

- I. Untitled introduction: the two stages of the electoral process
 - A. Nomination: intra-party competition to choose candidate to run in general election
 - 1. Basic issue: who should control selection of party's candidates in general election?
 - a. Party in government -- incumbents
 - b. Party organization -- professionals and amateurs
 - c. Party in electorate -- rank and file voters
 - 2. Significance: single most important factor in making US party system different from other democracies
 - B. General election: inter-party competition
- II. How the nomination process evolved
 - A. Nominations by caucus
 - 1. Controlled by *party in government* elected officials
 - 2. Congressional caucuses came first, then state and local caucuses evolved
 - B. Nomination by party convention
 - 1. Backlash against King Caucus in 1830s
 - a. Anti-Mason Party, 1831
 - b. Democratic Party under Andrew Jackson, 1832
 - 2. Controlled by party organization leaders – professionals and amateurs
 - C. Nominations by direct primaries
 - 1. Origin
 - a. Post-Reconstruction southern primaries evolved with re-emergence of one-party system
 - b. Progressive backlash against boss rule, early 1900s
 - c. Conflicting motivations of Progressives:
 - (1) High-minded idealism: cure ills of democracy with larger doses of democracy
 - (2) Self-interested middle-class consciousness: displace power of upper and lower classes
 - 2. Consequence: erosion of party-organization power
- III. The current mix of primaries and conventions
 - A. Types
 - 1. Primary only for statewide offices: 38 states + DC
 - 2. Various combinations of primary & convention: 12 states
 - a. Primary for major parties, conventions for minor parties
 - b. Conventions if primary winner has less than 35% of vote
 - c. Conventions used to screen candidates for primary election
 - d. Conventions used to cancel primary if large enough margin in convention vote

IV. Types of primaries

- A. *Closed primaries*: voter limited to ballot of affiliated party
 - 1. *Fully-closed*: (14 states) voters have to register party affiliation prior to election day
 - 2. *Semi-closed*: (14 states) voters can change party registration on election day at polls

B. *Open primaries:*

1. Definition: voter limited to ballot of any one party, but no permanent record made of which ballot selected
 - a. *Semi-open:* (11 states, mostly Southern, including NC) voter has to ask for a particular party's ballot
 - b. *Fully-open:* (10 states) voters receive either a consolidated ballot or ballots for every party and they chose which *one* party's primary to use in the privacy of the voting booth
2. Motives in choosing which party's primary to vote in
 - a. Nonpartisan, *cross-over voting:* vote for more appealing candidate
 - b. Partisan *raiding:* vote for

C. The *blanket (jungle) primary*

1. Definition: voter not limited to any one party's ballot
2. E.g.: Alaska, and Washington (California's was ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court)

D. The *unitary primary:*

1. Definition: a blanket primary in which
 - a. The general election is canceled if any candidate wins a majority
 - b. The general election is a runoff between the top two vote winners if no one wins a majority in the primary
2. E.g.: Louisiana
3. Example of problems that can occur: 1990 US Senate race and David Duke

V. Why does the type of primary matter?

VI. How candidates qualify

- A. How do candidates get on the ballot? Box, p. 163
1. Types: petition, convention support, fees
 2. Arguments for easy access (e.g., Illinois)
 3. Arguments for more difficult access (e.g., New York)

- B. Runoffs: when too many candidates get on the ballot
1. Definition:
 2. Use: 9 Southern and border states
 3. Controversy

VII. What parties don't like about primaries

- A. Difficulties in recruiting candidates
- B. The risk of unattractive nominees Box, p. 165
- C. Divisive primaries Box, p. 166
- D. Problems in holding candidates accountable

VIII. The party organization fights back

- A. Persuading candidates to run (or not to run)
- B. Endorsing candidates
- C. Providing tangible support

IX. Candidates and voters in the primaries

- A. Many candidates run without competition
- B. ... and votes are in short supply Box, p. 170

X. The impact of the direct primary

- A. Has it made elections more democratic?
- B. How badly has it harmed the parties?
- C. Is the primary worth the cost?