

Presidential Electoral Strategies in 2008: How to Get to 270 & Win the White House

Why Obama Won; and What Challenges That Has Brought

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As We Examine Polling Ask:

- What do voters know about politics?
- How do they know this information?
- How do they recall (use) this information?
- What schemas/filters/knowledge/cognition/information drive turnout and/or attention to politics? And,
- Which therefore shapes “political views” on issues, shapes ideology, and determines VC?

The Nominal Voter

“Voting Calculus”

- $P(V) = PB + D - C$
- The probability of voting is equal to the
- Voter’s personal benefit from electing one candidate times the probability the vote itself will determine the outcome,
- And the emotional benefit of performing one’s civic duty,
- Minus the transaction and opportunity costs of the act of casting a ballot.

The THREE Key Variables, 2008:

Foreclosure (FC) Rates;
Unemployment Rates
(UE);
Median Household
Income (HHI)

Let me show you an
example of why

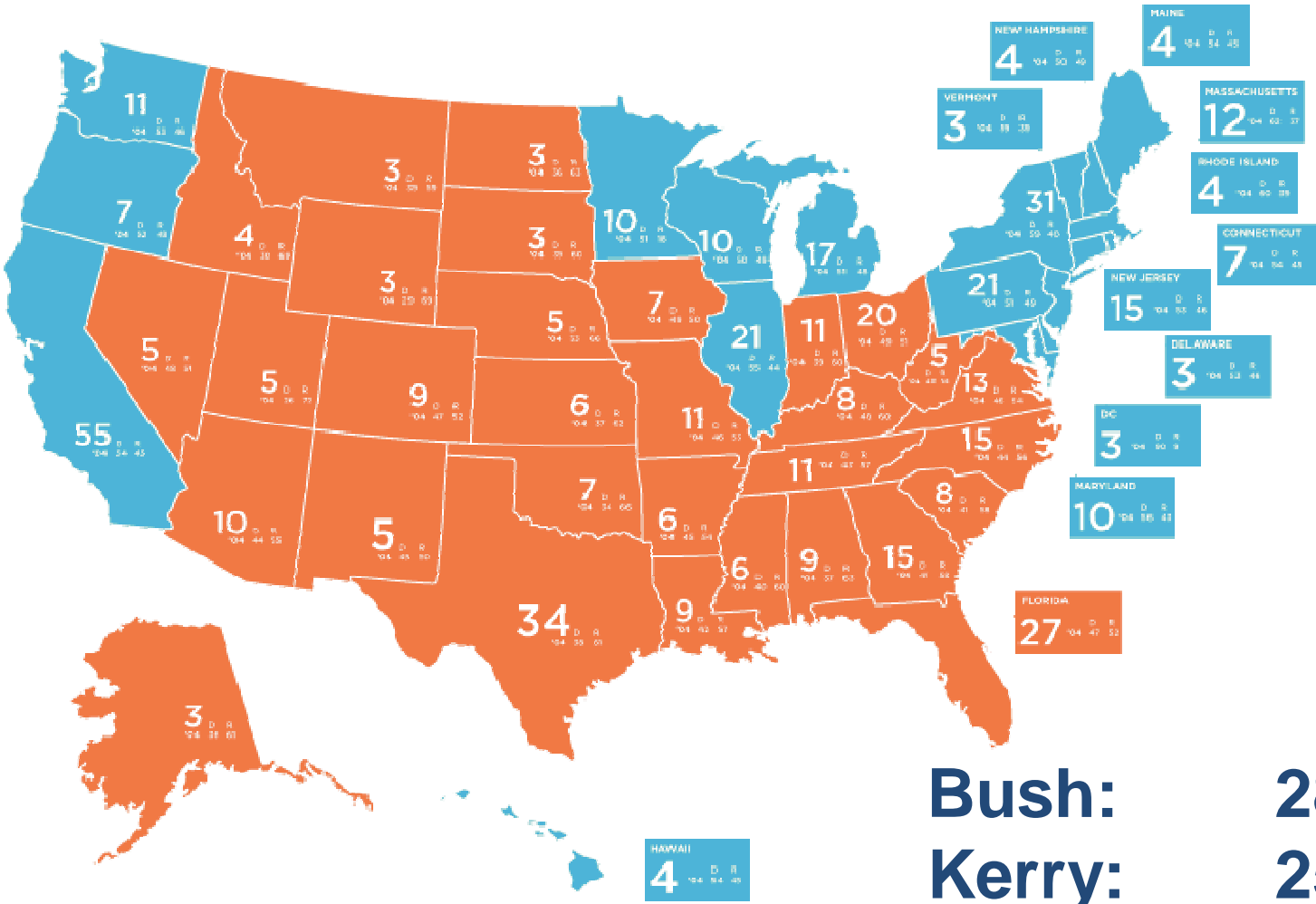
(NPR's 'Interactive Map:
The Economy Where You
Live')



Other locations for data shown in subsequent slides:

<http://data.newyorkfed.org/creditconditions/> and www.realtytrac.com

How Obama's Team Saw America

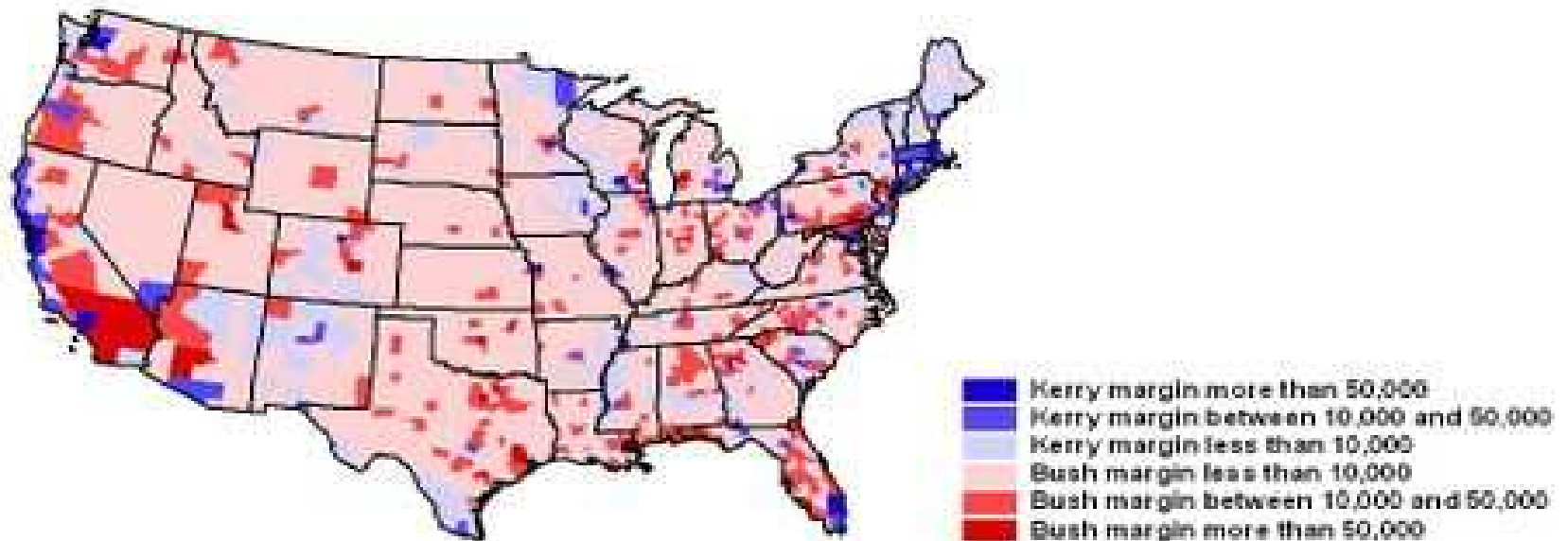


Bush: 286
Kerry: 252

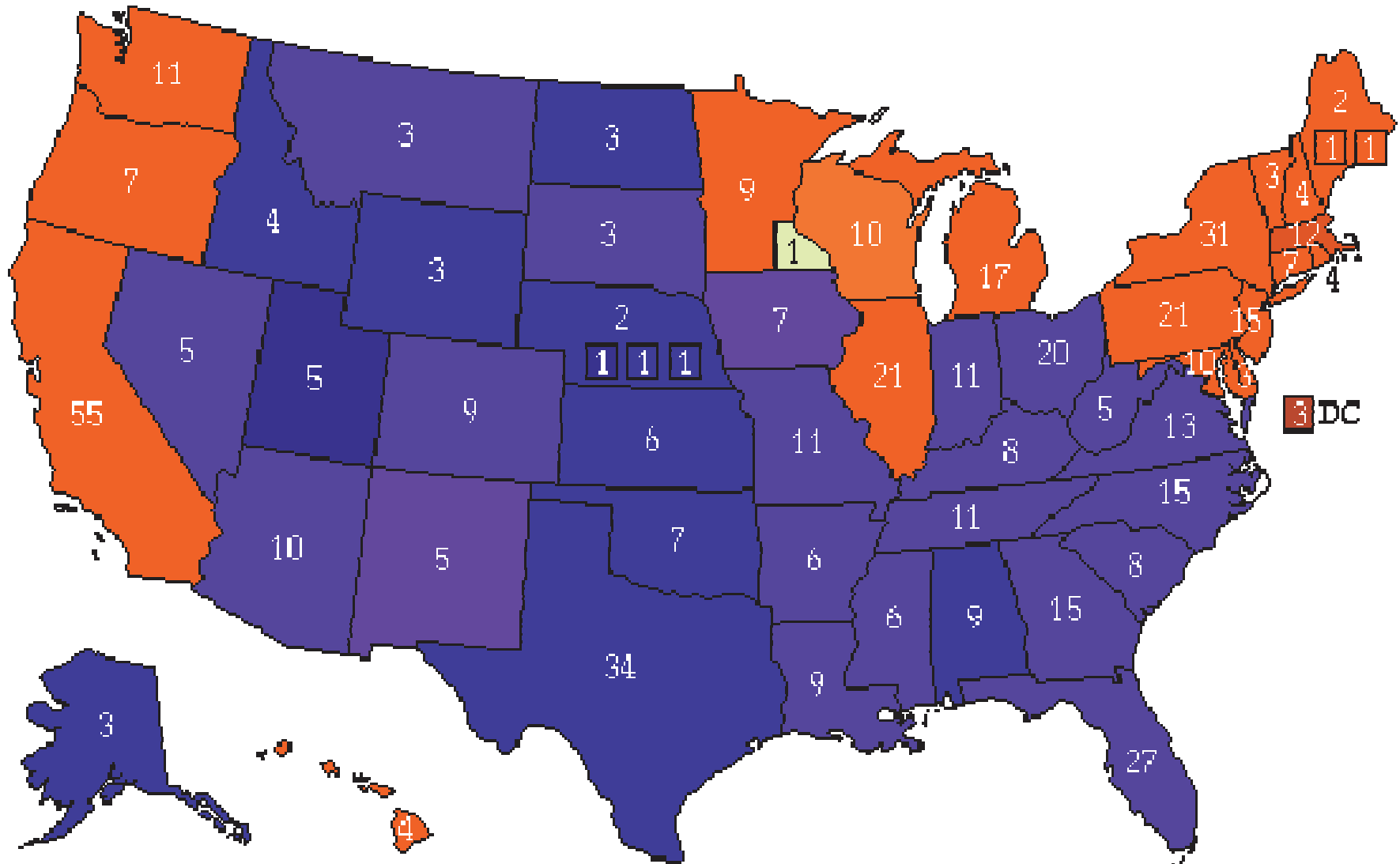
ELECTORAL VOTES BY STATE
ELECTION RESULTS '04 (%)

How McCain's Team Saw the Race

Raw vote margin, 2004

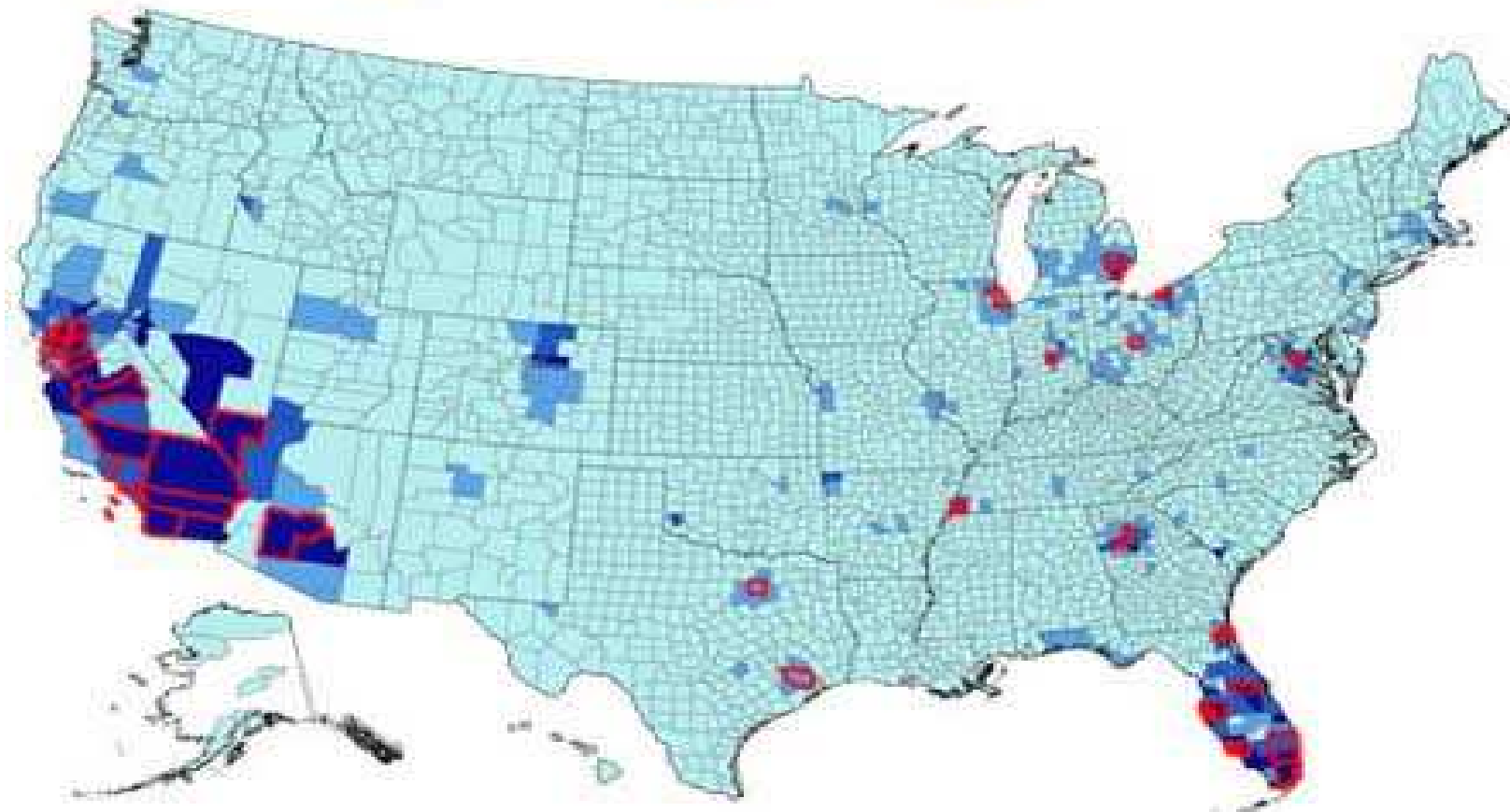


Results, 2004: What Changed?

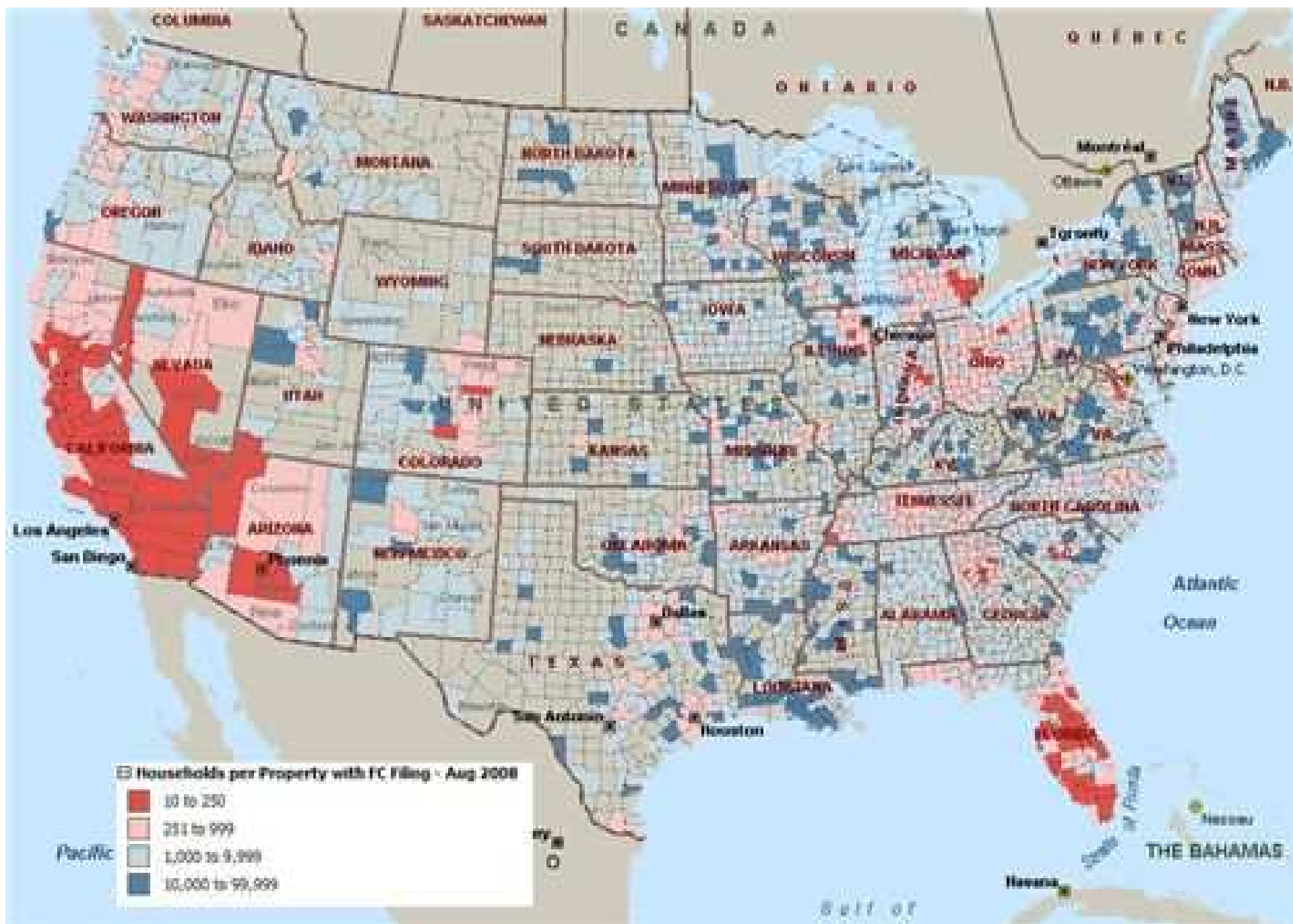


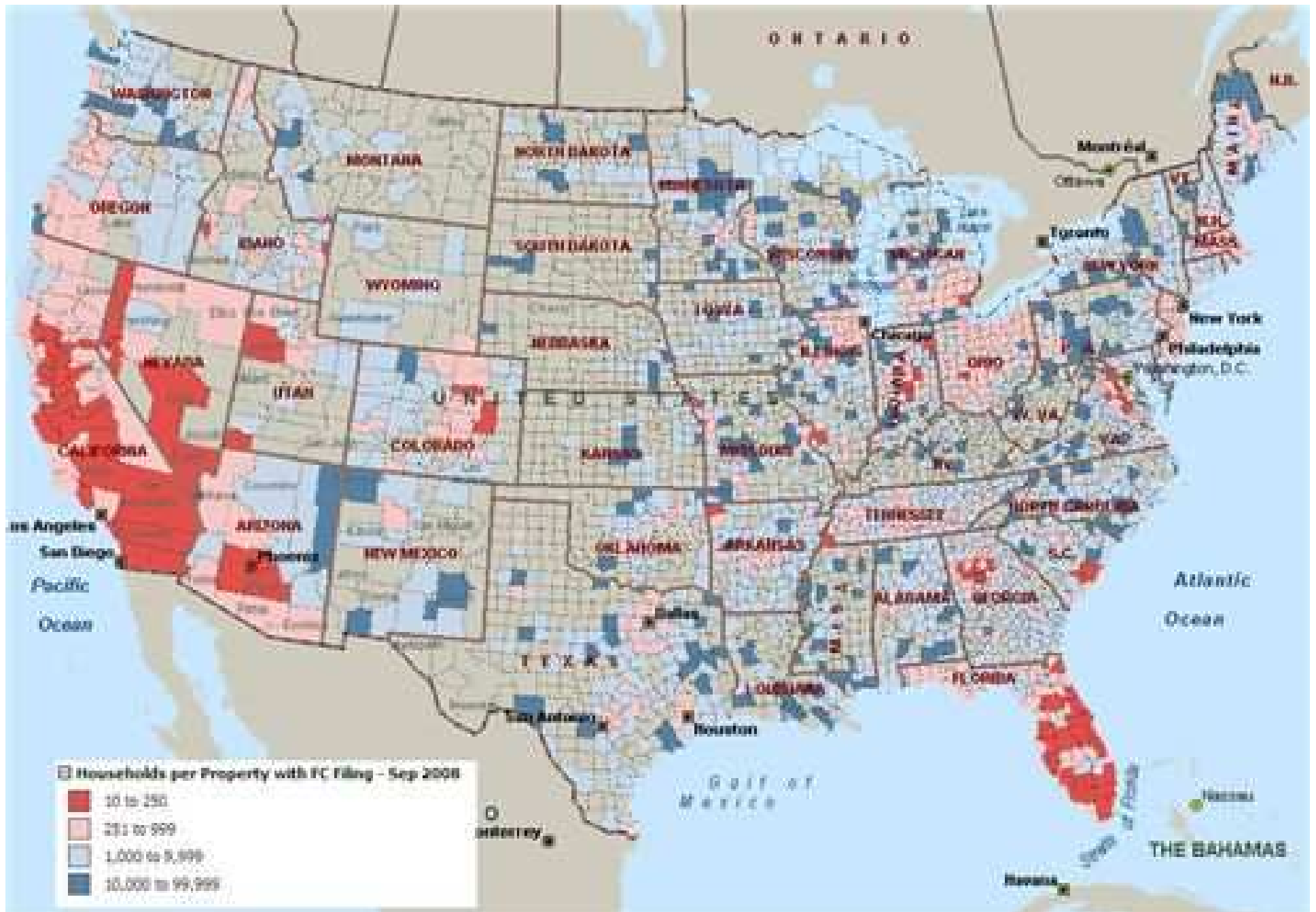
35 Counties = 50%+ of FC Rate

County by county, the number of foreclosure actions — default notices, auctions and repossessions — per 1,000 households.



2008

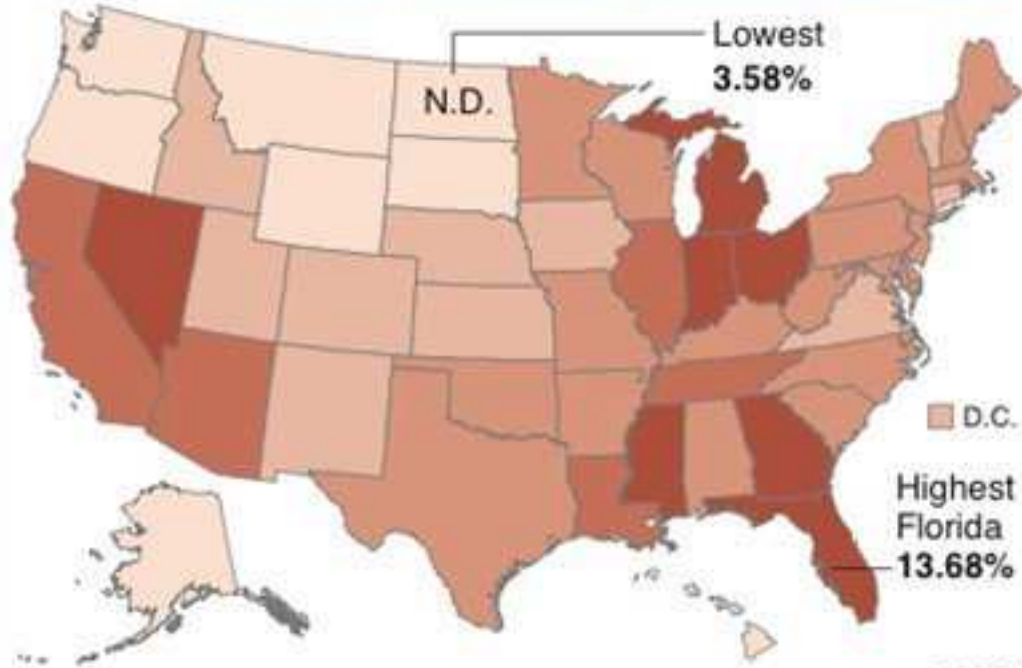
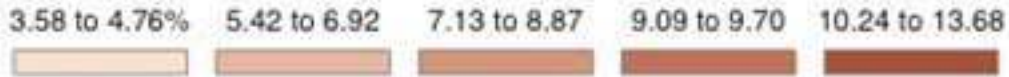




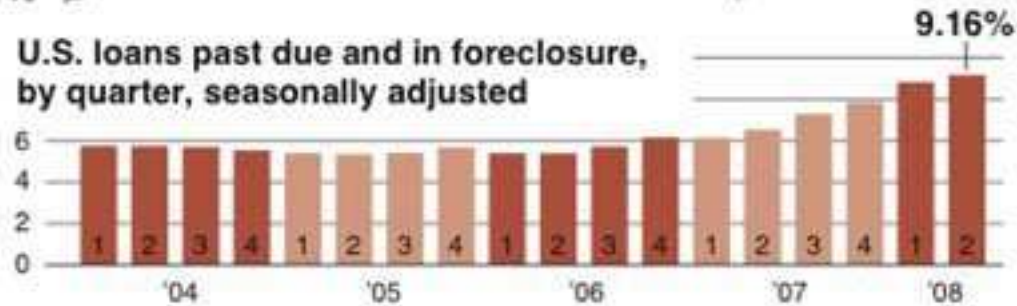
Late home loans are on the rise

Loans either past due or in foreclosure in the U.S. rose to 9.16 percent in the second quarter.

Loans past due and in foreclosure, second quarter 2008



U.S. loans past due and in foreclosure, by quarter, seasonally adjusted



Economic Stress =
↑ Levels of Personal
Stress

Top 10 Worst Foreclosure States For July, 2008 in United States

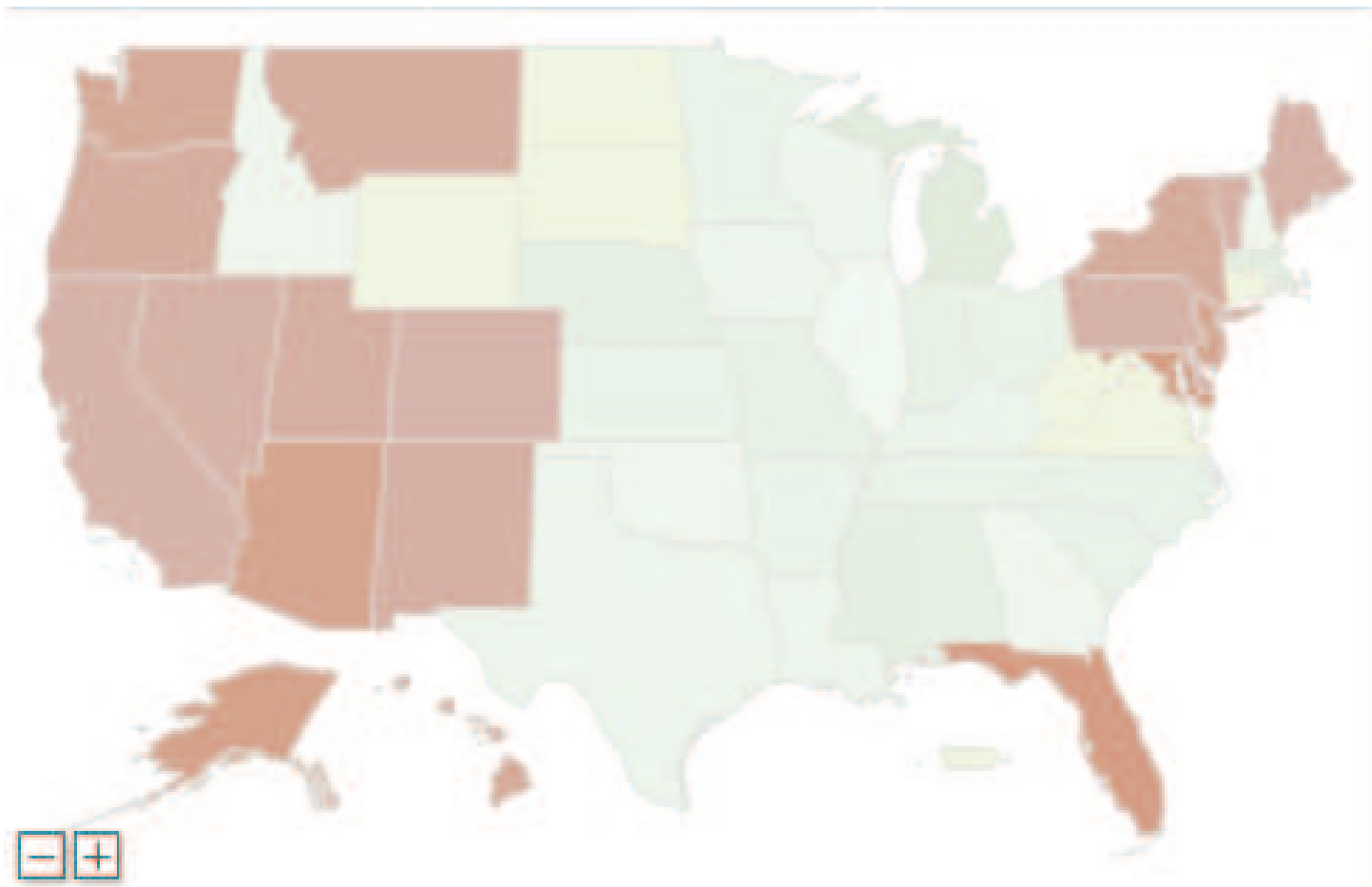
Rank	State	Total	1 every 1000
1	Nevada	10,060	106
2	California	72,285	182
3	Florida	45,884	186
4	Arizona	13,350	195
5	Ohio	13,457	375
6	Georgia	10,061	385
7	Michigan	11,591	389
8	Colorado	5,376	390
9	Utah	1,911	472
10	Virginia	5,745	562

FC 6-Month Trend, Mar-Aug 2008

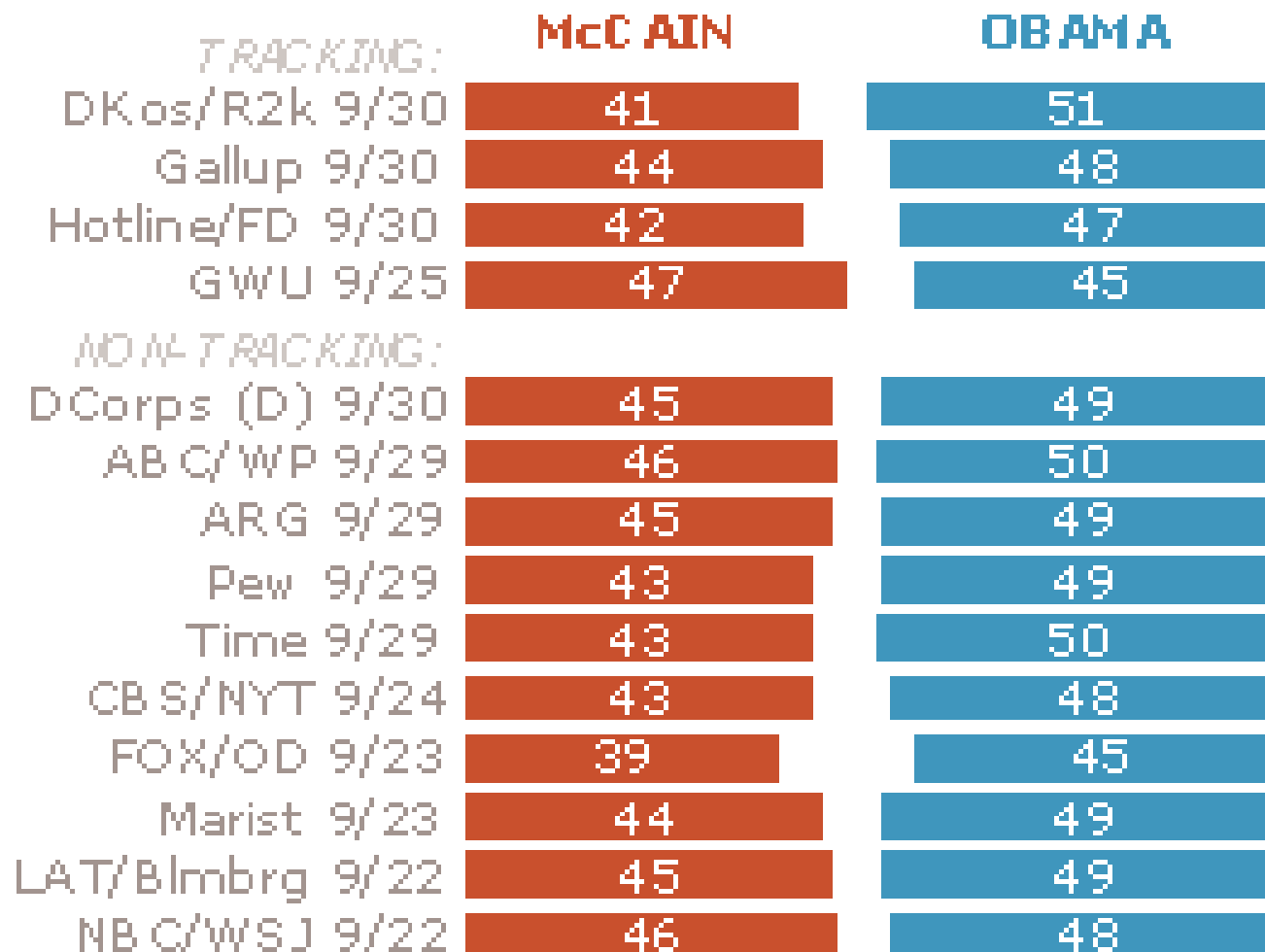
Red – Conditions have worsened

Green – Conditions have improved

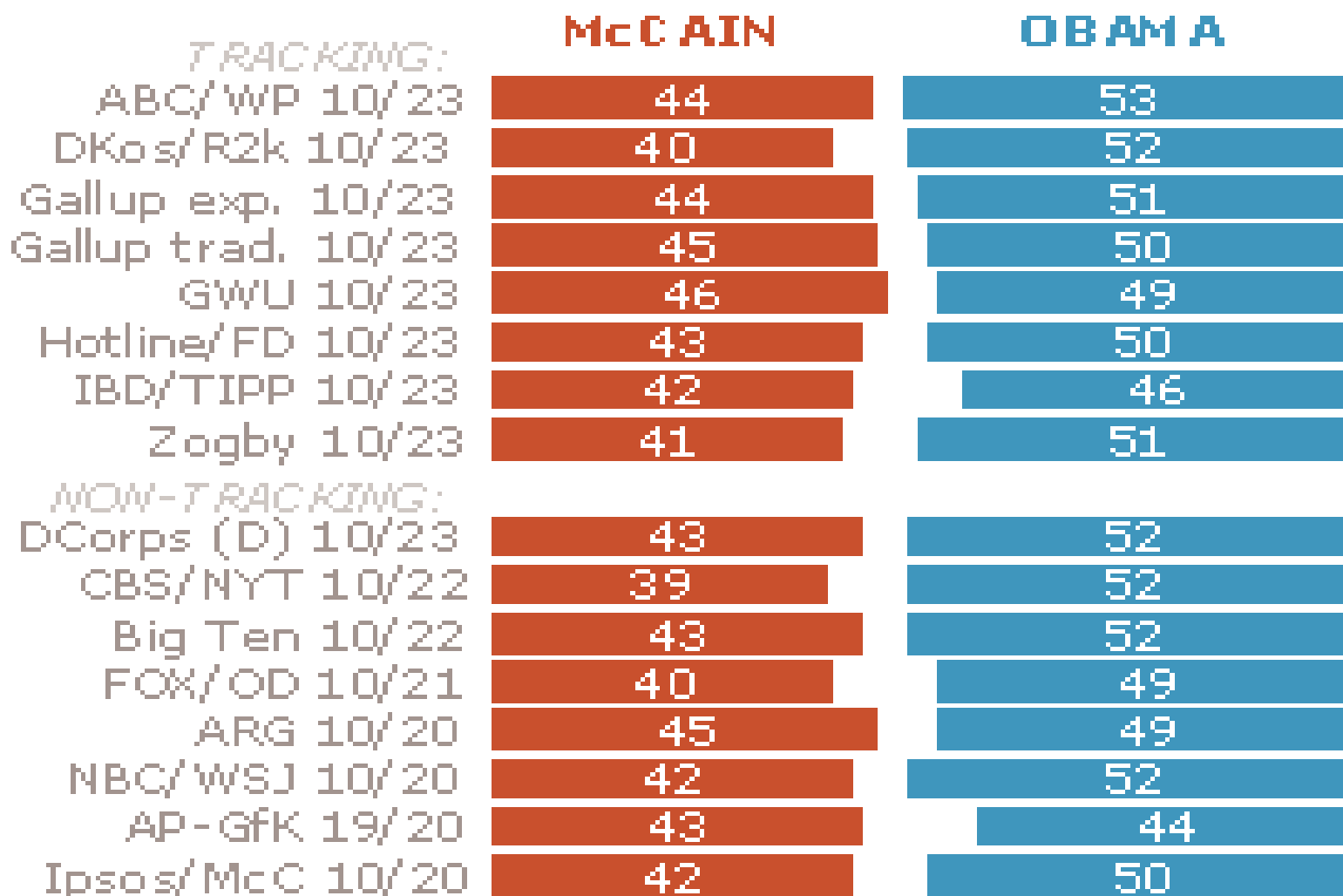
Yellow – No change (within 0.05%)



What is the mood of voters at this point in the Electoral Calendar? Late Sept. 2008



What is the mood of voters at this point in the Electoral Calendar? Mid Oct. 2008

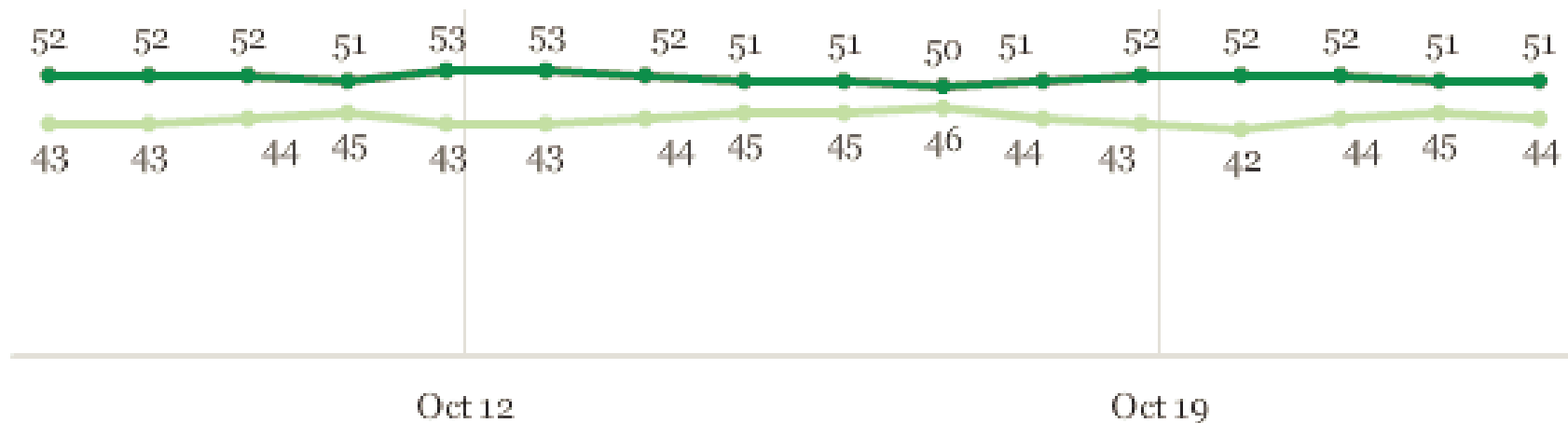


Tracking: What Trends We Saw

Gallup Daily Election Polling Results for the Presidential General Election, Obama vs. McCain, trend since Oct. 6-8, 2008

Likely Voters (Expanded) - Based on current voting intentions only

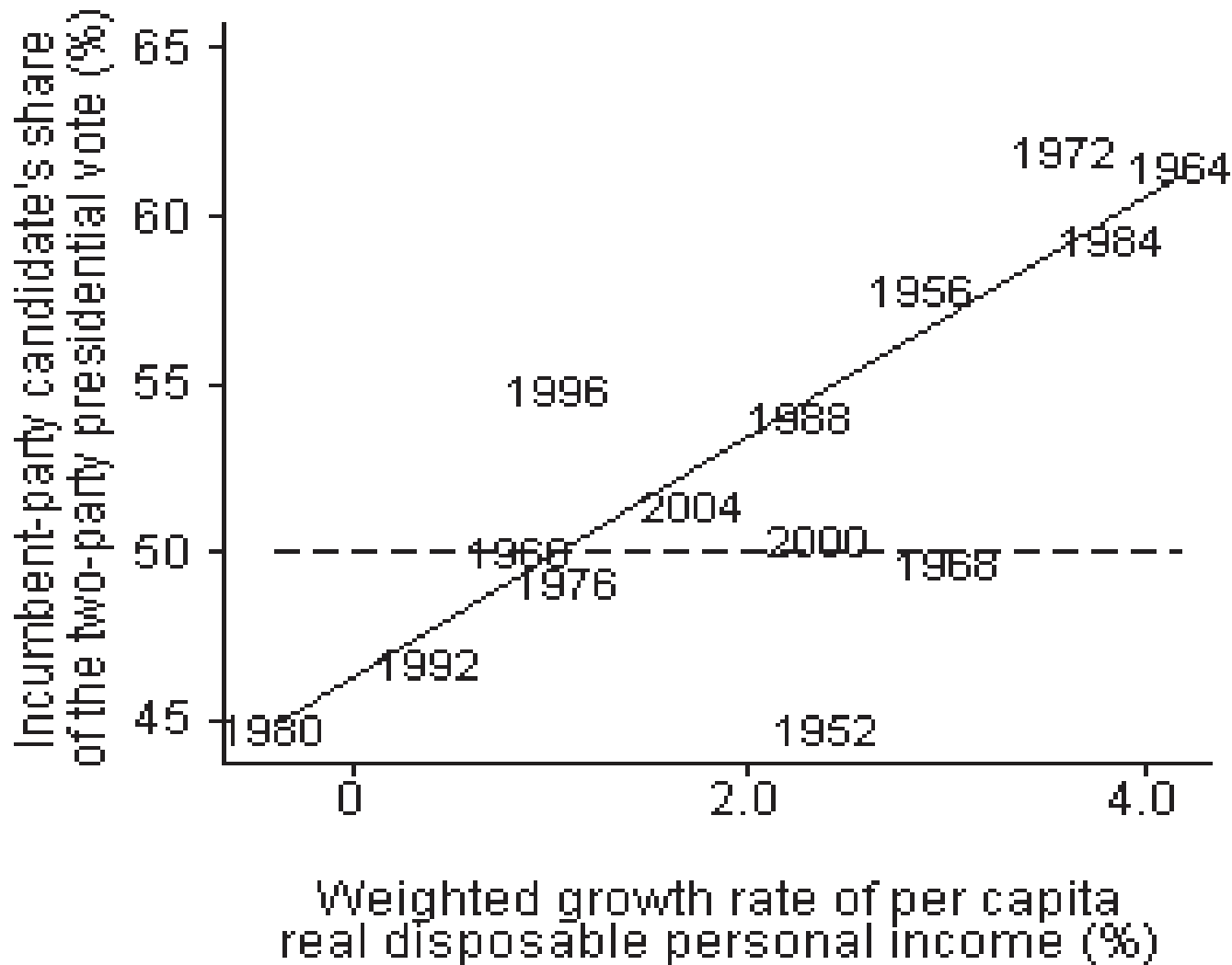
■ % Obama ■ % McCain



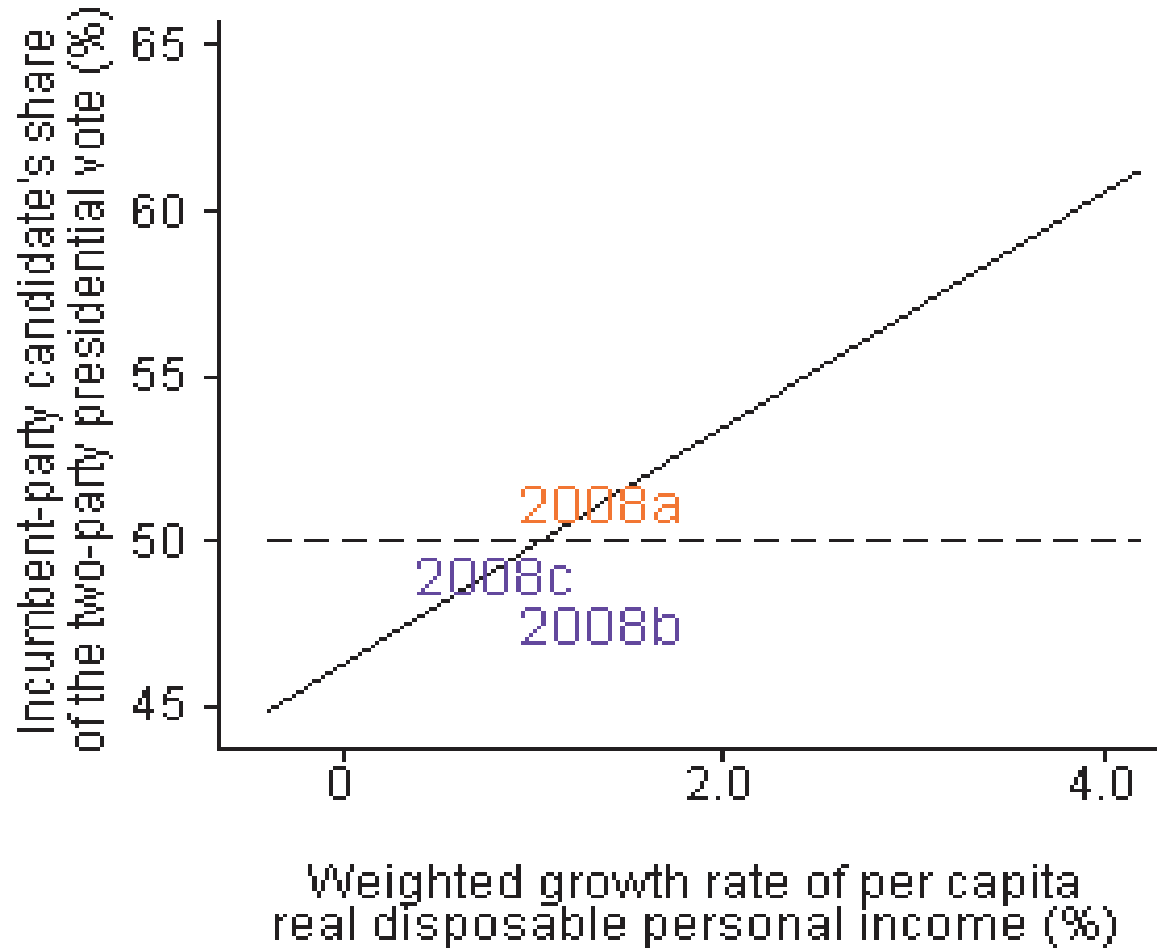
Based on three-day rolling averages.

GALLUP POLL

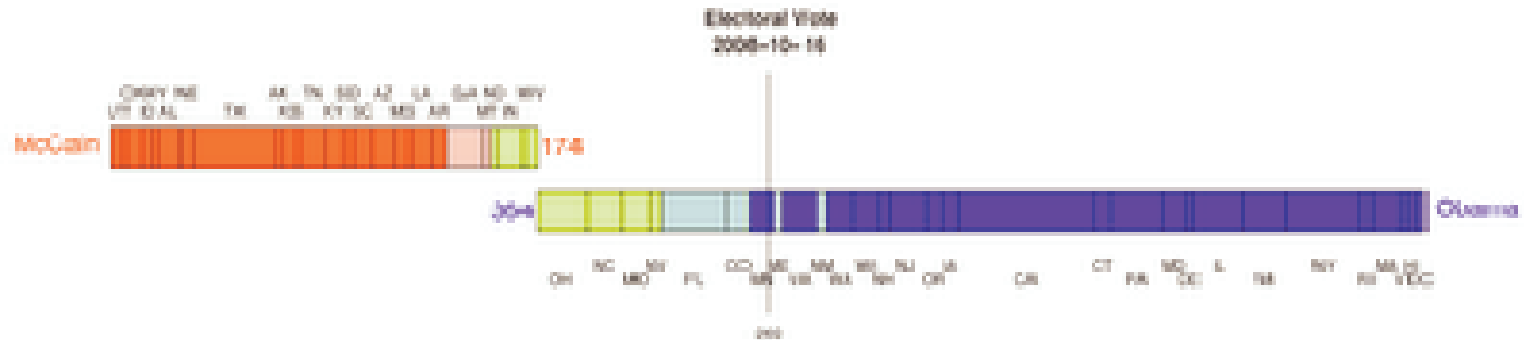
Incumbent-party candidate's share of the two-party presidential vote by income growth, 1952-2004



Incumbent-party (Republican) candidate's projected share of the 2008 two-party presidential vote



Likely Results – EVs Are the ONLY Thing That Matter!

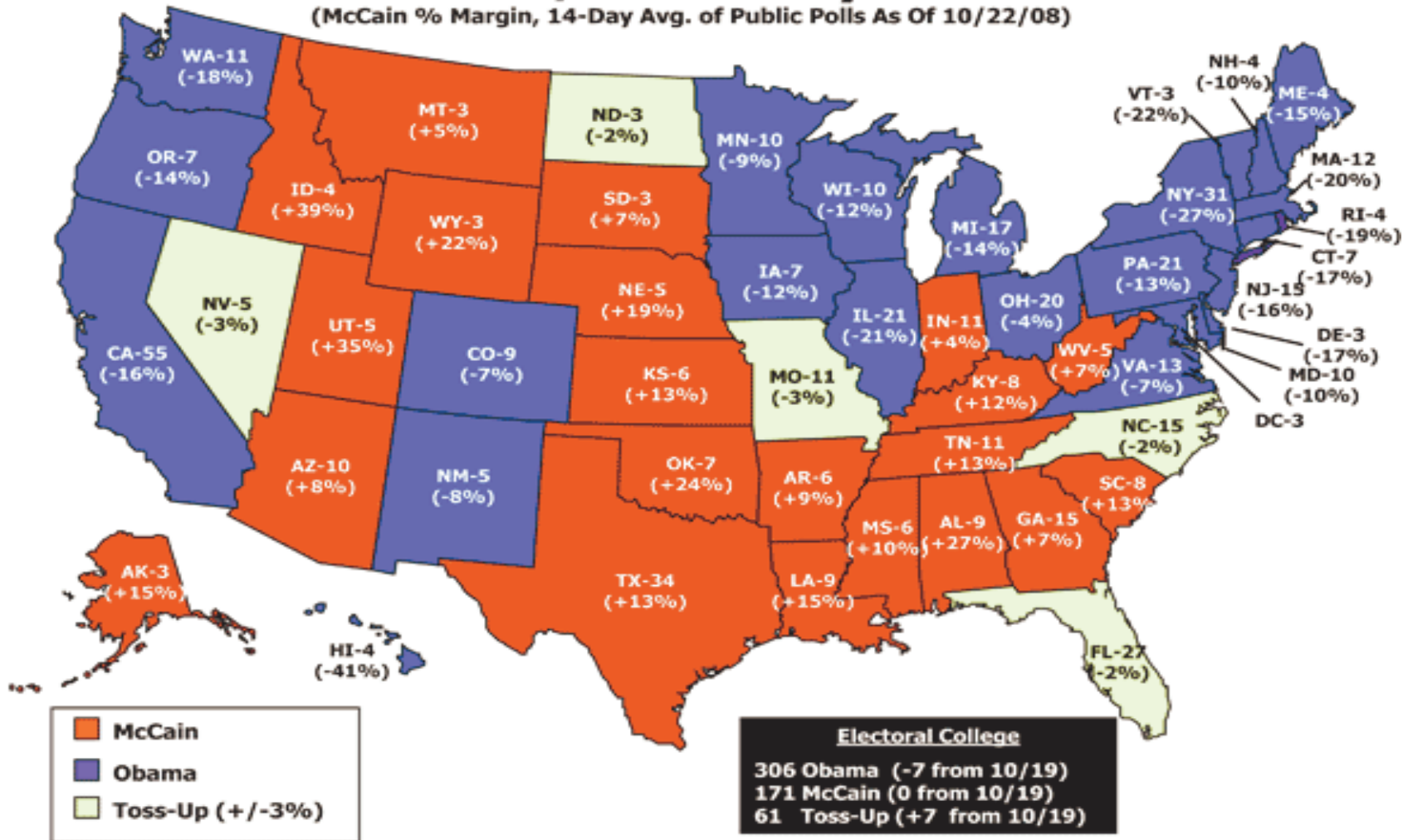


How Rove Saw the Race – 22 Oct

Karl Rove & CO.

McCain/Obama By State

(McCain % Margin, 14-Day Avg. of Public Polls As Of 10/22/08)

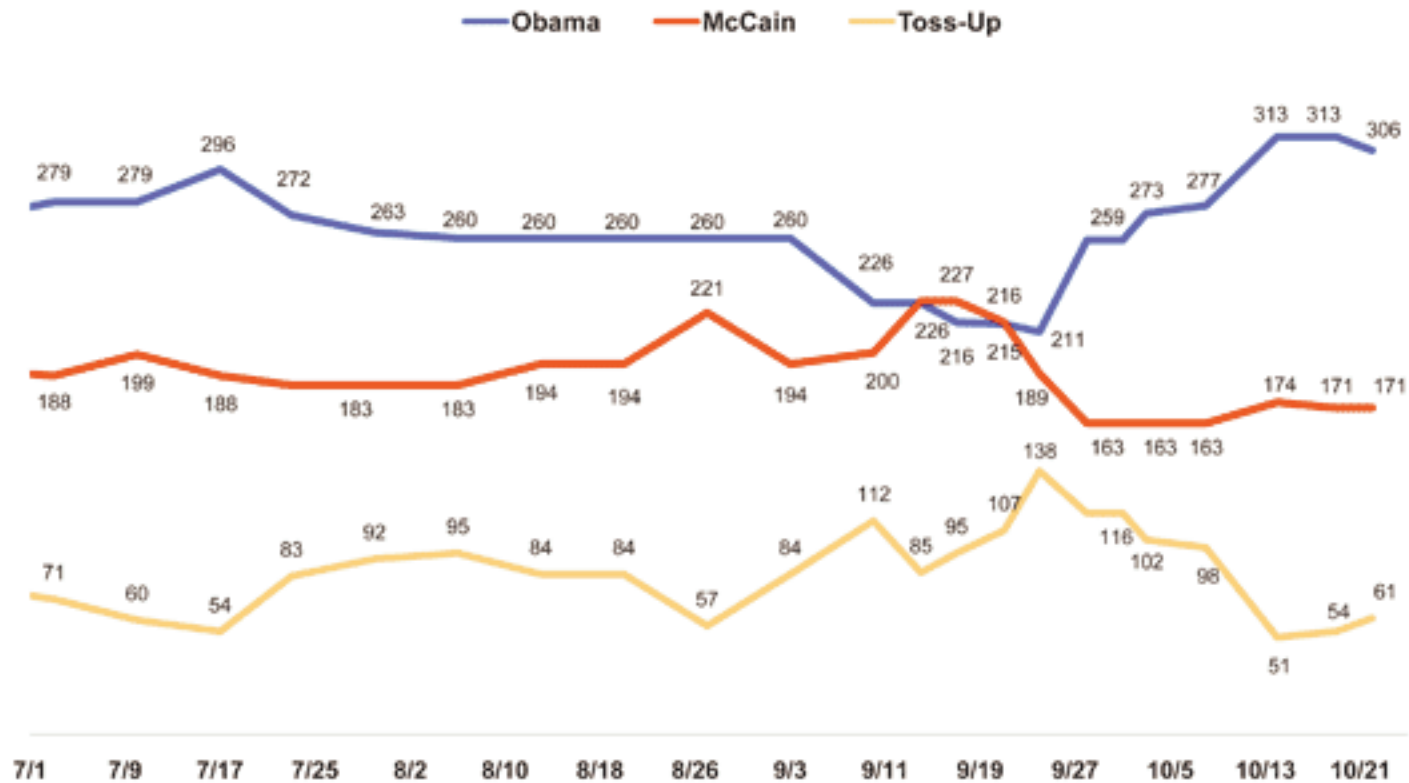


Rove and Company, cont'd

KarlRove&CO.

Electoral College Polling Trend, Obama vs. McCain

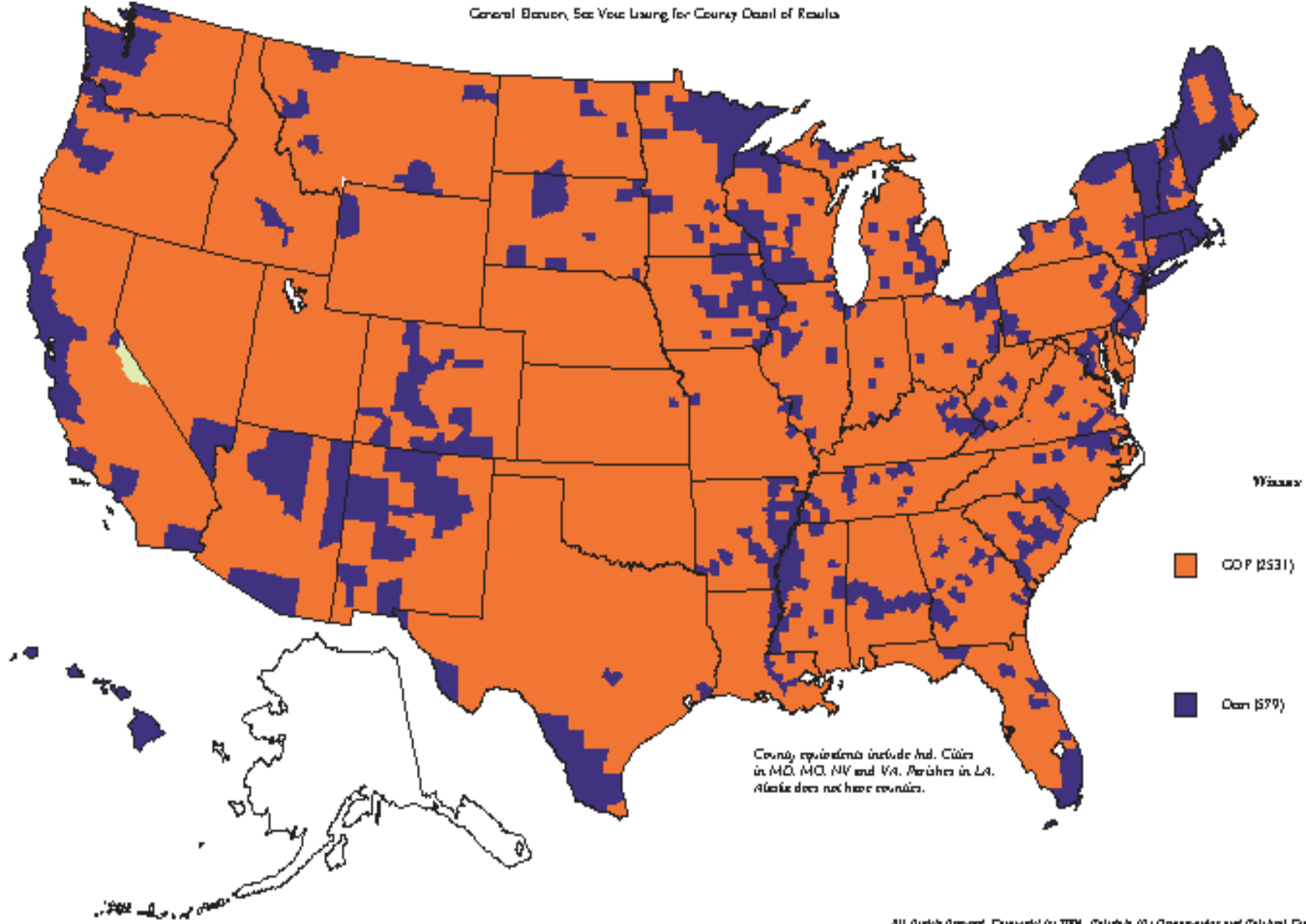
July 1 – October 22, 2008



U.S. President 2004, Map No.1-C.

Bush* (R) vs. Kerry (D), Winner by County.

General Election, See Your Listing for County Detail of Results



County equivalents include Ind. Cities in MO, MD, NV and VA. Parishes in LA. Alaska does not have counties.

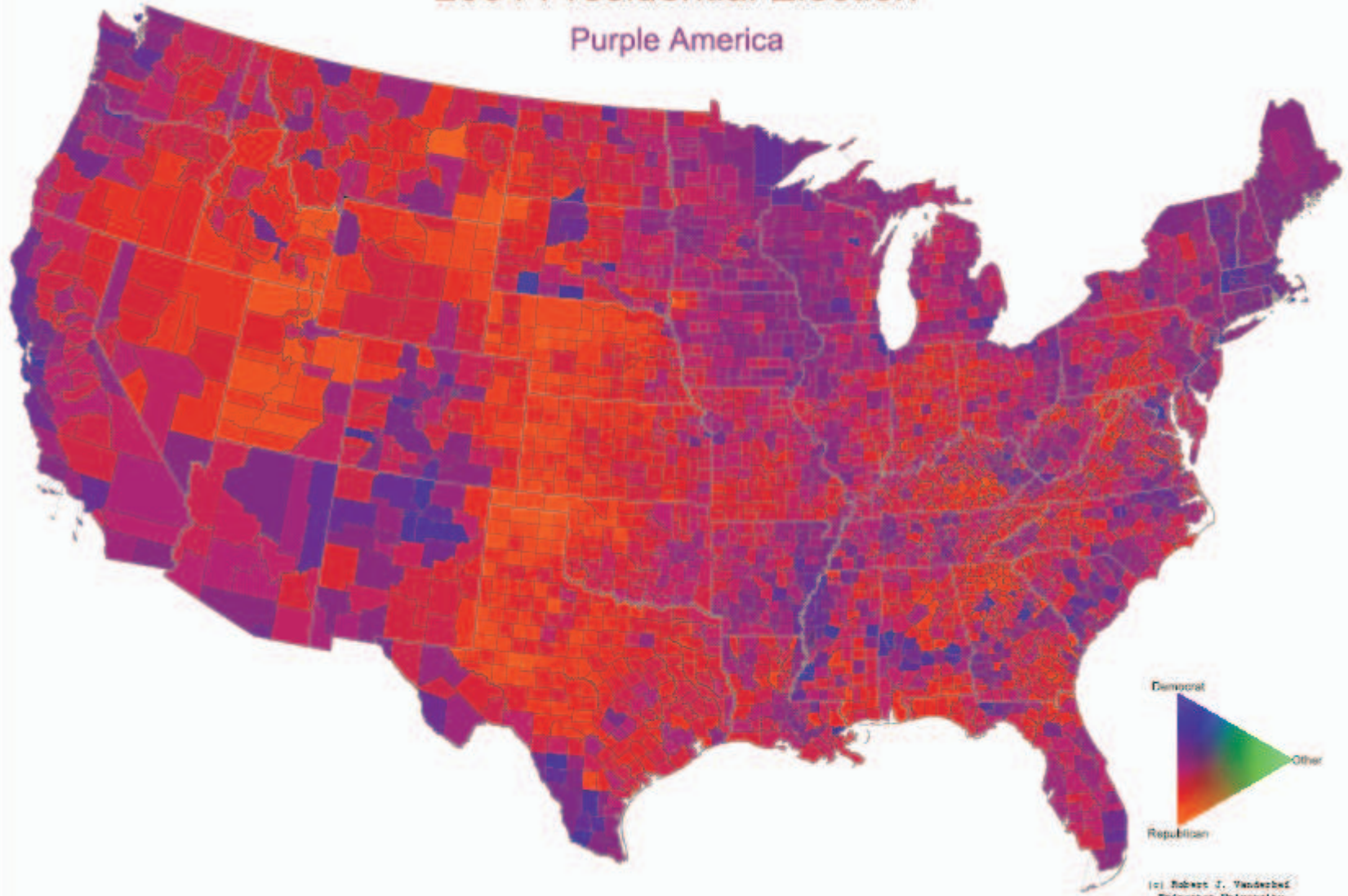


BASED UPON PRELIMINARY DATA. NEW ENGLAND AGGREGATED FROM TOWN DATA. PROBLEMS IN MAINE.

All rights reserved. Copyright (c) 2004, Patrick M. Conroy and Political Data, www.yetrick.us
Map: CPM0101.MTCY0401L.S060204_M-1.1.1

2004 Presidential Election

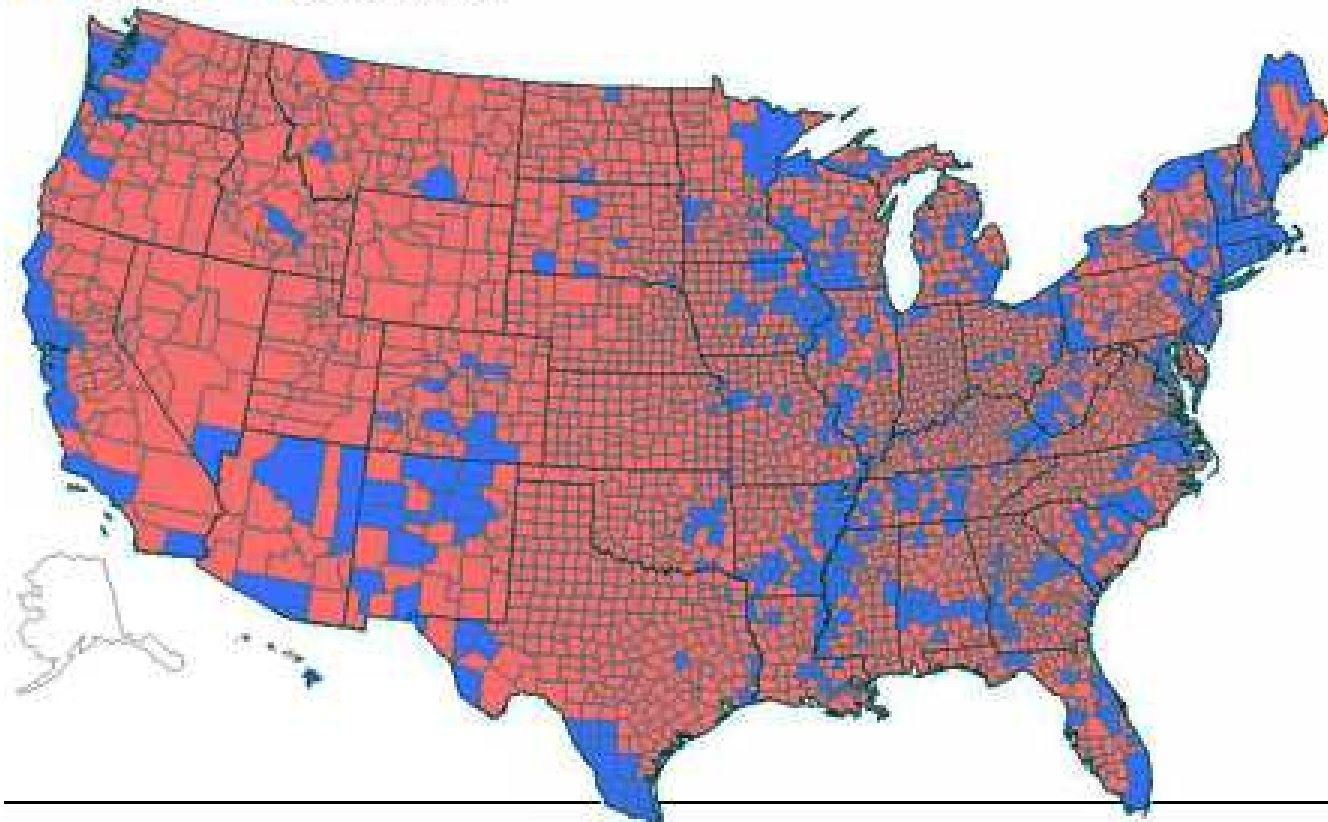
Purple America



Latest vote, county by county

Vice President Gore won in 676 counties and Texas Gov. George W. Bush in 2,436 counties, according to preliminary results.

■ Al Gore ■ George W. Bush



Square miles of counties won

Gore ■ 575,184
Bush ■ 2,432,456

Population (1999) of counties won

Gore ■ 127 million
Bush ■ 143 million

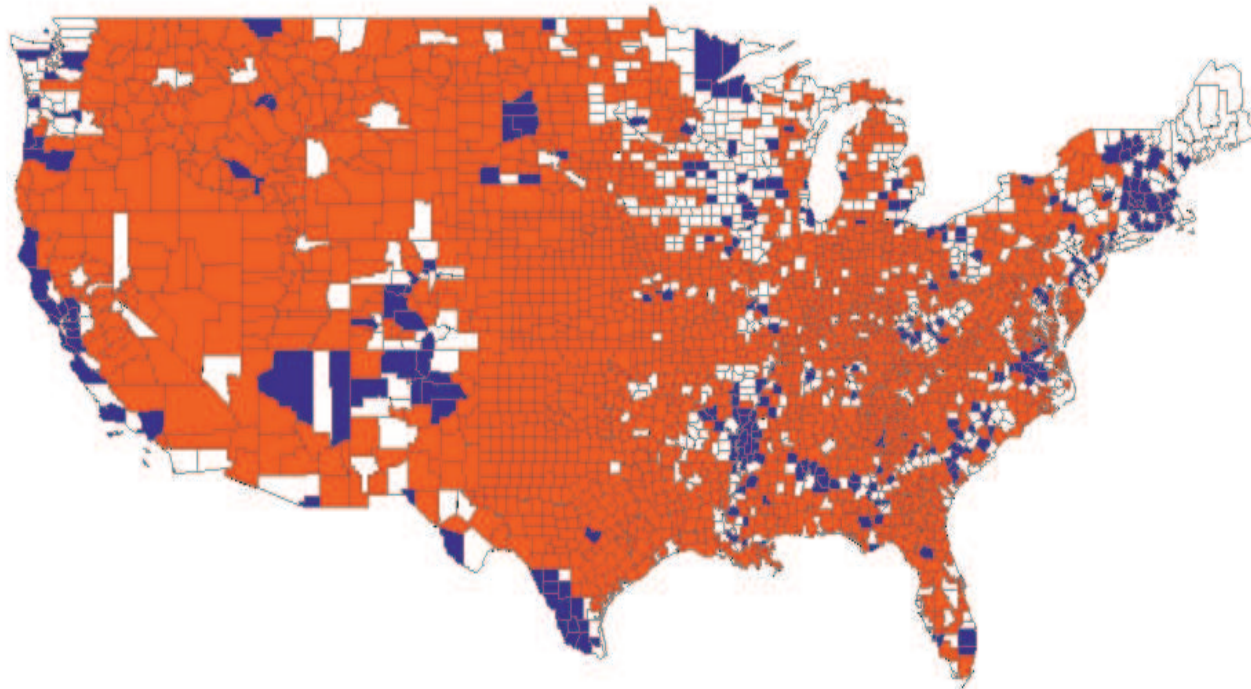
Growth (1990-99) of counties won

Gore ■ 5%
Bush ■ 14%

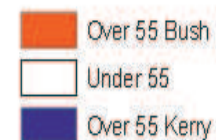
Note: County election data was not reported for Alaska. Counties in blue, indicating a vote for Gore, include Indian reservations in Montana, New Mexico and South Dakota.

Source: The Associated Press, ESRI Inc., USA TODAY analysis by Paul Overberg.

U.S. Counties With Over 55% Votes For Bush And Kerry In 2004 Election

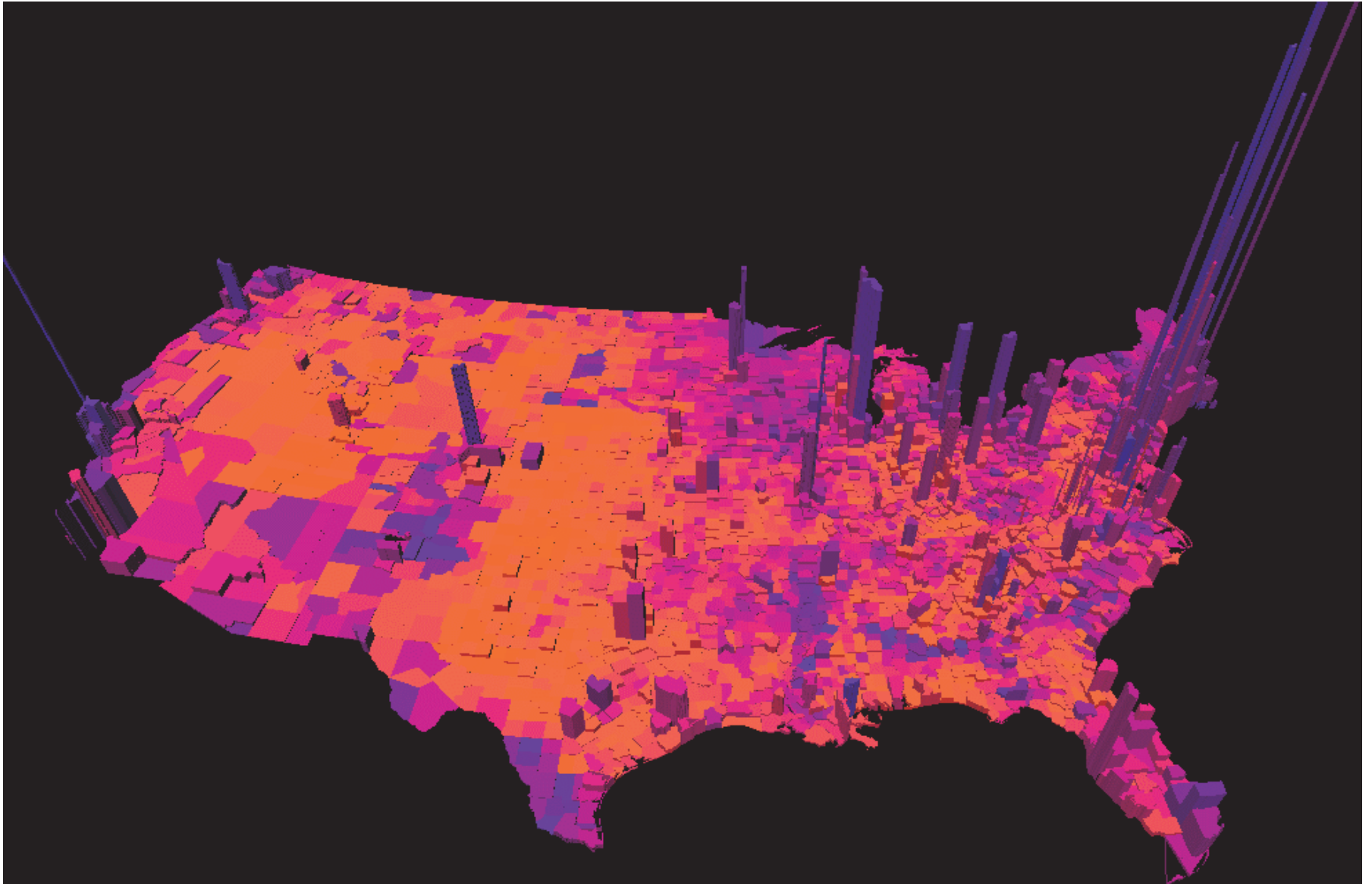


Percentage of Votes



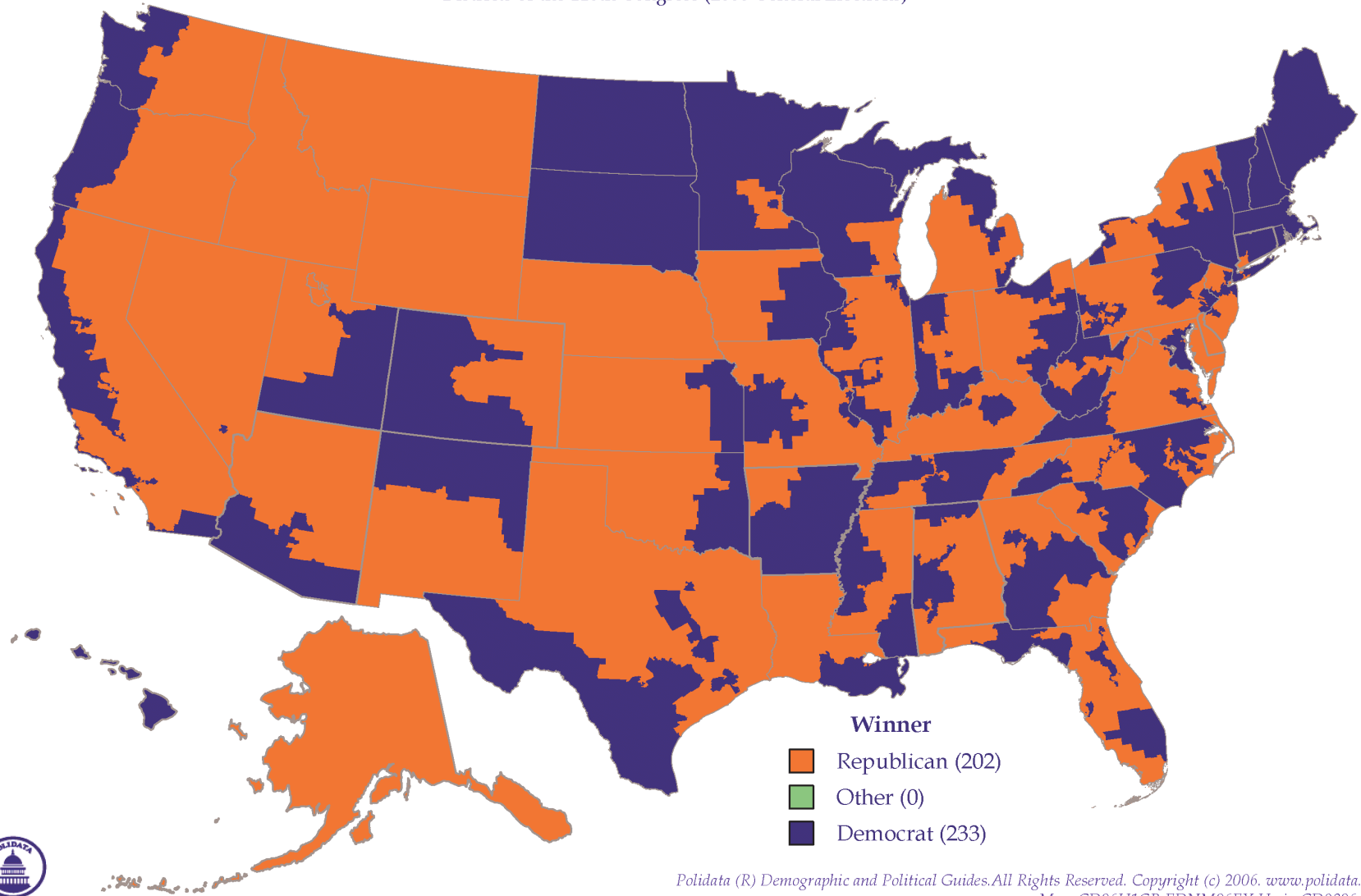
Rove, et al. saw this as their “ace in the hole”

Depth & Breadth Measure, 2004



U.S. House, 2006, 110th Congress

Congressional Elections. Winner by District. As of Dec. '06
Districts of the 110th Congress (2006 General Elections)



The Rules of the Game

- Only one thing matters:
- Getting to 270 EVs via the Electoral College

Electoral College Vote Distribution, largest to smallest, 2004 and 2008

California 55	Mass. 12	South Carolina 8	Hawaii 4
Texas 34	Indiana 11	Connecticut 7	Idaho 4
New York 31	Missouri 11	Iowa 7	Maine 4
Florida 27	Tennessee 11	Oklahoma 7	New Hampshire 4
Illinois 21	Washington 11	Oregon 7	Rhode Island 4
Pennsylvania 21	Arizona 10	Arkansas 6	Alaska 3
Ohio 20	Maryland 10	Kansas 6	Delaware 3
Michigan 17	Minnesota 10	Mississippi 6	D.C. 3
Georgia 15	Wisconsin 10	Nebraska 5	Montana 3
New Jersey 15	Alabama 9	Nevada 5	North Dakota 3
North Carolina 15	Colorado 9	New Mexico 5	South Dakota 3
Virginia 13	Louisiana 9	Utah 5	Vermont 3
	Kentucky 8	West Virginia 5	Wyoming 3

Historically, The Sure Things

- REPUBLICAN STATES:

- AL: 9, AR: 3, AK: 6, GA: 15, ID: 4, IN: 11, KS: 6, KY: 8, LA: 9, MS: 6, MT: 3, NE: 5, NC: 15, ND: 3, OK: 7, SC: 8, SD: 3, TX: 34, UT: 5, VA: 13, WY: 3.

- Total: 176

- DEMOCRATIC STATES

- CA: 55, CT: 7, DE: 3, DC: 3, HI: 4, IL: 21, ME: 4, MD: 10, MA: 12, NJ: 15, NY: 31, RI: 4, VT: 3

- Total: 169

The Purple States

- **The West:**
 - Arizona: 10 EV, Colorado: 9 EV, Nevada: 5 EV,
 - New Mexico: 5 EV, Oregon: 7 EV, Washington: 11 EV
- **The Midwest:**
 - Minnesota: 10 EV, Iowa: 7 EV, Missouri: 11 EV, Ohio: 20 EV, Pennsylvania: 21 EV, Michigan 17 EV, Wisconsin: 10 EV
- **Border states:**
 - Tennessee: 11 EV, West Virginia: 5 EV
- **The South:** Florida: 27 EV
- **The North:** New Hampshire: 4 EV

Example of How This Played Out in Early 2004 (# of Campaign Visits, June 2004)

Bush:

- ✓ PA: 29
- ✓ FL: 20
- ✓ MO: 17
- ✓ OH: 14
- GA: 13
- CA: 13
- TX: 13
- ✓ IA: 11

Kerry:

- ✓ IA: 71
- ✓ NH: 68
- CA: 29
- NY: 27
- ✓ FL: 23
- ✓ PA: 19
- ✓ IL: 14
- ✓ OH: 12

Check mark indicates a purple state. Why visit the others?

The Rules of the Game, cont'd

- Electoral College
- Problems with the Electoral College?
- What if we used a straight popular vote?

Rules, continued

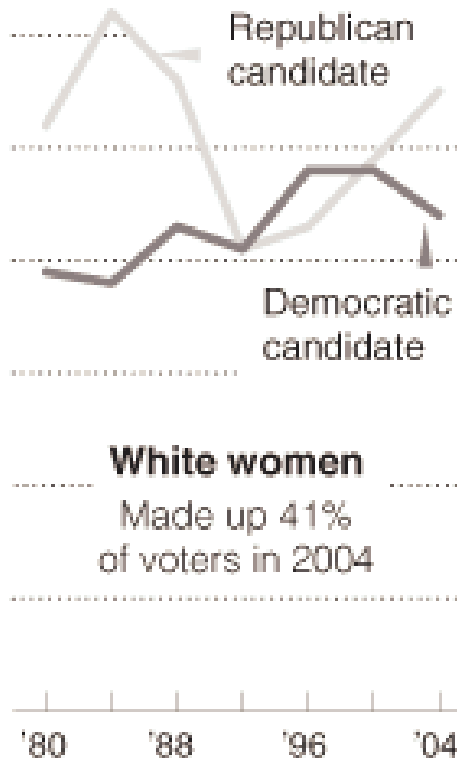
- Electoral College
- Campaign finance
- Swing voters vs. base voters

Demographic Breakdowns

How Women Have Voted in Presidential Races

According to exit polls.

IN PAST ELECTIONS



WOMEN WHO VOTED IN 2004

Share of voters	Dem.	Rep.
9% 18-29 years old	56%	43%
15 30-44	49	50
17 45-59	50	49
13 60 and older	51	49
32 Married	44	55
22 Unmarried	62	37
24 Suburban	50	49
14 No college	50	49
18 Some college	49	51
22 College graduate	54	44

Sources: Exit polls conducted by The New York Times, CBS News, Voter Research and Surveys, Voter News Service and Edison/Mitofsky



VOTER'S CURRENT AGE

90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20



Today's Voters: How Generation Influences Party

President when those voters were 20 years old (G.O.P. administrations are shaded)

ROOSEVELT TRUMAN EISENHOWER JOHNSON KENNEDY NIXON FORD CARTER REAGAN BUSH I CLINTON BUSH II

Percentage of today's voters, by their current age, who say:

They are or they lean **DEMOCRATIC**

They are or they lean **REPUBLICAN**

Party affiliations for those who turned 20 during each administration:

DEMOCRATIC

REPUBLICAN

Democratic advantage

50%

45%

40%

48%

41%

7%

50

39

11

45

45

0

47

42

5

50

41

9

51

38

13

51

40

11

47

44

3

47

43

4

45

46

-1

49

40

9

52

37

15

The most Democratic voters: age 21

Least Democratic: age 71

Most Republican: age 36

Least Republican: age 24

Source: Pew Research Center for the People and the Press (data compiled from more than 23,000 voters surveyed, January through October 2006)

Additional Considerations, #1

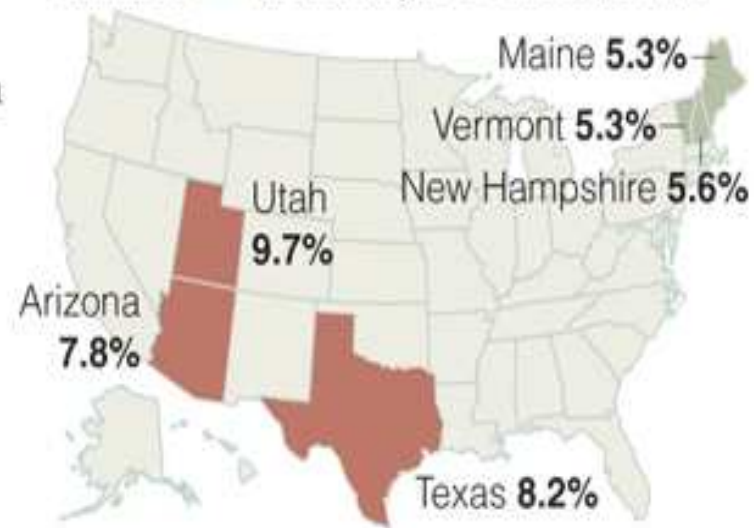
Population Extremes

New figures released by the U.S. Census Bureau last week show which states have the largest and smallest percentages of old and young.

OLDER States with the largest ■ and smallest ■ percentage of older people (65+).



YOUNGER States with the largest ■ and smallest ■ percentage of preschoolers.

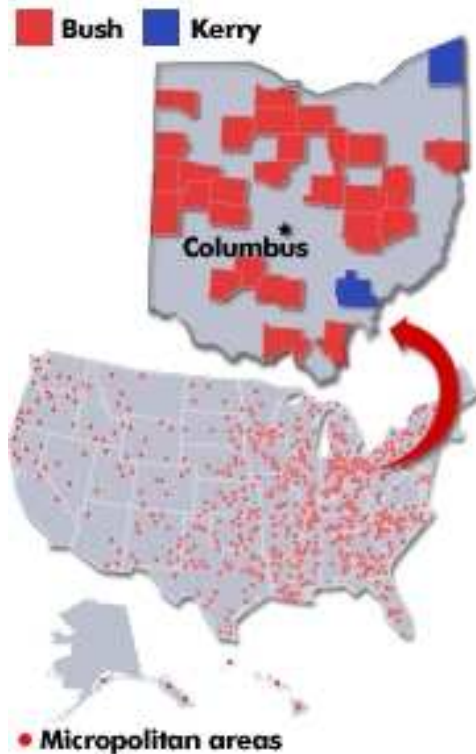


The New York Times

Add'l Consideration, #2

Micropolitan population voted heavily for Bush

The nation's 573 micropolitan areas voted decisively for President Bush on Nov. 2 — just 16% of them gave Sen. John Kerry a majority. In the battle-ground state of Ohio the GOP advantage was even more decisive.

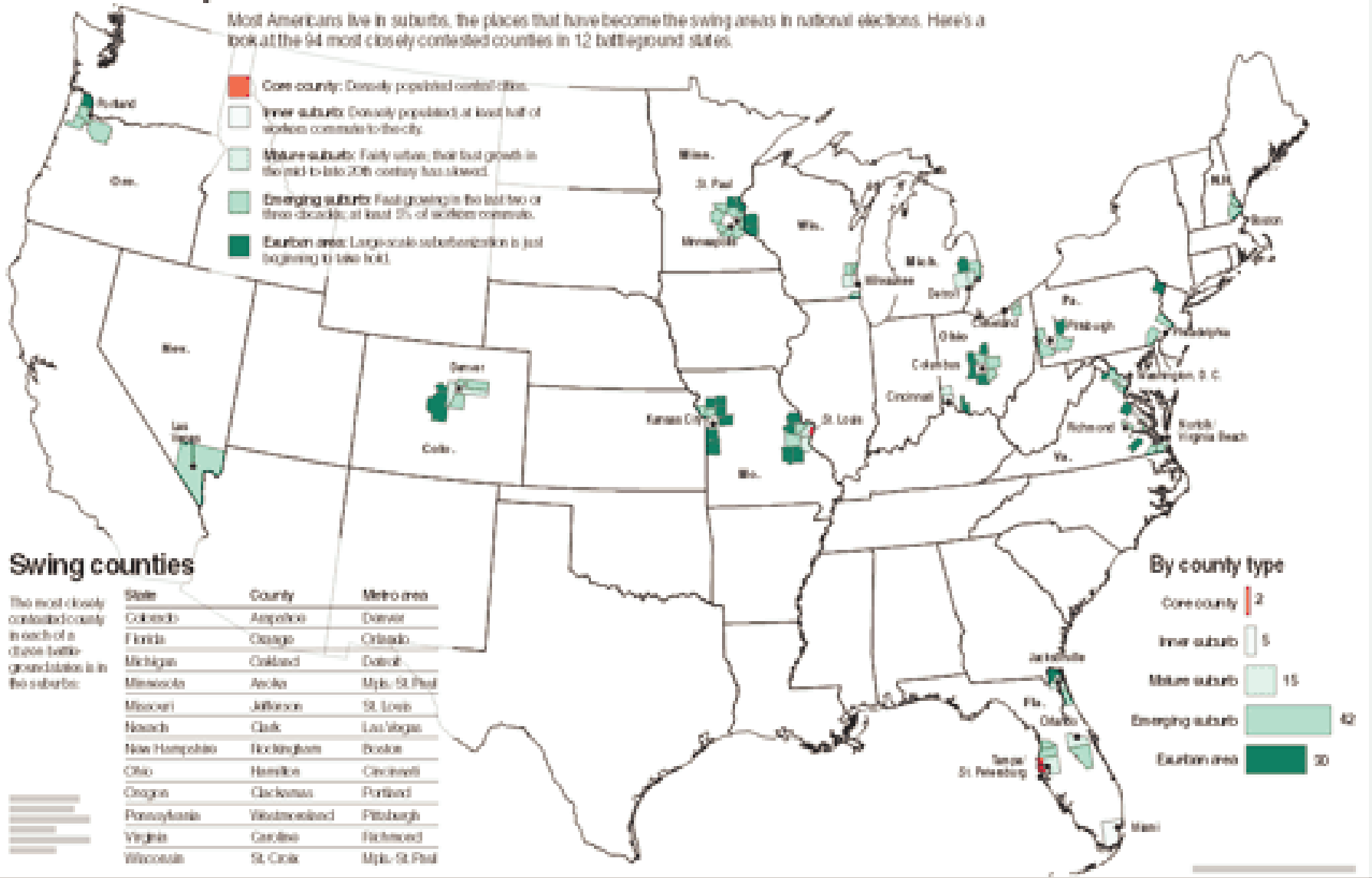


Source: USA TODAY research
By Marcy E. Mullins and David Evans,
USA TODAY

Where the presidential election could be won or lost

Most Americans live in suburbs, the places that have become the swing areas in national elections. Here's a look at the 94 most closely contested counties in 12 battleground states.

- **Core county:** Densely populated central cities.
- **Inner suburbs:** Densely populated, at least half of workers commute to the city.
- **Mature suburbs:** Fairly urban, their fast growth in the mid- to late 20th century has slowed.
- **Emerging suburbs:** Fast growth in the last two or three decades, at least 25% of workers commute.
- **Exurban area:** Large-scale suburbanization is just beginning to take hold.



Swing counties

The most closely contested county in each of a dozen battleground states is in the suburbs.

State	County	Metro area
Colorado	Arapahoe	Denver
Florida	Orange	Orlando
Michigan	Oakland	Detroit
Minnesota	Anoka	Mpls.-St. Paul
Missouri	Jefferson	St. Louis
Nevada	Clark	Las Vegas
New Hampshire	Rockingham	Boston
Ohio	Hamilton	Cincinnati
Oregon	Clatsop	Portland
Pennsylvania	Westmoreland	Pittsburgh
Virginia	Caroline	Richmond
Wisconsin	St. Croix	Mpls.-St. Paul

By county type

Core county	2
Inner suburbs	5
Mature suburbs	15
Emerging suburbs	42
Exurban area	30