

## Nominations

## Overview

- Nomination v. general election phase
- Direct primary v. presidential nomination
- Primary rules & outcomes
- Nominations in other countries
- History of presidential nominations
- 1970s reform of presidential nominations
- Presidential nominations today
  - Rules
  - Attrition Game

## Elections

- Phases of the election
  - primary election
  - general election

## Two systems of nominations

- House, Senate and most state offices
  - direct primary
- Presidential nomination
  - presidential primaries
  - caucuses & state conventions
  - national convention

## Direct primary

- Progressive reform (1890s-1910s)
- All candidates from one party
  - Democratic primary
  - Republican primary
- Plurality victory, except:
  - Southern majority victory
  - Southern run-off primary

## Defining Who Can Vote in a Primary

- Closed primaries (14 states and DC)
- Semi-open primary (12 states)
  - *Tashjian v. Republican Party of Connecticut* (1986)
- Open (20 states: 11 declare, 9 private)
- Blanket (4 states)
  - California declared unconstitutional
  - *California Democratic Party v. Jones* (2000)

## Characteristics of Primaries

- Almost no other country uses primaries
- Primary date varies by states
- Low participation levels - 10% to 20%
- Are primaries divisive?
- Party leader role
  - endorsements - 8 states
  - encourage/discourage candidates to run

## U.S. House 7<sup>th</sup> District

Democrat  
Raul Grijalva

Republican  
Joseph Sweeney

## Comparative Nomination Process

- Great Britain Conservative Party
- Local party select candidates from list approved by national party organization
- To get on list
  - candidates interviewed and winnowed by national party officials
  - remaining 1/3rd on waiting list (n=500)

## Comparative Nomination Process

- When opening occurs
  - Candidates apply to local committee
  - Local committee interviews and winnows
  - Select final candidate by majority vote
- Strengthens party
  - Insures nominee agrees with party
  - Balance ticket

## History of Presidential Nominations

- Electoral College
- Congressional caucus (1796-1824)
- Convention Era I (1832-1900)
- Convention Era II (1900-1944)
- Convention Era III (1948-1968)
- Primary Dominant (1972-today)

## Nominations by Electoral College

- Without parties, no consensus
- Elites nominating elites
- Quasi-parliamentary system

## Nominations by Congressional Caucus (1796-1824)

- First used by Democratic-Republicans in 1796 to nominate Jefferson
- Follows pattern used in states
- Congressional parties

## Congressional Caucus

- Problems
  - parties needed to expand beyond Congress
  - viewed as unrepresentative
  - viewed as elitist
  - lack true separation of powers between president and Congress

## Congressional Caucus

- Fell apart as factionalization of Democratic-Republican party
- 1824 party nominates 5 candidates Wm. Crawford
- William Crawford by boycotted caucus
- By state legislatures: Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, John Calhoun, Henry Clay

Jackson

J.Q. Adams

Calhoun

Clay

## Convention Era I: 1832-1900

- Reform adopted from minor party
  - Antimason party
- More representative
- Separation of powers
- Authoritative nomination

## Republican Convention 1860

## Convention Era I: 1832-1900

- Candidates not campaign for nomination
- State party delegation basic unit for constructing winning coalitions
- No outside information on candidate popularity
- Could use many ballots to decide nomination - dark horses and bandwagons

Dark horse and future President  
James K. Polk, 1844

## 1896 Democratic convention

### “Cross of Gold” speech

“Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.”

William Jennings Bryan

## Convention Era I: 1832-1900

- Adaptations
- Short party platforms in 1840
- Platforms become more important as slavery issue dominates
- Vice presidential nominations not taken seriously until after Civil War

## Convention Era II: 1900-1944

- First limits on convention autonomy
  - Norm to renominate president
  - Growing role for interest groups
  - First public opinion polls in 1930s, with only 1 or 2 exceptions most popular candidate nominated
    - 1952 more popular Kefauver lost to Stevenson
    - 1964 Republican leader unclear

Estes Kefauver

Adlai Stevenson

## Convention Era II: 1900-1944

- Limited role for presidential primaries
- First used in 1912 divisive
  - Teddy Roosevelt won 10/12, President Taft renominated, Roosevelt bolts for Bull Moose Party

## Republican Convention 1912

Former President Teddy  
Roosevelt's arrival in Chicago

President William Howard Taft

## Convention Era II: 1900-1944

- Limited roll for primaries (continued)
- Only handful of states use primaries
- Many candidates not run in them

## Convention Era III: 1948-1968

- Expanded but still limited role for primaries
  - Not enough (16 states, 40% of delegates) to win
  - Contested only by “outsider” candidates
    - 1948 Harold Stassen & 1952 Estes Kefauver fail
    - 1952 Dwight Eisenhower win
  - Primary loss = exit, primary win = ?

Harold Stassen

## Convention Era III: 1948-1968

- Availability standard
  - Senator or governor
  - Large, competitive state
  - Ideal family
  - WASP
  - Male

## 1948 Democratic Convention

Hubert  
Humphrey

"There are those who say to you  
-we are rushing this issue of civil rights.  
I say we are 172 years late. There are those  
who say -this issue of civil rights is an infringement  
on states rights. The time has arrived for the  
Democratic Party to get out of the shadow of state's  
rights and walk forthrightly into the bright sunshine  
of human rights."

Strom Thurman  
Speaks at convention

Runs as Dixiecrat wins  
39 Electoral College votes

## 1960 Democratic Nomination

- Insider strategy
  - Lyndon Johnson - TX
  - Stuart Symington – MO
- Outsider strategy
  - John Kennedy - MA
  - Hubert Humphrey - MN

## 1964 Republican Convention

- “I would remind you that extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice! And let me remind you also that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue!”

Barry Goldwater

## 1968 Democratic Convention

- President Lyndon Johnson declares late will not run, Vice President Hubert Humphrey enters race instead
- Eugene McCarthy runs in primaries on anti-Vietnam war plank
- Robert Kennedy enters after McCarthy, assassinated in June after winning CA

## 1968 Democratic Convention

Protesters photographed by Paul Sequeira

Mayor  
Daley  
defending  
the police

Security confronting  
Dan Rather



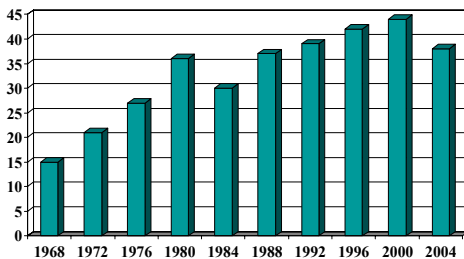
## 1968 Democratic Convention

- “Unfair” and unknown delegate selection rules
- Convention protests inside and out
- Call for reform of rules for 1972
- McGovern-Fraser Commission
  - process must be open to all Democrats
  - process must be timely

## Transformation of Nomination

- Proliferation of presidential primaries
  - New rules
  - Media attention and public legitimacy
  - Separate presidential from state politics
- Nomination by accumulating delegates prior to the convention

## Growth in Number of Presidential Primaries



## Presidential Nominations Today

- Legal nomination = national convention
- Each state sends delegates to convention
  - most selected in presidential primaries
  - some states use caucus/convention system
    - caucus = local party meeting
    - followed by mid-level and state conventions

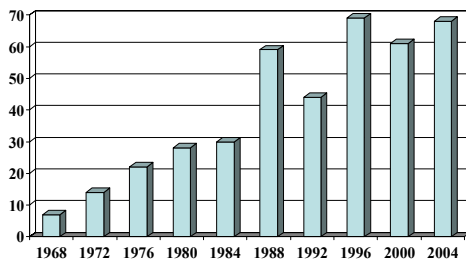
## Election Calendar

- Iowa caucus & New Hampshire primary
  - Traditionally in February
  - 2004 in January
- 2004 change in Democratic Window

## Election Calendar

- Others from February - June
- Front-loading of calendar in recent years
  - 2004 Jan & Feb = 20 primaries, caucuses
  - March = 18 primaries, caucuses
  - Remainder = 13 primaries, caucuses

Front Loading:  
Percent of Primaries Held By End of March



## Presidential Primary Rules

- Parties select number of delegates and distribute to states based on size and party vote
  - Democrats - 4,317 Republicans - 2,509
- Democrats
  - proportional representation rules to select delegates
- Republicans no rules

## Campaign Finance

- 1974 campaign finance laws, updated
- Individuals \$2,000 PAC \$5,000
- Matching funds for individuals only
  - Accept limit spending
- Not accept in 2000
  - Spend own money - Steve Forbes \$42 million
  - Raise money - George W. Bush - \$90 million

Campaign Funds 2000

Source: Federal Election Commission, [www.fec.gov/finance/precgrph.htm](http://www.fec.gov/finance/precgrph.htm)

## Not Accept Funds 2004

	Through Dec. 2003	Through April 2004	Through Aug. 2004
Howard Dean	\$41 million	\$53 million	\$53 million
John Kerry	\$25 million	\$177 million	\$315 million
George Bush	\$133 million <sup>1</sup>	\$201 million	\$264 million

## Voters in Presidential Primaries

- Turnout varies
  - Average 25%
  - Number of candidates, spending levels, other contests
- Voters older, more partisan, more informed
- Voters' choices
  - Candidate qualities, issues, region, strategic considerations

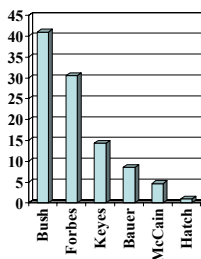
## The Attrition Game

- Start with 6 or more candidates
- Establish reputation in pre-election year
- Compete in early primaries, exit if do not do well
- As candidates withdraw, finally one left
- Usually by mid-March game is over
- Officially need half of delegates

## 2000 Nominations

- Early exits
  - Lamar Alexander (R) August 1999
    - after weak finish in Iowa straw poll
  - Dan Quayle (R) September 1999
  - Elizabeth Dole (R) October 1999

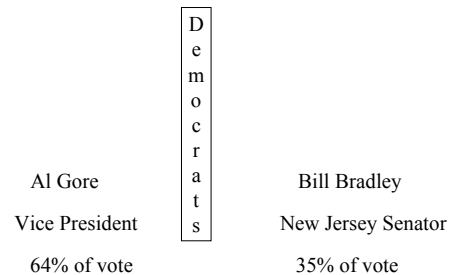
## Iowa caucus, January 24



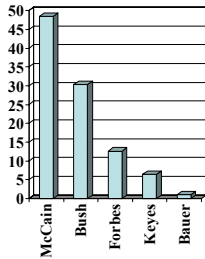
### Republican Results

- McCain not campaign in state
- Hatch (Utah senator) withdraws

## Iowa caucus, January 24



## New Hampshire Primary



- Republican delegates
  - McCain - 10
  - Bush - 5
  - Forbes - 2
- Democrats
  - Gore 49.7% vote
  - 13 del.
  - Bradley 45.6% vote
  - 9 del.

McCain's momentum strategy

Bauer exits

## Small state interlude

- February 5 - February 29
- All Republican primaries, Democratic window
  - Delaware, South Carolina, Arizona, Michigan, Puerto Rico, North Dakota, Virginia, Washington
- Bush wins most, McCain - MI, AZ
- Forbes exits after 3rd place in Delaware

## March 7

- 16 states
  - 1315 Democratic delegates (30%)
  - 605 Republican delegates (29%)
- Republican
  - Bush wins 8, McCain wins 3
  - Bush 633 delegates, McCain 229
- Democrats
  - Gore wins all
  - Gore 1406 delegates, Bradley 264

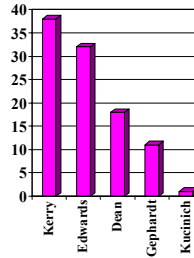
## End of Attrition Game

- McCain and Bradley withdraw on March 9
- Arizona Democratic primary
  - March 11
  - Internet voting
- March 14 - southern states
  - Bush 1,102 delegates, surpass 1034 to win
  - Gore 2,575 delegates, surpass 2,170 to win

## 2004 Democratic Nomination

- Early exits
  - Bob Graham exit October 6, 2003
  - Carol Moseley Braun exit January 15, 2004

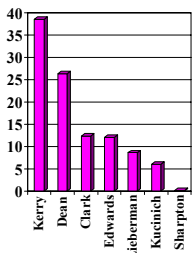
## Iowa caucus, January 19



- Clark & Lieberman not campaign in state
- Gephardt withdraws

## New Hampshire Primary

January 27, 2004



Delegates

Kerry wins 13  
Dean wins 9

## February Events

- New Democratic window
- Feb. 3: Arizona, Delaware, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina primaries; North Dakota caucus
  - Kerry won all except
    - Oklahoma won by Clark
    - South Carolina by Edward
  - Feb. 4 Lieberman exits

Arizona  
2004  
Democratic  
Primary

	Vote	Del.
Kerry	43%	30
Clark	27%	22
Dean	14%	3
Edwards	7%	0
Lieberman	7%	0
Kucinich	2%	0
Sharpton	0%	0

## More February Events

- Feb 7 – 24: Michigan, Tennessee, Virginia, Wisconsin, Utah
- Kerry wins all
- Clark drops out February 11, won 1 primary
- Dean drops out February 18, won no primary

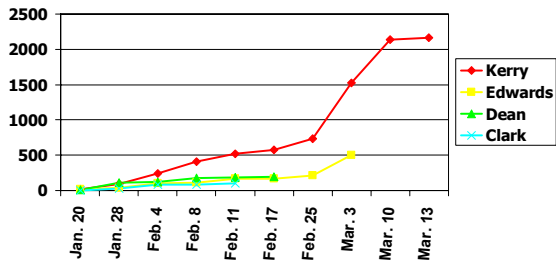
## March 2 – Super Tuesday I

- 10 states
  - 1151 Democratic delegates (33%)
- Kerry wins all but Vermont (Dean)
- Edward drops out March 3, won 1 primary
- Only Kerry, Sharpton and Kucinich in race

## March 9

- Southern Super Tuesday
- 4 states
- Kerry only real candidate
- Secures almost enough delegates for nomination, only 30 short

## Delegate Count



2162 delegates needed for nomination

## End of Attrition Game

- By March 3 Kerry only real candidate
  - Secures enough delegates by March 13
  - Sharpton drops out March 15
  - Kucinich drops out in summer

## Post-Primary; Pre-Convention

- New stage in 2004
- End of March - summer
- Presumed nominees begin "fall" campaign

## Role of Convention

- Officially nominate president & vice president

George W. Bush acceptance speech,  
Republican National Convention 2000



## Role of Convention

- Ratify national party platform
- Change any party rules
- Serve as start of fall campaign
  - unity of party

Al and Tipper Gore  
Democratic National Convention

## Summary

- Unique system of primaries
- Special rules
- Complicated presidential nomination system
- Attrition game