

will make him feel more comfortable," said a campaign adviser. "And they've both been through this before."

Clinton's debate performance on Saturday, which the theater critics panned, actually served her well with voters and raised once more whether Democrats are looking for a fighter or a healer. ABC News brought in market researchers who hooked up voters with electrodes to monitor their brain activity. Her flash of anger when the boys ganged up played well with all of them; so did her humor, when she was asked why people don't like her: "Well, that hurts my feelings." But viewers really hated Obama's graceless barb when he told her, "You're likable enough."

Campaign insiders, however, remained pretty sober about her chances. Just about the best they could manage by Monday was to concede that "it is a reasonably long shot, but it is not a fool's errand" for Clinton to continue her campaign past New Hampshire. In a sign of the passing of remote-controlled, big media campaigns, their best hope lay with a ground operation run by a 34-year-old named Nick Clemons, a veteran of former Governor Jeanne Shaheen's operation. "The heart of our ground game was face-to-face contact," he said Wednesday morning, describing a strategy perfected by the Bush-Cheney re-election campaign in 2004. "I know that sounds like old ward-style politics, but it really works." The day before the election, Clemons had an army of 4,000 volunteers knocking on 105,000 New Hampshire doors. Early on, Clinton's team had put together a list of 70,000 of her most likely supporters, slicing and dicing the data by every demographic measure of education level, income and gender to figure out who they were looking for. The answer: "It was women ... We knew we had to go after those women and make sure they voted," said Clemons. Those deemed least likely to make it to the polls got three visits over the final weekend.

Team Clinton even had a worst-case scenario in the event that results out of Iowa weren't all they might hope for. Organizers focused on getting absentee ballots into the hands of seniors, Boston commuters and students on winter break who might not make it to the polls on election day. In the end it was enough to make the difference.

Obama held his own with the labor vote in Iowa; Clinton got it back in New Hampshire, by 10 points. He won among women in Iowa; they swung over to her by a 3-point margin in New Hampshire, along with blue collar workers, a reflection of the

fact that voters' greatest concern in the state was the economy. Round 2 went to Clinton. Now both candidates set their shoulders to head back into the fray. And voters in the other 48 states get ready for their turn.

## II. The Republicans

MEANWHILE, MITT ROMNEY'S PLANS TO shortcut the Republican nomination were based on hard cash, not heartstrings. Instead of challenging his party's old notions, he conformed to them as closely as a loaf of bread conforms to its pan. But he learned in these tumultuous five days that democracy is more than weighing wallets and poll-testing positions, no matter what your consultants might tell you.

Whipped in Iowa by Huckabee—a former Baptist minister with a parson's demeanor and a cobra's bite—Romney foundered in New Hampshire on a block of granite named McCain. When the Associated Press called the New Hampshire race shortly after the polls closed, McCain's volunteers screamed for joy, but the candidate's mood was more muted. McCain had spent the previous 24 hours superstitiously re-creating the trappings of his smashing New Hampshire win eight years ago—sleeping in the same hotel room, wearing the same emerald green sweater and so on. "I guess more nostalgia, you know," he reflected later. "We all know that I would never do this again."

How had the 71-year-old Arizona Senator managed it this time? His story, too, involved catastrophe and reinvention—and voters responding to a personal message from a candidate and a campaign that wouldn't give in.

He entered the campaign a year ago as the apparent front runner, an awkward role for a free-ranging, fence-jumping, kick-the-coral maverick. McCain never got the hang of it, breaking with his party's mainstream on tax cuts, immigration, harsh interrogation of terrorist suspects—the list goes on. By July his bank account and his poll numbers were in a race to zero, which turned out to be a blessing.

"The people who mishandled his campaign did him an enormous favor. They blew up a campaign that couldn't win," says an unaffiliated Republican strategist. "They destroyed his bases and mangled his supply lines. They left him only the option of falling back on himself and his instincts to fight a guerrilla-style campaign. And that's the only way he can win." Troops decimated, supply lines smoldering, McCain returned to the campaign-

### Elections 2008

For continuing coverage of the presidential race, including daily dispatches, videos, our *Swampland* blog and Mark Halperin's analysis on *The Page*, visit [time.com](http://time.com)

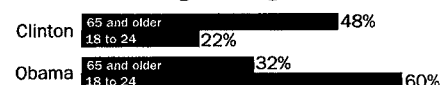
## THE EXIT POLLS

### How Clinton Won

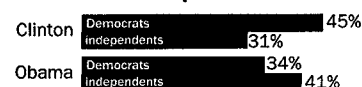
■ 57% of New Hampshire voters were women, and they went strong for Clinton



■ Obama captured first-time voters, but Clinton was stronger among older voters

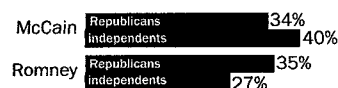


■ Clinton also carried Democrats, who outnumbered independents 54% to 44%



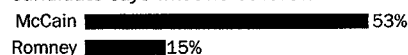
### How McCain Won

■ More than one-third of voters were independents, and they flocked to McCain



■ Among voters who care about experience and candor, McCain was the preferred choice

Candidate says what he believes:



Candidate has the right experience:



## UPCOMING SCHEDULE

### The Democrats

JAN. 19 | NEVADA

Obama is hoping two key union nods will help him regain momentum

JAN. 26 | SOUTH CAROLINA

Clinton's camp briefly considered skipping this contest; now they're in it to win it

FEB. 5 | SUPER TUESDAY

Because Democratic candidates are bypassing primaries in Michigan and Florida, Edwards could stay in the race through this Tuesday when 23 states vote

### The Republicans

JAN. 15 | MICHIGAN

McCain won big here in 2000, but Romney is the home-state boy, and Huckabee has evangelical supporters

JAN. 19 | SOUTH CAROLINA

The fight for this nastiest of GOP-campaign states will be a brawl

JAN. 29 | FLORIDA

Giuliani's entire campaign depends on one decisive victory in the Sunshine State

FEB. 5 | SUPER TUESDAY

With the possibility that four candidates will arrive having each won a contest, things could just get messier here