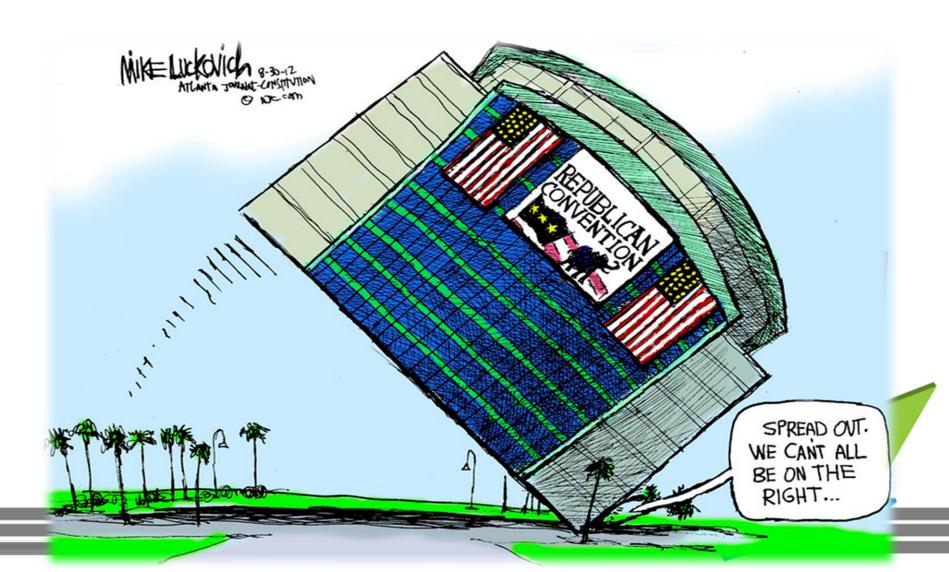




To be robbed and betrayed by a fiendish underground conspiracy or by the earthly agents of Satan is at least a romantic sort of plight. It suggests at least a grand Hollywood-ready confrontation between good and evil. But to be coldly ripped off over and over again by a bunch of bloodless, second-rate schmoes, schmoes you chose, you elected, is not something anyone will take much pleasure in bragging about

Matt Taibbi



...a national meeting of delegates elected in primaries, caucuses or state conventions who assemble once every four years to:

nominate candidates for president and vice president

(Delegates must cast their vote in favor of one candidate. If no clear majority is reached, they must continue voting until it is.)

ratify the party platform:

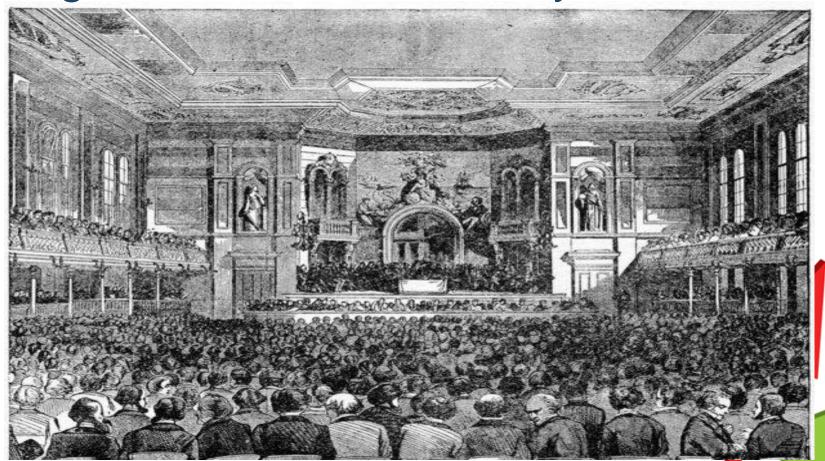
statement of its goals and policies for the next four years

elect party officers adopt rules



- o modern convention functions:
 - promote party unity
 - motivate the party faithful
 - interest and attract ordinary voters
 - serve as the governing authority of the political party
 - give direction to the national party chairperson (the spokesperson of the party) and to the person who heads the national committee (the governing body of the party)
 - forums where presidential candidates are given the official nod by their parties
 - rally support for the presidential candidate

- After Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, party structures strengthened and the idea of national political conventions began to make sense. At that time there had been state party conventions but no national conventions.
- The first national conventions were held 1830-32.
- The first Democratic national convention instituted a number of rules which essentially created the framework for political conventions that endures to the present day.
- Unlike modern conventions, party conventions were decision-making bodies in the 19th century



The 1860 Democratic convention in Charleston SC was disrupted by a clash over slavery and adjourned without making nominations.

- The 1960 Kennedy-Johnson battle in the Democratic party represented a turning point in convention history.
 - The 1960 Democratic convention in LA became a battleground between party elders (Johnson) and popular sentiment (Kennedy). No longer could party elites choose the nominees without the consent of the people.
 - This resulted in conventions that were full of spectacle and intrigue. Often, the party's nominee was relatively unknown prior to the convention, adding a sense of drama and excitement.
- For the remainder of the 1960s, conventions tried to balance the declining influence of party leaders and the growing influence of the people.

- The Controversial Democratic nomination race of 1968 led to new rules and major changes that opened up the process to regular party voters.
- results of changes
 - o sharp increase in the number of presidential primares
 - better representation for women, young people and minorities
 - After new rules were put in place, super delegates emerged (1982) to stem the severe decline in the number of Democratic elected officials and party leaders who became delegates.
- Today, nominations are settled well in advance of the convention making it a fundamentally different event. [Some highlights of recent Democratic convention rules disputes]

- Today, the out-of-power party holds its convention first, in late July, followed in mid-August by the party holding the presidency.
- The rules for choosing the presidential nominees comes from three sources: (1) state law, particularly in terms of setting primary dates, determining who can vote in a primary, and establishing how candidates file, (2) national party rules and (3) state party rules.
- In general, Democratic Party rules are concerned with uniformity and fairness from state to state, while Republican Party rules are concerned with state autonomy.

delegate selection



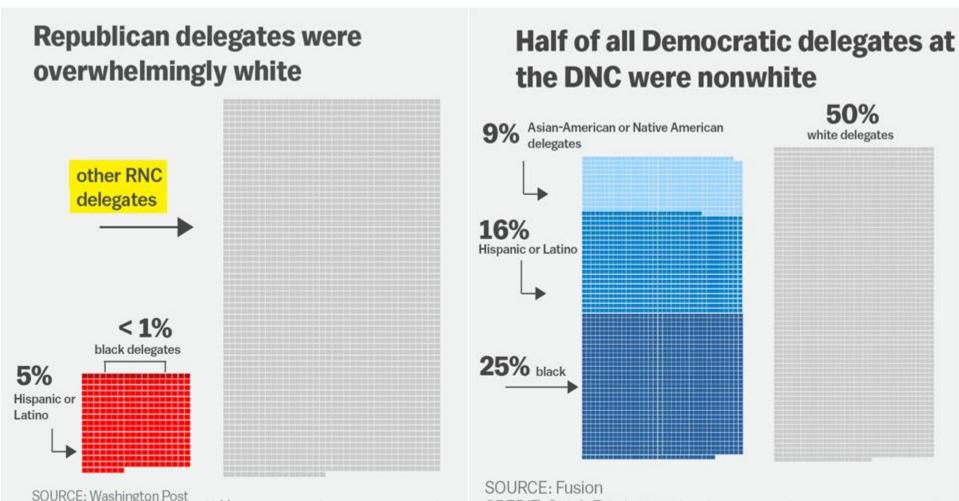
unit rule: traditional party practice under which the majority of a state delegation can force the minority to vote for its candidate (Abolished by the Democrats.)

New Democratic party rule decreed that state's delegates be chosen in proportion to the votes cast in its primary or caucus, proportional allocation (30% of votes = 30% delegates from that state).

Some rules originating in the Democratic Party have been enacted as laws in some states, thus making them applicable to the Republican Party as well.

- Democratic Detailed Delegate Allocation
- Republican Detailed Delegate Allocation

- Who are the delegates?
- Delegates are often party activists, local political leaders or early supporters of a given candidate. Presidential campaigns court local and state politicians for their slate of delegates because they typically bring the support of their political constituencies. Delegates can also include members of a campaign's steering committee or long-time active members of their local party organization.
- Both parties draw delegates from elite groups with higher incomes and education levels.
- Democratic delegates consistently exhibiting more diversity. In 2016, 50% of Democratic delegates were minorities, over 50% women (A1980 rule requires that half of each state delegation be female.) and 13% identified as LGBTQ. 6% of Republican delegates were minorities and 25% were women.



same time it is largely indicative of the parties' voter bases.

	Firsts for Women at the National Conventions
1876	first woman to address a national convention
1890	first women delegates to conventions of both parties
1940	first woman to nominate a presidential candidate
1951	first woman asked to chair a national party
1972	first woman keynote speaker
1984	first major-party woman nominated for vice president
1996	first wives of both nominees to make major addresses
2000	first daughter of a presidential candidate to nominate her father
2004	first time both candidates introduced by their daughters
2016	first openly transgender convention speaker
2016	first major-party woman nominated for president

- The committed activists and party officials who serve as delegates are more ideological than their parties' voters. Democratic delegates are more liberal than Democratic primary voters and Republican delegates are more conservative than Republican primary voters.
- The political perceptions and loyalties of voters are not greatly influenced by national candidates and issues, probably due to the diminished power of state and local party leaders at the convention.
- Issues are more important to new, issue-oriented party activists than to party professionals, who no longer have a monopoly on managing party affairs.

- Changing nature of media coverage
 - no prime time coverage on some days
 - extended coverage on the final day of each convention
 - reflects change in political culture ... more interest in the candidates than the parties
 - Convention still generates publicity for the parties.

- O Who nominates the Vice President?
- Prior to the contemporary nomination process, conventions choose the VP.
 - Chosen to balance the ticket
- Today, the VP is chosen by the presidential nomine
- Presidential candidates usually announce their choice for vice president in the run-up to the party's national convention.

- Strengths and weaknesses of the nomination process
 - There have been a number of unintended consequences stemming from reforms.
 - Is there more popular participation? Turnout has increased compared to the 1950s -1960s but now that campaigns have to address so many voters, money is vastly more important than it was in the mid-twentieth century.
 - o Is it more open?
 - All voters are not treated equally. IA, NH and early states have greater influence.
 - After the first few contests, most candidates drop out. Candidates who drop out early might be more preferred than those who remain, and the person catapulted toward the nomination by early victories might be among the least popular.

- Strengths and weaknesses of the nomination process
 - Has media gained more influence? Focus is on the game, gaffes, scandals, campaign feuds, what plays to the cameras ... not the substance.
 - Does it take too long?
 - Tendency toward boredom and a focus on the trivial but the process is more democratic than it used to be, with more people having a say in who becomes the nominee.
 - Conversely, in 2015, more than half a dozen candidates dropped out before a single ballot was cast. So much for democracy.
 - Does it produce good candidates? That's a matter of opinion to some degree.
 - At one time, political parties could set aside the popular vote and select someone less divisive or more electable. It happened a dozen times in the 20th century.

- Strengths and weaknesses of the nomination process
 - Does it produce good candidates?
 - Today the main drivers of the nominating process are the candidates, who select themselves to run. This selfselection to enter a long, difficult, expensive process is a problem.
 - Rather than selection, we have adverse selection: The individuals volunteering for president are often precisely the persons you would never want in that office.



The impulse to make the nominating process more democratic has shaped the debate about reform throughout its history but the primary purpose of primaries – evaluating the candidates – deserves greater attention than it has received.





- Democrats and Whigs in 1840: marked the first truly modern presidential campaign ... Parties were learning to appeal to a wide range of voters in a variety of voting blocks, a vast change from the regionally-based previous elections.
 - Democrats published a fairly specific platform, the first document of its kind from a major national party.
 - Whig campaign organization was elaborate and professional, geared toward drama and spectacle, completely ignored issues.
 - Candidates spoke in public for the first time.
 - Campaigns made resourceful use of the proliferating mass media of the time.
 - Campaigns created political personas for candidates that had little to do with reality, and marvelously ingenious negative images of their opponents.





OHIO

IOWA

NEW MEXICO

COLORADO

NEVADA

The Autumn Campaign

 The fall campaign traditionally began on Labor Day, but now tends to start right after conventions or earlier.

intense fund raising, combined with a new round of public

financing

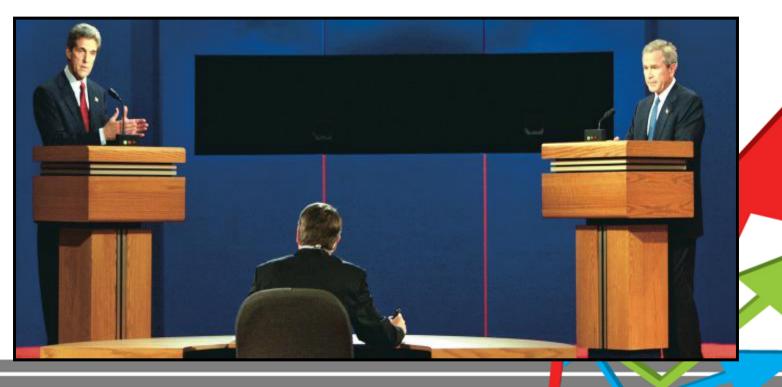
campaign organizations set up in each state

- o **media blitz**
- focus groups
- voter registration and voter turnout campaigns
- informing voters about issues, past performance, personal characteristics
- Much of the campaign activity is focused in swing states (states in which no single candidate or party has overwhelming support in securing that state's electoral college votes)





Presidential debates give candidates an opportunity to show how quickly and accurately they can respond to questions and outline their goals.







- Debates
 - Debates are critical in tight elections.
 - 30 pages of rules for the networks, moderators and candidates
 - Doing well in a debate can level the playing field but often candidates simply try to exceed expectations.



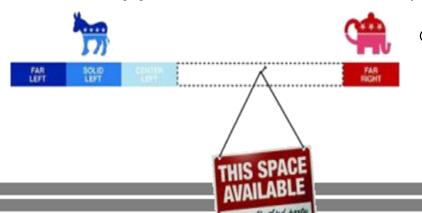


- third / minor parties: political parties other than the Republican and Democratic parties
- Seldom win due to winner-take-all nature of elections, difficulty in meeting criteria for and paying fees for ballot access in 50 states, exclusion from debates and marginalization by majority parties.
- The current largest third parties are the Libertarian and Green parties.
- <u>Libertarians</u>: active in US since 1971, always field a presidential nominee, have around half a million voters
 - Greens: active in US since 2001, often field a presidential nominee, support in the Pacific Coast, Upper Great Lakes and Northeast regions





- Third parties can draw attention to issues that may be ignored by the majority parties. If such an issue is popular with voters, one or more of the majority parties may adopt the issue.
- Although third party candidates rarely win elections, they can have an effect on them. If they do well, they are often accused of having a spoiler effect (drawing votes from a major candidate with similar politics thereby causing a strong opponent of both to win).



Green's Ralph Nader had a significant impact on the 2000 presidential election and a small impact in 2004.



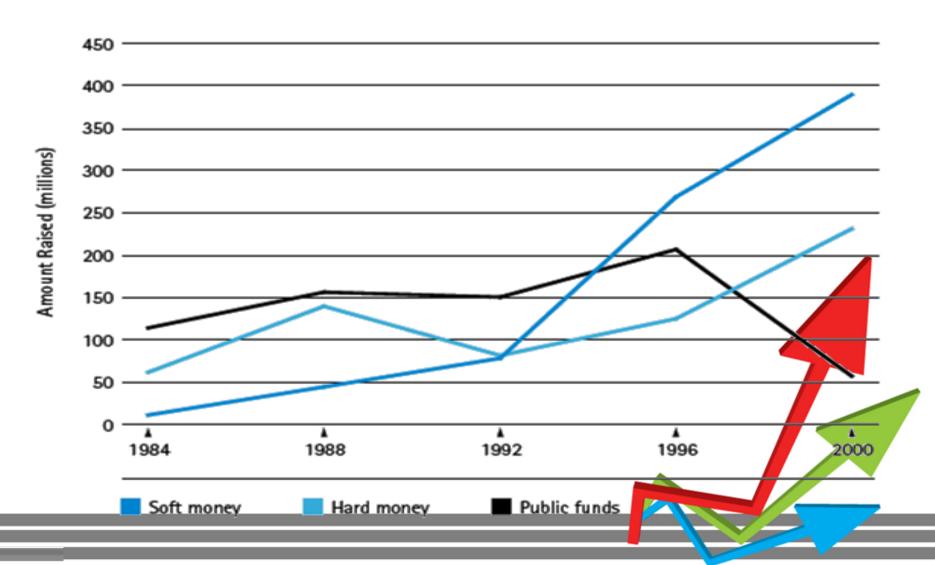
- Campaign Finance
- 1970s -1990s: financing general election campaigns was a simple proposition since it was publicly funded ... hard money (political contributions that are limited in amount and fully disclosed) was matched by public federal funds indexed for inflation



Third party and independent candidates cannot meet the criteria to qualify for public funding. (See previous discussion on financing presidential nomination campaigns.)

 1990s: candidates began to no longer accept federal matching funds (and their accompanying spending limits)







- rise of soft money (money contributed by interest groups, labor unions and donors that was not subject to federal regulation because it was given to party committees, not to the candidates)
- 2004: soft money given to national party committees banned but could still be given to local or state committees
- Independent spending by groups separate from but aligned with parties increased.
 - political action committee (PAC): organization that pools campaign contributions from members and donates those funds to campaign for or against candidates, ballot initiatives, or legislation ... donations to and expenditures by PACs are limited by law



- Super PAC: may engage in unlimited political spending independently of the campaigns ... Unlike traditional PACs, they can raise funds from individuals, corporations, unions and other groups without any legal limit on donation size.
- 527: tax-exempt organization created primarily to influence the selection, nomination, election, appointment or defeat of candidates to federal, state or local public office



There are no contribution or spending limits imposed on 527s and no restrictions on who may contribute. They must register with the IRS, publicly disclose their donors and file periodic reports of contributions and expenditures.



Because they may not expressly advocate for specific candidates or coordinate with any candidate's campaign, 527s are not regulated under state or federal campaign finance laws and are used to raise money to spend on issue advocacy and voter



Examples of 527s are Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, Texans for Truth, The Media Fund, America Coming Together, the Progress for America Voter Fund, etc.

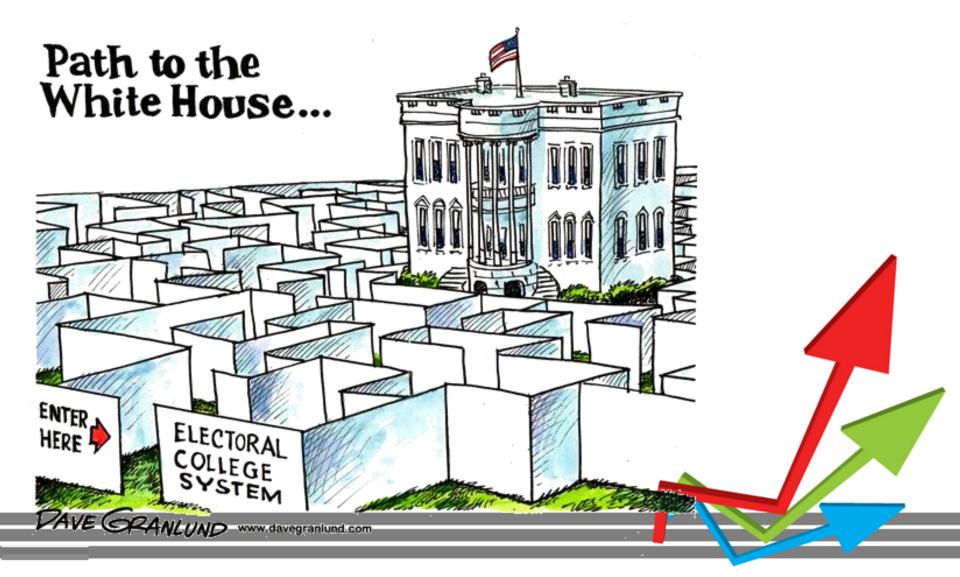
- The most important category of general election spending is expenditures for electronic media.
 - TV and radio advertising (mostly TV)
 - Campaign advertising is important: it works.
 - Research suggests that the issue-content in ads has increased in recent years.
 - Ads have also grown increasingly negative.
 - Negative ads seem to work for the candidates, but are they good for the public?
 - Do they help create greater polarization in the campaign?



- Limited media influence on presidential elections
- Media less influential in the general election campaign.
- Many voters already have the information they need to make up their minds.
 - their own partisan identification
 - the candidate preferences of groups they fike or dislike
 - their impressions of government performance

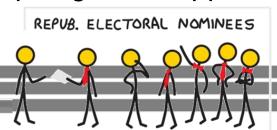


Presidential Elections Stage 4: The Electoral College



Presidential Elections Stage 4: The Electoral College

- The Constitution requires that the president and vice president be chosen by the Electoral College, composed of 538 electors (representatives of each state who cast the ballots that actually elect the president and vice president). [total = 435+100+3]
 - In every state, the parties each select a slate of electors pledged to the party's candidate, the number of which equals the state's Congressional delegation (the sum of its House and Senate seats).
 - DC parties select three electors (23rd Amendment).
- When voting in a presidential election, an American voter is actually voting for the slate of electors for his/her state who pledged to support the candidate the voter prefers.





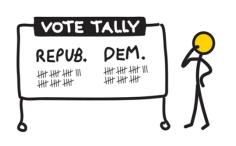




The slate of electors chosen by the popular-vote winner's party in each state is the slate that votes in the Electoral College. For example, if the Republican candidate wins a state's popular vote, the slate of electors chosen by the state Republican party will vote in the Electoral College.

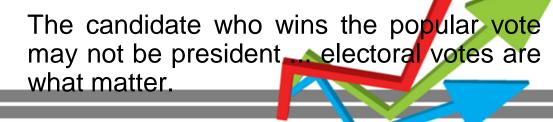
Winner-take-all voting system

 Under most states' laws, the candidate who wins the state's popular vote receives all of the state's electoral votes (except in Maine and Nebraska).



ELECTORS

A win by a large margin in a state gets the same number of electoral college votes as a win by one vote.







A majority of 270 electoral votes is required to win the presidency. A candidate that wins the popular vote by 1 vote each in the largest 11 states, will have 270 electoral votes. His/her opponent may win every vote in the remaining 39 states and DC but will only have 268 electoral votes.



 On the Monday following the second Wednesday of December, each state's electors meet in their respective state capitals and cast their electoral votes, one for president and one for vice president.



- The electoral votes are sealed and transmitted from each state to the president of the Senate who, on January 6th, opens and reads them before both houses of Congress.
- The candidate for president with at least 270 electoral votes wins.



o In the event that no one wins a majority of electoral votes for president, the House of Representatives selects the president from among the top three contenders (John Quincy Adams in 1824), and the Senate chooses the vice president.





- What led to such an unusual method for electing a president?
 - o In the late 1700s, it was difficult to learn information about candidates because there was no effective communication. The delegates to the constitutional convention knew that rural farmers in the new nation wouldn't know much about politics.
 - A few of the delegates, including Wilson and Madison, preferred popular election of the president but most did not trust the unreliable nature of popular elections. Conversely, none of the delegates wanted a method that would give power to a small group.
 - Initially considered giving Congress the power to choose the president but feared that would limit the executive's ability to be an independent branch.
- The Electoral College was the result of compromise on these issues.

Presidential Elections Stage 4: The Electoral College



 Three essentials to understanding the design of the Electoral College:

intended to work without political parties, which did not exist at that time

intended to cover both the nominating and electing phases of presidential selection

- intended to produce a nonpartisan president
- Congressional Caucus (1796-1824): With no consensus on a successor to Washington when he retired after two terms as president, newly formed political parties quickly asserted control over the process. In 1796, caucuses of the parties' congressional delegations began meeting informally to nominate their presidential and vice presidential candidates, leaving the general public with no direct input.

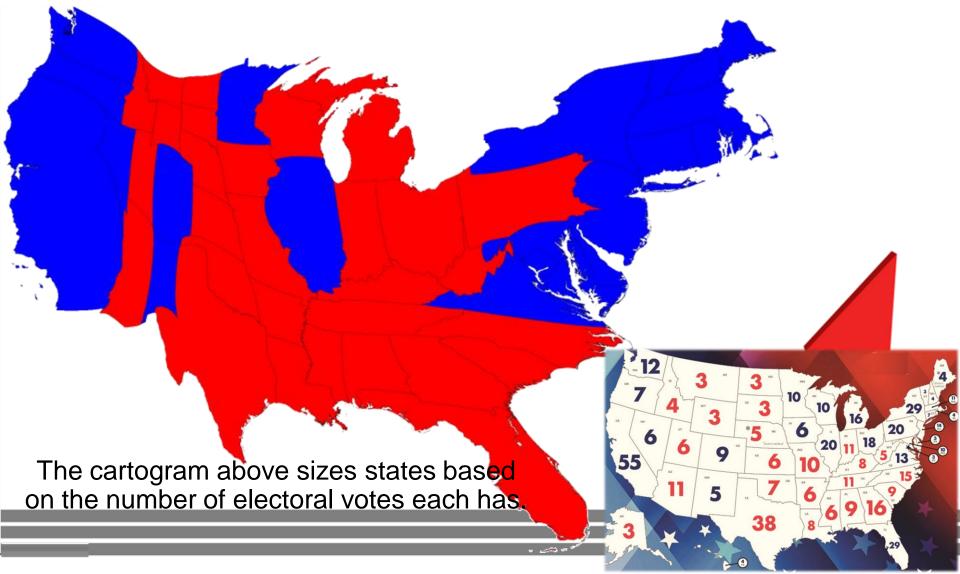
Presidential Elections Stage 4: The Electoral College



- Congressional Caucus (1796-1824)
 - The demise in the 1810s of the Federalist Party, which failed even to nominate a presidential candidate in 1820, made nomination by the Democratic-Republican caucus tantamount to election as president.
 - King Caucus evoked widespread resentment, even from some members of the Democratic-Republican caucus.
 - By 1824 it had fallen into disrepute and Andrew Jackson's election in 1828 guaranteed its end.
- The bitter <u>election of 1800</u> between President John Adams and Vice President Thomas Jefferson led to a crisis over the inability to distinguish between the selection of the president and the vice president, and resulted in the passage of the 12th Amendment (1804), which provided for separate elections for each office, with each elector having only one vote to cast for each office.









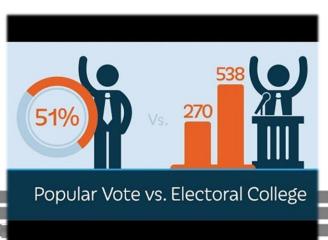


- Apportionment matters.
- Representation of states in the Electoral College is altered after the census every ten years to reflect population shifts.
- Recent apportionment has favored Republican-leaning states.
- While winning the popular vote may not ensure a candidate's victory, a candidate must gain popular support of a particular state to win the votes in that state. Voters elect the people who elect the president.





- The Electoral College survives for a number of reasons.
 - It's difficult to amend the Constitution.
 - Small states (sometimes big states) are convinced they derive a significant advantage from the Electoral College.
 - The harm it allegedly causes is largely theoretical.



Presidential Elections Electoral College Pros



- Ensures states play a role in election of president.
- Makes candidates spend time campaigning in both big and smaller cities in battleground states.
- In very close elections, recounts will usually be confined to a state, rather than an across-the-country recount.
- A single vote matters more in an Electoral College system than in a popular vote system.
- Little states matter more.
- The whole country should decide who the president will be, not a big metropolitan area deciding the entire election.
- Abolishing Electoral College system goes against constitution.
- Gives the states more power against the federal government.
 Unrestrained majority rule would undermine federalism.
- Helps prevent a strong, charismatic person from using popular support to gain power.

Presidential Elections Electoral College Cons



- The winner might not be the candidate who received the most popular votes, calling into question the legitimacy of the new president.
- Direct elections seen as more consistent with democratic principles.
- Candidates focus more on battleground states and ignore states they are going to win or lose. A direct popular vote would force candidates to campaign and advertise nationwide.
- Electors can vote against a state's voters.
- The winning candidate gets all of a state's electoral votes no matter how narrow the win.
- A candidate can get the most popular votes and still lose the election.
- Some people's votes matter more than others.
- Small states matter more than they should.
- The winner of the election could be decided before west coast even votes.
- Discourages third parties.

Democrats have won the popular vote in **six** of the last seven presidential elections.



- proportional allocation of electoral votes: Keep the College and split each state's electoral votes in accordance with candidates' popular vote percentages.
- keep the College, change the electors: Force electors in jurisdictions possessing at least 270 electoral votes to support the candidate who wins the national popular vote.
- national bonus method: Keep the College but award 102 extra electoral votes as a bonus to the winner of the national popular vote.
- o fifty states with equal population: Keep the College but redivide the fifty states into 50 states of equal population.
- Congressional district method: Keep the College and divide electoral votes by district, giving one vote to the winner of each district and two bonus votes to the statewide popular vote winner.

Presidential Elections Reforming the Electoral College



- return power to state legislatures: Keep the College but go back to original method in which state legislatures chose all presidential electors.
- direct plurality vote: Abolish the College. In a direct election, the candidate who receives the most votes nationwide would win, with or without a majority of the votes.
- o direct election with instant runoff voting (IRV): Abolish the College. In a direct election, voters rank their preferences rather than marking only one candidate. If no single candidate has a majority, the candidate with the lowest number of votes is eliminated and ballots are counted again, this time tallying the second choice votes from those ballots whose first choice was the eliminated candidate. The process is repeated until a candidate receives a majority.

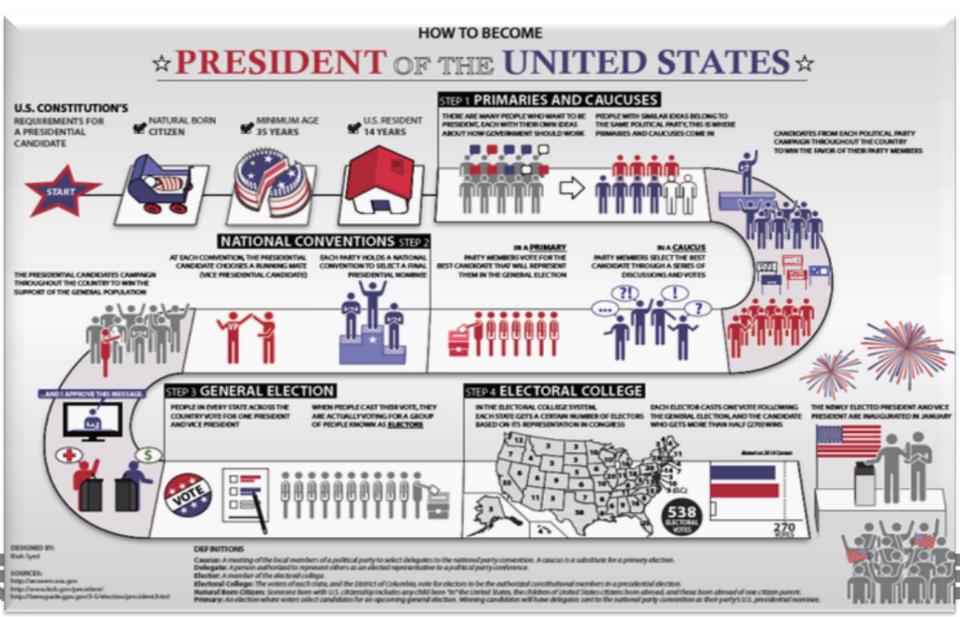






Presidential Elections









22nd Amendment

No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

