

Political Advertising Analysis

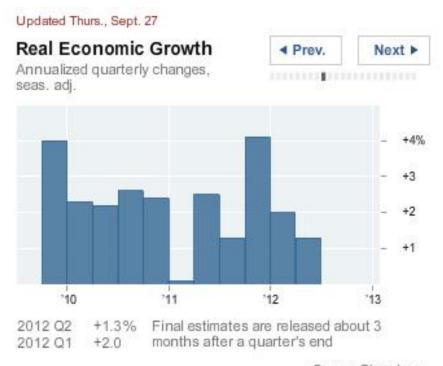


## Money, Message and Margins: The Role of Campaign Advertising in the 2012 Elections

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Department of Government
@wesmediaproject



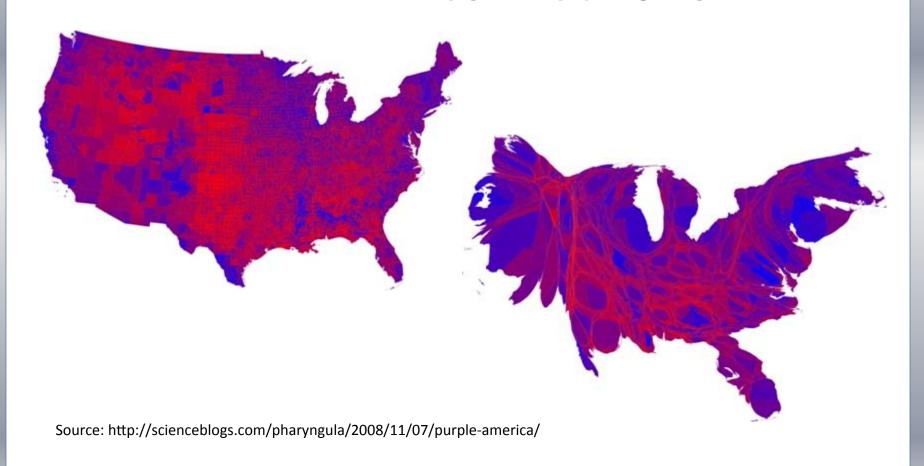
#### What Drives Elections?



Source: Bloomberg



### What Drives Elections?





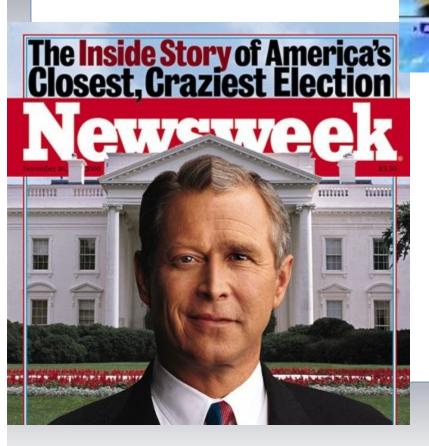
#### What Drives Elections?



Source: Bryan Denton for *The New York Times*, <a href="http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/26/world/asia/in-afghanistan-us-advisers-train-allies-with-caution.html?">http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/26/world/asia/in-afghanistan-us-advisers-train-allies-with-caution.html?</a> pagewanted=all



# Effect of Campaigns & Advertising?









#### SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

Syllabus

# CITIZENS UNITED v. FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

APPEAL FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

No. 08–205. Argued March 24, 2009—Reargued September 9, 2009— Decided January 21, 2010







## Citizens United & Wes Media Project

- Unlimited corp./union investment
- FEC reporting incomplete (FCC developments)
- End of Wisconsin Advertising Project
- Our goals:
  - Develop definitive database
  - Enhance transparency





# Brought to you by:











Philanthropy for an Interdependent World



# Kantar/CMAG Frequency Data

CREATIVE	MARKET	STATION	AFFILIATE	AIRDATE	ARTIME	PROGRAM
USSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTNH	ABC	08/15/2010	00:03:30	INSIDER WKND
USSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WINH	ABC	08/11/2010	23:56:27	ABC NEWS NIGHTLINE
USSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTNH	ABC	08/13/2010	00:03:10	ABC NEWS:NIGHTLINE
USSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTNH	ABC	08/14/2010	00:04:14	ABC NEWS NIGHTLINE
JSSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTNH	ABC	08/14/2010	19:48:28	WHEEL OF FORTUNE WKND
JSSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTIC	FOX	08/13/2010	13:40:01	WHO WANTS/MILLIONAIRE
JSSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTIC	FOX	08/12/2010	13:24:00	WHO WANTS/MILLIONAIRE
USSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTIC	FOX	08/11/2010	13.22:00	WHO WANTS/MILLIONAIRE
USSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WCCT	CW	08/15/2010	01:40:41	FOX 61 NEWS AT TEN
USSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTNH	ABC	08/13/2010	05:20:04	GOOD MORNING CONCT 5A
USSEN/CT MCMAHON BACK TO WO	HARTFORD	WTNH	ABC	08/12/2010	05:53:31	GOOD MORNING CONCT 530A









# WESLEYAN MEDIA PROJECT 2012

Political Advertising Analysis



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USER NAME	
PASSWORD	
	Log In

**Online Coding Tool** 

#### AcademiClip.





REPORT PROBLEM

#### HOUSE/AL01 BONNER STOOD UP TO OBAMA

Notes from Supervisor:		
Page 2 Page 3 Page 4 Issues Complete Code	ing	
Are the any of the following issues are mentioned in	this ad? (Check all that apply)	
Economic Policy	Foreign/Defense Policy	
□ Taxes	Military (generic reference)	
☐ Deficit/Budget/Debt	Foreign Policy (generic reference)	
☐ Government Spending	Veterans	
Recession/Economic Stimulus	Foreign Aid	P P
■ Minimum Wage	Nuclear Proliferation	
Farming (friend of)	China	
Business (friend of)	☐ Middle East	_
Union (friend of)	☐ Iran	
■ Employment/Jobs	Afghanistan/War in Afghanistan	
■ Poverty	September, 11th	
■ Trade/Globalization	☐ Terror/Terrorism/Terrorist	
Housing/Sub-prime Mortgages	☐ Iraq/War in Iraq	
Economic disparity/income inequality	☐ Israel	
Social Issues	Social Welfare Issues	
Abortion	■ Education/Schools	
☐ Homosexuality/Gay & Lesbian Rights	Lottery for Education	
■ Moral/Family/Religious Values	Child Care	
☐ Tobacco	Health Care (not prescription drugs)	
☐ Affirmative Action	Prescription Drugs	
☐ Gambling	■ Medicare	
Assisted Suicide/Euthanasia	Social Security	
☐ Gun Control	■ Welfare	
Civil Liberties/Privacy	Women's Health	
Race Relations/Civil Rights		



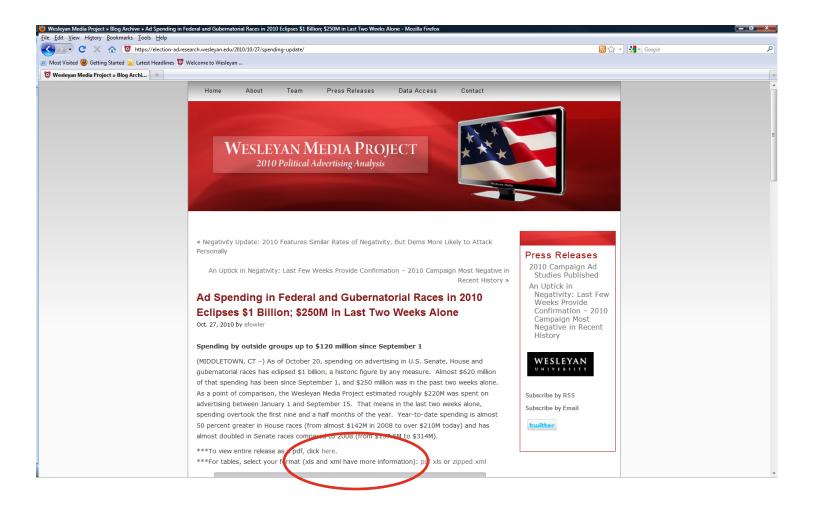
#### Data We Collect

- Tone (promote, attack, contrast)
- Issue themes, personal traits/adjectives & policy vs. personality balance of spot
- Major politician mentions & tone
- Mentions of party affiliation, magic words, etc
- Emotional appeals, music, voiceovers
- Historical context (2000 2008, WiscAds)

#### Wesleyan Media Project

Political Advertising Analysis



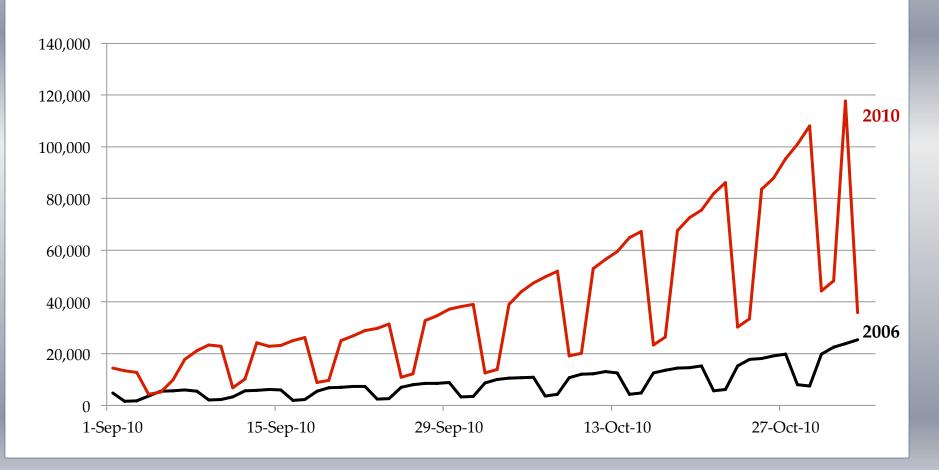




TRENDS IN VOLUME AND SPONSORSHIP

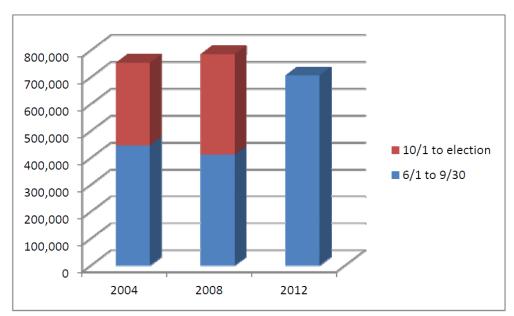


# 2010: Record Breaking Year for Ads



# 2012: Record Pulverizing!

Figure 1. Volume of Presidential Advertising in 2004, 2008 and 2012



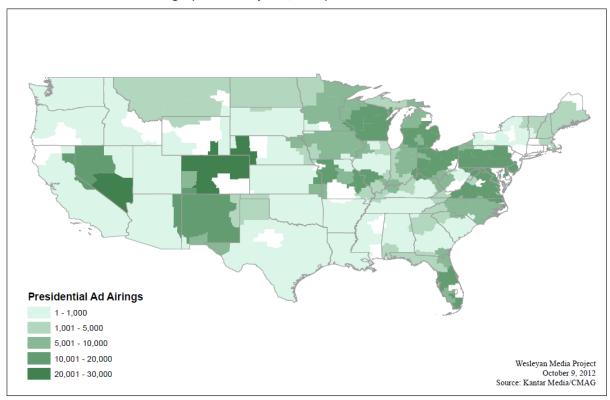
Numbers include broadcast television and national cable advertising. Data from 2004 and 2008 come from the Wisconsin Advertising Project.

CITE SOURCE OF DATA AS: Kantar Media/CMAG with analysis by the Wesleyan Media Project.



# 2008: Obama takes a nat'l strategy

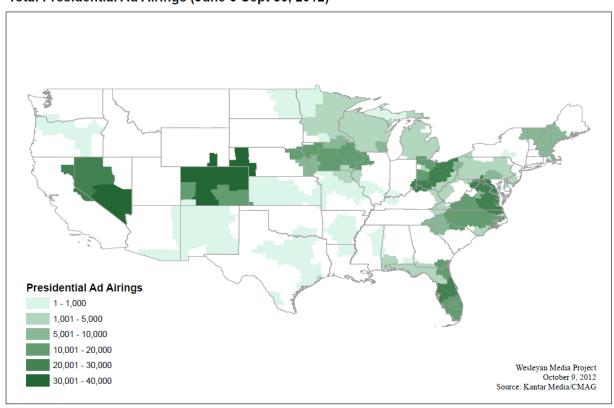
Total Presidential Ad Airings (June 6-Sept 30, 2008)





# 2012: Much more highly concentrated

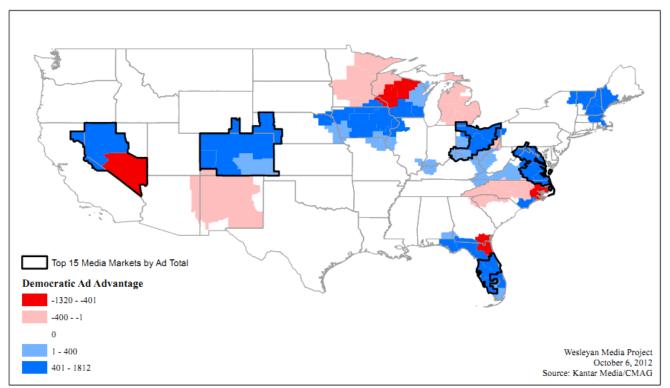
Total Presidential Ad Airings (June 6-Sept 30, 2012)





# Obama Dominating Key Battleground Markets for 5 Weeks Ending 9/30/12

Figure 1: Democratic Ad Advantage in Presidential Race by Media Market (September 9-30)



## Interest Group Activity Skyrockets

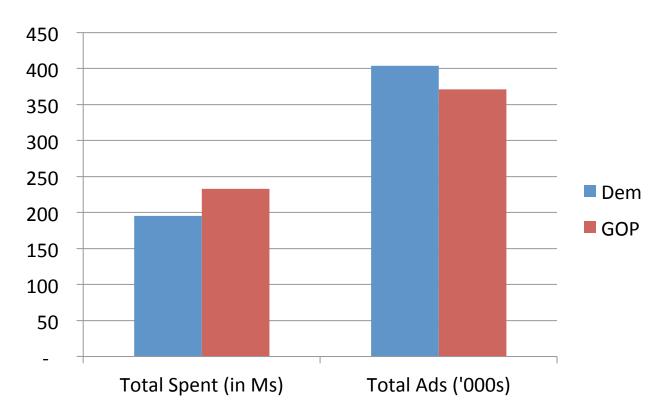
Table 3: Top Spenders in Ad Race (General Election Campaign)

Sponsor	Party	Est. Cost	Ads
Obama, Barack	Dem	\$163,763,350	363,010
Romney, Mitt	Rep	\$57,272,390	126,748
Crossroads Grassroots Policy Strategies	Rep	\$41,478,930	68,857
Americans For Prosperity	Rep	\$35,936,070	43,088
Restore Our Future, Inc.	Rep	\$33,945,950	41,159
American Crossroads	Rep	\$17,859,310	28,474
Republican National Committee	Rep	\$17,658,350	26,059
RNC & Mitt Romney	Rep	\$15,962,220	23,861
DNC & Barack Obama	Dem	\$15,309,000	7,210
Priorities USA Action	Dem	\$14,592,420	31,707
Concerned Women For America	Rep	\$4,400,360	3,132
American Future Fund	Rep	\$3,775,150	3,929
Americans For Job Security	Rep	\$2,986,050	4,320
Republican Jewish Coalition	Rep	\$1,384,180	1,622
Planned Parenthood Action Fund	Dem	\$1,369,800	1,751

Totals are from April 25 through September 30. Numbers include broadcast television and national cable advertising.

CITE SOURCE OF DATA AS: Kantar Media/CMAG with analysis by the Wesleyan Media Project.

# Money Isn't Everything





#### Connection to Polls

- Ad advantages lend opportunities to persuade
- Frequently correlated with poll movement
- Dem advantage is dissipating...expect tightening





HOME POLITICS BUSINESS VIDEO ENTERTAINMENT FASHION BOOKS ART WOMEN IN THE W

Featured: ELECTION • INNOVATION • ANDREW SULLIVAN • HOWARD KURTZ • DAVID FRUM



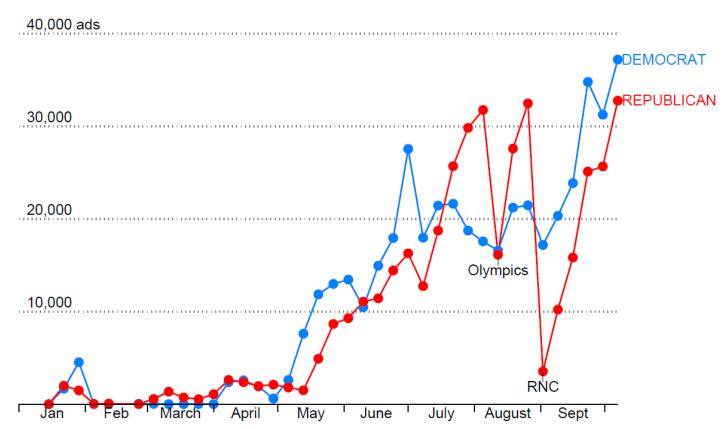


#### **Did Obama Just Throw The Entire Election Away?**



The Pew poll is devastating, just devastating. Before the debate, Obama had a 51 - 43 lead; now, Romney has a 49 - 45 lead. That's a simply unprecedented reversal for a candidate in October. Before Obama had leads on every policy issue and personal characteristic; now Romney leads in almost all of them. Obama's performance gave Romney a 12 point swing! I repeat: a 12 point swing.

#### Volume of Campaign Advertising in the Presidential Election through 10/7



The data are weekly counts of ad airings, as measured by CMAG|Kantar Media and including spending by the two candidates, the parties, and independent groups. Graph by John Sides.



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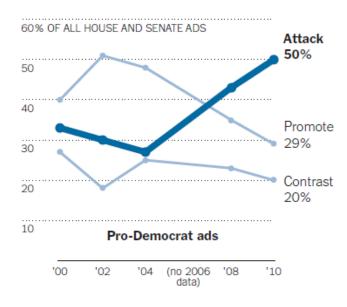


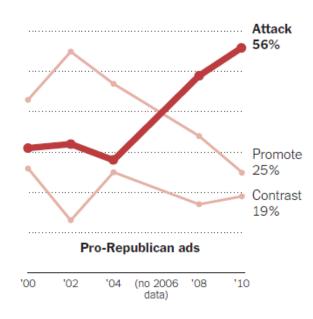
TRENDS IN TONE



# Tone of 2010 Campaign

Politics on TV is getting more negative. A continuing study of political television advertising finds that in this election cycle. attack ads — those solely about a candidate's opponent increased to half or more of all commercials. The share of ads that **promote** a candidate has fallen steadily since 2002; those that contrast candidates (using only part of the ad to attack an opponent) are consistently the least numerous. Figures are for all ads that aired between Sept. 1 and Oct. 20 of each election cycle.



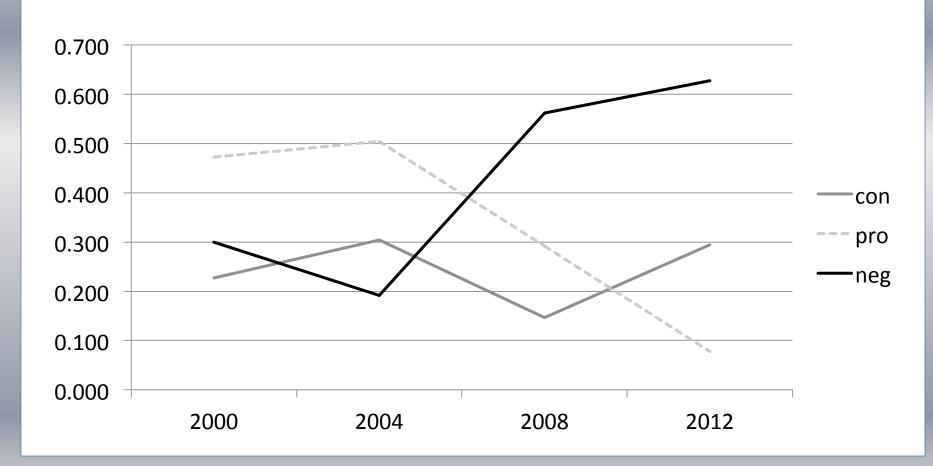


Sources: 2010 figures based on Wesleyan Media Project with data from Kantar Media/CMAG. 2000-2008 figures by Wisconsin Advertising Project with data from CMAG. Ads studied are for House and Senate by all sponsors (candidates, parties, groups, and coordinated).

MARJORIE CONNELLY AND BILL MARSH/ THE NEW YORK TIMES

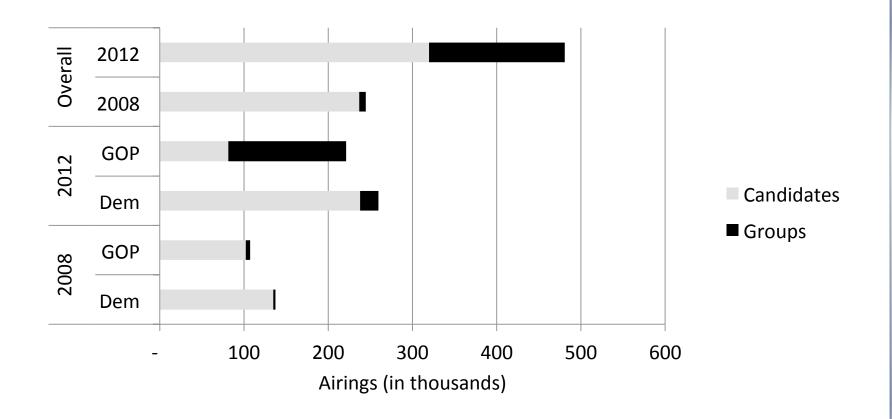


## 2012 Continues Uptick in Negativity



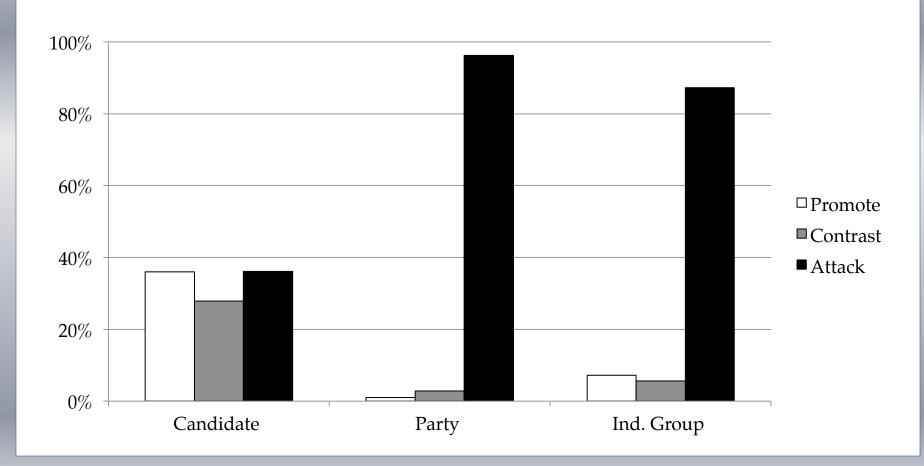


# Outside Groups vs. Candidate Ads



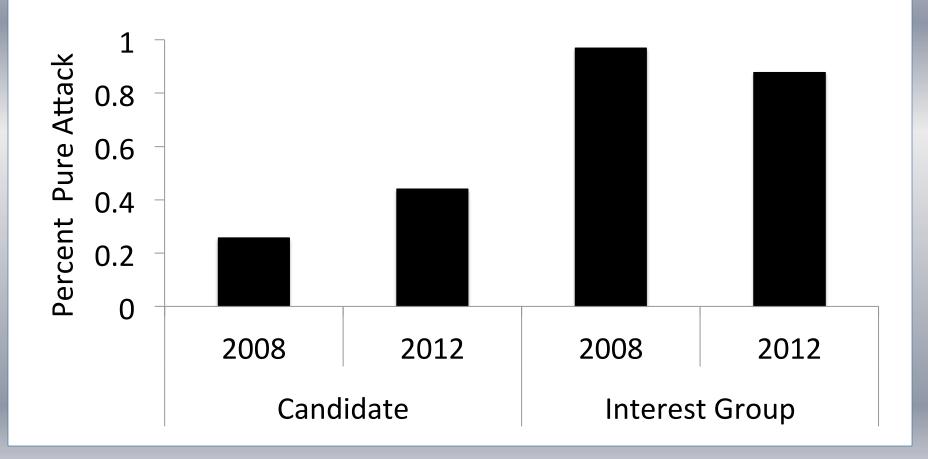


# Parties, Groups More Negative





# Candidates Also Attacking More



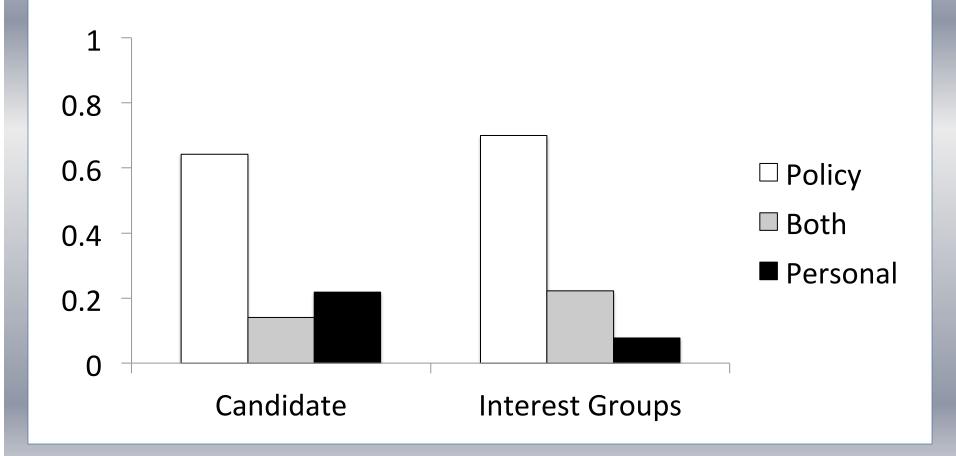


# Concerns Over Negativity?

- No large suppression and maybe slight mobilization effect on turnout (Lau et al. 2007)
- Compared to positive ads, negative spots are
  - more memorable (Brians and Wattenberg 1996)
  - more substantive than positive ones (Geer 2006)



# Candidates & IGs Policy Focused



# Concerns Over Negativity?

- No large suppression and maybe slight mobilization effect on turnout (Lau et al. 2007)
- Compared to positive ads, negative spots are
  - more memorable (Brians and Wattenberg 1996)
  - more substantive than positive ones (Geer 2006)
  - stimulate higher interest in campaign (Bartels 2000) and more information-seeking (Brader 2005)
- Little evidence that they corrode trust (Brooks & Geer 2007, Geer 2006; Jackson et al. 2009)



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