

Index

Note: Page numbers in *italic* refer to tables.

- Aaron, Paul, 143n33, 144nn34&35
 abortion, issue voting, 224–226
 accountability, 2, 35, 242–257
 effectiveness of North Carolina
 legislators, 252–253
 newspaper endorsements and, 255
 primary voting and incumbent
 performance, 255–256
 scandals and, 247–252
 adoption of primaries, 21–28
 ballot measures to adopt, 23
 disenfranchisement and, 24
 favored party and, 45–47
 general election outcomes and, 45–50,
 111–115
 less relevant experience and, 109–111
 one-partyism and, 24–28, 29
 partisanship and control, 29, 27–28
 party insiders and, 107–109
 party loyalty and, 67–74
 party organizations and, 62–63
 relevant experience and, 98–107
 third-party votes and, 48–50
 year of adoption by state, 30–32
 advantaged party primaries, definition of,
 39, *see also* constituency type
 advantaged party, definition of, 11, 27
 Alabama, 145n36, 209
 adoption of primaries, 29
 prohibition issue voting, 147, 163
 Alaska, adoption of primaries, 29
 Aldrich, John H., 51n35, 170–171
 Altswager, F.J., 94
 Ambler, Charles A., 34
 anti-incumbent/establishment sentiment,
 309–311
 Anti-Saloon League, 143–144
 Arizona, 11, 295
 adoption of primaries, 29
 Arkansas
 adoption of primaries, 28
 prohibition issue voting, 163
 Australian ballot, 56–58
 bar associations, *see* judicial evaluations;
 qualifications of candidates/nominees
 Beard, Charles A., 63
 Bennett, Bob, 259–260
 Berry, William H., 8, 22
 Boatright, Robert G., 271n27
 Boehner, John, 311
 Boots, Ralph, S., 78n5
 Brown, Corrine, 311
 Brown, George R., 62
 Brown, Lara M., 246
 Brownback, Sam, 312
 Brumbaugh, Martin G., 34
 Bryan, William Jennings, 10
 Burnham, Walter D., 10n8
 Bush, Jeb, 226
 California, 11n12, 12n15, 55, 91n24, 94,
 227, 241

- 1918 California Republican primary, 145–146
- adoption of primaries, 29
- open/closed primaries, 294
- progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting, 150, 164
- prohibition issue voting, 145–147
- qualifications under cross-filing, 233, 239–240
- relevant experience and voter information, 219
- top-two system, 5, 30, 236, 297–306, 316
- campaign costs, 34, 78, 80, 87
- Campbell, Andrea L., 171n8
- candidate issue positions, 143–149, *see also* issue voting
- candidate qualifications, *see* qualifications of candidates/nominees
- candidate-centered politics, 22n33, 36, 51–56, 166n4, 170–174, 181, 185, 205, 315
- Cannon, Joseph, 59–60, 66, 68
- Cable, William H., 76
- caucus-convention system, *see* convention system
- challenger-party primaries, 39–43, 98, 177–184, *see also* non-incumbent primaries
- Charlotte Observer*, 193
- check kiting scandal, *see* House bank scandal
- Chicago Daily Tribune*, 95–96, 121
- Chicago, bar associations, 196–198
- citizen-candidate models, 86
- Citizens Union*, 25, 87n14
- City Party, 22, 46n22
- Civil War, 9–10, 16, 24, 169
- Cleveland, 123
- closed primaries, polarization and, 5, 292–296
- Colorado, 12n15, 291
- adoption of primaries, 29
- pre-primary conventions, 284, 286n71
- progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting, 150
- Committee of Napa Vineyardists, 145
- Committee on Credentials, 19
- Common Space (CS) scores, *see* ideology scores
- competition, inter-party, 7–18, 166–170, *see also* constituency type
- competition, primary elections, 33–36
- by constituency type, 36–43, 177–180
- over-time trends, 181–184, 309
- primary adoption and, 24–29, 45–50
- seven types of primaries, definition of, 39
- vs. general elections, 43–45, 184–185
- Condorcet Jury Theorem, 134n24
- Congressional Biographical Directory*, 108
- Connecticut, 12n15
- adoption of primaries, 29
- conventions in modern era, 207–210
- polarization and primaries, 264
- pre-primary conventions, 284–286
- Connelley, William E., 77
- constituency type
- accountability in primaries by, 247–253
- candidate entry and, 80–89
- extremism and, 274–276, 281, 285, 291
- general election outcomes by, 113–115, 205–207
- judicial evaluations and, 203–205
- less relevant experience and, 109–111
- party insiders and, 107–109
- primary competition by, 36–43, 177–180
- primaries vs. conventions by, 112–114, 209–210
- relevant experience and, 96–107, 199–202
- top-two system and, 303
- turnout in primary elections, 131–133, 213–215, 280
- convention system, 5, 18–23, 29, *see also* adoption of primaries
- criticisms of, 9, 25
- geographic ticket balancing, 87
- in modern era, 207–210, 290–292
- nominee quality under, 86–89
- party loyalty and, 62–64
- pre-primary, 260, 284–290
- qualifications of nominees vs. primaries, 76–80
- Coolidge, Calvin, 149
- Crist, Charlie, 226–227
- Cronson, Berthold, 95
- cross-filing, qualifications in California under, 233, 239–240
- cross-over voting, 293, 299n102
- Cummins, Albert B., 61

336

Dalzell, John, 60
 Davis, Oscar K., 121
 Davis, William E., 77, 94
 Delaware, 7
 adoption of primaries, 29
 conventions in modern era, 207–209,
 284n61
 polarization and primaries, 264
 Democratic Party, 190
 2016 California US Senate race, 303
 factions in, 22, 87n15, 144, 150,
 155–156, 161, 231
 ideological position and, 50n34, 175,
 267–268, 277–278
 inter-party competition and, 10, 16, 169
 primary adoption and, 24, 27, 28, 48
 turnout in primary elections, 130, 267
 Deneen, Charles, 22
Des Moines Register, The, 25
 disadvantaged-party primaries, definition
 of, 39, *see also* constituency type
 Doolittle, John, 256n25
 down-ballot offices, 4, 87, 195
 appointments of, 138n31
 conventions in modern era, 208, 291n85
 turnout in primary elections, 132–133,
 214
 Duverger's Law, 17

 Edwards, Mickey, 242, 248
 Elkin, John P., 7
 Ellmers, Renee, 311
 endorsements, 227, 270, *see also*
 newspaper endorsements
 Epstein, Leon, 48
 extremism, *see* polarization
 extremism scores, *see* ideological scores

 factions, 3, 22, 48, 124, 181
 candidate qualifications and, 160–162
 convention system and, 18, 19n27, 23
 factional slates, 149–156
 in modern era, 231–233, 309, 312–313
 Louisiana, 155
 Minnesota, 155
 North Dakota, 151–155
 Republican Party, 67
 South Dakota, 155
 voting behavior and, 123–125, 129, 134,
 231–233
 Wisconsin, 155

Index

Fattah, Chaka, 311
 favored-party, 46
 Fiorina, Morris P., 265
 Florida,
 2006 Republican primary, 226
 adoption of primaries, 29
 Forbes, Randy, 311
 Fourth Party System, 10, 16
 Frazier, Lynn, 153
 fusion candidates, 48, *see also* third parties

 Gallagher, Tom, 226–227
 general election competition, *see*
 competition, inter-party
 geographic ticket balancing, 19, 23, 76–77,
 87
 Georgia, 38n7, 209
 adoption of primaries, 29
 bi-factional competition in Democratic
 Party, 156
 gerrymandering, 12, 169, 259n3
 governors, 37
 abortion issue voting, 225
 adoption of primaries, 28n45, 29
 less relevant experience, 93, 111, 195
 measure of relevant experience, 188
 progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 150, 164
 prohibition issue voting, 147, 163
 qualifications in primaries vs.
 conventions, 104–107, 112
 turnout in primary elections, 130
 Greenbacks, 17

 Hadley, Charles W., 95
 Hafer, Barbara, 165
 Hall, Thomas, 153
 Harris, Kamala, 302–304
 Hatch, Orin, 260
 Hawaii, adoption of primaries, 29
 Hawley, Josh, 313–314
 Hensley, Teresa, 314
 Herbert, Gary, 260
 Herrnson, Paul S., 51n36
 Hibbing, John R., 246
 high-quality candidates, 80–89, 126–129,
 see also qualifications of
 candidates/nominees
 Hill, Seth J., 276n43, 277
 Holding, George, 311
 Holt, James, 75

- House banking scandal, 242, 248
 Huelskamp, Tim, 311
 Hughes, Charles Evans, 25, 60
 Hull, John A.T., 60
- Idaho, 284n61, 294
 adoption of primaries, 29
 ideology, 2, 4, *see also* polarization
 gap within parties, 176
 judicial evaluations and, 196–197
 voters learning about, 226–231
 vs. candidate qualifications, 175–176
 vs. candidate quality, 126–129
 ideology scores, *see also* polarization
 Common Space (CS) scores, 262–264,
 269–270, 274, 276, 280, 281
 extremism scores, 264, 271–275,
 278–281, 285–286, 290–291, 295,
 297–300
 imputed scores, 269–270, 274, 285, 290
 NP scores (Shor-McCarty), 269
 Project Vote Smart’s Political Courage
 Test, 269
- Illinois, 12n15, 73, 161, 208, 291, 292n85
 1936 attorney general race, 95
 adoption of primaries, 23, 29
 inclusion as Eastern state, 67
 judicial evaluations in, 187, 195–198,
 203–207, 220, 240
 progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 150, 164
 prohibition issue voting, 163
 State Bar Association evaluation criteria,
 195–196, 210–211
 incumbent performance, *see* accountability
 incumbent-contested primaries, 131, 214,
see also accountability
 anti-incumbent/establishment sentiment,
 309–311
 competition in, 40–45, 177–184
 incumbency advantage, 55
 polarization and, 270–274
 terminology, 39
 voter learning, 229
 voting and relevant experience,
 136–142, 216–220
 vs. general elections, 43–45, 184–185
 Independent Voters Association (IVA), 150
 Indiana, 46n24, 67, 73, 291
 adoption of primaries, 26, 28n45, 29
 conventions in modern era, 207–210,
 291n85
 indirect primary, 18–19, 23
 intra-party factions, *see* factions
 Iowa, 11n11, 12n15, 208, 292n85
 adoption of primaries, 29
 party loyalty, 60–61
 progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 150
 prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147,
 163
 issue voting
 abortion, 224–226
 progressive vs. stalwart, 148–149
 Prohibition, 143–148
 Istook, Ernest, 243
- Jacobson, Gary C., 51, 258
 Johnson, Jonathan, 260
 Johnson, Thomas L., 123
 judicial evaluations, 195–198, 203–205,
 210–211, 220, *see also* qualifications
 of candidate/nominees
- Kansas, 1, 11n11, 12n15
 adoption of primaries, 29
 candidates qualifications in statewide
 races, 76–77, 94
 polarization, 310–312
 progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 150, 164
 Keisling, Phil, 258, 296
 Kendall, Willmoore, 63
 Kennedy, John Fitzgerald, 186
 Kentucky, 67n30, 208, 209, 292n85
 adoption of primaries, 29
 Kephart, Harmon M., 34
 Key, V.O., Jr., 1, 3, 9, 15, 22, 24–25, 28,
 37, 50, 62, 120, 121, 130, 156,
 162, 231
 Knight, Steve, 302
 Knox, Philander, 33
 Kositzky, Carl, 153
 Kousser, J. Morgan, 22, 24, 50
- La Follette, Robert M., 20, 62, 65, 78, 148
 Langer, William, 153
 Lazarus, Jeffrey, 246n12
 Leavitt, Mike, 286
 Lee, Mike, 259

338

legislative effectiveness, 189–192, 245n7, 246, 252–253
 less-relevant experience, 93–95, 110, 138–142, 195, 217–219
 Levendusky, Matthew S., 265
 Liljenquist, Dan, 260
 Loeb, Isidor, 63
 log-rolling, 19, 23, 292
 Long/Anti-Long factions, Louisiana, 150
 LoPresti, Michael, 186–187
 Louisiana, 121
 adoption of primaries, 29
 Democratic Long/Anti-Long intra-party factions, 150, 155–156, 231
 prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147
 top-two system, 5, 31, 32, 236, 295–298, 301, 305n115
 Luttbeg, Norman R., 245

 Maine, 11n11, 46n24
 adoption of primaries, 23, 29
 appointed downballot officers, 138n31
 prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147
 Marshall, Roger, 311
 Maryland, 67n30, 208
 adoption of primaries, 29
 prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147
 Massachusetts, 12n15, 208
 1952 Democratic congressional primary, 186–187
 abortion issue voting, 224–226
 adoption of primaries, 29
 one-party domination, 15
 primaries and geographically unbalanced tickets, 87n15
 Mathues, William L., 7–8
 McCann, Francis X., 187
 McCarty, Nolan M., 262, 268
 McCurley, Carl, 245
 McKenzie, Charles W., 63
 Mencken, H.L., 1
 Merritt, Les, 193
 Meyer, Ernst C., 18n26
 Michigan, 11n11, 12n15, 67, 230
 adoption of primaries, 29
 conventions for statewide down-ballot offices, 208, 291n85
 party organization in, 63
 progressive vs. stalwarts issue voting, 150, 164
 prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147

Index

“Michigan School,” 124
 Millspaugh, Arthur C., 62
 Minnesota, 11n11, 12n15, 51n37, 55, 67, 208, 284n61, 292n85
 adoption of primaries, 29
 prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147
 Republican factions, 155, 231
 Mississippi, 143, 209
 adoption of primaries, 29
 prohibition issue voting, 163
 Missouri, 67n30, 72, 161
 2016 Attorney General Republican primary, 313–314
 adoption of primaries, 29
 party organization in, 63
 Mondak, Jeffrey J., 124, 245, 247
 Montana, 208, 292n85
 adoption of primaries, 23, 29
 progressive vs. stalwarts issue voting, 150
 Munro, William B., 78
 Musto, David, 143n33, 144nn34&35

 national party delegates, 107–109, *see also*
 party insiders
 Nebraska, 12n15, 208, 292n85, 316
 adoption of primaries, 29
 progressive vs. stalwarts issue voting, 164
 Nevada, 12n15
 adoption of primaries, 29
 New Deal
 intra-party divisions over, 3, 161
 partisan ideological cleavage and, 10–11, 50n34, 264
 New Hampshire, 11n11, 12n15, 208, 230
 adoption of primaries, 29
 appointed downballot officers, 138n31
 progressive vs. stalwarts issue voting, 150
 New Jersey, 161, 208
 adoption of primaries, 29
 appointed downballot officers, 138n31
 progressive vs. stalwarts issue voting, 150
 New York, 11n14, 87n14, 161
 adoption of primaries, 26, 28n45, 29
 conventions in the modern era, 207–209
 newspaper endorsements, 192–195
 incumbent performance and, 247, 255
 judicial evaluations and, 197

- relevant experience and, 94–96, 189, 194–195
 voter behavior and, 221–224
 voter information, 123, 142
 Niemi, Richard G., 51n35, 171
 non-incumbent primaries, 219, 223, 269,
see also challenger-party primaries;
 open-seat primaries
 polarization, 274–276
 terminology, 39
 voting and relevant experience in,
 136–142, 216–219, 223
 Non-Partisan League (NPL), 150–153, 313
 Norrander, Barbara, 276
 Norris, George W., 60, 120
 North Carolina, 10, 12n15, 91n23, 193,
 295
 adoption of primaries, 27n43, 29
 Center for Public Policy Research
 (NCCPPR), 190–192, 252
 General Assembly, 252
 legislative effectiveness scores, 187,
 189–192, 246, 252–256
 prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147,
 163
 North Dakota, 11n11, 208, 231
 adoption of primaries, 29
 Republican Party factions, 150–156
 Northeast establishment, 64–66
 NP scores (Shor-McCarty), *see* ideological
 scores
 O'Neill, Thomas P. (Tip), 186–187
 Ohio, 46n24, 208, 292n85
 adoption of primaries, 29
 progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 164
 Oklahoma, 11, 67n30, 242
 adoption of primaries, 29
 Olson, Olbert A., 153
 one-partyism, 8, 15–18, 24–28, 170
 escape from, 28, 33, 34, 56, 166
 open primaries, polarization and, 292–296
 open-seat primaries, 5, 307, 308, 315, *see*
also non-incumbent primaries
 competition in, 35–45, 177–185, 309
 judicial evaluations in, 203–205
 Kansas state auditor, 76
 less relevant experience in, 110
 open-seat winners, 112–115, 205–207
 polarization and, 261, 268
 relevant experience in, 96–98,
 199–202
 terminology, 39
 turnout in primary elections, 131n15
 vs. conventions, 112, 207–210
 Oregon, 22n32, 23, 56, 145n36, 295
 adoption of primaries, 29
 progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 150
 prohibition issue voting, 147
 Padro i Miguel, Gerard, 191, 246
 parties-balanced primaries, definition of,
 39, *see also* constituency type
 partisan cues, *see* party labels
 party control, definition, 27
 party elites/bosses/leaders, 8–9, 18–25,
 33–34, 60–71, 78, 86–89, 107, 120,
 121, 130, 138, 172–173, 283, 291,
 292
 party insiders, 107–109, 138–141
 party labels, 51, 126, 133
 vs. candidate qualifications, 156–160,
 233–239
 vs. factional slates, 149, 155–156
 party loyalty, 59–75
 Eastern states, 64–66
 primaries and, 67–71
 replacement vs. conversion, 74
 standard measure of, 67
 variation across regions, 65–66
 Patrick, Dan, 312
 Paxton, Ken, 312
 Payne, Sereno E., 60
 Pennsylvania, 145n36, 161, 208, 209,
 230, 307
 adoption of primaries, 22, 29
 electoral competition, 11n12, 12n15,
 33–35, 37n5, 55
 modern-era changes, 165
 prohibition issue voting, 147, 163
 state capitol graft scandal, 7–9
 third-party challenges, 22
 Pennypacker, Samuel W., 22
 Penrose, Boies, 7, 33, 34
 personal attributes of candidates, *see*
 candidate-centered politics
 Pildes, Richard H., 293
 polarization, 174–177, 258–292
 alternatives to primaries, comparisons,
 282–292

polarization (*cont.*)
 incumbent-contested races, 270–274
 measurement issues, 269–270
 non-incumbent primaries, 274–276
 open vs. closed primaries, 292–296
 primary adoption over time, 262–265
 relevant experience and, 235–236
 theoretical effects on voting, 126–129
 top-two system, 296–306
 turnout in primary elections, 265–267,
 276–281

Pollack, James K., 63

Poole, Keith T., 262, 268n18

Populist Party, 10, 17, 24n36

Powell, Adam Clayton Jr., 243

pre-primary conventions, 260, 284–290

progressives
 as third party, 17
 in adoption of primaries, 21–23
 issues and leaders, 67–73
 opposition to Cannonism, 59–60
 progressives vs. stalwarts, 3, 148–149,
 150, 164
 Western vs. establishment Republicans,
 64–66

Prohibition issue, 129, 143–149

Prohibition Party, 145

Project Vote Smart's Political Courage
 Test, *see* ideological scores

Prouty, Solomon, 61

qualifications of candidates/nominees, 2–5,
 18, 43, 307, 309
 candidate-centered voting, 170–172
 candidate quality and, 79, 89
 constituency type and, 96–98, 198–205
 challengers, 249
 cross-filing, 239–240
 general election winners, 115, 205–207
 judicial evaluations, 195–198, 203–205,
 220–221
 less relevant experience, 109
 measurement, 187–188
 newspaper endorsements, 94–96,
 192–195, 221–224
 party insiders, 107–109
 primaries vs. conventions, 98–107,
 111–115, 207–210
 primary voting and, 5, 120, 122–125,
 135–142, 215–223, 313–315
 relevant experience, 89–96, 188–195
 top-two systems, 236–239

vs. party labels, issues and factions,
 156–162, 233–236

Quay, Matthew S., 7

Rangel, Charles B., 243

Ranney, Austin, 21, 62, 63

Ray, P. Orman, 107

relevant experience, *see also* qualifications
 of candidates/nominees
 constituency type and, 96–98, 198–205
 compared to less relevant, 109–111,
 141, 217–218
 definition, 188
 effectiveness scores, 189–192
 general election winners, 112–115,
 205–207
 measurement, 91–93, 188–192
 Missouri Attorney General, 313–314
 newspaper endorsements, 94–96,
 192–195
 primaries vs. conventions, 100–107,
 112–115, 207–210
 primaries vs. general elections, 156–160,
 234–236
 primary voting and, 135–142, 216–220
 as qualification for office, 89–96
 top-two systems, 236–239
 vs. party labels, issues and factions,
 156–162, 233–236

Republican Party
 conventions in South, 209
 factions in, 19n27, 64–66, 143, 148,
 151, 155–156
 ideological position and, 175, 266,
 268n17
 inter-party competition and, 9,
 22, 169
 Kansas, 76–77
 party loyalty, 60, 67–74
 Pennsylvania, 33–34, 165
 primary adoption and, 26n41
 primary competition, 310
 Utah, 260

Responsible Electorate, The, 121

Reynolds, John F., 20, 22n33, 23, 54

Rhode Island, 208, 264
 adoption of primaries, 29

Roberts, Pat, 312

Roberts, Peter, 19

Rogers, Lee, 302

roll call voting, *see* ideological scores; party
 loyalty

- roll-off, 132, 214
 top-two system, 302–306
- Rolph, James Jr., 145
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 65, 148
- Rosenthal, Howard, 262, 268n18
- Sanchez, Loretta, 302–304
- scandals, 246, 311
 US House incumbents, 247–256,
- Schaefer, Kurt, 314
- Schattschneider, E.E., 10, 16, 17
- Scher, Richard K., 24n36
- Shapiro, Walter, 265
- Sherman, James S., 60
- Sides, John, 276
- Sinclair, Barbara D., 258
- Snyder, Charles A., 34
- Snyder, William P., 7, 8
- ‘solid South,’ 1, 3, 10, 11
- Sorauf, Frank J., 15, 17, 25n38, 37n5
- South Carolina, 11n12, 38n7, 209
 adoption of primaries, 27n43, 29
- South Dakota, 11n11, 28n45, 295
 adoption of primaries, 29
 conventions in modern era, 208,
 291n85
- Republican party factions, 155–156
- split-ticket voting
 ballot form, 53, 56–57
 candidate-centered voting and, 52–55,
 171
 measure of, 52, 171
 rise and decline of, 172, 175
- stalwarts/standpatters, 3, 22, 60, 64, 75,
 148–151
- state auditors and treasurers
 endorsements, 192–195
 general election winners, 114–115,
 206–207
 less relevant experience, 93, 109–111,
 140–142, 217–219
 measure of relevant experience, 91–94,
 189
 party insider, 140–141
 qualifications in primaries vs.
 conventions, 104–107, 112–113, 208
 qualifications vs. party labels, issues and
 factions, 234–235
 voting in primary elections and, 137,
 140–141, 216–220
- Stephens, William D., 145
- Stockman, Steve, 312
- strategic entry, 80–86, 135, 162, 180, 244
- strategic voting, 134n23, 265, 275, 280
 top-two system, 299
- Strickland, Tony, 302
- Sulzer, William, 22
- Survey USA (SUSA), 226–227, 231
- Taft, William, 59, 121, 148
- Tausanovitch, Chris, 267
- Tawney, James A., 51n37, 60
- Taylor, Scott, 311
- Tea Party, 129, 259, 260, 265, 309,
 311–313
- Tennessee, 161
 adoption of primaries, 29
 appointed downballot officers, 138n31
- Texas, 209, 310, 312
 adoption of primaries, 29
 bi-factional competition in Democratic
 Party, 156
 prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147,
 163
- third parties, 17–18, 22, 24, 36, 46–50
- top-two system, 5, 260, 296–306, 316
 adoption of, 29
 qualification of candidates and, 236–239
 second round, 300–306
 voting behavior under, 302–306
- True, Katie, 165
- Trump, Donald, 309, 310
- Tulley, Mark, 94
- turnout in primary elections, 4, 5, 122,
 129–133, 212–215, 240, 298
 by office, 132
 open/closed primaries, 295
 polarization and, 261, 265–267,
 276–281
 relative turnout (median), definition,
 129–133, 213
- two-party competition, *see* competition,
 inter-party; one-partyism
- US House, 26, 27
 adoption of primaries, 29
 general election winners, 112–115,
 205–207
 ideological gap, 176
 incumbents in scandals, 247–252,
 255–256
 inter-party competition, 12–15, 169–170

- US House (*cont.*)
 measure of relevant experience, 91, 188
 party insiders, 109
 party loyalty, 59–75
 polarization and, 262–286, 290–292,
 295–298, 300–305
 primary competition, 36–43, 177–185
 primary vs. general election competition,
 43–45, 184–185
 qualifications in primaries vs.
 conventions, 101–105, 208–210
 qualifications vs. party labels, issues and
 factions, 158–162, 234–240
 relevant experience by constituency type,
 96–98, 199–202
 turnout in primary elections, 130–131,
 213–215
 voting in primary elections, 136,
 139–141, 216–220
- US Senate, 104n42
 abortion, issue voting, 225
 adoption of primaries, 29
 less-relevant experience, 93, 195
 measure of relevant experience, 91–93,
 188
 polarization, 264, 268, 269, 271, 272,
 274–276
 progressive vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 150, 164
 prohibition issue voting, 147, 163
 top-two system, 301–304
- Utah, 264, 310, 312
 adoption of primaries, 29
 pre-primary convention, 259–261, 284,
 286–290
- Vermont, 11n11, 208
 adoption of primaries, 29
 ‘mountain rule’ in, 19n27, 23
- Virginia, 12n15
 adoption of primaries, 27n43, 29
 conventions in modern era, 209, 284,
 290n81, 292
 prohibition issue voting, 163
- Volstead Act, 143
- voter behavior, 120–164, 212–240
 candidates’ issue/ideological positions
 and, 143–149, 224–231
 factional slates, 149–156, 231
 incumbent performance and, 247–256
 open vs. closed primaries, 292–296
 polarization, 175, 265, 271–281,
 284–286
 primary election turnout, 129–133,
 213–215
 qualifications of candidates and,
 135–142, 215–224
 qualifications vs. party labels, issues and
 factions, 156–162, 233–240
 split-ticket voting, 170–173
 theoretical considerations, 126–129,
 133–135
 under top-two systems, 298–300,
 302–306
- voter learning and information, 122–124,
 142, 215, 224–231, 307
 ballot designations, 219
 theoretical considerations, 133–135
- voter turnout, *see* turnout in primary
 elections
- voters
 activists more polarized, 259, 265
 ideological positions, 226–231
 incumbent performance and, 255–256
 more likely to support candidates with
 relevant experience, 94
 polarization and turnout, 276–281
 pre-primary delegates compared with,
 286–290
 weakening of partisan attachments,
 170–171
- Ware, Alan, 22, 23, 26, 45, 56n42, 72
- Warshaw, Christopher, 269n24
- Washington state, 12n15, 294
 adoption of primaries, 29
 progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 150, 164
 prohibition issue voting, 163
 top-two system, 5, 236, 296–302,
 305n115, 306, 316
- Welch, Susan, 246
- Wells, Seth G., 76
- West Virginia, 67n30
 adoption of primaries, 29
 progressives vs. stalwarts issue voting,
 150
- Western progressive Republicans, 64–66
- Western states, 64–73
 definition, 67
- Wilson, D.Y., 76
- Wilson, William H., 78n6

Index

343

- Wisconsin, 11n11, 12n15, 20, 56, 67, 72, 208, 231, 292n85
adoption of primaries, 23, 29
progressives vs. stalwarts in Republican Party, 65, 151, 155
prohibition issue voting, 145n36, 147, 163
Republican Party intra-party factions, 155
- Wolf, Milton, 312
Women's Christian Temperance Union, 143
Wood, Beth, 194
Wyoming, 15, 292n85
adoption of primaries, 29
conventions in modern era, 208
- Zimmerman, Jake, 314