

SELECTING AMERICAN PRESIDENTS BY ACCIDENT OR DESIGN?

- A) The early 1970s
- a) Candidate selection re: Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection (McGovern-Fraser Commission) for 1972.
- 1) Required written party rules governing delegate selection;
 - 2) **All delegates required to stand for election** (75% by congressional districts/10% by state level appointment);
 - 3) Required wide-spread notice that the process was taking place at places of easy access and at uniform dates and times;
 - 4) Affirmative action for blacks, women, and young people (>age 30);
 - 5) Proportional representation.

Tinkering and coping:

- 6) Three month window and front-loading of the election calendar—
 - Iowa caucuses and New Hampshire primary
 - Super Tuesday
 - Continued movement toward a **defacto national primary** election
- b) Public funding of presidential elections beginning with 1976.
- B) Combined impact
- a) Background or demographic characteristics of national convention delegates was **unchanged**, even **exaggerated!**
- 1) Pushed Democratic **AND** Republican national convention delegates to the extremes of their respective national political parties.
 - 2) Take major political issues in 1980 and 1988.
- b) **VOTER TURNOUT** problem for primary elections and political party caucuses v. national general elections.

C) The example of 1992

- a) Republican President George H.W. Bush, the most popular president in the history of public opinion polling through that time, and 89% approval rating on how he was doing his job between 28 February and 3 March 1991.

Scared out many substantial Democratic presidential candidates (e.g., U.S. Senators Al Gore and John D. Rockefeller IV; New York Governor Mario Cuomo; U.S. Representative Richard Gebhardt; and Rev. Jesse Jackson, to name a few) and it opened the door for Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton v. U.S. Senators Paul Tsongas (MA) and Bob Kerrey (NEB), former California Governor Jerry Brown and Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder.

b) Why Bill Clinton?

1) Gennifer Flowers revelation on January 21, 1992, in the tabloid **Star**; ROTC promise to attend the University of Arkansas, but he never did attend as revealed in **The Wall Street Journal** on February 6, 1992; **but...**

2) “Ground rules” for media reporting had changed from candidate to accuser bearing the burden of proof;

3) Public attention was focused on the economy;

4) ***The election calendar worked to his advantage—***

—January 21, 1992, filing deadline to get on the ballot had passed in 15 states with 28% of the Democratic National Convention delegates;

—February 6, 1992, the filing deadline for ballot access had passed in 18 states with 40% of the Democratic National Convention delegates before Clinton acknowledged ROTC report on February 12.

5) Adversity actually helped Bill Clinton because the Gennifer Flowers allegation gave him **NAME RECOGNITION** without content, as he soared to 86% among all voters and to 89% among Democrats and Democratic leaning potential voters.

—Election support rose from 17 to 42% in three weeks, giving Bill Clinton a commanding lead!

D) A Democrat in the White House, and the election process will not change. Why?

a) Because Americans do not participate in the most important phase of the presidential candidate selection process, the primary elections and caucuses;

b) Because the presidential candidate selection reforms cannot be reversed by the Democratic Party because they were written into the state laws governing the nomination process; and

c) Because the election of delegates IS DEMOCRATIC.

CONCLUSION: The broader pattern of political party support (i.e., increasing numbers of Republican Party affiliates from the South and equally increasing numbers of Democratic Party affiliates from the Northeast) will continue into the future and favor Republican candidates because its region of greatest support is growing while that for Democrats continues to decline in population.

**WE DEMANDED A REFORMED PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SELECTION PROCESS;
WE HAVE DONE IT TO OURSELVES WITH NO TURNING BACK!**

Nominating Season at a Glance

	Delegate Count		Form of Delegate Selection	Filing Deadline	Date of Main Democratic Event	OUT
	D	R				
Iowa	57	23	Open Caucus †		Feb. 10	1-8 Wildir
New Hampshire	24	23	Open Primary †	Dec. 20	Feb. 18	
Maine	30	22	Open Caucus †		Feb. 23	
South Dakota	20	19	Closed Primary	Dec. 31	Feb. 25	
Colorado	54	37	Open Primary †	Jan. 2	March 3	
Georgia	88	52	Open Primary		March 3	
Idaho	24	22	Open Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	April 27 *	March 3	
Maryland	79	42	20.5%-D/ Closed Primary	Jan. 9 (D)/Dec. 23 (R)	March 3	
Minnesota	87	32	22.4%-R Open Caucus	Jan. 28 *	March 3	
Utah	28	27	Open Caucus	Feb. 14	March 3	
Washington	80	35	Open Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	April 10 *	March 3	
North Dakota	20	17	Open Caucus	April 10 *	March 5-19	3-6 Kerry
Arizona	47	37	Closed Caucus	Jan. 6	March 7	
South Carolina	49	36	Open Primary	Feb. 1 (D)/Jan. 31 (R)	March 7	
Wyoming	19	20	Closed Caucus		March 7	
Nevada	24	21	Closed Caucus		March 8	3-9 Harki
Delaware	19	19	Closed Caucus		March 10	
Florida	160	97	Closed Primary		March 10	
Hawaii	26	14	Closed Caucus	Feb. 2	March 10	
Louisiana	69	38	41%-D/ Closed Primary	Jan. 10	March 10	
Massachusetts	106	38	45%-R Open Primary †	Jan. 3	March 10	
Mississippi	44	33	Open Primary	Jan. 15	March 10	
Missouri	86	47	Open Caucus		March 10	
Oklahoma	53	34	Closed Primary	Jan. 15	March 10	
Rhode Island	28	15	Open Primary †	Jan. 7	March 10	
Tennessee	77	45	Open Primary	Jan. 7	March 10	
Texas	214	121	Open Primary & Caucus (D)/Open Primary (R)	Jan. 10	March 10	
Puerto Rico	57	14	Open Primary		March 15	
Illinois	183	85	Open Primary	Jan. 28	March 17	
Michigan	148	72	Closed Primary	Jan. 10	March 17	
Connecticut	61	35	Closed Primary	Feb. 7	March 24	3-19 Tsonga
Vermont	20	19	Open Caucus		March 31	
Alaska	18	19	Closed Caucus (D)/Open Caucus (R) †		April 2	
Kansas	42	30	Open Primary †	Feb. 12	April 7	
New York	12.5% 268	100	9% Closed Primary	Feb. 6 (R)/Feb. 13 (D)	April 7	
Wisconsin	91	35	Open Primary	Feb. 18	April 7	
Virginia	92	55	Open Caucus		April 11	
Pennsylvania	188	91	Closed Primary	Feb. 18	April 28	
District of Columbia	30	14	Closed Primary	March 6	May 5	
Indiana	87	51	Open Primary	March 6	May 5	
North Carolina	93	57	Closed Primary (D)/Open Primary (R) †	Feb. 4	May 5	
Ohio	167	83	Open Primary	Feb. 20	May 5	
Nebraska	31	24	Closed Primary	March 13	May 12	
West Virginia	39	18	Closed Primary (D)/Open Primary (R) †	Feb. 1	May 12	
Oregon	53	23	Closed Primary	March 10	May 19	
Arkansas	43	27	Open Primary	March 31	May 26	
Kentucky	61	35	Closed Primary	Jan. 28	May 26	
Alabama	62	38	Open Primary	April 3	June 2	
California	18% 383	201	18% Closed Primary	March 19 (D)/March 20 (R)	June 2	
Montana	22	20	Open Primary	March 19	June 2	
New Jersey	117	60	Open Primary †	April 9	June 2	
New Mexico	33	25	Closed Primary	No later than March 16	June 2	
U.S. territories	12	12				
Democrats abroad	9					
Unassigned	265					

TOTAL 4,287 2,209

† Independents may participate; voters registered by party may participate only in their party's primary or caucus.
 * Primary filing deadline (Idaho primary, May 26; Minnesota primary, April 7; North Dakota primary, June 9; Washington primary, May 19)
 NOTE: Delegate count as of January 1992; subject to change

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

THE ROAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE



This page tracks important dates throughout the 2016 presidential election cycle, including primaries, caucuses and conventions, filing deadlines and campaign finance reporting deadlines.

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Candidate registration and financial disclosure

Federal candidacy registration

The Federal Election Commission (FEC) requires those running for the U.S. House, Senate or presidency to file a Statement of Candidacy form within 15 days raising the first \$5,000 in campaign funding. The Statement of Candidacy form allows a candidate's campaign committee to engage in fundraising and spending of the campaign funds. Within 10 days of the Statement of Candidacy submission, the Statement of Organization form must be submitted to the FEC.^[1]

Campaign finance disclosures

Presidential candidates, like Congressional candidates, must file regular campaign finance disclosure reports, depending on the extent of the committee's fundraising. If the committee has raised or anticipates raising or spending a total of \$100,000 by the end of a calendar year, the committee will file monthly campaign finance reports in the following year. If the committee does not raise, spend or anticipate raising or spending that much, they must only file quarterly reports to the FEC.^[2]

Important campaign dates

Iowa caucus

The Democratic National Committee's Rules and Bylaws Committee chose to tentatively hold the Iowa caucus on February 1, 2016.^[3]

New Hampshire primary

The DNC's proposed date for the New Hampshire primary was February 9, 2016.^[3]

Democratic National Convention

See also: Democratic National Convention, 2016

Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz, chairwoman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), announced on February 12, 2015, that Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, will host the Convention during the week of July 25, 2016.^[4]

According to the *National Journal*, the initial list of possible host cities for the DNC were Birmingham, Alabama, Brooklyn, New York, Columbus, Ohio, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Phoenix, Arizona.^[5]

Republican National Convention

See also: Republican National Convention, 2016

The Republican National Committee (RNC) will hold the 2016 convention on July 18-21, 2016. "The convention will be held significantly earlier than previous election cycles, allowing access to crucial general election funds earlier than ever before to give our nominee a strong advantage heading into Election Day," Priebus said.^[6]

State primary dates



2016 Presidential Election

General Election Date

November 8, 2016

Declared candidates

Democratic

Lincoln Chafee • Hillary Clinton • Lawrence Lessig • Martin O'Malley • Bernie Sanders • Jim Webb
Democratic Convention
Democratic Primary

Republican

Jeb Bush • Ben Carson • Chris Christie • Ted Cruz • Carly Fiorina • Jim Gilmore • Lindsey Graham • Mike Huckabee • Bobby Jindal • John Kasich • George Pataki • Rand Paul • Marco Rubio • Rick Santorum • Donald Trump
Republican Convention
Republican Primary

2016 election coverage

Presidential debates • Important campaign dates • Polling • Candidates • Ratings and scorecards • Straw polls • Election by state

**2016 Presidential Primaries and Caucuses for Elected National
Convention Delegates by Filing Deadlines**

<u>State</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Filing Deadline</u>	<u>Primary/Caucus</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Democratic*</u>	<u>Republican**</u>
South Carolina	February 20, 2016	September 30, 2015	Republican Primary	Open		31
Arkansas	March 1, 2016	November 9, 2015	Primary	Open	32	22
Texas	March 1, 2016	November 10, 2015	Primary	Open	208	118
Louisiana	March 5, 2016	November 20, 2015	Primary	Closed	54	28
New Hampshire	February 9, 2016	November 27, 2015	Primary	Mixed	24	16
Illinois	March 15, 2016	November 30, 2015	Primary	Open	160	64
Tennessee	March 1, 2016	December 1, 2015	Primary	Open	68	37
Oklahoma	March 1, 2016	December 2, 2015	Primary	Closed	38	25
South Carolina	February 27, 2016	December 7, 2015	Democratic Primary	Open	51	
Idaho	March 8, 2016	December 9, 2015	Republican Primary	Closed		16
Florida	March 15, 2016	December 15, 2015	Primary	Closed	207	91
Virginia	March 1, 2016	December 17, 2015	Primary	Open	95	43
Michigan	March 8, 2016	December 20, 2015	Primary	Closed	133	52
North Carolina	March 15, 2016	December 29, 2015	Primary	Mixed	107	49
Missouri	March 15, 2016	December 30, 2015	Primary	Open	15	34
Nevada	February 20, 2016	January 1, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	31	
Georgia	March 1, 2016	January 2, 2016	Primary	Open	98	52
Massachusetts	March 1, 2016	January 2, 2016	Primary	Mixed	95	37
Ohio	March 15, 2016	January 2, 2016	Primary	Mixed	148	58
Minnesota	March 1, 2016	January 4, 2016	Caucus	Open	78	34
Vermont	March 1, 2016	January 4, 2016	Primary	Open	15	13
Alabama	March 1, 2016	January 6, 2016	Primary	Open	52	31
Kentucky	March 5, 2016	January 7, 2016	Republican Caucus	Closed		28
Hawaii	March 26, 2016	January 8, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	22	
Nevada	February 23, 2016	January 9, 2016	Republican Caucus	Closed		22
Colorado	March 1, 2016	January 9, 2016	Caucus	Closed	64	31
Mississippi	March 8, 2016	January 9, 2016	Primary	Open	36	22
Iowa	February 1, 2016	January 22, 2016	Caucus	Closed	46	22
Rhode Island	April 26, 2016	January 23, 2016	Primary	Mixed	22	16
Kentucky	May 17, 2016	January 26, 2016	Primary	Closed	47	28
Alaska	March 26, 2016	January 29, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	14	
Kansas	March 5, 2016	January 30, 2016	Caucus	Closed	33	22
West Virginia	May 10, 2015	January 30, 2016	Primary	Mixed	26	19
Alaska	March 1, 2016	January 31, 2016	Republican Mixed	Closed		13
Nebraska	March 5, 2016	February 1, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	26	
Wisconsin	April 5, 2016	February 2, 2016	Primary	Open	79	34
Arizona	March 22, 2016	February 3, 2016	Primary	Open	63	37
Maryland	April 26, 2016	February 3, 2016	Primary	Closed	78	34
Utah	March 22, 2016	February 5, 2016	Caucus	Closed	24	22
Indiana	May 3, 2016	February 5, 2016	Primary	Open	70	37
Hawaii	March 8, 2016	February 16, 2016	Republican Caucus	Closed		16
Pennsylvania	April 26, 2016	February 16, 2016	Primary	Closed	160	64
Maine	March 6, 2016	February 21, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	25	

Nebraska	May 10, 2016	February 25, 2016	Republican Primary	Closed		19
Washington	March 26, 2016	February 26, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	86	
Delaware	April 26, 2016	February 26, 2016	Primary	Closed	17	13
New York	April 19, 2016	March 1, 2016	Primary	Closed	233	91
Connecticut	April 26, 2016	March 7, 2016	Primary	Closed	51	25
Montana	June 7, 2016	March 7, 2016	Primary	Open	15	13
Oregon	May 17, 2016	March 8, 2016	Primary	Closed	52	25
Wyoming	April 9, 2016	March 10, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	13	
Idaho	March 22, 2016	March 14, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	20	
Washington, DC	June 14, 2016	March 15, 2016	Primary	Closed	17	16
New Mexico	June 7, 2016	March 17, 2016	Primary	Closed	29	19
California	June 7, 2016	March 25, 2016	Primary	Closed	405	169
South Dakota	June 7, 2016	March 29, 201	Primary	Closed	15	13
New Jersey	June 7, 2016	April 4, 2016	Primary	Mixed	110	46
North Dakota	June 7, 2016	May 2, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	14	
Maine	March 5, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		16
North Dakota	March 1, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		6
Wyoming	March 1, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		13
Washington	March 5, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		40
American Samoa	March 8, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Open		6
Guam	March 12, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		6
Northern Marianas	March 12, 2016	TBD	Democratic Caucus	Closed	6	6
Virgin Islands	March 12, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Open		6
Puerto Rico	March 13, 2016	TBD	Republican Primary	Open		20
Northern Marianas	March 15, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		6
Guam	May 7, 2016	TBD	Democratic Caucus	Closed	6	
Puerto Rico	June 5, 2016	TBD	Democratic Caucus	Open	51	
Virgin Islands	June 5, 2016	TBD	Democratic Caucus	Open	6	
American Samoa	March 1, 2016	TBD	Democratic Caucus	Open	6	6
					3696	1898

TBD = To Be Determined

	<u>Democratic</u>	<u>Republican</u>
December 30, 2015	1,192 (32%)	626 (22%)
January 9, 2016	1,831 (50%)	954 (33%)

**2016 Presidential Primaries and Caucuses for Elected National
Convention Delegates by Contest Date**

State	Date	Filing Deadline	Primary/Caucus	Type	Democratic*	Republican**
Iowa	February 1, 2016	January 22, 2016	Caucus	Closed	46	22
New Hampshire	February 9, 2016	November 27, 2015	Primary	Mixed	24	16
Nevada	February 20, 2016	January 1, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	31	
South Carolina	February 20, 2016	September 30, 2015	Republican Primary	Open		31
Nevada	February 23, 2016	January 9, 2016	Republican Caucus	Closed		22
South Carolina	February 27, 2016	December 7, 2015	Democratic Primary	Open	51	
Alabama	March 1, 2016	January 6, 2016	Primary	Open	52	31
Alaska	March 1, 2016	January 31, 2016	Republican Mixed	Closed		13
American Samoa	March 1, 2016	TBD	Democratic Caucus	Open	6	6
Arkansas	March 1, 2016	November 9, 2015	Primary	Open	32	22
Colorado	March 1, 2016	January 9, 2016	Caucus	Closed	64	31
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Nebraska	March 5, 2016	February 1, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	26	
Washington	March 5, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		40
Maine	March 6, 2016	February 21, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	25	
American Samoa	March 8, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Open		6
Hawaii	March 8, 2016	February 16, 2016	Republican Caucus	Closed		16
Idaho	March 8, 2016	December 9, 2015	Republican Primary	Closed		16
Michigan	March 8, 2016	December 20, 2015	Primary	Closed	133	52
Mississippi	March 8, 2016	January 9, 2016	Primary	Open	36	22
Guam	March 12, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		6
Northern Marianas	March 12, 2016	TBD	Democratic Caucus	Closed	6	6
Virgin Islands	March 12, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Open		6
Puerto Rico	March 13, 2016	TBD	Republican Primary	Open		20
Florida	March 15, 2016	December 15, 2015	Primary	Closed	207	91
Illinois	March 15, 2016	November 30, 2015	Primary	Open	160	64
Missouri	March 15, 2016	December 30, 2015	Primary	Open	15	34
North Carolina	March 15, 2016	December 29, 2015	Primary	Mixed	107	49
Northern Marianas	March 15, 2016	TBD	Republican Caucus	Closed		6
Ohio	March 15, 2016	January 2, 2016	Primary	Mixed	148	58
Arizona	March 22, 2016	February 3, 2016	Primary	Open	63	37

Idaho	March 22, 2016	March 14, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	20	
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Virgin Islands	June 5, 2016	TBD	Democratic Caucus	Open	6	
California	June 7, 2016	March 25, 2016	Primary	Closed	405	169
Montana	June 7, 2016	March 7, 2016	Primary	Open	15	13
New Jersey	June 7, 2016	April 4, 2016	Primary	Mixed	110	46
New Mexico	June 7, 2016	March 17, 2016	Primary	Closed	29	19
North Dakota	June 7, 2016	May 2, 2016	Democratic Caucus	Closed	14	
South Dakota	June 7, 2016	March 29, 201	Primary	Closed	15	13
District of Columbia	June 14, 2016	March 15, 2016	Primary	Closed	17	16
Total					3696	1898

Sources:

Important dates in the 2016 presidential race - Ballotpedia (accessed October 17, 2016);

http://ballotpedia.org/important_dates_in_the_2016_presidential_race

Kyle Kondik and Geoffrey Skelley, Sabato's Crystal Ball (accessed October 17, 2015);

<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/the-real-presidential-deadlines/>

*The Green Papers: Democratic Detailed Delegate Allocation - 2016 (accessed October 17, 2015)

<http://thegreenpapers.com/P16/D-Alloc.phtml>

**The Green Papers: Republican Detailed Delegate Allocation - 2016 (accessed October 17, 2015)

<http://thegreenpapers.com/P16/R-Alloc.phtml>

Democratic National Convention Delegates = 4,483; Republican National Convention Delegates = 2,470

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>
1-Mar-2016	1,001 (22%)	572 (23%)
5-Mar-2016	1,114 (25%)	706 (29%)
8-Mar-2016	1,308 (29%)	818 (33%)
15-Mar-2016	1,951 (44%)	1,158 (47%)
26-Mar-2016	2,180 (49%)	1,217 (49%)

Estimated Allocation
Sorted Alphabetically

Rank	(sort) State	Pledged Delegate Votes				Unpledged Delegate Votes					(sort) Total Delegate Votes	
		District Delegate Votes	At-Large Delegate Votes	PLEO Delegate Votes	(sort) Total Pledged Delegate Votes	DNC Members	Senate	House	Governor	Distinguished Party Leaders		(sort) Total Unpledged Delegate Votes
1	Alabama	34	11	7	52	5		1			6	58
2	Alaska	9	3	2	14	4					4	18
3	American Samoa		6		6	4					4	10
4	Arizona	41	14	8	63	8		4			12	75
5	Arkansas	21	7	4	32	5					5	37
6	California	264	88	53	405	29	2	39	1		71	476
7	Colorado	42	14	8	64	7	1	3	1	1	13	77
8	Connecticut	33	11	7	51	5	2	5	1	1	14	65
9	Delaware	11	4	2	17	5	2	1	1	1	10	27
10	Democrats Abroad		12	1	13	4					4	17
11	District of Columbia	11	4	2	17	16	2	1	1		20	37
12	Florida	135	45	27	207	19	1	10		1	31	238
13	Georgia	64	21	13	98	9		4		1	14	112
14	Guam		6		6	4		1			5	11
15	Hawaii	14	5	3	22	4	2	2	1		9	31
16	Idaho	13	4	3	20	4					4	24
17	Illinois	104	35	21	160	19	1	9		1	30	190
18	Indiana	46	15	9	70	6	1	2			9	79
19	Iowa	30	10	6	46	7		1			8	54
20	Kansas	22	7	4	33	4					4	37
21	Kentucky	31	10	6	47	4		1	1		6	53
22	Louisiana	35	12	7	54	6		1			7	61
23	Maine	17	5	3	25	4		1			5	30
		The District (16.5 rounded to 17) and At-Large (5.5 rounded to 5) rounding was done to favor the District Delegates.										
24	Maryland	51	17	10	78	17	2	7		1	27	105
25	Massachusetts	62	21	12	95	12	2	9		3	26	121
26	Michigan	87	29	17	133	12	2	5			19	152
27	Minnesota	51	17	10	78	7	2	5	1	1	16	94
28	Mississippi	23	8	5	36	4		1			5	41
29	Missouri	49	16	10	75	8	1	2	1	1	13	88
30	Montana	10	3	2	15	5	1		1		7	22
31	Nebraska	17	6	3	26	4		1			5	31
32	Nevada	20	7	4	31	6	1	1			8	39
33	New Hampshire	16	5	3	24	5	1	1	1		8	32
34	New Jersey	72	24	14	110	8	2	6			16	126
35	New Mexico	19	6	4	29	4	2	2		1	9	38
36	New York	152	51	30	233	21	2	18	1	2	44	277
37	North Carolina	70	23	14	107	10		3			13	120
38	North Dakota	9	3	2	14	4	1				5	19
39	Northern Marianas		6		6	4		1			5	11
40	Ohio	97	32	19	148	11	1	4		1	17	165
41	Oklahoma	25	8	5	38	4					4	42
42	Oregon	34	11	7	52	5	2	4	1		12	64
43	Pennsylvania	104	35	21	160	13	1	5	1	1	21	181
44	Puerto Rico	33	11	7	51	5		1	1		7	58
45	Rhode Island	14	5	3	22	4	2	2	1		9	31
46	South Carolina	33	11	7	51	5		1			6	57
47	South Dakota	10	3	2	15	4				1	5	20
48	Tennessee	44	15	9	68	6		2		1	9	77
49	Texas	136	45	27	208	18		11			29	237
50	Unassigned					1					1	1
51	Utah	16	5	3	24	4					4	28
52	Vermont	10	3	2	15	4	1	1	1	1	8	23
53	Virgin Islands		6		6	4		1			5	11
54	Virginia	62	21	12	95	11	2	3	1		17	112
55	Washington	56	19	11	86	7	2	6	1		16	102
56	West Virginia	17	6	3	26	7	1		1		9	35
57	Wisconsin	52	17	10	79	6	1	3			10	89
58	Wyoming	8	3	2	13	4					4	17
	Totals	2,436	847	486	3,769	436	46	192	20	20	714	4,483

Republican Detailed Delegate Allocation - 2016
Sorted Alphabetically

Rank	(sort) State	Electoral			Bonus Delegates							(sort) Pre-Penalty SubTotal	Penalty	(sort) Total Delegates
		At-Large Delegates	(sort) District Delegates	Party Leaders	President	Governor	U.S. Senate	U.S. House	One Chamber	All Chambers	(sort) Total Bonus			
1	Alabama	10	21	3	10	1	2	1	1	1	16	50		50
2	Alaska	10	3	3	7		2	1	1	1	12	28		28
3	American Samoa	6		3								9		9
4	Arizona	10	27	3	12	1	2	1	1	1	18	58		58
5	Arkansas	10	12	3	9	1	2	1	1	1	15	40		40
6	California	10	159	3								172		172
7	Colorado	10	21	3			1	1	1		3	37		37
8	Connecticut	10	15	3								28		28
9	Delaware	10	3	3								16		16
10	District of Columbia	16		3								19		19
11	Florida	10	81	3		1	1	1	1	1	5	99		99
12	Georgia	10	42	3	15	1	2	1	1	1	21	76		76
13	Guam	6		3								9		9
14	Hawaii	10	6	3								19		19
15	Idaho	10	6	3	7	1	2	1	1	1	13	32		32
16	Illinois	10	54	3		1	1				2	69		69
17	Indiana	10	27	3	12	1	1	1	1	1	17	57		57
18	Iowa	10	12	3		1	2	1	1		5	30		30
19	Kansas	10	12	3	9	1	2	1	1	1	15	40		40
20	Kentucky	10	18	3	10		2	1	1		14	45		45
21	Louisiana	10	18	3	10		2	1	1	1	15	46		46
22	Maine	10	6	3		1	1	1	1		4	23		23
23	Maryland	10	24	3		1					1	38		38
24	Massachusetts	10	27	3		1	1				2	42		42
25	Michigan	10	42	3		1		1	1	1	4	59		59
26	Minnesota	10	24	3					1		1	38		38
27	Mississippi	10	12	3	9		2	1	1	1	14	39		39
28	Missouri	10	24	3	11		1	1	1	1	15	52		52
29	Montana	10	3	3	7		1	1	1	1	11	27		27
30	Nebraska	10	9	3	8	1	2	1	1	1	14	36		36
31	Nevada	10	12	3		1	1	1	1	1	5	30		30
32	New Hampshire	10	6	3			1	1	1	1	4	23		23
33	New Jersey	10	36	3		1		1			2	51		51
34	New Mexico	10	9	3		1			1		2	24		24
35	New York	10	81	3					1		1	95		95
36	North Carolina	10	39	3	14	1	2	1	1	1	20	72		72
37	North Dakota	10	3	3	7	1	1	1	1	1	12	28		28
38	Northern Marianas	6		3								9		9
39	Ohio	10	48	3		1	1	1	1	1	5	66		66
40	Oklahoma	10	15	3	9	1	2	1	1	1	15	43		43
41	Oregon	10	15	3								28		28
42	Pennsylvania	10	54	3			1	1	1	1	4	71		71
43	Puerto Rico	20		3								23		23
44	Rhode Island	10	6	3								19		19
45	South Carolina	10	21	3	10	1	2	1	1	1	16	50		50
46	South Dakota	10	3	3	7	1	2	1	1	1	13	29		29
47	Tennessee	10	27	3	12	1	2	1	1	1	18	58		58
48	Texas	10	108	3	28	1	2	1	1	1	34	155		155
49	Utah	10	12	3	9	1	2	1	1	1	15	40		40
50	Vermont	10	3	3								16		16
51	Virgin Islands	6		3								9		9
52	Virginia	10	33	3				1	1	1	3	49		49
53	Washington	10	30	3					1		1	44		44
54	West Virginia	10	9	3	8		1	1	1	1	12	34		34
55	Wisconsin	10	24	3		1	1	1	1	1	5	42		42
56	Wyoming	10	3	3	7	1	2	1	1	1	13	29		29
Totals		560	1,305	168	247	29	55	36	39	31	437	2,470		2,470
Rank	State	At-Large Delegates	District Delegates	Party Leaders	President	Governor	U.S. Senate	U.S. House	One Chamber	All Chambers	Total Bonus	Pre-Penalty SubTotal	Penalty	Total Delegates

Bonus Delegate Detail

Bonus delegates are awarded to states who elect Republican Senators, Republican President Electors, Republican Governors, Republican U.S. House Members, and Republican controlled state Legislatures.

Republican National Committee

Primaries

The RNC overhauled some of its rules leading into the 2016 presidential primary following what party leaders and strategists saw as a primary campaign that lasted too long, lowering 2012 candidate Mitt Romney's chances of winning in the general election. The committee voted in January 2014, by a vote of 153-9, to move the convention from the end of August, when it was held last year, to as much as two months earlier at the end of June. The 2016 convention will be held July 18-21, 2016.

In order to accomplish such a change, new penalties were introduced to encourage states to hold their campaign events earlier in the year. Additionally, the system of awarding delegates in primaries was changed for primaries held before March 14, 2016. The new rules stated that no primary held before March 14 could award delegates based on the "winner-take-all" system, instead the delegates were to be distributed in proportion to each candidate's support in order to stop any candidate from essentially winning the nomination in early March 2016. RNC Chairman Reince Priebus explained the reasoning, stating, "We have been saying for months that we were no longer going to sit around and allow ourselves to slice and dice our nominee for six months."^{[7][8]}

Debates

Another strategy implemented by the RNC was lowering the number of primary debates from the 20 that took place in 2012. Those familiar with the discussions claimed the new number of Republican debates would be between six and ten, with the intention of having each of the major television networks carry at least one of the debates. The RNC also discussed the idea of adding conservatives to the panels of moderators, potentially resulting in less fiery debates with easier questions, an idea that the networks were open to working with. The final change to debates was aimed at discouraging non-sanctioned debates, by barring candidates participating in them from being a part of the sanctioned debates. While big name candidates would not likely be impacted by the change, it would potentially make it harder for lesser known candidates to break through.^[9]

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Mainstream G.O.P. Field of Three Faces Brutal Delegate Math

Nate Cohn, *The New York Times* Online Edition, February 18, 2016, A1.

Photo



At a campaign event for Marco Rubio in Aiken, S.C., on Wednesday. Credit Eric Thayer for The New York Times

If the [Republican Party](#) remains divided for much longer, it will start getting more difficult for a mainstream candidate to win the nomination.

Yet Marco Rubio, [Jeb Bush](#) and [John Kasich](#) all have incentives to stay in the race, preventing the party from getting behind one candidate.

On Super Tuesday, March 1, 25 percent of the delegates to the Republican national convention will be awarded. If the mainstream field hasn't been narrowed by that point, it will become very hard to avoid serious damage to the candidate who ultimately

emerges as the party's anointed favorite. The top mainstream candidate could easily fall more than 100 delegates short of what he might have earned in a winnowed field. He would even be in danger of earning no delegates at all in several of the largest states because of one number: 20 percent.

That's the threshold for earning delegates in Texas, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama and Vermont, which combine to award 57 percent of the delegates on Super Tuesday and 14 percent of all of the delegates in the Republican race. If candidates don't get 20 percent of the vote, they get no delegates (unless they finish in the top two of a congressional district, in which case they get a delegate). Oklahoma and Arkansas, worth an additional 13 percent of Super Tuesday delegates, have a 15 percent threshold.

It is easy to imagine how none of the mainstream candidates pass this threshold. None reached 20 percent of the vote in New Hampshire; they're failing to reach 20 percent in South Carolina polls; and they might fall short again on Super Tuesday if the field doesn't narrow further.

Worse still for them, a quirk in the rules would send the delegates forfeited by the mainstream candidates straight to [Donald Trump](#) and [Ted Cruz](#). That's because most Super Tuesday states allocate their statewide delegates proportionately among the candidates who clear the threshold for earning delegates; if only two do so, they will split all of the delegates awarded statewide. The rest of the delegates are generally awarded by congressional district — usually two to the winner and one to the second-place finisher, again most likely locking out an establishment candidate in third place.

The imperative to narrow the field quickly raises the stakes heading into South Carolina and Nevada, the last chance for voters to elevate one of the mainstream candidates before Super Tuesday.

The difference between falling short of the threshold in these seven states and clearing it, even if only barely, is approximately 70 delegates. It's not enough to preclude a candidate like Mr. Rubio from winning the nomination. But it would require him to fare very well from that point on to finish with a majority of delegates; he might need as much as 70 percent of the outstanding delegates to win, a plausible figure given the party's delegate rules but nonetheless a daunting one.

The delegate threshold challenge poses big questions for campaigns, which will have to choose between strategies that maximize delegates and those that maximize momentum. That's because many of the conservative, Southern states where the mainstream candidates need to clear delegate thresholds on Super Tuesday aren't necessarily the same states where they have the best chance to win.

Texas, Alabama, Tennessee and Georgia are all fairly conservative states where Mr. Trump or Mr. Cruz will be favored. Texas is also Mr. Cruz's home state. The mainstream candidates might have a better shot to win in states like Virginia, Minnesota, Massachusetts or Colorado, where the delegate thresholds are lower (10 percent or less) or nonexistent.



Supporters of Donald Trump in North Augusta, S.C., on Wednesday. Credit Stephen B. Morton for The New York Times

The mainstream candidates are working out this calculus: Is it worth it for a campaign to spend millions for third place and 21 percent of the vote in Texas, which would yield many more delegates than third place and 19 percent? Or is it better to spend the money to win states like Massachusetts or Virginia, where the candidates are all but assured to win a modest number of delegates and won't necessarily earn many more delegates by spending big to win?

The problem is greatest for the Rubio campaign, which would seem to have the potential to clear thresholds everywhere. But it has strong incentives to win races outright in order to help narrow the field quickly after Super Tuesday. The imperative to post victories on Super Tuesday could easily tempt Mr. Rubio's team and its allies to focus on winning states, even at the risk of losing delegates in the South.

That cost wouldn't be enough to prevent a candidate like Mr. Rubio from winning the nomination. The G.O.P.'s delegate rules and primaries calendar make it surprisingly easy for a candidate to make a big comeback after Super Tuesday: The states become more favorable to establishment-backed candidates, and the rules permit states to apportion more of their delegates to the winner.

Here's an easy way to think about it: The potential loss of 70 delegates would be roughly equivalent to the delegates in a large winner-take-all state like Ohio (66). So a

mainstream candidate can make up for his failures on Super Tuesday merely by winning a winner-take-all state that he might not have otherwise counted on.

That's why the 70 delegates lost by falling short of the threshold is nothing to ignore, either. Assuming that Mr. Rubio, Mr. Cruz and Mr. Trump's support roughly followed the demographic pattern from New Hampshire and Iowa, Mr. Rubio could win an outright majority of delegates if he won around 24 percent of the vote on Super Tuesday and then did as well as Mitt Romney in 2012 for the rest of the primary season.

The fact that Mr. Rubio has failed to do as well as Mr. Romney so far is reason to question whether he would be expected to do it later.

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