FILL 'ER UP



What Full-Page Ads in *Politico*Reveal About the K Street Playbook

Mark Leibovich, chief national correspondent for *The New York Times* and author of *This Town*, has said the online and print publication *Politico* was "emblematic of the new media revolution and the information revolution which ... has transformed Washington."

Purchasing a full-page print ad in *Politico*, which is published up to five times per week while Congress is in session, has become part of the formula any well-funded advocacy campaign uses to win over the hearts and minds of members of Congress, executive branch regulators, and other power players in Washington, D.C.

Politico tells advertisers: "Top companies advertise with us to reach thought leaders, with the goal of influencing their view and agendas." At a published cost of between \$9,720 and

\$14,970 per color ad, this represents an approximate total investment of between \$6.7 million and \$10.4 million (on an annualized basis).*

Forward Observer reviewed PDFs of every print edition of *Politico* from June through September 2014 and identified 202 full-page issue-ads by interest groups and companies, from the United States Chamber of Commerce to the Natural Resources Defense Council. **

"Superior content is the foundation for effective advocacy and strategic communications – that's the philosophy of our firm," says Joe Rodota, founder and CEO of Forward Observer. When Washington's biggest organizations and America's largest companies use this method to communicate to Washington, what do they say — and how effectively do they say it?

KEY FINDINGS

Approximately one in three

Politico issue ads from June through September 2014 were 100% factfree, relying entirely on arguments and images.

Less than 5%

of *Politico* ads during this period leveraged a third party study or expert to validate an argument.

The most common denominator

in this season of *Politico* ads was "billions." The word billion appeared a total of 47 times across 28 ads.

Nearly half (46%) of all ads featured in *Politico* during this period were sponsored by corporations. The remaining ads were purchased by trade associations (37%) and advocacy groups (18%).

Nearly two-thirds (66%) of all *Politico* ads did not advocate a clear position on a specific reform or piece of legislation, and instead sought to educate readers on an issue. Of the ads that did state a position, two-thirds (67%) advocated for change, while the remaining third (33%) advocated for the status quo.

A complete review of our findings and commentary – including examples of the best and worst ads appearing in Politico during the analysis period – can be found on the following pages.

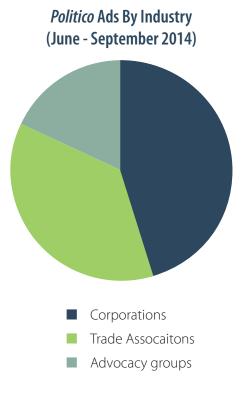
^{*} Based on *Politico* rates published online as of Septemeber 14, 2014.

^{**} Our analysis covered all full page ads in *Politico* from June 1 – Sept 15, excluding ads for products and services, college and career fairs, and ads associated with *Politico* itself.

SPONSOR ANALYSIS

Our analysis found that 92 out of 202 (46%) *Politico* ads were sponsored by corporations such as Goldman Sachs, ExxonMobil, and Comcast.

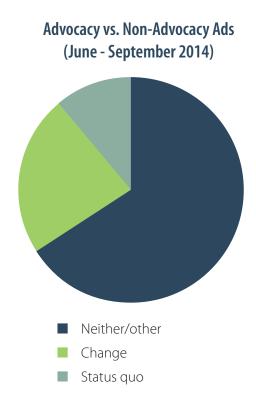
Trade associations (including the US Chamber of Commerce, American Public Transportation Association, and Corn Farmers Coalition) and advocacy groups (including the Natural Resources Defense Council, National Rifle Association, and American Cancer Society) sponsored 74 (37%) and 36 (18%) ads respectively, totaling 110 ads.

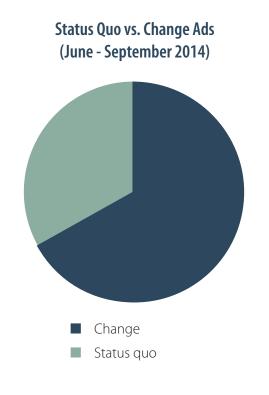


ADVOCACY ANALYSIS

Despite telling advertisers that, "top companies advertise with us to reach thought leaders, with the goal of influencing their view and agendas," 133 of the 202 ads (66%) ads featured in *Politico* did not advocate a certain position on an issue or piece of legislation and instead sought to simply educate the reader on a topic.

Of the 69 ads that did take a position on a particular issue, 46 (67%) advocated for change, while 23 (33%) advocated for the status quo.





FACT-FREE ADS

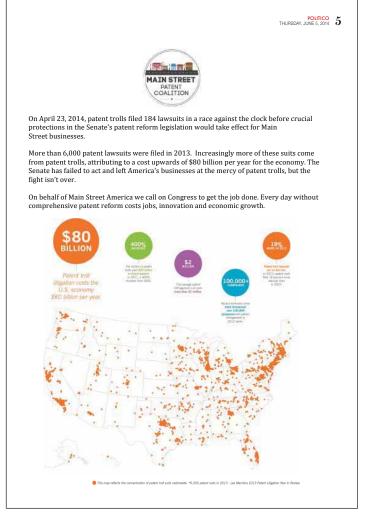
Approximately one in three *Politico* issue ads over this period were 100% fact-free: they contained arguments and images, but no new information.

For example, the **Innovation Alliance** ad in support of patent reform featured "Mike", a generic "American Inventor" with no last name, no state of residence, and no employer, and contained only general statements about the need to act. "Current patent legislation threatens to diminish protection of American ingenuity," they write. "Applying blunt measures instead of targeting the problem is not the answer."

A good example of a fact-filled ad (which also addresses patent reform) is one from the **Main Street Patent Coalition**. The ad provides quick facts that the reader can easily visualize:

- "More than 6,000 patent lawsuits were filed in 2013"
- "Increasingly more of these suits come from patent trolls, attributing to upward costs of \$80 billion per year for the economy"





Innovation Alliance, June 3, 2014

Main Street Patent Coalition, June 5, 2014

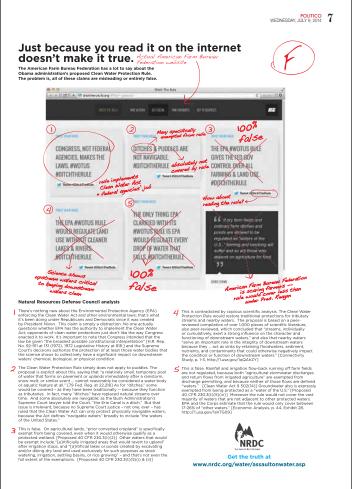
FACT-FREE ADS (CONTINUED)

Another example of an issue ad rich in facts came from the **American Bankers Association**. This ad lays out quick facts:

- "1% of credit union home loans go to low-income borrowers"
- "\$0 federal income taxes paid by credit unions"

Facts can be overdone, however: an example of factual overload is the **NRDC** ad responding to the American Farm Bureau Federation. This ad is too busy and difficult for the reader to comprehend. The message becomes lost given all the footnotes.





American Bankers Association, September 9, 2014

Natural Resources Defense Council, July 9, 2014

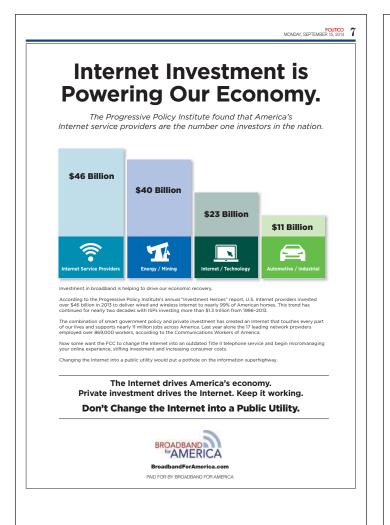
THIRD PARTY VALIDATION

A total of nine ads, or less than 5 percent of all *Politico* ads reviewed over this period, referenced third party studies. Third parties cited in *Politico* ads during the period included the Congressional Budget Office; the Progressive Policy Institute; and Frost & Sullivan, a leading market research firm.

An example of the effective use of third party validation can be found in the ad by **Broadband for America**, which stated: "According to the Progressive Policy Institute's annual 'Investment Heroes' report, US internet providers invested over \$46 billion in 2013 to deliver wired and wireless internet to nearly 99% of American homes. This trend has continued for nearly two decades with ISPs investing more than \$1.3 trillion from 1996 - 2013."

At the same time, however, some ads rendered their third party validation ineffective by referencing studies in a confusing or leaden way.

For example, the **Council for Responsible Nutrition** states: "A new economic report from Frost & Sullivan, funded by a grant from the CRN Foundation, demonstrates that the use of specific dietary supplements as preventative levels among those consumers at high risk of experiencing a costly disease-related event can lead to significant health care cost savings."





Broadband for America, September 15, 2014

Council for Responsible Nutrition, June 25, 2014

BILLIONS AND BILLIONS

By far, the most common denominator in this season of *Politico* ads was "billions." The word billion appeared a total of 47 times in the ads analyzed. Ads with "billions" appeared in *Politico* 28 times from June to September.

- The American Council of Life Insurance: "The industry pays out \$1.5 billion every day to families and businesses..."
- The Main Street Patent Coalition: "Patent troll litigation costs the U.S. economy **\$80 billion per year**."
- Cancer Action Network: "With... cancer costing our economy more than **\$216 billion this year**..."
- Corn Famers Coalition: "America's corn farmers exported \$6.3 billion worth of corn last year – one of the few U.S. products with a trade surplus."
- International Self Care Day: "OTC medicines provide \$102 billion in savings to the U.S. healthcare system annually."
- ResponsibleRegulation.com: "Life insurers pay \$500 billion in benefits to Americans every year."
- Air-Conditioning, Heating, and Refrigeration Institute: "[The industry contributes] \$5 billion in worker income annually."
- U.S. Travel Association: "Visitors from abroad spent \$184 billion last year alone."

In general, "billions" are difficult to comprehend. To a reader, "billions" just means "a lot." In the examples above, the Main Street Patent Coalition and U.S. Travel Association use "billions" in a tangible and quantifiable way. In contrast, the use of "billions" by the **Air-Conditioning, Heating, and Refrigeration Institute** is confusing. It is difficult to comprehend or picture \$5 billion in worker income.



Air-Conditioning, Heating, and Refrigeration Institute, June 16, 2014

BEST AD OF THE SEASON

Given these observations, we determined that the best ad from this period was from the **Aerospace Industries Association**.

The ad features flags of Russia, China and France and states that shutting down the Export-Import Bank "is good for business and creates thousands of jobs . . . IN CHINA, RUSSIA, and FRANCE." The ad is memorable for its use of quick hitting facts and element of surprise. Initially the reader is led to believe that China, Russia, and

France are the antagonists, when actually the ad is criticizing the American politicians who oppose reauthorization of the Export-Import Bank.

Receiving honorable mentions were the two aforementioned ads from the **Main Street Patent Coalition** and **American Bankers Association**, due to their use of quick, rich, and tangible facts.



Aerospace Industries Association, June 25, 2014

APPENDIX

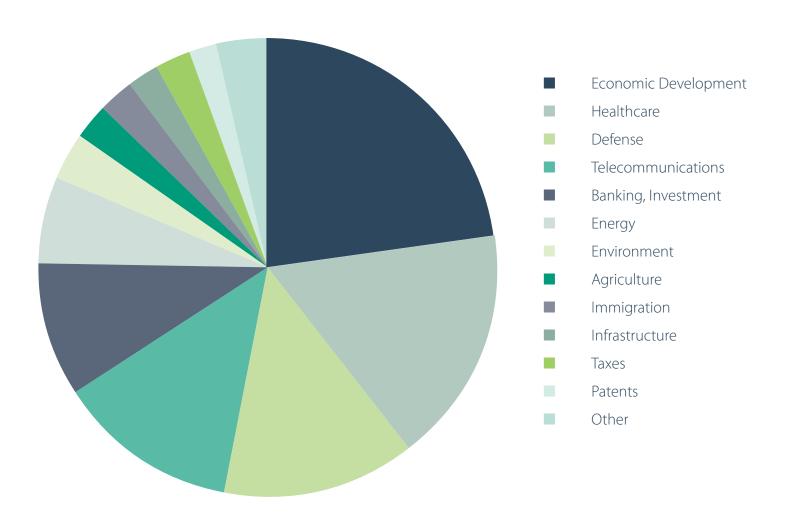
The 202 *Politico* ads Forward Observer analyzed covered a total of 13 issue areas and 83 specific topics.

ISSUE AREA	TOPICS COVERED	NUMBER OF ADS
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	Job Growth; Small Business Growth; Minimum Wage; International Travel; Local Business Support; Innovation and Jobs; Open Skies Initiative; Economic Sanctions; Employee Rights Act; Manufacturing Jobs, Job Creation; Employment	46
HEALTHCARE	Palliative Health Care; Cancer Research; Women's Health; HIV/AIDS Research; Drug Research; Healthcare Innovation; Healthy Meals; Heart Health; Over the Counter Medicine; Healthcare Investment; Sodium Intake; Disability Rights; Heart Disease Research; Vitamins; Pharmacy Innovation; Pancreatic Cancer; Prescription Services	34
DEFENSE	Defense Innovation; LPD 17 Warship; Global Hawk Aircraft; Missile Defense; Air Carriers; Amphibious Warships; Nuclear Weapons Security; Space Innovation; Rocket Launches; US Army Tanks	27
TELECOMMUNICATIONS	Internet Service; Low Cost Internet; Satellite Television Extension and Localism Act; Rural Broadband Access; TV Blackouts; Respect Act; Cloud Conferencing; Targeted Advertising; Cable Regulation; Government Surveillance	26
BANKING, INVESTMENT, AND INSURANCE	Export Import Bank; Puerto Rico Investments; Insurance regulation; Payments Industry; IRS; Small Business Lending; Debt Collection; Life Insurance; Wall Street Reform	19
ENERGY	Nuclear Energy; Energy Investment; Wind Energy; Ethanol	12
ENVIRONMENT	Clean Water Act; EPA	7
OTHER (Animal Rights, Education, Gun Rights, Native American Rights)	Animal Cruelty; Book Suggestions; Education Funding; Gun Rights; Native American Rights	7
AGRICULTURE	Corn; Agriculture Co-ops	5
IMMIGRATION	Immigration Reform; H-1B Visas; E-Verify	5
INFRASTRUCTURE	Highway Trust Fund; Construction Industry; Disaster Relief; Railroads	5
TAXES	Credit Union Tax Exemption; Tax Reform; Online Sales Tax; Corporate Tax Laws	5
PATENTS	Patent Protection	4
TOTAL		202

POLITICO ADS BY TOPIC

Nearly one-quarter (23%) of all ads were related to economic development, which included issues like job growth, job creation, and local business support.

The top five topics – economic development, healthcare, defense, telecommunications and banking, investment, and insurance – combined for 75% of the 202 *Politico* ads analyzed.



97 trade associations, advocacy groups, and corporations featured in our analysis include:

ACC Advocacy CME Group National Corn Growers Association 2. Aerospace Industries Association 35 Comcast National Council of Farmer Cooperatives Air Conditioning, Heating, and Refrigeration Institute Consumer Electronics Association National Rifle Association 3. 36. American Bankers Association Consumer Healthcare Products Association Natural Resources Defense Council 4. 37. American Cancer Network Corn Famers Coalition 5. Northrop Grumman 38. 6. American Congress of Obstetricians and 39. Council for Global Immigration **Nuclear Matters** Gynecologists Council for Responsible Nutrition One Voice Against Cancer 7. American Council of Engineering Companies CVS Health (formerly CVS Caremark) Open Our Skies 8. American Council of Life Insurers **Direct Selling Association** Pancreatic Cancer Action Network American Energy Alliance 9. Electronic Transactions Association Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers 43 10. American Farm Bureau of America **Employment Policies Institute** American Future Fund Pfizer 77. **Environment America** 45. American Heart Association Project 72 **EPA Facts** American Public Transportation Association Reform Government Surveillance 13. Exporters for Export — Import Bank 47. American Stroke Association Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice 48. ExxonMobil American Task Force Argentina Responsible Resource Center 15. Goldman Sachs American Television Alliance Rural Broadband Association 16. Humane Society of the United States 50. Americans for Prosperity Salt Institute 17. Humane Watch Amphibious Warship Industrial Base Coalition Santa Ynez Band of Chumash Indians 18. **Huntington Ingalls Industries** 52. 19. Ask Your Candidates.org 85. Siemens Immigration Works USA Associated Builders and Contractors, Inc. Source America 86 20. Independent Community Bankers of America Association of American Railroads TechNet 21. 87. Innovation Alliance 55. AstraZeneca Technology CEO Association International Council of Shopping Centers 56. AT&T 23. The Latino Coalition Koch 57. Boeing Transportation Construction Coalition Main Street Patent Coalition 58. Bowers and Wilkins U.S. Travel Association 25. McDonald's 59. British Petroleum (BP) United Health Foundation 26. 60. Microsoft Broadband for America United Launce Alliance 27. National Association of Blake Hotel Owners, **Build Strong Coalition** United States Chamber of Commerce Operators, and Developers 28 Business Roundtable National Association of Broadcasters United States Steel Corporation National Association of Homebuilders United States Travel Association Cato Institute 30. 63.

National Cable and Telecommunications Association

Wellpoint

National Association of Manufacturers

National Black Chamber of Commerce

65.

Center for Health and Gender Equality

Center for Union Facts

Chevron

33.