

#### How Nationwide Presidential Campaigns Would Be Run

January 11,2019

The shortcomings of the current system of electing the President stem from state winner-takeall laws (i.e., laws in 48 states that award all of a state's electoral votes to the candidate receiving the most popular votes in each *separate* state). Because of winner-take-all, presidential candidates have no reason to solicit votes in states where the statewide outcome is a foregone conclusion. Instead, they only campaign in closely divided battleground states.

As Governor Scott Walker said while running for President in 2015:

"The nation as a whole is not going to elect the next president. Twelve states are."

In 2012, 100% of the general-election campaign events (and virtually all campaign expenditures) were concentrated in the 12 states where the statewide outcome was between 45% and 51% Republican (that is, within  $\pm 3\%$  of the eventual national outcome of 48%). Two-thirds of the events (176 of 253) were concentrated in just 4 states (Ohio, Florida, Virginia, and Iowa). Thirty-eight states were ignored because one candidate was safely ahead.

In 2016, 94% of the campaign events (375 of the 399) were in the 12 states where the outcome was between 43% and 51% Republican. Two-thirds of the events (273 of 399) were in just 6 states (Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Michigan).

2012 Campaign Events





The maps above (and the charts at the end of this letter) also show that presidential candidates ignored 12 of the 13 least populous states, the 10 most rural states, and most Western states.

#### National Popular Vote Would Make Every Voter in Every State Matter

The National Popular Vote bill would guarantee the Presidency to the candidate who receives the most popular votes in all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

It would make *every* voter in *every* state equally important in *every* presidential election.

Some people have wondered whether candidates might concentrate on big cities or ignore rural areas in an election in which the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes.

If there were any such tendency, it would be evident from the way real-world presidential candidates campaign today inside battleground states. Every battleground state contains big cities Presidential candidates—advised by the country's most astute political and rural areas. strategists—necessarily allocate their candidate's limited time and money between different parts of battleground states. The facts are that, inside battleground states, candidates campaign everywhere—big cities, medium-sized cities, and rural areas. Far from concentrating on big cities or ignoring rural areas, they hew very closely to population in allocating campaign events.

Let's start by looking at the battleground state of Ohio—the state that received the biggest share (73 of 253) of the entire nation's campaign events in 2012.

- Ohio's 4 biggest metropolitan statistical areas (Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Toledo.) are counties that have 54% of the state's population.
- Ohio's 7 medium-sized MSAs (Akron, Canton, Dayton, Lima, Mansfield, Springfield, and Youngstown) are counties that have 24% of the population.
- Ohio's 53 remaining counties (that is, the rural counties outside the 11 MSAs) have 22% of the state's population.

As can be seen from the table below, candidates campaigned everywhere—big cities, medium-sized cities, and rural areas. There is no evidence that they disproportionately favored big cities or ignored rural areas. They hewed very closely to population in allocating campaign events (indeed, with almost surgical precision).

Distribution of Ohio's 73 Campaign Events in 2012

|                               | Percent of Ohio's population | Percent of campaign events |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 4 biggest MSAs                | 54%                          | 52%                        |
| 7 medium-sized MSAs           | 24%                          | 23%                        |
| 53 remaining counties (rural) | 22%                          | 25%                        |

Not only is there no evidence that presidential candidates disproportionately ignored rural areas or concentrated on big cities, *it would have been preposterous for them to do so*. There is nothing special about a city vote compared to a rural vote in an election in which every vote is equal and in which the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes.

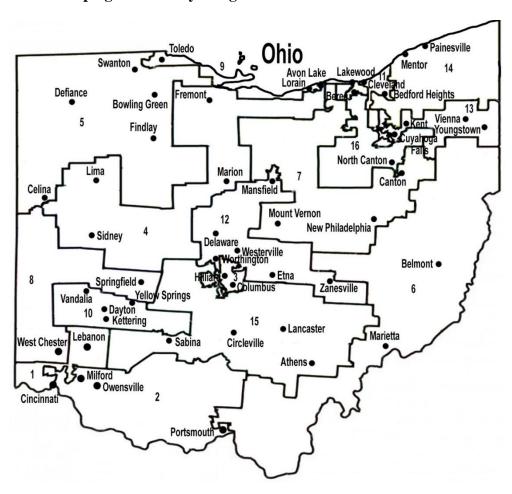
The conclusion that candidates campaign everywhere—big cities, medium-sized cities, and rural areas—is reinforced by looking at the *actual* places where candidates held campaign events.

Location of Ohio's 73 Campaign Events in 2012

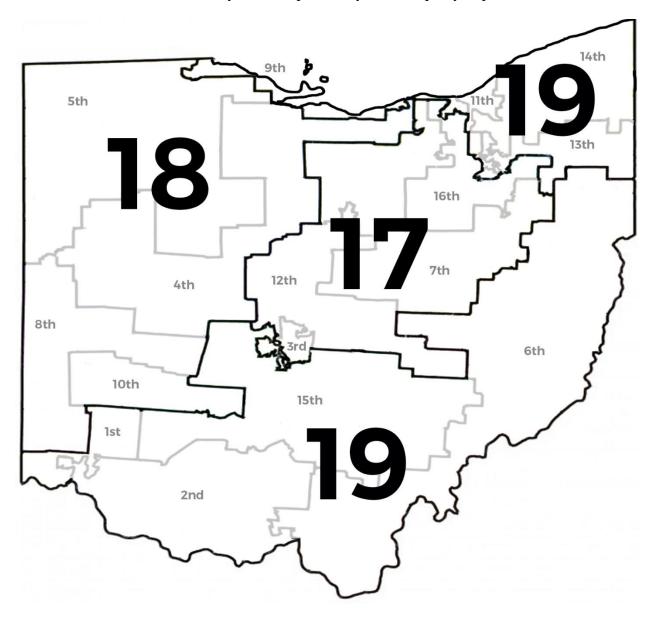
|                  |                    | don of Onio 8 73 Campaign Events in 2012               | ~          | -  |
|------------------|--------------------|--|------------|----|
| Place            | Population         | Candidate and date of campaign event                   | County     | CD |
| Belmont          | 447                | Ryan (10/20)   | Belmont    | 6  |
| Owensville       | 794                | Ryan (9/12)  | Clermont   | 2  |
| Sabina           | 2,548              | Ryan (10/27)   | Clinton    | 15 |
| Yellow Springs   | 3,526              | Ryan (10/27)   | Greene     | 10 |
| Swanton          | 3,690              | Ryan (10/8)  | Fulton     | 5  |
| Vienna           | 4,021              | Ryan (11/5)  | Trumbull   | 13 |
| Milford          | 6,681              | Biden (9/9)  | Hamilton   | 2  |
| Celina           | 10,395             | Romney (10/28)   | Mercer     | 5  |
| Bedford Heights  | 10,751             | Romney (9/26)  | Cuyahoga   | 11 |
| Circleville      | 13,453             | Ryan (10/27)   | Pickaway   | 15 |
| Worthington      | 13,757             | Romney (10/25)   | Franklin   | 12 |
| Marietta         | 14,027             | Ryan (11/3)  | Washington | 6  |
| Vandalia         | 15,204             | Romney (9/25)  | Montgomery | 10 |
| Etna             | 16,373             | Romney (11/2)  | Licking    | 12 |
| Fremont          | 16,564             | Biden (11/4)   | Sandusky   | 4  |
| Mount Vernon     | 16,812             | Romney (10/10)   | Knox       | 7  |
| Defiance         | 16,838             | Romney (10/25)   | Defiance   | 5  |
| New Philadelphia | 17,292             | Ryan (10/27)   | Tuscarawas | 7  |
| North Canton     | 17,404             | Romney (10/26)   | Stark      | 16 |
| Berea            | 18,980             | Ryan (10/17)   | Cuyahoga   | 9  |
| Painesville      | 19,634             | Romney (9/14)  | Lake       | 14 |
| Portsmouth       | 20,302             | Biden (9/9), Romney (10/13)                            | Scioto     | 2  |
| Lebanon          | 20,387             | Romney (10/13)   | Warren     | 1  |
| Sidney           | 21,031             | Romney (10/10)   | Shelby     | 4  |
| Avon Lake        | 22,816             | Romney (10/29)   | Lorain     | 9  |
| Athens           | 23,755             | Obama (10/17), Biden (9/8)                             | Athens     | 15 |
| Zanesville       | 25,411             | Biden (9/8), Ryan (10/27)                              | Muskingum  | 12 |
| Kent             | 29,807             | Obama (9/26)   | Portage    | 13 |
| Hilliard         | 30,564             | Obama (11/2)   | Scioto     | 15 |
| Bowling Green    | 31,384             | Obama (9/26)   | Wood       | 5  |
| Delaware         | 35,925             | Romney (10/10)   | Delaware   | 12 |
| Marion           | 36,904             | Biden (10/24), Romney (10/28)                          | Marion     | 4  |
| Westerville      | 37,073             | Romney (9/26)  | Franklin   | 12 |
| Lima             | 38,339             | Obama (11/2), Ryan (9/24)                              | Allen      | 4  |
| Lancaster        | 38,880             | Biden (11/4), Romney (10/12)                           | Fairfield  | 15 |
| Findlay          | 41,526             | Romney (10/28)   | Hancock    | 5  |
| Mentor           | 47,023             | Obama (11/3)   | Lake       | 14 |
| Mansfield        | 47,052             | Romney (9/10), Ryan (11/4)                             | Richland   | 12 |
| Cuyahoga Falls   | 49,245             | Romney (10/9)  | Summit     | 13 |
| Lakewood         | 51,385             | Biden (11/4)   | Cuyahoga   | 9  |
| Kettering        | 55,990             | Romney (10/30)   | Montgomery | 10 |
| Springfield      | 60,147             | Obama (11/2)   | Clark      | 8  |
| West Chester     | 60,958             | Romney (11/2)  | Butler     | 8  |
| Lorain           | 63,707             | Biden (10/22)  | Lorain     | 9  |
| Youngstown       | 65,405             | Biden (10/22) Biden (10/29), Ryan (10/12)              | Mahoning   | 13 |
| Canton           | 72,683             | Biden (10/29), Kyan (10/12)  Biden (10/22)             | Stark      | 7  |
| Dayton           | 141,359            | Obama (10/23), Biden (9/12)                            | Montgomery | 10 |
| -                |                    | Biden (10/23), Romney (9/26)                           |            |    |
| Toledo           | 284,012<br>296,550 |  | Lucas      | 9  |
| Claveland        |                    | Obama (9/17, 11/4), Romney (10/25), Ryan (9/25, 10/15) | Hamilton   |    |
| Cleveland        | 390,928            | Obama (10/5, 10/25), Romney (11/4, 11/6), Ryan (10/24) | Cuyahoga   | 11 |
| Columbus         | 809,798            | Obama (9/17, 10/9, 11/5), Romney (11/5), Ryan (9/29)   | Franklin   | 3  |

This conclusion is also reinforced if you look at the distribution of campaign events among Ohio's 16 congressional districts. Presidential candidates campaigned in all of the districts, as shown in the map below (and the table above) of the 73 general-election campaign events in 2012.

#### Campaign Events by Congressional District in Ohio in 2012



The fact that candidates hew closely to population in allocating campaign events may also be seen by dividing Ohio into four large geographic areas—each containing four of the state's 16 congressional districts (and, therefore, each containing a quarter of the state's population). As can be seen, each of these four geographic areas received almost exactly a quarter of the campaign events. The reason is that when every vote is equal, every vote is equally important.



The same pattern of population-based campaigning occurred in other battleground states.

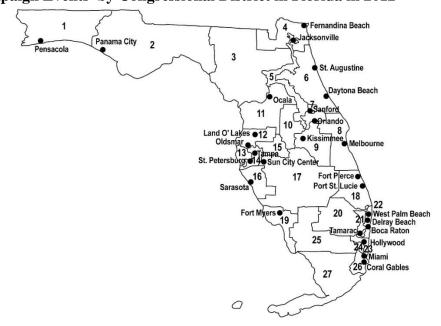
Four battleground states (Ohio, Florida, Virginia, and Iowa) accounted for over two-thirds of all campaign events in 2012 (70% of 253).

In Florida (which received 40 campaign events), candidates campaigned throughout the state.

Location of Florida's 40 Campaign Events in 2012

| Location of Florida's 40 Campaign Events in 2012 |            |  |              |    |  |
|--|------------|--|--------------|----|--|
| Place  | Population | Candidate and date of campaign event         | County       | CD |  |
| Fernandina Beach                                 | 11,705     | Ryan (10/29)                                 | Nassau       | 4  |  |
| St. Augustine                                    | 13,407     | Biden (10/20)                                | St. Johns    | 6  |  |
| Oldsmar  | 13,703     | Ryan (9/15)                                  | Pinellas     | 12 |  |
| Sun City Center                                  | 19,258     | Biden (10/19)                                | Hillsborough | 17 |  |
| Land O' Lakes                                    | 31,145     | Romney (10/27)                               | Pasco        | 12 |  |
| Panama City                                      | 36,167     | Ryan (11/3)                                  | Bay          | 2  |  |
| Fort Pierce                                      | 42,645     | Biden (10/19)                                | St. Lucie    | 18 |  |
| Apopka   | 44,474     | Romney (10/6)                                | Orange       | 5  |  |
| Coral Gables                                     | 49,411     | Obama (10/11), Romney (10/31)                | Miami-Dade   | 26 |  |
| Pensacola  | 52,340     | Romney (10/27)                               | Escambia     | 1  |  |
| Sarasota   | 52,811     | Biden (10/31), Romney (9/20)                 | Sarasota     | 16 |  |
| Sanford  | 54,651     | Romney (11/5)                                | Seminole     | 5  |  |
| Ocala  | 56,945     | Biden (10/31), Ryan (10/18)                  | Marion       | 11 |  |
| Daytona Beach                                    | 62,035     | Romney (10/19)                               | Volusia      | 6  |  |
| Delray Beach                                     | 62,357     | Obama (10/23)                                | Palm Beach   | 22 |  |
| Tamarac  | 62,557     | Biden (9/28)                                 | Broward      | 20 |  |
| Kissimmee  | 63,369     | Obama (9/8), Romney (10/27)                  | Osceola      | 9  |  |
| Fort Myers                                       | 65,725     | Biden (9/29), Ryan (10/18)                   | Lee          | 19 |  |
| Melbourne  | 77,048     | Obama (9/9)                                  | Brevard      | 8  |  |
| Boca Raton                                       | 87,836     | Biden (9/28)                                 | Palm Beach   | 22 |  |
| West Palm Beach                                  | 101,043    | Obama (9/9)                                  | Palm Beach   | 22 |  |
| Hollywood  | 145,236    | Obama (11/4)                                 | Broward      | 23 |  |
| Port St. Lucie                                   | 168,716    | Romney (10/7)                                | St. Lucie    | 18 |  |
| St. Petersburg                                   | 246,541    | Obama (9/8), Romney (10/5)                   | Pinellas     | 14 |  |
| Orlando  | 249,562    | Ryan (9/22)                                  | Orange       | 7  |  |
| Tampa  | 347,645    | Obama (10/25), Romney (10/31), Ryan (10/19)  | Hillsborough | 14 |  |
| Miami  | 413,892    | Obama (9/20), Romney (9/19 x 2), Ryan (9/22) | Miami-Dade   | 27 |  |
| Jacksonville                                     | 836,507    | Romney (9/12, 10/31)                         | Duval        | 5  |  |

#### Campaign Events by Congressional District in Florida in 2012

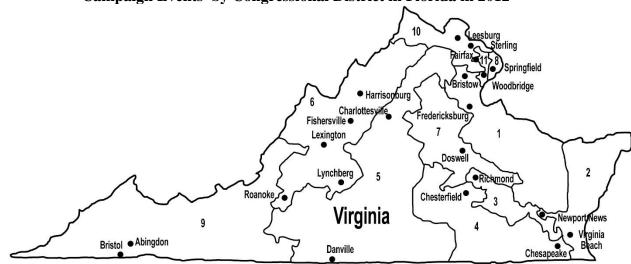


Likewise, presidential candidates campaigned throughout the state in Virginia (which received 36 of the nation's 253 campaign events in 2012).

Location of Virginia's 36 Campaign Events in 2012

|                 | Location of virginia \$ 50 Campaign Events in 2012 |  |                     |    |  |  |  |
|-----------------|--|--|---------------------|----|--|--|--|
| Place           | Population   | Candidate and date of campaign event       | County              | CD |  |  |  |
| Doswell         | 2,126  | Romney (11/1)                              | Hanover             | 7  |  |  |  |
| Woodbridge      | 4,055  | Obama (9/21)                               | Prince William      | 11 |  |  |  |
| Lexington       | 6,998  | Romney (10/8)                              | Rockbridge          | 6  |  |  |  |
| Fishersville    | 7,462  | Romney (10/4)                              | Augusta             | 6  |  |  |  |
| Abingdon        | 8,188  | Romney (10/5)                              | Washington          | 9  |  |  |  |
| Bristow         | 15,137   | Obama (11/3)                               | Prince William      | 1  |  |  |  |
| Bristol         | 17,662   | Ryan (10/25)                               | Bristol city        | 9  |  |  |  |
| Fairfax         | 23,461   | Obama (10/5, 10/19), Romney (9/13, 11/5)   | Fairfax             | 11 |  |  |  |
| Fredericksburg  | 27,307   | Ryan (10/16)                               | Fredericksburg city | 1  |  |  |  |
| Sterling        | 27,822   | Biden (11/5)                               | Loudoun             | 10 |  |  |  |
| Springfield     | 30,484   | Romney (11/2)                              | Fairfax             | 8  |  |  |  |
| Danville        | 42,996   | Ryan (9/19)                                | Danville city       | 5  |  |  |  |
| Charlottesville | 43,956   | Ryan (10/25)                               | Albermarle          | 5  |  |  |  |
| Leesburg        | 45,936   | Romney (10/17)                             | Loudoun             | 10 |  |  |  |
| Harrisonburg    | 50,981   | Ryan (9/14)                                | Rockingham          | 6  |  |  |  |
| Lynchburg       | 77,113   | Biden (10/27), Romney (11/5), Ryan (10/16) | Lynchburg city      | 6  |  |  |  |
| Roanoke         | 97,469   | Romney (11/1)                              | Roanoke city        | 6  |  |  |  |
| Newport News    | 180,726  | Romney (10/8, 11/4), Ryan (9/18)           | Newport News city   | 2  |  |  |  |
|                 |  | Obama (10/25), Biden (11/5), Romney (9/8,  | Richmond city       | 3  |  |  |  |
| Richmond        | 210,309  | 10/12), Ryan (11/3, 11/6)                  |                     |    |  |  |  |
| Chesapeake      | 228,417  | Romney (10/17)                             | Chesapeake city     | 4  |  |  |  |
| Chesterfield    | 323,856  | Biden (9/25)                               | Chesterfield        | 4  |  |  |  |
| Virginia Beach  | 447,021  | Obama (9/27), Romney (9/8, 11/1)           | Virginia Beach      | 2  |  |  |  |
|                 |  |  |                     |    |  |  |  |

### Campaign Events by Congressional District in Florida in 2012

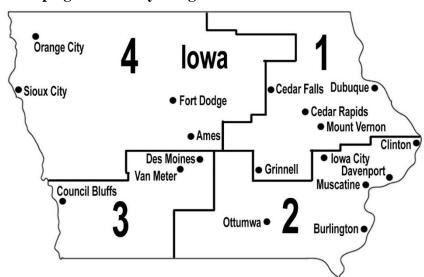


Similarly, presidential candidates campaigned throughout the state in Iowa (which received 27 of the nation's 253 campaign events in 2012).

Location of Iowa's 27 Campaign Events in 2012

| Place          | Population | Candidate and date of campaign event           | County        | CD |
|----------------|------------|--|---------------|----|
| Van Meter      | 1,016      | Romney (10/9)                                  | Dallas        | 3  |
| Mount Vernon   | 4,506      | Obama (10/17)                                  | Linn          | 1  |
| Orange City    | 6,004      | Romney (9/7)                                   | Sioux         | 4  |
| Grinnell       | 9,218      | Biden (9/18)                                   | Poweshiek     | 1  |
| Muscatine      | 22,886     | Biden (11/1), Ryan (10/2)                      | Muscatine     | 2  |
| Fort Dodge     | 25,206     | Biden (11/1)                                   | Webster       | 4  |
| Ottumwa        | 25,023     | Biden (9/18)                                   | Wapello       | 2  |
| Burlington     | 25,663     | Biden (9/17), Ryan (10/2)                      | Des Moines    | 2  |
| Clinton        | 26,885     | Ryan (10/2)                                    | Clinton       | 2  |
| Cedar Falls    | 39,260     | Ryan (11/2)                                    | Black Hawk    | 1  |
| Dubuque        | 57,637     | Obama (11/3), Romney (11/3), Ryan (10/1)       | Dubuque       | 1  |
| Ames           | 58,965     | Romney (10/25)                                 | Story         | 4  |
| Council Bluffs | 62,230     | Biden (10/4), Ryan (10/21)                     | Pottawattamie | 3  |
| Iowa City      | 67,862     | Obama-Biden (9/7)                              | Johnson       | 2  |
| Sioux City     | 82,684     | Ryan (10/21)                                   | Woodbury      | 4  |
| Davenport      | 99,685     | Obama (10/24), Romney (10/29)                  | Scott         | 2  |
| Cedar Rapids   | 126,326    | Romney (10/24)                                 | Linn          | 1  |
| Des Moines     | 203,433    | Obama (11/5), Romney (11/3), Ryan (9/17, 11/5) | Polk          | 3  |

### Campaign Events by Congressional District in Iowa in 2012

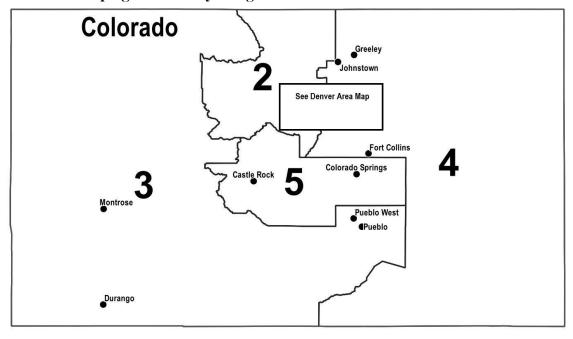


Similarly, presidential candidates campaigned throughout the state in Colorado (which received 23 of the nation's 253 campaign events in 2012).

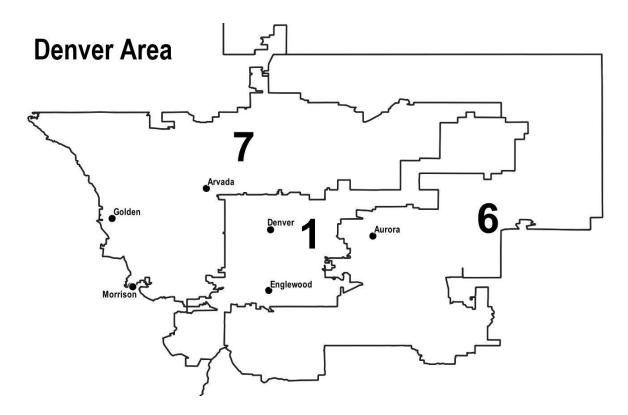
Location of Colorado's 21 Campaign Events in 2012

| Place            | Population | Candidate and date of campaign event        | County    | CD |
|------------------|------------|---|-----------|----|
| Morrison         | 428        | Romney & Ryan (10/23)                       | Jefferson | 2  |
| Johnstown        | 9,887      | Ryan (11/5)                                 | Weld      | 4  |
| Durango          | 16,887     | Ryan (10/22)                                | La Plata  | 3  |
| Golden           | 18,867     | Obama (9/13)                                | Jefferson | 7  |
| Montrose         | 19,132     | Ryan (11/2)                                 | Montrose  | 3  |
| Pueblo West      | 29,637     | Ryan (10/22)                                | Pueblo    | 3  |
| Englewood        | 30,255     | Romney (11/3)                               | Arapahoe  | 1  |
| Castle Rock      | 48,231     | Ryan (11/4)                                 | Douglas   | 5  |
| Greeley          | 92,889     | Biden (10/17), Ryan (11/1)                  | Weld      | 4  |
| Arvada           | 106,433    | Biden (11/3)                                | Jefferson | 7  |
| Pueblo           | 106,595    | Biden (11/3), Romney (9/16, 9/24)           | Pueblo    | 3  |
| Fort Collins     | 143,986    | Ryan (9/26)                                 | Larimer   | 4  |
| Aurora           | 325,078    | Obama (11/4)                                | Arapahoe  | 6  |
| Colorado Springs | 416,427    | Romney (11/3), Ryan (9/26), 10/21)          | El Paso   | 5  |
| Denver           | 600,158    | Obama (10/4,10/24,11/1), Romney (9/23,10/1) | Denver    | 1  |

#### Campaign Events by Congressional District in Colorado in 2012



The map below shows the location of events in the Denver area.



Location of New Hampshire's 21 Campaign Events in 2012

Location of Wisconsin's 18 Campaign Events in 2012

Location of Nevada's 13 Campaign Events in 2012

**Location of Remaining 9 Campaign Events in 2012** 

In summary, presidential candidates—advised by the nation's most astute political strategists—hew closely to population in allocating campaign events. The reason is simple. When every vote is equal and the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes, every vote (big city, rural, etc.) is equally important.

## How a Nationwide Presidential Campaign Would Be Run

In a nationwide campaign, candidates would campaign nationwide in the same way as they do today *inside* battleground states—that is, *they would allocate their campaigning based on population*. If you divide the country's population (309,785,186) by the number of 2016 general-election campaign events (399), you get 776,404. The table below distributes 399 campaign events among the states by dividing each state's population by 776,404. The table shows that candidates would campaign in *all 50 states* (whereas they campaign in only a relatively few battleground states under the current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes).

| States allast the | Population Population | Campaign events based on | Actual 2016 campaign |
|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| State             | 2010                  | population               | events               |
| Alabama           | 4,802,982             | 6                        | 0.0100               |
| Alaska            | 721,523               | 1                        |                      |
| Arizona           | 6,412,700             | 8                        | 10                   |
| Arkansas          | 2,926,229             | 4                        | 10                   |
| California        | 37,341,989            | 48                       | 1                    |
| Colorado          | 5,044,930             | 6                        | 19                   |
| Connecticut       | 3,581,628             | 5                        | 1                    |
| Delaware          | 900,877               | 1                        |                      |
| D.C.              | 601,723               | 1                        |                      |
| Florida           | 18,900,773            | 24                       | 71                   |
| Georgia           | 9,727,566             | 13                       | 3                    |
| Hawaii            | 1,366,862             | 2                        |                      |
| Idaho             | 1,573,499             | 2                        |                      |
| Illinois          | 12,864,380            | 17                       | 1                    |
| Indiana           | 6,501,582             | 8                        | 2                    |
| Iowa              | 3,053,787             | 4                        | 21                   |
| Kansas            | 2,863,813             | 4                        |                      |
| Kentucky          | 4,350,606             | 6                        |                      |
| Louisiana         | 4,553,962             | 6                        |                      |
| Maine             | 1,333,074             | 2                        | 3                    |
| Maryland          | 5,789,929             | 7                        |                      |
| Massachusetts     | 6,559,644             | 8                        |                      |
| Michigan          | 9,911,626             | 13                       | 22                   |
| Minnesota         | 5,314,879             | 7                        | 2                    |
| Mississippi       | 2,978,240             | 4                        | 1                    |
| Missouri          | 6,011,478             | 8                        | 2                    |
| Montana           | 994,416               | 1                        |                      |
| Nebraska          | 1,831,825             | 2                        | 2                    |
| Nevada            | 2,709,432             | 3                        | 17                   |
| New               |                       |                          |                      |
| Hampshire         | 1,321,445             | 2                        | 21                   |
| New Jersey        | 8,807,501             | 11                       |                      |
| New Mexico        | 2,067,273             | 3                        | 3                    |
| New York          | 19,421,055            | 25                       |                      |
| North             |                       |                          |                      |
| Carolina          | 9,565,781             | 12                       | 55                   |
| North Dakota      | 675,905               | 1                        |                      |
| Ohio              | 11,568,495            | 15                       | 48                   |
| Oklahoma          | 3,764,882             | 5                        |                      |
| Oregon            | 3,848,606             | 5                        |                      |
| Pennsylvania      | 12,734,905            | 16                       | 54                   |
| Rhode Island      | 1,055,247             | 1                        |                      |

| South         |             |     |     |
|---------------|-------------|-----|-----|
| Carolina      | 4,645,975   | 6   |     |
| South Dakota  | 819,761     | 1   |     |
| Tennessee     | 6,375,431   | 8   |     |
| Texas         | 25,268,418  | 33  | 1   |
| Utah          | 2,770,765   | 4   | 1   |
| Vermont       | 630,337     | 1   |     |
| Virginia      | 8,037,736   | 10  | 23  |
| Washington    | 6,753,369   | 9   | 1   |
| West Virginia | 1,859,815   | 2   |     |
| Wisconsin     | 5,698,230   | 7   | 14  |
| Wyoming       | 568,300     | 1   | ·   |
| Total         | 309,785,186 | 399 | 399 |

# Small States Are Ignored Under Current Winner-Take-All Rule

The states are arranged according to their number of electoral votes.

| Electoral |                | 2012   | 2016   |
|-----------|----------------|--------|--------|
| votes     | State          | events | events |
| 3         | Alaska         |        |        |
| 3         | Delaware       |        |        |
|           | District of    |        |        |
| 3         | Columbia       |        |        |
| 3         | Montana        |        |        |
| 3         | North Dakota   |        |        |
| 3         | South Dakota   |        |        |
| 3         | Vermont        |        |        |
| 3         | Wyoming        |        |        |
| 4         | New Hampshire  | 13     | 21     |
| 4         | Maine          |        | 3      |
| 4         | Hawaii         |        |        |
| 4         | Idaho          |        |        |
| 4         | Rhode Island   |        |        |
| 5         | New Mexico     |        | 3      |
| 5         | Nebraska       |        | 2      |
| 5         | West Virginia  |        |        |
| 6         | Iowa           | 27     | 21     |
| 6         | Nevada         | 13     | 17     |
| 6         | Mississippi    |        | 1      |
| 6         | Utah           |        | 1      |
| 6         | Arkansas       |        |        |
| 6         | Kansas         |        |        |
| 7         | Connecticut    |        | 1      |
| 7         | Oklahoma       |        |        |
| 7         | Oregon         |        |        |
| 8         | Kentucky       |        |        |
| 8         | Louisiana      |        |        |
| 9         | Colorado       | 23     | 19     |
| 9         | Alabama        |        |        |
| 9         | South Carolina |        |        |
| 10        | Wisconsin      | 18     | 14     |
| 10        | Minnesota      | 1      | 2      |
| 10        | Missouri       |        | 2      |
| 10        | Maryland       |        |        |
| 11        | Arizona        |        | 10     |
| 11        | Indiana        |        | 2      |
| 11        | Massachusetts  |        |        |
| 11        | Tennessee      |        |        |
| 12        | Washington     |        | 1      |
| 13        | Virginia       | 36     | 23     |
| 14        | New Jersey     |        |        |
| 15        | North Carolina | 3      | 55     |
| 16        | Michigan       | 1      | 22     |
| 16        | Georgia        |        | 3      |
| 18        | Ohio           | 73     | 48     |
| 20        | Pennsylvania   | 5      | 54     |

| 20  | Illinois   |     | 1   |
|-----|------------|-----|-----|
| 29  | Florida    | 40  | 71  |
| 29  | New York   |     |     |
| 38  | Texas      |     | 1   |
| 55  | California |     | 1   |
| 538 | Total      | 253 | 399 |

- <u>In 2012, only 1 of the 13 smallest states</u> (3 or 4 electoral votes) received any of the 253 general-election campaign events, namely the closely divided battleground state of New Hampshire. The small states are ignored not because they are small, but because (except New Hampshire), they are one-party states in presidential elections.
- <u>In 2012, only 3 of the 25 smallest states</u> (7 or fewer electoral votes) received any of the general-election campaign events. The 3 states were the closely divided battleground states of New Hampshire, Iowa, and Nevada. Note that 80% of the general-election campaign events were focused on only 9 closely divided battleground states—mostly larger states. In fact, the winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes shifts power from small states and medium-sized states to *bigger* states.
- <u>• In 2016, only 2 of the 13 smallest states</u> (3 or 4 electoral votes) received any of the 399 general-election campaign events. New Hampshire received 21 because it was a closely divided battleground state. Maine (which awards electoral votes by congressional district) received 3 campaign events because its 2<sup>nd</sup> congressional district was closely divided (and, indeed, Trump carried it). All the other small states were ignored.
- <u>In 2016, only 4 of the 25 smallest states</u> (7 or fewer electoral votes) received any generalelection campaign events. New Hampshire, Iowa, and Nevada received attention because they were closely divided battleground states. As previously mentioned, Maine received some attention because its 2<sup>nd</sup> congressional district was closely divided.

# Rural States are Disadvantaged under the Current State-By-State Winner-Take-All Method of Awarding Electoral Votes

Political influence in the Electoral College is based on whether the state is a closely divided battleground state. The current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes does not enhance the influence of rural states, because most rural states are not battleground states.

The 10 most rural states are:

- Vermont (60.61% rural),
- Maine (57.86% rural),
- West Virginia (53.75% rural),
- Mississippi (50.20% rural),
- South Dakota (47.14% rural),
- Arkansas (46.10% rural),
- Montana (44.69% rural),
- North Dakota (44.68% rural),
- Alabama (43.74% rural), and
- Kentucky (43.13% rural).

*None* of the 10 most rural states is a closely divided battleground state.

Column 2 of the table on the next page shows, for each state, the rural population (using the 2000 definition found in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*). Column 3 shows the state's total population. Column 4 shows the rural percentage (column 2 divided by column 3). Column 5 shows the rural "index" (obtained by dividing the state's rural percentage by the overall national rural percentage of 20.11%). An index above 100 indicates that the state is more rural than the nation as a whole, whereas an index below 100 indicates that the state is less rural. Thirty-three states have an index above 100 (meaning that more than 20.11% of their population is rural), whereas 18 states have an index below 100 (that is, they are less rural than the nation as a whole).

Rural population of the various states

| State                                   | Rural                        | Total                               | Rural                   | Rural |
|---|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
|   | population                   | population                          | percent                 | index |
| Vermont                                 | 376,379                      | 621,000                             | 60.61%                  | 301   |
| Maine                                   | 762,045                      | 1,317,000                           | 57.86%                  | 288   |
| West Virginia                           | 975,564                      | 1,815,000                           | 53.75%                  | 267   |
| Mississippi                             | 1,457,307                    | 2,903,000                           | 50.20%                  | 250   |
| South Dakota                            | 363,417                      | 771,000                             | 47.14%                  | 234   |
| Arkansas                                | 1,269,221                    | 2,753,000                           | 46.10%                  | 229   |
| Montana                                 | 414,317                      | 927,000                             | 44.69%                  | 222   |
| North Dakota                            | 283,242                      | 634,000                             | 44.68%                  | 222   |
| Alabama                                 | 1,981,427                    | 4,530,000                           | 43.74%                  | 218   |
| Kentucky                                | 1,787,969                    | 4,146,000                           | 43.13%                  | 214   |
| New                                     | 503,451                      | 1,300,000                           | 38.73%                  | 193   |
| Hampshire                               | , -                          | , ,                                 |                         |       |
| Iowa                                    | 1,138,892                    | 2,954,000                           | 38.55%                  | 192   |
| South                                   | 1,584,888                    | 4,198,000                           | 37.75%                  | 188   |
| Carolina                                | , ,                          | , ,                                 |                         |       |
| North                                   | 3,199,831                    | 8,541,000                           | 37.46%                  | 186   |
| Carolina                                |                              | , ,                                 |                         |       |
| Tennessee                               | 2,069,265                    | 5,901,000                           | 35.07%                  | 174   |
| Wyoming                                 | 172,438                      | 507,000                             | 34.01%                  | 169   |
| Oklahoma                                | 1,196,091                    | 3,524,000                           | 33.94%                  | 169   |
| Alaska                                  | 215,675                      | 655,000                             | 32.93%                  | 164   |
| Idaho                                   | 434,456                      | 1,393,000                           | 31.19%                  | 155   |
| Wisconsin                               | 1,700,032                    | 5,509,000                           | 30.86%                  | 153   |
| Missouri                                | 1,711,769                    | 5,755,000                           | 29.74%                  | 148   |
| Nebraska                                | 517,538                      | 1,747,000                           | 29.62%                  | 147   |
| Indiana                                 | 1,776,474                    | 6,238,000                           | 28.48%                  | 142   |
| Kansas                                  | 767,749                      | 2,736,000                           | 28.06%                  | 140   |
| Minnesota                               | 1,429,420                    | 5,101,000                           | 28.02%                  | 139   |
| Louisiana                               | 1,223,311                    | 4,516,000                           | 27.09%                  | 135   |
| Georgia                                 | 2,322,290                    | 8,829,000                           | 26.30%                  | 131   |
| Virginia                                | 1,908,560                    | 7,460,000                           | 25.58%                  | 127   |
| Michigan                                | 2,518,987                    | 10,113,000                          | 24.91%                  | 124   |
| New Mexico                              | 455,545                      | 1,903,000                           | 23.94%                  | 119   |
| Pennsylvania                            | 2,816,953                    | 12,406,000                          | 22.71%                  | 113   |
| Ohio                                    | 2,570,811                    | 11,459,000                          | 22.43%                  | 112   |
| Oregon                                  | 727,255                      | 3,595,000                           | 20.23%                  | 101   |
| Delaware                                | 155,842                      | 830,000                             | 18.78%                  | 93    |
| Washington                              | 1,063,015                    | 6,204,000                           | 17.13%                  | 85    |
| Texas                                   | 3,647,539                    | 22,490,000                          | 16.22%                  | 81    |
| Colorado                                | 668,076                      | 4,601,000                           | 14.52%                  | 72    |
| Maryland                                | 737,818                      | 5,558,000                           | 13.27%                  | 66    |
| New York                                | 2,373,875                    | 19,227,000                          | 12.35%                  | 61    |
| Connecticut                             | 417,506                      | 3,504,000                           | 11.92%                  | 59    |
| Illinois                                | 1,509,773                    | 12,714,000                          | 11.87%                  | 59    |
| Utah                                    | 262,825                      | 2,389,000                           | 11.00%                  | 55    |
| Arizona                                 | 607,097                      | 5,744,000                           | 10.57%                  | 53    |
| Florida                                 | 1,712,358                    | 17,397,000                          | 9.84%                   | 49    |
|   |                              |                                     |                         | 44    |
|   |                              |                                     |                         | 42    |
|   |                              |                                     |                         | 41    |
| Rhode Island<br>Massachusetts<br>Hawaii | 95,173<br>547,730<br>103,312 | 1,081,000<br>6,417,000<br>1,263,000 | 8.80%<br>8.54%<br>8.18% |       |

| Total      | 59,061,367 | 293,658,000 | 20.11% | 100 |
|------------|------------|-------------|--------|-----|
| D.C.       | 0          | 554,000     | 0.00%  | 0   |
| California | 1,881,985  | 35,894,000  | 5.24%  | 26  |
| New Jersey | 475,263    | 8,699,000   | 5.46%  | 27  |
| Nevada     | 169,611    | 2,335,000   | 7.26%  | 36  |