

Why Obama and Huckabee Won Iowa: *Inside the 2008 Caucus*



Section 35, Panel 10: The Presidential Nomination Process
At the 2008 Annual Meeting the American Political Science Association

By Christopher C. Hull, Ph.D.

Georgetown University Government Department

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hullc@georgetown.edu

What Matters In Iowa?



- **Ideology** (Winebrenner 1998; Mayer 2000; Hull 2007b) **& Electability?**
(Stone '82; Abramowitz & Stone '83; Hutter and Schier '84; Abramowitz and Stone, '84, Stone, Rapoport and Abramowitz, 1989; Stone and Rapoport, 1994)
- **Days in Iowa** (Winebrenner, 1998; Hull 2004a; Hull 2007b) **& Press?**
- **Television Ads** (Winebrenner, 1998) **& Iowa Spending?**

OR

- **Gallup Poll Support & National Fundraising?**
(Norrander 1993, 2000, and 2006; Steger 2000; Adkins and Dowdle 2000, 2001b, 2004, and 2005; Steger, Dowdle and Adkins, 2004)

The Case of 2008



- Huckabee beats Romney
- Giuliani, Thompson, & McCain trail badly
- Obama beats Clinton – and so does Edwards

Republicans



34.4%
Mike
Huckabee



25.2%
Mitt
Romney



13.4%
Fred
Thompson



13.1%
John
McCain



10.0%
Ron
Paul



3.5%
Rudy
Giuliani



0.4%
Duncan
Hunter



Democrats



38%
Barack
Obama



30%
John
Edwards



30%
Hillary
Clinton



2%
Bill
Richardson



.9%
Joe
Biden



.1%
Uncommitted

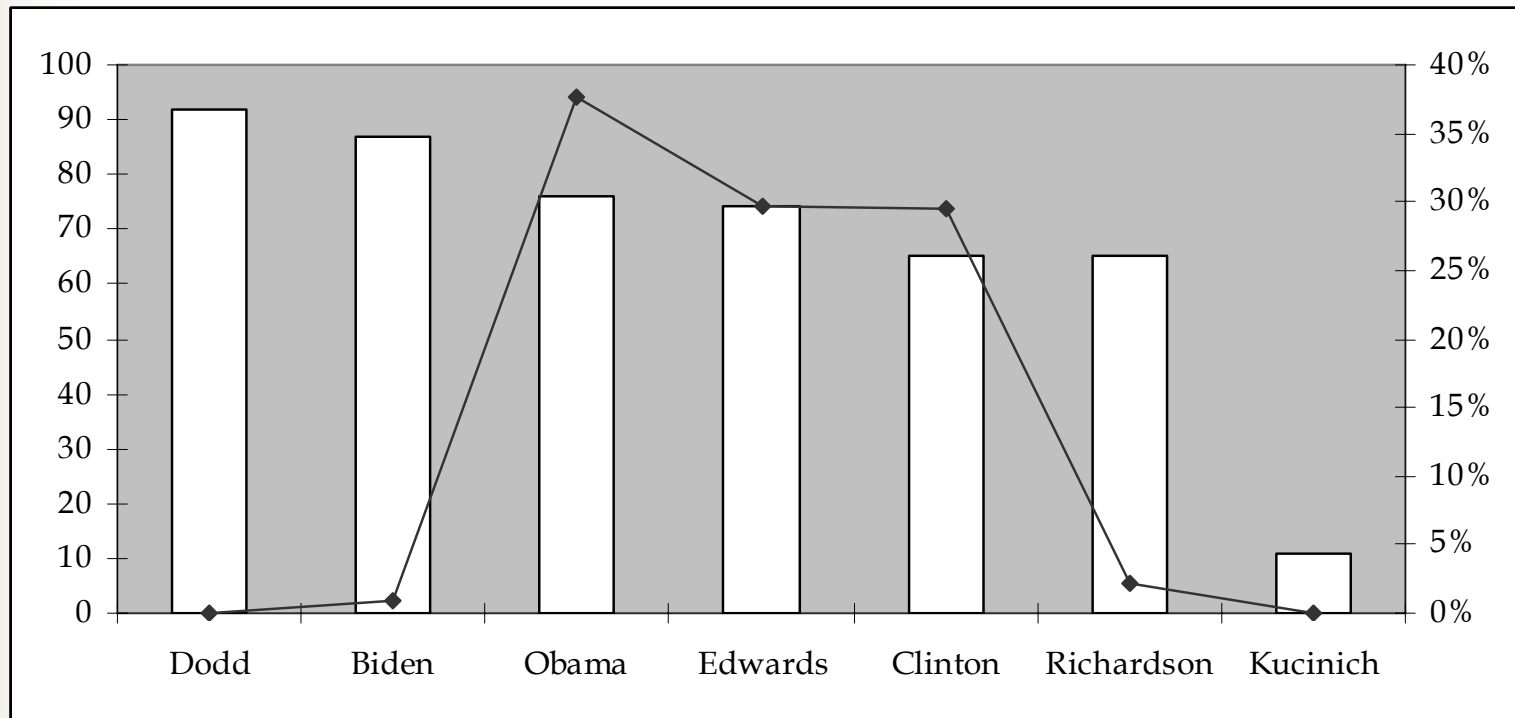


.02%
Chris
Dodd



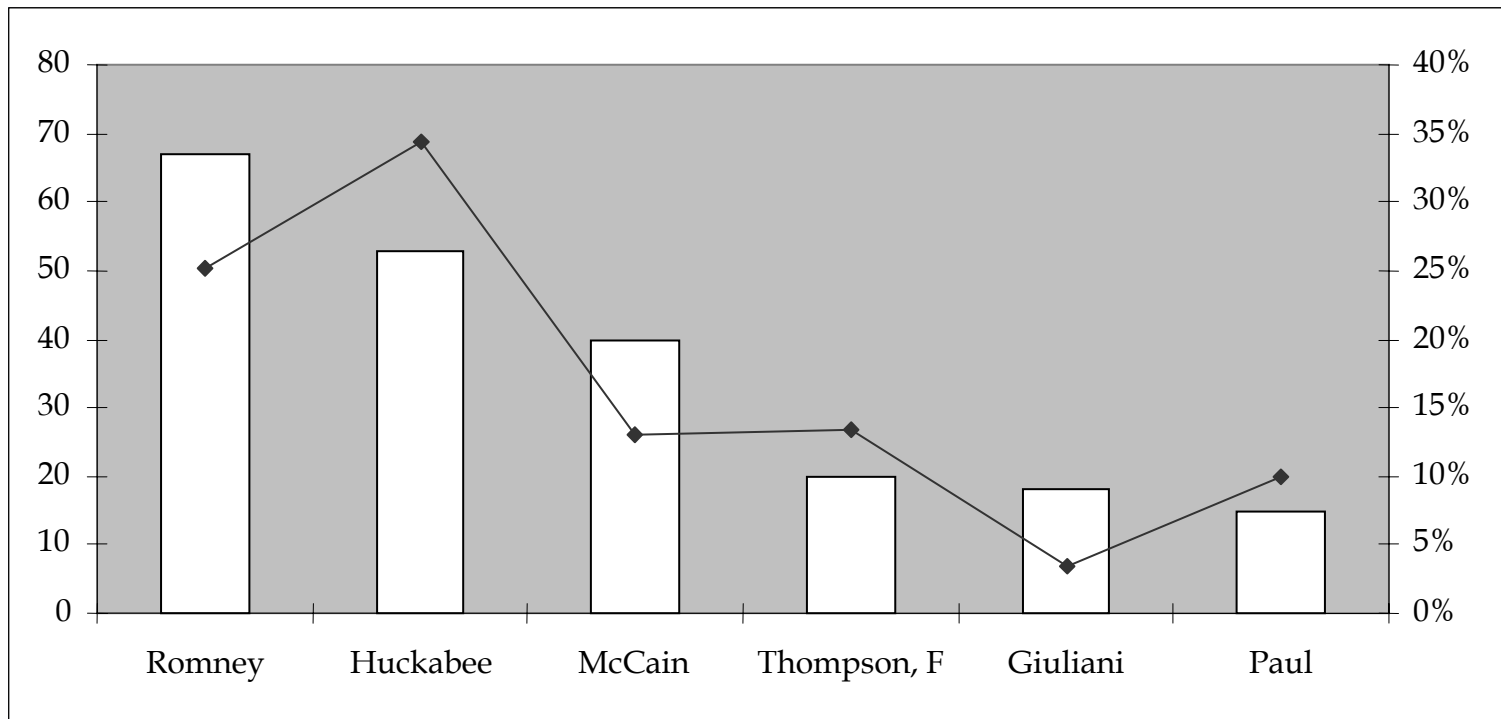
Days in Iowa: Dodd & Biden Lead Dems

(then Obama...)



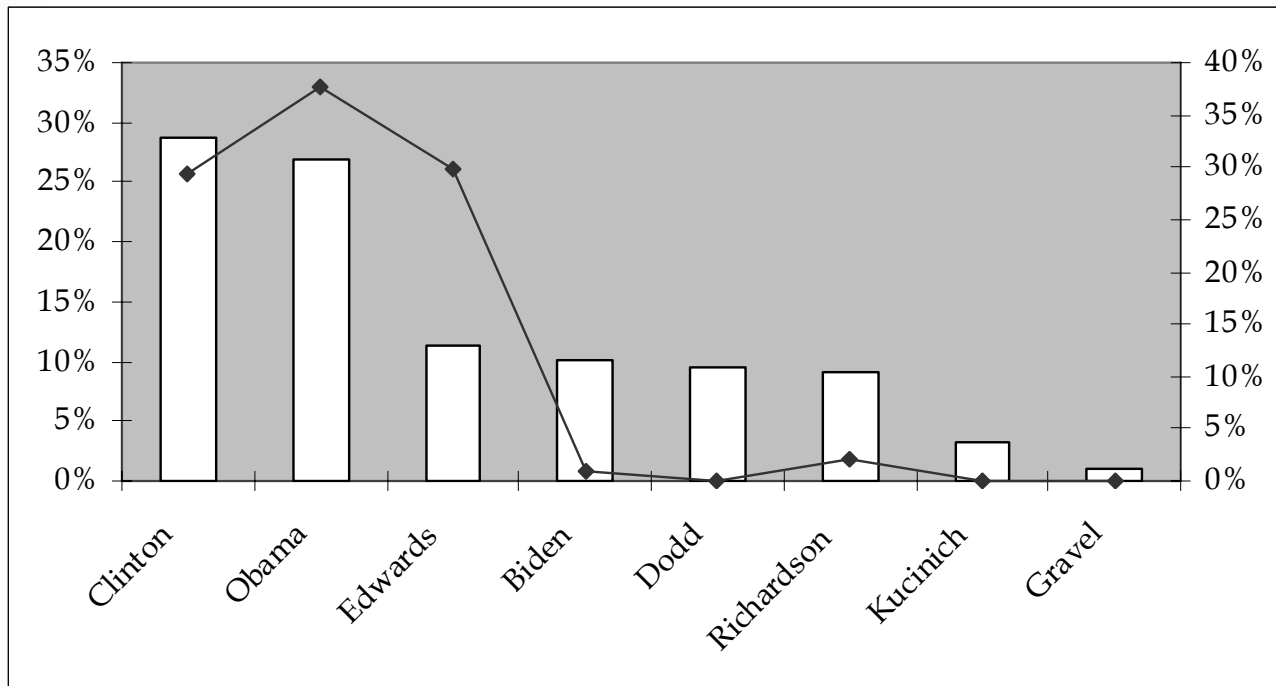
Sources: Mark Memmitt and Jill Lawrence, "Dodd leads if you count the 'days' in Iowa," USA Today, Dec. 7, 2007; Roger Simon, "Dodd unloads on Obama and Clinton," The Politico, Dec. 28, 2007; "2008 Caucus Results Center," DesMoinesRegister.com.

Days in Iowa: Romney, Huckabee Lead GOP



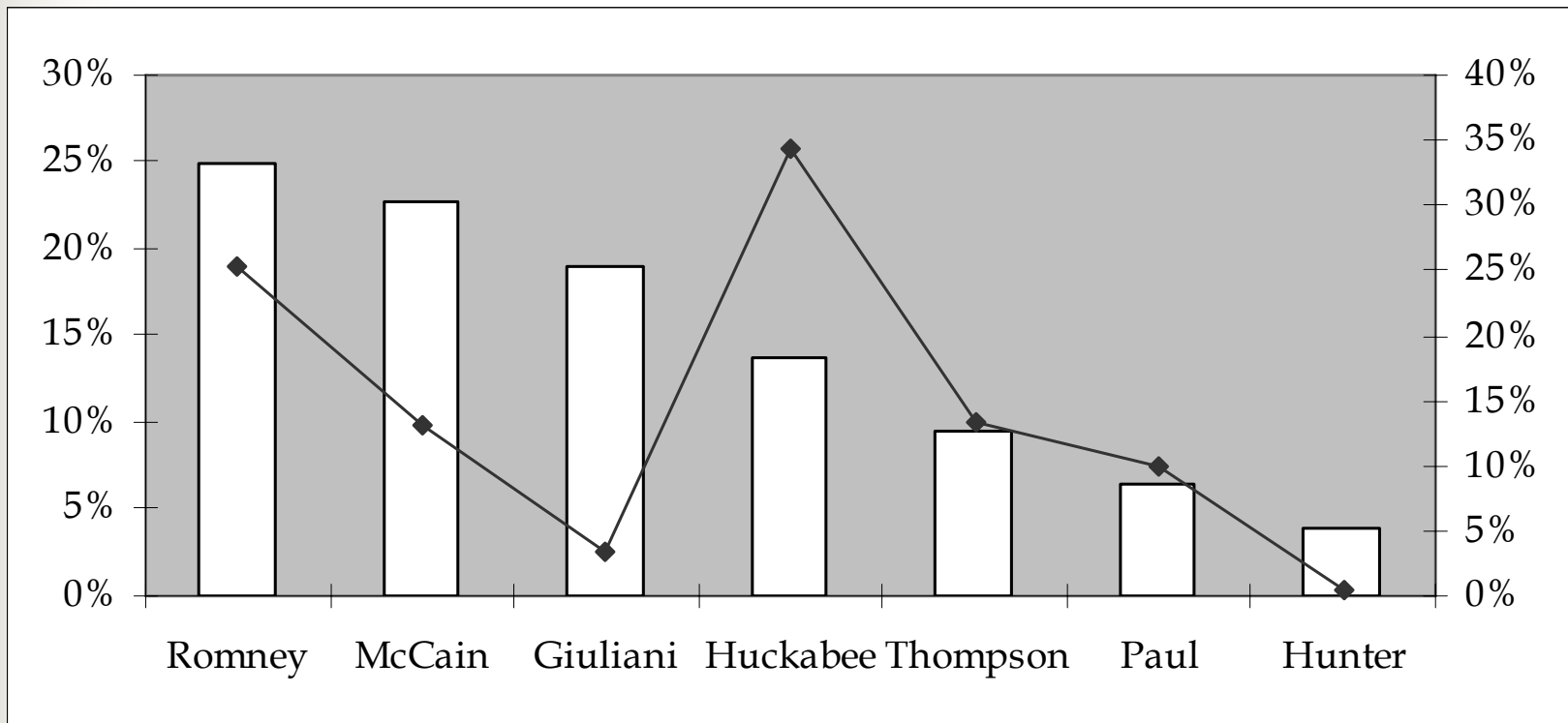
Sources: Mark Memmitt and Jill Lawrence, "Dodd leads if you count the 'days' in Iowa," USA Today, Dec. 7, 2007; "2008 Caucus Results Center," DesMoinesRegister.com.

Press Coverage: Clinton and Obama Lead Dems



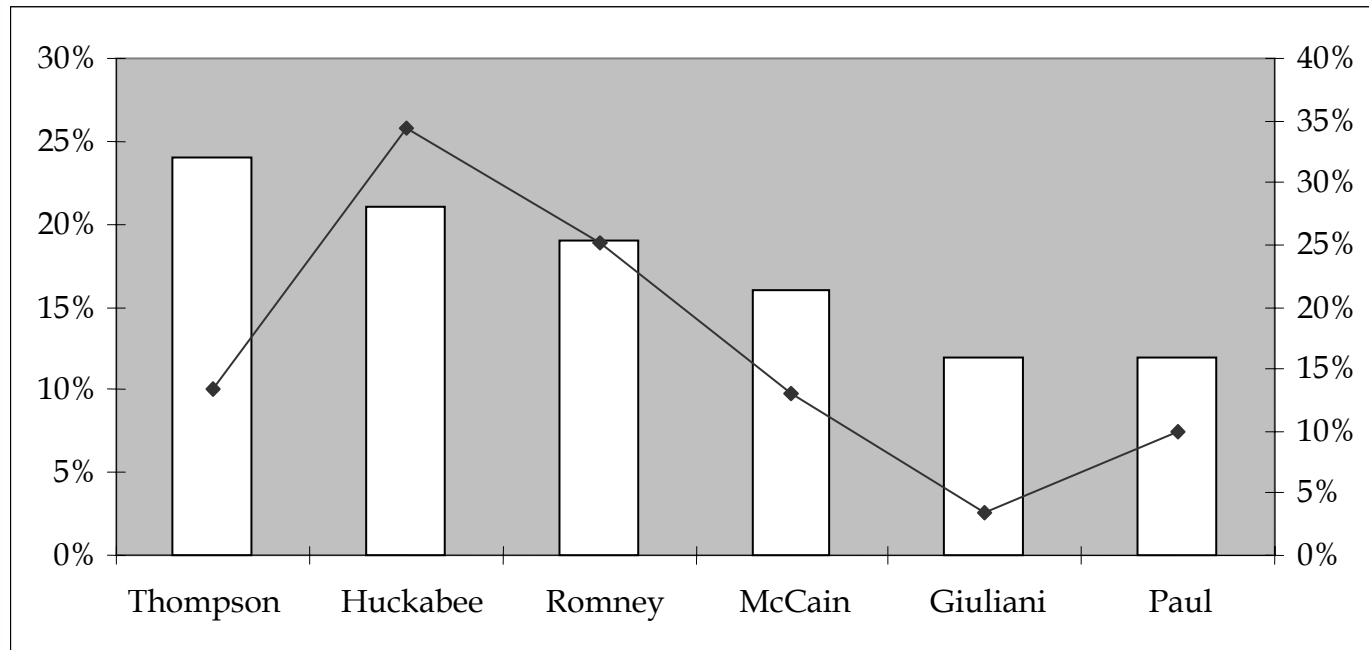
Sources: Websites for Omaha World-Herald, Des Moines Register, Iowa City Press-Citizen, and Dubuque Telegraph; DesMoinesRegister.com.

Press Coverage: Romney, National Leaders Rule



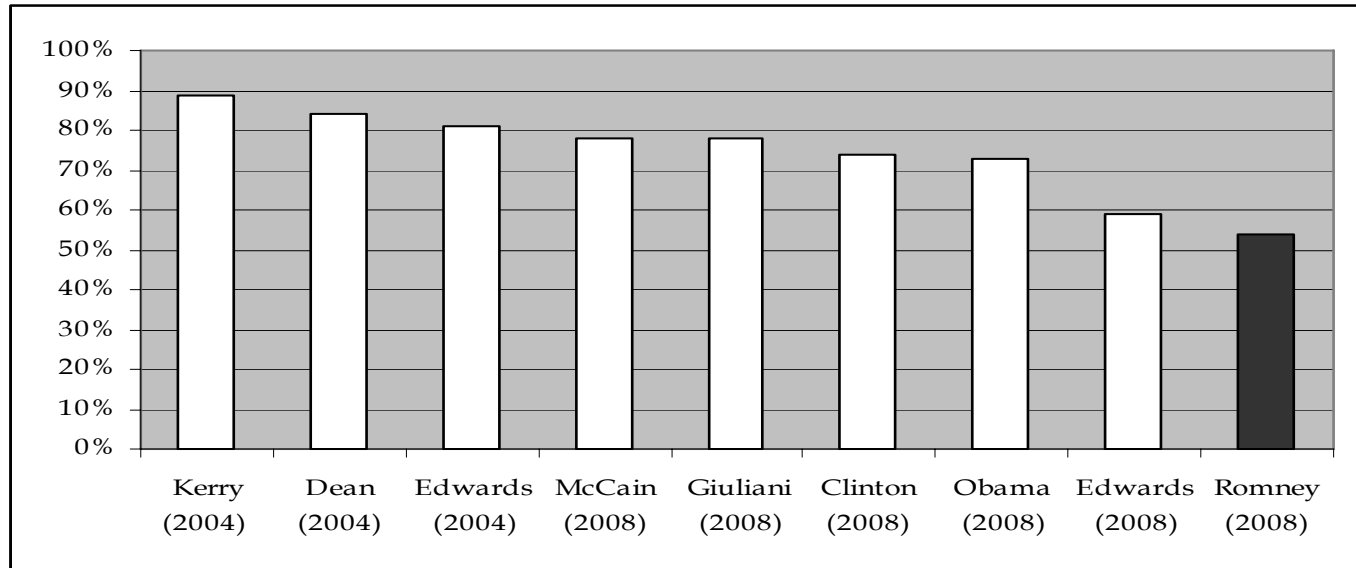
Sources: Websites for Omaha World-Herald, Des Moines Register, Iowa City Press-Citizen, and Dubuque Telegraph; DesMoinesRegister.com.

Ideology: Advantage Huckabee (& Thompson...)



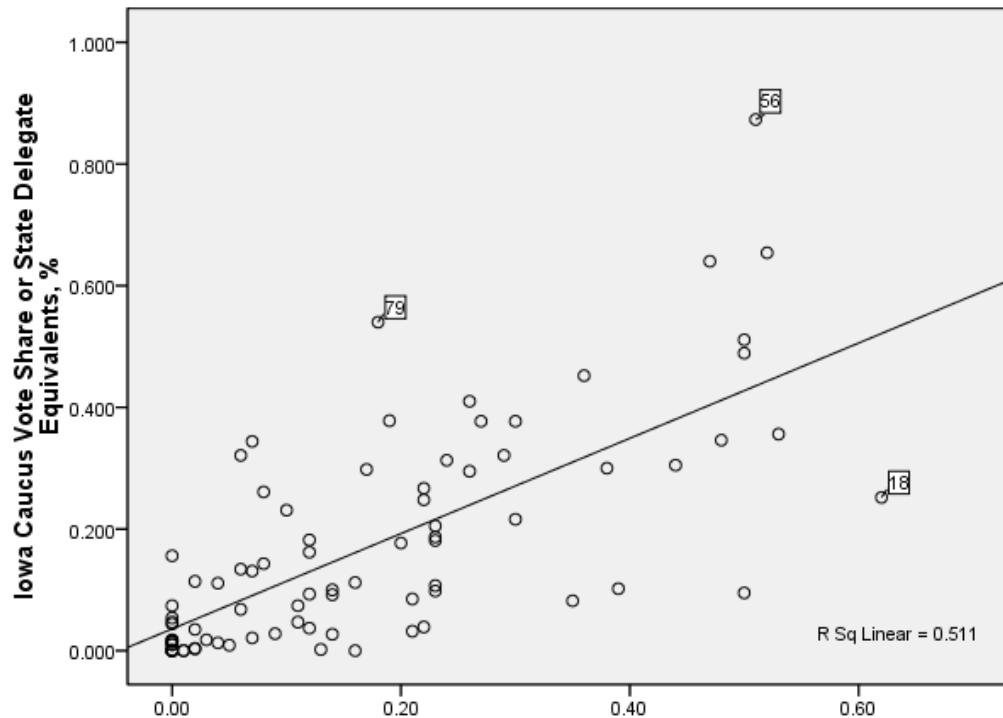
Sources: MSNBC.com, "2008 Primary Results/Exit Polls: Iowa - Republicans," January 3, 2008; Rasmussen Reports, "Crosstabs - Ideology," December 10-18, 2007; "2008 Caucus Results Center," DesMoinesRegister.com.

Electability: A Blow to Romney



Sources: 2008 data from survey by Fox News conducted by Opinion Dynamics, June 5-June 6, 2007 and based on telephone interviews with a national registered voters sample of 900 (data provided by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut); 2004 data from survey of Likely Iowa Caucus Participants, Dec. 2003.

Iowa Spending: Romney Buy a Landslide

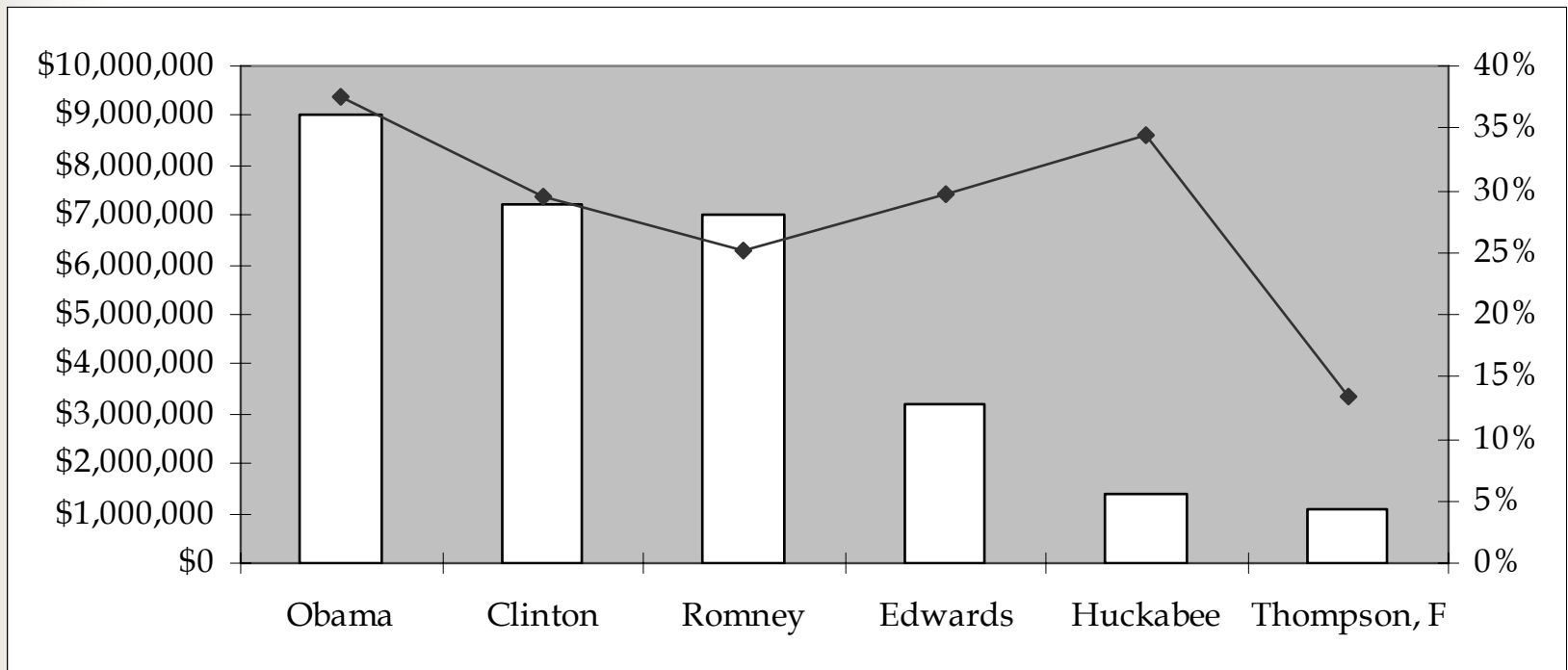


IOWA SPENDING, % of Total Pre-Election Year October Quarterly and Year End (Dec. 2007 \$s), filled using Fundraising Total, Iowa Poll Pct Pts, DIA, t, Gallup pct pts, and 15%



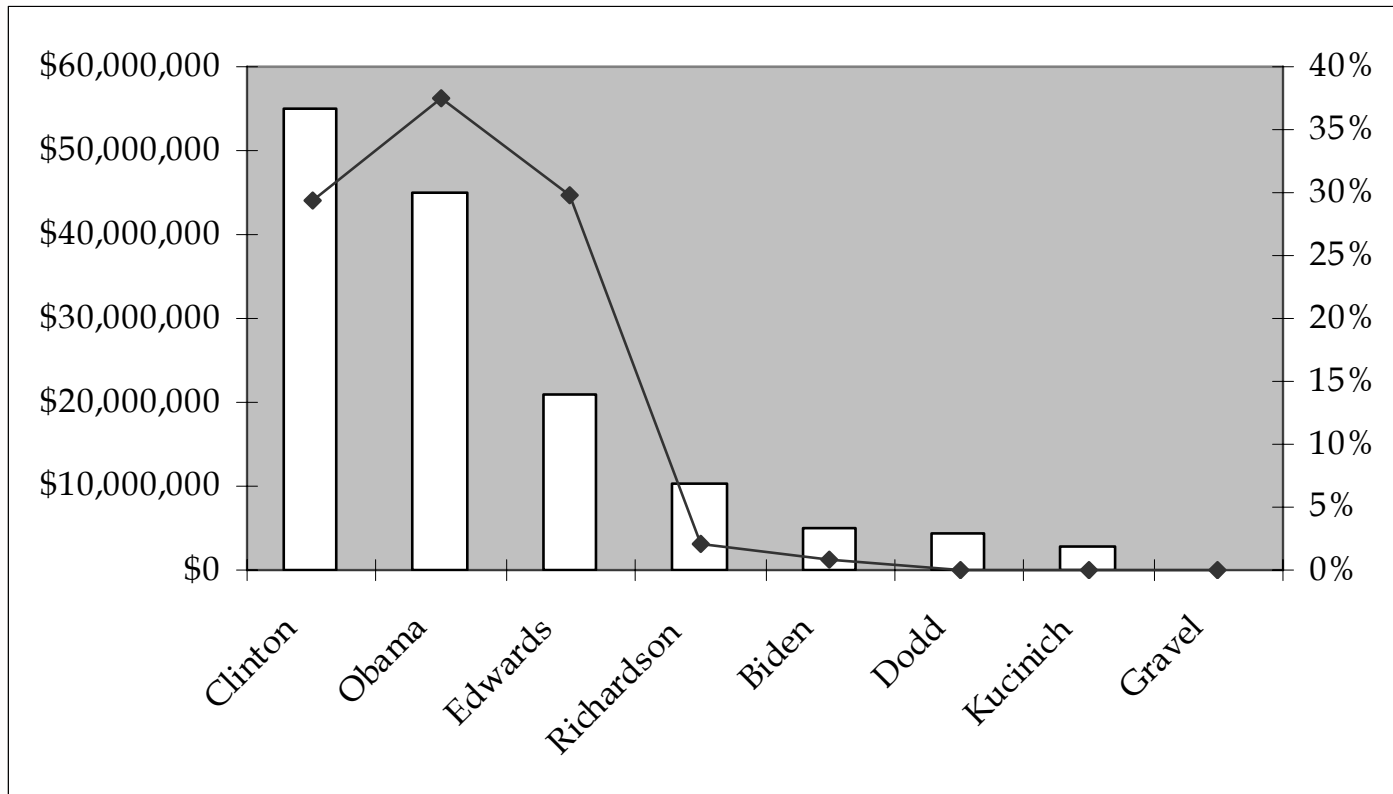
Sources: Federal Election Commission; DesMoinesRegister.com.

TV Advertising: Obama Leads Both Fields



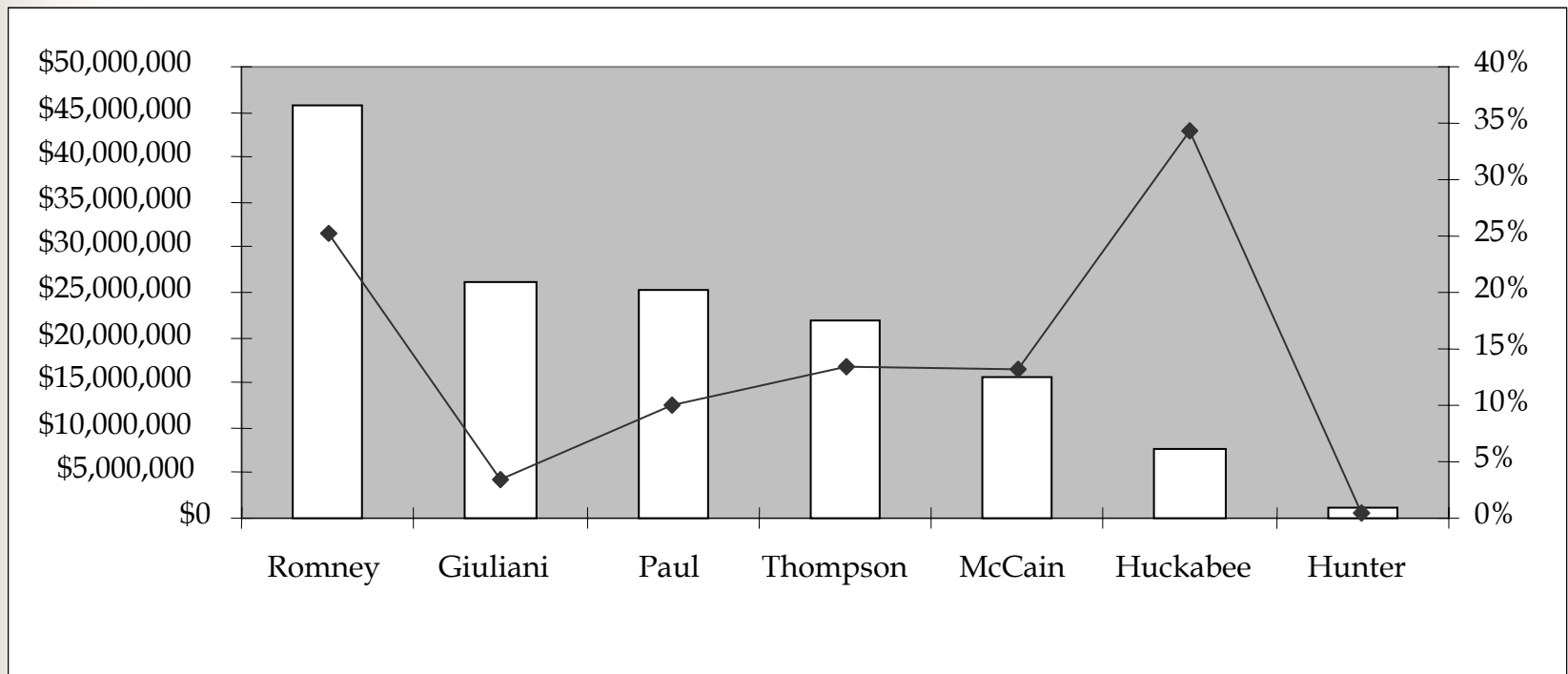
Source: Alexander Mooney, "\$40 million spent to tout candidates on Iowa TV,"
CNN.com, Jan. 1, 2008; TNS media intelligence/CMAG; DesMoinesRegister.com.

Dem Fundraising: Clinton and Obama



Sources: Federal Election Commission; DesMoinesRegister.com.

GOP Fundraising: Romney Leads Again



Sources: Federal Election Commission; DesMoinesRegister.com.

Which Factors Matter from 1976-2008 in Iowa?

Variable	β	SE
DAYS IN IOWA, % of total	0.069	(0.232)
PRESS COVERAGE, % of coverage	0.330	(0.392)
TV SPENDING, % of total	0.388	(0.381)
IOWA SPENDING, % of total, pre-election 3rd & 4th quarter	0.061	(0.173)
IDEOLOGICAL CROWDING, 1- % of partisans for whom candidate is ranks closest	-0.547	(0.333)
ELECTABILITY, % of partisans NOT saying candidate more likely to lose general	0.074	(0.064)
GALLUP SUPPORT, in percentage points, in the last poll before Iowa Caucuses	0.001	(0.003)
FUNDRAISING SHARE, % of total from pre-election 3rd and 4th quarter	-0.133	(0.306)
DAYS IN IOWA-GALLUP Interactive Term	-0.621	(0.545)



Which Sets of Factors have Mattered 1976-2008 in Iowa?

Variable	β	SE
STATE PRESENCE (Days in Iowa; Iowa Press)	0.441*	(0.169)
STATE SPENDING (TV Spending; Total Iowa Spending)	0.385**	(0.126)
STRATEGIC FACTORS (Ideological Crowding; Electability)	0.475**	(0.190)
NATIONAL FACTORS (Gallup Polls; National Fundraising)	-0.106	(0.185)

Why Obama and Huckabee Won Iowa:

- Ideology &/or Electability
- Days in Iowa &/or Press Coverage
- Television Ads &/or Iowa Spending

But, potentially, not:

- Gallup Poll Support & National Fundraising



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