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NEARLY \$200 MILLION SPENT ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN TV ADS TO DATE

Democrats Dominate the Airwaves

Obama, Clinton even through Super Tuesday in Ad Spending; Obama with big advantage after

MADISON, WI – Almost \$200 million has been spent on television advertising so far during this presidential election year, with the overwhelming amount of recent spending coming from the race for the Democratic nomination. In total, Democratic candidates for president have spent close to \$135 million on campaign advertising, while Republican candidates have spent some \$57 million. Hillary Clinton has spent over \$46 million on campaign advertising, while Barack Obama has spent approximately \$75 million on ads, more than the total amount spent by the entire Republican field.

Table 1: Total Spending by Party and Candidate for 2008 Presidential Primaries

Candidate	Airings	Est. Spending
Biden	3,165	1,799,000
Clinton	80,505	46,027,000
Dodd	4,028	1,777,000
Edwards	14,732	8,283,000
Kucinich	27	6,000
Lamagna	4	5,000
Obama	139,006	74,823,000
Richardson	5,936	4,234,000
Total Democrats	247,403	136,954,000
Cort	15	6,000
Giuliani	7,127	5,777,000
Huckabee	8,400	3,569,000
Hunter	114	68,000
McCain	16,413	11,084,000
Paul	7,220	3,161,000
Romney	36,841	31,658,000
Tancredo	99	158,000
Thompson	4,032	2,224,000
Total Republicans	80,261	57,705,000
Total for All Candidates	327,664	194,659,000

CITE SOURCE OF DATA IN ALL TABLES AS:

TNS Media Intelligence/CMAG with analysis by the Wisconsin Advertising Project

In states with nominating contests prior to and including Super Tuesday, the Clinton and Obama campaigns were about equal in the amount of spending on television advertising. In states with primaries from February 9-19, however, Senator Obama out-advertised Senator Clinton by a ratio of over 3 to 1. In states with primaries after February 19, the Obama campaign has spent twice as much on campaign advertising as the Clinton campaign.

From February 5 to February 19, Senator Obama won nine straight contests netting 118 delegates on Senator Clinton (281 to 163). In the February 5-19 states (Louisiana, Nebraska, Washington, Maine, DC, Maryland, Virginia, Hawaii, and Wisconsin), the Obama campaign out-advertised the Clinton campaign by a sizable margin. The smallest margin was 3 to 2 in Nebraska, and Washington state. Obama maintained a margin of more than 3 to 1 in the District of Columbia and Maryland, of more than 4 to 1 in Virginia and Wisconsin and a margin of 5 to 1 in Maine. In Louisiana and Hawaii, Obama had the airways all to himself.

The advantage in advertising alone, of course, does not explain Obama's victories in these contests. The demographics of a state and other fundamental election and campaign factors surely have a great impact on election outcomes, and Senator Obama also had significant advantages in advertising spending in other states that he lost (Ohio, Texas, and Pennsylvania for example). Still, in the nine states that Obama won in the two week period following the February 5 Super Tuesday primaries, Obama, not only had an advantage in the number of ads that he aired, but in most of these nine contests, he was also first on the air and had the paid media airways all to himself for a significant part of the short campaigns. For example, in Nebraska, during the short nine-day advertising air war, Obama was up alone, with his messages not countered for six days. In Wisconsin, the advertising air war lasted 14 days, and Obama was up alone for six of those days. In Maryland and Virginia, Obama had the airwaves all to himself for 7 out of 12 days. Since local media—especially television news—often cover the air war, Obama likely got an added boost of free media coverage of his ads during this time as well.

Table 2 summarizes Democratic spending and delegate results by state. It also splits the campaign into four time periods – Pre Super Tuesday contests, Super Tuesday contests, February 5 to 19 contests, and post February 19 contests. It may be found at http://wiscadproject.wisc.edu/wiscads_pressrelease_060208_table2.pdf

“Fundamental factors matter most in elections and advertising is likely to have fairly modest effects at the margin,” Goldstein points out. “That said, unbalanced flows of paid information in a generally positive free media environment have the greatest potential to move numbers and influence races. This was the environment between February 5 and February 19 and that is what won Barak Obama the Democratic nomination.”

During the 2008 primary campaign, the presidential candidates – especially the Democratic candidates – have aired ads in many states that will likely not see any advertising during the general election. The Democratic primaries and caucuses award delegates proportionally, while in the general election a winner-take-all system rules. In the general election, presidential campaigns usually flood a handful of battleground states with television ads rather than expend resources in states they are sure to win or lose. In primaries, however, candidates have an incentive to advertise in every state because even in states they lose, they receive some proportion of the delegates.

The candidates were not the only ones airing ads, however. Interest groups have spent approximately \$8 million during the primary campaign—\$3 million of which has been spent by Service Employees International Union (SEIU). The SEIU aired over \$2 million worth of ads on behalf of Senator Obama, mostly in Ohio and Pennsylvania (both states Obama lost). The SEIU aired over \$100,000 worth of ads for Obama in the Houston and Indianapolis media markets. American Leadership Project, a pro-Clinton 527, and AFSCME People both aired ads for Senator Clinton, although even combined their spending did not match SEIU spending. American Leadership Project aired ads for Clinton mostly in Pennsylvania while AFSCME People aired their ads for Clinton primarily in Iowa.

While several groups have begun airing negative ads against Republican nominee John McCain, interest group involvement has been sparse. The SEIU has spent over \$800,000 airing ads against McCain, while MoveOn.org has spent \$300,000 and Friends of the Earth has spent \$100,000. These ads have aired mostly in what figure to be key battleground states come November – Ohio, Iowa, and New Mexico – as well as nationally on cable television.

Goldstein remarks, “A major effect of the continued Democratic primary fight is ‘The dog that is not barking’ -- all the ads, speeches, and money that are not yet being used to define John McCain. The McCain campaign has been given the unprecedented luxury to sit back and organize their campaign under no fire from opponents. While McCain may soon enough be fully engaged by the Democrats, a big story in this campaign is the hundreds of millions of dollars that were not spent attacking John McCain in February, March, April, and now May of 2008. Finally, all the money being raised and spent by Obama and Clinton is not money being raised and spent by Democratic congressional candidates. This does not look to be an election decided at the margins. By any reasonable measure, the Democrats should win the presidency and strengthen their control of Congress. If they do not, the money that was not spent early on to define John McCain among swing voters in swing states and to strengthen Democratic congressional candidates this spring may be one of the reasons.”

Interest Group Airings and Spending

Interest Group Name	Airings	Est. Spending
SEIU Committee on Political Education	5,717	3,198,000
American Leadership Project	2,589	1,252,000
AFSCME People	1,376	917,000
Club for Growth	1,001	562,000
Moveon.org	787	507,000
Alliance for a New America	692	394,000
Working for Working Americans	607	393,000
United Food and Commercial Workers International		
Union Active Ballot Club	888	387,000
Friends of the Earth	20	138,000
Peace Through Strength PAC	269	134,000
Draft Gore	12	66,000
California Nurses Association and Physicians for a National Health Program	86	53,000
Gregory Chase	62	32,000
Log Cabin Republicans	20	28,000
Citizens United Political Victory Fund	7	27,000
Vote Vets	14	24,000
American Liberty Coalition PAC	51	18,000
Republican Majority for Choice	33	15,000
Unite Here	36	13,000
Draft Obama	10	4,000
Iowans for Liberty PAC	19	3,000
Albanyrp.com	17	3,000
Progressive Media USA	9	2,000
Americans United for Freedom	15	1,000
Vote Hope	4	800
Total	14,341	8,171,800

Top 10 Group Airings and Spending with Candidate Totals

Group Name	Candidate	Airings	Est. Spending	Markets where group spent \$100,000 or more
SEIU Committee on Political Education	Obama	3,977	2,309,000	Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus OH, Dallas, Indianapolis, Houston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh
	Anti-McCain	1,740	889,000	Cleveland, Columbus OH, Washington DC,
	Total	5,717	3,198,000	
American Leadership Project	Clinton	1,478	779,000	Houston, Pittsburgh, Portland OR, Wilkes Barre
	Anti-Obama	1,111	473,000	Indianapolis
	Total	2,589	1,252,000	
AFSCME People	Clinton	1,376	917,000	Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Las Vegas
	Total	1,376	917,000	
Club for Growth	Anti-Huckabee	1,001	562,000	Cedar Rapids, Des Moines
	Total	1,001	562,000	
Moveon.org	Obama	1	30	None
	Anti-Giuliani	93	134,000	None
	Anti-McCain	693	373,000	None
	Total	787	507,030	
Alliance for a New America	Edwards	692	394,000	Davenport, Des Moines
	Total	692	394,000	
Working for Working Americans	Edwards	607	393,000	Cedar Rapids, Des Moines
	Total	607	393,000	
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union Active Ballot Club	Obama	888	387,000	Cleveland
	Total	888	387,000	
Friends of the Earth	Anti-McCain	20	138,000	Cable
	Total	20	138,000	
Peace Through Strength PAC	Hunter	269	134,000	None
	Total	269	134,000	

The study also found:

- Although he may not wear a flag pin on his lapel, nearly 30 percent of Senator Obama's campaign ads feature the American Flag. Ads for John McCain contain the flag over 60 percent of the time.
- Since securing the Republican Party's nomination, Senator McCain has concentrated his advertising in states that will likely be competitive in the general election. His top targets include Ohio, West Virginia, Iowa, and New Mexico.
- Throughout the campaign, Barack Obama has narrated a greater percentage of his campaign ads than Senator Clinton. Obama appears narrating more than 70 percent of his ads, while Clinton narrates only 35 percent of her ads.
- The top issue for Democratic presidential candidates has been health care. For both the Clinton and Obama campaigns, the most talked about issue in their campaign advertising has been health care.
- Republican presidential candidates have generally focused on the issues of taxes, immigration, and abortion in their campaign advertisements.
- Before becoming the presumptive Republican nominee, Senator McCain's campaign advertising portrayed him as the national security candidate, highlighting the issues of defense policy and the Iraq war. Since securing the nomination, the McCain campaign has quickly pivoted the content of their campaign ads to address more domestic topics such as taxes and health care.
- Senator Obama uses the word "change" in approximately 39 percent of his campaign ads, while Senator Clinton mentions "change" in only 10 percent of her ads. Obama says the word "experience" in less than 2 percent of his ads, while Clinton talks about experience in 15 percent of her ads. Senator Clinton has not mentioned the word "experience" in any of her campaign advertising since April of this year.
- In the paid media, the Democratic presidential campaign has not been very negative, with neither Barack Obama nor Hillary Clinton airing an actual attack ad. In any given week, the highest percentage of negative advertising aired by the Obama campaign has been 21 percent, and the highest percentage aired by the Clinton campaign has been 45 percent.

DEMOCRATS

	<i>Clinton</i>	<i>Obama</i>
Percentage of Ads Narrated	35.5	71.0
Percentage of Contrast Ads	13.9	5.9
Top Three Issues	Health Care Jobs Housing	Health Care Taxes Jobs

REPUBLICANS

	<i>McCain</i>	<i>Huckabee</i>	<i>Romney</i>
Percentage of Ads Narrated	39.7	100.0	69.8
Percentage of Contrast Ads	8.2	0.9	16.1
Top Three Issues	Defense Iraq Government Ethics	Abortion Family Values Taxes	Taxes Immigration Abortion

CITE SOURCE OF DATA IN ALL TABLES AS:

TNS Media Intelligence/CMAG with analysis by the Wisconsin Advertising Project

Using data obtained from the TNS Media Intelligence Campaign Media Analysis Group (TNSMI/CMAG), the University of Wisconsin Advertising Project codes and analyzes nearly all of the political advertising that is aired in 2008 federal and gubernatorial races across the country. The Ad Project, considered the single most important and credible source of information on campaign TV advertising, is funded in 2008 by a grant from the Joyce Foundation.

The Wisconsin Advertising Project codes political television advertising for sponsors, issues, tone, and numerous other characteristics – all in real time. While most of the attention will be focused on the presidential race in 2008, it also tracks candidate, party, and interest group advertisements in congressional, gubernatorial and other down ballot races nationwide, with a particular focus on the Midwest and the five states that comprise the Midwest Democracy Network (Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin.) Findings will be released in a series of real time reports over the course of the campaign.

Ken Goldstein, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the co-author of Campaign Advertising in American Democracy (Temple University Press), directs the Advertising Project. Goldstein has overall responsibility for the project and is available to work with media and policy makers during the entire course of the 2008 election year.

The Wisconsin Advertising Project coded virtually every significant political advertisement broadcast in the top 75 markets in 2000 and in the top 100 media markets from 2001 to 2004. In this process, using videos and storyboards of ads captured by TNSMI/CMAG, project staff first research the entity responsible for airing each separate political spot aired. In relation to campaign finance regulations as well as noting the names of sponsors, the project categorizes sponsors between those paid for by candidates, parties, hard money interest groups and soft money interest groups. Each spot is then further researched to attribute it to a specific candidate that the ad sponsors hope to elect. Once this is done, project staff codes the content of each ad, using a battery of questions.

This extensive coding allows for the compilation of a massive database of the content of commercials that can be used in a variety of ways by scholars, the media and policymakers.

The University of Wisconsin Advertising Project is affiliated with the university's Political Science Department. This department is one of the nation's oldest and most respected programs. It is highly ranked in national surveys and its award-winning faculty are known for innovative research on the discipline's most current and important questions.

With a reputation for unbiased and non-partisan analysis, Goldstein is a favorite source for both politicians and the news media. He has appeared numerous times on NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, Nightline, ABC World News Tonight, NBC Nightly News, CBS Evening News, FOX News Channel, MSNBC, CNBC and CNN, and is a frequent contributor on National Public Radio. He is also quoted extensively in the country's top newspapers, including The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal.

Based in Chicago, with assets of \$935 million, the Joyce Foundation funds groups working to strengthen public policies and improve the quality of life in the Great Lakes region. Its Money and Politics program supports efforts to promote a well-functioning representative democracy with open and accountable government, informed citizen participation, competition of ideas and candidates, fair and equal application of the laws, a high level of public trust and protection of fundamental rights. Other funding areas are education, workforce development, environment, gun violence prevention and culture.

TNS Media Intelligence/CMAG is the leading provider of advertising tracking and analysis of political public affairs and issue-advocacy advertising. TNSMI/CMAG provides customized media analysis services to national trade associations, foundations, Fortune 100 companies, national media organizations, academia and hundreds of national, statewide and local political campaigns. Clients rely on TNSMI/CMAG's experienced political researchers to assemble the most reliable, comprehensive research and reporting. TNSMI/CMAG's customized reporting methods help its clients better manage their media strategy, media buys, public relations and communications efforts.

For more information on the report or the University of Wisconsin Advertising Project, please contact Aaron Keyak or Steve Rabinowitz at 202-265-3000 or aaron@rabinowitz-dorf.com or go to <http://wiscadproject.wisc.edu>. To learn more about the book *Campaign Advertising in American Democracy*, go to http://www.temple.edu/tempres/titles/1922_reg.html.