An Analysis of Hillary Clinton-Sponsored Advertisements during the 2016 Presidential Election

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Abstract

Despite media evolution, political advertising remains the primary means by which candidates directly reach voters. The 2016 presidential election between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump was no exception. Since the birth of political advertising in the 1960s, experts have investigated advertising strategies and trends in order to uncover patterns in voter behavior. Through content analysis, this study investigated the tone, topic, and content of Clinton-sponsored advertisements during the 2016 presidential election. The results illustrate an advocacy-heavy advertising strategy for Clinton, with a shift from policy-focused advocacy ads to character-focused attack ads as Election Day drew nearer. Advertisements featuring content about rights, leadership, and the economy were most common.

I. Introduction

The utilization of strategic advertising in presidential campaigns has been around since the 1960s. Arguably, the most notable political advertisement in memory is titled "Daisy Girl." Lyndon Johnson sponsored the ad against Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election (Shwartz, 1964). The ad opens with a young girl picking petals from a daisy, while a man's voice counts down to zero. The frame zooms into the young girl's fearful eyes, and cuts to an image of a nuclear explosion. The ad urged voters to participate in the political process by scaring them.

More than 50 years later, the 2016 presidential election featured similarly strategic advertisements. The presidential race between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump was unprecedented, and although the media has changed immensely since 1964, political advertisements are still a useful tool that both candidates utilized in their campaigns. Despite media evolution, advertising remains the primary means by which candidates, parties, and other ad sponsors directly reach voters (Brader, 2006). Moreover, these ads are not just showing up on people's television screens anymore. They are abundantly available on YouTube and other online media platforms. Especially over the past decade, the volume of political advertising has increased (Ridout, Franz, & Fowler, 2014). By Election Day, Hillary Clinton's team spent almost $120 million on ads during her race for the White House (Miller, 2016).

As these numbers continue to rise, it is vital for voters to recognize and reflect on how advertising strategies affect them. In the age of unlimited access to information, it can be difficult for the average citizen

to seek the truth. Franz, Freedman, Goldstein, and Ridout (2007) said, "Ultimately, if the political diet of most Americans is lacking in crucial information, campaign ads represent the multivitamins of American politics" (p. 725). Because of this undeniable reality and the sheer volume of advertisements during the 2016 election, this study attempted to analyze the tone, topic, and content of Hillary Clinton-sponsored advertisements during the 2016 presidential election. It is commonplace to hear that campaigns get nastier every year, and this analysis attempted to address this claim empirically. This in-depth analysis also examined whether the modern application of theories of emotion and voter engagement can be applied to specific types of political advertising.

II. Literature Review

Overview

Despite the extensive evolution of the media, political advertising remains the primary means by which candidates, parties, and other sponsors communicate directly with voters. The largest expense in a typical campaign for major office is political advertising (Brader, 2006). The overall tone of political advertising seems to be negative more often than not. While positive advertisements do exist, they are rarely remembered. Political advertisements stereotypically evoke terms like "mudslinging" or "attack advertising" because they focus on criticizing the character, record, or positions of the targeted candidate, thus creating doubt in voters' minds about the ability of the target to govern successfully (Pinkleton, 2002). Some experts suggest that these strategies undermine democracy because they heighten cynicism and contribute to a general feeling of hopelessness among many voters. Other experts claim the opposite: Recent studies have even found that political advertising promotes political learning and participation (Cho, 2015). The following literature review classified political advertisements, defined and investigated the role emotion plays in political advertising, and discussed previous studies on political advertising.

Classification of Political Advertising

Advertising tone

Political advertisements are incredibly strategic and complex; therefore, it is necessary to classify them for in-depth examination. In this study, the first layer of analysis involves advertisement tone. Political campaigns most often run attack advertisements, which criticize an opponents' political platform, usually by pointing out its faults. Geer (2006) defines "negativity" in the context of attack advertising. He wrote that negativity "is simple and straightforward: negativity is any criticism leveled by one candidate against another during a campaign. Under this definition there is no gray area" (p. 23).

Advocacy advertisements, although not memorable in this day and age of politics, are equally important to define. Geer's definition of an advocacy ad is as simple as his definition for an attack ad. Advocacy ads state why a specific candidate is worthy of a vote (Geer, 2006). These ads usually utilize empowering statements, promises to the American people, and an overall uplifting message. Some of the most successful political advertisements find a balance between attack and advocacy and take the form of contrast advertisements. For example, an ad will begin with a criticism of an opponent's plan for taxes and end with evidence as to why the sponsored candidate's plan is better. Geer (2006) explained that there is no middle ground: "An appeal in a campaign either raises doubts about the opposition or states why the candidate is worthy of your vote. There is no middle category" (p. 23). But, there are some advertisements that both attack and advocate successfully, thus creating a tone of contrast.

Advertisement Topic

In addition to ad tone, research on political advertising often requires a second layer of analysis: ad topic. Previous research on political advertising has classified advertisement topics based on several kinds of appeals. The most common are character, policy, and achievement. Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1991) named what they call "political character" as a common underlying message in political advertising. Based on their research, character deals with "three of the most critical elements of a candidate's image: credibility, competency, and honesty" (p. 79). Political advertisements that feature the topic of personal character attack

the characteristics of an opponent, advocate for the characteristics of the sponsoring candidate, or contrast both of those messages.

Closely related to personal character is the topic of past achievements. In order to convince voters of their ability to succeed as the president of the United States, candidates will often feature their political résumés in their campaign advertisements (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991). By doing this, the sponsoring candidate is able to establish credibility. Advocacy ads that feature past achievements discuss qualifications, implying why the sponsoring candidate is worthy of votes. Attack ads featuring the topic of past achievements are less common. Still, candidates bring up the past achievements of their opponents and frame them as blunders in order to make themselves appear more credible than the target of the advertisement.

A recent complaint about modern political campaigns, specifically in the realm of advertising, is that they focus on character as opposed to policy issues. One study investigated this claim and discovered that there is little evidence to suggest its truth over the past 16 years (Ridout et al., 2014). Candidates are still using campaign advertisements to attack the proposed future policies of their opponents, as well as to advocate for their own plans once they win the election in question. Through the combination of different tones and topics, candidates can produce diverse advertising strategies that appeal to all kinds of voters.

Advertisement Content

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the ever-changing political conversation in the United States, research on campaign ads often catalogs the content featured in each advertisement. Content area of interest for each ad is usually analyzed separately from ad tone and topic to provide greater context. For example, Ridout et al. (2014) calculated the percentage of ad airings that concerned domestic versus foreign issues over the course of 16 years in an attempt to track changes in the political agenda. Hot issues became a popular choice for ad content, while outdated issues appeared less frequently. For example, in the 2000 presidential election, the discussion of foreign policy rarely appeared in advertisements. But, after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, foreign policy made up 23% of issues mentioned in campaign ads during the 2004 presidential election (Ridout et al., 2014). Overall, analyzing the content of campaign ads allows researchers to gain insight into the usefulness of political advertising and trace changes in the political landscape.

The Psychology of Political Advertising

The functional theory of emotion says that emotions work as "an adaptive system to help humans deal with changes in the environment" (Cho, 2015, p. 2564). For example, when someone experiences a change in their environment, their first reaction is likely to be assessing how that change is significant to their lives. Once they have made this assessment, they enter what is known as the "action state," which encompasses both approach and avoidance. Finally, whatever "action" (i.e. approach or avoidance) a person chooses results in a sense of awareness. This entire process is what makes up emotional experiences. Cho (2015) says, "In sum, the emotional system is expected to facilitate the interaction between an organism and an internal or environmental stimulus" (p. 2565). This process can easily be applied to voter exposure to political advertising.

In fact, the functional theory of emotion illuminates an important way of thinking about attack ads in political advertising. As an external stimulus, they provoke emotion from their audience. Attack ads often elicit negative emotions, which lead to cognitive and behavioral responses. Cho (2015) adds that the reason is twofold: voters feel threatened by ads that attack the candidate they support. Interestingly enough, voters also have similar feelings of threat when an advertisement attacks the candidate they oppose because the ad proves that a candidate's policy and/or character is a threat itself. Still, it is important to note that negative attack ads may not always elicit negative emotions. Audience political affiliation and/or voting intention can create varied responses to the same negative advertisement.

Advocacy advertisements, on the other hand, are far less likely to elicit a strong emotional response from voters. Based on empirical evidence, several studies agree that in cases where voters oppose what is being advocated for in an ad they might feel threatened. But, that sense of threat is nowhere near as strong as the feelings provoked by advertisements that attack the candidate or policies that they support (Cho, 2015). Furthermore, scholars generally attribute the reason for the greater effectiveness of attack advertising over advocacy advertising to the fact that people are more motivated by stronger feelings of emotion (Pinkleton, 2002). In general, negative advertisements are psychologically more stimulating than positive ones and generate more action. Consistent with the functional theory of emotion, this research suggests that

negative emotions are more persistent and become a stronger motivating force than positive ones. For this reason, the majority of empirical research surrounding political advertising focuses on the impact of attack ads that elicit a negative emotional response from voters.

Previous Research on Political Advertisements

By looking to psychological theories for guidance, experts have expanded on theories of voter engagement by using data from past political advertising campaigns. Many researchers have examined the impact of exposure to advertising on voter choice (Huber & Arceneaux, 2009), political participation (Franz, Freedman, Goldstein, & Ridout, 2007), and attitudes toward the political system in general (Jackson, Mondak, & Huckfeldt, 2009). In analyses of past elections, they have asked questions like: Do attack ads make people less or more likely to vote? Do they motivate them to make a decision? Or do they just complicate things?

The Julian P. Kanter Political Commercial Archive at The University of Oklahoma, for example, has given researchers the opportunity to watch political advertisements and code them on a variety of factors. Geer (2006) did this with much success. He employed a measure of the number of negative election ads minus the number of positive ads to produce a proportional variable of advertising tone. In a 2014 study, coders classified each ad on several characteristics, including its tone and topic. Coders labeled an ad positive if it mentioned only a sponsor or favored candidate, negative if it mentioned only the opponent, and contrast if it mentioned both. They also marked whether each ad talked about policy issues, the characteristics of the candidates (i.e. fitness for office, background, etc.) or both (Ridout et al., 2014).

In recent decades, political campaign strategies have started to rely more on internet platforms and mobile communications than traditional television airtime. Researchers are beginning to examine political advertisements through more modern and tech-savvy lenses. As electoral politics has migrated to the internet, the study of political videos distributed online is becoming increasingly popular (Dowling & Wichowsky, 2014). Voters can now instantly share and offer their own commentary on political advertising on online platforms, such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter. This phenomenon opens the door for endless research possibilities. This paper provides researchers with an analysis of data to investigate four research questions.

Research Questions

As a framework for analysis of Hillary Clinton-sponsored political advertisements in the 2016 presidential election, the author asked the following research questions:

RQ1. Is the tone of each advertisement attack, advocacy, or contrast?

RQ2. Is the topic of each advertisement personal character, future policy, or past achievement?

RQ3. What type of content was addressed in the advertisement (i.e. rights, economy, immigration, environment, healthcare, education, foreign policy, leadership and/or others)?

RQ4. Did Clinton's advertising strategy change over time?

III. Method

Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research technique used for describing written, spoken, or visual communication. When done successfully, it provides a quantitative description of otherwise qualitative material (UC Davis, 2009). This kind of quantification allows researchers to characterize massive amounts of material in a way that is easy to digest. For this reason, many content analyses involve media like television, video, movies, and the internet. Any medium that can be recorded and reviewed can by analyzed for its content.

Many researchers have used content analysis to examine previous political advertising campaigns. For example, in a study by Ridout, Franz and Fowler (2014), coders used content analysis to classify ads in

the 2012 presidential election based on several characteristics. The data compiled by content analysis in the context of political advertising allows for researchers to get a more comprehensive look at current political advertising strategies and trends, without having to watch hundreds of advertisements.

This current study attempted to do the same topic as previous studies, but for a different time period, the 2016 presidential election. This study used content analysis to identify tone, topic and content in Hilary Clinton-sponsored ads during the 2016 presidential election. The unit of observation was each ad that was sponsored by Hillary Clinton herself, and clearly marked by having a statement at the end of an ad, "I'm Hillary Clinton and I approve this message." No advertisements sponsored by independent political groups or Clinton's opponents were analyzed.

Sampling Method and Procedure

An entire set of Hillary Clinton-sponsored advertisements was accessed from Stanford University's Political Communication Lab (PCL). The lab is a research group that includes faculty and graduate students from Stanford University's communication and political science departments in order to study public opinion and political behavior (Political Communication Lab, 2016). All Clinton-sponsored advertisements available as of November 8, 2016, were analyzed for this study, including ads from both the primary and general election periods.

The researcher content analyzed and coded Hillary Clinton-sponsored advertisements for the following categories: tone (i.e. attack, advocacy or contrast); topic (i.e. personal character, future policy or past achievement); and content mentioned (i.e. rights, economy, immigration, environment, healthcare, education, foreign policy, leadership and/or other). First, the author watched each ad once through in its entirety and made the corresponding notes on the code sheet based on her observations (Refer to Table 1 in Appendix). She then watched the same ad once more to ensure quality control throughout the coding process. The researcher watched 73 advertisements in total and tallied the frequency of each given category.

IV. Findings

A total of 73 Clinton-sponsored advertisements were coded to answer RQ1, RQ2, and RQ3. The researcher also compared advertisements in the primary and general presidential campaigns to answer RQ4 on changes in the advertising campaign over time. Of the 73 ads, 38 aired during the presidential primaries, while 35 aired during the general presidential election.

Advertisement Tone

To answer RQ1 on the tone of advertisements, 73 Clinton-sponsored advertisements were examined. The results revealed that advocacy tone was dominant, making up 58% of the total ads, followed by 22% for attack and 21% for contrast (refer to Table 1).

Table 1 – Clinton-sponsored advertisements according to tone

	Advocacy	Attack	Contrast	Total Ads
Primary	33	1	4	38
General	9	15	11	35
Total #	42	16	15	73
Total %	58%	22%	21%	100%

* Due to rounding, percentages appear to add up to more than 100%.

Of the 42 advocacy ads, 33 aired during the primary election and 9 aired during the general election.

Of the 16 attack ads, only 1 aired during the primary election and the remaining 14 aired during the general election period. Of the 15 contrast ads, 4 aired during the primary election and 11 aired during the general election (refer to Table 1).

Advertisement Topic

Additionally, the researcher tallied the frequencies of three categories of topic in each advertisement in order to answer RQ2. As shown in Table 2, future policy-focused ads were the most common at 44%, followed closely by personal character ads (37%), and achievement ads (19%).

Table 2 – Clinton-sponsored advertisements according to topic

	Future Policy	Personal Character	Past Achievement	Total Ads
Primary	20	9	9	38
General	12	18	5	35
Total #	32	27	14	73
Total %	44%	37%	19%	100%

Of the 32 advertisements focused on the topic of future policy, 20 aired during the primary election and 12 aired during the general election. Of the 27 ads that mentioned personal character, 9 aired during the primary election and 18 aired during general election. Of the 14 advertisements focused on past achievement, 9 aired during the primary election and 5 aired during the general election (Refer to Table 2).

Based on this content analysis, each Clinton-sponsored advertisement was categorized by tone and then topic, as shown in *Figure 1*. Of the 16 attack ads, 10 (63%) mentioned personal character, 4 (25%) mentioned future policy, and 2 (13%) mentioned past achievements. Out of the 42 advocacy advertisements, 10 (24%) featured personal character, 9 (21%) featured future policy and 23 (55%) featured past achievements. Of the 15 contrast ads, 7 (47%) mentioned personal character, 5 (33%) mentioned future policy and 3 (20%) mentioned past achievements.
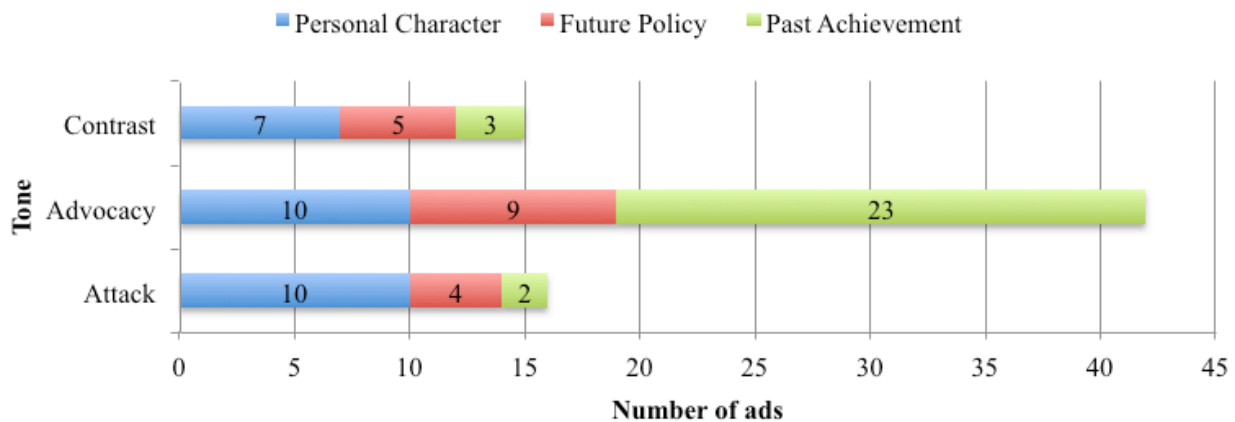

Figure 1. A breakdown of Clinton-sponsored ads by tone and topic

Advertisement Content

In order to answer RQ3, the following nine categories of content addressed were counted in each Clinton-sponsored ad: rights (23%), leadership (22%), economy (18%), healthcare (11%), education (10%), other (7%), foreign policy (5%), immigration (3%), and/or environment (1%). These findings are shown below in Table 3.

Table 3 – Clinton-sponsored advertisements according to content

	Rights	Leader-ship	Economy	Health-care	Education	Foreign Policy	Immigra-tion	Enviro-ment	Others	Total Count
Primary	16	3	9	6	6	1	1	1	2	45
General	4	17	7	4	3	3	2	0	4	44
Total #	20	20	16	10	9	4	3	1	6	89
Total %	22%	22%	18%	11%	10%	5%	3%	1%	7%	100%

Notes: A single advertisement can feature more than one content category, hence the total count reached 89, more than the total number of ads. Due to rounding, percentages appear to add up to less than 100%.

The frequencies of content categories varied between ads aired during primary election in comparison to the general election: rights (16 vs. 4), leadership (3 vs. 17) economy (9 vs. 7), healthcare (6 vs. 4), education (6 vs. 3), foreign policy (1 vs. 3), immigration (1 vs. 2), environment (1 vs. 0), and other areas (2 vs. 4). These findings are shown in Table 4.

V. Discussion

Based on the results of this content analysis, Clinton's advertising strategy favored a more positive approach. The researcher found that a true majority of all Clinton-sponsored ads featured an advocacy tone (Table 1). The most popular topic was future policy (Table 2), and the most common content categories addressed were rights, leadership, and the economy (Table 3). Overall, Clinton's advertisement mostly often advocated for her past achievements in the arena of human rights. After taking a closer look, the researcher discovered noticeable shifts in Clinton's advertising strategy as her campaign progressed. Clinton's team aired mostly advocacy ads during the presidential primaries. During the general election period, ad tone shifted from advocacy to attack. A similar trend can be identified within the realm of advertising topic: again, during the general election, the number of policy-focused advertisements dwindled while ads that focused on personal character spiked. One can also infer that Clinton's campaign shifted the conversation from rights to leadership as Election Day drew nearer.

The functional theory of emotion asserts that attack advertising is often more effective than advocacy advertising because people are usually highly motivated by stronger feelings of emotion (Pinkleton, 2002). Negative advertisements are psychologically more stimulating than positive ones, and generate more action. The negative emotions elicited by attack advertising are more persistent and become a stronger motivating force than the positive emotions elicited by advocacy advertising. Clinton's campaign seemed to be leaning to more advocacy ads than attack ads since it aired double the amount of the former as the latter overall. Clinton's advertising strategy seemed to take the high road by dominantly running advocacy ads in the primary time, but as the general election drew to a close, her campaigns shifted to more negative attack ads.

Future studies can be expanded on the current research in many different ways. For example, future research could compare Trump's advertising strategies with this study. Perhaps the results of that analysis could uncover more clues about why Clinton's strategy was unsuccessful and if it was a leading cause in her loss of the election. The incorporation of additional variables, such as advertisement platform or voter reaction, could prove worthwhile. Perhaps weighting specific advertisements based on circulation rates or view counts could give a more comprehensive look at strategic political advertising in the 2016 presidential election as a whole.

Limitations

One limitation of this research is the bias that may have resulted from a one-person coding method. Ideally, multiple coders would be used for this kind of analysis in order to eliminate the likelihood of personal bias, but because of time and resource constraints, the coder analyzed all of the ads on her own. Additionally, three Clinton-sponsored ads were aired in Spanish, and the researcher could not analyze them because of the language barrier.

VI. Conclusion

This analysis of Clinton-sponsored advertisements in the 2016 presidential election uncovered several strategic trends. The majority of Clinton-sponsored ads featured an advocacy tone and/or future policy. The most common content categories addressed were rights, leadership, and the economy. Advertisement tone shifted from advocacy to attack while advertisement topic shifted from policy to character as Clinton's campaign progressed. Based on these trends, it can be argued that Clinton's advertising strategy attempted to motivate voters as close to Election Day as possible. However, because her campaign ran double the amount of advocacy ads as attack ads overall, her advertising strategy proved less motivational, at least in the primary season, for voters in a broader sense.

Acknowledgments

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Appendix

Table 1 – Coding Sheet for Analysis of Clinton Ads

#	TITLE	DATE AIRED	TONE 1A) Attack 1B) Advocacy 1C) Contrast	TOPIC 2A) Personal Character 2B) Future Policy 2C) Past Achievement	CONTENT 3A) Rights 3B) Economy 3C) Immigration 3D) Environment 3E) Healthcare 3F) Education 3G) Foreign Policy 3H) Leadership 3I) Other
1	Family Strong	8/3/2015	1B	2A	3A, 3F, 3E
2	Dorothy	8/3/2015	1B	2A	3H
3	Reshuffle the Deck	8/19/2015	1B	2A	3B
4	Stretched	9/22/2015	1B	2B	3B
5	Every Child	9/22/2015	1B	2B	3A
6	Admit	10/6/2015	1C	2B	3A
7	The Same	10/27/2015	1B	2B	3A
8	Sara	10/27/2015	1B	2B	3A
9	Mindy	10/27/2015	1B	2B	3B
10	Get Ahead	10/27/2015	1C	2B	3B
11	Cheryl	10/27/2015	1B	2B	3B
12	Alexis	10/27/2015	1B	2B	3F
13	Together	11/3/2015	1B	2B	3A
14	Compact	11/9/2015	1B	2B	3F
15	Keith	12/23/2015	1B	2B	3E
16	Olivia	1/4/2016	1B	2D	3A
17	I'm With Him	1/12/2016	1B	2B	3A
18	Children	1/21/2016	1B	2A	3A
19	Make a Difference	1/28/2016	1C	2B	3A, 3B, 3E, 3G
20	Broken	2/19/2016	1B	2B	3A
21	All The Good	2/19/2016	1B	2C	3A
22	Stand	2/21/2016	1B	2C	3A
23	This City Means Something	2/24/2016	1B	2C	3D
24	The Letter	2/25/2016	1B	2B	3A, 3F
25	Hands Down	2/25/2016	1B	2A	3H
26	Gabby	2/26/2016	1B	2B	3A
27	Real Life	3/10/2016	1B	2A	3I
28	Every Corner	4/7/2016	1B	2C	3B
29	Norma	4/7/2016	1B	2C	3B
30	Stronger Together	4/11/2016	1C	2B	3A, 3C
31	Decision	4/14/2016	1B	2B	3I
32	Came Through	4/15/2016	1B	2C	3F

33	My Mom	4/19/2016	1B	2B	3A
34	Love and Kindness	4/25/2016	1B	2A	3H
35	Always	6/15/2016	1B	2C	3F, 3E
36	Quiet Moments	6/15/2016	1B	2C	3E
37	Kayla	6/24/2016	1B	2C	3E
38	Tested	6/25/2016	1A	2A	3B
	(GENERAL)				
39	Role Models	7/14/16	1A	2A	3H
40	For Those Who Depend on Us	8/16/16	1B	2B	3B, 3F, 3A
41	Just One	8/20/16	1A	2A	3H
42	Shirts	8/22/16	1A	2C	3B
43	Hat	8/23/16	1A	2C	3B
44	Everything	8/26/16	1A	2A	3I
45	Sacrifice	9/6/16	1A	2A	3I
46	Only Way	9/8/16	1C	2C	3E, 3G
47	Agree	9/8/16	1A	2A	3H
48	Low Opinion	9/12/16	1A	2A	3H
49	Families Together	9/17/16	1C	2C	3C, 3E
50	Sees	9/19/16	1C	2A	3H
51	Mirrors	9/23/16	1A	2A	3H
52	Investigation	9/24/16	1A	2A	3I
53	Watch	9/26/16	1B	2A	3H
54	Measure	10/6/16	1B	2B	3E, 3B
55	Silo	10/7/16	1A	2B	3G
56	The Right Thing	10/7/16	1C	2A	3H
57	Respected	10/7/16	1C	2A	3H
58	Values	10/8/16	1C	2A	3H
59	Doug	10/8/16	1C	2A	3H
60	American Bully	10/17/16	1C	2A	3H
61	A Place for Everyone	10/19/16	1B	2B	3B, 3F
62	General Allen	10/20/16	1C	2B	3A
63	Captain Khan	10/21/16	1A	2B	3A
64	Barbershop	10/24/16	1C	2C	3H
65	Example	10/24/16	1C	2A	3H
66	Families First	10/24/16	1B	2B	3F, 3B
67	On The Ballot	10/28/16	1B	2A	3A
68	Daisy	10/30/16	1A	2B	3G
69	What He Believes	11/1/16	1A	2B	3H
70	27 Million Strong	11/2/16	1B	2B	3C
71	Roar	11/2/16	1B	2B	3H
72	We Are America	11/2/16	1A	2A	3I
73	Tomorrow	11/6/16	1B	2B	3B, 3E, 3H

Table 2. Frequencies of ads by Tone, Topic and Content Area of Interest

CATEGORY	PRIMARY ELECTION	GENERAL ELECTION	TOTAL
Tone			
Attack	1	15	16
Advocacy	33	9	42
Contrast	4	11	15
Topic			
Personal Character	9	18	27
Future Policy	20	12	32
Past Achievement	9	5	14
Content			
Rights	16	4	20
Economy	9	7	16
Immigration	1	2	3
Environment	1	0	1
Healthcare	6	4	10
Education	6	3	9
Foreign Policy	1	3	4
Leadership	3	17	20
Other	2	4	6