

# **Iowa Voting Series, Paper 1: An Empirical Examination of Iowa Voter Registration Statistics Since 2000**

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## **Abstract**

This is the first paper in a series examining aspects of voting in Iowa. In this short paper I take a look at Iowa's voter registration statistics since January 2000. One goal of the paper is to help explain why Iowa is considered a swing state. Data for the examination come from the Iowa Secretary of State website which posts monthly updates on voter registration in the state. Results show that the number of registered voters in Iowa has remained fairly stable since 2000, much like its population. Registration between Democrats and Republicans has also remained quite stable and fairly equal during the period with four exceptions: a lead opened up by Republicans in 2002-2003, a larger lead opened up by Democrats in 2008-2009, a lead by Republicans in 2017-2018, and a lead opened up by Republicans in 2020. In the first three instances the gap closed and the two parties returned to near equality. No Party voters (what Iowa calls registered voters who do not register with either political party) were always more numerous than those for either party until a huge party shift for the June 2020 primary.

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## **Updates**

Unlike most academic papers I plan to regularly update the data for this paper. Data updates might lead to changes in the text as well. Below is a list of the updates as they have occurred.

- Initial release, December 2013
- Updated for January 2014 registration numbers
- Updated for February 2014 registration numbers; addition to title
- Updated for March 2014 registration numbers; added new footnote 5 and others renumbered
- Updated through February 2015 registration numbers, including data from 2014 elections and adjustments for nonvoters; new footnote 8; slight change in calculations for Figure 2
- Updated through January 2017 registration numbers, including data from 2016 elections
- Updated through April 2019 registration numbers, including data from 2018 elections.
- Updated through January 2021 registration numbers, including data from 2020 elections.
- Updated through February 2023 registration numbers, including data from 2022 elections.

# **Iowa Voting Series, Paper 1: An Empirical Examination of Iowa Voter Registration Statistics Since 2000**

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This is the first paper in a series examining aspects of voting in Iowa. In this short paper I take an empirical look at Iowa's voter registration statistics since January 2000. As an empirical examination I am going to focus on the data and largely leave theorizing about the results for later. For similar reasons, I will not be citing other academic works dealing with either voting in Iowa or in general.

Although I do not plan to put the results I find into a theoretical framework, there are questions I hope to answer in this examination. For the last several presidential election cycles Iowa has been seen as a swing state. In part this is due to its having gone for Democrat Al Gore in 2000 and then switched to Republican George W. Bush in 2004 in two very close elections. Iowa's presidential election results in 2008 were not that close when the voters selected Democrat Barack Obama. Iowa went for Barack Obama again in 2012, but the margin was closer than it had been in 2008. In 2016 the pendulum swung back and Republican Donald Trump won by a slightly larger margin than Obama had in 2008. In 2020, Trump won again by just a bit less than his 2016 margin.

Iowa has seen similar swings in midterm election years. This was particularly so when Democrats did very well in Iowa in 2006, but lost ground to Republicans in 2010. The 2014 midterms proved another good year for Republicans in Iowa in that they picked up an open US Senate seat and an open US House seat (and held another open US House seat). On the other hand, Democrats kept control of the state senate and the winners of state-wide offices in 2014 were a mix of Democrats (Attorney General, Treasurer) and Republicans (Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor, Agriculture Secretary). The 2018 elections provided another set of mixed results in that Republicans won the races for Governor, Secretary of State, and Agriculture Secretary, but Democrats beat the incumbent State Auditor as well as incumbents in two of Iowa Congressional Districts (IA01 and IA03). The 2022 elections were a bit less mixed in that Republicans held all their Congressional races and defeated the only incumbent Democrat. They also defeated two longtime incumbent state officials (Attorney General and Treasurer) and picked up seats in the state House and Senate. Even so, the incumbent Democrat State Auditor won reelection.

Aside from election results, Iowa is also considered a swing state based on the party distribution of its registered voters. As will be shown below, since 2000 the average distribution of Iowa's registered voters has been 31.97% Republicans and 31.61% Democrats with the remaining 36.41% No Party and Other. During that time the lead between Democrats and Republicans has changed six times (through January 2023). No Party voters were always more numerous than Democrats and Republicans until a dramatic change for the June 2020 primary.

In addition to the numbers themselves I will also look at them in relation to elections, presidential and midterm, as well as the Iowa Caucuses. Registering to vote in Iowa is fairly easy and can be done as late as the night of caucuses or day of voting. Voter registration changes around those events can provide some insight into the enthusiasm felt by one party or the other. A related consideration that is a bit longer term is the extent to which one party or the other is successful at registering new voters.

## Data

Data for this examination were gathered from the voter registration section of the Iowa Secretary of State's website.<sup>1</sup> The website presents voter registration figures by county and by congressional district (as well as by state House and Senate districts). Because of occasional variations in the format of the reports during the time period examined, I made use of both the county and congressional district reports to get the necessary registration figures for the state as a whole. The Secretary of State updates the voter registration statistics on approximately the first of every month. The dates on the reports are sometimes a day or two after the first of the month due to weekends and holidays. Occasionally, the dates are well into a particular month due to delays in gathering the data from the county auditors or other technical difficulties. Aside from such minor variations, there were also a few months for which the data were not posted. This occurred for three (non-consecutive) months in 2002 as well as three months in 2006. For such missing data I simply interpolated a figure between those of available data points.

Without going into the specifics, under Iowa law voters can register for a political party if voters cast at least two percent of the ballots in the preceding general election for the candidate at the top of the ticket of that party (i.e., president or governor). At different times during the period examined here Iowa allowed voters to register for the Green Party or the Libertarian Party. The Green Party gained official party status in Iowa following the 2000 election. Despite peaking at 2,480 registered voters in January of 2003, because the gubernatorial Green Party candidate failed to achieve the required two percent threshold in the 2002 elections the party lost certification and voters who

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<sup>1</sup> <http://sos.iowa.gov/elections/voterreg/regstat.html>. This and all other links are valid as of the date this paper is posted.

were registered with the Green Party were transferred to No Party status.<sup>2</sup> Following the 2016 election the Libertarian Party gained official status. Libertarian Party registrations peaked at 13,437 in January of 2019, but because the gubernatorial Libertarian Party candidate received less than two percent of the vote in the 2018 election the party lost certification and Libertarian voters were transferred to Other status.

Secretary of State voter registration reports also contain a column for “Other,” meaning other than the recognized parties or No Party. For purposes of this examination figures for Green or Libertarian Party registrants or “Other” are added to the No Party totals.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the two major political parties currently recognized, Iowans may now register for a recognized “non-party political organization” (NPPO). To be recognized as an NPPO an organization must have nominated a candidate for a federal or state-wide office who appeared on a general election ballot in the previous 10 years. Only two such organizations are currently available on the official Iowa voter registration form: Green and Libertarian.<sup>4</sup> Voters who register for the Green or Libertarian NPPOs are included in the Other category for state statistics and, as noted above, I have combined the Other and No Party categories.<sup>5</sup>

In the 2022 elections the Libertarian candidate for governor received more than 2% of the vote which qualified the Libertarians to be an official party in Iowa again. A Libertarian column was added to the monthly statistics starting with the February 2023 report and all voters who were listed under the Libertarian NPPO were reclassified as part of the Libertarian party. For this first listing there were 12,557 active and 2,877 inactive voters listed as Libertarian. Again, however, I will be including Libertarians with the Other and No Party voters for most purposes.<sup>6</sup>

Iowa voter registrations are also divided between those that are “active” and those that are “inactive.” When one registers to vote in Iowa he or she is initially considered an

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<sup>2</sup> There was not a state-wide voter registration system in place at that time and some counties were slower than others in making this transfer. As a result, the Secretary of State voter registration reports continued to have a column for the Green Party until mid-2006.

<sup>3</sup> The “Other” category did not appear in the Secretary of State reports until January 2008.

<sup>4</sup> The official form can be found here: <https://sos.iowa.gov/elections/pdf/voteapp.pdf>. Iowa now has online voter registration as well:

<https://mymvd.iowadot.gov/Account/Login?ReturnUrl=%2fVoterRegistration>.

<sup>5</sup> In February 2014 the Iowa Secretary of State announced a fix to a technical glitch that had caused self-identified Libertarian or Green Party NPPO registrants to appear as No Party on state documents. This seemed to only affect voter ID cards. See

<http://www.desmoinesregister.com/article/20140222/NEWS09/302220062/1056/news05>.

<sup>6</sup> The previous times the Green or Libertarian parties gained official status was after a presidential election. That the Libertarians managed it in a gubernatorial election suggests that they stand a good chance of retaining official status after the 2024 elections.

“active” voter. Voters who have changed addresses or who have not voted in two or more consecutive general elections are sent a “confirmation card” to determine whether they are still registered at the address last indicated on the county voter rolls. Following additional procedures, if such voters do not confirm their addresses as being in the county in which they are registered they are put on inactive status and may be removed from the voter registration rolls if they do not vote before another two consecutive general elections have passed.<sup>7</sup> When such “list maintenance” occurs to the voter rolls there is usually a sharp drop to the active and inactive voter numbers. The percentage of inactive voters at any time ranges from slightly under 5% to a bit under 17% with an average of a little under 8%.

In Figure 1<sup>8</sup>, Iowa’s number of total active voters and total voters are plotted from January 2000, to January 2023. The difference between the two lines represents the number of inactive voters. It is easy to see that the two lines track very closely with the exception of a period of a few months in mid-2012, again in 2018, and a big drop in mid-2021. For the most part, I will focus on active voters for this examination.

According to the 2000 census Iowa had a population of 2,926,324. By the time of the 2010 census that figure had increased to 3,046,355. This represented a modest growth of 4.1% for the decade. That growth rate was a bit lower than the 5.4% of the prior decade, but did allow Iowa to continue to make population gains after having lost population during the 1980s. Unfortunately for Iowa, that modest growth rate was below that of the rest of the country and the state went from five to four congressional districts following the 2010 census. The 2020 census indicates Iowa’s population was 3,193,079. That’s a growth rate of 4.7%, but still lower than the US population growth of 7.3%. Iowa did not lose a Congressional seat this time, but likely will following the 2030 census.

The relative stability of Iowa’s population provides some context to an examination of Iowa’s voter registration statistics.

## Registered Voter Totals

Again, Figure 1 plots the monthly voter registration totals since January 2000. During the first four and a half years of this period the active voter totals remained fairly stable with the biggest bump coming, not surprisingly, in the lead up to the 2000 general election. After hitting a low of about 1.78 million in June 2003 the number of active voters rose in the lead up to the 2004 caucuses, but from then until the end of 2004 there

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<sup>7</sup> I will not go into more detail, but for those interested Iowa’s voter registration laws are found in Title II, Chapter 48A of the Iowa Code. See <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/publications/search>.

<sup>8</sup> It is a bit inconvenient for readers, but to make the figures larger I will put them at the end of the paper rather than within the text.

was an even greater increase. As will be shown below, this spike in registered voters was largely driven by an increase in registered Democrats in the lead up to the 2004 general election. It is not surprising that the number of active voters decreased from this peak following the 2004 general election (at the very least because of the yearly maintenance of the voter rolls). What is surprising is that the number of active voters seemed to reach a plateau roughly 100,000 voters higher than in the first several years of the decade.

Since October 2004 the number of active Iowa voters has ranged between 1.9 and 2.1 million, with only a few exceptions. The first came in mid-2007 when maintenance of the voter rolls pushed the number of active voters to just below the 1.9 million mark. Following that low, the number of active voters eventually surged to its (then) all-time high of 2,042,997 following the 2008 general election.<sup>9</sup> That surge was followed by a significant drop as voter list maintenance occurred in the first months of 2009. The number of active voters again climbed in the lead up to the 2010 elections until they just barely crossed the two million mark in January 2011. The fourth deviation came in mid-2012 when there was a sharp drop in active voters. The drop in total voters was not as large, so it appears that many active voters were moved to the inactive list.<sup>10</sup> Again, from this low the number of registrations surged to just over two million for the third time following the 2012 general election. Although there was another peak in active voter registrations in 2014, the number was well below the 2010 peak and did not cross the two million mark. The presidential election of 2016 saw another surge in active registered voters. In fact, the 2,045,864 active voters as of January 2017 set a new all-time high for the state. The fifth time the number of active voters crossed the two million mark was following the 2018 midterm elections. The 2,034,275 active voters as of February, 2019, was not an overall high, but was well above the prior post-midterm number of 1,953,251 (January 2015). After the 2018 elections Iowa's active voter total was above the two million mark more often than not. Beginning in January 2021, the active voter number was above two million for seven straight months, above 2.1 million for the last two of those, and at an all-time high of 2,124,895. List maintenance following the 2020 Census caused the number of active voters to drop sharply to below 1.9 million. It eventually rose again above that mark by January 2022.

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<sup>9</sup> County auditors generally have seven business days now to process voter registrations given that they can be done electronically. That deadline is extended to 21 days from election day and 45 days after caucuses given the increased number of paper registrations for those events. Thus, most changes made through election day in November should appear in the December report, but might not until the January report. List maintenance for consistent nonvoters begins to appear in the months following.

<sup>10</sup> The excitement of the 2008 caucuses and general election likely brought out many new voters who may have not voted in later elections. If such new voters did not vote again through the next two general elections they would have been moved to inactive status. Footnote 13 below mentions an additional reason for the sharp drop in mid-2012.

On the whole, the active voter totals reflect the general stability of Iowa's population. As previously noted, Iowa's population grew by 4.1% from 2000 to 2010 and about 4.7% since then. From January 2000 to July 2004 the average number of active registered voters was 1,820,908. Since the number crossed the 1.9 million mark for the 2004 presidential election cycle the average has grown to 1,953,249, an increase of about 7.3%. This increase is above the percentage of Iowa's population growth and it likely reflects increased voter registration outreach efforts and methods over the last few election cycles. Aside from the new plateau reached after the 2004 election cycle, the bumps and dips in the active registration totals generally coincide with the caucuses and general elections as well as list maintenance as voters are moved from the active to inactive lists.

## **Active Voter Distribution by Party**

Figure 2 breaks out Iowa's active registered voters by party: Republican, Democrat, and No Party.<sup>11</sup> The first thing to notice is how closely the active voter registrations for Republicans and Democrats track together. The period begins with Republicans having roughly a 20,000 active voter registration advantage. This advantage was quite steady for the next two and a half years. From mid-2002 until the end of 2003 we see a widening gap between the two parties. Most of this gap occurred in the lead up to the 2002 elections. Although we would normally expect the party that does not control the White House to make gains in the midterm elections, such was not the case for 2002. Possible reasons for this might include post-9/11 feelings as well as a Republican base energized over the disappointment of Senator Jim Jeffords (R-VT) leaving the Republican party and throwing control of the Senate to the Democrats. Regardless of the reasons for it, Republicans enjoyed a voter registration advantage of over 50,000 for the 2002 midterm elections and through 2003.<sup>12</sup>

Throughout 2004 Democrats made substantial gains in their voter registration numbers. This is not surprising given that they were not the party in control of the White House and with no clear frontrunner for their party's nomination the competition among the various Democrats generated a lot of interest. Democrats continued to build on their gains from the Iowa Caucuses through the general election. Had it not been for a surge in Republican voter registrations prior to the general election Democrats would have surpassed Republicans in active voter registrations for the first time in the period. As it was, Democrats did pull within about 4,000 registered voters of the Republicans.

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<sup>11</sup> Recall that "No Party" is how Iowa refers to independent voters. Also, for purposes of this examination voters registered as anything other than Republican or Democrat are grouped with No Party voters. Although I will use the label "No Party" in the figures and the text, the assumption is that it includes registrants in the Green Party, Libertarian Party, or the Other category, which includes those in NPPOs, unless noted otherwise.

<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, this advantage did not help Republicans in several statewide races in 2002 as their candidates lost in attempts to unseat incumbent Democrats such as Governor Tom Vilsack and Senator Tom Harkin.



For the next 18 months active voter registrations for Republicans and Democrats again tracked very closely, including a dip during the first half of 2006. The small spike in registrations for Democrats in July 2006 was largely due to a spirited primary for the gubernatorial nomination. Active voter registrations again tracked very closely for the two parties over the next year and a half, though with Democrats enjoying an advantage of 20,000 or so voters.

Given the overall interest in the 2008 caucuses, it is a little surprising that voter registration figures for both parties did not increase more during the latter half of 2007. This changed dramatically for the Democrats during the month of the 2008 caucuses. During January 2008 there were over 58,000 additional voter registrations for Democrats. This was the largest one-month increase for any party during the period examined. What is particularly interesting about this increase, however, is that it apparently came largely at the expense of No Party registrations.

As a reminder, the Iowa Caucuses are events put on by the political parties. To participate one must be a member of the party, Democrats or Republicans, holding the caucus one wishes to attend. Voters registered as No Party do not have a caucus. If No Party voters wish to attend a party caucus they must reregister to vote and declare membership as a Democrat or Republican.<sup>13</sup> Although both parties had “open” caucuses in 2008 (i.e., there was no incumbent running), there was far more interest on the Democrats’ side. There are two basic reasons for this. First, after two terms it is usually hard for the president’s party to generate as much interest as the opposition party whose base is more eager to regain the White House. Second, the battle between Democrats Barack Obama, John Edwards, and Hillary Clinton, and the historic nature of possibly nominating Obama or Clinton, generated far more interest than the Republican contest where the ultimate nominee, John McCain, chose to largely skip Iowa. Thus, No Party voters looking to participate in one of the caucuses were much more likely to choose to caucus with the Democrats. As a result, No Party voter registrations declined by over 49,000 during the month of the caucuses.

Compare the voter registration changes for the 2008 caucuses with those for the 2004 caucuses. Although Democrats gained over 20,000 additional registered voters for the 2004 caucus month, No Party registrations only declined by about 5,000 (as did Republican registrations).

Also compare voter registration changes during the 2008 caucuses with those later in the year for the general election. The last few months of the campaign saw additional

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<sup>13</sup> For caucus night, officials for each precinct are provided a list of voters registered in their precinct for that party. Any citizen who is a resident of the county and the specific precinct may participate in that party’s precinct caucus, but if the person is not on the voter list he or she must register or reregister for that party regardless of prior registration status.

sharp increases in voter registrations for the Democrats. No Party registrations also increased sharply through the general election. Republican voter registrations also increased, but their gains were much more modest.

Following the January 2009 relative peak in voter registrations for both parties and No Party voters all three groups experienced drops as voters were moved from the active to the inactive list as a result of yearly adjustments. Republicans then experienced a period of relative stability through mid-2010, but the number of registered Democrats began a period of near steady decline that lasted until mid-2012.

The sharp increase in the number of Republican voter registrations for June 2010 was due to a hotly contested primary for the gubernatorial nomination. Just as a large portion of the Democrats' gains for the 2008 caucuses seemed to be at the expense of No Party voters, the roughly 38,000 voter registration gain by Republicans following the 2010 primary corresponded to a loss of about 23,000 No Party registrants.

The number of registered voters for both parties and No Party voters decreased sharply in the first half of 2012 as the yearly list maintenance from active to inactive status was greater than usual.<sup>14</sup> Even so, there were sharp increases in voter registrations for Democrats and No Party voters, and more modest gains for Republicans.

For much of 2013 and early 2014 registrations for Democrats and Republicans were nearly equal. In March 2014 Republicans went ahead by a few thousand registrants. That lead was expanded to a bit over 16,000 after the June primary. Several candidates were competing for the Republican nomination for an open US Senate seat which, as I predicted in a prior version of this paper, drove up Republican voter registrations. On the other hand, only one Democrat ended up in the race for the gubernatorial nomination to face incumbent Governor Branstad. Along with the open US Senate seat Iowa had two open US House seats in 2014 (IA01 and IA03). The Democrats' nominees in the US Senate seat and in IA03 ran uncontested. Although all three general election races received a lot of attention, it did not seem to help generate more voter registrations for Democrats or Republicans. On the other hand, No Party registrations jumped sharply at the end of 2014.

For the February 2015 version of this paper I suggested that we would not see substantial voter registration gains for either Democrats or Republicans until the Iowa Caucuses were held. That proved to be the case as the registration figures for both parties were nearly flat during the last half of 2015. Both parties increased their registrations significantly for the Caucuses while No Party registrations declined

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<sup>14</sup> Notice that in Figure 1 we do not see a sharp decrease in total voters, only in the active category. I was told by staff in my county auditor's office that the larger than usual adjustment was due in part to data from the 2010 Census that were used in the process. A similar difference occurred following the 2020 Census.

sharply. The changes for Republicans and No Party voters were expected. The change for Democrats was somewhat unexpected, at least from the perspective of early 2015. What changed, of course, was that Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders proved to be a more formidable opponent to Hillary Clinton than anyone expected. The closeness of the contest turned a ho-hum race into one that generated substantial interest and increased voter registrations for the Democrats. Interestingly enough, voter registrations for both parties and No Party voters continued to increase leading into the general election. Of particular note is that at the same time both Democrats and Republicans continued to increase their voter registrations prior to the presidential election the number of No Party voters increased dramatically as well. In fact, No Party voters nearly regained all the registrations lost prior to the 2016 Iowa Caucuses.

The February 2017 voter registration figures showed a drop in voter registrations, largely due to the yearly list maintenance moving registrants who had not voted in two general elections from active to inactive status. Interestingly, through early 2018 the number of active voters for both Democrats and Republicans continued to drop. The number of active No party voters showed some variation, but was not consistently on a downward trajectory as the two parties were. In fact, although the numbers for both Democrats Republicans increased to relative peaks following the 2018 elections, the number of No Party voters not only increased beyond the number following the 2016 election, but passed the 750,000 mark for the first time since 2006.

Another interesting point to mention is the sharp increase in the number of registrations for Democrats in mid-2018. More specifically, Democrats had an increase of 24,190 registrations following the June primary in which they had a spirited race to determine their gubernatorial nominee. At the same time the number of No Party voters decreased by 22,460. There was only a minimal increase in Republican registrations related to the primary (3,478). In 2016 there was some speculation that then-Governor Branstad would not run for reelection in 2018. A competitive primary race likely would have boosted Republican registrations. When Branstad was nominated as Ambassador to China and Lieutenant Governor Reynolds became the governor, however, she effectively became the incumbent and faced little opposition for the nomination. Thus, as we have seen before, spirited races among Democrats, particularly when the Republicans' race is less interesting, can result in sharp increases in their voter registration at the expense of No Party registrations.

Following the 2018 midterm both Democrats and Republicans generally lost voters until the Iowa Caucuses of 2020. Democrats, of course had a hotly contested caucus race and as usual gained voters while the No Party numbers decreased. Republican numbers also decreased given that they had Trump as the incumbent and some Republicans likely changed parties to participate in the Democrats' caucuses. This gave Democrats the lead over Republicans once again.

The big surprise in 2020 came after the caucuses. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the desire to reduce in person activities, including voting, Iowa's Secretary of State mailed every active voter in Iowa an absentee ballot request form. No Party voters who would not ordinarily change their voter registration to vote in a primary, were able to do so simply by sending back the form with a request for either a Democrat or Republican ballot. As you can see from Figure 2, there was an extremely sharp drop in the number of No Party voters between January and July of 2020. The first three months of this drop were due to changes related to the caucuses, but from April through July the reason was changes related to primary ballot requests. During this six month period the number of No Party voters went from its second highest number (762,719) to the lowest of the entire period (640,856). In addition, for the first time during the entire period examined, there were fewer No Party voters than either Democrats or Republicans.

You can also see from the chart that the party changes for the primary benefitted both Democrats and Republicans. Following the primary, all three parties made sharp gains in their registration numbers. This was particularly so for No Party voters as most new voters choose No Party when they initially register. Republicans gained more than Democrats and regained the lead. Although Democrats also gained voters during this period, they did so at a slower pace and were overtaken by No Party voters once again.

In May 2021 list maintenance following the 2020 Census again caused a sharp drop in the number of active voters for all three parties. The number of No Party voters dropped the most at over 140,000. That again put them below both Democrats and Republicans and set a new low for them for the entire period. Although Republicans lost nearly 60,000, Democrats lost nearly 80,000 and the gap between the two parties widened. That gap continued to grow through 2021 and 2022. In particular, Republicans saw a larger gain in registrations after the 2022 primaries than did Democrats. This seemed to be the result of factors such as uncontested primaries for Democrats in some statewide and Congressional races and the view that 2022 was going to be a wave year for Republicans. The weak growth for Democrats also allowed No Party voters to again pass them in December 2022.

## **Party Distribution by Percentage**

Finally, although Figure 2 does a fairly good job of portraying the relative strength of the two parties it is worthwhile to consider the number of each party's active voters as a percentage of Iowa's total.

Figure 3 once again shows the stability in the relative strength of the two parties in Iowa. For the most part, the two parties were of nearly equal strength throughout the period. There were only two major exceptions. The first was the significant gain achieved by Democrats following the 2008 caucuses. The percentage difference

between the two parties was at its maximum in March 2009. For the next three years the percentages for Democrats and Republicans moved toward each other until Republicans pulled slightly ahead in April 2012. The second exception came following the 2020 primary. From that point through February of 2023 Republicans have opened up a gap nearly as large as the one Democrats had in 2008.

As noted earlier, although Democrats and Republicans have occasionally pulled ahead of each other during the period, No Party voters always had more registered active voters until the June 2020 primary. Prior to that date, the closest either party came to equaling the percentage of No Party active voters was in July 2008 when Democrats came within 0.12%.

The percentage of No Party active voters is interesting in that it was quite stable until the sharp drop related to the 2020 primary. With the usual ups and downs, the percentage between January 2000 and February 2008 (the first month after the caucus registrations were added) largely remained between 37% and 39%. The large decrease of No Party registrants shown in the February 2008 numbers, presumably so they could participate in the Democrats' caucuses, seemed to create a new plateau. From February 2008 through May 2020 the No Party percentage dropped roughly two percentage points and mainly ranged between about 35% and 37%. Interestingly, during that period the low percentage points for No Party registrants came in the July figures for 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020, and 2022 which were the first figures following Iowa's closed primaries.<sup>15</sup> It was no surprise we saw a drop in the No Party percentage following the 2020 primary. What was surprising, of course, was the size of the drop. Overall, given that these are percentages in Figure 3, the explanation for the low points is a combination of new voters registering as Democrats or Republicans, greater losses due to regular list maintenance, and No Party voters reregistering for one of the parties to participate in the caucuses or primaries.

## Concluding Comments

In discussing the data presented in the three figures I have emphasized their relative stability. The vertical axes of the figures, as you may have noticed, show rather narrow ranges of the numbers or percentages. In Figure 3, for example, the percentage of registered voters for the three categories (Democrats, Republicans, and No Party voters) ranges from only a bit above 29% to a bit under 41%. The range for just Democrats and Republicans in the same figure is only the eight percentage points between 29% and 37%.

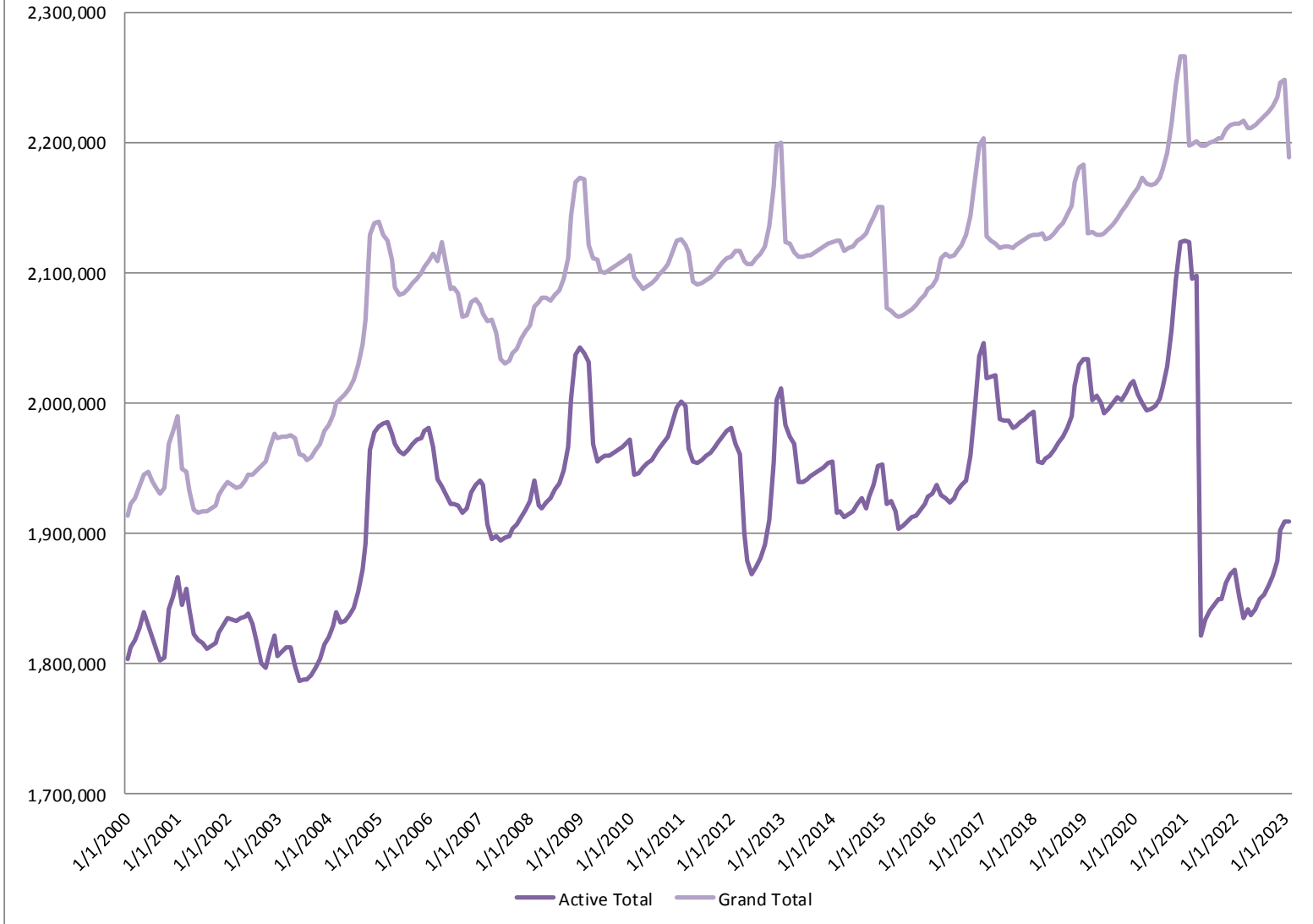
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<sup>15</sup> Voters must be registered as a Democrat or Republican to participate in the primaries for those parties, but can change their registration as late as the day of the primary.

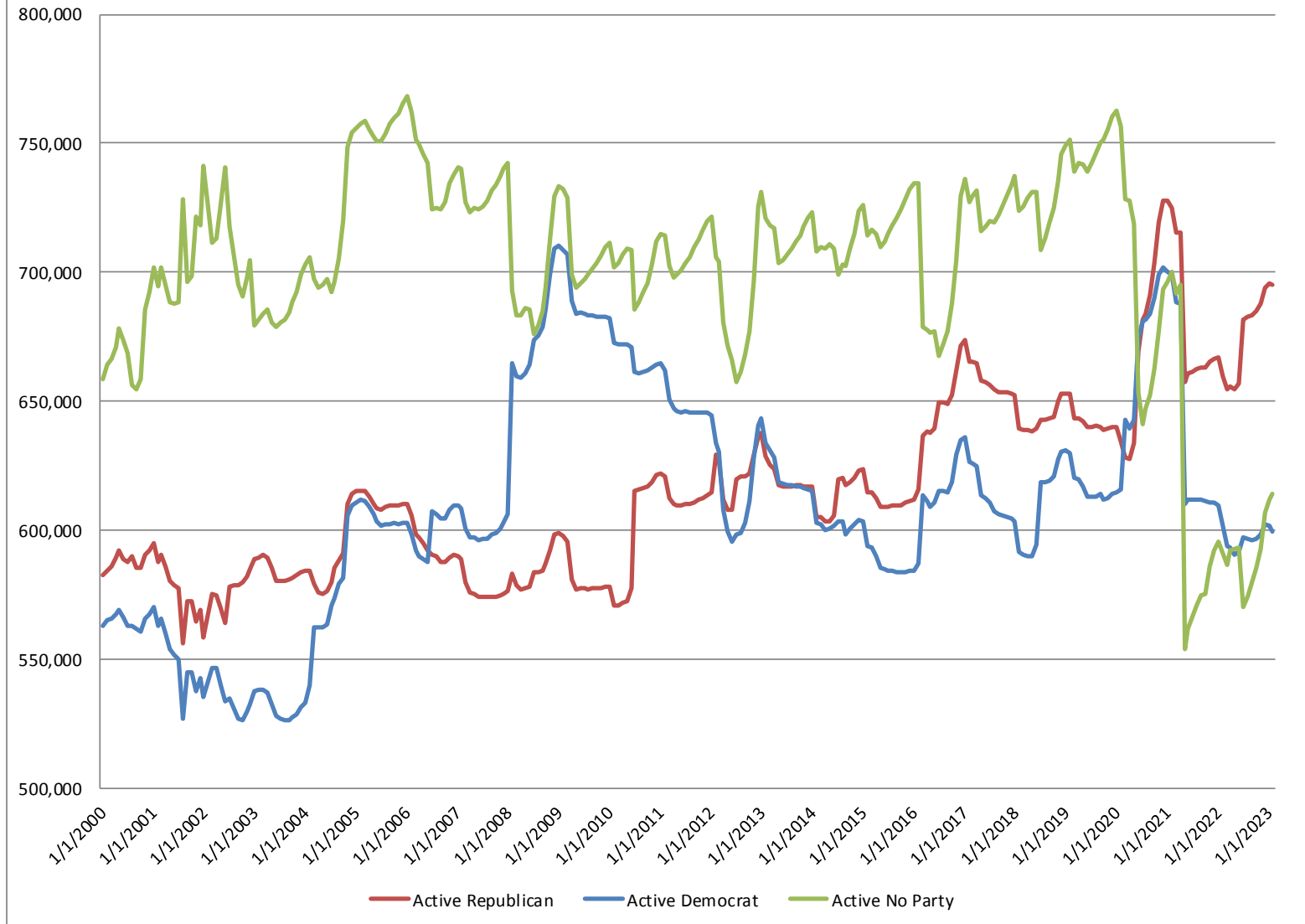
This stability is despite the best efforts of the two parties to gain voters. With the exceptions of the 2008 and 2020 presidential election cycles, the changes between Democrats and Republicans have been marginal. Nevertheless, those small changes can make a difference. Moreover, the large block of No Party voters are fair game for either party. Democrats were very successful in moving a block of No Party voters to their column in 2008 and 2020. Republicans had similar success in 2010 and 2022, if a bit less substantial. For the most part, it is the large block of No Party voters that determine election outcomes in Iowa, particularly at the presidential level. That is what still makes Iowa a swing state.

Finally, let me make a brief comment on candidates competing in the Iowa Caucuses. For the last few caucus cycles some have argued that moderate Republicans do not have a chance in Iowa. The basis for this argument is that social conservatives are a dominant force in Iowa Republican politics so moderates have little hope of winning the caucuses. Although social conservatives are certainly an important group of Iowa Republicans, they are not so numerous or such an overwhelming force that a Republican who is perceived as a moderate on some issues cannot compete. As noted in the discussion of Figure 2, one or more candidates who energize voters can increase the number participating in the caucuses by tapping into the large group of No Party voters, as Democrats did in 2008, Republicans did in 2012, and both parties did in 2016.

**Figure 1: Iowa Registered Voter Totals Since 2000**



**Figure 2: Iowa Active Registered Voters by Party Since 2000**





**Figure 3: Iowa Active Registered Voter Distribution Since 2000**

