

# Examining Democratic and Republican National Committee Party Branding Activity, 1953-2012

## Supplemental Appendix

Boris Heersink  
Fordham University  
bheersink@fordham.edu

### *Abstract:*

Recent scholarship on the role of national party organizations in American politics – specifically, the Democratic and Republican National Committees – has argued that political science research has thus far undervalued the importance of these organizations. Specifically, these studies have noted the importance party leaders – including presidents, Congressional leaders, and governors – place on the national committees’ role in trying to shape a party brand. Notably, these studies are all qualitative historical accounts – perhaps because finding consistent quantitative data from within the DNC and RNC across time is very difficult. In this paper, I present a new quantitative data set measuring DNC and RNC activity on the basis of an external source: *New York Times* coverage of national committee activity in the period 1953-2012. I use this data to test the claim that, while ‘party branding’ is a core national committee goal, the DNC and RNC do not consistently engage in it. Specifically, I find that monthly *New York Times* references of party branding operations decline for parties that hold the White House. Notably, coverage of other service operations does not decline, suggesting committees specifically step back their branding role when their party has control of the executive branch of the federal government.

## Data Collection and Coding

In this section I discuss in more detail the process of collecting and coding the *New York Times* articles that I used to create the data set that I rely on in the main paper. I also discuss the data collection and coding decisions underlying the control variables included in the models presented in the main paper. All *New York Times* articles were collected through the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database. I collected the articles by searching for each calendar year between 1953 and 2012<sup>1</sup> by party for the search combination “[Democratic/Republican] National Committee” OR “[Name of National Committee Chair].” For example, to collect the articles for the DNC in 1963, the search query was “Democratic National Committee” OR “John Bailey,” while for the RNC in 1963 the search query was “Republican National Committee” OR “William E. Miller,” for the period between January 1, 1963 and December 31, 1963. For years where more than one person was DNC or RNC chair, the search query included all committee chairs that served at any point during the year. For example, for 1959 – in which the RNC chairmanship shifted from Meade Alcorn to Thruston B. Morton – the search query was: “Republican National Committee” OR “Meade Alcorn” OR “Thruston B. Morton.” The output for the ProQuest Historical Newspaper database is PDF scans of the original articles as they were printed in the *New York Times*. Each article that resulted from the different searches was saved, and subsequently coded.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I begin the analysis in 1953 since most scholarship on national party organizations begins its analysis in the post-New Deal era. I end in 2012 because the ProQuest historical newspaper archive for the *Times* ends in 2012. While it would be possible to extent the study using other sources, this would include alternative publications from the *Times* - including articles published exclusively on their website or blogs - which could potentially bias the results in comparison to the pre-2013 time period.

<sup>2</sup> Note that these are not all unique articles: some articles mention both the DNC and RNC (or its chairs) in the same article, the collection process relied on saving (and coding) each article by committee. Thus, any article that mentions both the DNC and RNC was saved twice, once for each committee. Additionally, the ProQuest database includes occasional double copies of articles for multiple editions of the paper. These double copies were not coded.

I coded each article to assess whether they reported on DNC or RNC activity within the year the article appeared. If an article did not report on any activities listed below, I dismissed the article. If the article discussed a relevant activity but it indicated that the activity occurred in the previous calendar year, the article was also not included in the data set. If it did, I coded for any of the following activities:

*Attack on the Opposite Party:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee (as an institution or through its chair or other staff members, or by releasing statements on behalf of other political actors) criticizing politicians and/or policies of the opposite party? Included in this coding is any situation where a national committee or its staff criticizes the opposite party, or any politician related to it, on their policies, its activities in government, scandals, as well as any personal attacks against people within the opposite party. This coding does not include attacks or criticism against political actors who are not partisan. For example, an RNC statement criticizing the “liberal media” does not count as an attack on the opposite party. However, RNC statements criticizing Obamacare or attacking Obama as elitist would both count.

*Publicity Programs:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee creating, investing resources, and/or continuing a publicity program (including, but not limited to, magazines, TV or radio shows, radio or TV broadcasts of speeches by politicians sponsored by the national committee, newsletters, advertising campaigns, etc.)? Included in this coding are any articles that reference national committees creating their own publicity (for example, releasing new issues of magazines or TV advertisements, creating a radio or TV advertisement, paying for a series of advertisements to be aired in specific media markets) or paying for publicity on behalf of others (for example, paying for campaign advertisements on behalf of the party’s candidates, or paying for the broadcasting of a TV or radio speech by a politician from its party).

*Policy Position:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee (as an institution or through its chair or other staff members) publicly taking a specific position on a policy issue (including support for policies by the administration of a president from the party) or participating in trying to set one in cooperation with other party leaders (for example through policy commissions like the Democratic Advisory Council or the Republican Coordinating Committee)? Included in this coding are any cases where a national committee takes a position in support of, or opposition to, specific legislation, Supreme Court cases or rulings, or broader political issues (i.e. supporting the civil rights movement, abortion rights, LGBT rights, etc.). The coding does not include any situation where specific issues are **not** mentioned by a national committee – i.e., a national committee refusing to comment on a policy – even if the refusal to comment might suggest a position – does not count as a policy position in this coding.

*Campaign Service:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee providing campaign support for individual candidates – including presidential candidates, candidates for Congress, gubernatorial candidates, etc. – or the party as a whole, such as providing candidates’ campaigns with money, opinion polls, training, strategic advice, organizing campaign appearances by the national committee chair or other party leaders, targeting voting groups, and mobilizing those groups through voter registration activities and Get Out The Vote drives? Included in this coding are examples of the national committee directly participating in a campaign – for example, by sending campaign workers to a specific state or district during an election, or organizing Get Out the Vote drives in specific areas during a campaign – or examples where the committee provides financial support with the purpose of assisting campaigns – for example, if the committee donates money to a candidate.

*Human and/or Capital Development:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee engaging in candidate recruitment activities – that is, attempts by the national committee to convince potential candidates to run for office – training future candidates in campaign schools, hiring new staff members, or investing in its real estate or technology? Included in this coding are any reports of national committee chairs or staff encouraging potential candidates to run for elected office, the committee organizing instruction courses for such potential candidates, and reports of the committee investing in its headquarters (i.e., renting or buying new office space, updating computer equipment) or its staff (hiring new staff members).

*Fundraising:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee engaging in fundraising activities - either on behalf of the committee itself or by having the national committee chair engage in fundraising activities on behalf of other party organizations or candidates? Included in this coding are references to planned DNC or RNC fundraisers, fundraisers that were held for which all or part of the returns are reported to have gone to a national committee, or fundraisers at which the DNC or RNC chair at the time appeared (regardless of whether the funds went to the national committee or to other party organization or individual candidates). This coding does not include news articles that report on the regular financial reports the DNC and RNC have had to file with Congress or the FEC (depending on the time period). While these articles often include fundraising totals for each time period (that is, the information that the RNC raised \$10 million in the last quarter), it is generally not clear on the basis of that information how those amounts were raised (i.e. whether they were due to proactive fundraising activities *by* the committees or not). However, if these articles also list specific fundraising activities such as those described above, they are coded as such.

*Patronage:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee engaging the division of patronage – that is, positions within the federal government – by managing job applicants and providing the administration with job candidates? Included in this coding are any references to the national committee, its chair, or its staff meeting with possible employees for the administration, collecting information on candidates for

potential government jobs, or reports of national committee chairs or staff discussing what is identified as patronage issues with the administration.

*Organization of National Conventions:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee engaging in organization activities for an upcoming or ongoing national convention - including the selection of the convention city, setting rules for delegate selection and distribution, and the actual execution of the national convention? Included in this coding are any references to the actual organization of the convention (i.e. renting a hall, negotiating with cities, scheduling the event, etc.) but also setting the rules of the convention and its related delegate selection process (including coverage of such reorganization activities as the McGovern-Fraser committee).

*Generic:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee engaging in any type of activity that does not fall in the categories outlined above - including, but not limited to, the national committee chair holding meetings without additional agenda information, the committee chair resigning, a new committee chair being appointed, the announcement of staff retirements, the committee chair or the national committee as an institution expressing condolences, the committee chair expressing basic support for candidates of the party running in general elections, the committee chair presenting basic political positions in the media that do not fall in the category of policy positioning or attacking the opposite party, the committee chair providing predictions of election results, the committee chair discussing previous electoral strategies, etc.?

*Scandal:* Does the article report on the relevant national committee (or its chair or other staff members) being involved in a scandal (including, but not limited to, financial improprieties, criminal or Congressional investigations into alleged crimes, sexual scandals, etc.)? Included in this coding are reports or allegations of financial impropriety by incumbent DNC or RNC chairs, and DNC or RNC chairs or staff members having to appear before a Congressional committee or in court in relation to alleged illegal activities. This does not include articles that refer to such scandals that apply to former DNC or RNC chairs or staff members.

The dependent variable in this study is the number of monthly references to either specific activities or the combined number of activities within the broader categories. For the broader categories of “all activities,” “branding,” and “service” operations, I added up the number of monthly references in each subcategory of activity. There are a few cases where there are zero relevant newspaper articles covering a national committee within a given month. To ensure that those months are still included in the data set, I created specific entries for these months based on a ‘fake’ article published on the first of the month but with zeros coded for each

category. This results in a month entry with zeros as well, correctly reflecting the lack of references to any committee activities in that month.

The independent variable in this study is whether a party at the time of publication of the *New York Times* articles held the White House, and, if so, whether its president was a minority or majority president. I rely on the *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections* (7th Edition, 2016) as the basis for measuring each component of presidential majority or minority status.<sup>3</sup> Note that because national committees do not wait until the end of a calendar year to begin incorporating the effects of elections, I apply the effects of elections immediately to my coding. That is, if a party wins or loses the White House, or majority status in the House and/or Senate, I use the day after the election that determined this as the deciding point – not the later point in time at which the elected officials are sworn in. For example, the 1960 election took place on November 8. Prior to the election, Democrats had majorities in the House and Senate while Republicans held the White House. This meant the Democratic Party was the out-party in an election year on November 8. After the election, Kennedy became president-elect and Democrats maintained their Congressional majorities. From the perspective of party leaders, this meant that after November 8, Kennedy was the de-facto president and of a majority party, and the election year had ended. Thus, any newspaper articles published between January 1 and November 8, 1960 are coded to have appeared in a presidential election year in which Democrats were out of the White House. However, for any articles published between November 9 and December 31, 1960 Democrats are coded to hold the White House with unified control of government, and to not have been published in a presidential election year.

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<sup>3</sup> In general, the majority and minority statuses of the parties only shift after an election. The one exception concerns the Republicans losing majority control of the Senate after Senator Jim Jeffords (R-VT) left the party in 2001. In my coding the Republicans have unified control of government between the moment the Supreme Court's ruling confirmed George W. Bush's presidential election victory in December 2000 and Jeffords' switch in 2001.

Because the unit of analysis is the number of references to activities at a monthly basis, articles published in November *before* the election provide a problem, since this produces mixed results for the same month for whether the coverage took place in an election year, and, in cases where control of the White House or Congress flipped, national majority status. There is no obvious correct way to fix this: for the data in this paper I dropped any newspaper articles that were published in November of an election year up through election day, thereby focusing the analysis exclusively on the majority of articles that correctly reflect the political context for the majority of the month. Other approaches would be to code all newspaper articles published in November of an election year the same – that is, either to assume that all the articles before election day were published after or vice versa. Finally, it is possible to just leave the data as is. The results as presented in the paper do not change regardless of which approach is used.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The only exception to the approach taken described above concerns the 2000 election when the Supreme Court's December 13 ruling ended the uncertainty over whether Republican candidate George W. Bush or Democratic candidate Al Gore was to be certified the winner of the election. For the year 2000, I keep all articles covering national committee activity in November as being published during a presidential election year but drop those that were published in December before the Supreme Court ruling.

## **Descriptive Assessment of *New York Times* Articles as Measure of National Committee Activity**

The underlying assumption in this study is that coverage in the *New York Times* of Democratic and Republican National Committee activity measures the actual activities these political organizations engaged in. That is, I assume that if the *Times* increases its coverage of a specific type of activity by one of the national committees, it actually means that this committee has become more active in this particular area than it previously was. The clear concern with this assumption is that it is possible that the committee did not actually change its behavior, but that the *Times* just became more or less interested in covering it. For example, a national committee in national majority status could be engaging in the same level of activity as it did before but the *Times* might be prioritizing coverage of other activities – such as legislative efforts – its party engages in. If this is occurring, then the measure would be biased.

To be sure, the fact that we do not see a consistent decline in coverage of all types of operations and activities (as presented in the main manuscript) for parties in control of the White House, suggests that the *Times* does not completely alter its coverage of such committees once the party gains control of the executive branch. That is, if the *Times* scaled back all its reporting on national committee activity for such parties, we would see negative and statistical effects across all activities coded for. However, it remains possible that the *Times* becomes less likely to cover specific types of activities, regardless of whether there is a corresponding decrease in activity inside the committee.

Because there is no way to measure DNC and RNC activity directly through data collected from within the national committees, there is also no obvious way to test whether the



*New York Times* coverage accurately measures shifts in real national committee activity.

However, we are also not flying entirely blind with regards to what kind of operations the DNC or RNC prioritized at different moments in time. Indeed, there is a substantial literature covering such activities, and in some cases these studies have identified specific time periods in which one of the committees clearly prioritized one particular type of activity over any others. For such time periods, we should see an increase in *New York Times* coverage of that particular activity in comparison to the other periods covered. If such an increase does indeed show up in the data, this might give us some confidence that the *Times* metric measures increases and decreases in DNC and RNC activity for other activities.

To do this, I look at two findings from Philip Klinkner's classic *The Losing Parties: Out-Party National Committees, 1956-1993* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994). In this study, Klinkner identifies the ways national committees of parties that lost a presidential election responded to these losses. Klinkner's findings suggest that there is some level of consistency in how the DNC and RNC respond to election losses. For example, the DNC's response to the 1980, 1984, and 1988 presidential elections was to focus on a combination of procedural reforms and organizational investments. In contrast, the RNC's response to any presidential election loss was to consistently focus on organizational investments. There are, however, two distinct exceptions. After the 1956 election, the DNC prioritized its policy role within the party - the only national committee in Klinkner's assessment to ever do so. And, after the 1968 and 1972 losses, the DNC focused exclusively on procedural reforms. Thus, for the time period 1957-1992, we should expect that NYT coverage of DNC policy activity is highest in the period 1957-1960, and that coverage of the DNC's role in organizing its party's national convention (the core element of organizational reforms) was highest in the period 1967-1976.

In the sections below I briefly discuss the qualitative historical findings for the different periods and present descriptive data from the *New York Times* based measure of national committee activities to assess whether the data I rely on in this paper shows changes in *New York Times* coverage of DNC activity in line with the existing findings. I conclude that it does; coverage of policy activity by the DNC is clearly higher for the period 1957-1960 than it is for the years that follow. Similarly, there is a higher number of *New York Times* references to convention organizing activities (the core goal of procedural reforms) in the period 1969-1976 in comparison to the years before and after. While this does not guarantee that the *New York Times* metric is entirely unbiased, these two assessments do suggest that the *Times* increases and decreases its coverage of specific activities as the committees engage more or less in them.

#### *DNC and Policy Response, 1957-1960*

In *The Losing Parties*, Klinkner identifies only one time period where a national committee prioritized the policy element above all other components: the Democratic National Committee after the 1956 election. Klinkner is not alone in stressing the importance of the policy response of the DNC in this era, as other studies (including Rosenfeld, 2018; Heersink, 2018) have come to similar conclusions. Specifically, after the 1956 election the DNC voted to – for the first time – create a new organization, the Democratic Advisory Council (DAC), which was given the task of identifying and promoting (liberal) policy positions for the Democratic Party as a national party. Under the leadership of DNC chair Paul Butler, the DAC became a very active organization that released a stream of policy proposals on issues such as civil rights, union rights, and many others. To be sure, the DAC was not unique. While the organization was ended after

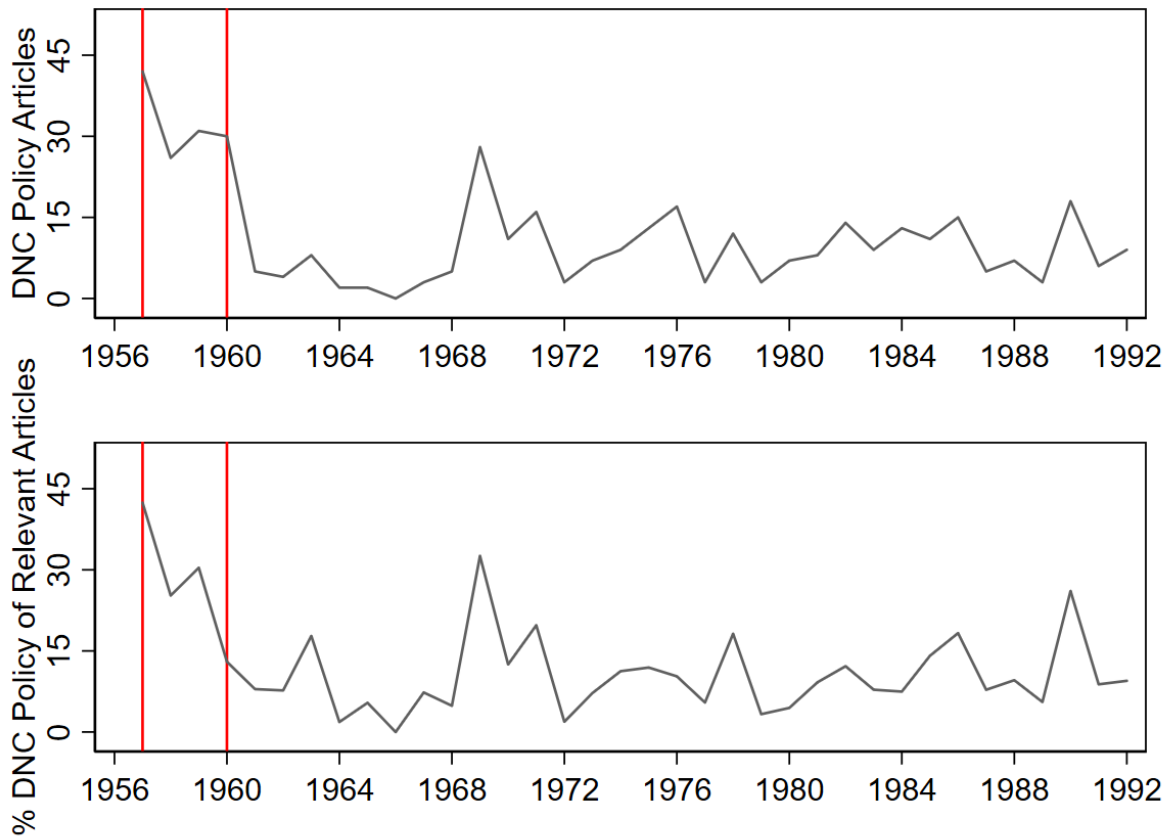


Figure 1: Yearly New York Times articles that report on DNC policy activities, and yearly percentage of policy reports of total relevant articles, 1957-1992.

the 1960 Democratic presidential election victory, both the DNC and RNC followed its example in later years. After the 1964 election, the RNC created its own policy organization (the Republican Coordinating Committee (RCC)) modeled after the DAC, and after the 1968 election the DNC also created a similar organization, called the Democratic Policy Council (DPC). Still, Klinkner's research stressed the crucial role the DAC played in terms of either national committee trying to set national policies for their party, and it is clear that the DAC's level of activity was considerably higher than that of either the RCC or the DPC.

Thus, we should see *New York Times* coverage of the DNC's policy role to be particularly high in the period 1957-1960, in comparison to the period 1961-1992 (the remainder

of the era studied by Klinkner). Figure 1 shows the number of yearly articles that include references to the DNC engaging in policy activities for the period 1957-1992, as well as the percentage these articles made up of the total number of relevant articles covering DNC activities. Unsurprisingly, the DNC did not cease to promote or set policies after 1960 – indeed, as argued in the main paper, promoting policy positions is one of its core branding operations. But it is clear that *New York Times* coverage of the DNC was highest in this regard in the period 1957-1960. Indeed, for the period 1957-1960, the average number of yearly references to policy activities by the DNC in the *Times* was 32.3. For the period 1961-1992, the average number of yearly references was just 8.6. Thus it appears *New York Times* coverage increased as the DNC actually increased its policy role, and decreased as the DNC focused on other activities.

#### *DNC and Procedural Response, 1969-1976*

According to Klinkner, a second unique response to a set of presidential election defeats was the DNC's reaction to the 1968 and 1972 presidential elections. In Klinkner's assessment the period 1969-1976 saw the DNC prioritize a “procedural response” - which focuses on the methods of selecting and apportioning convention delegates. Klinkner's focus on the procedural response in this period is hardly unique. Indeed, political scientists have studied the McGovern-Fraser committee's reforms in the wake of the 1968 election, and the subsequent counter-reform backlash after the 1972 election extensively.<sup>5</sup> While Klinkner's definition of a procedural response is somewhat broader than the coding definition for the activity of organizing the national convention, the key activities he identifies as occurring between 1969 and 1972 (the

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<sup>5</sup> See, among others, Crotty (1978, 1983); Shafer (1983); Plotke (1996); Rosenfeld (2018); Hilton (2019).

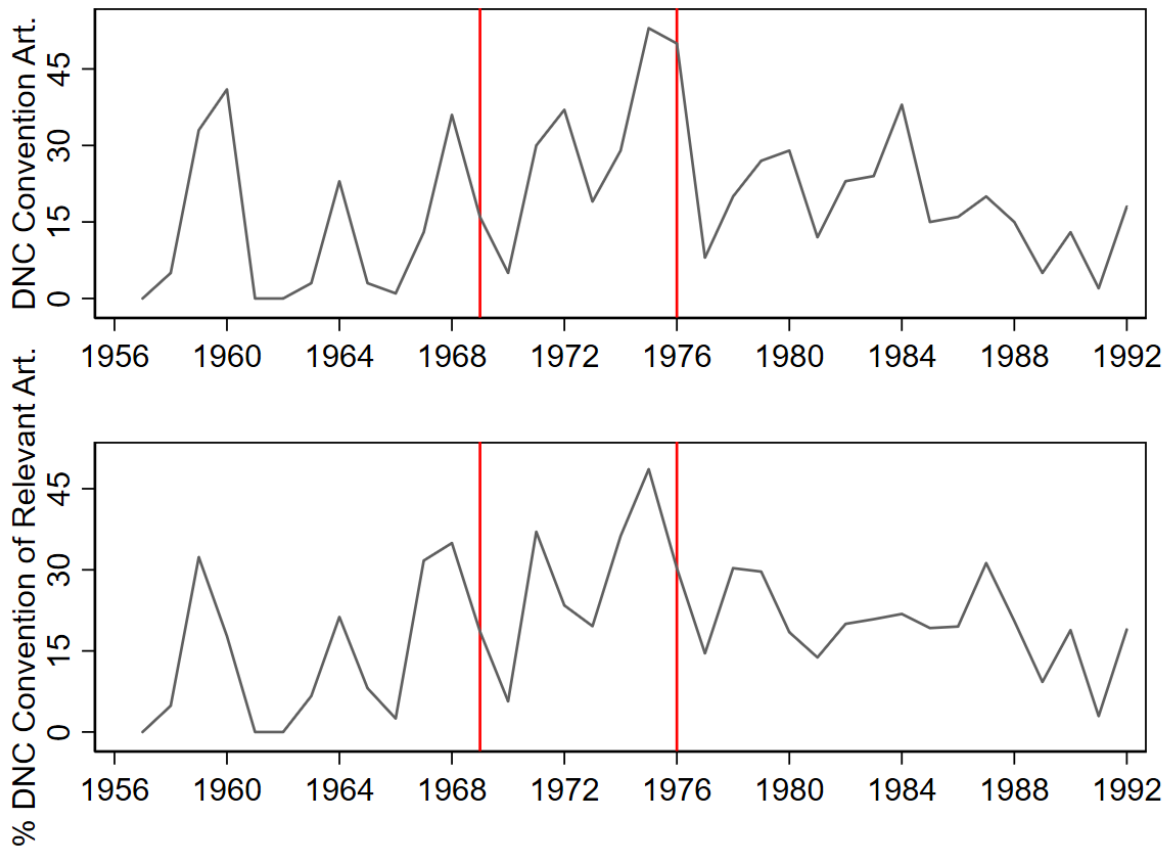


Figure 2: Yearly New York Times articles that report on DNC national convention organizing activities, and yearly percentage of convention organizing reports of total relevant articles, 1957-1992.

McGovern-Fraser reforms) and 1973 and 1976 (the subsequent counterreform process that adjusted a number of the changes that were instituted in the run-up to the 1972 national convention) should be captured in the ‘convention’ variable coded from the *New York Times* articles. We should thus expect to see an increase in coverage of convention organizing activities in the 1969-1976 period in comparison to the pre-1969 years. Additionally, because the reform era extended the role of the DNC in planning the convention process (including delegate allocation rules, and scheduling of primaries), we should also expect the post-1976 period to show significant convention activity, though at a lower rate than in the reform and counterreform era.

Figure 2 represents the number of annual *New York Times* references to DNC convention organizing activities and the percentage of the total number of relevant articles that those convention organizing references made up. Note that there is more variation in convention activity coverage than there was on policy activity coverage. The most obvious reason for this is that the DNC always organizes the Democratic National Convention and that this receives considerable coverage in the *Times*. Additionally, in the post 1976-era, the DNC continued to play a role in convention organizing and setting and adjusting rules for delegate selection. Indeed, in Klinkner's own assessment the procedural response remained part of the 'losing party' response on the Democratic side after the 1980, 1984, and 1988 elections.

Still, the data presented in Figure 2 does suggest that the *New York Times* covered notably more references to DNC convention organizing activities between 1969-1976 than it did either before or after. In the period 1953-1968, the average yearly number of *New York Times* references to DNC convention organizing activities was 13.2. In the period 1977-1992, the average number of yearly references was 17.8. But, in the crucial 1969-1976 period, the average number of yearly *New York Times* references to DNC convention organizing activities was 29.9. Thus, it appears that the *New York Times* did indeed increase its coverage of convention organizing activities by the DNC in the time period when the national committee was most active in that regard.

## Main Models, Robustness Checks, and Alternative Analyses

### *Main Models*

Table A-1 includes the OLS model presented in Figure 4 of the paper (specifically, Model 3 of Table A-1), as well as OLS models of the other models included in Table 1. The results are consistent across all versions. Tables A-2 and A-3 include the results presented in Figures 5 and 6 in the paper. Table A-4 includes the same model as presented in Table 1 in the paper but without a lag in the data. The results are unchanged.

### *Poisson and Time Series Models*

The paper includes both negative binomial and linear regression models. Given the count data, the most appropriate model is the negative binomial regression. However – as is often the case – alternative models could also be applied to this dataset. In Table A-5, I present the basic models included in Table 1 but rely on a Poisson model – the results are unchanged.

The models presented in the main paper rely on the assumption that *New York Times* coverage of national committee activity in each subsequent time period is not dependent on that in the previous period. That is, national committee activity and *New York Times* coverage of those activities in month  $t$  changes independently of what the activity/coverage was at time  $t-1$ . This assumption does need to be correct; indeed, an extensive literature on national committee activity has noted the institutional development of the DNC and RNC over time. Additionally, it is likely that there is seasonal variation – both in terms of election years (in which both national

committees are more active) and possibly in terms of specific times of the year where national committees and/or the *New York Times* could be more or less active. For example, it is possible that the *Times* decreases its coverage of political events during summer months or during the winter holiday season. The inclusion of the election year control variables, and year and month fixed effects in the models presented in the paper and this supplemental appendix should address most of these concerns. To address the issue of a possible long term development in the data, in Table A-6 I present the main models but for the data when it is designated as a time series dataset. The results are unchanged.

#### *Quarterly, Yearly, and Congressional Term Models*

In the paper I rely on a monthly count of reported committee activities. The benefit of adding up the number of articles across a consistent time period is that it presents an easier to interpret result, and cancels out specific moments in which committees may be engaging in increases or decreases in their operations independent of their national majority or White House status. However, the selection of a month as this time period is inherently arbitrary and while I have no reason to assume this is true, it is possible that this could somehow bias the results in favor of the theory.

An alternative way of testing the theory is to collect the articles for different time periods. In the models presented in Tables A-7, A-8, and A-9 I present the main results collected by quarter, year, and Congressional term, rather than by month. Note that in this approach the issue of differentiating between articles published in the fourth quarter of election years becomes more problematic since it includes more articles that were published before and after an election that



can change a party's national majority status. For this reason, I dropped all articles published in November and December of presidential and midterm election years for the models discussed in this subsection. Unsurprisingly, as the N size decreases, in some of the models, so does the statistical significance. Nonetheless, the coefficients for national majority party status are all negative and statistically significant at the 0.01 or the 0.001 level for the quarterly models, at the 0.05, 0.01, or 0.001 level for the yearly models, and at the 0.10, 0.05, 0.01, or 0.001 level for the Congressional term model that includes fixed effects.

**Table A-1: Linear regression of majority and minority presidential status on monthly (lagged) *New York Times* coverage of national committee branding activity, 1953-2012.**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
White House	-1.236***	-1.229***	--	--
(Robust Standard Errors)	(0.222)	(0.195)	--	--
Majority President	--	--	-1.322***	-0.949**
	--	--	(0.257)	(0.316)
Minority President	--	--	-1.171***	-1.436***
	--	--	(0.282)	(0.299)
Pres. Election Year	1.653***	--	1.646***	--
	(0.308)	--	(0.310)	--
Midterm Election Year	0.306	--	0.312	--
	(0.228)	--	(0.227)	--
Democratic Party	-0.476*	-0.476*	-0.438†	-0.595*
	(0.218)	(0.191)	(0.248)	(0.240)
NYT Size	0.006***	--	0.006***	--
	(0.001)	--	(0.001)	--
Scandal	-0.002	-0.14	-0.006	-0.005
	(0.061)	(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.064)
Fixed Effects	--	Month & Year	--	Month & Year
Constant	1.945***	1.974**	1.911***	1.877**
	(0.372)	(0.607)	(0.386)	(0.595)
N	1,438	1,438	1,438	1,438
F	13.62	5.83	12.19	5.77
R <sup>2</sup>	0.063	0.302	0.064	0.303

†  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table A-2: Negative binomial regression of majority and minority presidential status on monthly (lagged) *New York Times* coverage of national committee branding – attacks, publicity, and policy positioning – activities, 1953-2012.**

	<i>Attack</i>	<i>Publicity</i>	<i>Policy</i>
Majority President (Robust Standard Errors)	-0.712*** (0.133)	-0.092 (0.154)	-0.436*** (0.120)
Minority President	-0.432*** (0.105)	-0.126 (0.136)	-0.630*** (0.112)
Pres. Election Year	0.612*** (0.096)	0.706*** (0.123)	0.189† (0.105)
Midterm Election Year	0.141 (0.098)	0.033 (0.140)	0.199† (0.104)
Democratic Party	-0.213* (0.083)	-0.256* (0.118)	-0.064 (0.092)
NYT Size	0.003*** (0.000)	0.001† (0.001)	0.001 (0.000)
Scandal	-0.015 (0.028)	0.023 (0.029)	-0.079* (0.033)
Constant	-0.226† (0.087)	-0.545** (0.179)	-0.172 (0.136)
N	1,438	1,438	1,438
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.027	0.013	0.017
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-2,240.95	-1,667.01	-1777.66
Alpha	1.262	2.342	1.1674
Ln Alpha	0.232	0.851	0.155

†  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table A-3: Negative binomial regression of majority and minority presidential status on monthly (lagged) *New York Times* coverage of national committee service – campaign, human and/or capital development, candidate recruitment, and fundraising – activities, 1953-2012.**

	<i>Campaign</i>	<i>Human &amp; Capital</i>	<i>Recruit</i>	<i>Fundraising</i>
Majority President	-0.035 (0.133)	-0.365** (0.137)	0.185 (0.397)	-0.038 (0.136)
Minority President	0.125 (0.119)	-0.361* (0.155)	-0.058 (0.313)	0.197* (0.100)
Pres. Election Year	0.745*** (0.114)	0.381** (0.147)	-1.086* (0.464)	0.642*** (0.102)
Midterm Election Year	-0.240* (0.114)	-0.035 (0.132)	0.125 (0.325)	0.201† (0.108)
Democratic Party	-0.433*** (0.106)	0.233† (0.123)	-1.204*** (0.316)	0.603*** (0.095)
NYT Size	0.003*** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)	0.002† (0.001)	0.001* (0.000)
Scandal	0.026 (0.031)	-0.013 (0.047)	-0.033 (0.116)	0.092* (0.041)
Constant	-0.455* (0.178)	-2.441*** (0.199)	-3.141*** (0.406)	-1.340*** (0.165)
N	1,438	1,438	1,438	1,438
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.0254	0.0435	0.0488	0.0311
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-2099.08	-1145.89	-253.024	-1588.770
Alpha	1.929	1.509	4.004	1.070
Ln Alpha	0.657	0.411	1.387	0.068

†  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table A-4: Negative Binomial Regression of Presidential and Party Status on Monthly *New York Times* Coverage of National Committee Branding Operations, 1953-2012**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
White House	-0.439**	-0.477***	--	--
(Robust Standard Errors)	(0.069)	(0.058)	--	--
Majority President	--	--	-0.428***	-0.368***
	--	--	(0.098)	(0.096)
Minority President	--	--	-0.447***	-0.554***
	--	--	(0.082)	(0.078)
Pres. Election Year	0.844***	--	0.845***	--
	(0.081)	--	(0.081)	--
Midterm Election Year	0.447***	--	0.446***	--
	(0.082)	--	(0.081)	--
Democratic Party	-0.189**	-0.181**	-0.192**	-0.221**
	(0.068)	(0.058)	(0.071)	(0.065)
NYT Size	0.002***	--	0.002***	--
	(0.000)	--	(0.000)	--
Scandal	-0.002	-0.000	-0.001	0.003
	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.017)
Fixed Effects	--	Month & Year	--	Month & Year
Constant	0.570***	1.101***	0.572***	1.057***
	(0.110)	(0.233)	(0.111)	(0.226)
N	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.0283	0.0751	0.0283	0.0755
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-3127.64	-2976.98	-3127.62	-2975.93
Alpha	1.024	0.693	1.024	0.690
Ln Alpha	0.024	-0.367	0.024	-0.370

†  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table A-5: Poisson Regression of Presidential and Party Status on *New York Times* Coverage of National Committee Branding Operations, 1953-2012**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
White House	-0.424***	-0.424***	--	--
(Robust Standard Errors)	(0.077)	(0.062)	--	--
Majority President	--	--	-0.471***	-0.384***
	--	--	(0.104)	(0.103)
Minority President	--	--	-0.394***	-0.450***
	--	--	(0.096)	(0.085)
Pres. Election Year	0.515***	--	0.513***	--
	(0.083)	--	(0.083)	--
Midterm Election Year	0.116	--	0.119	--
	(0.080)	--	(0.080)	--
Democratic Party	-0.169*	-0.175**	-0.154†	-0.187**
	(0.072)	(0.061)	(0.081)	(0.067)
NYT Size	0.002***	--	0.002***	--
	(0.000)	--	(0.000)	--
Scandal	-0.002	-0.008	-0.003	-0.006
	(0.025)	(0.018)	(0.025)	(0.018)
Fixed Effects	--	Month & Year	--	Month & Year
Constant	0.713***	0.623**	0.701***	0.610*
	(0.119)	(0.239)	(0.122)	(0.237)
N	1,438	1,438	1,438	1,438
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.0532	0.2287	0.0534	0.2288
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-4286.05	-3491.24	-4285.03	-3490.75

†  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table A-6: Time Series Negative Binomial Regression of Presidential and Party Status on *New York Times* Coverage of National Committee Branding Operations, 1953-2012**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
White House	-0.439**	-0.477***	--	--
(Robust Standard Errors)	(0.069)	(0.058)	--	--
Majority President	--	--	-0.428***	-0.368***
	--	--	(0.098)	(0.096)
Minority President	--	--	-0.447***	-0.554***
	--	--	(0.082)	(0.078)
Pres. Election Year	0.844***	--	0.845***	--
	(0.081)	--	(0.081)	--
Midterm Election Year	0.447***	--	0.446***	--
	(0.082)	--	(0.081)	--
Democratic Party	-0.189**	-0.181**	-0.192**	-0.221**
	(0.068)	(0.058)	(0.071)	(0.065)
NYT Size	0.002***	--	0.002***	--
	(0.000)	--	(0.000)	--
Scandal	-0.002	-0.000	-0.001	0.003
	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.017)
Fixed Effects	--	Month & Year	--	Month & Year
Constant	0.570***	1.101***	0.572***	1.057***
	(0.110)	(0.233)	(0.111)	(0.226)
N	1,440	1,440	1,440	1,440
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.0283	0.0751	0.0283	0.0755
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-3127.64	-2976.98	-3127.62	-2975.93
Alpha	1.024	0.693	1.024	0.690
Ln Alpha	0.024	-0.367	0.024	-0.370

†  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table A-7: Negative Binomial Regression of Presidential and Party Status on Quarterly *New York Times* Coverage of National Committee Branding Operations, 1953-2012**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
White House	-0.402 <sup>***</sup>	-0.456 <sup>***</sup>	--	--
(Robust Standard Errors)	(0.084)	(0.064)	--	--
Majority President	--	--	-0.405 <sup>***</sup>	-0.341 <sup>**</sup>
	--	--	(0.110)	(0.102)
Minority President	--	--	-0.403 <sup>***</sup>	-0.540 <sup>***</sup>
	--	--	(0.100)	(0.084)
Pres. Election Year	0.552 <sup>***</sup>	--	0.551 <sup>***</sup>	--
	(0.096)	--	(0.095)	--
Midterm Election Year	0.156 <sup>†</sup>	--	0.156 <sup>†</sup>	--
	(0.091)	--	(0.90)	--
Democratic Party	-0.207 <sup>*</sup>	-0.200 <sup>**</sup>	-0.207 <sup>*</sup>	-0.245 <sup>***</sup>
	(0.081)	(0.062)	(0.084)	(0.069)
NYT Size	0.002 <sup>***</sup>	--	0.002 <sup>***</sup>	--
	(0.000)	--	(0.000)	--
Scandal	-0.022 <sup>*</sup>	-0.0143 <sup>†</sup>	-0.022 <sup>*</sup>	-0.012
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Fixed Effects	--	Quarter & Year	--	Quarter & Year
Constant	1.834 <sup>***</sup>	2.235 <sup>***</sup>	1.838 <sup>***</sup>	2.184 <sup>***</sup>
	(0.133)	(0.171)	(0.133)	(0.164)
N	480	480	480	480
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.0257	0.1039	0.0259	0.1049
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-1491.85	-1372.11	-1491.57	-1370.67
Alpha	0.553	0.276	0.552	0.273
Ln Alpha	-0.592	-1.286	-0.594	-1.297

†  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .



**Table A-8: Negative Binomial Regression of Presidential and Party Status on Yearly *New York Times* Coverage of National Committee Branding Operations, 1953-2012**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
White House	-0.405 <sup>***</sup>	-0.476 <sup>***</sup>	--	--
(Robust Standard Errors)	(0.116)	(0.073)	--	--
Majority President	--	--	-0.386 <sup>*</sup>	-0.339 <sup>**</sup>
	--	--	(0.153)	(0.115)
Minority President	--	--	-0.394 <sup>**</sup>	-0.569 <sup>***</sup>
	--	--	(0.124)	(0.086)
Pres. Election Year	0.553 <sup>***</sup>	--	0.545 <sup>***</sup>	--
	(0.128)	--	(0.126)	--
Midterm Election Year	0.161	--	0.153	--
	(0.124)	--	(0.122)	--
Democratic Party	-0.203 <sup>†</sup>	-0.205 <sup>**</sup>	-0.207 <sup>†</sup>	-0.262 <sup>***</sup>
	(0.112)	(0.063)	(0.113)	(0.069)
NYT Size	0.002 <sup>**</sup>	--	0.002 <sup>**</sup>	--
	(0.001)	--	(0.001)	--
Scandal	-0.004	-0.001	-0.004	0.001
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Fixed Effects	--	Year	--	Year
Constant	3.222 <sup>***</sup>	3.760 <sup>***</sup>	3.235 <sup>***</sup>	3.682 <sup>***</sup>
	(0.178)	(0.126)	(0.180)	(0.086)
N	120	120	120	120
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.0326	0.1791	0.0325	0.1818
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-513.17	-435.47	-513.21	-434.04
Alpha	0.322	0.058	0.323	0.055
Ln Alpha	-1.132	-2.841	-1.131	-2.905

†  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

**Table A-9: Negative Binomial Regression of Presidential and Party Status on *New York Times* Coverage of National Committee Branding Operations by Congressional Term, 1953-2012**

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
White House	-0.379*	-0.486***	--	--
(Robust Standard Errors)	(0.158)	(0.091)	--	--
Majority President	--	--	-0.389 <sup>†</sup>	-0.377**
	--	--	(0.216)	(0.134)
Minority President	--	--	-0.371*	-0.579***
	--	--	(0.173)	(0.116)
Pres. Election Year	0.296*	--	0.288*	--
	(0.137)	--	(0.140)	--
Midterm Election Year	0.129	--	0.124	--
	(0.131)	--	(0.143)	--
Democratic Party	-0.205	-0.217**	-0.202	-0.268**
	(0.151)	(0.077)	(0.151)	(0.089)
NYT Size	0.002*	--	0.002*	--
	(0.001)	--	(0.001)	--
Scandal	-0.002	-0.001	-0.002	0.000
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Fixed Effects	--	Cong. Term	--	Cong. Term
Constant	3.844***	4.970***	3.848***	4.901***
	(0.286)	(0.199)	(0.287)	(0.148)
N	60	60	60	60
Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	0.0235	0.1742	0.0235	0.1770
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-294.56	-249.10	-294.56	-248.24
Alpha	0.277	0.047	0.277	0.044
Ln Alpha	-1.284	-3.064	-1.285	-3.117

<sup>†</sup>  $p < 0.10$ , \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ .

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