28

*Winner-takes-most district
& statewide allocation*

Turnout

2016	212,190	↑ 256 %
2012	59,660	
2008	148,083	

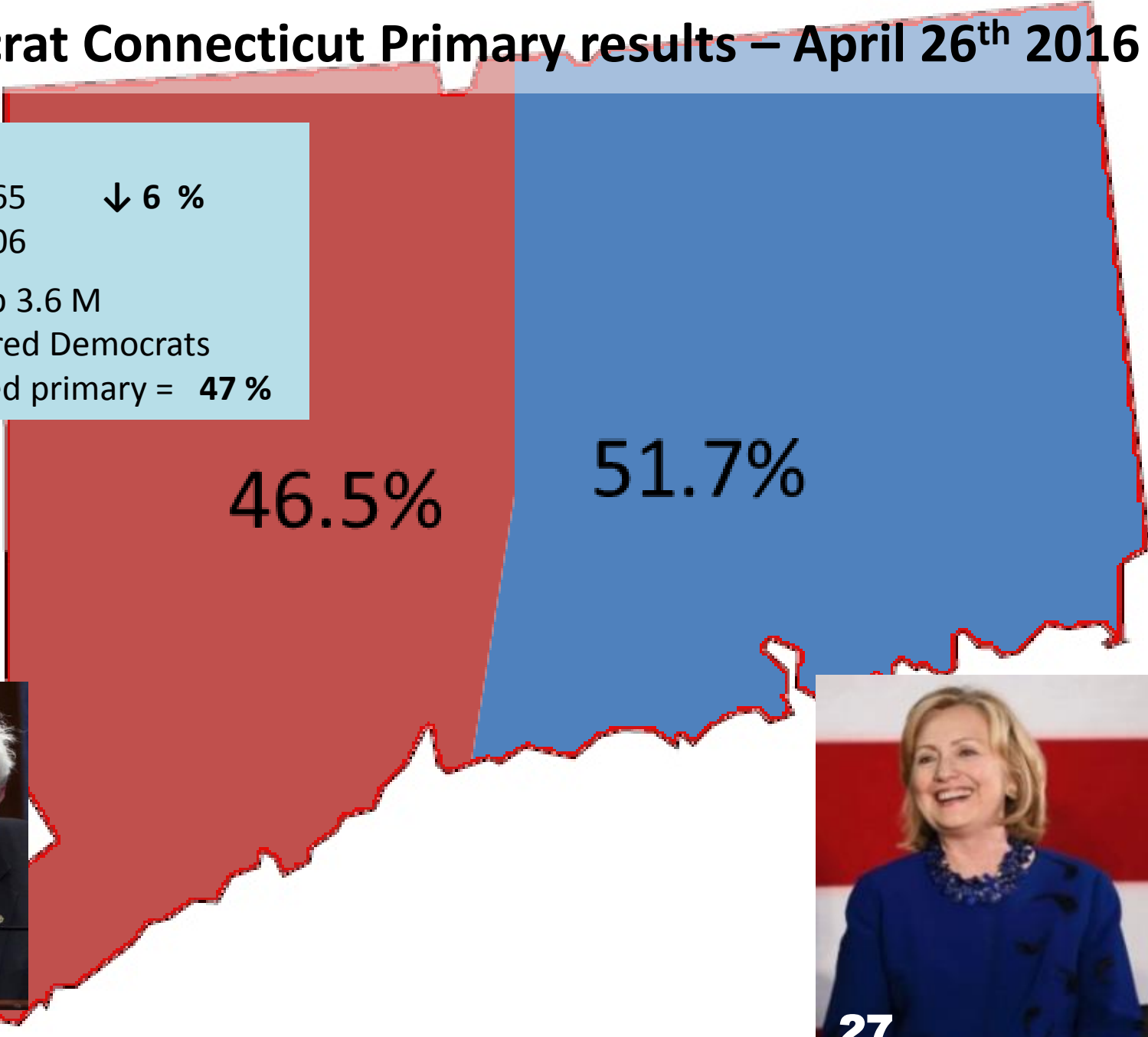
Connecticut pop 3.6 M

400,216 registered Republicans

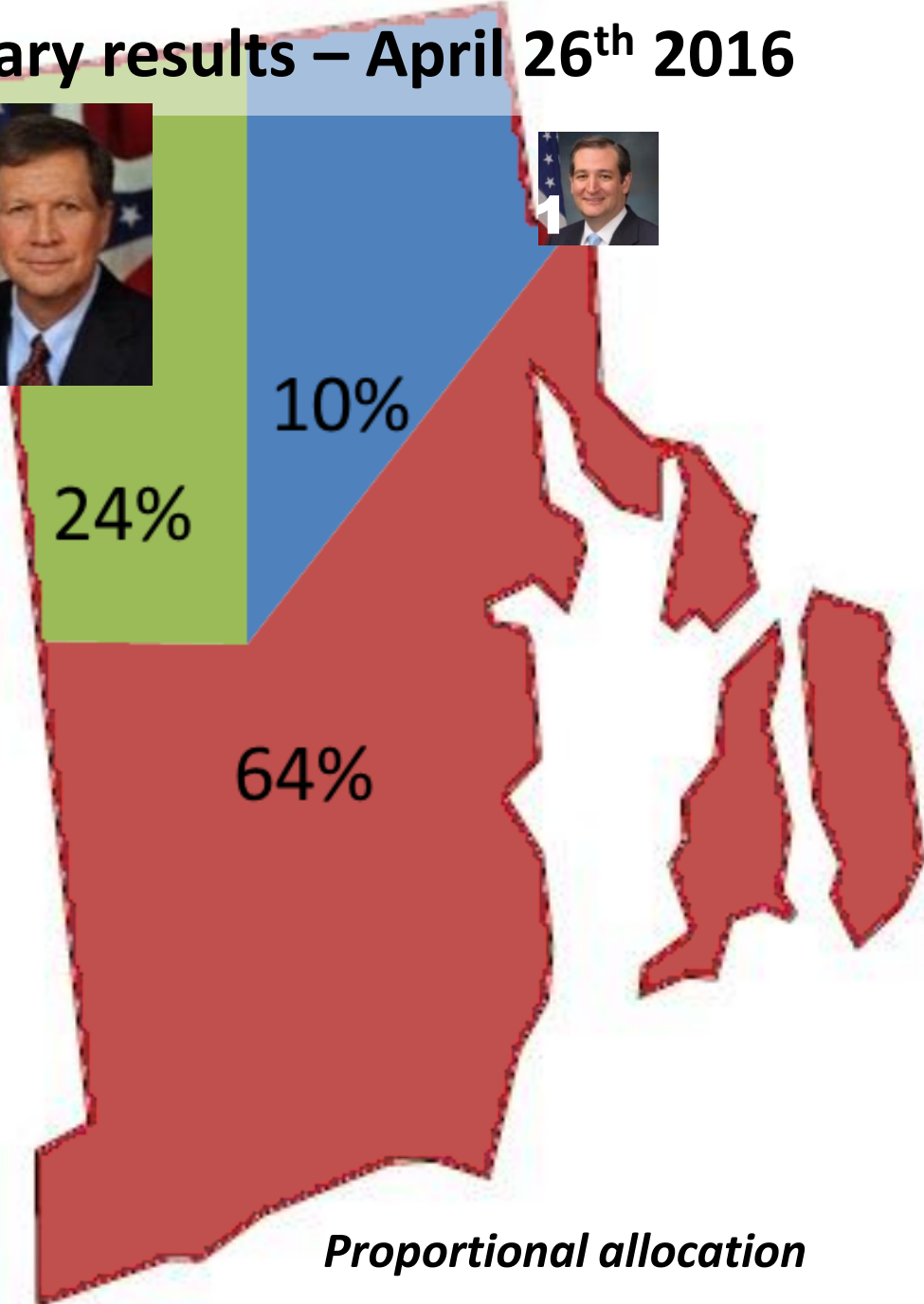
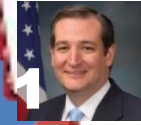
Turnout in closed primary = 53 %

Democrat Connecticut Primary results – April 26th 2016

Turnout
2016 328,465 ↓ 6 %
2008 348,206
Connecticut pop 3.6 M
703,851 registered Democrats
Turnout in closed primary = **47 %**



GOP Rhode Island Primary results – April 26th 2016



Turnout

2016	61,179	↑ 322%
2012	14,488	
2008	25,674	

Rhode Island pop 1.1 M
78,064 registered Republicans, 378538 unaffiliated
Turnout in open (mixed) primary = **13 %**



Proportional allocation

Democrat Rhode Island Primary results – April 26th 2016



13



11

55.0%

43.3%

Turnout

2016	121,253	↓ 35 %
2008	185,306	

Rhode Island pop 1.1 M

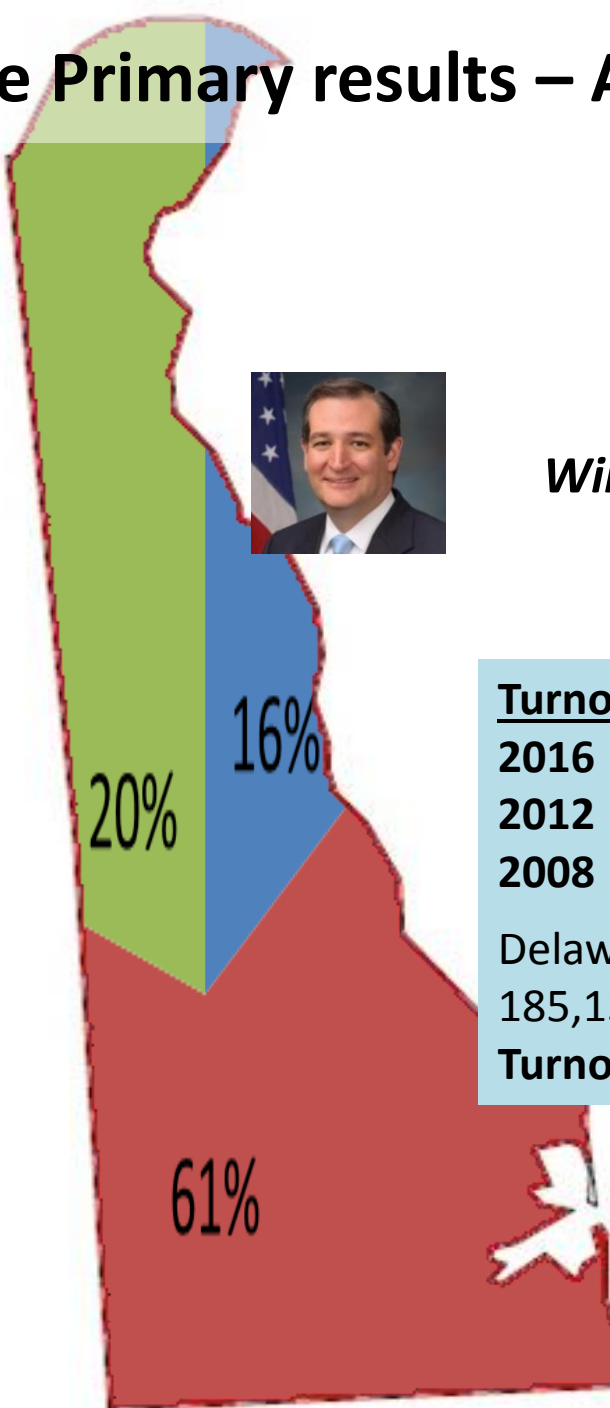
294,086 registered Democrats, 378538
unaffiliated voters

Turnout in open (mixed) primary = **13 %**

GOP Delaware Primary results – April 26th 2016



Winner-takes-all allocation



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	69,892	↑ 144 %
2012	28,591	
2008	48,809	
Delaware pop 0.95M		
185,134 registered Republicans		
Turnout in closed primary = 38 %		



Democrat Delaware Primary results – April 26th 2016



39.2%

59.8%

Turnout

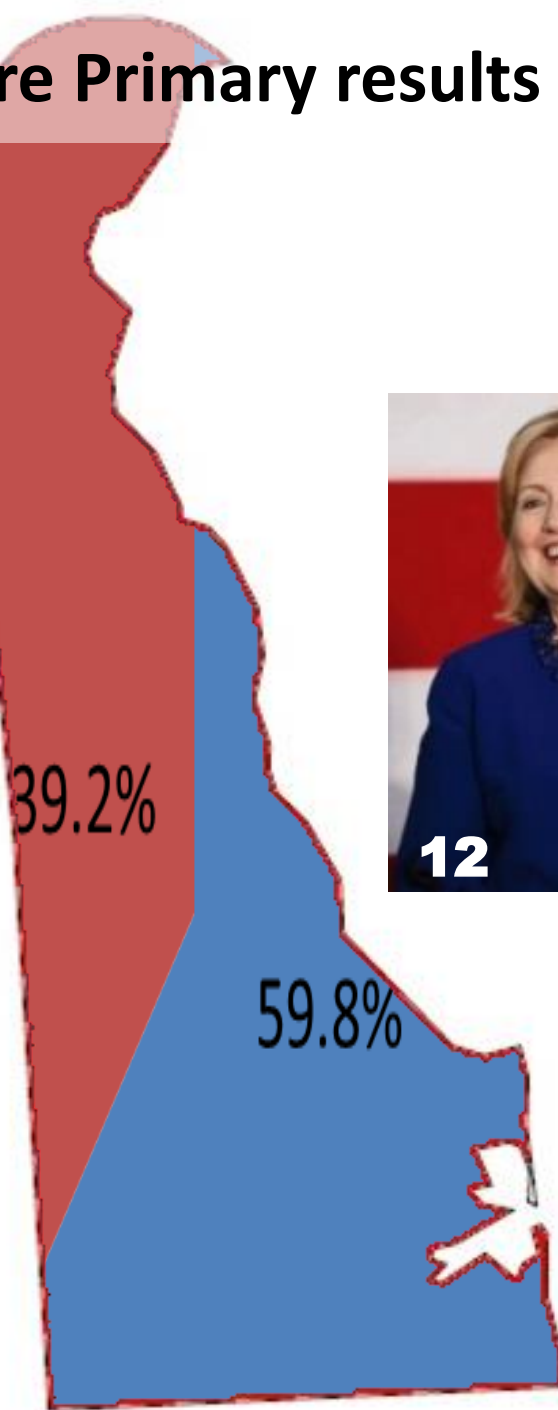
2016 93,633 ↑ 2 %

2008 91,908

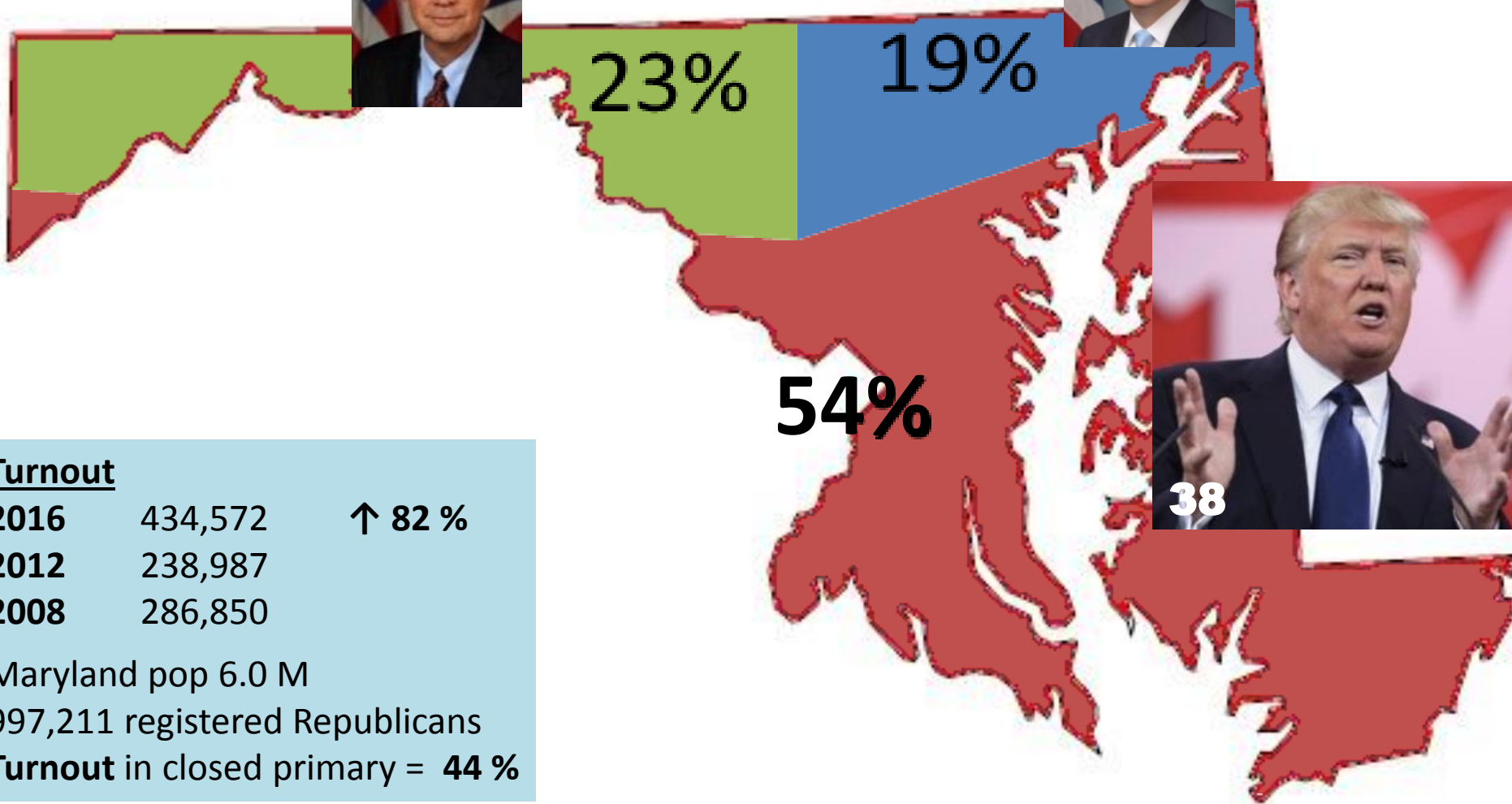
Delaware pop 0.95M

312,260 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed primary = **30 %**



GOP Maryland Primary results – April 26th 2016



Turnout

2016	434,572	↑ 82 %
2012	238,987	
2008	286,850	

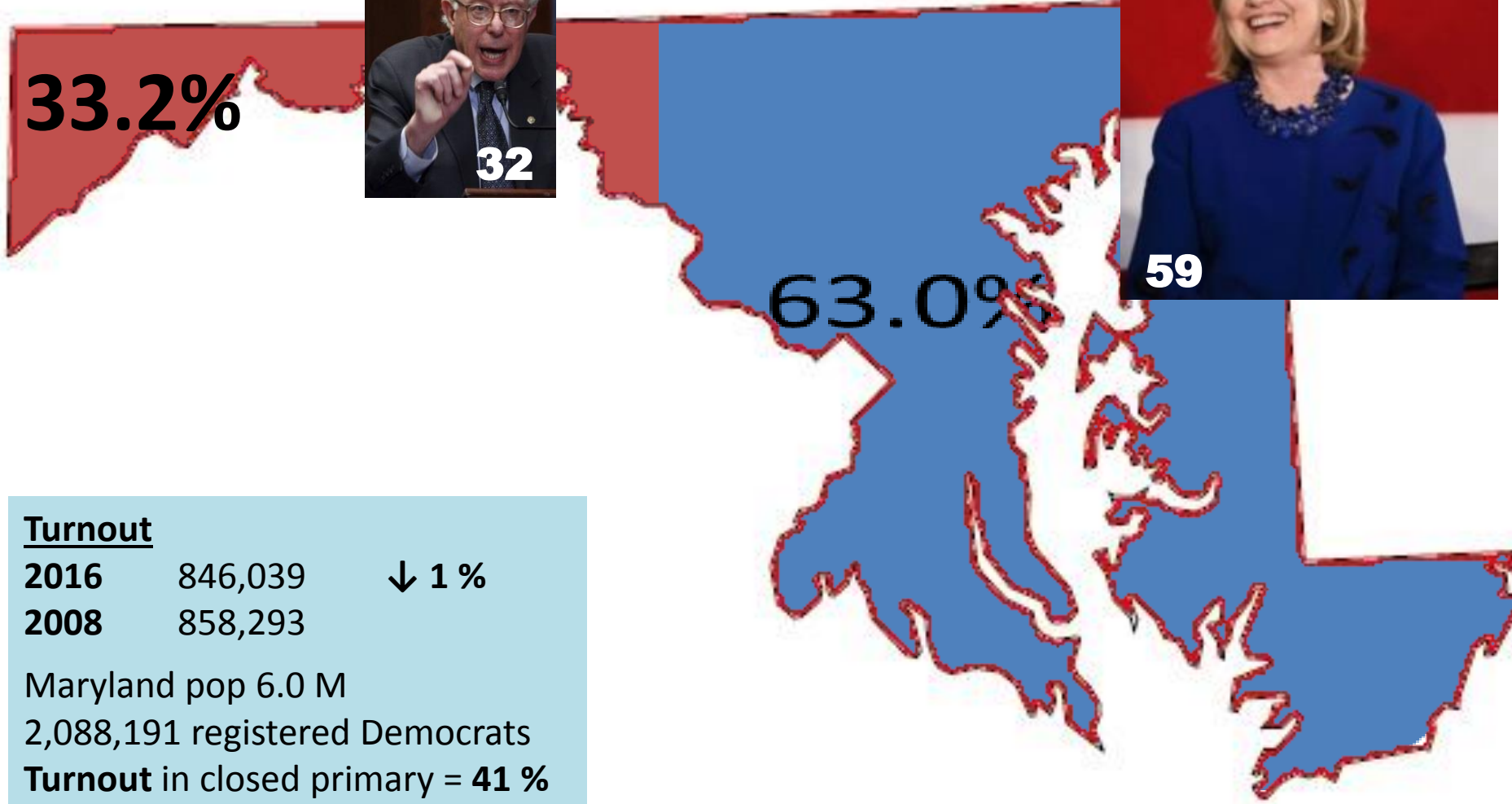
Maryland pop 6.0 M

997,211 registered Republicans

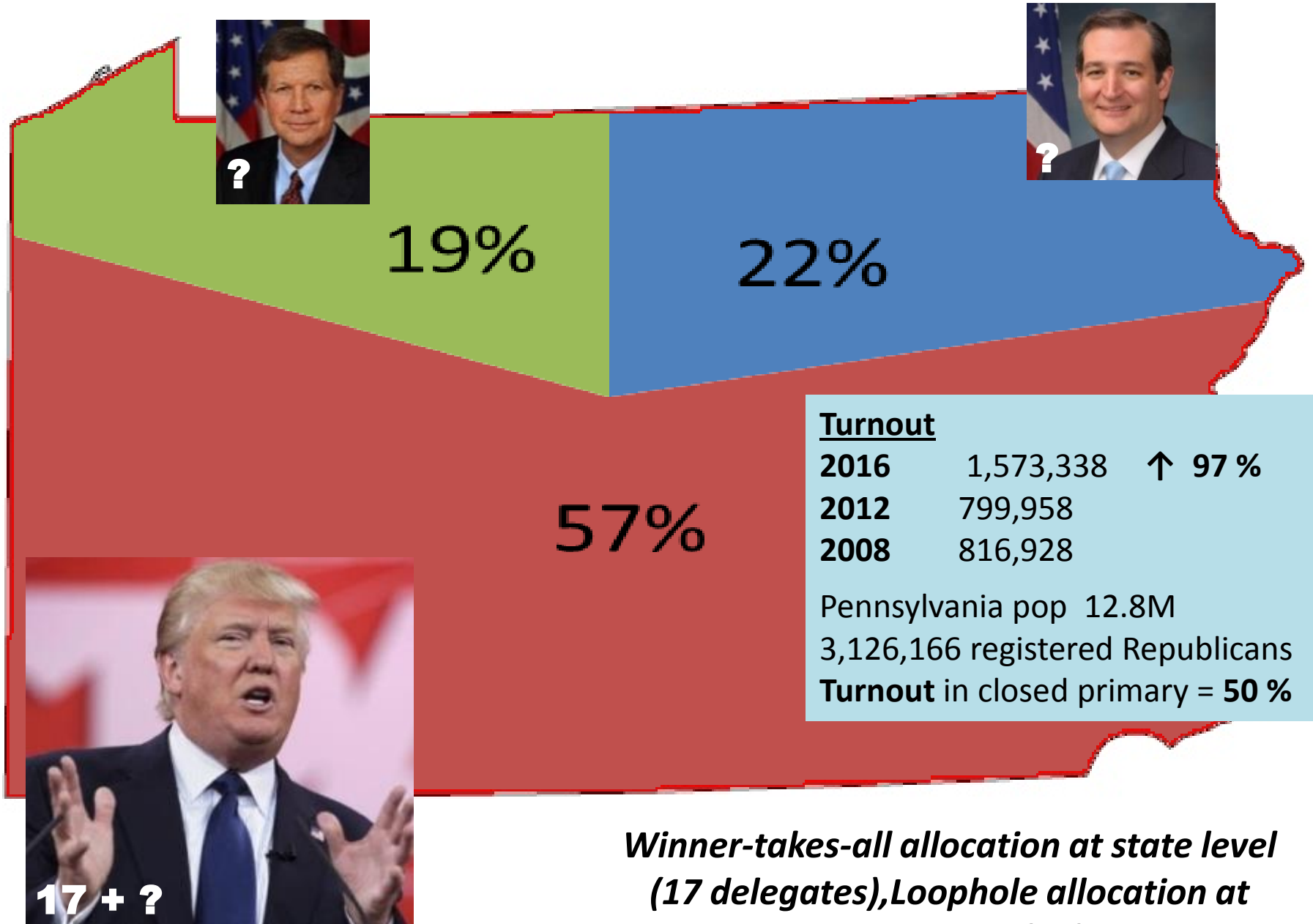
Turnout in closed primary = **44 %**

Winner-takes-all allocation

Democrat Maryland Primary results – April 26th 2016



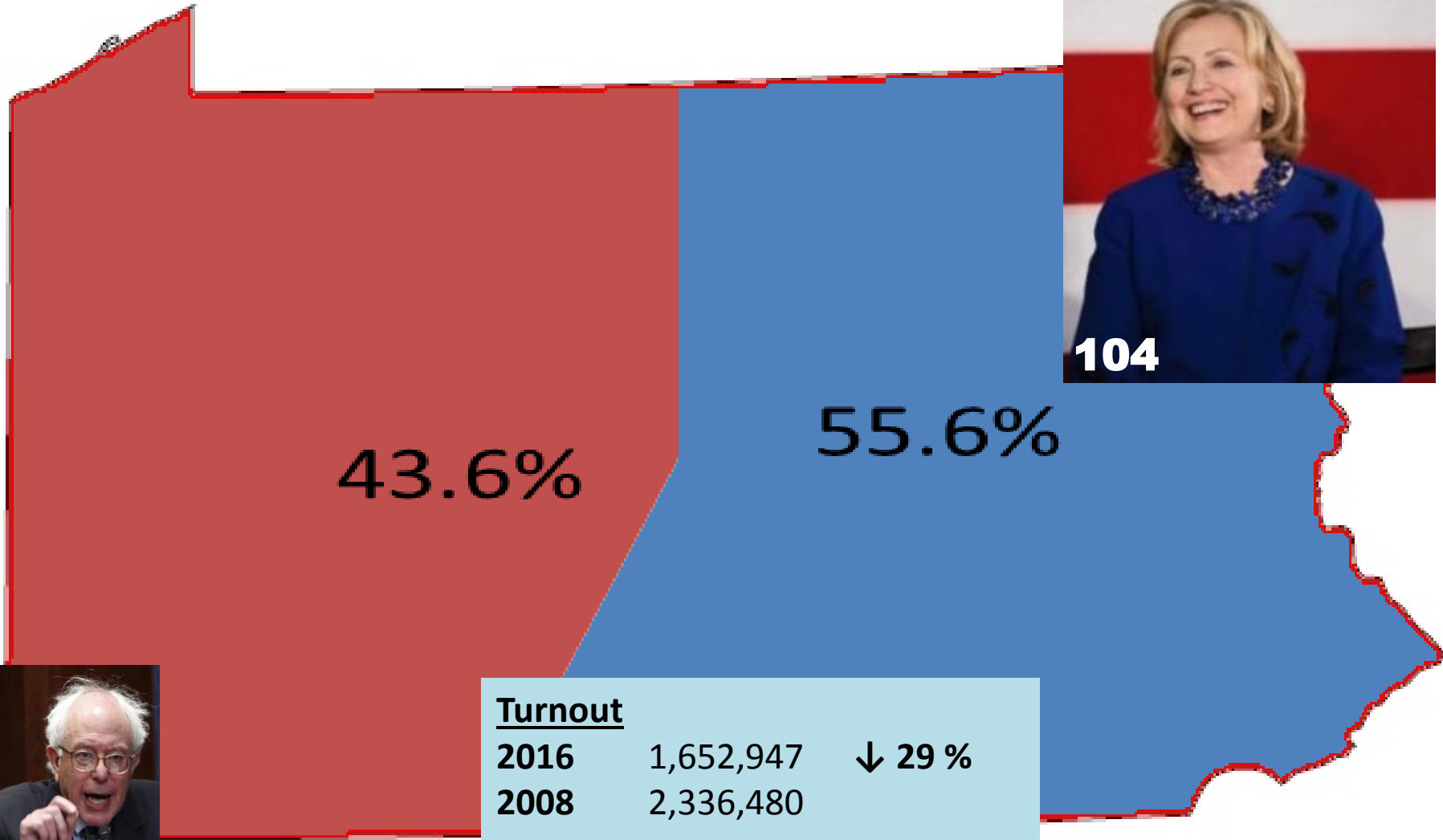
GOP Pennsylvania Primary results – April 26th 2016



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	1,573,338	↑ 97 %
2012	799,958	
2008	816,928	
Pennsylvania pop 12.8M		
3,126,166 registered Republicans		
Turnout in closed primary = 50 %		

Winner-takes-all allocation at state level (17 delegates), Loophole allocation at district level (54)

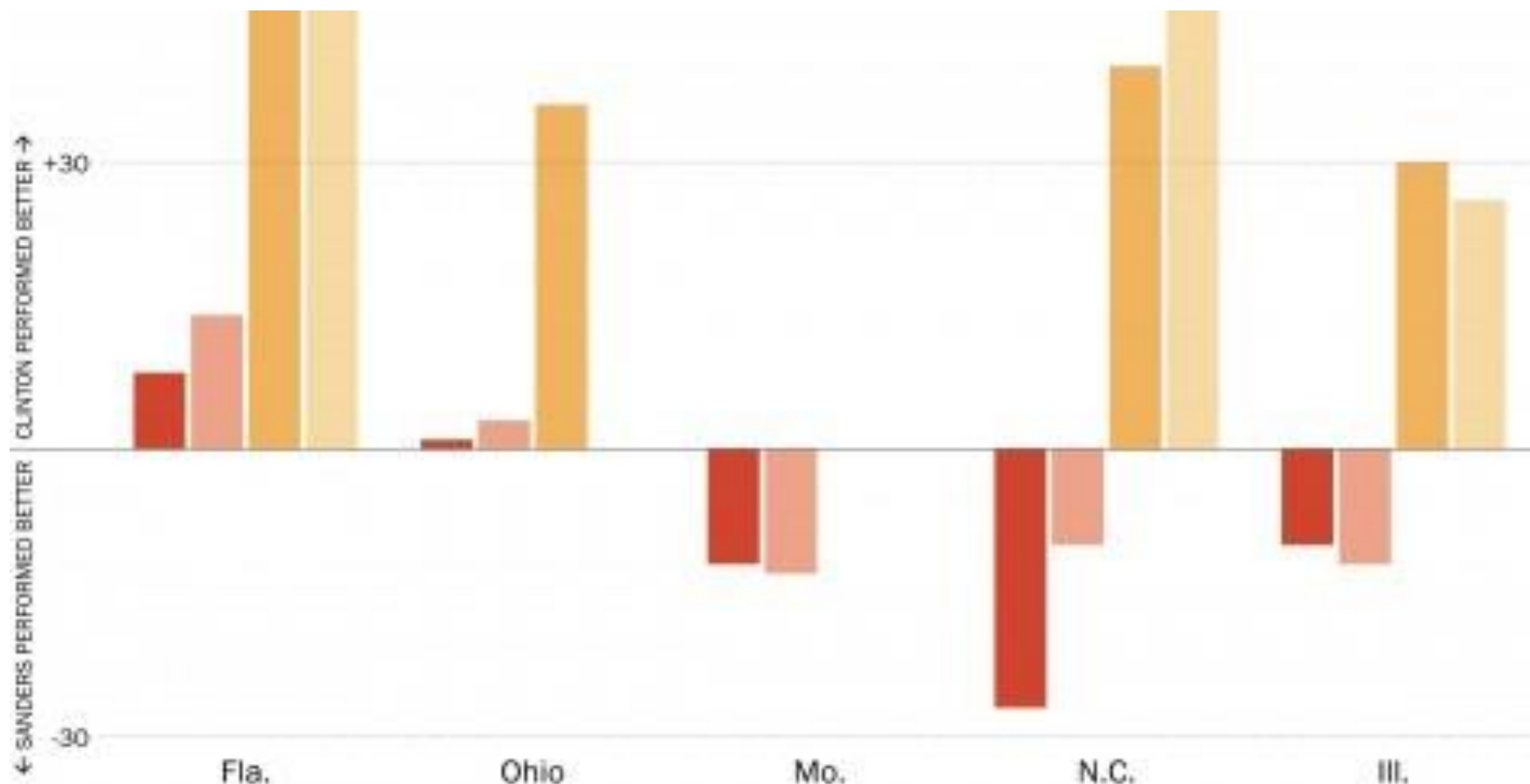
Democrat Pennsylvania Primary results – April 26th 2016



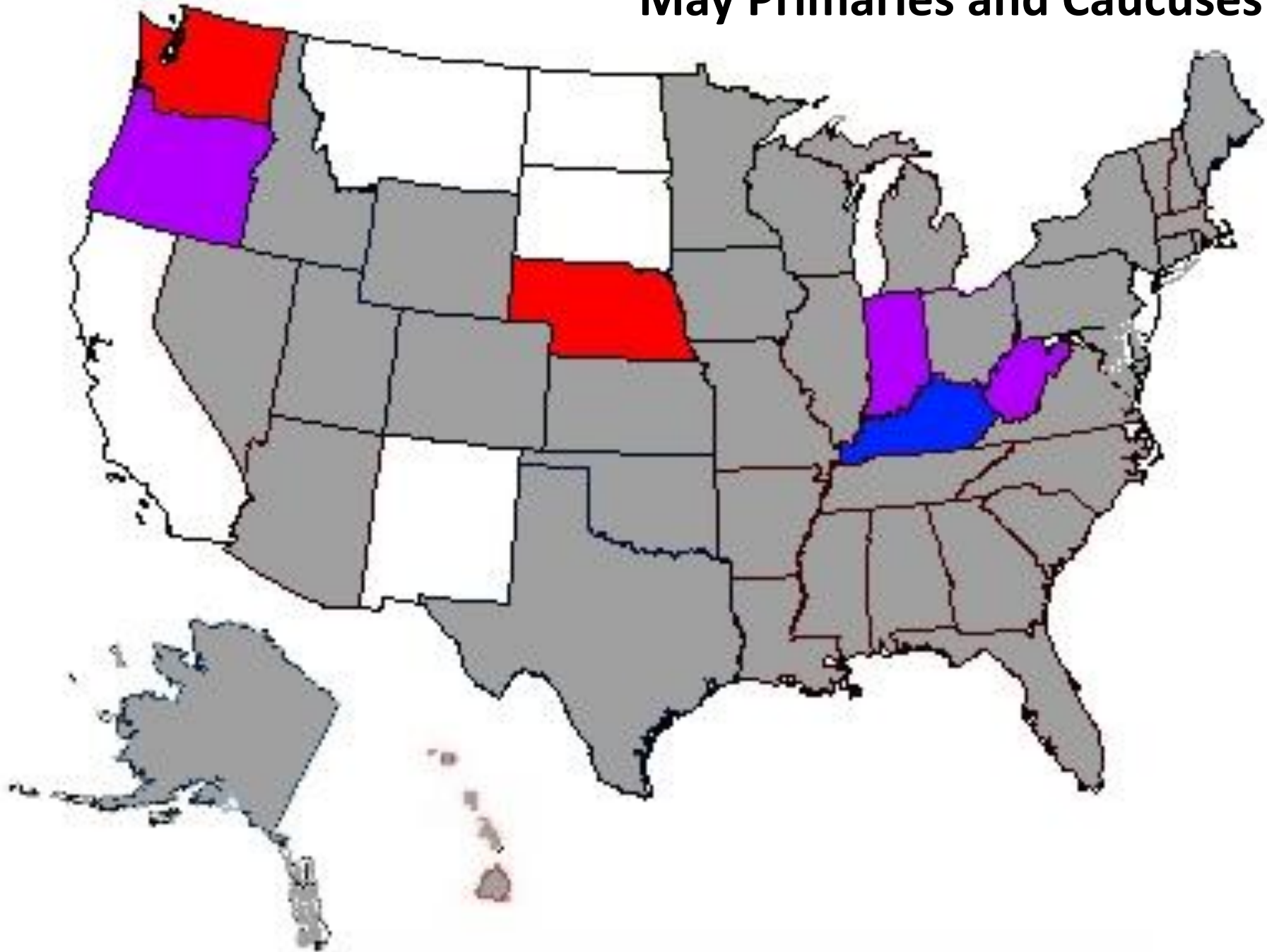
<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	1,652,947	↓ 29 %
2008	2,336,480	
Pennsylvania pop 12.8M		
4,062,187 registered Democrats		
Turnout in closed primary = 41 %		

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/05/18/is-bernie-sanders-doing-any-better-than-he-was-when-voting-began/>

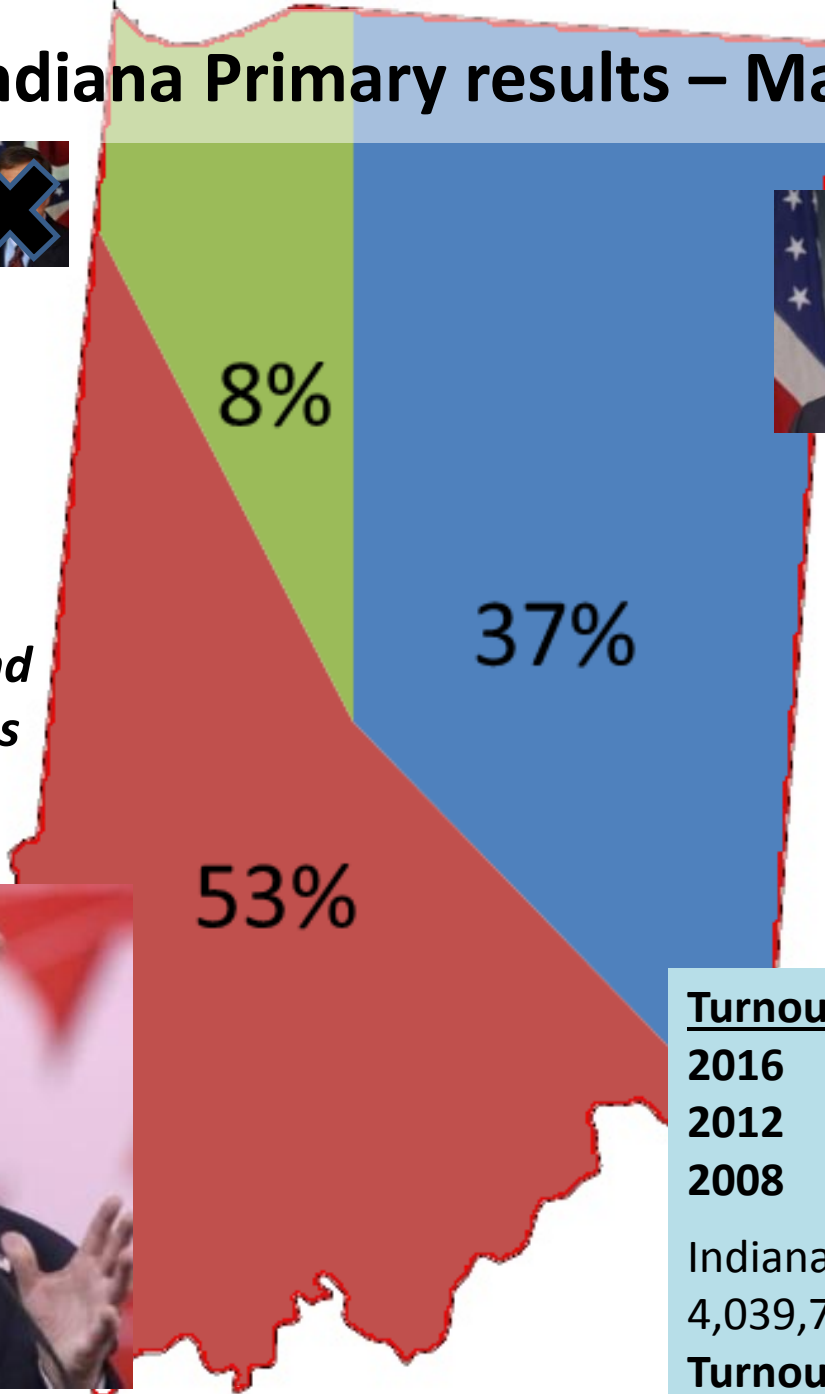
<http://www.vox.com/2016/5/19/11649054/bernie-sanders-working-class-base>



May Primaries and Caucuses



GOP Indiana Primary results – May 3rd 2016

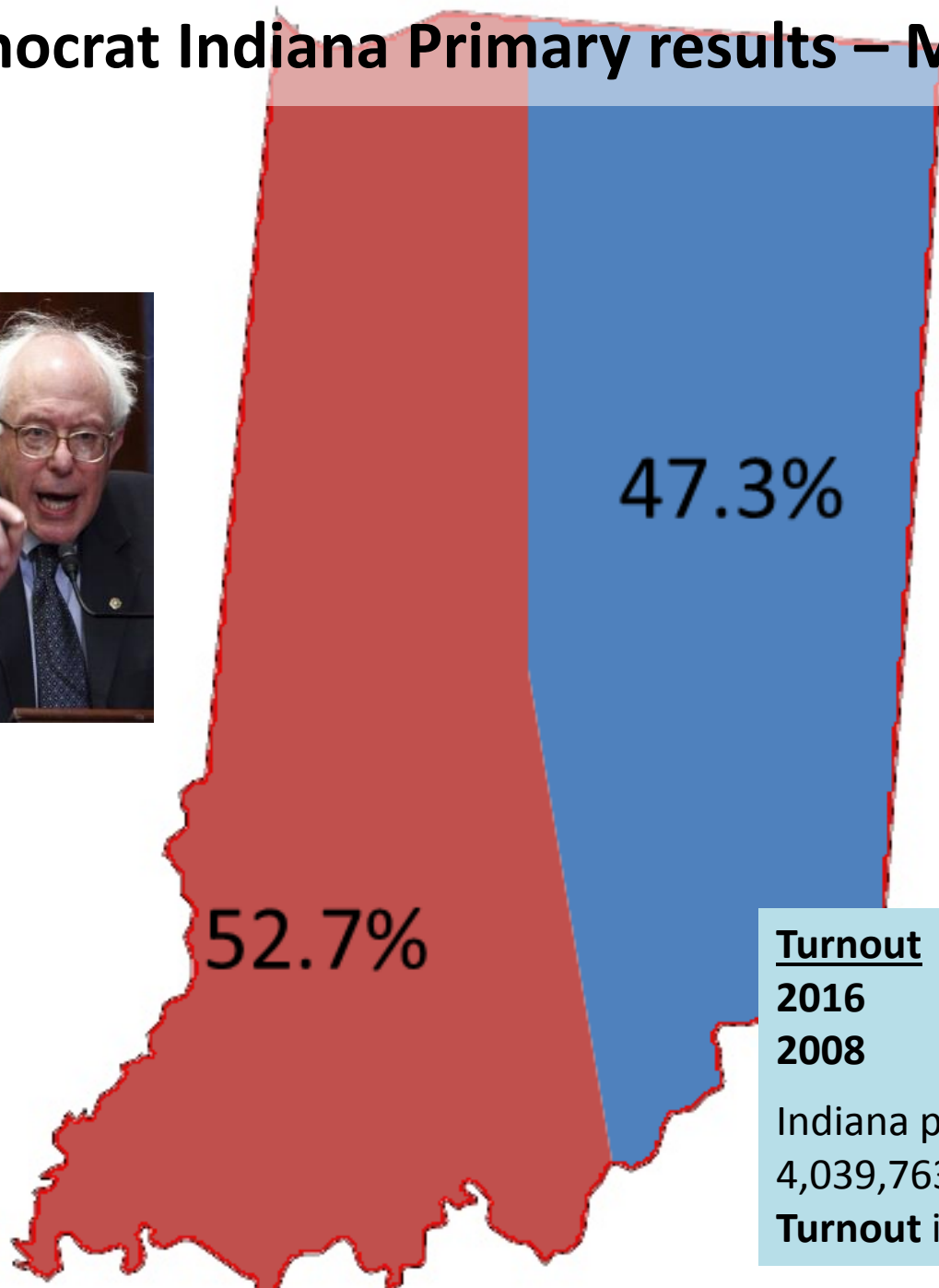


*Winner-takes-all
allocation for state and
congressional districts*



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	1,102,675	↑ 72 %
2012	639,627	
2008	393,092	
Indiana pop 6.6M		
4,039,763 registered electors		
Turnout in open primary = 27 %		

Democrat Indiana Primary results – May 3rd 2016



Turnout		
2016	628,857	↓ 51 %
2008	1,278,314	
Indiana pop 6.6M		
4,039,763 registered electors		
Turnout in open primary = 16 %		

Republican Results to May 4th 2016



cnn delegate estimate



1056

bound: 1011

unbound: 45

TRUMP

1237 delegates
needed to win



572

bound: 546

unbound: 26

CRUZ

1237 delegates
needed to win



167

bound: 166

unbound: 1

RUBIO

1237 delegates
needed to win



156

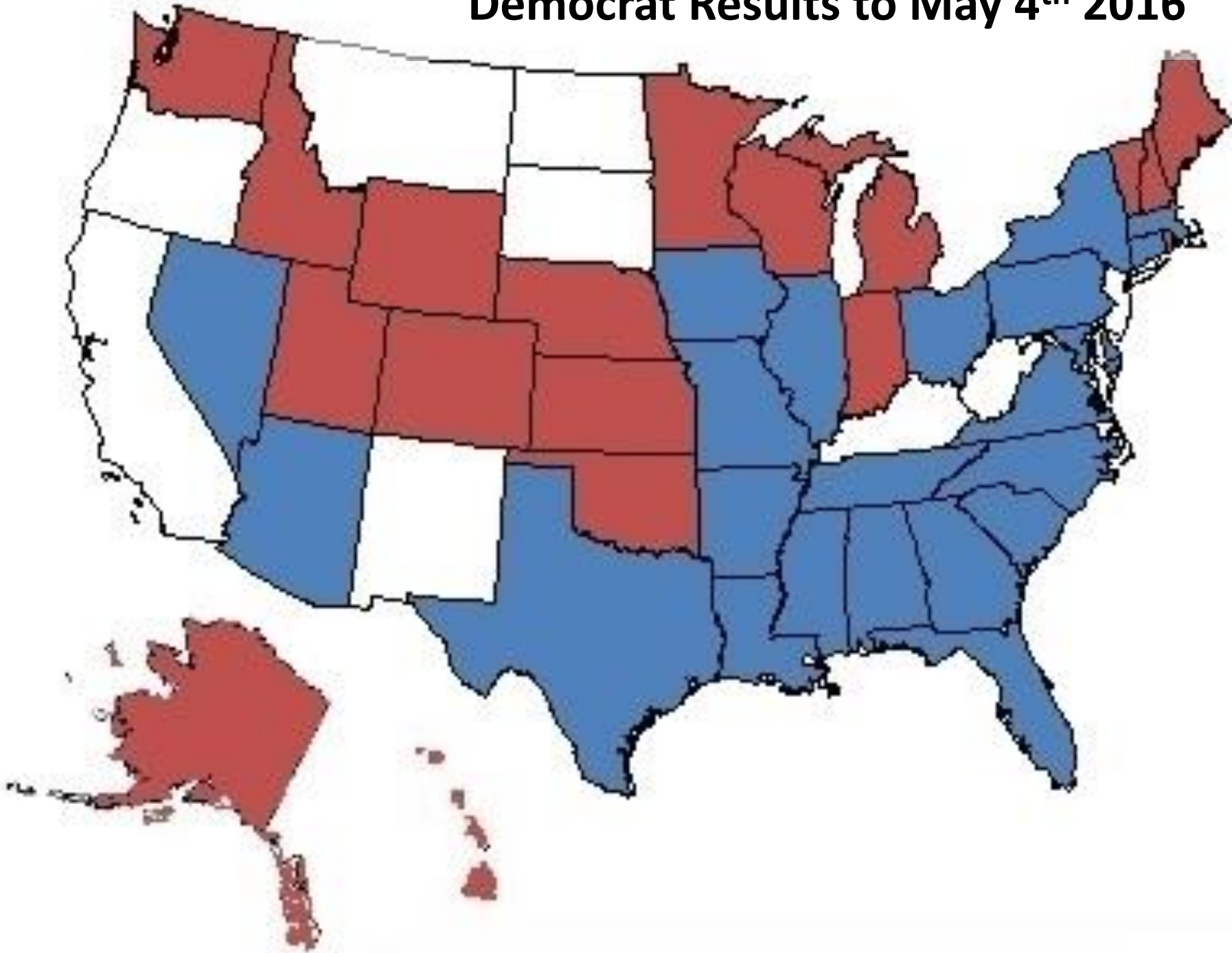
bound: 154

unbound: 2

KASICH

1237 delegates
needed to win

Democrat Results to May 4th 2016



cnn delegate estimate



2218

pledged: 1705

super: 513

CLINTON

2383 delegates
needed to win



1444

pledged: 1403

super: 41

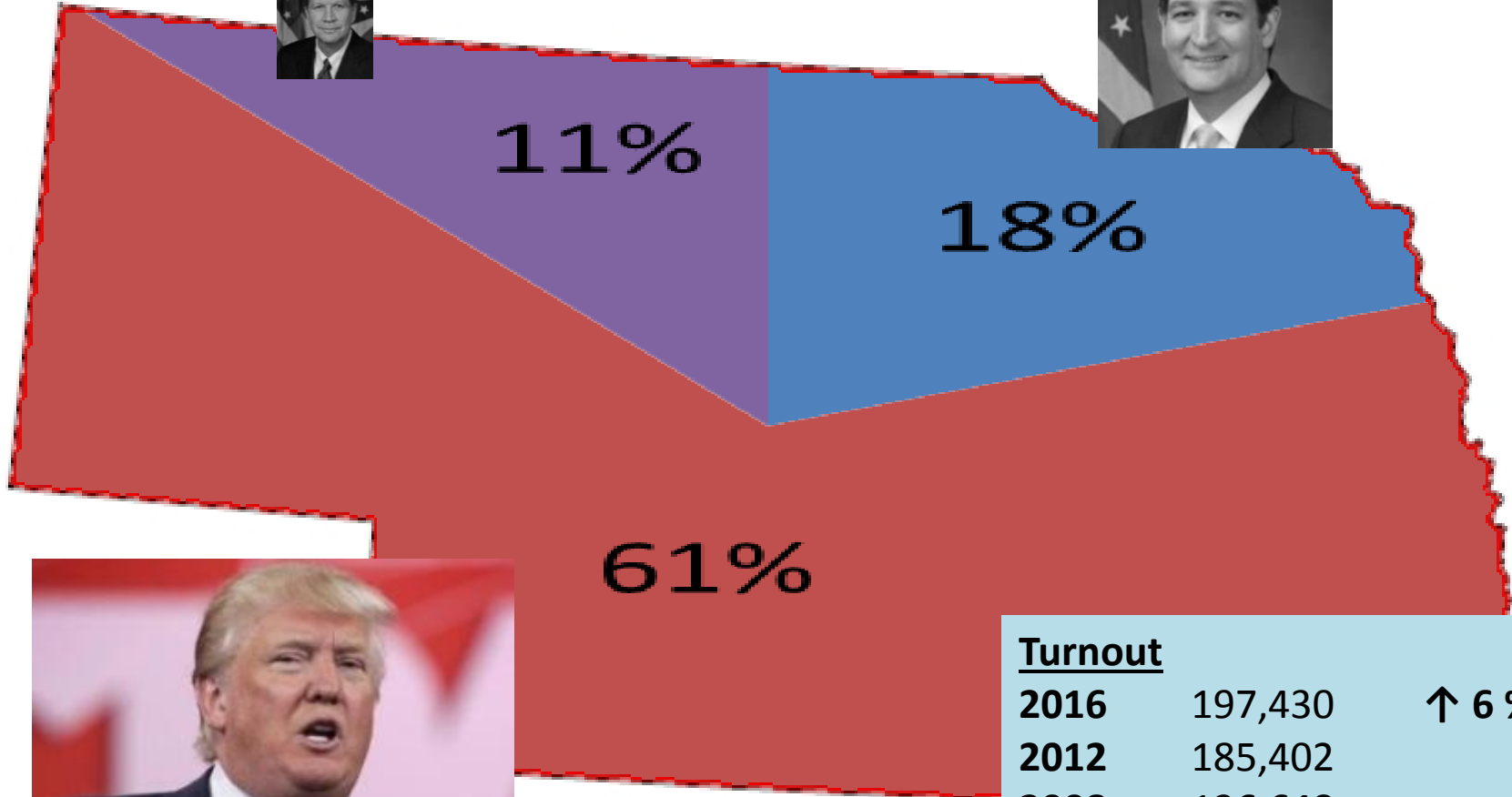
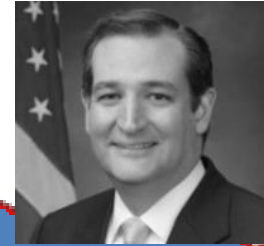
SANDERS

2383 delegates
needed to win



GOP Nebraska Primary results – May 10th 2016

*Winner-takes-all
allocation*



Turnout

2016	197,430	↑ 6 %
2012	185,402	
2008	136,648	

Nebraska pop 1.9M

556,610 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = **35 %**

GOP West Virginia Primary results – May 10th 2016



Direct delegate allocation

7%

9%

77%

Turnout

2016	202,880	↑ 82 %
2012	111,275	
2008	108,726	

West Virginia pop 1.9M

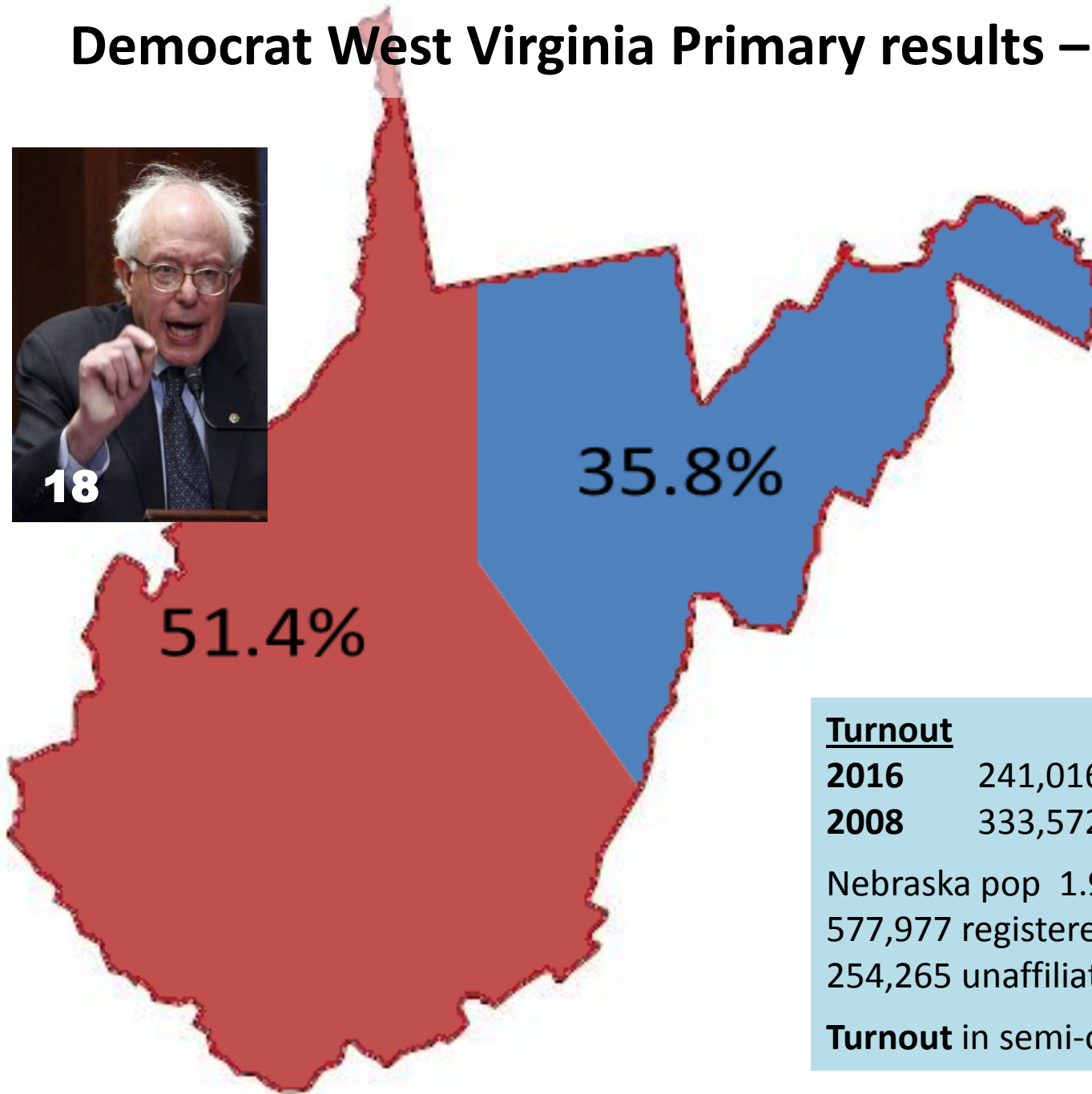
374,931 registered Republicans

254,265 unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open primary = **32 %**



Democrat West Virginia Primary results – May 10th 2016



Turnout

2016	241,016	↓ 28 %
2008	333,572	

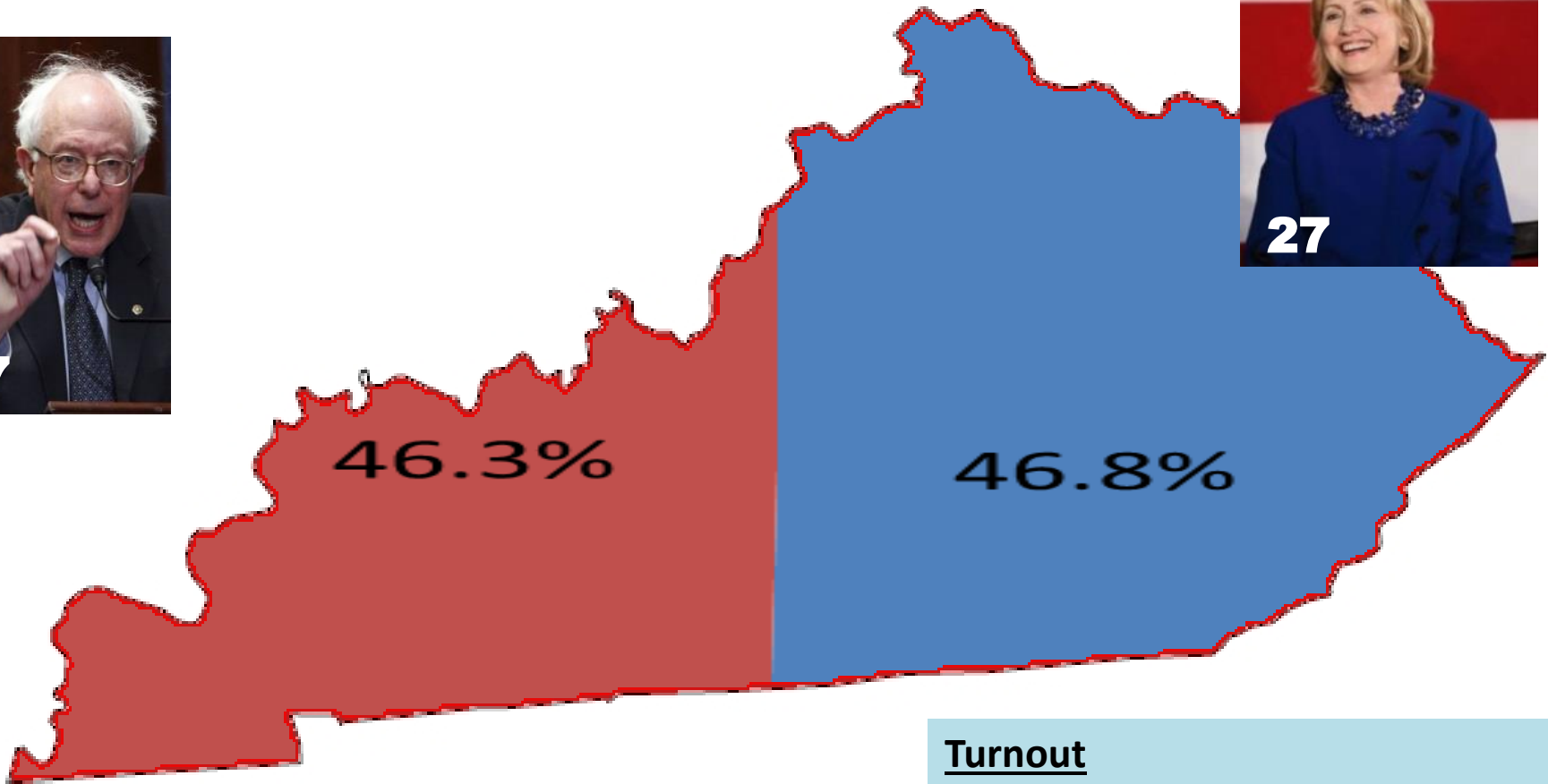
Nebraska pop 1.9M

577,977 registered Democrats

254,265 unaffiliated voters

Turnout in semi-open primary = **29 %**

Democrat Kentucky Primary results – May 17th 2016



Turnout

2016	454,609	↓ 34 %
2008	687,556	

Kentucky pop 4.42M

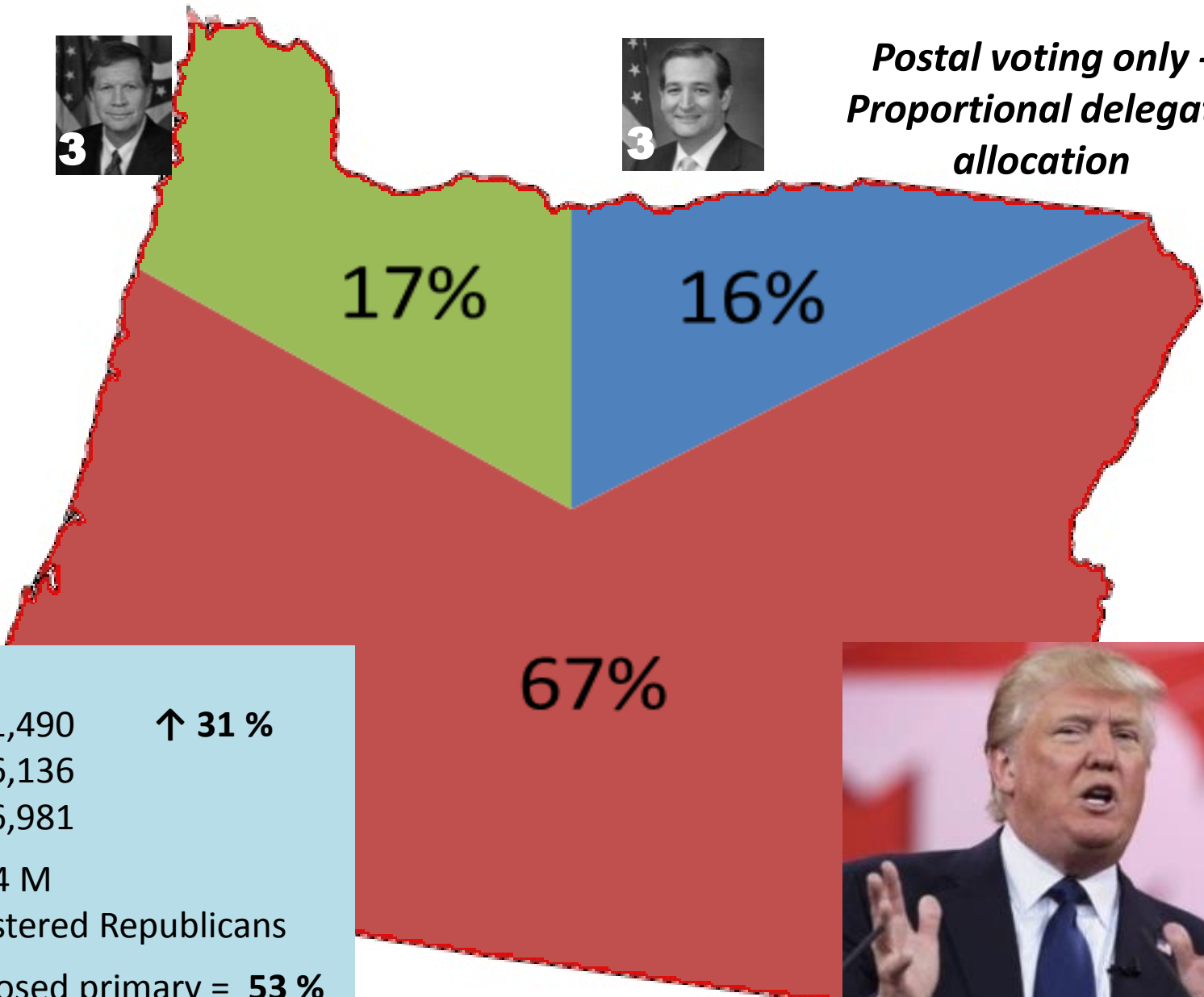
1,682,510 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed primary = **27 %**

GOP Oregon Primary results – May 17th 2016



*Postal voting only -
Proportional delegate
allocation*



Turnout

2016	361,490	↑ 31 %
2012	276,136	
2008	336,981	

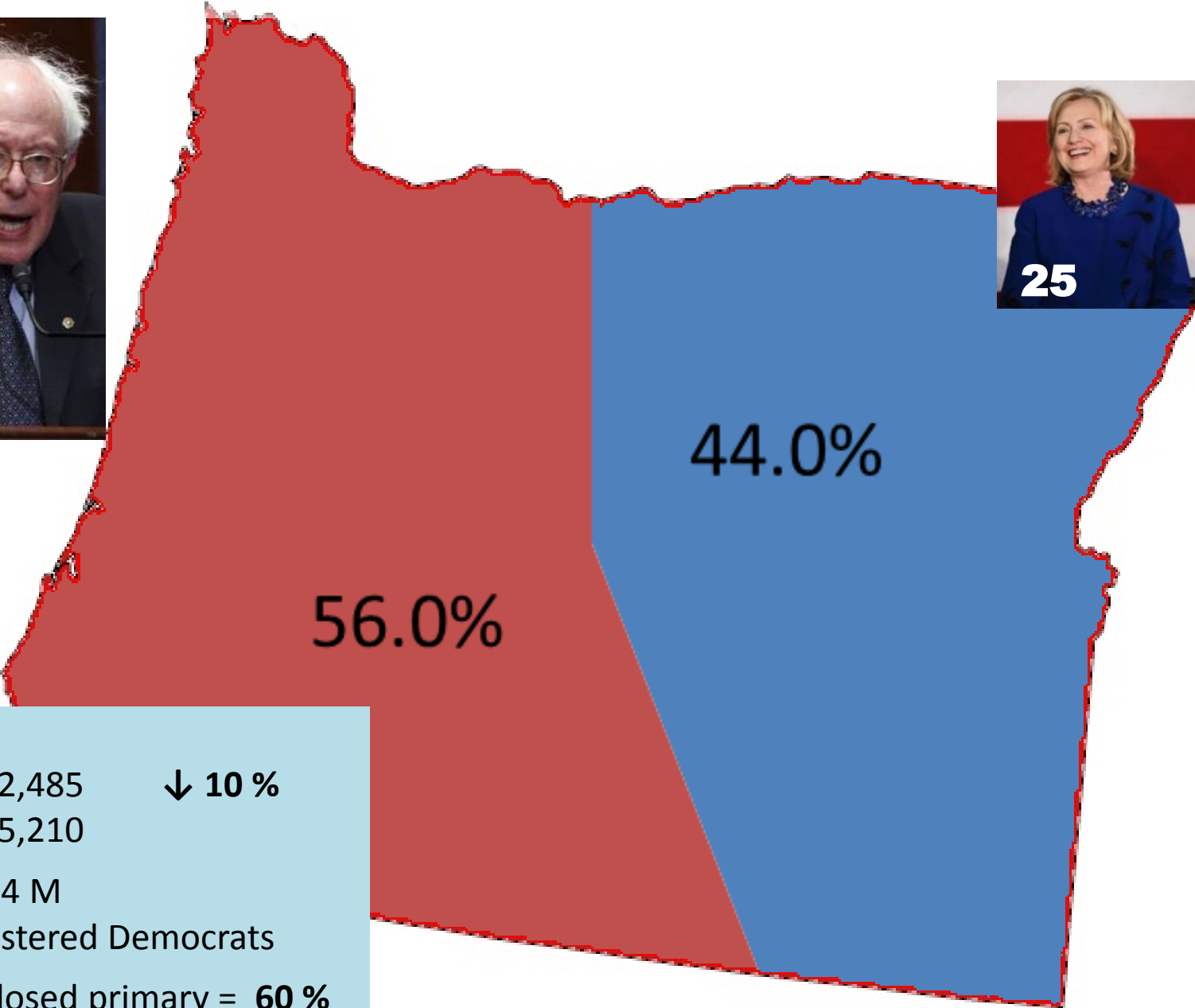
Oregon pop 4 M

688,133 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = **53 %**



Democrat Oregon Primary results – May 17th 2016



<u>Turnout</u>		
2016	572,485	↓ 10 %
2008	635,210	

Oregon pop 4 M
956,300 registered Democrats

Turnout in closed primary = **60 %**

cnn delegate estimate



1176 bound: 1072
unbound: 104

TRUMP

1237 delegates
needed to win



567 bound: 550
unbound: 17

CRUZ

1237 delegates
needed to win



167 bound: 166
unbound: 1

RUBIO

1237 delegates
needed to win



160 bound: 158
unbound: 2

KASICH

1237 delegates
needed to win

cnn delegate estimate



2297 pledged: 1775
super: 522

CLINTON

2383 delegates
needed to win

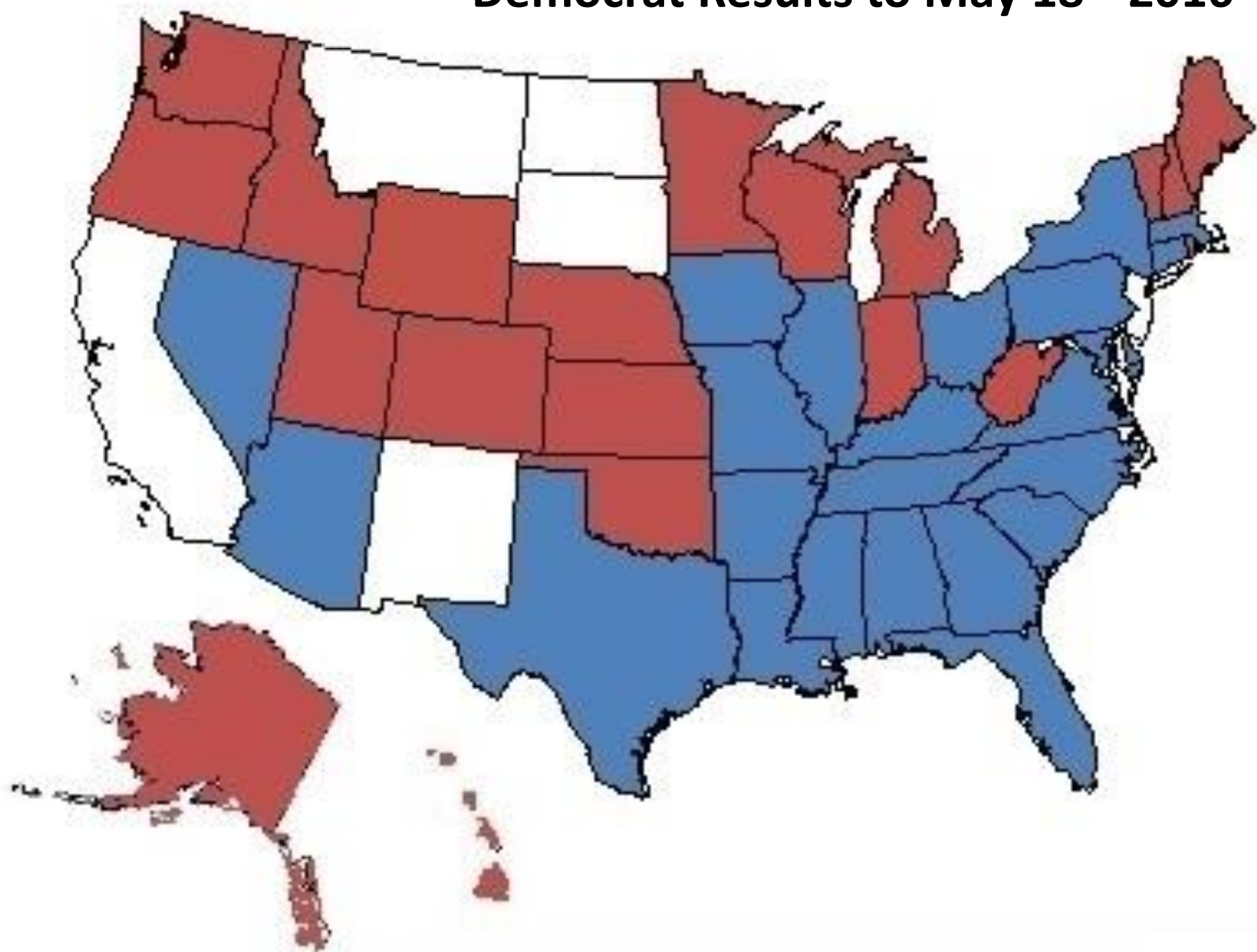


1527 pledged: 1485
super: 42

SANDERS

2383 delegates
needed to win

Democrat Results to May 18th 2016



Total Votes per candidate to May 17th

Total GOP turnout = 27 M

Total Democrat turnout = 23 M

Contests
won /47

+ 521
super-
delegates

56% of
votes

54% of
pledged
delegates

26

Clinton

31

41% of
votes

55% of
pledged
delegates

Trump

+ 41
super-
delegates

42% of
votes

46% of
pledged
delegates

21

Sanders

11

27% of
votes

28% of
pledged
delegates

Cruz

3

13% of
votes

9% of
pledged
delegates

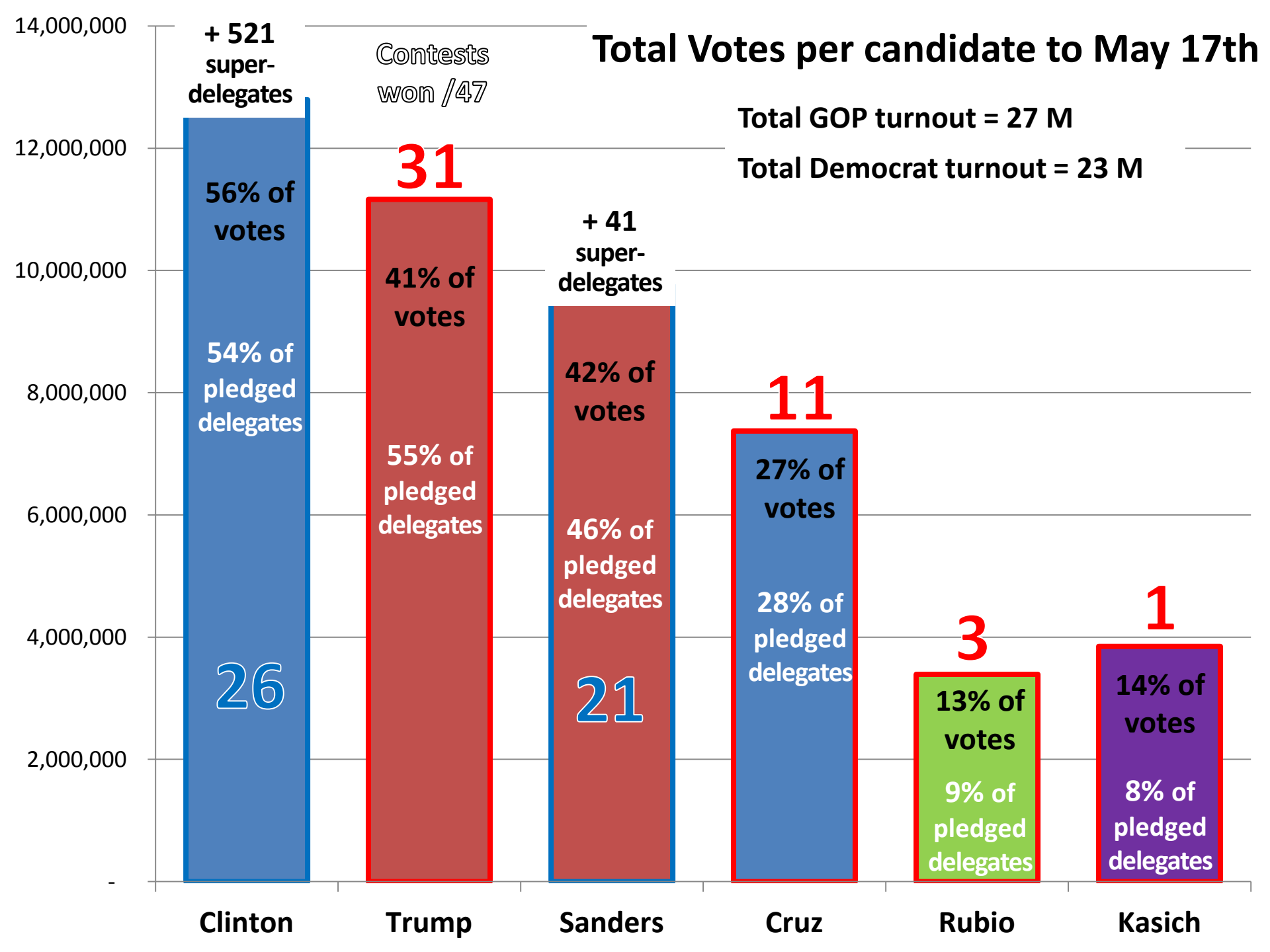
Rubio

1

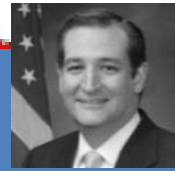
14% of
votes

8% of
pledged
delegates

Kasich



GOP Washington Primary results – May 24th 2016



*Winner-takes-Most
allocation*

10%

11%

75%

Turnout

2012	572,327	↑ 1027%
2012	50,764 (caucus)	
2008	10,645 (caucus)	

Washington pop 7.17M

4,088,397 registered voters (not affiliated by party)

Turnout in closed primaries= **14 %**



cnn delegate estimate



presumptive nominee

1238 bound: 1112
unbound: 126



TRUMP

1237 delegates
needed to win



563 bound: 512
unbound: 51

CRUZ

1237 delegates
needed to win

26th May

Following the North Dakota GOP State Convention, decisions by unpledged delegates bring Trump to 50%+1 and presumptive nominee status



167 bound: 166
unbound: 1

RUBIO

1237 delegates
needed to win

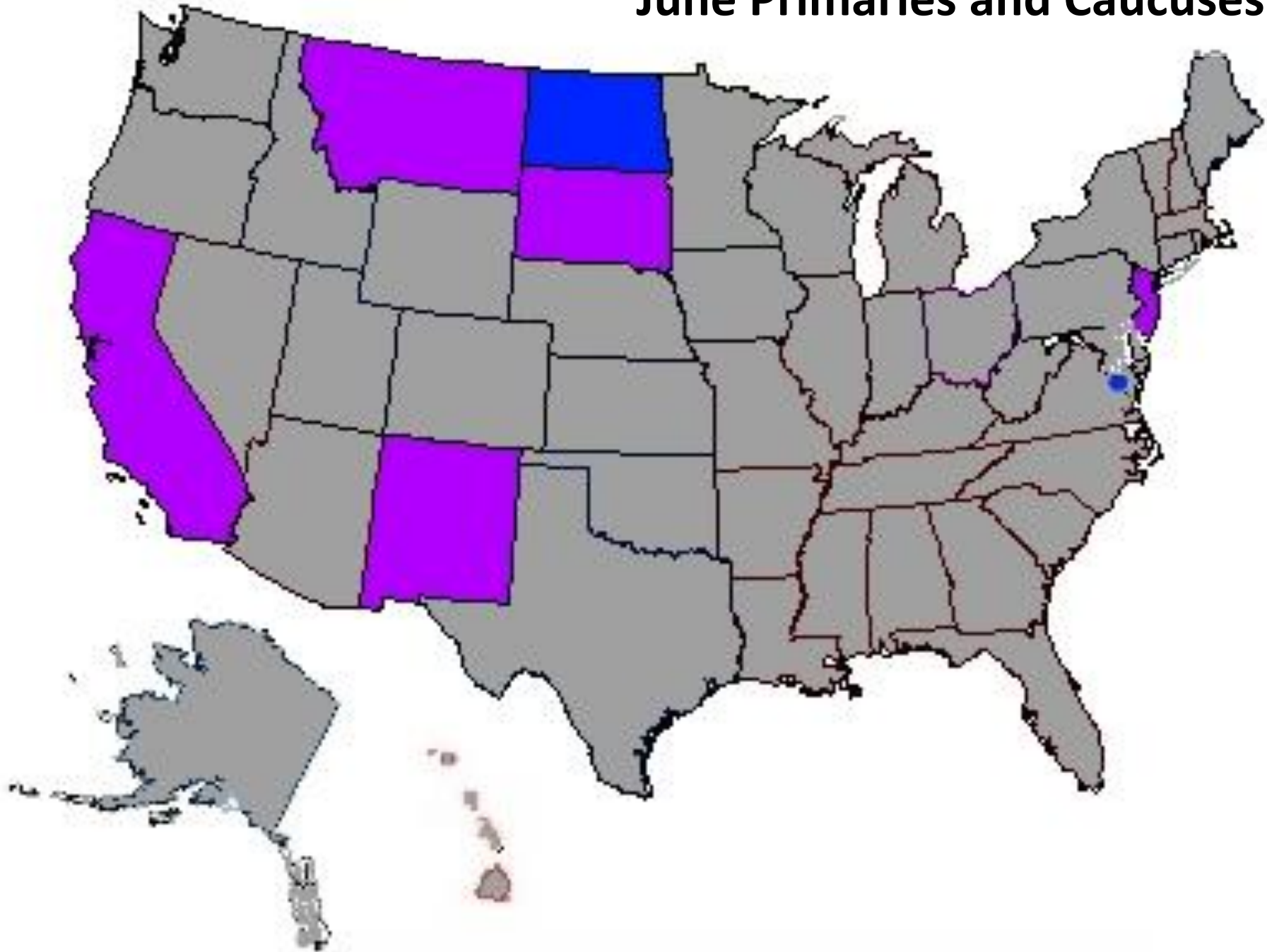


161 bound: 138
unbound: 23

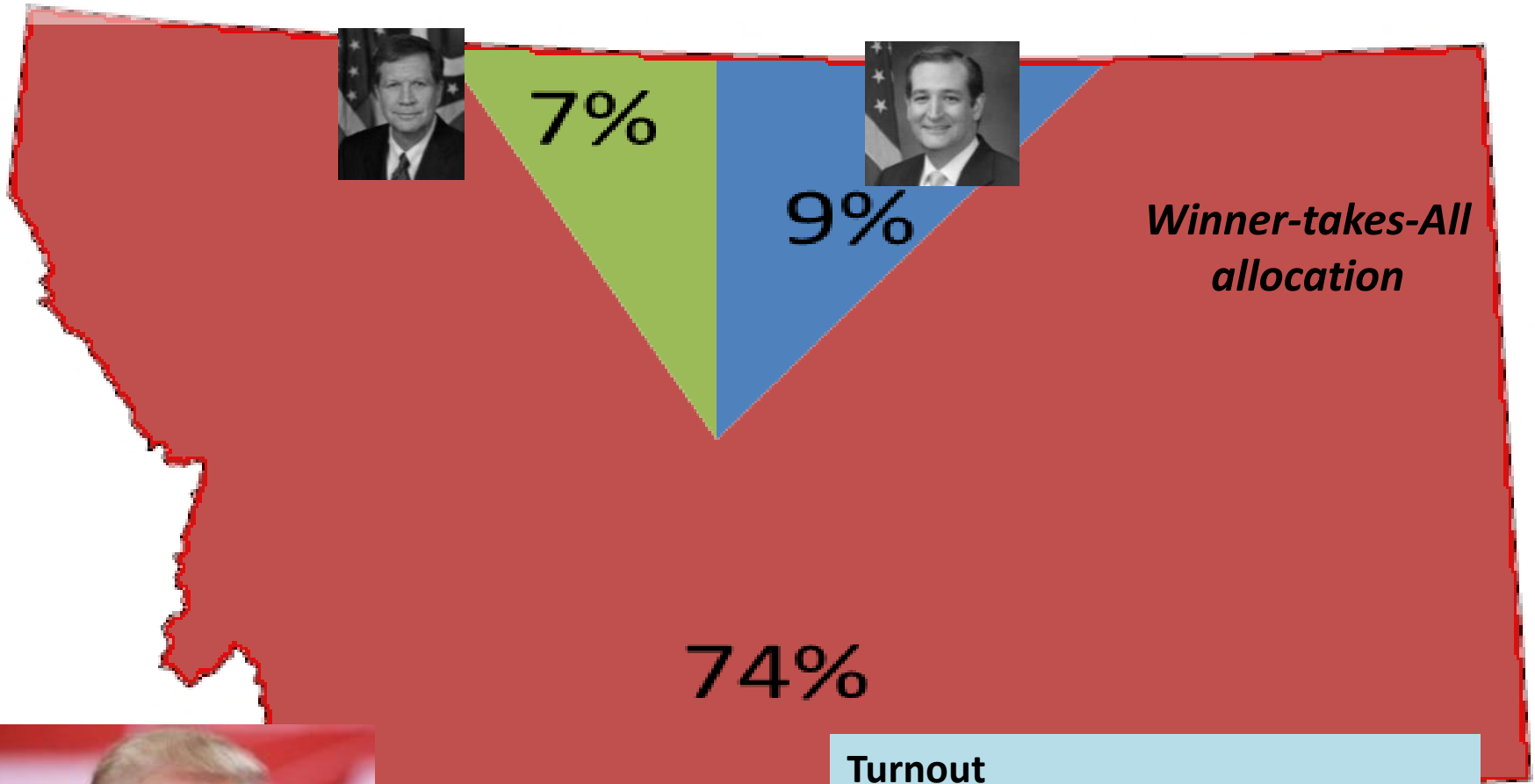
KASICH

1237 delegates
needed to win

June Primaries and Caucuses



GOP Montana Primary results – June 7th 2016



*Winner-takes-All
allocation*

74%

7%

9%



Turnout

2012	154,810	↑ 11 %
2012	139,904	
2008	1,628	

Montana pop 1M

646,163 registered voters

Turnout in open primary = **24 %**

Democrat Montana Primary results – June 7th 2016



51.1%



44.6%

Turnout

2012	123,726	↓ 32 %
2008	182,421	

Montana pop 1M

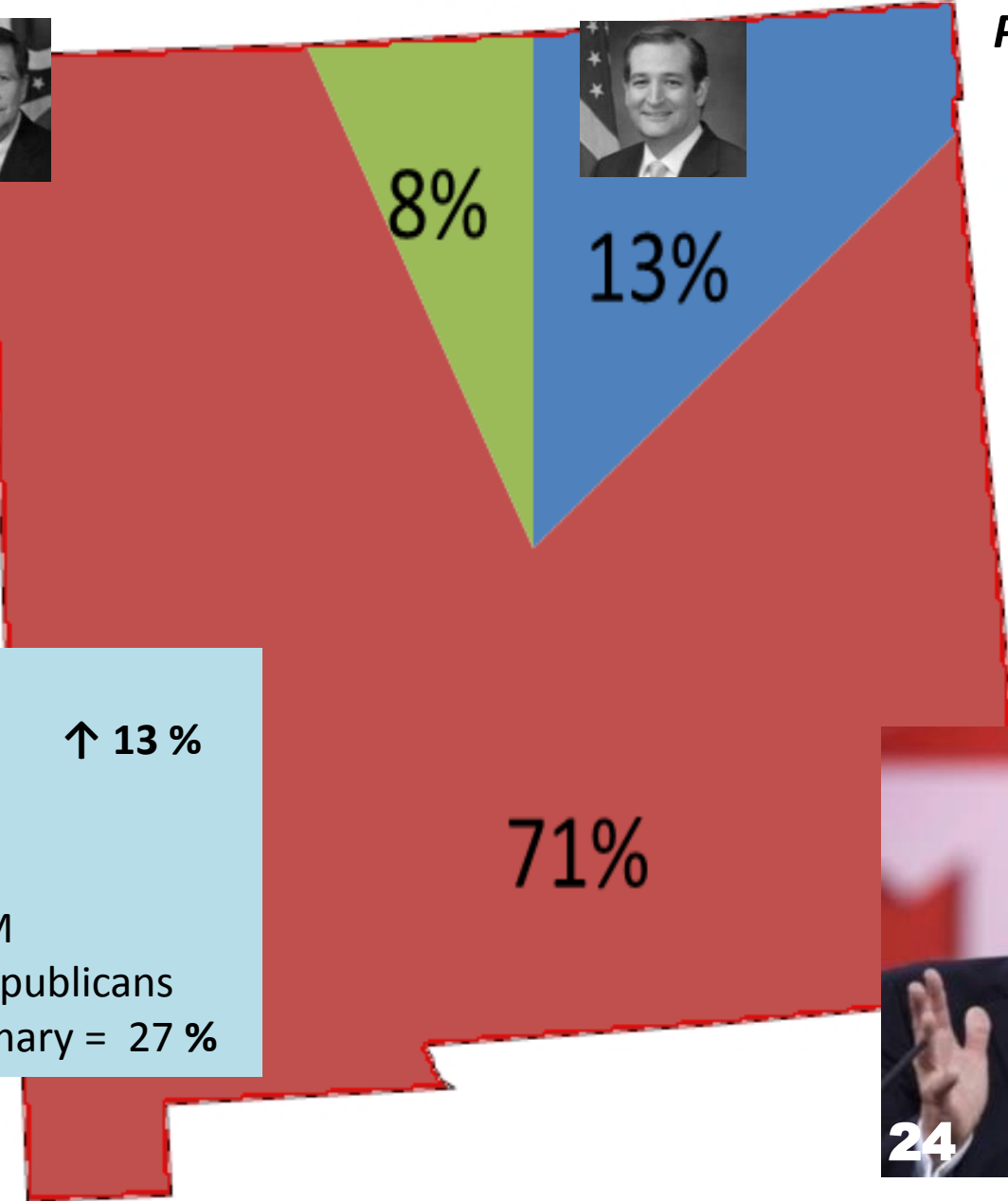
646,163 registered voters

Turnout in open primary = **19 %**

GOP New Mexico Primary results – June 7th 2016



Proportional allocation

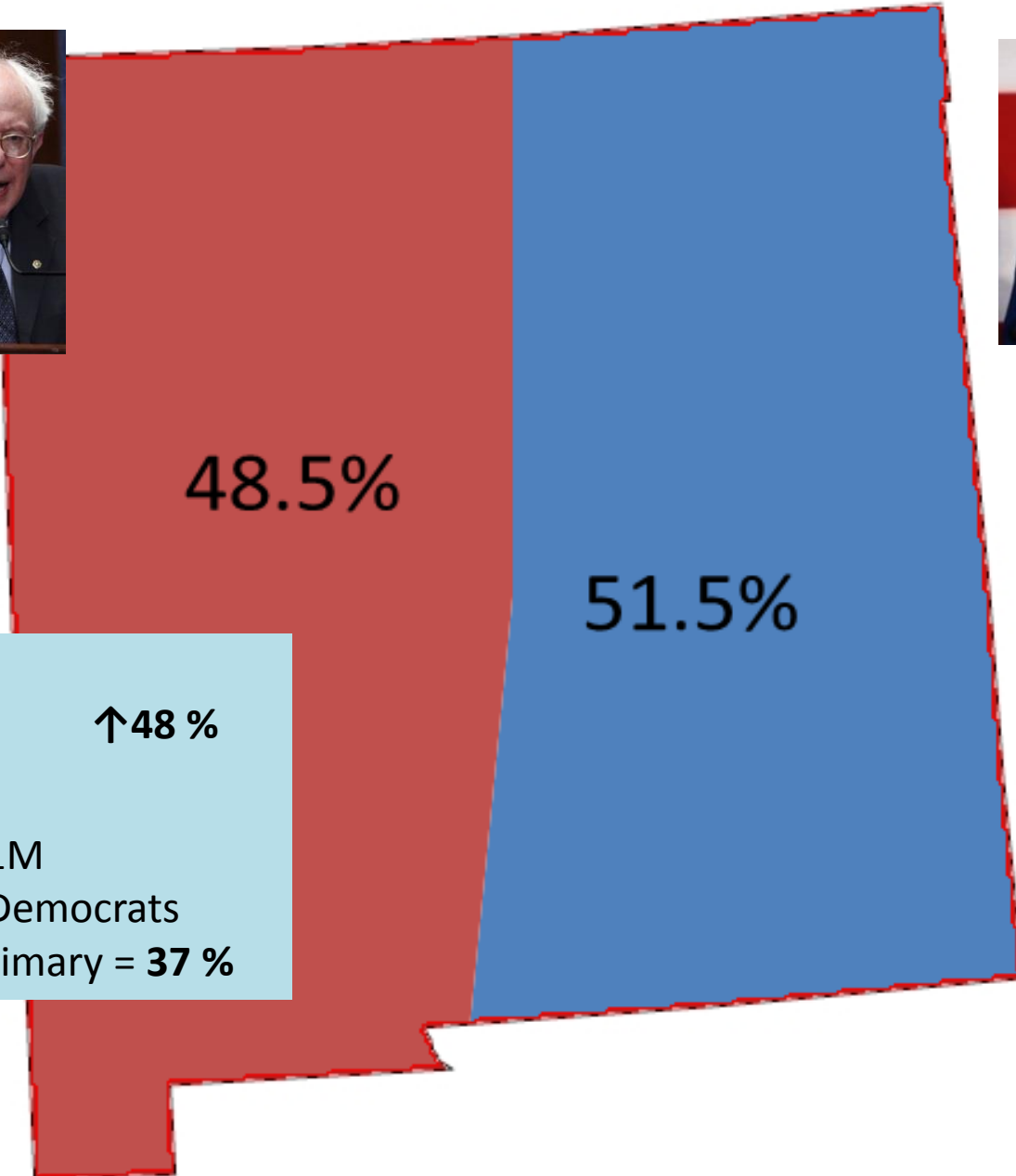


<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	104,029	↑ 13 %
2012	91,819	
2008	110,939	

New Mexico pop 2.1M
384,565 registered Republicans
Turnout in closed primary = 27 %



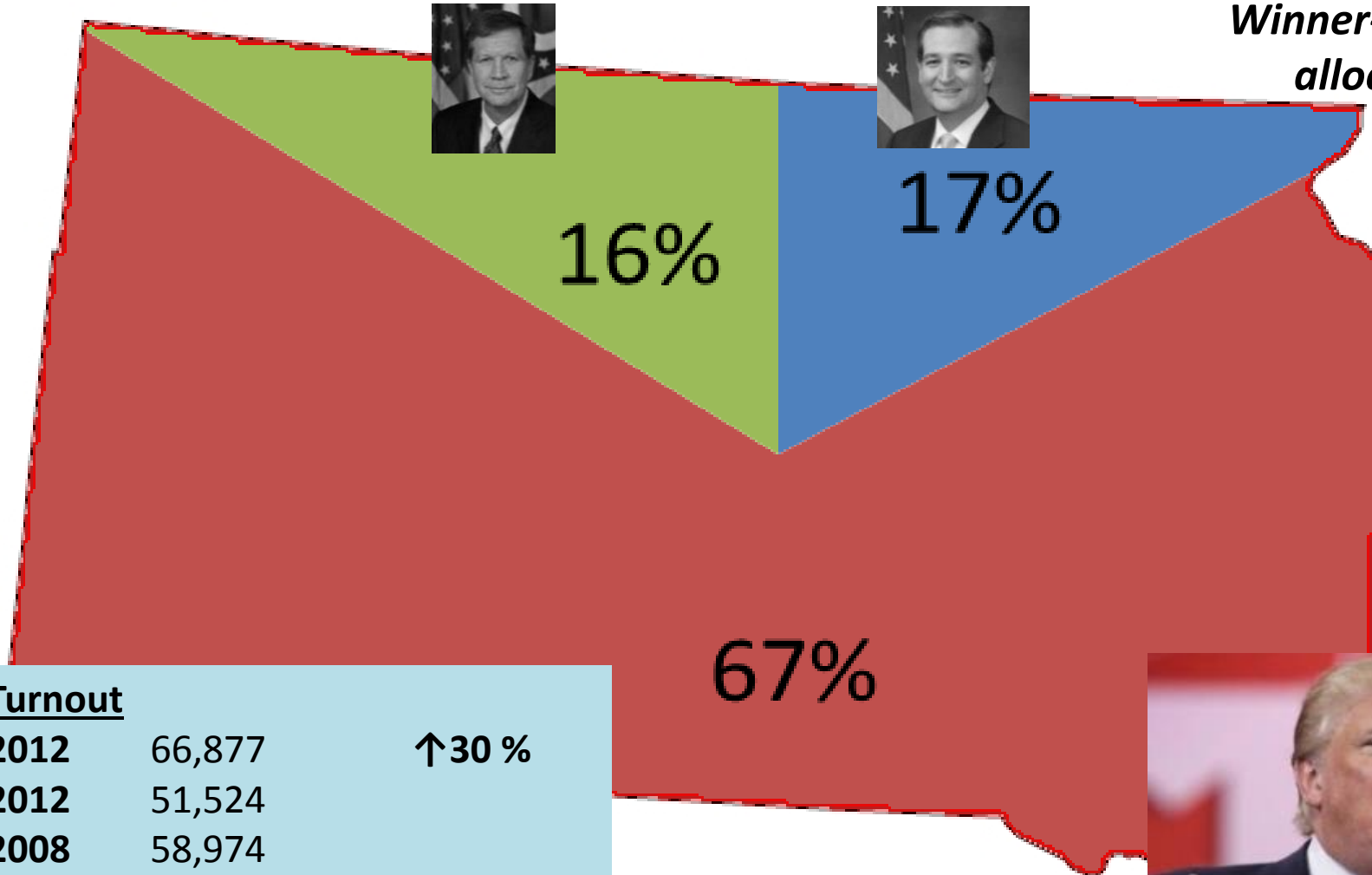
Democrat New Mexico Primary results – June 7th 2016



Turnout
2012 214,307 ↑48 %
2008 144,942
New Mexico pop 2.1M
578,967 registered Democrats
Turnout in closed primary = **37 %**

GOP South Dakota Primary results – June 7th 2016

*Winner-takes-All
allocation*



Turnout

2012	66,877	↑30 %
2012	51,524	
2008	58,974	

South Dakota pop 0.86M

241,622 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = 28 %



29

Democrat South Dakota Primary results – June 7th 2016



49.0%

51.0%

Turnout

2012	53,004	↓ 46 %
2008	97,797	

South Dakota pop 0.86M

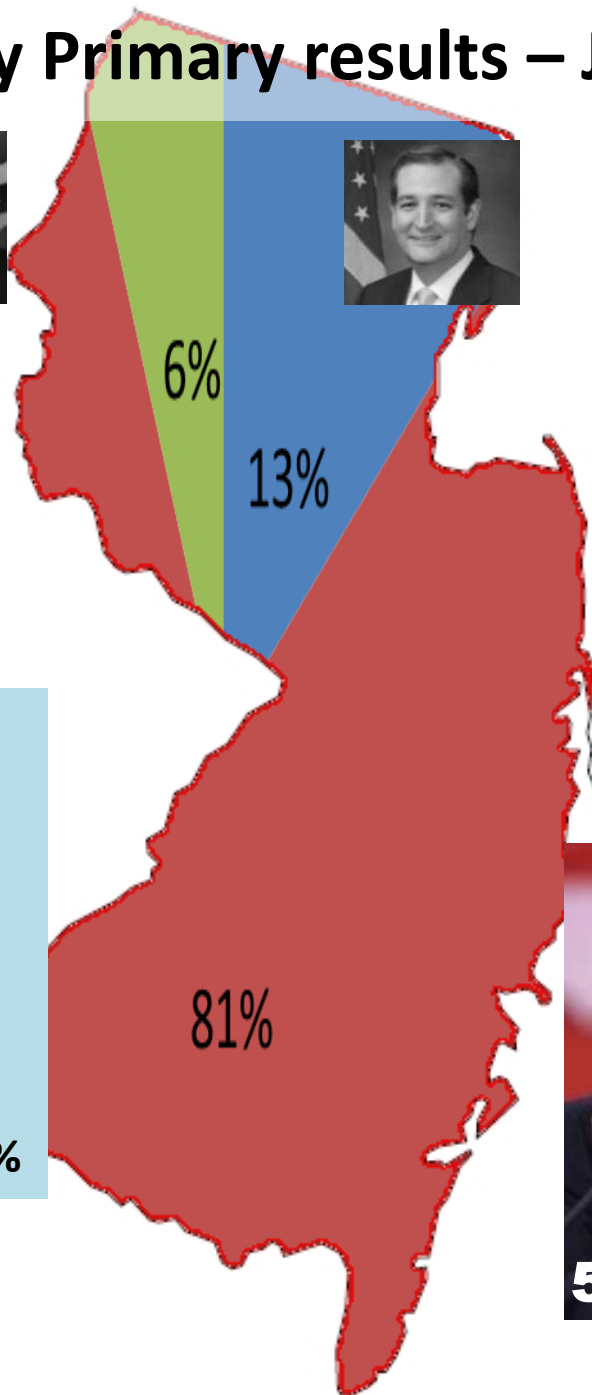
167,336 registered Democrat

Turnout in closed primary = 32 %

GOP New Jersey Primary results – June 7th 2016



*Winner-takes-All
allocation*



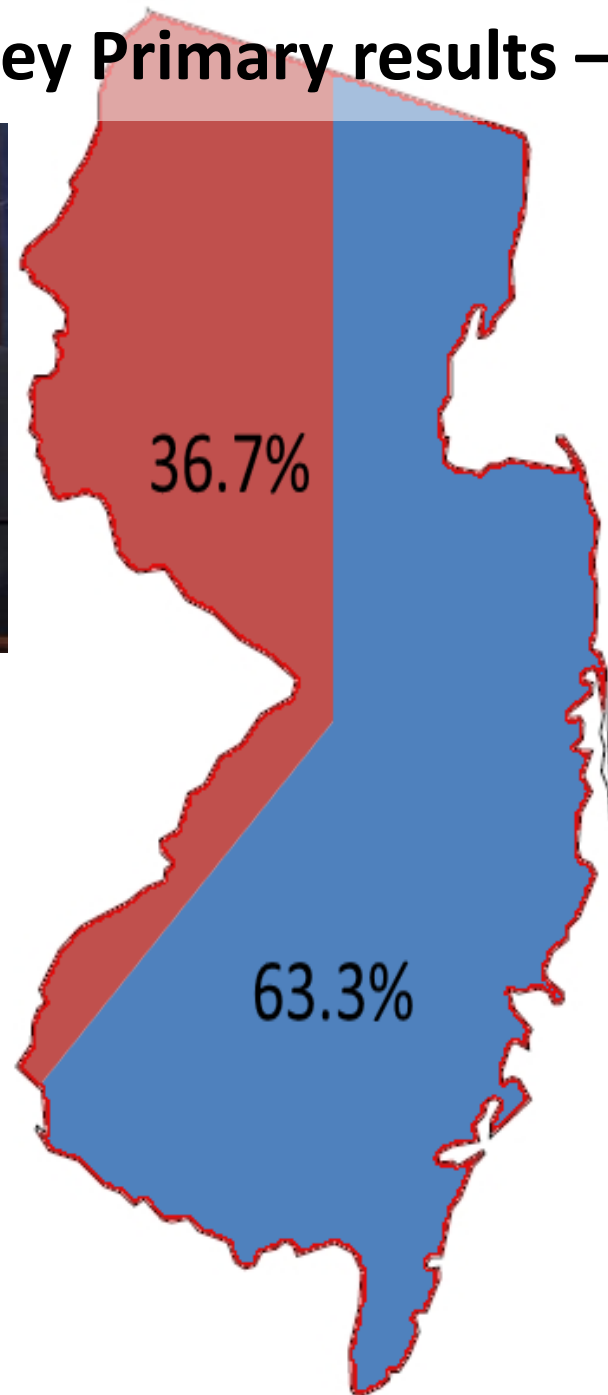
Turnout

2012	438,295	↑93 %
2012	227,330	
2008	547,432	

New Jersey pop 9M
1,077,360 registered Republicans
2,652,061 unaffiliated voters
Turnout in modified primary = 12%



Democrat New Jersey Primary results – June 7th 2016



Turnout

2012	859,823	↓ 23 %
2008	1,114,872	

New Jersey pop 9M

1,771,461 registered Democrats

2,652,061 unaffiliated voters

Turnout in modified primary = 19%

Democrat North Dakota Caucus results – June 14th 2016



64.2%

25.6%

Turnout

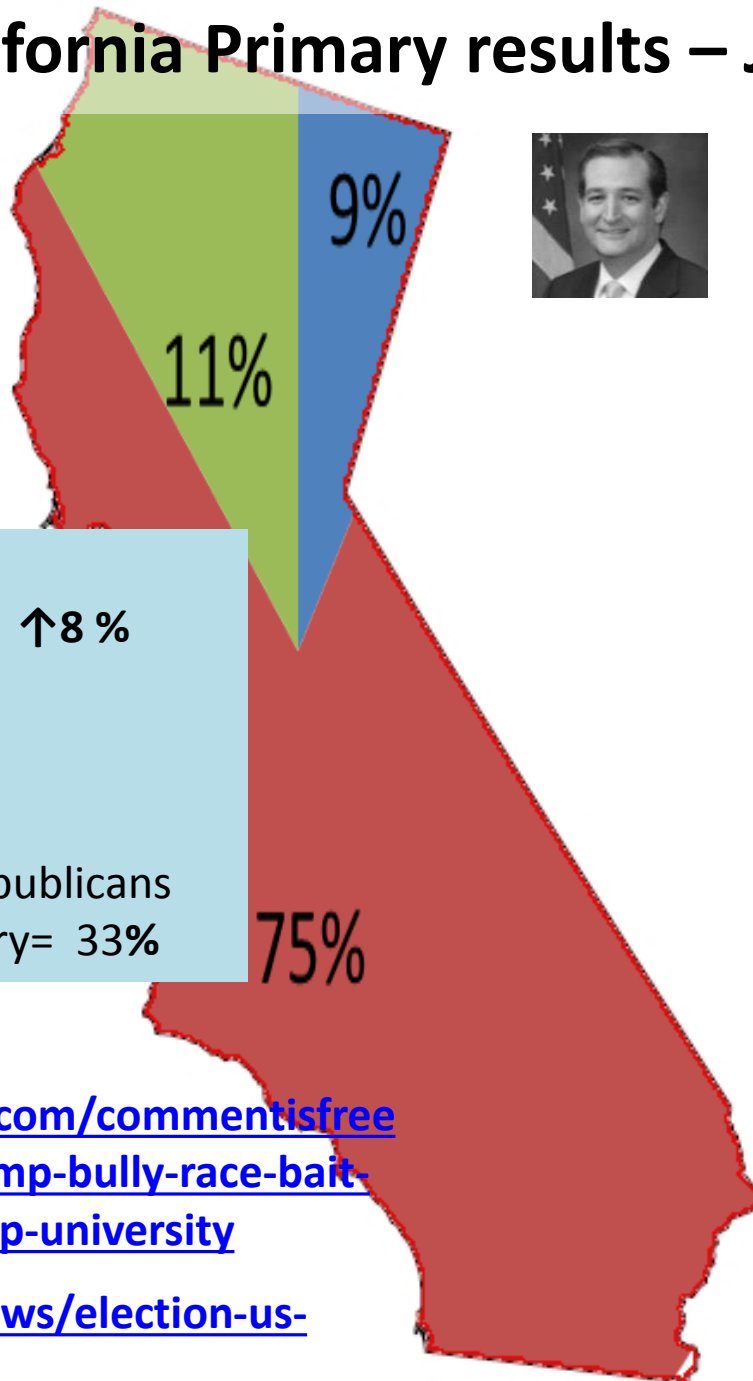
2016 (no data)

2008 18,573

North Dakota pop 0.76 M

Turnout in open caucus = ?%

GOP California Primary results – June 7th 2016



Winner-Takes-All at District and State levels

Turnout

2012	1,560,820	↑8 %
2012	1,446,129	
2008	2,718,493	

California pop 39.1M

4,752,293 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary= 33%

75%

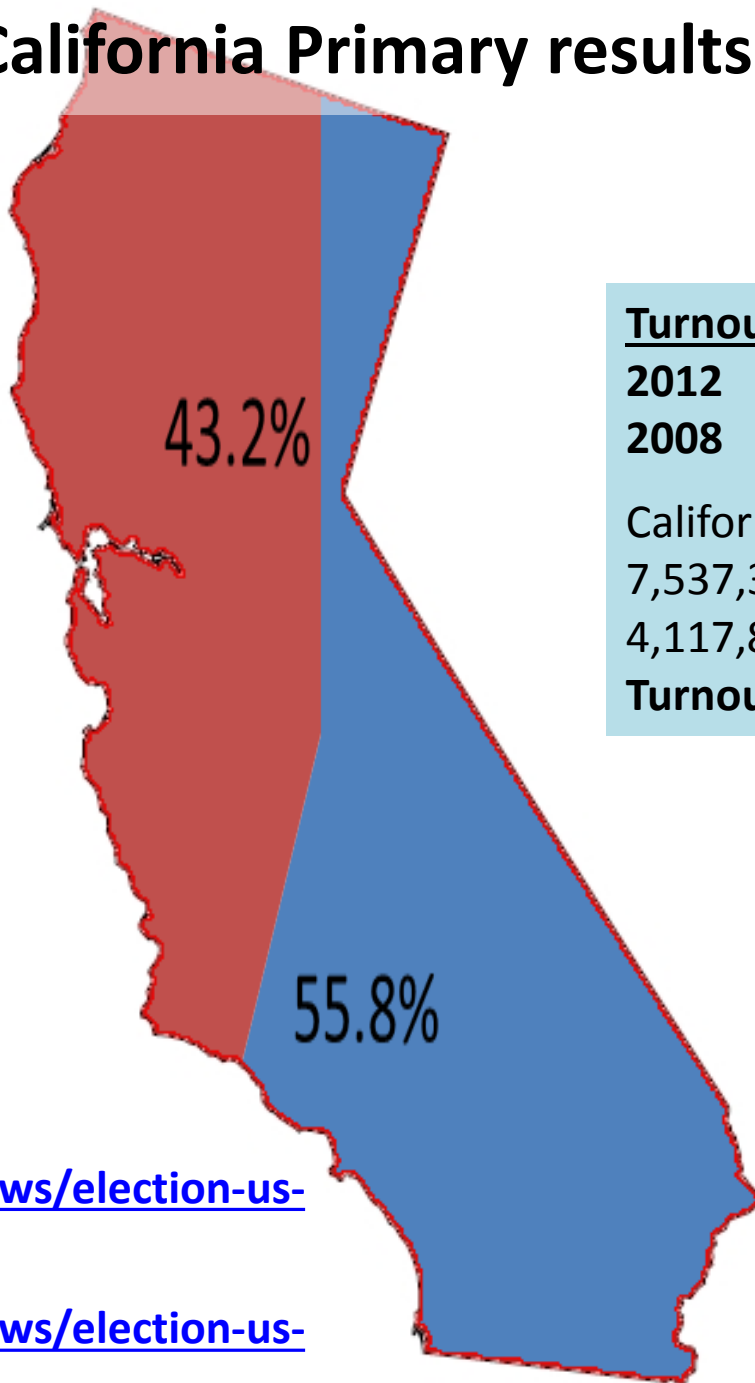


166

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/02/donald-trump-bully-race-bait-judge-gonzalo-curiel-trump-university>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-us-2016-36472980>

Democrat California Primary results – June 7th 2016



<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	3,475,720	↓ 28 %
2008	4,794,846	

California pop 39.1M
7,537,312 registered Democrats
4,117,885 unaffiliated voters
Turnout in modified primary= 30%

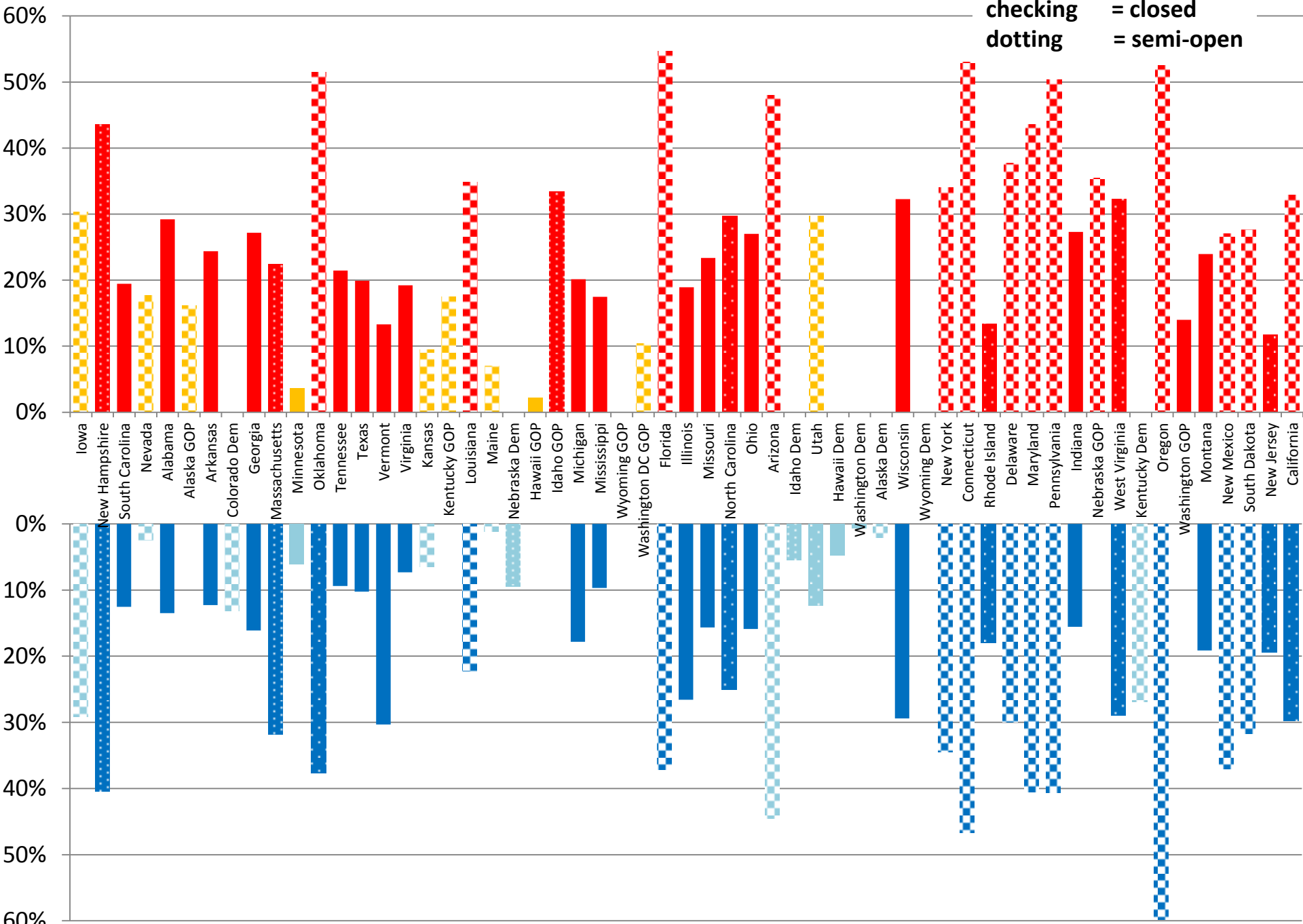


<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-us-2016-36475840>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-us-2016-36485012>

Turnout in GOP primaries and caucuses 2016 - % of eligible voters

solid colour = open
 checking = closed
 dotting = semi-open



Average GOP turnout	27%
Average GOP Open turnout	21%
Average GOP Closed turnout	32%
Average GOP Semi-Open turnout	27%
Average GOP primary (/37) turnout	30%
Average GOP caucus (/10) turnout	14%

**Overall 2-party average
estimated turnout = 48%
= 57.5M voters**

**26% of US citizens participating
39% of registered US voters
participating**

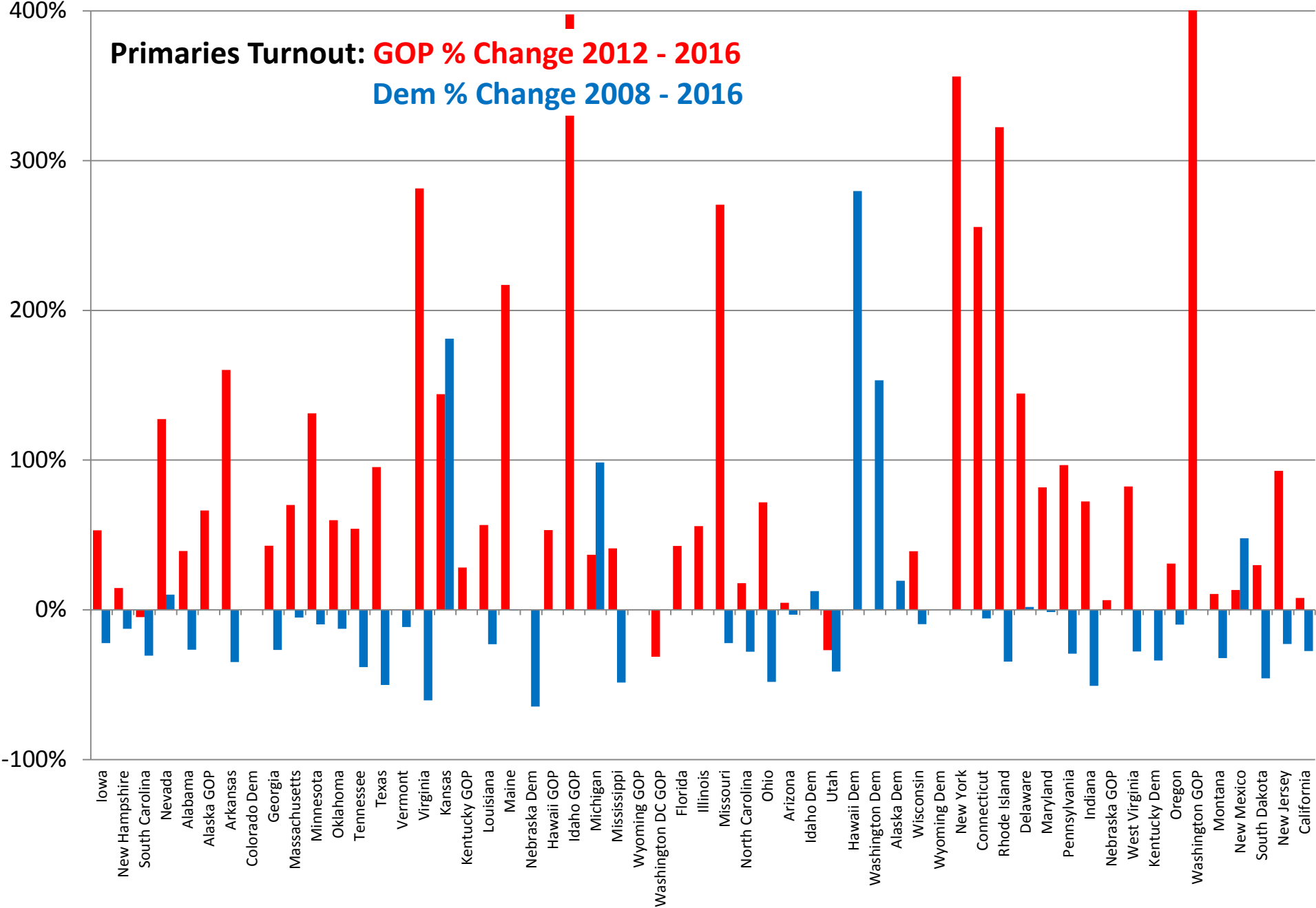
GOP turnout up 62% over 2012

Average Democrat turnout	21%
Average Dem Open turnout	15%
Average Dem Closed turnout	28%
Average Dem Semi-Open turnout	20%
Average Dem primary (/34) turnout	26%
Average Dem caucus (/15) turnout	9%

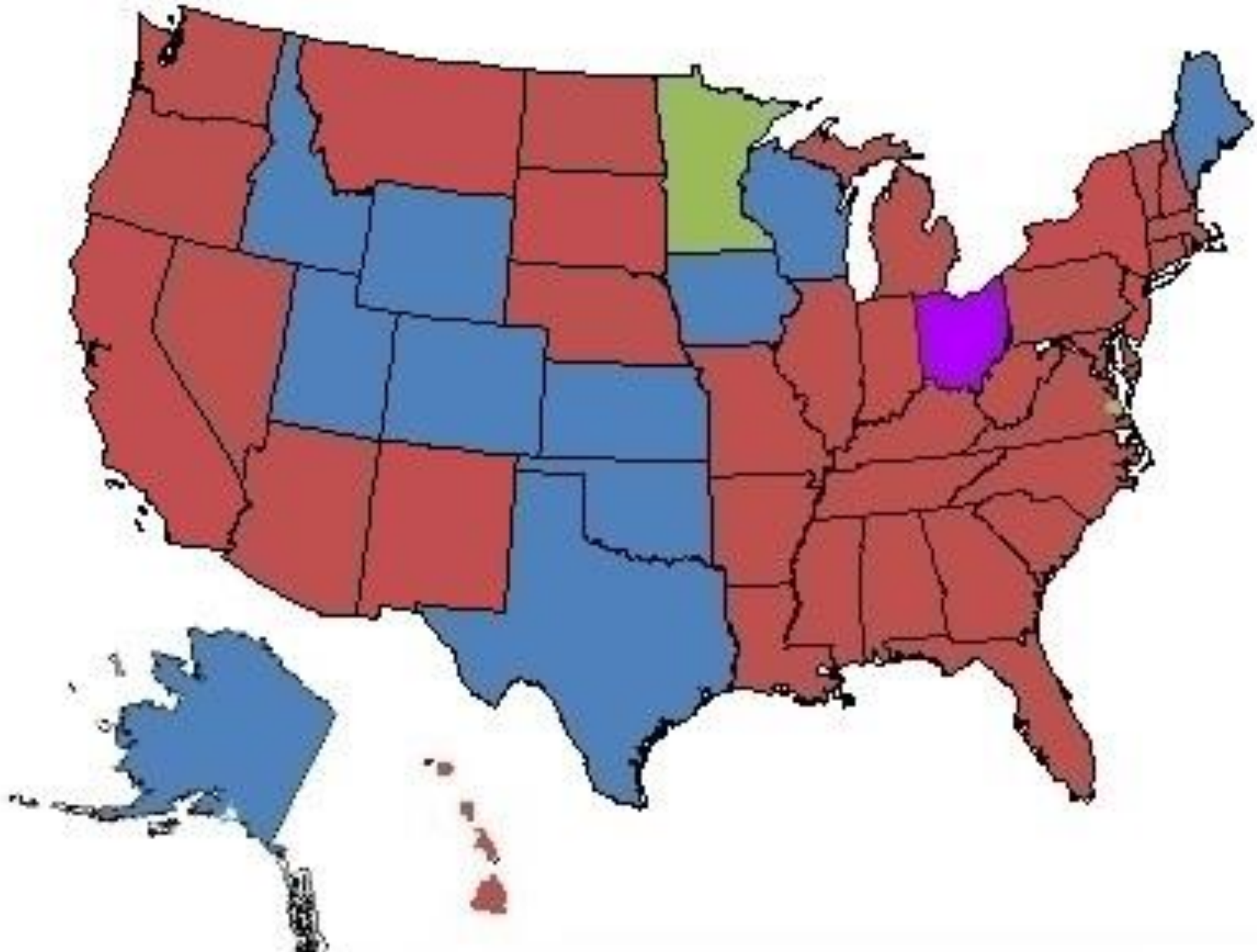
*e.g. Turnout in Wisconsin 2-party
open primary = 61%*

Democrat turnout down 23% over 2008

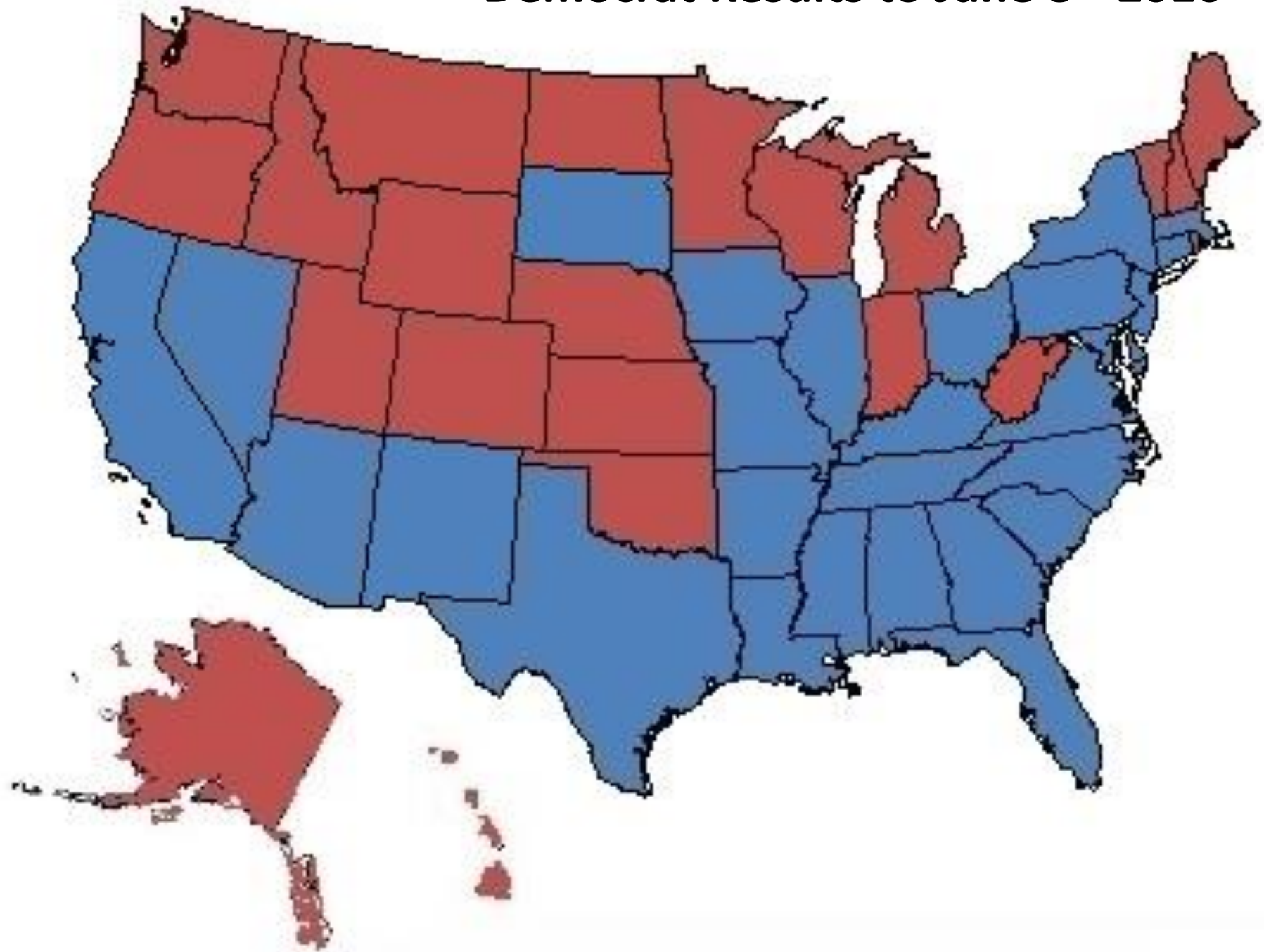
Primaries Turnout: GOP % Change 2012 - 2016
Dem % Change 2008 - 2016



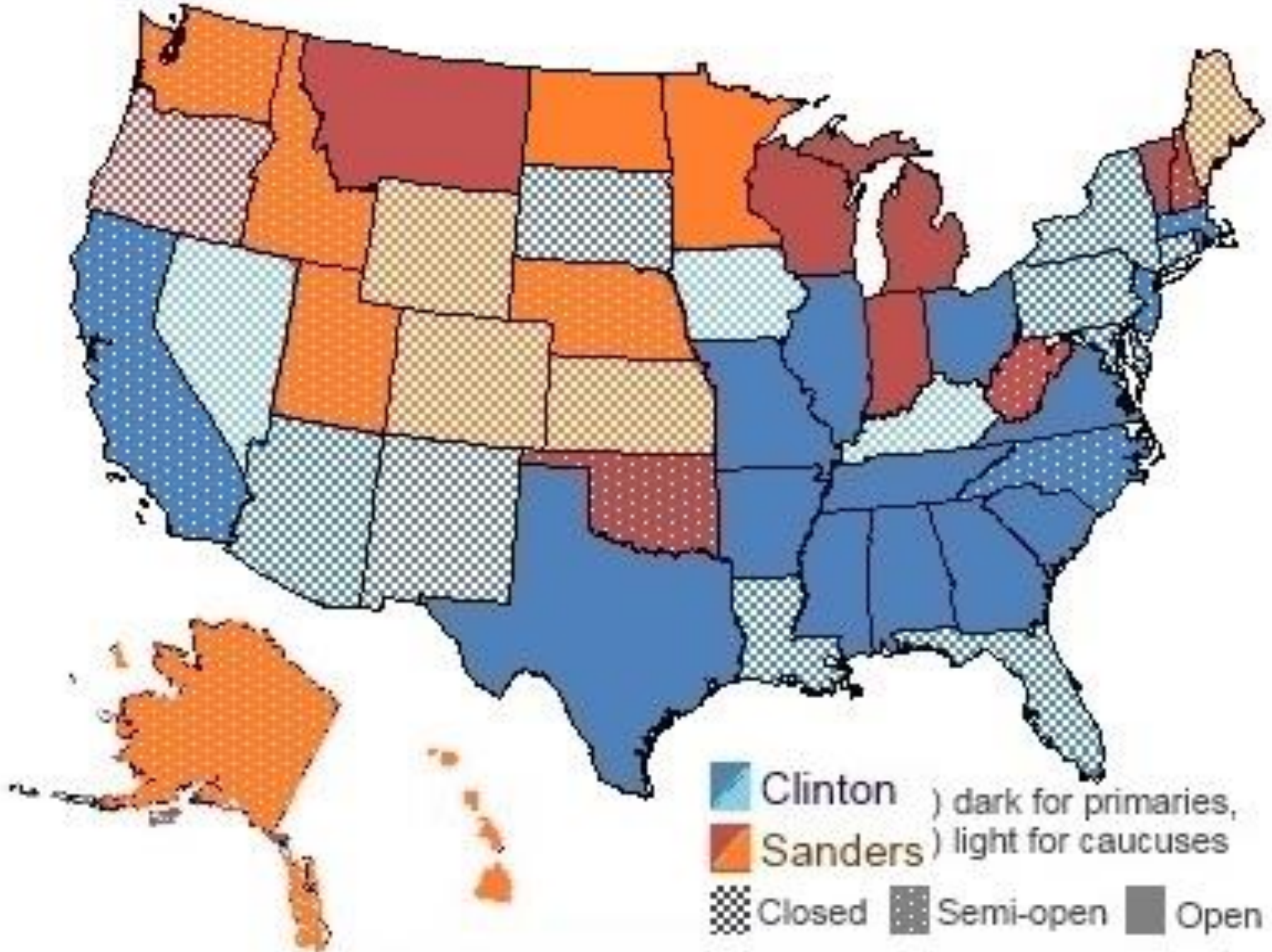
GOP Results to June 8th 2016



Democrat Results to June 8th 2016



Democrat Results to June 8th 2016



cnn delegate estimate

total delegates:



presumptive nominee

2768 pledged: 2196
super: 572 ★
CLINTON



2383 delegates needed to win



1866 pledged: 1819
super: 47
SANDERS



2383 delegates needed to win

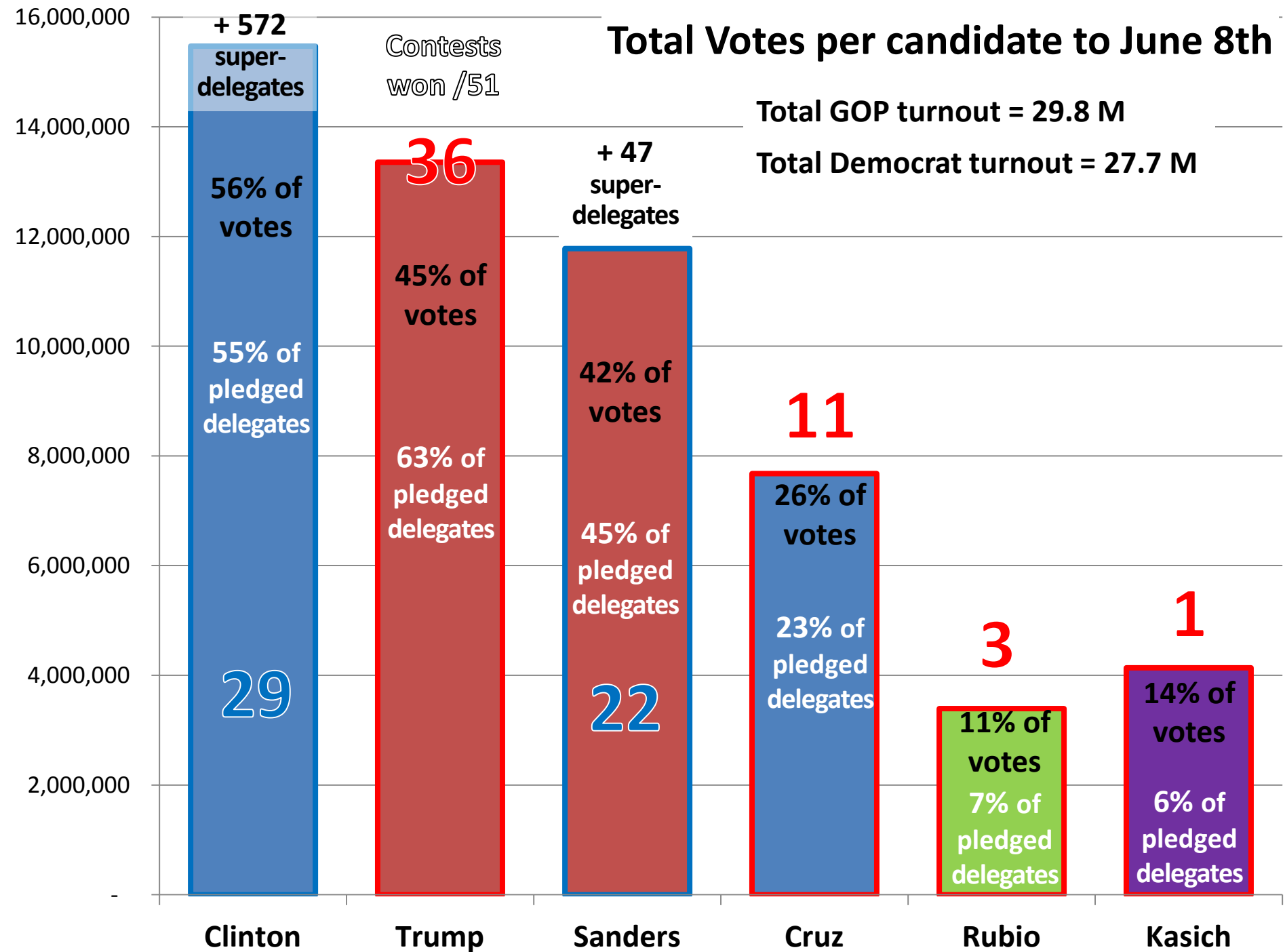
N.B. 58% of *pledged* delegates would be needed for a candidate to get an overall majority of *all* delegates

Total Votes per candidate to June 8th

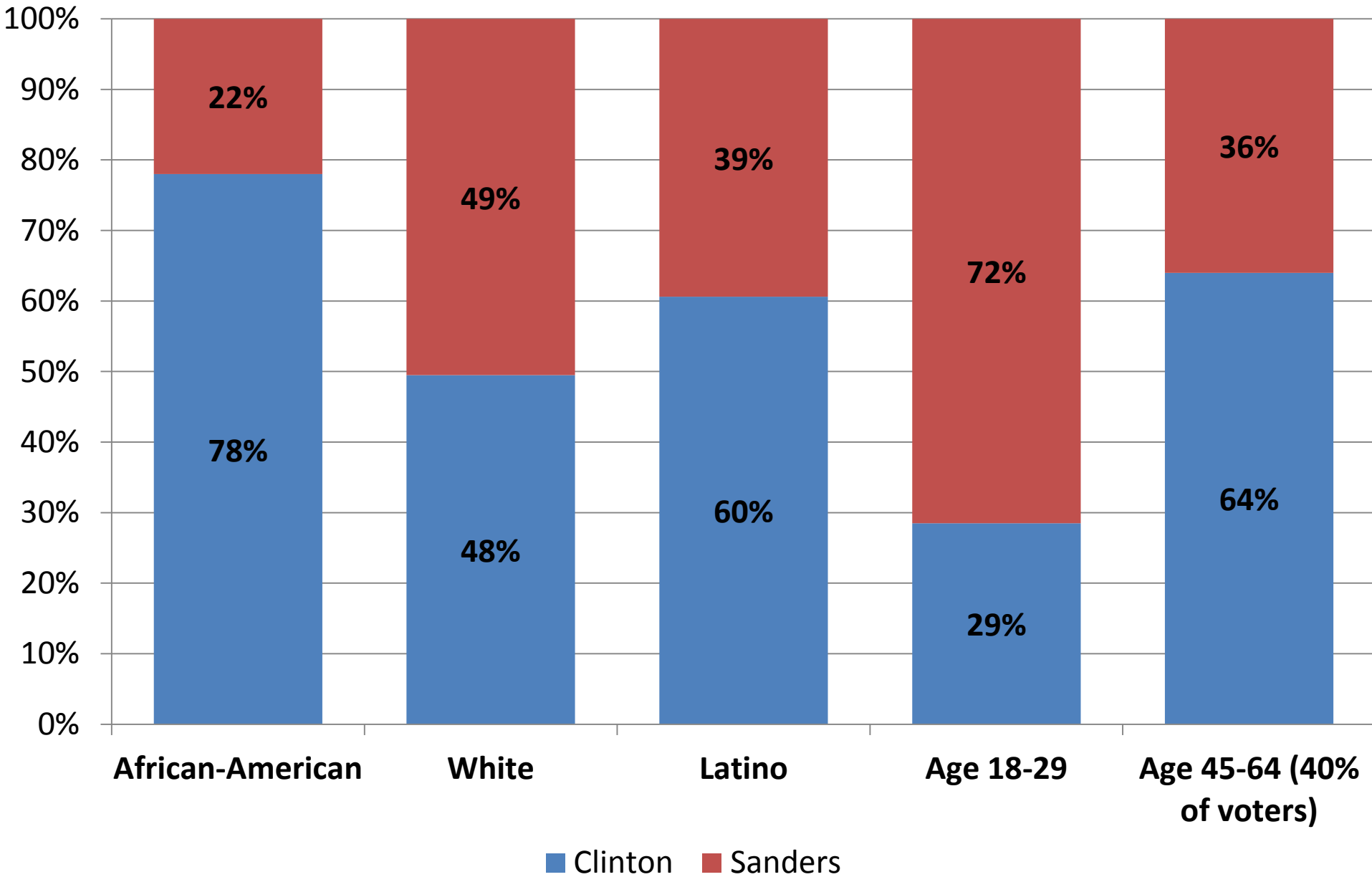
Contests won /51

Total GOP turnout = 29.8 M

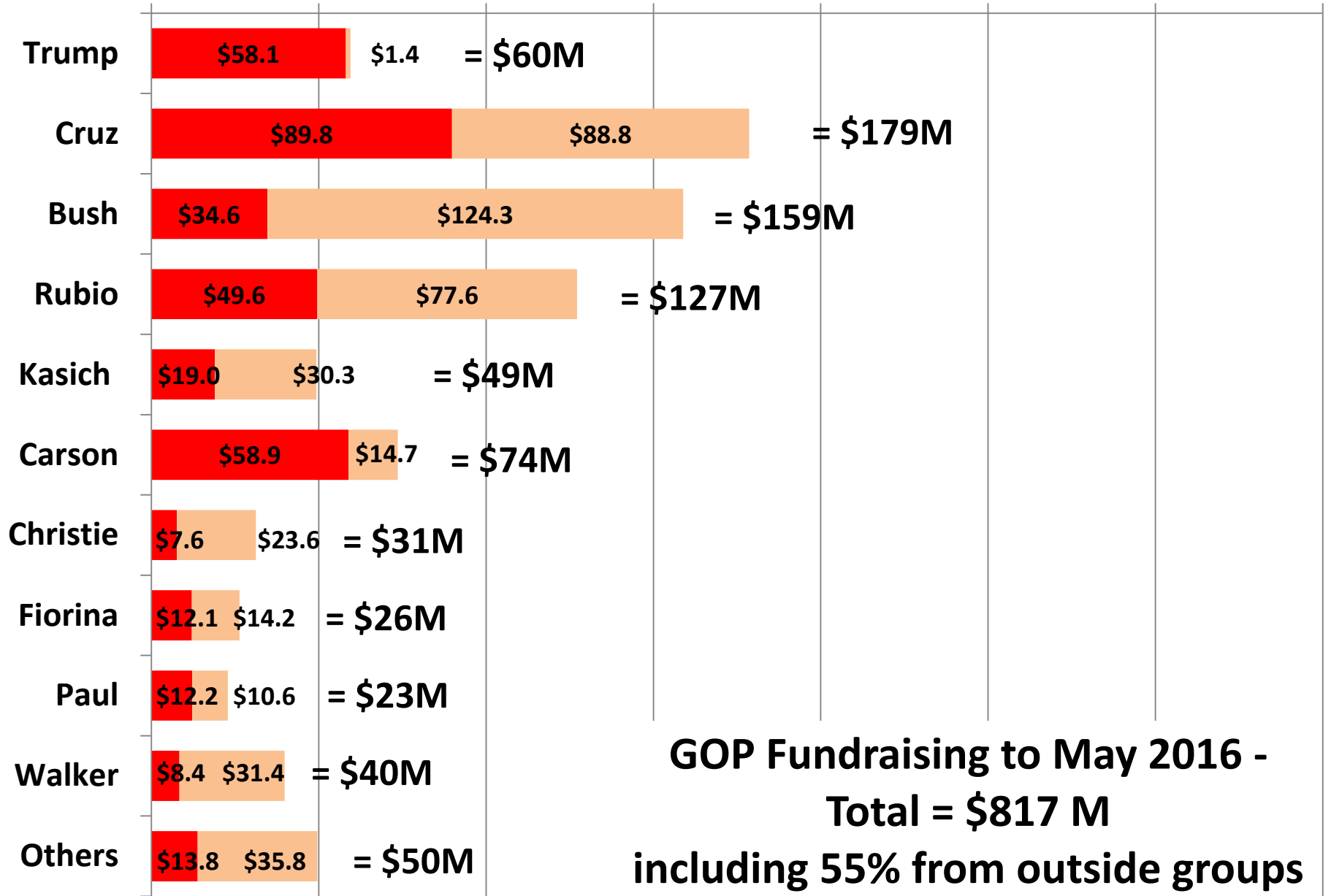
Total Democrat turnout = 27.7 M



Demographics of the Democrat Race



\$0 \$50 \$100 \$150 \$200 \$250 \$300 \$350



GOP Fundraising to May 2016 -

Total = \$817 M

including 55% from outside groups

■ Campaign \$M ■ Outside \$M

\$0 \$50 \$100 \$150 \$200 \$250 \$300 \$350

Clinton \$217.6 \$81.4 = \$299M

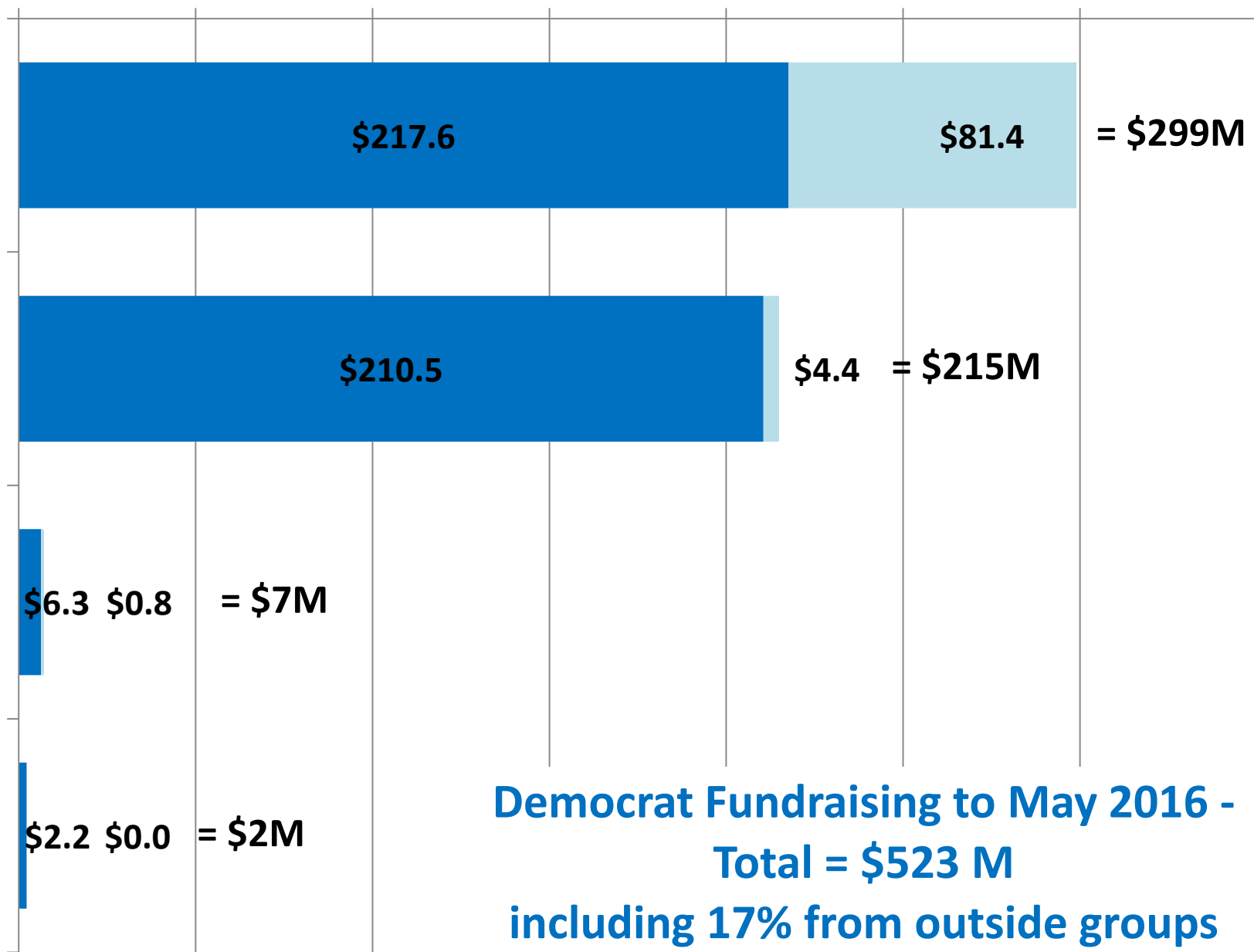
Sanders \$210.5 \$4.4 = \$215M

O'Malley \$6.3 \$0.8 = \$7M

Others \$2.2 \$0.0 = \$2M

**Democrat Fundraising to May 2016 -
Total = \$523 M
including 17% from outside groups**

■ Campaign \$M ■ Outside \$M



**Combined GOP + Democrat total
to end May = \$1.34 Billion**