

PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN THE UNITED STATES

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PRIMARY AND GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN THE UNITED STATES

NOMINATIONS

- Origins of U.S. Primaries
- The Invisible Primary

GENERAL ELECTION

- The Fundamentals Shape the Election
- The Electoral College

STATES FORM THE UNION

THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION (1787)



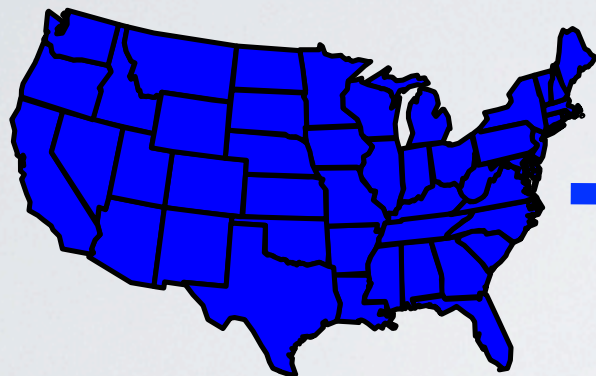
IT'S ALL ABOUT THE STATES

State parties
choose delegates

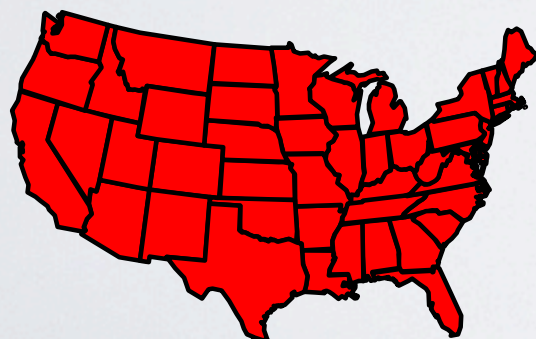
to **conventions**,
which choose

candidates, who
compete in the

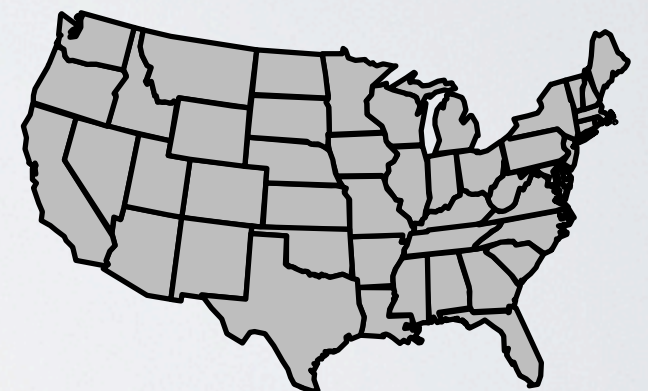
Electoral College
for the presidency



DEMOCRATS



REPUBLICANS



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COORDINATING VOTERS

Election of 1824:

	Popular Vote	Electoral College
Democrat-Republican  (J.Q. Adams)	31%	84
Democrat-Republican (Jackson)	41%	99
Democrat-Republican (Crawford)	11.2%	41
Democrat-Republican (Clay)	13%	37

Election of 1828:

 Democrat **Jackson** vs.
National Republican **Adams**

SOLUTION I: CONVENTIONS

How it might work:

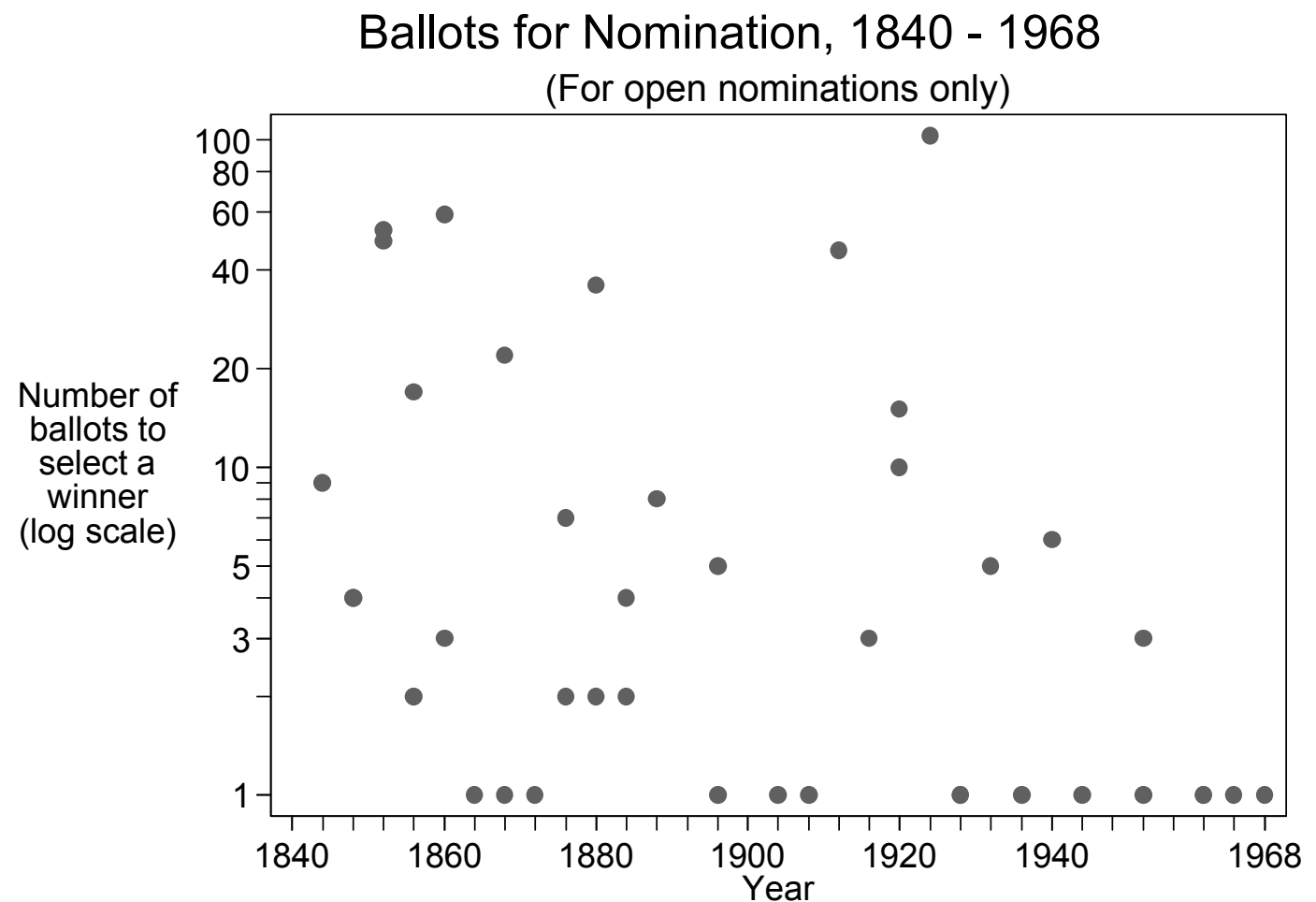
- Party delegates arrive.
- They deliberate.
- Name the candidate.

How it came to work:

- Pre-convention coordination
- Campaigning among future delegates
- Then delegates arrive...

PARTY CONVENTIONS

Roughly **1928**,
Parties began
increasingly to
settle on their
nominee
before the
convention.



PRIMARIES AS TESTS

Primaries begin in early 1900s,
progressive reform.

For president, primarily used to
demonstrate appeal, not to actually
win delegates.



e.g. **John F. Kennedy** in
West Virginia

1968-1972

MCGOVERN-FRASER COMMISSION

- 1968: Democrats Hubert H. Humphrey
- Supporters of McCarthy (and RFK) unhappy with 1968 outcome. Commission to evaluate delegate selection
- Delegates must be chosen in a manner open to rank-and-file party members.
 - Not primaries, necessarily. Expected more caucuses.
- Democratic state legislatures impose on both parties.

1972 and 1976

MCGOVERN AND CARTER

- 1972, McGovern wins the system he designed.
- 1976, Carter comes to Iowa early. Momentum.
 - The only candidate to campaign in every primary.
 - Carter is not viewed as a successful president.
 - Why not? Not able to work with own party.

Date	State	Carter	Udall	Jackson	Wallace	Brown	Church	Bayh	Bentsen	Shriver	Harris
January 19	Iowa	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
February 24	N.H.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
March 2	Mass.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
March 9	Fla.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
March 16	Ill.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
March 23	N.C.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
April 6	Wis.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
April 27	Pa.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
May 1	Texas	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
May 4	D.C.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>								<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Ala.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						
	Ga.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Ind.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						
May 11	Neb.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
May 18	Md.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Mich.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
May 25	Ark.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						
	Idaho	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Ky.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						
	Nev.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
	Ore.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Tenn.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
June 1	Mont.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
	R.I.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			
	S.D.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>						<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
June 8	Calif.	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	Ohio	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				



SOLUTION II: PRIMARIES

How it might work:

- Party delegates chosen by *party* voters.
- Delegates deliberate, name candidate.

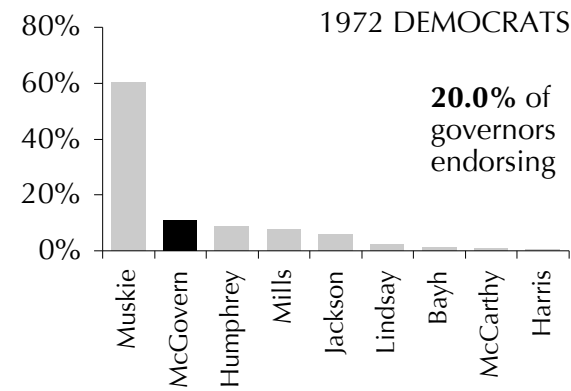
How it worked:

- Delegates pledged to candidates, but not chosen by party leaders.
- No deliberation

The party's solution:

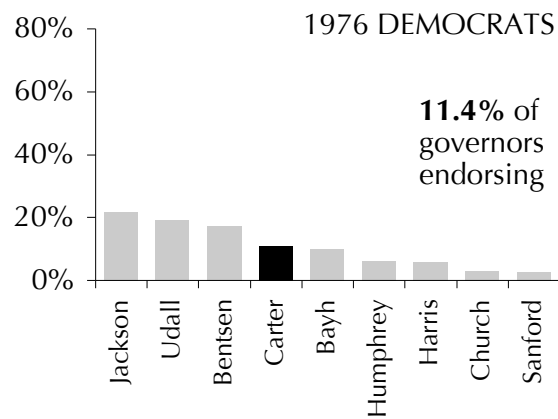
- Get involved sooner
- The Invisible Primary

FIGURE 6-1: Distribution of Endorsements by Contest

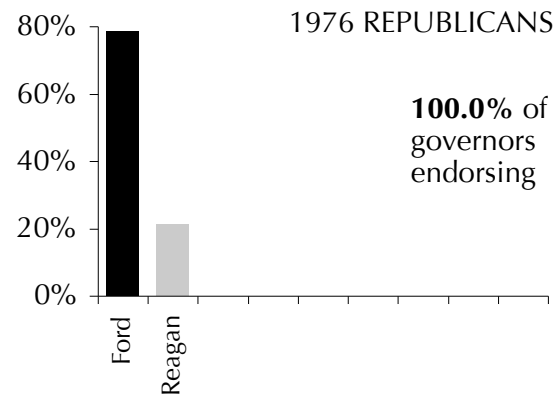


Distribution of politically weighted endorsements before the Iowa caucus for presidential nominations, 1972 to 2004. Eventually nominee in black.

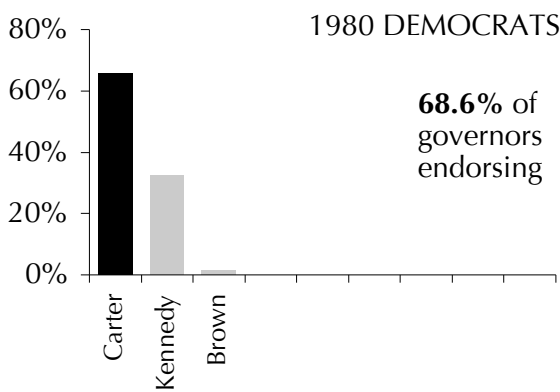
20.0% of governors endorsing



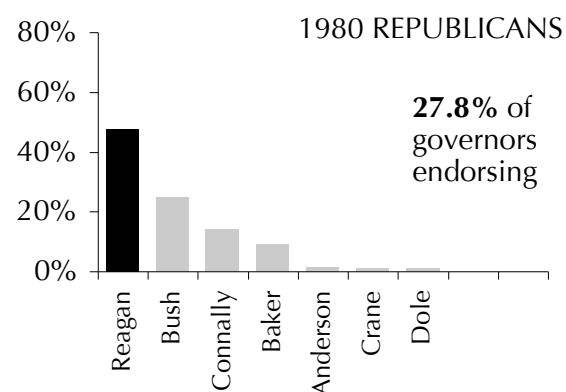
11.4% of governors endorsing



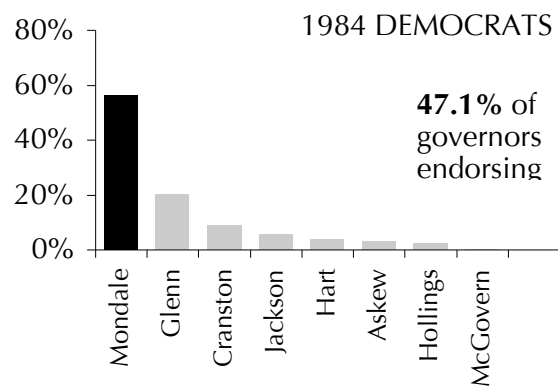
100.0% of governors endorsing



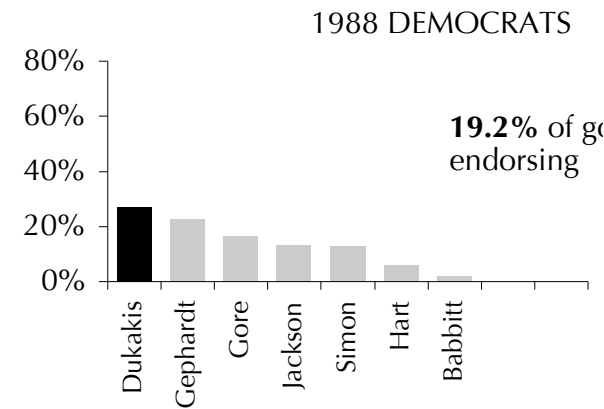
68.6% of governors endorsing



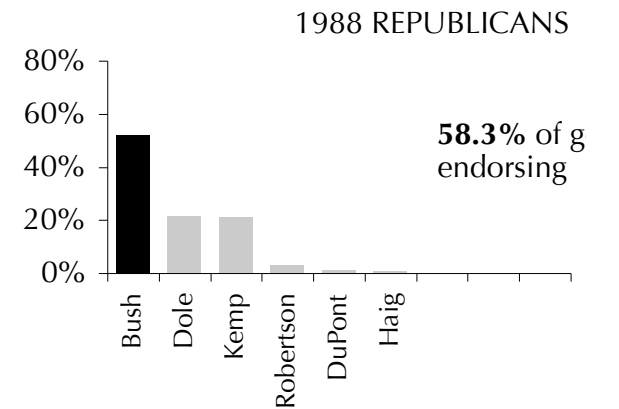
27.8% of governors endorsing



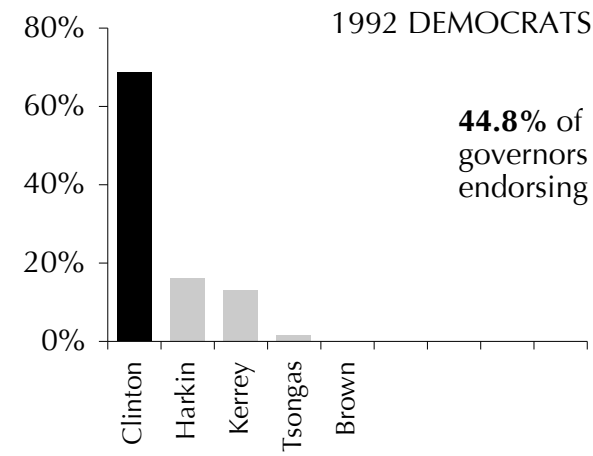
47.1% of governors endorsing



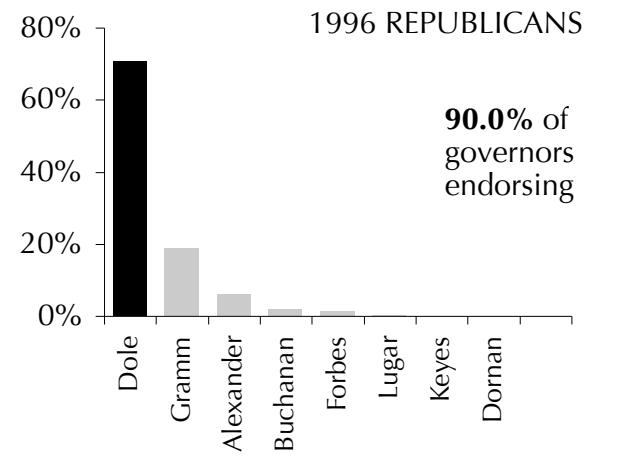
19.2% of governors endorsing



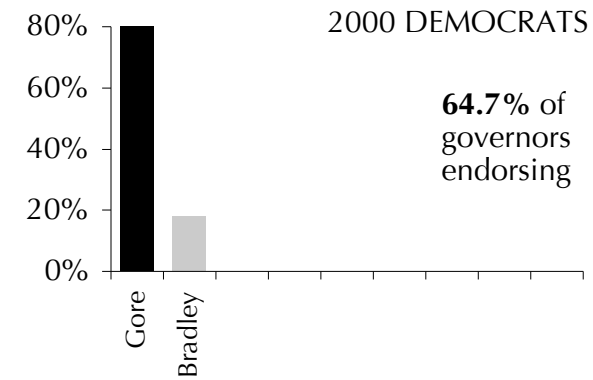
58.3% of governors endorsing



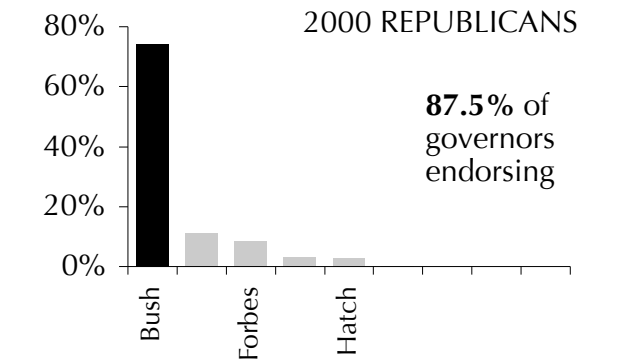
44.8% of governors endorsing



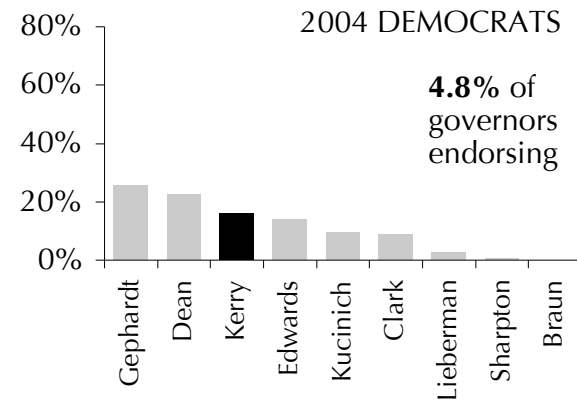
90.0% of governors endorsing



64.7% of governors endorsing



87.5% of governors endorsing

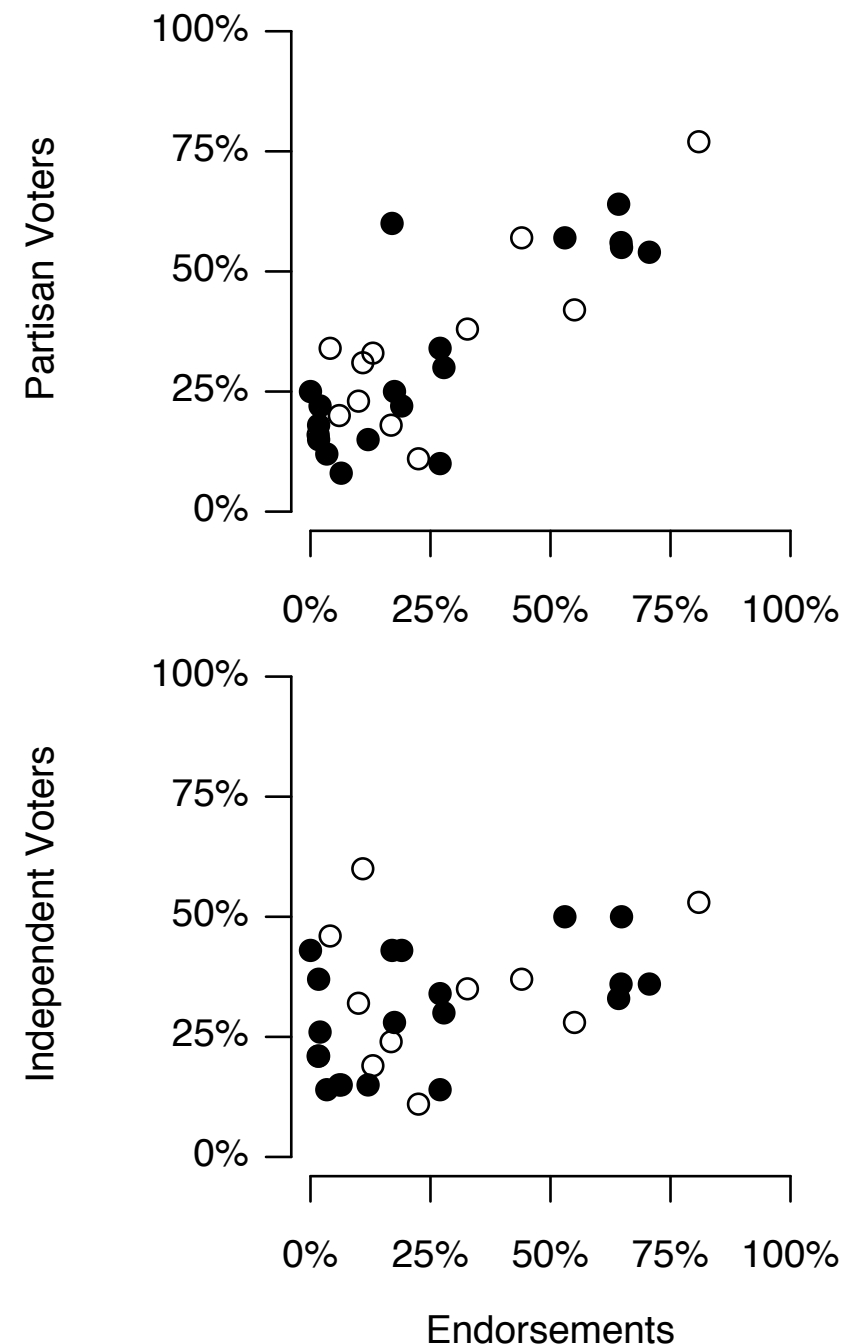


4.8% of governors endorsing

PARTY VOTERS ARE LOYAL

- Voters who self-identify as partisan vote much the same way as political endorsers.
- Independent voters are less persuaded.

FIGURE 9-5: Vote shares vs. Endorsements



Endorsements is the percent of all politically weighted endorsements for each candidate in the year prior to the primaries, up to the day before the Iowa caucuses. Primary election vote shares are from Mayer 2007.

Solid circles are Democrats. Open circles are Republicans.

2012

INVISIBLE PRIMARY



Romney emerges as most broadly acceptable. But not broadly enough.



Series of “anti-Romney” candidates also not broadly acceptable enough. Not electable enough.



Failure to coordinate early on Romney could have led to unexpected outcomes.

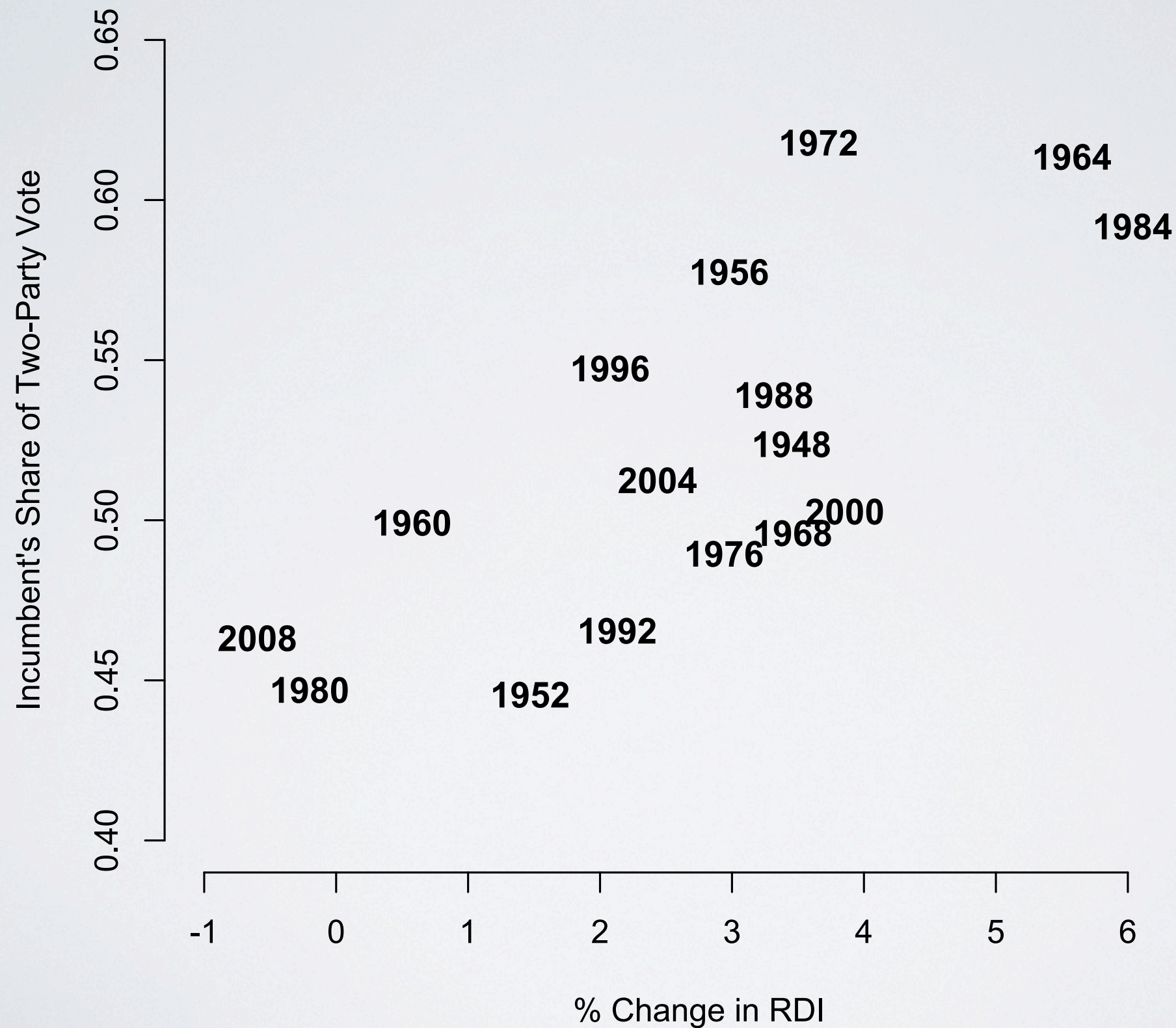
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THE ECONOMY



PARTY IDENTIFICATION

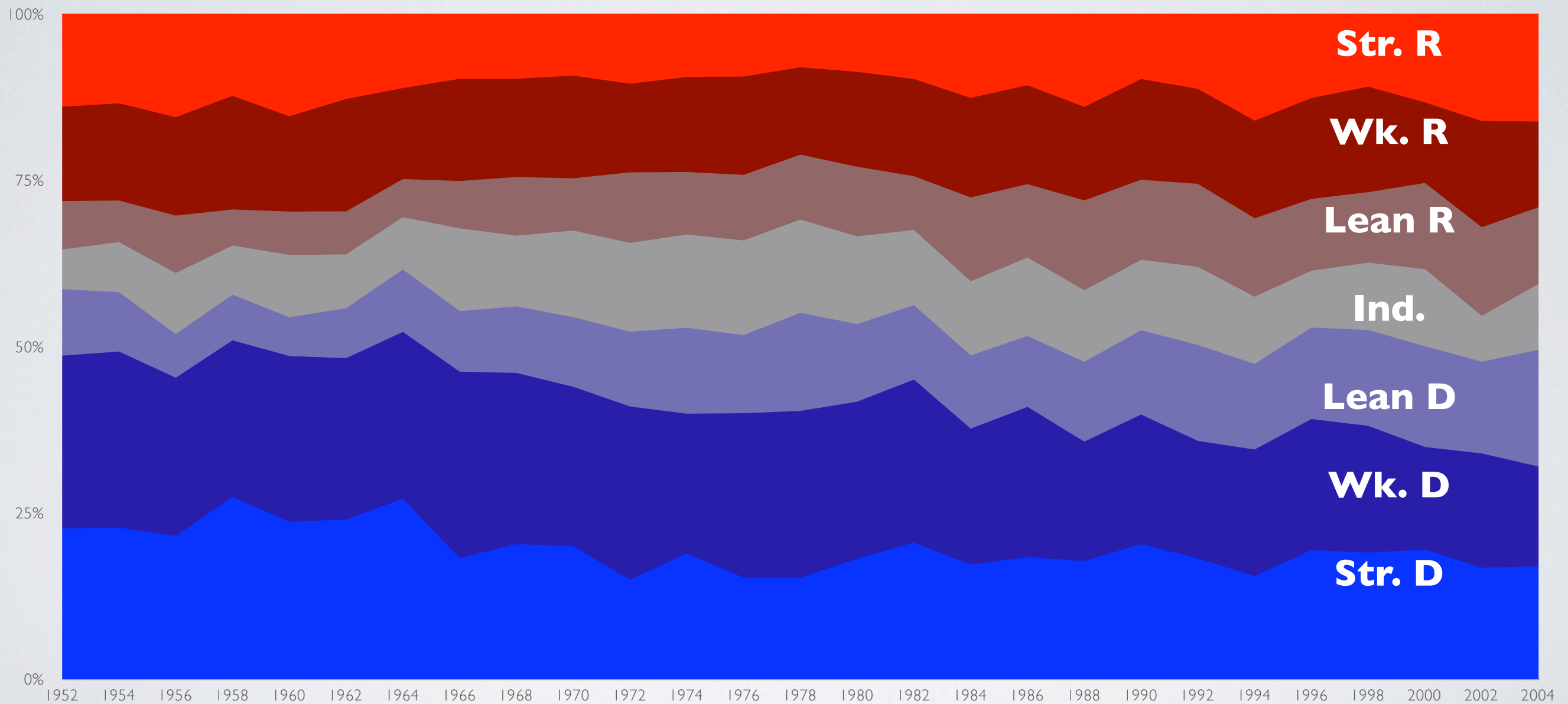
A stable orientation (attachment, predisposition) **toward a political party**

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

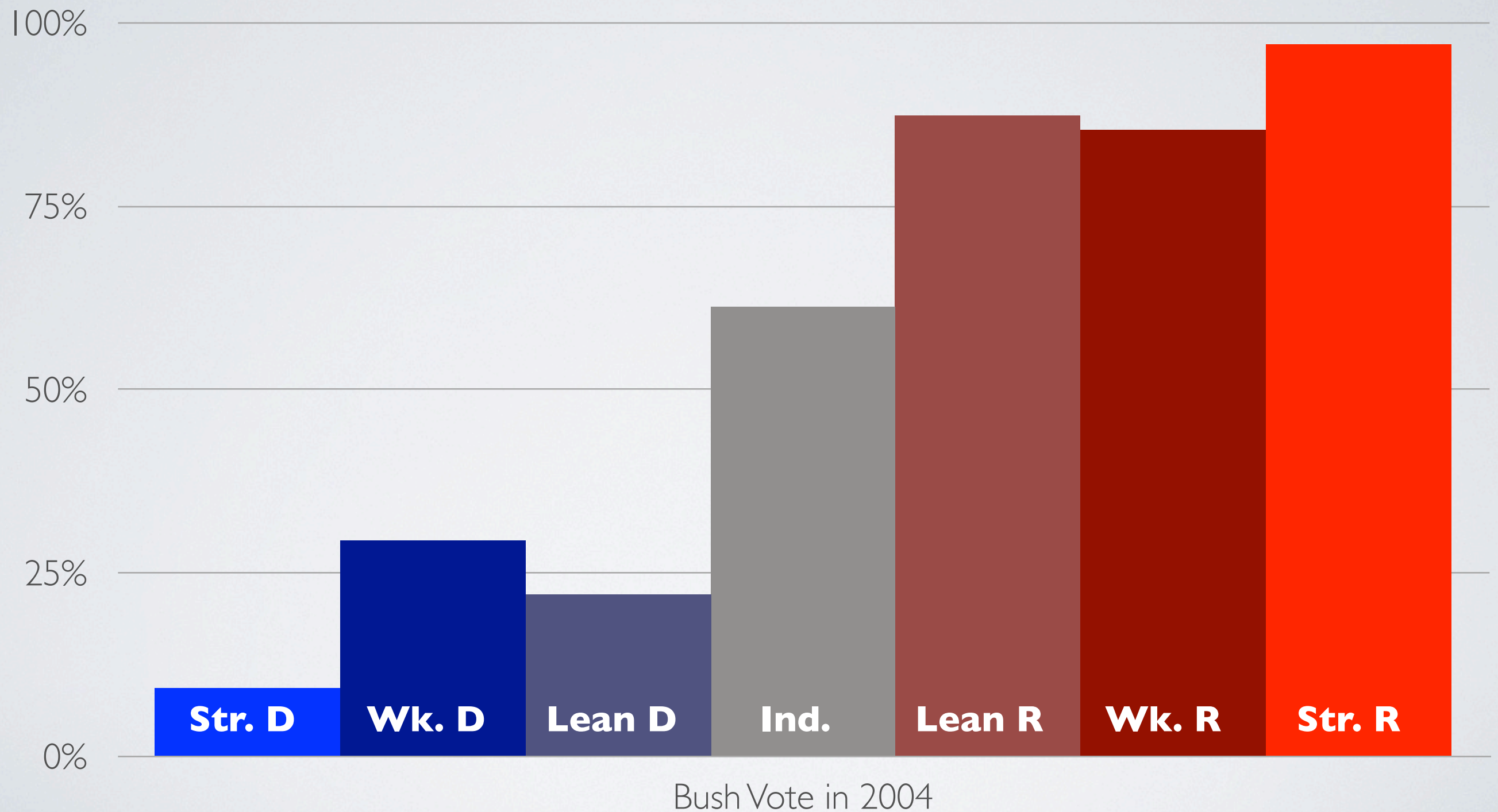
(IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT) Would you call yourself a strong (REP/DEM) or a not very strong (REP/DEM)?

(IF INDEPENDENT, OTHER NO PREFERENCE:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

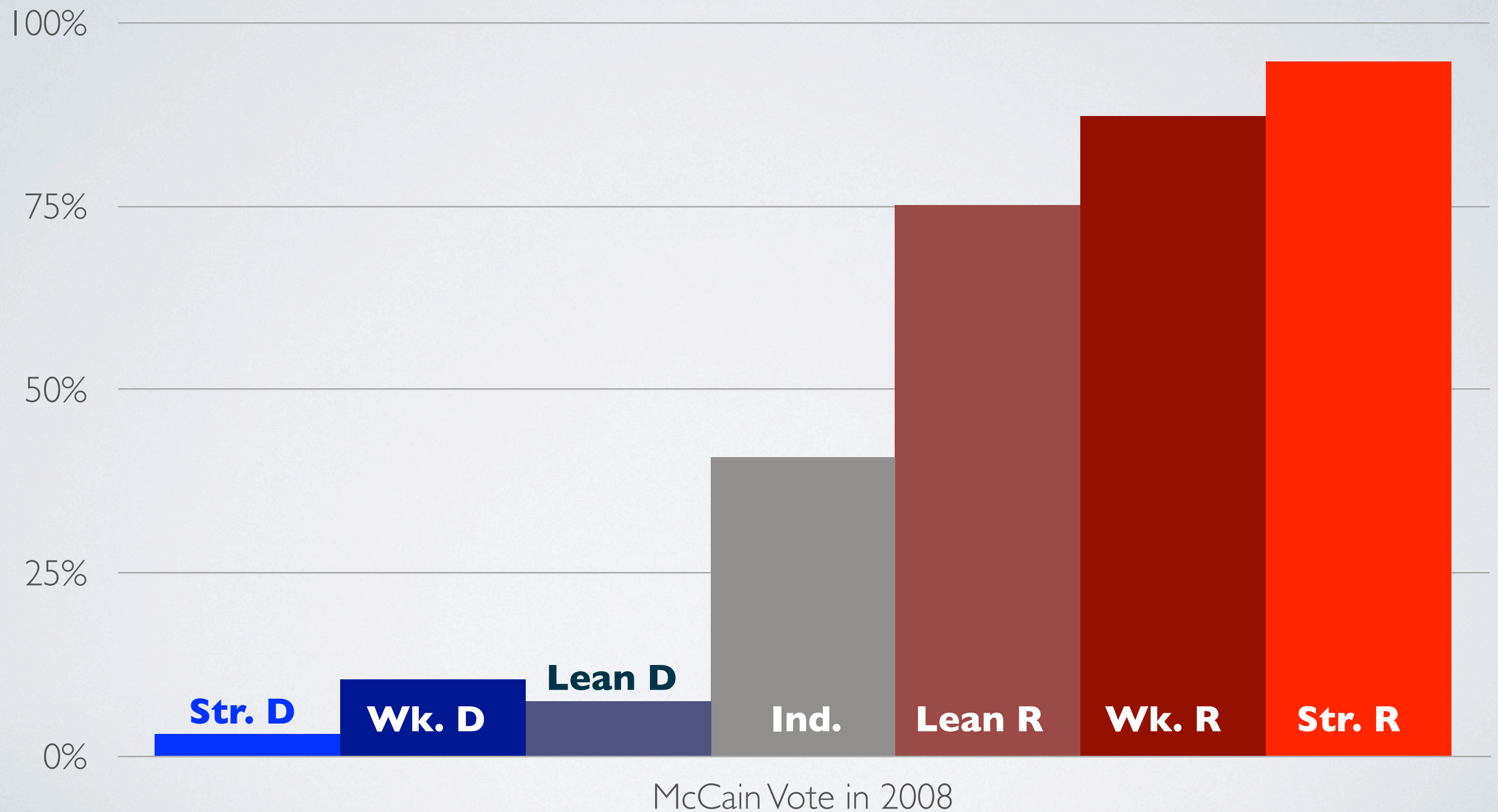
PARTY ID IN THE U.S. 1952 TO 2004



PARTY LOYALTY IN 2004



PARTY LOYALTY IN 2008

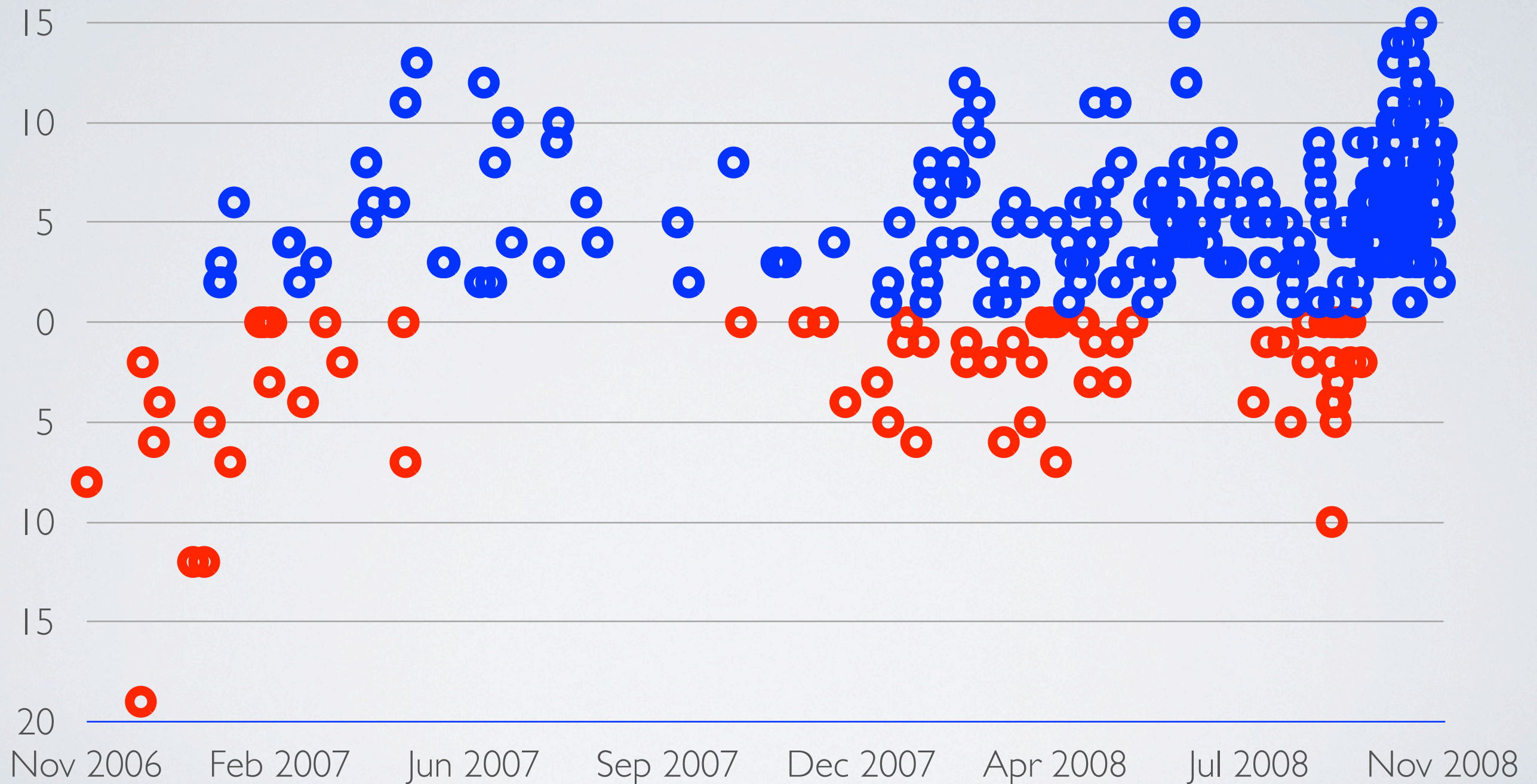


PARTY LOYALTY 1952-2008



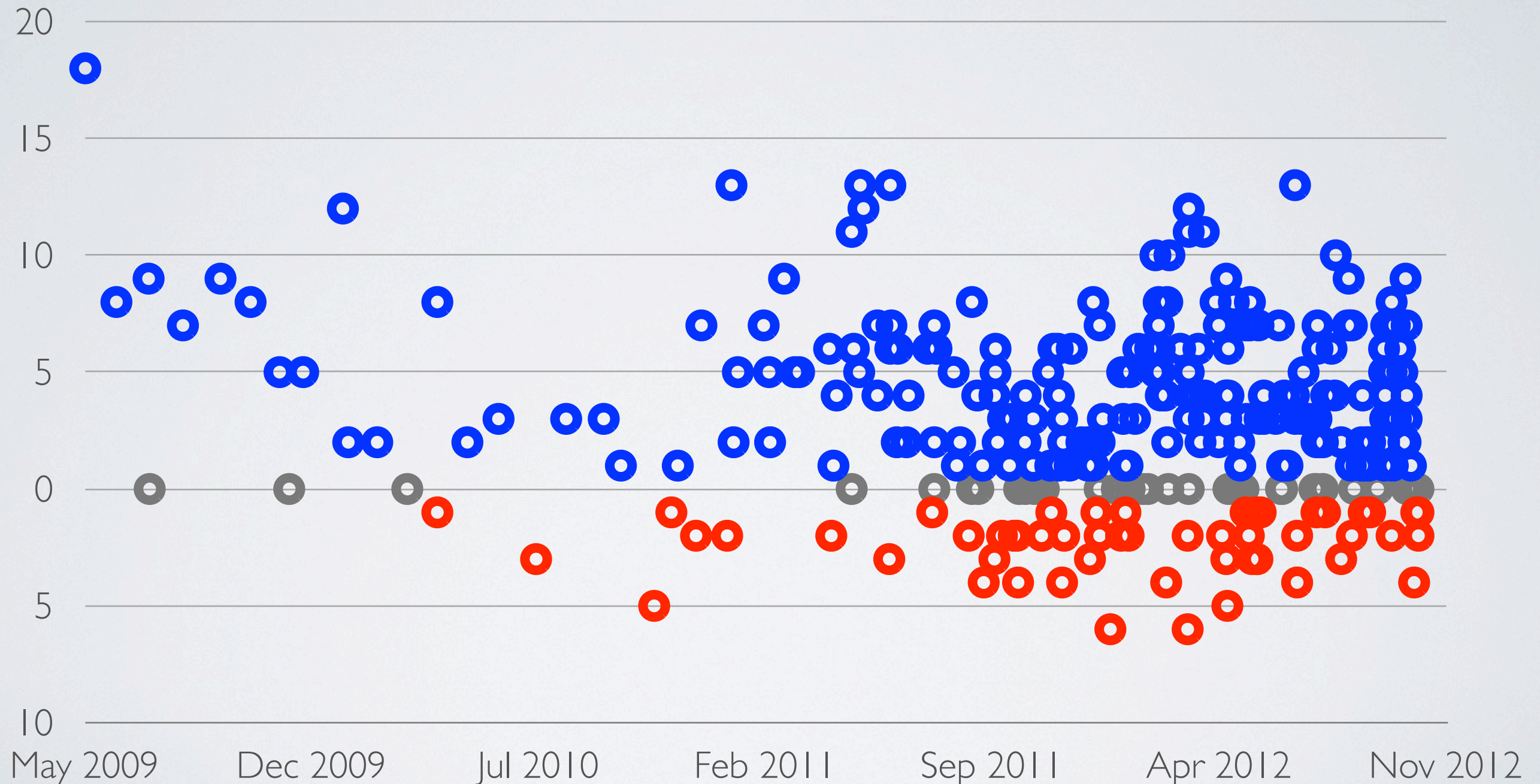
VOLATILE POLLS

2008 SPREAD: OBAMA VS. MCCAIN



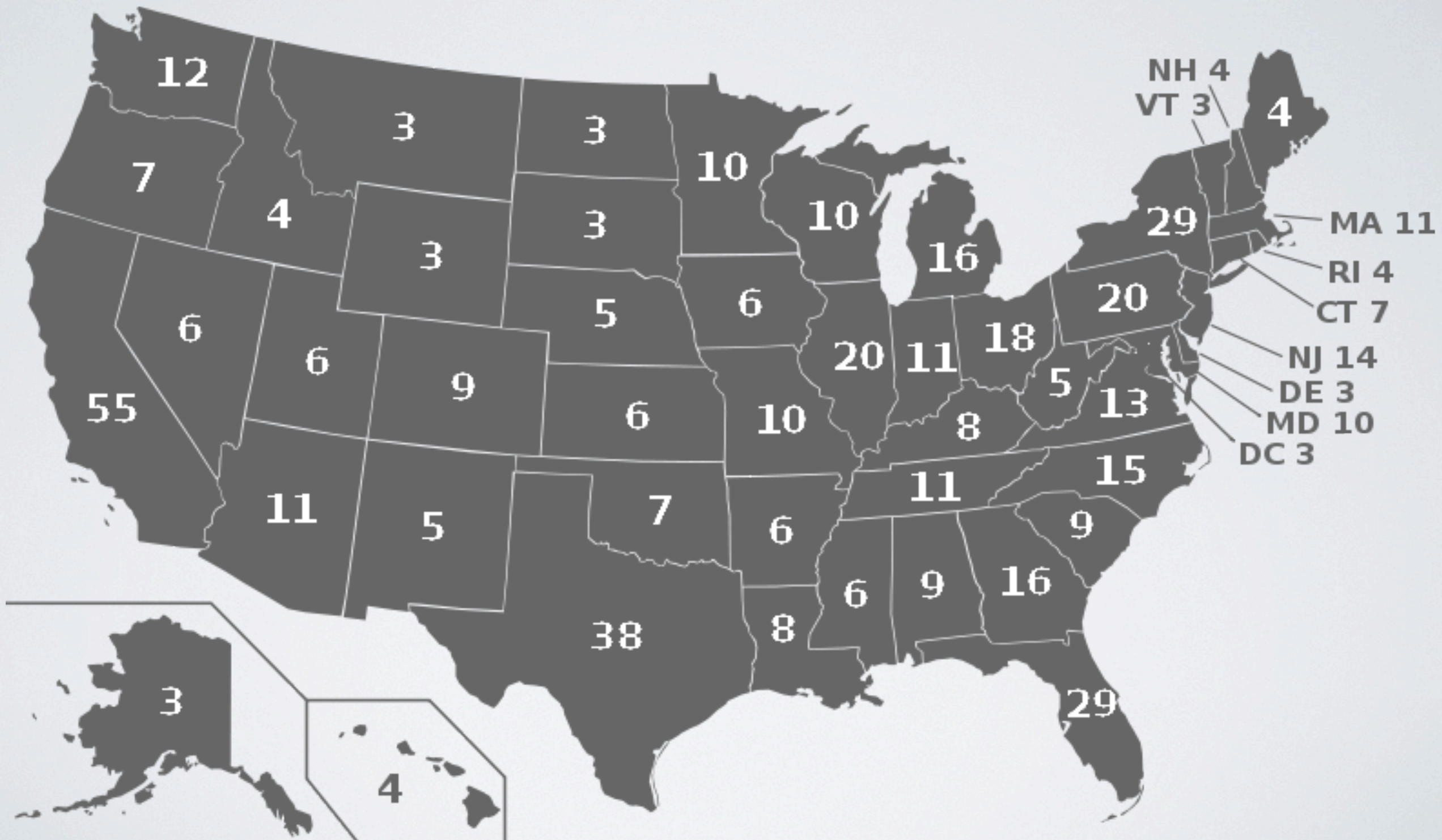
LESS VOLATILE POLLS

2012 SPREAD: **OBAMA** VS. **ROMNEY**

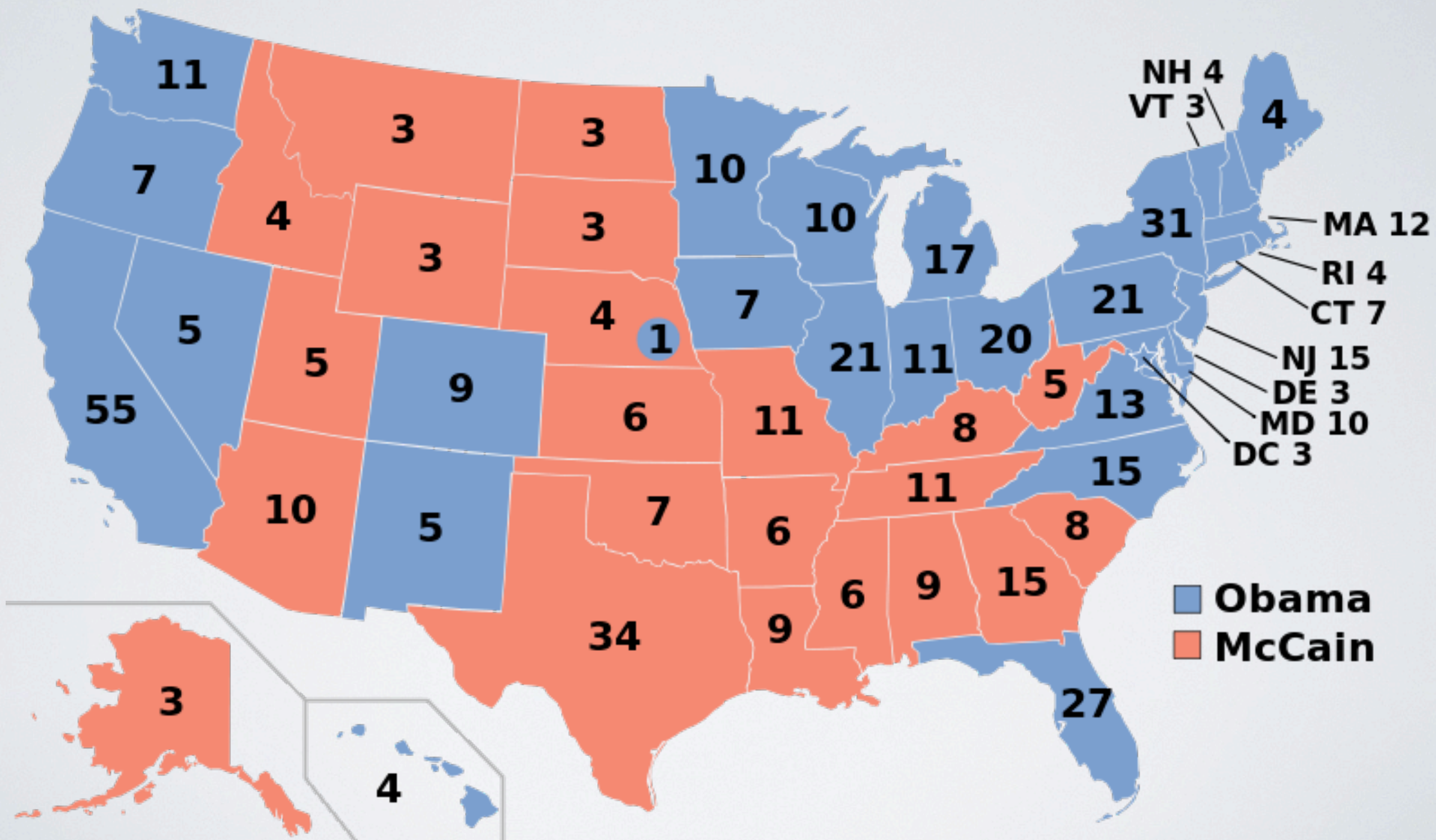


Source: <http://www.realclearpolitics.com/polls/>

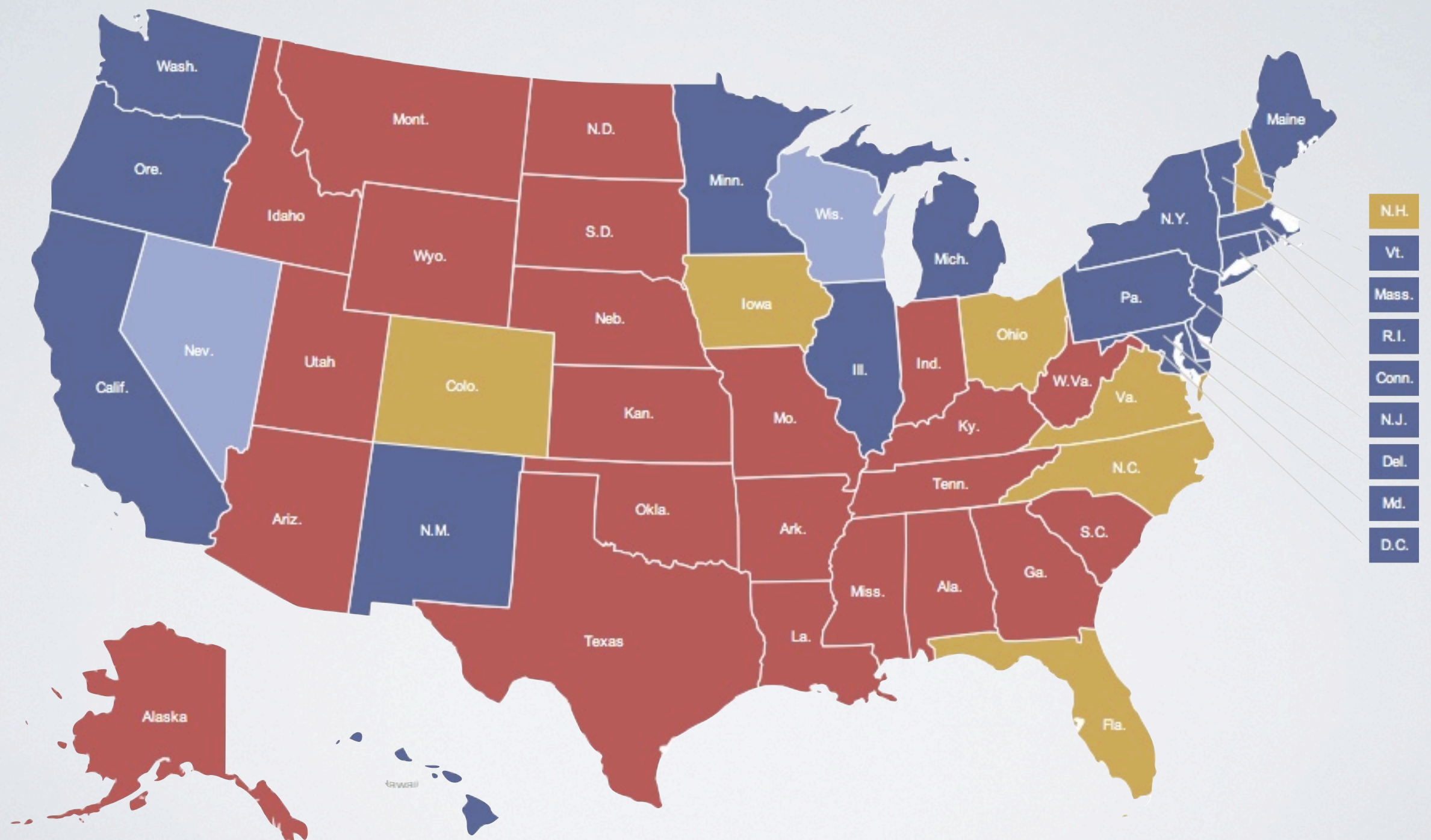
THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE



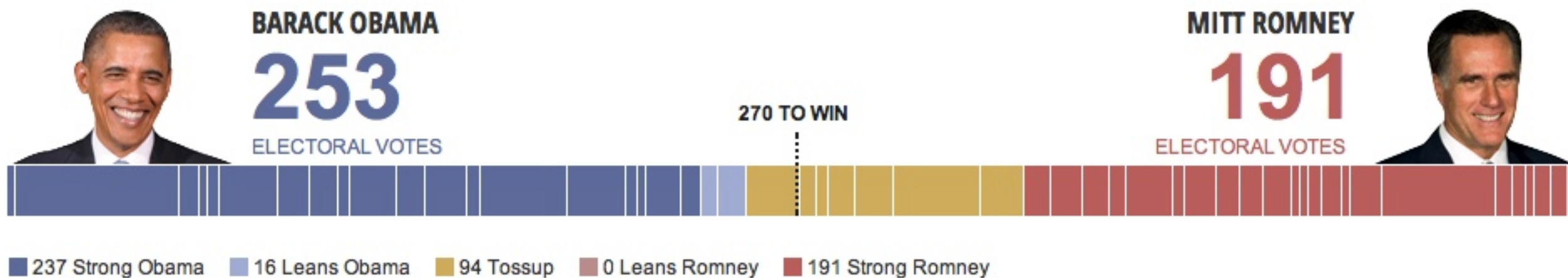
2008



2012 SWING STATES

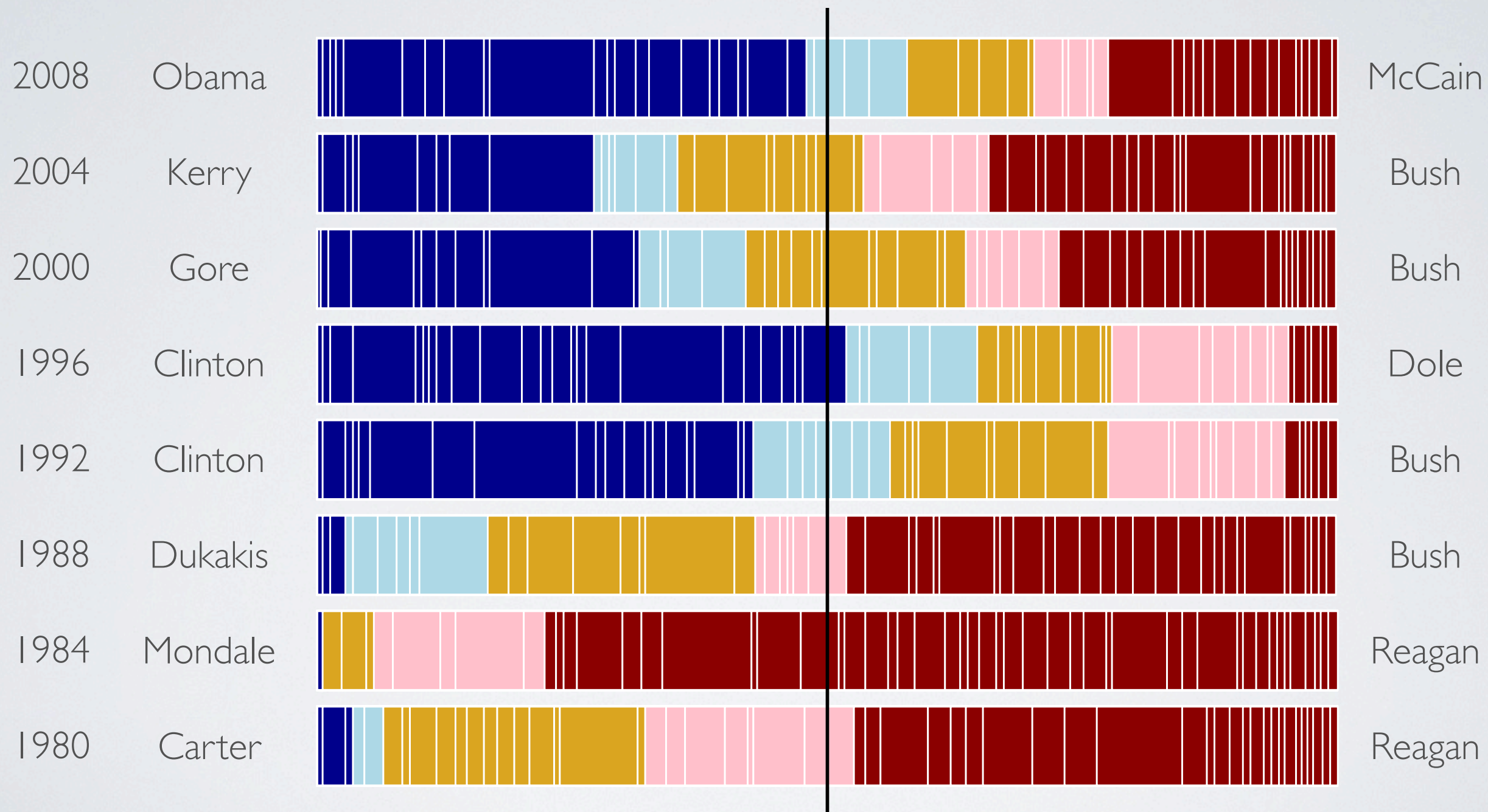


THE ROAD TO 270

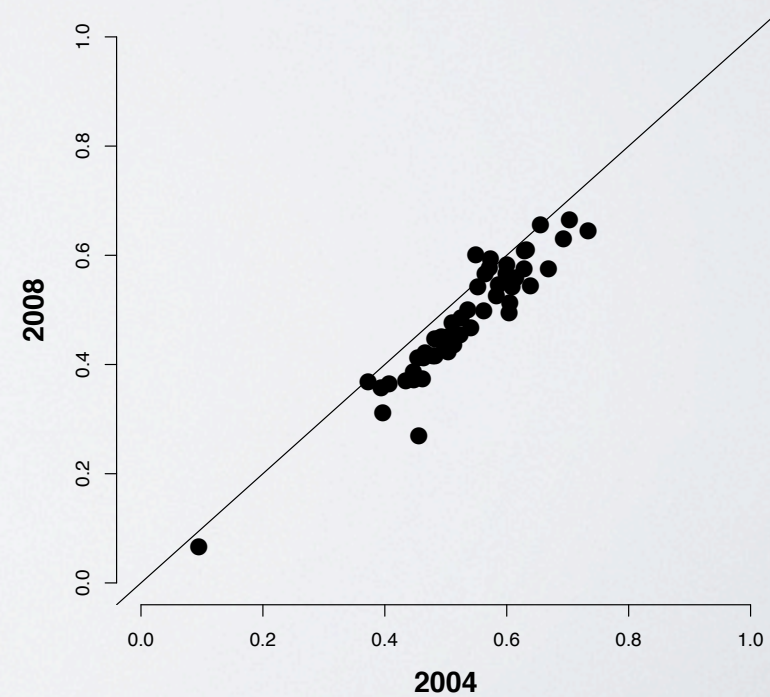
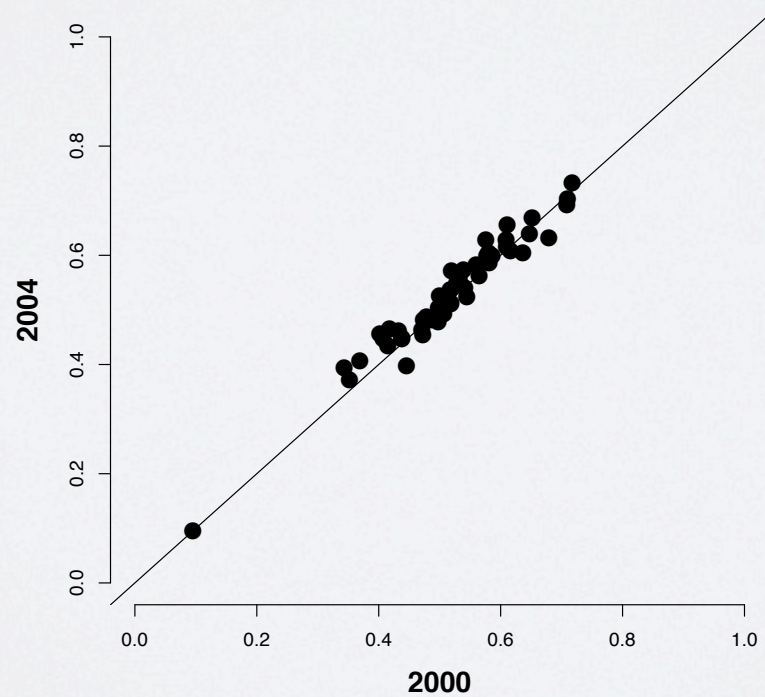
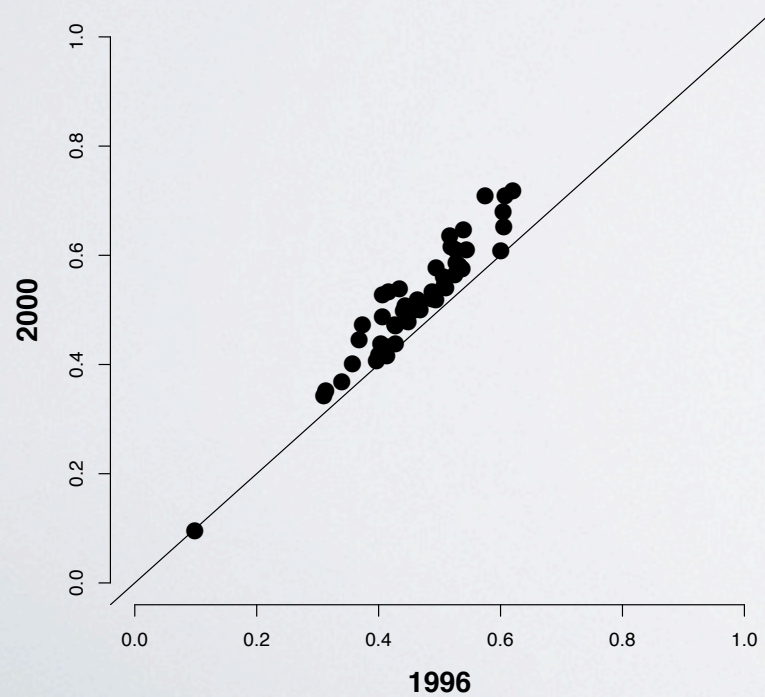
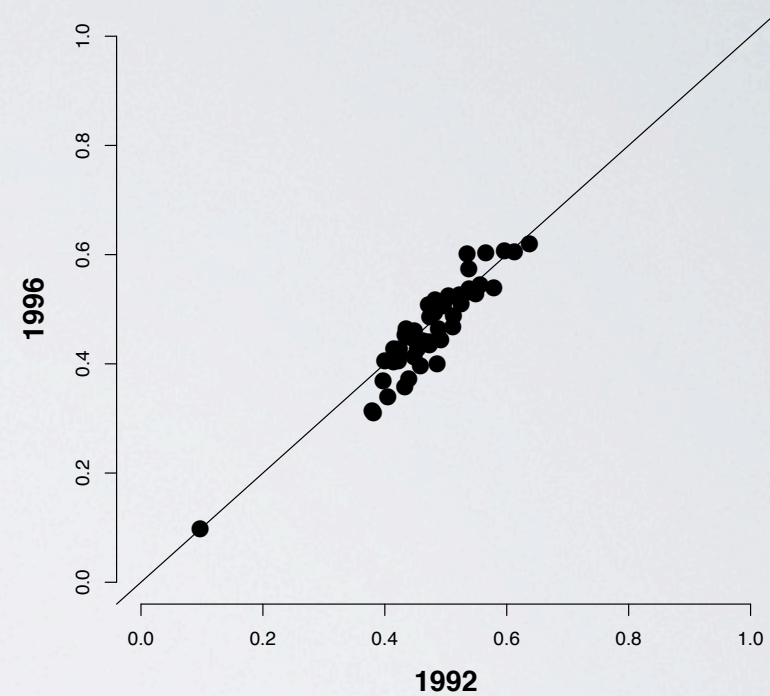
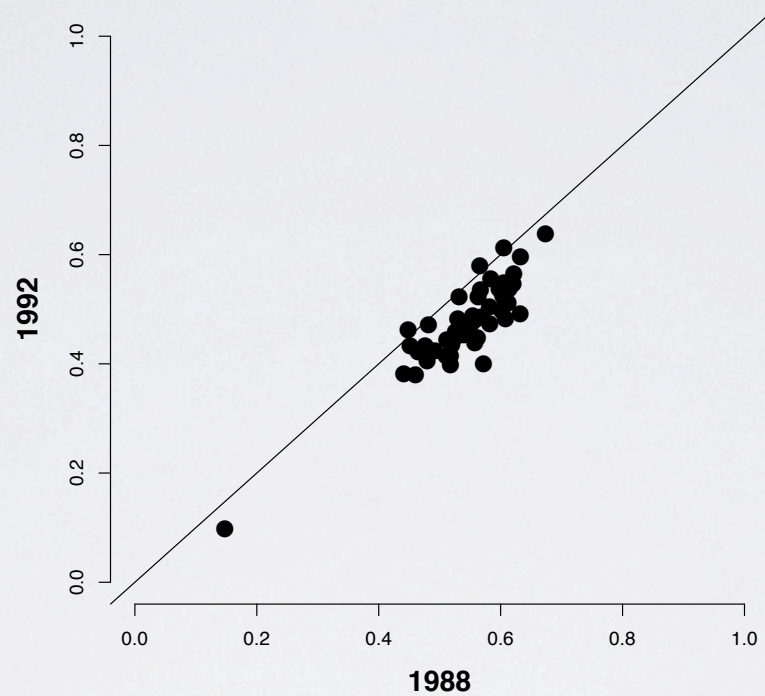
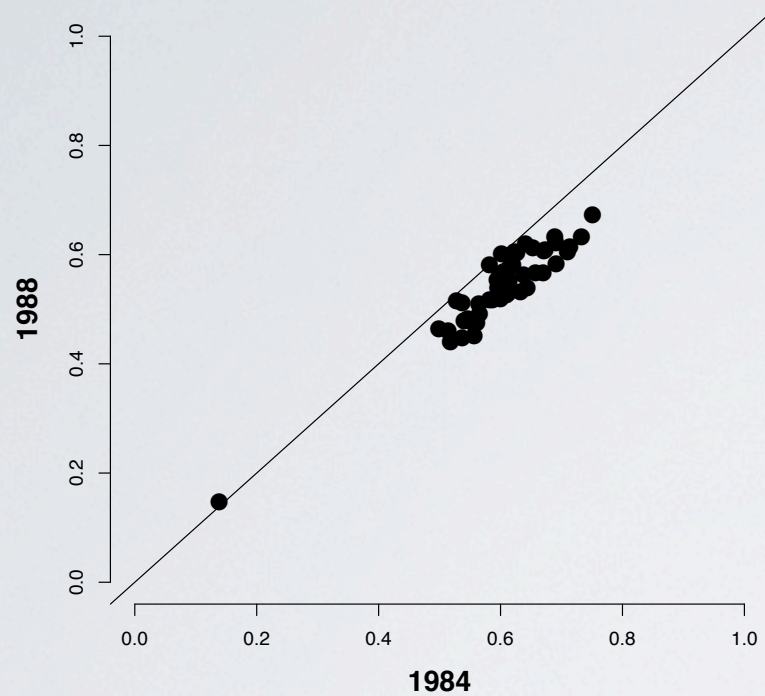


pollster.com

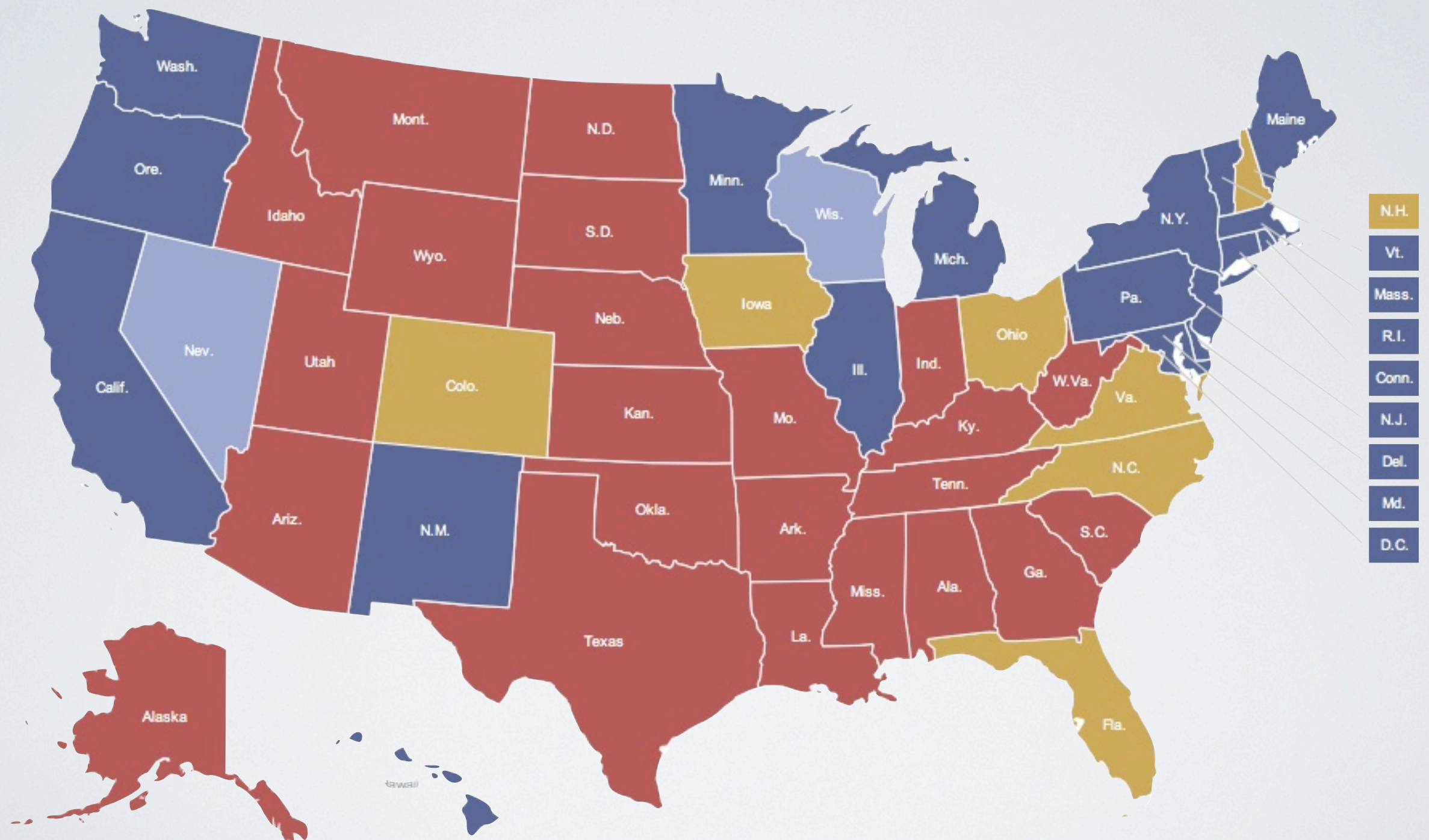
THE ROAD TO 270



YEAR TO YEAR STABILITY



2012 SWING STATES



THANK YOU