



How a Nationwide Presidential Campaign Would Be Run

June 17, 2020

Some people have speculated that, in a national popular vote for President, candidates will concentrate disproportionately on heavily populated metropolitan areas and ignore rural areas.

There is, however, no need to speculate as to how presidential candidates would campaign in an election in which every vote is equal, and in which the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes.

If there were any tendency for a nationwide presidential campaign to overemphasize heavily populated metro areas or ignore rural areas, we would see evidence of this in the way campaigns are actually conducted inside today's closely divided battleground states. Indeed, inside today's battleground states, every vote is already equal, and the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes.

The fact is that the actual presidential candidates—advised by the nation's most astute political strategists—did not overemphasize the big metro areas or ignore rural areas of the battleground states in the 2012 and 2016 general-election campaigns.

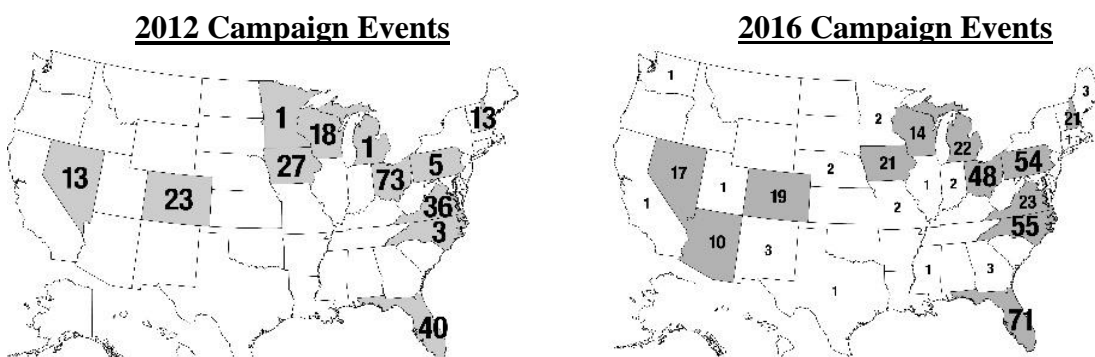
- A glance at the list of the 627 places where presidential candidates actually campaigned in the battleground states shows that they campaigned everywhere—big cities, suburbs, and rural areas.
- The actual percentage of general-election events in the biggest metro area of each battleground state (31%) closely matched those areas' share of the population (33%)—in fact, a tad less. The areas outside each state's biggest metro area received a tad more.
- Similarly, candidates campaigned in each battleground state's **second biggest metro area** and each state's **third biggest metro area** with a frequency that closely matched the area's population share.
- There is nothing special, more valuable, or more influential about a vote in a metro area compared to a vote elsewhere in the state in an election in which every vote is equal, and in which the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes. Indeed, it would be preposterous for a candidate to concentrate disproportionately on big metro areas (or any other particular part of a state) in an election in which every vote is equal.
- The fact that presidential candidates allocate their limited campaign resources to each area based on the area's share of the voting population implies that all 50 states would receive attention in a nationwide campaign for President.

The Dozen Battleground States in 2012 and 2016

In 2012 and 2016, a dozen closely divided battleground states (Florida, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, North Carolina, Arizona, Ohio, Virginia, Iowa, Colorado, New Hampshire, Nevada) received virtually all (96%) of the nation's general-election campaign events by the major-party presidential and vice-presidential candidates (627 of 652 events).

Specifically:

- In 2012, 11 closely divided battleground states received all but one of the general-election campaign events (252 of 253).¹
- In 2016, 12 states received almost all (94%) of the general-election campaign events (375 of 399 events).²



There were 10 general-election campaign events in Arizona in 2016, but none in 2012.

¹ Vice-presidential nominee Paul Ryan to Minnesota visited Minnesota once during the 2012 general-election campaign.

² In 2016, each of the 12 closely divided battleground states received between 10 and 71 general-election campaign events. The remaining 6% of the events (24 of 399) were scattered among various states, each receiving only one, two, or three events. Georgia, Maine, and New Mexico each received three events. Indiana, Minnesota, Missouri, and Nebraska each received two events. California, Connecticut, Illinois, Mississippi, Texas, Utah, and Washington state each received one event. A majority of these 24 scattered events were by vice-presidential nominee Mike Pence. In 22 of these 24 scattered events, the state was visited by candidates of only one party—that is, the “battle” was not actually “joined” in the state. The exception was that both Hillary Clinton and Mike Pence campaigned in Nebraska’s closely divided 2nd congressional district (the Omaha area) where electoral votes are awarded to the congressional-district winner.

Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs)

A Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) is defined by the Office of Management and Budget as follows:

“Metropolitan Statistical Areas have at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more population, plus adjacent territory that has a high degree of social and economic integration with the core as measured by commuting ties. ... Of 3,142 counties in the United States, 1,180 are in the 384 Metropolitan Statistical Areas”³

Let’s first consider the biggest metro areas of the battleground states—that is, metro areas such as Miami, Philadelphia, Detroit, Milwaukee, Phoenix, Charlotte, and Cleveland.

The table below shows the population of each of the 2012 and 2016 battleground states (2010 census), the population of the state’s biggest metropolitan statistical area, and the percent of the state’s population living in the state’s biggest metro area.

Biggest metro areas of the 2012 and 2016 battleground states				
State	State’s population	Biggest Metropolitan Statistical Area in the state	Biggest MSA’s population	Biggest MSA as % of state’s population
AZ	6,392,017	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ MSA	4,192,887	66%
CO	5,029,196	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO MSA	2,543,482	51%
FL	18,801,310	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL MSA	5,564,635	30%
IA	3,046,355	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA MSA	476,865	16%
MI	9,883,640	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI MSA	4,296,250	43%
NC	9,535,483	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC MSA	1,881,147	20%
NH	1,316,470	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH MSA	418,366	32%
NV	2,700,551	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV MSA	1,951,269	72%
OH	11,536,504	Cleveland-Elyria, OH MSA	2,077,240	18%
PA	12,702,379	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD MSA	4,008,994	32%
VA	7,994,802	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV MSA ⁴	2,677,141	33%
WI	5,686,986	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI MSA	1,555,908	27%
Total	94,625,693		31,644,184	33%

As can be seen from the table, the biggest metro areas of the battleground states contains about a third (33%) of the population of those states.

Now let’s consider the second biggest metro areas of the battleground states—that is, metro areas such as Tampa, Pittsburgh, Grand Rapids, Madison, Tucson, Raleigh, Columbus, etc.

The table below shows the population of each battleground state’s second biggest metro area and the percent of the state’s population living in that metro area.

³ United States Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Bulletin 20-01. March 6, 2020. Page 2. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Bulletin-20-01.pdf>

⁴ About a third of Virginia is part of the Washington DC metro area.

Second biggest metro areas of the 2012 and 2016 battleground states

State	State's population	Second biggest Metropolitan Statistical Area in the state	Second biggest MSA's population	Second biggest MSA as % of state's population
AZ	6,392,017	Tucson, AZ MSA	980,263	15%
CO	5,029,196	Colorado Springs, CO MSA	645,613	13%
FL	18,801,310	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	2,783,243	15%
IA	3,046,355	Cedar Rapids, IA MSA	257,940	8%
MI	9,883,640	Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI MSA	988,938	10%
NC	9,535,483	Raleigh, NC MSA	1,069,871	11%
NH	1,316,470	Manchester-Nashua, NH MSA	400,721	30%
NV	2,700,551	Reno, NV MSA	425,417	16%
OH	11,536,504	Columbus, OH MSA	1,901,974	16%
PA	12,702,379	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	2,356,285	19%
VA	7,994,802	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	1,641,078	21%
WI	5,686,986	Madison, WI MSA	548,602	10%
Total	94,625,693	Total for second biggest metro areas	13,999,945	15%

The second biggest metro areas of the battleground states contains about one sixth (15%) of the population of those states.

Now let's consider the third biggest metro areas of the battleground states—that is, metro areas such as Orlando, Allentown, Lansing, Green Bay, Prescott, Greensboro, and Cincinnati.

The table below shows the population of each battleground state's third biggest metro area and the percent of the state's population living in that metro area.

Third biggest metro areas of 2012 and 2016 battleground states

State	State's population	Third biggest Metropolitan Statistical Area in the state	Third biggest MSA's population	Third biggest MSA as % of state's population
AZ	6,392,017	Prescott, AZ MSA	211,033	3%
CO	5,029,196	Fort Collins, CO MSA	299,630	6%
FL	18,801,310	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL MSA	2,134,411	11%
IA	3,046,355	Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA MSA	167,819	6%
MI	9,883,640	Lansing-East Lansing, MI MSA	464,036	5%
NC	9,535,483	Greensboro-High Point, NC MSA	723,801	8%
NH	1,316,470	Concord, NH Micropolitan Statistical Area ⁵	146,445	11%
NV	2,700,551	Carson City, NV MSA	55,274	2%
OH	11,536,504	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN MSA	1,625,406	14%
PA	12,702,379	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ MSA	712,481	6%
VA	7,994,802	Richmond, VA MSA	1,208,101	15%
WI	5,686,986	Green Bay, WI MSA	306,241	5%

⁵ New Hampshire only has two Metropolitan Statistical Areas. Therefore, the Census Bureau's next largest grouping in New Hampshire is included in this table, namely the Concord, NH *Micropolitan* Statistical Area. The Census Bureau defines a micropolitan statistical area as having "at least one urban cluster of at least 10,000 but less than 50,000 population, plus adjacent territory that has a high degree of social and economic integration with the core as measured by commuting ties." *United States Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Bulletin 20-01*. March 6, 2020. Page 7. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/Bulletin-20-01.pdf>

Total	94,625,693	Total for third biggest metro areas	8,054,678	9%
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The third biggest metro areas of the battleground states contains about 9% of the population of those states.

Ohio

We now present data about the 2012 and 2016 campaigns in the battleground states—in order of the state’s number of 2012 general-election campaign events.

In 2012, Ohio received more general-election campaign events than any other state. In fact, in 2012, Ohio received the largest percentage of the nation’s general-election campaign events than any single state has ever received.

Specifically, Ohio has about 3% of the nation’s population, but received 29% (73 of 253) of the entire nation’s general-election campaign events in 2012.

Ohio thus presents the opportunity to see—in much finer detail than elsewhere—how real-world presidential candidates actually allocate their limited campaign resources among various parts of a state.

Although some people believe that candidates concentrate their campaigns in heavily populated metropolitan areas and ignore rural areas, a glance at the list of places in Ohio that the presidential candidates actually visited indicates that candidates campaigned in communities of all sizes, and that they campaigned throughout the state.

Presidential and vice-presidential candidates campaigned in places as small as Belmont (population 447) and Owensville (population 794). They campaigned in Ohio’s biggest metropolitan statistical areas (Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati). And, they campaigned in all eight of the state’s medium-sized metropolitan statistical areas (Akron, Canton, Dayton, Lima, Mansfield, Springfield, Toledo, and Youngstown).

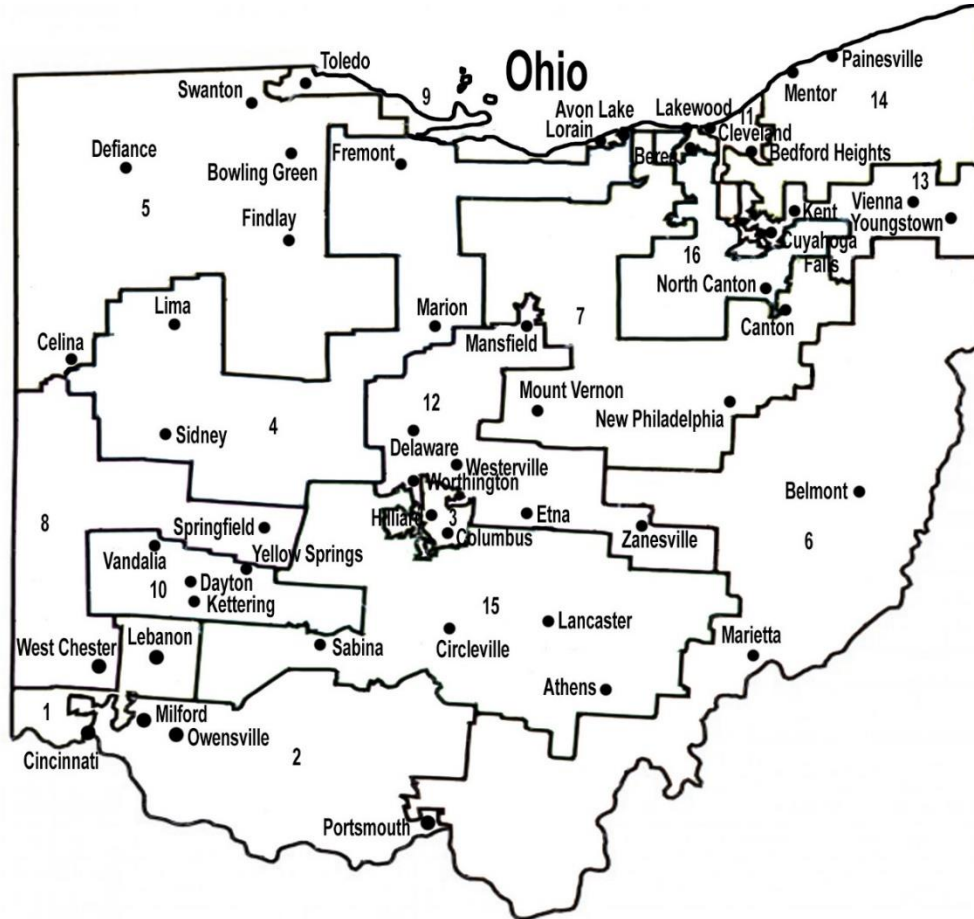
The table below shows the locations of the 73 general-election campaign events in Ohio in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate’s visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of Ohio's 73 Campaign Events in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of 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 (10/29), Ryan (10/12)	Mahoning	13
Canton	72,683	Biden (10/22)	Stark	7
Dayton	141,359	Obama (10/23), Biden (9/12)	Montgomery	10
Toledo	284,012	Biden (10/23), Romney (9/26)	Lucas	9
Cincinnati	296,550	Obama (9/17, 11/4), Romney (10/25), Ryan (9/25, 10/15)	Hamilton	1
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

The figure below shows the geographic distribution of Ohio's 73 general-election campaign events among the state's 16 congressional districts in 2012. As can be seen from the map (and the 5th column of the previous table), every one of the state's 16 congressional districts received attention during the campaign.

Events by Congressional District in Ohio in 2012



Another way to look at Ohio is to divide the state into three major parts as follows:

- The 3 biggest Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) centered in Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati have 49% of the state's population.
- The 8 medium-sized MSAs (Akron, Canton, Dayton, Lima, Mansfield, Springfield, Toledo, and Youngstown) have 29% of the state's population.
- The 53 remaining counties (i.e., the rural counties outside the 11 MSAs) have 22% of the state's population.

The table below shows the distribution of Ohio's 73 campaign events in 2012 among these three major parts of the state.

2012 candidates campaigned in Ohio's 3 biggest metro areas, 8 medium-sized metro areas, and 53 rural counties in proportion to population

Part of state	Population	Percent of people living in that part of the state	Percent of events in that part of the state
3 biggest MSAs	5,604,620	49%	46.6%
8 medium sized MSAs	3,335,129	29%	28.8%
53 remaining counties (rural)	2,596,755	22%	26.6%
Total	11,536,504	100%	100%

As can be seen, the percent of campaign events that each of these three major parts actually received in 2012 closely matched the area's percent of the state's population. Indeed, given that we are talking about allocating 73 events among three areas, the actual number of events paralleled population with near-surgical precision.

In short, the facts from the actual campaign show that presidential candidates did not overemphasize Ohio's three biggest metro areas and did not ignore Ohio's rural areas.

An alternative way to look at the same data is to compare the number of events that a particular part of the state actually received versus the number of events that part of the state would have received if the allocation had been made strictly on the basis of population.

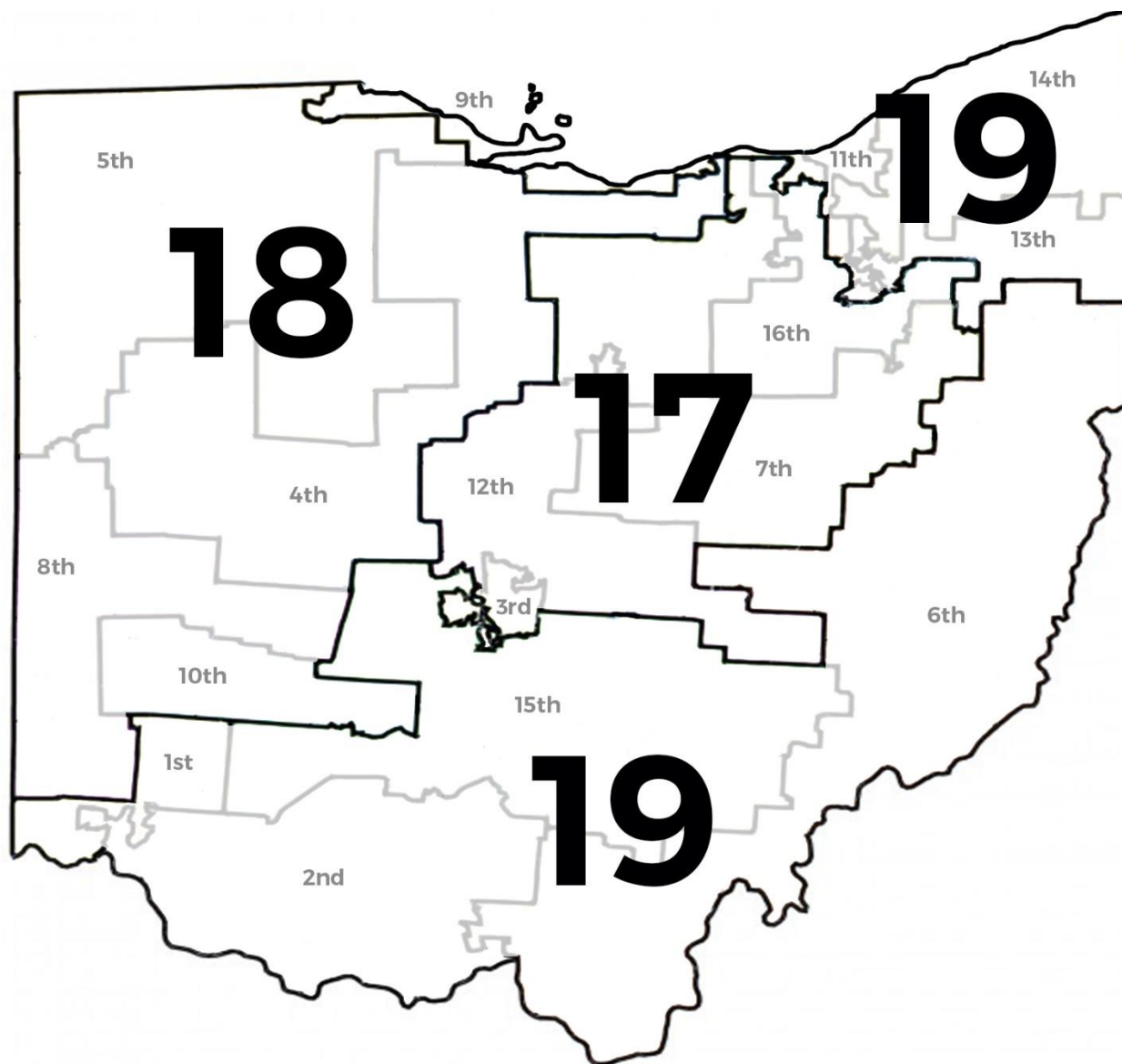
Number of 2012 campaign events in Ohio's 3 biggest metro areas, 8 medium-sized metro areas, and 53 rural counties

Part of state	Number of events if based on population	Actual number of events
3 biggest MSAs	35.5	34
8 medium sized MSAs	21.1	21
53 remaining counties (rural)	16.4	18
Total	73.0	73

Again, there is a near-surgical match.

Yet another way to dissect Ohio is to divide the state into four artificial quadrants—each containing four of the state's 16 congressional districts (and, therefore, a quarter of the state's population). As can be seen, each of these four equally populous quadrants received almost exactly a quarter of Ohio's 73 general-election campaign events in 2012.

Events in Each Quadrant of Ohio in 2012



Now let's look at Ohio in 2016.

The allocation of campaign events *among* states is one of the most important strategic decisions that presidential campaigns make. Moreover, the allocation of campaign expenditures and other efforts generally closely parallels the allocation of campaign events.

Because of the state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes, almost all campaign events in presidential elections are conducted in closely divided battleground states. Generally, the closer the margin in a given battleground state, the more attention the state gets. Also, a bigger battleground state gets more attention than a smaller battleground state that is equally divided.

Although Ohio was a battleground state in both the 2012 and 2016 elections, it was much more closely divided in 2012 than 2016. In 2012, Obama ultimately won Ohio by only a three percentage-point margin of the two-party vote. In contrast, in 2016, Trump won by an eight percentage-point margin of the two-party vote. Thus, in 2016, Ohio received less attention in 2016 than it did in 2012 (although still a very considerable amount compared to other states).

Specifically, in 2016, Ohio received only 12% (48 of 399) of the nation's total general-election campaign events—compared to 29% (73 of 253) of the nation's total in 2012.

The table below shows the locations of the 48 general-election campaign events in Ohio in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Ohio's 48 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Leetonia	1,959	Pence (9/28)	Columbiana
Gambier	2,391	Kaine (10/27)	Knox
Swanton	3,690	Pence (10/25)	Fulton
Geneva	6,215	Trump (10/27)	Ashtabula
Rossford	6,293	Pence (10/7)	Wood
Canfield	7,515	Trump-Pence (9/5)	Mahoning
Cambridge	10,635	Pence (8/10)	Guernsey
Wilmington	12,520	Trump (9/1, 11/4)	Clinton
Circleville	13,314	Pence (10/22)	Pickaway
Marietta	14,085	Pence (10/25)	Washington
Ashland	20,362	Pence (10/25)	Ashland
Kent	28,904	Clinton (10/31)	Portage
Mason	30,712	Pence (10/17)	Warren
Upper Arlington	33,771	Kaine (10/19)	Franklin
Delaware	34,753	Trump (10/20)	Delaware
Lima	38,771	Pence (7/29)	Allen
Strongsville	44,750	Pence (10/7)	Cuyahoga
Cleveland Heights	46,121	Trump-Pence (9/21)	Cuyahoga
Springfield	60,608	Kaine (10/19), Trump (10/27)	Clark
Lorain	64,097	Kaine (10/27)	Lorain
Youngstown	66,982	Clinton-Kaine (7/30), Trump-Pence (8/15)	Mahoning
Canton	73,007	Trump (9/14)	Stark
Dayton	141,527	Pence (8/10), Kaine (9/12)	Montgomery
Akron	199,110	Trump (8/22), Clinton (10/3)	Summit
Toledo	287,208	Trump (7/27, 10/27), Trump-Pence (9/21), Clinton (10/3)	Lucas
Cincinnati	296,943	Trump (10/13), Clinton (10/31)	Hamilton
Cleveland	396,815	Clinton (8/17, 10/21, 11/4, 11/6), Clinton-Kaine (7/31, 9/5), Trump (9/8), Trump-Pence (10/22)	Hamilton
Columbus	787,033	Clinton-Kaine (7/31), Trump (8/1, 10/13), Clinton (10/10), Pence (10/17)	Franklin

The table below shows the distribution of Ohio's 48 campaign events in 2016 among the three biggest MSAs, the 8 medium-sized MSAs, and the 53 rural counties.

2016 candidates campaigned in Ohio's 3 biggest metro areas, 8 medium-sized metro areas, and 53 rural counties in lockstep with population

Part of state	Population	Percent of people living in that part of the state	Percent of events in that part of the state
3 biggest MSAs	5,604,620	49%	46%
8 medium sized MSAs	3,335,129	29%	37%
53 remaining counties (rural)	2,596,755	22%	17%
Total	11,536,504	100%	100%

As can be seen, the percent of campaign events that each of these three major parts of the state actually received in 2016 closely matched the area's percent of the state's population.

Combining the data from 2012 and 2016, the table below shows the distribution of Ohio's 121 campaign events (73 from 2012 and 48 from 2016) among the three biggest MSAs, the 8 medium-sized MSAs, and the 53 rural counties.

2012 and 2016 candidates campaigned in Ohio's 3 biggest metro areas, 8 medium-sized metro areas, and 53 rural counties in lockstep with population

Part of state	Population	Percent of people living in that part of the state	Percent of events in that part of the state
3 biggest MSAs	5,604,620	49%	46.3%
8 medium sized MSAs	3,335,129	29%	32.2%
53 remaining counties (rural)	2,596,755	22%	21.5%
Total	11,536,504	100%	100%

Later in this document, we will divide the above part of Ohio containing the state's three biggest metro areas into its three metropolitan statistical areas. We will see that the number of campaign events in the state's biggest metro area (Cleveland), second biggest metro area (Columbus), and third biggest metro area (Cincinnati) also closely matched the area's portion of the state's population.

Florida

Florida received the second largest number of general-election campaign events in 2012.

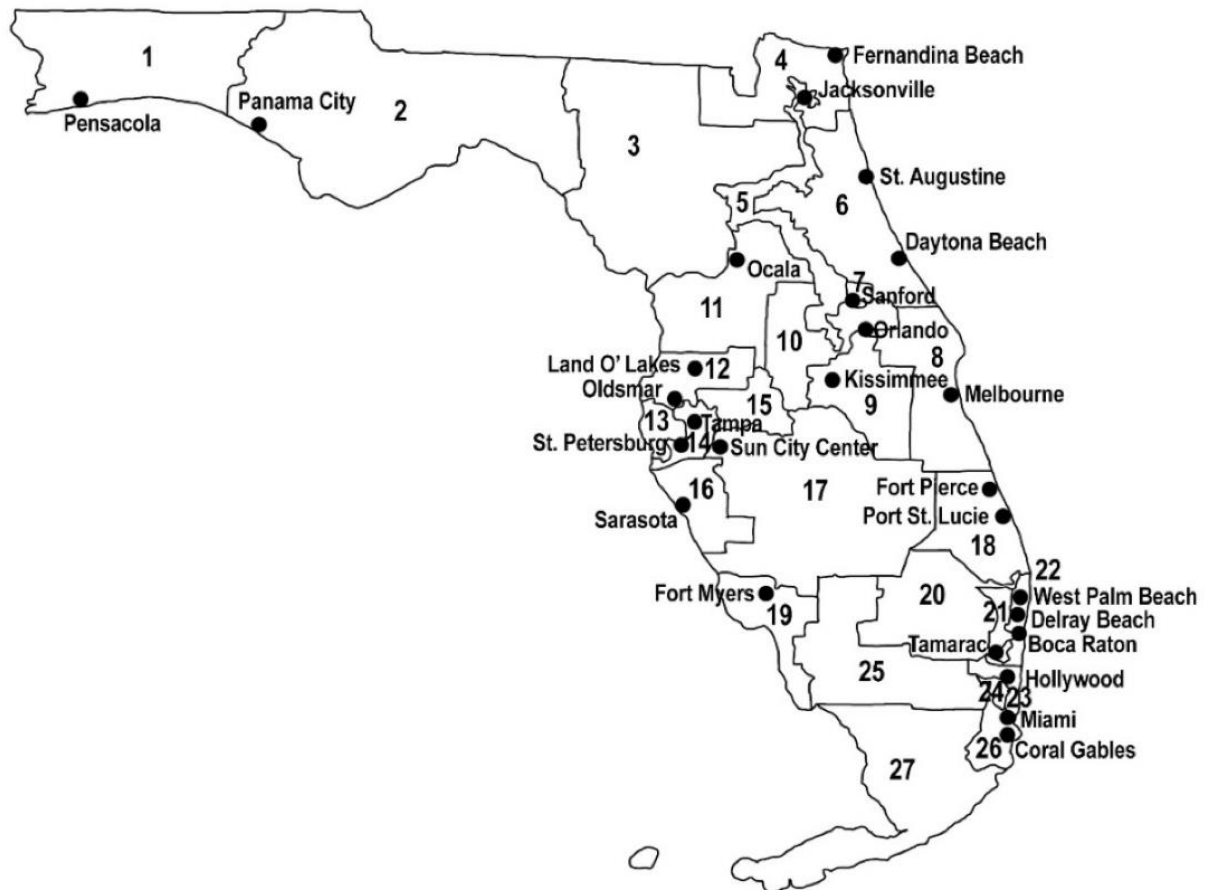
The table below shows the locations of the 40 general-election campaign events in Florida in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of Florida's 40 Campaign Events in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of 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
		Obama (10/25), Romney (10/31), Ryan (10/19)	Hillsborough	14
Tampa	347,645	Obama (9/20), Romney (9/19 x 2), Ryan (9/22)	Miami-Dade	27
Miami	413,892			
Jacksonville	836,507	Romney (9/12, 10/31)	Duval	5

The figure below shows the geographic distribution of general-election campaign events among Florida's 27 congressional districts in 2012.

Events by Congressional District in Florida in 2012



The table below shows the locations of the 71 general-election campaign events in Florida in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Florida's 71 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Dade City	6,437	Clinton (11/1)	Pasco
Wilton Manors	11,632	Clinton (10/30)	Broward
Panama City Beach	12,018	Pence (11/6)	Bay
St. Augustine	12,975	Trump (10/24)	St. Johns
Maitland	15,751	Pence (10/31)	Orange
Cocoa	17,140	Pence (10/31)	Brevard
Estero	18,176	Trump (9/19)	Lee
Naples	19,537	Trump (10/23)	Collier
Lake Worth	34,910	Clinton (10/26)	Palm Beach
Panama City	36,484	Trump (10/11)	Bay
Fort Pierce	41,590	Clinton (9/30)	St. Lucie
Doral	45,704	Trump (7/27)	Miami-Dade
The Villages	51,442	Pence (9/17)	Sumter
Sarasota	51,917	Pence (8/31), Trump (11/7)	Sarasota
Pensacola	51,923	Trump (9/9, 11/2), Pence (10/14)	Escambia
Coconut Creek	52,909	Clinton (10/25)	Broward
Sanford	53,570	Trump (10/25), Clinton (11/1)	Seminole
Ocala	56,315	Trump (10/12)	Marion
Kissimmee	59,682	Clinton (8/8), Trump (8/11)	Osceola
Daytona Beach	61,005	Kaine (8/2), Clinton (10/29), Trump (8/3)	Volusia
Fort Myers	62,298	Kaine (11/5)	Lee
Melbourne	76,068	Trump (9/27), Kaine (11/4)	Brevard
Sunrise	84,439	Kaine (10/16)	Broward
Lakeland	97,422	Kaine (9/26), Trump (10/12)	Polk
West Palm Beach	99,919	Trump (10/13), Kaine (10/24)	Palm Beach
Clearwater	107,685	Pence (10/31)	Pinellas
Coral Springs	121,096	Clinton (9/30)	Broward
Gainesville	124,354	Kaine (10/23)	Alachua
Pembroke Pines	154,750	Kaine (8/27), Clinton (11/5)	Broward
Fort Lauderdale	165,521	Trump (8/10), Clinton (10/30, 11/1)	Broward
Tallahassee	181,376	Kaine (8/26), Trump (10/25), Kaine (10/28)	Leon
Orlando	238,300	Clinton (9/21), Kaine (9/26, 10/23), Trump (11/2)	Orange
St. Petersburg	244,769	Clinton (8/8), Kaine (11/5)	Pinellas
Tampa	335,709	Trump (8/24, 10/24, 11/5), Clinton (9/6, 10/26)	Hillsborough
Miami	399,457	Clinton (8/9, 10/11, 10/29), Trump (9/16, 10/25, 11/2), Kaine (9/25, 10/15, 10/16, 10/24), Pence (11/4)	Miami-Dade
Jacksonville	821,784	Trump (8/3, 11/3), Pence (9/18)	Duval

Virginia

Virginia received the third largest number of campaign events of any state in 2012.

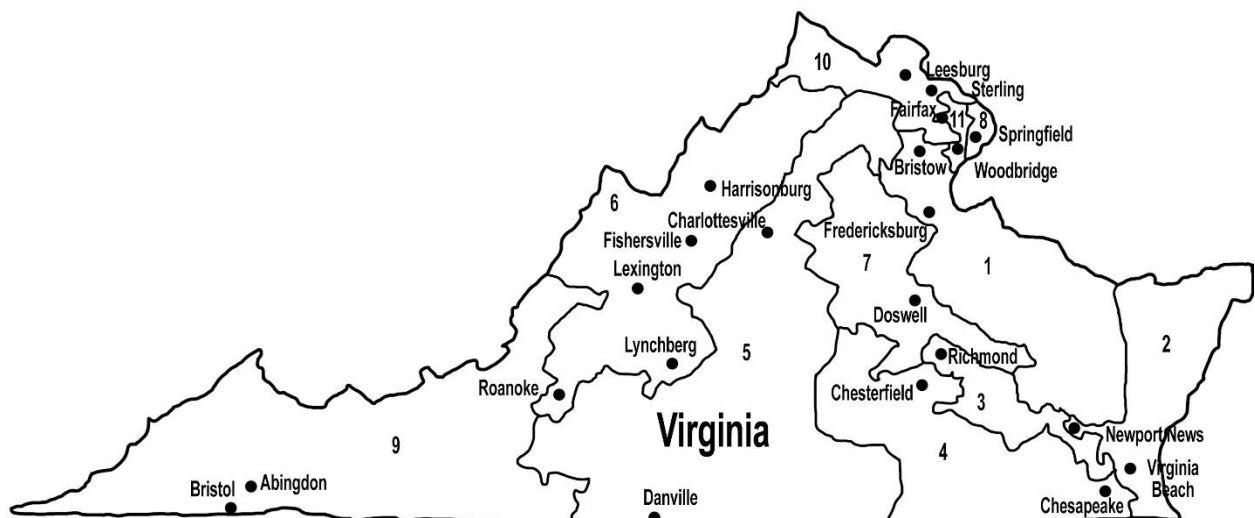
The table below shows the locations of the 36 general-election campaign events in Virginia in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of Virginia's 36 Campaign Events in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of 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, 10/12), Ryan (11/3, 11/6)	Richmond city	3
Richmond	210,309			
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

The figure below shows the geographic distribution of general-election campaign events among Virginia's 11 congressional districts in 2012.

Events by Congressional District in Virginia in 2012



The table below shows the locations of the 23 general-election campaign events in Virginia in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Virginia's 23 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
Paris	281	Pence (9/10)	Fauquier	5
Providence Forge	5,175	Kaine (9/24)	New Kent	1
Ashland	7,225	Pence (10/3)	Hanover	1
Purcellville	7,727	Pence (8/27)	Loudoun	10
Abingdon	7,963	Trump (8/10)	Washington	9
Williamsburg	14,068	Pence (9/20)	Williamsburg city	2
Fairfax	22,565	Pence (11/5), Kaine (11/7)	Fairfax	11
Fredericksburg	24,286	Trump (8/20)	Fredericksburg city	1
Salem	24,802	Pence (10/12)	Salem city	9
Leesburg	42,616	Trump (11/6)	Loudoun	10
Ashburn	43,511	Trump (8/2)	Loudoun	10
Harrisonburg	48,914	Pence (10/5)	Harrisonburg city	6
Lynchburg	75,568	Pence (10/12)	Lynchburg city	6
Roanoke city	97,032	Trump-Pence (7/25), Trump (9/24)	Roanoke city	6
Richmond city	204,214	Kaine (8/1, 11/7)	Richmond city	4
Norfolk city	242,803	Pence (8/4), Kaine (9/9)	Norfolk city	3
Virginia Beach city	437,994	Pence (8/4), Trump (9/6, 10/22)	Virginia Beach city	2

Iowa

Iowa received the fourth largest number of campaign events in 2012.

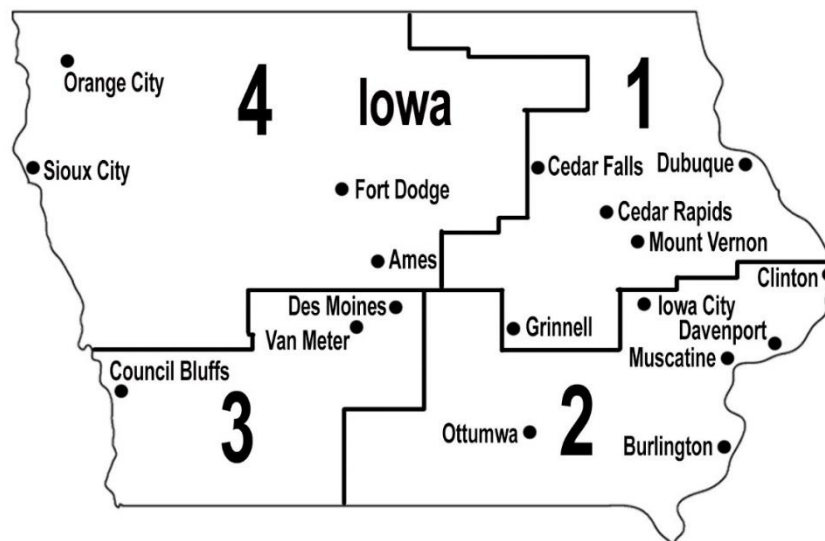
The table below shows the locations of the 27 general-election campaign events in Iowa in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of Iowa's 27 Campaign Events in 2012

Place	Population	Candidate and date of 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

The figure below shows the geographic distribution of general-election campaign events among Iowa's four congressional districts in 2012.

Events by Congressional District in Iowa in 2012



The table below shows the locations of the 21 general-election campaign events in Iowa in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Iowa's 21 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Prole	878	Pence (11/3)	Warren
Newton	15,254	Pence (10/11)	Jasper
Fort Dodge	25,206	Pence (10/27)	Webster
Mason City	28,079	Pence (9/19)	Cerro Gordo
Dubuque	57,637	Pence (9/19), Kaine (11/2)	Dubuque
Ames	58,965	Kaine (9/19)	Story
Council Bluffs	62,230	Trump (9/28)	Pottawattamie
Sioux City	82,684	Trump (11/6)	Woodbury
Davenport	99,685	Trump (7/28)	Scott
Cedar Rapids	126,326	Trump (7/28, 10/28), Kaine (8/17), Pence (8/22), Clinton (10/28)	Linn
Des Moines	203,433	Trump-Pence (8/5), Clinton (8/10, 9/29, 10/28), Trump (8/27, 9/13)	Polk

Colorado

Colorado received the fifth largest number of general-election campaign events in 2012.

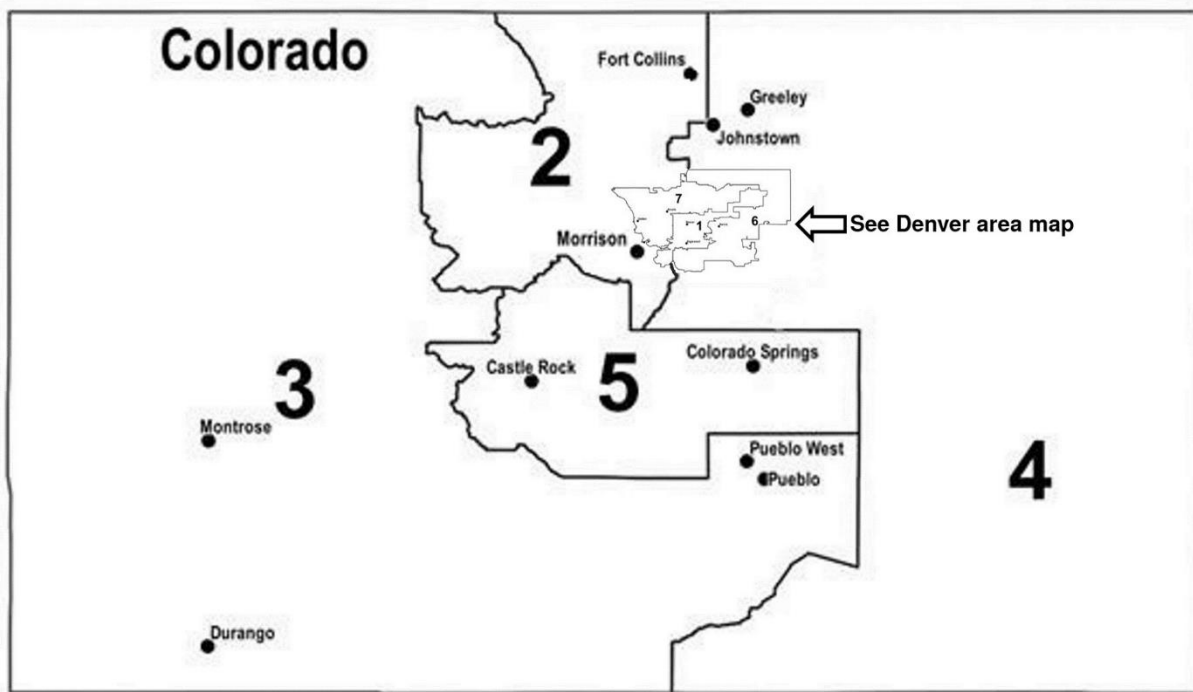
The table below shows the locations of the 24 general-election campaign events in Colorado in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of Colorado's 24 Campaign Events in 2012

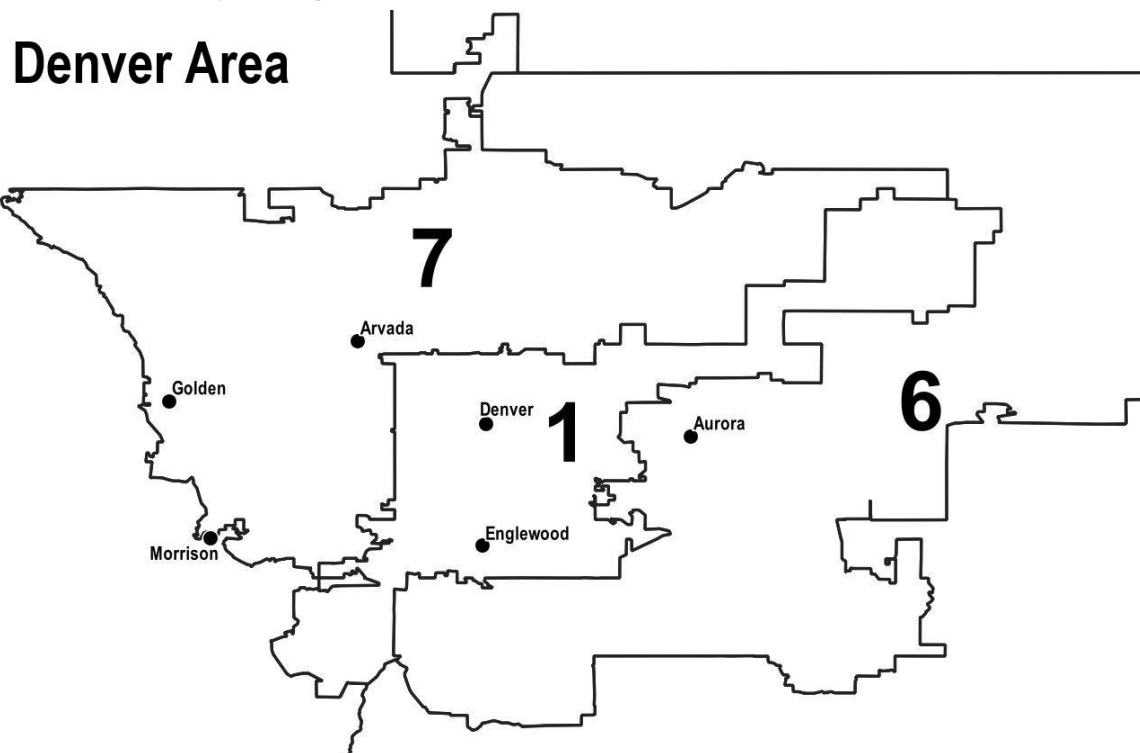
Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
Morrison	428	Romney & Ryan (10/23)	Jefferson	2
Johnstown	9,887	Ryan (11/5)	Weld	4
Durango	16,887	Ryan (10/22)	La Plata	3
Golden	18,867	Obama (9/13)	Jefferson	7
Montrose	19,132	Ryan (11/2)	Montrose	3
Pueblo West	29,637	Ryan (10/22)	Pueblo	3
Englewood	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

The maps below show the locations of general-election events in Colorado in 2012.

Events by Congressional District in Colorado in 2012



Events by Congressional District in Denver, Colorado Area in 2012



The table below shows the locations of the 19 general-election campaign events in Colorado in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Colorado's 19 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Durango	16,887	Pence (10/19)	La Plata
Golden	18,867	Trump (10/29)	Jefferson
Commerce City	45,913	Clinton (8/3)	Adams
Grand Junction	58,566	Trump (10/18)	Mesa
Loveland	66,859	Trump (10/3), Pence (11/2)	Larimer
Greeley	92,889	Trump (10/30)	Weld
Pueblo	106,595	Trump (10/3), Clinton (10/12)	Pueblo
Colorado Springs	416,427	Trump (7/29, 9/17, 10/18), Pence (8/3, 9/22, 10/26)	El Paso
Denver	600,158	Trump (7/29, 11/5), Pence (8/3), Kaine (10/10)	Denver

Wisconsin

Wisconsin received the sixth largest number of events in 2012.

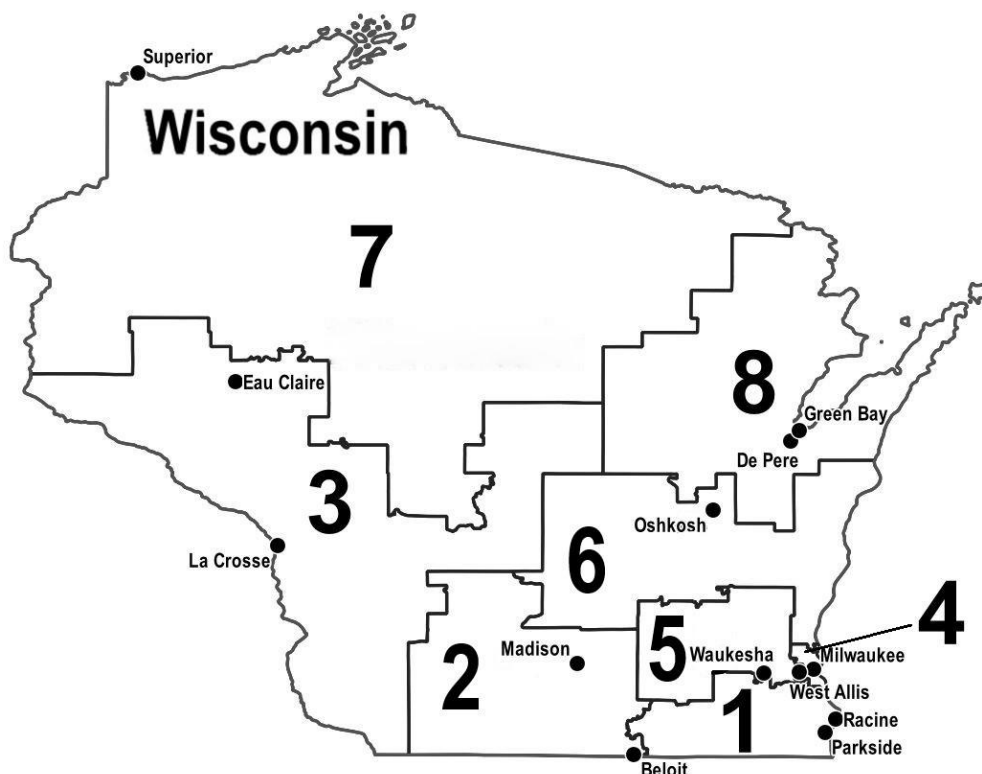
The table below shows the locations of the 18 general-election campaign events in Wisconsin in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of Wisconsin's 18 Campaign Events in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
De Pere	23,800	Ryan (9/12)	Brown	8
Superior	27,244	Biden (11/2)	Douglas	7
Beloit	36,966	Biden (11/2)	Rock	2
La Crosse	51,320	Biden (10/12)	La Crosse	3
West Allis	60,411	Romney (11/2)	Milwaukee	5
Eau Claire	65,883	Biden (9/13), Ryan (10/31)	Eau Claire	3
Oshkosh	66,083	Biden (10/26)	Winnebago	6
Waukesha	70,718	Ryan (10/15)	Waukesha	5
Racine	78,860	Ryan (10/31)	Racine	1
Parkside	99,218	Biden (10/26)	Kenosha	1
Green Bay	104,057	Obama (11/1), Ryan (10/31)	Brown	8
Madison	233,209	Obama (9/22, 11/5)	Dane	2
Milwaukee	594,833	Obama (9/22, 11/3), Ryan (11/5)	Milwaukee	4

The figure below shows the geographic distribution of general-election campaign events among Wisconsin's eight congressional districts in 2012.

Events by Congressional District in Wisconsin in 2012



The table below shows the locations of the 14 general-election campaign events in Wisconsin in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Wisconsin's 14 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Mukwonago	7,355	Pence (11/5)	Waukesha
West Bend	31,078	Trump (8/16)	Washington
La Crosse	51,320	Pence (8/11), Kaine (11/6)	La Crosse
Eau Claire	65,883	Trump (11/1)	Eau Claire
Waukesha	70,718	Pence (7/27), Trump (9/28)	Waukesha
Appleton	72,623	Kaine (11/1)	Outagamie
Green Bay	104,057	Trump-Pence (8/5), Trump (10/17), Kaine (11/6)	Brown
Madison	233,209	Kaine (11/1)	Dane
Milwaukee	594,833	Kaine (8/5), Pence (8/11)	Milwaukee

Famously, the Democratic campaign neglected the closely divided battleground state of Wisconsin in the 2016 general-election campaign. Nine of the 14 general-election campaign events in 2016 were by the Republican presidential and vice-presidential nominees. Hillary Clinton, the Democratic presidential nominee, never visited Wisconsin during the entire general-election campaign. Moreover, four of the five Democratic general-election events (all by Kaine) were at the last minute in November (when the Clinton campaign started to realize that it was in trouble in Wisconsin).

New Hampshire

New Hampshire received 13 general-election campaign events in 2012.

The table below shows the locations of the 13 general-election campaign events in New Hampshire in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of New Hampshire's 13 Campaign Events in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
Newington	753	Romney (11/3)	Rockingham	1
Hanover	11,260	Biden (9/21)	Grafton	2
Portsmouth	21,233	Obama & Biden (9/7)	Rockingham	1
Merrimack	25,494	Biden (9/22)	Hillsborough	1
Dover	29,987	Ryan (9/18)	Strafford	1
Derry	33,109	Ryan (9/29)	Rockingham	1
Concord	42,695	Obama (11/4), Biden (9/7)	Merrimack	2
Nashua	86,494	Obama (10/27), Romney (9/7)	Hillsborough	2
Manchester	109,565	Obama (10/18), Biden (9/22), Romney (11/5)	Hillsborough	1

The figure below shows the geographic distribution of campaign events among New Hampshire's two congressional districts in 2012.

Events by Congressional District in New Hampshire in 2012



The table below shows the locations of the 21 general-election campaign events in New Hampshire in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of New Hampshire's 21 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Sandown	5,986	Trump (10/6)	Rockingham
Atkinson	6,751	Trump (11/4)	Rockingham
Windham	13,592	Trump (8/6), Pence (11/6)	Rockingham
Exeter	14,306	Kaine (9/15), Pence (10/21)	Rockingham
Durham	14,638	Clinton (9/28)	Strafford
Milford	15,115	Pence (9/26)	Hillsborough
Laconia	15,951	Trump (9/15)	Belknap
Bedford	21,203	Trump (9/29)	Hillsborough
Portsmouth	21,233	Kaine (9/15), Trump (10/15)	Rockingham
Rochester	29,752	Pence (10/30)	Strafford
Nashua	86,494	Pence (10/21)	Hillsborough
Manchester	109,565	Kaine (8/13), Pence (8/18), Trump (8/25, 10/28), Clinton (10/24, 11/6), Trump-Pence (11/7)	Hillsborough

Nevada

Nevada received 13 general-election campaign events in 2012.

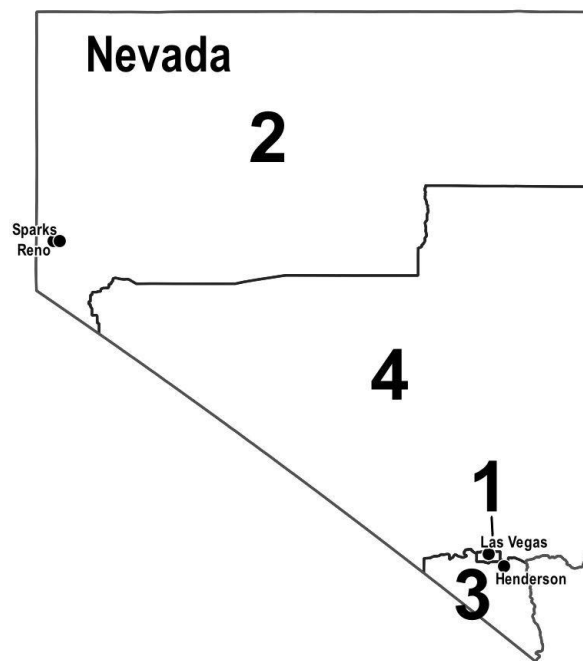
The table below shows the locations of the 13 general-election campaign events in Nevada in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of Nevada's 13 Campaign Events in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
Sparks	90,264	Ryan (9/7)	Washoe	2
Reno	225,221	Biden (10/17), Romney (10/24), Ryan (11/1, 11/5)	Washoe	2
Henderson	257,729	Romney & Ryan (10/23)	Clark	3
Las Vegas	583,756	Obama (9/12, 9/30, 10/24, 11/1), Biden (10/18), Romney (9/21), Ryan (11/1)	Clark	1

The figure below shows the geographic distribution of campaign events among Nevada's four congressional districts in 2012.

Events by Congressional District in Nevada in 2012



The table below shows the locations of the 17 general-election campaign events in Nevada in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Nevada's 17 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Carson City	55,274	Pence (8/1)	Carson City
Reno	225,221	Pence (8/1, 10/20, 10/26), Clinton (8/25), Kaine (9/22), Trump (10/5, 11/5)	Washoe
Henderson	257,729	Trump (10/5), Kaine (10/7)	Clark
Las Vegas	583,756	Clinton (8/4, 10/12, 11/2), Pence (8/17), Kaine (8/22, 10/6), Trump (10/30)	Clark

Pennsylvania

Battleground status is fleeting and fickle. In 2012, polling throughout the campaign showed that the Democratic ticket was comfortably ahead in Pennsylvania. Thus, Pennsylvania received minimal attention in 2012. Pennsylvania received only five of the nation's 253 general-election campaign events in 2012—compared to 54 events in 2016 and 40 events in 2008. In fact, neither President Obama nor Vice President Biden bothered to campaign in Pennsylvania in 2012.

On the Republican side in 2012, Governor Mitt Romney and Congressman Paul Ryan together made a mere five visits to the state—four in late October and one in early November—in an unsuccessful last-minute effort to win the state.

The table below shows the locations of the five general-election campaign events in Pennsylvania in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of Pennsylvania's 5 Campaign Events in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
Morrisville	8,728	Romney (11/4)	Bucks	8
Middletown	8,901	Ryan (11/3)	Dauphin	15
Moon Twp.	24,185	Ryan (10/20)	Allegheny	18
Wayne	32,225	Romney (9/28)	Delaware	7
Pittsburgh	305,704	Romney (11/6)	Allegheny	14

The situation was very different in 2016. Pennsylvania was a more closely divided and hotly contested battleground state, and it consequently received a considerable amount of attention.

The table below shows the locations of the 54 general-election campaign events in Pennsylvania in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Pennsylvania's 54 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
Youngwood	3,050	Pence (11/1)	Westmoreland	18
Grantville	3,581	Pence (10/5)	Dauphin	11
Chester Twp	3,940	Trump (9/22)	Delaware	7
Pipersville	6,212	Pence (8/23)	Bucks	8
Ambridge	7,050	Trump (10/10)	Beaver	12
Gettysburg	7,620	Pence (10/6), Trump (10/22)	Adams	4
Hanover Twp	10,866	Kaine (8/31)	Northampton	15
Hershey	14,257	Trump (11/4)	Dauphin	11
Aston	16,592	Trump (9/13)	Delaware	7
Hatfield	17,249	Clinton-Kaine (7/29)	Montgomery	6
Newtown Twp	19,299	Kaine (10/26), Trump (10/21)	Bucks	8
King of Prussia	19,936	Pence (8/23)	Montgomery	7
Johnstown	20,978	Clinton-Kaine (7/30), Pence (10/6), Trump (10/21)	Cambria	12
East Hempfield	23,522	Trump (10/1)	Lancaster	16
Moon Twp	24,185	Pence (11/3), Trump (11/6)	Allegheny	14
Wilkes-Barre	41,498	Trump (10/10)	Luzerne	11
State College	42,034	Kaine (10/21)	Centre	5
York	43,718	Pence (9/29)	York	4
Altoona	46,320	Trump (8/12)	Blair	9
Haverford Twp	48,491	Clinton (10/4)	Delaware	7
Harrisburg	49,528	Clinton (10/4), Clinton-Kaine (7/29), Trump (8/1)	Dauphin	11
Lancaster	59,322	Pence (8/9), Kaine (8/30)	Lancaster	16
Bensalem	60,427	Pence (10/28)	Bucks	8
Scranton	76,089	Trump-Pence (7/27), Clinton (8/15), Pence (9/14), Trump (11/7)	Lackawanna	17
Erie	101,786	Trump (8/12), Kaine (8/30), Pence (11/7)	Erie	3
Allentown	118,032	Kaine (10/26)	Lehigh	15
Pittsburgh	305,704	Clinton-Kaine (7/30, 10/22), Pence (8/9), Kaine (9/5, 10/6), Clinton (11/4, 11/7)	Allegheny	14
Philadelphia	1,526,006	Clinton (8/16, 9/19, 11/5, 11/6, 11/7), Kaine (10/5), Clinton-Kaine (7/29, 10/22)	Philadelphia	2

North Carolina

North Carolina also illustrated the fleeting and fickle nature of battleground status in presidential campaigns.

In 2012, North Carolina received only three of the nation's 253 general-election campaign events (compared to 55 in 2016). The reason for the small number of events in 2012 was that both major political parties concluded that the state was likely to go Republican—as indeed it did.

Neither President Obama nor Republican nominee Mitt Romney bothered to campaign at all in the state in 2012.

The table below shows the locations of the three general-election campaign events in North Carolina in 2012, the population of each place visited, the date of the candidate's visit, the county, and congressional district.

Location of North Carolina's 3 Campaign Events in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
Asheville	90,264	Biden (10/2), Ryan (10/11)	Buncombe	10
Charlotte	225,221	Biden (10/2)	Mecklenberg	12

In 2016, by contrast, North Carolina was a hotly contested battleground state, and it received a considerable amount of attention.

The table below shows the locations of the 55 general-election campaign events in North Carolina in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of North Carolina's 55 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Kenansville	855	Trump (9/20)	Duplin
Selma	6,073	Trump (11/3)	Johnston
Fletcher	7,187	Pence (10/10), Trump (10/21)	Henderson
Winterville	9,269	Clinton (11/3)	Pitt
Davidson	10,944	Kaine (10/12)	Mecklenburg
Smithfield	10,966	Pence (10/28)	Johnston
Kinston	21,677	Trump (10/26)	Lenoir
Sanford	28,094	Kaine (10/31)	Lee
Salisbury	33,662	Pence (10/24)	Rowan
Hickory	40,010	Pence (11/6)	Catawba
Concord	42,695	Trump (11/3)	Cabarrus
Jacksonville	70,145	Pence (10/29), Kaine (10/31)	Onslow
Asheville	83,393	Kaine (8/15, 10/19), Trump (9/12)	Buncombe
Greenville	84,554	Trump (9/6), Pence (11/4)	Pitt
High Point	104,371	Kaine (8/3), Trump (9/20)	Guilford
Wilmington	106,476	Trump (8/9, 11/5), Pence (8/24, 10/18), Kaine (9/6, 11/7)	New Hanover
Fayetteville	200,564	Trump (8/9), Kaine (8/16), Pence (10/18)	Cumberland
Durham	228,330	Kaine (10/20), Clinton (10/23)	Durham
Winston-Salem	229,617	Trump-Pence (7/25), Pence (8/30), Clinton (10/27)	Forsyth
Greensboro	269,666	Kaine (8/3), Clinton (9/15), Trump (10/14), Pence (10/24)	Guilford
Raleigh	403,892	Clinton (9/27, 10/23, 11/3, 11/7), Pence (10/12), Trump (11/7)	Wake

Charlotte	731,424	Trump (8/18, 10/14, 10/26), Pence (8/24, 10/10), Clinton (9/8, 10/2, 10/23), Kaine (10/20, 11/7)	Mecklenburg
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Michigan

Michigan is yet another example of the fleeting and fickle nature of battleground status in presidential campaigns.

In 2012, Michigan received only one of the nation's 253 general-election campaign events (compared to 22 in 2016).

On the Democratic side, neither President Obama nor Vice President Biden bothered to campaign in the state during the general-election campaign in 2012.

On the Republican side, Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney did not bother to campaign in the state. Vice-presidential nominee Paul Ryan visited Michigan once during the 2012 general-election campaign.

Location of Michigan's 1 Campaign Event in 2012

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County	CD
Rochester	12,711	Ryan (10/8)	Oakland	8

In 2016, by contrast, Michigan was a hotly contested battleground state, and it received a considerable amount of attention.

The table below shows the locations of the 22 general-election campaign events in Michigan in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Michigan's 22 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Dimondale	1,234	Trump (8/19)	Eaton
Traverse City	14,674	Pence (11/7)	Grand Traverse
Allendale	20,708	Clinton (11/7)	Ottawa
Holland	33,051	Pence (11/5)	Ottawa/ Allegan
Portage	46,292	Pence (11/3)	Kalamazoo
Novi	55,224	Pence (7/28), Trump (9/30)	Oakland
Taylor	63,131	Kaine (10/30)	Wayne
Ann Arbor	113,934	Kaine (9/13)	Washtenaw
Lansing	114,297	Pence (11/4)	Ingham
Sterling Heights	129,699	Trump (11/6)	Macomb
Warren	134,056	Trump (10/31)	Macomb
Grand Rapids	188,040	Pence (7/28), Kaine (8/5), Trump (10/31), Trump-Pence (11/7)	Kent
Detroit	713,777	Trump-Pence (8/8), Clinton (8/11, 10/10, 11/4), Trump (9/3), Kaine (10/18)	Wayne

Arizona

In 2012, Arizona was not considered a battleground state and did not receive any general-election campaign events.

In 2016, Arizona emerged as a battleground state, and received 10 general-election campaign events.

The table below shows the locations of the 10 general-election campaign events in Arizona in 2016, and the population of each place visited.

Location of Arizona's 10 Campaign Events in 2016

Location	Population	Candidate and date of event	County
Prescott Valley	38,822	Trump (10/4)	Yavapai
Tempe	161,719	Clinton (11/2)	Maricopa
Mesa	439,041	Pence (9/22, 11/2)	Maricopa
Tucson	520,116	Pence (8/2), Kaine (11/3)	Pima
Phoenix	1,445,632	Pence (8/2), Trump (8/31, 10/29), Kaine (11/3)	Maricopa

Arizona received comparatively less attention than other battleground states in 2016 because it appeared, at least for most of the fall campaign, that the state was safely Republican. In fact, only Trump and Pence visited the state in August, September, and October. Then, toward the end of the campaign, Clinton and Kaine realized that Arizona was closer than they had previously realized. Clinton and Kaine appeared in Arizona on November 2 and 3, although these last-minute efforts did not yield a win.

Arizona received far fewer campaign events (10) in relation to its population than the other 11 battleground states in 2016. For example, the closely divided state of New Hampshire (with only two congressional districts) and Iowa (with four congressional districts) each received 21 general-election campaign events in 2016—even though both states have considerably fewer people than Arizona (which has nine congressional districts). New Hampshire received 10.5 campaign events per congressional district; Iowa received 5.25 events per congressional district; and Arizona received 1.1 per congressional district.

Even though Arizona received only 10 general-election campaign events in 2016, the presidential candidates allocated their appearances in different parts of Arizona closely in line with population.

The state's biggest metropolitan statistical area (Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale) has 66% of the state's population, and it received 7 of Arizona's 10 events.

The Tucson metropolitan statistical area has 15% of the state's population, and it received two of Arizona's 10 events.

Arizona's tenth event went to the town of Prescott Valley in Yavapai County. The county has only 3% of Arizona's population, and Prescott Valley has only about a fifth of county's population.

Given that we are talking about a mere 10 events, the allocation of events in Arizona paralleled population with near-surgical precision—just as it did in the other 11 battleground states.

Biggest metro areas of the battleground states

How do candidates allocate their general-election campaign events to each battleground state's biggest metro area versus the rest of the state?

Specifically, do metro areas such as Miami, Philadelphia, Detroit, Milwaukee, Phoenix, Charlotte, Cleveland, etc. exercise any kind of intoxicating or magnetic attraction on presidential candidates?

Let's start with the 2012 general-election campaign for President.

The table below shows

- the actual number of general-election campaign events in each state (column 2),
- the actual number of general-election campaign events in each state's biggest metro area (column 3),
- the percent of the state's population living in the state's biggest metro area (column 5), and
- the actual percent of general-election campaign events in the state's biggest metro area (column 6).

Biggest metro area's percent of 2012 events closely matches the area's percent of the state's population

State	Events in state	Events in biggest MSA	Biggest Metropolitan Statistical Area in state	Percent of people living in biggest MSA	Actual percent of events in biggest MSA
AZ	0	0	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ MSA	66%	0%
CO	24	11	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO MSA	51%	46%
FL	40	9	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL MSA	30%	23%
IA	27	5	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA MSA	16%	19%
MI	1	1	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI MSA	43%	100%
NC	3	1	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC MSA	20%	33%
NH	13	4	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH MSA ⁶	32%	31%
NV	12	7	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV MSA	72%	58%
OH	73	12	Cleveland-Elyria, OH MSA	18%	16%
PA	5	2	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD MSA	32%	40%
VA	36	10	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV MSA	33%	28%
WI	18	5	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI MSA	27%	28%
Total	252	67	Total for 2012	33%	27%

As can be seen from the table for 2012, the actual percentage of 2012 events in the battleground states' biggest metro areas (27%) approximately matched the share of the population of these states living in the state's biggest metro area (33%).

Specifically,

- 252 was the total number of events nationally (column 2);

⁶ About a third of New Hampshire is part of the Boston metro area.

- 67 was the total number of events in the battleground states' biggest metro areas (column 3);
- 33% is the overall percent of the battleground states' population living in the states' biggest metro areas; and
- 27% was the overall percent of events in the biggest metro areas of these battleground states.

Now let's look at 2016.

Biggest metro area's percent of 2016 events closely matches the area's percent of the state's population

State	Events in state	Events in biggest MSA	Biggest Metropolitan Statistical Area in state	Percent of people living in biggest MSA	Actual percent of events in biggest MSA
AZ	10	7	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ MSA	66%	70%
CO	19	6	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO MSA	51%	32%
FL	71	24	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL MSA	30%	34%
IA	21	7	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA MSA	16%	33%
MI	22	11	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI MSA	43%	50%
NC	55	13	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC MSA	20%	24%
NH	21	10	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH MSA	32%	48%
NV	17	9	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV MSA	72%	53%
OH	48	11	Cleveland-Elyria, OH MSA	18%	23%
PA	54	17	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD MSA	32%	31%
VA	23	7	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV MSA	33%	30%
WI	14	6	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI MSA	27%	43%
Total	375	128	Total for 2016	33%	34%

As can be seen from the table for 2016, the actual percentage of 2016 events in the battleground states' biggest metro areas (34%) approximately matched the share of the population of these states living in the state's biggest metro area (33%).

Specifically,

- 375 was the total number of events nationally (column 2);
- 128 was the total number of events in the battleground states' biggest metro areas (column 3);
- 33% is the overall percent of the battleground states' population living in the state's biggest metro area; and
- 34% was the overall percent of events in the biggest metro areas of these battleground states.

Now let's combine the facts for 2012 and 2016.

Biggest metro area's percent of 2012 and 2016 events closely matches the area's percent of the state's population

State	Events in state	Events in biggest MSA	Biggest Metropolitan Statistical Area in state	Percent of people living in biggest MSA	Actual percent of events in biggest MSA
AZ	10	7	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ MSA	66%	70%
CO	43	17	Denver-Aurora-Lakewood, CO MSA	51%	40%
FL	111	33	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-West Palm Beach, FL MSA	30%	30%
IA	48	12	Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA MSA	16%	25%
MI	23	12	Detroit-Warren-Dearborn, MI MSA	43%	52%
NC	58	14	Charlotte-Concord-Gastonia, NC-SC MSA	20%	24%
NH	34	14	Boston-Cambridge-Newton, MA-NH MSA	32%	41%
NV	29	16	Las Vegas-Henderson-Paradise, NV MSA	72%	55%
OH	121	23	Cleveland-Elyria, OH MSA	18%	19%
PA	59	19	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD MSA	32%	32%
VA	59	17	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV MSA	33%	29%
WI	32	11	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI MSA	27%	34%
Total	627	195	Total for 2012 and 2016	33%	31%

As can be seen from the table for 2012 and 2016, the actual percentage of 2012 and 2016 events in each battleground state's biggest metro area (31%) closely matched the share of the population living in each state's biggest metro area (33%). In fact, the biggest metro area of the battleground states received a tad less attention than their share of the population.

Specifically,

- 627 was the total number of events nationally (column 2);
- 195 was the total number of events that took place in each state's biggest metro area (column 3);
- 33% was the overall percent of the battleground states' population living in each state's biggest metro area; and
- 31% was the overall percent of events in the biggest metro areas of these battleground states.

There is nothing special, more valuable, or more influential about a vote in a metro area compared to a vote elsewhere in the state in an election in which every vote is equal, and in which the winner is the candidate receiving the most popular votes. Indeed, it would be preposterous for a candidate to concentrate disproportionately on big metro areas (or any other particular part of a state) in an election in which every vote is equal.

Areas Outside the Biggest metro areas

Now let's consider the part of each state that is outside each state's biggest metro area.

The table below shows each battleground state's population, the population living outside the state's biggest metro area, and the percent of the state's population living outside each state's biggest metro area.

Population outside the biggest metro areas of 12 battleground states				
State	State's population	Area outside the state's biggest metro area	Population outside state's biggest MSA	Percent of people living outside biggest MSA
AZ	6,392,017	Outside Phoenix metro area	2,199,130	34.4%
CO	5,029,196	Outside Denver metro area	2,485,714	49.4%
FL	18,801,310	Outside Miami metro area	13,236,675	70.4%
IA	3,046,355	Outside Des Moines metro area	2,569,490	84.3%
MI	9,883,640	Outside Detroit metro area	5,587,390	56.5%
NC	9,535,483	Outside Charlotte metro area	7,654,336	80.3%
NH	1,316,470	Outside metro area	898,104	68.2%
NV	2,700,551	Outside Las Vegas metro area	749,282	27.7%
OH	11,536,504	Outside Cleveland metro area	9,459,264	82.0%
PA	12,702,379	Outside Philadelphia metro area	8,693,385	68.4%
VA	7,994,802	Outside Washington metro area	5,317,661	66.5%
WI	5,686,986	Outside Milwaukee metro area	4,131,078	72.6%
Total	94,625,693	Total	62,981,509	66.6%

The table below shows, for the 2012 and 2016 elections,

- the actual number of general-election campaign events in each state (column 2),
- the actual number of general-election campaign events outside each state's biggest metro area (column 3),
- the percent of the state's population living outside the state's biggest metro area (column 5), and
- the actual percent of general-election campaign events outside the state's biggest metro area (column 6).

Outside the state's biggest metro area, the percent of 2012 and 2016 events closely matches the area's percent of the state's population

State	Events in state	Events outside biggest MSA	Area outside the state's biggest metro area	Percent of people living outside biggest MSA	Actual percent of events outside biggest MSA
AZ	10	3	Outside Phoenix metro area	34%	30%
CO	43	26	Outside Denver metro area	49%	60%
FL	111	78	Outside Miami metro area	70%	70%
IA	48	36	Outside Des Moines metro area	84%	75%

MI	23	11	Outside Detroit metro area	57%	48%
NC	58	44	Outside Charlotte metro area	80%	76%
NH	34	20	Outside metro area	68%	59%
NV	29	13	Outside Las Vegas metro area	28%	45%
OH	121	98	Outside Cleveland metro area	82%	81%
PA	59	40	Outside Philadelphia metro area	68%	68%
VA	59	42	Outside Washington metro area	67%	71%
WI	32	21	Outside Milwaukee metro area	73%	66%
Total	627	432	Total for 2012 and 2016	67%	69%

As can be seen from the table for 2012 and 2016, the actual percentage of 2012 and 2016 events outside each battleground state's biggest metro area (69%) closely matched the share of the population living outside each state's biggest metro area (67%)—in fact, it was a tad more.

Specifically,

- 627 was the total number of events nationally (column 2);
- 432 was the total number of events that took place outside each state's biggest metro area (column 3);
- 67% was the overall percent of the battleground states' population living outside each state's biggest metro area; and
- 69% was the overall percent of events outside each state's biggest metro area.

Second biggest metro areas

Now let's consider the second biggest metro areas of the battleground states—that is, metro areas such as Tampa, Pittsburgh, Grand Rapids, Madison, Tucson, Raleigh, Columbus, etc.

The table below shows, for the 2012 and 2016 elections,

- the actual number of general-election campaign events in each state (column 2),
- the actual number of general-election campaign events in each state's second biggest metro area (column 3),
- the percent of the state's population living in each state's second biggest metro area (column 5), and
- the actual percent of general-election campaign events in the state's second biggest metro area (column 6).

Second biggest metro area's percent of 2012 and 2016 events closely matches the area's percent of the state's population

State	Events in state	Events in second biggest MSA	Second biggest Metropolitan Statistical Area in state	Percent of people living in second biggest MSA	Actual percent of events in second biggest MSA
AZ	10	2	Tucson, AZ MSA	15%	20%
CO	43	9	Colorado Springs, CO MSA	13%	21%
FL	111	17	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	15%	15%
IA	48	7	Cedar Rapids, IA MSA	8%	15%
MI	23	5	Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI MSA	10%	22%
NC	58	8	Raleigh, NC MSA	11%	14%
NH	34	16	Manchester-Nashua, NH MSA	30%	47%
NV	29	12	Reno, NV MSA	16%	41%
OH	121	21	Columbus, OH MSA	16%	17%
PA	59	13	Pittsburgh, PA MSA	19%	22%
VA	59	13	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	21%	22%
WI	32	3	Madison, WI MSA	10%	9%
Total	627	126	Total for 2012 and 2016	15%	20%

As can be seen from the table for 2012 and 2016, the actual percentage of 2012 and 2016 events in the battleground states' second biggest metro areas (20%) approximately matched the share of the population of these states living in these areas (15%).

Specifically,

- 627 was the total number of events nationally (column 2);
- 126 was the total number of events in the second biggest metro areas (column 3);
- 15% is the overall percent of the battleground states' population living in the state's second biggest metro areas; and
- 20% was the overall percent of events in the second biggest metro areas of these battleground states.

Third biggest metro areas

Now let's consider the third biggest metro areas of the battleground states—that is, metro areas such as Orlando, Allentown, Lansing, Green Bay, Prescott, Greensboro, and Cincinnati.

The table below shows, for the 2012 and 2016 elections,

- the actual number of general-election campaign events in each state (column 2),
- the actual number of general-election campaign events in each state's third biggest metro area (column 3),
- the percent of the state's population living in each state's third biggest metro area (column 5), and
- the actual percent of general-election campaign events in the state's third biggest metro area (column 6).

Third biggest metro area's percent of 2012 and 2016 events closely matches the area's percent of the state's population

State	Events in state	Events in third biggest MSA	Third biggest Metropolitan Statistical Area in state	Percent of people living in third biggest MSA	Actual percent of events in third biggest MSA
AZ	10	1	Prescott, AZ MSA	3%	10%
CO	43	2	Fort Collins, CO MSA	6%	5%
FL	111	14	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL MSA	11%	13%
IA	48	1	Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA MSA	6%	2%
MI	23	2	Lansing-East Lansing, MI MSA	5%	9%
NC	58	6	Greensboro-High Point, NC MSA	8%	10%
NH	34	2	Concord, NH Micropolitan Statistical Area	11%	6%
NV	29	1	Carson City, NV MSA	2%	3%
OH	121	15	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN MSA	14%	12%
PA	59	2	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ MSA	6%	3%
VA	59	12	Richmond, VA MSA	15%	20%
WI	32	6	Green Bay, WI MSA	5%	19%
Total	627	64	Total for 2012 and 2016	9%	10%

As can be seen from the table for 2012 and 2016, the actual percentage of 2012 and 2016 events in the battleground states' third biggest metro areas (10%) closely matched the share of the population of these states living in these areas (9%).

Specifically,

- 627 was the total number of events nationally (column 2);
- 64 was the total number of events in the third biggest metro areas (column 3);
- 9% is the overall percent of the battleground states' population living in the state's third biggest metro areas; and

- 10% was the overall percent of events in the third biggest metro areas of these battleground states.

How a Nationwide Campaign for President Would Be Run

The shortcomings of the current system of electing the President stem from state winner-take-all 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 the state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes, candidates have no reason to solicit votes in the general election campaign in states where the statewide outcome is a foregone conclusion. Instead, almost all general-election campaign events are conducted in closely divided battleground states.

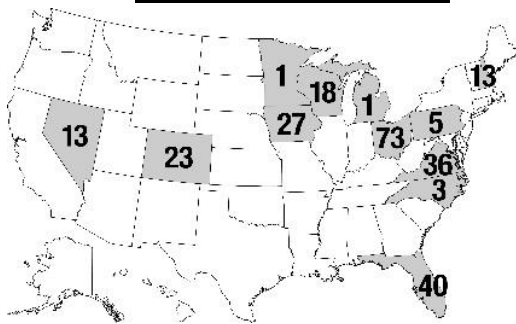
As Governor Scott Walker said while running for President in 2015:

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

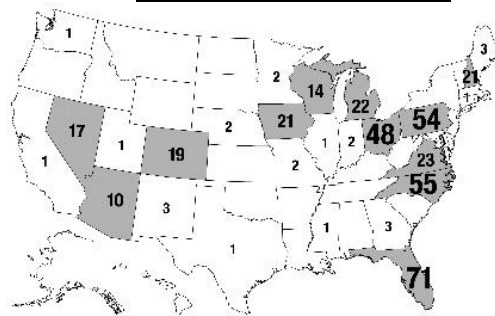
In 2012, *all* of the general-election campaign events (and almost all campaign expenditures) were concentrated in the 12 states where the outcome was between 45% and 51% Republican. Two-thirds of the events (176 of 253) were concentrated in just four states (Ohio, Florida, Virginia, and Iowa). Thirty-eight states were ignored, including 12 of the 13 smallest states and almost all rural, agricultural, Southern, Western, and Northeastern states.

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 six states (Florida, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Michigan).

2012 Campaign Events



2016 Campaign Events



The allocation of campaign events **among** states (which usually closely parallels campaign expenditures) is one of the most important strategic decisions that presidential campaigns make under the current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes. As we have seen throughout this document, **inside** the battleground states, the campaigns hew very closely to population in allocating their limited campaigning time to the various parts of the state. Far from concentrating on big metro areas or ignoring rural areas, real-world candidates—advised by the country's most astute political strategists—hew very closely to population in allocating their limited campaigning time. They do this because every vote inside a battleground state is equal, and the candidate receiving the most popular votes inside the state wins everything.

In a nationwide campaign, candidates would campaign throughout the country in the same way as they do today **inside** battleground states—that is, they would allocate their campaign events to various areas based on population.

There were 399 general-election campaign events in 2016. If the country's population (309,785,186) is divided by the total number of 2016 general-election campaign events (399), the result is one event for every 776,404 people.

By coincidence, 399 is very close to the number of congressional districts in the country (435). Thus, the likely number of campaign events that a state would receive in a nationwide campaign for President with about 399 events would be approximately equal to the state's number of congressional districts.

The table below gives an approximate picture of how 399 campaign events would be distributed among the states in a nationwide campaign for President. It does this by dividing each state's population by 776,404 and rounding off (column 3). For purposes of comparison, the table shows (in column 4) the actual number of campaign events that each state received in 2016 under the current state-by-state winner-take-all method of awarding electoral votes.

Comparison of a likely nationwide campaign versus the 2016 campaign

State	Population	Events if based on population	Actual 2016 events
Alabama	4,802,982	6	
Alaska	721,523	1	
Arizona	6,412,700	8	10
Arkansas	2,926,229	4	
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

As can be seen in the table, every state in the table receives some attention in a nationwide campaign with 399 general-election campaign events—that is, there would be a 50-state campaign for President.⁷

It would certainly not be the case that almost all campaign events would be concentrated in a dozen closely divided battleground states.

Arizona in 2016 provides a good indication of how campaign events would be allocated *inside* each state in an environment where each state received approximately one campaign event per congressional district. The state's biggest metropolitan statistical area (Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale) has 66% of the state's population, and it received 7 of Arizona's 10 events. The Tucson metropolitan statistical area has 15% of the state's population, and it received two of Arizona's 10 events. Arizona's tenth event in 2016 went to the town of Prescott Valley in Yavapai county. The entire county has only 3% of Arizona's population, and Prescott Valley has only about a fifth of the county's population. In other words, the presidential candidates allocated their appearances in different parts of Arizona closely in line with population.

⁷ Of course, the total number of general-election campaign events varies from election to election. In 2016, both major-party presidential nominees in 2016 were private citizens who had no governmental responsibilities. There were only 253 general-election campaign events in 2012, and 300 events in 2008. If there were 253 general-election campaign events in some future campaign, there would be an average of about 0.6 of an event per congressional district. If there were 300 events, there would be an average of about 0.7 of an event per congressional district.