

Repetition Effect of Positive and Negative Political Advertising with the
Presence or Absence of Disclaimer: Recall, Attitude, and Voting Intention

by

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(Under the Direction of Spencer F. Tinkham)

ABSTRACT

This study examines the effectiveness of political advertising in terms of recall, attitude toward ads, and voting intention with three dimensions: level of frequency, type of political advertising (positive or negative) and the presence or absence of the disclaimer. The results of this study indicate the type of political advertising and the presence or absence of the disclaimer can be a direct predictor to explain recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention, instead of level of frequency. Therefore, the principle of effective frequency of commercial ads, supported by a three-plus “rule of thumb” status and the inverted U- or S-shaped form with the concept of generation and satiation, is not applicable to political advertising. Moreover, this study suggests that negative political advertising works better for the sponsoring candidate, but it tends to wearout more easily than positive advertising does. With respect to the disclaimer, a new issue in this field, this study suggests that on one hand, voters in competitive elections, saturated by advertisements, may find the disclaimer annoying and not view the provision positively - positive advertising. On the other hand, an ad viewed with increased frequency may reinforce the positive impact on attitude toward ads, trust, and confidence observed in this study – negative advertising.

INDEX WORDS: Political advertising, Negative advertising
Effective frequency, Measuring effectiveness,
Political disclaimer

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August 2005

DEDICATION

For

My Parents,

My Grandmother,

&

My Sister

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, politicians have used various methods, such as whistle-stop speeches, political advertising and political rallies, to achieve their “primary goal, the winning of voters” (Syzybillo and Hartenbaum 1976). However, over the years, politicians have found that it is most advantageous to use political advertising to persuade voters. Therefore, for several recent election campaigns, the importance of political advertising, especially on television, has been increasing, and this fact has been reflected in the dramatically increasing advertising budgets of political parties. According to Ansolabehere, Behr and Lyengar (1991), campaign spending in the United States grew fifteen-fold since 1952 -- from \$140 million to nearly \$2 billion in 1988. Less than 5 percent of campaign expenditures in 1952 were devoted to radio and television time, whereas at least 40 percent of campaign dollars were spent on media expenditures in 1988 (Ansolabehere et al., 1991).

Dwight Eisenhower’s campaign in 1952 was the first presidential campaign which relied heavily on political television commercials. According to the study of the 1952 Eisenhower television campaign conducted by Wood (1982), Eisenhower’s television spending ranged from \$2 million to \$6 million when all television time buying – national, states, and local – was factored in. After the election, “Truman, referring to the effects of political advertising ... commented that it was the first time in 148 years that a president had been elected without carrying Congress with him.” (Wood, 1982)

In the 1980 campaign, Ronald Reagan spent \$18 million on advertising -- \$13 million of which was spent on television advertisements. Therefore, 70 percent of the money that Ronald Reagan spent on advertising in the 1980 campaign was spent on television advertising. In 1976 Jimmy Carter spent 74 percent of his advertising money on television (Devlin, 1984).

The 1996 presidential campaign saw an enhanced dependence by the candidate on television advertising. Clinton spent \$12 million of his 30.9 million budget on television commercials in the middle of the primaries, \$42.4 million during the postprimary/preconvention, and \$44 million in the general election. A total of \$98.4 million was used on television commercials. On the other hand, Dole spent \$47.1 million on television advertising, while Perot spent \$22 million, which was over 75% of his budget.

According to *The Washington Post*, the spending for advertising dramatically increased for the 2004 campaign: Both the Republican and Democratic parties spent approximately \$160 million on advertising. With increasing the total budget of political advertising, these ads followed a trend of negativity. Because political advertising, unlike product advertising, must get results in a short period of time, political practitioners use several kinds of political advertising: image, issue and negative advertising. Although there exists no rule in using political advertising, prior to the 1980s candidates usually used issue or image ads at the beginning of a campaign to establish their positive image and then used negative ads at the end of the campaign to attack the opponent. However, those strategies were abandoned in the 1980s. A significant trend in today's political advertising is that an increasing number of candidates, either challengers or incumbents, use negative ads from the beginning of a political campaign. A study conducted by Larry Sabato in 1980, reflected this trend. After examining more than 1,100 political commercials, Sabato asserted the following:

Even when television is used to communicate political truth (at least from one candidate's perspective), the truth can be negatively packaged attacking the opponent's character and record rather than supporting one's own. If there is a single trend obvious to most American consultants, it is the increasing proportion of negative political advertising.... At least a third of all spot commercials in recent campaigns have been negative, and in a minority of campaigns half or more of the spots are negative in tone or substance (Sabato, 1980, p165).

Statement of Problem and Purpose of Study

Why do political practitioners increasingly use negative political advertising? Do they think negative ads are the most effective way to persuade voters in a short period of time in order to win an election? Many researchers have conducted studies, but the results are inconsistent. Furthermore, no research has been conducted about the optimal level of frequency for positive or negative political advertising in terms of effective frequency maximizing the recall of ads and voting intention for the sponsoring candidate, whereas the effects of message repetition on attitudes and purchase intention have been studied often in terms of commercial advertising.

Therefore, this study, which aims to explore the effective frequency of positive and negative political advertising on TV by investigating the recall of advertising content, voters' attitude change, and voting intention, attempts to provide important information to various professional groups, such as political campaign managers, campaign consultants, political advertisers, and candidates. The result of this study advises them on how political negative advertising persuades the voters and what correlations there are between features of the message and the voters' responses depending on the frequency of ads. Therefore, based on this study, they

can develop effective campaign strategies, public pledges, and resumes of candidates. Also, this study can aid scholars in terms of giving basic theory for the effective frequency of both positive and negative political advertising.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Reach and Effective Reach

Before discussing effective frequency, the general idea and definition of *reach* and *effective reach* must be mentioned. *Reach* simply represents opportunities for audiences to see advertisements. There is no guarantee that those who are reached actually see any of the ads because even if audiences see ads in a vehicle, there is no way to know whether the ads were effective simply by noting the reach of a media plan. *Effective reach* represents the percentage of a vehicle's audience reached at each frequency effect increment. The effective reach number depends on effective frequency numbers. For instance, if the effective frequency is believed to be from three to five repetitions, the reach is the sum of each reach percentage for frequency level. Both effective frequency level and reach are necessary parts of the same concept, and they are dependent on each other. Without effective frequency level, there is no effective reach.

Effective Frequency

Effective frequency can be defined as the amount of frequency necessary for advertisements to be effective in communication. It is the number of repetitions needed to attain communication goals such as increasing brand awareness, attitude changes, brand switching, brand loyalty, and sales of goods or services. Effective frequency is expressed as a number or a range. It is important to understand that the number at which the frequency can be called

“effective” is based on ideas of how much repetition is needed to communicate with consumers.

The effective frequency concept has been used and interpreted in many ways.

The concept of effective frequency really began in simplistic terms in the now-classic year-long study of the effect on brand awareness of repeated exposures on advertising, published by Hubert Zielske in 1959. This study held fundamental clues for interpreting data from other research on advertising effectiveness, particularly those studies aimed at measuring the impact of the single television commercial. According to Zielske’s study, advertising begins to be forgotten immediately after its exposure. Unless the recipient acts upon it almost at once, the ad will have no effect until he is exposed to it again or is otherwise reminded of the message (Zielske 1959).

In 1966, Jakobovits and Appel first suggested the concept of diminishing returns from greater advertising frequency: the *satiation point*. In separate articles, both scholars found that if a person is exposed to verbal or visual stimuli, his response or learning increases until it reaches a point defined as satiation, and then declines. Jakobovits depicted this repetition result in the form of an inverted U, with the process being manifested as a life-cycle pattern of learning, as follows: Generation – knowledge increases with the repetition; Satiation – knowledge passes through a maximum and then declines (Jakobovits 1966; Appel 1966; Naples 1979).

The work of Jakobovits and Appel appeared to show that messages gain in impact for a few exposures but that further exposures begin to have a negative effect. This general pattern is derived from the various studies conducted by many researchers, for instance, in the literature on the attitudinal impact of mere exposure and on advertising wearout.

Further, Cacioppo and Petty (1979) use the cognitive response paradigm to show that production of support arguments increases, then decreases with exposure, while production of counter arguments decreases, then increases with exposure; as a result, agreement with the

message (the attitudinal outcome studied) increases, then decreases with higher exposure. Similarly, Calder and Sternthal (1980) explain repetition results in terms of the relative production of message related versus “own” thoughts on repeated exposure, with “own” thoughts – assumed to be less positive than message-related thoughts – forming an increasing proportion of total thought with increasing exposure.

These studies and theoretical perspectives would suggest, in general, a three-plus “rule of thumb” status. They define effectiveness to be a minimum of three confirmed vehicle exposures to an individual member of the target group over an agreed-upon period of time. It implies an S-shaped advertising response curve. If no exposure is counted until they reach three, then the first money spent on advertising will have no effect. Once the exposures have begun to accumulate, however, the response curve will hit a threshold and effectiveness will rise dramatically. This expectation finds support in studies of advertising repetition on eye movement responses (Krugman 1968), attention (Grass and Wallace 1969), and brand attitudes (Gorn and Goldberg 1980; Naples 1979; Ray, Sawyer, and Strong 1971; Winter 1973).

However, many media planners have been suspicious about this “magic number” and have finally realized that each brand and product should experiment to find for its own effective level of frequency. They believe that there should be differences between various product category frequency levels and the lack of differentiation tending to mislead them into thinking that effective frequency is the same for all product categories.

Political Advertising on Television

The advent of television altered what and how presidential candidates communicated to the electorate. As the novelty of the new medium waned and as programming on other channels

competed for viewer's attention, hour-long speeches gave way to half-hour speeches and half-hour speeches were increasingly bracketed by audience-enticing entertainment. As the number of those eager to advertise on the mass medium increased, the cost of thirty minutes of time increased, and politicians were propelled toward the choice of shorter segments. Whereas half-hour speeches were the norm in 1952, five-minute segments were the politician's preference in 1956 and 1960. By the 1970s, sixty- and thirty-second spot ads had become the political mainstay (Jamieson 1984).

Technological characteristics of TV have allowed candidates and voters to interact with each other via mass communication. In the United States, candidates have introduced new forms of campaign communication. For instance, they have been using spot ads since the 1952 Eisenhower-Stevenson race, and candidates have participated in televised debates since 1960 (Joslyn 1984). In election campaigns, the emergence of these forms of campaign communication have made it possible for candidates to directly offer election information to a number of voters, some of whom might not be otherwise accessible.

The literature on media elections shows that the characteristics of TV reinforce effective message delivery to people. Lang and Lang (1984) referred to this effectiveness as the intimacy, simultaneity, directness, and completeness of the view of public events afforded by television. They also argued that television allows for a close-up view of personalities and events, and creates a sense of familiarity with public figures, political activities, and distant places. This type of face-to-face contact is presumed to have resulted in an increased sense of intimacy and personalization of politics. By adding sight to sound, visual simultaneity provides a vicarious experience much like being transported to the scene of political events. Because they do not have to rely on a third party to report what goes on, the viewers can make judgments of their own and

interpret political events on their terms. Television provides political events with a fuller, richer, more complete picture of public events than conveyed by other media.

Candidates also employ various strategies to transmit messages more effectively to the targeted audience. These message strategies aim to secure candidates' positions pertinent to partisan-affiliated voting, issue stands, and personal image in order to gain support of voters. The literature on political advertising supports the influence of message strategies on a candidate's position in the campaign race.

Political advertising has advantages in that it can be designed to target voters who support a particular candidate during the campaign. Candidates control both the substance and style of advertising. They are able to attain strategic positions in the form of advertising better than in other media venues. In this sense, candidates have strong reasons to rely on ads to get their messages across to voters. They try to "communicate some attention-getting and memorable images and some information about the candidate's or opponent's political orientation, experience, or views in a way that resonates with the target public" (Kern 1996, p. 62).

Negative Political Advertising

Generally, negative and positive ads are distinguished by their relative emphasis on the sponsoring candidate and his or her opponent. Negative ads focus on criticism of the opponent while positive ads center on the "good" characteristics, accomplishments, or issue positioning of the sponsoring ads (Kaid and Johnston 1991).

Since the 1980s in the US, the growth of negative advertising has made scholars pay attention to numerous researchers. Most research has tried to find its effectiveness on "cognitive, affective, and conative components of voters' response," (Tinkham and Lariscy 1993) but the results of the research are inconsistent. While some research supports the use of negative

advertising, other studies assert that attack politics evoke a boomerang effect. According to Basil, Schooler and Reeves, the counterproductive aspects of negative political advertising “may arise from the fact that negative advertisements are rated as ‘effective’ because the message itself is remembered, but ‘ineffective’ because the candidate sponsoring the ad is harmed.” (Basil, Schooler and Reeves 1991)

Research on negative political advertising campaigns suggests that negativity may result in the intended and unintended effects of a voter’s disposition to favor or oppose a candidate. Garramone defined the intended effects of negative advertising as “creating negative feelings toward the targeted candidate and positive feeling toward the sponsoring candidate” (Garramone 1984). Kaid and Boydston in an “experimental study of negative newspaper and television advertising by an independent sponsor,” found that “negative advertising reduces the image evaluation of the targeted politician” (Kaid & Boydston 1987).

Garramone (1984) asserted that negative ads are very effective when differentiating or discriminating candidates’ image and they pointed out that:

By providing concrete substantive information, a negative political ad may allow voters to distinguish candidate qualities, positions, and performance more readily than would other types of political information that provide less explicit information. Also, the greater perceived differences between candidates may lead voters to greater attitude polarization regarding the candidates. That is, by discerning clear differences between candidates, voters may be more likely to strongly like one candidate while strongly disliking the other (Garramone, 1984, p301).

Also, one tactic for obtaining the intended effect is to make the opponent untruthful, and Garramone suggested that the perceived truthfulness of negative political advertising may determine its impact.

Persuasion research indicates that the more credible a source, the more persuasive the message. Thus, the more truthful negative political advertising is perceived, the greater should be its impact. Sabato (1981) indicated that although academic researchers have found that negative political ads cause a backlash effect, political consultants believe otherwise.

Political consultants assert that since “academic researchers usually look at negative advertising divorced from the strategy that propels it,” they can’t exactly prove its effectiveness (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 1991). Janet Mullins, the 1988 Bush campaign’s media director, claimed that “everybody hates negative ads; then they rate them most effective in terms of decision making. There isn’t any long term effect … It is kind of like birth pains. Two days later, you forget how much it hurt. The same is true for negative advertising … (Devlin 1989.”

Political consultants generally suggest that negative advertising is more effective in terms of information than positive advertising. Lau, in a study of negativity in political perception, agreed with political consultants and indicated that “the tendency for negative information to have more weight than equally extreme or equally likely positive information appears in a variety of cognitive procession tasks.” (Lau 1982)

Tinkham and Lariscy’s study of the impact of negative political TV commercials also supported “the negativity effect,” making the following assertion:

Because negative messages derive their impact from a broader range of intervening variables than do positive messages, candidates whose message strategies are exclusively

positive limit their potential voters to fewer criteria for judgment, and at the same time, limit themselves to fewer avenues of potential impact. Effective opponent denigration, in contrast, adds another broad dimension for judgment and influence (Tinkham and Lariscy 1993, p394).

In addition, Nugent suggested that since “people are more apt to vote ‘against’ than ‘for’ something,” negative advertising is effective in real political campaigns. “Political consultants’ reliance on the use of negative political advertising in recent years is strongly grounded in the evidence provided by cognitive research.” (Nugent 1991)

Some scholars contend that negative ads have positive effects on the public gaining political information. Brians and Wattenberg’s study (1996), using 1992 American National Election Study data, explored political knowledge among media sources -- televised political advertisements, television news and newspapers -- during the 1992 presidential election. The number of correct responses to issue stands and presidential evaluations showed that television political advertising was the medium that contributed to most political learning and accurate political knowledge. In particular, their findings suggest that negative advertising has informational potential in contributions to greater issue knowledge late in the campaign. In this sense, these findings indicate that negative political commercials can contribute to the growth of an informed citizen. Similarly, Lau (1982, 1985) also found that political spots with negative cues are more likely to influence vote choice than those with positive cues.

Unintended effect usually refers to a boomerang effect. Garramone (1984) defined a boomerang effect as one which “may create more negative feelings toward the sponsor, rather

than toward the target.” According to Garramone, “voters’ responses vary with content theme, but backlash or boomerang may be the most common effect of negative political advertising.”

In a 1985 experimental study, Garramone (1985) assumed that a boomerang effect of negative advertising resulted from the following:

First, many viewers disapprove of advertising that attacks a candidate and such viewers may develop negative feelings toward the sponsor of the advertising. Second, viewers may perceive the negative advertising as an infringement upon their right to decide for themselves. Such a perception may result in reactance, a boomerang effect in which the individual reacts in a manner opposite to the persuader’s intention (Garramone 1985, p148).

Stewart supported Garramone’s assertion in his study of voter perception of mud-slinging in political communication. Stewart found that “the majority of respondents view the mud-slinger as an untrustworthy, dishonest person who will do anything to win an election.” (Stewart 1975) Through a telephone survey of voters in Atlanta and Philadelphia, Surlin and Gordon (1977) also found that voters consider negative ads to be unethical.

Garramone (1984) conducted a telephone survey of mid-Michigan voters to investigate the effects of negative advertising in terms of “perceived truthfulness” and “feelings toward both sponsor and target.” The results of the study proved that negative advertising has “a strong negative influence on the viewer’s feeling toward the sponsor but only a slight net negative influence on feelings toward the target.” Garramone also suggested that 75 percent of respondents disapproved of the use of negative advertising.

Merritt's study of voters' responses to negative advertising in a California Assembly District campaign found that "the negative political advertising evokes negative affect toward both the targeted opponent and the sponsor (Merritt 1984).

Negative Information and Repetition Literature

Negative information literature is supported by research in cognitive psychology. Kellermann (1984) in *Communication Monographs* provided an excellent overview of the negative effect: "the tendency for negative information to be weighted more heavily than positive information when forming evaluations of social stimuli. Across widely varying events, setting, and persons, positive experiences or positive aspects of stimuli have been found to be less influential in the formation of judgments than are negative experiences or negative aspects of stimuli" (p.37). Also, as Kellermann elaborated, "Not only is negative information weighted more heavily than positive information in the initial formation of impressions, but negative information exhibits a greater capacity to alter already existing impressions" (p37-38).

Cusumano and Richey (1970) and Richey, McClelland, and Shimkunas (1967) found that negative first impressions are much more difficult to change than positive first impressions. A number of researchers have shown that negative information is easier to retrieve than positive information during information processing. For instance, Feldman (1966) demonstrated that negative stimuli exerted greater power in informational processing.

According to Ray and Sawyer (1971), a great deal of attention has been directed to replication acceptance factors in product advertising research. "The general nature of the repetition function in advertising appears to be some sort of modified negative exponential curve" (p.22) that demonstrates at some point the law of diminishing returns. They showed that

prolonged repetition of ads devoted to large ticket purchase items, such as shopping goods, does not have much influence on attitudes or purchase intention measures. Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1991) believe this finding gives some clues as to how repetition functions in political advertising, particularly negative political advertising. Specific negative political ads should have a short life span. After the initial negative advertising stimulation, voters turn to other sources, such as opinion leaders, newspapers, and television news, to verify the claims in negative ads, just as consumers verify shopping goods product claims by talking with salespersons or opinion leaders and by reading consumer materials or product brochures. Thus, after the initial learning period of the negative ad exposure period, the ads should be replaced with other ads reinforcing the same theme but with other dramatized examples. This is particularly true for direct attack ads that may appear strident or shrill to some voters. The more often these ads are repeated, the more likely that some voters will react negatively to the ads.

Disclaimer

The political disclaimer stems from a new requirement enacted through the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA). BCRA requires candidates, parties, and interest groups to include both an oral and written disclaimer statement with radio and television ads, thereby taking responsibility for the content of the ad. This provision is popularly called the "Stand by Your Ad" disclaimer (SBYA). For candidates, this disclaimer must include an oral statement spoken by the candidate expressing approval of the advertisement, such as "I am George Bush, and I approve this message." This audio statement, aired at any time during the ad, must be accompanied by either a full-screen view of the candidate making the statement or a photograph of the candidate occupying at least 80 percent of the vertical screen height. Finally, the

advertisement must include a "clearly readable" written disclaimer (However, Patterson, Gale, Hawkins and Hawkins, 2005).

By including a written and verbal disclaimer with the message, viewers of political ads can readily identify the advertisement's sponsor, distinguishing whether the message originated from a candidate, party, or special interest group. Proper identification of advertisements reduces misattribution of information on the part of voters, thereby increasing their trust and confidence in the campaigns.

Due to the newness of the disclaimer, not so many studies have been conducted on this topic, specifically on measuring effectiveness. However, Patterson, Gale, Hawkins and Hawkins (2005) suggest that the ads containing a SBYA provision did correlate with a positive impression on voters despite complaints from practitioners about using three seconds of valuable airtime. According to this recent research, those ads with a disclaimer "made" voters significantly more likely to vote for the candidate who sponsored the ad. This is true for people who saw the known candidate ads as well as for those who saw the unknown candidate ads.

Need for Cognition

Need for cognition is a personality trait that reflects how much people are motivated to engage in and enjoy effortful cognitive activities (Cacioppo, Petty & Kao 1984). Cognitive personality theory focuses on identifying individual differences in how consumers process and react to information. Among the personality variables in the theory, need for cognition is particularly relevant to understanding the persuasion process (Mowen 1995). Need for cognition refers to the extent to which an individual intrinsically enjoys performing effortful information-processing-related activities (Stayman & Kardes 1992).

In a decision-making context, need for cognition may be related in several ways to how a person pools information. Research on need for cognition shows that people high need for cognition engage in more thorough information searches in preparation for making a decision and are more likely to recall message arguments and to generate issue-relevant thoughts than those lower in need for cognition (Cacioppo, Petty, Feinstein & Jarvis 1996; Bailey 1997; Levin, Huneke & Jasper 2000). Thus, higher need for cognition scores should be associated with greater information recognition and recall.

Research Questions

Based on the research reviewed above, the present study suggests the following research questions: The first two research questions are whether or not political advertising will lead to continuing gains in the voting intention for the candidate, attitudes toward ads and recall of ads in early exposures, comparing to the principle of effective frequency with general commercial.

RQ1. Is repetition of political ads for candidates effective for increasing voting intention for the candidate, attitudes toward ads and recall of ads?

H1: After the specific level of exposure, the more often ads are repeated, the more likely voters will react negatively to ads.

RQ2. Is the principle of effective frequency of commercial ads applicable to political advertising? If not, how is it different?

Third, this study examines how positive and negative messages affect the recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention. For instance, a number of researchers have shown that negative information is easier to retrieve than positive information during information processing

(Feldman, 1966; Kellermann, 1984; Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 1991) and have demonstrated that negative stimuli exerted greater power in informational processing.

RQ3. How does the repetition of positive and negative ads work in the way it influences voting intention for the candidate, attitudes toward ads and recall of ads in terms of frequency?

H2: Negative ads need a lower degree of exposure than positive ads in order to gain the same level of effect as positive ads.

Finally, this study investigates the relationship between the presence or absence of the disclaimer and message effectiveness. The presence of a disclaimer with both visual and audible stimuli will tend to be more effective to achieve a higher level of recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention.

RQ4. How does the presence or absence of a disclaimer work in the way positive and negative political advertising influences voting intention for the candidate, attitude toward ads and recall of ads?

H3: Political advertising with a disclaimer will lead to gaining greater effects on the recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention for the sponsoring candidate.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Experimental Design

As a factorial experiment, the design may be distended a 2 (positive vs. negative political advertising) X 2 (with disclaimer vs. without disclaimer) X 5 (level of frequency: 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6).

The three independent variables were frequency (1, 2, 3, 4, and 6), type of advertising (positive and negative), and the presence or absence of disclaimer. In addition, need for cognition, which needs to be controlled statistically to estimate individual difference, was used as a potential covariate.

Message effectiveness was assessed in three ways: recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention for the candidate.

Recall of Advertising. Recall refers to measures of the proportion of a sample audience that can recall an advertisement. There are two kinds of recall: aided recall and unaided recall. In aided recall, the respondent is prompted by showing a picture of the advertisement with the sponsor or brand name blanked out. In unaided recall, only the product or service name may be given (Batra, Myers, Aaker 1996). This study only followed the sequence of questionnaire of day-after-recall (DAR) method, the best known recall method in television. However, this study interview viewers right after watching the prepared program, not within twenty-four to thirty hours after the commercial is aired.

Attitude toward the Commercial (Aad). Aad is usually measured by asking viewers to rate on three or more semantic differential scales (e.g., *like-dislike, good-bad, positive-negative*) how much they liked a particular commercial. Although Aad is a simple and straightforward measure, and although it does not seem particularly rational for commercial liking to affect attitude toward a brand or its purchase, it has proved to be a very important variable in the processing of commercials (Thorson, Christ and Caywood 1991).

In this study, four bipolar adjective scales are used: *extremely dislike-extremely like, not at all powerful-very powerful, not at all believable-very believable*, and *not at all persuasive-very persuasive*. Also, three bipolar adjective scales are used for attitude toward the sponsoring and the opponent candidate: *extremely dislike-extremely like, extremely bad-extremely good*, and *strongly oppose- strongly support*.

Voting Intention. The ultimate goal of political advertising is winning the election; likewise, the primary goal of commercials is selling the product. Therefore, voting intention would be one of the important factors to measure the effectiveness of political ads, such as purchasing intention. In this study, voting intention for candidate was scaled on 7-point scales, ranging from *definitely vote for the opponent candidate* to *definitely vote for the sponsoring candidate*.

Need for Cognition (NFC). The Need for Cognition Scale has been validated with a variety of techniques in several studies (Haugvedt, Petty & Cacioppo 1992). This variable is assessed by a self-report measure containing 18 items (see Appendix A), although longer and shorter forms have been developed. Individuals high in Need for Cognition tend to engage in and

to enjoy effortful thinking across situations and topics, whereas individuals low in Need for Cognition are generally unwilling to expend much cognitive effort, unless forced to do so under situational pressure (Bohner & Wanke 2002). Thus, individual low in Need for Cognition are viewed as cognitive misers who dislike effortful cognitive actions only when such actions are necessary for obtaining desired extrinsic rewards (Stayman & Kardes 1992).

In this study, an 18-item short form (Handbook of Marketing Scale, 1999) for assessing need for cognition, proposed and validated by Cacioppo, Petty, and Kao (1984), was used, and it was scaled on 9-point scales, ranging from *extremely uncharacteristic* to *extremely characteristic*.

Participants

This study involved 316 undergraduate students who were enrolled in three different introductory courses at the University of Georgia: Advertising, Public Relations, and Journalism. Their ages ranged from 18 to 25 years old, with a mean age of 20.07, and 86.1% were female (44 males and 272 females). They participated in this study to obtain extra credit for their courses. All participants were told that this research was to examine recall and attitude toward one-hour TV program contents to avoid focusing on political advertisements.

Stimuli Development

Program Selection. For this study, the one-hour program “Boomtown,” a drama series of NBC that won the Peabody award in 2002, was selected. Political advertising usually airs with political debates or talk shows, such as “Larry King Live” on CNN, not with situation comedy and entertainment programs. However, samples for this study were going to be undergraduate students aged around 20; therefore, to capture their attention during this experiment,

“Boomtown” was selected because this program was higher-qualified than entertainment shows and more interesting than programs related in Politics for undergraduate students.

Advertisements. For this study, four political advertisements were used: two positive ads – “Counting” and “Carrier” – and two negative ads – “Chicken” and “Lie Detector” – produced by John Franzen in 1988 for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. There are two reasons for two ads of each type: to make this study more similar to realistic campaigns - there is no campaign that uses only one ad - and to put disclaimer at both front and back of ads. Even though each positive and negative was mentioned different issues and different degrees of humor, internal validity would not be the problem; positive and negative ads should be considered to be isolated, and all of four ads had similar production value produced by the same affiliation. These four commercials supported a manipulated candidate, Pat Michaels, who was running for Congress in Kentucky. Pat Michaels was not a real person, but a fictitious candidate from Kentucky. The ads were generic, made available for use by candidates across the country (Democratic candidate only), so they were produced in Washington DC, stressed national issues and could be edited to fit a particular campaign.

To eliminate any side effect, political party affiliation on the screen was erased and the year 1988 was changed to 2004. Also, for a non-disclaimer, the picture and voice-over of sponsoring candidates were eliminated and only the name *Pat Michaels* was left on the black screen. Also, to eliminate the side effect of ad itself, each cell for level of frequency one and three was split into two. For instance, for level of frequency one for positive advertising, there were two split cells: one for Counting and the other for Carrier. For level of frequency three for

positive ads, one split cell was used twice of “Counting” and once “Carrier,” and the other cell was used twice of “Carrier” and once of “Counting.”

These manipulated political advertisings were embedded in “Boomtown,” a one-hour drama series, depending on each level of frequency. It should be noted that within each relevant commercial pod, the test ads were given the first position to create stronger manipulation effects for the tests ads (Barta and Ray 1986).

Pretest

The pretest involved 11 graduate students (3 males and 8 females) at the University of Georgia. They participated as volunteers, without any credit for class work. First of all, they were told what positive and negative political ads are and what a disclaimer is, and then they watched “Boomtown,” with inserted positive and negative political ads with disclaimer and non-disclaimer. After watching the program, participants were asked whether or not they noticed positive and negative advertising, and the disclaimer or non-disclaimer in the program.

Procedure and Measurement

This study was conducted through both a survey and an experiment. Extra credit was given to the students who participated in this study. To get extra credit, volunteers were asked to complete the following steps:

1. Fill out the questionnaire examining individual differences, such as need for cognition, taking 5-10 minutes, and return it to the researcher in class.

2. Sign up for the session which is available for each student for the next experiment.
3. At the appointed time, go to the assigned room to attend to the study. During the session, watch a one-hour program, Boomtown, embedded with test ads.

Survey. At the beginning of a regularly scheduled class, the researcher made an announcement about this study. Then, respondents were given the questionnaires that contained a measurement scale, need for cognition. After reading the directions, the participants were asked to respond to each of the 18 statements by circling or writing the appropriate number, and then submit it to the researcher after finishing the questions.

Experiment. Samples were randomly assigned to all treatments in addition to striving for approximately equal cell sizes except for split cells. Participants attended to the session in a group of approximately 15 people. Upon entering the laboratory, participants were greeted, seated and given the introductory instructions. The moderator told them they would be watching a one-hour program and answering questions about the program content. After the directions, they watched the prepared TV program, and then the questionnaire was distributed. The questionnaire contained global and diagnostic items for the measurement of recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention to the sponsoring and the opponent candidate.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Reliability and Validity of Measure

One of the primary dependent variables in this study with recall and voting intention is attitude toward ads (Aad). This was measured by three different questions: global attitude toward ads, attitude toward the sponsoring candidate, and attitude toward the opponent candidate. Four items measured global Aad on a seven-point semantic differential scale ranging from 1 to 7: *extremely dislike-extremely like, not at all powerful-very powerful, not at all believable-very believable, and not at all persuasive-very persuasive*. Three items were used for measuring the Aad of the sponsoring and the opponent candidate: *extremely dislike-extremely like, extremely bad-extremely good, and strongly oppose-strongly support*.

Across the four items, the mean global Aad varied from a low of 3.0820 to a high of 3.3344, but those had a Cronbach's alpha of .89 ($\alpha > .75$). Thus, the global Aad analyzed as an item whose mean was 3.1623. Based on the same procedure, the Aad of the sponsoring candidate had a mean score of 3.5461 (Cronbach's alpha of .91) and Aad of the opponent candidate had a mean score of 3.5329 (Cronbach's alpha of .95).

Need for Cognition was recoded following the instruction in the *Handbook of Marketing Scales* (1999), and each unweighted sum of the items was divided by each total number of items. In this study, the short form of need for cognition was used. Its mean score is 1.53.

Dimension of Level of Frequency

The first primary objective of the study was to examine whether or not the repetition of political advertising affects voting intention for the candidate, attitude toward ads and recall of ads. To assess the variation of frequency, this study examined the mean ratings of each question for recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention for the candidate. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to investigate mean rating differences across five different levels of frequency: 1,2,3,4 and 6. A one-way ANOVA result revealed that no significant differences were found across all of five different levels of frequency in terms of aided recall of ads, attitude towards ads, and voting intention for the candidate (See Table 1). The repetition of message of political advertising would not be a main effect to measure recall, attitude toward ads, and voting intention.

According to the plots, for recall of the sponsoring and the opponent candidate, the estimated marginal means was the highest on frequency level three and six (See Figure 1 and 2). However, global attitude toward ads is the most positive on frequency level one, and then it dramatically decreased after that (See Figure 3). One interesting finding was that attitude toward the sponsoring candidate was the lowest on frequency level three, whereas the Aad of the opponent candidate was the highest on the same level. Voting Intention for the sponsoring and the opponent candidate, the estimated marginal means was the highest on frequency level six (See Figure 4).

Based on the results above in which the level of frequency is not a significant predictor, the five levels of frequency were re-categorized into two levels to conduct the further analysis more effectively: Low (1,2, and 3) and High (4 and 6). The result of a one-way ANOVA for Frequency 2 also indicated no significant difference across both low and high levels of frequency.

Dimension of Frequency with Positive & Negative Advertising

The second primary objective of this study was to investigate how different repetition of positive and negative ads works in the way it influences voting intention for the candidate, attitudes toward ads and recall of ads in terms of frequency. To assess this objective, a two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine mean rating differences across four groups: Low Frequency-Positive, Low Frequency-Negative, High Frequency-Positive, and High Frequency-Negative. The results of a two-way ANOVA with Frequency 2 and Type revealed that there was a significant difference across all of the dependent variables except recall of sponsoring candidate in terms of type of political advertising. Also, the interaction effect between type and frequency were found for recall of opponent candidate (Table3).

Based on mean ratings of the four groups (Table 4), the Low-Negative group had the highest mean (3.6198), whereas the Low-Positive group had the lowest (2.7661) for global attitude toward advertising. This result tends to be similar to that for attitude toward sponsoring candidate. The Low-Negative group had the highest mean (3.7222) for attitude toward the sponsoring candidate, while the Low-Positive group had the lowest (3.3477). In contrast, for attitude toward the opponent candidate, the High-Negative group had the lowest mean (3.3446) and the Low-Negative group followed (3.4479).

The above data indicates that negative advertising is more effective for increasing positive attitude toward ads and the sponsoring candidate, regardless of low or high level of frequency. At the same time, negative advertising tends to decrease positive attitude toward the opponent candidate.

In terms of recall of the sponsoring candidate's name, the High-Negative group had the highest mean (5.5424) among the four. However, the High-Negative group had the highest score

for recall of the opponent candidate's name. Therefore, negative advertising with a high level of frequency would affect both the sponsoring candidate and the opponent candidate positively in terms of recall. A plot of estimated marginal means indicated that negative ads were recalled better within high levels of frequency.

For voting intention, the High-Negative group had the highest score (4.5593) and the Low-Negative group followed (4.5104). These results indicate that negative advertising within both low and high levels of frequency is more effective for increasing voting intention for the sponsoring candidate rather than positive advertising.

Dimension of Frequency with the Presence or Absence of Disclaimer

The third primary objective of this study was to investigate how different repetition of political ads with either the presence or absence of a disclaimer works in the way it influences voting intention for the candidate, attitudes toward ads and recall of ads in terms of frequency. To assess this objective, a two-way ANOVA was conducted to examine mean rating differences across four groups: Low Frequency-Disclaimer, Low Frequency-No disclaimer, High Frequency-Disclaimer, and High Frequency-No Disclaimer. The results of a two-way ANOVA with frequency 2 and a disclaimer revealed that significant differences for the three dependent variables -- attitude toward ads, the sponsoring candidate and voting intention -- were observed. The presence or absence of a disclaimer significantly contributed to the explained variance in the dependent variables, attitude toward ads, the sponsoring candidate and voting intention. No interaction effect with frequency 2 and the presence or absence of disclaimer was found (Table 5).

Based on the meaning rates of the four groups (Table 6), interesting patterns were observed. Both low and high levels of frequency with disclaimer groups had the lowest mean score across all dependent variables. In contrast, for the all variables, the groups without a disclaimer (regardless of level of frequency) had the highest mean score for all dependent variables except attitude toward the opponent candidate. These results suggest that political advertising without a disclaimer within various levels of frequency works more effectively to increase recall of ads, attitude toward ads and voting intention rather than one with a disclaimer. However, political advertising with a disclaimer tends to decrease positive attitude toward the opponent candidate, dramatically depending upon increasing the level of frequency, whereas advertising without a disclaimer tends to be consistent.

Dimension of Frequency with Type and Disclaimer

The final primary objective of the present study was to investigate how different repetition of positive and negative ads with the presence or absence of a disclaimer works in the way it influences voting intention for the candidate, attitudes toward ads and recall of ads in terms of frequency. To assess this objective, a three-way ANOVA was conducted to examine mean rating differences across eight groups: Low Frequency-Positive-Disclaimer, Low Frequency-Positive-Non disclaimer, Low Frequency-Negative-Disclaimer, Low Frequency-Negative-Non disclaimer, High Frequency-Positive-Disclaimer, High Frequency-Positive-Non disclaimer, High Frequency-Negative-Disclaimer, and High Frequency-Negative-Non Disclaimer. Based on the results of a three-way ANOVA, two independent variables -- type of political advertising and the presence or absence of a disclaimer -- significantly accounted for the variance (Table 7). Type of political advertising, positive or negative, would be the direct

predictor for all variables, except recall of sponsoring candidate. Also, the presence or absence of a disclaimer would contribute to the dependent variables -- attitude toward ads and sponsoring candidate, and voting intention. Two statistically significant interaction effects were found as well. Need for Cognition as a covariate had a significant difference only for recall of ads.

The groups of negative advertising without a disclaimer within both low and high levels of frequency had the highest mean score for every dependent variable excluding attitude toward the opponent candidate. The mean score of positive advertising with a disclaimer within high levels of frequency was the lowest for four variables (Table 8).

CHAPTER V

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The primary objective of the present research was to examine the repetition effect of the messages of positive and negative political advertisements with and without a disclaimer in terms of recall of ads, attitude toward ads and voting intention for the candidate. Findings reveal that the repetition of political advertising would not be the direct predictor for recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention for the candidate. In contrast, type of political advertising, positive or negative, and the presence or absence of disclaimer would be the main effect on the three variables.

Dimension of Frequency/Repetition Effect: RQ1, 2

RQ1. Is repetition of political ads for candidates effective for increasing voting intention for the candidate, attitudes toward ads and recall of ads?

H1: After the specific level of exposure, the more often ads are repeated, the more likely voters will react negatively to ads.

RQ2. Is the principle of effective frequency of commercial ads applicable to political advertising? If not, how is it different?

The present study does not provide any significant difference on effect of message repetition, unlike previous studies. In other words, repetition of political advertising has no relationship with recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention. Thus, findings would not support H1.

However, several plots (See Figure 1, 2 and 4) show that messages gain in impact for a few exposures but that further exposures begin to have a negative effect. This indicates a consistent pattern with the perspective of “satiation point,” the concept of diminishing returns from greater advertising frequency (Jakobovits 1966; Appel 1966). However, there are two peaks -- level of frequency three and six -- on these. The effect of political advertising does not continue to decrease after the first “satiation point” on level of frequency three. Furthermore, global attitude toward ads is the most positive on level of frequency one, and then it dramatically decreased after that.

Some plots partially support a three-plus “rule of thumb” status -- defined effectiveness to be a minimum of three confirmed vehicle exposures to an individual member of the target group over an agreed-upon period of time; however, it is hard to generalize that the results imply an inverted U or an S-shaped advertising response curve, supported in studies of advertising repetition on eye movement responses (Krugman 1968), attention (Grass and Wallace 1969), and brand attitudes (Gorn and Goldberg 1980; Naples 1979; Ray, Sawyer, and Strong 1971; Winter 1973).

Perhaps these differences can be traced to the differing methodologies. First, because the field study was generally used for effective frequency research, the results of the present study using the laboratory experiment are difficult to generalize. Second, since a student sample was used in this research, it might limit the generalizability of the results of this study. And finally, there was also an obvious difference in the characteristics of political advertising and general commercials; political advertising is easier to be differentiated and to remember than general commercials regardless of repetition. Thus, the principle of effective frequency of commercial ads is not exactly applicable to political advertising.

Dimension of Type of Advertising: RQ3

RQ3. How does the repetition of positive and negative ads work in the way it influences voting intention for the candidate, attitudes toward ads and recall of ads in terms of frequency?

H2: Negative ads need a lower degree of exposure than positive ads in order to gain the same level of effect as positive ads.

Type of advertising would directly explain message effectiveness in terms of attitude toward ads ($p=.009$ & $.012 < .05$) and voting intention ($p=.004 < .05$). Even though type of ads does not have a statistically significant difference across recall of ads, there are some different patterns between positive and negative advertising (See Figure 5). Positive advertising is recalled better within a low level of frequency, while negative advertising does better within high levels of frequency. With increasing frequency, recall of negative ads increases more dramatically than that of positive ads, even though it continues to increase regardless of positive or negative ads.

In general, the findings indicate that negative advertising evokes a positive attitude toward ads and the sponsoring candidate and triggers a negative attitude toward the targeted candidate at the same time (Figure 6, 7 and 8). However, negative ads cause to diminish not only positive attitude toward the ads and the sponsoring candidate but also a negative attitude toward the opponent candidate with respect to repetition even though the degree of slope is slight. Thus, within low level of frequency, negative advertising creates the “intended effects” -- triggering negative feelings toward the targeted candidate and positive feeling toward the sponsoring candidate. In contrast, within high level of frequency, negativity may create “unintended effects,” also called boomerang effects, -- more negative feelings toward the sponsor, rather than toward the target. Thus, negative advertising evokes most powerful impact on the initial

exposure and tends to wearout more easily than positive advertising does in terms of attitude toward ads.

However, this pattern with attitude toward ads and the sponsoring candidate does not obviously propel the result of voting intention although negative advertising is more effective for gaining voting intention for the sponsoring candidate (Figure 9). The shape of the figure for voting intention is almost flat in that respondents can be defined as non-users (Naples, 1979). The reason is the political advertising for the Congressional Election in Kentucky -- not in Georgia -- was used in this study.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the results of research on effectiveness of negative political advertising are inconsistent; some research supports the use of negative advertising while other studies assert that attack politics evoke a boomerang effect. This study suggests that negative advertising definitely has powerful impact for gaining positive attitude toward the sponsoring candidate and for persuading voters. However, as negative message repeats, the candidate sponsoring the ad is harmed.

Dimension of Disclaimer: RQ4

RQ4. How does the presence or absence of a disclaimer work in the way positive and negative political advertising influences voting intention for the candidate, attitude toward ads and recall of ads?

H3: Political advertising with a disclaimer will lead to gaining greater effects on the recall of ads, attitude toward ads, and voting intention for the sponsoring candidate.

Even though advertising without a disclaimer is recalled better than that with a disclaimer, the presence or absence of the disclaimer would not have a significant relationship with recall of

ads ($p>.05$), but the disclaimer can have a major effect on measuring attitude toward ads ($p=.004<.05$) and voting intention ($p=.045<.05$).

Overall, non-disclaimer ads gain more positive attitude toward ads and the sponsoring candidate, yet repetition of message without a disclaimer causes positive attitude to decrease. Moreover, repetition of ads with a disclaimer encourages negative attitude toward the opponent candidate.

In the case of positive advertising, non-disclaimer ads generate more positive attitude toward ads and the sponsoring candidates (Figure 10 and 11). As frequency increases, so does positive attitude, whereas it declines with a disclaimer. This pattern affects voting intention for the sponsoring candidate positively as well (Figure 12). The findings indicate that repetition of positive advertising without a disclaimer motivates positive impact not only on attitude toward ads but also voting intention for the candidate who sponsors the ads.

For negative advertising, the absence of a disclaimer increases positive attitude toward ads, depending upon increasing frequency (Figure 13). Also, increasing positive attitude toward ads has a positive impact on voting intention for the sponsoring candidate. This pattern is totally reversed with positive advertising. These results indicate that repetition of negative advertising with a disclaimer leads to positive impact not only on attitude toward ads but also voting intention for the sponsoring candidate.

Consequently, this study suggests that on one hand, voters in competitive elections, saturated by advertisements, may find the disclaimer annoying and not view the provision positively - positive advertising. On the other hand, an ad viewed with increased frequency may reinforce the positive impact on attitude toward ads, trust and confidence observed in this study – negative advertising.

Limitations and Future Directions

The present study has several limitations that should be noted with respect to method and the measure employed. First, since this study was conducted with college student samples, the results cannot be generalized to the voter as a whole. According to Brown and Stayman (1992), student samples tend to be more homogenous and to yield higher correlations than do non-student samples. Thus, the use of student subjects appears to have an upward-biasing effect on the strength of some relationships. This effect is a limiting condition on the generalizability of results generated from student samples.

Second, methodology difference can be a limitation. To measure message effectiveness, such as that of commercial ads, field study is generally used. The laboratory experiment conducted for this research offered an opportunity to provide an environment where participants were in a frame of mind to be receptive to advertising messages, unlike in a field study. There was no remote control to zap through channels and no way to miss the advertising, so people gave their full attention to the messages unlike in a real situation. The dark and quiet surroundings for a captive and receptive audience made a better impact of the advertising message than a field study would have.

Although these limitations are obvious, this effort to analyze the generalization of the principle of effective frequency with commercial ads to political advertising serves as the impetus for future study. Future study will develop and measure advertising effectiveness by conducting field study rather than laboratory experiment. Moreover, this study would be the first step of research for the "Stand by Your Ad" disclaimer (SBYA), one of the newest issues in politics and in the field of political advertising research. Further study will analyze the effectiveness of not only the presence or absence of the disclaimer but also the position of the

disclaimer -- for instance, what effect does the positioning of the disclaimer within the ad have on the way that positive and negative political advertising influences voting intention for the candidate, attitude toward ads and recall of ads?

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TABLE

Table 1: ANOVA Summary Table for Frequency1 & 2

	Attitude toward ads	Recall of sponsoring candidate	Recall of opponent candidate	Attitude toward sponsoring candidate	Attitude toward opponent candidate	Voting Intention
Frequency1	.383	.067	.065	.969	.293	.923
Frequency2	.529	.490	.697	.865	.141	.935

Significantly different at $p < .05$.

Table 2: Re-Categorized Frequency Group

Frequency 2	Frequency 1	N1	N2
Low	1	71	189
	2	59	
	3	70	
High	4	58	116
	6	58	
Total		305	305

Table 3: ANOVA Summary Table for Frequency 2 & Type

	Attitude toward ads	Recall of sponsoring candidate	Recall of opponent candidate	Attitude toward sponsoring candidate	Attitude toward opponent candidate	Voting Intention
Type	.000	.998	.000	.012	.009	.004
F2	.522	.495	.699	.866	.139	.939
Type*F2	.304	.685	.019	.633	.705	.782

Significantly different at $p < .05$.

Table 4: Estimated Marginal Means for a 2X2 (Frequency 2 X Type)

	Attitude toward ads	Recall of sponsoring candidate	Recall of opponent candidate	Attitude toward sponsoring candidate	Attitude toward opponent candidate	Voting Intention
Low-Pos.	2.7661	5.3978	3.6237	3.3477	3.7276	4.1505
Low-Neg.	3.6198	5.3125	4.7188	3.7222	3.4479	4.5104
High-Pos.	2.8246	5.4561	3.2632	3.4286	3.5536	4.1228
High-Neg.	3.3686	5.5424	5.2203	3.6836	3.3446	4.5593

Table 5: ANOVA Summary Table for Frequency 2 and Disclaimer

	Attitude toward ads	Recall of sponsoring candidate	Recall of opponent candidate	Attitude toward sponsoring candidate	Attitude toward opponent candidate	Voting Intention
Disclaimer	.004	.422	.685	.000	.505	.045
F2	.528	.488	.696	.826	.150	.915
Dis.*F2	.413	.946	.983	.938	.073	.768

Significantly different at p<.05.

Table 6: Estimated Marginal Means for a 2X2 (Frequency2 X Disclaimer)

	Attitude toward ads	Recall of sponsoring candidate	Recall of opponent candidate	Attitude toward sponsoring candidate	Attitude toward opponent candidate	Voting Intention
Low-Dis.	2.9158	5.2632	4.1368	3.2877	3.6386	4.2128
Low-Nond.	3.4867	5.4468	4.2234	3.7908	3.5319	4.4526
High-Dis.	2.9449	5.4237	4.2203	3.3051	3.3333	4.1864
High-Nond.	3.2632	5.5789	4.2982	3.8274	3.5655	4.5088

Table 7: ANOVA Summary Table for Frequency 2, Type and Disclaimer

	Attitude toward ads	Recall of sponsoring candidate	Recall of opponent candidate	Attitude toward sponsoring candidate	Attitude toward opponent candidate	Voting Intention
F2	.474	.416	.603	.865	.168	.993
Type	.000	.996	.000	.014	.014	.004
Disclaimer	.005	.414	.644	.000	.456	.041
F2*Type			.018			
F2*Type*Disclaimer	.050					
Need for Cognition (as a covariate)	.013	.569	.791	.687	.938	.476

Significantly different at p<.05.

Table 8: Estimated Marginal Means for a 2X2X2 (Frequency2 X Type X Disclaimer)

		Attitude toward ads	Recall of sponsoring candidate	Recall of opponent candidate	Attitude toward sponsoring candidate	Attitude toward opponent candidate	Voting Intention
Low-Frequency	Pos.-Dis.	2.5962	5.4423	3.7885	3.1282	3.7756	4.0784
	Pos.-ND	2.9817	5.3415	3.4146	3.6260	3.6667	4.2381
	Neg.-Dis.	3.3023	5.0465	4.5581	3.4806	3.4729	4.3721
	Neg.-ND	3.8774	5.5283	4.8491	3.9182	3.4277	4.6226
High-Frequency	Pos.-Dis	2.3796	5.5556	3.2222	3.0864	3.5185	3.7037
	Pos.-ND	3.2250	5.3667	3.3000	3.7471	3.5862	4.5000
	Neg.-Dis	3.4219	5.3125	5.0625	3.4896	3.1771	4.5937
	Neg.-ND	3.3056	5.8148	5.4074	3.9136	3.5432	4.5185

FIGURE

Figure 1: Recall of the Sponsoring Candidate

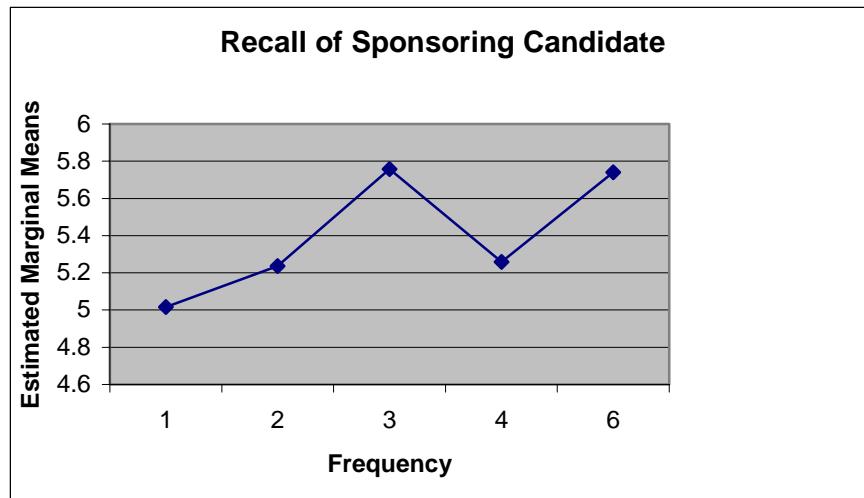


Figure 2: Recall of the Opponent Candidate

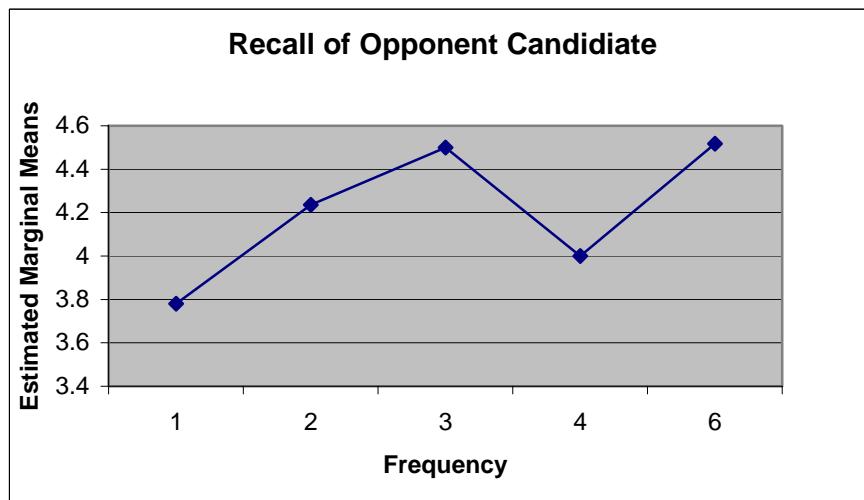


Figure 3: Global Attitude toward Advertisements

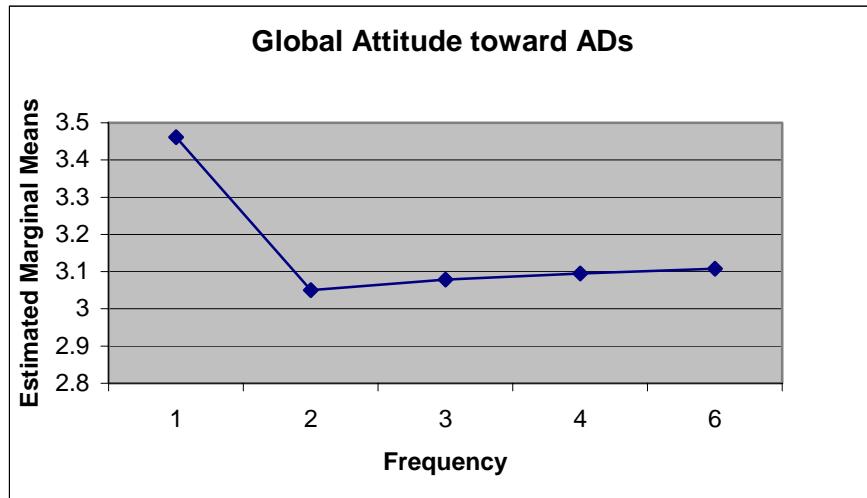


Figure 4: Voting Intention for the Sponsoring Candidate

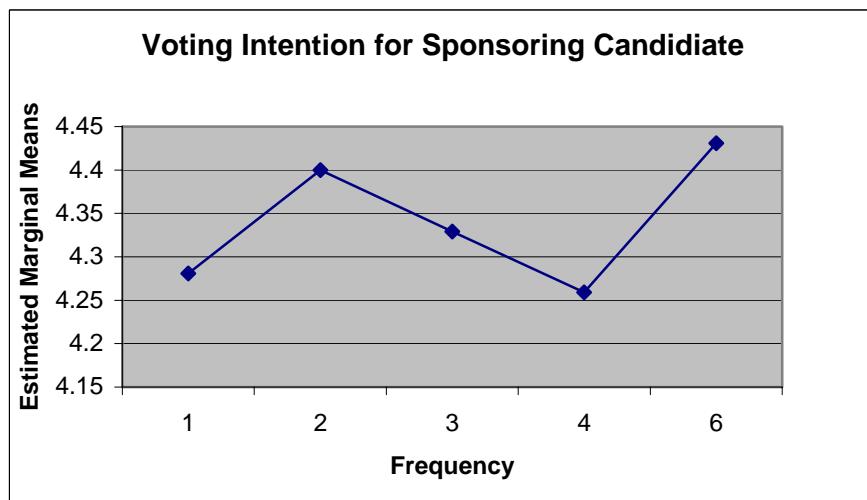


Figure 5: Recall of the Sponsoring Candidate

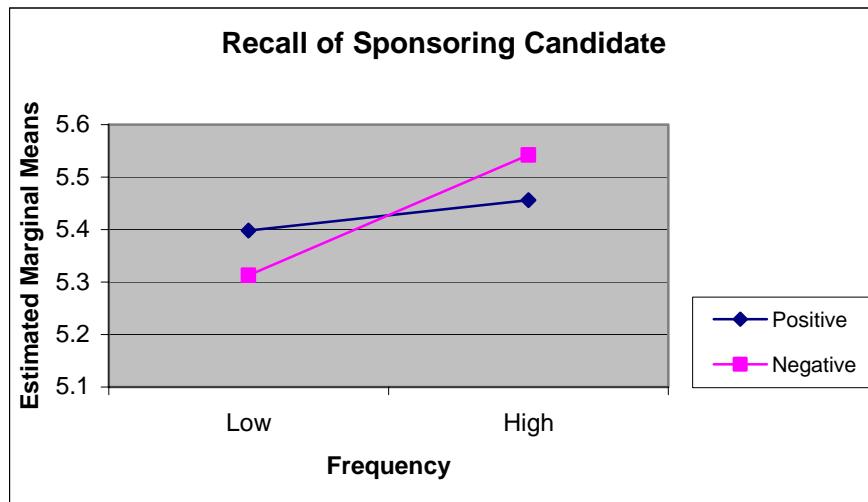


Figure 6: Global Attitude toward Advertisements

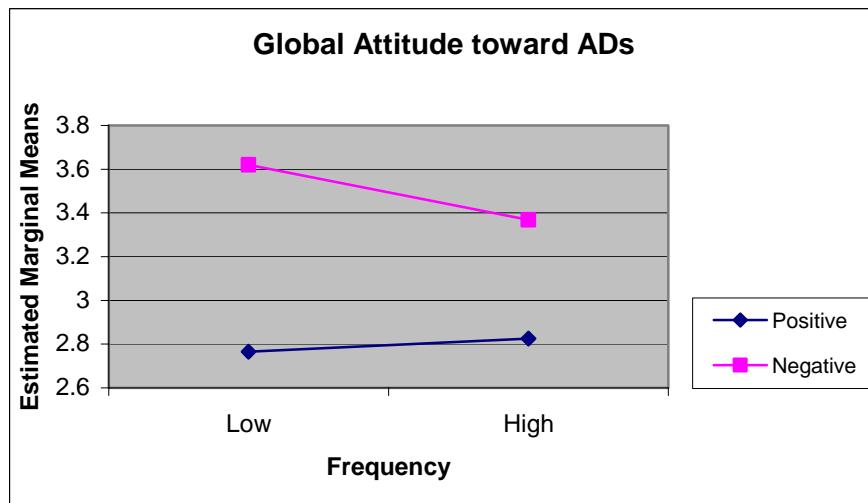


Figure 7: Attitude toward the Sponsoring Candidate

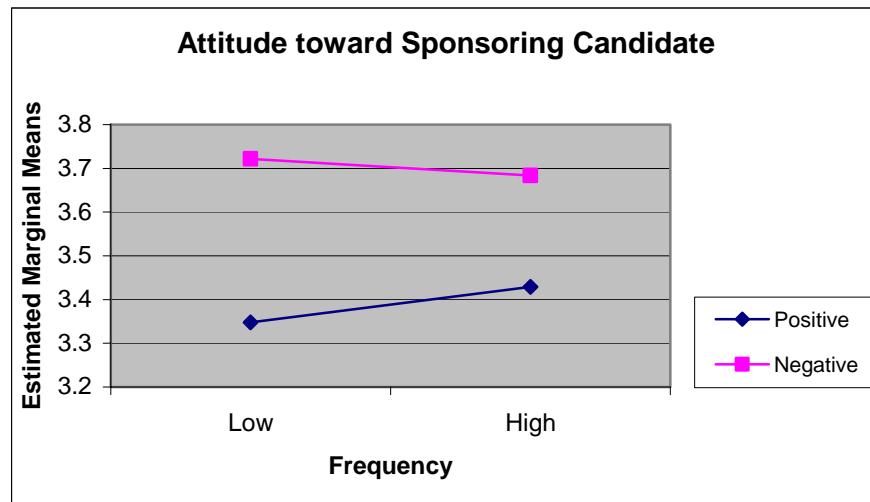


Figure 8: Attitude toward the Opponent Candidate

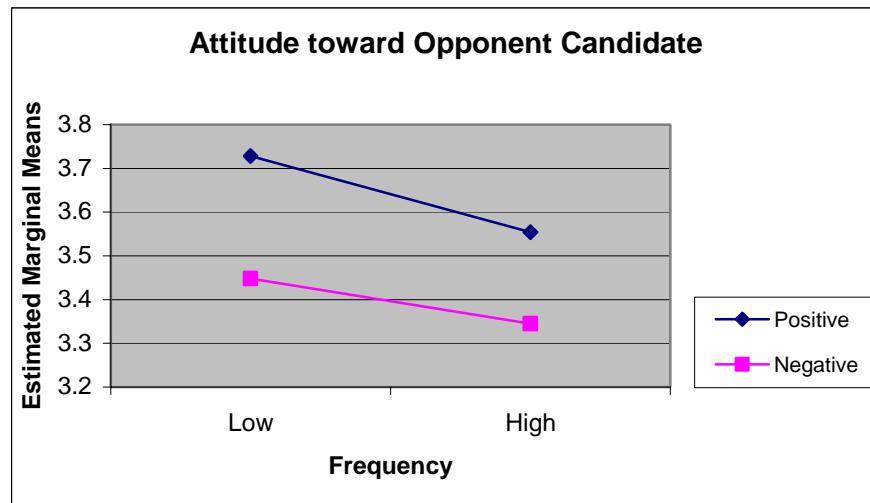


Figure 9: Voting Intention for the Sponsoring Candidate

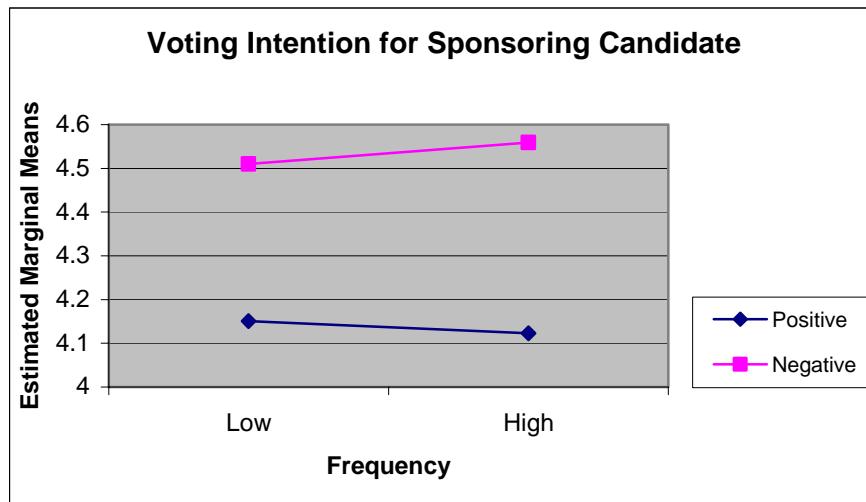


Figure 10: Global Attitude toward Advertisements if Positive Ad

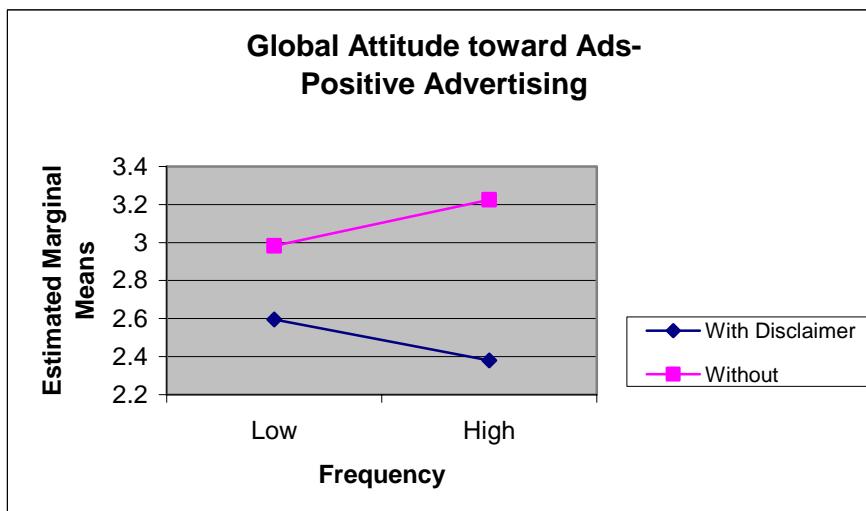


Figure 11: Attitude toward the Sponsoring Candidate if Positive Ad

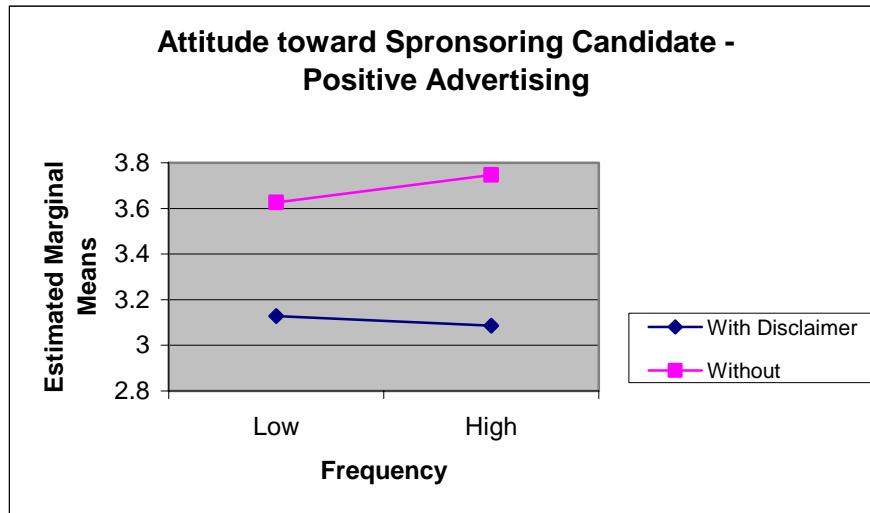


Figure 12: Voting Intention for the Sponsoring Candidate if Positive Ad

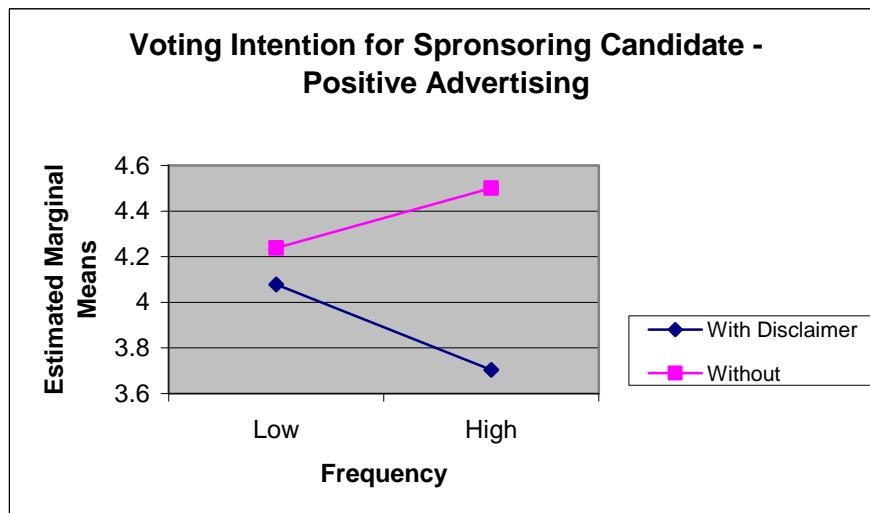


Figure 13: Global Attitude toward Advertisements if Negative Ad

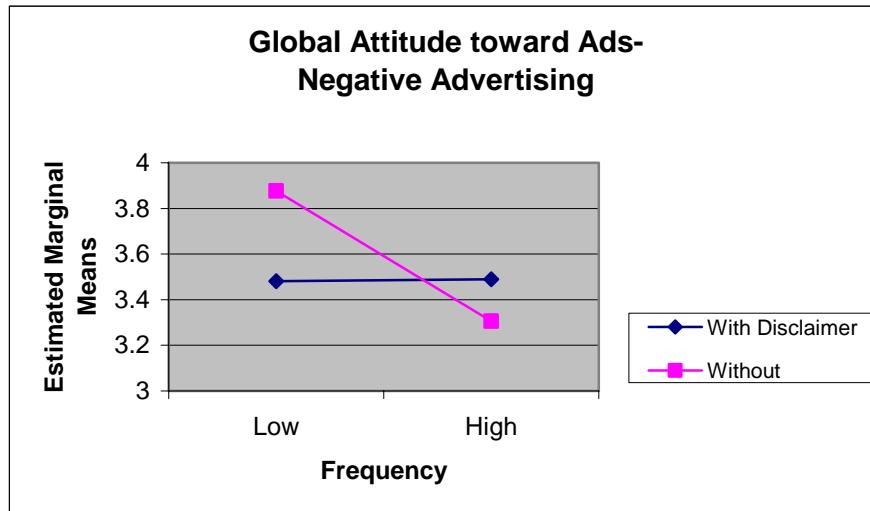


Figure 14: Attitude toward the Sponsoring Candidate if Negative Ad

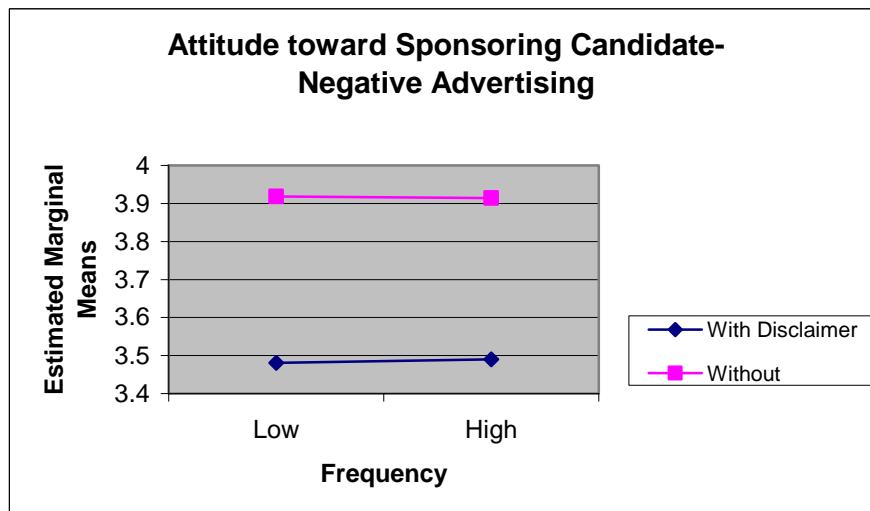
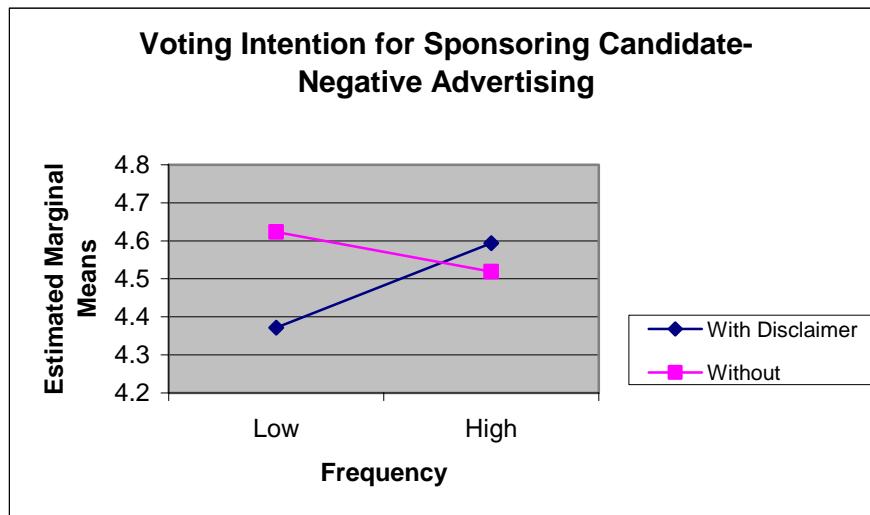


Figure 15: Voting Intention for the Sponsoring Candidate if Negative Ad



APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: BACKGROUND MEASUREMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

First, please place your **Mother's birthday** in the space below. **This information would be used as a matter of convenience for matching data. Also, all of your responses throughout this questionnaire are completely confidential.** Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may withdraw at any time. I do appreciate for your time and cooperation. I hope you enjoy participating in this study. Please feel free to contact me at athenshk@uga.edu if you have any questions.

The date of your mother's birthday _____ / _____ (mm/dd)

Please write the **ONLY ONE SCORE** between -4 to 4 in the space that best describes as yourself. The scale of each score -4 to 4 is as follows.

-4 : Very strong disagreement
-3 : Strong disagreement
-2 : Moderate disagreement
-1 : Slight disagreement
0 : Neither agreement nor disagreement
1 : Slight agreement
2 : Moderate agreement
3 : Strong agreement
4 : Very strong agreement

1. _____ I really enjoy a task that involves coming up with solution to problems.

2. _____ I would prefer a task that is intellectual, difficult, and important to one that is somewhat important but does not require much thought.

3. _____ Learning new ways to think doesn't excite me very much.

4. _____ I usually end up deliberating about issues even when they do not affect me personally.

5. _____ The idea of relying on thought to get my way to the top does not appeal to me.

-4 : Very strong disagreement
-3 : Strong disagreement
-2 : Moderate disagreement
-1 : Slight disagreement
0 : Neither agreement nor disagreement
1 : Slight agreement
2 : Moderate agreement
3 : Strong agreement
4 : Very strong agreement

6. _____ The notion of thinking abstractly is not appealing to me.
7. _____ I only think as hard as I have to.
8. _____ I like tasks that require little thought once I've learned them.
9. _____ I prefer to think about, small daily projects to long-term ones.
10. _____ I would rather do something that requires little thought than something that is sure to challenge my thinking abilities.
11. _____ I find little satisfaction in deliberating hard and for long hours.
12. _____ I don't like to have the responsibility of handling a situation that requires a lot of thinking.
13. _____ I feel relief rather than satisfaction after completing a task that required a lot of mental effort.
14. _____ Thinking is not my idea of fun.

-4	: Very strong disagreement
-3	: Strong disagreement
-2	: Moderate disagreement
-1	: Slight disagreement
0	: Neither agreement nor disagreement
1	: Slight agreement
2	: Moderate agreement
3	: Strong agreement
4	: Very strong agreement

15. _____ I try to anticipate and avoid situations where there is a likely chance I'll have to think in depth about something.

16. _____ I prefer my life to be filled with puzzles that I must solve.

17. _____ I would prefer complex to simple problems.

18. _____ It is enough for me that something gets the job done, I don't care how or why it works.

Please circle the number that best describes your feeling.

19. Overall, during any election campaign, how much attention do you generally pay to NEWS about the candidates?

Almost no attention 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A lot of attention

20. Overall, during any election campaign, how much attention do you generally pay to
TELEVISED POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS?

Almost no attention 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A lot of attention

21. Overall, how interested are you in politics?

Almost no attention 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A lot of attention

22. Overall, during any election campaign, how much attention do you generally pay to
TELEVISED DEBATES?

Almost no attention 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A lot of attention

23. Overall, during any election campaign, how much attention do you generally pay to
campaign literature, such as yard signs, brochures, and bumper stickers?

Almost no attention 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 A lot of attention

For question 24-27, assume you are voting in an election in your area.

24. In voting for the most local from many candidates for public office, would you say that:

I don't care at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 I care a great deal
as to whom I vote for as to whom I vote for

25. Do you think that most local candidates are all very alike or are all very different?

They are alike 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 They are all different

26. How important is it to you to make the right voting decision?

Not at all important 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely important

27. In casting your vote, how concerned are you about the outcome of your decision?

Not at all concerned 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Very much concerned

APPENDIX B: MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire should be used to express your recall of the video tape you just saw and your attitudes toward its content. All of your responses throughout this questionnaire are completely confidential. Also, your participation in this study is voluntary; you may withdraw at any time. I do appreciate for your time and cooperation. I hope you enjoy participating in this study. Please feel free to contact me at athenshk@uga.edu if you have any questions.

First, please place the date of **your Mother's birthday** in the space below. **This information would be used as a matter of convenience for matching data. Also, all of your responses throughout this questionnaire are completely confidential.**

The date of your mother's birthday ____/____ (mm/dd)

1. While watching "Boomtown," did you see any commercial for automobiles?

If you answered NO, please turn to the next page, Question 5. If you answer YES, answer other questions on this page.

2. Please write down the brand name of automobile in the space below. If you don't remember, please check the box provided.

Name of Car Brand: Don't remember

3. If you remember other car brands, that were advertised, please write their names in the space below. If you don't remember the name of automobile, please check the box provided.

Name of Car Brand : Don't remember any other

4. Please write anything at all you remember about the automobile advertising you saw. If you saw more than one ad for automobile, please write anything at all you remember about each ad in the space below.

5. While watching "Boomtown," did you see any political advertising for a Congressional election?

If NO, please wait for further instruction. If YES, please continue by answering the questions that follow.

6. Do you remember the name of the sponsoring candidate? If yes, please write it down in the space below.

Sponsor's name Don't remember

7. Do you remember the name of the opponent candidate? If yes, please write it down in the space below.

Opponent's name _____ Don't remember

8. Please write anything at all you remember about the political advertising you saw. If you saw more than one political ad, please write anything at all you remember about each ad in the space below

Please Continue,

BUT DO NOT TURN BACK to this page, after going to the next page.

Please DO NOT GO BACK to the previous page.

9. Overall, how do you feel about the political advertising you saw and its effects on you?
 (Please circle the number that best describes your feeling with higher numbers representing more positive feelings.)

Extremely Dislike	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely Like
Not at all Powerful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Powerful
Not at all Believable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Believable
Nat at all Persuasive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Persuasive

10. How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that the sponsoring candidate's name is Pat Michaels?

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

11. How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that the opponent candidate's name is John Borman?

Strongly disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly agree

12. Overall, how would you evaluate the sponsoring candidate who ran the ad?

Extremely Dislike	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely Like
Extremely Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely Good
Strongly Oppose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Support

13. Overall, how would you evaluate the opponent of the sponsoring candidate?

Extremely Dislike	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely Like
Extremely Bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Extremely Good
Strongly Oppose	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly Support

14. Assuming you live in Kentucky, after seeing this advertising, whom **would you vote for?**

Definitely vote for 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Definitely vote for
the Opponent Candidate the Sponsoring Candidate

STOP and WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTION

Please fill in the personal data below. All of your responses throughout this questionnaire are completely confidential. Please place a check mark in the space that best describes as yourself.

1. Gender

Male

Female

2. _____ Age (years)

3. Year in college

1st in Undergraduate

2nd in Undergraduate

3rd in Undergraduate

4th in Undergraduate

5th in Undergraduate

Graduate

Other (Specify) _____

4. Race

American Indian or Alaska Native

Asian

Black or African American

Hispanic or Latino

Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

White

5. Political Party Affiliation

Strong Republican

Lean toward Republican

Independent (No party affiliation)

Lean toward Democrat

Strong Democrat

Other (Specify) _____