

Appendix to Chapter 9,
entitled
“Period Four: The McCain Surge (October 15—28)”
from
*The Obama Victory: How Media, Money, and Message
Shaped the 2008 Election*

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**Appendix 9.1 (see page 219 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting McCain Favorability from Belief that Obama Will Raise
Taxes and McCain Will Not**

**Appendix 9.2 (see page 219 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not
from October 15 Debate Viewing**

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Predicting Belief that Obama Tax Plan Would Give Check to People
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Relationships of Beliefs that Obama Will Raise Taxes/McCain Will Not
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**Appendix 9.5 (see page 230 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting Belief that McCain Will Be Better at Handling Economy**

Appendix 9.1 (see page 219 of *The Obama Victory*) Predicting McCain Favorability from Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not

NAES analyses showed that the belief that Obama will raise taxes and McCain won't was significantly related to higher favorability scores for McCain, and the strength of this relationship increases directly after the third and final debate (figure 9.5). (p. 219)*

Table A9.1. OLS Regression Predicting McCain Favorability from Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	3.013	***	.339	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.080		.076	-.014
Age (in years)	.007	*	.003	.036
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-.702	***	.151	-.062
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.036		.155	-.003
Education (in years)	.029		.018	.024
Household income (in thousands)	.000		.001	.005
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	1.100	***	.102	.171
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.126	***	.095	-.183
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.331	***	.039	.130
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	.032	#	.020	.022
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	-.014		.014	-.013
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	-.022	#	.013	-.023
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.044	***	.013	-.048
Believed that Obama will raise taxes <u>and</u> McCain will not (1=yes, 0=no)	1.990	***	.094	.327
N			3,583	
R-square			.419	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/16/08 to 11/3/08.				

Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not was measured with two items: “If Barack Obama is elected president, do you think your federal taxes will go up, go down, or stay the same?” and “If John McCain is elected president, do you think your federal taxes will go up, go down, or stay the same?” Respondents who said that *under Obama, federal taxes will go up and* said that *under McCain, federal taxes will stay the same or go down* were assigned a value of 1. Respondents who gave other combinations of substantive responses were assigned a 0. People

who said *don't know* to either of the two items or *refused* to give responses were treated as missing.

Appendix 9.2 (see page 219 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not
from October 15 Debate Viewing

In the presence of controls, watching the October 15 debate significantly predicted the belief that Obama would raise taxes and McCain would not. (p. 219)*

Table A9.2. Logistic Regression Predicting the Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not from Third Presidential Debate Viewing

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	-4.630 ***		.673	.010
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.148		.153	.862
Age (in years)	.006		.005	1.006
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.238 *		.540	.290
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.324		.328	.724
Education (in years)	.049		.036	1.050
Household income (in thousands)	.004 **		.002	1.004
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	1.364 ***		.173	3.910
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-.785 ***		.213	.456
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.663 ***		.083	1.941
Watched third presidential debate (0=none to 3=all)	.148 *		.062	1.160
N			1,171	
Cox & Snell R-square			.296	
Nagelkerke R-square			.411	
Percent Correct			78.0	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/16/08 to 10/21/08.				

Watched Third Presidential Debate was measured with the question: “Did you happen to watch the presidential debate on Wednesday, October 15 between (ROTATE) John McCain and Barack Obama focusing on domestic issues? (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 9.3 (see page 220 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting Belief that Obama Tax Plan Would Give Check to People Who Pay No Federal Income Tax from October 15 Debate Viewing

The allegation apparently resonated with debate watchers, who were significantly more likely than nonviewers to believe that Obama’s proposed tax plan would provide a government check to millions of people who pay no federal income taxes. (p. 220)*

Table A9.3. Logistic Regression Predicting the Belief that Obama’s Tax Plan Would Provide a Government Check to People Who Pay No Federal Income Tax from Third Presidential Debate Viewing

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	-2.939	***	.847	.053
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.405	*	.202	.667
Age (in years)	.005		.007	1.005
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-.395		.446	.674
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.466		.424	.627
Education (in years)	.109	**	.041	1.115
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	.538	*	.256	1.713
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-.163		.255	.850
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.307	**	.105	1.359
Watched third presidential debate (0=none to 3=all)	.154	#	.079	1.166
N			463	
Cox & Snell R-square			.103	
Nagelkerke R-square			.138	
Percent Correct			61.8	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/20/08 to 10/21/08.				

Obama’s Tax Plan Would Provide Check To Those Who Do Not Pay Taxes was measured with the item: “Which candidate or candidates running for president proposes a tax cut plan that would provide a government check to millions of people who pay no federal income taxes? (ROTATE CHOICES) Barack Obama, John McCain, both or neither?” Those who said *Obama* were assigned a value of 1. Those who said *McCain, both, neither, or don’t know* were assigned a value of 0. Our goal was to isolate the idea that Obama was the candidate who would be taking this action, not McCain, which is why *both* was assigned a value of 0.

NOTE: For this model, we did not include *income* as we had with previous models. The reason is because people sometimes do not want to answer personal income questions, so when income is included in models, the sample size is lower than it otherwise would be. In the case of predicting *perceptions about Obama's tax plan*, income was not a significant predictor of the dependent variable when it was included in the model. It did, however, change the sample size from 463 to 418, making the *watched third presidential debate* variable insignificant ($p=.134$). When the sample size was increased with the exclusion of income, the p value was .051. We decided that the analysis with the slightly larger sample size was appropriate. Unfortunately, the *watched third presidential debate* and *perceptions about Obama's tax plan* variables were only on the survey together for two days, making sample size limited.

Appendix 9.4 (see page 230 of *The Obama Victory*)
Relationships of Beliefs that Obama Will Raise Taxes/McCain Will Not
and Obama Tax Plan Would Give Check to People Who Pay No
Federal Income Tax to Other Beliefs

NAES data show that believing that Obama will raise your taxes and McCain won't and thinking that Obama proposed a tax-cut plan that would provide a government check to millions of people who pay no federal income taxes were positively related to beliefs that 1) the Obama plan is socialist, 2) black elected officials will favor blacks, and 3) Obama is liberal. (p. 230)*

Table A9.4.1. OLS Regression Predicting Belief that Obama Plan Is Socialist

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	4.937	***	.802	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	.011		.178	.002
Age (in years)	-.013	#	.006	-.054
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	.493		.346	.038
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	1.001	**	.365	.071
Education (in years)	-.076	#	.043	-.053
Household income (in thousands)	-.002		.002	-.035
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	.618	*	.240	.083
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-.597	**	.221	-.083
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.541	***	.090	.186
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	-.027		.045	-.016
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	.077	*	.031	.064
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	-.105	***	.030	-.095
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	.017		.030	.016
Obama will raise taxes and McCain will not (1=yes, 0=no)	1.398	***	.217	.197
Obama plan will give government checks (1=yes, 0=no)	.776	***	.185	.113
N			1,181	
R-square			.253	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/22/08 to 11/3/08.				

Obama Plan Socialist was measured with the question: “Now I’m going to read you a word that some use to describe Barack Obama’s economic plans. Please tell me how well that word describes Barack Obama’s economic plans. Again, please use a scale from 0 to 10, where ‘zero’ means it does not apply at all and 10 means it applies extremely well. Of course you can use any number in between. Socialism.” For the analysis, the 0 to 10 scale was used. *Don’t know* and *refused* responses were treated as missing.

Table A9.4.2. OLS Regression Predicting Belief that Black Officials Favor Blacks

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	2.207	***	.163	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.146	***	.037	-.074
Age (in years)	.008	***	.001	.119
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-.452	***	.071	-.123
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	.123	#	.075	.031
Education (in years)	-.020	*	.009	-.049
Household income (in thousands)	.000		.000	-.027
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	.036		.050	.017
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-.096	*	.046	-.047
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.067	***	.019	.079
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	-.026	**	.010	-.050
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	-.007		.006	-.020
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	-.017	**	.006	-.053
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	-.001		.006	-.005
Obama will raise taxes <u>and</u> McCain will not (1=yes, 0=no)	.294	***	.046	.144
Obama plan will give government checks (1=yes, 0=no)	.077	*	.038	.039
N			2,647	
R-square			.121	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/20/08 to 11/3/08.				

Black Officials Favor Blacks was measured with the question: “Do you think black elected officials are more likely to favor blacks for government jobs over white applicants. Do you (ROTATE ORDER 1-2-3-4 or 4-3-2-1) strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?” Responses were coded on a scale from 1 to 4: *strongly agree* (4), *somewhat agree* (3), *somewhat disagree* (2), and *strongly disagree* (1).

Table A9.4.3. OLS Regression Predicting Perception of Obama as Liberal

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Beta
Intercept	2.504	***	.159	
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	-.086	*	.036	-.040
Age (in years)	.004	**	.001	.058
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-.301	***	.070	-.074
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.315	***	.074	-.072
Education (in years)	.059	***	.008	.134
Household income (in thousands)	.001		.000	.030
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	.216	***	.048	.093
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-.153	***	.045	-.068
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	-.015		.018	-.016
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week	.010		.009	.018
Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week	.012	#	.006	.032
Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week	-.006		.006	-.017
Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week	.014	*	.006	.041
Obama will raise taxes <u>and</u> McCain will not (1=yes, 0=no)	.643	***	.044	.291
Obama plan will give government checks (1=yes, 0=no)	.286	***	.037	.134
N			2,735	
R-square			.276	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/20/08 to 11/3/08.				

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

Appendix 9.5 (see page 230 of *The Obama Victory*) Predicting Belief that McCain Would Be Better at Handling Economy

Two of these three, the exception being the belief that black officials will favor blacks, predict a report that McCain will be better at handling the economy than Obama. (p. 230)*

Table A9.5. Logistic Regression Predicting Perception that McCain Would Better Handle the Economy

	B Coefficient		Standard Error	Odds Ratio
Intercept	-5.259	***	.866	.005
Female (1=yes, 0=no)	.194		.189	1.214
Age (in years)	.001		.006	1.001
Black (1=yes, 0=no)	-1.797	**	.594	.166
Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)	-.629	#	.354	.533
Education (in years)	-.076	#	.044	.927
Household income (in thousands)	.002		.002	1.002
Republican (1=yes, 0=no)	.872	***	.218	2.391
Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)	-.475	#	.245	.622
Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)	.610	***	.096	1.841
Obama will raise taxes <u>and</u> McCain will not (1=yes, 0=no)	1.852	***	.195	6.374
Obama plan will give government checks (1=yes, 0=no)	.533	**	.194	1.703
Obama plan is socialism (0 to 10)	.135	***	.032	1.144
Black officials favor blacks (1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree)	.106		.097	1.112
Obama as liberal (1=very conservative to 5=very liberal)	.370	***	.095	1.447
N			1,122	
Cox & Snell R-square			.487	
Nagelkerke R-square			.649	
Percent Correct			85.0	
# p < .10 * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001				
Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/22/08 to 11/3/08.				

McCain Would Better Handle the Economy was measured with the question: “Now I’m going to mention a few items and for each one, please tell me if you think (ROTATE) Barack Obama or John McCain would better handle that issue if they were elected president in 2008. Here’s the first. Who would better handle the economy (ISSUES ROTATED) if they were elected president in 2008, Barack Obama or John McCain?” For the analysis, those who said that

McCain would better handle the economy were coded as 1, while those who said *Obama* or *neither* were coded as 0. *Don't know* responses were also assigned a value of 0.