



ELECTION 2016

Overview & Iowa Guide



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Fun Facts for On-Air and Online Vamping

- The word “caucus” is thought to come from an Algonquin Indian word – cau´-cau-as´u, meaning “one who advises, urges, encourages” and “to talk to ... give counsel, advise, encourage, and to urge, promote, incite to action.”
- Donald Trump has already won a presidential primary – the Reform Party California primary in 2000. He withdrew from the race months before but still received 44 percent of the total vote (15,311 votes).
- For Republicans, there hasn’t been a brokered convention, where the nominee was not known after the first round of balloting at the convention, in almost 70 years (1948). But GOP rules changes and a multi-candidate field make that at least a possibility this year.
- Since 1976, just one person on the Republican side has won Iowa and gone on to be president – George W. Bush.
- Bill Clinton, George H.W. Bush and Ronald Reagan all lost Iowa but went on to win the presidency.
- Only one person in the last 40 years has lost both Iowa and New Hampshire and gone on to win the presidency the same year – Bill Clinton.
- Bill Clinton didn’t win either Iowa or New Hampshire in 1992, but was still declared “The Comeback Kid” after his second-place finish in New Hampshire.¹
- The person who led the longest in Iowa in the crowded Republican field in 2015 was... Wisconsin Gov. Scott Walker. He led for six months, from February to August, before dropping out of the race after a series of missteps.²
- Iowa is a much better predictor on the Democratic side – six of the last eight Democratic nominees, including the last three, have won the state since 1976. Two became president – Barack Obama and Jimmy Carter.
- The most to ever turn out in the Democratic caucuses in Iowa was 240,000 in 2008, nearly double the previous high. For Republicans, 2012 was a record of about 122,000. That could be broken this year.
- Two weeks after the Iowa caucuses in 2012, it was discovered that Rick Santorum won 34 more votes than Mitt Romney. Iowa’s Republican Party chairman, though, was unable to declare an official winner because results from eight of nearly 1,800 precincts could not be located.³

- When Bernie Sanders was elected to Congress in 1992, he was the first independent to win a congressional seat in 40 years.⁴
- In anticipation of their husbands' presidential campaign, both Mary Pat Christie and Heidi Cruz left their lucrative jobs. Mrs. Christie left her \$500,000-a-year job as a managing director at a hedge fund and investment management company and Mrs. Cruz left her job at Goldman Sachs.
- Janet Huckabee is one of two presidential-candidate spouses to have run for office. The other? Another Arkansan: Bill Clinton. (Janet Huckabee ran for Arkansas Secretary of State.)⁵
- Both Martin O'Malley and Mike Huckabee play in bands. Huckabee formed a band with members of his staff in 1996, called "Capitol Offense." He took his band on the campaign trail in 2007, playing throughout Iowa. O'Malley is the frontman of the Celtic rock band "O'Malley's March". He plays the guitar, banjo and sings.
- Iowa wound up first because when the process began in the 1970s, it took so long to pick delegates that they needed the time to let their process play out.
- There was a Clinton or a Bush on every presidential ticket from 1980 to 2004.⁶

¹ <https://archives.nbclearn.com/portal/site/k-12/flat-view?cuecard=4931>

² <http://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/inside-fall-scott-walker-why-did-gop-star-burn-out-n431311>

³ <http://elections.nytimes.com/2012/primaries/states/iowa>

⁴ <https://berniesanders.com/about/>

⁵ <http://www.bustle.com/articles/81002-mike-huckabees-wife-janet-huckabee-is-a-fascinating-woman-who-once-ran-for-office-herself>

⁶ <https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/editorials/2014/10/28/clinton-bush-race-again/PK-MQco3SoHFBsKn6yCqOEM/story.html>

⁷ <http://www.theblaze.com/stories/2015/06/24/do-you-know-which-of-the-2016-gop-candidates-arent-using-their-given-names-its-probably-more-than-you-think/>

What's in a name? Several candidates are using nicknames or middle names.

FOR EXAMPLE:

- Carly Fiorina was actually born Cara Carleton Sneed.
- Ted Cruz was named after his father, Raphael, but used the nickname Ted growing up.
- Jeb Bush's name is an acronym – a shorter version of his full name, John Ellis Bush. He was named after two of his uncles.

SOME PRESIDENTS ALSO USED NICKNAMES OR MIDDLE NAMES:

- Ulysses S. Grant was born Hiram Ulysses Grant (the S didn't stand for anything)
- Woodrow Wilson's full name was Thomas Woodrow Wilson.
- Calvin Coolidge's given name was John Calvin Coolidge.
- Gerald Ford was born Leslie Lynch King Jr., the name of his biological father. At the age of 2, he was adopted by Gerald Rutherford Ford Sr. and was renamed.
- Bill Clinton was originally named William Jefferson Blythe III after his biological father. His dad passed away, and he took the name of his mother's second husband, Roger Clinton.

By Mara Liasson

Overview

Welcome to 2016! The next few months are going to be among the most exhilarating, determinative and confusing of this presidential campaign, what with talk of delegate allocation and the like. We try to clear up that confusion in what follows – a guide to the primaries with an emphasis on the first two contests, Iowa and New Hampshire.

But first – following President Obama’s presidency, there are a record number of candidates running on the Republican side. There’s also a competitive Democratic race. With that complex dynamic, it can be hard to sort out the big themes. Who better to set the table for this election than NPR’s Mara Liasson?

1. VOTER MOOD

Boy, are voters angry. They're anxious, fed up and disgusted. For more than 20 years, middle-class incomes have stagnated; there's been a prolonged period of political gridlock in Washington; voters look abroad and see a world on fire, with the planet's sole superpower seemingly powerless to do anything about it except get involved in endless, futile wars. All that is a recipe for political volatility. Since 2000, every election except 2012 has been a "change" election; that is, either the White House or one house of Congress has changed party control. Voters want change. They keep voting for it, but they don't seem to get what they want exactly.

On the Republican side, voters are angry at politicians, the media, President Obama and their own congressional leaders, who, despite having control of both houses of Congress, seem to be unable to stop Obama's agenda. For months, about half of Republican voters have supported Donald Trump and Ben Carson — the two "outsider" candidates with no political experience. And Republican voters consistently say they prefer a nominee with no experience inside the system. And they tell pollsters they'd rather have a candidate who sticks to his principles rather than compromises to "get something done."

Democrats are also angry — at Wall Street, at billionaires and at an economic system that seems rigged against ordinary people. But Democrats tell pollsters they'd rather have a candidate who is willing to compromise. So, although voter anger is bipartisan — and there's a lot of overlap in its targets — it comes in two slightly different flavors this year.

2. THE MIDDLE-CLASS SQUEEZE

Elections are always about something. And next year's election will be, at least in part, about real incomes and economic mobility. Call it middle-class stagnation or middle-class squeeze — this is the problem that the two parties will say they can solve. Democrats want to raise the minimum wage, make college debt free — or tuition free! — invest in infrastructure and expand Obamacare. Republicans want to cut taxes and regulations, increase school choice and replace Obamacare. This substantive debate has yet to be fully joined, but bits and pieces of it are out there now. Next year's winner will have presented the more compelling answer to the question: How can I maintain a middle-class lifestyle and be sure my kids will have a chance to do better than me?

3. THE ECONOMY

The economy is one of the most important political fundamentals. Wage growth and the jobless rate will help determine which party ends up in the White House. Though this recovery has had many positives, it has been long, and it's not being felt strongly. Wages have only recently begun to tick up. If that trend continues, it will be easier for President Obama's party to hang on to the White House. If the recovery sputters, as it's done so many times before, Republicans will have an edge.

4. OBAMA'S APPROVAL RATING

Another leading political indicator is the president's popularity. In the modern era, only one man — George H.W. Bush — has managed to succeed a two-term president of his own party. After eight years, Americans usually want a change. President Obama has said voters want that "new-car smell." The two presidents who have seen their chosen successor win the popular vote — Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton — had approval ratings close to 60 percent. The others were all under 45 percent. Right now, Obama is hovering in the mid-to-high 40s. The exact tipping point is not clear, but Democrats would certainly prefer Obama's approval rating to be over 50 percent, or close to it, next year.

5. DEMOGRAPHICS

Democrats have had the edge in the Electoral College in five of the last six presidential elections. The Obama coalition — younger, browner, more single, more secular, more female — might stay home in midterm elections (to Democrats' dismay), but they have turned out in presidential years — at least for Obama. This is the part of the electorate that's growing, but a key in this election is going to be whether this coalition that has turned out for Obama is a Democratic coalition, or just an Obama one. Plus, if Republicans nominate someone who can appeal to Hispanics (say Marco Rubio), and/or put forward a Florida-Ohio ticket, the election could be extremely competitive and very, very close.

By Domenico Montanaro

So, You Want To Know How This Whole Thing Works?

Iowa and New Hampshire run things very differently. They both take pride in being “first,” but for Iowa (Feb. 1), that means a caucus; for New Hampshire (Feb. 9), it’s a primary. What’s the difference?

It basically boils down to formality.



WHAT IS A CAUCUS?

It's essentially a gathering of like-minded, politically active people, a neighborhood meeting of sorts. Unlike regular voting, which only takes a few minutes, people have to devote a significant portion of their evenings to the process in a caucus. That can be a barrier for some. They meet in gymnasiums or libraries or living rooms, and everything is out in the open. Candidate representatives and caucusgoers argue for their candidates and try to sway their neighbors. This is why ardency of support is important. (There's more on how caucuses work in our Iowa section, starting on p.22.)

WHO CAN VOTE?

You have to register with that party in order to caucus. You can do so that night if you're not already registered. That same day registration, in addition to the complicated caucusing process, can be a hurdle to participation. It winds up drawing more activists than generally interested voters.



WHAT IS A PRIMARY?

People go to their normal polling places and vote. The polls are open for most of the day from the morning into some evening hours.

WHO CAN VOTE?

You don't have to register with a party, but you can only vote in one primary. That's important, because more than 40 percent of New Hampshire voters are independent or undeclared. With all those fiercely independent voters and, because the primary process in New Hampshire doesn't require as much time and effort as the caucuses in Iowa, more moderate or "establishment" candidates typically win New Hampshire. Depending on the excitement of the races or who they're more drawn to, New Hampshire undeclared voters can tip the balance in either primary. It's why people from New Hampshire like to say they "pick presidents" while Iowa picks "corn."

SOUND SMART FACT

Bill Clinton was declared the "Comeback Kid" in New Hampshire in 1992, but he didn't win. He finished second to Paul Tsongas. He's the only person, in either party, in the last 40 years to lose both Iowa and New Hampshire and still become president.

But who’s got the better track record?

REPUBLICANS

New Hampshire has been better at picking nominees. Since 1976, five eventual nominees won New Hampshire. Two became president – Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. Three eventual GOP nominees won Iowa, but just one became president – George W. Bush. Here’s the thing, though: No Republican has become the nominee in the last 40 years without winning either Iowa or New Hampshire.

DEMOCRATS

Iowa has been slightly better than New Hampshire at picking nominees. A whopping six eventual nominees have won Iowa since 1976. That includes the last three. Two Iowa Democratic winners have become president – Jimmy Carter and Barack Obama. New Hampshire has picked five nominees over that same time. Just one became president – Carter.

	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012		
IOWA	FORD	H.W. BUSH	REAGAN INCUMBENT	DOLE	H.W. BUSH INCUMBENT	DOLE	W. BUSH	W. BUSH INCUMBENT	HUCKABEE	SANTORUM	IOWA	3 NOMINEES
											IOWA	1 PRESIDENT
N.H.	FORD	REAGAN	REAGAN INCUMBENT	H.W. BUSH	H.W. BUSH INCUMBENT	BUCHANAN	MCCAIN	W. BUSH INCUMBENT	MCCAIN	ROMNEY	N.H.	5 NOMINEES
											N.H.	2 PRESIDENTS

	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012		
IOWA	CARTER	CARTER*	MONDALE	GEPHARDT	HARKIN	CLINTON INCUMBENT	GORE	KERRY	OBAMA	OBAMA INCUMBENT	IOWA	6 NOMINEES
											IOWA	2 PRESIDENTS
N.H.	CARTER	CARTER*	HART	DUKAKIS	TSONGAS	CLINTON INCUMBENT	GORE	KERRY	CLINTON	OBAMA INCUMBENT	N.H.	5 NOMINEES
											N.H.	1 PRESIDENT

*Carter was the incumbent, but faced opposition.

Credit: Meg Kelly/NPR

Is a brokered convention a real possibility?

There hasn't been a "contested" convention, where the nominee wasn't finalized going in for 40 years, and there hasn't been a "brokered" one, when the nominee wasn't settled after the first round of balloting at the convention for almost 70. But because of how Republicans changed the rules from 2012, and the possibility of a multi-candidate race, a contested convention is at least more possible than it was four years ago.

Republicans had a messy Iowa race in 2012. Rick Santorum ultimately finished ahead of Mitt Romney by just 34 votes. But the result wasn't clear on Election Night. Romney was seen as the narrow winner on Election Night, and it wasn't known for two weeks that Santorum actually finished ahead. The party never officially certified a winner, because some precincts never reported their vote total. Because of that, the party has partnered with Microsoft for what's intended to be real-time electronic reporting.

There was another wrinkle beyond slow and incomplete reporting in 2012. Because of the way delegates were selected, the person who got the most votes did not get the most delegates. The person who did get the most delegates? Ron Paul, with a whopping 22 of the state's 27 delegates. Romney wound up with 5, Santorum – 0.

How'd that happen? Like Democrats, Republicans used to not tie their delegates to vote results – and they were not selected on caucus

night. They were picked at district, county and state conventions weeks and months later. In other words, delegates could vote for whomever they wanted, and only one candidate's representatives stuck it out through the whole selection processes – Paul.

The quirky Texas congressman's band of activists were so good at gaming the system, they wound up taking over the Iowa GOP. It gave Iowa activists and the RNC fits. To prevent another candidate from doing the same thing (perhaps one from the same family), the RNC changed the rules. Now, delegates in every state before March 15th are bound and allocated proportionally according to the vote on Election Night.

But, in trying to prevent one kind of insurgent, the party may have empowered another – Donald Trump. Given that the early state delegates he wins are bound to vote for him at the national convention next summer, even if Trump doesn't win the nomination, he could wind up with leverage.

Imagine a scenario in which Trump does well enough in Iowa and New Hampshire and winds up with momentum into Super Tuesday, March 1, which is chock full of Southern states. If multiple candidates (at least three) split the vote during the primaries and caucuses, Trump could potentially walk into the convention with a quarter to a third (or more) of the delegates in his pocket for whatever he wants to trade them

SOUND SMART FACT

The RNC changed the rules this year to require that the nominee be the top vote-getter in at least eight primary or caucus states. This was a reaction to Ron Paul, who won lots of delegates in states he lost.

for. (A candidate needs a majority of delegates to be the nominee, 1,236.)

There are a lot of "ifs," of course, in all of this. A lot of things have to line up just right for this scenario to play out, which is why a contested convention hasn't happened since 1976. Back then, neither incumbent President Gerald Ford nor Ronald Reagan quite had a majority delegates heading into the convention – though Ford led.

Ford secured enough votes before the first round of balloting, giving him the nomination. That technically made it a "contested," not "brokered" convention. A brokered convention is when no candidate has enough delegates after the first round of voting and deals have to be made at the convention. The last time that happened on the GOP side was in 1948, when New York Gov. Thomas Dewey emerged the winner and went on to defeat Truman. Or not. That also happened to be the first televised convention.

SOUND SMART FACT

The GOP does not have superdelegates. They do have 168 RNC members automatically granted seats at the national convention. In some states, they are bound by the state vote. In others, they can vote how they want.

It's a bird! It's a plane! It's ... a superdelegate?

Various current and former Democratic Party leaders and elected officials in each state – governors, senators, congressmen, former presidents, national chairmen, etc. – are automatically given seats to the Democratic National Convention. They are free to vote however they choose.

Because of that power, they are colloquially referred to as “superdelegates.” Officially, they are known as “unpledged party leaders and elected officials.” There are approximately 712 of them this year – about 15 percent of total delegates.

Superdelegates can tip the balance in a close election, and political scientists have found elected officials’ endorsements are a strong

predictor of the party’s nominee. In 2008, Barack Obama upended that, but he eventually did win over a larger share than Hillary Clinton, the early favorite in that primary.

Clinton is again the odds-on favorite to win the nomination, and this year, she has a much larger lead among superdelegates. In November, the Associated Press was able to reach 80 percent of the superdelegates and found Clinton held a 359-to-8 lead over Vermont Sen. Bernie Sanders. (Just two people said they were casting their vote for Maryland Gov. Martin O’Malley.)

In late 2007, Clinton led Obama 169 to 63. That was an almost 3-to-1 advantage as compared to this year’s 45-to-1 ratio.

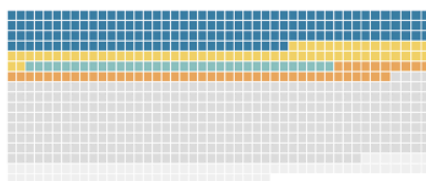
Clinton Securing More Superdelegates Earlier On

An Associated Press survey of superdelegates has found that more delegates have pledged their support than at this time in the 2008 campaign — and a majority support Hillary Clinton.

DECEMBER 2007 SURVEY

Clinton: 169
Edwards: 34
Uncommitted: 365
Obama: 63
Other: 52
Not surveyed: 82

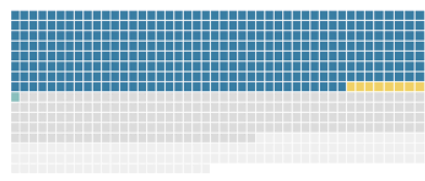
Total superdelegates: 765



NOVEMBER 2015 SURVEY

Clinton: 359
O'Malley: 2
Not surveyed: 133
Sanders: 8
Uncommitted: 210

Total superdelegates: 712



Notes

AP pollsters reached 90 percent of superdelegates in 2007 and 80 percent in 2015.

Source: Associated Press survey of superdelegates

Credit: Alyson Hurt/NPR

Turnout – Will People Vote In These Primaries?

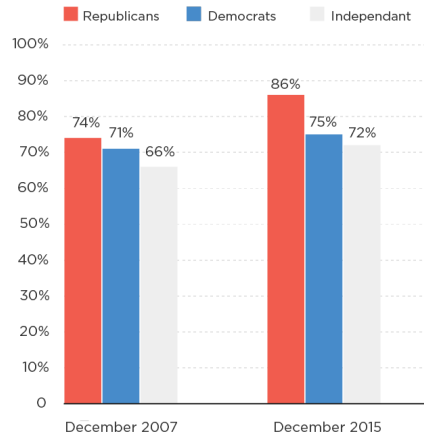
Because of voters' sour mood, the trend of low turnout in primaries and caucuses could continue. (For Iowa-specific turnout, see page 17).

In 2012, fewer voted in primaries than ever before in a presidential year. Just under 16 percent of voters did so, or about one-in-six. More will likely head to the polls this year for one simple reason: this is an open presidential election. When both the Republican and Democratic primaries are contested, more people vote.

There is some evidence that voters are even more engaged in this election than 2008, particularly on the GOP side (see chart at right). It will be difficult to match the turnout level from 2008 – that is unless both

Higher Campaign Interest Among Republicans Than At Same Point In 2008

% giving a lot/some thought to the candidates.



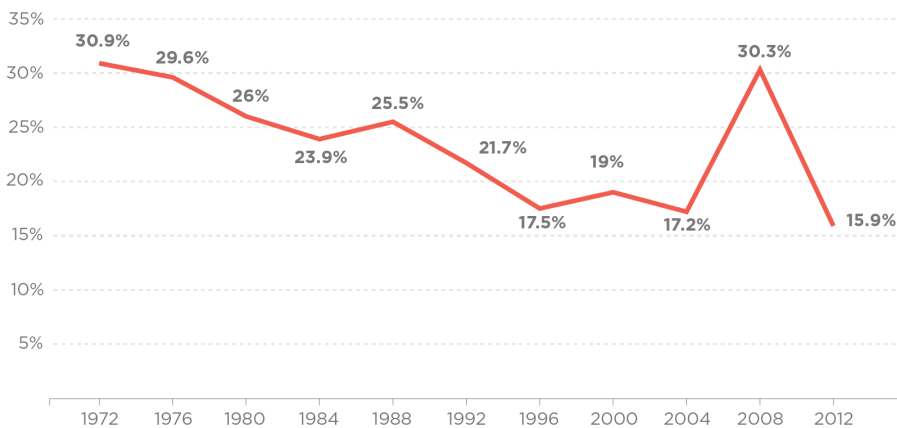
Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted Dec. 8-13, 2015

Credit: Meg Kelly/NPR

sides' races go on as long.

Source: American University's Center for the Study of the

Presidential Primary Turnout, 1972-2012



American Electorate

Credit: Meg Kelly/NPR

Ad Spending

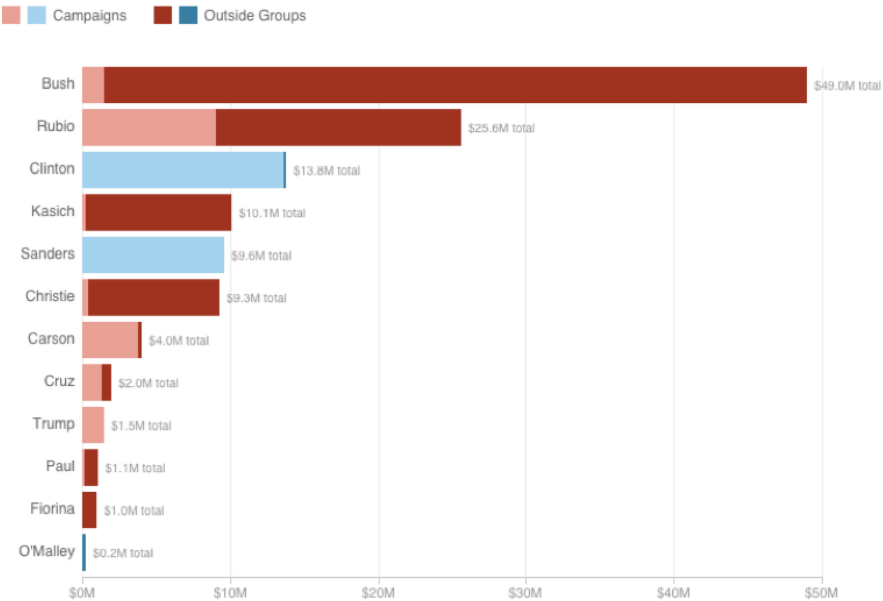
Money isn't everything. That axiom has certainly proven true in this campaign. A superPAC supporting Jeb Bush has swamped all others in TV spending, but Bush finds himself behind in Iowa, New Hampshire and nearly everywhere else. Message matters most, and message control is important. If this election has taught us one lesson, it's that outsourcing your message to a group you're not allowed to coordinate with is not the best way to conduct a campaign.

Donald Trump, for one, hasn't had to worry about media attention. He is starting to spend money, however, reserving some \$2 million a week in air time before the first votes. Still,

money and ad spending can matter. SuperPACs have been effective in the past at taking out candidates with negative ads (see: Romney-Gingrich). And in this election, ads supporting Marco Rubio have aided his rise in early states. John Kasich used early spending in New Hampshire to qualify for the main debate stage. And the four spending the most in New Hampshire are the ones competing to be the establishment-acceptable candidate.

Nationwide Presidential Campaign Ad Spending

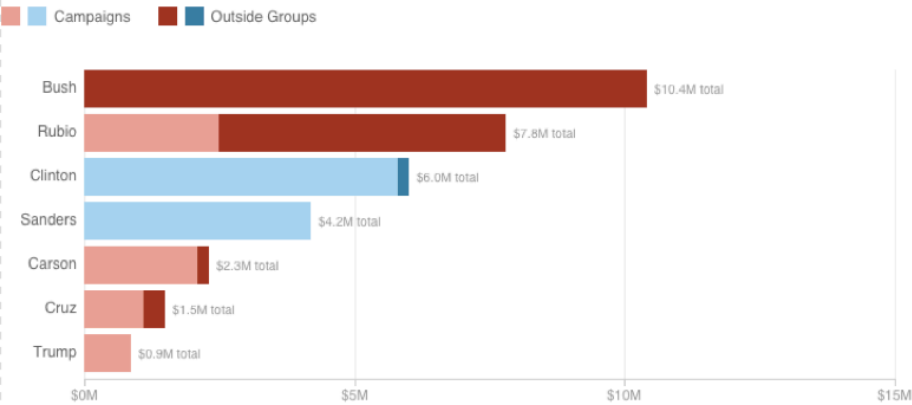
Through January 9, here's how much money the biggest spenders in the presidential race had dropped on broadcast ads in all states.



Source: *NBC News*
Credit: *Danielle Kurtzleben/NPR*

Presidential Campaign Ad Spending In Iowa

Through January 9, here's how much money the biggest spenders in the presidential race had dumped into broadcast ads in Iowa.

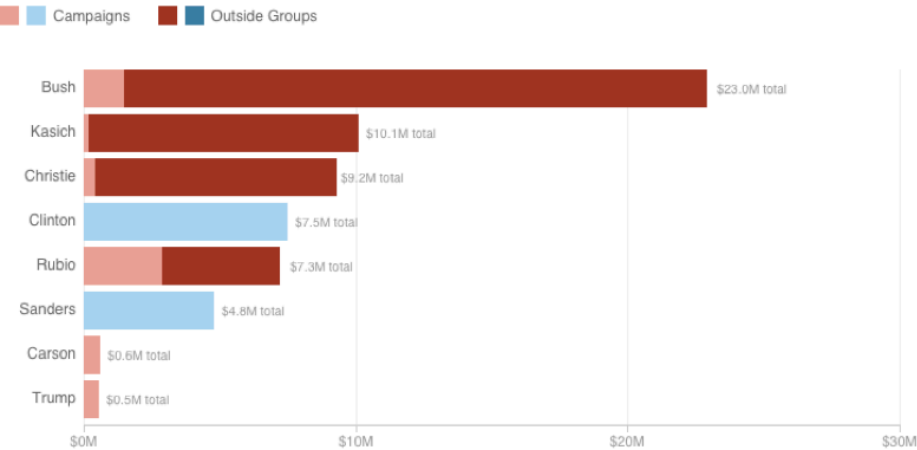


Source: [NBC News](#)

Credit: Danielle Kurtzleben/NPR

Presidential Campaign Ad Spending In New Hampshire

Through January 9, here's how much money the biggest spenders in the presidential race had spent on broadcast ads in New Hampshire.



Source: [NBC News](#)

Credit: Danielle Kurtzleben/NPR

DATE: FEB. 1

IOWA

Time: Caucusing begins at 8 p.m. EST/7p.m. CST.
(There will be 1,683 precinct caucuses taking place at more than 1,000 locations.)

Republican delegates: 30 bound (proportional based on overall vote).

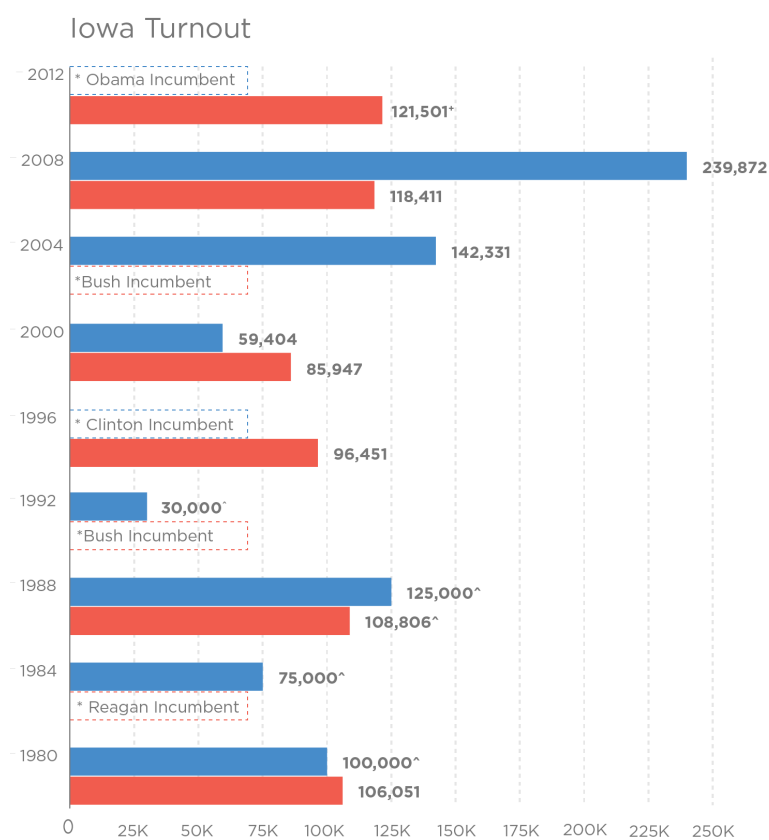
Democratic delegates: 52 (44 at stake, because there are eight superdelegates.) None of the delegates will be selected on caucus night. They're picked at county, district and state conventions.

What's the origination of the word "caucus"?

It's not precisely clear where the word "caucus" came from, but the best evidence scholars point to is an Algonquin Indian word -- cau'-cau-as'u, meaning "one who advises, urges, encourages" and "to talk to ... give counsel, advise, encourage, and to urge, promote, incite to action." It's believed that American colonialists adopted the word, because American Indians' governance was their best model for representative democracy.

What will turnout be like?

Only a small percentage of Iowa's voters turn out, likely around 1-in-6, or a few hundred thousand of its 2.1 million registered voters. The most to ever turn out in the Democratic caucuses is 240,000 in 2008, nearly double the previous high. For Republicans, 2012 was a record of about 122,000. That could be broken this year.



*Incumbent president ran unopposed

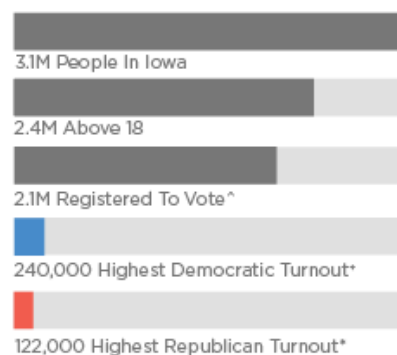
Sources: Des Moines Register Iowa Caucus Results; *New York Times; ^Des Moines Public Library Credit: Meg Kelly/NPR

SOUND SMART FACT

If Iowa ties record turnout on both sides, it would be just 17% turnout of registered voters. Even if you consider just the 1.3 million Democrats and Republicans, turnout would still be less than 30%.

A higher turnout, closer to 150,000, is thought to help Trump, because he's attracting a higher percentage of people who've never caucused. Something closer to 125,000 would likely help Cruz.

How Few People Actually Vote?



*Incumbent president ran unopposed

Sources: U.S. Census; ^Iowa Secretary of State; *Des Moines Register Iowa Caucus Results; ^New York Times Credit: Meg Kelly/NPR

Iowa Race Overview

It's been a topsy-turvy race on both sides. What follows is a look at where the race has stood, based on an average of public polls, maintained by the web site RealClearPolitics. Polls, we should emphasize, are (flawed) snapshots in time that should be taken with a heavy grain of salt. They have, can and will change, but they are guideposts to about where the race has stood. But they have also driven fundraising, momentum and media narratives surrounding the candidates.

get no delegates at all because of Democratic caucus rules. The party has a 15 percent threshold for a candidate to qualify in a precinct. If not, those voters must choose another candidate.

REPUBLICANS

Five different candidates led in polls over the past year – Mike Huckabee, Scott Walker, Donald Trump, Ben Carson and Ted Cruz. Walker, who wound up dropping out in September after being an asterisk in national polls, led longer than anyone – six months.

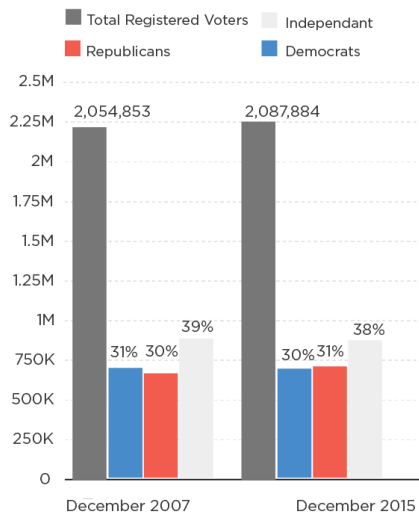
DEMOCRATS

Hillary Clinton began this election about as close to a presumptive nominee as anyone could be. A year ago, she led by 40 points over her closest competitor, Vermont Independent Bernie Sanders.

That all would change. By September, Sanders – fueled by an activist, grassroots base of older and younger white liberals, concerned with the wage gap and the unfairness of the economic system – had completely erased Clinton's advantage. Clinton, with her considerable organizational efforts, extended her lead to double digits, but the race has crept back to within the margin of error in some polls.

Huckabee, the Arkansas governor and 2008 winner, led a year ago by high single digits. He was a familiar name with a loyal base. But it didn't last long. Just a month later, the new darling was Walker, the governor from neighboring Wisconsin, who had successfully broken public labor unions and proven to be a fighter, winning three elections in four years, including a recall attempt. He'd delivered a speech that lit the base on fire and was instantly all the buzz. The term "dark horse" was being used to describe him by Washington pundits. He was THE pick for the nomination by the smart set – and went on to lead in the polls for six months, from February to August.

Voter Registration In Iowa



Maryland Gov. Martin O'Malley has not polled above mid-single digits all year, and that could be a very big problem for him. It not only means he will have a difficult time winning the state, but he might

But then along came Trump with his brashness and controversy. The base ate up his crusade against political correctness, and he became the biggest disruption in the GOP race. Walker – and none

of the candidates, frankly – never seemed to know how to respond. One voter in Iowa told NPR's Don Gonyea that Walker was “blanded” out of the race. Walker also struggled on the campaign trail with a series of missteps, including on foreign policy, birthright citizenship and whether there should be a wall along the U.S.-Canada border. By late September, he was out of the race.

Though Walker led in the race for Iowa the longest, he never rose above 21 percent support on average in the very crowded field. Trump rocketed past him, rising to 28 percent, his peak, by mid-September. On Trump's heels, though, was Carson, the quiet former neurosurgeon with a big following among the Christian right.

By late October, Carson topped them all at 29 percent. But he quickly wilted in the spotlight. He often seemed not to have a deep grasp of the issues, appearing most uncomfortable on foreign policy.

That was bad news, particularly with the coming intense focus on fighting terrorism following the Paris attacks. That attack, in fact, marked Carson's drop off. He went on to lose nearly 60 percent of his support over the next month. He wound up leading in Iowa for less than two weeks.

The renewed focus on ISIS ended up benefiting Trump. After a dip in the polls, after the Paris attacks, he was back on top for nearly a

month, but the decline of Carson meant the rise of Ted Cruz. Cruz has hinged his candidacy on the support of the religious right. The Texas senator, who went to school on the campus of a Baptist church, kicked off his campaign at Liberty University, the evangelical college in Virginia even though Cruz has no ties to the school or Virginia. He's now the man to beat in Iowa, and it looks like a two-man race between him and Trump.

SOUND SMART FACT

Don't overlook who finishes third in Iowa among Republicans. Those who finish in the top three are referred to as getting a “ticket out of Iowa.” As of early January, Florida Sen. Marco Rubio was running third. For whichever “establishment”-acceptable candidate gets that ticket out, it will be a shot of momentum, as they try to do better in New Hampshire and beyond.

How The Caucuses Work

Iowa Republicans vs. Democrats: While Iowans in both parties “caucus,” there are some key differences in how they do it.

Here’s an explainer of the processes for both sides:

REPUBLICANS

30 delegates (bound and allocated proportionally)

GOP caucuses will be held at about 700 locations – schools, libraries, church basements, fire stations, even living rooms. They start at 8 p.m. EST/7 p.m. CST (local time) and last about an hour.

There will be a series of “straw polls,” or informal voting. Instead of voting machines, there will be folded pieces of paper passed in, collected and tabulated.

Here’s what you need to know:

1. There’s a call to order.
2. A caucus chair and secretary are elected.
3. Presidential candidate representatives speak and make their case.
4. Caucusgoers pick a candidate through paper ballot. (In past years, depending on the size of the caucus, this could have been done through a show of hands.)

5. Votes are tallied and reported to party headquarters. After problems in 2012, this will be done through a Microsoft-developed app, which Democrats are using, too.

6. Delegates are elected to attend county conventions. (This year, in a change from past years, delegates will be affixed to candidates based on the same proportion of votes respective candidates receive at the caucus.)

7. Alternates and junior delegates are elected. (Junior delegates are under 18. Consider them apprentice caucusgoers.)

Key point: Actual people will not be assigned to candidates. In other words, John or Suzy from Titonka won’t be tied to candidate X. Instead, at the national convention, the state GOP chair will stand and announce how many delegates are being assigned to candidates, based on the vote at the caucuses. (The state party anticipates the official number will be known within two days after the caucuses.)

Why this matters: Delegates are only “bound” to vote for a candidate in the first round of balloting at the convention. After that, it could be a free-for-all – if it gets to the point of a brokered convention.

DEMOCRATS

52 delegates (44 at stake, but none are assigned that night. This is a long, complicate process that takes place at county, district and state conventions over several months culminating in June.)

Democratic caucuses will be held at more than 1,000 caucus locations. They start at 8 p.m. EST/7 p.m. CST (local time). There are no secret ballots. The process is completely out in the open. Caucusgoers cluster in corners for their candidates and try to win over their neighbors. Here's what you need to know:

1. There's a call to order.
2. A caucus chair and secretary are elected.
3. Caucusgoers separate into groups in corners or parts of the room for their candidates of choice.
4. Time is usually made for supporters of each candidate to make their cases.
5. When the groups are formed, the elected chair, adds up how many supporters are in each cluster.
6. Each candidate has to meet a viability threshold of 15 percent. That means the number of people in the cluster has to be at least 15 percent of all the participants in the room. (This has the most relevance to O'Malley, who hasn't polled above single digits here. If there are 100 people caucusing and, of them, 14 (or fewer) say they're voting

for O'Malley, then O'Malley would get ZERO delegates out of that precinct.)

7. If a candidate is determined not to be viable, that candidate's supporters have to choose another candidate. In the example above, O'Malley's 14 people have to "re-caucus" and can choose Sanders, Clinton (or someone else unknown who clears the threshold).

8. During the re-caucusing process, supporters from the viable candidates try to sway the non-viable candidate to their side. (This is why in polling ahead of the caucuses, it's important to take note of lower-tier candidates' "second choices.")

9. Once the re-caucusing is settled and all remaining candidates are deemed viable, the numbers are tallied and, this year, will be sent in using an app built by Microsoft.

10. Delegates and alternates are selected to attend county conventions.

11. Party business is conducted, including elections to committees and platform resolutions are introduced.

12. The 1,683 precinct caucuses create 11,065 delegates. They are filtered to 44 national convention delegates at a mix of county (March 12), congressional district (April 30) and state (June 18) conventions.

SOUND SMART FACT

None of the delegates are bound, meaning none are tied to a candidate that night. They are picked at county, district and state conventions weeks and months later.

This is all about media attention, momentum and perception. So, when you hear that a candidate "won" X number of delegates that night, it's an estimate made by, for NPR's purposes, the AP.

They are not related to the caucus night vote in any way except to nominate that first round of 11,065. Note: The eight superdelegates bypass this process and go straight to the national convention.

On the following page, find the official caucus math worksheet and reporting form Democrats have used in past elections.

CAUCUS MATHEMATICS WORKSHEET AND REPORTING FORM

LABEL HERE

NOTE:

If there is only one delegate to be elected, the caucus as a whole will elect that delegate.
If more viable groups form than there are delegates to elect, the smallest groups must resign.

VIABILITY:

IF THIS CAUCUS ELECTS ONE DELEGATE: THE CAUCUS MAY NOT DIVIDE INTO GROUPS. THE DELEGATE MUST BE ELECTED BY THE CAUCUS AS A WHOLE. AFTER THE DELEGATE IS ELECTED RECORD THE PREFERENCE OF THAT DELEGATE AND REPORT AS DIRECTED.

IF THIS CAUCUS ELECTS TWO DELEGATES: $\text{Total Eligible} \times .25 =$ Result Before Rounding $\text{Result After Rounding}$

IF THIS CAUCUS ELECTS THREE DELEGATES: $\text{Total Eligible} \div 3 =$ Result Before Rounding $\text{Result After Rounding}$

IF THIS CAUCUS ELECTS FOUR OR MORE DELEGATES: $\text{Total Eligible} \times .15 =$ Result Before Rounding $\text{Result After Rounding}$

AWARDING DELEGATES

AS SOON AS THE CALCULATIONS ARE COMPLETE YOU MUST REPORT THE RESULTS AS DIRECTED ON THE BACK OF YOUR PRECINCT CHAIR CREDENTIAL.

Name of candidate or uncommitted group	Number of members within the group	Total number of delegates the caucus is to elect	Total number of eligible caucus attendees	Result before rounding	Rounding	Number of delegates which group will elect
A) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____	When Awarding Delegates, Decimals of .5 and greater are rounded up and decimals less than .5 are rounded down to the nearest whole number.	_____
B) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____
C) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____
D) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____
E) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____
F) _____	_____	_____	_____	_____		_____

This form must be signed by the caucus chair, secretary of the caucus, and a representative from each preference group to ensure the above information is correct. Please note that any misrepresentation of the caucus information will result in charges of criminal misconduct as stated in section 20A.12 of the Iowa Code. THIS FORM MUST BE SIGNED AND RETURNED TO THE IOWA DEMOCRATIC PARTY. THE PINK COPY MUST BE RETAINED BY THE TEMPORARY CAUCUS CHAIR.

TOTAL: _____

Representative of Candidate A: _____ Signature _____

Representative of Candidate B: _____ Signature _____

Representative of Candidate C: _____ Signature _____

Representative of Candidate D: _____ Signature _____

Representative of Candidate E: _____ Signature _____

Representative of Candidate F: _____ Signature _____

Chairperson of Caucus: _____ Phone _____

SECRET: YELLOW FORM IN ENVELOPE A Return to Iowa Democratic Party IMMEDIATELY

SECRET: YELLOW FORM IN ENVELOPE B Return to County Chair IMMEDIATELY

THE PERSON WHO SERVED AS PERMANENT CHAIR MUST RETURN PINK COPY

IF TOTAL DELEGATES ABOVE AND DELEGATE NUMBERS IN UPPER LEFT CORNER DO NOT MATCH CONSULT DIRECTORIES IN CAUCUS CASE

Iowa Candidate Travel - ‘Sioux City, Cedar City... I’ve Been Everywhere, Man’

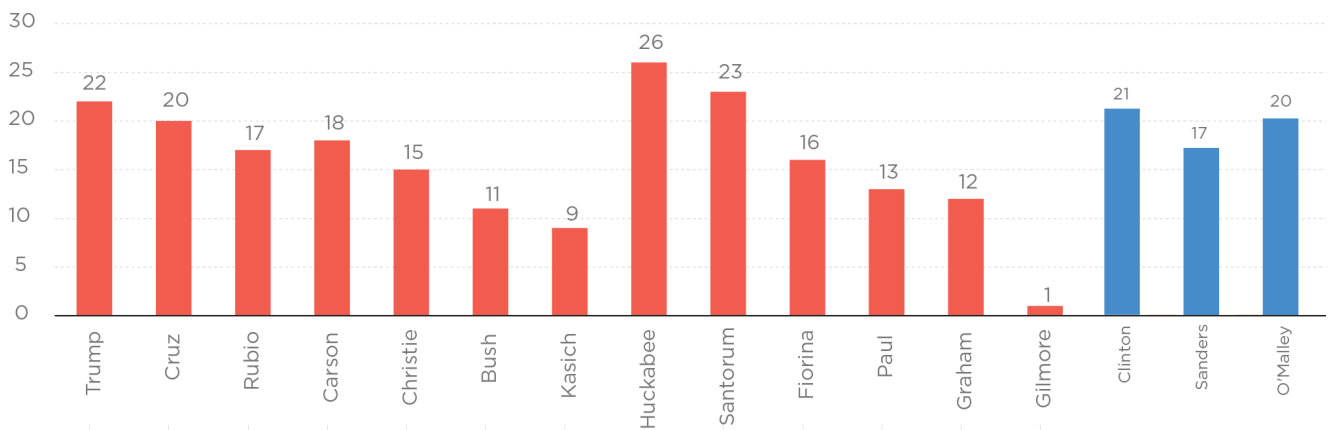
DEMOCRATS

Who went where can tell you which states candidates see as important to their paths to victory. The three Democrats have made roughly the same number of trips to Iowa with Clinton narrowly ahead of O’Malley and Sanders, as of early January. It’s notable that despite the time O’Malley has spent in the state, he’s been unable to translate that to climb out of single digits in the polls.

REPUBLICANS

Mike Huckabee, the 2008 winner, and Rick Santorum, the 2012 winner, have made the most trips. Neither, though, has caught on this year. Donald Trump and Ted Cruz, the current favorites, are not far behind. The chart below also shows candidates like Ohio Gov. John Kasich and former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush have been far more focused on New Hampshire.

Number Of Trips To Iowa By Candidates*



Source: National Journal. *Visits made to Iowa between Nov. 4, 2014 and Jan. 7, 2016

Iowa At-A-Glance

Population, 2014 estimate			Iowa		U.S. Average	
Population change since 2010 census			3,107,126	(2%)	318,857,056 (3.3%)	
State Rank			30			
Urban			64%			
Rural			36%			
Veterans			232,000	(7%)	21,800,000	(5%)
Most populous places			3,107,126			
Des Moines			209,220			
Cedar Rapids			129,195			
Davenport			102,448			
Sioux City			82,517			
Iowa City			73,415			
Demographics						
White			92%		77%	
Hispanic			6%		17%	
Black			3%		13%	
Asian			2%		5%	
Age						
Median Age			38		38	
65 years and older			16%		15%	
Under 18			23%		23%	
Education						
High school grads			91%		86%	
Bachelor's degree or higher			26%		29%	
Income						
Median household income			\$51,843		\$53,046	
Homeownership rate			72%		65%	
Persons below poverty			12%		15%	
Registered Voters total			2,082,063			
Democrats			633,376 (30%)			
Republicans			647,696 (31%)			
Other			800,991 (38%)			
Presidential Vote - General Election						
2012			2008			
Obama (D)	822,544	51.99%	Obama (D)	828,940	53.93%	
Romney (R)	730,617	46.18%	McCain (R)	682,379	44.39%	

Source: U.S. Census and Iowa Data Center

Iowa Caucus Facts And History

- Iowa's first-in-the-nation status in the presidential nomination process came about in the Vietnam War era. It wound up being first in the nation, in part, because its process was so long it needed the extra time.
- After the violent 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Democrats appointed a commission, headed by Sen. George McGovern, to review the nominating process. New rules called for more meetings, better notification, lengthier procedures, more participation and discussion. That was all intended to open up the party to grassroots supporters and to diminish the power of city bosses like Chicago Mayor Richard Daley.
- To comply with the national party's rules, and still hold its state convention in June, as required by state law, Iowa Democrats scheduled their 1972 caucuses in late January. This placed Iowa ahead of New Hampshire, which had been the nation's first contest for decades.
- The first Iowa caucuses in 1972 were poorly attended.⁸ McGovern placed second, but his unexpectedly strong showing was seen as a de facto victory. McGovern went on to win the Democratic nomination.
- In 1976, Iowa Republicans, for the first time, held their caucuses on the same night as the Democrats. Meanwhile, in the Democratic caucuses, a little-known former Georgia governor finished second behind "uncommitted." In the years since Jimmy Carter won the presidency, the Iowa caucuses have been the first significant nominating contest for both parties.
- Since 1972, the eventual nominee of each party has been among the top four finishes in Iowa (when "uncommitted" is included as a choice.)
- Herbert Hoover was the first person born in Iowa to be elected president. His birthplace in West Branch is preserved as a museum by the National Park Service.
- It's been 20 years since Iowa held its caucuses in February.⁹

⁸ Source: Polk County Election office

⁹ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/mon-key-cage/wp/2015/05/12/everything-you-need-to-know-about-how-the-presidential-primary-works/>

Iowa Caucus Results, 1972-2012

Democrats

2012: Barack Obama unopposed for re-nomination

2008

Barack Obama	37.6%
John Edwards	29.8%
Hillary Clinton	29.5%
Bill Richardson	2.1%
Joe Biden	0.9%
Others	0.2%

2004

John Kerry	37.6%
John Edwards	31.9%
Howard Dean	18%
Dick Gephardt	10.6%
Dennis Kucinich	1.3%
Wesley Clark	0.1%
Uncommitted	0.1%
Joe Lieberman	0%
Al Sharpton	0%

2000

Al Gore	63%
Bill Bradley	35%
Uncommitted	2%

1996: Bill Clinton unopposed for the re-nomination

1992

Tom Harkin	76.4%
Uncommitted	11.9%
Paul Tsongas	4.1%
Bill Clinton	2.8%
Bob Kerrey	2.4%
Jerry Brown	1.6%
Others	0.6%

1988

Richard Gephardt	31.3%
Paul Simon	26.7%
Michael Dukakis	22.2%
Jesse Jackson	8.8%
Bruce Babbitt	6.1%
Uncommitted	4.5%
Gary Hart	0.3%
Al Gore	0%

1984

Walter Mondale	48.9%
Gary Hart	16.5%
George McGovern	10.3%
Uncommitted	9.4%
Alan Cranston	7.4%
John Glenn	3.5%
Reuben Askew	2.5%
Jesse Jackson	1.5%
Ernest Hollings	0%

1980

Jimmy Carter	59.1%
Edward Kennedy	31.2%
Uncommitted	9.6%

1976

Uncommitted	37.2%
Jimmy Carter	27.6%
Birch Bayh	13.2%
Fred Harris	9.9%

1972

Uncommitted	35.8%
Edmund Muskie	35.5%
George McGovern	22.6%
Hubert Humphrey	1.6%
Eugene McCarthy	1.4%
Other	3.1%

Source: Des Moines Register

Iowa Caucus Results, 1976-2012 – Republicans

2012

Rick Santorum	24.6%
Mitt Romney	24.5%
Ron Paul	21.4%
Newt Gingrich	13.3%
Rick Perry	10.3%
Michele Bachmann	5%
John Huntsman	0.6%
Herman Cain	0%

2008

Mike Huckabee	34.4%
Mitt Romney	25.2%
Fred Thompson	13.4%
John McCain	13%
Ron Paul	9.9%
Rudy Giuliani	3.4%

2004: George W. Bush unopposed for re-nomination

2000

George W. Bush	41%
Steve Forbes	30%
Alan Keyes	14%
Gary Bauer	9%
John McCain	5%
Orrin Hatch	1%

1996

Bob Dole	26%
Pat Buchanan	23%
Lamar Alexander	17.6%
Steve Forbes	10.1%
Phil Gramm	9.3%
Alan Keyes	7.4%
Richard Lugar	3.7%
Maurice Taylor	1.4%
No preference	0.4%
Robert Dornan	0.1%

Source: Des Moines Register

1992: President Bush unopposed for re-nomination.

1988

Bob Dole	37.4%
Pat Robertson	24.6%
George Bush	18.6%
Jack Kemp	11.1%
Pete DuPont	7.3%
No preference	0.7%
Alexander Haig	0.3%

1984: President Reagan unopposed for nomination.

1980

George Bush	31.6%
Ronald Reagan	29.5%
Howard Baker	15.3%
John Connally	9.3%
Phil Crane	6.7%
John Anderson	4.3%
No preference	1.7%
Bob Dole	1.5%

1976*

Gerald Ford	264
Ronald Reagan	248
Undecided	62
Others	9

*Sample of only 62 precincts taken

Iowa And The General Election

1968

Nixon (R)	619,106	53.01%
Humphrey (D)	476,699	40.82%
Wallace (I)	66,422	5.69%

1972

Nixon (R)	706,207	57.61%
McGovern (D)	496,206	40.48%
Schmitz (I)	22,056	1.80%

1976

Ford (R)	632,863	49.47%
Carter (D)	619,931	48.46%
McCarthy (*)	20,051	1.57%

1980

Reagan (R)	676,026	51.31%
Carter (D)	508,672	38.60%
Anderson (*)	115,633	8.78%

1984

Reagan (R)	703,088	53.27%
Mondale (D)	605,620	45.89%

1988

Dukakis (D)	670,557	54.71%
Bush (R)	545,355	44.50%

1992

Clinton (D)	586,353	43.29%
Bush (R)	504,891	37.27%
Perot (I)	253,468	8.71%

1996

Clinton (D)	620,258	50.26%
Dole (R)	492,644	39.92%
Perot (Reform)	105,159	8.52%

2000

Gore (D)	638,517	48.54%
Bush (R)	634,373	48.22%
Nader (Green)	29,374	2.23%

2004

Bush (R)	751,957	49.90%
Kerry (D)	741,898	49.23%

2008

Obama (D)	828,940	53.93%
McCain (R)	682,379	44.39%

2012

Obama (D)	822,544	51.99%
Romney (R)	730,617	46.18%

Source: US Election Atlas

