



iCaucus Michigan

11281 Meyers Lake Road
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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Sunday, 29 January, 2017

Contest to Replace Kelly Mitchell (Outreach Vice-Chair): “Likely Norton” On Second Ballot

ROCKFORD, Michigan – As Kelly Mitchell departs her position as the Outreach Vice-Chair of the Michigan Republican Party, for a position within the Trump Administration Energy Department, the contest to fill her vacancy is likely to be won by a military veteran from rural northern Kent County, according to a survey conducted by iCaucus Michigan.

According to Kevin Heine, political strategy advisor for iCaucus Michigan, the three-way race between Kenneth Lloyd (a grassroots activist from Bloomfield Hills), Thomas Norton (a business owner from Sand Lake), and Benjamin Soltis (a party operative from Jackson) has a 3-in-5 chance of going to a second ballot, which will likely be won by Norton. Alternately, according to Heine, there is a 2-in-5 chance that Norton wins outright on the first ballot. “The only path that either Lloyd or Soltis have to winning this contest,” Heine said, “is a head-to-head matchup on the second ballot, without Norton, which would be too close to call.” However, the chance of that particular second-ballot matchup is less than one percent, according to the ballot analysis.

Complicating the survey analysis, according to Heine, was the unusually high percentage of respondents who were undecided on the first ballot. “In the survey, we quoted the duties and responsibilities of the Outreach Vice-Chair, according to the state party bylaws, and asked respondents to indicate how much that job description factored into their decision. There is a strong correlation between the high number of delegates who take the job description seriously, and the high number of delegates who responded as undecided on the first ballot, which indicates to us that many of these delegates are performing some due diligence research before actually making a decision.”

Respondents provided Governor Rick Snyder with a 67% approval rating against 21% disapproval, in contrast with a nearly 80% approval rating provided to departing party chair Ronna McDaniel a week previously against a disapproval rating in middle single digits. The scale average for Snyder (either 6.16 or 6.23 on a 9-point scale, depending upon whether or not the results were filtered), was more than a point below the scale average provided to McDaniel, indicating that not only is there less support for the lame-duck governor, but that the support is weaker as well.

Respondents were also asked to offer an opinion the eight people who are currently being considered for the 2018 republican gubernatorial nomination. (Attorney General Bill Schuette currently leads the pack, with a clear plurality of roughly 26%.) Finally, respondents were asked to weigh in on a potential change to the state party bylaws, with roughly 64% being undecided, while those who did have an opinion broke roughly 2-to-1 in favor of the resolution.



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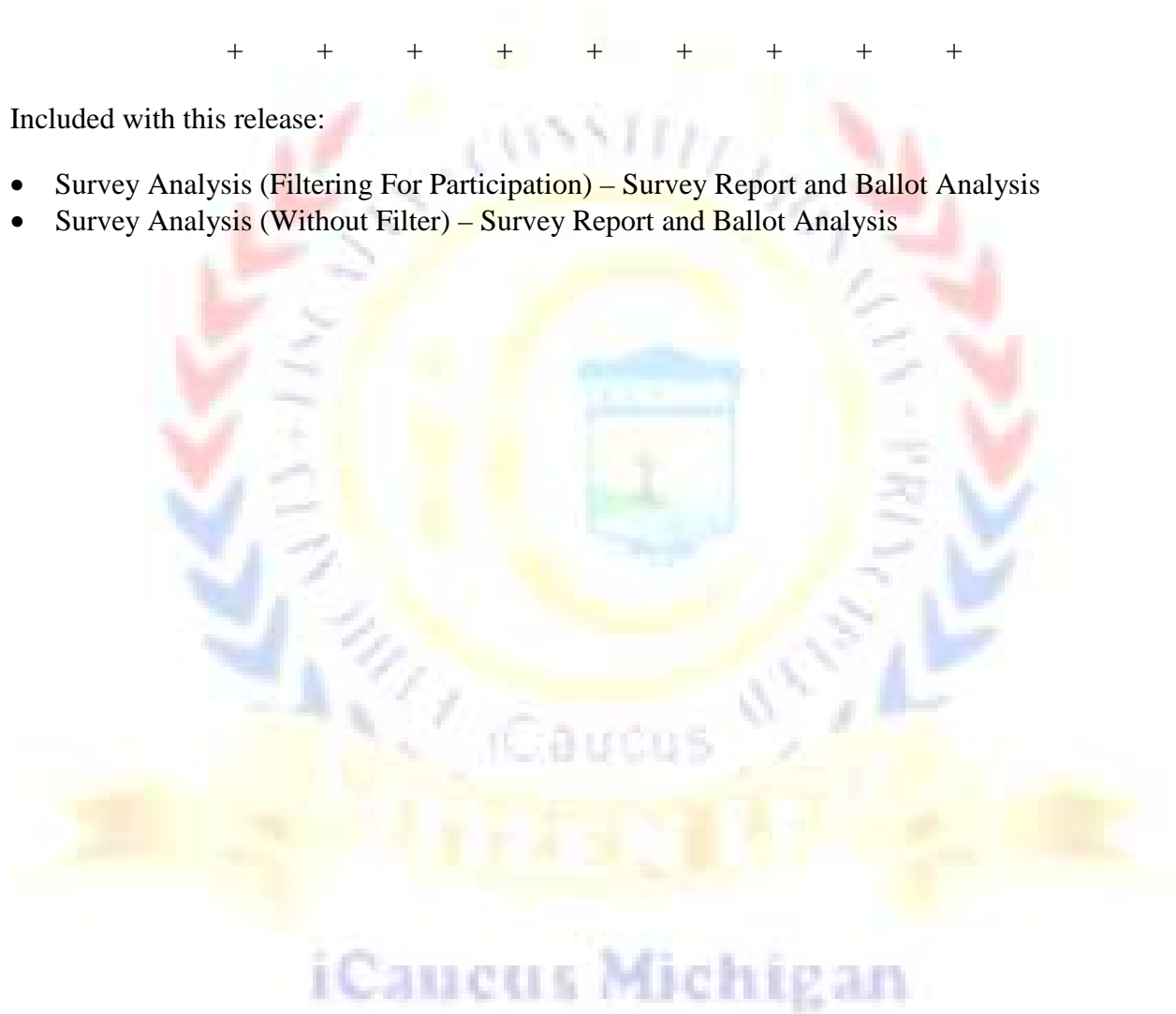


The survey was sent out via e-mail link to a master list consisting of voting and alternate delegates to the April 2016 and/or August 2016 state conventions (4,100+ party operatives and activists), and was conducted January 23rd thru 27th. An overwhelming majority of the 507 respondents self-identified as either “conservative republican” or “insurgency republican” (a loose confederacy of Reform Party refugees, tea party movement leftovers, and the “deplorable vulgarians” attracted to President Trump’s populism, all who share the commonality of being political outsiders).

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Included with this release:

- Survey Analysis (Filtering For Participation) – Survey Report and Ballot Analysis
- Survey Analysis (Without Filter) – Survey Report and Ballot Analysis





Appendix A: Survey Analysis (Filtering For Participation)

This analysis filters out those who responded “no” to the first question – are you planning on participating in this convention cycle? – so that responses to the convention-specific questions (# 4 thru # 8) might more accurately reflect a likely convention delegation (assuming that those currently opting out of the convention cycle don’t change their minds prior to their county conventions). Percentages may not add to exactly 100%, due to rounding.

Number of respondents (n): 440

Margin of error ($\epsilon \approx$): 4.86%

Survey Report

1. The county conventions, supporting the Michigan Republican State Convention, will be convened on Thursday, January 26th, 2017; the District Caucuses will be convened on Friday, February 10th, and the General Session will be convened on Saturday, February 11th, 2017. Are you planning on participating in this convention cycle?

Yes, I will be attending at least my county convention:	74.16%	85.45%
Undecided, I have not committed either way:	13.21%	14.55%
No, I do not plan on participating at this time (removed from further consideration):	12.62%	

2. Richard D. Snyder has now been serving as Governor of Michigan for six consecutive years. How would you rate Rick Snyder’s performance during his tenure as Governor of Michigan? (This was a scale question, asking respondents to rate Snyder on a scale of 1 (absolutely disapprove) to 9 (absolutely approve).)

Approve:	67.73%	6.23	Response Average
Disapprove:	20.68%		
Neither:	11.59%	± 2.04	Response Deviation

3. Which of the following types of republicans do you consider to be *most closely* like yourself, philosophically?

Conservative Republican	36.14%
Insurgency Republican	31.36%
Libertarian Republican	14.77%
Moderate Republican	11.36%
Liberal Republican	6.36%



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4. Kenneth Lloyd has filed to run as a challenger for Kelly Mitchell's vacant Michigan Republican Party Outreach Vice-Chair seat. What is your opinion of Ken Lloyd?

		Of those recognizing the name:	
Recognize the name: 23.41% {	7.50%	favorable opinion	32.04%
	0.68%	unfavorable opinion	2.91%
	15.23%	neutral or no opinion	65.05%
Don't recognize the name: 76.59%			

5. Thomas Norton has filed to run as a challenger for Kelly Mitchell's vacant Michigan Republican Party Outreach Vice-Chair seat. What is your opinion of Tom Norton?

		Of those recognizing the name:	
Recognize the name: 30.00% {	8.64%	favorable opinion	28.79%
	1.59%	unfavorable opinion	5.30%
	19.77%	neutral or no opinion	65.91%
Don't recognize the name: 70.00%			

6. Benjamin Soltis has filed to run as a challenger for Kelly Mitchell's vacant Michigan Republican Party Outreach Vice-Chair seat. What is your opinion of Ben Soltis?

		Of those recognizing the name:	
Recognize the name: 25.45% {	7.50%	favorable opinion	29.46%
	2.95%	unfavorable opinion	11.61%
	15.00%	neutral or no opinion	58.93%
Don't recognize the name: 74.55%			

7. According to Article V § B of the Michigan Republican Party Bylaws, the duties and responsibilities of the Outreach Vice-Chair include "... deliver the Republican message, including activities relating to media, letters to the editor, local cable access, Internet, assisting candidates with editorial boards, endorsements, and arranging for speakers ...". To what extent does this job description influence your opinion of or vote for the candidates for Outreach Vice-Chair?

- 39.09% Deal-breaker – I will vote for the candidate whose experience most closely matches the job description
- 39.55% Tie-breaker – this is one consideration among several in my thinking
- 21.36% Ice-breaker – it's a nice conversation talking point, but doesn't really factor into my thinking



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8. If you were a voting delegate to the Michigan Republican Party February state convention, and the convention vote for Outreach Vice-Chair was to be held today, how would you vote?

	Of those with an opinion:
3.18% Kenneth Lloyd	Kenneth Lloyd: 22.95%
6.14% Thomas Norton	Thomas Norton: 44.26%
4.55% Benjamin Soltis	Benjamin Soltis: 32.79%
86.14% Undecided at this time	

- A. [For respondents selecting “Kenneth Lloyd”] If your first choice isn’t available on the second ballot, then who is your second choice for Outreach Vice-Chair?

	Of those with an opinion:
21.43% Thomas Norton	Thomas Norton: 50.00%
21.43% Benjamin Soltis	Benjamin Soltis: 50.00%
57.14% Undecided at this time	

- B. [For respondents selecting “Thomas Norton”] If your first choice isn’t available on the second ballot, then who is your second choice for Outreach Vice-Chair?

	Of those with an opinion:
25.93% Kenneth Lloyd	Kenneth Lloyd: 70.00%
11.11% Benjamin Soltis	Benjamin Soltis: 30.00%
62.96% Undecided at this time	

- C. [For respondents selecting “Benjamin Soltis”] If your first choice isn’t available on the second ballot, then who is your second choice for Outreach Vice-Chair?

	Of those with an opinion:
20.00% Kenneth Lloyd	Kenneth Lloyd: 57.14%
15.00% Thomas Norton	Thomas Norton: 42.86%
65.00% Undecided at this time	

- D. [For delegates selecting “undecided”] Are you at least leaning toward one of the three candidates?

	Of those with an opinion:
1.32% Leaning toward Kenneth Lloyd	21.74%
3.69% Leaning toward Thomas Norton	60.87%
1.06% Leaning toward Benjamin Soltis	17.39%
93.93% Nope, definitely undecided at this time	



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9. Eight people are currently considering filing for the republican nomination for Governor of Michigan in 2018. Of these eight actual or potential candidates, which do you currently prefer?

8.86%	Dave Agema (of Grandville, former Republican National Committeeman)
1.82%	Jase Bolger (of Marshall, former Speaker of the State House)
12.05%	Brian Calley (of Portland, current Lieutenant Governor)
7.73%	Patrick Colbeck (of Canton Township, current State Senator)
0.68%	Dr. Jim Hines (of Saginaw) – the only candidate currently filed for the primary
5.00%	Ruth Johnson (of Holly, current Secretary of State)
7.50%	Candace Miller (of Harrison Township, former Congresswoman)
26.59%	Bill Schuette (of Midland, current Attorney General)
3.41%	Currently, none of the listed candidates have my support
26.36%	Undecided or uncommitted at this time

10. There is some discussion currently regarding introducing a resolution at the next meeting of the state central committee, to modify the state party bylaws, to make the co-chairman and the vice chairmen the chairs of standing committees, which standing committees shall have purposes and duties identical to the duties and functions of their respective vice chairs. (The state party Co-Chair would be the chair of the Standing Committee on Issues, and the committees will retain the authority to elect their own assistant chairs.) What is your opinion of such a resolution?

Support:	23.18%
Oppose:	12.50%
Undecided:	64.32%

Of those with an opinion:

Support:	64.97%
Oppose:	35.03%

Ballot Analysis

First ballot (including leaners):

Selecting, or leaning toward, Kenneth Lloyd:	4.32%
Selecting, or leaning toward, Thomas Norton:	9.32%
Selecting, or leaning toward, Benjamin Soltis:	5.45%
Definitely undecided at this time:	80.91%

Of those with an opinion:

Kenneth Lloyd	22.62%
Thomas Norton:	48.81%
Benjamin Soltis:	28.57%



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Second ballot (assumes Norton vs. Soltis):

				Of those with an opinion:	
Total support for Thomas Norton:	10.00%	$\Delta p \approx$		Thomas Norton:	61.97% $\Delta p \approx$
Total support for Benjamin Soltis:	6.14%	3.86%		Benjamin Soltis:	38.03% 23.94%
Undecided at this time:				83.86%	

Second ballot (assumes Lloyd vs. Soltis):

				Of those with an opinion:	
Total support for Kenneth Lloyd:	5.91%	$\Delta p \approx$		Kenneth Lloyd	49.06% $\Delta p \approx$
Total support for Benjamin Soltis:	6.14%	0.23%		Benjamin Soltis:	50.94% 1.89%
Undecided at this time:				87.95%	

Second ballot (assumes Lloyd vs. Norton):

				Of those with an opinion:	
Total support for Kenneth Lloyd:	5.23%	$\Delta p \approx$		Kenneth Lloyd	34.33% $\Delta p \approx$
Total support for Thomas Norton:	10.00%	4.77%		Thomas Norton:	65.67% 31.34%
Undecided at this time:				84.77%	

Projections (based on Δp in relation to ϵ , weighting θ according to lean, and probability that a ballot lead involves sampling error):

- There is a 40% chance that Tom Norton will win this contest outright on the first ballot.
- Assuming that Norton doesn't win outright on the first ballot (60% probability), it's effectively a statistical given (> 99% probability) that he will be on the second ballot.
- The most likely second-ballot scenario is Norton vs. Soltis (89% probability), but there is a credible chance (11% probability) that a second-ballot scenario might be Lloyd vs. Norton.
- In the probable event that a second-ballot scenario includes Norton, then the most probable result is "likely Norton," regardless of opponent.
- In the unlikely event that a second-ballot scenario is Lloyd vs. Soltis, then such a second-ballot scenario is too close to call (advantage Soltis).



Appendix B: Survey Analysis (Without Filter)

This analysis includes those who responded “no” to the first question – are you planning on participating in this convention cycle? – so that responses to the general questions (# 2, # 3, # 9, and # 10) might more accurately reflect the general opinion of the party (as well as allowing for the possibility that those currently opting out of the convention cycle may change their minds prior to their county conventions). Percentages may not add to exactly 100%, due to rounding.

Number of respondents (n): 507

Margin of error (ϵ): 4.60%

Survey Report

1. The county conventions, supporting the Michigan Republican State Convention, will be convened on Thursday, January 26th, 2017; the District Caucuses will be convened on Friday, February 10th, and the General Session will be convened on Saturday, February 11th, 2017. Are you planning on participating in this convention cycle?

Yes, I will be attending at least my county convention: 74.16%

No, I do not plan on participating at this time: 13.21%

Undecided, I have not committed either way: 12.62%

2. Richard D. Snyder has now been serving as Governor of Michigan for six consecutive years. How would you rate Rick Snyder’s performance during his tenure as Governor of Michigan? (This was a scale question, asking respondents to rate Snyder on a scale of 1 (absolutely disapprove) to 9 (absolutely approve).)

Approve: 67.46% 6.16 Response Average

Disapprove: 21.70%

Neither: 10.85% ± 2.07 Response Deviation

3. Which of the following types of republicans do you consider to be *most closely* like yourself, philosophically?

Conservative Republican 35.31%

Insurgency Republican 32.74%

Libertarian Republican 14.99%

Moderate Republican 11.24%

Liberal Republican 5.72%



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4. Kenneth Lloyd has filed to run as a challenger for Kelly Mitchell's vacant Michigan Republican Party Outreach Vice-Chair seat. What is your opinion of Ken Lloyd?

		Of those recognizing the name:	
Recognize the name: 23.27% {	7.50%	favorable opinion	32.20%
	1.18%	unfavorable opinion	5.08%
	14.60%	neutral or no opinion	62.71%
Don't recognize the name: 76.73%			

5. Thomas Norton has filed to run as a challenger for Kelly Mitchell's vacant Michigan Republican Party Outreach Vice-Chair seat. What is your opinion of Tom Norton?

		Of those recognizing the name:	
Recognize the name: 29.98% {	9.07%	favorable opinion	30.26%
	2.17%	unfavorable opinion	7.24%
	18.74%	neutral or no opinion	62.50%
Don't recognize the name: 70.02%			

6. Benjamin Soltis has filed to run as a challenger for Kelly Mitchell's vacant Michigan Republican Party Outreach Vice-Chair seat. What is your opinion of Ben Soltis?

		Of those recognizing the name:	
Recognize the name: 24.85% {	7.30%	favorable opinion	29.37%
	2.96%	unfavorable opinion	11.90%
	14.60%	neutral or no opinion	58.73%
Don't recognize the name: 75.15%			

7. According to Article V § B of the Michigan Republican Party Bylaws, the duties and responsibilities of the Outreach Vice-Chair include "... deliver the Republican message, including activities relating to media, letters to the editor, local cable access, Internet, assisting candidates with editorial boards, endorsements, and arranging for speakers ...". To what extent does this job description influence your opinion of or vote for the candidates for Outreach Vice-Chair?

- 40.24% Deal-breaker – I will vote for the candidate whose experience most closely matches the job description
- 38.46% Tie-breaker – this is one consideration among several in my thinking
- 21.30% Ice-breaker – it's a nice conversation talking point, but doesn't really factor into my thinking



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8. If you were a voting delegate to the Michigan Republican Party February state convention, and the convention vote for Outreach Vice-Chair was to be held today, how would you vote?

		Of those with an opinion:
3.35%	Kenneth Lloyd	Kenneth Lloyd: 24.29%
6.11%	Thomas Norton	Thomas Norton: 44.29%
4.34%	Benjamin Soltis	Benjamin Soltis: 31.43%
86.19%	Undecided at this time	

- A. [For respondents selecting “Kenneth Lloyd”] If your first choice isn’t available on the second ballot, then who is your second choice for Outreach Vice-Chair?

		Of those with an opinion:
17.65%	Thomas Norton	Thomas Norton: 33.33%
35.29%	Benjamin Soltis	Benjamin Soltis: 66.67%
47.06%	Undecided at this time	

- B. [For respondents selecting “Thomas Norton”] If your first choice isn’t available on the second ballot, then who is your second choice for Outreach Vice-Chair?

		Of those with an opinion:
25.81%	Kenneth Lloyd	Kenneth Lloyd: 66.67%
12.90%	Benjamin Soltis	Benjamin Soltis: 33.33%
61.29%	Undecided at this time	

- C. [For respondents selecting “Benjamin Soltis”] If your first choice isn’t available on the second ballot, then who is your second choice for Outreach Vice-Chair?

		Of those with an opinion:
22.73%	Kenneth Lloyd	Kenneth Lloyd: 62.50%
13.64%	Thomas Norton	Thomas Norton: 37.50%
63.64%	Undecided at this time	

- D. [For delegates selecting “undecided”] Are you at least leaning toward one of the three candidates?

		Of those with an opinion:
1.37%	Leaning toward Kenneth Lloyd	24.00%
3.43%	Leaning toward Thomas Norton	60.00%
0.92%	Leaning toward Benjamin Soltis	16.00%
94.28%	Nope, definitely undecided at this time	



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9. Eight people are currently considering filing for the republican nomination for Governor of Michigan in 2018. Of these eight actual or potential candidates, which do you currently prefer?

8.88%	Dave Agema (of Grandville, former Republican National Committeeman)
1.58%	Jase Bolger (of Marshall, former Speaker of the State House)
11.83%	Brian Calley (of Portland, current Lieutenant Governor)
7.89%	Patrick Colbeck (of Canton Township, current State Senator)
1.18%	Dr. Jim Hines (of Saginaw) – the only candidate currently filed for the primary
4.54%	Ruth Johnson (of Holly, current Secretary of State)
8.28%	Candace Miller (of Harrison Township, former Congresswoman)
26.43%	Bill Schuette (of Midland, current Attorney General)
3.35%	Currently, none of the listed candidates have my support
26.04%	Undecided or uncommitted at this time

10. There is some discussion currently regarding introducing a resolution at the next meeting of the state central committee, to modify the state party bylaws, to make the co-chairman and the vice chairmen the chairs of standing committees, which standing committees shall have purposes and duties identical to the duties and functions of their respective vice chairs. (The state party Co-Chair would be the chair of the Standing Committee on Issues, and the committees will retain the authority to elect their own assistant chairs.) What is your opinion of such a resolution?

Support:	22.88%
Oppose:	13.02%
Undecided:	64.10%

Of those with an opinion:

Support:	63.74%
Oppose:	36.26%

Ballot Analysis

First ballot (including leaners):

Selecting, or leaning toward, Kenneth Lloyd:	4.54%
Selecting, or leaning toward, Thomas Norton:	9.07%
Selecting, or leaning toward, Benjamin Soltis:	5.13%
Definitely undecided at this time:	81.26%

Of those with an opinion:

Kenneth Lloyd	24.21%
Thomas Norton:	48.42%
Benjamin Soltis:	27.37%



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Second ballot (assumes Norton vs. Soltis):

				Of those with an opinion:	
Total support for Thomas Norton:	9.66%	$\Delta p \approx$		Thomas Norton:	60.49% $\Delta p \approx$
Total support for Benjamin Soltis:	6.31%	3.35%		Benjamin Soltis:	39.51% 20.99%
Undecided at this time:				84.02%	

Second ballot (assumes Lloyd vs. Soltis):

				Of those with an opinion:	
Total support for Kenneth Lloyd:	6.11%	$\Delta p \approx$		Kenneth Lloyd	50.82% $\Delta p \approx$
Total support for Benjamin Soltis:	5.92%	0.20%		Benjamin Soltis:	49.18% 1.64%
Undecided at this time:				87.97%	

Second ballot (assumes Lloyd vs. Norton):

				Of those with an opinion:	
Total support for Kenneth Lloyd:	5.52%	$\Delta p \approx$		Kenneth Lloyd	36.36% $\Delta p \approx$
Total support for Thomas Norton:	9.66%	4.14%		Thomas Norton:	63.64% 27.27%
Undecided at this time:				84.81%	

Projections (based on Δp in relation to ϵ , weighting θ according to lean, and probability that a ballot lead involves sampling error):

- There is a 36% chance that Tom Norton will win this contest outright on the first ballot.
- Assuming that Norton doesn't win outright on the first ballot (64% probability), it's effectively a statistical given (> 99% probability) that he will be on the second ballot.
- The most likely second-ballot scenario is Norton vs. Soltis (76% probability), but there is a credible chance (24% probability) that a second-ballot scenario might be Lloyd vs. Norton.
- In the probable event that a second-ballot scenario includes Norton, then the most probable result is "likely Norton," regardless of opponent.
- In the unlikely event that a second-ballot scenario is Lloyd vs. Soltis, then such a second-ballot scenario is too close to call (advantage Lloyd).