Quote of the Day:

“Democracy is being allowed to vote for the candidate you dislike least.”

-Robert Byrne
Party Nominations

POL S 202
May 6, 2016
Jared Alan Stewart
Agenda

- Nomination process of yesteryear.
- 1968 and the McGovern/Fraser Reforms
- Iowa and New Hampshire
- Party Rules
- Invisible Primary
Nominations Of Old

• Conventions:
  – Delegates selected by party leaders – little public input.
  – Delegates debated and there were often multiple rounds of voting. Example: in 1860, it took Abraham Lincoln three rounds to gain enough support to clinch the nomination.
  – Nominees tended to be favorites of party insiders.

• Progressive Reforms:
  – Sought to make the process more democratic.
  – Oregon (1910) became the first state to use a popular election to pick its delegates for national conventions.
1968 Democratic Convention

- Occurs in the midst of the Vietnam War in Chicago.

- Senators Eugene McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy ran on a platform of ending the war.

- Despite the “peace candidates” winning over 80% of the primary votes, the delegates awarded the nomination to then-VP Hubert Humphrey, even though Humphrey didn’t enter any of the primaries.
Nixon Wins... Handily
McGovern-Fraser Reforms

• Rules changed in the wake of the 1968 Democratic Convention:
  – State parties must have written rules.
  – Limited the number of delegates selected by state parties to 10%.
  – Blacks, women, and young people should be represented “in reasonable relation to their presence in the population of the state”.
Post-McGovern-Fraser

• George McGovern, the Democratic nominee in 1972, won only one state in the general election.
• Rules changed again to avoid “extremist” candidates:
  – 25% of delegates can be chosen by the state party.
    • “Superdelegates” – more concerned with party interests than candidate or factional interests.
  – Requirement that delegate shares be proportional to caucus or primary percentages.
  – Abolished the quotas for race, gender, and age.
• Republicans adopted more primaries as
2008

Popular Vote: 17,857,501
States Won: 23
Pledged Delegates: 1,726
Superdelegates: 246

Popular Vote: 17,584,692
States Won: 33
Pledged Delegates: 1,828
Superdelegates: 478
Caucus vs Primary

- **Caucus** - allows participants to openly show support for candidates. Voting is often done by raising hands or breaking into groups according to the candidate participants support.

- **Primary** - direct, statewide process of selecting candidates and delegates. Similar to the general election process, primary voters cast secret ballots for the candidates of their choosing.
Open vs Closed

- **Open**: all registered voters can vote for any candidate, regardless of their political affiliation. Registered Democrats may vote for a Republican candidate, and Republican voters may cast ballots for a Democrat.

- **Closed**: voters may vote only for candidates of the party with which they are registered.
“Front-Loading”

• Why do states want to have their primary/caucus early?
  – Media attention
  – Chance to play pivotal role in candidate selection

• Democrat Rules: no state can schedule their caucus or primary before the first Tuesday in March. Except...

• Iowa – February 1st

• New Hampshire – February 9th
Super Tuesday

- **GOP:** roughly 1/2 of delegates needed.
- **Democrats:** 1/3 of delegates needed.

- **GOP and Democrat Primaries:**
  - Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Massachusetts, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, and Virginia.

- **GOP and Democrat Caucuses:**
  - Colorado and Minnesota.

- **GOP Caucuses:**
  - Alaska and Wyoming.

- **Democrat Caucus:**
  - American Samoa.
Why Iowa and New Hampshire?
Why Iowa and New Hampshire?

• Iowa
  – relatively small state, so less-expensive to run a campaign.
  – allows candidates who are not as well-known or who do not have a great deal of money to still be competitive.
  – caucus campaign process gives candidates the opportunity to interact with a wide variety of average voters.
  – the Iowa state legislature passed a law saying that its caucuses need to be held at least eight days before any other nominating contest.

• New Hampshire
  – has been the first presidential primary since 1920.
  – New Hampshire lawmakers passed a law ensuring that the primary was to be held before any other “similar contest”.
Iowa and New Hampshire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Iowa</th>
<th>New Hampshire</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Ford</td>
<td>Carter</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>H.W. Bush</td>
<td>Carter*</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Reagan*</td>
<td>Gephardt</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>H.W. Bush</td>
<td>Clinton: incumbent</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Dole</td>
<td>Clinton: incumbent</td>
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<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>W. Bush</td>
<td>Gore</td>
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<td>2000</td>
<td>W. Bush</td>
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<td>Obama</td>
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<td>2012</td>
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<td>Obama</td>
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*Carter was the incumbent, but faced opposition.
Party Rules

• Winner-take-all or Proportional System?

- Example: Trump wins 60% of the vote, Cruz wins 40% of the vote.
Exceptions

- Colorado (GOP) – No preference vote. Process run by party activists. Multi-layered caucus system: 3 delegates from each congressional district (21 total) and 13 statewide delegates.

- North Dakota (GOP) – No preference vote. The 25 delegates to the national convention are selected by 11 state party leaders, called the Permanent Committee on Organization.
Invisible Primary

• Candidates begin “testing the water” for a presidential run long before anybody votes.
• Candidates meet with party leaders and potential donors to gain their support.
• Speechmaking, fundraising, coalition-building, and constant travel.
• This process narrows the potential pool of candidates to those able to secure the necessary support.
Does the Party Decide?

• Cohen et. al (2008) – *The Party Decides*

• In 8 of 10 competitive presidential primary contests between 1980 and 2004, endorsements showed that party insiders clearly backed one candidate before Iowa, and that candidate then went on to win the nomination.

• Endorsements were better at predicting the nominee than polls, fundraising numbers, or media coverage.
But wait... what about this guy?

• What explains Trump’s success?
  - Lots of free media.
  - 17 candidates running.
  - What else?
2016 Conventions
What next?

• How could/should we change the nomination process?
  ➢ Limit the number of candidates that can run.
  ➢ Rap Battle
  ➢ Republicans adopt superdelegates.
  ➢ NCAA bracket prediction.
  ➢ American Idol – text in support.
  ➢ Hot dog eating contest.
  ➢ Hunger Games - Candidate Edition.
  ➢ IQ test

• Does the current system result in a true “democratic” outcome?
The End?