

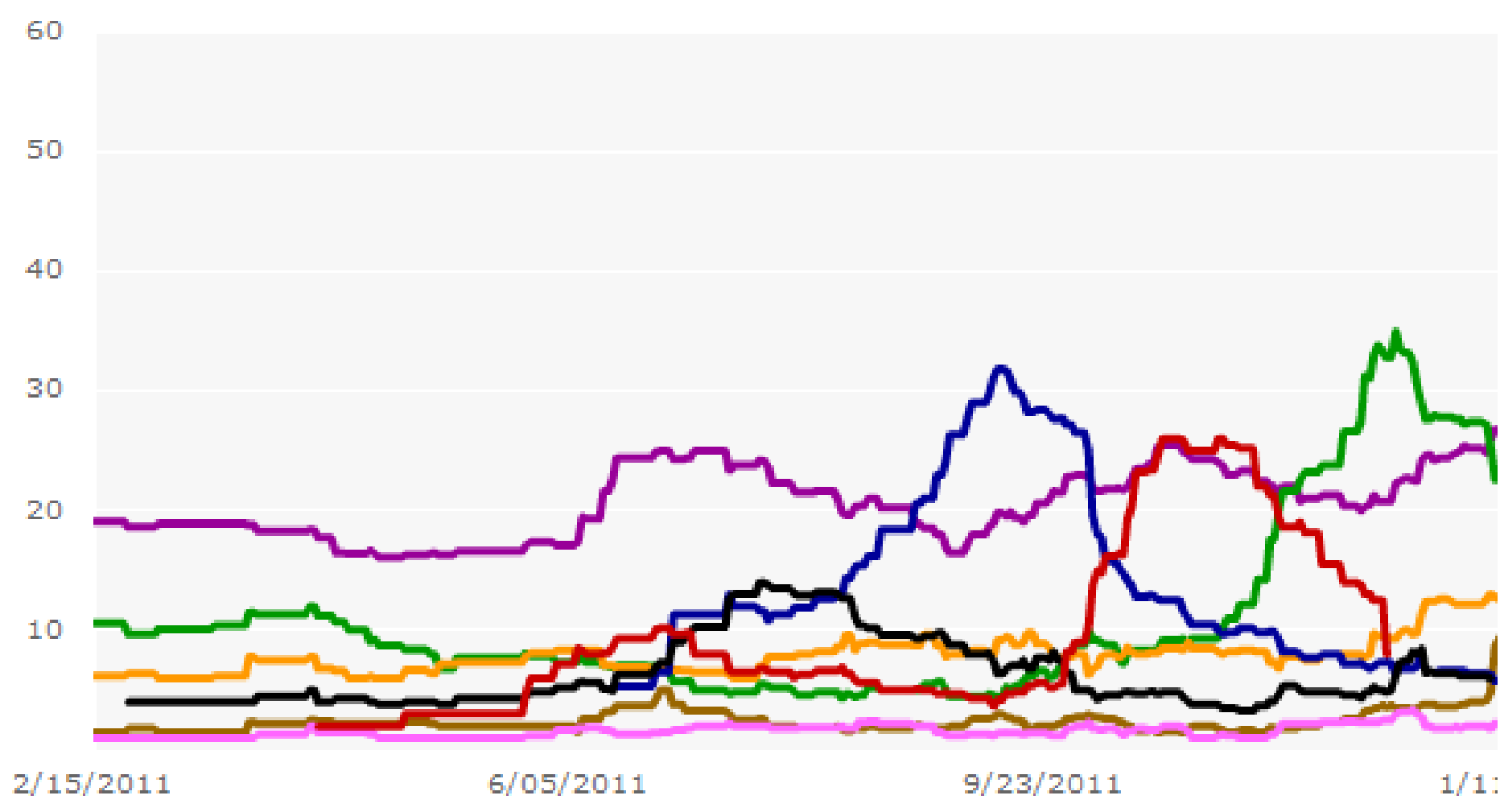
THE 2012

REPUBLICAN

RACE



52.8	Romney	+33.8	--	Santorum	19.0	Gingrich	15.0	Paul
--	Perry		--	Huntsman	--	Bachmann	--	Cain

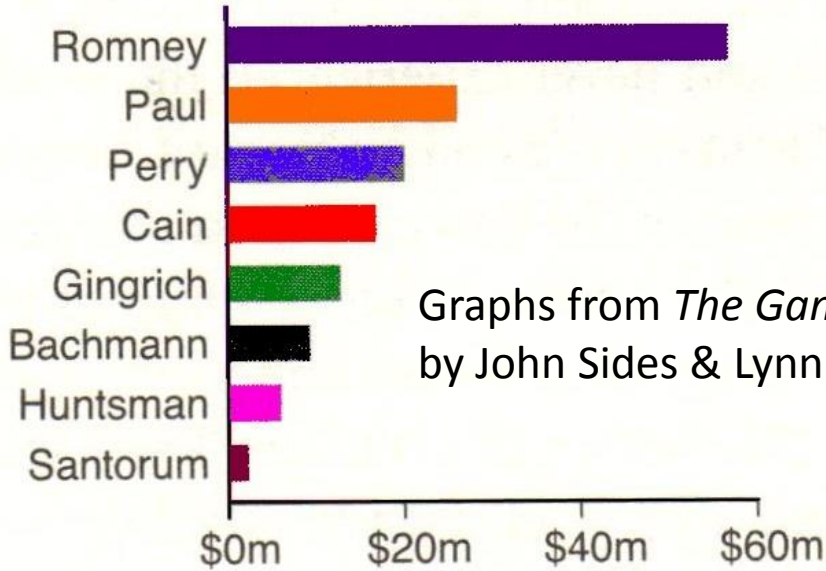


RCP Poll Averages – December 2011

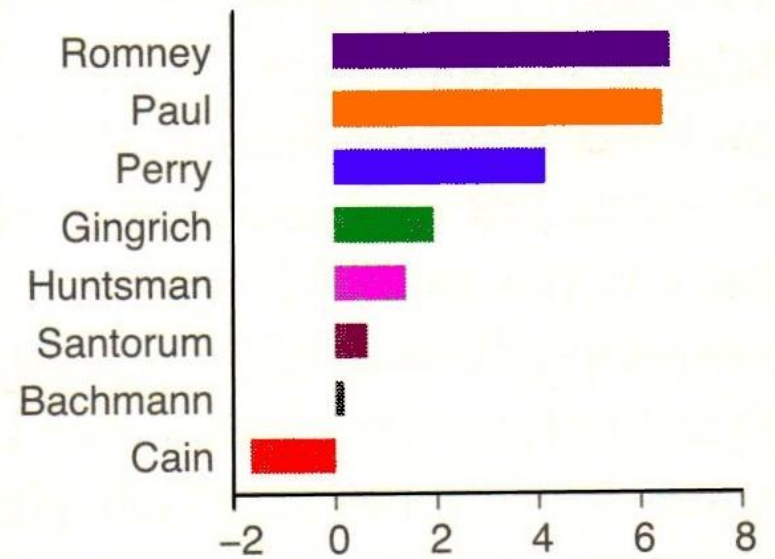
Obama (D)	Republican (R)	Spread
42.8%	44.3%	Republican +1.5%
Obama (D)	Romney (R)	Spread
46%	45.1%	Obama +0.9%
Obama (D)	Perry (R)	Spread
50.2%	40%	Obama +10.2%
Obama (D)	Bachmann (R)	Spread
49.7%	35.7%	Obama +14%
Obama (D)	Paul (R)	Spread
47.3%	38.5%	Obama +8.8%
Obama (D)	Gingrich (R)	Spread
49.3%	41.9%	Obama +7.4%
Obama (D)	Huntsman (R)	Spread
46.3%	37.7%	Obama +8.6%

Candidate	Total Receipts to end 2011	Total spending to end 2011	Cash On Hand
Mitt Romney	\$56,884,330	\$36,968,828	\$19,916,126
Ron Paul	\$26,109,606	\$24,198,106	\$1,904,915
Rick Perry	\$20,109,798	\$16,347,912	\$3,761,886
Herman Cain	\$16,874,813	\$15,894,177	\$986,430
Newt Gingrich	\$12,733,254	\$10,624,423	\$2,108,831
Michele Bachmann	\$9,259,624	\$8,900,899	\$358,725
Jon Huntsman	\$5,918,425	\$5,807,460	\$110,965
Tim Pawlenty	\$5,890,445	\$5,844,177	\$46,268
Rick Santorum	\$2,206,975	\$1,928,040	\$278,935
Fred Karger	\$739,267	\$423,915	\$16,041
Gary Johnson	\$578,125	\$560,112	\$18,013
Thaddeus McCotter	\$513,816	\$518,454	\$927
Buddy Roemer	\$345,032	\$335,556	\$9,476

Total Money Raised in 2011

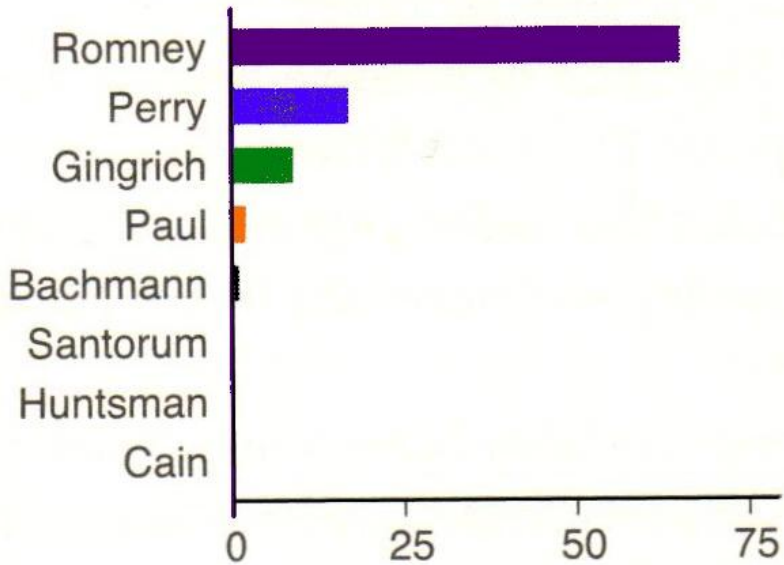


Average July–Dec. 2011 Tone-Weighted News Share

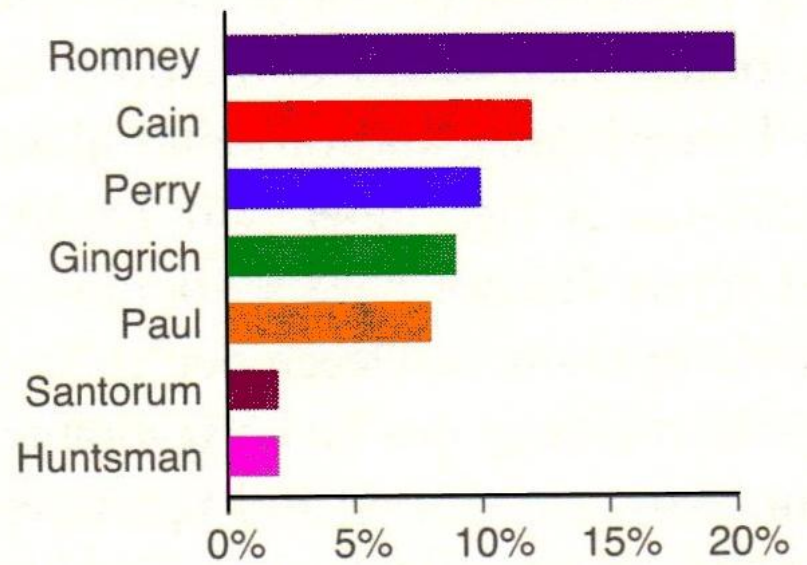


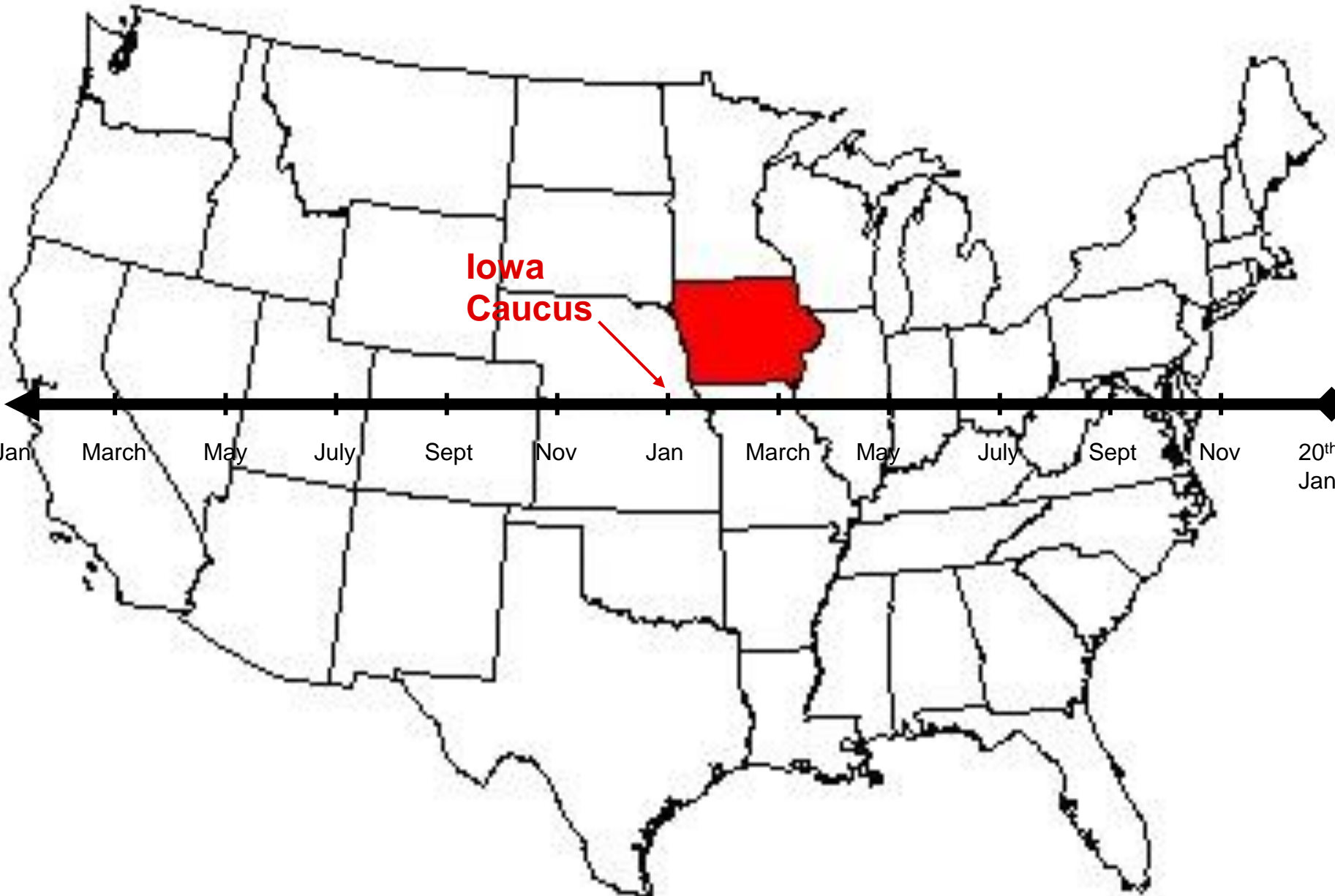
Graphs from *The Gamble*
by John Sides & Lynn Vavrek

Number of Endorsements in 2011



Median Share in 2011 National Polls

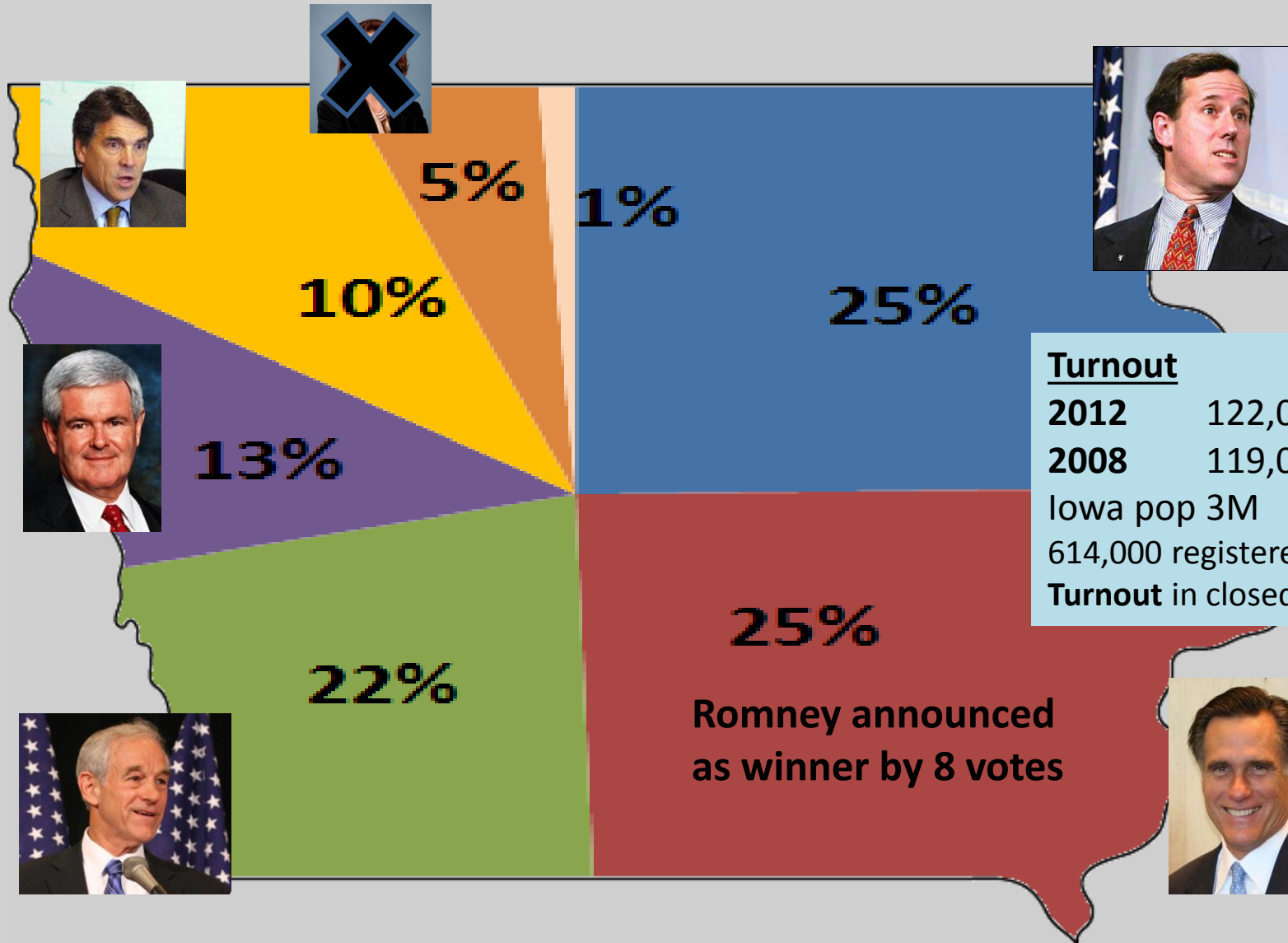




**Iowa
Caucus**

Jan March May July Sept Nov Jan March May July Sept Nov 20th Jan

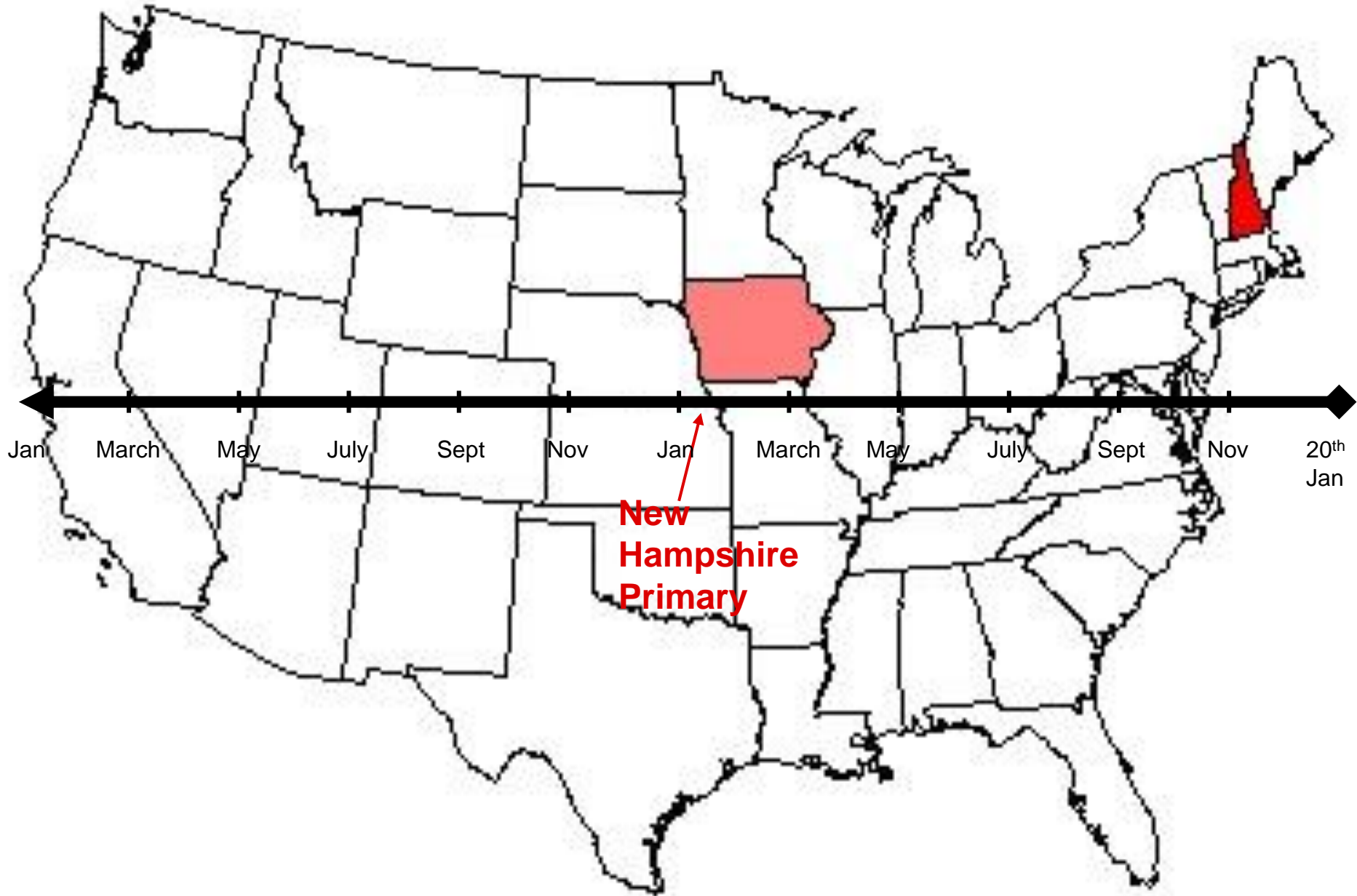
Republican Iowa Caucus results - Jan 3rd 2012



Turnout
2012 122,000 ↑2.5%
2008 119,000
 Iowa pop 3M
 614,000 registered Republicans
Turnout in closed caucus = 20%

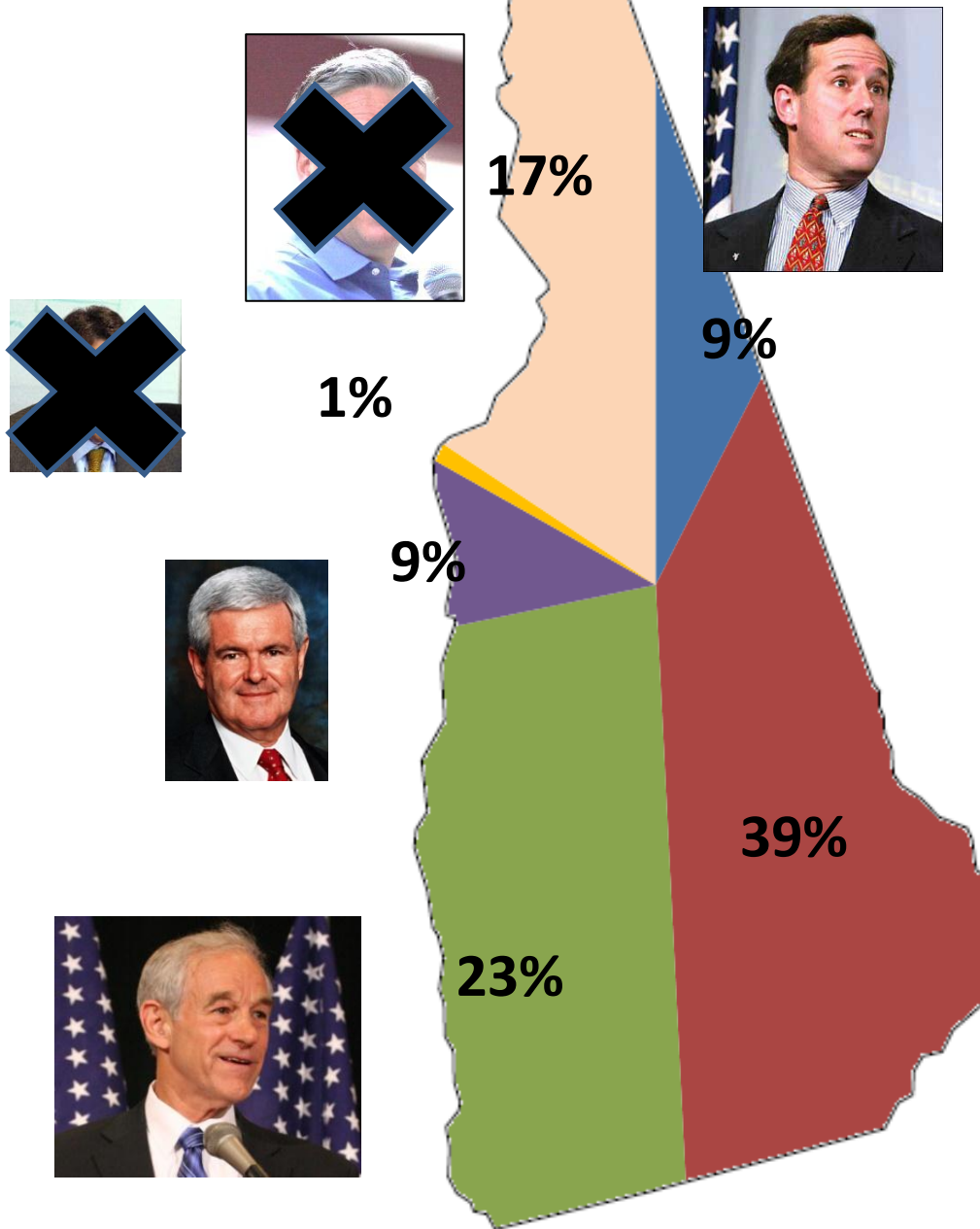
Romney announced
 as winner by 8 votes

- Santorum
- Romney
- Paul
- Gingrich
- Perry
- Bachmann
- Huntsman



**New
Hampshire
Primary**

Republican New Hampshire primary results - Jan 10th 2012



Turnout

2012 248,000 ↑3.3%

2008 240,000

N Hampshire pop 1.3M

231,611 registered

Republicans

312,621 Undeclared voters

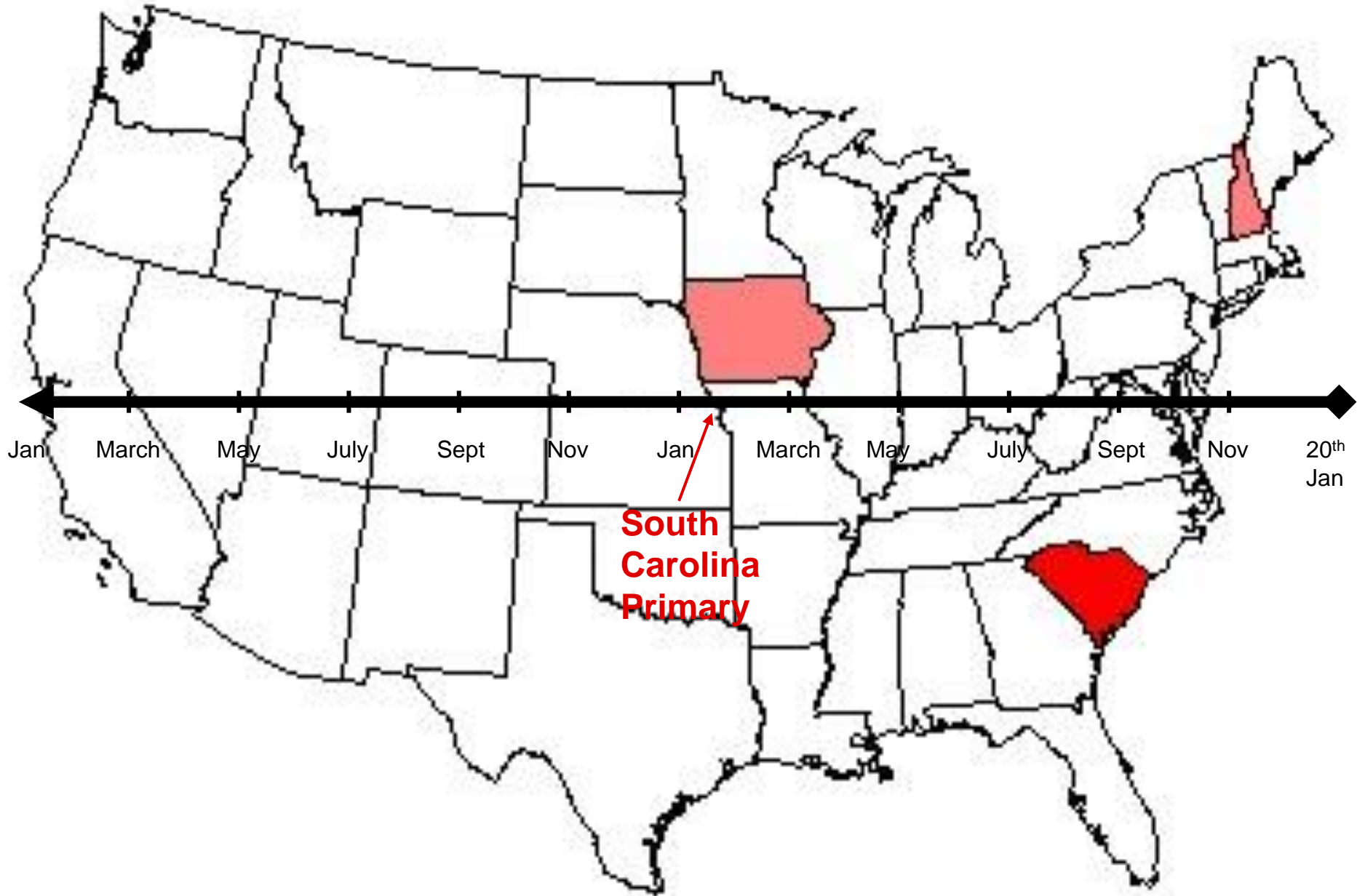
Turnout in semi-open

primary = 46%



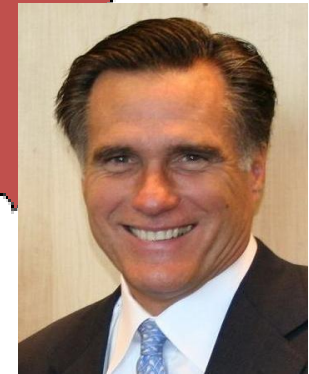
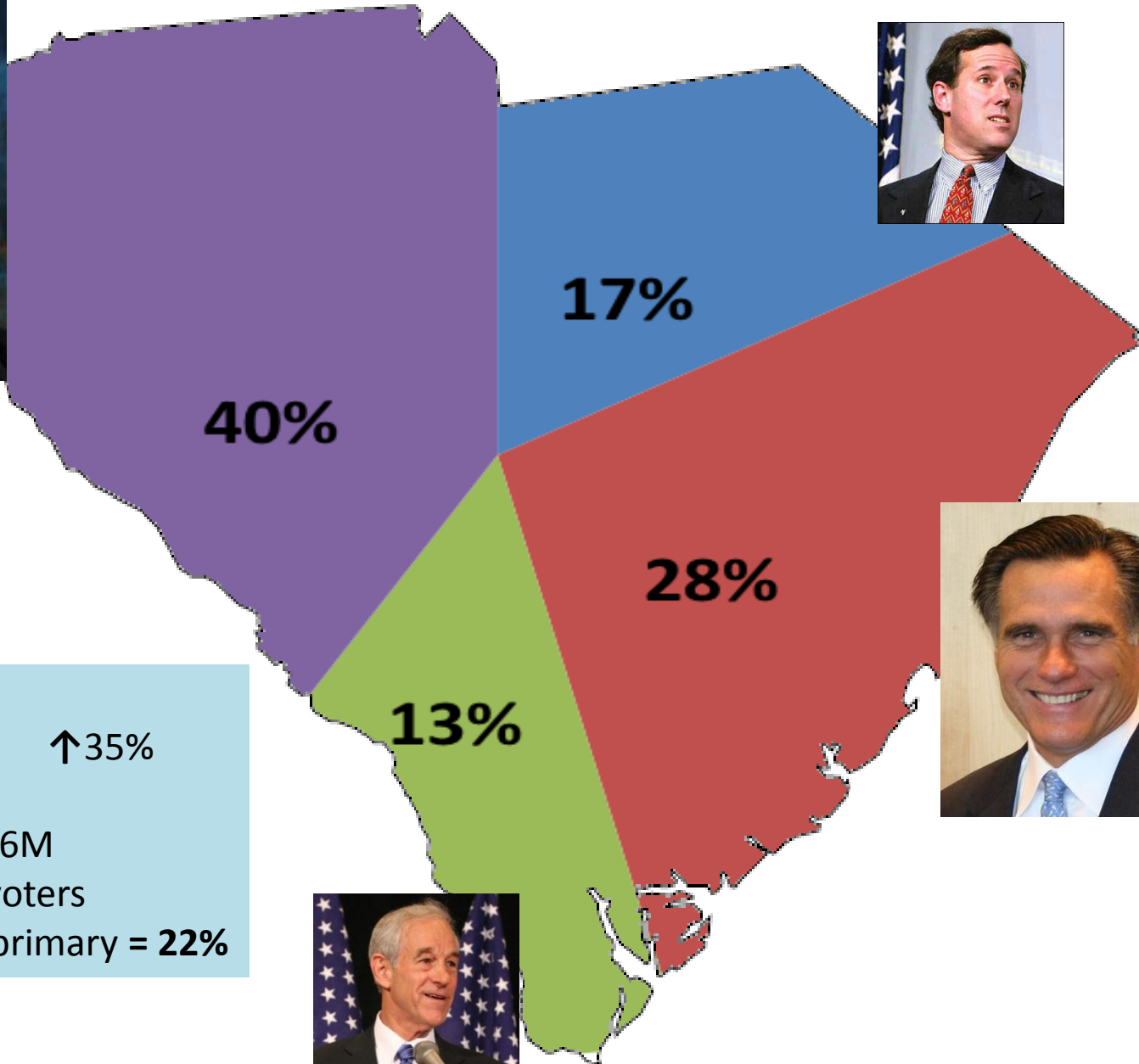
19th Jan - Newsflash!

Turns out the Iowa GOP
can't count! – Santorum
now announced as winner
of caucuses by 34 votes



**South
Carolina
Primary**

Republican South Carolina primary results - Jan 21st 2012



Turnout

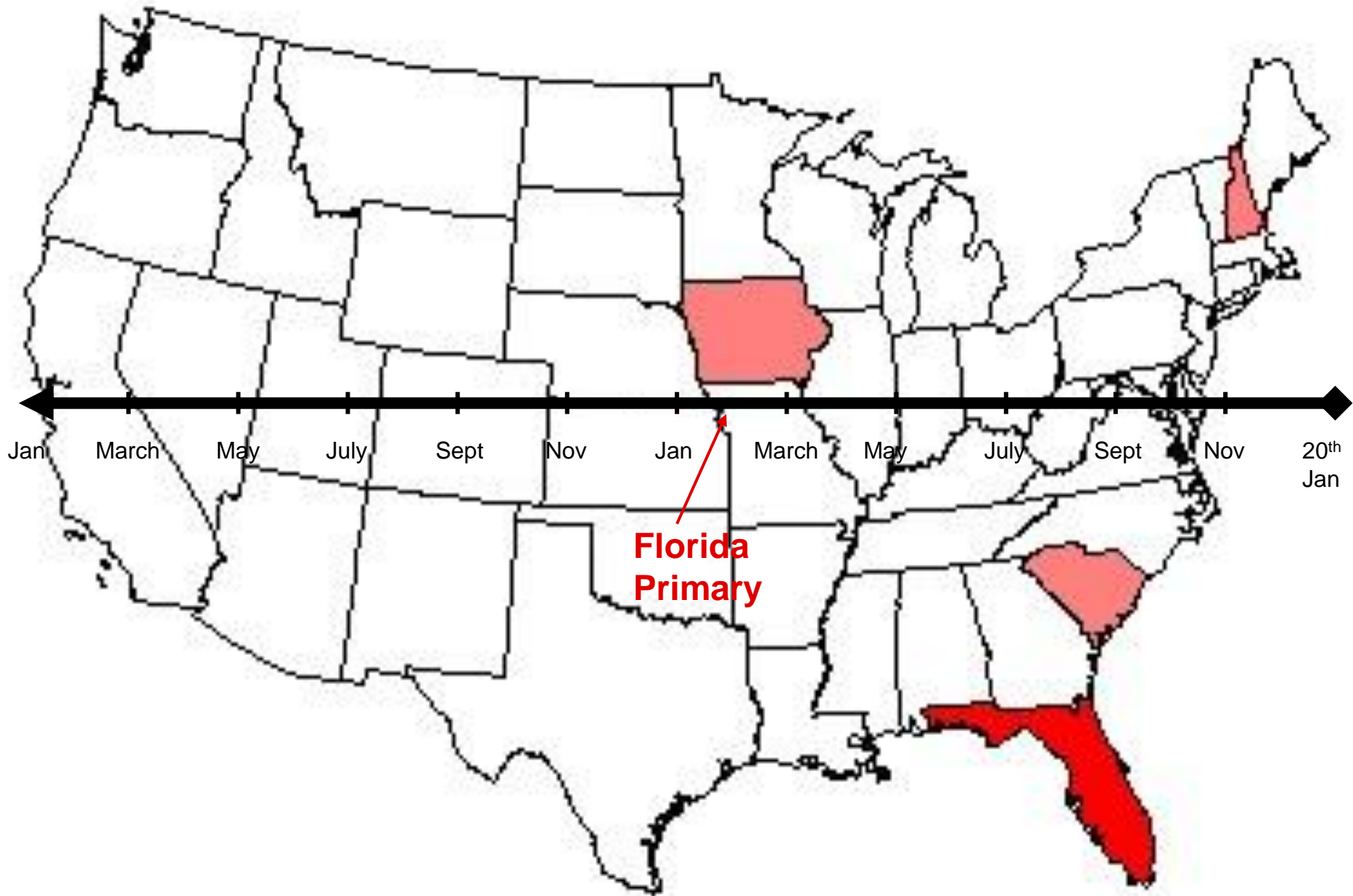
2012 602000 ↑35%

2008 446000

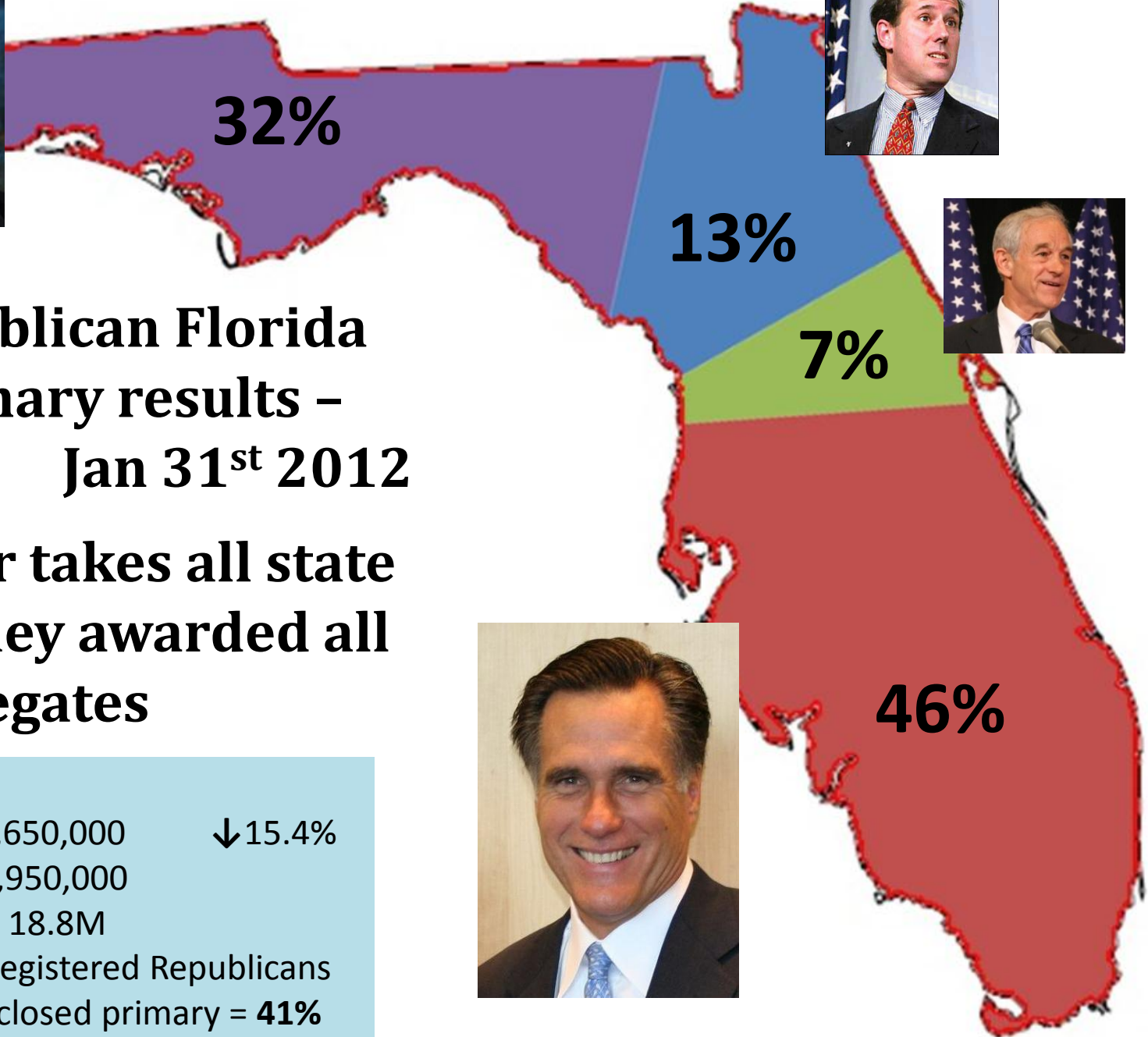
S Carolina pop 4.6M

2.8M registered voters

Turnout in open primary = **22%**



**Florida
Primary**



**Republican Florida
primary results -
Jan 31st 2012**

**Winner takes all state
- Romney awarded all
50 delegates**

Turnout

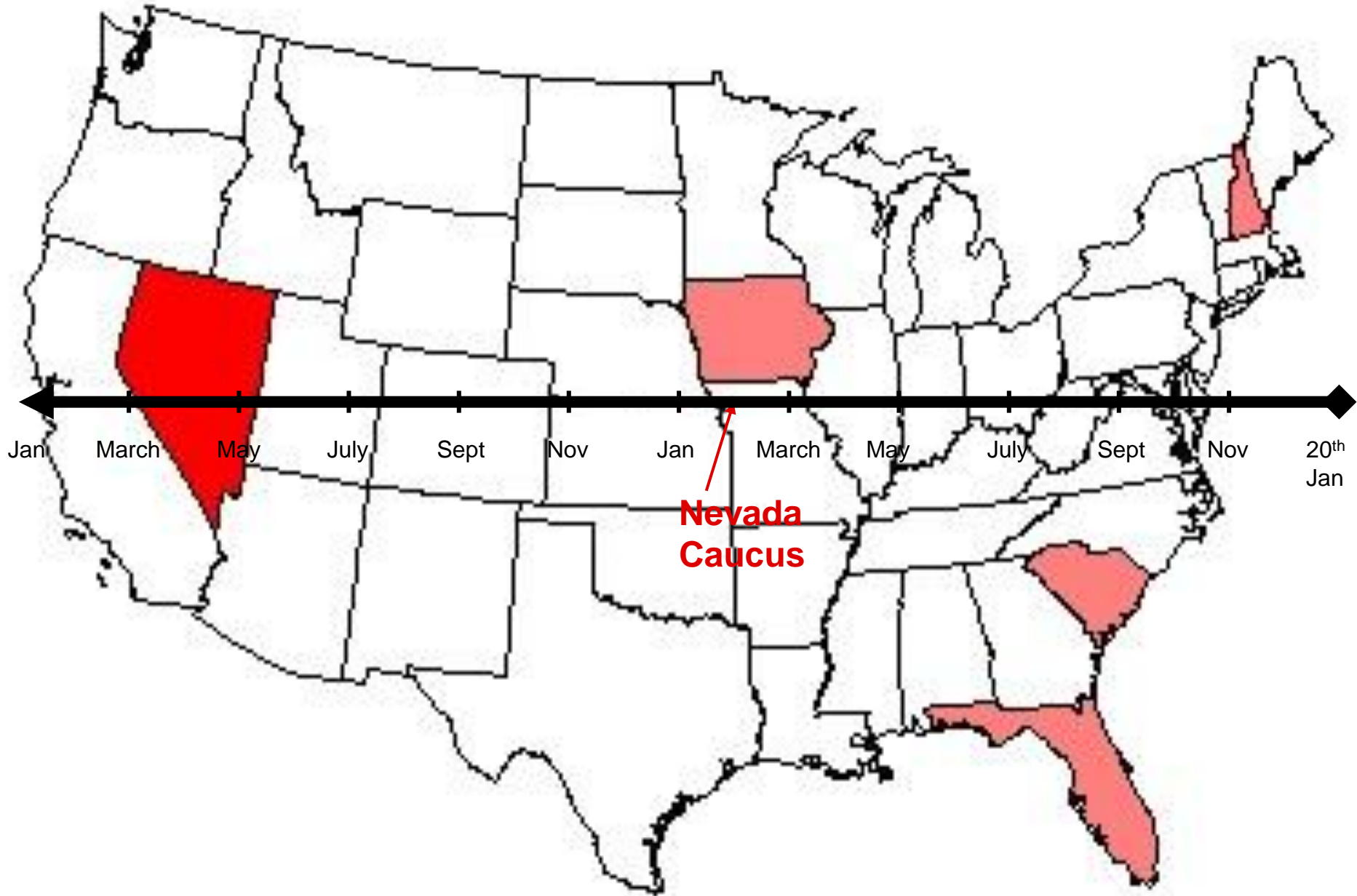
2012 1,650,000 ↓15.4%

2008 1,950,000

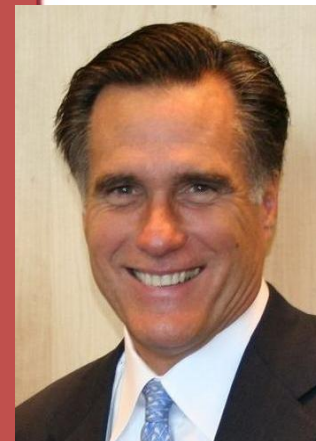
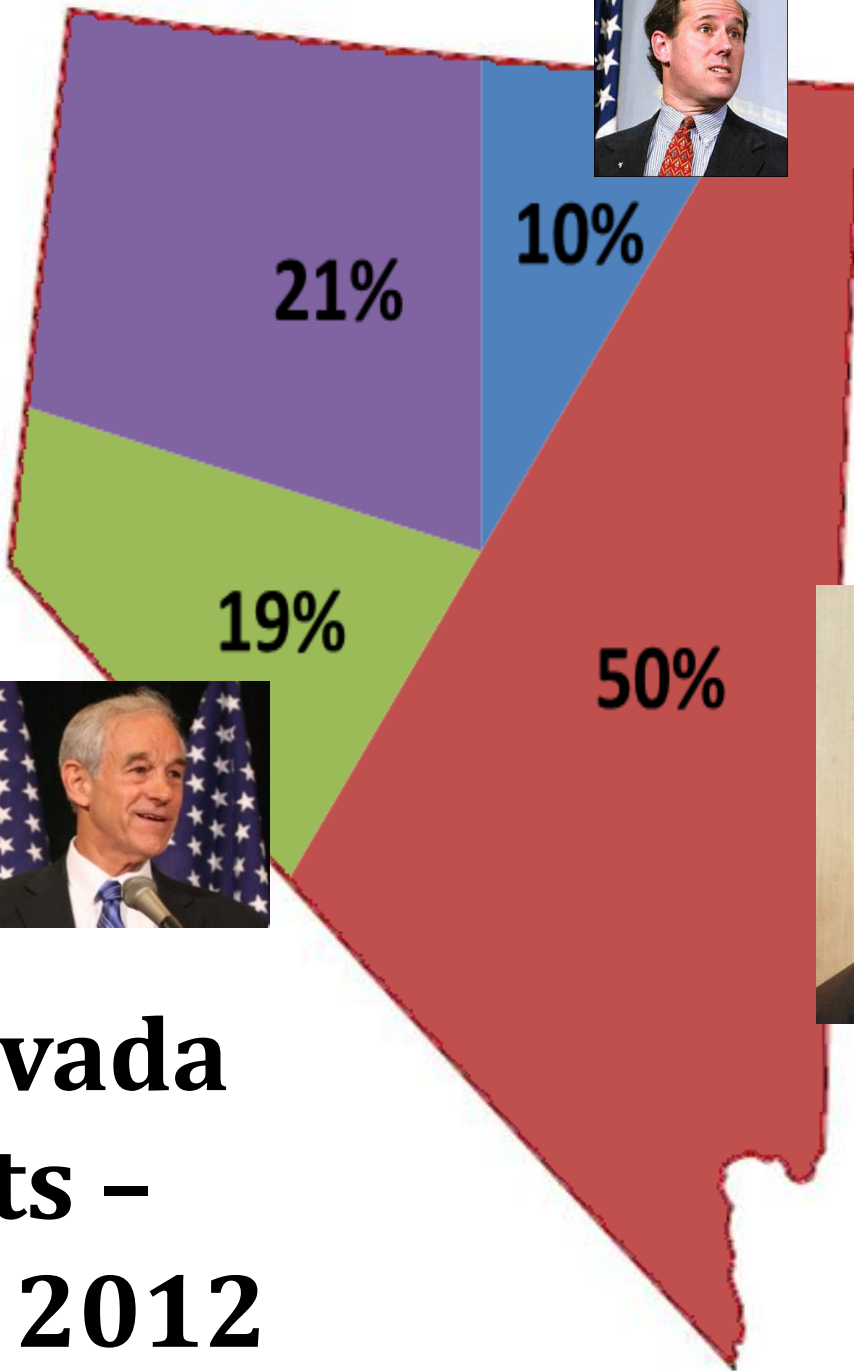
Florida pop 18.8M

4,063,853 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = **41%**



**Nevada
Caucus**



Turnout

2012 32,930 ↓25.2%

2008 44,000

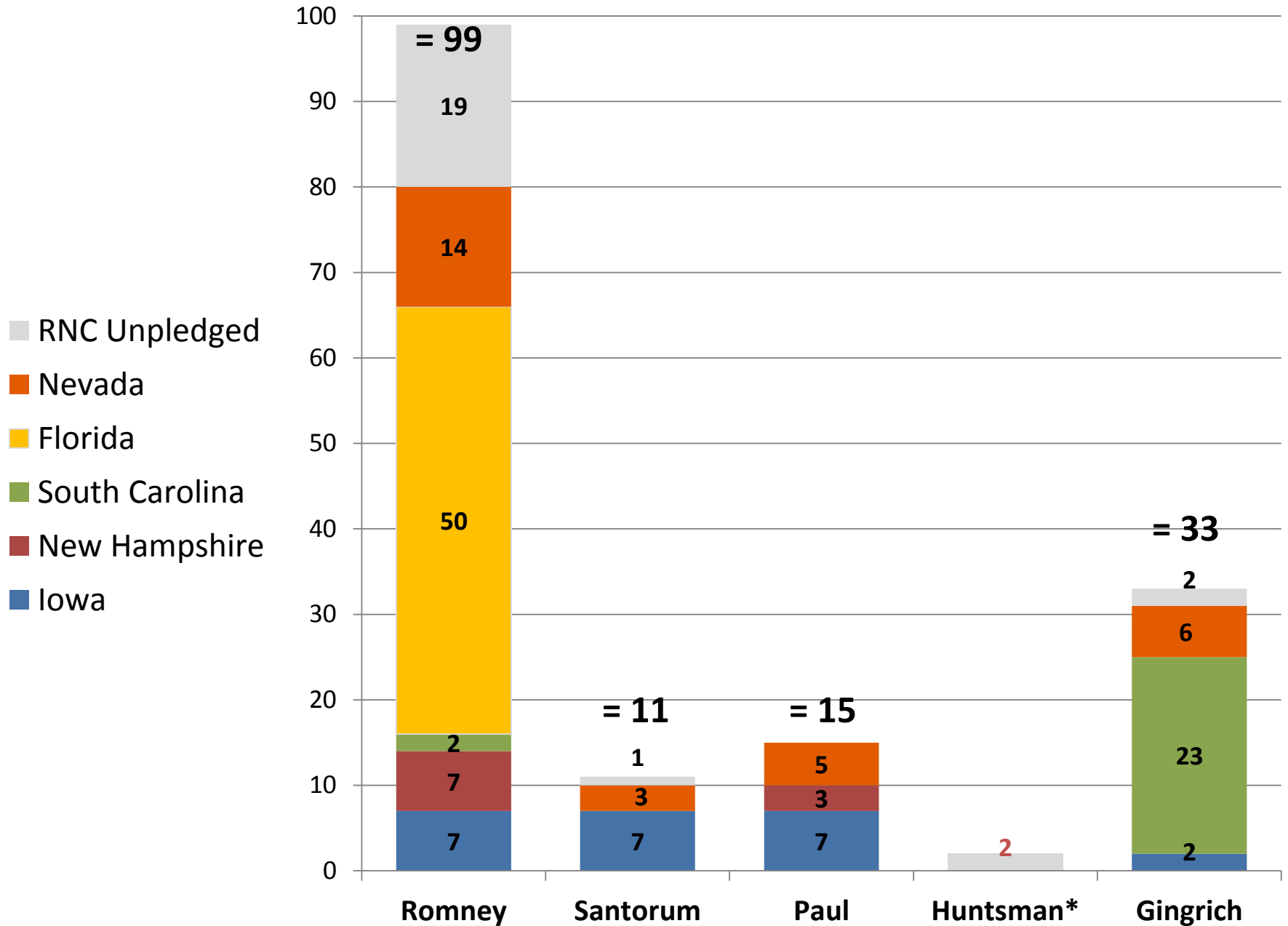
Nevada pop 2.7M

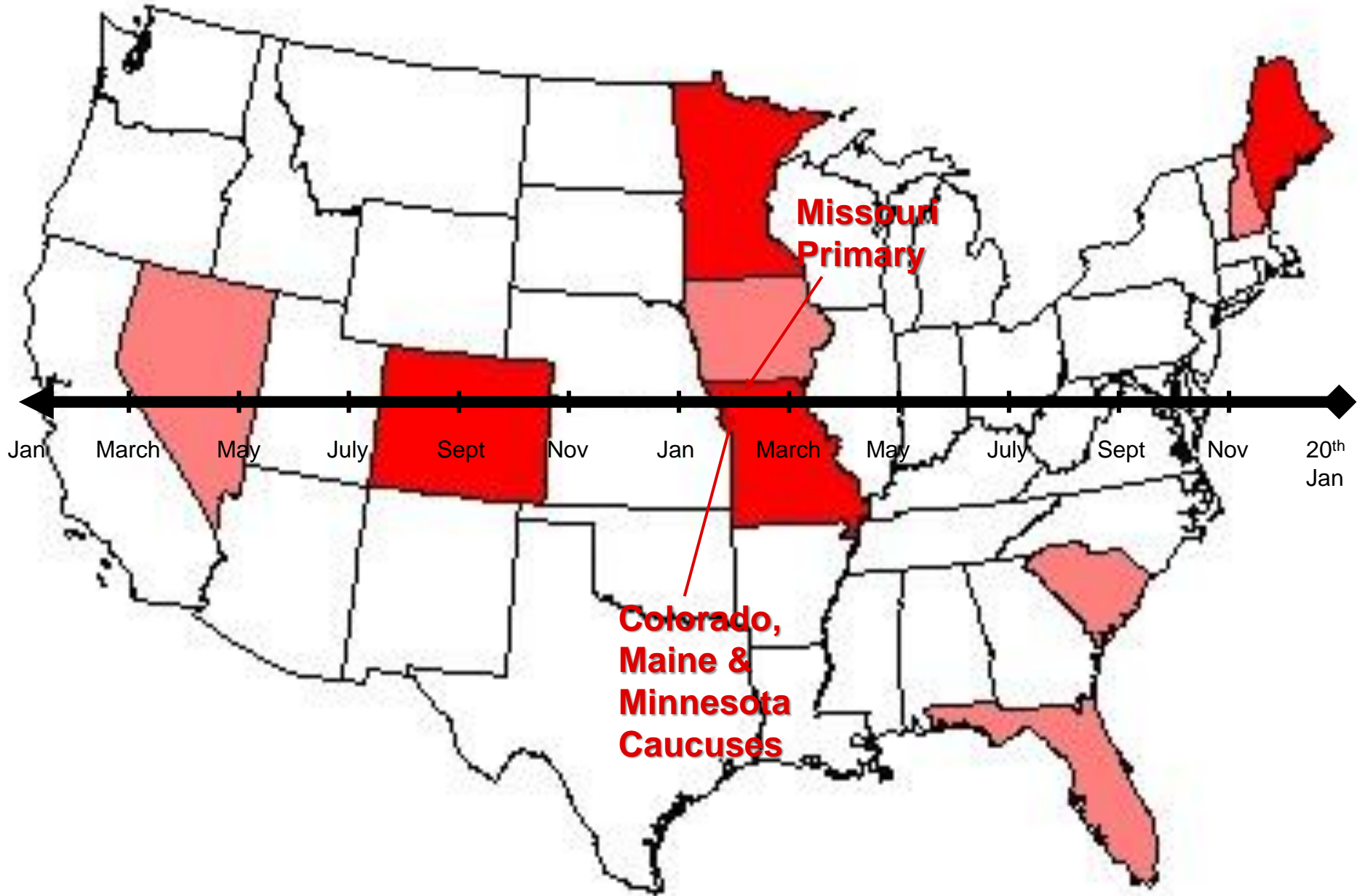
400,310 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = **8%**

Republican Nevada Caucus results - February 4th 2012

GOP delegate count 5th February - 1144 needed for victory





**Missouri
Primary**

**Colorado,
Maine &
Minnesota
Caucuses**

Republican Colorado Caucus results – February 7th 2012



13%

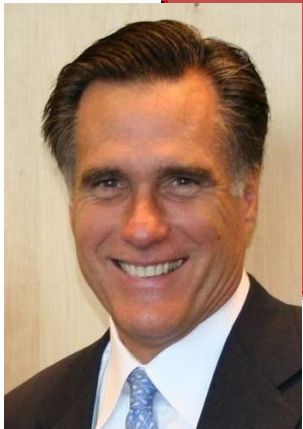


12%



40%

35%



Turnout

2012 66,000 ↓5.7%

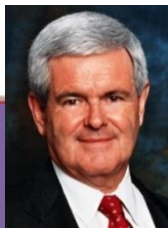
2008 56,000

Colorado pop 5M

794,000 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = **8%**

Republican Minnesota Caucus results: February 7th 2012



11%



27%

45%



17%

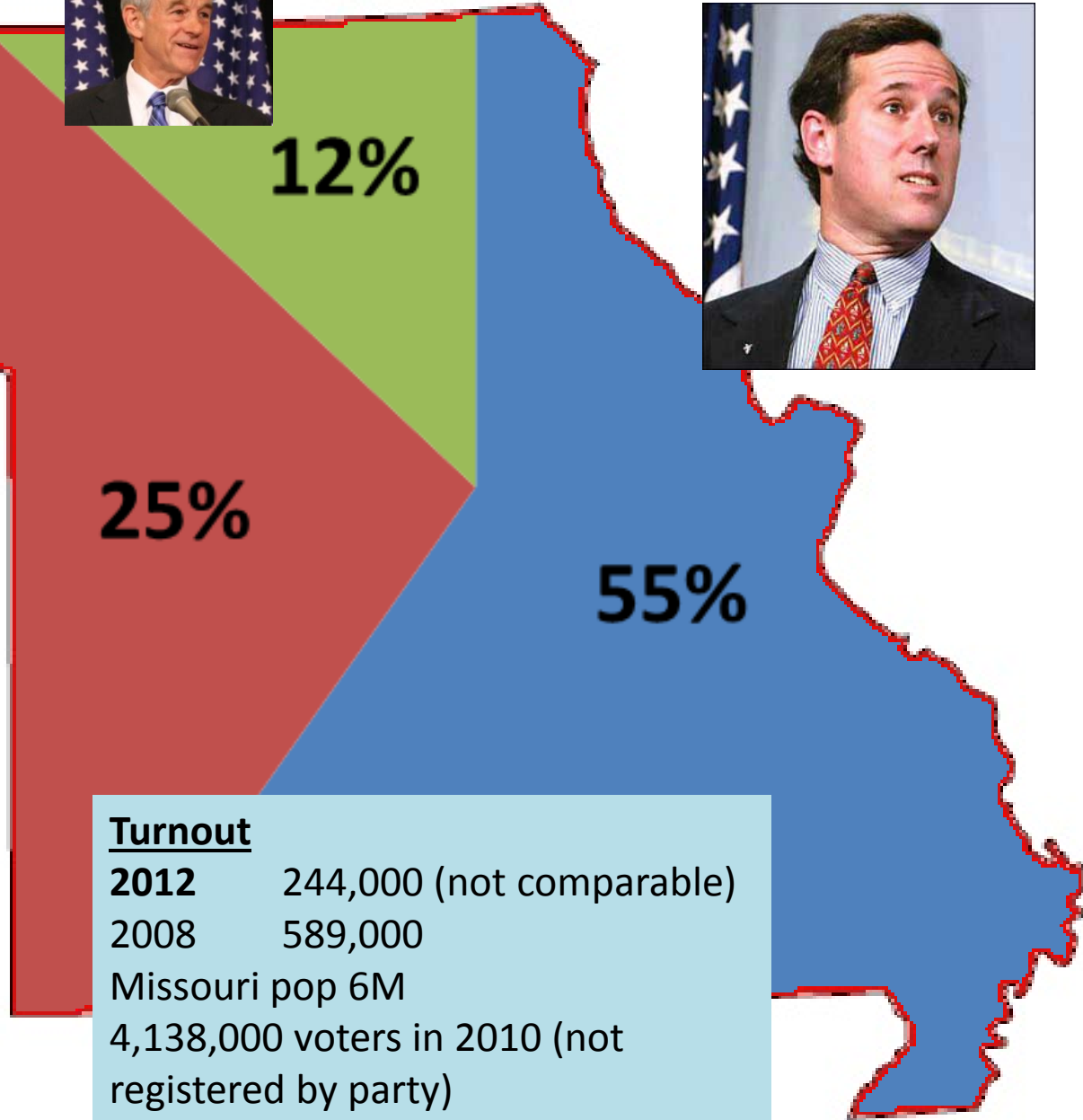
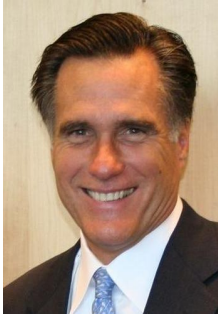


Turnout

2012	53,500	↓22.7%
2008	63,000	

Minnesota pop 5.3M
3,090,000 voters (not
registered by party)

Turnout in open caucus = **2%**



**Republican
Missouri Primary
results –
February 7th
2012**

**(Non-binding “beauty
contest” primary -
delegates actually
awarded at state
conventions in March)**

<u>Turnout</u>	
2012	244,000 (not comparable)
2008	589,000
Missouri pop 6M	
4,138,000 voters in 2010 (not registered by party)	
Turnout in open primary = 6%	



Turnout

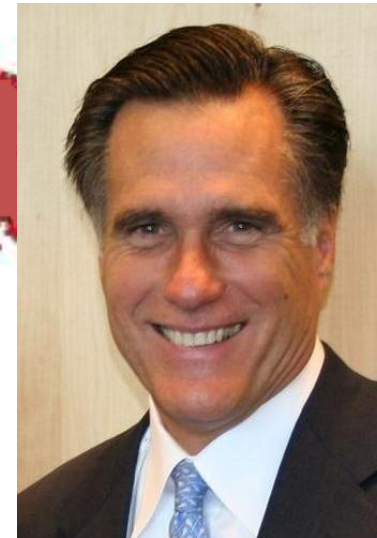
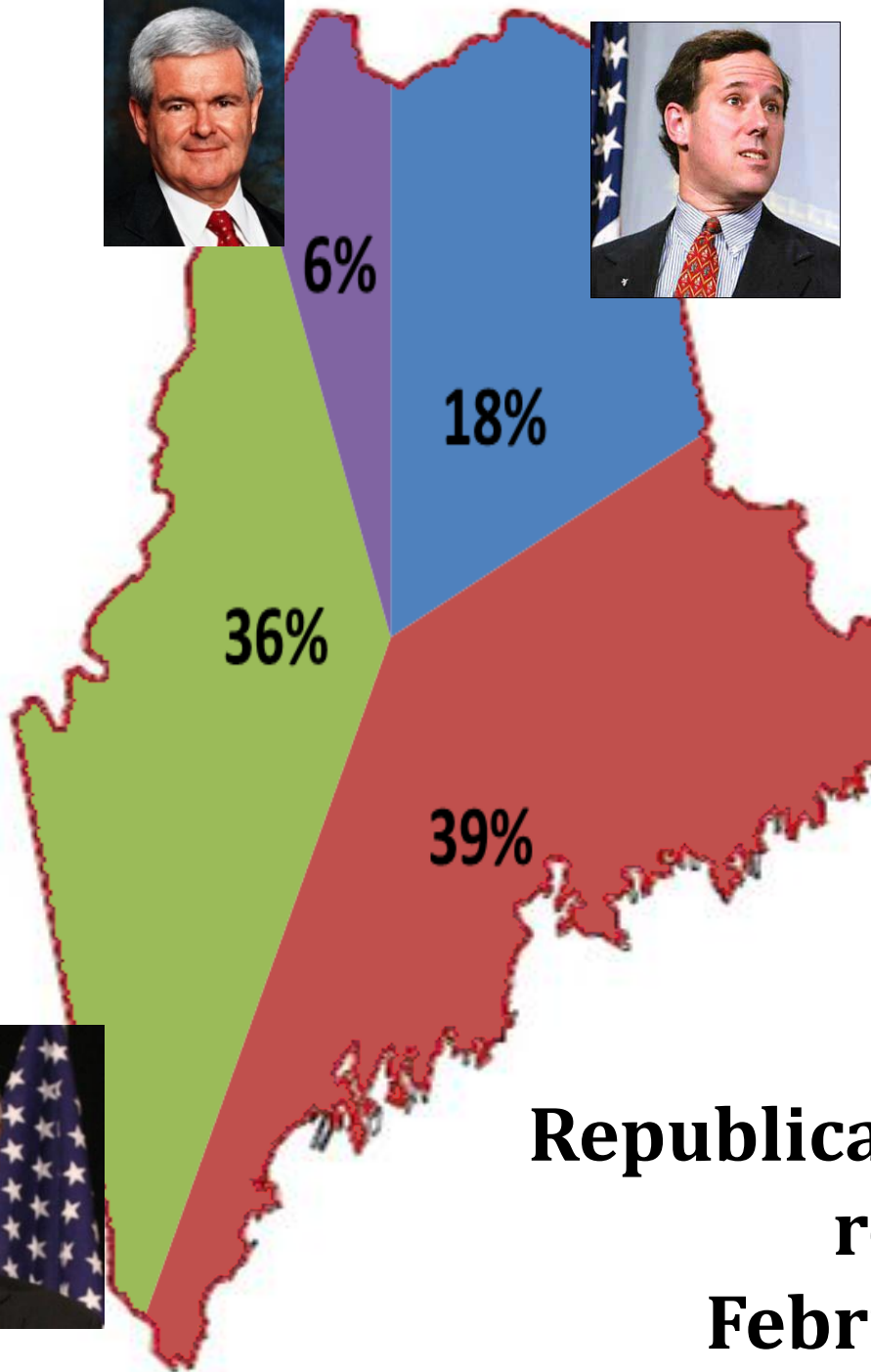
2012 5,800 ↑8.7%

2008 5,338

Maine pop 1.3M

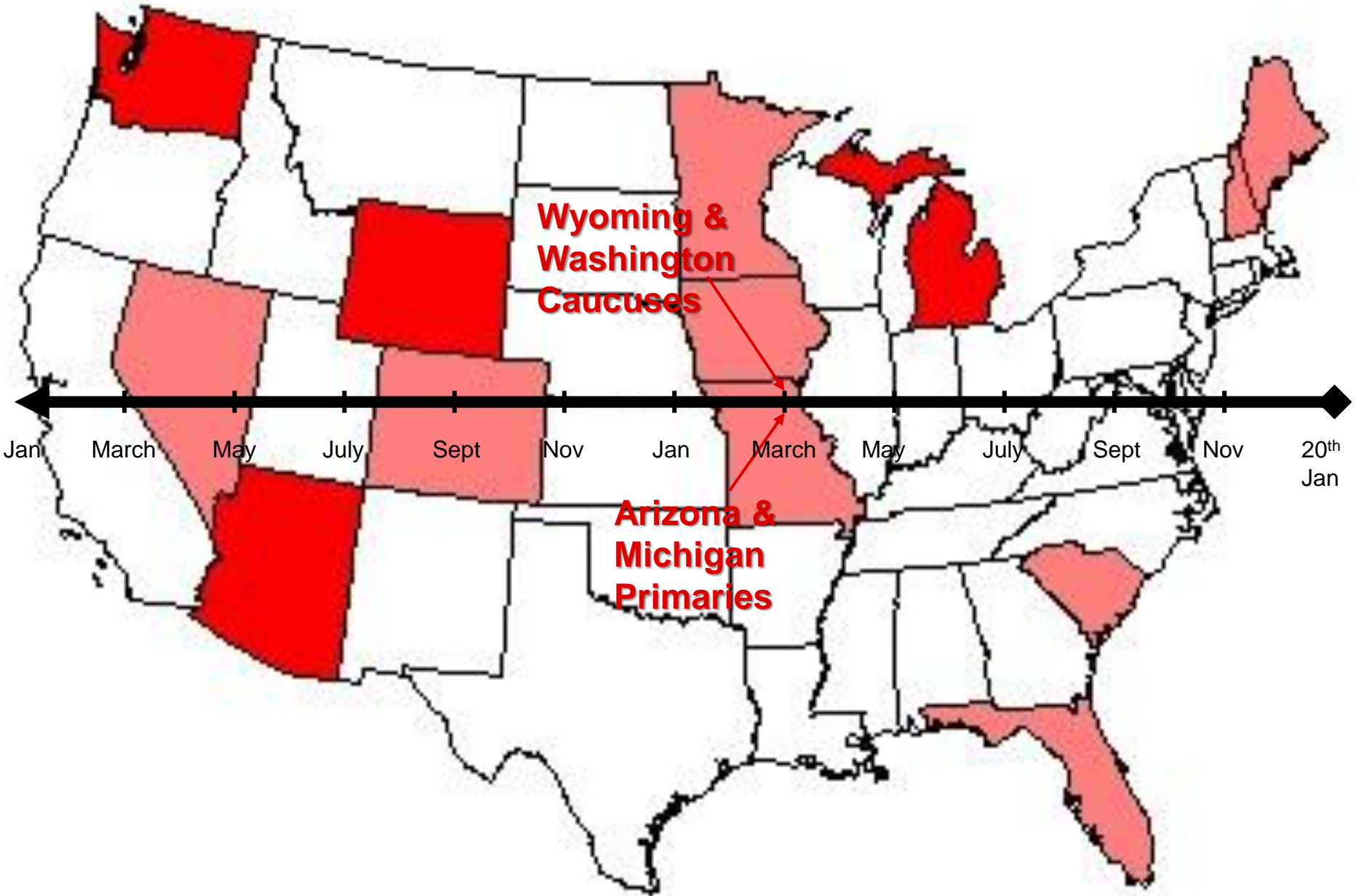
258,000 reg'd Republicans (915,268 reg'd voters in semi-open caucus)

**Turnout = 2.25 % of Republicans
= 0.6% of all voters**

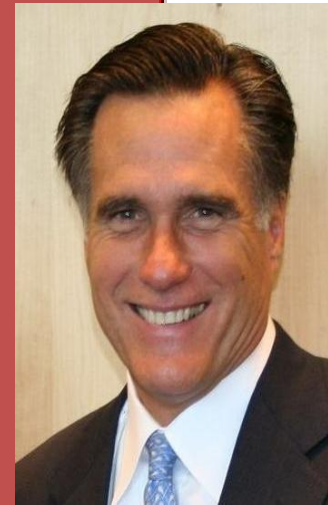
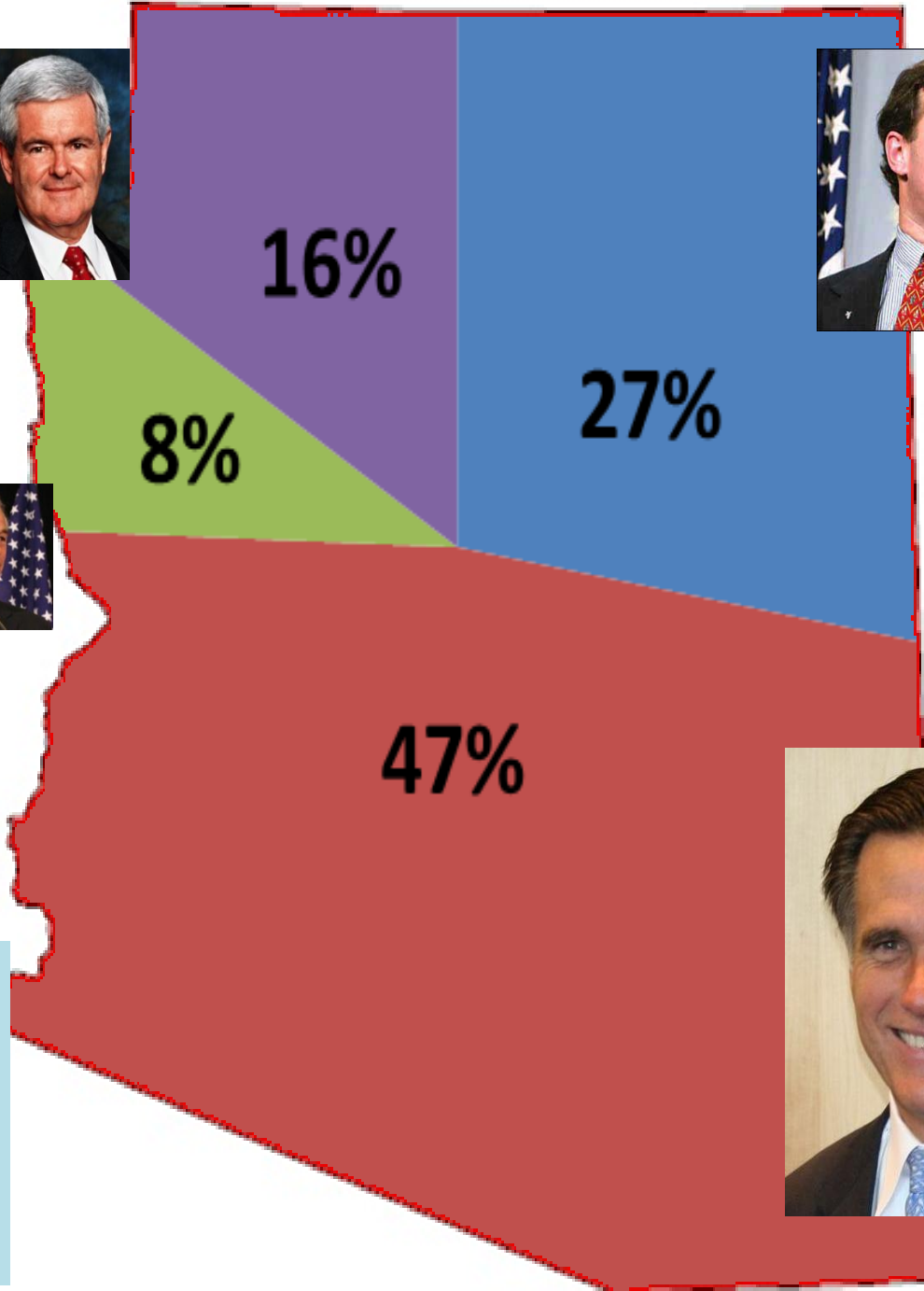


Republican Maine Caucus results –

February 4 - 11th 2012



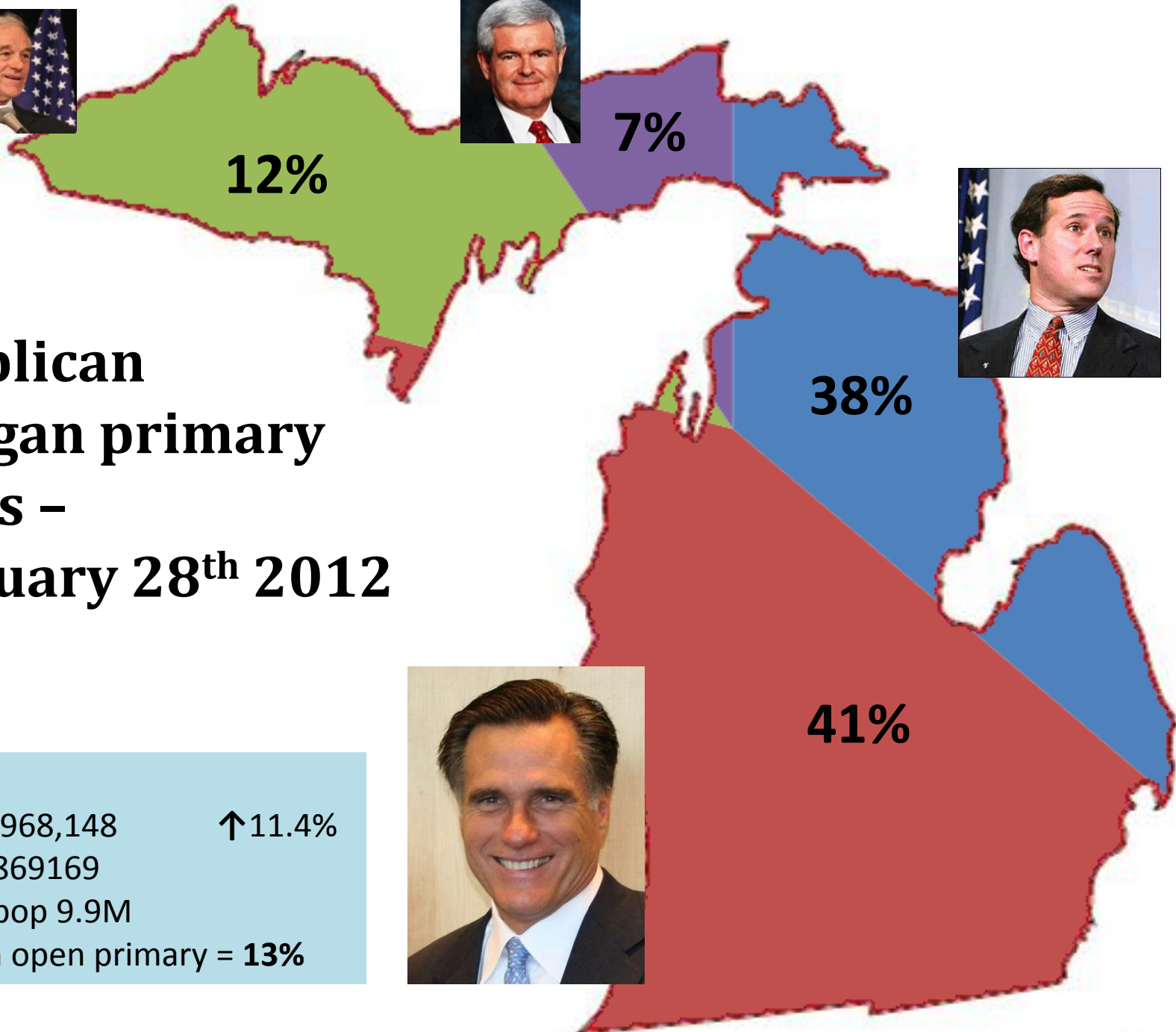
Republican Arizona primary results - February 28th 2012



Turnout
2012 451,756 ↓16.6%
2008 541,767
Arizona pop 6.4M
1,124,726 registered Republicans
Turnout in closed primary = 40.2%



Republican Michigan primary results – February 28th 2012



Turnout

2012 ,968,148 ↑11.4%

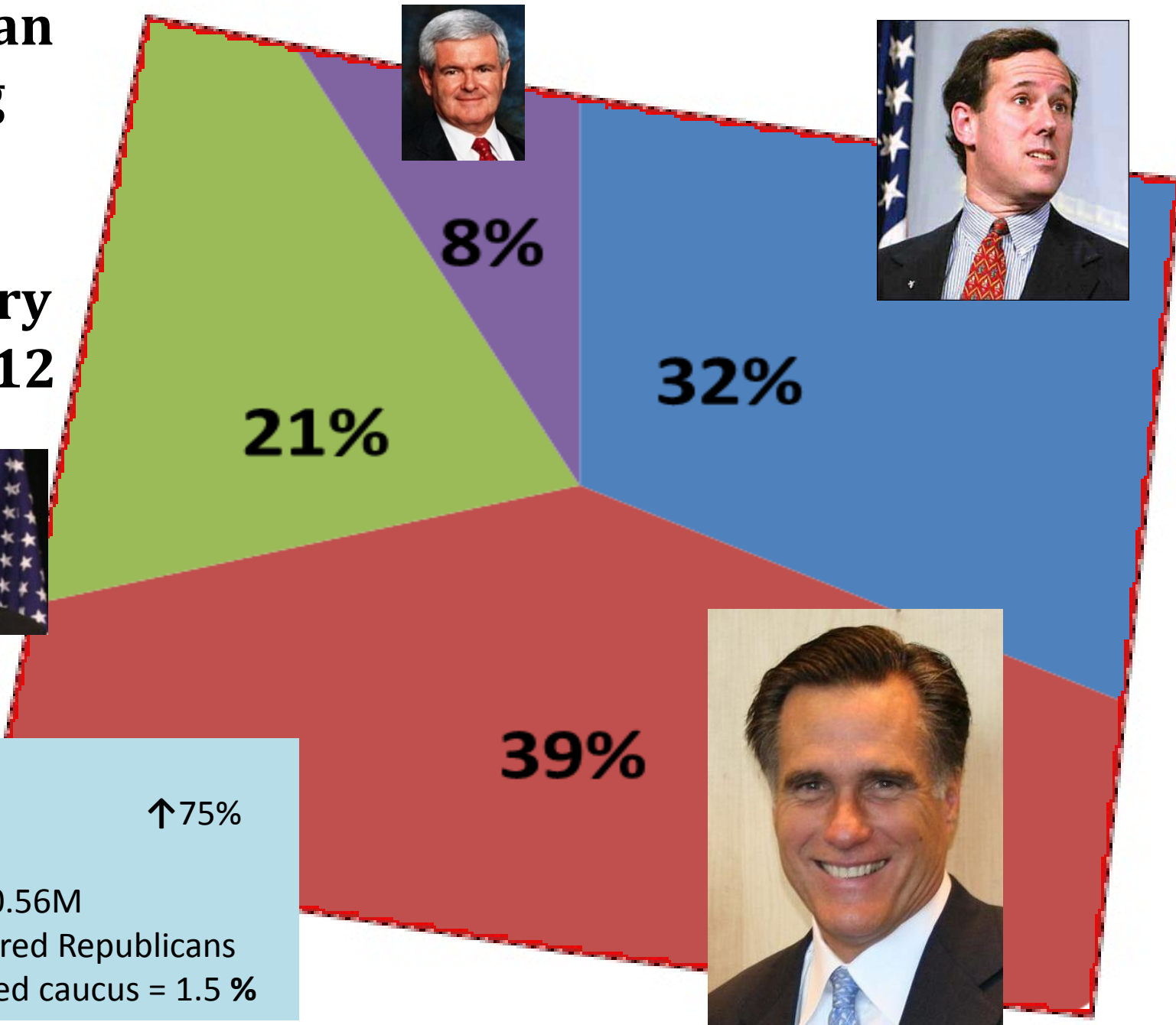
2008 869169

Michigan pop 9.9M

Turnout in open primary = 13%

Republican Wyoming caucus results -

February 29th 2012



Turnout

2012 2,108 ↑75%

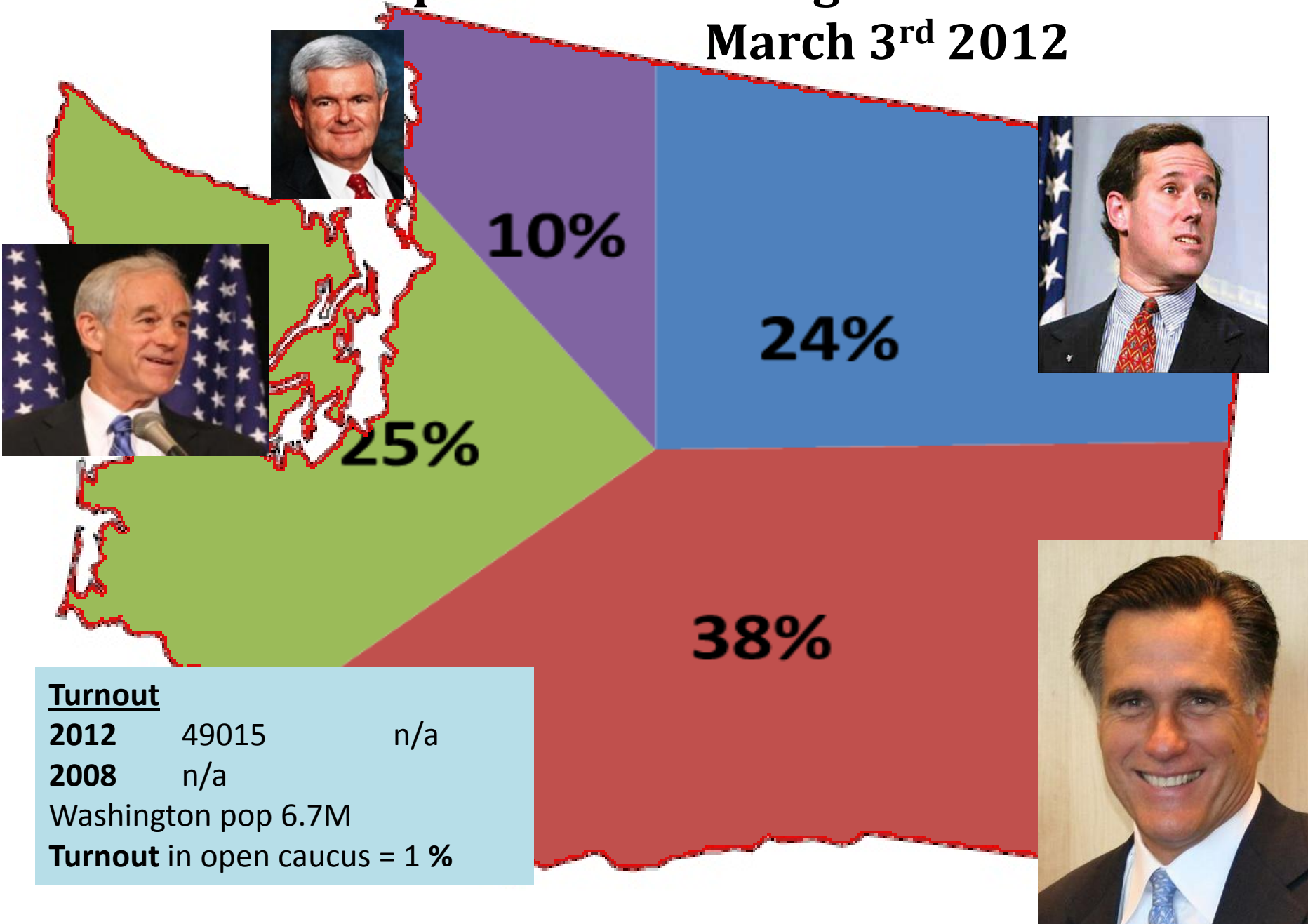
2008 1,200

Wyoming pop 0.56M

143,261 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = 1.5 %

Republican Washington caucus results – March 3rd 2012



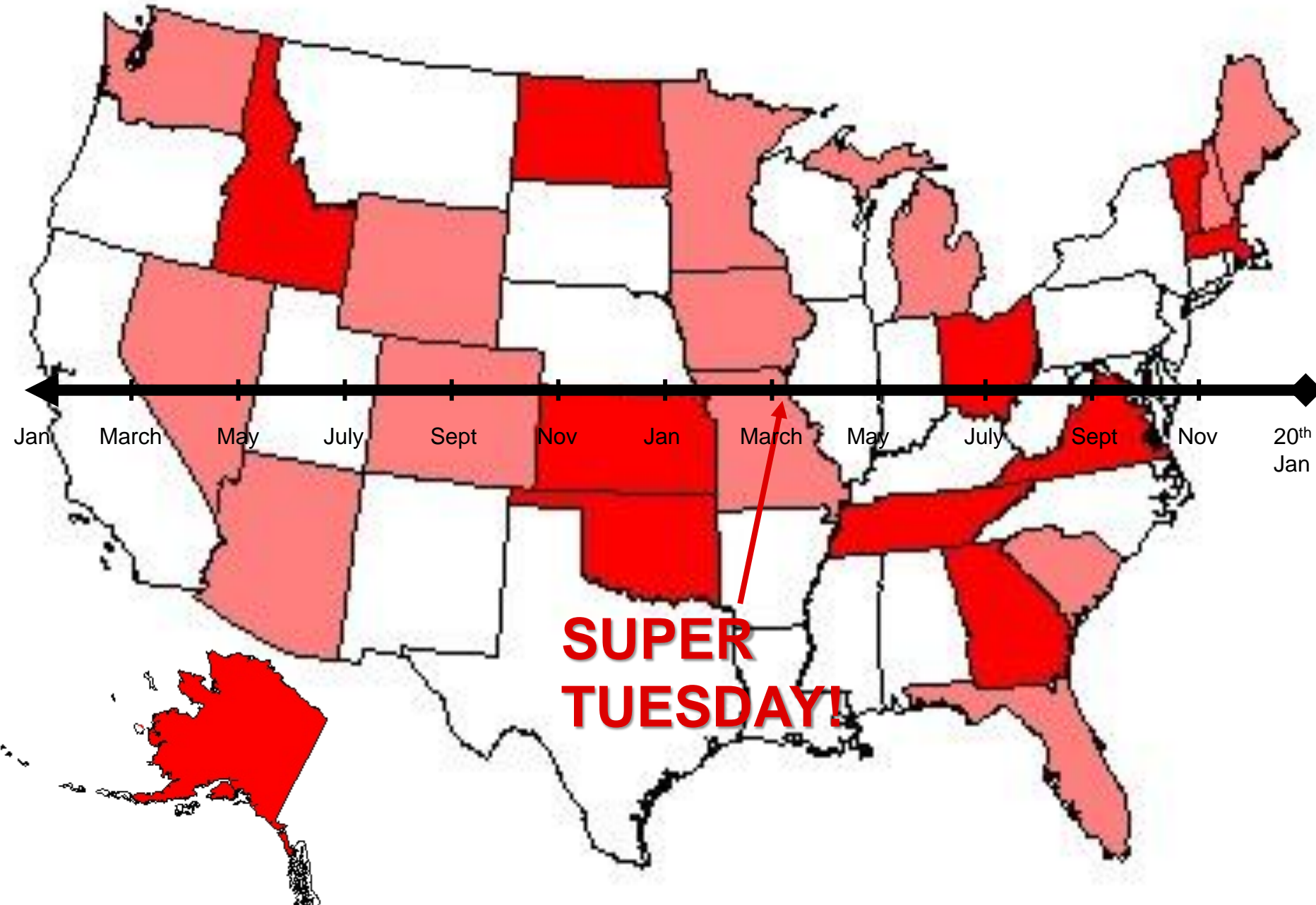
Turnout
2012 49015 n/a
2008 n/a
Washington pop 6.7M
Turnout in open caucus = 1 %

States won as of March 3rd



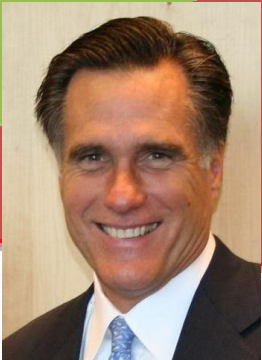
SUPER

TUESDAY



**SUPER
TUESDAY!**

Republican North Dakota caucus results – March 6th 2012



28%

8%

40%

24%

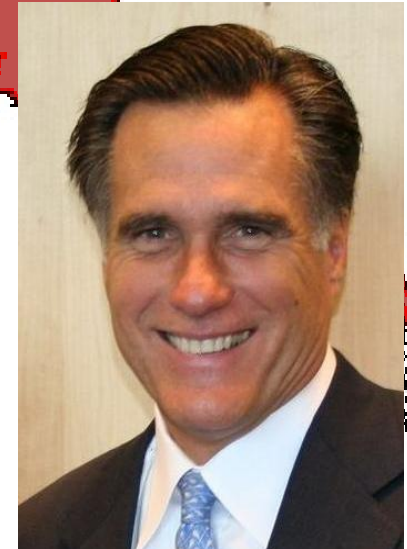
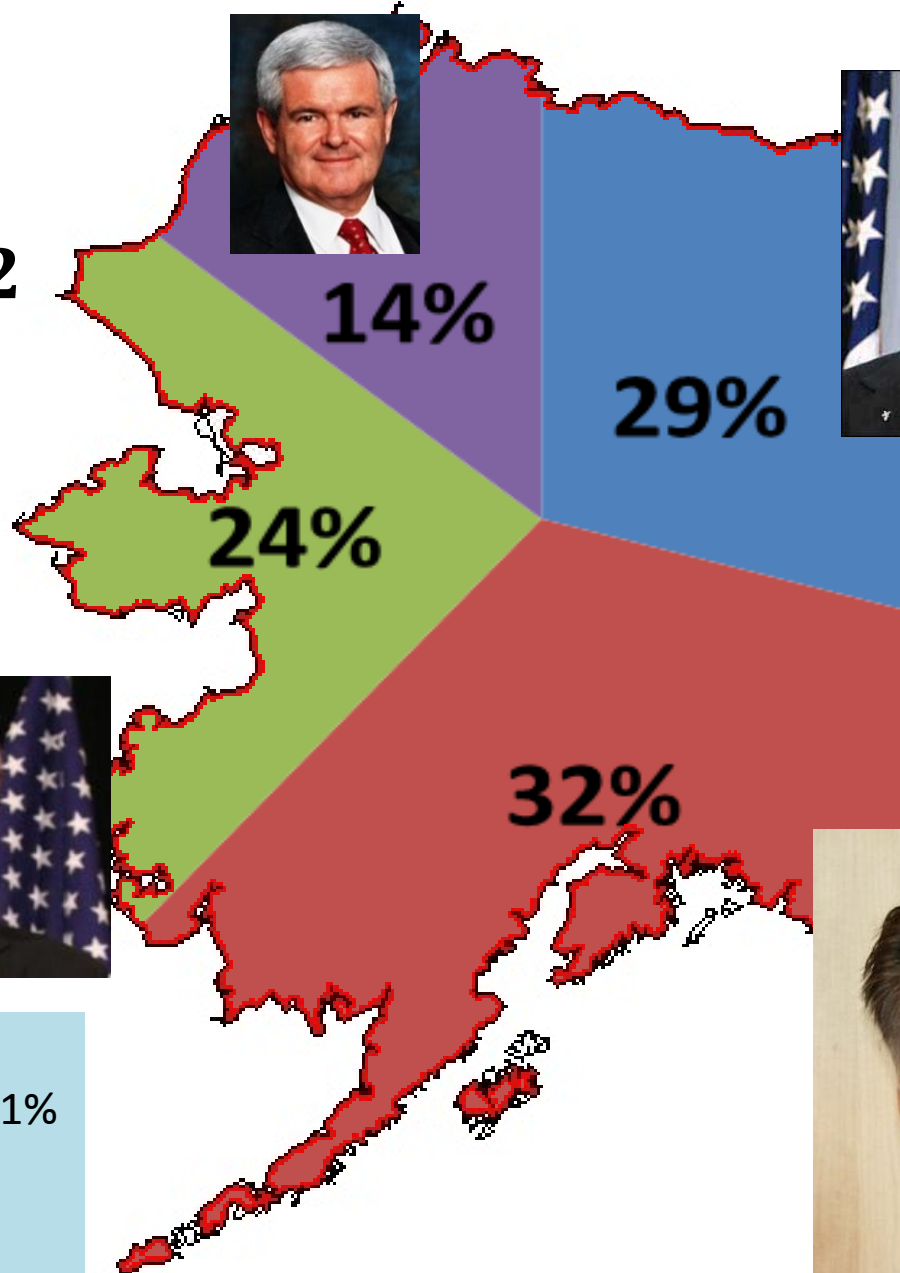
Turnout

2012	11,349	↑16%
2008	9,785	

North Dakota pop 0.67M

Turnout in open caucus = 2.2%

Republican Alaska caucus results – March 6th 2012



Turnout

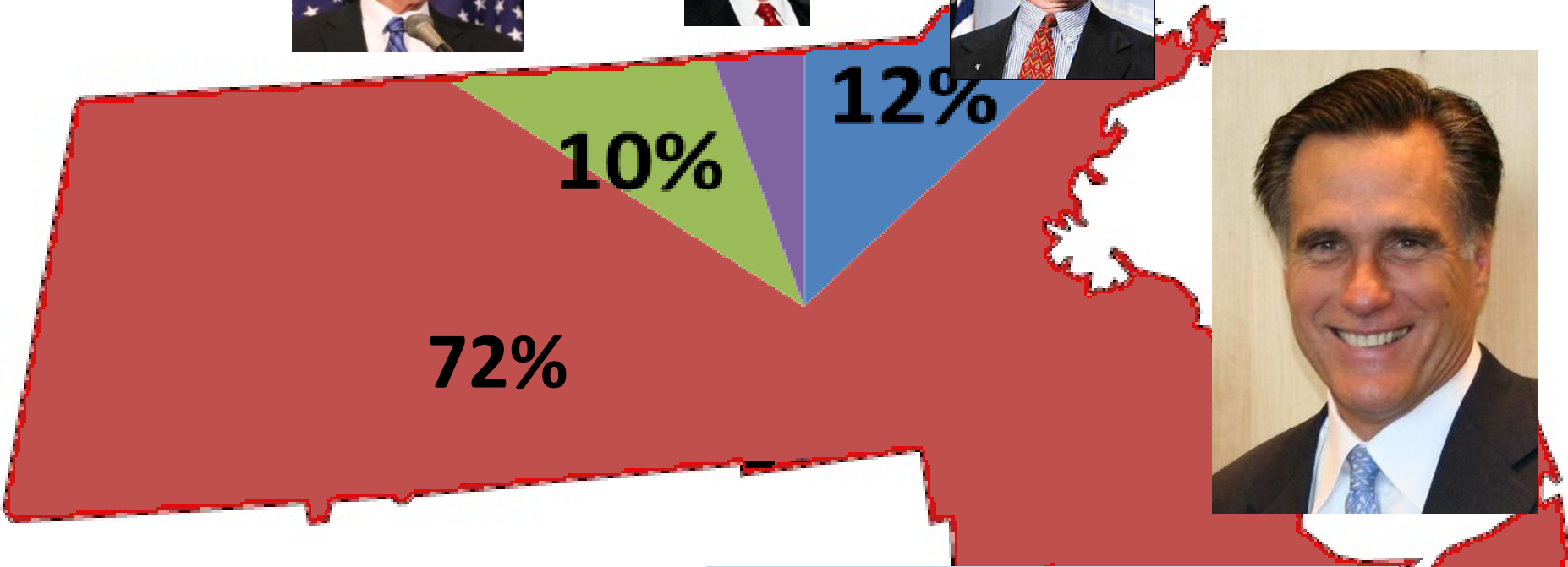
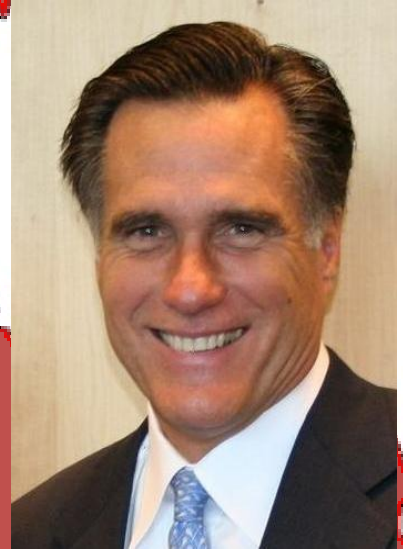
2012 13,185 ↓12.1%

2008 15,000

Alaska pop 0.71M

129,464 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = 10.2%

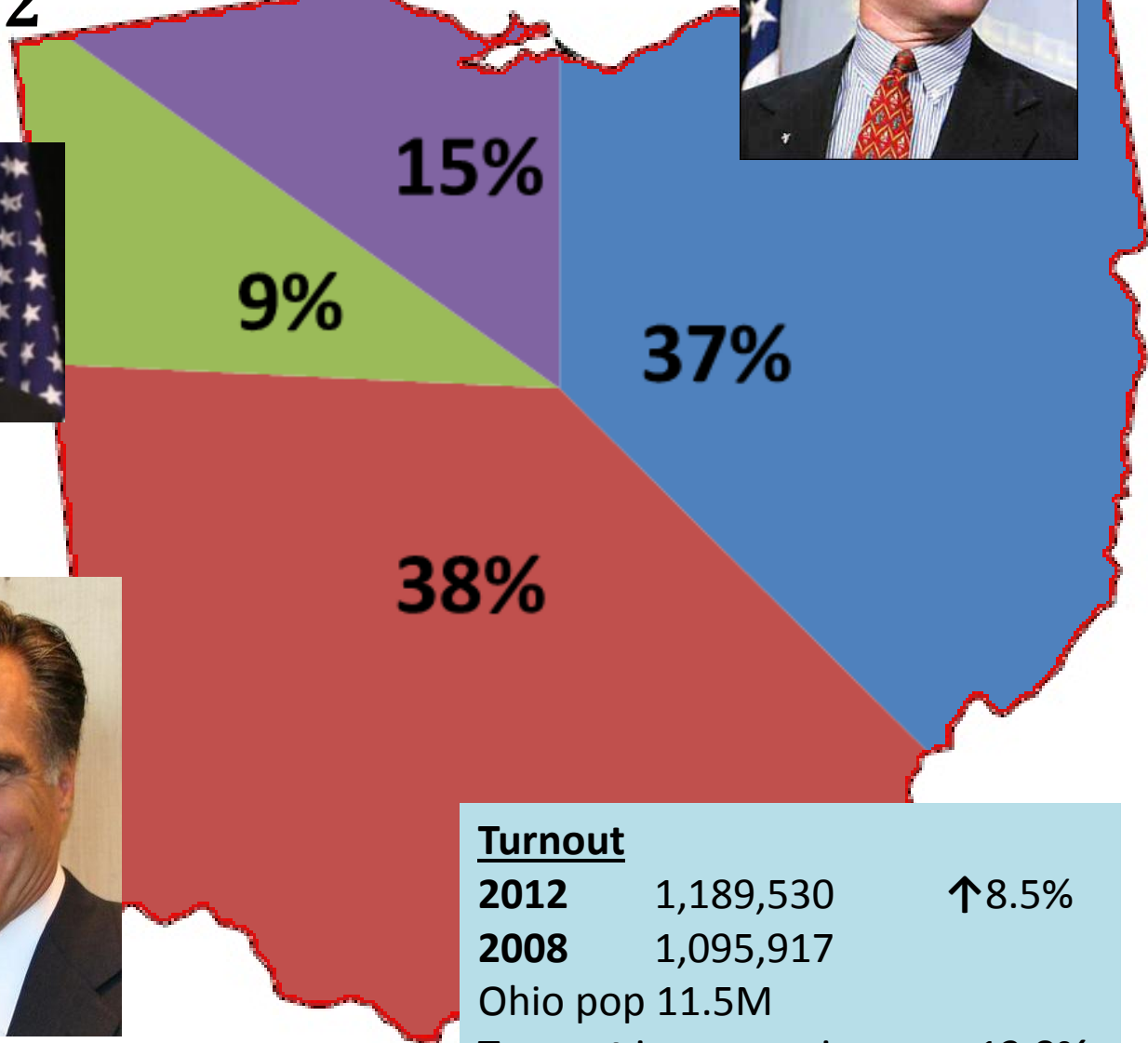
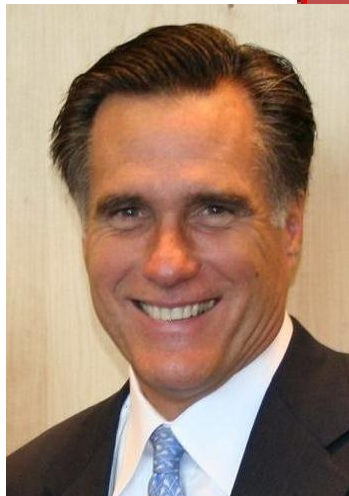


**Republican
Massachusetts
primary results –
March 6th 2012**

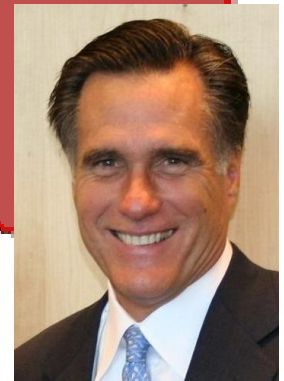
<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	361,392	↓28%
2008	501,997	
Massachusetts pop 6.5M		
466,431 registered Republicans		
2,145,108 registered unenrolled		
Turnout in semi-open primary = 13.8%		



Republican Ohio primary results – March 6th 2012



<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	1,189,530	↑8.5%
2008	1,095,917	
Ohio pop 11.5M		
Turnout in open primary = 13.8%		



27%

34%

10%

28%

Republican Oklahoma primary results - March 6th 2012

<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	283,308	↓15.4%
2008	335,054	
Oklahoma pop 3.8M		
828,257 registered Republicans		
Turnout in closed primary = 34.2%		

Republican Virginia primary results – March 6th 2012

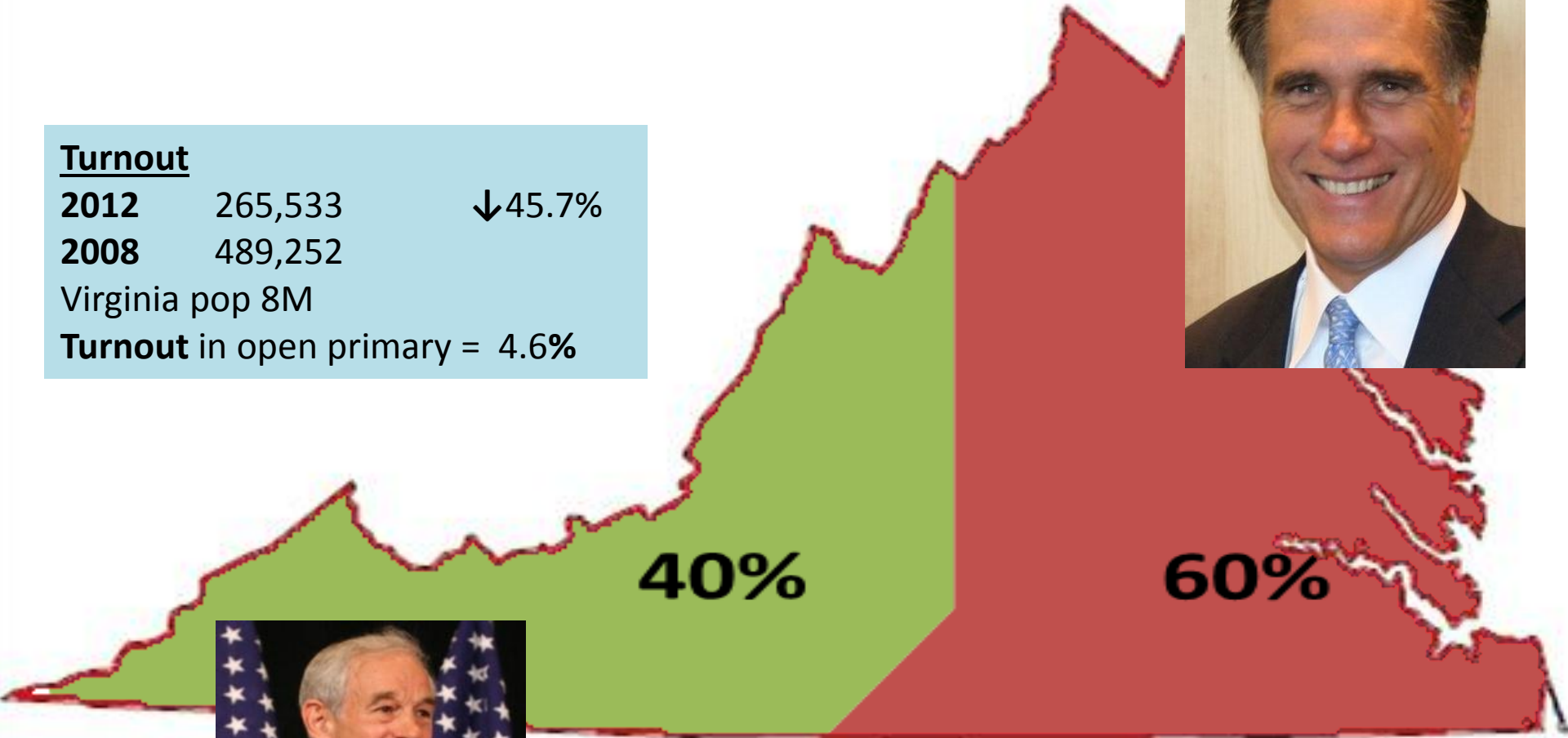
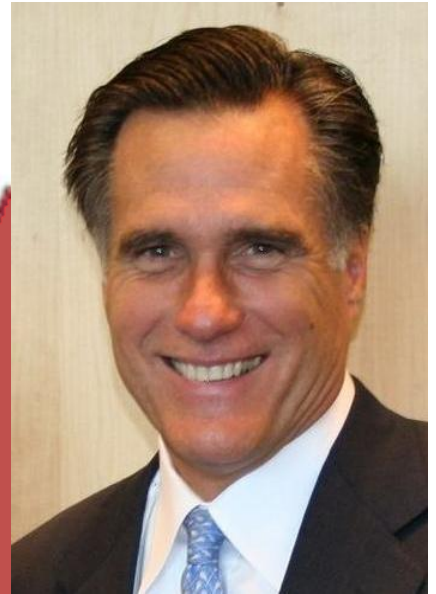
Turnout

2012 265,533 ↓45.7%

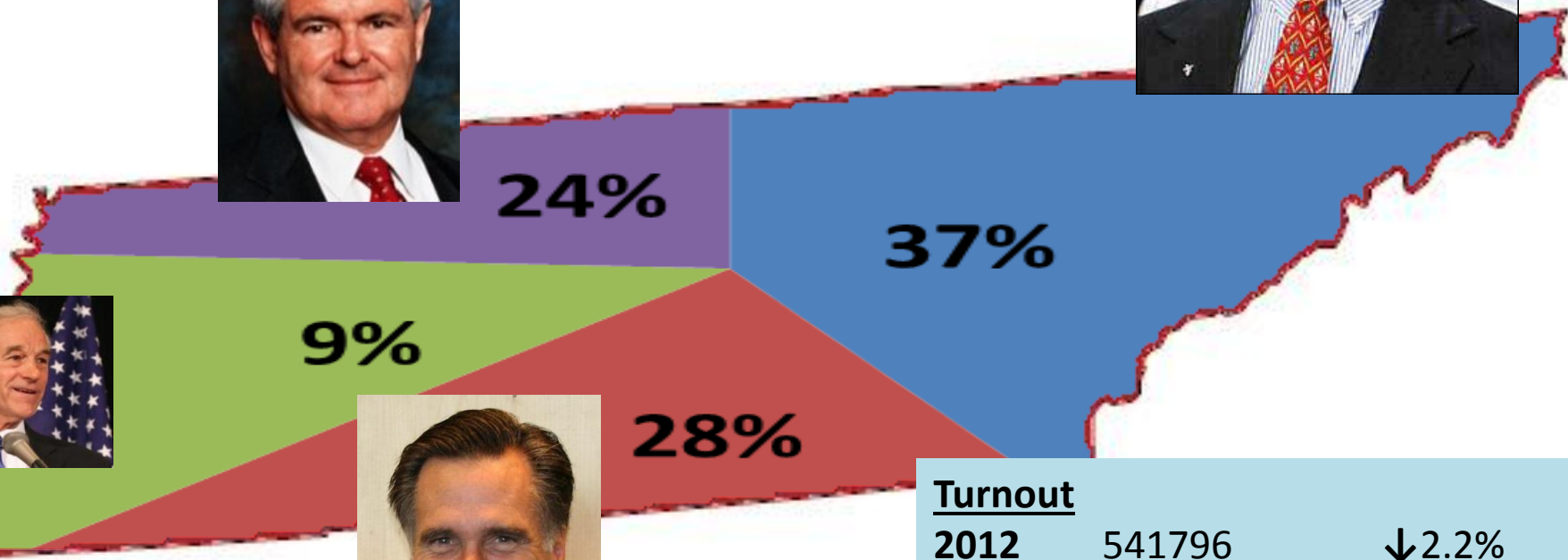
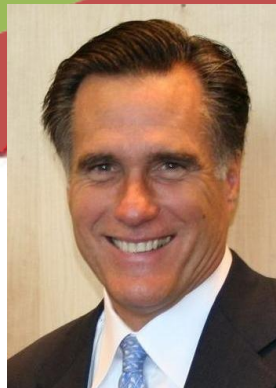
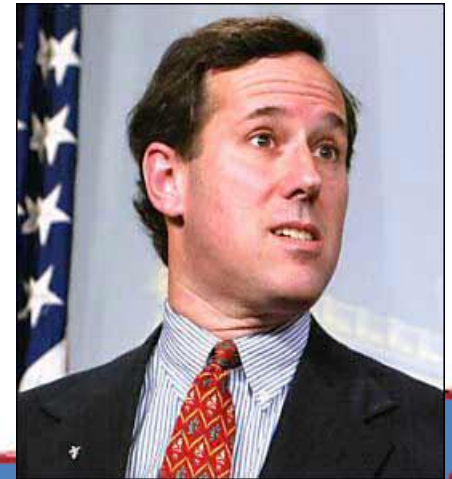
2008 489,252

Virginia pop 8M

Turnout in open primary = 4.6%

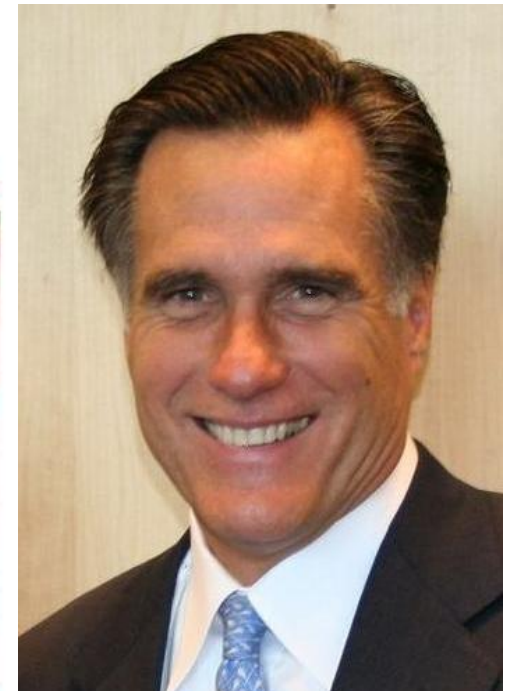
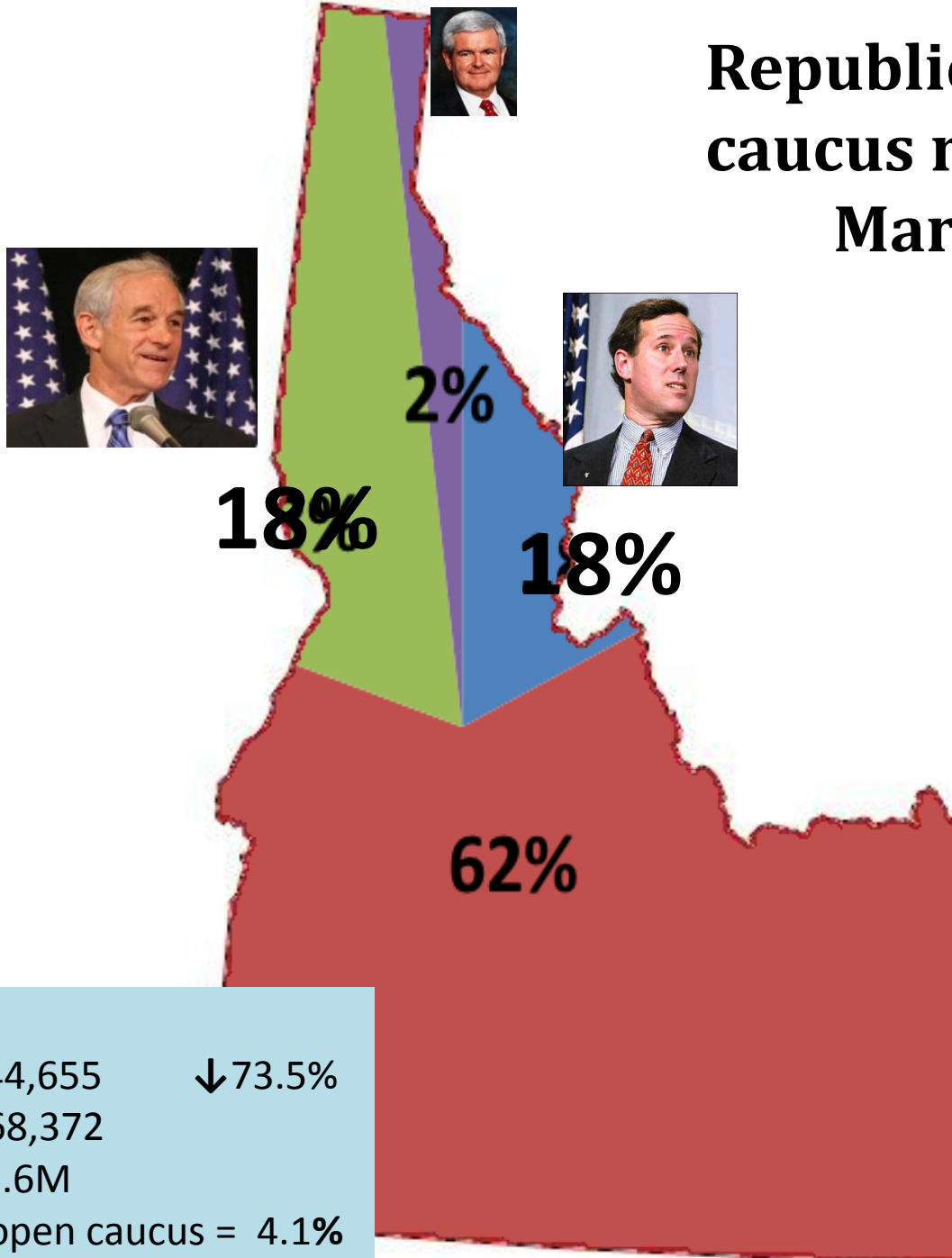


Republican Tennessee primary results - March 6th 2012



<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	541796	↓2.2%
2008	553815	
Tennessee pop 6.3M		
Turnout in open primary = 11.6%		

Republican Idaho caucus results – March 6th 2012



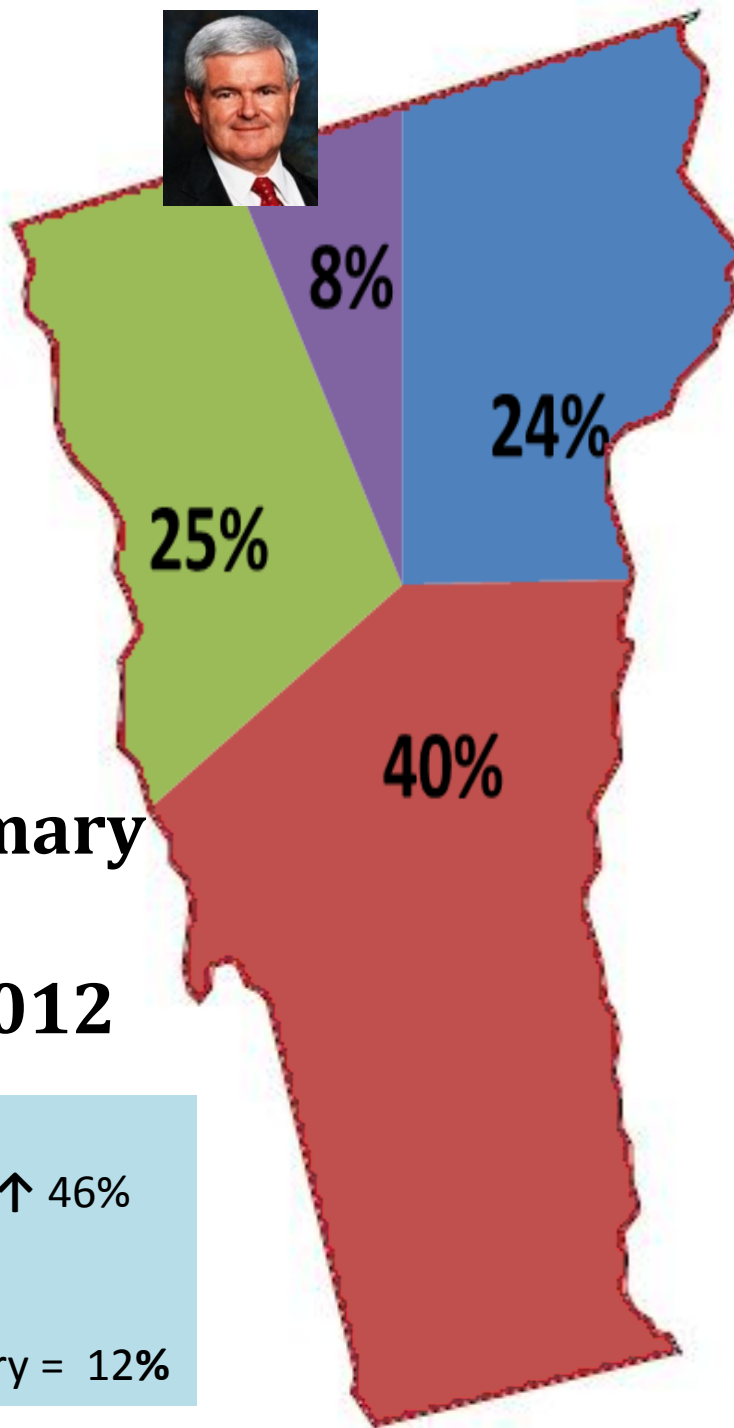
Turnout

2012 44,655 ↓73.5%

2008 168,372

Idaho pop 1.6M

Turnout in open caucus = 4.1%



Republican Vermont primary results – March 6th 2012

Turnout

2012 58,551 ↑ 46%

2008 40,120

Vermont pop 0.63M

Turnout in open primary = 12%



Republican Georgia primary results – March 6th 2012

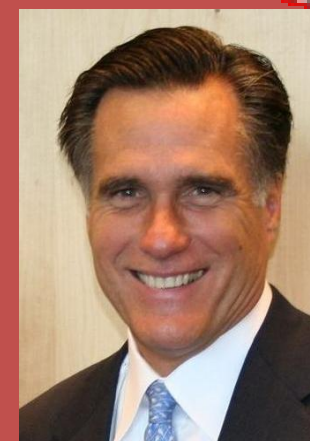
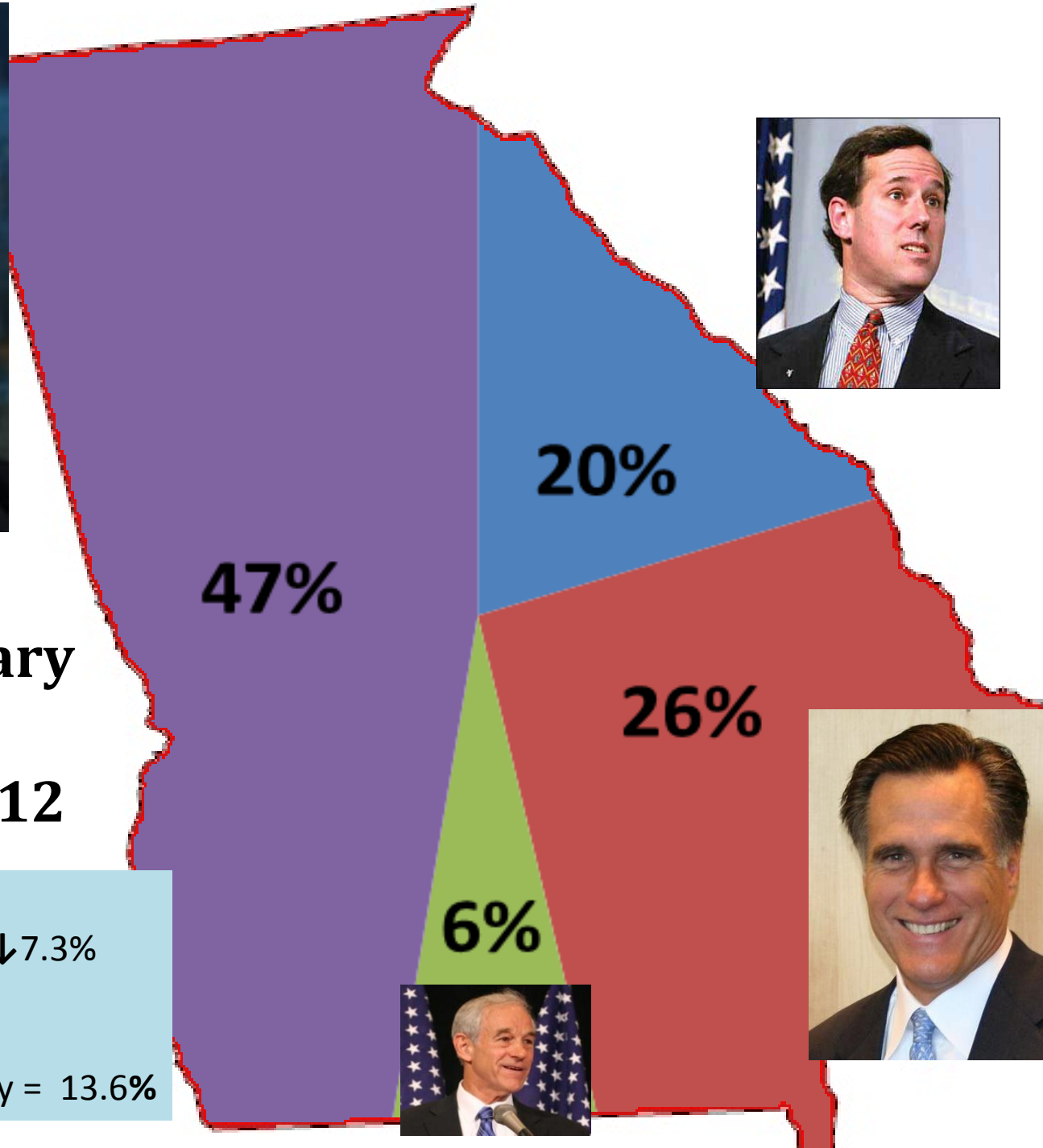
Turnout

2012 893,335 ↓7.3%

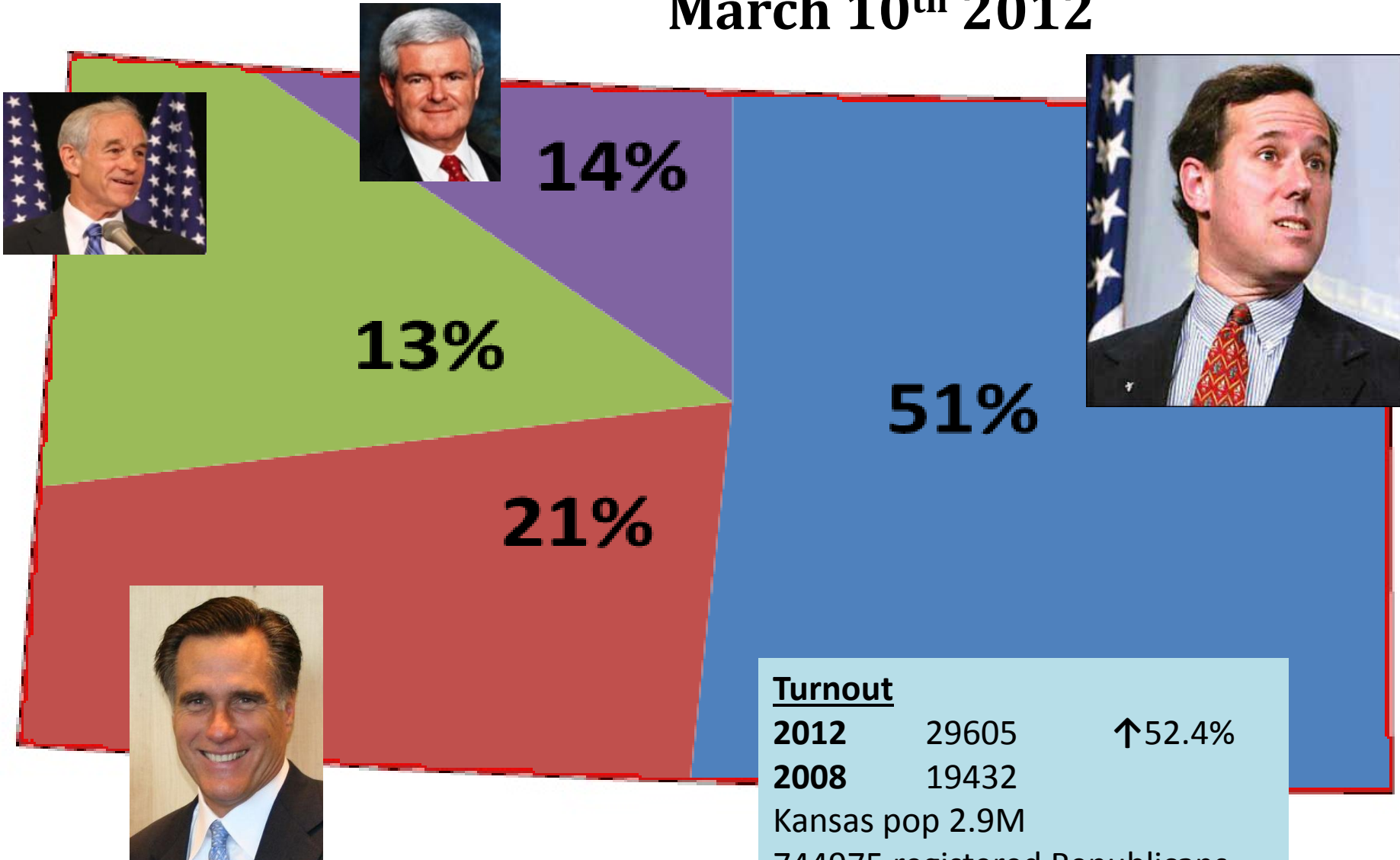
2008 963,541

Georgia pop 9.7M

Turnout in open primary = 13.6%



Republican Kansas caucus results – March 10th 2012



Turnout

2012 29605 ↑52.4%

2008 19432

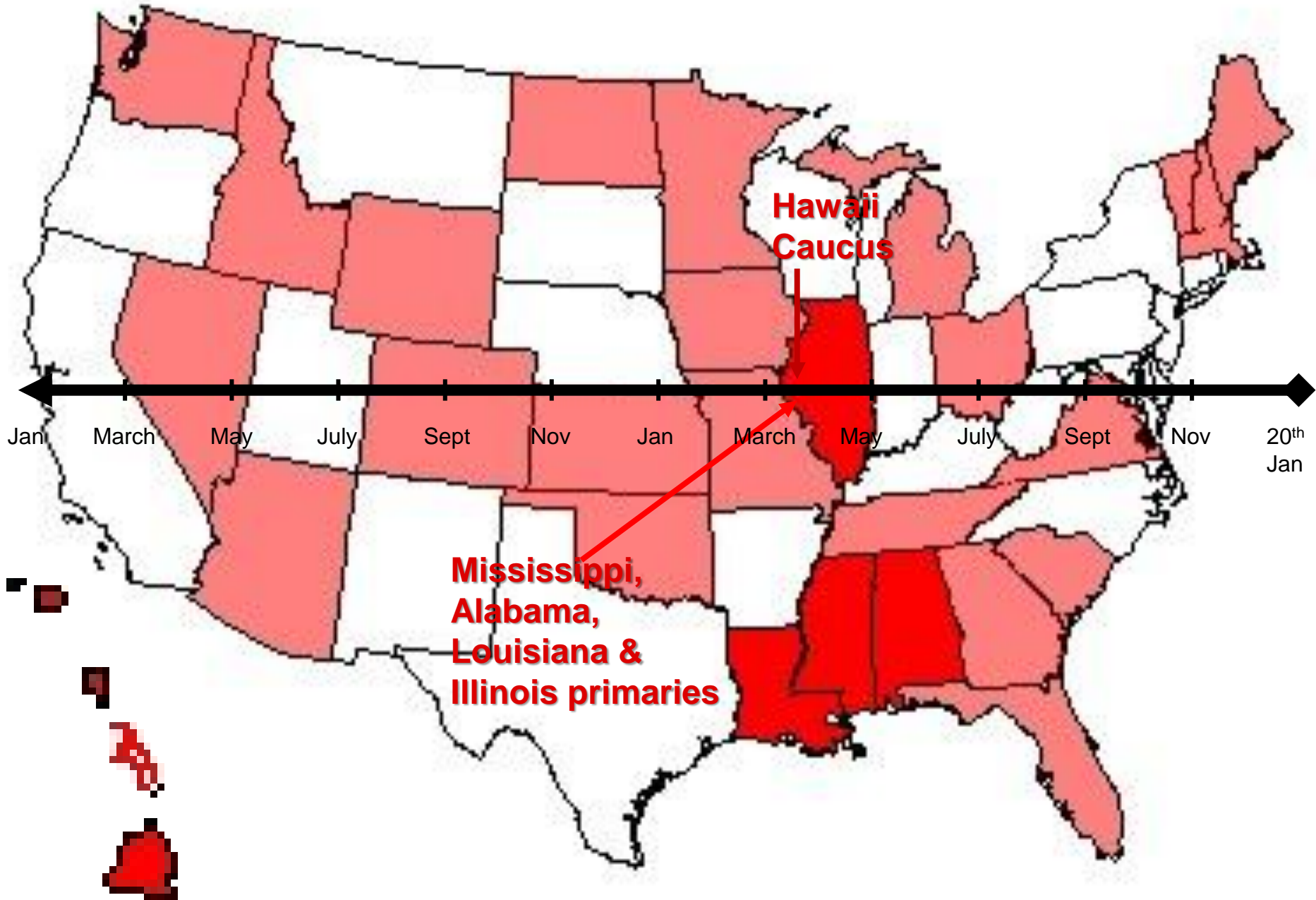
Kansas pop 2.9M

744975 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed caucus = 4%

Situation on March 11th

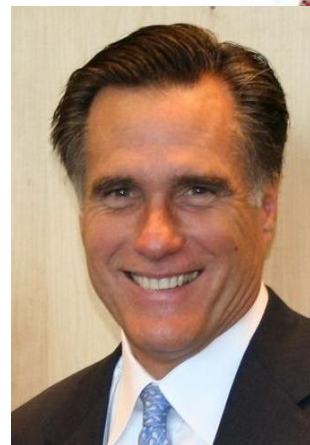
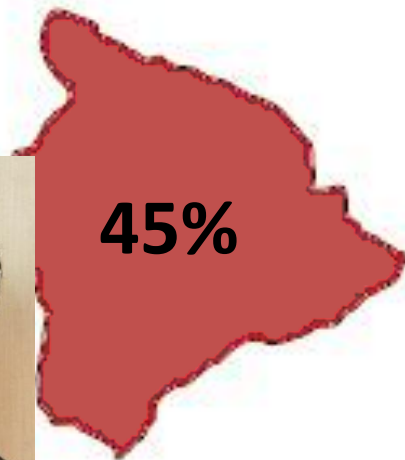
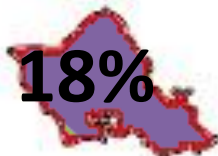




**Mississippi,
Alabama,
Louisiana &
Illinois primaries**

**Hawaii
Caucus**

Republican Hawaii caucus results – March 13th 2012



Turnout

2012 9365 n/a

2008 n/a

Hawaii pop 1.4M

Turnout in open caucus = 1%

Republican Mississippi primary results - March 13th 2012



31%

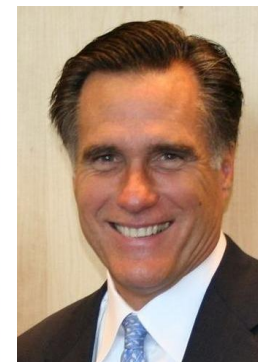


33%



4%

30%



Turnout

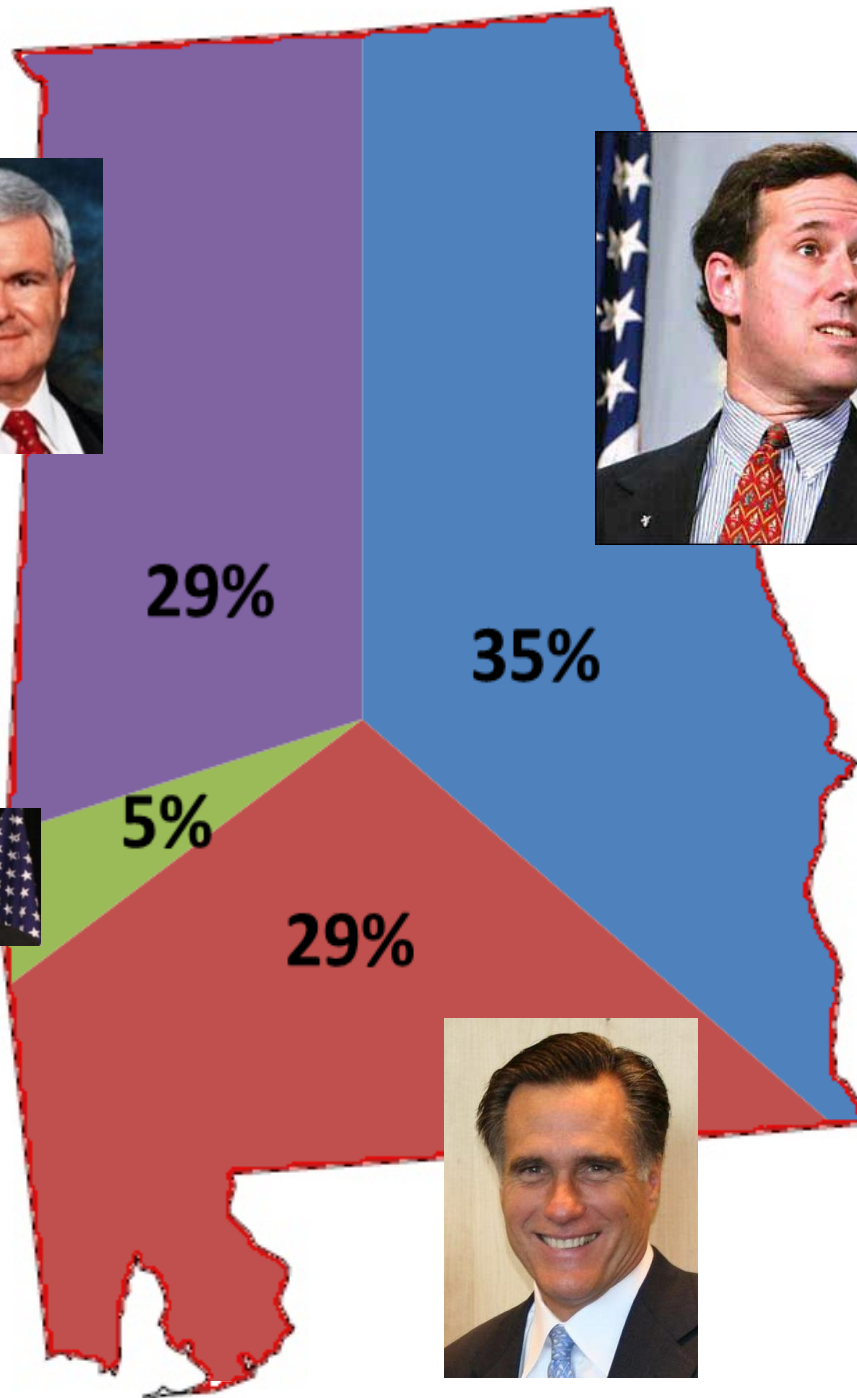
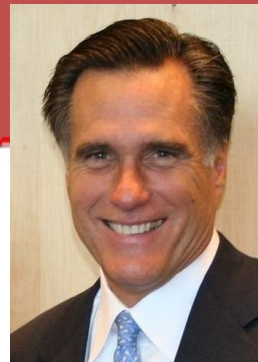
2012 280,278 ↑96%

2008 143,286

Mississippi pop 3M

Turnout in open primary = 13%

Republican Alabama primary results – March 13th 2012



Turnout

2012 601,357 ↑8.9%

2008 552,209

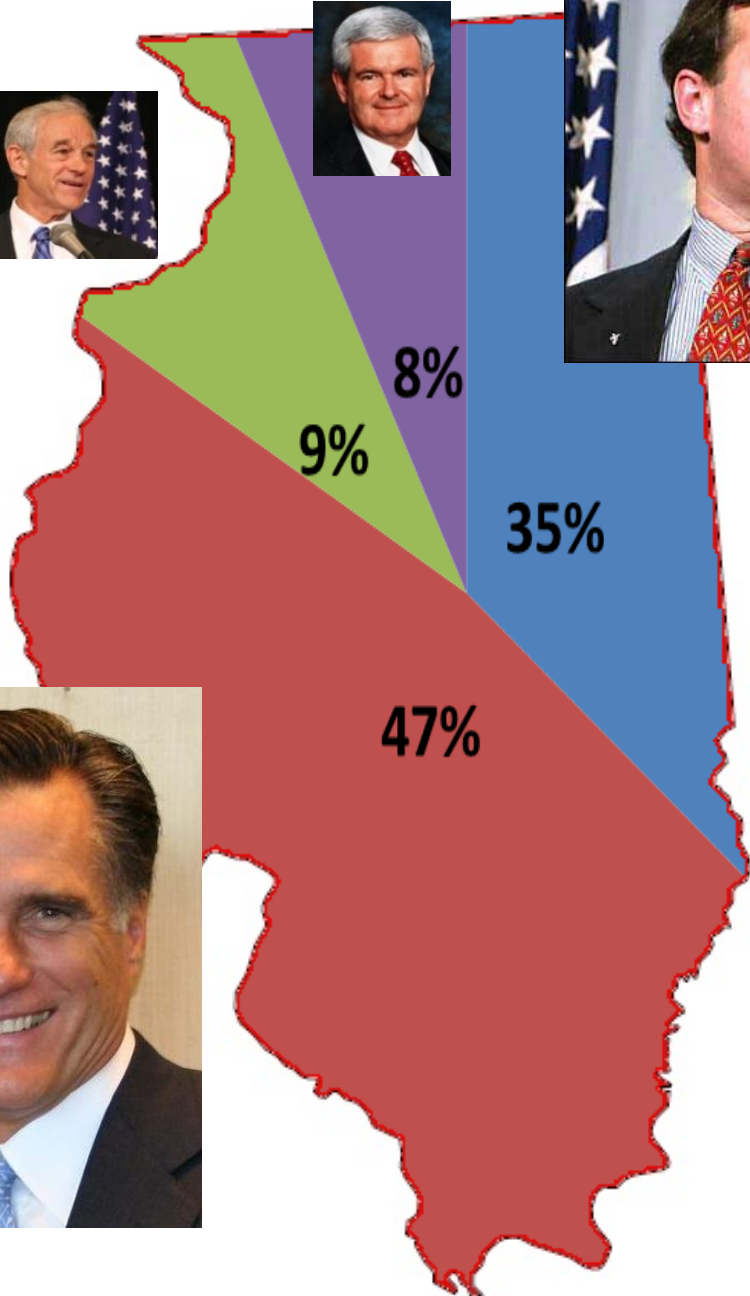
Alabama pop 4.8M

Turnout in open primary = 17.1%

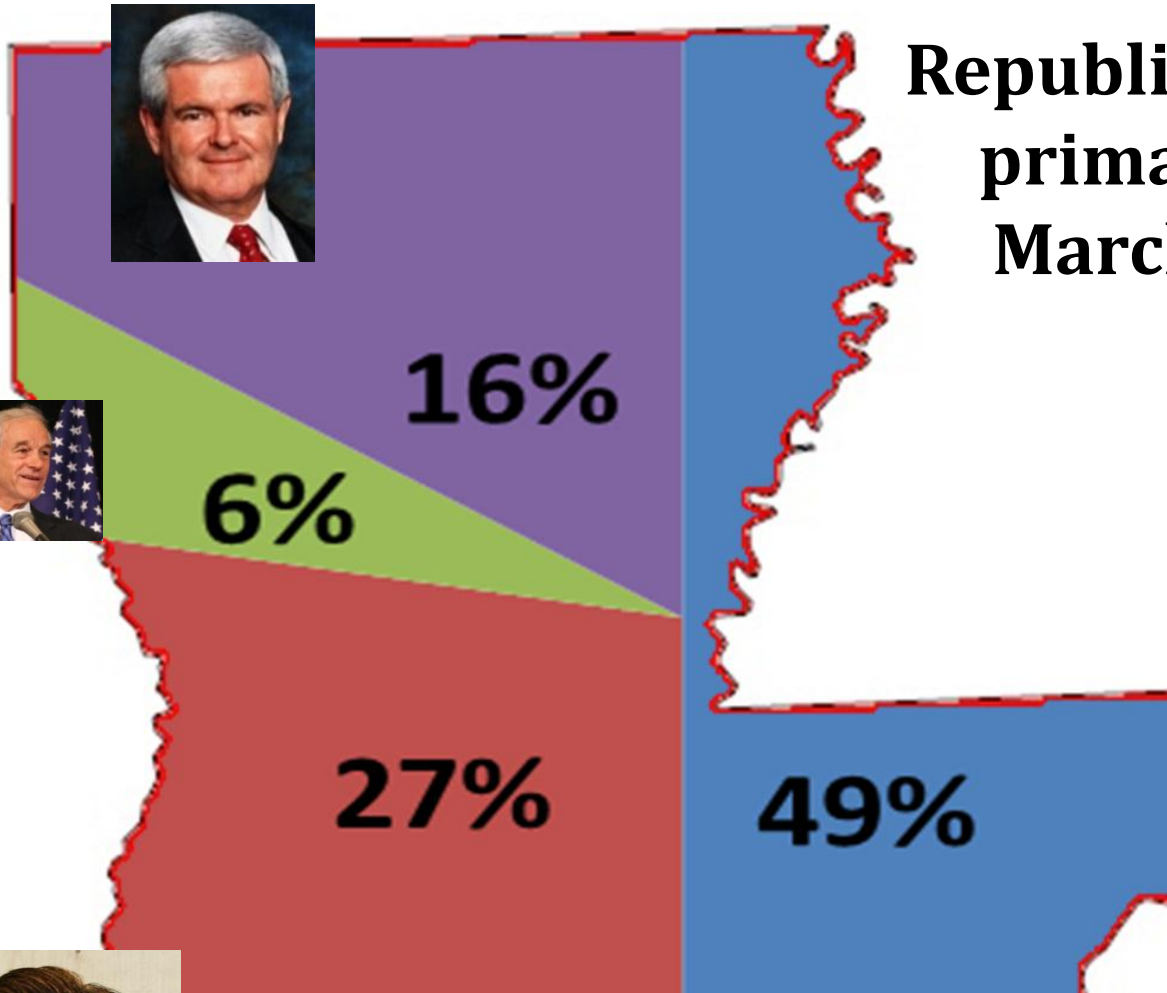
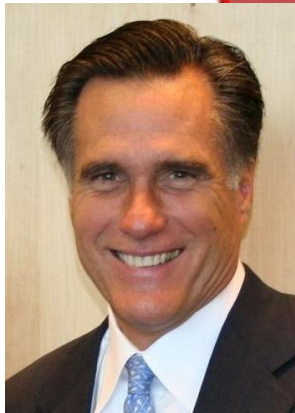
Republican Illinois primary results – March 20th 2012



<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	907919	↑0.9%
2008	899442	
Illinois pop 12.8M		
Turnout in open primary = 10.3%		



Republican Louisiana primary results – March 24th 2012



Turnout

2012 186377 ↑13%

2008 161169

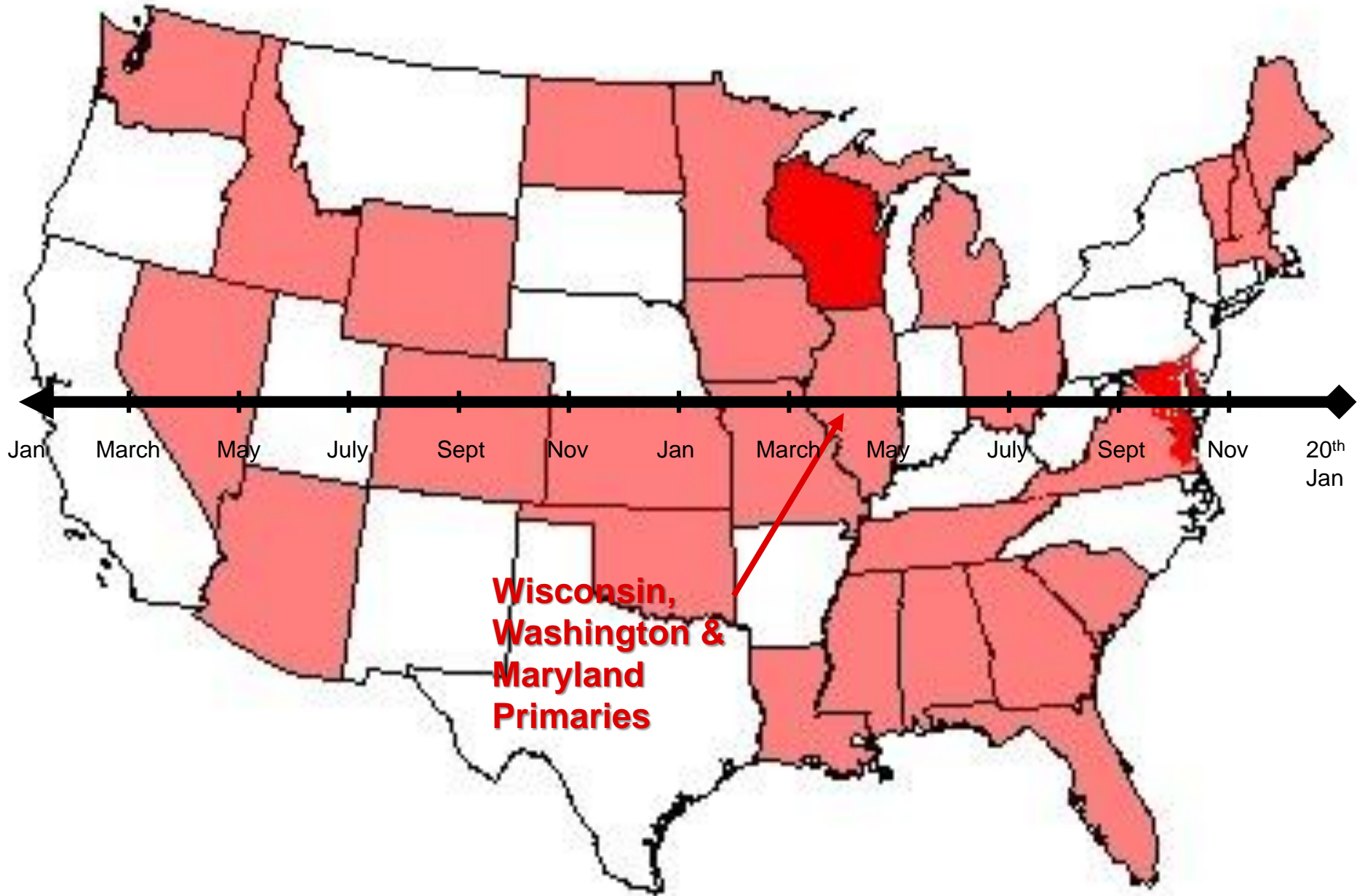
Louisiana pop 4.5M

776567 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = 24%

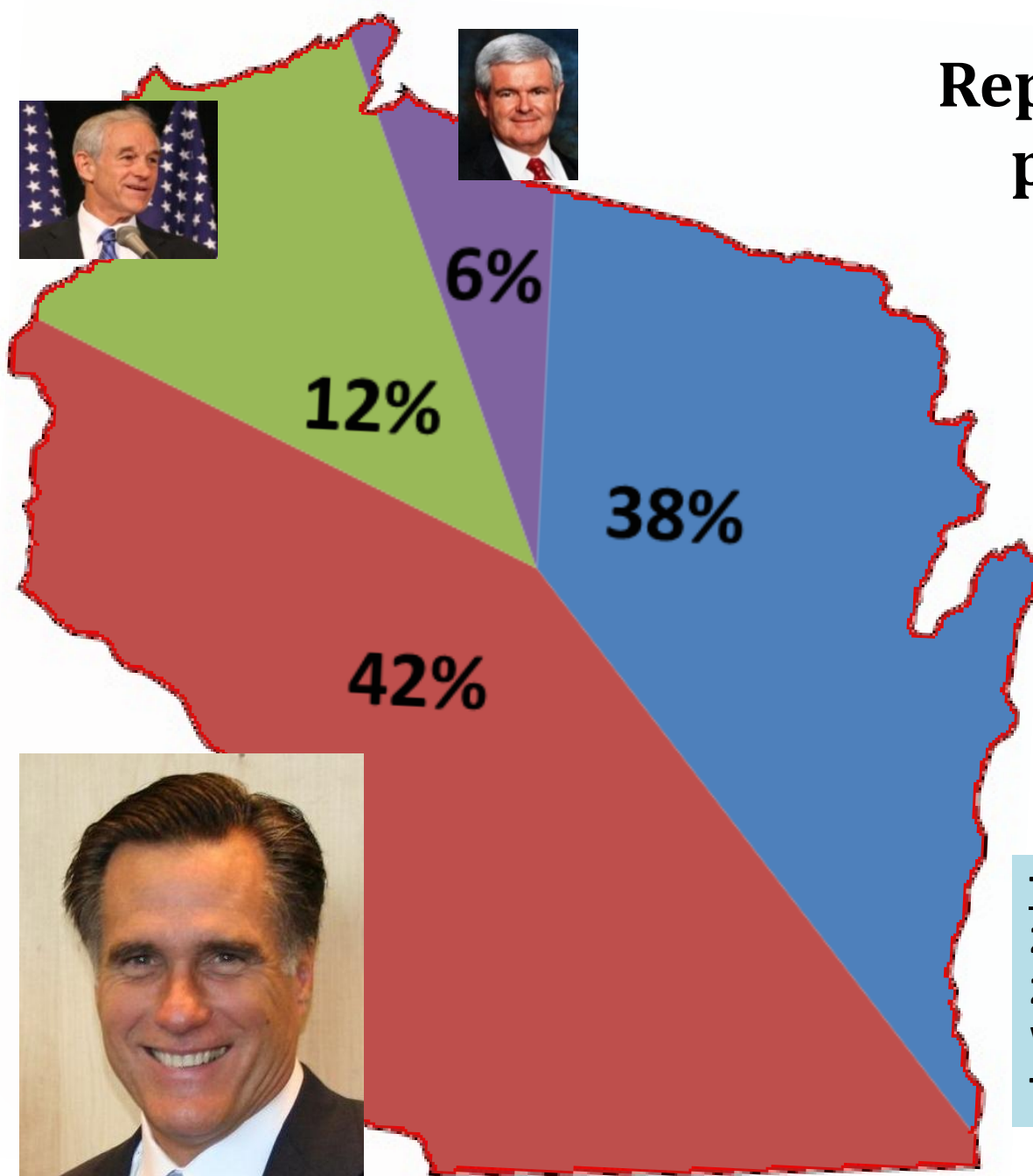
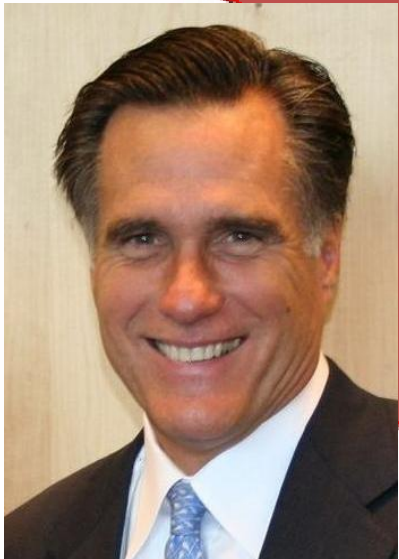
Situation on April 1st





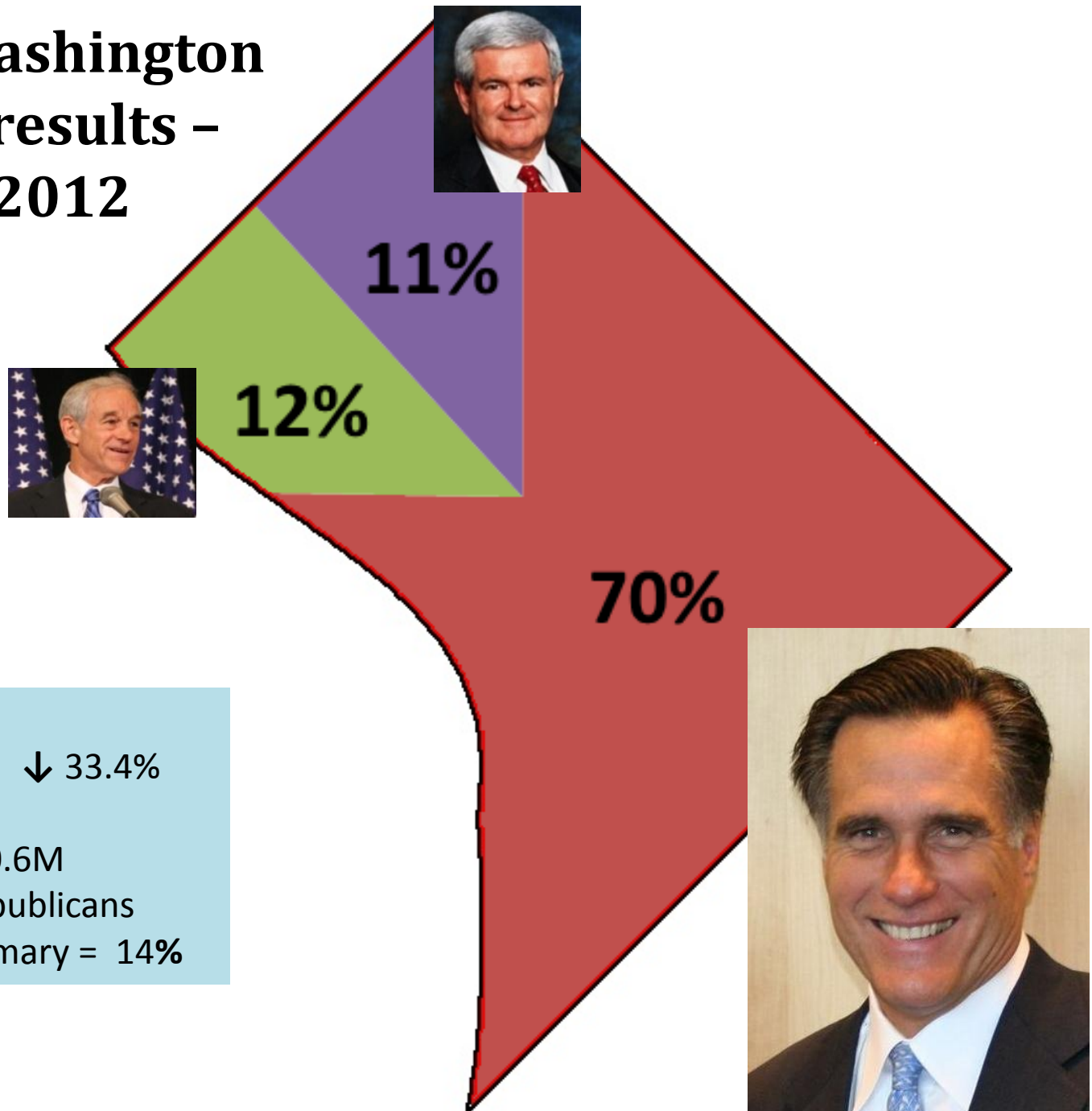
**Wisconsin,
Washington &
Maryland
Primaries**

Republican Wisconsin primary results – April 3rd 2012



<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	704,288	↑71.5%
2008	410607	
Wisconsin pop 5.7M		
Turnout in open primary = 16.8%		

Republican Washington DC primary results – April 3rd 2012



Turnout

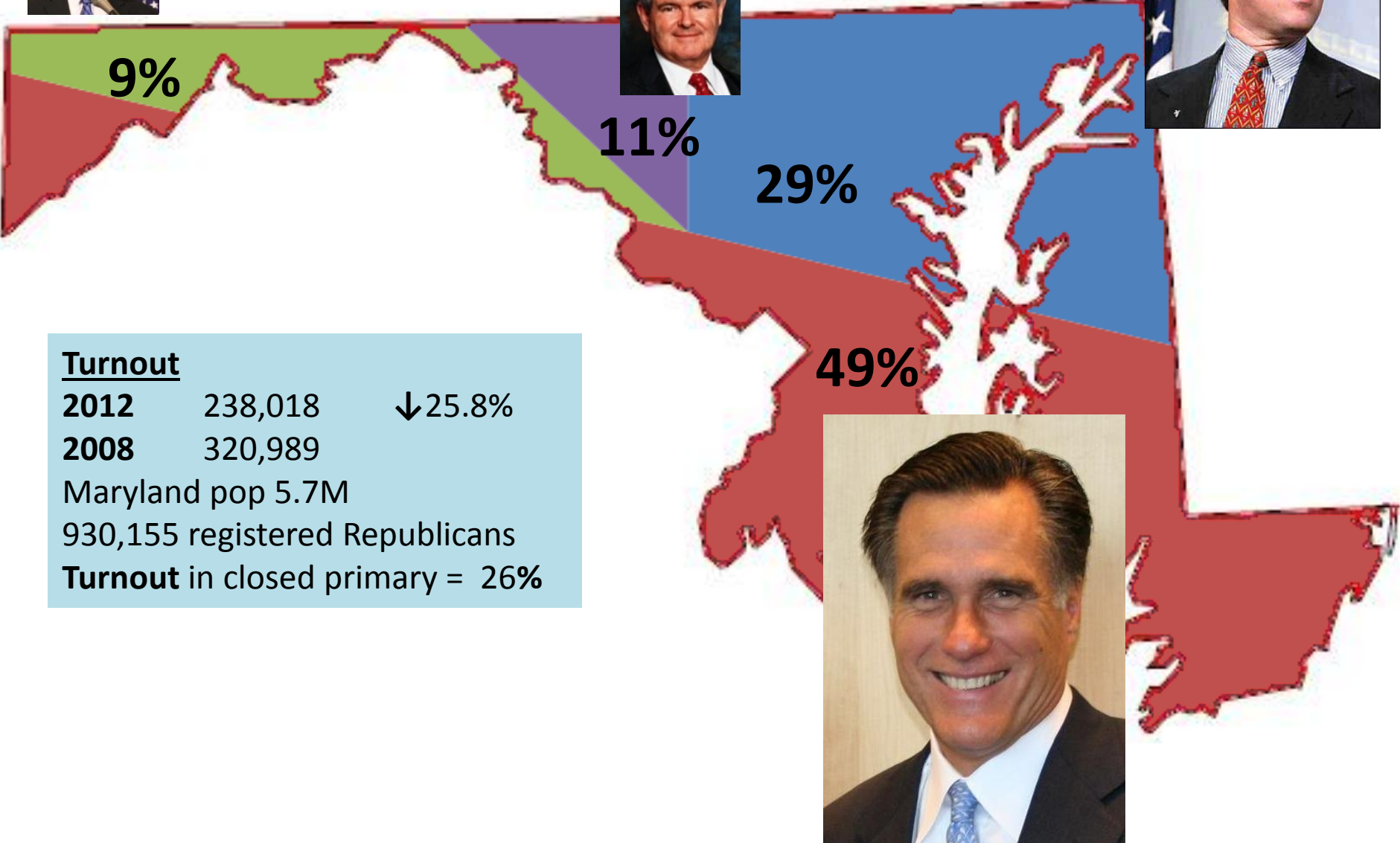
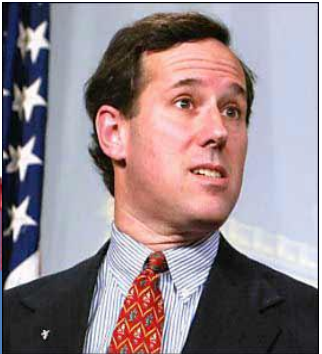
2012	4,134	↓ 33.4%
2008	6211	

Washington DC pop 0.6M

30,157 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = 14%

Republican Maryland primary results - April 3rd 2012



Turnout

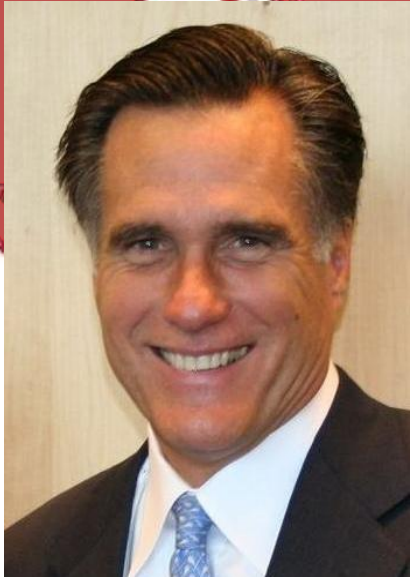
2012 238,018 ↓25.8%

2008 320,989

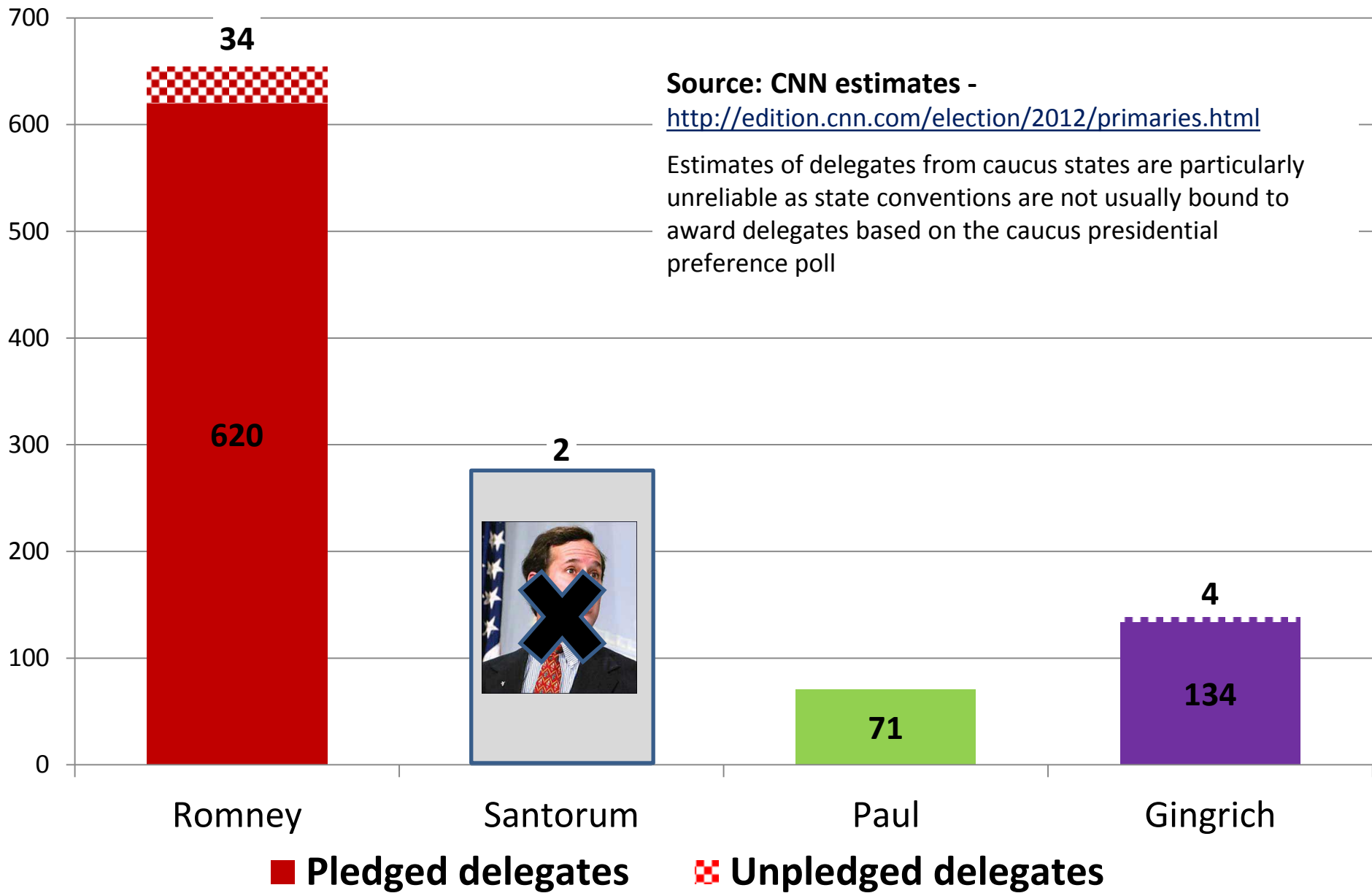
Maryland pop 5.7M

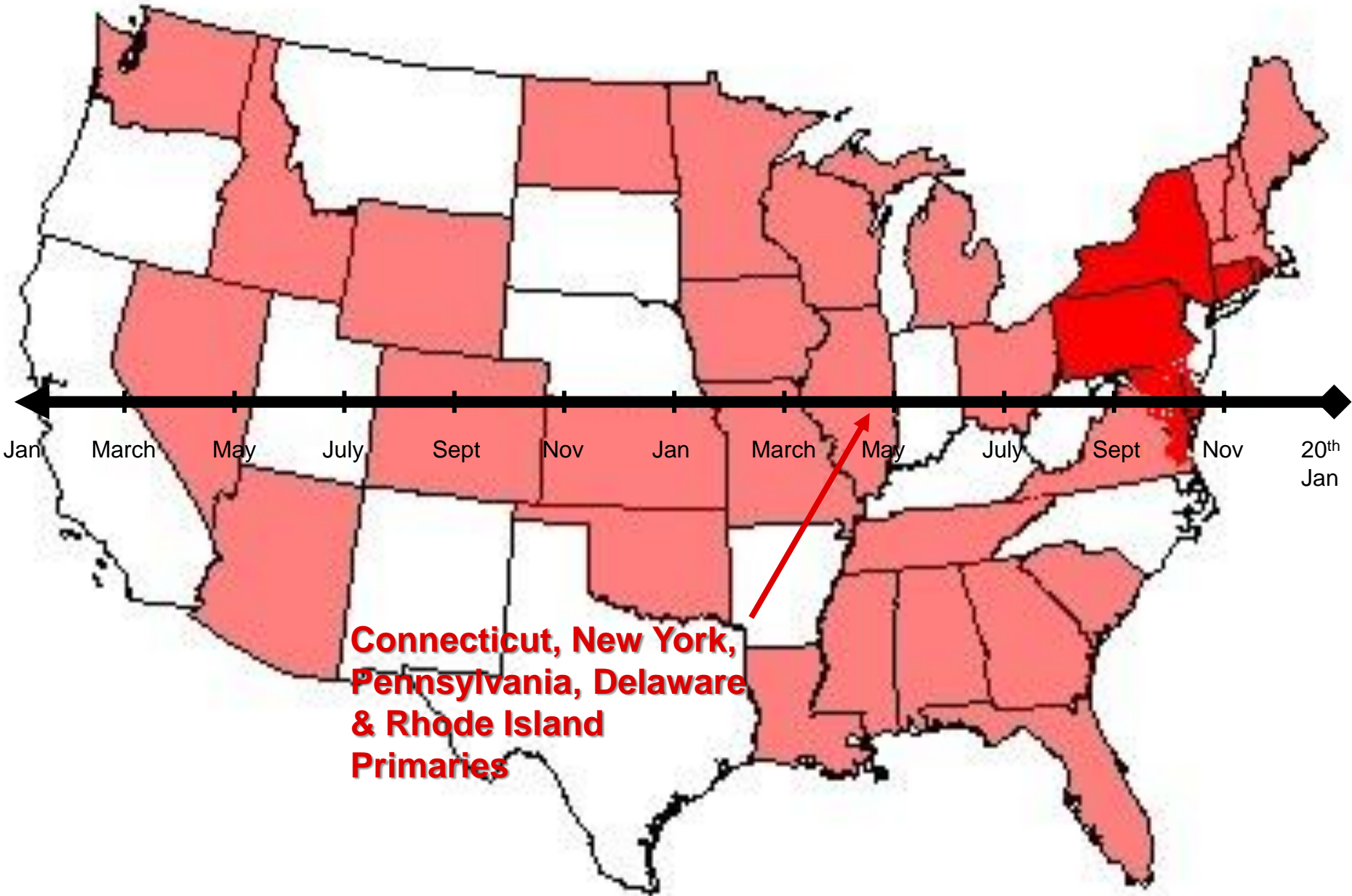
930,155 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = 26%

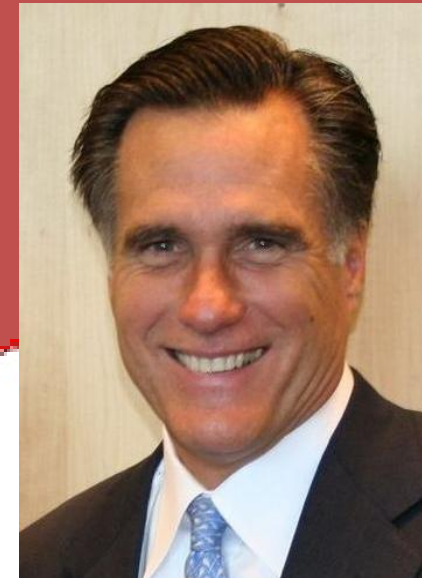
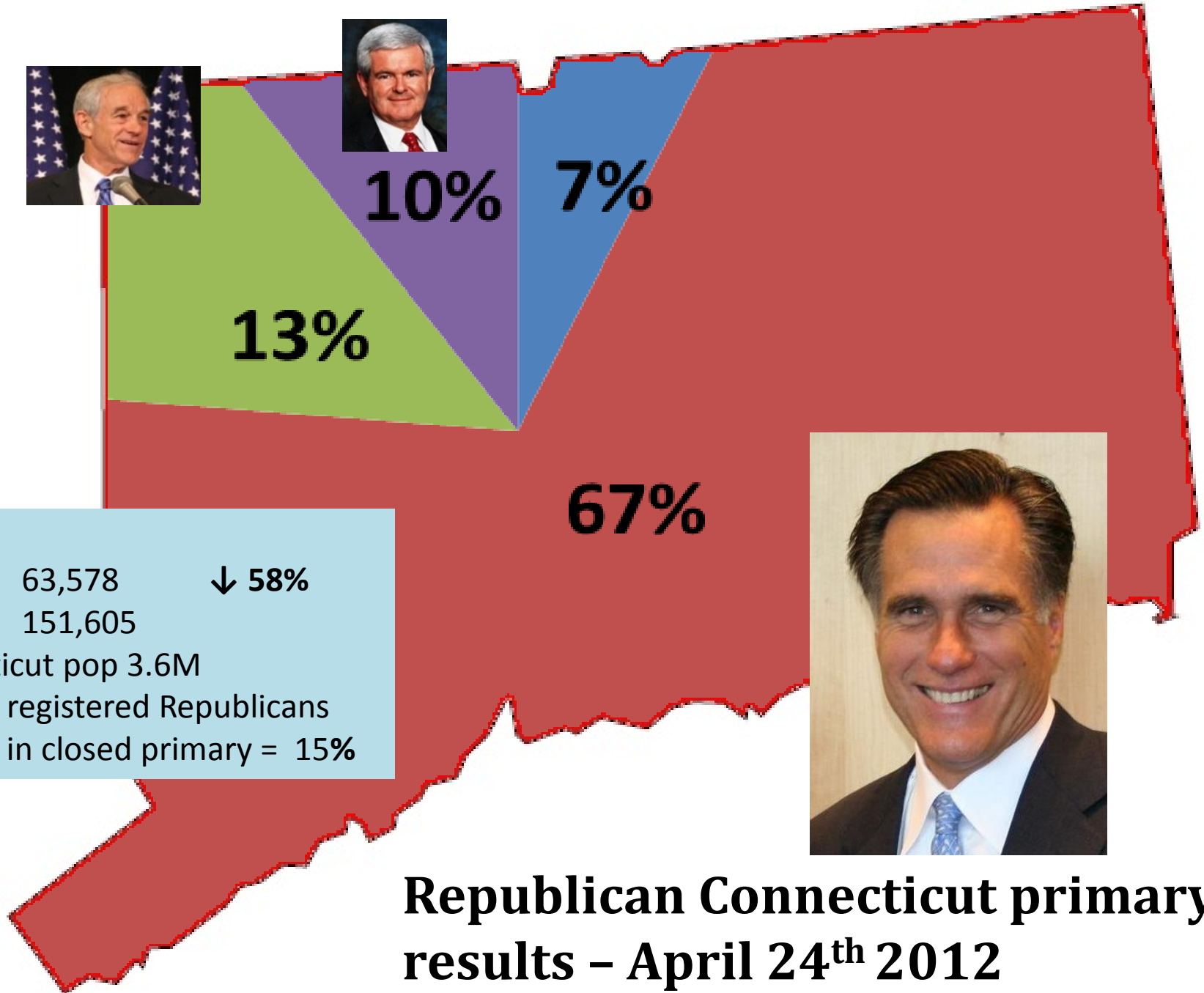


GOP Delegate Count 4th April 2012 - 1144 needed to win





**Connecticut, New York,
Pennsylvania, Delaware
& Rhode Island
Primaries**



Turnout

2012 63,578 ↓ 58%

2008 151,605

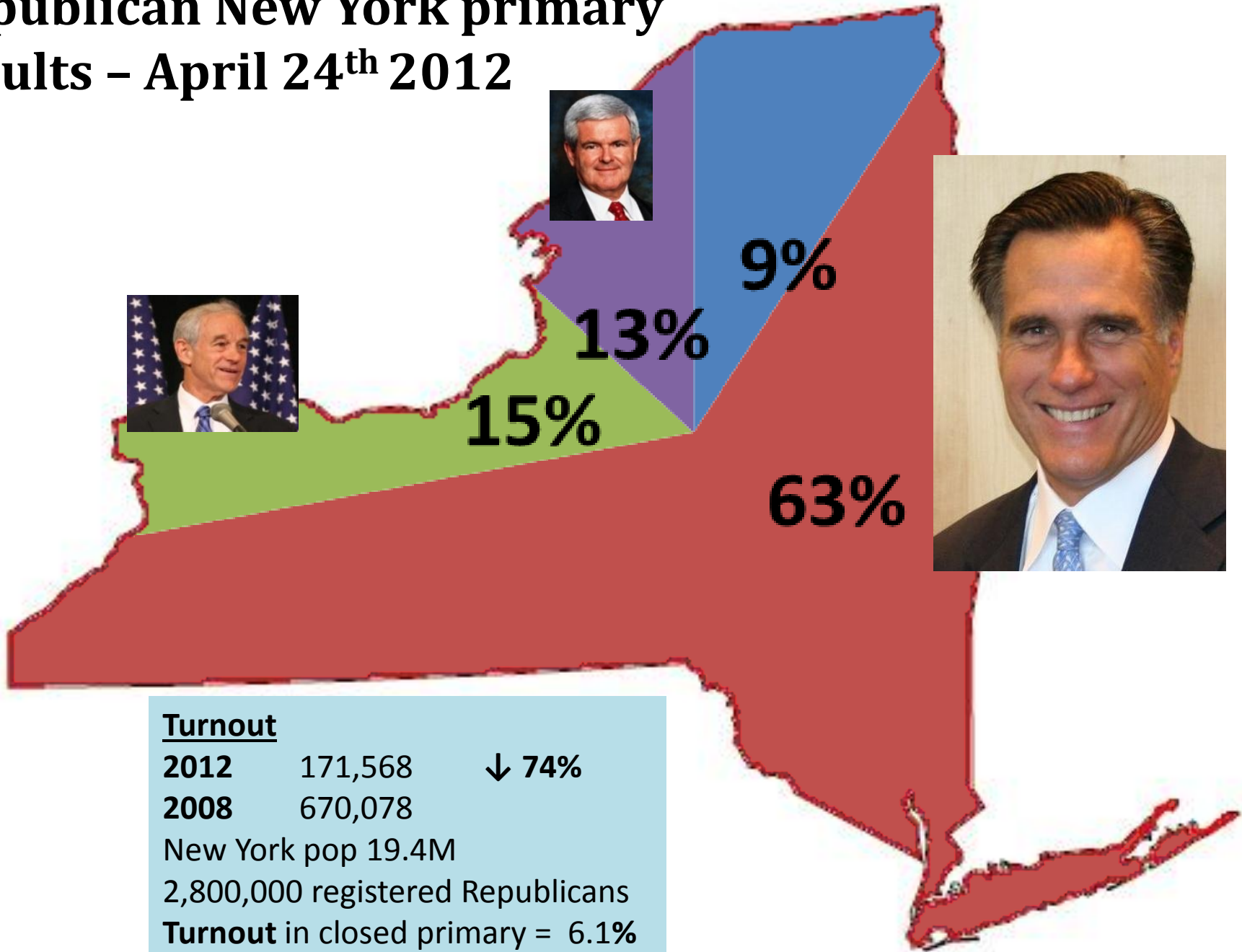
Connecticut pop 3.6M

431,721 registered Republicans

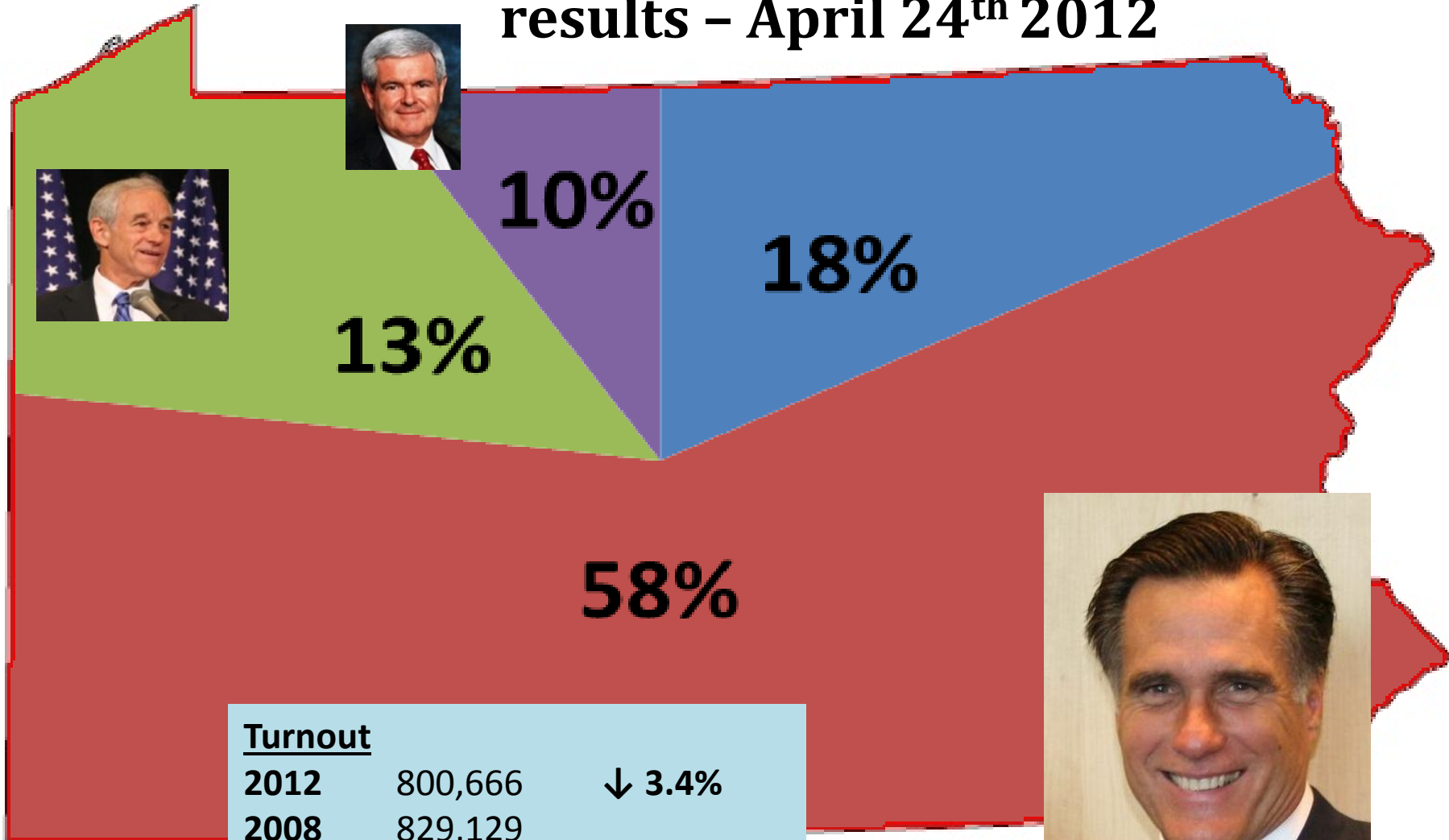
Turnout in closed primary = 15%

**Republican Connecticut primary
results – April 24th 2012**

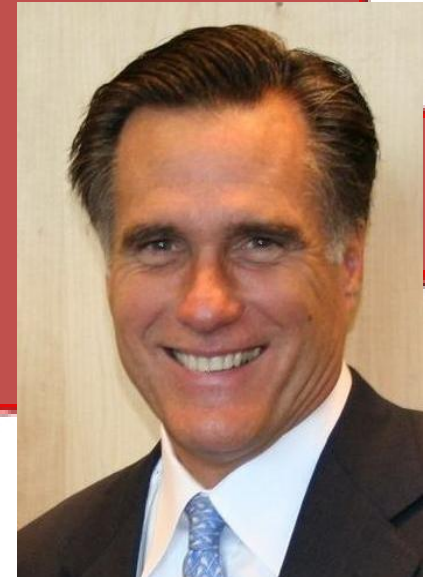
Republican New York primary results – April 24th 2012



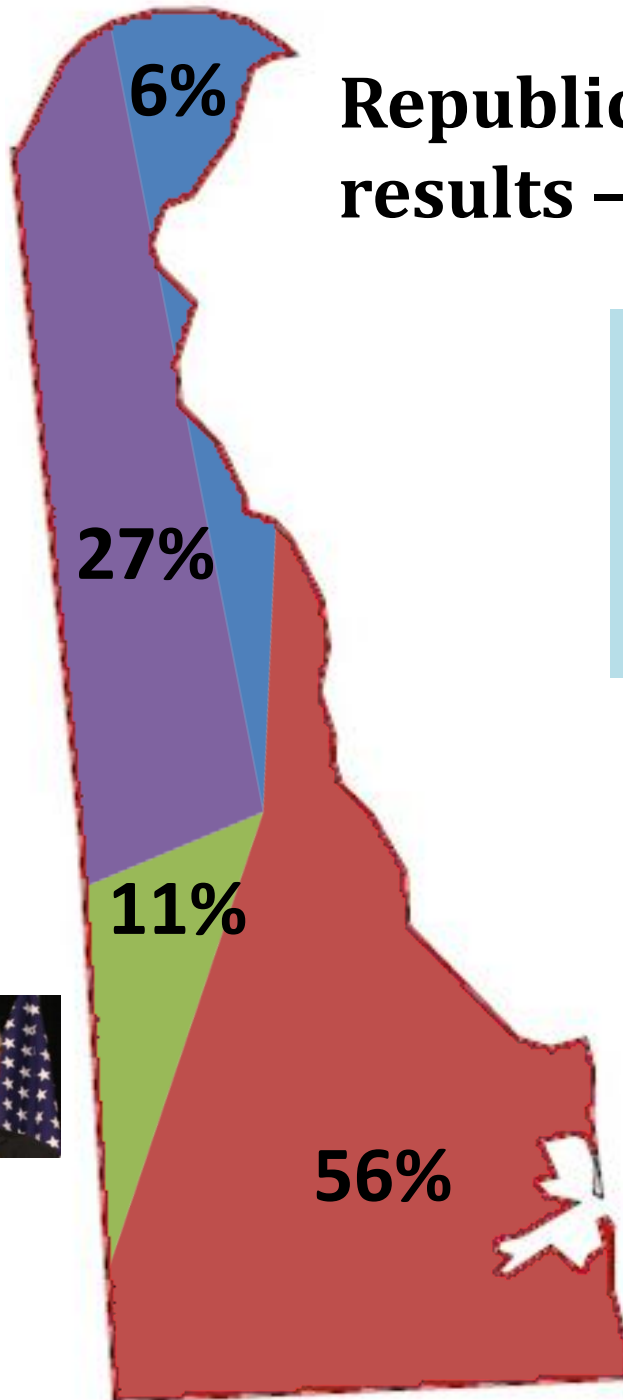
Republican Pennsylvania primary results - April 24th 2012



<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	800,666	↓ 3.4%
2008	829,129	
Pennsylvania pop 12.7M		
3,062,500 registered Republicans		
Turnout in closed primary = 26%		



Republican Delaware primary results – April 24th 2012



Turnout

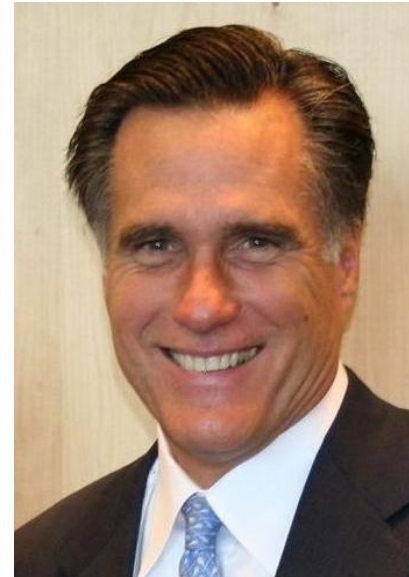
2012 28,591 ↓ 43%

2008 50,237

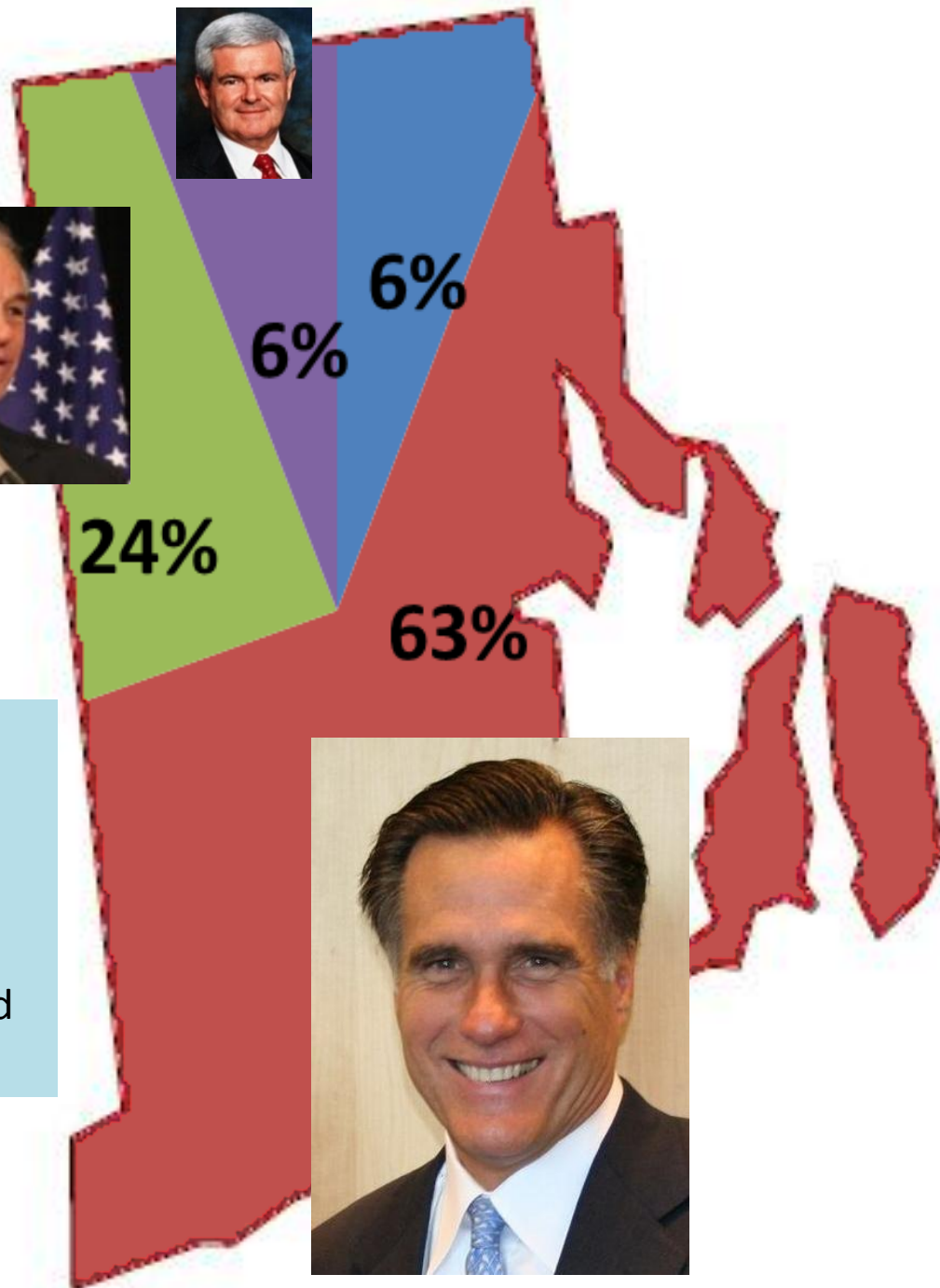
Delaware pop 0.9M

178,090 registered Republicans

Turnout in closed primary = 16%



Republican Rhode Island primary results April 24th 2012



Turnout

2012 14,525 ↓ 47%

2008 27,237

Rhode Island pop 1M

70,905 registered Republicans

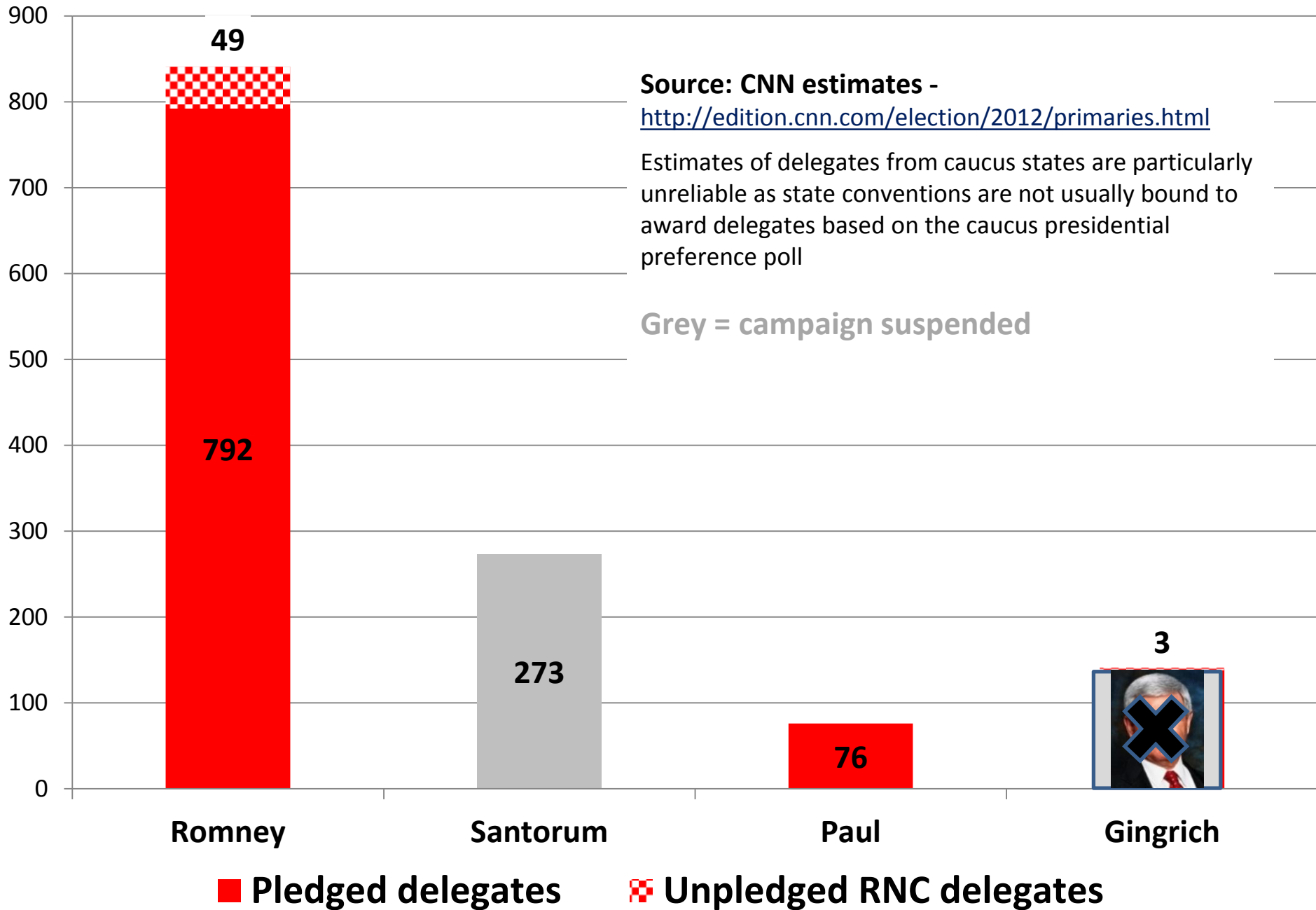
337,927 registered Independent/Unaffiliated

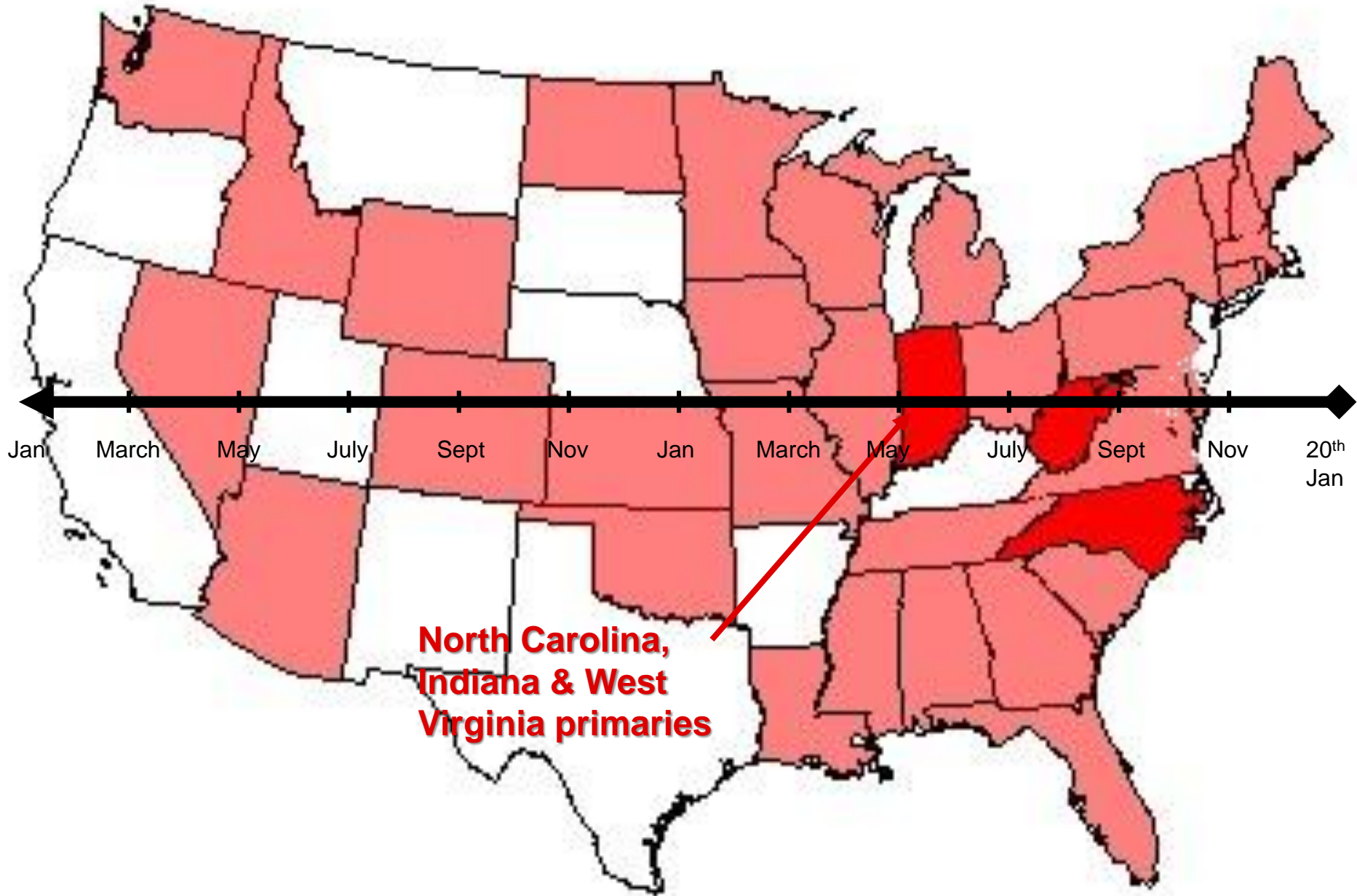
Turnout in semi-open primary = 3.6%

Situation on April 29th



GOP Delegate Count 29th April 2012 - 1144 needed to win





Republican Indiana primary results -May 8th 2012



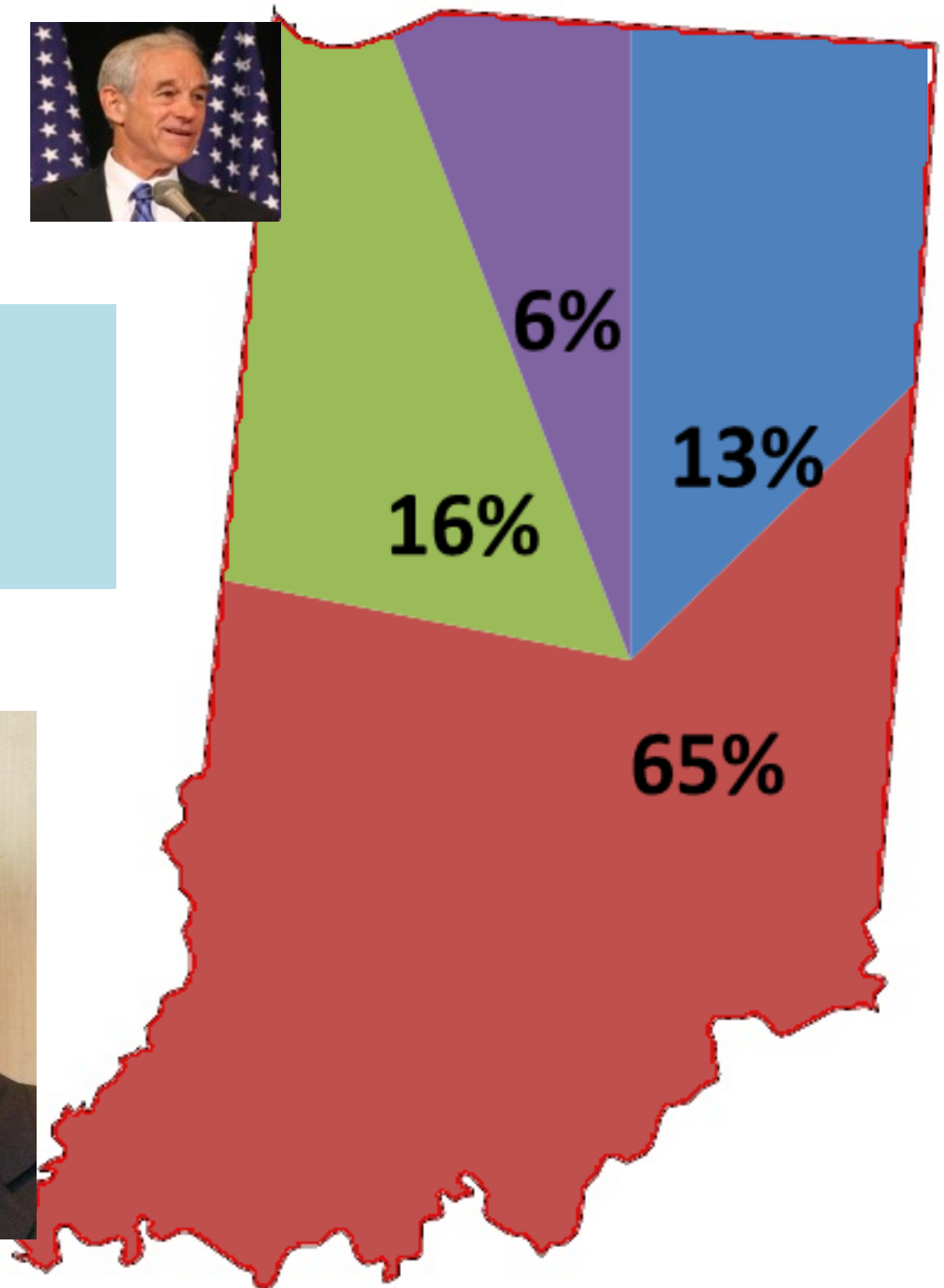
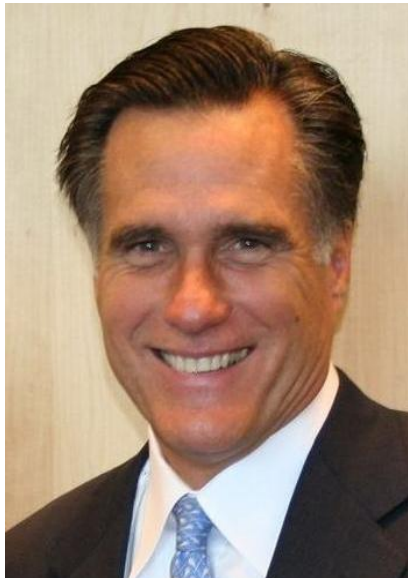
Turnout

2012 639,627 ↑ 55 %

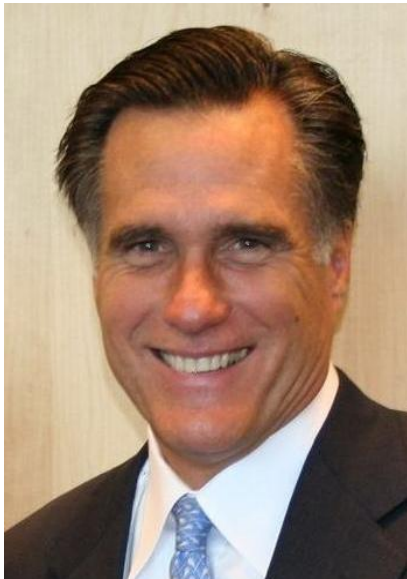
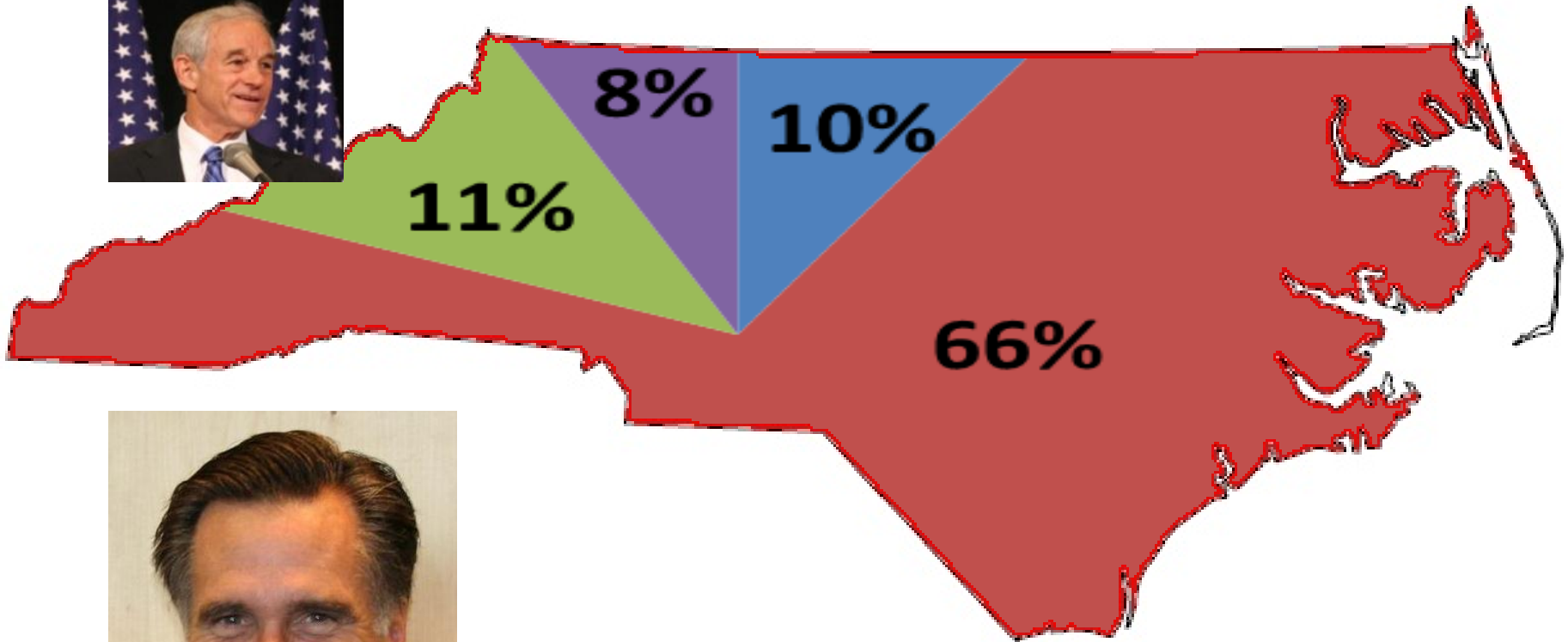
2008 412,684

Indiana pop 6.5M

Turnout in open primary = 13%

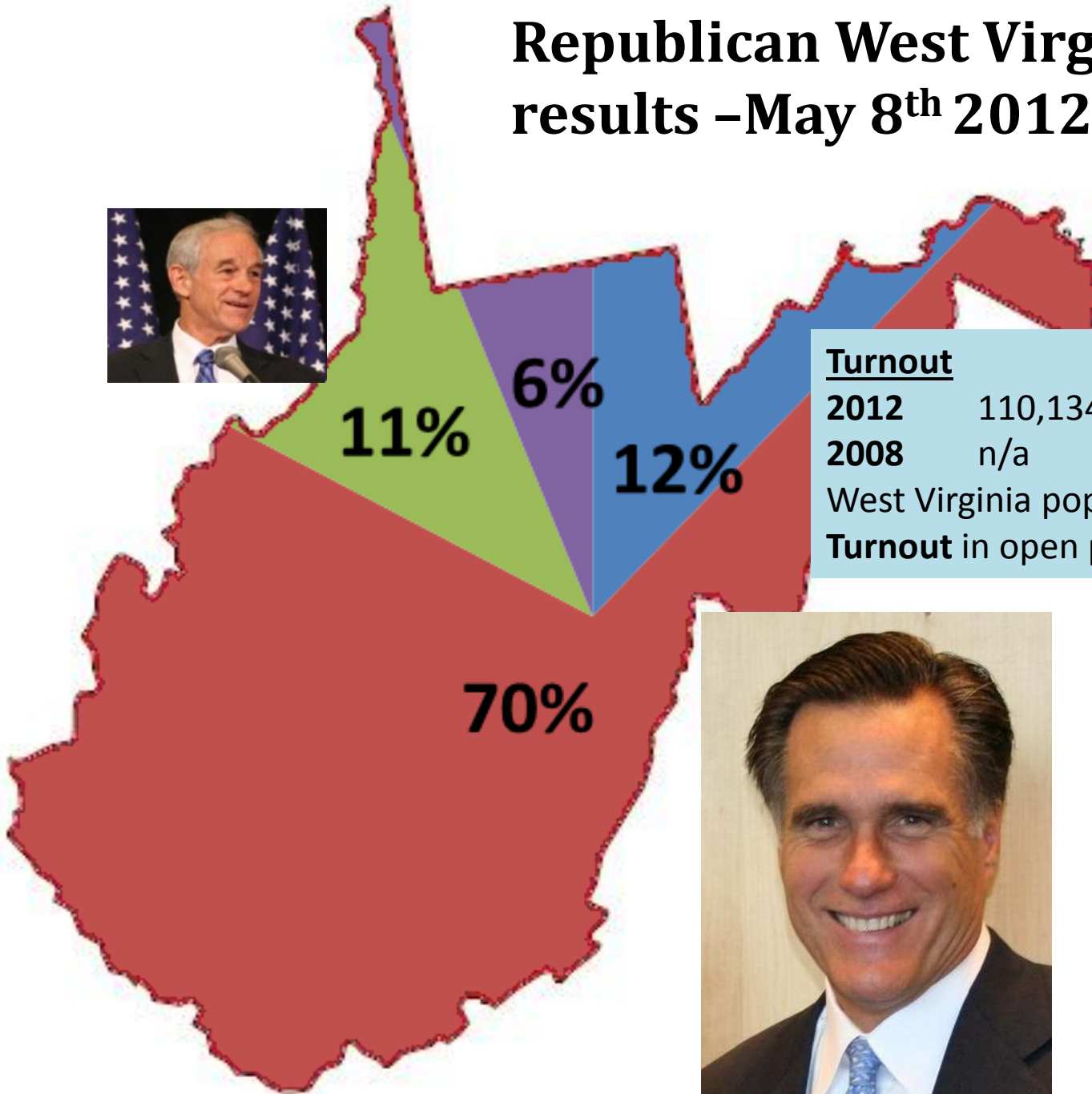


Republican North Carolina primary results - May 8th 2012



<u>Turnout</u>		
2012	966,901	↑ 189%
2008	335,052	
North Carolina pop 9.5M		
Turnout in open primary = 14%		

Republican West Virginia primary results – May 8th 2012



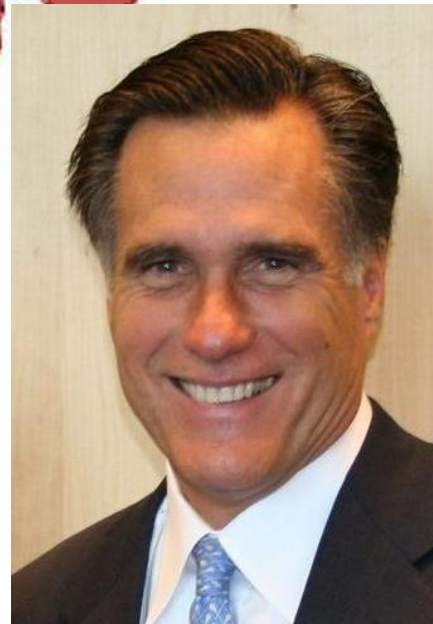
Turnout

2012 110,134

2008 n/a

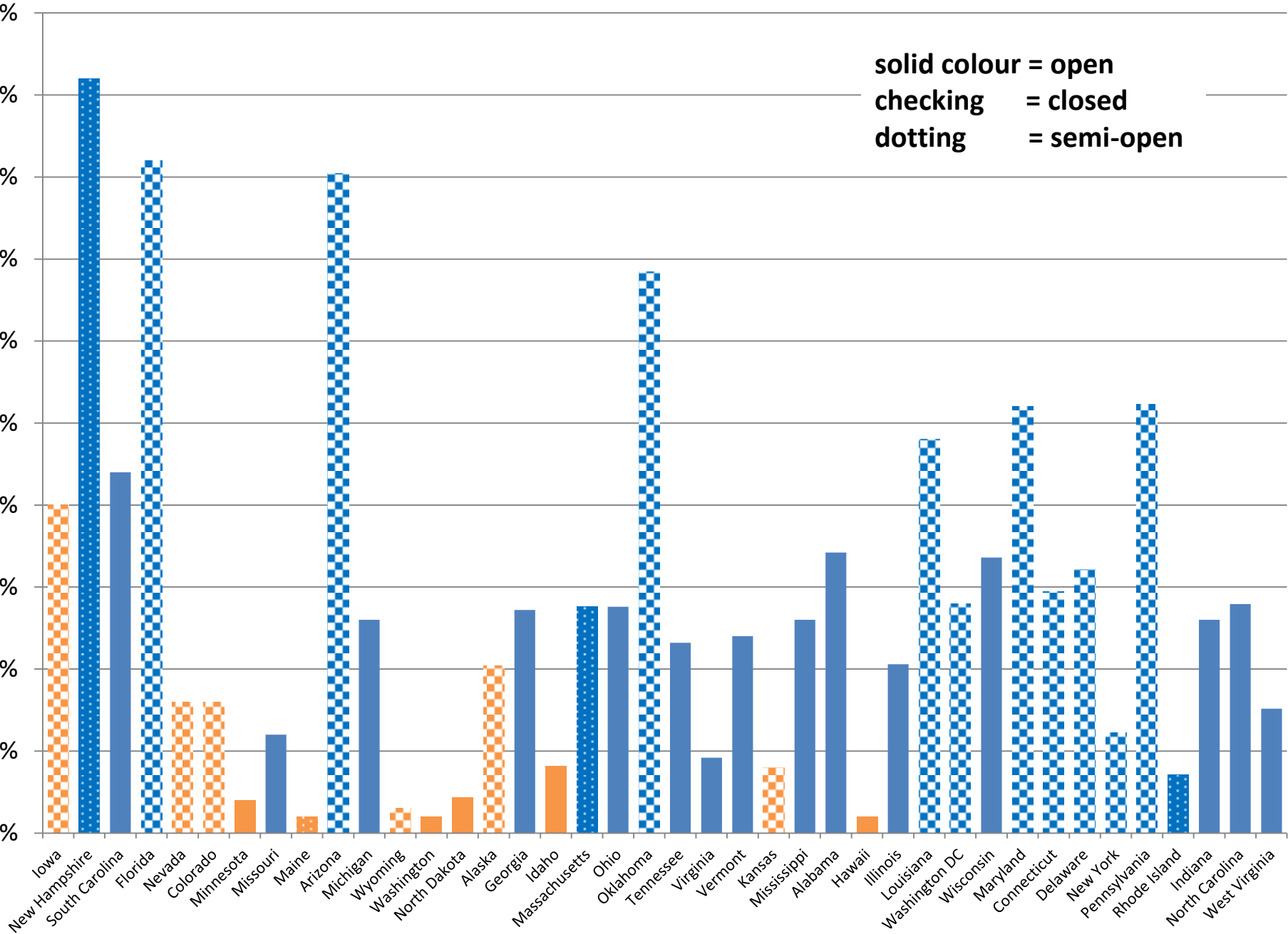
West Virginia pop 1.85M

Turnout in open primary = 7.6%



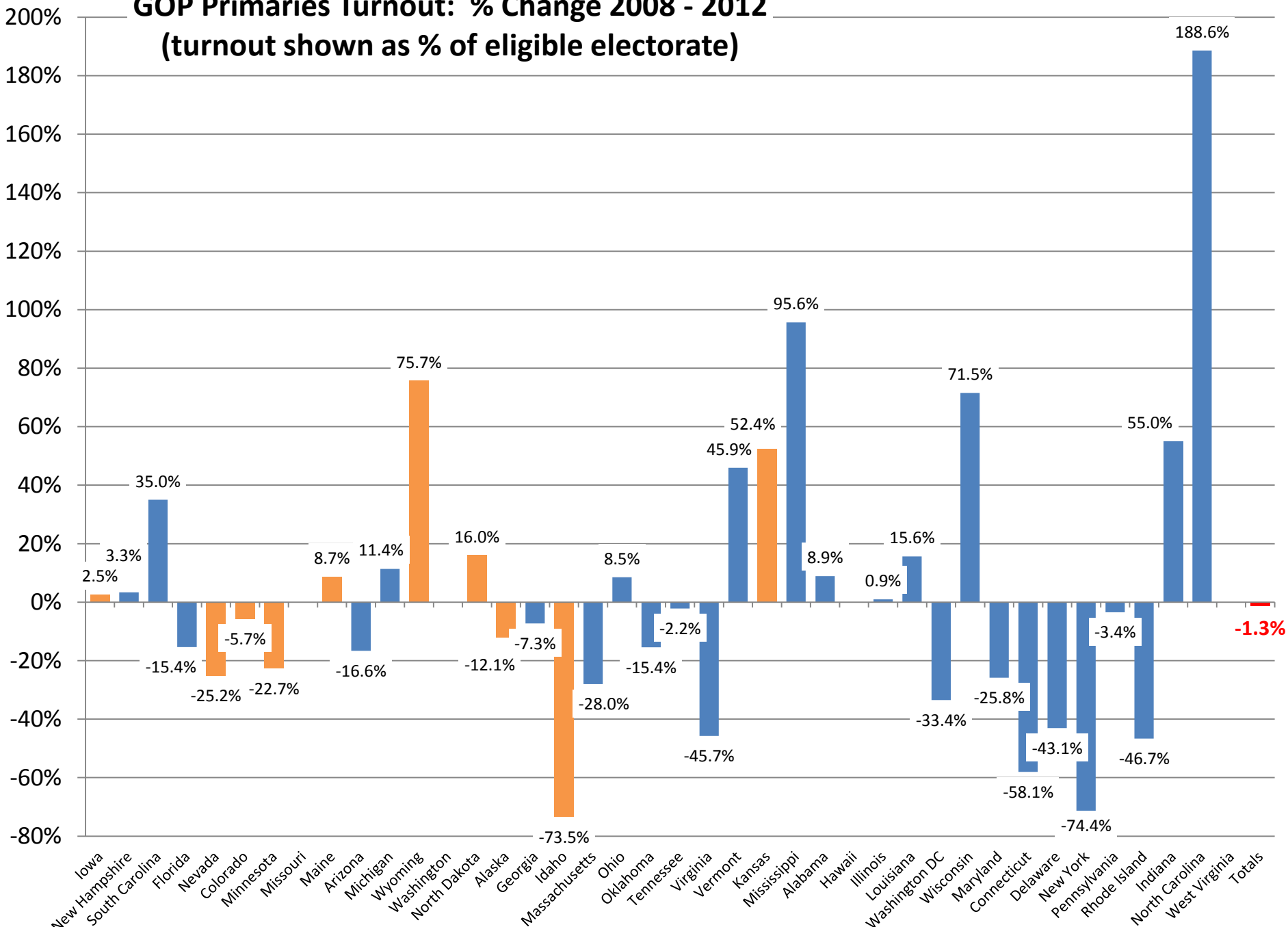
Turnout in GOP primaries and caucuses 2012 - % of eligible voters

solid colour = open
checking = closed
dotting = semi-open



GOP Primaries Turnout: % Change 2008 - 2012

(turnout shown as % of eligible electorate)



TURNOUT ISSUES

Figures for states up to 9th May:

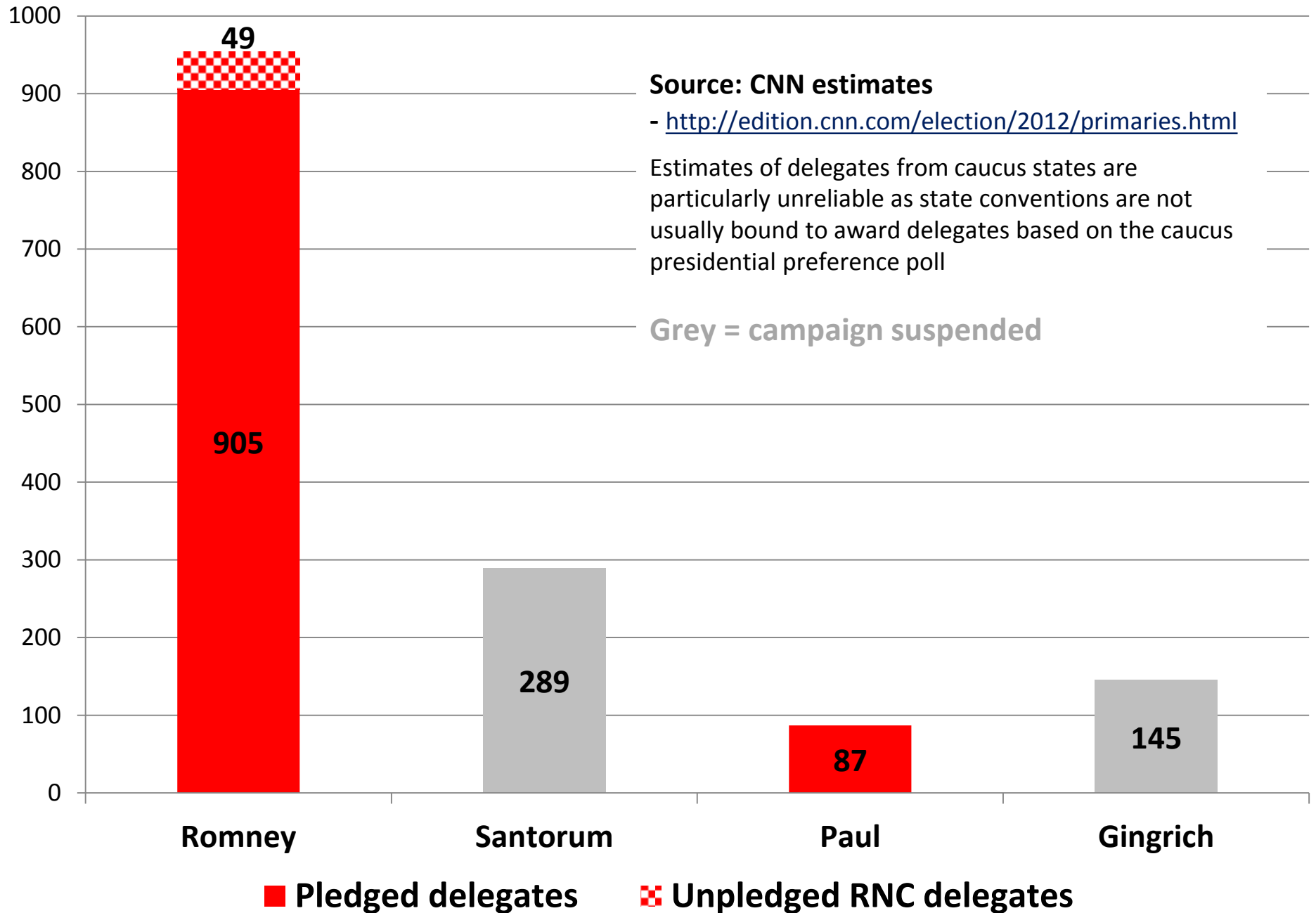
	open	closed
caucus average	2%	9%
primary average	13%	24%

- Overall GOP turnout was slightly (1.3%) down on 2008, despite the competitive race lasting two months longer.
- Nationally the 17.3% combined turnout of eligible voters in states holding primaries for both parties was well down on the 30.2% of 2008 (although 2008 saw a record for any year since 1972's 30.9%).
- 17.3% was also lower than the last time in which only one party had a competitive primary race – 2004, which saw 18.9% turnout.

TURNOUT ISSUES, cont.

- **Caucuses** - Iowa's 20% turnout was the largest caucus turnout by some way and distorts the closed caucus average
 - Alaska on 10% in a closed caucus is the next highest figure
 - For comparison, in 2008 39% of Iowa Democrats turned out, compared to c20% of Iowa Republicans in the same year.
- **Primaries** – New Hampshire's 46% turnout was the highest (semi-open primary, not counted in averages above as only 4 examples)
 - Florida's 40% the highest closed primary
 - South Carolina's 22% the highest open primary
 - For comparison, in 2008 New Hampshire's semi-open primary was also the highest in the USA with 53.6%
- **So earliest states tend to see higher turnout**, but lots of exceptions to this pattern
 - e.g. Nevada 8% in closed caucus on 4th Feb vs Oklahoma 34% in closed primary on 6th March

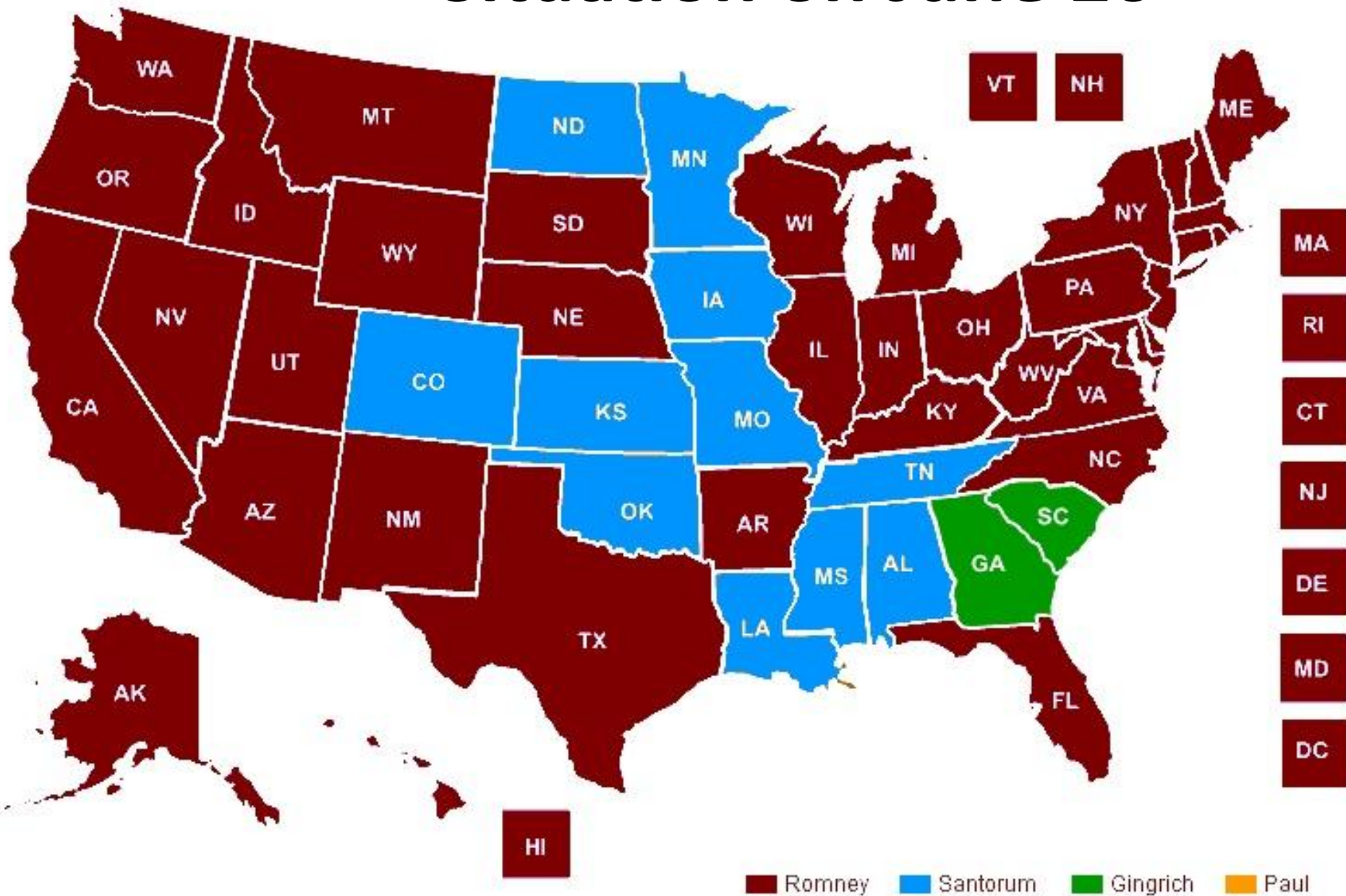
GOP Delegate Count 9th May 2012 - 1144 needed to win



The withdrawal of Gingrich from the race on 9th May effectively made Romney the GOP nominee, although Ron Paul stayed in.

- Romney actually reached the 1144 delegate mark after the Texas primary on May 29th.
- At that point only 6 states had yet to vote: California, New Jersey, South Dakota, Montana, New Mexico and Utah
- The primary season finished on June 26th when Utah voted, although some state conventions did not award their delegates until after this date.

Situation on June 26th



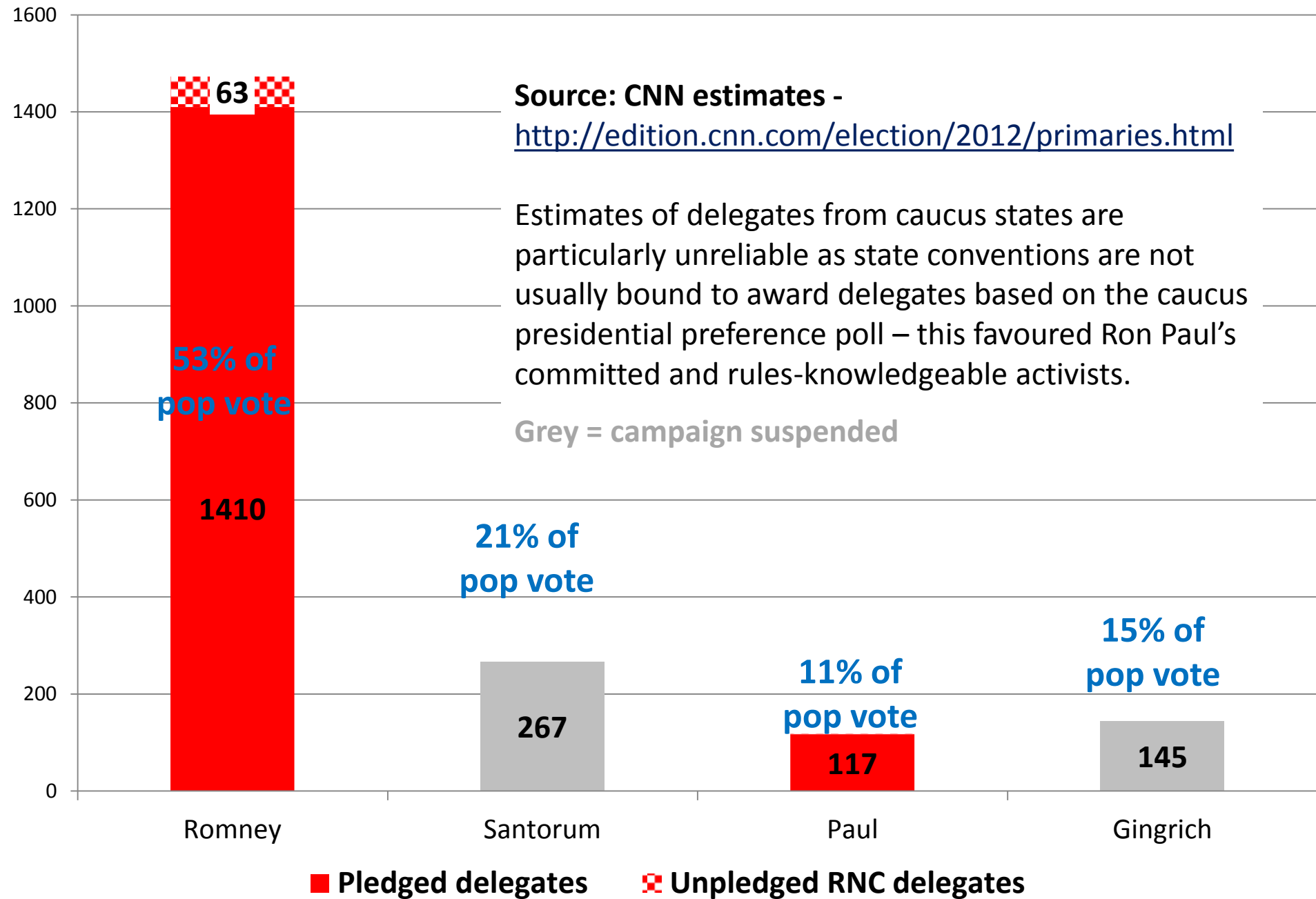
GOP Delegate Count 26th June 2012 - 1144 needed to win

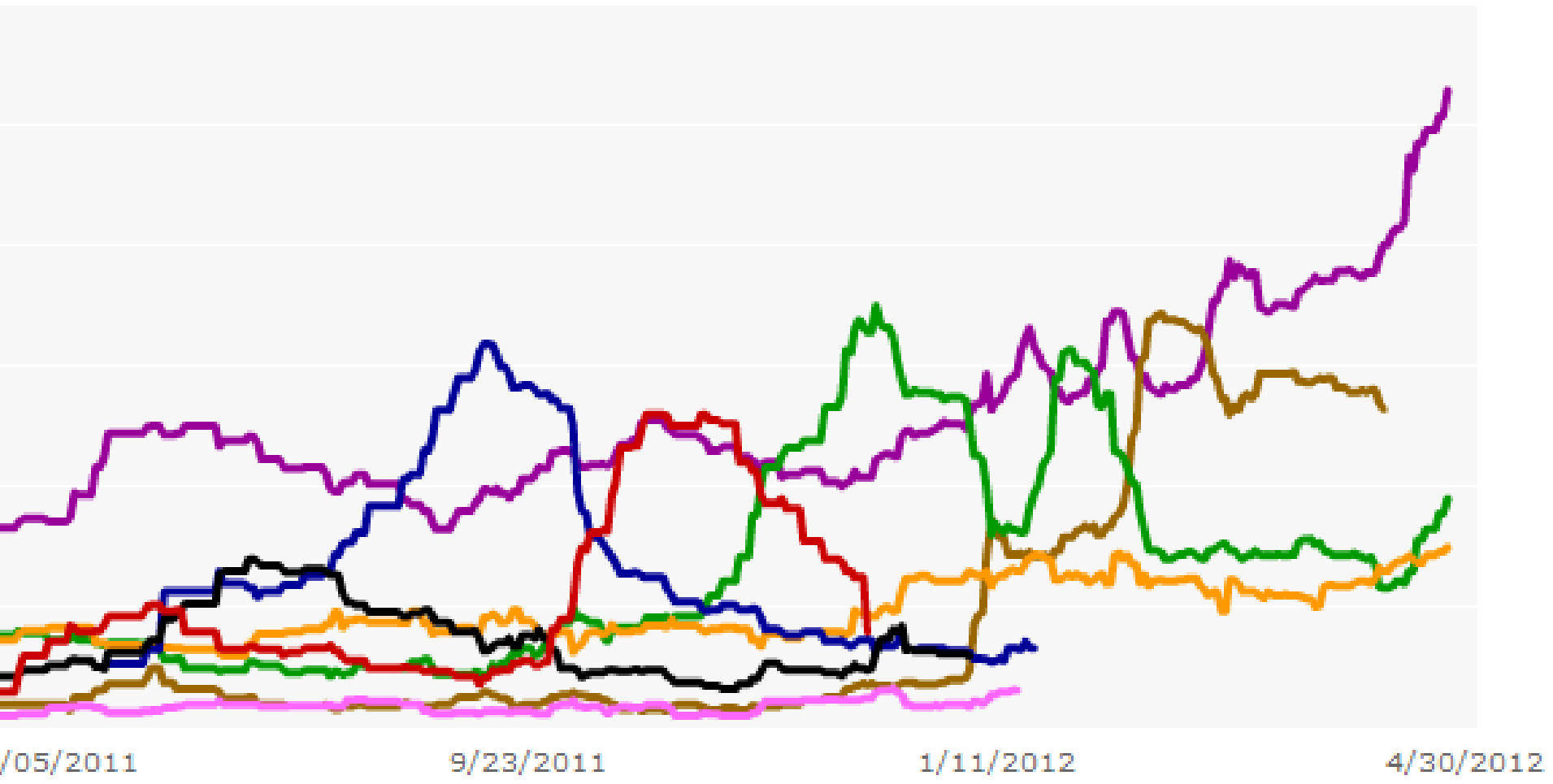
Source: CNN estimates -

<http://edition.cnn.com/election/2012/primaries.html>

Estimates of delegates from caucus states are particularly unreliable as state conventions are not usually bound to award delegates based on the caucus presidential preference poll – this favoured Ron Paul's committed and rules-knowledgeable activists.

Grey = campaign suspended





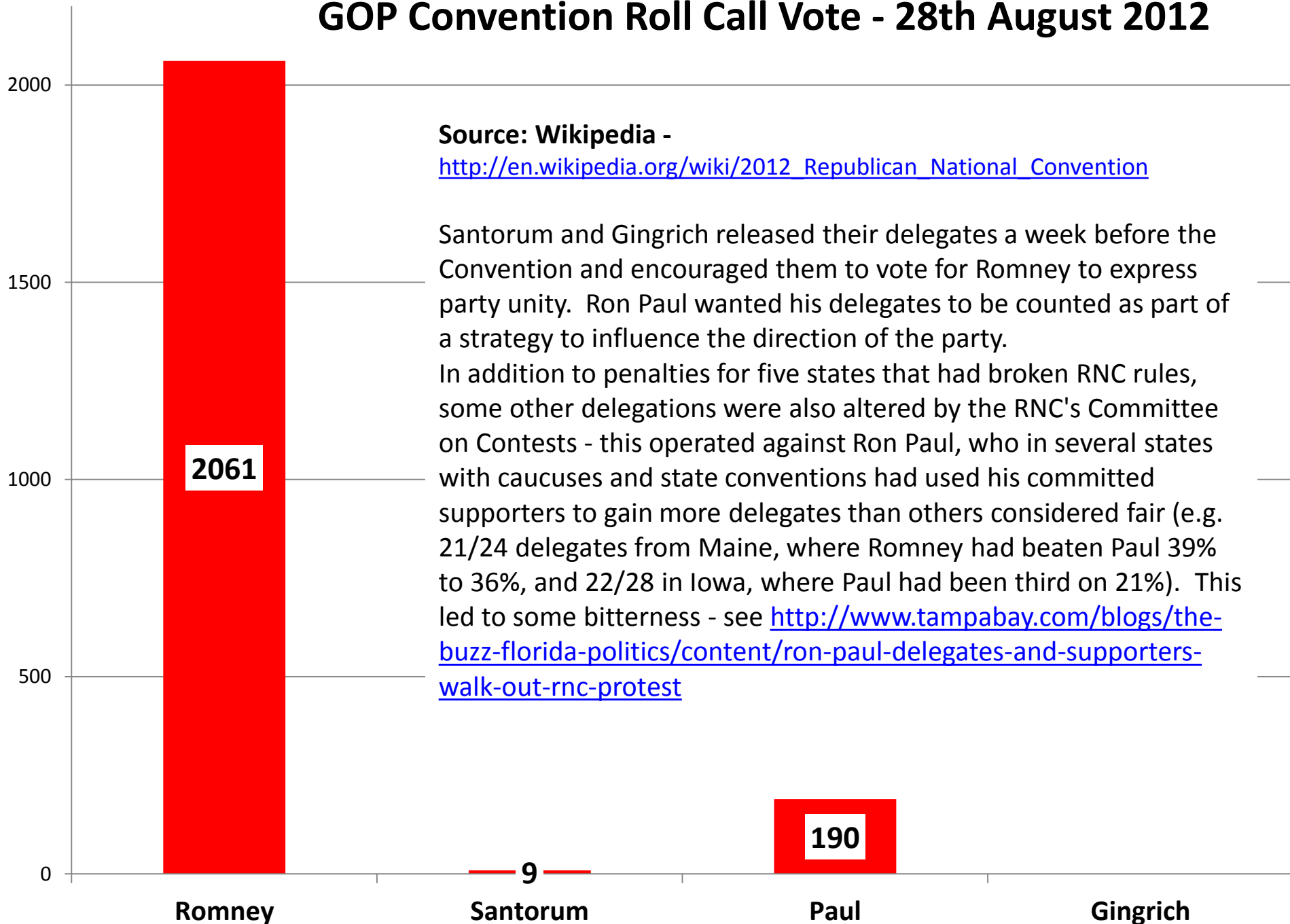
GOP Convention Roll Call Vote - 28th August 2012

Source: Wikipedia -

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2012_Republican_National_Convention

Santorum and Gingrich released their delegates a week before the Convention and encouraged them to vote for Romney to express party unity. Ron Paul wanted his delegates to be counted as part of a strategy to influence the direction of the party.

In addition to penalties for five states that had broken RNC rules, some other delegations were also altered by the RNC's Committee on Contests - this operated against Ron Paul, who in several states with caucuses and state conventions had used his committed supporters to gain more delegates than others considered fair (e.g. 21/24 delegates from Maine, where Romney had beaten Paul 39% to 36%, and 22/28 in Iowa, where Paul had been third on 21%). This led to some bitterness - see <http://www.tampabay.com/blogs/the-buzz-florida-politics/content/ron-paul-delegates-and-supporters-walk-out-rnc-protest>



Why did Romney win?

- “Next in line” after 2008
- Winner of Invisible Primary –
 - high name recognition including news coverage + signals of party elite via endorsements
 - The most money and best organisation
- Contrary to received wisdom:
 - GOP Primary voters (incl Tea Party supporters) viewed him favourably
 - GOP Primary voters did not regard him as too moderate – he was closer to them, on average, than Santorum
 - And even if primary/caucus voters preferred another candidate to Romney, they often had him as their second preference
 - (so if one of Gingrich or Santorum had pulled out early, the other would not have rallied the “conservative vote”)

Also:

- Favourable schedule - rivals could win odd states but never able to sustain momentum
- Romney perceived as best placed to beat Obama in the General Election

Graphs from *The Gamble*, by John Sides & Lynn Vavrek

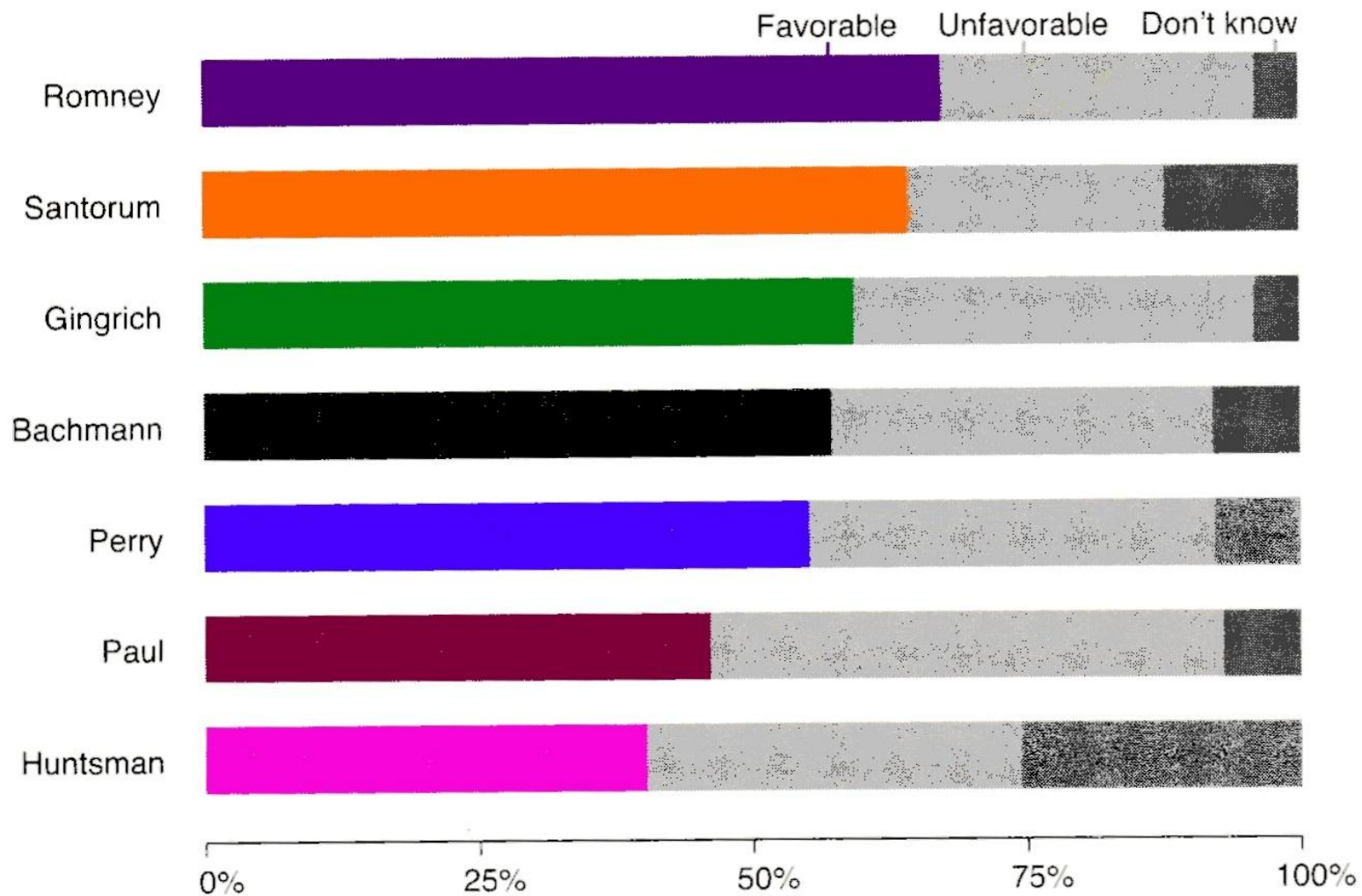


Figure 3.7.

Views of GOP presidential candidates by likely Republican primary voters (December 2011).

Data are from a YouGov survey. $N = 14,051$.

Graphs from *The Gamble*, by John Sides & Lynn Vavrek

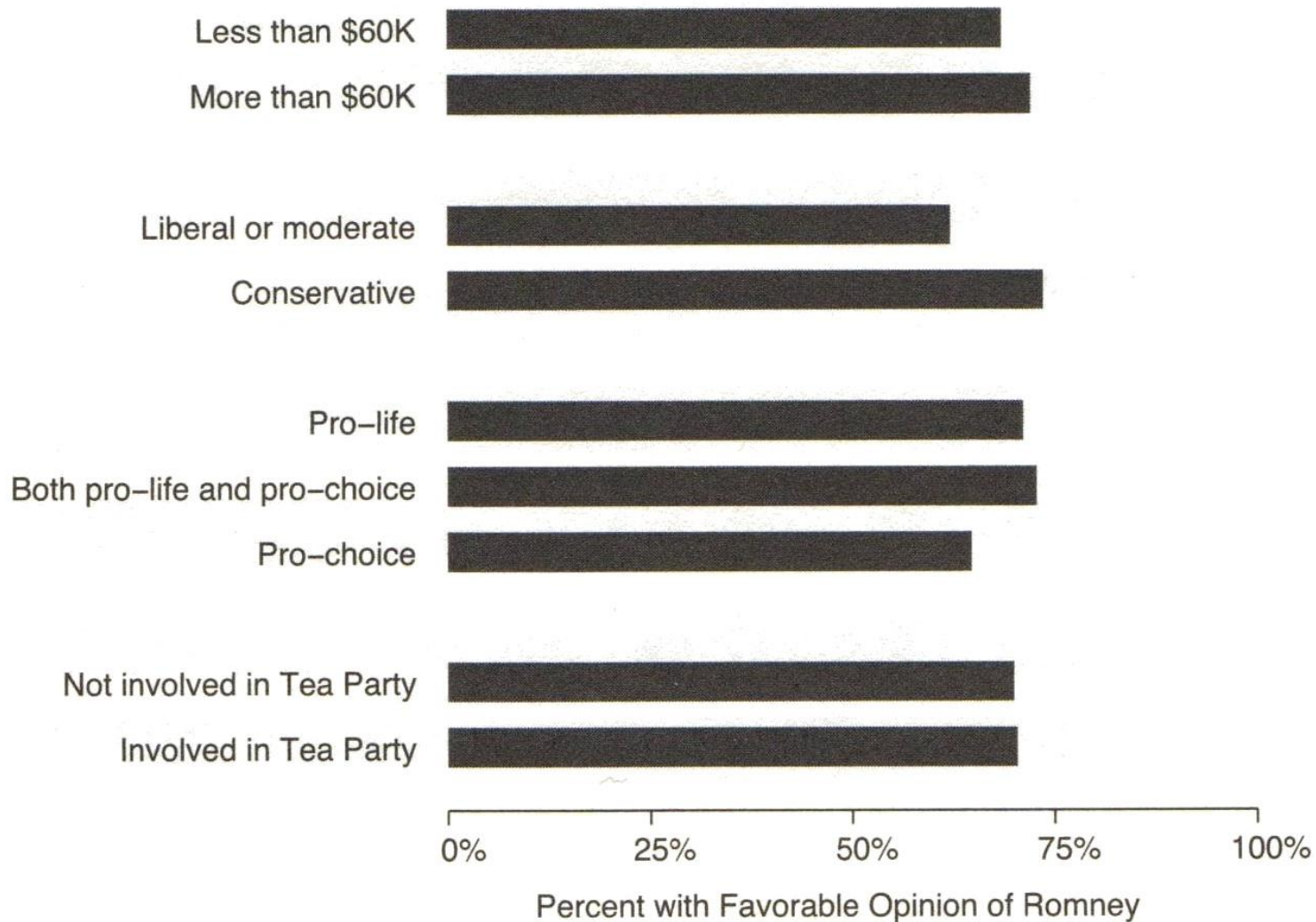


Figure 3.8.

Views of Romney by different groups of likely Republican primary voters (December 2011).

Data are from a YouGov survey.

Graphs from *The Gamble*, by John Sides & Lynn Vavrek

Figure 3.8.

Views of Romney by different groups of likely Republican primary voters (December 2011).

Data are from a YouGov survey.

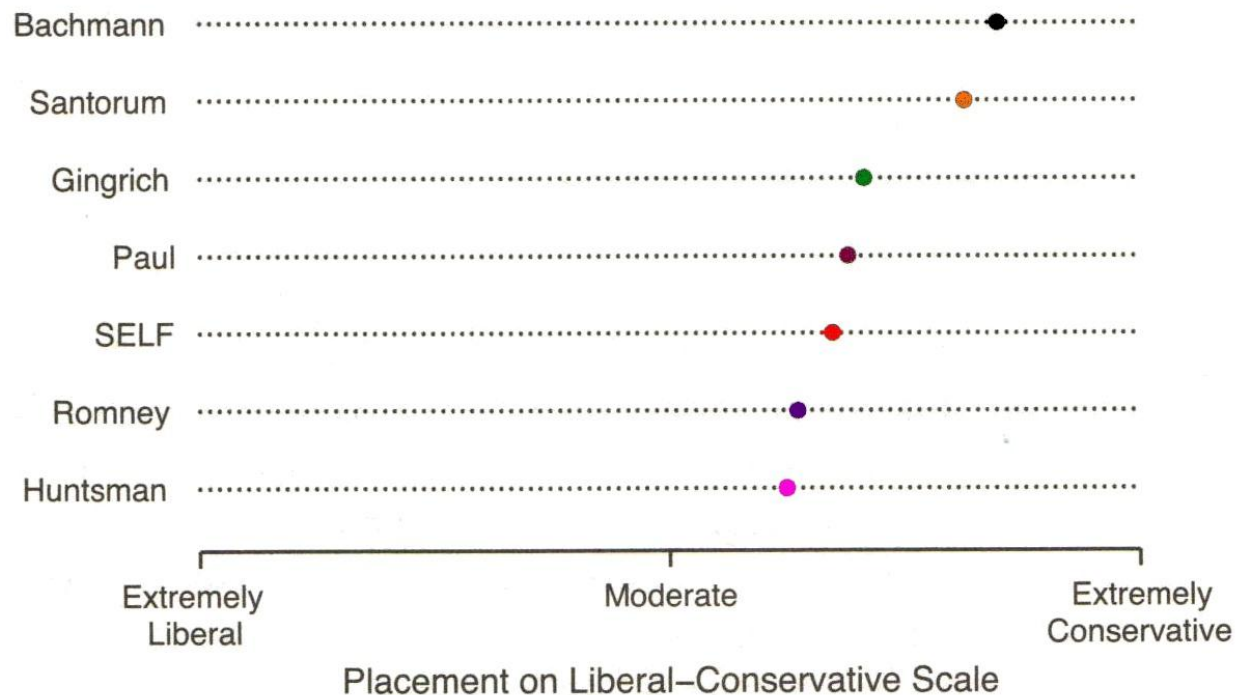
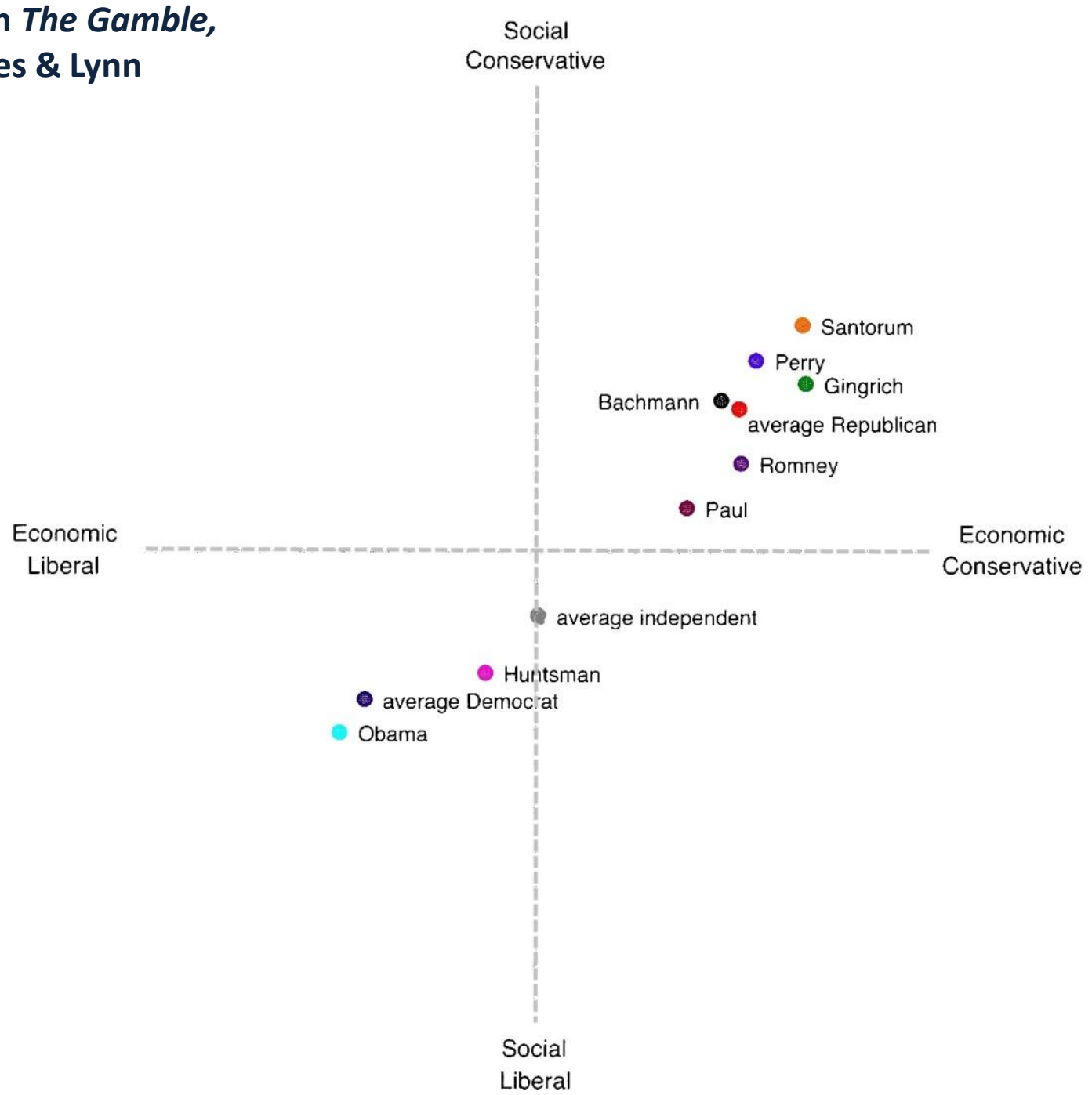


Figure 3.9.

Ideological placements of GOP presidential candidates and themselves by likely Republican primary voters.

Data are from a YouGov survey conducted December 31, 2011–January 2, 2012. $N = 281$.

Graphs from *The Gamble*, by John Sides & Lynn Vavrek



Graphs from *The Gamble*, by John Sides & Lynn Vavrek

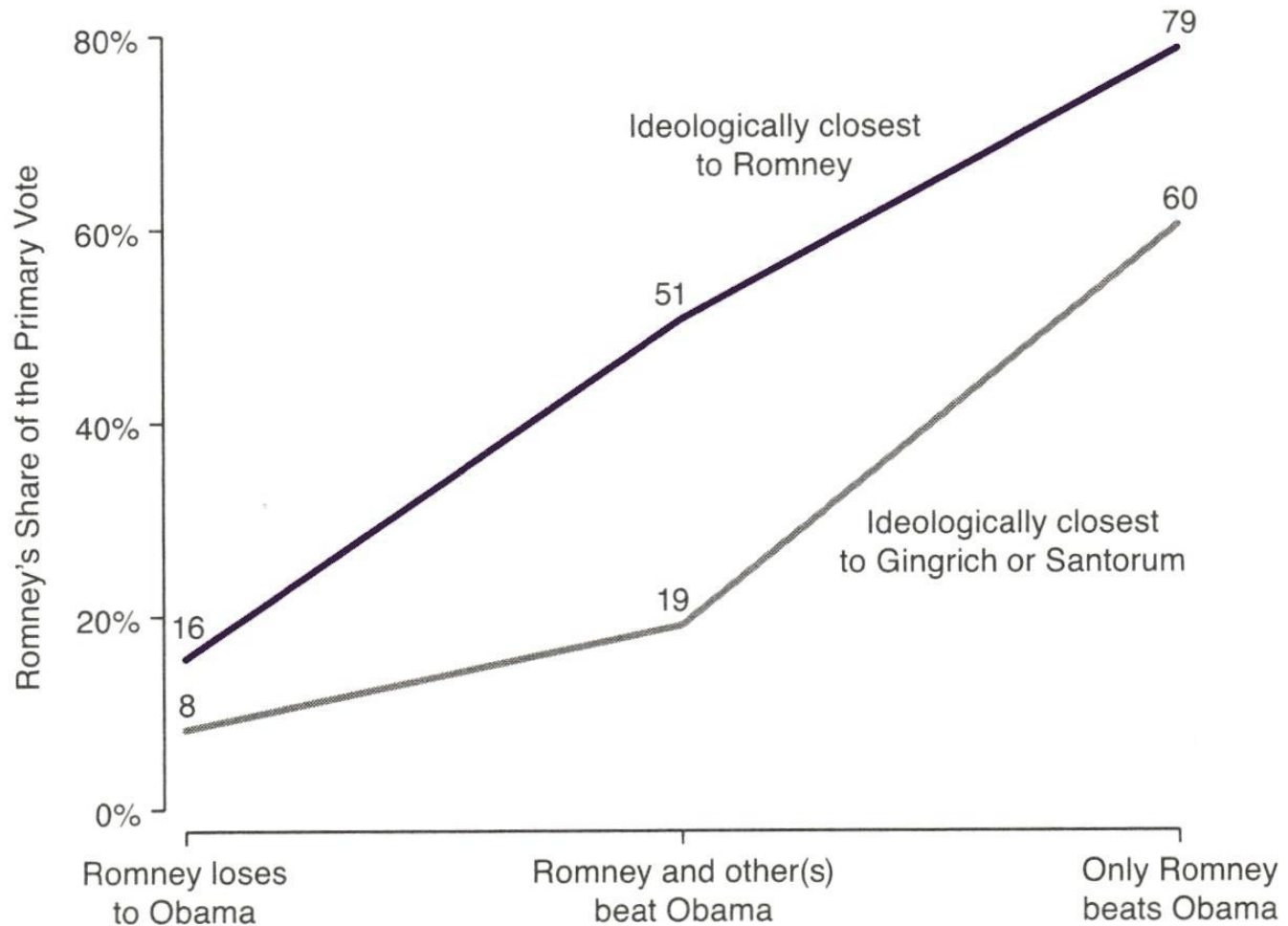


Figure 4.11.

Electability, ideology, and the Romney vote.

The graph presents the percentage of Republican primary voters who supported Romney, broken down by whether they were ideologically closest to him and whether they believed he, Gingrich, and/or Santorum could beat Barack Obama. Data from YouGov polls from January through early April (before Santorum's exit).