

# **2016: The Year of the Outsider**

## **Pacific Chapter of American Association of Public Opinion**

**December 2015**

# 2016: The Year of the Outsider

Top public pollsters present and discuss the 2016 political outsider phenomena in the nation and the states



Floyd Ciruli  
Crossley Center  
Colorado



Jon Cohen  
SurveyMonkey  
California



Mark Baldassare  
PPIC  
California



Stuart Elway  
Elway Research  
Washington



Anthony Salvanto  
CBS News  
New York





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JOSEF KORBEL SCHOOL OF  
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# The U.S. and Colorado Outsider Preferences

**Professor Floyd Ciruli**  
**Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research**

**Crossley Center for Public Opinion Research**  
**Josef Korbel School of International Studies**

**December 2015**

# Outsider Definition and Questions

## Presidential Nominees or Near Nominees

**Outsider:** Not a member of the political establishment. Little or no political experience or electoral track record. Not electable.

**Questions:** Do you prefer a candidate with experience or no political experience? Are you in favor of continuing current policies, some change or major changes in policies? Right track, wrong direction? Approve, disapprove of job of Congress? Trust in government, always, most of time?



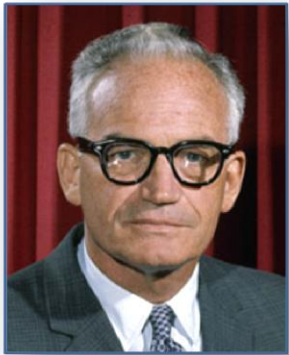
# In Europe, the Anti-Establishment is Rising and Not

## December 2015

Country	Groups	Comment
UK	UKIP UK Independence Party Nigel Farage	Right wing, Euro sceptic, anti-immigration, Election May 2015, had seats in Parliament, Lords and EU
Spain	Podemos Pablo Iglesias	Left wing, ("we can") anti-austerity
France	National Front Jean-Marie Le Pen	Right wing, anti-EU, anti-immigration, anti-elites, seats in EU, Wins regional council elections. "France's number one party"
Greece	Syriza Alexis Tsipras	Left wing, anti-austerity, government spending, stop reforming, now controls government
Italy	Northern League Matteo Salvini Five-Star Movement	Right wing, out of euro, regional autonomy, anti-austerity.
Netherlands	Freedom Party (PVV) Geert Wilders	Anti-EU, anti-Islam, pro-Israel, pro-gay rights
Germany	Alternative for Germany PEGIDA	Patriotic Europeans Against Islamization of Europe, Right wing, anti-EU, anti-immigration
Others	Anti-Immigrant	Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland

# Historical Precedents

## People Given the Label



Barry Goldwater

1964 Barry Goldwater

1968 Eugene McCarthy

1972 George McGovern/George Wallace

1976 Jimmy Carter

1980 Ronald Reagan

1984 Gary Hart

1992 Ross Perot

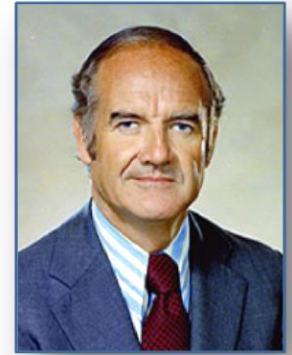
1996 Pat Buchanan

2004 Howard Dean

2008 Barack Obama

2012 Herman Cain, Ron Paul

2016 Donald Trump, Ben Carson,  
Carly Fiorina, Bernie Sanders



George McGovern  
Photo: Getty



Donald Trump

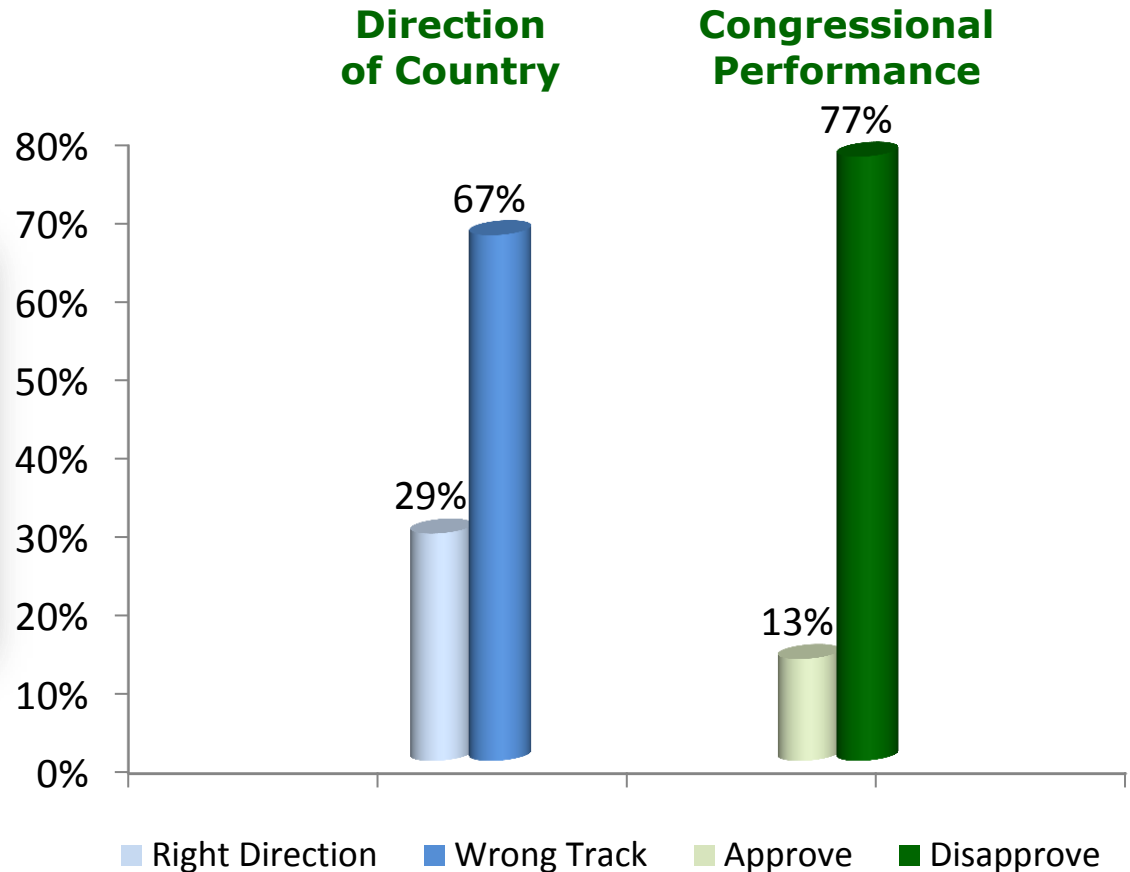


Ross Perot

# 2016 – Year of the Outsider

## Establishment is in Trouble

### Direction of Country and Congressional Performance



Source: RealClearPolitics.com  
Format: Crossley Center

# Parties Shift on Ideology, Age, Geography

## Wall Street Journal Based on Poll in 1990 and 2015

- Parties more ideological and more ideological at base

### Very Liberal

Democrats 13%-26%

Total: 39%-55%

### Very Conservative

Republicans 12%-28%

Total: 48%-61%

- Republicans were more likely to be 18-34, now Democrats; Democrats were more likely to be 65 plus, now Republicans
- Republicans in Northeast: 38%, down to 26%;  
Republicans in South: 44%, was 38%





# Outsider Characteristics



Pat Schroeder

**In Colorado, Independence and Anti-establishment Image and Tone a Major Asset**

Pat Schroeder

Dick Lamm

Gary Hart

Ben Nighthorse Campbell

Tom Tancredo

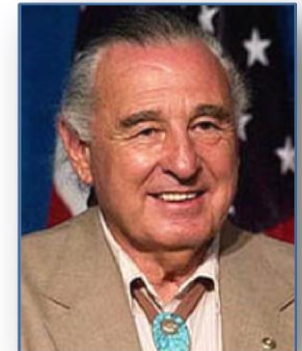
John Hickenlooper



Tom Tancredo



John Hickenlooper



Ben Nighthorse  
Campbell

# Media and Public Intellectuals



Donald Trump



Carly Fiorina

In Iowa, Hillary Clinton and Outsiders Hold the Cards  
(*CNN*)

What Fuels Trump's Rise? Anger and Fear. (*LA Times*)

Rise of Neo-Nationalism: Putting Trump into Proper  
Context (*IPSOS*)

Donald Trump's Lead Explained in Two Sentences  
(*Brownstein*)

Populism Rises in GOP Race (*WSJ*)

Most Americans Say Best Days in Past (*American Values  
Survey*)

One Year Out, Candidates Face Angry, Dissatisfied  
Electorate (*NBC News*)

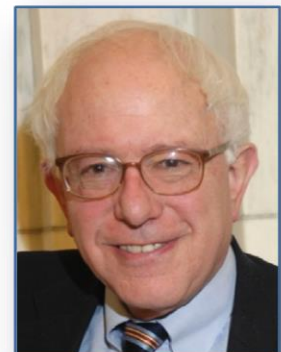
In Search of the Anti-Politician (*National Journal*)

On the Left and Right, Voters Express Anxiety Over Future  
(*LA Times*)

Democrats, Even Clinton Supporters Warming to Socialism  
(*NYT*)



Ben Carson



Bernie Sanders

# Some Factors

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- Economic insecurity, class conflict
- Demographic transition
- Racial, ethnic and religious turmoil
- National security anxiety
- Party system out of synchronization