

Appendix to Chapter 6,
entitled
“Period Two: Impact of the Vice Presidential Selections and
Conventions (August 23—September 9)”
from
*The Obama Victory: How Media, Money, and Message
Shaped the 2008 Election*

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**Appendix 6.1 (see page 135 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting Biden Favorability and Vote Preference from Convention
Speech Viewing**

**Appendix 6.2 (see page 136 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting Obama Favorability and Vote Preference from Convention
Speech Viewing**

**Appendix 6.3 (see page 145 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting Palin Favorability and Vote Preference from Convention
Speech Viewing**

**Appendix 6.4 (see page 147 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting McCain Favorability and Vote Preference from Convention
Speech Viewing**

Appendix 6.1 (see page 95 of *The Obama Victory*) Predicting Biden Favorability and Vote Preference from Convention Speech Viewing

In the presence of stringent controls, those who watched Biden accept his party's nomination were significantly more likely to hold favorable perceptions of him than nonviewers.^{42} (p. 135)*

Table A6.1.1. OLS Regression Predicting Biden Favorability

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	6.338 ***	.884		1.968 *	.810	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.057	.189	-.010	.039	.161	.007
Age (in years)	.006	.007	.033	.006	.006	.034
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	1.161 ***	.322	.124	.163	.284	.017
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	.087	.532	.005	-.295	.453	-.018
Education (in years)	.055	.044	.044	.061	.038	.050
Household income (in thousands)	.002	.002	.038	.000	.002	-.005
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.126 ***	.249	-.187	-.671 **	.214	-.111
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	.633 **	.237	.112	-.167	.212	-.029
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-.656 ***	.092	-.267	-.243 **	.085	-.099
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	-.033	.050	-.022	-.009	.043	-.006
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	-.120 ***	.034	-.116	-.053 #	.029	-.051
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	.043	.032	.048	.038	.027	.042
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.038	.032	-.042	-.025	.028	-.028
Watched Biden's convention speech (1=yes, 0=no)	1.629 ***	.191	.291	1.126 ***	.166	.202
Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.506 ***	.034	.578
McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.037	.037	.036
N		598			598	
R-square		0.407			0.575	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001						
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 8/28/08 to 8/31/08.						

Biden Favorability was measured with the question: “Now for each of the following people, please tell me if your opinion is favorable or unfavorable using a scale from 0 to 10. Zero means very unfavorable, and 10 means very favorable. Five means you do not feel favorable or unfavorable toward that person. Of course you can use any number between zero and 10. The (first | next) person is (INSERT). (FIRST TIME, THEN AS NECESSARY) On a scale of 0 to 10, how would you rate (INSERT)?” To assess favorability toward Biden, “Joe Biden” was inserted in the question.

Watched Biden’s Convention Speech was measured with the question: “Did you see or hear any of Joe Biden’s speech at the Democratic convention? (IF YES:) Did you watch just a few minutes, about ten minutes, or the entire speech?” Respondents watching *a few minutes*, *about ten minutes*, or *the entire speech* were coded as 1, while those who *did not watch the speech* were coded as 0.

Table A6.1.2. Logistic Regression Predicting Obama/Biden Vote Preference (1) vs. Others (0)

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds Ratio	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	2.993 *	1.328	19.94 2	-.381	1.949	.683
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	.024	.287	1.024	-.157	.420	.855
Age (in years)	.000	.011	1.000	.005	.017	1.005
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	2.460 **	.782	11.70 3	.877	.939	2.404
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.617	.769	.539	-.852	1.115	.427
Education (in years)	-.010	.067	.990	.013	.099	1.013
Household income (in thousands)	.000	.003	1.000	-.003	.004	.997
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-.742 *	.370	.476	.766	.569	2.152
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	1.640 ***	.326	5.157	.809 #	.489	2.246
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-1.153 ***	.168	.316	-.956 ***	.251	.384
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	-.110	.080	.896	-.045	.104	.956
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	-.038	.055	.963	.017	.084	1.017
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	.044	.049	1.045	.101	.074	1.106
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.059	.052	.943	-.049	.074	.953
Watched Biden's convention speech (1=yes, 0=no)	1.498 ***	.330	4.474	.610	.476	1.840
Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.830 ***	.137	2.293
McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	-.691 ***	.125	.501
Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.150	.104	1.162
N		446			446	
Cox & Snell R-square		.465			.630	
Nagelkerke R-square		.620			.839	
Percent Correct		81.8			91.7	
# $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$						
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 8/28/08 to 8/31/08.						

Obama Vote Preference was measured with two questions. Since its inception in 2000, one of the unique features of the NAES has been measurement of absentee and early voting.¹ About 14 percent of voters cast their ballots before Election Day in 2000, and this rose to 20 percent in 2004.² NAES data show that over 30 percent of ballots were cast before Election Day in 2008. Consequently, when assessing vote preference across a campaign, it is important to combine vote intentions for those respondents who have not cast their ballots yet at the time of the interview and vote behaviors for those respondents who have already voted. Survey participants who had not yet voted were asked, “Thinking about the general election for president in November, 2008, if that election were held today, and the candidates were: John McCain and Sarah Palin, the Republicans, Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Democrats, Ralph Nader and Matt Gonzalez, the Independent candidates, and Bob Barr and Wayne Allyn Root, the Libertarians, and Cynthia McKinney and Rosa Clemente, the Green Party candidates, for whom would you vote?” A similar question was asked of those who reported that they had already cast their ballots, but their question began with “In the 2008 presidential election who did you vote for?” followed by the same response options provided on the vote intention question. The names of the tickets were randomly rotated. For the analysis, those who reported preferring *Obama* were assigned a value of 1 and those who reported preferring *another candidate* or saying they *did not know* were assigned a value of 0.

¹ The absentee and early voting battery was designed by Kate Kenski.

² Kate Kenski, “Early Voting Reaches Record Levels in 2004, National Annenberg Election Survey Shows,” Annenberg Public Policy Center press release, March 24, 2005, <http://annenbergpublicpolicycenter.org/NewsDetails.aspx?myId=67>

Appendix 6.2 (see page 136 of *The Obama Victory*) Predicting Obama Favorability and Vote Preference from Convention Speech Viewing

NAES data collected in the six days after Obama's speech reveal that those who watched the Illinois senator accept his party's nomination were more favorably impressed by him than those who did not view the speech. The impact was significant, even when controlling for a host of demographic variables and ideological predispositions. Watching Obama's speech also increased vote preference for the Democratic ticket. (p. 136)*

Table A6.2.1. OLS Regression Predicting Obama Favorability

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	7.346 ***	.736		4.737 ***	.639	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.044	.157	-.007	-.096	.131	-.015
Age (in years)	-.003	.006	-.012	-.009 #	.005	-.040
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	1.826 ***	.270	.168	.887 ***	.230	.082
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	.034	.437	.002	.398	.365	.022
Education (in years)	.049	.037	.034	.021	.031	.015
Household income (in thousands)	.002	.001	.042	.003 *	.001	.051
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.225 ***	.204	-.175	-.518 **	.175	-.074
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	1.427 ***	.195	.217	.702 ***	.170	.107
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-.809 ***	.079	-.287	-.336 ***	.070	-.119
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	-.104 *	.041	-.062	-.074 *	.034	-.044
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	-.095 ***	.028	-.080	-.044 #	.024	-.037
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	.020	.026	.019	.004	.022	.004
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.015	.027	-.014	-.006	.022	-.006
Watched Obama's convention speech (1=yes, 0=no)	1.399 ***	.174	.200	.746 ***	.148	.107
McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	-.175 ***	.030	-.151
Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)				.535 ***	.029	.462
N		991			991	
R-square		0.476			0.635	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001						
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 8/29/08 to 9/3/08.						

Obama Favorability was measured with the question: “Now for each of the following people, please tell me if your opinion is favorable or unfavorable using a scale from 0 to 10. Zero means very unfavorable, and 10 means very favorable. Five means you do not feel favorable or unfavorable toward that person. Of course you can use any number between zero and 10. The (first | next) person is (INSERT). (FIRST TIME, THEN AS NECESSARY) On a scale of 0 to 10, how would you rate (INSERT)?” To assess favorability toward Obama, “Barack Obama” was inserted in the question.

Watched Obama’s Convention Speech was measured with the question: “Did you see or hear any of Barack Obama’s speech at the Democratic convention? (IF YES:) Did you watch just a few minutes, about thirty minutes, or the entire speech?” Respondents watching *a few minutes*, *about thirty minutes*, or *the entire speech* were coded as 1, while those who *did not watch the speech* were coded as 0.

Table A6.2.2. Logistic Regression Predicting Obama/Biden Vote Preference (1) vs. Others (0)

	<i>Model 1</i>			<i>Model 2</i>		
	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds Ratio	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	1.225	.901	3.405	-4.020 **	1.323	.018
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	.162	.194	1.176	.092	.277	1.096
Age (in years)	.002	.008	1.002	.011	.011	1.011
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	2.113 ***	.456	8.276	.379	.560	1.461
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.508	.506	.602	-.819	.741	.441
Education (in years)	.073	.046	1.076	.122 #	.068	1.129
Household income (in thousands)	.000	.002	1.000	-.002	.003	.998
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.280 ***	.259	.278	.026	.376	1.027
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	1.626 ***	.220	5.082	.952 **	.311	2.590
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-1.017 ***	.109	.361	-.591 ***	.154	.554
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	-.131 *	.053	.878	-.018	.069	.983
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	-.044	.037	.957	-.006	.055	.994
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	.042	.034	1.043	.017	.049	1.017
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.023	.034	.977	-.014	.049	.986
Watched Obama's convention speech (1=yes, 0=no)	1.536 ***	.229	4.644	.616 *	.311	1.851
Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.836 ***	.085	2.307
McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	-.631 ***	.082	.532
Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.172 *	.070	1.187
N		988			988	
Cox & Snell R-square		.482			.632	
Nagelkerke R-square		.642			.842	
Percent Correct		84.7			92.6	
# $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$						
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 8/29/08 to 9/3/08.						

Appendix 6.3 (see page 145 of *The Obama Victory*) Predicting Palin Favorability and Vote Preference from Convention Speech Viewing

As with Biden's remarks, Palin's did not directly affect vote preference but did so indirectly by increasing people's favorable impressions of her, which in turn influenced their vote choice. (p. 145)*

Table A6.3.1. OLS Regression Predicting Palin Favorability

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	3.539 ***	.800		3.698 ***	.653	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.212	.167	-.032	-.022	.127	-.003
Age (in years)	.005	.006	.023	-.003	.005	-.013
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.561 ***	.341	-.115	-.135	.262	-.010
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.687	.438	-.039	-.540	.331	-.031
Education (in years)	-.061	.041	-.041	-.049	.031	-.033
Household income (in thousands)	-.001	.002	-.014	-.002	.001	-.033
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	1.455 ***	.214	.205	.450 **	.166	.063
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.441 ***	.220	-.205	.046	.176	.007
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.807 ***	.085	.292	.213 **	.069	.077
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	.006	.046	.004	.011	.035	.006
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	.027	.031	.021	-.031	.024	-.025
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	-.062 *	.029	-.057	.001	.022	.001
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.078 **	.029	-.073	-.052 *	.022	-.049
Watched Palin's convention speech (1=yes, 0=no)	1.031 ***	.224	.117	.621 ***	.169	.070
Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	-.140 ***	.032	-.136
McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.627 ***	.028	.549
Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	-.182 ***	.035	-.148
N		977			977	
R-square		.435			.682	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001						
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/4/08 to 9/9/08.						

Palin Favorability was measured with the question: “Now for each of the following people, please tell me if your opinion is favorable or unfavorable using a scale from 0 to 10. Zero means very unfavorable, and 10 means very favorable. Five means you do not feel favorable or unfavorable toward that person. Of course you can use any number between zero and 10. The (first | next) person is (INSERT). (FIRST TIME, THEN AS NECESSARY) On a scale of 0 to 10, how would you rate (INSERT)?” To assess favorability toward Palin, “Sarah Palin” was inserted in the question.

Watched Palin’s Convention Speech was measured with the question: “Did you see or hear any of Sarah Palin’s speech at the Republican convention? (IF YES:) Did you watch just a few minutes, about 15 minutes, or the entire speech?” Respondents watching *a few minutes, about fifteen minutes, or the entire speech* were coded as 1, while those who *did not watch the speech* were coded as 0.

Table A6.3.2. Logistic Regression Predicting McCain/Palin Vote Preference (1) vs. Others (0)

	Model 1			Model 2				
	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Odds Ratio	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds Ratio	
Intercept	-3.741	***	.992	.024	-3.247	#	1.676	.039
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.255		.204	.775	-.245		.331	.783
Age (in years)	-.004		.008	.996	-.034	**	.013	.967
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-2.909	***	.736	.055	-1.788		1.213	.167
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.893		.553	.409	-.648		1.013	.523
Education (in years)	.073		.052	1.076	.190	*	.082	1.209
Household income (in thousands)	-.001		.002	.999	-.002		.003	.998
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	2.212	***	.266	9.134	2.024	***	.402	7.571
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.668	***	.254	.189	-.465		.410	.628
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.870	***	.109	2.386	.242		.176	1.274
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	.011		.056	1.011	.011		.084	1.011
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	.086	*	.040	1.089	.016		.065	1.017
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	-.127	***	.036	.880	-.114	*	.058	.892
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.031		.036	.970	-.016		.056	.984
Watched Palin's convention speech (1=yes, 0=no)	.620	*	.281	1.859	.136		.411	1.146
Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)	---		---	---	-.600	***	.090	.549
McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)	---		---	---	.635	***	.107	1.887
Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)	---		---	---	-.185	*	.091	.831
Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)	---		---	---	.344	***	.081	1.411
N			967				967	
Cox & Snell R-square			.509				.664	
Nagelkerke R-square			.679				.886	
Percent Correct			86.7				95.2	
# $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$								
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/4/08 to 9/9/08.								

McCain Vote Preference was measured with two questions. When assessing vote preference across a campaign, it is important to combine vote intentions for those respondents who have not cast their ballots yet at the time of the interview and vote behaviors for those respondents who have already voted. Survey participants who had not yet voted were asked, “Thinking about the general election for president in November, 2008, if that election were held today, and the candidates were: John McCain and Sarah Palin, the Republicans, Barack Obama and Joe Biden, the Democrats, Ralph Nader and Matt Gonzalez, the Independent candidates, and Bob Barr and Wayne Allyn Root, the Libertarians, and Cynthia McKinney and Rosa Clemente, the Green Party candidates, for whom would you vote?” A similar question was asked of those who reported that they had already cast their ballots, but their question began with “In the 2008 presidential election who did you vote for?” followed by the same response options provided on the vote intention question. The names of the tickets were randomly rotated. For the analysis, those who reported preferring McCain were assigned a value of 1 and those who reported preferring *another candidate* or saying they *did not know* were assigned a value of 0.

Appendix 6.4 (see page 147 of *The Obama Victory*) Predicting McCain Favorability and Vote Preference from Convention Speech Viewing

NAES data show that McCain's favorability ratings rose among those who watched his convention speech. His speech indirectly influenced people's vote preference by positively affecting favorability ratings of him. (p. 147)*

Table A6.4.1. OLS Regression Predicting McCain Favorability

	Model 1			Model 2		
	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	3.608 ***	.699		1.523 **	.584	
Female	-.119	.148	-.020	-.102	.112	-.017
Age (in years)	.012 *	.006	.061	.009 *	.004	.046
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.701 ***	.295	-.147	-.802 ***	.227	-.069
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.438	.405	-.027	.183	.309	.011
Education (in years)	-.020	.036	-.016	.021	.027	.016
Household income (in thousands)	.003 #	.001	.050	.003 **	.001	.065
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	1.379 ***	.189	.222	.413 **	.148	.066
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.586 ***	.191	-.257	-.714 ***	.153	-.116
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.529 ***	.075	.217	.061	.062	.025
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	-.018	.040	-.011	-.016	.030	-.010
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	.024	.028	.022	.003	.022	.002
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	-.054 *	.025	-.057	-.029	.019	-.030
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.007	.026	-.008	.012	.020	.013
Watched McCain's convention speech (1=yes, 0=no)	.495 **	.171	.075	.283 *	.130	.043
Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	-.106 ***	.028	-.118
Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.103 ***	.031	.097
Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.558 ***	.023	.637
N		975			975	
R-square		.428			.673	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001						
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/5/08 to 9/10/08.						

McCain Favorability was measured with the question: “Now for each of the following people, please tell me if your opinion is favorable or unfavorable using a scale from 0 to 10. Zero means very unfavorable, and 10 means very favorable. Five means you do not feel favorable or unfavorable toward that person. Of course you can use any number between zero and 10. The (first | next) person is (INSERT). (FIRST TIME, THEN AS NECESSARY) On a scale of 0 to 10, how would you rate (INSERT)?” To assess favorability toward Palin, “John McCain” was inserted in the question.

Watched McCain’s Convention Speech was measured with the question: “Did you see or hear any of John McCain’s speech at the Republican convention? (IF YES:) Did you watch just a few minutes, about thirty minutes, or the entire speech?” Respondents watching *a few minutes*, *about thirty minutes*, or *the entire speech* were coded as 1, while those who *did not watch the speech* were coded as 0.

Table A6.4.2. Logistic Regression Predicting McCain/Palin Vote Preference (1) vs. Others (0)

	<i>Model 1</i>			<i>Model 2</i>		
	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds Ratio	B Coefficient	Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	-2.765 **	.978	.063	-2.150	1.674	.116
Female	-.246	.204	.782	-.220	.335	.802
Age (in years)	-.005	.008	.995	-.037 **	.013	.963
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-3.241 ***	.805	.039	-1.951 #	1.176	.142
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.420 *	.565	.242	-1.371	.957	.254
Education (in years)	.038	.051	1.038	.105	.080	1.110
Household income (in thousands)	-.002	.002	.998	.000	.003	1.000
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	2.487 ***	.281	12.028	2.259 ***	.418	9.572
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.608 ***	.252	.200	.050	.418	1.051
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.782 ***	.108	2.186	.197	.178	1.218
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	-.011	.055	.989	.040	.087	1.041
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	.088 *	.041	1.092	.017	.070	1.018
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	-.088 *	.035	.916	-.073	.057	.930
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.013	.037	.987	-.022	.058	.979
Watched McCain's convention speech (1=yes, 0=no)	.484 *	.232	1.623	.466	.349	1.594
Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	-.685 ***	.096	.504
McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.709 ***	.117	2.032
Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	-.184 *	.087	.832
Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)	---	---	---	.300 ***	.082	1.350
N		964			964	
Cox & Snell R-square		.505			.666	
Nagelkerke R-square		.674			.888	
Percent Correct		86.1			95.2	
# <i>p</i> < .10 * <i>p</i> < .05 ** <i>p</i> < .01 *** <i>p</i> < .001						
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/5/08 to 9/10/08.						