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Maryland Poll

Governor Hogan Job Approval

Direction of State

U.S. Senate Democratic primary

Democratic Presidential primary

GOP Presidential primary

January 2016

Contact: Patrick E. Gonzales (Office) 443-458-5034
(Cell) 410-258-7003

Methodology

Patrick E. Gonzales graduated from the University of Baltimore in 1981 with a degree in political science. His career began in 1986, when, as an analyst with *Mason-Dixon Opinion Research*, he crafted and implemented a statewide exit poll for WMAR-TV Channel 2 involving Barbara Mikulski's first run for the United States Senate.

A year later, Mr. Gonzales and his organization conducted an exit poll for Channel 2 on the Kurt Schmoke - Clarence "Du" Burns Baltimore City mayoral election, forecasting the 52%-48% outcome for Schmoke...an election that ushered in new leadership for the City.

Mr. Gonzales has polled and analyzed hundreds of elections in Maryland since this time. Additionally, he and his associates have conducted numerous market research projects and crafted message development programs for businesses and organizations throughout the state.

This survey was conducted by *Gonzales Research & Marketing Strategies* from January 11th through January 16th, 2016. A total of 819 registered voters in Maryland who vote regularly were interviewed by telephone, utilizing both landlines and cell phones. A cross-section of interviews was conducted in each jurisdiction within the state to reflect general election voting patterns.

The margin of error (MOE), according to customary statistical standards, is no more than plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. There is a 95 percent probability that the "true" figures would fall within this range if the entire survey universe were sampled. The margin for error is higher for any demographic subgroup, such as gender or race.

This survey also includes an over-sample of 402 Democratic primary voters (MOE: $\pm 5\%$) and 301 Republican primary voters (MOE: $\pm 5.8\%$).

Maryland Statewide Poll Sample Demographics

<u>AGE</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Under 50	369	45.1 %
50 and older	449	54.9 %
Total	818	100.0 %

<u>GENDER</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Male	393	48.0 %
Female	426	52.0 %
Total	819	100.0 %

<u>PARTY REGISTRATION</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Democrat	451	55.1 %
Republican	253	30.9 %
Independent	115	14.0 %
Total	819	100.0 %

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
White	602	73.5 %
African-American	181	22.1 %
Other/Refused	36	4.4 %
Total	819	100.0 %

<u>REGION</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Eastern Sh/So MD	99	12.1 %
Baltimore City	72	8.8 %
Baltimore Suburbs	301	36.8 %
Washington Suburbs	256	31.3 %
Western MD	91	11.1 %
Total	819	100.0 %

Regional Groupings are as follows:

Eastern Shore/ Southern Md	Baltimore City	Baltimore Suburbs	Washington Suburbs	Western Maryland
Calvert Co.	Baltimore City	Anne Arundel Co.	Montgomery Co.	Allegany Co.
Caroline Co.		Baltimore Co.	Prince George's Co.	Carroll Co.
Cecil Co.		Harford Co.	Charles Co.	Frederick Co.
Dorchester Co.		Howard Co.		Garrett Co.
Kent Co.				Washington Co.
Queen Anne's Co.				
Somerset Co.				
St. Mary's Co.				
Talbot Co.				
Wicomico Co.				
Worcester Co.				

Democratic Primary Poll Sample Demographics

<u>GENDER</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Men	168	41.8 %
Women	234	58.2 %
Total	402	100.0 %

<u>RACE</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
White	206	51.2 %
African-American	168	41.8 %
Other/Refused	28	7.0 %
Total	402	100.0 %

<u>REGION</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Baltimore Suburbs	134	33.3 %
Baltimore City	62	15.4 %
PG County	76	18.9 %
Montgomery County	75	18.7 %
Rest of State	55	13.7 %
Total	402	100.0 %

Regional Groupings are as follows:

Baltimore Suburbs	Baltimore City	Prince George's County	Montgomery County	Rest of State
Anne Arundel Co.	Baltimore City	Prince George's Co.	Montgomery Co.	Allegany Co.
Baltimore Co.				Calvert Co.
Harford Co.				Caroline Co.
Howard Co.				Carroll Co.
				Cecil Co.
				Dorchester Co.
				Frederick Co.
				Garrett Co.
				Kent Co.
				Queen Anne's Co.
				Somerset Co.
				St. Mary's Co.
				Talbot Co.
				Somerset Co.
				Washington Co.
				Wicomico Co.
				Worcester Co.

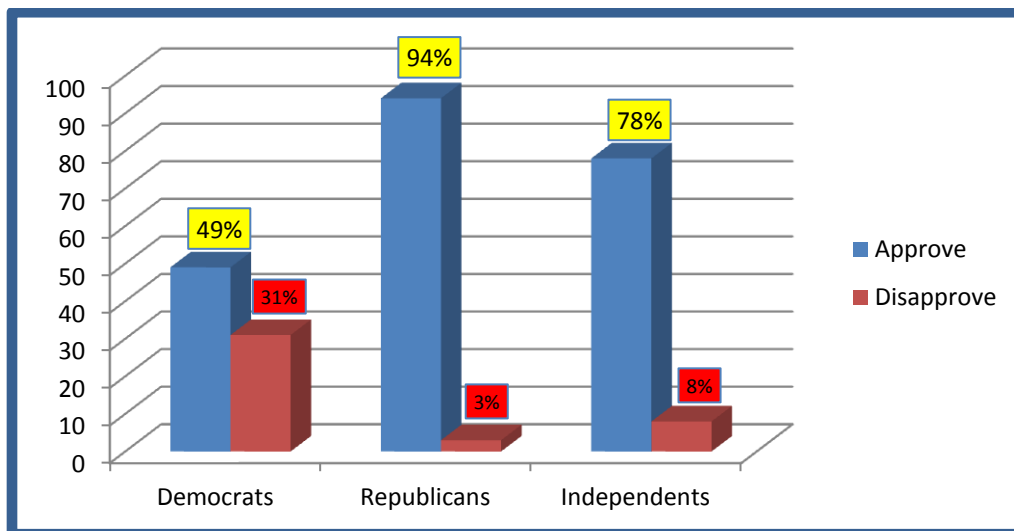
Summary

Governor Larry Hogan Job Approval

After 14 months in office, Governor Larry Hogan has an extremely impressive job approval rating among Free State voters.

Statewide, 67% of Maryland voters approve of the job Hogan is doing as governor (40% “strongly” approve and 27% “somewhat” approve), while 19% disapprove (11% “strongly” disapprove and 8% “somewhat” disapprove), with 14% offering no opinion.

Figure 1 Governor Larry Hogan Job Approval by Party



To put these results into perspective, former GOP Governor Bob Ehrlich’s high-water mark during his 4-year tenure was August of 2003, when 57% of voters approved of the job he was doing as governor and 30% disapproved.

To put them into further perspective, Democratic Governor Martin’s O’Malley’s best showing came in January of 2011, when 58% of voters approved and 30% disapproved.

Job Rating	Approve	Disapprove
Hogan January 2016	67%	19%
O’Malley January 2011	58%	30%
Ehrlich August 2003	57%	30%

Direction of State

Sixty percent of voters believe Maryland is headed in the right direction, while 22% say the state is headed off on the wrong track, with 18% giving no answer.

The results by party, gender, and race:

	<u>Right Direction</u>	<u>Wrong Track</u>
Democrats	52%	28%
Republicans	73%	14%
Unaffiliated	66%	15%
Male	64%	18%
Female	57%	26%
White	64%	20%
African-American	48%	30%

How do voter attitudes about the Direction of State relate to perceptions of Hogan?

	JOB APPROVAL: GOVERNOR LARRY HOGAN				
	Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	No answer
<u>DIRECTION OF STATE</u>					
Right Direction	284 57.5%	139 28.1%	15 3.0%	11 2.2%	45 9.1%
Wrong Track	30 16.7%	33 18.3%	40 22.2%	60 33.3%	17 9.4%
No answer	16 11.0%	47 32.4%	11 7.6%	21 14.5%	50 34.5%

57.5 percent of those who believe the state is headed in the right direction “strongly approve” of the job Hogan is doing as governor

33.3 percent of those who think the state is headed off on the wrong track “strongly disapprove” of the job Hogan is doing as governor

U.S. Senate – Democratic Primary

After 30 years in office, Barbara Mikulski announced she was retiring from the United States Senate in March of last year...actually her time in office is 40 years when you include the 10 years she spent in the U.S. House of Representatives beginning in 1976, when she succeeded Paul Sarbanes in Maryland's 3rd District.

The opportunity to follow Mikulski attracted 2 formidable candidates – 8th District Congressman Chris Van Hollen and 4th District Congresswoman Donna Edwards. Both gained entry into Congress by defeating incumbents who had, at one time or another during their careers, been considered unbeatable.

Van Hollen defeated Connie Morella in November of 2002 after redistricting made the popular Republican vulnerable.

Edwards first challenged Al Wynn - for whom she had worked in the '80's during his time in the Maryland legislature - in 2006, coming within 3 points of winning. Two years later she became Congressional District 4's Representative, after trouncing Wynn in the March 2008 primary.

For nearly a year now the stage had been set. Three months before the election, Van Hollen captures 38% of the likely April Democratic primary vote, compared to 36% for Edwards, with 24% undecided.

The results by race and region:

	<u>Van Hollen</u>	<u>Edwards</u>
White	55%	15%
African-American	15%	65%
Baltimore Suburbs	39%	23%
Baltimore City	24%	50%
P.G. County	18%	68%
Montgomery County	60%	24%
Rest of State	49%	24%

One of the keys to the outcome of this contest is how each ultimately performs in their respective geographical base, Van Hollen in Montgomery County and Edwards in Prince George's County. Adding to the intrigue is that both counties are part of the Washington suburbs, leaving a large portion of the state up for grabs.

Gonzales Research's Conspectus U.S. Senate Democratic Primary

This election could well test the old axiom in politics that claims “message trumps money,” because Chris Van Hollen has plenty of money and the proven ability to craft a compelling enough message, as demonstrated by his success 14 years ago, when he took on the “Kennedy Dynasty” in the Democratic primary for Congress in 2002.

Donna Edwards would wish to replicate her 2008 effort, when she cobbled together a very impressive coalition of influential, progressive groups and community organizations, which translated into broad success on Election Day.

Van Hollen is garnering 60% of the vote in Montgomery County, with 15% still undecided. Edwards has 68% of the vote in Prince George's County, with 11% undecided.

Van Hollen's recognition and money advantage have propelled him to a 16 point lead in the Baltimore suburbs, and a 2-to-1 lead (49% to 24%) in the Eastern Shore/Southern MD and Western Maryland rural parts of the state. But, while the Baltimore suburbs, Eastern Shore/Southern MD, and Western Maryland regions comprise 21 of the 23 counties, they make up less than 50 percent of the vote in a Democratic primary.

Edwards is up 50% to 24% in Baltimore City, suggesting resources her campaign has dedicated to messaging in the Baltimore media market are paying dividends there.

There is a bit of gender partiality in play, with Van Hollen leading among men, 45% to 30%, and Edwards ahead with women, 40% to 33%. Come April this will work to Edwards' advantage because women make up nearly sixty percent of the vote in a Democratic primary in Maryland.

So, as stated earlier in this analysis, Maryland Democrats have two creditable candidates from which to choose. With the reward being to follow into the footsteps of a political legend,

DO:

- Van Hollen's money-advantage and establishment-backing prove dispositive?
- Edwards' grassroots strength and progressive group endorsements carry the day?

The answer to these questions is what campaigns are for and why elections are held.

Bottom Line: Slight edge to Edwards

Presidential Primaries

If the April 2016 Democratic primary election for president were held today, 40% of Maryland Democrats say they would vote for Hillary Clinton, 27% would vote for Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders, 5% would vote for Martin O'Malley, with 28% undecided.

Intuitively, we think this margin for the former Secretary of State would have been wider six weeks ago in the Old Line State.

Among African-Americans, Clinton enjoys a 10-to-1 advantage in Maryland over Sanders, up 61% to 6%. Among white Democrats, Sanders is ahead, 43% to 25%.

On the Republican side, Donald Trump leads with 32%, followed by Ted Cruz (15%), Marco Rubio (14%), Ben Carson (9%), Chris Christie (8%), and Jeb Bush (4%).

Interestingly, Trump does nearly 2 times better with GOP men than he does with Republican women.

QUESTION: *Do you approve or disapprove of the job Larry Hogan is doing as governor?*

JOB APPROVAL: GOVERNOR LARRY HOGAN	Number	Percent
Approve	549	67.0 %
Disapprove	158	19.3 %
No answer	112	13.7 %
Total	819	100.0 %

JOB APPROVAL: GOVERNOR LARRY HOGAN	Number	Percent
Strongly Approve	330	40.3 %
Somewhat Approve	219	26.7 %
Somewhat Disapprove	66	8.1 %
Strongly Disapprove	92	11.2 %
No answer	112	13.7 %
Total	819	100.0 %

N=819

JOB APPROVAL: GOVERNOR LARRY HOGAN

Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	No answer
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PARTY REGISTRATION

Democrat	94 20.8%	127 28.2%	56 12.4%	84 18.6%	90 20.0%
Republican	192 75.9%	46 18.2%	6 2.4%	3 1.2%	6 2.4%
Independent	44 38.3%	46 40.0%	4 3.5%	5 4.3%	16 13.9%

JOB APPROVAL: GOVERNOR LARRY HOGAN

Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	No answer
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GENDER

Male	166 42.2%	109 27.7%	31 7.9%	24 6.1%	63 16.0%
Female	164 38.5%	110 25.8%	35 8.2%	68 16.0%	49 11.5%

JOB APPROVAL: GOVERNOR LARRY HOGAN

Strongly Approve	Somewhat Approve	Somewhat Disapprove	Strongly Disapprove	No answer
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RACE

White	293 48.7%	158 26.2%	43 7.1%	42 7.0%	66 11.0%
African-American	20 11.0%	52 28.7%	20 11.0%	48 26.5%	41 22.7%

QUESTION: *When thinking about Maryland, do you believe the state is headed in the right direction, or headed off on the wrong track?*

<u>DIRECTION OF STATE</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Right Direction	494	60.3 %
Wrong Track	180	22.0 %
No answer	145	17.7 %
Total	819	100.0 %

N=819

<u>DIRECTION OF STATE</u>		
<u>Right Direction</u>	<u>Wrong Track</u>	<u>No answer</u>

PARTY REGISTRATION

Democrat	233 51.7%	128 28.4%	90 20.0%
Republican	185 73.1%	35 13.8%	33 13.0%
Independent	76 66.1%	17 14.8%	22 19.1%

<u>DIRECTION OF STATE</u>		
<u>Right Direction</u>	<u>Wrong Track</u>	<u>No answer</u>

GENDER

Male	253 64.4%	71 18.1%	69 17.6%
Female	241 56.6%	109 25.6%	76 17.8%

<u>DIRECTION OF STATE</u>		
<u>Right Direction</u>	<u>Wrong Track</u>	<u>No answer</u>

RACE

White	385 64.0%	120 19.9%	97 16.1%
African-American	86 47.5%	55 30.4%	40 22.1%

402 Likely April 2016 Democratic Primary Voters

QUESTION: *If the April 2016 Democratic primary election were held today, for whom would you vote for the United States Senate: Donna Edwards or Chris Van Hollen?*

U.S. SENATE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY	Number	Percent
Edwards	145	36.1 %
Van Hollen	153	38.1 %
Other (NOT READ)	7	1.7 %
Undecided	97	24.1 %
Total	402	100.0 %

This election to succeed iconic Barbara Mikulski looks like it's going down to the wire...the next 3 months will be critical.

N=402

	U.S. SENATE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY			
	Edwards	Van Hollen	Other	Undecided
RACE				
White	31 15.0%	113 54.9%	5 2.4%	57 27.7%
African-American	109 64.9%	25 14.9%	1 0.6%	33 19.6%
Other/Refused	5 17.9%	15 53.6%	1 3.6%	7 25.0%

	U.S. SENATE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY			
	Edwards	Van Hollen	Other	Undecided
GENDER				
Men	51 30.4%	75 44.6%	3 1.8%	39 23.2%
Women	94 40.2%	78 33.3%	4 1.7%	58 24.8%

Democratic Senate Primary (con't)

<u>REGION</u>	<u>U.S. SENATE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY</u>			
	<u>Edwards</u>	<u>Van Hollen</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Undecided</u>
Baltimore Suburbs	31 23.1%	52 38.8%	1 0.7%	50 37.3%
Baltimore City	31 50.0%	15 24.2%	2 3.2%	14 22.6%
PG County	52 68.4%	14 18.4%	2 2.6%	8 10.5%
Montgomery County	18 24.0%	45 60.0%	1 1.3%	11 14.7%
Rest of State	13 23.6%	27 49.1%	1 1.8%	14 25.5%



Van Hollen dominates in 17 of Maryland's 24 jurisdictions (leading 49%-24%), but they comprise a mere 14 percent of the electorate in a Democratic primary

402 Likely April 2016 Democratic Primary Voters

QUESTION: *If the April 2016 Democratic primary election were held today, for whom would you vote for President: Hillary Clinton, Martin O'Malley, or Bernie Sanders?*

<u>DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Clinton	162	40.3 %
O'Malley	18	4.5 %
Sanders	109	27.1 %
Undecided	113	28.1 %
Total	402	100.0 %

N=402

<u>DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY</u>			
<u>Clinton</u>	<u>O'Malley</u>	<u>Sanders</u>	<u>Undecided</u>

RACE

White	52 25.2%	4 1.9%	88 42.7%	62 30.1%
African-American	103 61.3%	14 8.3%	10 6.0%	41 24.4%
Other/Refused	7 25.0%	0 0.0%	11 39.3%	10 35.7%

Clinton's dominance in the African-American community is what's keeping her campaign afloat in Maryland's Democratic primary

<u>DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY</u>			
<u>Clinton</u>	<u>O'Malley</u>	<u>Sanders</u>	<u>Undecided</u>

GENDER

Men	54 32.1%	8 4.8%	55 32.7%	51 30.4%
Women	108 46.2%	10 4.3%	54 23.1%	62 26.5%

301 Likely April 2016 Republican Primary Voters

QUESTION: *If the April 2016 **Republican** primary election were held today, for whom would you vote for President: Jeb Bush, Ben Carson, Chris Christie, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, Donald Trump, or someone else?*

GOP PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY	Number	Percent
Trump	96	31.9 %
Cruz	45	15.0 %
Rubio	41	13.6 %
Carson	28	9.3 %
Christie	24	8.0 %
Bush	12	4.0 %
Someone Else	17	5.6 %
Undecided	38	12.6 %
Total	301	100.0 %

Business mogul Donald Trump has a better than 2-to-1 lead in Maryland 3 months before the primary

Men ♂

GOP PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY	Number	Percent
Trump	63	40.9 %
Cruz	25	16.2 %
Rubio	20	13.0 %
Christie	17	11.0 %
Carson	9	5.8 %
Bush	2	1.3 %
Someone Else	6	3.9 %
Undecided	12	7.8 %
Total	154	100.0 %

Trump captures 41% of men, but only 22% of GOP women

Women ♀

GOP PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY	Number	Percent
Trump	33	22.4 %
Rubio	21	14.3 %
Cruz	20	13.6 %
Carson	19	12.9 %
Bush	10	6.8 %
Christie	7	4.8 %
Someone Else	11	7.5 %
Undecided	26	17.7 %
Total	147	100.0 %