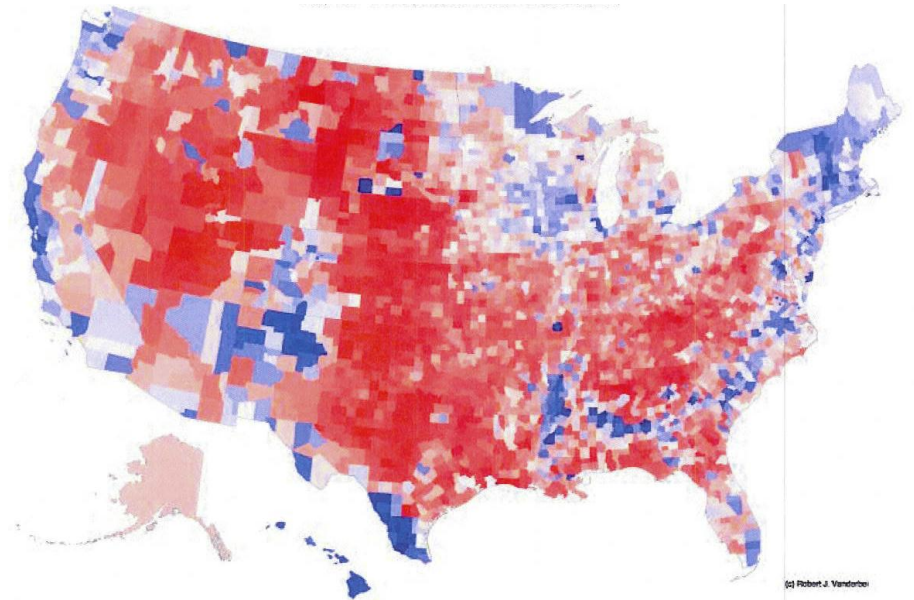


State of Politics 2015

Tom Davis



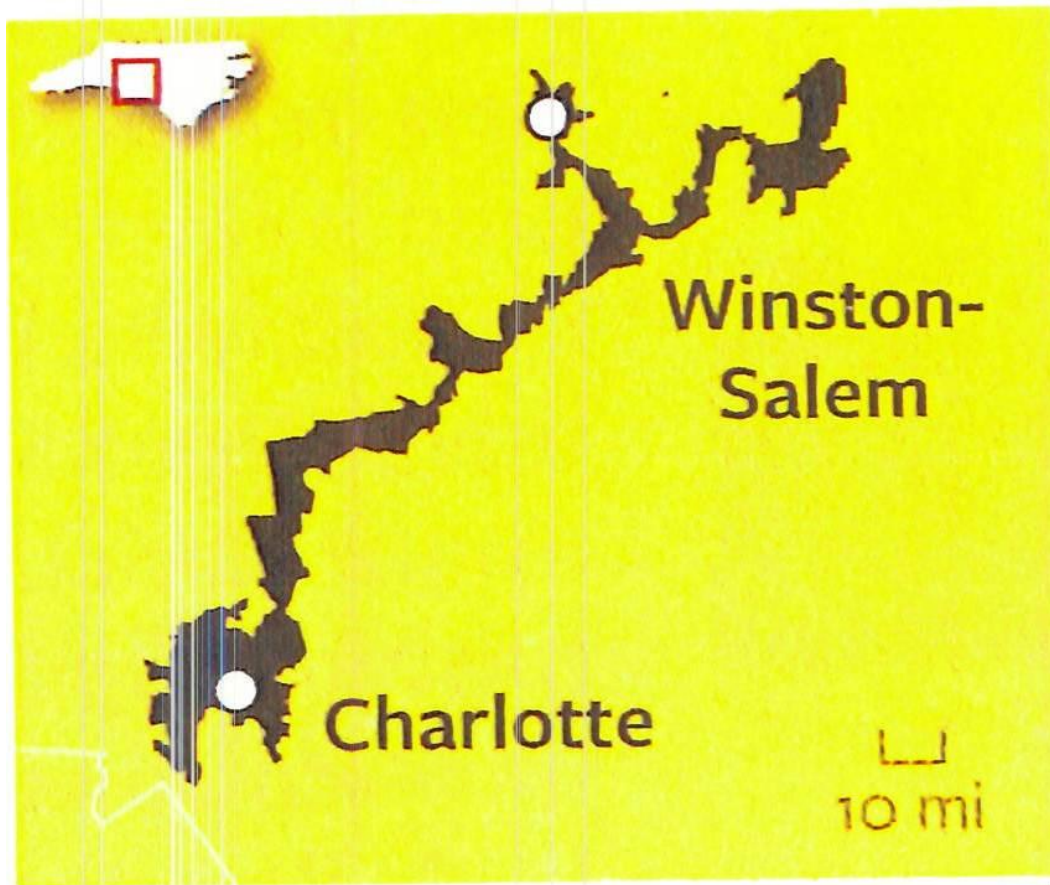
Polarization

The Ideological sorting of the parties

1. Redistricting
 - Residential Sorting
 - Voting Rights Act
 - Gerrymandering
2. Media Business Models
 - Cable News
 - Talk Radio
 - Internet
3. Money in Politics
 - McCain—Feingold
 - Citizens United

Map: North Carolina 12th

North Carolina 12th

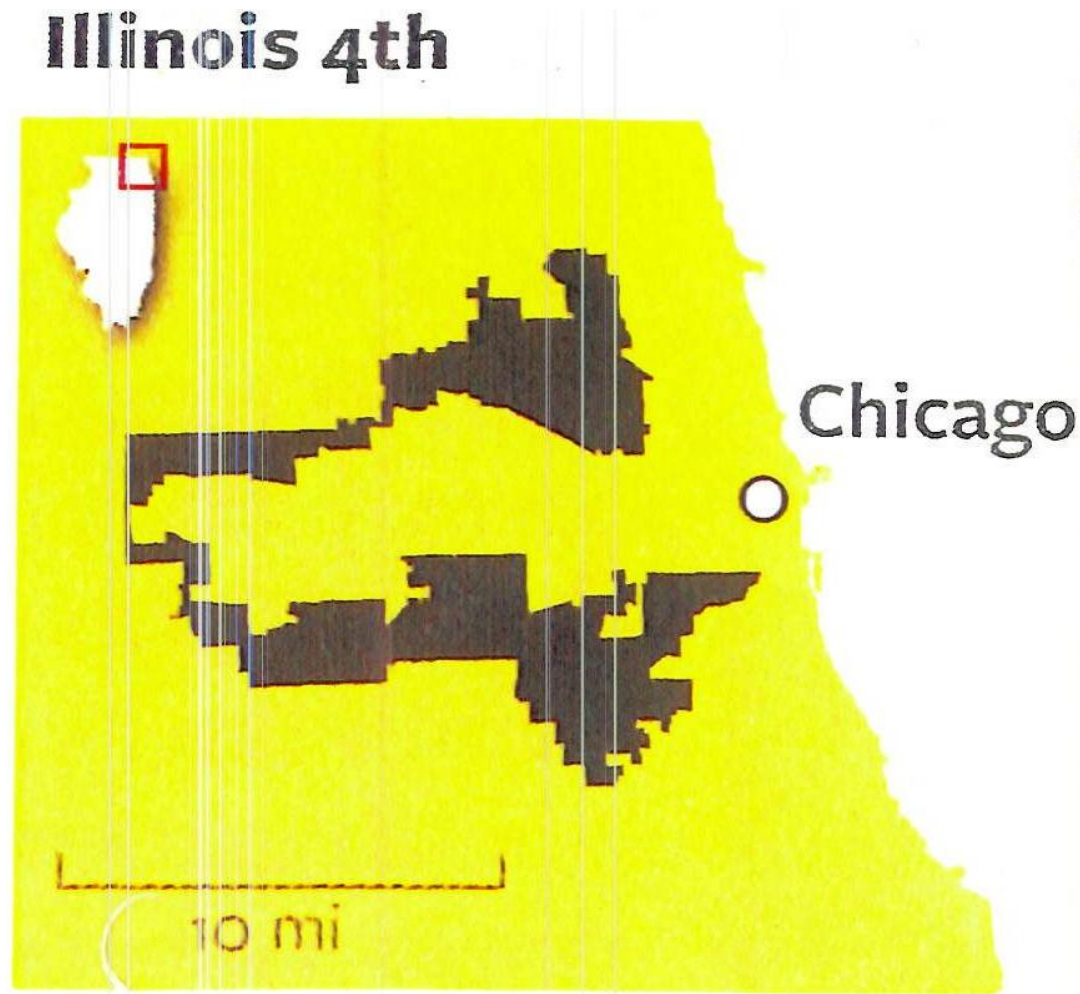


Map: Maryland 3rd

Maryland 3rd



Map: Illinois 4th



Map: Maryland 2nd

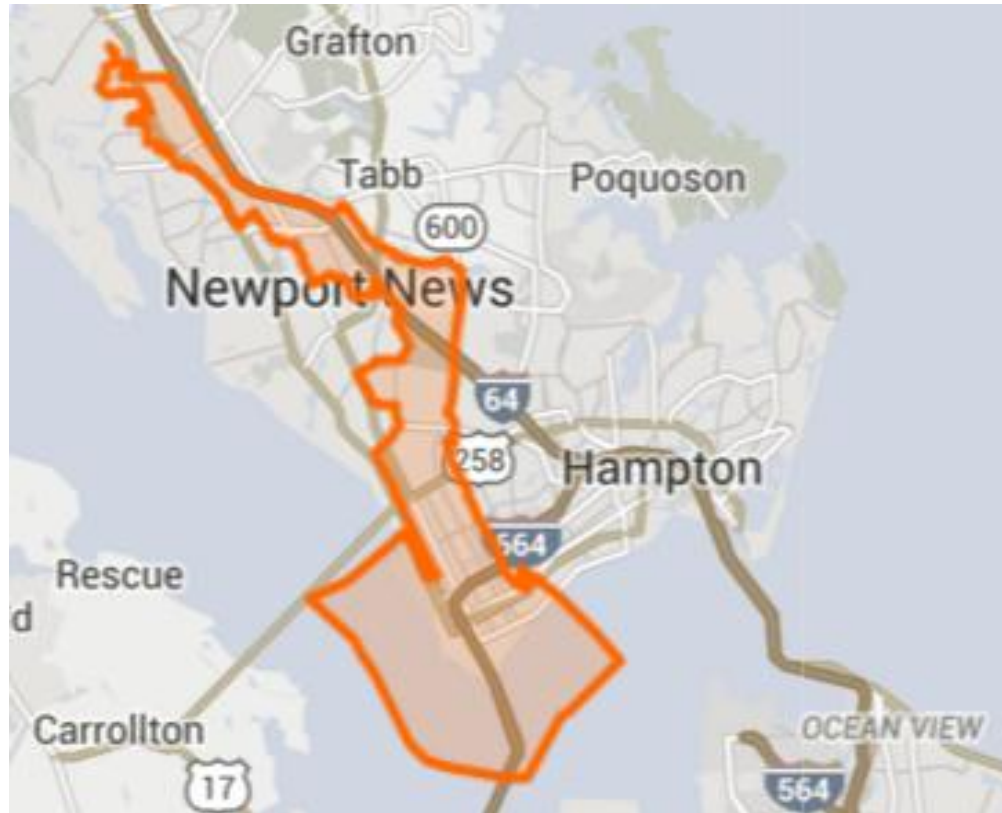
Maryland 2nd



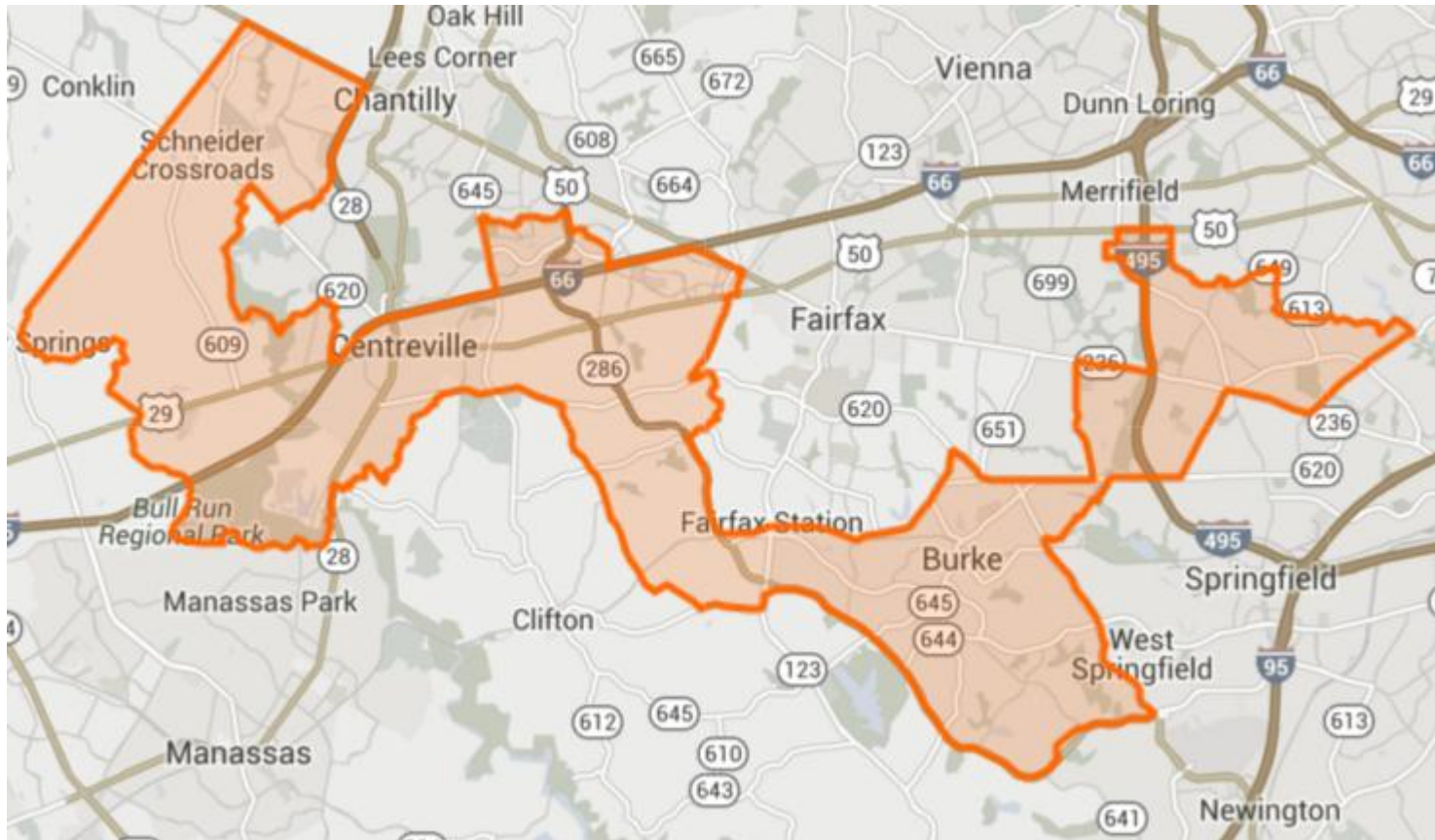
Map: Pennsylvania 7th



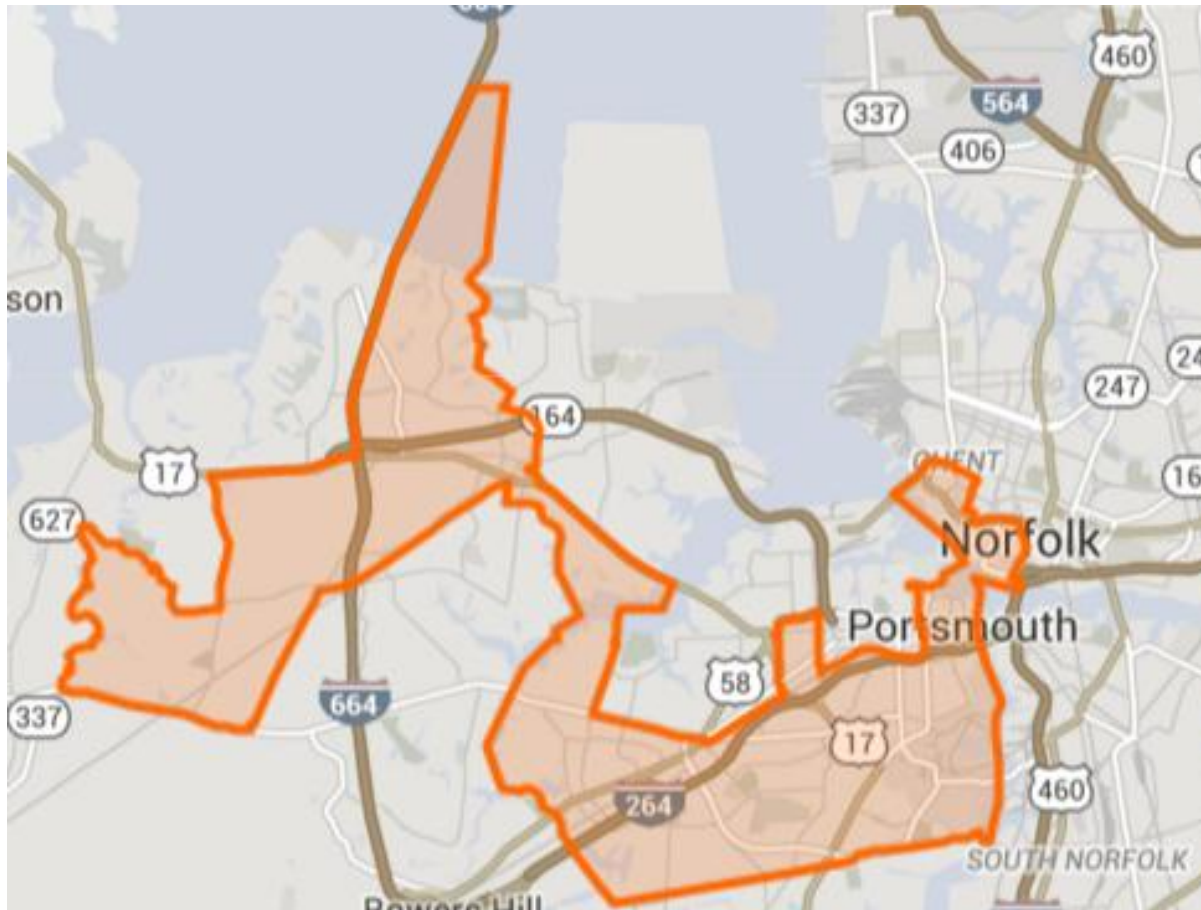
VIRGINIA HOUSE 94



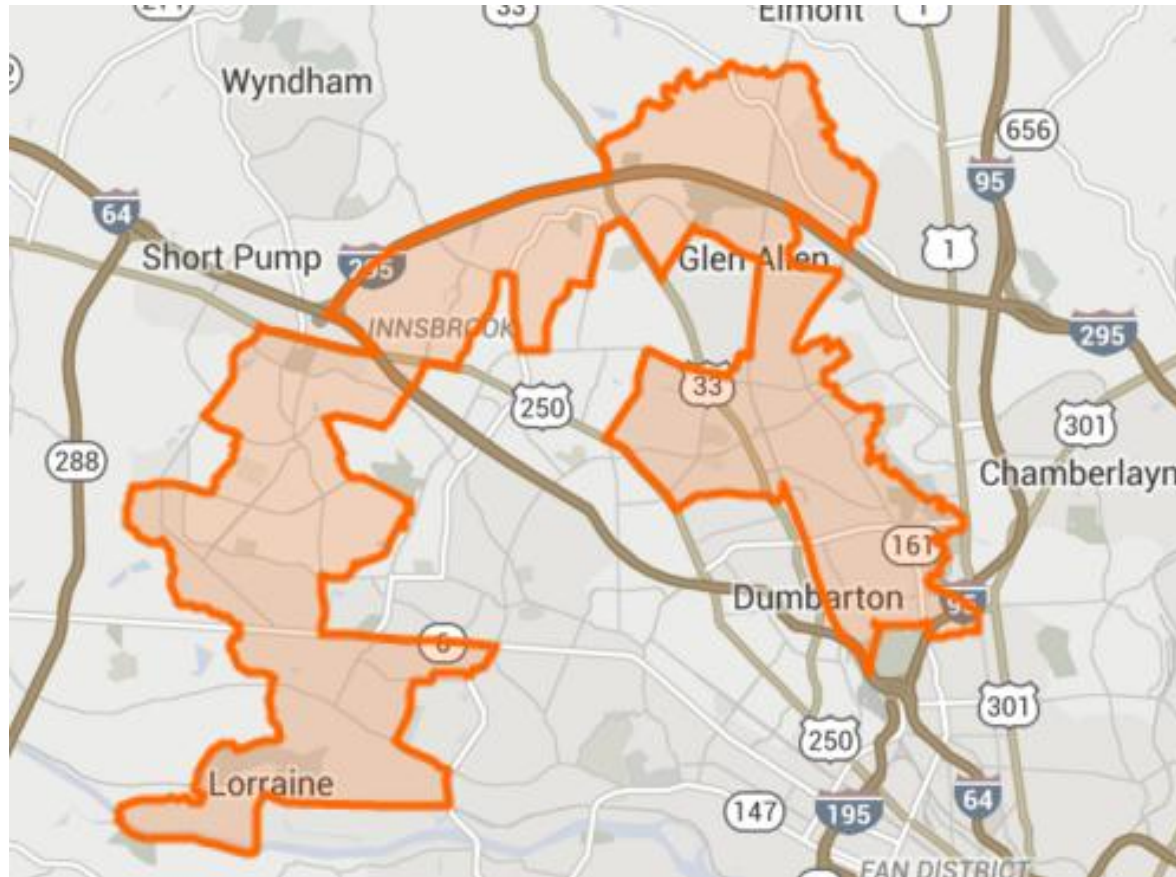
VIRGINIA SENATE 37



VIRGINIA HOUSE 80



VIRGINIA HOUSE 72



SENATE DISTRICTS DECIDED

By Less Than 20% (40)

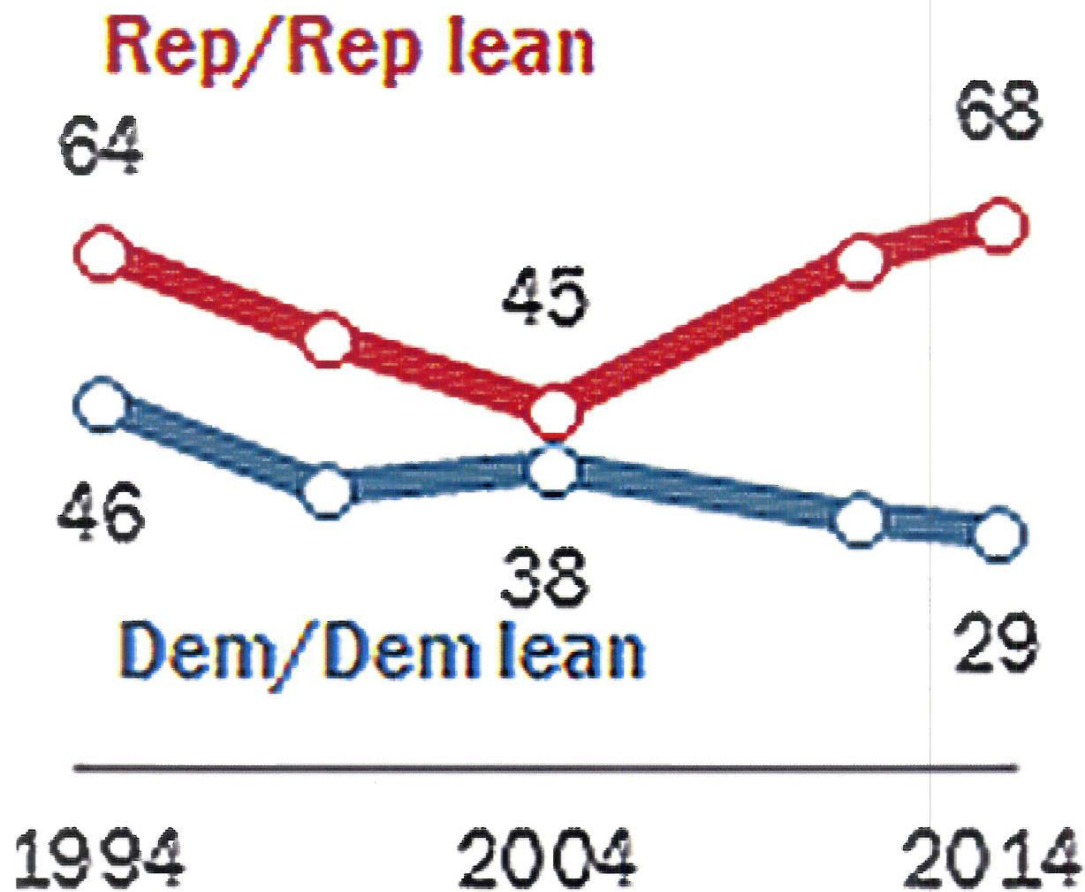
Dist. 1	Miller (D)	59%
Dist. 7	Wagner (R)	54%
Dist. 8	De Steph (R)	59%
Dist. 10	Sturtevant (R)	50%
Dist. 12	Dunnavant (R)	57%
Dist. 13	Black (R)	52%
Dist. 20	Stanley (R)	58%
Dist. 21	Edwards (D)	51%
Dist. 29	McPike (D)	54%
Dist. 33	Wexton (D)	57%
Dist. 37	Marsden (D)	55%
Dist. 39	Barker (D)	54%
30% of Senate Districts within 20 points		

HOUSE OF DELEGATES RACES

Decided by Less Than 20%

Dist. 2	Dudohefer (R)	51%
Dist. 12	Yost (R)	58%
Dist. 13	Marshall (R)	56%
Dist. 21	Villanueva (R)	57%
Dist. 27	Robinson (R)	59%
Dist. 31	Lingamfelter (R)	53%
Dist. 32	Greason (R)	53%
Dist. 34	Murphy (D)	50%
Dist. 37	Bulova (D)	57%
Dist. 50	Miller (R)	59%
Dist. 86	Boysko (D)	54%
Dist. 87	Bell (D)	50%
12 of 100 Districts		

Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good



Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy

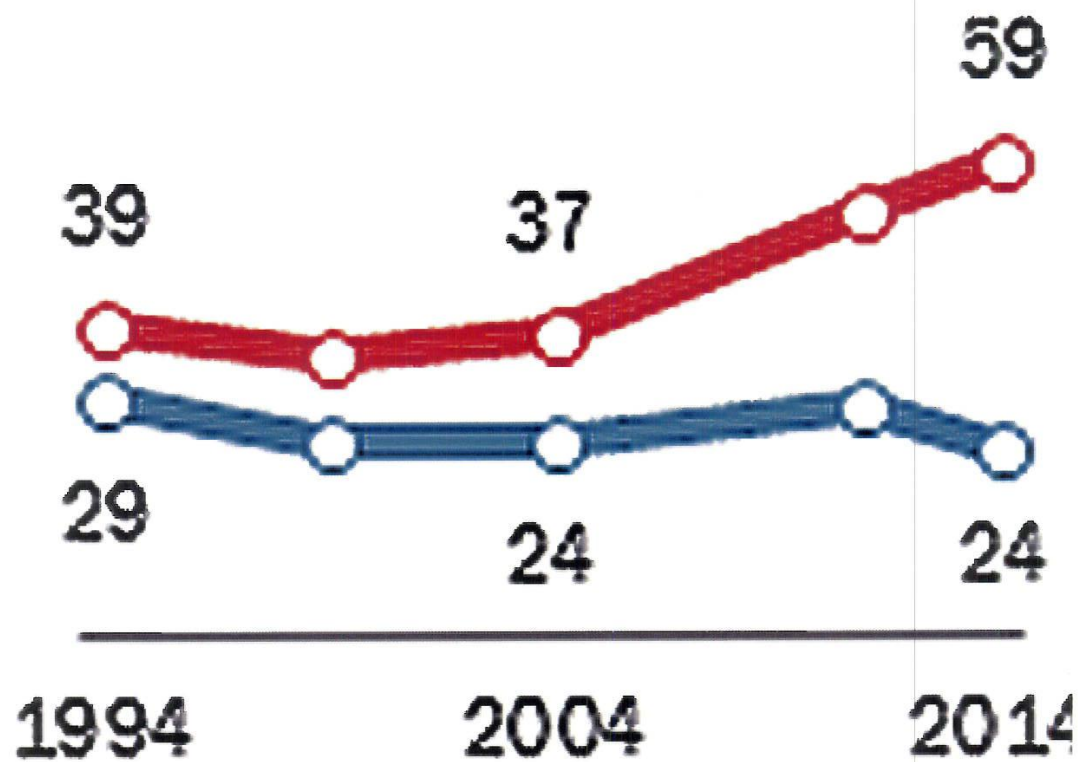


Table 1: Feelings about Democratic and Republican parties by decade

Decade	Both positive	Both negative	One positive, one negative
1978-1980	35%	3%	33%
1982-1990	33%	2%	40%
1992-2000	23%	4%	50%
2002-2010	16%	5%	56%
2012	7%	8%	65%

Note: Percentages sum across and do not total 100 due to exclusion of those with neutral opinions of one party or both parties.

Source: American National Election Studies

Image courtesy of Alan Abramowitz

2014 Senate races by 2012 presidential result

Senators running in 2014 by 2012 presidential performance (Obama vs. Romney)

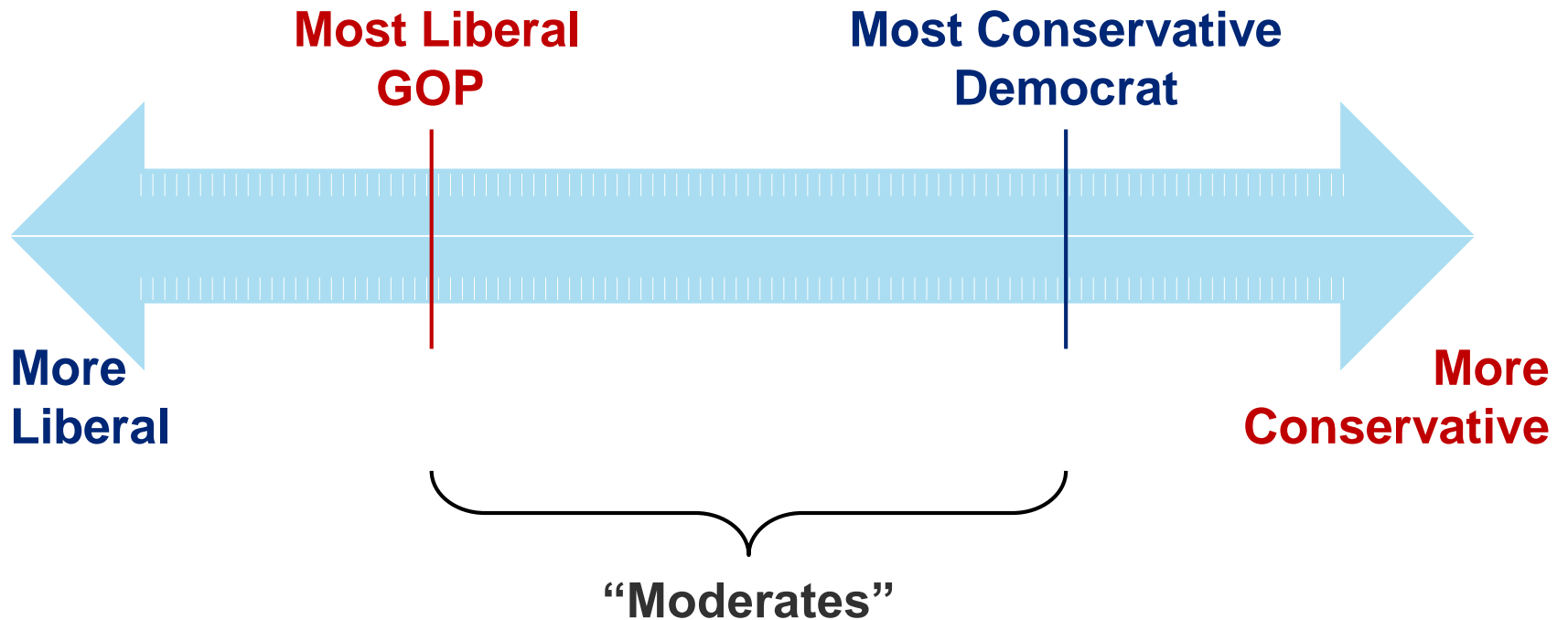
Obama + 15 or Greater	Obama +5 to +14.9	Obama +4.9 to Romney +4.9	Romney +5 to +14.9	Romney +15 or Greater
Democrats (21)				
Coons (DE) +19 Schatz (HI) +43 Durbin (IL) +17 Markey (MA) +23 Reed (RI) +27 Booker (NJ) +17	M. Udall (CO) +5 Harkin* (IA) +6 Levin* (MI) +10 Franken (MN) +8 Shaheen (NH) +6 T. Udall (NM) +10 Merkley (OR) +12	Hagan (NC) R+2 Warner (VA) D+4	Begich (AK) +14 Walsh* (MT) +14	Pryor (AR) +24 Landrieu (LA) +17 Johnson* (SD) +18 Rockefeller* (WV) +27
Republicans (15)				
Collins (ME) +15			Chambliss* (GA) +8 Cochran (MS) +12 Graham (SC) +10 Scott (SC) +10	Sessions (AL) +22 Risch (ID) +32 Roberts (KS) +22 McConnell (KY) +23 Johanns* (NE) +22 Coburn (OK) +34 Inhofe (OK) +34 Alexander (TN) +20 Cornyn (TX) +16 Enzi (WY) +41

*Senate seat is open
Source: The Cook Political Report

2016 Senate Races

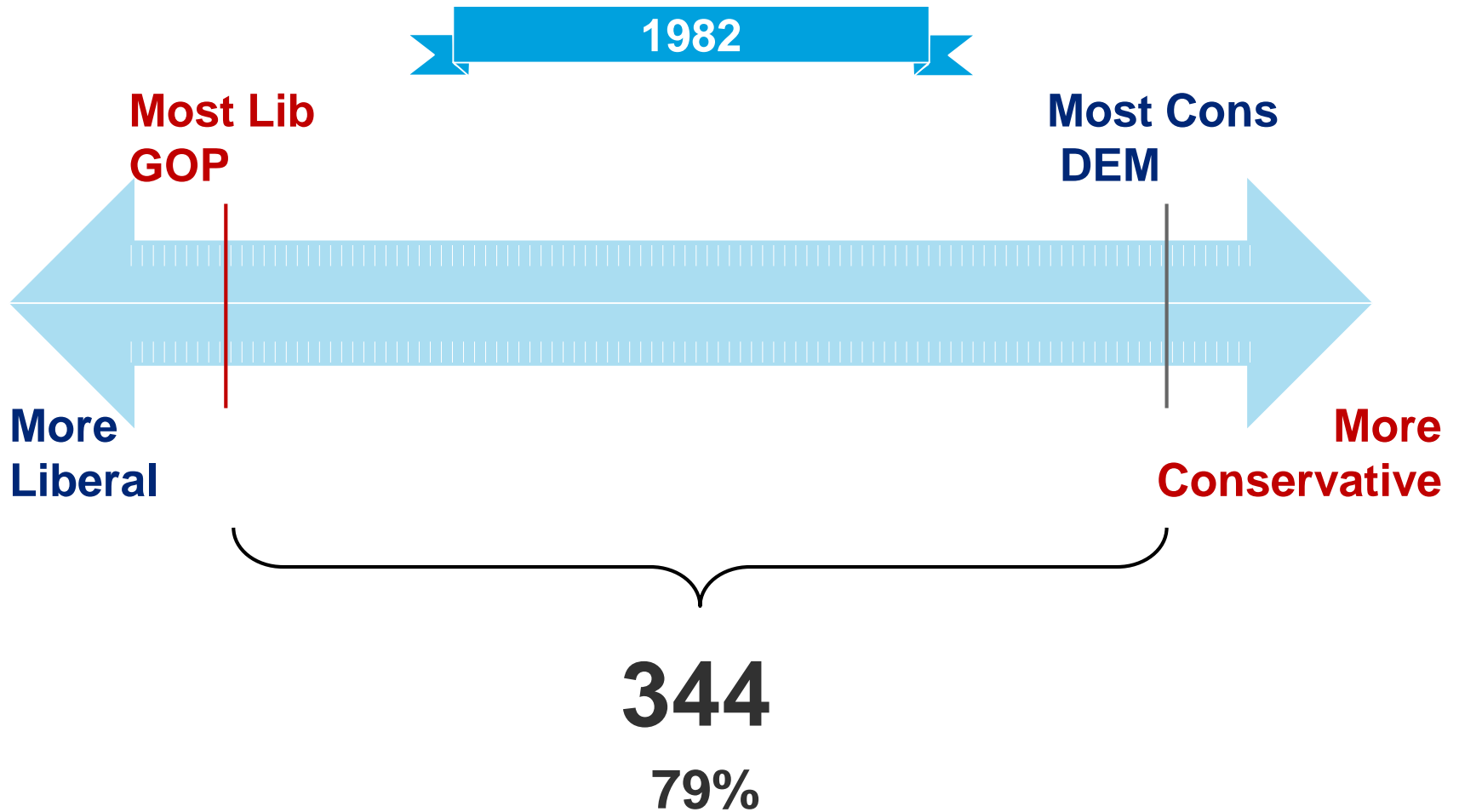
Democrat Held (10)	Obama 2012 %	Republican Held (24)	Obama 2012 %
Hawaii	70.5		
Vermont	66.7		
New York	63.3		
Maryland	62		
California	60.2		
Connecticut	58.1		
		Illinois	57.6
Washington	56.2		
Oregon	54.2		
		Wisconsin	52.8
Nevada	52.4		
		N. Hampshire	52
		Iowa	52
		Pennsylvania	52
Colorado	51.5		
		Ohio	50.7
		Florida	50
		N. Carolina	48.4
		Georgia	45.5
		Arizona	44.6
		Missouri	44.4
		S. Carolina	44.1
		Indiana	43.9
		Alaska	40.8
		Louisiana	40.6
		S. Dakota	39.9
		N. Dakota	38.7
		Alabama	38.4
		Kansas	38
		Kentucky	37.8
		Arkansas	36.9
		Oklahoma	33.2
		Idaho	32.6
		Utah	24.7

The incredible shrinking middle

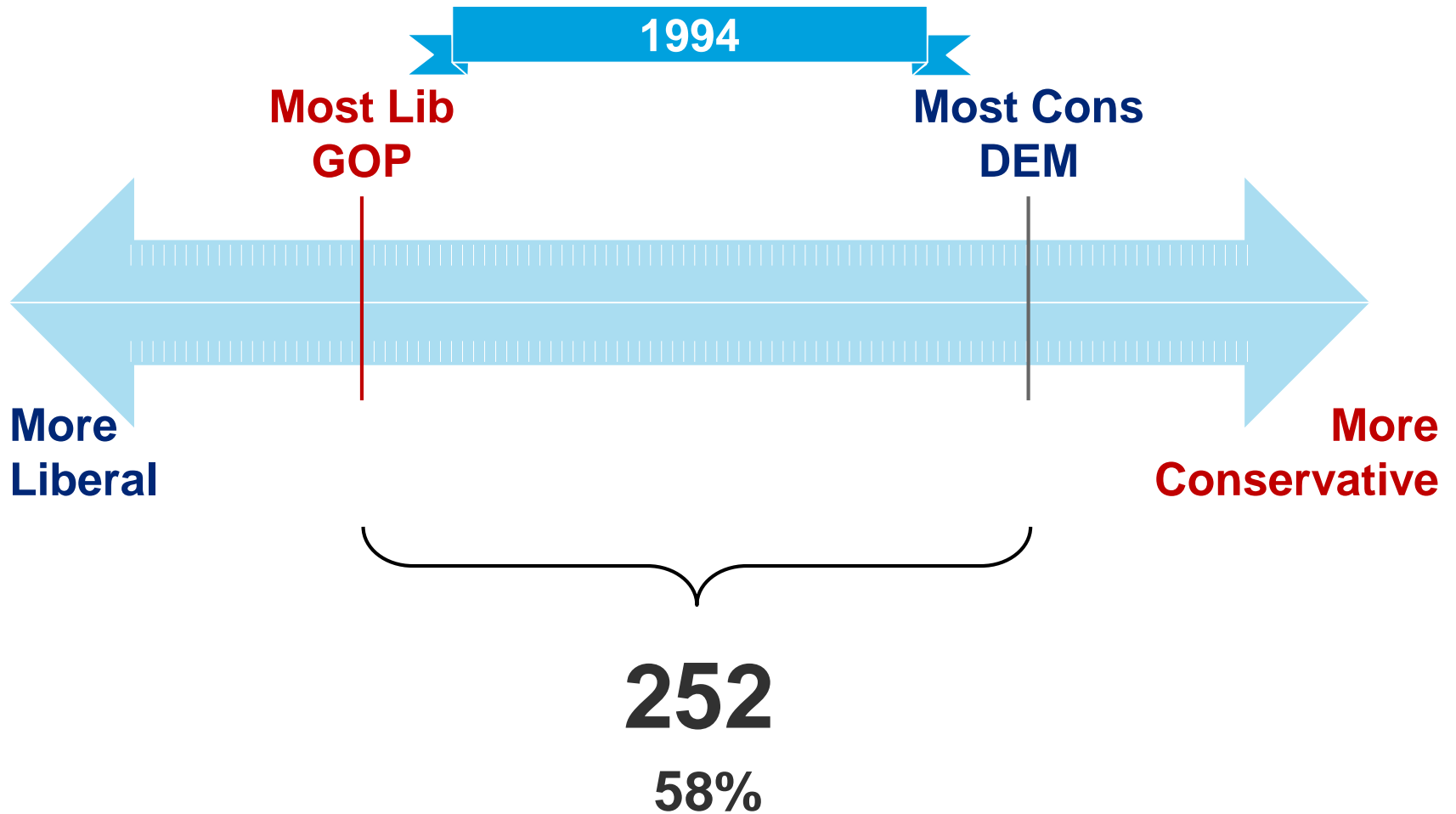


Based on legislative voting records and analysis by National Journal

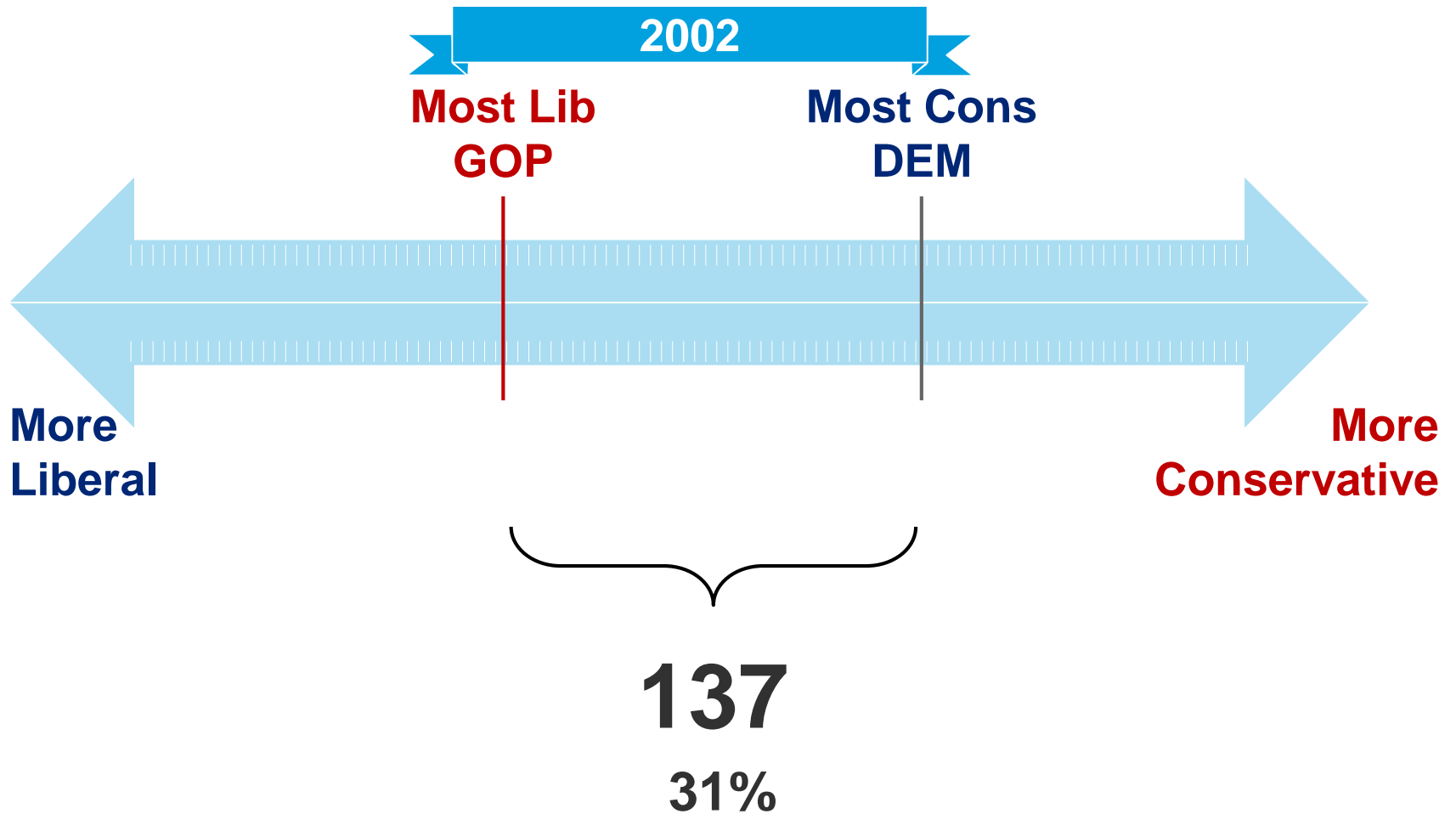
US house of representatives



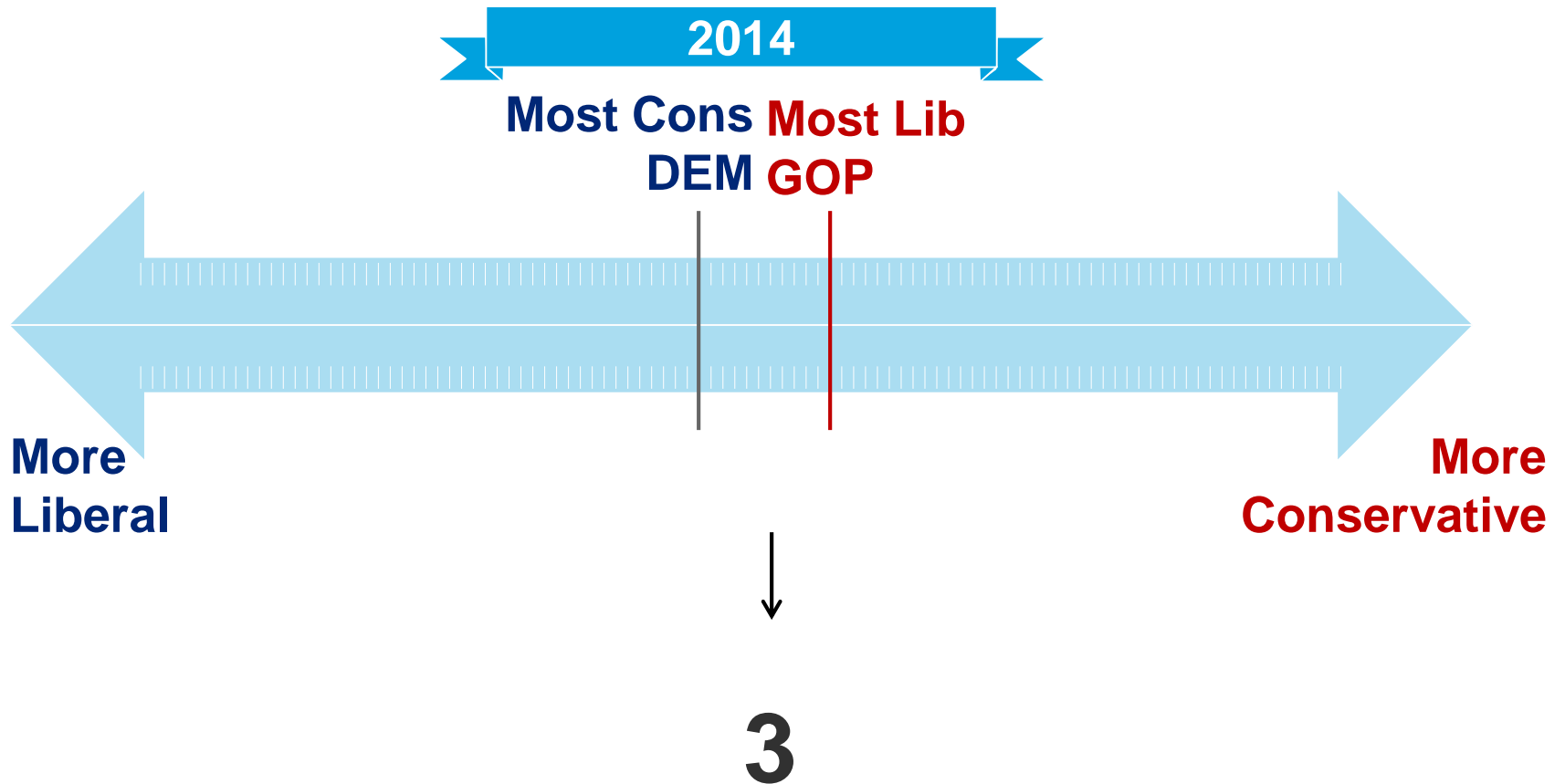
US house of representatives (cont.)



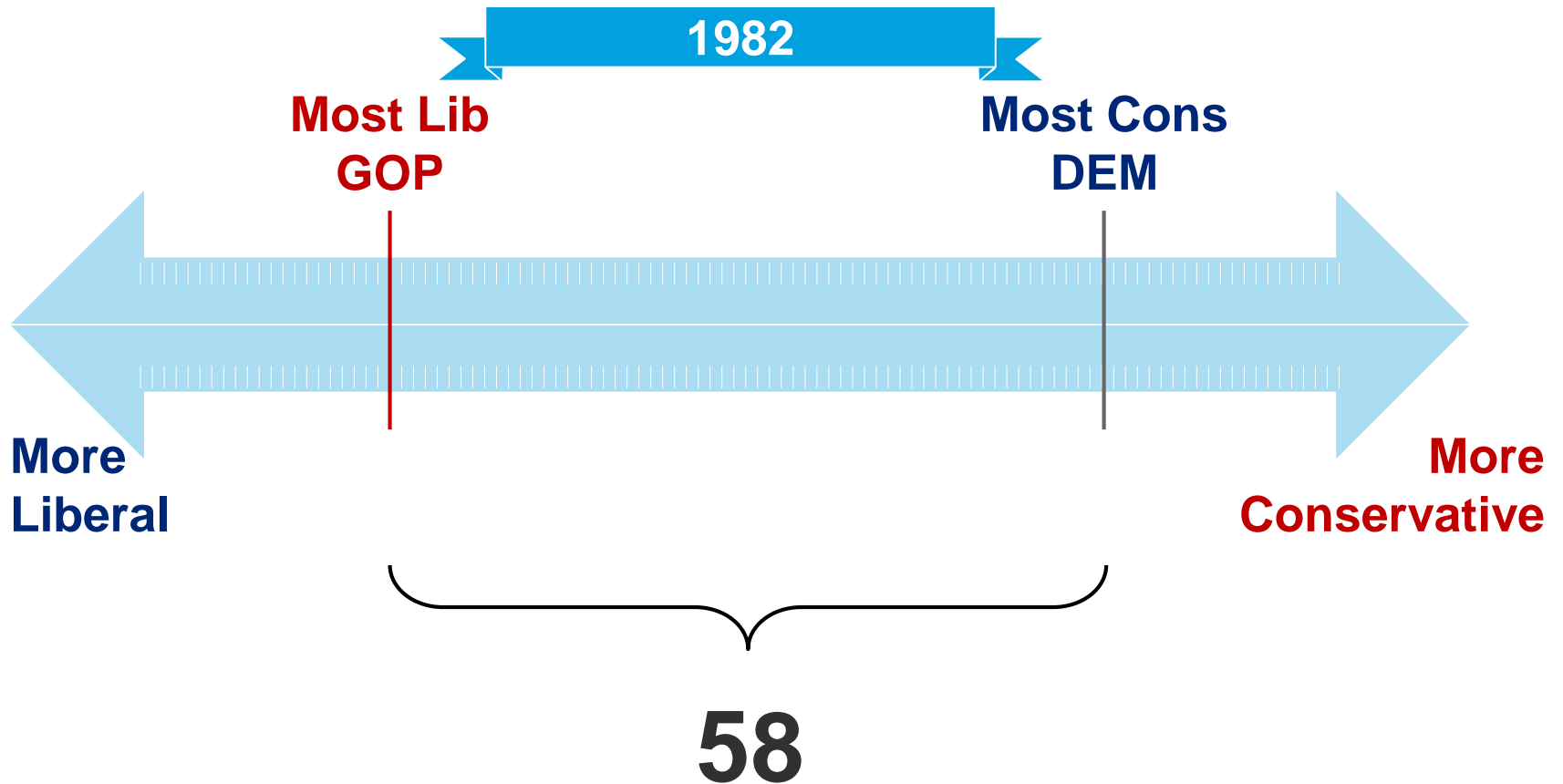
US house of representatives (cont.)



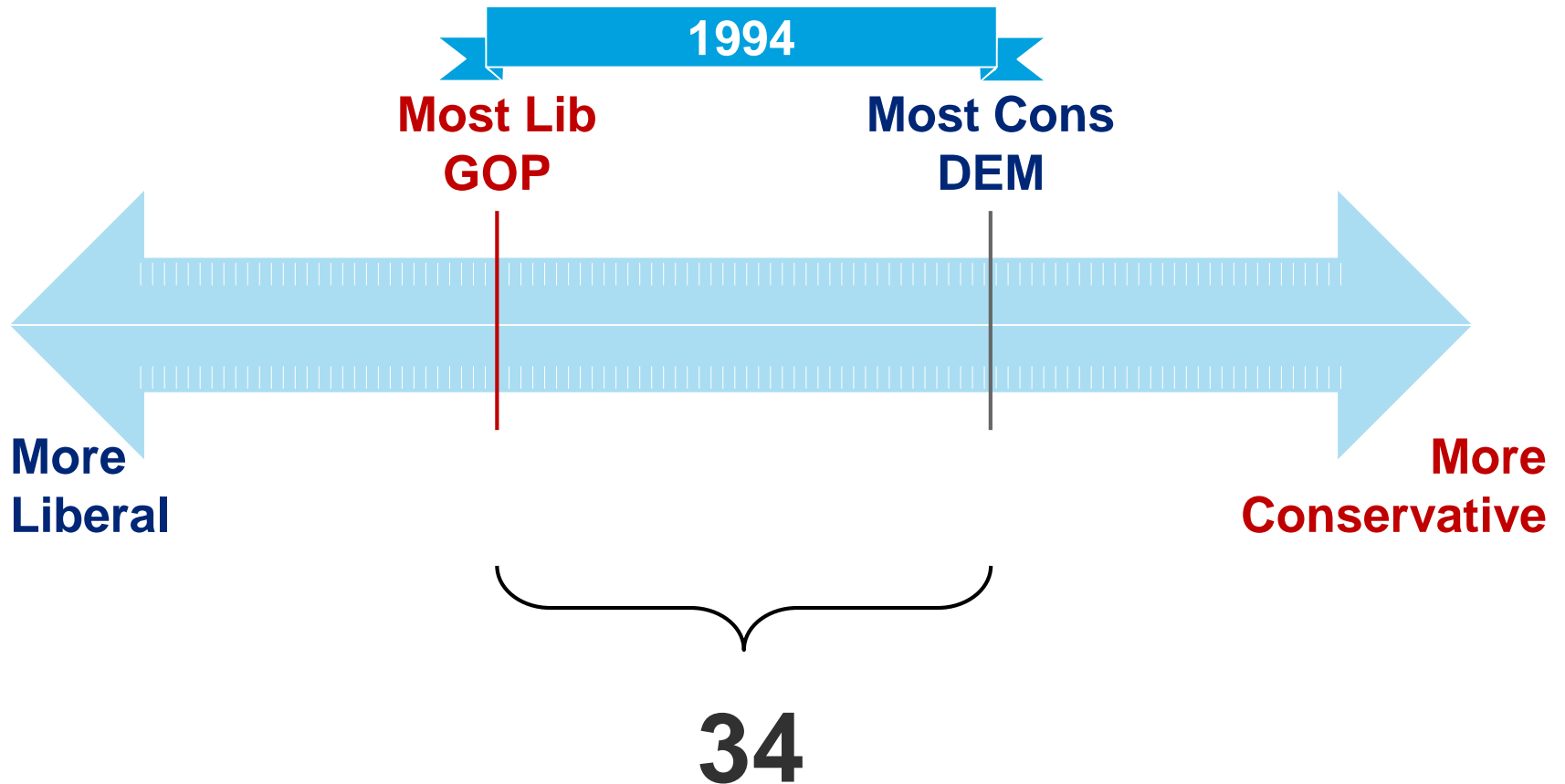
US house of representatives (cont.)



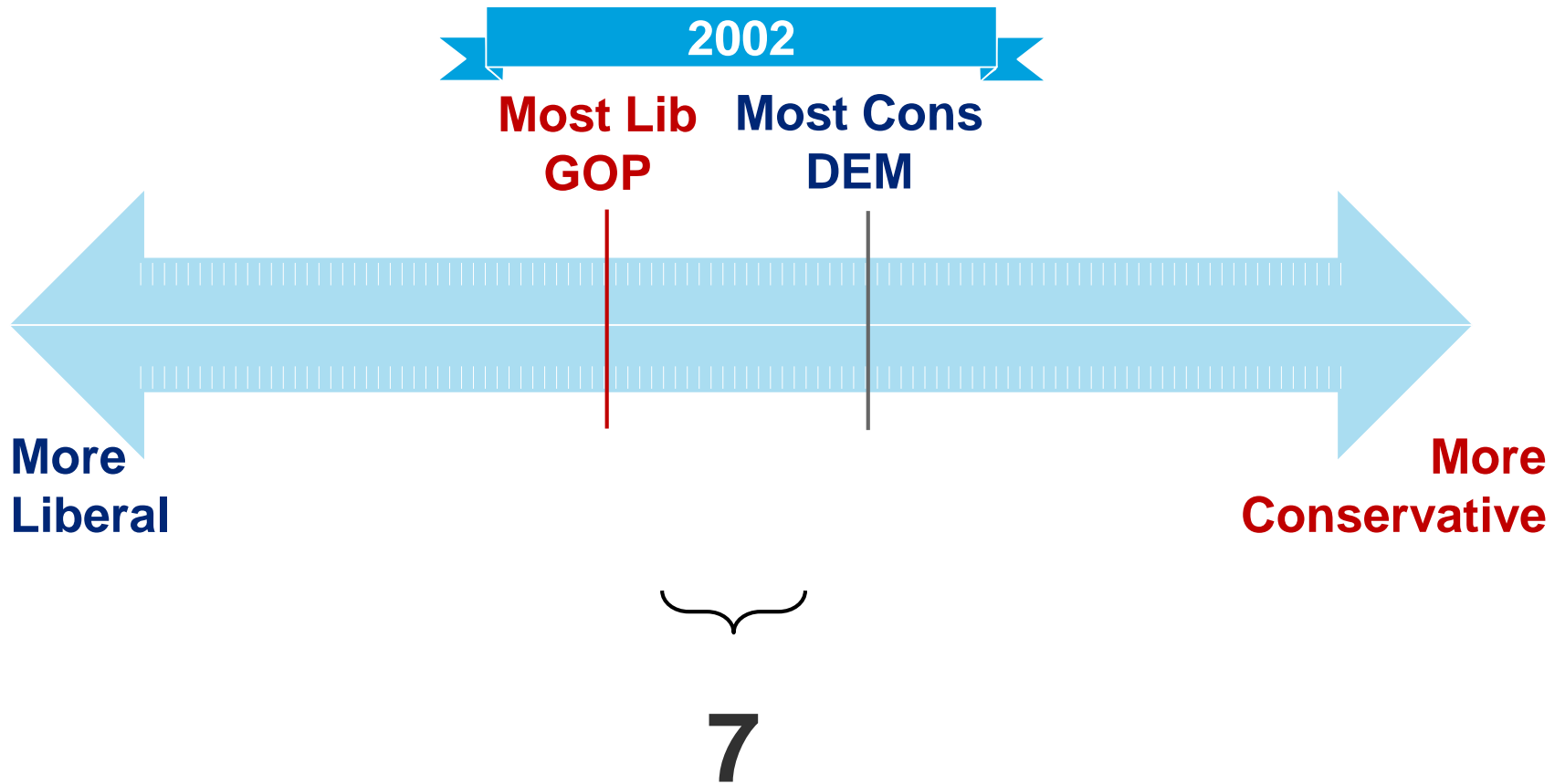
US Senate



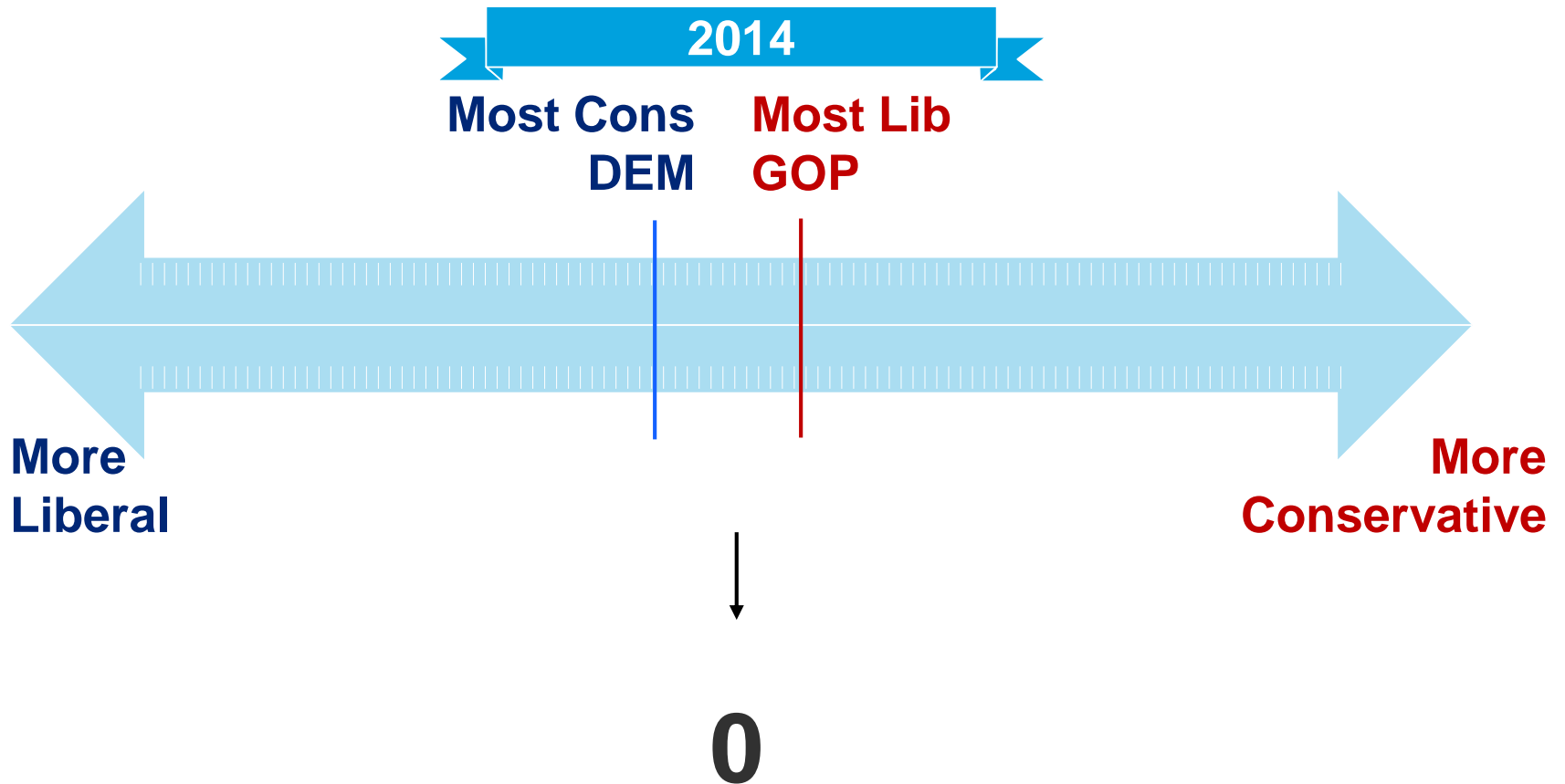
US Senate (cont.)



US Senate (cont.)



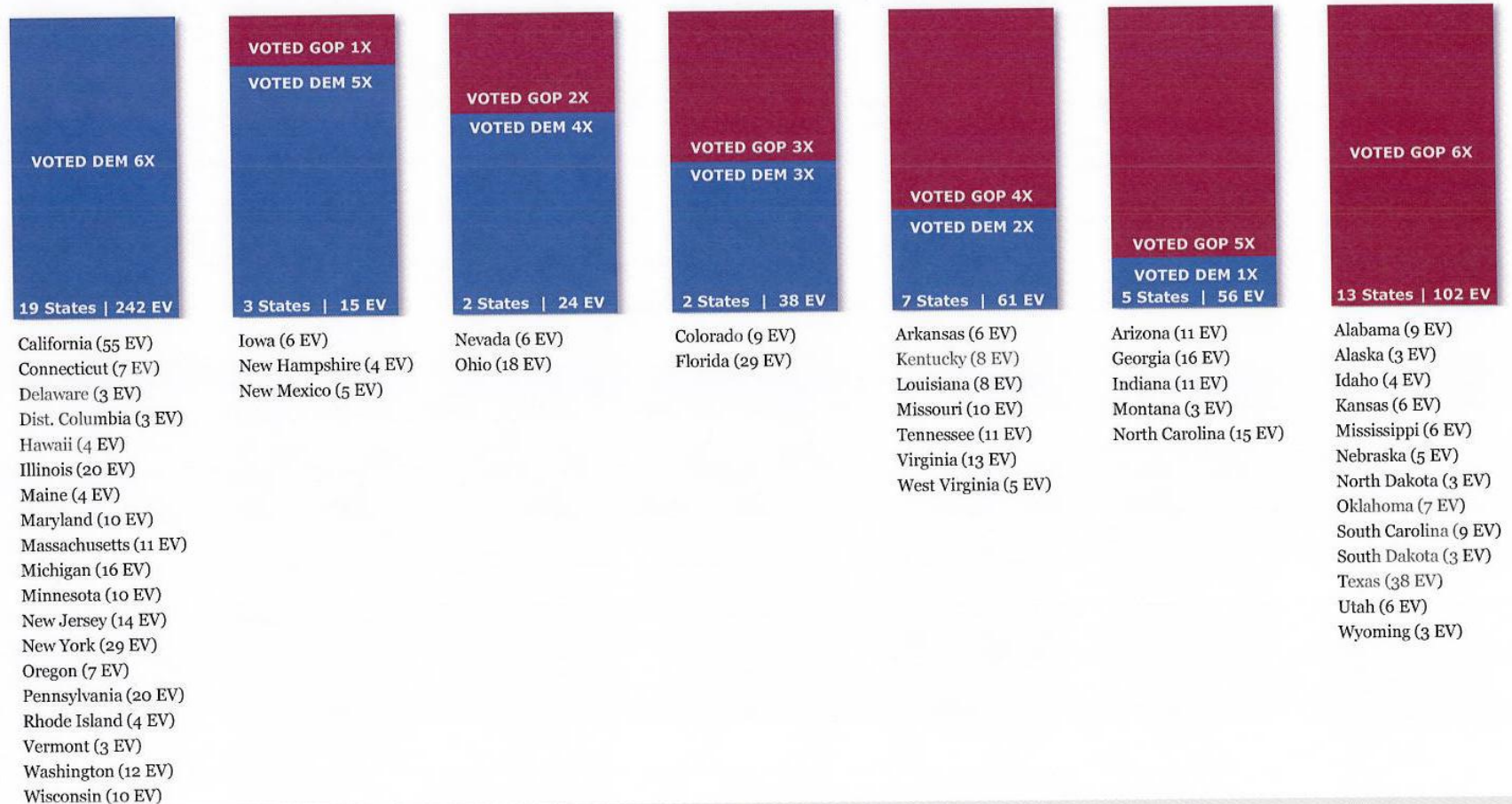
US Senate (cont.)



The Cook Political Report

Presidential Voting by State (1992-2012)

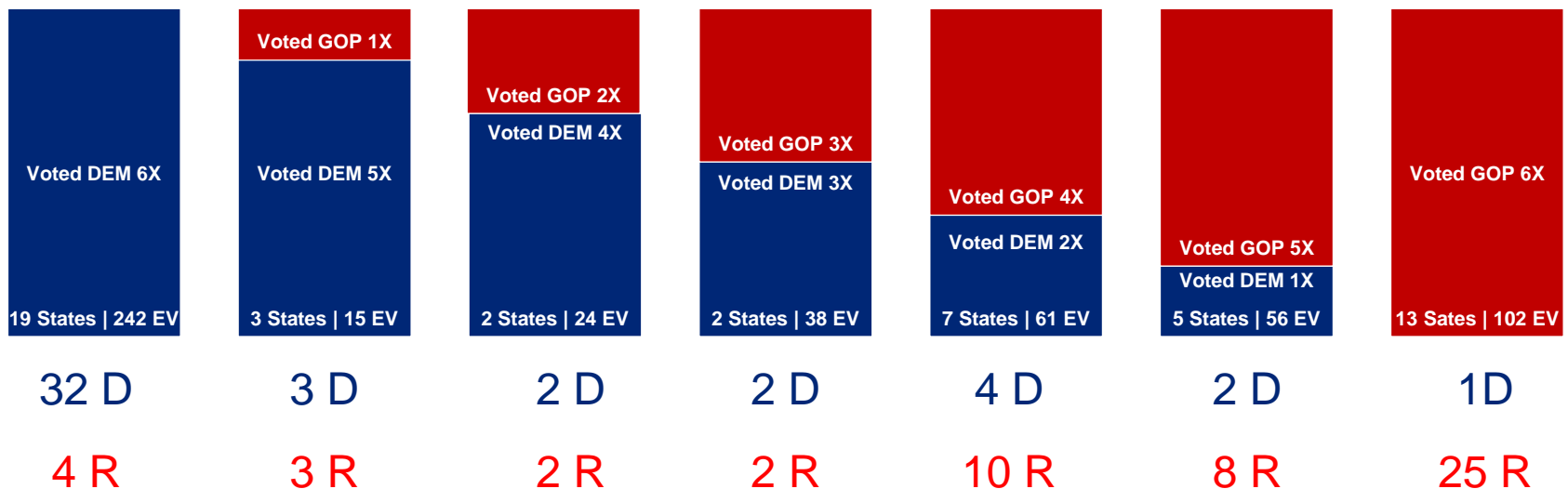
The chart below shows the frequency with which each state has voted Democratic and/or Republican in the last six Presidential elections.



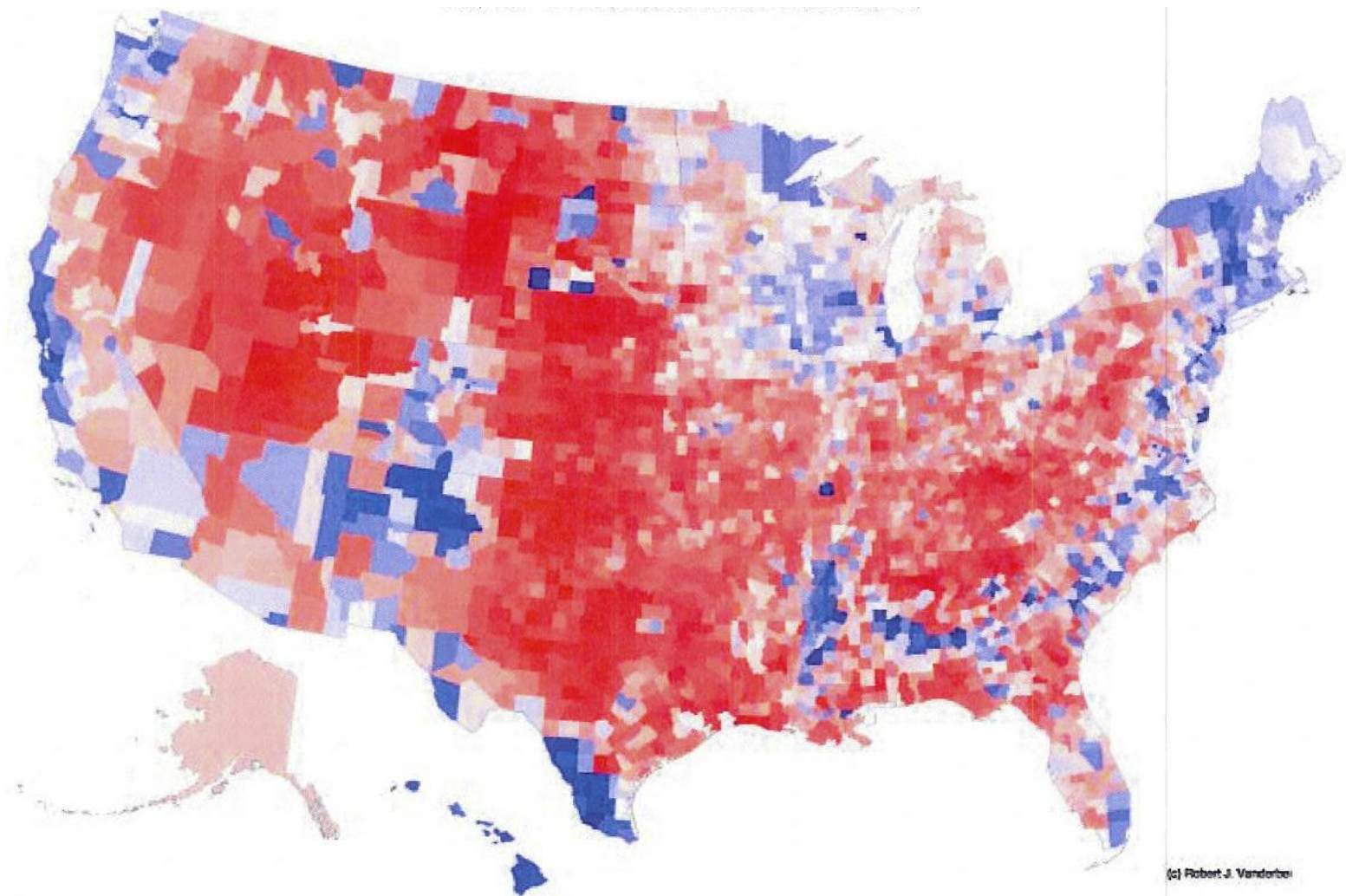
New Senate breakdown by presidential voting

Presidential voting by state (1992–2012)

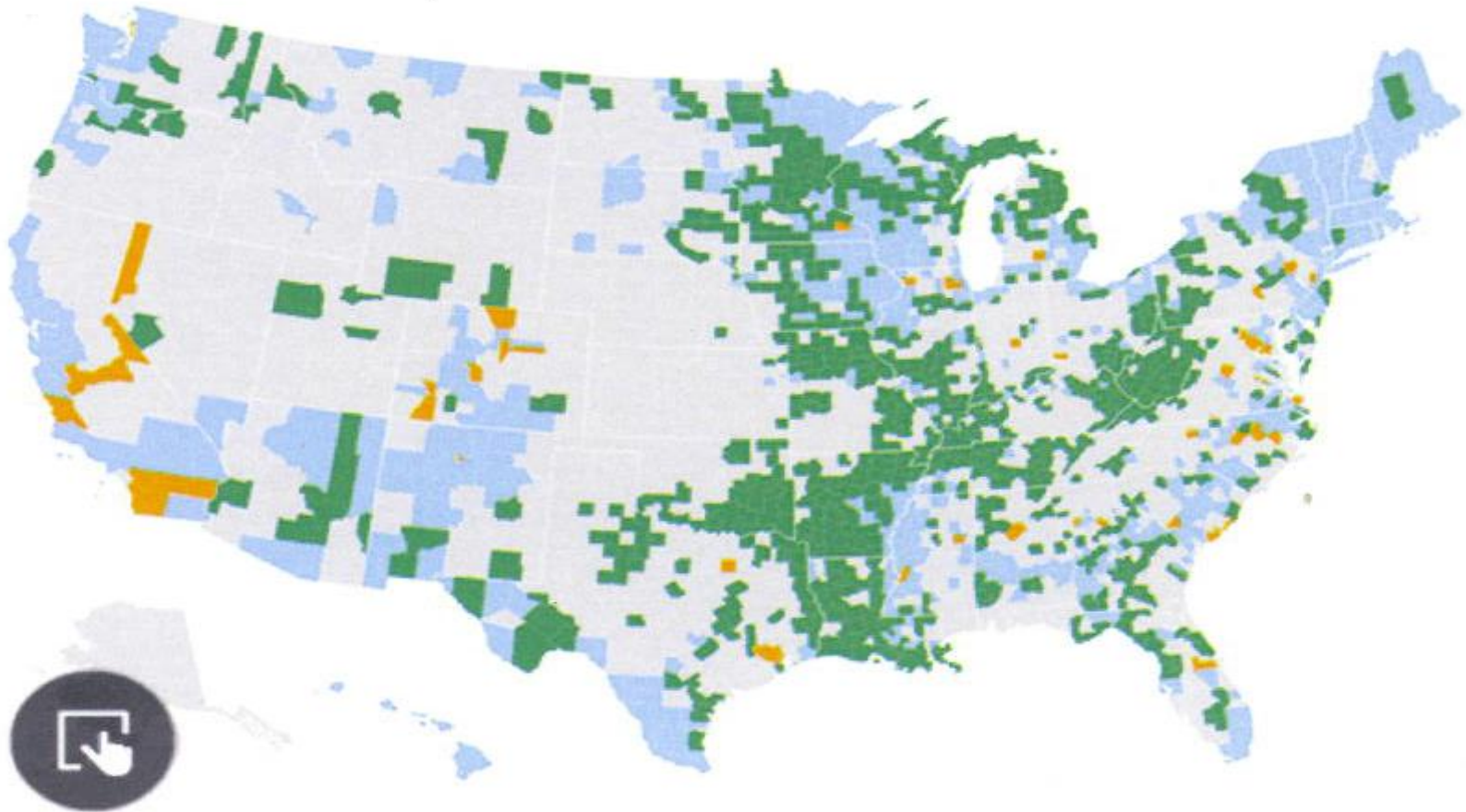
The chart below shows the frequency with which each state has voted Democratic and/or republican in the last six Presidential elections.



2012 Presidential Election



Would a Hillary Clinton Victory Map Look More Like 1996 or 2012?



2012 Presidential (States Decided by 5% or less)

75 Electoral Votes in Four Swing States

MARGIN	STATE	ELECTORAL VOTES
4% Obama	Virginia	13
3% Obama	Ohio	18
5% Romney	North Carolina	15
1% Obama	Florida	29
4% Obama	National	538

2012 Presidential Election

2012 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION	IN MILLIONS
Total \$ Spent on Television	896
Total \$ Spent (Fla., Va., Ohio)	474
Total \$ Spent (N.C. Col. Iowa., Nev.)	202
Percent Spent in Seven States	84%

2012 Presidential Voting

2012 PRESIDENTIAL VOTING (By Race)	ROMNEY	OBAMA
White	88	56
Hispanic	6	14
African American	2	24
Asian	2	4
Other	2	2
Total	100	100

GOP PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY POLLING 2008

	Giuliani	Thompson	McCain	Romney	Huckabee	Paul
Sep-07	22%	26%	14%	12%	4%	0%
Oct-07	24%	19%	12%	16%	8%	0%
Nov-07	24%	14%	13%	10%	15%	0%
Dec-07	15%	12%	17%	16%	16%	7%
Jan-08	11%	12%	23%	13%	20%	3%
Feb-08	N/A	N/A	53%	N/A	30%	9%

GOP PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY POLLING 2012

	Bachman	Cain	Gingrich	Huntsman	Paul	Perry	Romney	Santorum
Sep-11	4%	14%	6%	1%	9%	14%	21%	1%
1-Oct	4%	23%	12%	1%	8%	13%	24%	1%
Nov-11	4%	8%	38%	3%	8%	4%	17%	4%
Dec-11	5%	N/A	25%	1%	11%	8%	25%	4%
Jan-12	N/A	N/A	26%	N/A	11%	N/A	31%	16%
Feb-12	N/A	N/A	16%	N/A	12%	N/A	40%	24%
Mar-12	N/A	N/A	11%	N/A	10%	N/A	42%	27%

DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY POLLING 2008

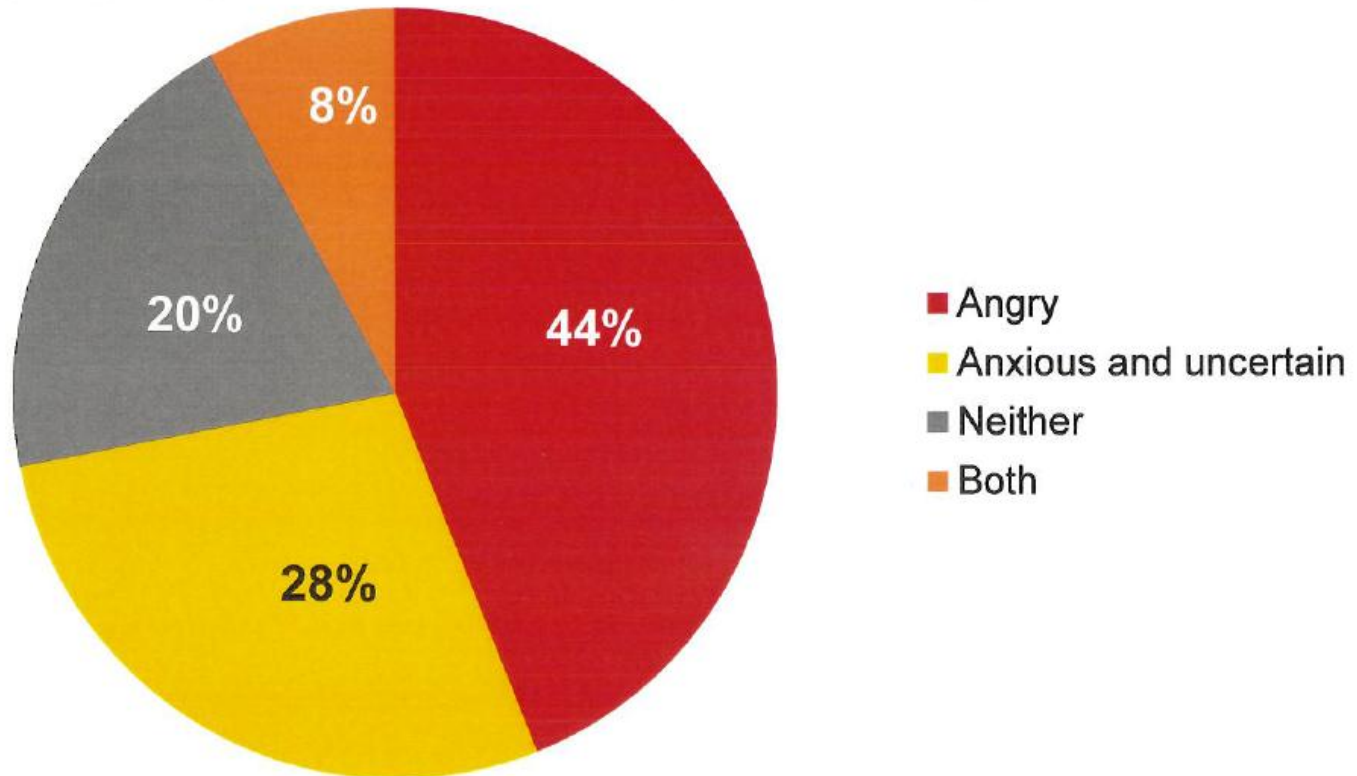
	Clinton	Obama	Edwards	Richardson	Biden
Sep-07	40%	28%	15%	3%	
Oct-07	37%	24%	15%	4%	
Nov-07	24%	14%	13%	10%	
Dec-07	39%	27%	17%	3%	3%
Jan-08	46%	40%	N/A	N/A	N/A
Feb-08	39%	51%	N/A	N/A	N/A

ANGER VS. ANXIETY IN THE ELECTORATE

Which comes closest to your point of view?

"I feel angry because our political system seems to only be working for the insiders with money and power, like those on Wall Street or in Washington, rather than it working to help everyday people get ahead."

"I feel anxious and uncertain because the economy still feels rocky and unpredictable so I worry about paying my bills, day to day living costs, and whether I can count on my own situation being stable."



2012 PRESIDENT

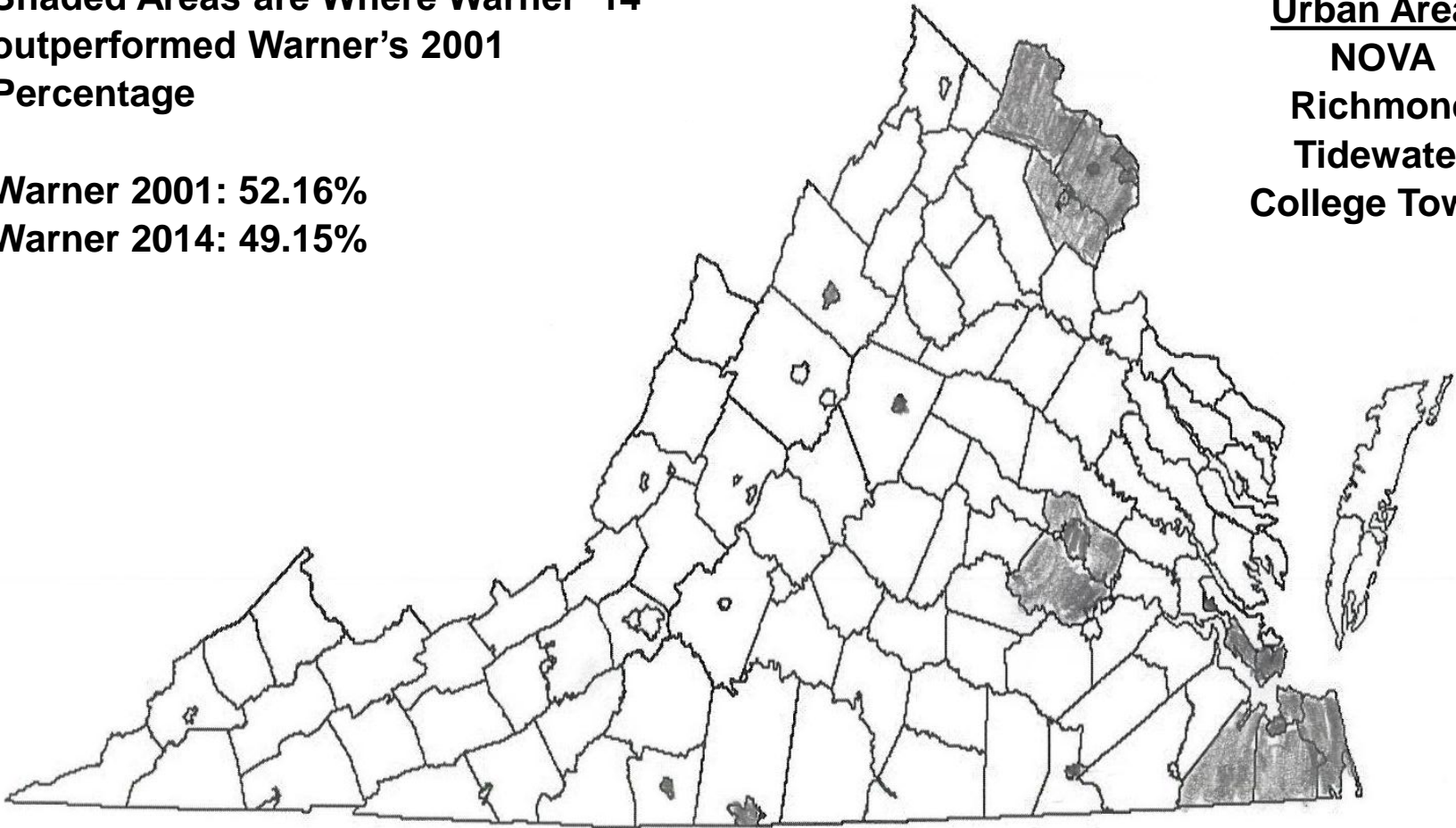
2012 PRESIDENT		
Statewide	Obama	+149,298
Cities	Obama	+243,501
NOVA Counties	Obama	+191,355
ROVA Counties	Romney	+285,558

Warner Percentages 2001/2014

**Shaded Areas are Where Warner '14
outperformed Warner's 2001
Percentage**

**Warner 2001: 52.16%
Warner 2014: 49.15%**

**Urban Areas
NOVA
Richmond
Tidewater
College Towns**



2012 Presidential Election Obama Margins

2013 Governor's Race McAuliffe Margin

	Obama	McAuliffe
NOVA	231,244	137,551
Tidewater	111,379	78,171
Colleges	20,779	11,867
Total	363,402	227,589
Statewide	149,298	56,435

Counties/Cities Ranked by per Capita Income

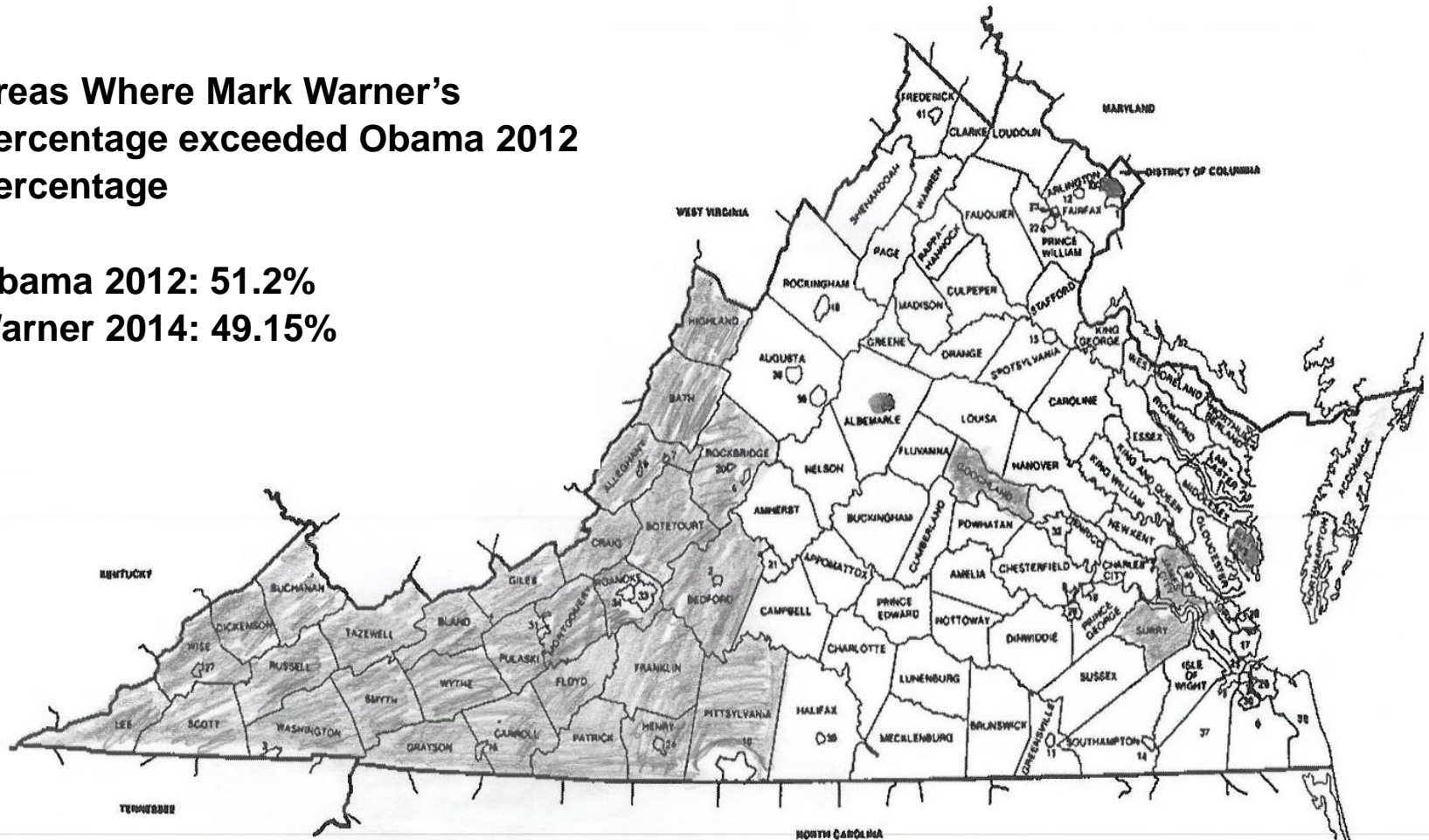
TOP FIVE			
		Medium	Obama %
1) Arlington	57,724	94,880	69.1
2) Falls Church	55,389	142,035	68.9
3) Alexandria	54,345	102,017	71.1
4) Fairfax	49,001	124,316	59.6
5) Loudoun	45,356	130,432	51.5
6) Fairfax City	44,008	110,240	57.2

BOTTOM FIVE			
		Medium	Obama %
134) Dickinson	16,278	29,080	35.8
133) Radford	16,496	29,155	50.6
132) Lee	16,513	31,352	26.9
131) Sussex	16,735	37,978	61.7
130) Brunswick	16,739	35,184	62.1
129) Buchanan	16,742	29,183	32.1

2014 Senate

Areas Where Mark Warner's Percentage exceeded Obama 2012 Percentage

Obama 2012: 51.2%
Warner 2014: 49.15%



Comparison

Romney Votes, 9 th District	196,354
Romney Votes, Fairfax County	206,776

Top Jurisdictions, Romney Votes

TOP JURISDICTIONS, ROMNEY VOTES	
1. Fairfax	206,773
2. Virginia Beach	99,291
3. Chesterfield	90,934
4. Loudoun	75,292
5. Prince William	74,186

Top Jurisdictions, Obama Votes

TOP JURISDICTIONS, OBAMA VOTES	
1. Fairfax	315,273
2. Prince William	103,331
3. Henrico	89,594
4. Virginia Beach	94,299
5. Loudoun	82,479

TOP 10 - OBAMA - PERCENTAGE

TOP 10	OBAMA	MARGIN
Petersburg	89.8%	12,756
Richmond	77.8%	55,871
Charlottesville	75.7%	11,666
Norfolk	72.0%	39,540
Alexandria	71.1%	31,950
Hampton	70.6%	28,326
Arlington	69.1%	46,795
Falls Church	68.9%	2,868
Charles City	65.5%	1,376
Greensville	63.6%	1,369

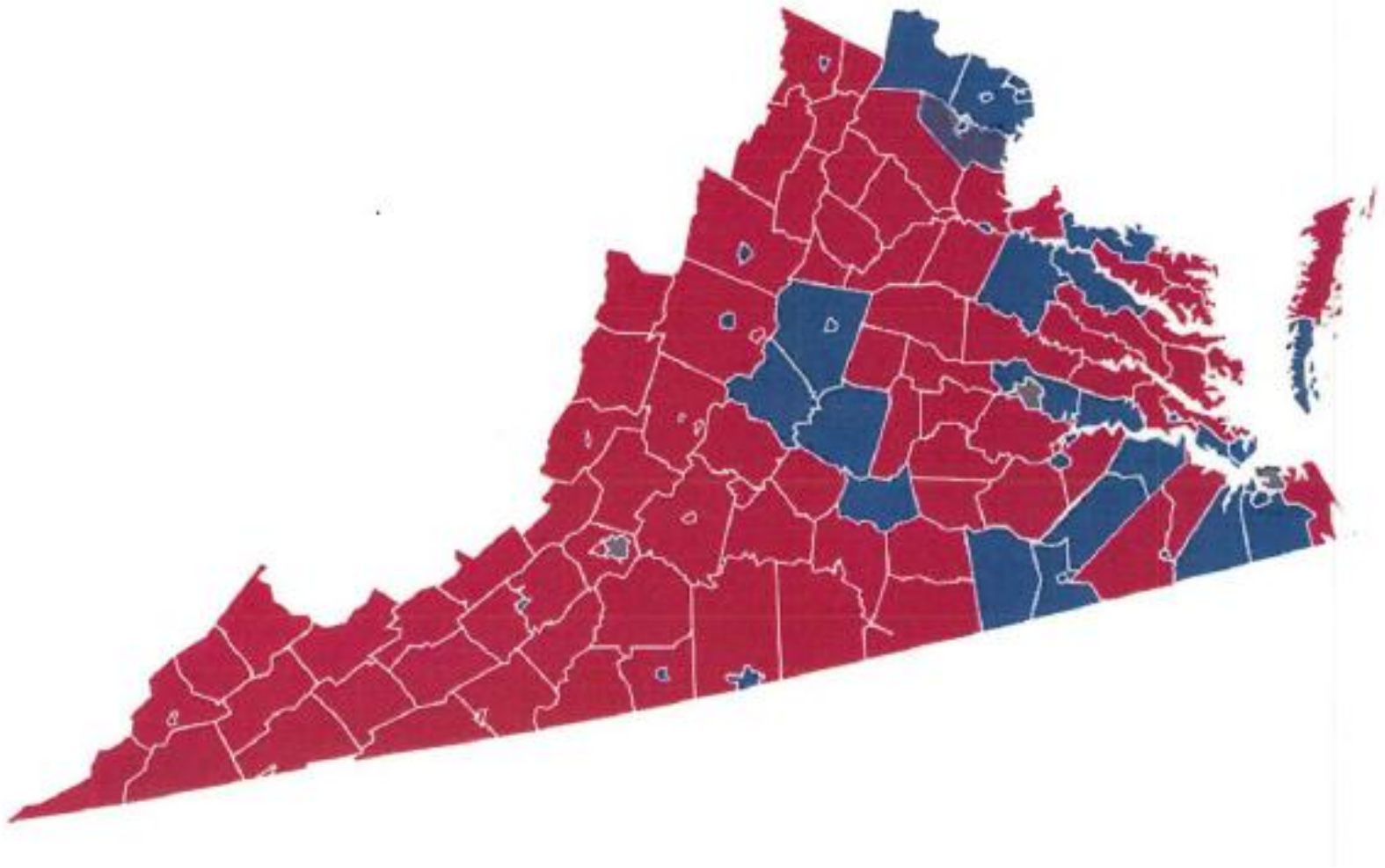
TOP 10 – ROMNEY – PERCENTAGE

TOP 10	ROMNEY	MARGIN
Scott	74.4%	5,044
Poquoson	74.0%	3,633
Tazewell	78.1%	10,182
Wise	73.8%	7,316
Washington	70.8%	11,065
Powhatan	72.1%	7,112
Colonial Heights	68.9%	3,397
Lee	71.3%	4,264
Bland	72.7%	1,409
Bedford	71.3%	16,470
Augusta	70.2%	14,173

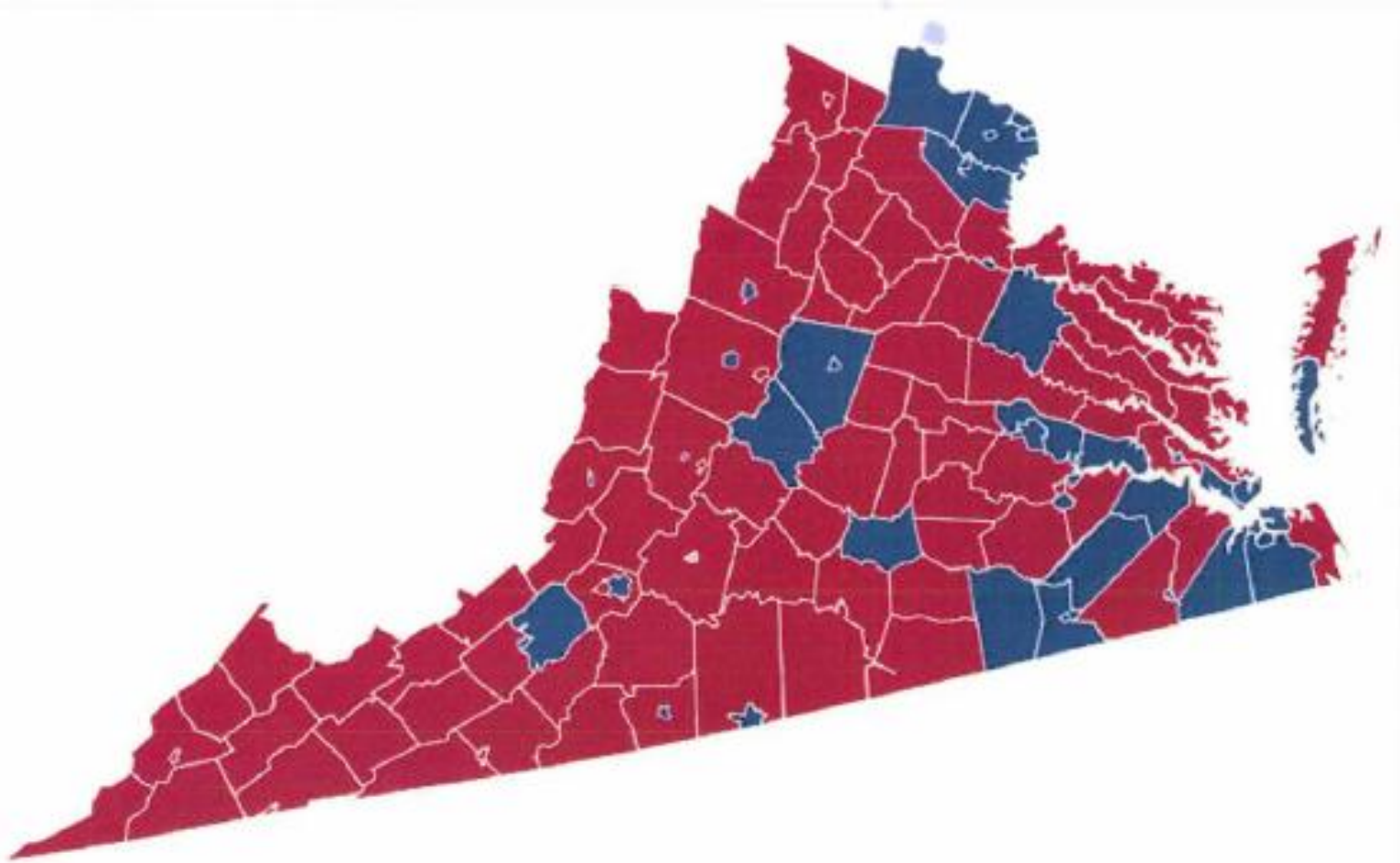
COLLEGE TOWNS

COLLEGE TOWNS	
TOWN	OBAMA%
Charlottesville	75.7%
Harrisonburg	55.5%
Williamsburg	63.3%
Fredericksburg	62.4%
Radford	50.6%
Lexington	55.3%
Blacksburg	59.1%

PRESIDENTIAL MAP



GOVERNOR MAP



2014 SENATORIAL RESULTS

Overall Virginia Senate Election Results

