



The Institute for Politics

SPECIAL EDITION

The Upcoming 2014 Republican Gubernatorial Primary

Background – Analysis – Predictions

Roosevelt University

•Chicago and Schaumburg•

Paul Green, Director

December, 2013

This Report is presented by The Institute for Politics (IFP) at Roosevelt University (RU). The IFP is a non-partisan research entity housed in RU's College of Arts and Sciences. I, as IFP

Director, take full responsibility for this Report. Comments on this material can be sent to me via email or fax: pgreen@roosevelt.edu; 312-341-4325.

The upcoming 2014 Republican gubernatorial primary looms like another political donnybrook for the party that has lost the last three races for the state mansion. And, like in the hard fought 2002 - 2006 and 2010 primaries – the 2014 battle could produce a bruised primary winner who may have a difficult time uniting the GOP to take on incumbent Democratic Governor Pat Quinn in the fall.

Though much will be written about candidates' positions on the issues, their backgrounds and past records – and yes, their wealth – elections are decided by votes. This analysis will look at past gubernatorial primary results – including voter turnouts, geopolitical breakdown of where those votes came from, and victory margins – both overall and by region. Lastly, based on the above, it will end with possible election outcome scenarios involving all four leading Republican candidates for Governor.

Warning to all readers – I am a professor and not a prophet – things happen in campaigns that are unpredictable – and occasionally even professors make mistakes. Still, my past numbers are solid and should give one and all the electoral parameters of this race.

For clarification and identification purposes, I divide Illinois into -four- voting regions:

1) City of Chicago; 2) Suburban Cook County's Thirty townships; 3) The Five Collar Counties (DuPage-Kane-Lake-McHenry and Will), surrounding Cook County; and 4) the Ninety-Six remaining counties in Illinois (Downstate).

As Table 1 clearly shows, Downstate has dominated the last three GOP gubernatorial primaries averaging nearly 46% of the total Republican turnout. Not surprisingly, the primary winner has been the person who has carried downstate. The 5 collars have averaged nearly 35% of the primary vote, thereby leaving Cook County a solid Democratic stronghold – contributing less than 20% of the Republican primary vote.

One fact demonstrates the competitiveness of these three past gubernatorial primaries – no winner has garnered 50% of the total vote.

2002 Primary Candidates

Jim Ryan – Attorney General
Pat O’Malley – State Senator
Corrine Wood – Lieutenant Governor

The three-way GOP gubernatorial primary brawl in 2002 between Attorney General Jim Ryan, State Senator Patrick O’Malley and Lieutenant Governor Corrine Wood, was a combination of political showmanship and alley fighting. It also exposed and exacerbated lingering wounds among GOP faithful about the party’s goals, direction and soul. In this expensive and often brutal battle – the philosophical differences, especially between Mr. O’Malley and Ms. Wood, reflected a party in need of strong leadership. Most often the only time the conservative Mr. O’Malley and moderate Ms. Wood could agree on a major issue – was in the mutual distaste for the third candidate – Mr. Ryan or the retiring other Ryan – Governor George Ryan.

To his credit Jim Ryan did not respond in kind to Mr. O’Malley’s right hooks or Ms. Wood’s left jabs. By campaigning as the frontrunner, Mr. Ryan prevented his two foes from

squeezing him from the left and right. And though the campaign rhetoric – both pre-and-post-election day – would suggest that this struggle was a hotly contested nail-biter – in reality Mr. Ryan won a comfortable victory over both of his foes (with margins far greater than the Democratic gubernatorial winner).

A. Breakdown of the vote reveals Mr. Ryan winning in the states four voting regions.

(1) Chicago

In low GOP turnout Chicago, Mr. Ryan edged past Ms. Wood even though she carried five more city wards. The reason for Mr. Ryan's 2000+ Chicago margin over Ms. Wood, rests with his ability to carry the key wards containing traditional GOP voters. Save for the far southeast side 10th ward all of Mr. Ryan's top ten margin wards were on the city's far northwest and southwest sides. And even in the slightly increasing "GOPish" north lakefront, Mr. Ryan ran nearly even with Ms. Wood.

The Lt. Governor had to be very disappointed in her Chicago totals. Her dreams of massive crossover of Democrats and Independents simply did not happen – and most of her ward wins were in African-American wards where the GOP turnout was scant. Ms. Wood's best wards were along the lakefront and her top margin ward was #46, which gave her a 160 cushion over Mr. Ryan.

Mr. O'Malley won three city wards #24, #22, and #19. In the first two of these wards (an African-American and Latino) the GOP turnout was around 100 votes each. However, the southwest side 19th ward cast over 1400 Republican ballots. If Mr. O'Malley's strong pro-life views on abortion had hit a political nerve it would be

in this heavily Irish – Catholic Beverly community. Not so, Mr. O’Malley barely edged out Mr. Ryan by a mere 26 votes in the 19th.

(2) Suburban 30 – Cook County Township

For Corrine Wood to win the 2002 GOP gubernatorial primary, she needed to run like a wildfire in suburban Cook. She did not. Ms. Wood won just two townships (Evanston and New Trier), received 50% of the vote only in Evanston, received less than 40% of the vote in twenty-seven of thirty townships and in four townships (Calumet, Worth, Bremen and Orland) she could not reach the 20% level. In sum, suburban Cook County was a disaster for Ms. Wood and her poor showing here doomed her statewide candidacy.

State Senator O’Malley carried five townships (Calumet, Worth, Bremen, Palos and Stickney). All of these townships are located in his southwestern Cook County home base. However, Mr. O’Malley’s power areas did not produce significant margins to overcome dismal returns from other townships. Only Worth gave Mr. O’Malley a 1,000+ margin in contrast to eight townships, which have him less than 20% of their vote.

Jim Ryan produced a workman-like victory in the Suburban 30. He ran strong in the western and northwestern townships and unlike his two rivals, avoided vote catastrophes in his lagging townships. Cicero Township was his best township win (64% - 2758 margin over Wood). He also had eight other townships where he garnered 50% or nearly 50% of the township vote. In sum, Mr. Ryan withstood Ms.

Wood's moderate attacks on the left (he lost New Trier Township to the Lt. Governor by only 57 votes) and Mr. O'Malley's conservative attacks on the right to coast to an easy Suburban 30 triumph.

(3) Collar Counties

Led by his home county (DuPage) Jim Ryan swept the vote rich collar counties against both of his opponents. Only in Lake county did Mr. Ryan not reach the 40% vote level as he squeaked to a narrow 1,030 plurality win over Ms. Wood (a Lake county resident). In three other collars – Kane, Will, and McHenry – Mr. Ryan had comfortable victories over both foes. But in the 2002 GOP Illinois gubernatorial primary – the collar county story can be summed up in one word – DuPage.

Mr. Ryan, the county's former states attorney, racked up 55% of the DuPage vote while clobbering his foes with huge margins. In fact, Mr. Ryan's DuPage margin against each of his rivals was more than his combined winning margins against them in the other four collars.

Ms. Wood's collar county percentage range from a low of 26% in Will county to a high of 38% in her home Lake county; this latter county total was a huge disappointment to her and like her dismal suburban Cook numbers, ended any hope of a possible Wood victory.

Mr. O'Malley hoped his hard right appeal would catch fire with conservatives in McHenry, Kane and even DuPage county. Surprisingly, only Will county gave him 30%+ of the vote in the collars (31%) which left him still 12% and 6,041 votes behind Mr. Ryan in the county. Despite heavy spending and heavier rhetoric, Mr. O'Malley

was unable to achieve a quarter of the collar vote and actually ended up a distant third in the region behind Mr. Ryan and Ms. Wood.

(4) Downstate 96

The other 96 counties or downstate were slightly more competitive than the collars or suburban Cook. Mr. O'Malley demonstrated significant strength in south and southwestern Illinois. Seventeen of his twenty-five DS 96 wins gave him 50%+ of the vote and in four counties, he defeated Mr. Ryan by over 1,000 votes (St. Clair – 3,592/Madison – 3,541/Adams – 1,194/Effingham – 1,090). Most likely it was in these areas of the state that Mr. O'Malley's unflinching pro-life views and his strong condemnation of traditional Illinois GOP leadership hit home. Interestingly, of Mr. O'Malley's twenty-five county triumph, only Ogle is located in the northern half of the state.

Ms. Wood was trounced downstate. Her five wins were mainly in the northwestern part of Illinois and her percentage and victory margins were minimal. Only two counties, Carroll and Whiteside, gave the Lt. Governor 40% of their vote while at the other end of the spectrum thirteen counties (all in far southern Illinois) gave her less than 10% of their vote.

As for Mr. Ryan, he rode Sangamon county (Springfield) and other large central Illinois counties to a respectable win over Mr. O'Malley (43% to 34%). Overall, Mr. Ryan won 65 downstate counties, but it was the aforementioned Sangamon where he scored heaviest. Mr. Ryan's winning margin in Sangamon (10,374 votes over

O'Malley) was higher than his next three county victory margins combined (Peoria, Macon, and Champaign). Obviously, Republican Party control of state government over the last couple of decades has made Sangamon county a strong GOP constituency for the established party candidate.

2006 Primary Candidates

Judy Baar Topinka – State Treasurer
Jim Oberweis – Businessman
Bill Brady – State Senator
Ron Gidwitz – Businessman
Andy Martin – Blogger

The 2006 Illinois Republic gubernatorial primary saw State Treasurer Judy Baar Topinka win a hard fought four-way race for the nomination. Though she only garnered 38.2% of the statewide primary vote – she was victorious in all four of Illinois' voting regions (Oberweis was second everywhere but in the Downstate 96).

Her main opponents, Jim Oberweis (businessman and now three-time GOP primary loser – 2002 U.S. Senate, 2004 U.S. Senate, 2006 Illinois Governor), Bill Brady (central Illinois State Senator) and Ron Gidwitz (Chicagoland businessman) spent most of the primary attacking Topinka. Oberweis and Gidwitz were especially harsh as they used their sizable campaign war chests to blister Topinka in statewide ads. Brady was much more relaxed in his criticism and in debates and forums actually went after his other rivals – and not just Topinka. In the end, Topinka, aided greatly by former governor Jim Edgar, won a bitter contest that left her needing major campaign dollars and a modicum of part unity.

1. Chicago

The state treasurer won forty-five wards with her best margins coming from ward #41 on the city's far northwest side and the near north lakefront wards. Oberweis won three wards with a combined vote margin of -14- votes. Ron Gidwitz won the westside 24th ward and one ward was a tie.

2. Suburban 30

Topinka, a west township suburbanite, scored well in her region. She had six townships give her a 1000+ victory margin over Oberweis and five of them were in the western suburbs (Proviso/2428, Lyons/2377, Leyden/1640, Riverside/1604 (Topinka's home township), Maine/1274 (only non-western 1000+ margin township) and Cicero/1171. Percentage wise, Topinka's strength remained in the western part of the county. Riverside gave their favorite daughter 80.0% of their vote while Cicero came through at 70.6%. Four other townships gave Topinka over 50% while four others came close to the 50% figure – all of these townships were from the western region.

Oberweis won the other six townships. In none of them did he receive 50%+ of the vote. Percentage-wise his best townships were Thornton 41.5% and Wheeling 40.6%. Margin-wise, Wheeling (410 votes) topped his list. Oberweis did receive over 30% of the vote in nearly two-thirds of the Suburban 30 – demonstrating support throughout the county.

Gidwitz made a big effort in the Suburban 30. However, he did not hit the 30% mark anywhere! His best township was New Trier – 29.6%. Given his effort in time and

money, Gidwitz's lackluster suburban performance crippled his chances for a credible statewide vote.

Brady captured less than 10% of the Suburban 30 vote and was a non-factor.

3. Collars 5

Oberweis ran best in the collar counties. Topinka defeated him there by less than 3% of the vote. Oberweis carried three collars, Kane (his home), McHenry and Will. Percentage-wise, McHenry 41.6% and Kane 40% were his best and DuPage was by far his worse – 31.6. Kane gave him his highest margin win (3810 votes) while again, DuPage turned out to be a margin disaster for Oberweis.

DuPage county came through big time for Topinka. The mighty GOP county gave her 43.6% of its vote and a 11583 vote margin over Oberweis. Clearly, longtime party regulars and suburban “moderate/conservatives” saw Topinka as their best hope to defeat Governor Blagojevich.

Two other interesting aspects to the collar county results. Neither Gidwitz or Brady hit 20% in any of the collars (Gidwitz came closer with 18.1% in Lake County). Second, Topinka's Kane county vote percentage nearly matched Oberweis' DuPage vote percentage. The big difference was DuPage cast more than twice as many GOP votes as Kane and Topinka ran 2% better in DuPage than Oberweis did in Kane. Thus, a Topinka Collar 5 margin victory.

4. Downstate 96

By far downstate was the most competitive battle zone of the GOP gubernatorial primary battle. Unlike the other regions—downstate was a three-way conflict with central Illinoisan Brady coming in second to Topinka.

Downstate was Topinka's worst percentage voting region 34.0% but it also produced her highest vote margin (21497) against Oberweis. Obviously, she benefited from the head-to-head battle of her two closest rivals and because of this fact many hard-line social conservatives have blamed Brady for Oberweis' loss.

By far, Topinka's best downstate county was Sangamon (6989 vote margin over Oberweis/58% of the vote) which like DuPage is filled with traditional Republican supporters. In all, Topinka had seven other counties give her a majority of their vote including Morgan county (located just west of Sangamon) which produced a surprising 1716 vote margin. Lastly, two east central Illinois counties, Champaign and Coles deserve a special mention. Though Topinka lost Champaign county to Brady, she was able to defeat Oberweis there by 2235 votes. Coles county gave her a 1285 vote margin over Oberweis. Both of these counties are the home turf of former Governor Jim Edgar whose support was critical in this region.

Oberweis ran well in the southwest and northwest parts of the state – and also in central state LaSalle county. Four counties gave him 1000+ margins

over Topinka – Madison/1773, Winnebago/1771, St. Clair/1447, and Monroe/1042. For comparative purposes, his combined vote margin of victory over Topinka in these four counties was nearly 1000 votes less than her margin over him in Sangamon. Oberweis also ran well in Kendall county (42.8%/935 vote margin).

Brady's home county, McLean, gave him 72.1% of its vote and a 6678 vote margin victory over Topinka. As expected, he ran well in central Illinois, especially in those counties in or close to his state senate district. Brady carried twenty-two downstate counties against significant opposition.

As for Gidwitz – despite dropping “big bucks” on statewide television ads – he came in a distant fourth downstate receiving less than 7% of the vote. In sum, the Republicans engaged in a brutal clash for the gubernatorial nomination and the future direction of their party. Topinka and the economic conservatives won the battle, but Republican philosophical conflicts were open for all to see.

2010 Republican Candidates for Governor

Bill Brady – State Senator
Kirk Dillard – State Senator
Andy McKenna – former Illinois Republican Party State Chairman
Jim Ryan – former Illinois Attorney General
Adam Andrzejewski – Lawyer
Dan Proft – Public Relations
*Bob Schillerstrom – DuPage County Board Chairman

*Schillerstrom dropped out of the race late in the campaign

2010 Campaign Snapshot

One of the most interesting primary campaigns in decades. Bill Brady won the narrowest of victories (193 votes over Kirk Dillard) by simply “conquering the divide” – that is – for most of the campaign DuPage County (the GOP’s bedrock county) had three of its most well-known politicians running for the nomination – Dillard, Ryan and Schillerstrom.

Furthermore, the other three candidates were also from northeastern Illinois. Brady from Bloomington was the only downstater – actually the only candidate not from Chicagoland – and though his support was in the single digits in Cook and the Collars – he won. His downstate surge coupled with his opponents dividing up the Chicagoland vote gave Brady just enough vote “oomph” to conquer the divide.

1) Chicago

McKenna and Ryan combined received nearly half of the small Chicago GOP primary vote. Dillard and Andrzejewski received another third of the vote leaving Brady, Proft and Schillerstrom far behind.

Only four black wards with miniscule Republican turnouts gave Brady +10% of their vote. Dillard did far better than Brady having eleven wards give him +20% of their vote but like Brady most of these were African-American wards (two were Hispanic). McKenna ran well along the north lakefront winning +40% of the vote in wards #43 - #42 - #44 and did well in other inner lake and lakefront wards. Ryan’s best percentage wards were also heavily African-American though he ran relatively well in other wards

as well. Andrzejewski scored best on the northwest and southwest sides – especially among the city’s Polish voters. Proft received almost 14% of the vote in the 19th ward which unfortunately for him was his city’s high point.

A key here – as it was in the Sub 30 and Five Collar regions – the big GOP turnout wards/townships and collar counties saw McKenna, Ryan, Dillard and sometimes Andrzejewski split the vote three or four ways, thereby preventing one of them to build a truly sizable margin over Brady.

Dillard beat Brady in every Chicago ward, but ended up with only a 3601 vote margin over his main opponent.

2) Suburban 30

The Suburban 30 was a little kinder to Dillard. He upped his vote percentage 3% though like in Chicago he once again still trailed McKenna and Ryan. Also helping Dillard was Andrzejewski’s suburban vote which was nearly 6 % less than his Chicago percentage.

Small Barrington Township was the only township that gave Brady +10% of their vote (11.7%). Dillard won one township – west suburban Leyden (38.7%) and was +20% in nine other townships scattered throughout the county. McKenna was the big Sub 30 winner. He won twenty townships mainly in the northern suburbs. New Trier gave him 3.2% of their vote thereby gaining the distinction as the only township to give a GOP gubernatorial candidate a majority of its vote. Ryan carried four townships with Cicero

being his percentage best (27.3%). Andrzejewski won two townships: Norwood Park (33.0%) and Stickney (32.0%) – again probably due to strong Polish support. Proft did slightly better in the Sub 30 than the city, winning +1000 number of votes in Wheeling, Schaumburg, and Orland townships.

Dillard beat Brady in every township – like he did in the city when he beat him in every ward. Five townships, Wheeling, Leyden, Maine, Lyons, and Worth gave Dillard +1000 margins over Brady. Dillard's 17,359 margin over Brady was accomplished even though Dillard trailed both McKenna and Ryan in total Sub 30 votes.

3) Five Collars

Like in the Sub 30 – Dillard was a third place vote finisher in the collars – though a much closer third than in Cook County. In a statewide race whose outcome is decided by 193 votes there are many places where a slight vote change could have altered the results. Here is one of them. In blunt terms, Jim Ryan was more popular than Kirk Dillard in their home DuPage county. Ryan polled almost 6000 more votes than Dillard – making DuPage one of the obvious difference makers.

Brady, as in Chicago and the Sub 30 was a non-player in the collars. His best showing was McHenry 8.5%. Dillard had three +20% counties (though he won none of them) DuPage – McHenry – Kane. McKenna won counties in Lake, McHenry and Will. So divided was the collar vote than McKenna's Lake county percentage (32.9%) was the best vote percentage in any collar for any candidate. Ryan won two collars: DuPage (29.2%) and Kane (22.7%) and was +20% in Lake and McHenry. Andrzejewski was over

15% in Kane and Will counties while Proft's best was Will (14.8%). Schillerstrom – mainly through early voting received 2193 votes in DuPage county – even though he withdrew from the race. Without early voting, one could argue Schillerstrom supporters might have split their votes on election day in line with the overall vote percentages each candidate received in DuPage. This scenario/theory would have given Dillard the gubernatorial nomination.

Margin-wise, Dillard beat Brady in all five collars – racking up a 36732 vote margin over the downstater.

4) Downstate 96

Brady won downstate by 57,885 votes to squeak out a statewide victory over Dillard. Brady won seventy-five counties demonstrating real vote power in his home base of central Illinois.

Dillard ran second to Brady downstate, but even with the full support of former Governor Jim Edgar (Coles/Champaign counties) he could not muster enough strength to hold off Brady.

Six counties gave Brady +60% of their vote with one of them being his home big turnout county of McLean. In sixteen other counties, Brady also won a majority of their vote. By comparison, none of the other candidates won a majority of the vote in any downstate county (Andrzejewski came the closet 49.0% - Jasper county). Dillard was +40% only in Morgan county, though he just missed in Sangamon (39.0%). McKenna

won two northern counties – Kendall and DeKalb which made up half of his +20% counties – the other two were Grundy and Boone. Ryan was shut-out downstate with Calhoun, Greene, Jo Daviess and Marion being his only +20.0% counties. Andrzejewski did surprisingly well in certain DS96 counties. He won thirteen counties, mainly in southern Illinois – though he did win Kankakee, and three of these counties – Jersey – Richland and Clay were +40% for him. Proft was a non-factor downstate.

Brady had five +2000 margin counties over Dillard. As expected, McLean led the way (7907 votes) – the others were Tazewell (5078), Champaign (3169), Peoria (2764) and Rock Island (2244). In total Brady had nineteen +1000 margin counties over Dillard. Dillard only had two +1000 margin counties over Brady: Sangamon (2073) and Kendall (1159) – though McKenna won Kendall. Statewide Dillard won five other counties outright: Morgan, Boone, Menard, Cass and Scott and five others where he bested Brady, but lost the county to another candidate. Except for Sangamon and Kendall, Dillard’s margins over Brady ranged from Morgan (724 votes) to Macoupin (9 votes).

2014: A Prediction

Republican Gubernatorial Primary Candidates

Bill Brady – State Senator
Kirk Dillard – State Senator
Bruce Rauner – Businessman
Dan Rutherford – State Treasurer

The following is a year-end (2013) prediction on how each of the four major GOP gubernatorial candidates can win the March 18, 2014 primary. Obviously, in politics scenarios and gameplans can change quickly as unexpected events shift campaign strategies. This

analysis will be 1) based on past primary numbers; and 2) with the expectation that there will be no huge surprises, e.g., candidate dropouts or scandals.

Four Basic Assumptions

- 1) 2014 Republican Primary Turnout – will increase to nearly one million voters – Why?

There is no exciting statewide Democratic contest and the amount of money spent on this primary battle will outstrip all previous GOP gubernatorial nomination contests – thereby increasing interest and turnout.

- 2) The turnout percentages of the total statewide Republican vote will be slightly altered.

The 5 collars and suburban Cook regions will each have an uptick in the party's overall regional vote percentage.

- 3) All four candidates will raise enough funds to run solid campaigns with structure and media money. Of course, to paraphrase George Orwell's Animal Farm when it comes to equal campaign spending – “some candidates will be more equal than others”.

- 4) The Polls – Polling both legitimate and partisan could be critical – not so much as to which Republican is winning the primary race, but how each of them is matching up against Governor Quinn.

A. How Bill Brady Wins the Primary

Few could argue with the analysis that State Senator Brady was a very fortunate 2010 gubernatorial primary winner. Among the major candidates – he alone owned vote-rich central Illinois while his collar county foes carved each other up in the northeastern part of the state.

In 2014 Brady's regional base will undergo a challenge from Rutherford (Livingston county) and Bruce Rauner's television ads. Four things need to happen for Brady to win another narrow victory.

First, not only must he hold his central Illinois base but, unlike 2010 he will have to campaign vigorously north of I-80.

Second, given the above, he needs to use his vote for pension reform (only GOP gubernatorial candidate to support SB-1) to appeal to suburban/collar county Republican voters who in 2010 were frightened by his hard line social issue positions.

Third, again back to the first point – he must remind voters south of I-80 that he has been a longstanding consistent conservative voice in Illinois politics.

Fourth, and most iffy, he needs the other three candidates – especially Dillard and Rauner to tear each other up during the campaign debates and in their speeches.

B. How Kirk Dillard Wins the Primary

Barely lost the 2010 GOP gubernatorial primary (193 votes) – due to DuPage county and the rest of the collars having their votes splintered among several candidates - including one who withdrew from the race – Dillard now seeks collar county unity in his rematch with Brady and the other candidates.

In order to win this all-out battle, Dillard needs four things to happen.

First – he needs to raise enough dollars to compete with Rauner for the suburban and collar county vote. Undoubtedly, he will be out-spent, but he must have enough media to play up his gubernatorial competence against Rauner's all-out assault on him and politicians in general.

Second – his mentor, former Governor Jim Edgar, must be more active in this primary than he was in 2010. He needs to remind GOP voters that not so long ago Republicans ruled the state mansion by electing center-right candidates like Dillard and that the ultimate opponent is Governor Pat Quinn.

Third – geo-politically, Dillard needs to unite remaining collar county and northwest and southwest Cook County GOP organizations behind him arguing on background and experience, he should be their candidate. He needs to close this deal as soon as possible.

Fourth – assuming all four will participate in televised debates – Dillard needs to kick back hard on his Republican brand as Rauner will definitely go after him on his friendship with current and past Democratic colleagues in Springfield.

C. How Bruce Rauner Wins

I believe it's fair to say that if politics was a poker game, Bruce Rauner would be "all in". His vast wealth has propelled him into the political limelight against three opponents – all of whom have political experience and governmental records. Thus, Rauner is a wild card – he can use his dollars to attack and not have to worry too much about his political past.

In order to win this political melee – five things need to happen.

First – Rauner will have to debate his opponents – all of whom are debate veterans. Rauner cannot simply hide behind his commercials. In these debates, Rauner must show both issue and political competence and a thick political skin when the political arrows are aimed directly at him.

Second – in his all-out assault on Springfield and its politicians, Rauner cannot overplay his “negative” hand; he must also have a “positive” hand as well.

Third – Endorsements – Rauner will need them. Especially from the state’s major newspapers. This will show that besides his wealth, the editorial writers recognize public policy substance and governmental ability. He would then publicize these endorsements through his various media outlets.

Fourth – The Rahm Factor. Chicago’s mayor Rahm Emanuel cannot become an issue in the GOP gubernatorial primary. Rauner must convince some fence-sitting GOP voters that he is a real Republican who will be a party player if elected.

Fifth – Finally, Rauner has to piece together a geo-political vote base that carves deeply into Dillard’s suburban/collar strength and Brady and Rutherford’s central and southern Illinois muscle.

D. How Dan Rutherford Wins

A Republican statewide office holder should have an advantage in a four-way primary against two state senators and a businessman. However, Rutherford in 2010 had a weak opponent in a low publicity race – thereby making it essential in 2014 that he re-introduce himself to Republican voters. It may seem strange to say, but Rutherford – like Rauner – has no specific regional base. His home area is between Brady’s central Illinois and Dillard’s DuPage county.

In order for Rutherford to come out on top, he must do four things.

First – Needs to make his statewide office a huge positive – thereby contesting all his rivals in all voting regions;

Second – Given his state treasurer position, he must outshine his debate foes with facts and figures on solving the state’s budget, pension and debt problems;

Third – Must raise the second most campaign funds to combat Rauner’s media blitz with his own ads showing that governmental competence beats campaign rhetoric;

Fourth – Needs for neither Brady or Dillard to garner large margins in their home base areas.

Summary

This 2014 GOP gubernatorial primary analysis has left out one important factor applicable to all four candidates – “LUCK”. Whether it is an avoidable debate mistake – or a sudden media-driven issue targeting one or more of the candidates late in the campaign – or even weather-hindering turnout in a candidates’ best voting region – the luck factor always looms as an unknown.

Finally, in a hotly contested multi-candidate election battle – vote margins reign supreme. Doing better than expected in a single section of the state can be the difference between winning and losing the election. Remember in 2010 – it was only 193 votes that separated the top two finishers.

TABLE I
 Illinois Republican Gubernatorial Primary
 Turnout by Region
 2002 - 2006 - 2010

Turnout Republicans	City of Chicago	Sub 30	Cook Totals	*Collars 5	Downstate 96	Statewide Totals
2002 – Total Vote	34272	154974	189246	328955	428138	946339
2002 – % Statewide Total	3.6%	16.4%	20.0%	34.8%	45.2%	100%
2006 – Total Vote	24599	113583	138182	283480	329965	751627
2006 – % Statewide Total	3.3%	15.1%	18.4%	37.7%	43.9%	100%
2010 – Total Vote	34666	127212	161878	250978	370204	783060
2010 – % Statewide Total	4.4%	16.2%	20.6%	32.1%	47.3%	100%
Average GOP – 2002-2006-2010 Primaries	3.8%	15.9%	19.7%	34.9%	45.5%	***100%

* 5 Collars

DuPage –Kane-Lake-McHenry-Will

*** Not 100% due to rounding off

TABLE II
 Election Results
 Illinois Gubernatorial Primaries
 2002-2006-2010

2002 Candidates	Statewide Vote	Statewide %	Victory Margin
Jim Ryan	410074	45%	149214
Pat O'Malley	260860	28%	
Corrine Wood	246825	27%	

2006 Candidates

Judy Baar Topinka	280701	38%	47125
Jim Oberweis	233576	32%	
Bill Brady	135370	18%	
Ron Gidwitz	80068	11%	
Andy Martin	6095	0.8%	

2010 Candidates

Bill Brady	155527	20.3%	193
Kirk Dillard	155334	20.2%	
Andy McKenna	148054	19.3%	
Jim Ryan	130785	17.0%	
Adam Andrzejewski	111030	14.5%	
Dan Proft	59335	7.7%	
Bob Schillerstrom	7420	1.0%	