

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 and rural areas. Presidential candidates—advised by the country’s most astute political 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.

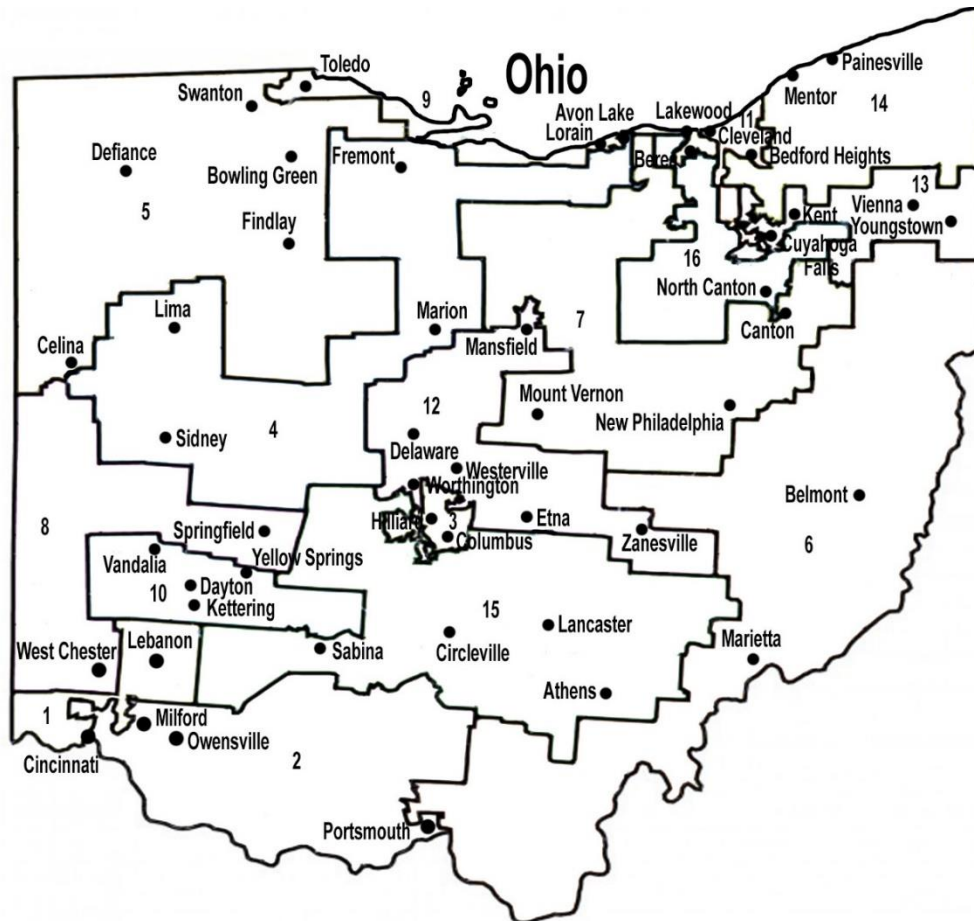
The conclusion that candidates campaign everywhere—big cities, medium-sized cities, and rural areas—is reinforced by looking at the *actual* places where candidates held campaign events.

Location of Presidential Campaign Events in Ohio in 2012

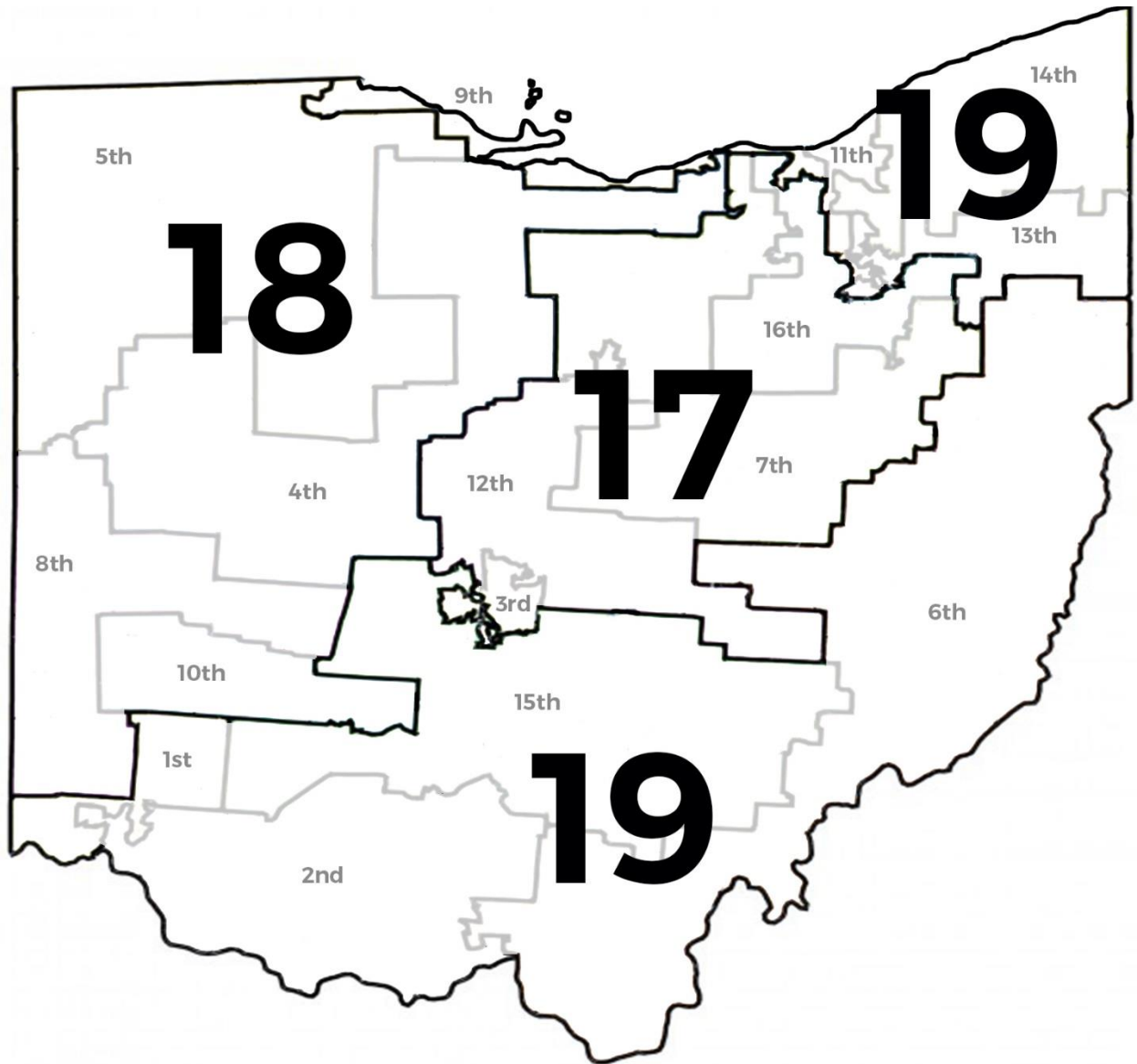
Place	Population	Candidate and date of campaign event	County	CD
Belmont	447	Ryan (10/20)	Belmont	6
Owensville	794	Ryan (9/12)	Clermont	2
Sabina	2,548	Ryan (10/27)	Clinton	15
Yellow Springs	3,526	Ryan (10/27)	Greene	10
Swanton	3,690	Ryan (10/8)	Fulton	5
Vienna	4,021	Ryan (11/5)	Trumbull	13
Milford	6,681	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 (10/29), 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

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.

Presidential 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.

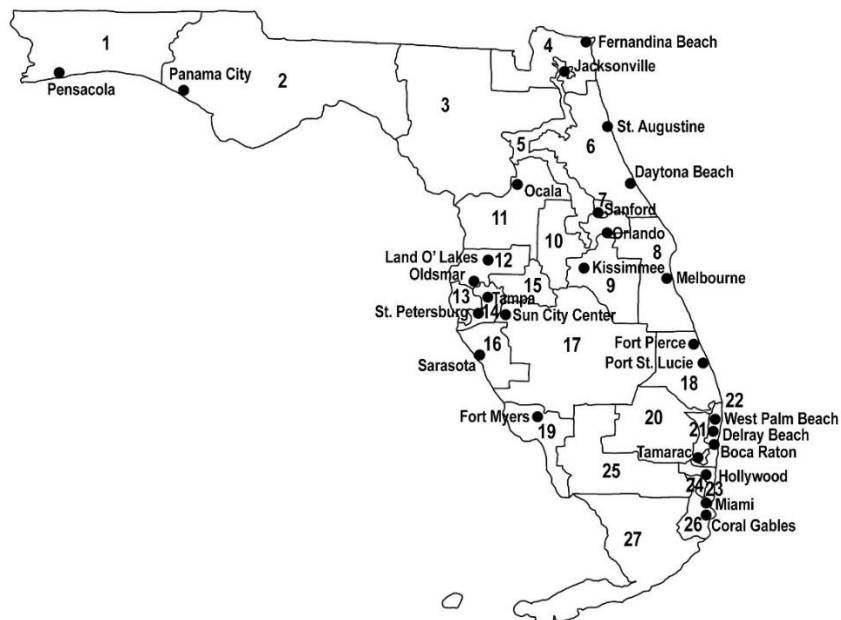
Four battleground states (Ohio, Florida, Virginia, and Iowa) accounted for over two-thirds of all campaign events in 2012 (70% of 253).

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

Location of Presidential Campaign Events in Florida 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

Presidential 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 Presidential Campaign Events in Virginia in 2012

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

Presidential Campaign Events by Congressional District in Florida in 2012

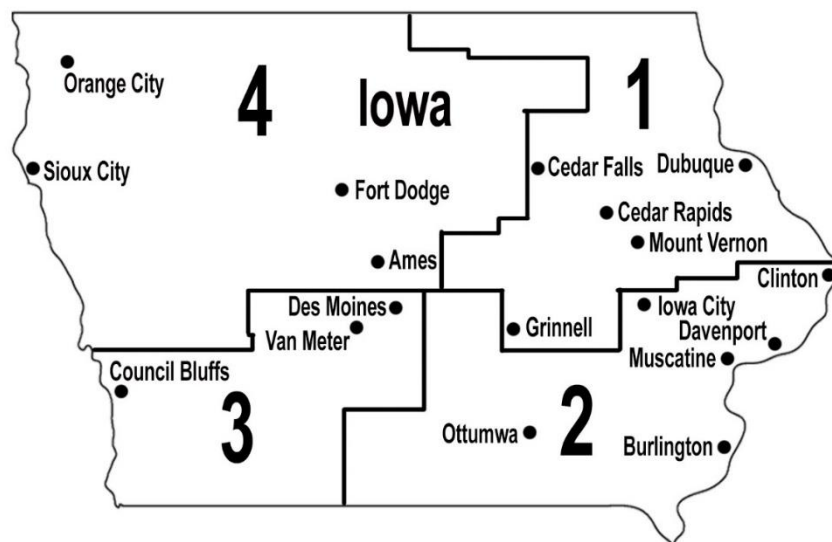


Similarly, presidential candidates campaigned throughout the state in Iowa (which received 27 of the nation's 253 campaign events in 2012).

Location of Presidential Campaign Events in Iowa 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

Presidential Campaign Events by Congressional District in Iowa 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).

State	Population 2010	Campaign events based on population	Actual 2016 campaign 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

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

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

Electoral votes	State	2012 events	2016 events
3	Alaska		
3	Delaware		
3	District of 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

- **In 2012, only 1 of the 13 smallest states** (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.

- **In 2012, only 3 of the 25 smallest states** (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.

- **In 2016, only 2 of the 13 smallest states** (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 2nd congressional district was closely divided (and, indeed, Trump carried it). All the other small states were ignored.

- **In 2016, only 4 of the 25 smallest states** (7 or fewer electoral votes) received any general-election 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 2nd 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 population	Total population	Rural percent	Rural 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 Hampshire	503,451	1,300,000	38.73%	193
Iowa	1,138,892	2,954,000	38.55%	192
South Carolina	1,584,888	4,198,000	37.75%	188
North Carolina	3,199,831	8,541,000	37.46%	186
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
Rhode Island	95,173	1,081,000	8.80%	44
Massachusetts	547,730	6,417,000	8.54%	42
Hawaii	103,312	1,263,000	8.18%	41
Nevada	169,611	2,335,000	7.26%	36
New Jersey	475,263	8,699,000	5.46%	27
California	1,881,985	35,894,000	5.24%	26
D.C.	0	554,000	0.00%	0
Total	59,061,367	293,658,000	20.11%	100