

Analysis of the Ron Paul Campaign and the 2012 GOP Primary Race: Are the Media Purposefully Ignoring Ron Paul?

By:
Patrick C. Dew
Texas State University-San Marcos
November 3, 2011

ABSTRACT

This research examines the media's approach to disregard the success of a seasoned member of Congress, Ron Paul, in his attempt for the GOP nomination. Three explanations are considered for the apparent media blackout; (1) Ron Paul is labeled as a libertarian and subsequently seen as an outsider or a third party member within the Republican Party, (2) Ron Paul's stance on foreign policy is in direct contrast to the notion of American Exceptionalism, and (3) Ron Paul's stance on social issues does not allow him to be seen as a traditional Republican such that he cannot be polarized as a conventional Republican candidate. The 2012 Republican primary is Congressman Paul's third attempt at the presidency and his most successful thus far. A grassroots movement began as a result of his 1988 presidential campaign, which can be seen in his supporters today. A multivariate regression analysis using SPSS (Statistical Practices of the Social Sciences) produced a significant correlation between the independent variable (Pew Research Report – frequency of media coverage) and the dependent variable (Straw poll victories). However, it would be premature to claim this preliminary analysis as definitive evidence of media bias. This research does portray questionable tactics used by the media to limit coverage of candidate Ron Paul. To date, Paul has won roughly 30% of the straw polls unbeknownst to a majority of the

voting population.

INTRODUCTION

Congressman Ron Paul is a three time presidential candidate (1988, 2008, and 2012). The first time he ran for president he was a third party Libertarian candidate, and he was able to compile only .5% of the popular vote (Chamberlain 2010). In the 2008 election he ran as a Republican candidate, but he was unable to accrue a single primary victory. However, he did generate enough support to start a grass-roots movement that propelled him to compete in the 2012 Republican primaries. To date (October 30, 2011) Ron Paul has won 11 of the 35 straw polls, yet his success remains unnoticed by the media (Appendix A).

Two terms, front-runner and straw poll, need to be defined in order to understand their use in the presidential primary race. Front-runner is defined as a leading contestant in a competition (Merriam-Webster). How is a candidate determined to be the front-runner? The media use straw polls and reaction to debates as two methods of determination. Straw poll is defined as an unofficial vote that is taken to determine what people think about certain problems or how they intend to vote in an election (Cambridge Dictionary).

The Purpose of this research is to identify the tactics of the media that can be seen as questionable in the determination of a viable front-runner candidate. I will examine the results of 35 straw polls from January 22, 2011 through October 29, 2011. I will also break down five different debates and compare the total amount of speaking time and number of turns speaking for each candidate who participated. A Pew Research Institute report displays the number of news articles in which the candidate was the lead newsmaker over an eight-month period

(January 1, 2011 – August 14, 2011) (Sartor 2011). Straw polls, debate prominence, and news coverage will be used in a multivariate linear regression analysis using SPSS (Statistical Practices of Social Science) in order to determine if a correlation is present.

Controversy is not a new theme during United States Presidential races. I will focus on trends that occurred in the media during the 2012 Republican Party Primaries. I believe the mainstream media uses questionable methods to determine the front-runner of the 2012 GOP primary. This paper does not claim the existence of general or systematic bias in the media. However this is an analytical review of the 2012 Republican Primary race and the approach the media used to determine and subsequently cover the pre-determined favored front-runner.

I would like to discuss the possible reasons why there is an apparent media black-out on candidate Ron Paul in order to determine if the media are biased against him: (1) Ron Paul is labeled as a libertarian and subsequently seen as an outsider or a third party member within the Republican Party, (2) Ron Paul's stance on foreign policy is in direct contrast to the notion of American Exceptionalism, and (3) Ron Paul's stance on social issues does not allow him to be seen as a traditional Republican such that he cannot be polarized as a candidate.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In the attempt to understand why Paul is receiving so little media coverage it is important to properly define the sociological phenomenon called the Hostile Media Effect. Also, I believe it is important to point out why Ron Paul seems like a third party candidate. And finally I will explain the fundamental difference between Ron Paul's foreign policy and current American foreign policy, and more importantly how Ron Paul stands in direct opposition to American Exceptionalism.

Media Bias

Researchers have made numerous attempts to prove the existence of media bias (Groseclose and Milyo 2005; Morris and Francia 2010; and Huge and Glynn 2010). Bias is ultimately quite difficult to prove. The sociological phenomenon known as the Hostile Media Effect (HME) is defined as the perception of bias when in fact bias is not present (Huge and Glynn 2010). I believe the HME is a relevant issue due to the distinctly opposite viewpoints provided by current media providers, for example Fox News and CNN, but never the less it is still defined as a perceived bias. In other words, viewers of Fox News will perceive the content of MSNBC to be unfair and biased because they disagree with the interpretation. Therefore the HME cannot be used to describe the lack of coverage of the Paul campaign.

Morris and Francia (2010) conducted research to determine if a liberal bias was present in the media during the 2004 Presidential election. They concluded that three major television news providers (Fox News, CNN, and MSNBC) did not portray bias but did in fact lean to the right, left, and central respectively. The bias that was perceived was done so incorrectly. Viewers misunderstood the meaning of bias. The news organizations (Fox, CNN, and MSNBC) provide news from different points-of-view and therefore this was mistaken as media bias.

Other attempts at proving media bias include a frequency count of the number of times think tanks are mentioned by a particular media outlet (Groseclose and Milyo 2005). The authors claim that media is liberally biased because liberally biased media was easier to sell than objective news. But they ultimately conclude to lack the statistical support needed to dignify their theory.

I do believe that Groseclose and Milyo are on the right track when they consider the sellability of news. Herman and Chomsky (1988) view the media as not objective because media, as they describe it, is a for-profit economic entity, and just like any other business they need customers to buy a product. This is an important detail because cable news is now a 24-hour a day business.

Third Party Perspective

I would like to describe the results of Ron Paul's 1988 Presidential campaign in order to provide context and an explanation of the amount of support candidate Paul has generated. Traditionally third party movements have minimal success and tend to lose steam. Libertarian candidate Ron Paul accumulated less than 0.5% of the popular vote. Although this was not a substantial amount in 1988, the roots of that campaign's support can be seen in his supporters twenty years later (Chamberlain 2010).

Ron Paul's stance on political issues is why Chamberlain (2010) argues candidate Paul should be studied as a third party candidate. He goes on to support his claim by describing how Paul has not changed his stance or ideology in his transition from third party Libertarian candidate to major party Republican candidate (2010). Paul's ideological stance is similar to the mantra of the Libertarian Party – "Socially Liberal, Fiscally Conservative."

Paul is considerably different from the other Republican Party candidates. Ron Paul's oppositional stance to the "War on Drugs" and any military action on foreign soil leave him severely disconnected from the current political stance of the Republican Party (Caldwell 2007). Paul is comparable to a third party candidate today because his social and policy views are not

guided by party affiliation (Edwards 2010).

The following policy stances were gathered from www.ronpaul2012.com. Ron Paul is pro-gay rights, which is traditionally a more liberal stance. He is also against non-Congressionally sanctioned wars, which has also traditionally been a liberal stance. However, Ron Paul is also a strong proponent of the second amendment and a firm anti-abortionist, which are both traditionally conservative stances. These examples outline why it is hard to label Ron Paul as a conventionally Democratic or Republican candidate or a polarized candidate. This is significant because according to Social Identity Theory, social group membership is the fundamental base of party identification (Abramowitz and Saunders 2006). This situation poses a problem for Ron Paul and his likelihood of generating substantial public approval.

American Exceptionalism

A comparison of Ron Paul's foreign policy and current American foreign policy can help explain why candidate Paul has generated such minuscule media coverage. McCrisken (2011) claims that the "war on terror" has become ingrained in US foreign and domestic policy as a necessity and therefore making change from this type of defense strategy very difficult for any potential policy-shaper. This mindset is centered on the notion of American Exceptionalism.

American Exceptionalism is defined as a military and a political hegemony on a global scale (Hooks and McQueen 2010). Bell (1989) claims the US is a conceptual means of comparison for all other nations to attempt to emulate rather than a nation of the world. This type of thinking is important to understand because it could lead people to think the US is immune to social discourse.

Paul believes the US should take on a more diminished role as a world leader and move to what he refers to as “normal policy,” which his opponents call isolationism and argue that an isolationist stance allowed Hitler’s rise to power (Edwards 2011). It is important to note that Ron Paul has never used the term isolationism in any of his speeches, private, or professional writings. It is a term used by his opponents to discredit his candidacy.

The costs of the ongoing wars concerns candidate Paul, and more specifically, Paul is concerned about the possibility of future loss of life. Paul believes the events of September 11, 2011 were a result of what he referred to as “blow back” (Edwards 2010). He went on to explain that America’s constant military occupation of foreign nations has resulted in an overall negative perception of American culture (2010). Ron Paul has always been concerned with the financial cost of multiple, on-going wars because of the detrimental effect wars can have on an economy (ronpaul2012.com).

Social Scientists have examined an apparent inverse relationship that exists between an expanding military and a diminishing welfare state (Hooks and McQueen 2010). The authors examine the events that took place following the end of WWII. Hooks and McQueen (2010) purport the ever-expanding military budget has had direct effect on the stability and financial security of the welfare state in America.

Apparent gaps in the media include proper non-directional hypotheses in search of media bias. Research should also be conducted to determine how the media determines a viable front-runner. It appears that the media tries to weed-out the majority of the field, but it is unclear why they choose to cover one candidate over another.

DATA AND METHODS

In this section Ron Paul the candidate will be examined based on his stance on the issues. Issues are defined as social and political issues that the candidate has used to distinguish his candidacy. Secondary data – Pew Report, Straw Poll, and Debates – will be used to determine if statistically significant relationships exist.

A report from the Pew Research Institute counted the number of campaign news stories each candidate received from January 1-August 14, 2011 in which the candidate was the lead newsmaker. Also, the results from the first 35 straw polls have been tabulated outlining the first, second and third place finishers. And five debates have been analyzed comparing the amount of time in minutes each candidate spoke and the number of turns each candidate spoke. A complete list of charts can be found in Appendix A.

Two multivariate linear regression analyses will be run to determine if there is a significant relationship between the independent variable – the Pew Research analysis – and the dependent variables – straw poll victories and number of times the candidates spoke at the five debates analyzed. The first analysis will determine if the number of news articles written about each candidate had any influence on the number of times a candidate was allowed to speak during the five debates analyzed. The second analysis will determine if the number of news articles written about each candidate had any influence on the number of straw poll victories. The null hypothesis for each analysis will be the same $H_0: R=0$, which indicates that there will not be a correlation between the independent variable (number of news articles written about each candidate) and the dependent variables (straw poll victories and number of times each candidate spoke).

Candidate Paul's Issue Stance

Close examination of the candidate Ron Paul and his stance on the issues provides important details as to why Ron Paul is so different from the other Republican candidates. The following information was compiled from www.ronpaul2012.com. This analysis focuses on Ron Paul's stance on the economy, healthcare, national defense, and social issues, such as abortion, gay rights, and the Second Amendment.

Ron Paul believes the economy must not be controlled by government interference. He says as president he will eliminate income, capital gains, and death taxes, which he believes will have more effect on economic growth than past use of stimulus packages (Ron Paul Campaign 2011). Paul is also a proponent of a free market system that does not inhibit growth or restrict the purchase and production of alternative fuel technologies (2011).

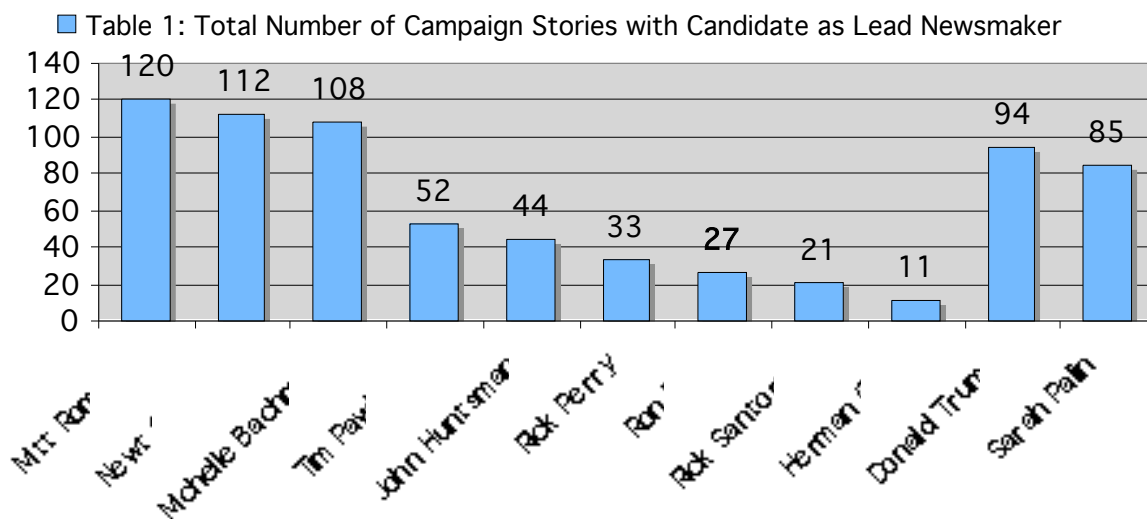
Ron Paul's social issues stances brings about confusion in the Republican Party, because some are contradictory to traditional conservative viewpoints. Candidate Paul is a proponent of gay-rights, more specifically he believes same-sex couples should receive equal benefits as traditional male/female couples (Chamberlain 2010). Equal rights include visitation in hospitals and tax deductions for same sex married couples (2010).

In regards to national defense Paul believes a strong national defense begins with a sound foreign policy that does not promote American Exceptionalism (Ron Paul Campaign 2011). He is supportive of positive troop moral by protecting our troops and insuring our military with proper care, honors and benefits upon their return (2011). Paul would like to enforce border security and maintain the civil rights of lawful immigrants (2011).

Regarding healthcare Paul would like to put the individual and doctor in a position to determine the best style and type of care, rather than depending on insurance approval (2011). Paul is also a proponent of alternative treatments and dietary supplements that have been disallowed by the FDA. Paul believes the current system of a “one-size fits all” does more harm than good (2011).

Pew Research Report

I used a research report from the Pew Research Institute (Sartor 2011), which measured the frequency of news articles regarding Republican Presidential Candidates, to support my argument of the presence of questionable tactics used by the media to determine the front-runner candidate. The report from the Pew Institute counted the number of times a candidate (or potential candidate) was mentioned in a mainstream media news article as the lead newsmaker (Table 1) from January 1, 2011 to August 14, 2011. Not shown in the graph is the number of articles in which President Barak Obama was lead newsmaker over the same period of time. That number is 221 news stories.



The media covers certain individuals more than others. Mitt Romney clearly receives more news coverage than Ron Paul. Unfortunately this graph does not show why one candidate is favored over another. The results of the Pew analysis will be used as the Independent variable in the regression analysis.

Debate Analysis

I compiled specifics from five different debates (9-7-11, 9-12-11, 9-22-11, 10-11-11, and 10-18-11), including total time in minutes each candidate spoke and total number of times each candidate spoke during each debate (Table 2). Number of times speaking is defined by as the frequency each candidate was asked a question, provided a rebuttal, or commented on another candidates remark. The time was collected in minutes and seconds (minutes:seconds). The results from the five-debate analysis will be used as the dependent variable in the regression analysis.

Table 2: Analysis of 5 debates.

Candidate Name	Total Speaking Time in Minutes	Total Number of Times Talked
Mitt Romney	66:23	72
Rick Perry	59:53	72
Michelle Bachmann	42:48	43
Newt Gingrich	34:21	37
Rick Santorum	35:06	36
Ron Paul	36:44	37
Herman Cain	34:28	48
Jon Huntsman ¹	30:10	31
Gary Johnson ²	4:10	5

¹ - John Huntsman participated in 4 debates.

² - Gary Johnson participated in 1 debate.

2012 Straw Poll Analysis

I compiled a list of straw polls results over a ten-month period (January 22, 2011 – October 29, 2011). There were 35 confirmable straw polls over the ten-month period. A complete chart of each straw poll can be found in Appendix A. Table 3 represents the number of first, second, and third place finishes for each candidate. The chart clearly shows the two candidates that are winning a vast majority of the straw polls (Paul and Cain). The results of the straw poll analysis will be used as the dependent variable in the regression analysis. Based on the raw data it appears that news stories and straw poll victories are not related, because Paul has won almost three times as many straw polls as candidate Romney yet Paul had 93 less news stories than Romney.

Table 3: Straw Poll Analysis

Candidate Name	Number of 1st place finishes	Number of 2nd place finishes	Number of 3rd place finishes
Mitt Romney	4	9	6
Rick Perry	1	6	3
Michelle Bachmann	1	5	4
Newt Gingrich	0	3	4
Rick Santorum	2	1	5
Ron Paul	11	4	0
Herman Cain	12	4	3
Jon Hunstman	0	1	0
Tim Pawlenty	0	1	2
Fred Karger	1	0	0
Mitch Daniels	1	0	1
Gary Johnson	0	0	1
Sarah Palin	0	0	3
Mike Huckabee	1	1	1
Donald Trump	0	0	1
Haley Barbour	1	0	0
Thaddeus McCotter	0	0	1
Total	35	35	35

Methodology

A multivariate linear regression analysis using SPSS determines the amount of influence the independent variable has on the dependent variable. In this case I measured the independent variable (Pew Research report) effect on both dependent variables (Debates and Straw Polls). The correlation or strength of the relationship will be associated with “r.” The value of “r” can range from -1 to 1.

The first regression analysis will determine if the number of candidate media stories where the candidate is the lead newsmaker has had an effect on the number of turns to talk each candidate had for the five debates analyzed. The second regression analysis will determine if the number of candidate media stories where the candidate is the lead newsmaker has had an effect on the number of straw poll victories for each candidate. Table 4 displays the results from the first regression analysis. A scatter plot graph is available in Appendix C (1).

Table 4: Regression Model Summary

Model	r	r ²	Adjusted r ²	Std. Error of the Estimate	t-score	Sig.
1. (Constant) Number of news stories from January 1, 2011 thru August 14, 2011.	0.208	0.043	- 0.116	17.148	4.099	0.006**

Dependent Variable: Total turns each candidate was able to speak at the debates.

** Significant at the α level of 0.01

Table 5 shows the results from the second regression analysis. A scatter plot graph

is available in Appendix C (2). The results of this analysis indicate that there is a medium strength correlation ($r = -0.482$) between the number of news stories about a candidate and the number of straw poll victories. The orientation of the line of best fit indicates an inverse relationship because the two candidates with the most straw poll victories have received very little news coverage.

Table 5: Regression Model Summary

Model	r	r ²	Adjusted r ²	Std. Error of the Estimate	t-score	Sig.
1. (Constant) Number of news stories from January 1, 2011 thru August 14, 2011.	- 0.482	0.232	0.104	4.62053	2.478	0.048*

Dependent Variable: Number of straw poll victories.

* Significant at the α level of 0.05

FINDINGS

As I stated earlier in this paper, straw polls are used to gain an understanding of how people may vote in an upcoming election. The preliminary findings indicate that candidate Ron Paul is not receiving equal coverage or treatment from the media. In the Herman Cain instance straw poll victories do relate to an increase in public approval ratings based on his recent surge in the polls (Gallup Poll 2011). His approval rating is now at 18 within the Republican Party.

Unsurprisingly, the same poll ranks Ron Paul an 8 (2011).

Reasons for the media's lack of coverage were discussed in the literature review. Ron Paul is still considered to be a libertarian candidate because of his socially liberal viewpoints and

his fiscally conservative economic policies (Chamberlain 2010). Candidate Paul's stance regarding foreign policy is in direct opposition to the notion of American Exceptionalism and subsequently current US foreign policy. Therefore Ron Paul is unable to be labeled as a polarized or a conventional candidate because he does not fit a mold.

It is clear that two candidates, Mitt Romney and Rick Perry, have enjoyed a majority of the coverage during the five presidential debates analyzed in this research. The average talk time of the five debates for the candidates is almost 42.5 minutes. I have excluded candidate Johnson because he only participated in 1 debate. Therefore only two candidates, Rick Perry (59.8 minutes) and Mitt Romney (66.2 minutes), spoke for more minutes than the mean of the group.

I believe the preliminary data provides sufficient evidence of peculiar methods used by the media to cover and report the 2012 GOP primaries. These peculiar methods are a disregard for his success in the GOP Primary straw polls and an apparent overall lack of media attention. Therefore, I find that the media is hindering the growth of the Paul campaign. Perhaps Ron Paul could generate enough popular support to realistically compete in the 2012 election if the media would behave more objectively with their coverage. More in-depth research may be able to address this concern.

The results of the regression analyses, as interesting as they are, do not definitively prove anything. There does not appear to be a correlation ($r = 0.208$) with the number of news articles written about a candidate and the number of times candidates spoke during the 5-debates analyzed. The r^2 value of 0.043 means that 4.3% of the variation of the dependent variable (turns speaking) is attributable to the independent variable (Pew report). The t-score of 4.099 is

significant at the alpha (α) level of 0.01. Therefore the probability of the weak/no relationship between the two variables being accurate is high.

However there is a correlation ($r = -0.482$) with the number of news stories written about a candidate and the number of straw poll victories. The r^2 value of 0.232 equates to 23.2% of the variation in the dependent variable (straw poll victories) being attributable to independent variable (Pew report). The t-score of 2.478 is significant at the alpha (α) level of 0.05. Therefore the probability of the medium strength relationship between the two variables being supported is strong.

The variables have an inverse relationship as seen in the scatter plot graph in Appendix C (2), which shows the candidates with the most straw poll victories have received considerably less media coverage. In other words, as the number of news articles written about a candidate increase the number of straw poll victories decrease. The notion does not make logical sense hence further analysis is needed.

CONCLUSION

This research provides enough information to claim plausible negligence by the media in their coverage and treatment of candidate Ron Paul. The results indicate questionable tactics used by the media. The results do not statistically prove the existence of bias in the media. However, the results do call for further research. The likelihood that Ron Paul is the only recipient of this treatment is low.

The Pew Institute report provides interesting information regarding the number of news stories in which the candidate is the lead newsmaker. This should be an ongoing report

constantly monitoring the number of stories written. An ideal range of analysis would be consistent with the time frame of the straw polls and debates.

The report from the Pew Institute could be misleading. For example Rick Perry was associated with thirty-three campaign news stories. At the end of the research, August 14, Perry had only been an official candidate for one day (Berg-Anderson 2011). A skeptic may say that this is the reason for his low accumulation of campaign news stories. Mitt Romney accrued 120 news stories and he officially declared his candidacy on June 3 (Berg-Anderson 2011) – eleven weeks before Perry. Closer analysis of the Pew report is necessary to determine the dates the campaign articles were written in order to determine if the candidate's declaration date is a significant variable.

Insight is needed to determine how the media weighs straw poll victories. How are the victories measured? Is it possible to receive more credibility for finishing third in a major straw poll compared to a smaller sized straw poll? Additional examination is needed to determine how the media weighs the effect of straw polls.

Future research should also include vigorous data compilation. Including but not limited to, a complete analytical breakdown of all the debates held during the 2012 GOP primaries. This data should include the questions asked to each candidate, the type of response provided by each candidate, how many rebuttals a statement drew, and the organization hosting the debate, in addition to total speaking time and number of turns speaking. Debate coverage and analysis are important and should not be handled haphazardly.

In conclusion, a statistically significant inverse correlation exists between straw poll

victories and the amount of news coverage a candidate received according to Pew. However 76% of the variability in straw poll victories is unaccounted. Therefore further analysis should be conducted. The behavior and actions of the media were the focus of this research project and as a result it does appear that the media are ignoring candidate Ron Paul. I believe that this preliminary research shows the importance of an objective media during presidential primary races and elections, which is something we currently do not appear to have.

REFERENCES

- Abramowitz, Alan I. and Kyle L. Saunders. 2006. "Exploring the Bases of Partisanship in the American Electorate: Social Identity vs. Ideology." *Political Research Quarterly* 59(2):175-87.
- Bell, Daniel. 1989. "American Exceptionalism Revisited: The Role of Society." *Public Interest Issue* 95: 38-56.
- Berg-Anderson, Richard E. 2011. "2012 Presidential Hopefuls Grouped by Party." www.thegreenpapers.com. Retrieved on October 19, 2011. (<http://www.thegreenpapers.com/P12/candidates.phtml#REP.1>).
- Caldwell, Christopher. 2007. "The Antiwar, Anti-Abortion, Anti-Drug-Enforcement Administration, Anti-Medicare Candidacy of Dr. Ron Paul." *The New York Times Magazine*. Accessed on October 23, 2011. Available online at http://www.nytimes.com/2007/07/22/magazine/22Paul-t.html?_r=2&ref=magazine&oref=slogin
- Chamberlain, Adam. 2010. "An Insider-Outsider or an Outsider-Insider? The Republican Primary Campaign of Ron Paul from a Third Party Perspective." *Politics and Policy* 38(1): 97-116.
- Edwards, Jason A. 2011. "Debating America's Role in the World: Representative Ron Paul's Exceptionalist Jeremiad." *American Behavioral Scientist* 53(3): 253-269.
- Gallup Poll. 2011. "GOP Contenders." www.gallup.com. Retrieved on October 29, 2011. (<http://www.gallup.com/poll/election.aspx>)

- Graham, Jesse, Jonathan Haidt, and Brian A. Nosek. 2009. "Liberals and Conservatives Rely on Different Sets of Moral Foundations." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 96(5):1029-46.
- Groseclose, Tim and Jeffery Milyo. 2005. "Measure of Media Bias." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 120(4): 1191-1237.
- Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky. 1988. "A Propaganda Model." Pp. 1-35 in *Manufacturing Consent the Political Economy of the Mass Media* New York: Pantheon Books
- Hooks, Gregory and Brian McQueen. 2010. "American Exceptionalism Revisited: The Military Industrial Complex, Racial Tension, and the Underdeveloped Welfare State." *American Sociological Review*. 75(2): 185-204.
- Huge, Michael and Carroll J Glynn. 2010. "Hostile Media and the Campaign Trail: Perceived Media Bias in the Race for Governor." *Journal of Communication* 60(1): 165-181.
- McCrisken, Trevor. 2011. "Ten Years on: Obama's War on Terrorism in Rhetoric and Practice." *International Affairs* 87(4): 781-801
- Morris, Jonathan S. and Peter L. Francia. "Cable News, Public Opinion, and the 2004 Party Conventions." *Political Research Quarterly* 63(4):834-49.
- Paul, Ron. 2010. "The Banks versus the Constitution." *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy*. 33(2):465-473.
- Ron Paul Campaign Website. 2011. "Ron Paul 2012 Restore America Now." ronpaul2012.com. Retrieved on September 28, 2011. (<http://www.ronpaul2012.com/the-issues/>).
- Sartor, Tricia. 2011. "Are the Media Ignoring Ron Paul." *Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism*. Retrieved October 8, 2011 (http://www.journalism.org/numbers_report/are_media_ignoring_ron_paul).
- Torpey, John. 2009. "The Problem of American Exceptionalism Revisited." *Journal of Classic Sociology* 9(1): 143-168.

The following references pertain to straw poll results. The list is arranged in chronological order based on the date of the straw poll beginning January 22, 2011 – October 29, 2011.

- Pindell, James. 2011. "Results: WMUR, ABC News, NH GOP 2012 Straw Poll." Politicalscope.com. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://politicalscope.wmur.com/results-wmur-abc-news-nh-gop-2012-straw-poll>).
- Fabrizio McLaughlin & Associates. 2011. "CPAC 2011 Straw Poll Results." Conservative.org. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://www.conservative.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/2-11-CPAC-Straw-Poll-Final-Compatibility-Mode.pdf>).
- Politics with Soul. 2011. "Solving the Paul/Cain Arizona Straw Poll Winner Riddle." Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://politicswithsoul.blogspot.com/2011/09/solving-paulcain-arizona-straw-poll.html>).
- Mapes, Jeff. 2011. "Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels wins GOP presidential straw poll in Oregon." Oregonlive.com. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(http://www.oregonlive.com/politics/index.ssf/2011/03/indiana_gov_mitch_daniels_wins.html).
- Burr, Thomas. 2011. "Political Cornflakes: Romney tops local officials poll." The Salt Lake Tribune. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/blogsofcontext/51442707-64/utah-trib-gov-mayor.html.csp>).
- Dennis, John. 2011. "Ron Paul Wins RLCCA Presidential Straw Poll1" rlcca.org. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.** (http://www.rlcca.org/y/2011/pr/20110319_straw_poll_pr.pdf).
- Pindell, James. 2011. "Karger wins Saint Anselm straw poll." WMUR Political Scoop. Retrieved on October 13, 2011. (<http://politicalscope.wmur.com/karger-wins-saintanselm-strawpoll>).
- Hambry, Peter. 2011. "Huckabee wins 2012 county straw poll in South Carolina." CNN Politics. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2011/04/02/huckabee-wins-2012-county-straw-poll>).

in-south-carolina/?iref=allsearch).

Ron Paul Forums 2011. “Wins Pennsylvania Leadership Conference Straw Poll.”

Retrieved on

October 13, 2011. (<http://www.ronpaulforums.com/showthread.php?287045-Wins-Pennsylvania-Leadership-Conference-Straw-Poll>).

Hambry, Peter. 2011. “Barbour nabs straw poll victory in South Carolina.” CNN Politics

Retrieved on October 13, 2011.

(<http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2011/04/15/barbour-nabs-straw-poll-victory-in-south-carolina/>).

Nelms, Ben. 2011. “Cain, Gingrich win west Ga. GOP straw poll.” Thecitizen.com.

Retrieved

On October 13, 2011. (<http://www.thecitizen.com/articles/04-21-2011/cain-gingrich-win-west-ga-gop-straw-poll>).

Weigel, David. 2011. “Santorum Wins Straw Poll; Hunstmania Comes to Columbia.” Slate.

Retrieved on October 13, 2011.

(http://www.slate.com/blogs/weigel/2011/05/07/santorum_wins_straw_poll_huntsmania_comes_to_columbia_although_not_to_where_the_republicans_are.html).

RLC. 2011. “RLC 2011 Straw Poll Results.” Republican Leadership Conference. Retrieved

on

October 13, 2011. (<http://www.rlc2011.com/rlc/rlc-2011-straw-poll-results/>).

Haberman, Maggie. 2011. “Rick Perry wins Iowa county straw poll.” Politico.com.

Retrieved on

October 13, 2011. (<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0711/59456.html>).

Haberman, Maggie. 2011. “Romney wins, Perry strong write-in at Ohio GOP straw poll.”

Politico.com. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.

(<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0711/59703.html>).

Saenz, Arlette. 2011. “Herman Cain wins Western Conservative Summit Straw Poll: Rick Perry

Second.” ABCNews.com. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.

(<http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/07/herman-cain-wins-western-conservative-summit-straw-poll-rick-perry-second/>).

- Klein, Phillip. 2011. "Bachmann wins Ames straw poll." The Washington Examiner. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://campaign2012.washingtonexaminer.com/blogs/bachmann-wins-ames-straw-poll>).
- Stucker, Kyle. 2011. "Ron Paul Wins NH Straw Poll." Hampton-North Hampton Patch. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://hampton-northhampton.patch.com/articles/nh-straw-poll-winners>).
- Burns, Alexander. 2011. "Georgia GOP votes for native son Herman Cain." Politico.com. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**(<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0811/62188.html>).
- Shabbir, Syed. 2011. "Local Tea Party featured in GOP debate." Wcpo.com ABC affiliate. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(http://www.wcpo.com/dpp/news/region_east_cincinnati/symmes_township/local-tea-party-featured-in-gop-debate).
- Hirschhorn, Dan. 2011. "Rick Santorum wins Pennsylvania GOP straw poll." Politico.com. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0911/63730.html>).
- Haberman, Maggie. 2011. "Ron Paul wins California straw poll." Politico.com. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0911/63758.html#ixzz1YGoMDLnU>).
- Ward, Jon. 2011. "Herman Cain wins Florida Straw Poll." Huff Post. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.** (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/09/24/herman-cainflorida-straw-poll-results-2011_n_979096.html).
- Hoffman, Kathy Barks. 2011. "Michigan native Romney wins state GOP straw poll." Desert News. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.**
(<http://www.deseretnews.com/article/700182231/Michigan-native-Romney-wins-state-GOP-straw-poll.html>).

Palladian View. 2011. "National Federation of Republican Women Straw Poll." NFRW. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.

(<http://www.nfrw.org/documents/convention/2011/pollresults.pdf>).

Nelson, Dan. 2011. "Herman Cain Wins TeaCon Midwest Straw Poll." AM 560 WIND. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.(<http://www.560wind.com/pages/strawpoll>).

Sarata, Phil. 2011. "Cain wins GOP straw poll at Orangeburg Fair." The Times and Democrat.

Retrieved on October 13, 2011.

(http://www.thetandd.com/news/article_eab54294-f551-11e0-81a1-001cc4c03286.html).

Weigel, David. 2011. "Ron Paul Wins Values Voter Straw Poll, Cain Takes Second." Slate. Retrieved on October 13, 2011.

(http://www.slate.com/blogs/weigel/2011/10/08/ron_paul_wins_values_voter_straw_poll_cain_takes_second.html).

Acosta, Jim. 2011. "Cain wins big in South Carolina tea party straw poll." CNN Politics. Retrieved on October 18, 2011. (<http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2011/10/15/cain-wins-big-in-south-carolina-tea-party-straw-poll/>).

October 18, 2011, Charleston, South Carolina - Charleston County Republican Party
<http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/10/29/cain-and-romney-top-iowa-poll/>

Lederman, Josh. 2011. "Herman Cain wins straw poll in Nevada." The Hill. Retrieved on October 23, 2011.

(<http://thehill.com/blogs/ballot-box/gop-presidential-primary/189171-cain-wins-straw-poll-in-nevada>).

Evans, Laura. 2011. "Ohio GOP straw poll gives Ron Paul a majority." Nbc41.com. Retrieved on October 23, 2011.

(<http://www2.nbc4i.com/news/2011/oct/22/gop-straw-poll-gives-ron-paul-majority-ar-798129/>).

Pow, Chris. 2011. "Herman Cain wins West Alabama Straw Poll after appearance in Tuscaloosa." Al.com. Retrieved on October 30, 2011.

(http://blog.al.com/tuscaloosa/2011/10/herman_cain_tuscaloosa.html).

Travis, Shannon. 2011. "Ron Paul wins both tallies at GOP straw poll in Iowa." CNN Politics.

Retrieved on October 30, 2011.

(<http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2011/10/29/ron-paul-wins-both-tallies-at-gop-pres-straw-poll-in-iowa/>).

APPENDICES

Appendix A - Itemized chart of the 2012 GOP Straw Polls

Date of Straw Poll	Name of Straw Poll	First Place	Second Place	Third Place
January 22, 2011	New Hampshire Straw Poll	Mitt Romney	Ron Paul	Tim Pawlenty
February 10-12, 2011	CPAC Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Mitt Romney	Gary Johnson
February 27, 2011	Tea Party Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Herman Cain	Sarah Palin
March 6, 2011	Dorchester Conference Straw Poll	Mitch Daniels	Mitt Romney	Sarah Palin
March 15, 2011	National League of Cities Straw Poll	Mitt Romney	Mike Huckabee	Mitch Daniels
March 20, 2011	Republican Liberty Caucus of California Presidential Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Mitt Romney	Sarah Palin
March 31, 2011	St. Anselm College Republicans Straw Poll	Fred Karger	Mitt Romney	Donald Trump
April 3, 2011	South Carolina Straw Poll	Mike Huckabee	Newt Gingrich	Michelle Bachmann
April 9, 2011	Pennsylvania Leadership Conference Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Michelle Bachmann	Tim Pawlenty
April 15, 2011	Charleston County Republican Party Straw Poll	Haley Barbour	Mitt Romney	Rick Santorum
April 16, 2011	Georgia 3 rd District Convention Straw Poll	Herman Cain/Newt Gingrich		Mick Huckabee
May 5-6, 2011	South Carolina Republican Party Convention Straw Poll	Rick Santorum	Mitt Romney	Herman Cain
June 16-18, 2011	Republican Leadership Conference Straw	Ron Paul	Jon Huntsman	Michelle Bachmann

	Poll			
June 19, 2011	Iowa Republican Straw Poll	Rick Perry	Michelle Bachmann	Rick Santorum
July 22, 2011	Ohio Republican Party Presidential Straw Poll	Mitt Romney	Tim Pawlenty	Michelle Bachmann
July 31, 2011	Western Conservative Summit	Herman Cain	Rick Perry	Rick Santorum
August 13, 2011	Ames, Iowa Straw Poll	Michelle Bachmann	Ron Paul	Tim Pawlenty
August 20, 2011	New Hampshire Young Republicans Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Mitt Romney	Thaddeus McCotter
August 27, 2011	Georgia State GOP Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Ron Paul	Rick Perry
September 12, 2011	Cincinnati Tea Party Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Michelle Bachmann	Herman Cain
September 16, 2011	Pennsylvania Straw Poll	Rick Santorum	Mitt Romney	Rick Perry
September 17, 2011	California GOP Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Rick Perry	Mitt Romney
September 24, 2011	Florida GOP Presidency 5 Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Rick Perry	Mitt Romney
September 23-25, 2011	Michigan Republican Party Straw Poll	Mitt Romney	Rick Perry	Herman Cain
October 1, 2011	National Federation of Republican Women Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Rick Perry	Mitt Romney
October 1, 2011	TeaCon Midwest Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Michelle Bachmann	Newt Gingrich
October 3-9, 2011	Orangeburg County Fair Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Rick Perry	Mitt Romney
October 7-9, 2011	Values Voter Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Herman Cain	Rick Santorum
October 8, 2011	Republican Midwest Leadership Conference Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Michelle Bachmann	Mitt Romney
October 15, 2011	Tea Party Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Newt Gingrich	Michelle Bachmann
October 18, 2011	Charleston County Republican Party	Ron Paul	Rick Santorum	Newt Gingrich
October 21, 2011	Nevada GOP Straw Poll	Herman Cain	Mitt Romney	Newt Gingrich
October 22, 2011	Ohio GOP Swing State Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Herman Cain	Mitt Romney
October 29, 2011	National Federation of Republican Assemblies Presidential Straw Poll	Ron Paul	Herman Cain	Rick Santorum
October 29, 2011	West Alabama Straw	Herman Cain	Ron Paul	Gingrich/Perry

	Poll			
--	------	--	--	--

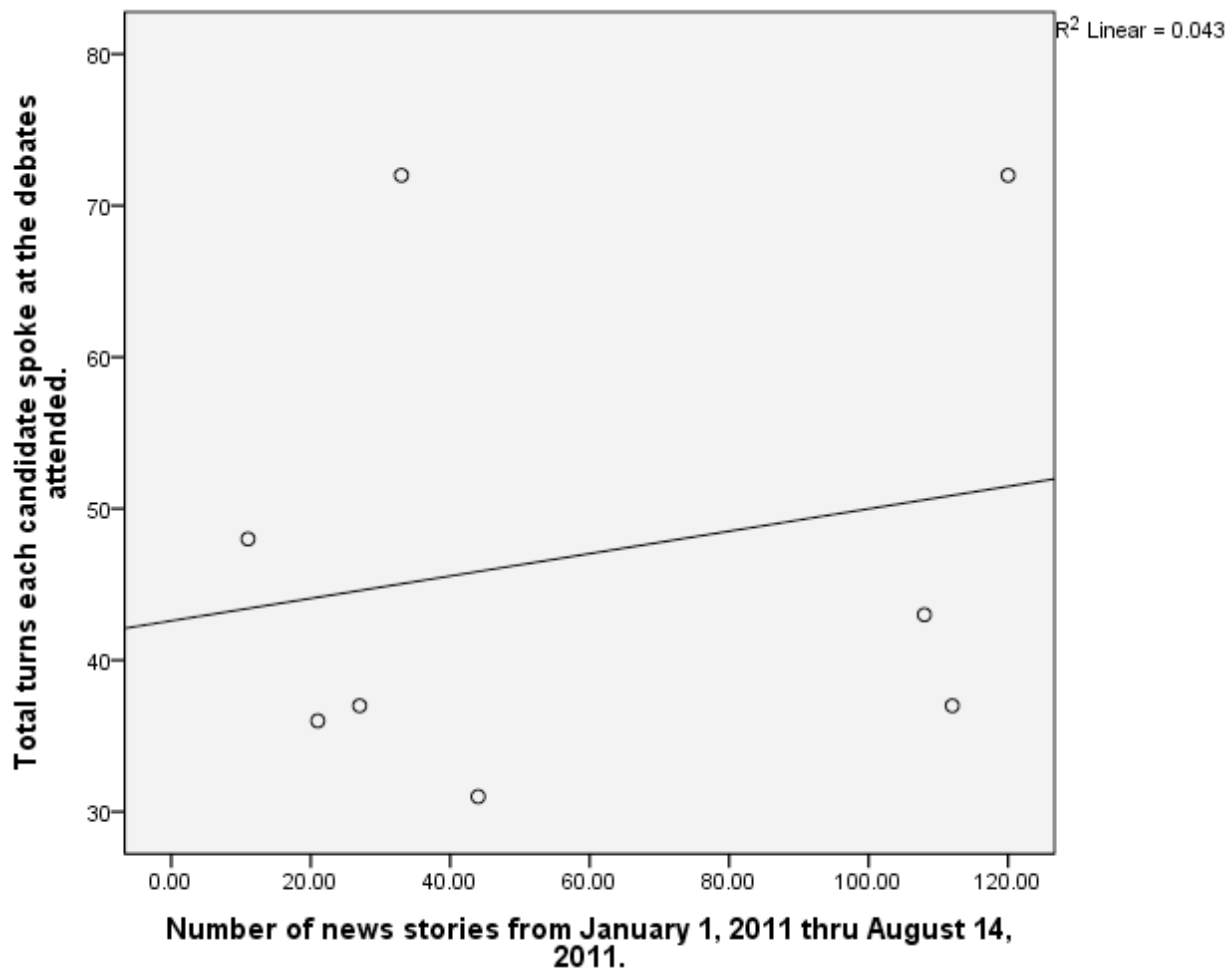
Appendix B - Candidate Declaration Date Chart

The following chart chronologically documents the official dates each candidate declared to be a potential presidential candidate for the GOP.

Candidate Name	Official Declaration Date
Tim Pawlenty	March 21, 2011
Fred Karger	March 23, 2011
Gary Johnson	April 21, 2011
Newt Gingrich	May 11, 2011
Ron Paul	May 13, 2011
Herman Cain	May 21, 2011
Mitt Romney	June 2, 2011
Rick Santorum	June 6, 2011
Michelle Bachmann	June 13, 2011
Thaddeus McCotter	July 2, 2011
Jon Huntsman	June 21, 2011
Rick Perry	August 13, 2011

Appendix C (1) - Scatter Plot with line of best fit.

Independent variable is found on the x-axis, and the dependent variable is found on the y-axis.



Appendix C (2) - Scatter Plot with line of best fit.

Independent variable is found on the x-axis, and the dependent variable is found on the y-axis.

