Race Blunts The Economic Effect? The 2008 Obama Forecast

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the model would have awarded him a vote share (51.1%) closer to the outcome in November. So it might be wise to use a broader measure of primary performance to predict the vote in November.

The model’s other predictor exploits a cyclical dynamic of presidential elections. When a party has controlled the White House for two terms, as Republicans did the last eight years, the opposition party often has a better than even chance to win the next election. For 2008, however, the cyclical component on its own would have predicted a Republican victory. How so? One, the operation of the cycle was muted due to the closeness of the 2000 and 2004 elections. What is more, this dynamic was disrupted in 2000, when the winner of the popular vote failed to prevail in the Electoral College. But that is the kind of rare event that must be left to random error.

Even so, and without considering an unpopular president, a faltering economy, and a meltdown on Wall Street during the election campaign, the Primary Model was able to pick the winner of the 2008 election months ahead of time and well within two standard errors.

**RACE BLUNTS THE ECONOMIC EFFECT?**

**THE 2008 OBAMA FORECAST**

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In summer 2008, our Jobs Model forecast a Democratic presidential candidate two-party popular vote share of 56.6%, which would deliver the incumbent party the biggest defeat of any post-World War II contest (Lewis-Beck and Tien 2008). However, we argued, from our analysis of different experimental and observational evidence, that this unprecedented victory would be prevented by racially intolerant voters. We estimated the net racial cost of being a black candidate and corrected our overall forecast downward to 50.1% for Barack Obama. The unparalleled economic crisis, initiated after the worst years in the series are 1992, 2004, and 2008. The for-

To formalize this effect into the model, suggesting at the same time that economic voting was diminished by the role of race. The model, like most other statistical forecasting models, relies on measures taken in the summer. As long as the subsequent campaign operates within usual bounds, this measurement assumption poses little difficulty. However, when a major shock occurs post-measurement, as happened with the autumn economic and leadership crisis, it behooves the sensible forecaster to consider its impact. Therefore, as an exercise, we use more current estimates for the model’s independent variables, namely Jobs (from January 2005 through October 2008) = 4.95; GNP × E (from second quarter data updated October 30) = 0.37; Incumbency Advantage = 0 (as before); presidential approval (for October) = 25. Plugging these independent variable values into the Jobs Model (Lewis-Beck and Tien 2008, 688) yields a McCain forecast of 41.3% and an Obama forecast of 58.7%. This forecast, even more so than our original, bespeaks an Obama landslide. While his victory was comfortable, it was not a landslide. We argue that the expected landslide did not materialize, because a portion of the electorate could not bring itself to vote for a black candidate.

What portion? In our paper, we estimated that number, on net, at 11.5%. If we apply that correction to this current Obama forecast, we get 58.7 × 0.885 = 51.9%. This estimate is very close to the two-party popular vote share that candidate Obama won.

**Bailout Effects, Blunted by Race?**

Clearly, Obama benefited from the economic voting the bailout engendered. We would like to formally incorporate this effect into the model, suggesting at the same time that economic voting was diminished by the role of race. The model, like most other statistical forecasting models, relies on measures taken in the summer. As long as the subsequent campaign operates within usual bounds, this measurement assumption poses little difficulty. However, when a major shock occurs post-measurement, as happened with the autumn economic and leadership crisis, it behooves the sensible forecaster to consider its impact. Therefore, as an exercise, we use more current estimates for the model’s independent variables, namely Jobs (from January 2005 through October 2008) = 4.95; GNP × E (from second quarter data updated October 30) = 0.37; Incumbency Advantage = 0 (as before); presidential approval (for October) = 25. Plugging these independent variable values into the Jobs Model (Lewis-Beck and Tien 2008, 688) yields a McCain forecast of 41.3% and an Obama forecast of 58.7%. This forecast, even more so than our original, bespeaks an Obama landslide. While his victory was comfortable, it was not a landslide. We argue that the expected landslide did not materialize, because a portion of the electorate could not bring itself to vote for a black candidate.

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**REMARKS**
