

Barackin' The Vote:

Barack Obama's Strategy to Win

The 2008 Democratic Nomination for President

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GOVT 315.001 – Elections & Voting Behavior

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Introduction:

While most people think that the goal of a presidential campaign is to win the election, this is not always the case. Some candidates mount a presidential campaign to raise awareness about an issue, such as Senator Tom Tancredo on immigration reform. Others want to make one of the frontrunner candidates address a specific issue. And, other candidates might want to garner name recognition and fundraising prowess to strengthen their chances of winning re-election to their current office. Finally, some candidates, like George H.W. Bush in 1980, enter the race to showcase their political strengths in the hopes that they might be able to join their party's ticket or administration if their party wins in the general election.

Senator Barack Obama from Illinois, who is an African-American, is running in the race for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination. Even four years ago, if someone had said an African-American was running for president, the conventional wisdom in the political establishment would probably have been that the candidate was running to raise awareness about race issues or to make the other candidates at least acknowledge these issues. But not so today. While he may be running to show the political establishment the need for changing the way the U.S. conducts politics, Barack Obama is definitely running to win!

Based upon his overall strategy, his message, and his fundraising success, Barack Obama is the first African-American to have a strong and legitimate chance at winning the Democratic nomination for president and even the presidency itself. The Obama campaign is hoping that Barack Obama will have enough success in the early contest states to propel him through the "Super Tuesday" states to win a majority of the delegates to the national convention in August. However, success for Barack Obama is not guaranteed, and he has several hurdles to overcome—primarily Senator Hillary Clinton's name recognition and support from the Democratic Party

establishment. Since the presidential campaigns officially started in early January 2007, Barack Obama has been able to remain in second place in the national polls above former Senator John Edwards and the rest of the Democratic field (RealClearPolitics [Election 2008](#)). Another indicator of the amount of support Barack Obama has gained in his presidential bid is the over \$75 million he has raised from over 350,000 individuals in the first three quarters alone (Center for Responsive Politics [Race for the White House](#)). Thus, with the large and increasing amount of support for him, Barack Obama is the first African-American to have a legitimate chance at the presidency.

Overall Strategy:

In order to achieve this goal of winning the Democratic presidential nomination, the Obama campaign has created a national strategy combined with individual state-by-state strategies focusing on the early caucus and primary states. The Obama campaign is trying to combine Governor Howard Dean's 2004 presidential 50-state and internet strategy with President George W. Bush's neighbor-to-neighbor local contact approach to transform the strategy into an effective voter persuasion and mobilization effort. In 2003 and early 2004, Governor Dean crisscrossed the U.S. campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination. He did not focus on the Iowa caucuses and other early primary states as much as some of the other candidates did. His approach generated a lot of internet and fundraising support, but he failed to translate this momentum and hype into votes in the early nominating contests.

Now, Senator Barack Obama is taking a similar approach to Howard Dean's, recognizing that the battle for the nomination is a national as well as state-by-state campaign. Recognizing this, the Obama campaign has been spending its money in 44 states plus D.C., not just in the first four contest states (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Table 1]. On one of his first

campaign trips, Barack Obama attended a rally of between 4,000 to 5,000 people organized by the Students for Barack Obama at George Mason University in Virginia (Goldfarb A5). And, Barack Obama continues to host massive rallies outside the early contest states with one of the most recent rallies being held in Senator Hillary Clinton's backyard: New York City on September 27, 2007 attracting nearly 20,000 people (Zeleny, "Obama Takes on Clinton" A22). In addition, Barack Obama has generated an enormous amount of internet excitement, especially among younger voters, as shown by the social networking site Facebook, which contains over 500 Barack Obama supporter groups. On such group, One Million Strong for Barack, grew to over 278,100 members in the first month of operation (Vargas, "Young Voters Find Voice" A1). The Obama campaign is using this national campaign to build momentum and excitement for its state-by-state efforts, so that it can compete effectively in all of the caucuses and primaries.

This national strategy is necessitated by the compressed primary schedule in 2008. With each of the first four early contests--Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and South Carolina—being held within a week of the previous one, and with 23 primaries being held on February 5, 2008, there is not much time to move the same staff around and to campaign in each state individually as presidential candidates did a few decades ago. Today, Barack Obama and the other candidates can no longer afford to just build up a campaign organization in Iowa, use it for the caucuses, and then transplant it to the next state a week later. Instead, the candidates must have separate organizations in each state, and they must be willing to campaign in each state, thereby running a national campaign.

While some might see the Obama campaign going down the same road to failure as the Dean campaign, the Obama campaign is trying to improve Dean's national and internet strategy by complementing it with a state-by-state local contact strategy, especially in the first four

contests. The Obama campaign hopes that this local contact and grassroots strategy in the early contest states will help translate into votes in the primaries. As Chris Cillizza of The Washington Post, states the Obama campaign is seeking to emulate the neighbor-to-neighbor contact that President Bush pioneered in 2000 and 2004 (“Obama Campaign Aims to Turn Online” A3). During the spring, the Obama campaign organized more than 5,000 “community kickoff” events across the country to mobilize the supporters of over 500 online Obama groups to get active offline as well (Obama’08, “Featured Community Kickoff”). In addition, the Obama campaign has built up a team of experienced field operatives in Iowa and New Hampshire, including Rob Hill who ran Montana field operations in 2006, that have recruited more volunteers in one weekend in Iowa than Al Gore did in the first six months of his 2000 campaign (Cillizza, “Obama Campaign Aims to Turn Online” A3). Thus, the Obama campaign is using the power of local field operations to enhance his national strategy and internet excitement.

Although the Obama campaign is spending resources—money and time—all across the U.S., some states are more critical to Obama’s strategy than others. Predictably, the Obama campaign is focusing most heavily on the states of Iowa, New Hampshire, and South Carolina. The campaign is also focusing less on Nevada than the other early states but more than the other 46 states. Iowa is crucial to Barack Obama’s chances of winning the nomination not only because it is the first-in-the-nation contest in choosing the Democratic nominee, but also because if Barack Obama presents a strong showing in Iowa, it will show Barack Obama’s appeal to white voters and to the heartland of America. The Obama campaign has spent approximately 11

percent of its expenditures from the past three quarters in the Iowa region (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Table 1].¹

New Hampshire is also very important for the Obama campaign because it shows Obama's appeal to the New England liberal base of the Democratic Party and to Democratic-leaning independents who can opt to vote in the New Hampshire primary. The Obama campaign has spent approximately 12 percent of its expenditures from the past three quarters in the New Hampshire region (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Table 1].²

Although Iowa and New Hampshire are very important to the Obama campaign, South Carolina is the lynchpin of its strategy. Barack Obama can still be a viable presidential candidate heading into Super Tuesday, February 5, 2008, even if he comes in second in Iowa and New Hampshire, as long as he wins South Carolina. If he comes in second in Iowa and New Hampshire, he could still get delegates to the national convention, because the states' delegates are allocated by the proportion of the popular vote the candidate receives during the state contest. South Carolina is extremely important to the Barack Obama campaign because a win in South Carolina will show his appeal to African-American voters and his electability in the south. Senator Hillary Clinton still believes she has a hold on the African-American vote, but if Senator Barack Obama wins in South Carolina, which has a large African-American population, the win will refute that notion. In addition, the Clinton campaign contends that she is not as divisive as people think and that she can win the general election. As we have seen over the past several presidential elections, a successful candidate must win a moderate to conservative state to win a majority in the Electoral College. While it is theoretically possible for a Democrat to win the

¹ I included expenditures from other states near the early contest state in this calculation because some of those expenditures were probably to companies operating in those states but doing work for the campaign in the early contest state, and because the operations in those states might have spillover effects into the early contest state that they border. The Iowa region refers to the states of Iowa, Missouri, and Minnesota.

² The New Hampshire region refers to the states of New Hampshire, Maine, and Massachusetts.

White House without winning a single southern state by winning Ohio and Pennsylvania together (as Senator John Kerry almost did), a presidential candidate that can appeal to southern voters would give the candidate more options to build a majority in the Electoral College. The Obama campaign has spent over the past three quarters approximately 10 percent of its expenditures in the South Carolina region (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Table 1].³ A win in South Carolina would also provide momentum for the Obama campaign going into Super Tuesday, since South Carolina is scheduled a week before February 5. Therefore, by winning South Carolina, Barack Obama can show his electability in the general election.

While the Obama campaign is allocating its resources geographically based upon the primary calendar, the Obama campaign is also focusing on certain groups of people in the national electorate to build a winning coalition, especially African-Americans and younger voters.

One of the voting groups that the Obama campaign is targeting most heavily is African-Americans, because Hillary Clinton has relatively strong support among African-Americans. While most people would assume that the African-American candidate would automatically receive strong support from the African-American community, this is not the case with Barack Obama. First, Senator Hillary Clinton takes some of the African-American support away from Obama since her husband President Bill Clinton has strong ties to the community. Second, the African-American community is unsure of whether or not Barack Obama shares its heritage and interests. The Obama campaign is working very hard at convincing African-Americans that Barack Obama is “black” enough to understand and represent their group in the White House.

At the beginning of the presidential campaign there was some concern Barack Obama was not “black” enough to be respected by the African-American community due to his

³ The South Carolina region refers to the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia.

upbringing with a white mother, his lack of direct involvement in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, and his elite education at Harvard University Law School. In trying to court the African-American vote, Barack Obama has sought the support of African-American leaders such as Jesse Jackson, Reverend Herbert Martin, Congressman Charles Rangel from Harlem, NY, and Reverend Al Sharpton (Milbank, "At Newsstands Everywhere" A2; Rivera "Rangel Says Encouraging Obama" 22; Fletcher, "Obama's Appeal to Blacks Remains" A1; Healy "Courting Black Votes" 25). Senator Obama has gotten endorsements and encouragement from key African-American leaders, including Congressman Elijah E. Cummings from Maryland, former chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus; Oprah Winfrey, popular talk show host; and Mayor Adrian Fenty of D.C. (Fletcher, "Can Old Loyalties Trump" A12; Bosman, "The Oprah Factor" 22; Nakamura, "D.C. Mayor Endorses" A10; Robinson, "Authentic Obama" A13). In addition, Barack Obama used the opportunity to speak at the South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus' Annual Gala, the 9th Convention of Rev. Al Sharpton's National Action Network, and the July NAACP forum, where Obama got the most enthusiasm of any candidate, to articulate his inclusive message and to convince African-Americans he will work hard for them (Fletcher, "Can Old Loyalties Trump" A12; Healy, "Courting Black Votes" 25; Saulny, "At N.A.A.C.P. Forum" 14). Finally, Barack Obama used the 42-year anniversary celebration events of the Selma, Alabama marches to describe himself as "the offspring of the [civil rights] movement," and he addressed such issues as racial disparities in education, the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and personal responsibility at the 3rd Democratic Presidential Debate on Howard University's campus in June (Kornblut, Whoriskey, "Clinton, Obama Link Selma March" A5; Kornblut, Balz, "Democrats Address Race Issues in Debate" A1). All of these issues are important to the African-American community. These efforts by Senator Obama have paid off by giving him a

70 percent approval rating among African-Americans up from 54 percent in December and January. Also, African-Americans in South Carolina favor Barack Obama 37.3 percent to Clinton's 23.6 percent in an October poll (Balz, Cohen, "Blacks Shift to Obama, Poll Finds" A1; Shenin "Obama Gaining Support").

Another group the Obama campaign is targeting is the younger, technology-savvy, 18-34-year-old generation. While younger people traditionally do not turn out to vote at the same high rate that the older generations do, the Obama campaign is counting on the younger generation for support. The Obama campaign probably feels that there is a better chance that the youth vote will turn out in record numbers during this election cycle due to Obama's fresh message of doing away with "politics as usual" and because of the issues at stake during the 2008 election--healthcare, the Iraq War, and college student loans. These three issues are affecting and will continue to affect the younger generation more than the other generations. In August, Obama's campaign launched a new organizing drive named "Generation Obama" in numerous states, including Florida, Illinois, California, Alabama, Missouri, Utah, Nevada, and Iowa, to specifically focus on the younger generation (Obama'08, "Obama Campaign to Launch Generation Obama"). Prior to that, the Obama campaign had been cultivating youth leaders to run field operations by speaking at the College Democrats' national convention at the University of South Carolina and by creating a 100-member College Democrats student advisory outreach program. This advisory group is leading the "BarackStars" Iowa high school and 50-state college campus registration and turnout programs (Obama'08, "Obama Campaign Announces College Democrat"). By concentrating on the youth vote, the Obama campaign hopes to counteract any advantage the other campaigns might have in mobilizing the older generations to vote for them. As Adam Nagourney of The New York Times said, "[Obama's] campaign has

made what seems to be the most sophisticated effort of any of the Democrats to reach out to [younger voters]” (“Will Obama Mobilize Young Voters?” 24).

While the Obama campaign is focusing on African-Americans and younger voters, it is also making efforts to reach out to middle-class voters and women by talking about increasing healthcare coverage and advocating for tax-cuts to help working families. For instance, in May at Iowa City, Iowa, Senator Obama emphasized his plan to reduce the costs of healthcare and expand insurance coverage by combining the existing employer-based system with new government programs that will be paid for by not renewing Bush’s tax cuts to the rich (Kornblut, Bacon, “Obama Says Washington is Ready for Health Plan” A5; Toner, “Obama Calls for Wider and Less Costly” 18). In articulating his plan, Obama made it personal to himself by relating his experience with providing healthcare for his dying mother (Toner, “An Issue That Hits Home” 10). Also, on September 18, Barack Obama proposed an \$80 billion per year tax cut for the middle-class and retirees to appeal to those voters (Zeleny “Obama Proposes Tax Cut” 22). In New Hampshire, Barack Obama’s policy director Lisa Ellman has been meeting with mothers with young children to discuss how they can get involved with the campaign without putting a huge burden on their childcare responsibilities (Bates, “Taking the Message to Moms”). These efforts to attract middle-class voters and women to the Obama campaign are designed to blunt the impact of Senator Clinton’s hold on the female voting block.

Message:

A critical component of any campaign strategy is the campaign’s message to the voters. Barack Obama’s campaign message is about creating hope and opportunity for America’s future while bringing people together across partisan and ideological divides to change the “politics as usual” mindset of those in Washington, D.C. The message that the Obama campaign is using,

while not new, can be quite effective in motivating the public to vote for the candidate. As the American electorate has seen in the past, many successful presidential, congressional, and senatorial candidates have campaigned on a message of changing the way politics is conducted in the nation's capital.

Barack Obama's message can be distilled into three interrelated and interlocking ideas: 1) creating the sense that everyone can and must get involved in making America a better place for the future, 2) providing the leadership to bring people from all backgrounds together, united by similarities in a common cause, and 3) leading the charge to reform the partisan politics of Washington, D.C. The Obama campaign has been articulating this message for the past eleven months because they believe the national mood of the public being tired of the partisan gridlock of Washington makes the voters receptive to this message. The Obama campaign believes that Barack Obama is in a unique position to enact change in the political system due to his past experiences. Barack Obama's background as being biracial, working as a community organizer, and then working across party-lines in the Illinois state senate shows that he knows how to transcend racial and political barriers to get things done.

First, Barack Obama's message of hope and opportunity started well before he launched his campaign for the presidency of the U.S. This message of hope and opportunity was started when he wrote his first autobiographical memoir "Dreams of My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance" shortly after he became president of the Harvard Law Review. The book tells a story of a black son from a mixed race family trying to find his identity and place in the world. There have been over 800,000 copies sold. Because it was written long before Barack Obama even considered getting involved in public life, it contains some less than flattering details and more candid thoughts than books from other candidates. This message of hope was solidified

when Barack Obama gave the inspiring keynote address at the 2004 Democratic National Convention and subsequently wrote a second book titled “The Audacity of Hope” (Kornblut, “Obama Confronts Outsider Dilemma” A1). The message of hope is not just displayed in the title of the second book; rather both books provide a “fresh voice offering a politics of hope” and a “new image in American politics” (Romano, “Effects of Obama’s Candor” A1). In addition, the campaign sees “his youth and short tenure in Congress as an asset” and “[his] ethnic profile and life story [as what] set[s] him apart” from his opponents (Murray, Cillizza, “Obama Jumps into Presidential Fray” A1), and they have tried to build this hope message into everything they do, including the campaign’s logo of a blue ‘O’ like a rising sun. As David Axelrod, senior adviser to the Obama campaign, said, “our [Obama campaign’s] ability to inspire a lot of people to get involved in the [political] process” is what sets us apart. (Balz, Kornblut, “Obama Joins Race” A1). This part of his message is designed to inspire people and provide optimism for America.

Second, building upon this message of hope and opportunity, the Obama campaign has sought to position Barack Obama as a person who can unite the country to lead it into greatness. As one of the many editorials in the Washington Post supporting Barack Obama’s candidacy states, “[Obama] promises to transcend the boundaries of what many voters see as the tired racial and party politics of the past” (“He’s In” A22). The Obama campaign has continually used Barack Obama’s past as evidence for his ability to lead and unite the country. For example, when his peers elected Obama as the first African-American president of the Harvard Law Review, which was known to be mired in politics and in-fighting, they saw him as a natural leader, and he “proved deft at navigating an institution scorched with ideological battles” (Kantor, “In Law School” 1). In his formal announcement speech in Springfield, Illinois, Obama

continued to hammer home his bipartisan, unifying credentials by emphasizing his time in the Illinois state senate, working across party lines to achieve bipartisan ethics reform, healthcare reform, and capital punishment reform (Slevin, “Obama Forged Political Mettle” A1). During his announcement speech, he even invoked the images of two famous presidents--Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy—to reinforce his message. By standing where Lincoln stood when he gave the “House divided speech,” Senator Obama solidified his position as a unifying figure. In “challenging a new generation” to get involved, Barack Obama was reusing Kennedy’s inauguration message to motivate all Americans to act (Balz, Kornblut, “Obama Joins Race” A1). It is not just the Obama campaign who is making these assertions about leadership and unifying potential. There are also third-party validators, including Illinois state senator Kirk Dillard, Mike Lawrence of the Public Policy Institute at Southern Illinois University, former Republican state senate Judiciary chairman Carl Hawkinson, and 336 Republicans from Iowa and New Hampshire, who have shown Barack Obama’s bipartisan leadership and appeal (Slevin, “Obama Forged Political Mettle” A1; Obama’08, Obama’08: Newsroom). Barack Obama has shown this bipartisan approach works when he spoke to Iowans, “I’ve passed more bills, I’m sure, than either” of his opponents (Clayworth, “Obama Touts Legislative Experience”). This part of the message is designed to establish Barack Obama as a credible alternative to Senator Hillary Clinton, the frontrunner for the nomination, and it is supposed to draw contrast between Senator Clinton’s seemingly divisive and polarizing nature and Senator Obama’s unifying character.

Third, Senator Obama has become the reform and change-minded candidate in the Democratic presidential field. Because he is only a one-term senator, Barack Obama has decided to claim the reformer and outsider mantle, so he can advocate for changing the “politics as usual”

mindset of Washington, D.C. (Murray, Cillizza, "Obama Jumps into Presidential Fray" A1). To lend credibility to his status as the candidate of change, Barack Obama has made such political moves as renouncing all PAC and lobbyist campaign contributions. While some might see this message as being complicated by Obama's emphasis on his experience in the Illinois state senate, his experience there actually helps him develop this reform message by showing the public that change can actually work as he was able to make it happen in Illinois. The Obama campaign is focusing on this message of changing politics, because they are hoping the public is tired of the old politics and does not want another Bush or Clinton in the White House, who can be stuck in the mud by partisan gridlock and special interests (Kornblut, "From Obama, Clinton" A3). In recent months, Senator Clinton has tried to co-opt the "change" message as well. However, Clinton's message of change is about going back to the "good old days" of the 1990s during her husband's presidency, while Obama's message of change is about the future.

All of the issues Barack Obama talks about, whether it is healthcare, social security, renewable energy, the Iraq War, or the economy, flow from his message of hope, opportunity, bipartisan cooperation, and change. When he talks about the issues, he is essentially "arguing that what the country lacks is not the good ideas" but the leadership and political will to enact these policy solutions (Balz, Kornblut, "Obama Joins Race" A1). In the end, Barack Obama's message can be boiled down to the idea that he has the leadership ability and vision to enact the politically hard choices. He is trying to distinguish himself from Senator Clinton, who is seen as being very well connected with the political establishment and often making the politically easy choices.

One weakness of Barack Obama that many voters and political pundits are concerned about is his lack of experience at the national level. In the months since he started his campaign,

Barack Obama has been articulating more and more policy proposals. For instance, in early-May at an automakers event, Barack Obama established his fuel economy plan of increasing car and truck fuel efficiency by 4 percent per year and giving the automakers \$3 billion to convert factories to produce better cars and ease the health-care costs of their employees (Maynard, “Obama Scolds and Soothes” 18). In July, Barack Obama got praise from David Brooks, a well-known columnist for The New York Times, on his poverty relief policy (Brooks, “Edwards, Obama, and the Poor” 19). And, in September, Obama called for increased oversight of the financial industries when he criticized Wall Street for hurting the middle-class (Grynbaum, “Obama Urges Wall Street” 25).

An area that Barack Obama has increasingly sought to establish his credibility and experience in an effort to alleviate any fears on the part of the voters is foreign policy. Besides being a member of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, Senator Obama has continually emphasized his opposition to the Iraq War from the start, portraying himself as having the vision to understand that going into Iraq was a mistake before it happened. In Iowa, Senator Obama keeps contrasting his opposition to the Iraq War to all of the other main Democratic presidential candidates’ votes to authorize the use of force in Iraq (Kornblut, Balz, “Obama Questions Rivals” A4; Zeleny “Obama Keeps Tapping Past” 20). In addition, Obama has made several foreign policy statements, including one in April to the Chicago Council on Global Affairs about modernizing the military and maintaining U.S. leadership in the world (again change-minded), and one in August to the Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars about fighting terrorism (Zeleny, “Obama, in Foreign Policy” 22; Zeleny, “Obama Calls for Military Shift” 12). He has also been shaping the foreign policy debate, most notably with his statement during the August Democratic debate that he would be willing to meet with the governments of U.S. adversaries Iran and North

Korea to resolve the nuclear crises. According to David Ignatius of The Washington Post, Obama is “outflank[ing] his Democratic rivals on foreign policy” (“The Pragmatic Obama” A19). Finally, Obama has been able to pick up the endorsement of several foreign policy experts: Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor, and Anthony Lake, former National Security Advisor (MacGillis, “Brzezinski Backs Obama” A3; Murray, “For Democratic Advisors” A1). Thus, by announcing more policy proposals and picking up key endorsements, Senator Obama is trying to assuage the concerns of the electorate about his national and foreign policy experience.

Although Barack Obama’s message of hope, opportunity, and change and his efforts to alleviate the experience question have helped him maintain his second-place standing in both national and state-by-state polls, he has needed to change his campaign strategy and message since the early contests of Iowa, New Hampshire, Nevada, and South Carolina are rapidly approaching. Therefore, in recent days, recognizing he needs to do something to propel himself to the top, Barack Obama has sought to further distinguish himself from his frontrunner rival, Senator Hillary Clinton, by contrasting his straight talk with her “politically convenient” answers (Nagourney, Bumiller, “In 7th Round, a Pitched Debate” 1). In the most recent debate in Las Vegas, Nevada, Senator Obama even directly verbally attacked the frontrunner “for failing to provide ‘straight answers to tough questions’...[on] Social Security” (McCormick, Parsons, “Democrats Square Off in Feisty Debate”). These contrasts being made between Obama and Clinton are designed to split up Clinton’s constituency and base, so that the Obama campaign can attract these voters to his side.

Fundraising:

Another very important component of a campaign strategy is fundraising. Without a good fundraising operation, the campaign cannot do anything to get its message out to the voters.

In fundraising for a national campaign, the finance team tends to focus on certain geographic regions of the U.S. and on certain occupational groups because these regions and groups have a large portion of people that are wealthy enough to give to political candidates and have an interest to do so. Democratic campaigns tend to focus on California, New York, Massachusetts, D.C., Florida, Texas, and Pennsylvania for their fundraising operation because pockets of wealthy Democrats are located in them. In regards to occupational groups, lawyers, realtors, and financial investment professionals are typical political givers because they usually have money. These professionals want to gain access to or influence of politicians, so they often give money to candidates of the party that is in power. At this point in time, the Democratic Party is in control of Congress, and all political signs indicate that the Democrats will have another successful election in 2008. In addition, retired people, educational professionals, and entertainment industry people give to the Democrats for ideological reasons. Retired people support Democrats due to the Democrats' support for increased healthcare coverage and protection of social security. Educational professionals support Democrats because Democrats usually support the teachers' unions, and the entertainment industry people are generally liberal. Thus, the Democratic campaigns try to target these geographic and occupational groups in their fundraising efforts.

The fundraising events are another important aspect of the campaign's fundraising operation. Fundraising events are often run with less staff than field events because campaigns try to decrease the overhead involved in fundraising to maximize the amount of profit. Large

staffs increase the overhead. In addition, most fundraising is conducted over the phone, so it can be conducted by a single set of staff anywhere in the country. The campaigns do not need separate huge fundraising staffs in each state. A single fundraising staff can often be moved around the country. In contrast, campaigns need large field staffs in each state to organize volunteers and motivate voters to make the rallies and the meet-and-greet events successful.

Fundraising is an even more important component for Senator Barack Obama's presidential campaign, because his surprising ability to raise an enormous amount of money shows his viability against the candidate of the Democratic establishment, Hillary Clinton, and because Obama's fundraising operation reinforces his populist message.

With his ability to raise enormous sums of money in the past three quarters, Barack Obama has been able to refute the conventional theory that he is a political novice and cannot compete against long-time politician Hillary Clinton. He has shown the political establishment—donors, politicians, and pundits alike—that he is a viable candidate. Since Barack Obama is only a one-term senator, he was not expected to raise as much money as Clinton because he did not have a huge network of political friends and fundraisers. As his own finance director, Julianna Smoot, admitted, if everything went perfectly, she felt the campaign could bring in about \$9 million in the first quarter. While this amount is record-breaking, it was also comparatively less than the amount that Clinton was expected to collect (Mosk, "The \$75 Million Woman" A1). By raising over \$25 million in the first quarter for the primary, nearly meeting Senator Hillary Clinton's number and over \$31 million in the second quarter, surging past Clinton, Obama has shattered the myth (Kornblut, Mosk, "Obama Campaign Takes in \$25 million" A1; Solomon, "Obama Takes Lead in Money Raised" A1). While Barack Obama only raised slightly under Clinton's amount in the third quarter, he still raised an impressive \$19

million. His aggressive fundraising program seems to have worked as it has lured away several key Clinton donors and other members of the political establishment, including Jen Johnson, Orin Kramer, William Kennard, and Reed Hundt—all former backers of President Bill Clinton (Mosk, Cohen, “Democratic Hopefuls Getting More Green in Wealthy Bay Area” A5; Zeleny “Obama’s Back Fundraising in New York, Not Quietly” 10; Kirkpatrick, Pilgrimage, “Donors Long Linked to Clintons are Signing on with Obama” 15).

In addition, Obama’s fundraising fits into his populist message of getting everyone involved to change the way politics is done. After the first quarter numbers were released, Barack Obama emphasized the fact that he had taken contributions from 100,000 individuals, nearly double the 50,000 donors for Clinton. Obama had also raised \$6.9 million compared to Clinton’s \$4.2 million online in the first quarter (Kornblut, Mosk, “Obama Campaign Takes in \$25 million” A1). Also, the campaign has used “kickoff” fundraisers, where people come to see Senator Obama speak for \$25-to-\$100 per ticket, to expand its donor lists and to spread its populist message (Kornblut, Cilliza, “Candidates Stress Early Fundraising” A1). In the second quarter, Obama reported that he had taken contributions from 154,000 new donors (Solomon, “Obama Takes Lead in Money Raised” A1). Now since the closing of the third quarter, Obama has reported a record 350,000 donors, making the average donation approximately \$215. While \$215 may not seem like a small amount of money to the average person, in the political fundraising arena, \$215 is quite low. This large number of donors contributing small donations indicates that Barack Obama is getting donations more from average people than from special interests or well-connected, wealthy individuals. With his large list of smaller-donors, Obama is in a position to continue raising record-breaking sums of money, because Obama can go back to these smaller donors for another \$25, \$50, or \$100 later on in the campaign calendar. In

contrast, a lot of Clinton's donors have donated the maximum: \$2,300 for the primary and \$2,300 for the general election, which means she cannot go back to those donors (Center for Responsive Politics). As Joe Rospars, the Internet-guru for the campaign said, these low-dollar events and the campaign's aggressive online program—run by Blue State Digital, which helped Howard Dean in 2004--helped “take it to the people” (Mosk, “The \$75 Million Woman” A1). All of these figures provide evidence of Obama gaining wide-grassroots support for his presidential campaign, while reinforcing his message that every single individual can make a difference in government and can be a part of the change to come.

While the press has made many news stories calling Obama's process of raising money new and innovative, the ways in which Barack Obama raised the above figures of money are not surprising at all. First, geographically, Barack Obama has been concentrating upon the typical Democratic fundraising bases. As noted above, California, New York, Massachusetts, Texas, Pennsylvania, Florida, and D.C. are typical fundraising bases. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Obama has raised over \$12.3 million in California, over \$7.6 million in New York, over \$2.8 million in Massachusetts, over \$2 million in Texas, over \$1.2 million in Pennsylvania, over \$2.8 million in Florida, and over \$2.6 million in D.C. Understandably, Obama raised over \$9.3 million in his home state of Illinois (Center for Responsive Politics). Thus, as one can see from his fundraising numbers, Obama has been following the typical geographic path.

Second, the gender gap in donations to Barack Obama's presidential campaign is also not very surprising. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, Barack Obama has raised 57.4 percent of his money from males and 42.6 percent from females. Obama receiving a lower

percentage of money from females is understandable, since his top competitor Senator Hillary Clinton has been concentrating on and trying to solidify the female vote as part of her base.

Third, the top occupational groups that Barack Obama has raised from are not surprising. Obama has raised the most amount of his money from the lawyers and law firms category--approximately \$7.9 million. As noted previously, lawyers are typical political givers because they want influence and power. Also, there are a lot of lawyers located in the geographic fundraising bases of California, New York, and D.C. These reasons for why it is not surprising Barack Obama is receiving so much money from the legal industry are also true for the real estate and securities and investment sectors, where Obama has raised over \$2 million and over \$4 million, respectively (Center for Responsive Politics). Obama raising large sums of money from the retired, education, and entertainment sectors are probably due to ideological reasons (Center for Responsive Politics). It is understandable that Barack Obama would receive large sums of money from these groups, since Barack Obama is seen as being more liberal and more viable than some of the other candidates.

Obama's success at fundraising over the past three quarters and his message do not automatically guarantee him success in the Democratic primaries. Rather, his campaign advisers have to be especially savvy in how they use the funds they bring in to persuade and motivate voters, since his opponents, especially Senator Clinton, also have large sums of money.

State-by-State Tactics:

Iowa –

To get his message out to Iowa caucus-goers, the Obama campaign seems to be using the typical tools—direct mail, television advertisements, and field staffers—and following the traditional plan most campaigns follow to contact voters.

In the beginning of the campaign, Senator Barack Obama was working on introducing himself to the Iowa electorate. It appears from Obama's FEC expenditure reports that he was introducing himself to Iowa caucus-goers by sending them biographical direct mail pieces since his campaign was spending 16 percent of the total Iowa expenditures in the first quarter and 99 percent of the total Wisconsin (which borders Iowa) expenditures in the first quarter on print media (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Chart 3].

As Obama was introducing himself to Iowa voters through the mail, his campaign was also building up a field organization and complementing it with local candidate-centered events in the state. For instance the amount the Obama campaign spent on payroll and reimbursable expenses to Iowa field staff increased from 24 percent of total Iowa expenditures in the first quarter to 68 percent in the second quarter to even 75 percent in the third quarter. In addition, the amount the campaign spent on office expenses as a percentage of the Iowa total steadily increased from 8 percent in the first quarter to 10 percent in the second quarter to 12 percent in the third quarter. There was also an increase in the amount spent on events from 8 percent in the first quarter to 14 percent in the second quarter (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Chart 3].⁴ Barack Obama has visited Iowa over 83 times since the start of the campaign (Des Moines Register, Iowa Caucus '08). Finally, the Obama campaign now has approximately 137 paid staffers in Iowa spread over 21 offices in the state as of September 30, 2007 (U.S. Federal Election Commission; Luo, "Details of Candidates' Spending" 18).⁵

These expenditures on field organization and events seem to have provided dividends to the Obama campaign in recent months. First, according to the website RealClearPolitics.com,

⁴ There was a decrease in the amount spent on Iowa events in the third quarter to 8 percent of the total Iowa expenditures for that quarter. This fact might be due to Senator Obama having to increasingly divide his time between Iowa, New Hampshire, and South Carolina.

⁵ These numbers were obtained by counting the number of expenditures in Iowa listed on the October 2007 quarterly FEC Report for Obama's campaign under the same date and categorized as payroll and rent/occupancy respectively.

which keeps track of the presidential candidates poll numbers nationally and in the early states, Obama's vote percentage in Iowa has increased from approximately 16 percent to just over 24 percent in October (RealClearPolitics, Election 2008). And in recent days, Senator Barack Obama is leading Senator Hillary Clinton 30 percent to 26 percent (Kornblut, Cohen, "For Democrats, Iowa Still Up for Grabs" A1). While these figures are within the margin of error, they are politically significant because they describe a trend of Obama gaining support in Iowa. Second, Barack Obama has received a total of 813 endorsements from local politicians, business, and community leaders in Iowa, including such prominent figures as Gordon Fischer, a former Iowa Democratic Party chairperson; Tom Miller, Iowa Attorney General; Mike Fitzgerald, Iowa Treasurer; and 13 current and former state legislators (Des Moines Register "Fischer Endorses Obama"; Obama'08 Obama'08: Newsroom). These new figures put more pressure on Clinton to win Iowa to maintain her frontrunner status. Also, the Obama campaign can parlay these figures into increased fundraising and political support. These facts mean that the field operation and events in Iowa have helped increase support and name recognition for Barack Obama.

In recent weeks, the Obama campaign has been building upon its organization by starting numerous Iowa steering committees: a 26-member one for the Latino community, a 32-member one for the faith community, an 88-member one for the African-American community, and a 25-member one for the labor community. Obama has also reached into the Iowa veteran and female communities by receiving the endorsement of 252 Iowa veterans, including 55 veterans that caucused with Senator John Kerry in 2004, and by creating an Iowa Women for Obama group in 50 counties (Obama'08, Obama'08: Newsroom). Finally, the Obama campaign has been airing television advertisements in Iowa since June 26, 2007 to persuade the electorate to support Senator Obama (Cillizza, "Obama on the Airwaves" A4; Bosman, "Obama Face-to-Camera"

21). His organization, event appearances, and television advertisements should be able to give him a fairly strong showing in Iowa—with at least a second-place finish.

New Hampshire –

In New Hampshire, Senator Barack Obama appears to be using similar tactics to the ones he is using in Iowa--retail politics based on an extensive field organization.

According to the FEC Reports, the Obama campaign has been steadily building a field operation in New Hampshire to create a network of support and get his message out to the voters. Obama's campaign increased its New Hampshire spending on payroll and reimbursable expenses from 18 percent of its first quarter New Hampshire total to 62 percent in the second quarter and 74 percent in the third quarter [see Chart 4]. These expenditures reflect the Obama campaign employing approximately 87 staffers in New Hampshire and renting at least 14 offices to persuade, mobilize, and organize voters for the January primary (U.S. Federal Election Commission; Obama'08, "Obama Campaign Opens New Offices").⁶

Obama's campaign has compounded this field operation with a lot of local events—town hall meetings and forums—for the electorate to personally meet the candidate. Obama had made 13 trips and held 40 events in New Hampshire as of August 30, 2007. In addition to these candidate-centered events, the campaign has organized over 400 events including 33 local issue forums on such issues as faith, child advocacy, small business, the environment, and senior citizens; 21 debate watching parties; 46 coffees; 48 book club meetings; and 82 general meetings (Obama'08, "A Summer of Grassroots Organizing"). These events are reflected in the FEC Reports with Obama's campaign spending 16 percent and 12 percent of the New Hampshire

⁶ These numbers were obtained by counting the number of expenditures in New Hampshire listed on the October 2007 quarterly FEC Report for Obama's campaign under the same date and categorized as payroll and rent/occupancy respectively.

totals in the second and third quarters, respectively on events (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Chart 4].

Obama's campaign has coupled this organization and these events with television advertising, local political endorsements, and seasoned professional political operatives to probably make a strong showing in New Hampshire. On September 25 in New Hampshire, Obama started airing mainly biographical television advertisements focusing on his message of change, and he has recently begun airing advertisements about his middle-class tax-cut plan (Elliot, "Obama to Air"; Elliot, "Obama Ad Pushes Tax Plan"). In addition, Barack Obama received the endorsement of Congressman Paul Hodes, one of the first representatives from the New Hampshire delegation to choose any presidential candidate (Associated Press, "Hodes Endorses Obama"). Finally, Obama has brought on several seasoned professionals for his New Hampshire operation: Steve Hildebrand, who ran Al Gore's 2000 Iowa caucus campaign; and Paul Tewes, second-in-command in Gore's 2000 caucus race (Murray, Cillizza, "Obama Jumps into Presidential Fray" A1).

The Obama campaign is hoping to use these political tools that it has been building up in New Hampshire to capture the independent and undecided vote in the state, since under New Hampshire law independents can vote in either party primary. These independent voters often favor the "maverick" candidate as they did in the 2000 Republican primary favoring Senator John McCain (Nagourney, "Independents Could Help" 23). Since Obama has had a meteoric rise to national politics, the campaign's advisers hope to collect a significant portion of this vote. The independent vote could make the difference in New Hampshire, and if Barack Obama captures that vote, it could also give him momentum in other states that allow independents to vote in the party primaries: South Carolina, New Jersey, Minnesota, and California.

Although Obama's campaign has used all of these tactics in New Hampshire, it is probably not enough to overcome Senator Clinton's high name recognition and huge Democratic Party establishment backing, including her husband President Bill Clinton. Therefore, Barack Obama can probably expect to come in second in New Hampshire.

South Carolina –

While the Obama campaign seems to be using similar tactics in South Carolina as in Iowa and New Hampshire, he seems to be relying even more heavily on his field organization and built-in African-American constituency, which is predicted to make up nearly half of the Democratic primary voters in South Carolina. Obama is organized in all 46 counties with a high-tech grassroots Get-Out-The-Vote effort (Lee, "Obama Hopes to Slow Clinton in S.C."). This organization is also seen in the FEC Reports where the Obama campaign has increased spending on the payroll of South Carolina staff from 12 percent of the state's first quarter expenditures to 57 percent in the second quarter and 75 percent in the third quarter (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Chart 5]. In addition, the Obama campaign has approximately 64 staffers and 7 offices in South Carolina.⁷

Besides its field organization, the Obama has been depending upon several key endorsements and support from southern leaders. For instance, Obama got the endorsement of South Carolina state representative Gilda Cobb-Hunter (Shear, "Obama Takes First Campaign Trip South" A9). And, while he is not from South Carolina, Virginia Governor Tim Kaine's endorsement has helped solidified Democratic southern support for Obama, since Tim Kaine is a well-respected Democratic southern governor, which probably carries weight in South Carolina (Shear, "Kaine to Back Obama's Bid" A8). Also, Obama has gotten some encouragement from

⁷ These numbers were obtained by counting the number of expenditures in South Carolina listed on the October 2007 quarterly FEC Report for Obama's campaign under the same date and categorized as payroll and rent/occupancy respectively.

House Majority Whip James Clyburn, who is an African-American representing South Carolina. While it is not an official endorsement of Barack Obama, Clyburn's support will go a long way in helping Obama win South Carolina (Robinson, "Authentic Obama" A13).

In South Carolina, Obama's support has been hanging at 23 percent trailing Senator Clinton by about 10 percent (Shenin, "Obama Gaining Support"). His political and field organization will probably help Barack Obama gain more support in South Carolina. As already noted, it is critical that Obama wins South Carolina to show his support among African-Americans and to show his appeal to southerners as an alternative to Senator Clinton.

Nevada –

Nevada is the only early contest state where Obama is not putting a lot of resources. Obama's campaign has only spent 1.23 percent of its overall expenditures in Nevada (U.S. Federal Election Commission) [see Chart 6]. At this point in the campaign, if Obama won Nevada, the win would not give him anything that he could not get by winning another early state. In addition, the Obama and Clinton campaigns probably feel that New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, another contender for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination, has a better chance of winning the state of Nevada.

In Nevada, Obama has been following a similar pattern to that in the other three early states of building a field organization and getting a few key endorsements. From the FEC Reports, Obama increased spending on staff in Nevada from 14 percent in the first quarter to 71 percent in the third quarter [see Chart 6]. Obama has more than 50 field staff in Nevada (Obama'08, "Obama Campaign Announces Growth"). Finally, Obama has gotten several key endorsements from Nevada leaders, including Billy Vassiliadis, an advisor to the Democratic elite in Nevada. While this minimal effort in Nevada by the Obama campaign may not gain him

a huge percentage of the vote in January, Obama's presidential chances should still not be damaged too much, because the expectations for him in Nevada are not high.

Super Tuesday (February 5th) States –

Unfortunately, the press and political pundits have not been focusing on and publicizing the activities of the presidential campaigns in the “Super Tuesday” states too much. Therefore, there is a lack of information about what and how the campaigns are doing in those states beyond the FEC expenditure reports and the national polls.

In regards to Obama's expenditures in the “Super Tuesday” states, he is spending money in 19 of the 23 of these primary states. However, Obama's campaign has spent less than 1 percent of its total expenditures in each of 14 out of the 19 February 5 states it is spending in [see Table 1].

In addition, there are very good explanations for why Obama is spending so much in the five remaining “Super Tuesday” states. First, Obama is spending a significant amount of money in California and New York, because he is raising a lot of money through numerous fundraisers in both states. This high spending on events but limited spending on voter contact activities is shown by the fact that Obama has spent a relatively low amount on the payroll of staff but a high amount on events in both California and New York compared to the early states [see Charts 7 & 8]. As stated in the fundraising section, fundraising events do not require a large staff on the ground in each individual state. Second, Obama is spending a lot of money in his home state of Illinois, because his campaign headquarters is located in Chicago. A lot of the Illinois expenditures are probably not going to motivating voters to support Senator Obama, because it is his home state where he has high name recognition and favorability, and because a relatively

high percent of the expenditures are going to consultants and office expenses, which one would expect to be located at the campaign headquarters [see Chart 9].

As far as Obama's expenditures in Missouri and North Carolina are concerned, the expenditures could be going to motivating those states' electorates to voting for him or they could be linked to the Iowa caucus and South Carolina primary, respectively [see Charts 10 & 11]. Expenditures in Missouri and North Carolina could be going to firms located in those states to conduct services in the neighboring early contest states. In addition, activities in Missouri and North Carolina could have spillover effects into the early contest states. Thus, the expenditures could be going towards motivating the electorates of Missouri and North Carolina, or the spending could be allocated on a regional basis centered on the early contest states. There is no way to know which scenario is the case until the fourth quarter expenditure numbers are released.

Thus, it is hard to tell what the Obama campaign is doing in each of the "Super Tuesday" states. However, his campaign should be planning to spend money in those 23 states, so he can blunt any bounce in the polls another candidate might receive from winning any of the early states. In addition, his campaign may be thinking that if they can do better than expected in the early contests, the campaign can build up enough momentum for "Super Tuesday." The Obama campaign would be advised to spend more money in the "Super Tuesday" states to increase his chances of victory at the Democratic National Convention.

Conclusion:

Based upon his successful fundraising numbers, his favorable message, and his grassroots field organizing in the early contest states, Senator Barack Obama has a reasonable chance at winning the Democratic nomination for president. He still has to overcome Senator Clinton's

high name recognition and Democratic Party establishment support. But, Senator Barack Obama should have a favorable showing at the polls on the caucus and primary election days in January with at least a second-place finish in all four early states. He may even come in first in Iowa and South Carolina if the most recent polls are accurate. However, Senator Obama's success entirely depends upon whether or not his campaign can translate the fundraising, media, and internet hype into actual votes on election day. Senator Obama's campaign should be able to have the resources and ability to last through "Super Tuesday." Even with his early fundraising successes and favorable message, Senator Barack Obama has an uphill battle to climb—overcoming the organization and support that Senator Hillary Clinton, his main opponent, has been building up since she left the White House in 2000 and became the junior senator from New York. If Senator Obama does not defeat Senator Clinton in 2008, he will be well situated to be the frontrunner for the Democratic nomination four or eight years from now.

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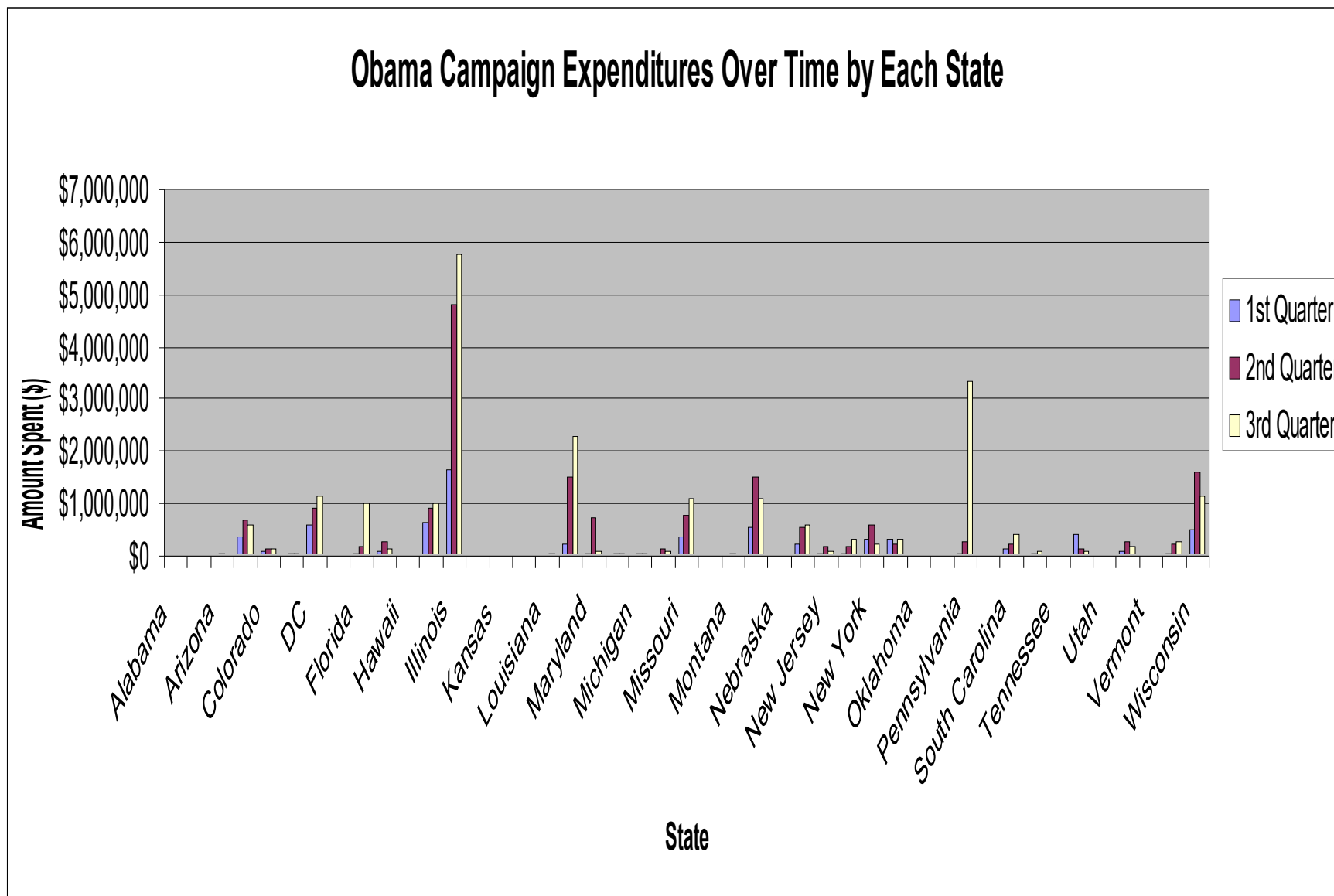
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Appendix I: Table 1 – Obama Campaign State-by-State Expenditure Totals

State s	1st Quarter	2 nd Quarter	3 rd Quarter	State Totals:	% in Q1	% in Q2	% in Q3	% Total:
AL	\$4,315	\$6,324	\$14,318	\$24,956	0.06%	0.04%	0.07%	0.05%
AR	\$1,801	\$525	\$275	\$2,601	0.03%	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%
AZ	\$11,267	\$43,831	\$18,967	\$74,064	0.16%	0.25%	0.09%	0.16%
CA	\$368,220	\$677,443	\$578,643	\$1,624,306	5.21%	3.91%	2.67%	3.52%
CO	\$102,197	\$156,767	\$120,476	\$379,440	1.45%	0.90%	0.55%	0.82%
CT	\$680	\$28,794	\$32,476	\$61,950	0.01%	0.17%	0.15%	0.13%
DC	\$616,575	\$905,982	\$1,156,652	\$2,679,209	8.73%	5.23%	5.33%	5.81%
DE	\$0	\$160	\$384	\$544	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
FL	\$42,036	\$178,917	\$1,018,121	\$1,239,074	0.60%	1.03%	4.69%	2.69%
GA	\$73,192	\$256,795	\$118,179	\$448,166	1.04%	1.48%	0.54%	0.97%
HI	\$0	\$7,826	\$17,109	\$24,935	0.00%	0.05%	0.08%	0.05%
IA	\$655,028	\$923,809	\$1,006,493	\$2,585,331	9.27%	5.33%	4.64%	5.61%
IL	\$1,640,118	\$4,822,733	\$5,747,315	\$12,210,166	23.22%	27.81%	26.47%	26.48%
IN	\$7,907	\$20,219	\$8,293	\$36,419	0.11%	0.12%	0.04%	0.08%
KS	\$1,725	\$902	\$14,458	\$17,084	0.02%	0.01%	0.07%	0.04%
KY	\$14,771	\$7,496	\$9,426	\$31,693	0.21%	0.04%	0.04%	0.07%
LA	\$10	\$11,055	\$23,713	\$34,778	0.00%	0.06%	0.11%	0.08%
MA	\$248,315	\$1,488,771	\$2,305,401	\$4,042,487	3.51%	8.59%	10.62%	8.77%
MD	\$64,156	\$723,211	\$79,669	\$867,035	0.91%	4.17%	0.37%	1.88%
ME	\$17,696	\$34,943	\$24,252	\$76,891	0.25%	0.20%	0.11%	0.17%
MI	\$19,089	\$52,388	\$23,283	\$94,761	0.27%	0.30%	0.11%	0.21%
MN	\$22,575	\$154,519	\$110,659	\$287,753	0.32%	0.89%	0.51%	0.62%
MO	\$343,339	\$773,801	\$1,088,857	\$2,205,996	4.86%	4.46%	5.02%	4.78%
MS	\$0	\$3,130	\$1,805	\$4,935	0.00%	0.02%	0.01%	0.01%
MT	\$0	\$35,620	\$21,295	\$56,915	0.00%	0.21%	0.10%	0.12%
NC	\$542,745	\$1,521,447	\$1,111,833	\$3,176,025	7.68%	8.77%	5.12%	6.89%
NE	\$0	\$17,729	\$10,735	\$28,464	0.00%	0.10%	0.05%	0.06%
NH	\$245,058	\$532,938	\$607,208	\$1,385,205	3.47%	3.07%	2.80%	3.00%
NJ	\$39,971	\$163,267	\$76,731	\$279,969	0.57%	0.94%	0.35%	0.61%
NV	\$59,794	\$194,996	\$311,585	\$566,375	0.85%	1.12%	1.44%	1.23%
NY	\$331,548	\$603,928	\$232,753	\$1,168,228	4.69%	3.48%	1.07%	2.53%
OH	\$305,556	\$227,897	\$315,638	\$849,090	4.33%	1.31%	1.45%	1.84%
OK	\$4,745	\$3,636	\$3,814	\$12,195	0.07%	0.02%	0.02%	0.03%
OR	\$3,113	\$2,714	\$878	\$6,706	0.04%	0.02%	0.00%	0.01%
PA	\$53,690	\$266,203	\$3,354,382	\$3,674,275	0.76%	1.54%	15.45%	7.97%
RI	\$0	\$22	\$1,276	\$1,298	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%
SC	\$129,290	\$237,529	\$409,105	\$775,925	1.83%	1.37%	1.88%	1.68%
SD	\$22,752	\$28,589	\$70,452	\$121,793	0.32%	0.16%	0.32%	0.26%
TN	\$485	\$3,889	\$327	\$4,702	0.01%	0.02%	0.00%	0.01%
TX	\$420,251	\$128,378	\$74,272	\$622,901	5.95%	0.74%	0.34%	1.35%
UT	\$0	\$20	\$1,280	\$1,300	0.00%	0.00%	0.01%	0.00%
VA	\$98,526	\$252,951	\$186,173	\$537,650	1.39%	1.46%	0.86%	1.17%
VT	\$0	\$1,624	\$8,100	\$9,724	0.00%	0.01%	0.04%	0.02%
WA	\$63,181	\$223,833	\$265,517	\$552,531	0.89%	1.29%	1.22%	1.20%
WI	\$489,125	\$1,611,330	\$1,129,275	\$3,229,731	6.92%	9.29%	5.20%	7.00%
Total :	\$7,064,842	\$17,338,879	\$21,711,854	\$46,115,576	100.00 %	100.00 %	100.00 %	100.00 %

Appendix II: Chart 1 – Obama Campaign Expenditures by State Over Time



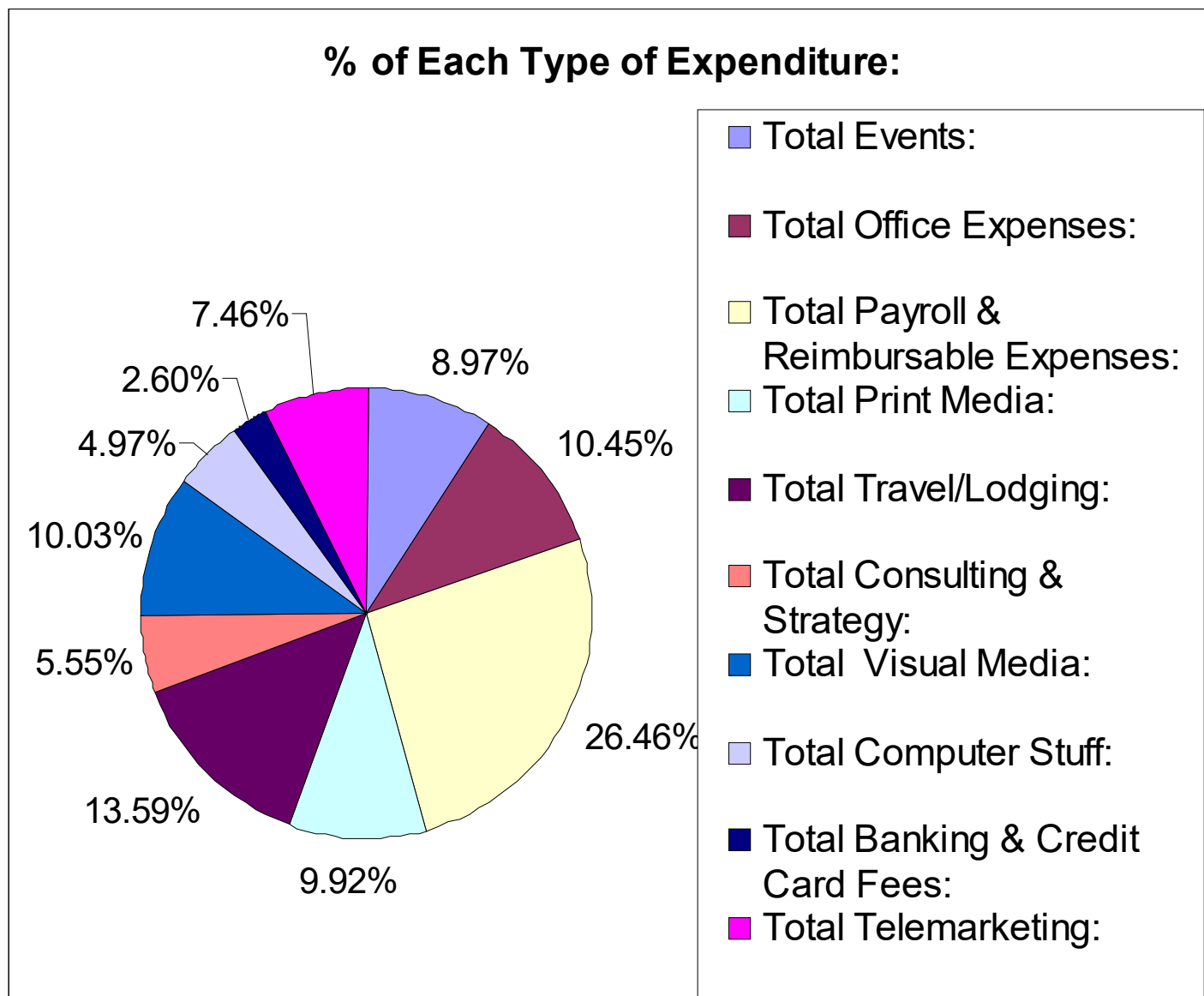
Appendix III:

Note Regarding Charts in Appendix III and IV: The following appendices contain pages of three pie charts for each of the key states listed in the paper. There is a pie chart for each of the three quarters completed so far. Each pie chart shows the percent that the Obama campaign has spent on key categories of campaigning in the specified quarter in the specified state. This information was compiled based upon the quarterly FEC Reports filed by the Obama campaign. The FEC categorizes each individual expenditure listed in the report. I sorted all of the expenditures by state and by category. In order to make the number of FEC categories less cumbersome, I combined the categories as listed below.

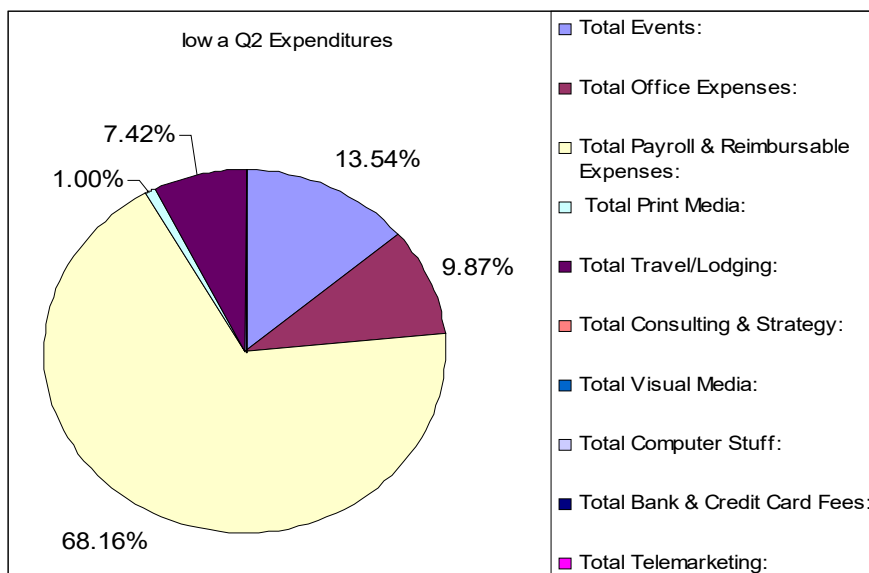
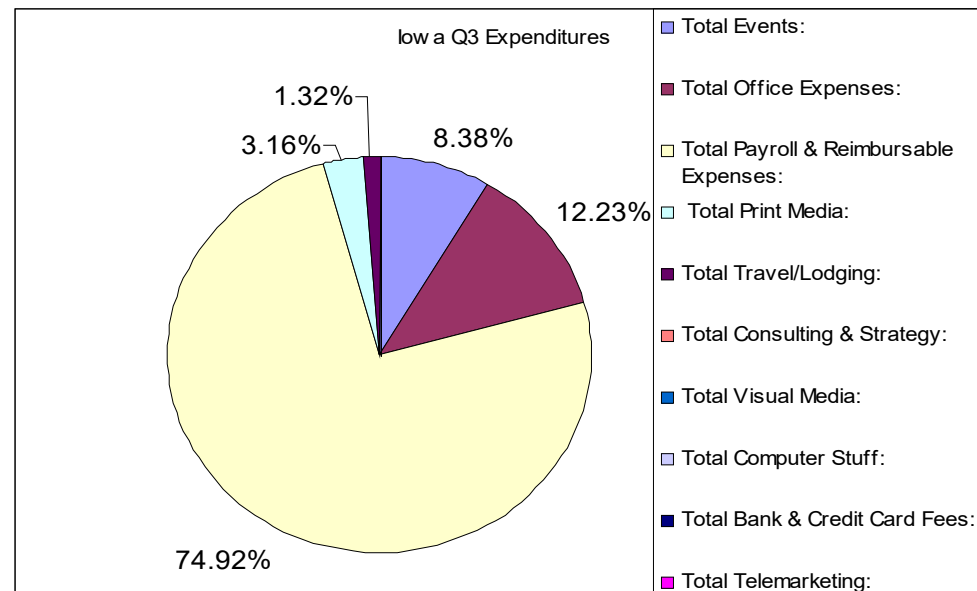
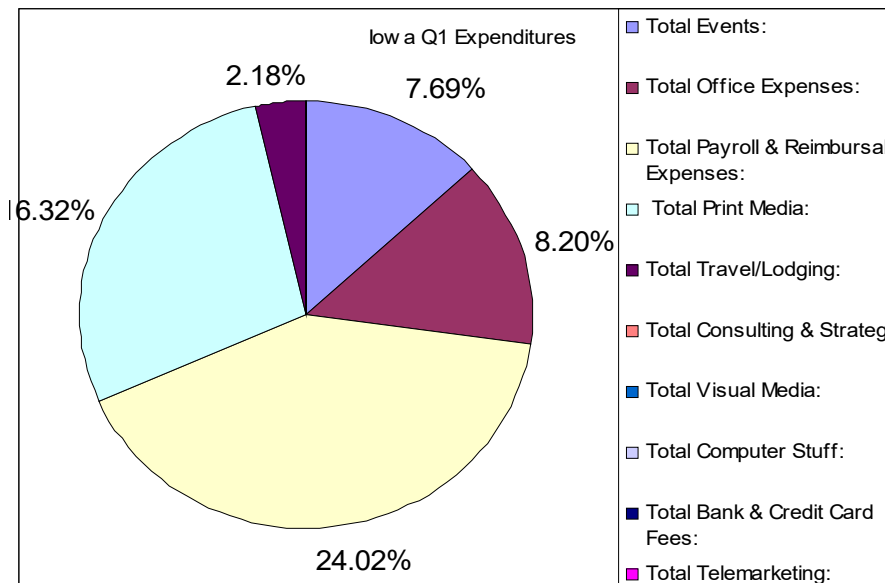
New Categories Listed on the Pie Charts**FEC Categories**

Total Events	Advance Work; Catering/Facilities; Decorations; Entertainment; Event Management Services; Event Site Rental; Security; Staging, Sound, & Lighting;
Total Office Expenses	Accounting; Delivery; Equipment Maintenance & Rental; Insurance; Office Supplies; Paraphernalia; Publication/Subscriptions; Rent/Occupancy; Utilities;
Total Payroll & Reimbursable Expenses	Payroll; Parking Fee; Per Diem;
Total Print Media	Printing; Print Advertising; Postage;
Total Travel/Lodging	Travel & Lodging;
Total Consulting & Strategy	Cons./Prof. Serv.; Polling; Strategy;
Total Visual Media	Media; Media Buy; Photography;
Total Computer Stuff	Computer Equipment; Domain Websites;
Total Banking & Credit Card Fees	Bank fees; Credit Card fees;
Total Telemarketing	Telemarketing;

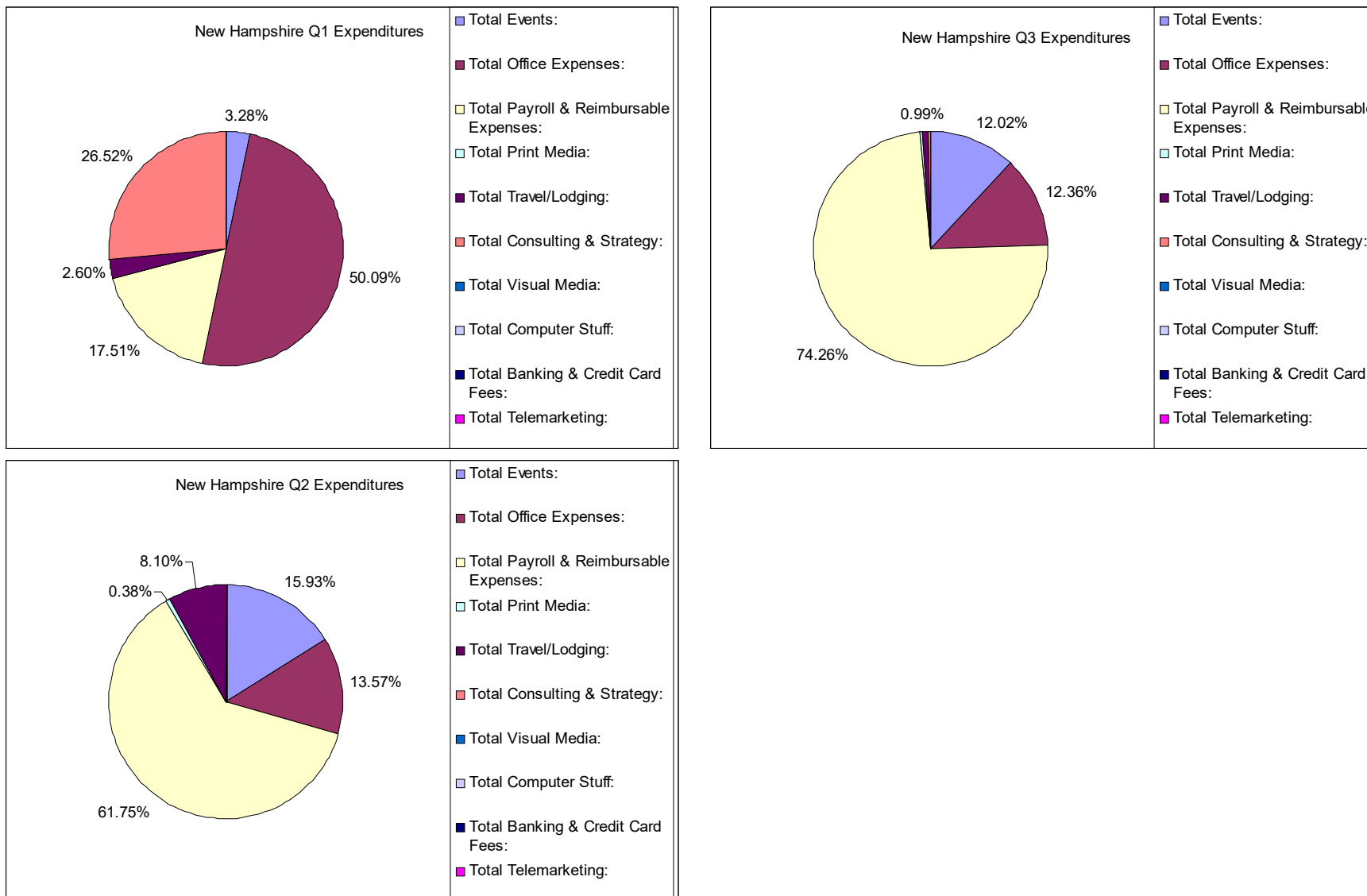
Appendix III: Chart 2 – Obama Campaign Expenditures by Type



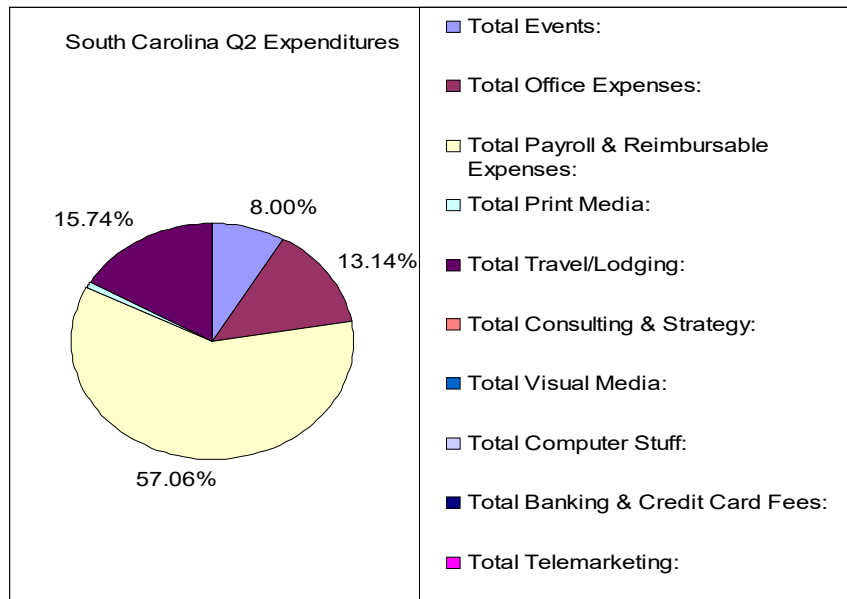
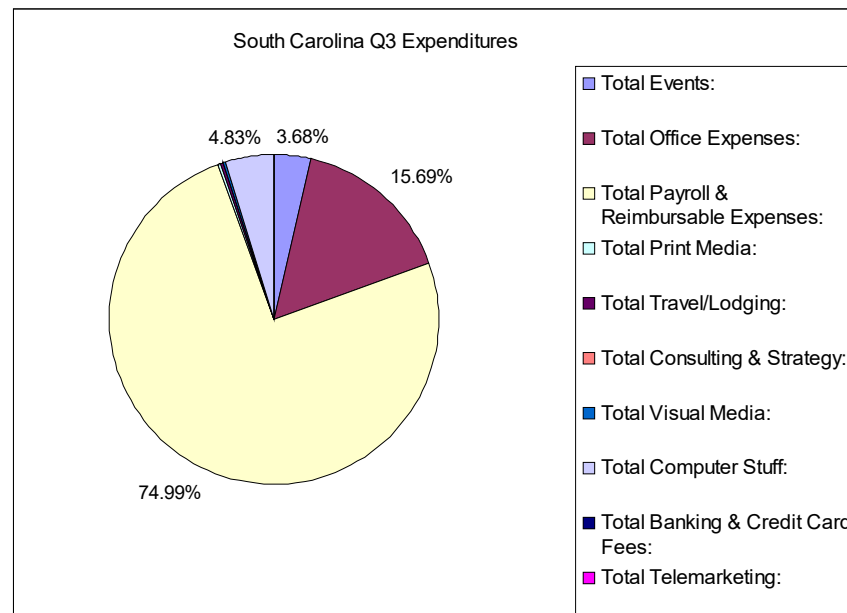
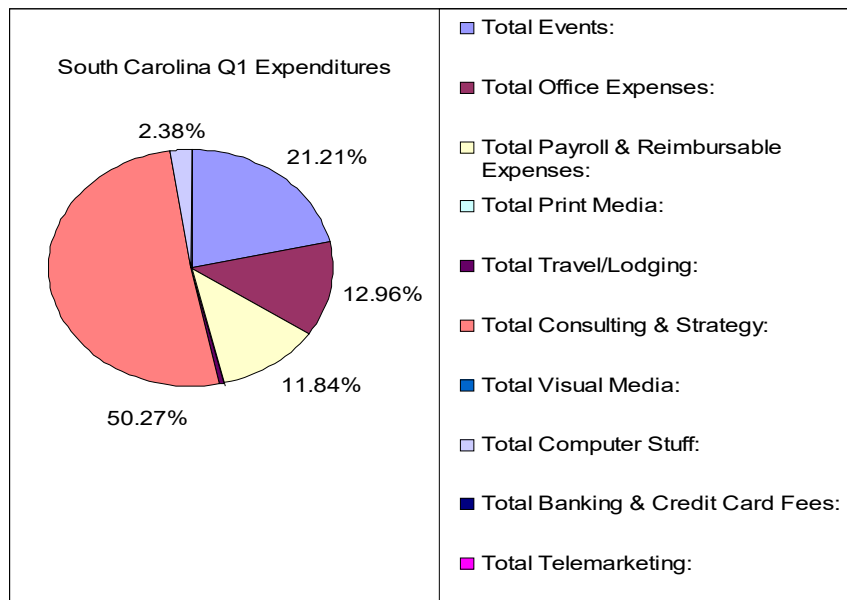
Appendix IV: Chart 3 – Iowa Expenditures



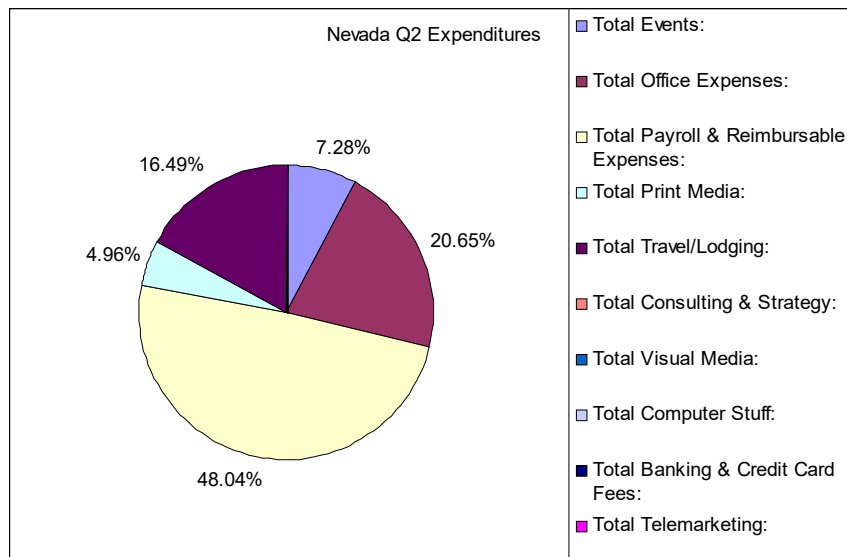
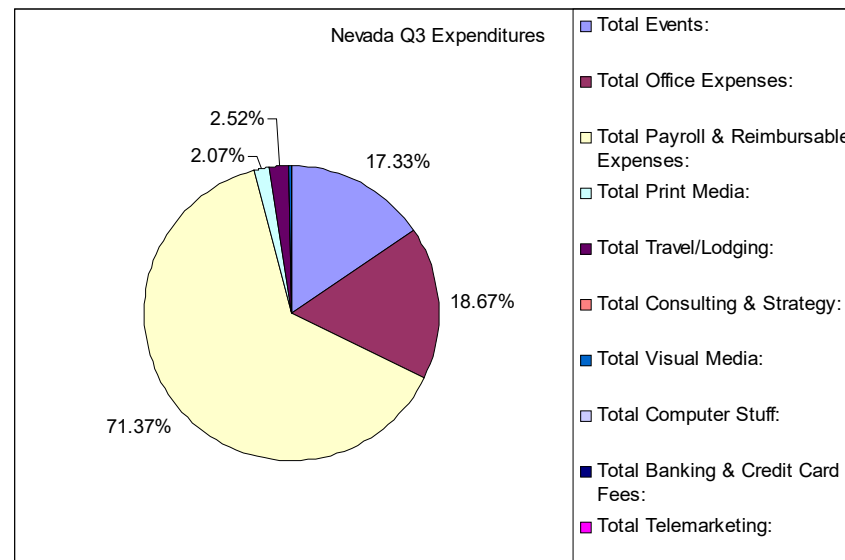
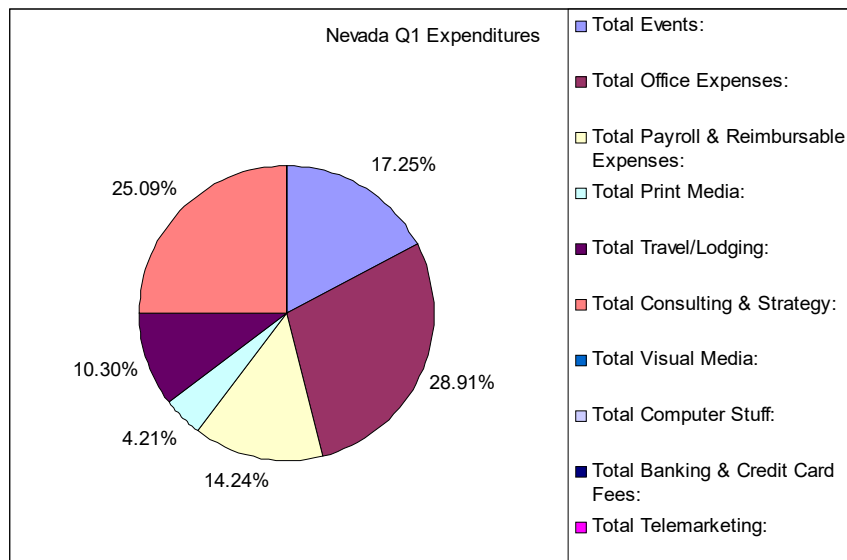
Appendix IV: Chart 4 – New Hampshire Expenditures



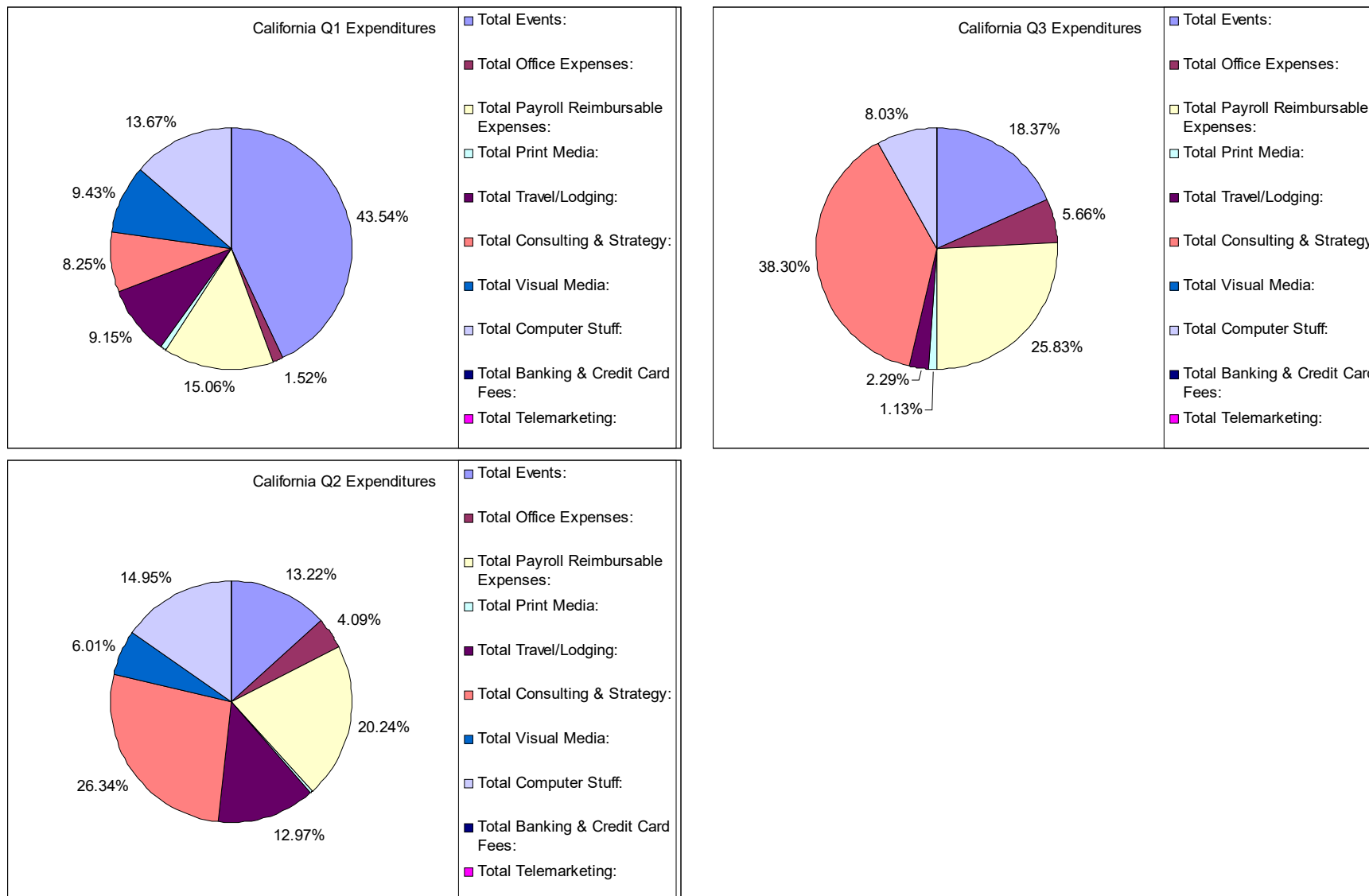
Appendix IV: Chart 5 – South Carolina Expenditures



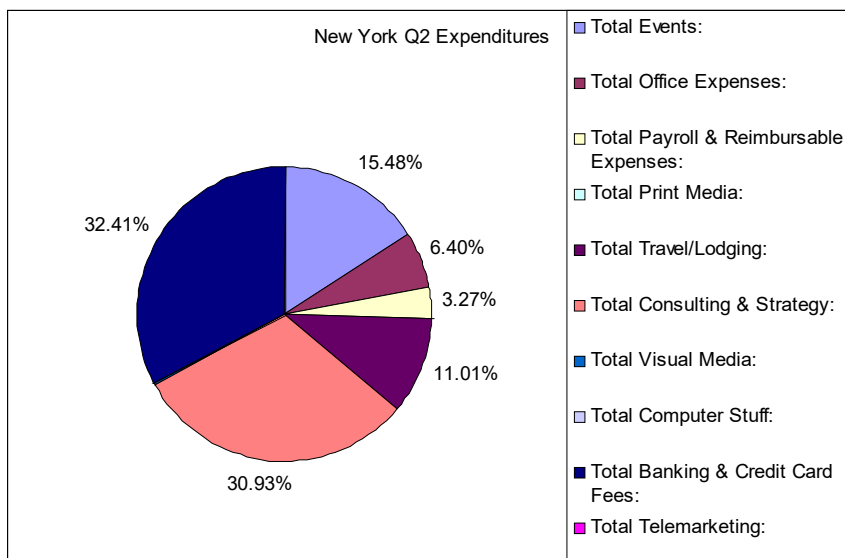
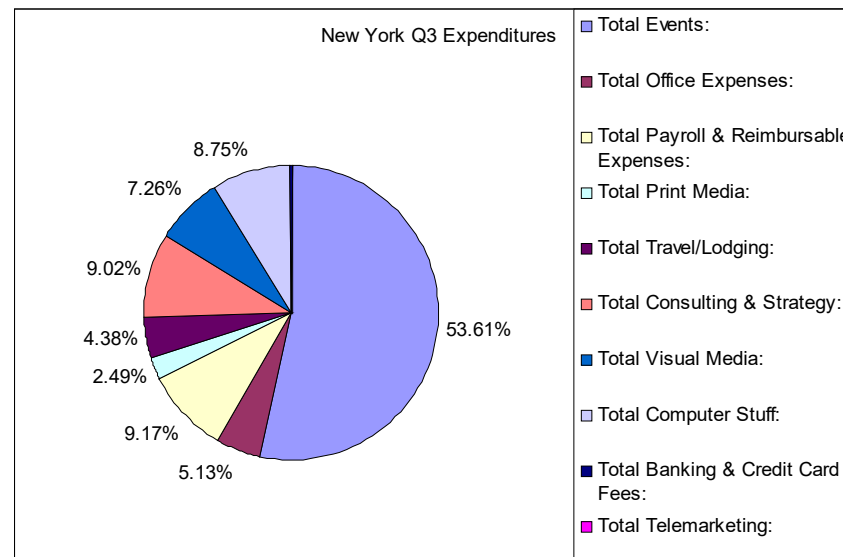
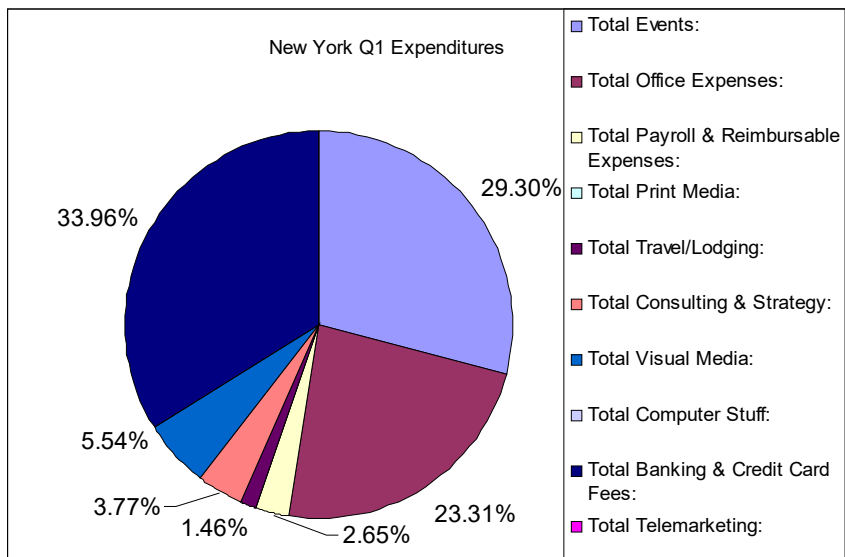
Appendix IV: Chart 6 – Nevada Expenditures



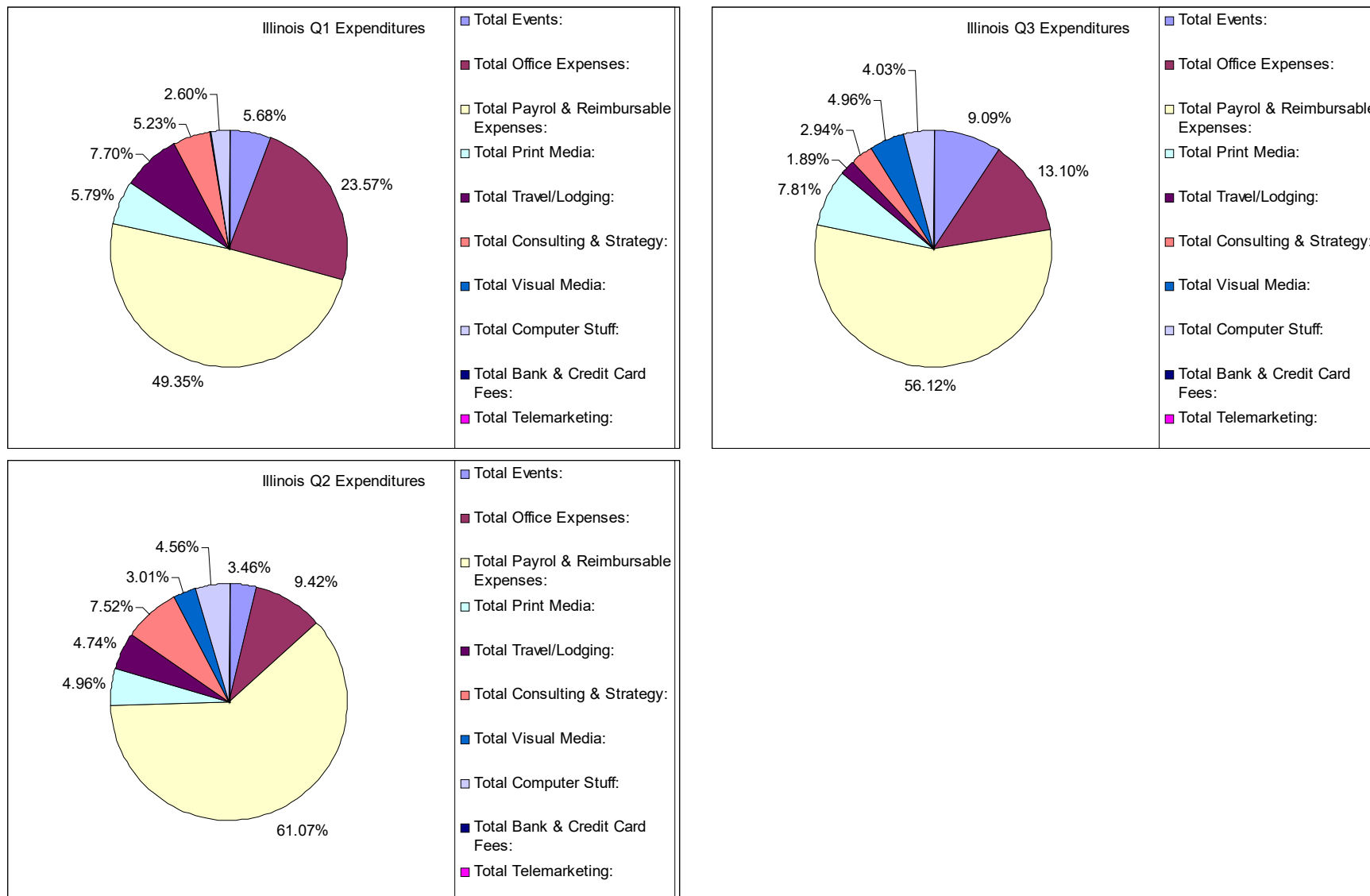
Appendix IV: Chart 7 – California Expenditures



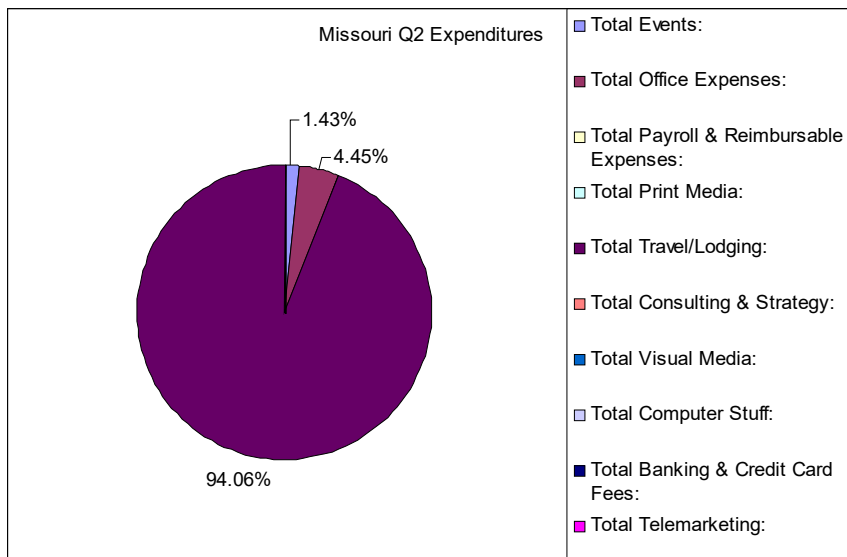
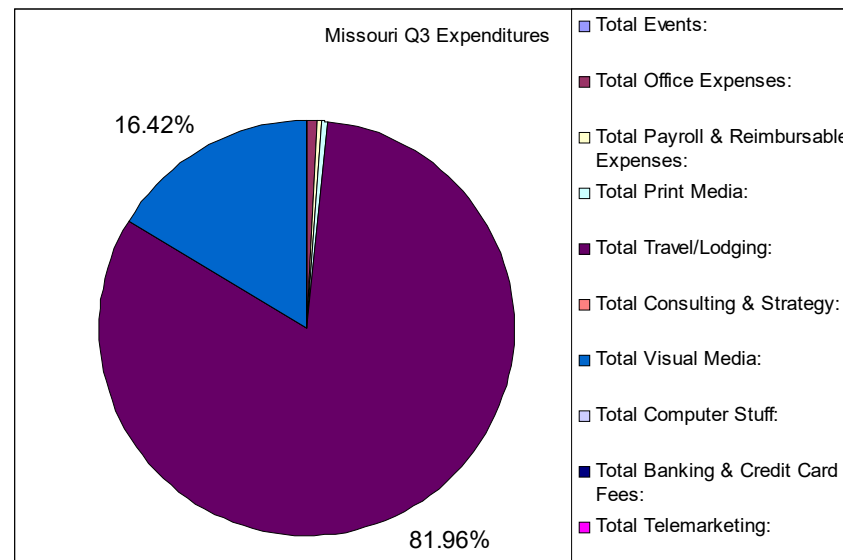
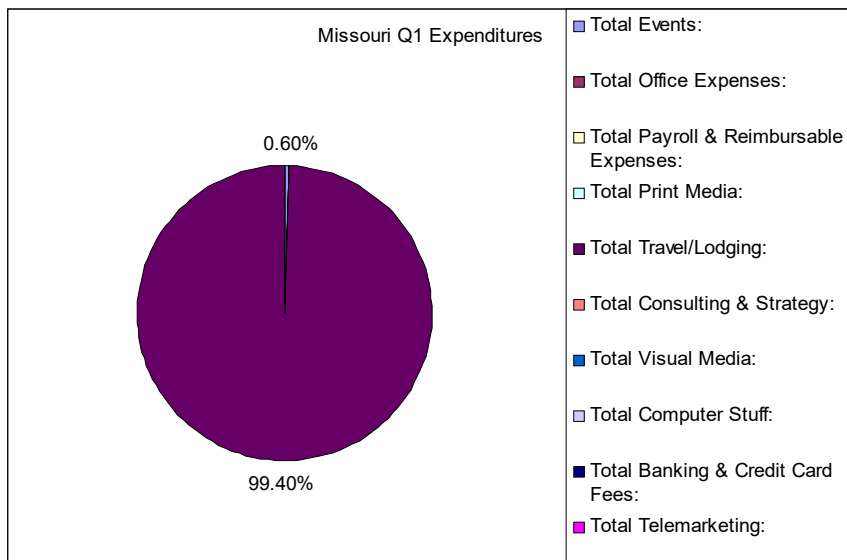
Appendix IV: Chart 8 – New York Expenditures



Appendix IV: Chart 9 – Illinois Expenditures



Appendix IV: Chart 10 – Missouri Expenditures



Appendix IV: Chart 11 – North Carolina Expenditures

