

Appendix to Chapter 13,
entitled
“The Effect of Messages”
from
*The Obama Victory: How Media, Money, and Message
Shaped the 2008 Election*

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**Appendix 13.1 (see page 301 of *The Obama Victory*)
Obama GRP Advantage Effects on Campaign Messages**

Appendix 13.1 (see page 301 of *The Obama Victory*) Obama GRP Advantage Effects on Campaign Messages

Relying on ad-buy data, we formulated 11 statistical models, each predicting one of the campaign message variables outlined above. In the presence of the controls used in the models outlined in chapter 12 (socio-demographics, political orientation variables, news media, and measures for aggregate competitiveness at the county level), we find evidence that Obama's advertising directly affected the respondents' embrace of some of the central campaign messages. Looking at the per-100 GRP difference between the two campaigns in three media, we found that Obama's advertising advantage was positively related to believing that electing McCain was like electing George W. Bush for a third term. The GRP difference was significantly and negatively related to McCain's ratings on the trait "has the judgment to be president." Thinking that Obama could handle the economy better than McCain was significantly related to Obama GRP advantage, as was the perception that Obama "shares your values" more so than does McCain. (p. 301)*

Table A13.1. Logistic Regression Predicting the Belief that Electing McCain is like Electing George W. Bush for a Third Term

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	2.100	***	.178	8.164
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	.075	***	.043	1.078
Age (in years)	-.008	***	.001	.992
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	1.012		.086	2.751
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	.054	***	.086	1.056
Education (in years)	-.041	***	.010	.960
Household income (in thousands)	-.003	***	.000	.997
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.238	***	.062	.290
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	1.049	***	.047	2.856
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-.478	***	.021	.620
Average of number of days saw or hear presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.052	***	.014	1.053
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	.402	***	.082	1.496
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	-.169		.223	.844
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	.038	*	.017	1.038
N			13,355	
Cox & Snell R-square			.278	
Nagelkerke R-square			.373	
Percent Correct			74.4	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Electing McCain is like Electing George W. Bush for a Third Term was measured with the question: “Which of the following two statements come closer to your view: electing Sen. John McCain for President would be like electing George W. Bush for a third term, or Sen. McCain will have major differences with George W. Bush in a number of areas.” Responses that said both or neither were also recorded. For the analysis, those who said that “*electing Sen. John McCain for President would be like electing George W. Bush for a third term*” were assigned a value of 1, and those who said that “*Sen. McCain will have major differences with George W. Bush in a number of areas,*” *both, neither, or don’t know* were assigned a value of 0.

Table A13.2. Logistic Regression Predicting the Belief that McCain is “Too Old to Be President”

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	.269		.178	1.308
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	.300 ***		.042	1.349
Age (in years)	.002		.001	1.002
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	.569 ***		.071	1.766
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	.162 *		.082	1.176
Education (in years)	-.050 ***		.010	.952
Household income (in thousands)	.000 ***		.000	1.000
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.066 ***		.065	.344
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	.629 ***		.046	1.876
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-.274 ***		.020	.760
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.056 ***		.013	1.058
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	.388 ***		.080	1.475
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	-.114		.213	.892
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	.012		.016	1.012
N			13,163	
Cox & Snell R-square			.146	
Nagelkerke R-square			.205	
Percent Correct			70.6	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

McCain Too Old was measured with the question: “Do you feel John McCain is too old to be president, or not?” For the analysis, *yes, McCain is too old* was coded as 1 and *no, McCain is not too old* and *don't know* responses were coded as 0.

Table A13.3. OLS Regression Predicting Perceptions of Obama as Liberal

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	2.265	***	.074	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.104	***	.018	-.048
Age (in years)	.003	***	.001	.049
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-.390	***	.033	-.098
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.252	***	.037	-.056
Education (in years)	.073	***	.004	.164
Household income (in thousands)	.001	***	.000	.056
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	.437	***	.023	.184
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-.232	***	.022	-.104
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.067	***	.009	.072
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.047	***	.006	.071
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	-.069	*	.034	-.017
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	.079		.089	.007
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	.003		.007	.004
N			12,741	
R-square			.182	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Obama as Liberal was measured with the question: “Which of the following best describes the views of Barack Obama: very conservative, somewhat conservative, moderate, somewhat liberal, or very liberal?” The order to the ideology spectrum was rotated randomly. For the above analysis, *very conservative* was coded as 1 and *very liberal* was coded as 5.

Table A13.4. OLS Regression Predicting the Difference in Rating “Has the Experience To Be President” (McCain minus Obama)

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	-1.522	***	.277	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.185	**	.066	-.019
Age (in years)	-.003	***	.002	-.009
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-2.809	***	.125	-.158
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.652	***	.139	-.032
Education (in years)	.027	#	.016	.014
Household income (in thousands)	.004	***	.001	.046
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	2.420	***	.085	.227
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-2.427	***	.081	-.241
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	1.035	***	.033	.247
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.031		.021	.010
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	-1.241	***	.127	-.069
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	.703	*	.333	.014
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	-.012		.026	-.003
N			13,118	
R-square			.413	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Difference in Rating Experience was measured with the question: “I am going to read you some phrases. For each one, please tell me how well that phrase applies to the following candidates. Please use a scale from 0 to 10, where ‘zero’ means it does not apply at all and 10 means it applies extremely well. Of course you can use any number in between. The first candidate is (INSERT). How well does the phrase ‘has the experience needed to be president’ apply to (INSERT)?” For the analysis, Obama’s ratings were subtracted from McCain’s ratings on the experience trait.

Table A13.5. OLS Regression Predicting the Difference in Rating “Has the Judgment To Be President” (McCain minus Obama)

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	-3.380	***	.294	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.085		.070	-.008
Age (in years)	.011	***	.002	.031
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-2.650	***	.132	-.135
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.495	***	.147	-.022
Education (in years)	-.067	***	.016	-.030
Household income (in thousands)	.003	***	.001	.030
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	2.789	***	.090	.236
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-2.735	***	.086	-.246
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	1.356	***	.035	.293
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	-.037		.023	-.011
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	-1.538	***	.134	-.077
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	1.009	**	.353	.018
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	-.063	*	.028	-.015
N			13,109	
R-square			.463	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Difference in Rating Judgment was measured with the question: “I am going to read you some phrases. For each one, please tell me how well that phrase applies to the following candidates. Please use a scale from 0 to 10, where ‘zero’ means it does not apply at all and 10 means it applies extremely well. Of course you can use any number in between. The first candidate is (INSERT). How well does the phrase ‘has the judgment needed to be president’ apply to (INSERT)?” For the analysis, Obama’s ratings were subtracted from McCain’s ratings on the judgment trait.

Table A13.6. OLS Regression Predicting the Difference in Rating “Patriotic” (McCain minus Obama)

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	-.648	**	.261	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.130	*	.062	-.015
Age (in years)	.004	#	.002	.014
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-2.478	***	.118	-.155
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.912	***	.131	-.050
Education (in years)	-.031	*	.015	-.017
Household income (in thousands)	.004	***	.001	.048
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	1.847	***	.080	.193
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.878	***	.076	-.208
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.908	***	.031	.242
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.054	**	.020	.020
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	-1.421	***	.119	-.088
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	1.138	***	.314	.026
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	-.007		.024	-.002
N			13,106	
R-square			.356	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Difference in Rating Patriotic was measured with the question: “I am going to read you some phrases. For each one, please tell me how well that phrase applies to the following candidates. Please use a scale from 0 to 10, where ‘zero’ means it does not apply at all and 10 means it applies extremely well. Of course you can use any number in between. The first candidate is (INSERT). How well does the phrase ‘patriotic’ apply to (INSERT)?” For the analysis, Obama’s ratings were subtracted from McCain’s ratings on the patriotic trait.

Table A13.7. OLS Regression Predicting Belief that Palin is Not “Ready to Be President”

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	6.211	***	.196	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.024		.046	-.004
Age (in years)	-.007	***	.002	-.036
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	.606	***	.091	.053
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.592	***	.100	-.045
Education (in years)	.115	***	.011	.090
Household income (in thousands)	.003	***	.000	.050
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.399	***	.059	-.213
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	1.184	***	.058	.186
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-.674	***	.023	-.257
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.126	***	.015	.067
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	.798	***	.090	.070
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	-.108		.236	-.003
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	.036	*	.018	.015
N			11,850	
R-square			.306	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Palin Not Ready to Be President was measured with the question: “Now I am going to ask you about the candidates for vice-president. On a scale of 0 to 10, where ‘zero’ means it does not apply at all and 10 means it applies extremely well, please tell me how well the phrase ‘ready to be president’ applies to Sarah Palin.” For the analysis, the scale was reverse-coded, so that 0 meant *applies extremely well* and 10 meant *not at all*.

Table A13.8. OLS Regression Predicting Belief that Biden is “Ready to Be President”

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	5.125	***	.182	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	.092	*	.043	.017
Age (in years)	.015	***	.001	.085
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	.829	***	.080	.086
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	.185	*	.094	.016
Education (in years)	.079	***	.010	.071
Household income (in thousands)	.001		.000	.013
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-.666	***	.055	-.115
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	1.026	***	.052	.188
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-.490	***	.021	-.215
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.112	***	.014	.068
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	.482	***	.082	.049
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	-.391	#	.216	-.014
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	.018		.017	.009
N			12,271	
R-square			.226	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Biden Ready to Be President was measured with the question: “Now I am going to ask you about the candidates for vice-president. On a scale of 0 to 10, where ‘zero’ means it does not apply at all and 10 means it applies extremely well, please tell me how well the phrase ‘ready to be president’ applies to Joe Biden.” For the analysis, the scale was coded, so that 0 meant *not at all* and 10 meant *applies extremely well*.

Table A13.9. Logistic Regression Predicting the Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	-4.397	***	.313	.012
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.172	*	.070	.842
Age (in years)	.007	**	.002	1.007
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.308	***	.226	.270
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.154		.154	.858
Education (in years)	.029	#	.017	1.029
Household income (in thousands)	.005	***	.001	1.005
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	1.196	***	.079	3.306
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-.888	***	.099	.412
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.568	***	.037	1.765
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.108	***	.023	1.114
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	-.481	***	.141	.618
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	.815	*	.370	2.259
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	-.009		.023	.992
N			5,590	
Cox & Snell R-square			.275	
Nagelkerke R-square			.384	
Percent Correct			78.4	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/08/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not was measured with the questions: “If Barack Obama is elected president, do you think your federal taxes will go up, go down, or stay the same?” and “If John McCain is elected president, do you think your federal taxes will go up, go down, or stay the same?” For the analysis, the combination Obama/taxes will go up and McCain/go down/stay the same was coded as 1. All other combinations were coded as 0.

Table A13.10. Logistic Regression Predicting the Belief that Obama Can Better Handle the Economy than McCain

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	2.484	***	.194	11.988
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.047		.046	.954
Age (in years)	-.008	***	.002	.992
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	1.759	***	.124	5.809
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	.304	***	.095	1.355
Education (in years)	.003		.011	1.003
Household income (in thousands)	-.002	***	.000	.998
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.390	***	.061	.249
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	1.432	***	.055	4.188
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-.703	***	.024	.495
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.069	***	.015	1.071
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	.736	***	.091	2.088
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	-.606	*	.255	.546
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	.053	**	.018	1.054
N			13,555	
Cox & Snell R-square			.381	
Nagelkerke R-square			.508	
Percent Correct			79.1	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Obama Can Better Handle the Economy was measured with the question: “Now I’m going to mention a few items and for each one, please tell me if you think (ROTATE) Barack Obama or John McCain would better handle that issue if they were elected president in 2008. Here’s the first. Who would better handle the economy (ISSUES ROTATED) if they were elected president in 2008, Barack Obama or John McCain?” For the analysis, those who said Obama were coded as 1 those who said McCain, neither, or don’t know were coded as 0.

Table A13.11. OLS Regression Predicting the Difference in Rating “Shares My Values” (Obama minus McCain)

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	4.918	***	.294	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	.206	**	.070	.018
Age (in years)	-.016	***	.002	-.043
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	2.663	***	.132	.126
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	.448	**	.147	.019
Education (in years)	.059	***	.016	.025
Household income (in thousands)	-.002	***	.001	-.023
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-3.341	***	.090	-.263
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	3.226	***	.086	.269
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-1.554	***	.035	-.312
Average of number of days saw or heard presidential campaign information in past week across television, newspaper, talk radio, and internet	.035		.023	.010
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote)	1.713	***	.134	.080
2004 presidential vote margin by county (FIPS – Kerry percent of total vote minus Bush Percent of total vote).	-.720	*	.354	-.012
Difference in total GRP by campaigns (Obama – McCain and RNC) (Per 100 GRPs) (Broadcast, Radio, & Cable)	.049	#	.028	.011
N			13,119	
R-square			.535	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/01/08 to 11/03/08. Data for the county level election results were compiled by Leip, David. Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections. http://www.uselectionatlas.org				

Difference in Rating Shares My Values was measured with the question: “I am going to read you some phrases. For each one, please tell me how well that phrase applies to the following candidates. Please use a scale from 0 to 10, where ‘zero’ means it does not apply at all and 10 means it applies extremely well. Of course you can use any number in between. The first candidate is (INSERT). How well does the phrase ‘shares my values’ apply to (INSERT)?” For the analysis, McCain’s ratings were subtracted from Obama’s ratings on the “shares my values” trait.