

# January 26, 2012

## Anzalone Liszt Research

### National Polling Summary

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Friends,

Below you will find the weekly Anzalone Liszt Research National Polling Summary, which provides a pollster's take on data and trends that affect political campaigns.

This week, we'll look at the Florida Republican Primary and attempt to understand what may happen next Tuesday.

Following our analysis are additional news items and data we thought you'd enjoy.

John Anzalone and Jeff Liszt

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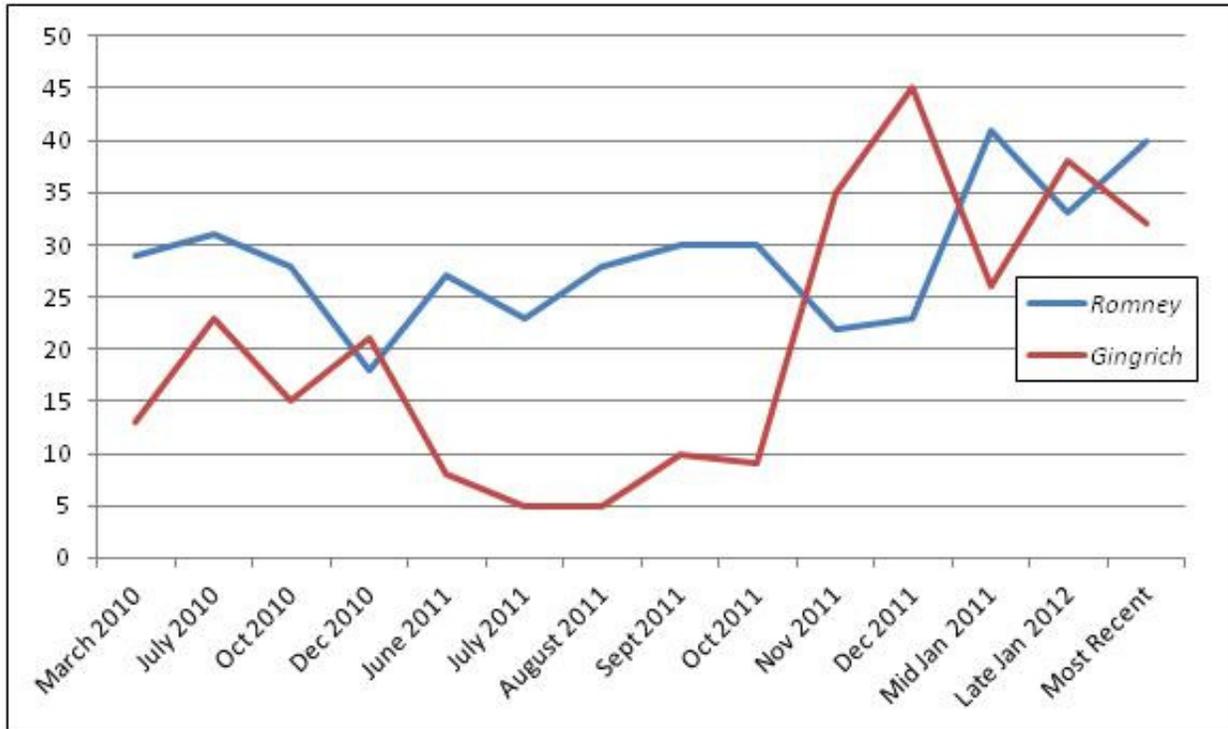
#### **STORY THIS WEEK: Florida. Florida. Florida.**

Perhaps Mitt Romney will ultimately be the Republican nominee for President, and perhaps his most fundamental error in South Carolina was mismanaging expectations. The fact remains, a 10-point Romney lead in mid-January (according to both [Marist](#) and [CNN](#) polling) turned into a decisive 12-point Gingrich win in South Carolina. That ensured a few tough news cycles for Team Mitt. After Romney's thrashing in the Palmetto State, conventional wisdom has declared Florida as Romney's must-win firewall. A Romney triumph in Florida and the nomination will be within his grasp, because the February primary / caucus calendar favors Romney and would likely continue his momentum. However, a Romney loss in Florida and the proverbial wheels may come off. The chatter of a new GOP candidate or a brokered convention will only grow louder.

#### **The Momentum**

Aside from Newt's November surge, Romney has generally led among Florida Republicans. However, while polling in December and early January showed Romney re-asserting his lead in Florida, the South Carolina results again roiled the Florida polls. Comparing a Jan 14-16 PPP poll (Romney 41% / Gingrich 26%) to a Jan 22-23 PPP poll (33% Romney / 38% Gingrich), there had been a 20-point net swing toward Gingrich. These numbers most likely caught Newt at the peak of his South Carolina high, and the most recent polling has shown Romney edging back

in front.



| POST-SC Florida GOP PRIMARY POLLING |             |            |            |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| Polling Firm                        | Date        | Gingrich   | Romney     |
| InsiderAdvantage                    | 1/25        | 32%        | <b>40%</b> |
| Time/CNN                            | 1/22-24     | 34%        | <b>36%</b> |
| ARG                                 | 1/23-24     | 34%        | <b>41%</b> |
| We Ask America                      | 1/23        | 32%        | <b>34%</b> |
| PPP                                 | 1/22-23     | <b>38%</b> | 33%        |
| Quinnipiac                          | 1/19-23     | 34%        | <b>36%</b> |
| FL Chamber of Commerce              | 1/22 – 1/23 | 33%        | 33%        |
| Rasmussen                           | 1/22        | <b>41%</b> | 32%        |
| InsiderAdvantage                    | 1/22        | <b>34%</b> | 26%        |

### The Electorate

Each state's primary electorate is different, but Florida arguably sports the most eclectic group of GOP primary voters. Republicans in the Panhandle have more in common with their neighbors in bordering Alabama and Georgia than their co-partisans further south. These voters are

generally strong social conservatives, but may also have a populist streak on economics. Conversely, swaths of suburban Republican voters in the I-4 Corridor Tampa and Orlando metro areas are generally not as doctrinaire on social issues, but are more likely to be fiscal conservatives.

Cuban-American Republicans in Miami-Dade are historically more motivated by foreign policy than other Florida Republicans, but they are not as comfortable taking a hard-line on immigration or other conservative hot-buttons. Additionally, there are transplants from Northern states - many of whom came south to leave higher-tax states. Such Republicans are likely to be focused more on taxes and spending.

Recent Florida primaries are also a bit of a mixed bag. Sometimes-maverick John McCain won the 2008 primary, and Mitt Romney certainly has a chance to carry Florida this year against his more conservative challengers. However, this is the same GOP electorate that propelled firebrand Rick Scott to victory over establishment-backed Bill McCollum in the 2010 gubernatorial primary, while erstwhile GOP heavyweight Charlie Crist left the party instead of facing Tea Party favorite Marco Rubio in the 2010 Senate primary.

The Sayfie Review, a prominent Florida blog, links to a [data-rich summary](#) of Florida's Republican electorate compiled by Dr. Susan McManus, David Bonanza, and Andrew Quecan. Their "statistical snapshot" is worth reviewing in full, but among the most compelling components are:

- 45% of registered Republicans live in the Tampa or Orlando media markets
- Panhandle markets (Pensacola, Panama City, Jacksonville) contain the heaviest concentration of registered Republicans
- 11% of registered Republicans are Hispanic, with roughly 60% of Hispanic Republicans residing in Dade County
- The 2008 GOP Primary turnout was 51% (1.9M voters), compared to 1.3M who voted in the 2010 GOP Primary

[Chris Cillizza](#) makes an interesting point on turnout. The 2008 GOP Primary was held on the same day as a statewide property tax amendment, which likely brought out many voters who would have otherwise passed on a partisan primary. Exit polling from the 2008 GOP Primary, via CNN, paints a demographic picture of the most recent presidential primary in the Sunshine State.

According to [exits of the 2008 FL GOP Primary](#), the electorate was comprised of:

- 56% Men
- 33% Age 65+

- 44% Who attend church at least once a week
- 41% Protestant / 29% Catholic / 29% Other

Mitt Romney took 31% in the 2008 primary, with exits showing he performed highest among Republicans age 50-64 (35%), those who believe abortion should be illegal (35%), and Protestants who attend church less than once a week (37%).

Cillizza believes the more closely the 2012 turnout resembles the lower 2010 figure, the better for Gingrich. Likewise, he believes the more the 2012 turnout mirrors the larger 2008 turnout, the better for Romney. However, one factor he may be understating is the early vote.

### **The Early Vote**

As Gingrich ran up his margin in South Carolina and the political world turned to Florida, many Romney partisans identified the Florida early vote as the element that would give their man the edge. The hundreds of thousands of early votes (cast before Gingrich surged in South Carolina) would provide a winning cushion for Romney even if he lost narrowly among voters who go to the polls on Election Day, they claimed.

Steve Schale, a leading Democratic consultant in Florida, took on this theory on [his website](#). Republican officials report 225,000 early votes were cast prior to Gingrich's South Carolina win. Rasmussen polling showed an 11-point Romney edge among early voters, while PPP had Romney's early vote edge at just 3 points. However, Schale suspects Romney's early vote edge is more considerable. He runs through different turnout scenarios, and assuming Romney-friendly dynamics (a 22-point Romney early vote edge and a lower 1.2M turnout that increases the influence of the early vote) he deduces Newt could need to win Election Day voters by almost 6 points to carry the state. Conversely, Newt-friendly assumptions could indicate Romney's early vote lead is less than 7,000 raw votes - meaning Newt only has to carry the state by 0.3% on Election Day for a statewide win.

While Cillizza points out that a higher turnout would indicate the electorate's ideological leanings are more likely to favor Romney, such a turnout would also be more likely to mitigate whatever edge he's accrued in the early vote.

### **The Money**

New Hampshire, Iowa, and to a lesser extent South Carolina, are retail states. The Florida primary's anticipated turnover of over 1 million Republicans (perhaps closer to 2 million) renders retail politics dramatically less important. Florida's ten media markets are the means of communications in statewide elections. One television spot at 1,000 gross ratings points (which

means the average viewer will see the ad ten times) would cost roughly \$1.3M to run on statewide television. Campaigns and their allies are also able to target likely Republican voters through the mail, in a more efficient - yet still very costly - use of resources.

The good news for Romney is that he's already spent a lot of money in Florida. The bad news for Romney is that he's already spent a lot of money in Florida. [Reuters](#) reports pro-Romney groups spent roughly \$5 million in Florida prior to the South Carolina primary. Certainly some of this spending helped generate the early vote advantage most observers believe Romney's already banked. However, the bulk of this spending was put on television and it's tempting to wonder if Romney has been well served by such efforts. Gingrich's success in a state hundreds of miles away seems to be trumping Romney's virtual ownership of the Florida airwaves. Of course, Romney's ad-men and ad-women might counter by speculating how much more dramatic the Gingrich surge in Florida would be had Romney not had the air to himself over the past few weeks.

Romney and allies' ownership of the Florida airwaves is no more, however. Friend-of-Newt Sheldon Adelson (he of Las Vegas' Venetian and Palazzo) has cut a second \$5M check to a Gingrich Super PAC. According to Reuters, the Gingrich Super PAC has purchased \$6M worth of air time through next Tuesday - launching an [ad](#) focused on Romney's health care legislation - with a Romney PAC pledging a \$4.5M buy of their own. These figures indicate the average Floridian will see almost 100 television spots in the seven days prior to their primary. And that is probably a conservative estimate.

## **OTHER NEWS FROM THE POLLING AND POLITICAL WORLD**

**How do you compare to Mitt Romney?** [Slate](#) calculates how long it would take the GOP candidate to make what you earn in a year.

[Research](#) **disputes the stereotype that people get more conservative as they get older.** Studies suggest that the social and political landscape that exists when a person comes of age - not aging itself - is critical to what core beliefs a person develops.

**Something to read on your new iPad.** The [Pew Research Center](#) finds that ownership of tablets and e-book readers nearly doubled over the holiday season.

[CNN](#) **explains who Saul Alinsky is, and why Newt Gingrich keeps mentioning him.**

**Romney finds January unfavorable.** A [Washington Post-ABC News poll](#) shows that, for the first time, Romney's unfavorable rating among independents tops 50 percent; two weeks ago, more independents had favorable than unfavorable views of Romney.

**Surrealism, with primary colors.** [Josh Kraushaar](#) at the *National Journal* reports from Stephen Colbert's rally for Herman Cain, which comes soon after Chuck Norris endorses Newt Gingrich and Peggy Noonan decries the whole affair as a John Grisham novel.

**So You Want to Work on Campaigns?** An insightful [video](#).

**Missed a past newsletter?** They can be found on our website, [here](#).

**PUBLIC POLLING**

**PRESIDENT OBAMA'S JOB RATING**

| Polling Firm      | Date        | Sample        | Approve | Disapprove |
|-------------------|-------------|---------------|---------|------------|
| Gallup            | 1/22 - 1/24 | Adults        | 43%     | 49%        |
| Rasmussen         | 1/21 - 1/23 | Likely Voters | 48%     | 51%        |
| CBS News/NY Times | 1/12 - 1/17 | Adults        | 47%     | 45%        |

**OBAMA VS ROMNEY GENERAL ELECTION**

| Polling Firm     | Date               | Sample               |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Rasmussen</i> | <i>1/21 - 1/23</i> | <i>Likely Voters</i> |
| <b>Obama</b>     | 46%                |                      |
| <b>Romney</b>    | 43%                |                      |

**PARTY SELF ID**

| Polling Firm          | Date    | Sample | Dem   | Rep   | Ind / other |
|-----------------------|---------|--------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Pollster.com<br>Trend | 1/25/12 | Adults | 30.4% | 25.2% | 41.7%       |

**GOP NATIONWIDE PRIMARY**

| Polling Firm     | Date           | Sample                       |
|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| <i>Rasmussen</i> | <i>1/23/12</i> | <i>Likely Primary Voters</i> |
| Gingrich         | 35%            |                              |
| Romney           | 28%            |                              |
| Santorum         | 16%            |                              |
| Paul             | 10%            |                              |

**GOP CAUCUSES AND PRIMARIES**

|                     | Florida       | Nevada                                   |
|---------------------|---------------|--|
| <b>Polling Firm</b> | ARG           | Winning Our Future PAC<br>(pro-Gingrich) |
| <b>Date</b>         | 1/23 - 1/24   | 1/22 - 1/24                              |
| <b>Sample</b>       | Likely Voters | Republican Registered<br>Voters          |
| Romney              | 41%           | 33%                                      |
| Gingrich            | 34%           | 31%                                      |

|          |    |    |
|----------|----|----|
| Santorum | 9% | 7% |
| Paul     | 7% | 8% |

**GENERIC HOUSE BALLOT**

| Polling Firm        | Date           | Sample               | Dem | Rep | Unsure |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|-----|-----|--------|
| Rasmussen           | 1/16 -<br>1/22 | Likely<br>Voters     | 39% | 42% |        |
| Democracy Corps (D) | 1/8 -<br>1/11  | Likely<br>Voters     | 47% | 44% |        |
| Reuters/Ipsos       | 1/5 - 1/9      | Registered<br>Voters | 48% | 44% | 5%     |

**OBAMA POPULAR VOTE SHARE**

| Polling Firm | Date    | Polly Vote | Polls | Iowa<br>Electronic<br>Markets | Econometric<br>Models | Index<br>Models |
|--------------|---------|------------|-------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| PollyVote    | 1/24/12 | 51.0%      | 49.3% | 50.3%                         | 49.8%                 | 54.6%           |

**DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY**

| Polling Firm                 | Date        | Sample        | Right Direction | Wrong Track |
|------------------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|
| CBS/New York Times           | 1/12 - 1/17 | Adults        | 29%             | 5%          |
| ABC News/<br>Washington Post | 1/12 - 1/15 | Adults        | 30%             | 68%         |
| Democracy Corps(D)           | 1/8 - 1/11  | Likely Voters | 28%             | 64%         |