

Appendix to Chapter 7,  
entitled  
“The Impact of Sarah Palin and Joseph Biden”  
from  
*The Obama Victory: How Media, Money, and Message  
Shaped the 2008 Election*

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Predicting Vote Preference from McCain “Too Old” and Palin Not  
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## Appendix 7.1 (see page 153 of *The Obama Victory*) Gibson Interview and Assessments of Palin’s Readiness by White, Non-Hispanic Women

*NAES data reveal that watching the interview had a significantly negative effect on white women’s perceptions that the Alaska governor was ready to be president.\* (p. 153)*

Table A7.1. Gibson Interview on Assessments of Palin “Ready To Be President” by White, Non-Hispanic Women and Others

|   |   |     | <i>Grouped Ratings of Palin “Ready To Be President”</i> |                |                 |
|---|---|-----|---|----------------|-----------------|
|   |   |     | <b>Negative</b>   | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Positive</b> |
| <b>White non-Hispanic Women</b>   | Watched Gibson interview with Palin     | No  | 102<br>46.4%  | 42<br>19.1%    | 76<br>34.5%     |
|   |   | Yes | 165<br>53.1%  | 29<br>9.3%     | 117<br>37.6%    |
|   | Total                                   |     | 267<br>50.3%  | 71<br>13.4%    | 193<br>36.3%    |
|   | Chi-square = 10.67, df=2, <i>p</i> <.01 |     |   |                |                 |
| <b>Everyone else</b>  | Watched Gibson interview with Palin     | No  | 146<br>57.0%  | 43<br>16.8%    | 67<br>26.2%     |
|   |   | Yes | 157<br>50.0%  | 43<br>13.7%    | 114<br>36.3%    |
|   | Total                                   |     | 303<br>53.2%  | 86<br>15.1%    | 181<br>31.8%    |
|   | Chi-square = 6.77, df=2, <i>p</i> <.05  |     |   |                |                 |
| <b>Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/12/08 to 9/16/08. Note: Row percentages given.</b> |   |     |   |                |                 |

*Palin 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, responses that ranged from 0 to 4 were considered *negative*, responses that hit the 5 mark were considered *neutral*, and responses that ranged from 6 to 10 were considered *positive*.

*Watched Gibson Interview Palin* was measured with the question: “Did you happen to see any part of the interviews that Charlie Gibson of ABC News conducted with Sarah Palin, or not?”

## Appendix 7.2 (see pages 153-154 of *The Obama Victory*) Gibson Interview and Assessments of Palin’s Readiness by Party Identification

*However, after watching it, Republicans were somewhat more likely to believe that she was ready to be president.\* (pp. 153-154)*

Table A7.2. Gibson Interview on Assessments of Palin “Ready To Be President” by Party Identification

|   |                                     |       | <i>Grouped Ratings of Palin “Ready To Be President”</i> |                |                 |
|---|-------------------------------------|-------|---|----------------|-----------------|
|   |                                     |       | <b>Negative</b>   | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Positive</b> |
| <b>Republicans</b>  | Watched Gibson interview with Palin | No    | 25<br>18.4%   | 32<br>23.5%    | 79<br>58.1%     |
|   |                                     | Yes   | 34<br>18.9%   | 25<br>13.9%    | 121<br>67.2%    |
|   |                                     | Total | 59<br>18.7%   | 57<br>18.0%    | 200<br>63.3%    |
| Chi-square = 5.02, df=2, <i>p</i> <.10  |                                     |       |   |                |                 |
|   |                                     |       | <b>Negative</b>   | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Positive</b> |
| <b>Democrats</b>  | Watched Gibson interview with Palin | No    | 122<br>73.9%  | 21<br>12.7%    | 22<br>13.3%     |
|   |                                     | Yes   | 194<br>78.2%  | 19<br>7.7%     | 35<br>14.1%     |
|   |                                     | Total | 316<br>76.5%  | 40<br>9.7%     | 57<br>13.8%     |
| Chi-square = 2.91, df=2, <i>p</i> =.23  |                                     |       |   |                |                 |
|   |                                     |       | <b>Negative</b>   | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Positive</b> |
| <b>Independents</b>   | Watched Gibson interview with Palin | No    | 87<br>56.1%   | 26<br>16.8%    | 42<br>27.1%     |
|   |                                     | Yes   | 85<br>45.7%   | 29<br>15.6%    | 72<br>38.7%     |
|   |                                     | Total | 172<br>50.4%  | 55<br>16.1%    | 114<br>33.4%    |
| Chi-square = 5.31, df=2, <i>p</i> <.10  |                                     |       |   |                |                 |
| <b>Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/12/08 to 9/16/08. Note: Row percentages given.</b> |                                     |       |   |                |                 |

## Appendix 7.3 (see pages 154-155 of *The Obama Victory*) CBS Viewing and Assessments of Palin’s Readiness

*Although the effects of the attacks by conservative critics and the caricature by Tina Fey are difficult to separate from exposure to the Couric interview, our data show that people who reported being more likely to see information about the 2008 presidential campaign on CBS than on other broadcast or cable television outlets were more inclined to rate Palin negatively on our “ready to be president” question than were people who did not report CBS as their most often seen broadcast or cable source about the campaign, a finding circumscribed by the fact that CBS’s viewers tend to be less conservative and more Democratic than those who rely on other channels for news.<sup>21\*</sup> (pp. 154-155)*

Table A7.3.1. CBS Viewing on Assessments of Palin “Ready to Be President”

|   | <i>Grouped Ratings of Palin “Ready To Be President”</i> |                |                 |
|---|---|----------------|-----------------|
|   | <b>Negative</b>   | <b>Neutral</b> | <b>Positive</b> |
| <b>Saw no presidential campaign information on TV news in past week</b>                               | 43<br>47.8%   | 10<br>11.1%    | 37<br>41.1%     |
| <b>Saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week most often from a non-CBS source</b> | 638<br>54.4%  | 210<br>17.9%   | 325<br>27.7%    |
| <b>Saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week most often from a CBS source</b>     | 55<br>67.1%   | 7<br>8.5%      | 20<br>24.4%     |
| <b>Total</b>  | 736<br>54.7%  | 227<br>16.9%   | 382<br>28.4%    |
| Chi-square = 14.77, df=4, p<.01   |   |                |                 |
| <b>Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 9/27/08 to 10/2/08. Note: Row percentages given.</b>         |   |                |                 |

*CBS Viewing* was measured with two questions. First, respondents were asked: “Thinking now about the past week how many days did you see information on broadcast or cable television about the 2008 presidential campaign? This includes seeing programs on television, on the internet, your cell phone, iPod, or PDA.” If respondents said none, they were categorized as *seeing no presidential campaign information on TV news in the past week*. If respondents seeing information 1 to 7 days, they were asked: “In the past week, from what television program did you get most of your information about the 2008 presidential campaign?” If they said CBS, then they were categorized as a *CBS viewer*. If they said some other program, then they were categorized as having seen TV news in past week that was from a *non-CBS source*.

Table A7.3.2. CBS Viewing and Ideology

|   | <i>Ideology</i>     |                 |                |
|---|---------------------|-----------------|----------------|
|   | <b>Conservative</b> | <b>Moderate</b> | <b>Liberal</b> |
| <b>Saw no presidential campaign information on TV news in past week</b>                               | 790<br>40.4%        | 606<br>31.0%    | 558<br>28.6%   |
| <b>Saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week most often from a non-CBS source</b> | 7739<br>40.8%       | 6250<br>33.0%   | 4969<br>26.2%  |
| <b>Saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week most often from a CBS source</b>     | 352<br>36.3%        | 364<br>37.6%    | 253<br>26.1%   |
| <b>Total</b>  | 8881<br>40.6%       | 7220<br>33.0%   | 5780<br>26.4%  |
| Chi-square = 16.79, df=4, $p < .01$   |                     |                 |                |
| <b>Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 8/1/08 to 11/3/08. Note: Row percentages given.</b>          |                     |                 |                |

Table A7.3.3. CBS Viewing and Party Identification

|   | <i>Party Identification</i> |                 |                    |              |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------|
|   | <b>Republican</b>           | <b>Democrat</b> | <b>Independent</b> | <b>Other</b> |
| <b>Saw no presidential campaign information on TV news in past week</b>                               | 504<br>26.0%                | 699<br>36.1%    | 652<br>33.7%       | 80<br>4.1%   |
| <b>Saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week most often from a non-CBS source</b> | 5596<br>29.9%               | 6776<br>36.2%   | 5855<br>31.3%      | 503<br>2.7%  |
| <b>Saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week most often from a CBS source</b>     | 219<br>22.9%                | 407<br>42.5%    | 307<br>32.1%       | 24<br>2.5%   |
| <b>Total</b>  | 6319<br>29.2%               | 7882<br>36.5%   | 6814<br>31.5%      | 607<br>2.8%  |
| Chi-square = 49.56, df=4, $p < .001$  |                             |                 |                    |              |
| <b>Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 8/1/08 to 11/3/08. Note: Row percentages given.</b>          |                             |                 |                    |              |

## Appendix 7.4 (see page 157 of *The Obama Victory*) SNL Viewing and Assessments of Palin's Readiness

*NAES data suggest that exposure to the SNL caricatures hurt Palin's prospects. Those who regularly watched Saturday Night Live were more likely to contend that she was not ready to be president.\* (p. 157)*

Table A7.4. Watching SNL Regularly on Assessments of Palin "Ready To Be President"

|   |                     |       | Grouped Ratings of Palin "Ready To Be President" |              |              |
|---|---------------------|-------|--|--------------|--------------|
|   |                     |       | Negative   | Neutral      | Positive     |
| <b>Overall</b>  | Watch SNL Regularly | No    | 879<br>54.1%                                     | 231<br>14.2% | 514<br>31.7% |
|   |                     | Yes   | 258<br>70.5%                                     | 37<br>10.1%  | 71<br>19.4%  |
|   |                     | Total | 1137<br>57.1%                                    | 268<br>13.5% | 585<br>29.4% |
| Chi-square = 33.01, df=2, p<.001  |                     |       |  |              |              |
| <b>Republicans</b>  | Watch SNL Regularly | No    | 128<br>26.8%                                     | 74<br>15.5%  | 276<br>57.7% |
|   |                     | Yes   | 25<br>38.5%                                      | 9<br>13.8%   | 31<br>47.7%  |
|   |                     | Total | 153<br>28.2%                                     | 83<br>15.3%  | 307<br>56.5% |
| Chi-square = 3.89, df=2, p=.143   |                     |       |  |              |              |
| <b>Democrats</b>  | Watch SNL Regularly | No    | 394<br>79.1%                                     | 53<br>10.6%  | 51<br>10.2%  |
|   |                     | Yes   | 129<br>84.3%                                     | 8<br>5.2%    | 16<br>10.5%  |
|   |                     | Total | 523<br>80.3%                                     | 61<br>9.4%   | 67<br>10.3%  |
| Chi-square = 4.06, df=2, p=.131   |                     |       |  |              |              |
| <b>Independents</b>   | Watch SNL Regularly | No    | 300<br>56.8%                                     | 86<br>16.3%  | 142<br>26.9% |
|   |                     | Yes   | 90<br>72.0%                                      | 17<br>13.6%  | 18<br>14.4%  |
|   |                     | Total | 390<br>59.7%                                     | 103<br>15.8% | 160<br>24.5% |
| Chi-square = 10.80, df=2, p<.01   |                     |       |  |              |              |
| <b>Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/8/08 to 11/3/08. Note: Row percentages given.</b> |                     |       |  |              |              |

*Watching SNL Regularly* was measured with the question: “Which of the following shows do you regularly watch: (ROTATE CHOICES) *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, *Saturday Night Live*, both, or neither?” Those who reported watching *SNL* or *both* were considered SNL viewers. Those who reported watching *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* or *neither* were not considered SNL viewers.



## Appendix 7.5 (see page 160 of *The Obama Victory*) Predicting Biden and Palin Favorability from Debate Viewing

*When we compared the attitudes of debate viewers and nonviewers in the presence of controls, we found evidence that the vice presidential debate upped Biden's favorability ratings, without affecting Palin's one way or the other.\* (p. 160)*

Table A7.5.1. OLS Regression Predicting Palin Favorability from Vice Presidential Debate Viewing

|  | Model 1          |                   |       | Model 2          |                   |       |
|--|------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
|  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  |
| Intercept  | 3.587 ***        | .869              |       | 3.775 ***        | .726              |       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.016            | .196              | -.003 | .103             | .148              | .016  |
| Age (in years)   | .003             | .007              | .016  | .002             | .005              | .011  |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)  | -1.885 ***       | .338              | -.171 | -.304            | .268              | -.028 |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.447            | .416              | -.032 | -.378            | .314              | -.027 |
| Education (in years)   | -.045            | .045              | -.033 | -.037            | .034              | -.027 |
| Household income (in thousands)  | -.001            | .002              | -.022 | -.001            | .001              | -.025 |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)   | 1.051 ***        | .251              | .145  | -.030            | .195              | -.004 |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)   | -1.537 ***       | .237              | -.229 | -.536 **         | .184              | -.080 |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                 | .882 ***         | .100              | .308  | .274 ***         | .081              | .096  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week     | -.060            | .052              | -.035 | -.073 #          | .039              | -.043 |
| Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | .060 #           | .035              | .051  | .050 #           | .027              | .043  |
| Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | -.042            | .035              | -.040 | .007             | .026              | .006  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week    | -.078 *          | .034              | -.075 | -.065 *          | .025              | -.062 |
| Watched vice presidential debate (0=none to 3=all)                               | .074             | .085              | .028  | .058             | .065              | .022  |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              | ---               | ---   | -.181 ***        | .037              | -.187 |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              | ---               | ---   | .587 ***         | .034              | .505  |
| Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              | ---               | ---   | -.116 **         | .041              | -.094 |
| N  |                  | 736               |       |                  | 736               |       |
| R-square   |                  | .386              |       |                  | .653              |       |
| # p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001                                      |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/3/08 to 10/6/08.                        |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |

Table A7.5.2. OLS Regression Predicting Biden Favorability from Vice Presidential Debate Viewing

|  | <i>Model 1</i>   |                   |       | <i>Model 2</i>   |                   |       |
|--|------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
|  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  |
| <b>Intercept</b>   | 6.342 ***        | .732              |       | 2.891 ***        | .653              |       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)   | .298 #           | .165              | .057  | .274 *           | .132              | .052  |
| Age (in years)   | -.007            | .006              | -.039 | -.005            | .005              | -.029 |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)  | 1.100 ***        | .285              | .123  | -.313            | .239              | -.035 |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)   | .385             | .350              | .034  | .038             | .281              | .003  |
| Education (in years)   | .043             | .038              | .039  | .001             | .030              | .001  |
| Household income (in thousands)  | -.001            | .002              | -.027 | .000             | .001              | -.010 |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.954 ***        | .211              | -.162 | -.253            | .174              | -.043 |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)   | .885 ***         | .200              | .163  | .220             | .165              | .041  |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                 | -.685 ***        | .084              | -.295 | -.148 *          | .073              | -.064 |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week     | .045             | .043              | .033  | .026             | .035              | .019  |
| Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | -.007            | .030              | -.008 | .042 #           | .024              | .045  |
| Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | .056 #           | .029              | .065  | .024             | .023              | .028  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week    | -.018            | .028              | -.021 | -.011            | .023              | -.013 |
| Watched vice presidential debate (0=none to 3=all)                               | .352 ***         | .071              | .162  | .327 ***         | .057              | .150  |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              | ---               | ---   | .481 ***         | .029              | .609  |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              | ---               | ---   | .038             | .036              | .040  |
| Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              | ---               | ---   | -.093 **         | .033              | -.114 |
| N  |                  | 736               |       |                  | 736               |       |
| R-square   |                  | .339              |       |                  | .578              |       |
| # p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001                                      |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/3/08 to 10/6/08.                        |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |

*Palin Favorability* and *Biden Favorability* were 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. To assess favorability toward Biden, “Joe Biden” was inserted in the question.

*Vice Presidential Debate Viewing* was measured with the question: “Did you happen to watch the vice presidential debate on Thursday, October 2nd between (ROTATE) Sarah Palin and Joe Biden? (IF YES:) Did you watch all, most or just some of it?” Those who *did not watch* the debate were assigned a value of 0, those who watched *just some* if it were assigned a value of 1, those who watched *most* of it were assigned a value of 2, and those who watched *all* of it were assigned a value of 3.

## Appendix 7.6 (see page 160 of *The Obama Victory*) Debate Expectations and Vice Presidential Candidate Favorability

*Confirming that expectations affect evaluation, those holding that view gave her higher favorability ratings than those who did not feel that she had done better than expected. By contrast, debate expectations had no effect on impressions of Biden.\* (p. 160)*

Table A7.6.1. Candidate Performance among Debate Viewers

|  | Did Sarah Palin DO better than you expected, less well than you expected or about as you expected? | Did Joe Biden DO better than you expected, less well than you expected or about as you expected? |
|--|--|--|
| <b>Better</b>  | 59.2%  | 25.4%  |
| <b>Less well</b>   | 4.3%   | 7.2%   |
| <b>As expected</b>   | 33.0%  | 63.9%  |
| <b>Don't know</b>  | 3.5%   | 3.5%   |
| <b>N</b>   | 740  | 740  |
| <b>Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/3/08 to 10/6/08.</b> |  |  |

Table A7.6.2. OLS Regression Predicting Palin Favorability among Vice Presidential Debate Viewers

|  | <i>Model 1</i> |                |       | <i>Model 2</i> |                |       |
|--|----------------|----------------|-------|----------------|----------------|-------|
|  | B Coefficient  | Standard Error | Beta  | B Coefficient  | Standard Error | Beta  |
| Intercept  | 2.932 **       | 1.096          |       | 3.608 ***      | .915           |       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)   | .012           | .221           | .002  | .096           | .169           | .014  |
| Age (in years)   | .004           | .008           | -.018 | .001           | .006           | .002  |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)  | -1.513 ***     | .387           | -.134 | -.021          | .308           | -.002 |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.145          | .485           | -.010 | -.172          | .372           | -.012 |
| Education (in years)   | -.065          | .053           | -.045 | -.067          | .041           | -.047 |
| Household income (in thousands)  | -.001          | .002           | -.022 | .000           | .002           | -.007 |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)   | .815 **        | .286           | .109  | -.199          | .225           | -.027 |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)   | -1.805 ***     | .268           | -.263 | -.678 **       | .213           | -.099 |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                 | 1.004 ***      | .113           | .342  | .359 ***       | .093           | .122  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week     | -.026          | .067           | -.013 | -.047          | .052           | -.023 |
| Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | .055           | .040           | .047  | .046           | .031           | .039  |
| Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | -.026          | .039           | -.024 | .020           | .030           | .019  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week    | -.084 *        | .038           | -.079 | -.089 **       | .029           | -.085 |
| Biden debate performance (0=less well, 1=as expected, 2=better)                  | -.068          | .193           | -.011 | .184           | .148           | .031  |
| Palin debate performance (0=less well, 1=as expected, 2=better)                  | .372 *         | .188           | .066  | .314 *         | .144           | .056  |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---            | ---            | ---   | -.239 ***      | .044           | -.244 |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---            | ---            | ---   | .542 ***       | .041           | .456  |
| Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---            | ---            | ---   | -.075          | .049           | -.060 |
| N  |                | 569            |       |                | 569            |       |
| R-square   |                | .428           |       |                | .668           |       |
| # p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001                                      |                |                |       |                |                |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/3/08 to 10/6/08.                        |                |                |       |                |                |       |

*Evaluation of Biden Debate Performance* was measured with the question: “Did Joe Biden do better than you expected, less well than you expected or about as you expected? (IF NECESSARY:) The vice presidential debate on Thursday, October 2nd between (ROTATE) Sarah Palin and Joe Biden?” Responses were coded so that those who said *less well* were assigned a value of 0, those who said *as expected* were assigned a value of 1, and those who said *better* were assigned a value of 2.

*Evaluation of Palin Debate Performance* was measured with the question: “Did Sarah Palin do better than you expected, less well than you expected or about as you expected? (IF NECESSARY:) The vice presidential debate on Thursday, October 2nd between (ROTATE) Sarah Palin and Joe Biden?” Responses were coded so that those who said *less well* were assigned a value of 0, those who said *as expected* were assigned a value of 1, and those who said *better* were assigned a value of 2.

Table A7.6.3. OLS Regression Predicting Biden Favorability among Vice Presidential Debate Viewers

|   | <i>Model 1</i>   |                   |       | <i>Model 2</i>   |                   |       |
|---|------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
|   | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  |
| Intercept   | 6.735 ***        | .926              |       | 3.096 ***        | .790              |       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)  | .283             | .187              | .054  | .238             | .146              | .045  |
| Age (in years)  | -.007            | .007              | -.038 | -.002            | .005              | -.010 |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)   | 1.231 ***        | .327              | .137  | -.124            | .266              | -.014 |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)  | .218             | .410              | .019  | -.047            | .321              | -.004 |
| Education (in years)  | .048             | .045              | .042  | .011             | .035              | .009  |
| Household income (in thousands)   | -.001            | .002              | -.027 | -.001            | .001              | -.017 |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)  | -1.035 ***       | .242              | -.173 | -.235            | .194              | -.039 |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)  | 1.030 ***        | .227              | .188  | .267             | .185              | .049  |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                | -.657 ***        | .096              | -.281 | -.137 #          | .081              | -.059 |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week    | .046             | .057              | .028  | .027             | .045              | .016  |
| Number of day heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | -.020            | .034              | -.021 | .038             | .027              | .041  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | .080 *           | .033              | .093  | .031             | .026              | .036  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week   | -.032            | .032              | -.038 | -.016            | .025              | -.018 |
| Biden debate performance 0=less well, 1=as expected, 2=better)                  | .305 #           | .163              | .065  | .158             | .128              | .034  |
| Palin debate performance (0=less well, 1=as expected, 2=better)                 | -.059            | .159              | -.013 | -.041            | .125              | -.009 |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              | ---               | ---   | .500 ***         | .032              | .642  |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              | ---               | ---   | .004             | .040              | .004  |
| Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              | ---               | ---   | -.056            | .037              | -.070 |
| N   |                  | 569               |       |                  | 569               |       |
| R-square  |                  | .358              |       |                  | .611              |       |
| # <i>p</i> < .10 * <i>p</i> < .05 ** <i>p</i> < .01 *** <i>p</i> < .001         |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/3/08 to 10/6/08.                       |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |

## Appendix 7.7 (see page 163 of *The Obama Victory*) Powell Endorsement

*On the surface, it appears that the endorsement gave Obama a small boost. Taking several demographic, political attitudinal variables, and news consumption into account, our results suggest that the Powell attack hurt Palin’s favorability ratings and perceptions of her readiness “to be president” but did not directly affect feelings about Obama. Nor did it affect ratings of McCain. The endorsement of Obama also helped Biden’s favorability ratings and perceptions of his readiness “to be president.”\* (p. 163)*

Table A7.7.1. OLS Regression Predicting Palin Favorability from Powell Endorsement

|  | Model 1       |                |       | Model 2       |                |       |
|--|---------------|----------------|-------|---------------|----------------|-------|
|  | B Coefficient | Standard Error | Beta  | B Coefficient | Standard Error | Beta  |
| Intercept  | 3.250 ***     | .834           |       | 3.866 ***     | .689           |       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)   | .034          | .195           | .005  | .201          | .147           | .030  |
| Age (in years)   | -.006         | .007           | -.027 | -.014 *       | .006           | -.062 |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)  | -1.008 *      | .399           | -.074 | .067          | .304           | .005  |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.500         | .373           | -.038 | .215          | .282           | .017  |
| Education (in years)   | -.064         | .046           | -.045 | -.053         | .035           | -.037 |
| Household income (in thousands)  | -.001         | .002           | -.021 | -.002         | .001           | -.033 |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)   | 1.959 ***     | .246           | .268  | .332 #        | .196           | .045  |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.955 ***     | .244           | -.135 | .060          | .189           | .009  |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                 | .982 ***      | .098           | .325  | .337 ***      | .080           | .112  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week     | .020          | .050           | .011  | .021          | .037           | .012  |
| Number of day heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week       | .081 *        | .035           | .067  | .081 **       | .026           | .067  |
| Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | -.060 #       | .034           | -.054 | -.036         | .025           | -.033 |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week    | -.053         | .034           | -.050 | -.046 #       | .026           | -.044 |
| Knew that Powell had endorsed Obama (1=yes,0=no)                                 | -.673 **      | .248           | -.083 | -.586 **      | .187           | -.073 |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---           | ---            | ---   | -.281 ***     | .038           | -.280 |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---           | ---            | ---   | .587 ***      | .032           | .507  |
| Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---           | ---            | ---   | -.005         | .040           | -.004 |
| N  |               | 789            |       |               | 789            |       |
| R-square   |               | .403           |       |               | .666           |       |
| # p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001                                      |               |                |       |               |                |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/19/08 to 10/22/08.                      |               |                |       |               |                |       |



*Knew Powell Endorsement* was measured with the question: “Do you happen to know who Colin Powell endorsed for president?” Those who said *Barack Obama*, the correct answer, were assigned a value of 1, while those who said *John McCain*, some *other name*, *no* or *don’t know* were coded as 0.

*Obama Favorability* and *McCain Favorability* were 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. To assess favorability toward McCain, “John McCain” was inserted in the question.

Table A7.7.2. OLS Regression Predicting Palin “Ready To Be President” from Powell Endorsement

|   | <i>Model 1</i>   |                   |       | <i>Model 2</i>   |                   |       |
|---|------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
|   | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  |
| <b>Intercept</b>  | 2.978 ***        | .804              |       | 3.101 ***        | .724              |       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)  | -.055            | .188              | -.009 | .100             | .155              | .016  |
| Age (in years)  | .006             | .007              | .031  | .000             | .006              | .000  |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.681 #          | .383              | -.055 | .159             | .320              | .013  |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)  | -.027            | .358              | -.002 | .506 #           | .296              | .042  |
| Education (in years)  | -.089 *          | .044              | -.068 | -.082 *          | .036              | -.063 |
| Household income (in thousands)   | -.002            | .002              | -.036 | -.003            | .002              | -.046 |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)  | 1.790 ***        | .237              | .267  | .454 *           | .206              | .068  |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)  | -.650 **         | .235              | -.101 | .193             | .198              | .030  |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                | .779 ***         | .094              | .282  | .265 **          | .084              | .096  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week    | -.029            | .048              | -.018 | -.030            | .039              | -.019 |
| Number of day heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | .063 #           | .034              | .057  | .063 *           | .028              | .056  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | -.064 *          | .032              | -.064 | -.046 #          | .027              | -.045 |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week   | -.070 *          | .033              | -.073 | -.065 *          | .027              | -.067 |
| Knew that Powell had endorsed Obama (1=yes,0=no)                                | -.593 *          | .238              | -.080 | -.515 **         | .196              | -.070 |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              | ---               | ---   | -.152 ***        | .040              | -.165 |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              | ---               | ---   | .523 ***         | .034              | .495  |
| Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              | ---               | ---   | -.059            | .042              | -.054 |
| N   |                  | 788               |       |                  | 788               |       |
| R-square  |                  | .340              |       |                  | .558              |       |
| # p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001                                     |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/19/08 to 10/22/08.                     |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |

*Palin 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 0 to 10 scale was used.

Table A7.7.3. OLS Regression Predicting Obama Favorability from Powell Endorsement

|  | <i>Model 1</i>   |     |                   | <i>Model 2</i> |                  |                   |       |
|--|------------------|-----|-------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
|  | B<br>Coefficient |     | Standard<br>Error | Beta           | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  |
| <b>Intercept</b>   | 7.773            | *** | .794              |                | 4.783            | ***               | .621  |
| <b>Female (1=yes, 0=no)</b>  | .186             |     | .186              | .028           | -.077            | .135              | -.011 |
| <b>Age (in years)</b>  | -.008            |     | .007              | -.035          | -.005            | .005              | -.022 |
| <b>Black (1=yes, 0=no)</b>   | 1.947            | *** | .379              | .144           | .841             | **                | .277  |
| <b>Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)</b>  | 1.227            | *** | .354              | .094           | .889             | ***               | .257  |
| <b>Education (in years)</b>  | .053             |     | .044              | .037           | .020             | .032              | .014  |
| <b>Household income (in thousands)</b>   | .000             |     | .002              | .003           | -.001            | .001              | -.013 |
| <b>Republican (1=yes, 0=no)</b>  | -1.858           | *** | .234              | -.255          | -.501            | **                | .180  |
| <b>Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)</b>  | 1.273            | *** | .232              | .181           | .282             | .173              | .040  |
| <b>Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)</b>  | -.985            | *** | .093              | -.327          | -.302            | ***               | .073  |
| <b>Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week</b>                                | .050             |     | .047              | .029           | .033             | .034              | .019  |
| <b>Number of day heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week</b>                                  | -.025            |     | .034              | -.021          | .028             | .024              | .024  |
| <b>Number of days saw presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week</b>                             | .050             |     | .032              | .046           | .017             | .023              | .015  |
| <b>Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week</b>                               | .008             |     | .032              | .008           | -.012            | .023              | -.011 |
| <b>Knew that Powell had endorsed Obama (1=yes,0=no)</b>  | .332             |     | .236              | .041           | -.188            | .173              | -.023 |
| <b>McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)</b>  | ---              |     | ---               | ---            | -.064            | #                 | .035  |
| <b>Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)</b>   | ---              |     | ---               | ---            | .605             | ***               | .030  |
| <b>Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)</b>   | ---              |     | ---               | ---            | -.236            | ***               | .032  |
| <b>N</b>   |                  |     | 789               |                |                  | 789               |       |
| <b>R-square</b>  |                  |     | .456              |                |                  | .717              |       |
| <b># <math>p &lt; .10</math> * <math>p &lt; .05</math> ** <math>p &lt; .01</math> *** <math>p &lt; .001</math></b> |                  |     |                   |                |                  |                   |       |
| <b>Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/19/08 to 10/22/08.</b>   |                  |     |                   |                |                  |                   |       |

Table A7.7.4. OLS Regression Predicting McCain Favorability from Powell Endorsement

|   | <i>Model 1</i>   |     |                   | <i>Model 2</i> |                  |                   |       |
|---|------------------|-----|-------------------|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
|   | B<br>Coefficient |     | Standard<br>Error | Beta           | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  |
| Intercept   | 2.725            | *** | .743              |                | 1.612            | *                 | .656  |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)  | -.192            |     | .174              | -.033          | -.194            |                   | -.033 |
| Age (in years)  | .009             |     | .007              | .048           | .012             | *                 | .005  |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.888            | *   | .355              | -.076          | -.229            |                   | -.019 |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)  | -.629            | #   | .332              | -.056          | -.287            |                   | -.025 |
| Education (in years)  | .007             |     | .041              | .005           | .043             |                   | .035  |
| Household income (in thousands)   | .001             |     | .002              | .025           | .002             |                   | .038  |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)  | 1.873            | *** | .219              | .296           | .730             | ***               | .115  |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)  | -1.111           | *** | .217              | -.182          | -.526            | **                | -.086 |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                | .622             | *** | .088              | .238           | .045             |                   | .017  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week    | .021             |     | .044              | .014           | .015             |                   | .010  |
| Number of day heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | -.013            |     | .031              | -.013          | -.057            | *                 | -.054 |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | -.017            |     | .030              | -.017          | .018             |                   | .019  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week   | -.007            |     | .030              | -.008          | .021             |                   | .023  |
| Knew that Powell had endorsed Obama (1=yes,0=no)                                | .016             |     | .221              | .002           | .389             | *                 | .056  |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              |     | ---               | ---            | -.067            | #                 | -.077 |
| Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              |     | ---               | ---            | -.006            |                   | -.006 |
| Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              |     | ---               | ---            | .516             | ***               | .597  |
| N   |                  |     | 789               |                |                  |                   | 789   |
| R-square  |                  |     | .366              |                |                  |                   | .607  |
| # $p < .10$ * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$                             |                  |     |                   |                |                  |                   |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/19/08 to 10/22/08.                     |                  |     |                   |                |                  |                   |       |

Table A7.7.5. OLS Regression Predicting Biden Favorability from Powell Endorsement

|  | Model 1          |                   |       | Model 2          |                   |       |
|--|------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
|  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  |
| Intercept  | 6.506 ***        | .722              |       | 2.072 ***        | .623              |       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)   | .428 *           | .169              | .075  | .320 *           | .131              | .056  |
| Age (in years)   | -.006            | .006              | -.034 | -.002            | .005              | -.010 |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)  | 1.341 ***        | .345              | .118  | .215             | .272              | .019  |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)   | .297             | .322              | .027  | -.413            | .252              | -.038 |
| Education (in years)   | .029             | .040              | .025  | -.001            | .031              | -.001 |
| Household income (in thousands)  | .001             | .002              | .024  | .001             | .001              | .022  |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)   | -1.278 ***       | .213              | -.209 | -.194            | .176              | -.032 |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)   | 1.148 ***        | .211              | .195  | .408 *           | .168              | .069  |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                 | -.680 ***        | .085              | -.270 | -.108            | .072              | -.043 |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week     | .038             | .043              | .026  | .009             | .033              | .006  |
| Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | -.058 #          | .030              | -.057 | -.043 #          | .024              | -.043 |
| Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | .030             | .029              | .032  | .001             | .023              | .001  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week    | .012             | .030              | .013  | .007             | .023              | .008  |
| Knew that Powell had endorsed Obama (1=yes,0=no)                                 | .599 **          | .215              | .089  | .406 *           | .168              | .060  |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              | ---               | ---   | .574 ***         | .028              | .685  |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              | ---               | ---   | -.006            | .034              | -.006 |
| Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              | ---               | ---   | -.004            | .032              | -.004 |
| N  |                  | 789               |       |                  | 789               |       |
| R-square   |                  | .359              |       |                  | .617              |       |
| # p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001                                      |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/19/08 to 10/22/08.                      |                  |                   |       |                  |                   |       |

Table A7.7.6. OLS Regression Predicting Biden “Ready To Be President” from Powell Endorsement

|  | <i>Model 1</i>   |                   |      | <i>Model 2</i>   |                   |       |
|--|------------------|-------------------|------|------------------|-------------------|-------|
|  | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta | B<br>Coefficient | Standard<br>Error | Beta  |
| <b>Intercept</b>   | 5.937            | ***               | .721 | 1.214            | *                 | .618  |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)   | .253             |                   | .168 | -.008            |                   | -.002 |
| Age (in years)   | .003             |                   | .006 | .008             | #                 | .005  |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)  | .962             | **                | .341 | -.079            |                   | -.008 |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)   | .501             |                   | .318 | .098             |                   | .010  |
| Education (in years)   | .042             |                   | .040 | .022             |                   | .020  |
| Household income (in thousands)  | .001             |                   | .002 | .001             |                   | .014  |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.649            | **                | .211 | -.115            | *                 | .063  |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)   | 1.053            | ***               | .210 | .238             |                   | .044  |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                 | -.617            | ***               | .084 | -.094            |                   | -.040 |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week     | .077             | #                 | .043 | .049             |                   | .037  |
| Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | -.020            |                   | .030 | .010             |                   | .010  |
| Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | .035             |                   | .029 | .012             |                   | .014  |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week    | .009             |                   | .029 | .002             |                   | .002  |
| Knew that Powell had endorsed Obama (1=yes,0=no)                                 | .681             | **                | .213 | .341             | *                 | .054  |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              |                   | ---  | .220             | ***               | .283  |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)   | ---              |                   | ---  | -.026            |                   | -.029 |
| Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              |                   | ---  | .458             | ***               | .494  |
| Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)  | ---              |                   | ---  | .019             |                   | .025  |
| N  |                  |                   | 780  |                  |                   | 780   |
| R-square   |                  |                   | .275 |                  |                   | .581  |
| # <i>p</i> < .10 * <i>p</i> < .05 ** <i>p</i> < .01 *** <i>p</i> < .001          |                  |                   |      |                  |                   |       |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/19/08 to 10/22/08.                      |                  |                   |      |                  |                   |       |

## Appendix 7.8 (see page 169 and pages 173-174 of *The Obama Victory*) Predicting Vote Preference from Vice Presidential Candidate Favorability

*According to NAES data, in the last three weeks of the campaign, a 1-unit increase in Palin's favorability reduced the odds of voting for the Obama-Biden ticket approximately 22 percent, after taking demographic and political attitudinal variables into consideration.\* (p. 169)*

*In contrast, a 1-unit increase in Biden's favorability ratings reduced the odds of voting for the McCain-Palin ticket approximately 8 percent.\* (p. 169)*

*Even when we take a host of demographic and political variables into account, the favorability ratings of the major-party vice presidential candidates affected vote preferences.\* (pp. 173-174)*

Table A7.8.1. Logistic Regression Predicting Obama/Biden Vote Preference from Vice Presidential Candidate Favorability

|  | September 5 to October 14 |                |            | October 15 to November 3 |                |            |
|--|---------------------------|----------------|------------|--------------------------|----------------|------------|
|  | B Coefficient             | Standard Error | Odds Ratio | B Coefficient            | Standard Error | Odds Ratio |
| Intercept  | -1.721 ***                | .440           | .179       | -1.382 *                 | .581           | .251       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)                                   | -.266 **                  | .098           | .766       | -.184                    | .132           | .832       |
| Age (in years)   | .000                      | .003           | 1.000      | .002                     | .004           | 1.002      |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)                                    | .535 **                   | .204           | 1.708      | 1.365 ***                | .359           | 3.915      |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)                                 | .391 *                    | .203           | 1.478      | .493 #                   | .260           | 1.637      |
| Education (in years)                                   | .037                      | .023           | 1.038      | .009                     | .030           | 1.009      |
| Household income (in thousands)                        | -.001                     | .001           | .999       | .001                     | .001           | 1.001      |
| Church attendance (1=never to 5=more than once a week) | -.034                     | .039           | .967       | -.048                    | .053           | .953       |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)                               | -.654 ***                 | .141           | .520       | -.535 **                 | .181           | .586       |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)                                 | .976 ***                  | .108           | 2.655      | .986 ***                 | .153           | 2.680      |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)       | -.361 ***                 | .055           | .697       | -.341 ***                | .073           | .711       |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)                    | .681 ***                  | .029           | 1.975      | .652 ***                 | .039           | 1.920      |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)                   | -.324 ***                 | .028           | .723       | -.274 ***                | .037           | .760       |
| Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)                    | .132 ***                  | .027           | 1.141      | .085 *                   | .038           | 1.088      |
| Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)                    | -.248 ***                 | .023           | .780       | -.250 ***                | .031           | .779       |
| N  |                           | 7,174          |            |                          | 3784           |            |
| Cox & Snell R-square                                   |                           | .617           |            |                          | .617           |            |
| Nagelkerke R-square                                    |                           | .825           |            |                          | .823           |            |
| Percent Correct  |                           | 92.3           |            |                          | 92.7           |            |
| # p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001            |                           |                |            |                          |                |            |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey.                         |                           |                |            |                          |                |            |

*Obama 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 *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.



Table A7.8.2. Logistic Regression Predicting McCain/Palin Vote Preference from Vice Presidential Candidate Favorability

|   | September 5 to October 14 |                |            | October 15 to November 3 |                |            |
|---|---------------------------|----------------|------------|--------------------------|----------------|------------|
|   | B Coefficient             | Standard Error | Odds Ratio | B Coefficient            | Standard Error | Odds Ratio |
| Intercept   | -2.724 ***                | .445           | .066       | -4.381 ***               | .632           | .013       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)  | -.141                     | .096           | .869       | .108                     | .136           | 1.114      |
| Age (in years)  | -.008 *                   | .003           | .992       | .002                     | .005           | 1.002      |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)   | -1.082 ***                | .293           | .339       | -3.375 ***               | .717           | .034       |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)  | -.298                     | .213           | .742       | -.560 #                  | .294           | .571       |
| Education (in years)  | -.028                     | .023           | .973       | .037                     | .032           | 1.038      |
| Household income (in thousands)   | .002 *                    | .001           | 1.002      | .002                     | .001           | 1.002      |
| Church attendance (1=never to 5=more than once a week)                  | .096 *                    | .038           | 1.101      | .087                     | .054           | 1.090      |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)  | 1.368 ***                 | .115           | 3.927      | 1.095 ***                | .158           | 2.990      |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)  | -.279 *                   | .124           | .756       | -.693 ***                | .187           | .500       |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                        | .335 ***                  | .055           | 1.397      | .384 ***                 | .078           | 1.467      |
| Obama favorability rating (0 to 10)                                     | -.455 ***                 | .026           | .634       | -.461 ***                | .036           | .631       |
| McCain favorability rating (0 to 10)                                    | .566 ***                  | .031           | 1.762      | .543 ***                 | .042           | 1.721      |
| Biden favorability rating (0 to 10)                                     | -.129 ***                 | .027           | .879       | -.087 *                  | .039           | .917       |
| Palin favorability rating (0 to 10)                                     | .249 ***                  | .024           | 1.283      | .246 ***                 | .032           | 1.279      |
| N   |                           | 7174           |            |                          | 3784           |            |
| Cox & Snell R-square  |                           | .612           |            |                          | .619           |            |
| Nagelkerke R-square   |                           | .821           |            |                          | .833           |            |
| Percent Correct   |                           | 92.3           |            |                          | 92.3           |            |
| # <i>p</i> < .10 * <i>p</i> < .05 ** <i>p</i> < .01 *** <i>p</i> < .001 |                           |                |            |                          |                |            |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey.  |                           |                |            |                          |                |            |

*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 7.9 (see page 174 of *The Obama Victory*)**  
**Predicting Vote Preference from McCain “Too Old” and Palin Not  
“Ready To Be President”**

*When Palin’s competence eroded, doubts about her readiness to assume the presidency hurt the Republican ticket’s chances.\* (p. 174)*

Table A7.9. Logistic Regression Predicting McCain/Palin Vote Preference from McCain “Too Old” and Palin Not “Ready To Be President”

|  | B<br>Coefficient |     | Standard<br>Error | Odds Ratio |
|--|------------------|-----|-------------------|------------|
| Intercept  | -.741            | #   | .424              | .476       |
| Female (1=yes, 0=no)   | .138             |     | .096              | 1.148      |
| Age (in years)   | .005             |     | .003              | 1.005      |
| Black (1=yes, 0=no)  | -3.153           | *** | .429              | .043       |
| Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)   | -.742            | *** | .200              | .476       |
| Education (in years)   | .010             |     | .023              | 1.010      |
| Household income (in thousands)  | .003             | *** | .001              | 1.003      |
| Republican (1=yes, 0=no)   | 1.658            | *** | .115              | 5.247      |
| Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)   | -1.108           | *** | .127              | .330       |
| Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)                                 | .682             | *** | .052              | 1.977      |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week     | .007             |     | .023              | 1.007      |
| Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week      | .036             | *   | .018              | 1.037      |
| Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week | .017             |     | .017              | 1.017      |
| Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week    | .017             |     | .017              | 1.017      |
| Palin <i>not</i> ready to be president (0 to 10)                                 | -.429            | *** | .020              | .651       |
| McCain too old to be president (1=too old, 0=not too old or don't know)          | -1.572           | *** | .122              | .208       |
| N  |                  |     | 5134              |            |
| Cox & Snell R-square   |                  |     | .542              |            |
| Nagelkerke R-square  |                  |     | .730              |            |
| Percent Correct  |                  |     | 87.5              |            |
| # <i>p</i> < .10 * <i>p</i> < .05 ** <i>p</i> < .01 *** <i>p</i> < .001          |                  |     |                   |            |
| Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/8/08 to 11/3/08.                        |                  |     |                   |            |

*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.

*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*.