

First and Second Levels of Intermedia Agenda Setting ~~in~~: Political Advertising, Newspapers, and Twitter postings during the 2012 U.S. Presidential Election

Introduction

During the general election cycle period, the ~~official~~ candidates for president ~~provide their messages through political advertising employing a multimedia strategy~~ send their messages out through a host of platforms, including television advertising. (Sweeter, Golan, & Wanta, 2008). Political advertising plays a role in influencing the ~~general public. It can alter the~~ media agendas ~~coverage of issues to provide campaigns issues~~, define ~~their a candidates~~ image, and ultimately influence voter turnout (Bichard, 2006; Johnston & Kaid, 2002). ~~In light of presidential campaigns and news coverage,~~ ~~many~~ scholars ~~consistently have~~ found that news coverage ~~is can be~~ “horse race reporting” ~~that focuses on where~~ issue-~~centered-centric~~ information of “winning, losing, or repositioning strategic plans during an election” ~~dominates news coverage~~ (Boyle, 2001, p. 27). ~~Further, p~~It has also ~~been prior research shown demonstrated~~ that during the campaign period, news agendas of newspapers and local and network news ~~became become~~ more similar ~~as it gets closer to the as~~ election day ~~nears~~, especially by media-type ~~b~~Scholars link this effect to ~~cause of~~ shared journalistic norms and routines ~~that result in similar exposure to similar issue agendas~~ (Boyle, 2001).

~~However, With with~~ the expansion of the Internet, ~~however,~~ the media landscape has ~~been~~ changed dramatically. The emergence of citizen ~~bloggers-journalists~~ through ~~networking technologies including~~ blogs and social media ~~has~~ resulted in the changes ~~in to~~ the traditional ~~journalism~~ gatekeeping functions ~~and and~~ ~~journalistic~~ norms ~~that journalists practice and practices~~ (Carpenter, 2010; Goode, 2009; Lewis, Kaufhold & Lasorsa, 2010). ~~Under this new media circumstance of networking-~~

~~technologies~~ With these new advances, the questions arise about media effects and political advertising. about whether Does political advertising affects the media agenda of coverage of political campaign issues? Do ads that highlight certain campaign issues and or aspects of a candidate's image, have an effect on the news coverage that results? on political campaign still focuses on issue-centered information, and why news agendas become more homogeneous remains unknown.

~~Additionally, a~~ Although candidates themselves have been recognized as are a main force in shaping the an election. campaign process in Yet a presidential election, few studies have been conducted about the effects of the candidates have on the media's agendas (Heim, 2013). Given that many people use the media selectively and that media now tailor content to specific audiences on specific platforms (Boyle, 2001), the influence of a presidential candidates' political advertising is likely not uniform. on the media a Agendas may be different by format of media (online vs. offline) and political ideology of the media (conservative vs. liberal) (Vargo, 2011; Vargo et al., 2014).

Therefore, the current study examines 1) whether and/or how to what extent the a candidate's political advertisements are related to the issue and attribute agenda of the major newspapers (i.e. the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*) and social media (i.e. Twitter) and 2) how the agendas of two traditional newspapers with different political ideologies are related to the agendas of social media during the 2012 U.S. presidential election. ~~Among social media, specifically, we focused on Twitter data.~~ By examining the relationships between political advertising advertisements, and the agendas of newspapers and Twitter, insights from the first and second levels of agenda setting perspective will be generated. t This study will provide implications of

~~extending the agenda-setting theory in to the~~ social media environment and ~~may~~ guiding guide future ~~directions of successful~~ political campaign ~~planning.~~

Literature Review

Political advertising and media coverage

In political campaigns, candidates use a variety of ~~public relations~~ strategies to reach their target audience. ~~Among these , strategies, and~~ advertising has been recognized as a key part of campaigning (Sweetser, Golan, & Wanta, 2008). Although candidates have now also integrated other strategies such as candidate-official websites and blogs into their campaign media ~~since the late 1990s, the~~ U.S. candidates ~~have spent~~ still spend the largest amounts of their campaign budgets on ~~of money in~~ televised political advertising ~~to disseminate campaign messages, since the successful use of televised political~~ ~~advertising in 1952 Eisenhower-Stevenson election~~ (Tedesco, McKinnon, & Kaid, 1996). ~~U.S. candidates spent the most money for TV advertising~~ Relative to commercial radio, direct mail, and the Internet advertising U.S. candidates spent the most money on television advertising in both in the 2010 and the 2012 elections (Backman, 2012; James, 2010).

~~Although TV as the most powerful campaign medium remains undiminished,~~ ~~the~~ relationship between political advertising and media coverage has been changed drastically ~~after~~ since the emergence of the Internet (Heim, 2013). The traditional press is no longer the only means in which audiences can read and express political views. to express their political views for voters, and ~~Now,~~ traditional news reporters compete with bloggers on all types of media, including Twitter. ~~who~~ Here million of people post their reactions and ~~can post their~~ interpretations ~~on~~ of political campaigns (Vargo et al., 2014; Heim, 2013). ~~Findings also support this argument.~~ ~~Tedesco~~ ~~(2005)~~'s ~~(2005)~~ study during of the 2004 presidential election in the United States

revealed an intercandidate agenda-setting effect. Their findings demonstrated that newspapers affected Kerry's agenda while Bush's agenda affected newspapers. Tedesco (2005)'s findings raised questions about whether "the president has the most influence over newspapers, so news influence the opponent that influences the president's agenda or vice versa (Sweetser, Golan, & Wanta, 2008, p. 200)."

~~Likewise, unlike candidates who directly employed political advertising to affect the traditional media agenda,~~ the direction of the candidates' agendas and media agendas ~~became~~ are blurred in the Internet age. Instead of looking at the direct effects of political advertisements on the media agenda, therefore, this study investigates how the candidate's political advertising are interrelated to their media agenda.

Twitter use in politics and journalism

Since the microblog Twitter became a popular form of social media among individuals, journalists and political leaders (e.g. the president, candidates, members in Congress, governors and mayors) employed Twitter to communicate with their publics (Parmelee, 2013). Golbeck, Grimes, and Rogers (2010) found that the U.S. Congress employed Twitter to spread political issues to be supported by the public. Similarly, Howard (2010)'s findings revealed that federal and state agencies used Twitter to make the public aware of issues and respond to the issues. By in-depth interviews with political Twitter users, Parmelee and Bichard (2012) found that Twitter is recognized as the most popular media for political persuasion, and issues emphasized on Twitter influence other platforms such as news, talk radio, and blogs.

Journalists also increasingly use Twitter as a means of newsgathering and interacting with their users (Hermida, 2010; Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012). Parmelee (2013) noted the potential of Twitter as a useful marketing tool because journalists get real-time information from a variety of sources. Second, Twitter facilitates the

reporting of complex and delicate information based on its asynchronous and always-on nature. Finally, Twitter enables cost-efficient newsgathering and reporting based on its free access.

Compared to other social media including Facebook which focus on private or at least semiprivate network of users, Twitter has been regarded as a personal medium in that both users and media access to the public information on Twitter without reciprocal permission between users (Grant, Moon, & Grant, 2010; Kwak, et al., 2010; Vargo et al., 2014). Further, as Twitter has grown fastly based on its openness for the public, Twitter has regarded as the most accurate media to evaluate public opinion during elections (Brustein, 2010). This characteristics of Twitter may offer politicians and journalists more open communication with the large numbers of the public. Despite Twitter's popularity with politicians and journalists, it is not clear whether and how the public's tweets are related to political candidates' campaigns and political journalists' news coverage. This study draws upon intermedia agenda setting to address intermedia relationships between political candidates' campaigns, journalists' news coverage, and the public's tweets.

Intermedia agenda setting research

In agenda setting research, the question of "who sets the media agenda?" became an important research topic beyond the original research hypothesis that media sets the public agenda. McCombs (2005) described the relationship between source and media agenda as the fourth stage of agenda setting research, preceded by basic agenda setting effects, attribute agenda setting, psychology of agenda setting effects, and consequences of agenda-setting effects. Intermedia agenda setting research focuses on how the media agenda is shaped by sources, and whether the media agenda shapes other media agenda of issues (Lopez-Escobar et al., 1998; Reese & Danielian, 1989; Wanta &

Foote, 1994). According to McCombs (2005, pp. 548-549), journalists make news by “continuous interaction with of news organizations with numerous sources and their agendas.” In particular, as a barometer of news value, journalists tend to observe the work of the elite press including the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* as well as national television networks (McCombs, 2005). This tendency results in highly homogeneous agendas across all the news media, which includes “intermedia agenda setting” (McCombs, 2005).

White (1950) first examined the concept by investigating the news selection of Mr. Gate, a wire news editor in Midwestern area. In this study, findings showed a positive relationships in news selection between daily newspapers and national news agencies. Since then, large amount of literature has supported White (1950)’s findings. Specifically, Snider (1967) found a significant correlation of the news selection of Mr. Gate between newspapers and wire service. Following studies also found the intermedia agenda setting influence between newspapers and/or between newspapers and television. For example, Gilbert, Eyal, McCombs, and Nicholas (1980)’s findings revealed the New York Times as an important source in intermedia agenda setting across the nation in the United States. Reese and Danielian (1989) found that news coverage of the drug issue of the New York Times influenced that of other newspapers such as the Washington Post and the Los Angeles Times as well as network television.

The emergence and spread of the Internet has provided a new paradigm in public opinion research (Lee, Lancendorfer, & Lee, 2005). Unlike traditional media such as newspapers, television, and magazines, the Internet based on interactivity opened a possibility of two-way communication between politicians and their public (Lee, Lancendorfer, & Lee, 2005). Increasing numbers of Netizens, the people who actively

participate in communicative activities such as seeking information, expressing their views, discussing about various issues, and building their own community, also influenced the agenda setting process by creating agendas online that others perceived as the salient issues (Lee, Lancendorfer, & Lee, 2005; Ruggiero, 2001). Groshek and Groshek (2013) argued that “agenda setting is no longer conceived of as only a top-down process from mainstream print and broadcast media to audiences, but also as a dynamic process where, under certain conditions, citizen reporting advanced in online spaces can give shape and definition to media and policy agendas among the public” (pp. 16-17). Indeed, many studies have been investigated how agenda setting works online, although the concept of the “Internet agenda” was not consistently defined (Sweeter, Golan, & Wanta, 2008).

In particular, the influx of networking channels such as blogs, Facebook, and Twitter brought about contradictory perspectives of intermedia agenda setting between social media and traditional media (Heim, 2013); some argued that traditional news media rely on issues on social media to obtain more specialized knowledge and analysis, while others claimed social media is influenced by traditional media to get their stories. Given that candidates have employed various communication tools including social media targeting on online publics, this study advances the intermedia agenda setting influence between traditional news media and social media.

Political advertising and the first and second level intermedia agenda setting

Roberts and McCombs (1994) first incorporated the role of political advertisements in intermedia agenda setting. They examined the intermedia agenda setting effects of political advertisements on a local daily newspaper and three local television stations, and political advertisements in the Texas gubernatorial election in 1990. They found that the agenda of political advertisements at Time 1 affected the agenda of newspaper and television news at Time 2. Lopez-Escobar et al. (1998) found both the first and second levels of intermedia

agenda setting effects of political advertising on the news agendas of both newspaper and television during the 1995 Spanish election. In line with these findings, Boyle (2001) identified political advertisements of candidates Clinton and Dole affected political coverage of the campaign presented in both newspapers and television in the 1996 U.S. presidential election.

In terms of intermedia agenda setting online, several scholars examined the intermedia relationship between online news coverage, online public forums, and candidate's campaign through Web sites. Roberts, Wanta, and Dzwo (2002) found U.S. online news media content influenced informed discussion on electronic bulletin boards for three issues with a time-lag difference in influence from 1 to 7 days. Lee, Lancendorfer, and Lee (2005) examined the intermedia influence of Internet bulletin boards on newspaper coverage during the 2000 general election in South Korea at both the first and second level agenda setting. Their cross-lagged correlation analyses demonstrated that newspapers influenced Internet bulletin boards at first level agenda setting, while Internet bulletin board affected newspapers at the second level agenda setting. Lee (2007) investigated the intermedia agenda relationship between eight blogs posts and mainstream news media such as the New York Times, CNN, the Associated Press, and Time magazine. Findings showed that the blog agenda is similar to the agenda of mainstream media regardless of liberal or conservative political identification. Sayre et al. (2010) traced the relationship between YouTube videos and traditional news media, and found the potential intermedia agenda setting agent of YouTube videos on traditional news media.

Scholars also found the Twitter agenda influenced the agenda of the New York Times (Zhao et al., 2011), and that of the CNN headlines and Google trends (e.g. Kwak et al., 2010). Meraz (2009, 2011) examined the first and second level agenda setting influence between political blogs and online version of traditional news agenda across the ideological

spectrum. Findings revealed that political blogs set the agenda of the online version of traditional news agenda, while the reverse pattern was not shown (Meraz, 2009). However, at the second level of intermedia agenda setting, findings showed that liberal and moderate, but not conservative blogs were significantly correlated with the traditional news media attribute agenda (Meraz, 2011).

Taken together, prior studies have demonstrated intermedia agenda setting effects between political advertising and media agenda, as well as between media agendas offline and online. However, very few studies focused on the first and second level intermedia agenda setting influence between political advertising and media agenda in social media environment. Further, no study examined the relationship between political advertising, newspapers, and Twitter simultaneously considering the political identification of the media and the candidate. Hence, this study extends the first and second level intermedia agenda setting research by comparing issues and attributes embedded in political advertising, newspaper coverage, and tweets across the ideological spectrum.

Research Questions

The present study sought to investigate the first and second level intermedia agenda setting between candidate's political advertisements, two major newspapers, and tweets focusing on the political identification of the newspapers in the 2012 presidential campaign. Presidential candidates have employed televised political advertising to affect the public and media agenda, but prior studies demonstrated inconsistent findings in intermedia agenda setting direction between political advertisements and newspapers in addition to between newspapers and Twitter. Further, few studies focused on political ideology of newspapers in relation to the

candidate's political advertisements and public tweets. As such, the following research questions are advanced:

RQ1: How are the candidates' issue agendas of political advertisements related to the candidates' issue agendas presented by newspapers and the issue agendas posted on ~~the public's~~ Twitter?

RQ2: How are the candidates' attribute agendas of political advertisements related to the candidates' attribute agendas presented by newspapers and the attributes of candidates posted on ~~the public's~~ Twitter?

RQ3: Will the candidates' issue agendas and attributes presented in the New York Times and Washington Post differ from those on Twitter?

Method

To answer ~~about~~ the research questions, this study employed three separate content analyses to identify the candidates' agendas of political advertisements, media agendas of newspapers, and public opinion agendas of candidates on Twitter. To determine the candidates' agenda, candidate-controlled messages were examined. In 2012, the Republican National Convention was held on August 27, while the Democratic National Convention was held from September 4 to 6. To apply the same time-frame ~~to analyze~~, we collected advertisements (n = 186), newspapers (n = 666), and tweets (n = 20,138) ~~about regarding the~~ two candidates ~~from September 7 to November 4, 2012.~~

Sample

The samples ~~of this study~~ consists of three types of units: campaigns related ~~televised television~~ advertisements, national newspapers, and ~~the~~ public's tweets. Advertisements were collected from the official Websites of the Political Communication Lab of Stanford University (<http://pcl.stanford.edu/campaigns/2012/>) ~~between September~~

~~7 and November 4~~. After removing nine advertisements and those with ~~unmatched with~~ ~~no no interpretable~~ transcripts, a total of 186 televised political advertisements (65 for Obama, and 121 for Romney) were used for analysis. During the same campaign period, two national daily newspapers were chosen ~~to be content analyzed~~: the New York Times and Washington Post. Both newspapers have high circulation rates, and have been regarded as elite newspapers that lead news coverage in other media (McCombs, 2005; Meraz, 2009, 2011). A total of 666 newspaper articles ~~of from~~ the New York Times and Washington Post ~~on regarding~~ Obama and Romney were analyzed, ~~respectively~~. Only news articles ~~covered written for publication~~ in the United States ~~during the time frame we analyze~~ were used for sample. As a result, 349 articles on Obama (~~the~~ New York Times: 203, ~~the~~ Washington Post: 146) and 317 articles on Romney (~~the~~ New York Times: 195, ~~the~~ Washington Post: 122) were found. As for the public tweets, we gathered public tweets mentioning Obama and Romney from a professional data mining company of Twitter. A total of 13,945 tweets for Obama and 6,193 tweets for Romney were used for this study.

Coding categories

Drawing upon ~~the~~ prior agenda setting studies, researchers operationalized issue agendas as “media or candidate attention to an issue” (Kioussis, 2005; Tedesco, 2005; Sweetser, Golan, & Wanta, 2008, p. 206). In order to examine the ~~first first~~-level intermedia agenda setting, specific issues were selected and coded by reviewing the political advertisements, newspaper articles, and public tweets. By focusing on the top eight issues, the following issues were identified: the economy, foreign affairs, individual liberties, immigration, functioning of government, education, environment, and social welfare. Those issues were coded as a dichotomous variable such as being present (1) or absent (0).

For ~~the second second~~-level intermedia agenda setting, the agendas of attributes of candidates presented in the political advertisements, newspaper articles, and public tweets

were content analyzed. Based upon the coding units of attributes of candidates that were used in prior studies (e.g. Boyle, 2001; Heim, 2013), four categories of candidate qualifications (i.e. experience, intelligence, leadership, and decisiveness) and four of candidate personality traits (i.e. integrity, change/status quo, positivity/negativity, and compassion) were coded. The coders coded the issues as a dichotomous answer such as 0 (absent) or 1 (present) as well as negativity and positivity.

Computer-assisted content analysis and intercoder reliability test

In order to analyze large amount of data simultaneously, the researchers employed a computer-assisted content analysis. Since the computer-assisted content analysis program can only search text, the televised advertisements were automatically transcribed to text by using ~~one of the video~~ transcription ~~vendors service~~ on ~~Youtube~~ YouTube.com. ~~Two coders~~ ~~were trained~~ ~~and two coders~~ conducted ~~an~~ intercoder reliability test. 240 of the overall coding items were randomly selected and ~~was~~ ~~were~~ used for analyzing intercoder reliability. ~~test using Cohen's Kappa.~~ As a result, Kappa scores were as follows: economy: .933, foreign affairs: .734, individual liberties: .911, immigration: 1.000, functioning of government: 1.000, education: 1.000, environment: 1.000, social welfare: .842, experience: .814, intelligence: 1.000, leadership: .793, decisiveness: .783, integrity: .830, change/status quo: .700, positivity/negativity: .857, and compassion: .839.

Results

In order to answer ~~about our~~ ~~the~~ research questions, a series of ARIMA time-series modeling analyses were employed. An ARIMA analysis, often used mixed with the time-series agenda-setting analysis, has been recognized as ~~to be an~~ effective ~~way~~ to predict dependent variables (Vargo, 2011). Further, compared to other time-series analysis, the ARIMA analysis has an advantage to mathematically model the various time-series components by addressing the issue of stationarity and autocorrelation (Gonzenbach, 1996).

Overall, the results demonstrated significant correlation between the candidates' issue and attribute agendas of political advertisements, newspapers, and ~~public's~~ Twitter ~~when the values of stationary R-squared were over zero.~~

Specifically, RQ 1 explored how the candidates' issue agendas of political advertisements are related to the candidates' issue agendas presented by newspapers and the issue agendas posted on ~~the public's~~ Twitter. As shown in Table 1 and Table 2, for Obama, the salience of four issues in newspapers ($r = .134$) and two issues on Twitter public's tweets ($r = .125$) ~~were~~ could partially be explained by statistically significant in relationship ~~with issues of~~ political advertisements ($p < .05$). For Romney, the salience of seven issues in newspapers ($r = .245$) and one issue on public's tweets Twitter ($r = .045$) ~~were~~ significant in relationship with issues of could be partially explained by political advertisements ($p < .05$).

[Insert Table 1 and Table 2 about here]

RQ 2 explored how the candidates' attribute agendas of political advertisements are related to the candidates' attribute agendas presented by newspapers and the attributes of candidates posted on ~~the public's~~ Twitter. Table 1 and Table 2 indicate that for Obama, the salience of four issues in newspapers ($r = .423$) and one issue on public's tweets ($r = .145$) ~~were significant in relationship with attributes of~~ could be partially explained by political advertisements ($p < .05$). For Romney, the salience of two issues in newspapers ($r = .234$) and two issues on public's tweets ($r = .134$) ~~were significant in relationship with attributes of~~ could be explained by political advertisements ($p < .05$).

RQ 3 asked whether the candidates' issue agendas and attributes presented in the New York Times and Washington Post differ from those on Twitter. Table 3 and Table 4 ~~represent~~ show that for Obama on Twitter, the saliences of two issues ~~on public's tweets~~ ($r = .412$) and three attributes ~~on public's tweets~~ ($r = 0.423$) ~~were significant in~~

~~relationship with issues and attributes could be partially explained by in newspapers, respectively~~ ($p < .05$). For Romney ~~on Twitter, saliences of three issues on public's tweets~~ ($r = .432$) and two attributes ~~on public's tweets~~ ($r = .432$) ~~could be partially explained by were significant in relationship with issues and attributes in newspapers, respectively~~ ($p < .05$).

[Insert Table 3 and Table 4 about here]

Table 1 ARIMA Sig. Stationary R^2 - IV: Political Ads

	Obama	Romney
# of sig newspaper issues	4	7
# of sig newspaper attributes	4	2
# of sig twitter issues	2	1
# of sig twitter attributes	1	2

Table 2 ARIMA Average Stationary R^2 - IV: Political Ads

	Obama	Romney
avg r^2 for newspaper issues	0.134	0.245
avg r^2 for newspaper attributes	0.423	0.234
avg r^2 for twitter issues	0.125	0.045
# of sig twitter attributes	0.145	0.134

Table 3 ARIMA Sig. Stationary R^2 - IV: Newspaper Coverage

	Obama	Romney
# of sig twitter issues	2	3

# of sig twitter attributes	3	2
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Table 4 ARIMA Average Stationary R² - IV: Newspaper Coverage

	Obama	Romney
avg r ² for twitter issues	0.412	0.432
avg r ² for twitter attributes	0.423	0.432

Discussion

The findings of this study suggest the intermedia agenda setting~~. This is the first study to incorporate [public tweets](#) [Twitter](#) in intermedia agenda setting relationship between political advertisements and newspapers. Further, our study is one of the first to look at the role of political identification of news media and intercandidate agenda setting influence in intermedia agenda setting process. In this sense, the findings will contribute to not only broadening knowledge of expanded intermedia agenda setting theory, but also building appropriate strategies to communicate between candidates and their public.

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