

CHAPTER IV INFLUENCE OF MNCS TOWARD BARACK OBAMA'S ELECTABILITY

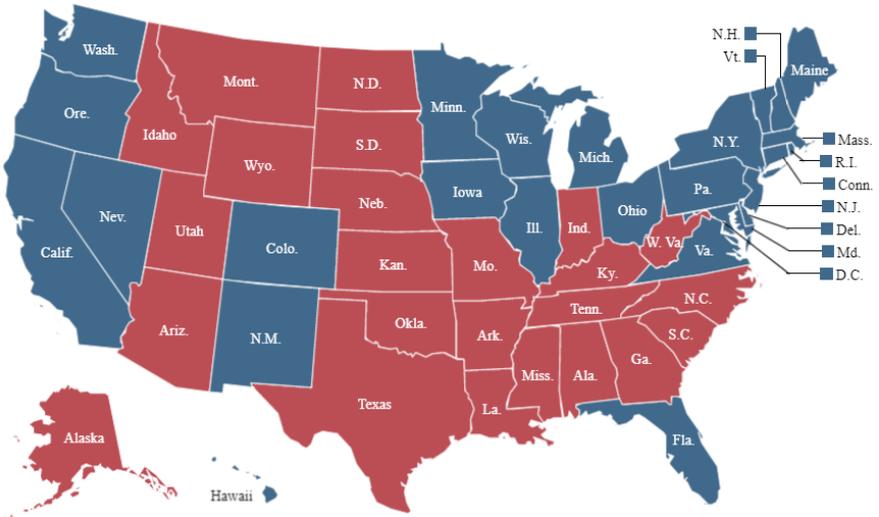
The United States presidential general election held on November 6th, 2012. It was the 57th quadrennial presidential election. The two candidates from both major parties competing in this election are Barack Obama from Democratic Party and Mitt Romney from Republican Party. Besides, there are also several presidential candidates from the third parties but not even win the popular votes. Barack Obama is the only candidate from Democrat, while Mitt Romney should compete with six other candidates from Republican in the primaries and caucuses (CNN, 2012).

Barack Obama won 65,899,660 popular votes or 51.06% of the total votes, while Mitt Romney won 60,932,152 popular votes or 47.21% of the total votes (State Election Committees, 2013). The rest of the votes gained by the third party. Final result decided through the Electoral College. Barack Obama won 332 electoral votes while Mitt Romney won 206 electoral votes (Andrews, Bartz, & Tumgoren, 2012). Diagram 4.1 depicts total votes gained by Barack Obama and Mitt Romney, and figure 4.1 depicts the electoral college votes gained by both candidates in every state, which votes gained by Barack Obama represented in blue color and Mitt Romney in red color.

Diagram 4. 1 Total Votes Gained by Both Candidates



Source: State Election Committees, 2013, Official 2012 Presidential General Election Results, Washington D.C., Federal Election Commission

Figure 4. 1 Map of Electoral College Votes

Source: Washington Post, November 19th 2012, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/election-map-2012/president>, retrieved February 28th 2018

A. MNCs' Influence through the Elites

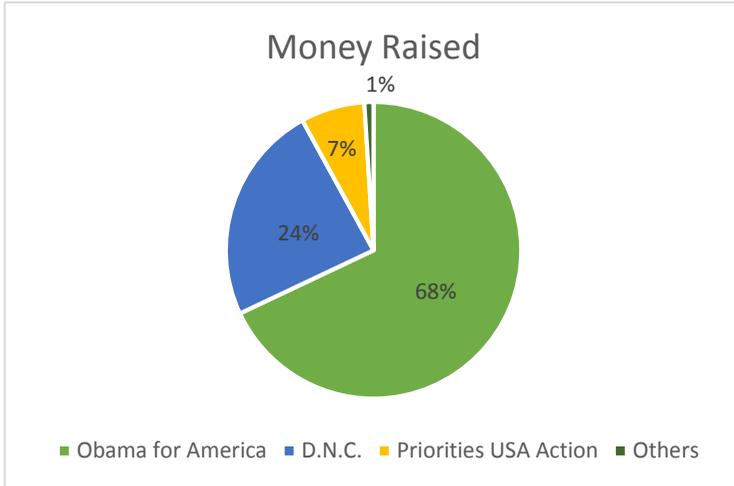
In 2012, the presidential elections cost to \$2,621,415,792 (The Center for Responsive Politics, 2012). It was the cost of all candidate competing in the election, including the third parties. Barack Obama raised \$1.20 billion in total, higher than Mitt Romney who raised \$1.18 billion (The Washington Post, 2012). When all was said and done, Barack Obama and Mitt Romney, the two major party candidates for president in 2012, spent close to \$1.12 billion (The Center for Responsive Politics, 2013). These contributions sourced from individuals and organizations (PACs) that channeled through candidate campaign committee, National Party Committee, and SuperPACs. This research provides analysis of MNCs contributions

raised from each candidate campaign committee, National Party Committee, and Primary SuperPAC as the major channel to finance their campaigns.

Candidate campaign committee of Barack Obama named Obama for America, while Mitt Romney's named Romney for President. The National Party Committee is each candidate's supporting party, which are the Democratic Party for Barack Obama (Democratic National Committee or DNC) and Republican Party for Mitt Romney (Republican National Committee or RNC). While primary SuperPAC for Barack Obama is Priorities USA Action, and for Mitt Romney is Restore Our Future. This sub-chapter analyses the position of MNCs in the campaign contributions compared to other contributors.

Diagram 4.2 illustrates the percentage of contribution channeled through the three major campaign committee and others for Barack Obama as November 2012.

Diagram 4. 2 Contribution to Campaign Committee for Barack Obama

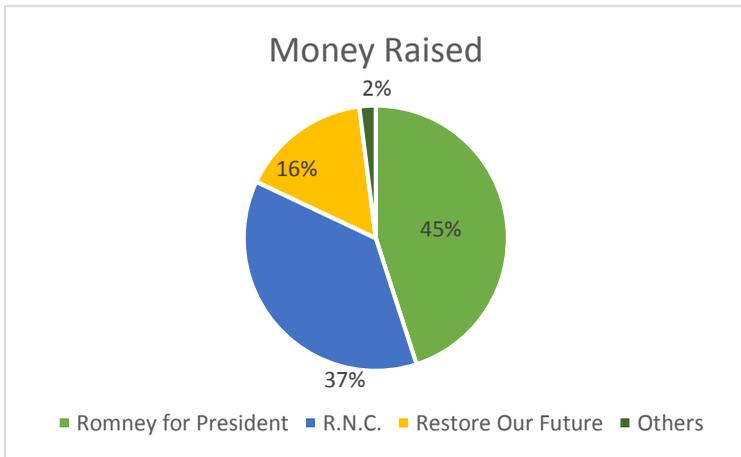


Source: The New York Times, November 26th 2012, from <https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2012/campaign-finance.html>, retrieved March 2nd 2018

Obama for America as the candidate campaign committee raised the most contributions; this amounted to \$726.2 million (68%). The DNC as a national party committee raised \$255.1 million (24%). Priorities USA as Barack Obama's primary SuperPAC raised \$78.8 million (7%). The rest contributions channeled through the others.

Diagram 4.3 illustrates the percentage of contribution channeled through the three major campaign committee and others for Mitt Romney as November 2012.

Diagram 4. 3 Contribution to Campaign Committee for Mitt Romney



Source: The New York Times, November 26th 2012, from <https://www.nytimes.com/elections/2012/campaign-finance.html>, retrieved March 2nd 2018

Romney for President as the candidate campaign committee raised the most contributions; this amounted to \$467.3 million (45%). The RNC as a national party committee raised \$371.4 million (37%). Restore Our Future as Mitt Romney's primary SuperPAC raised \$153.8 million (16%). The rest 2% contributions channeled through the others.

Contribution limit to candidates' campaign committee is about \$2,500 to \$5,000, while limit to national party committee can be \$15,000 or more (unlimited). The SuperPACs alone has no limit. The gap between Obama for America and the DNC is 44%. While the gap between Romney for President and RNC is only 8%. When we analyze the ratio between the limit of each contributor and total contributions raised by Obama for America, it means that besides the total contributions, the total contributors to

Obama for America were also higher than to DNC or SuperPACs.

The classification of contributors was varying, starting from public to private source which includes MNCs. To be more clear, the following data will prove the significant influence of MNCs as the major source channeling their contributions to those three major committees.

First, Table 4.1 lists the details of contributions raised by each candidate's campaign committee according to the final report recorded by the FEC from January 1st 2011 until December 31st 2012.

From the table below, we can see that most of the contributions came from individual contributors, whether it was in the form of itemized or unitemized contributions. Itemized contributions refer to all contributions equal to or more than \$200, which means it came from the large individual contributors. Such contributions should be itemized and disclosed. While unitemized contributions refer to the contributions of less than \$200, which means it came from the small individual contributors.

Table 4. 1 Contributions to Candidates' Campaign Committees

CANDIDATE	BARACK OBAMA	MITT ROMNEY
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$549,594,250.46	\$304,959,168.21
Total individual contributions	\$549,580,640.18	\$303,822,811.05
<i>Itemized individual contributions</i>	<i>\$315,170,951.00</i>	<i>\$223,798,653.37</i>
<i>Unitemized individual contributions</i>	<i>\$234,409,690.00</i>	<i>\$80,024,161.51</i>
Party committee contributions	\$8,610.28	\$10,137.50
Other committee contributions	\$0.00	\$1,126,219.66
Presidential public funds	\$0.00	\$0.00
Candidate contributions	\$5,000.00	\$0.00
TRANSFERS FROM OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES¹	\$181,700,000.00	\$146,516,071.00
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$731,294,250.46	\$451,475,239.21

Source: Federal Election Commission, December 31st 2012, from <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00431445/?cycle=2012>, retrieved March 1st 2018;

Federal Election Commission, December 31st 2012, from <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00431171/?cycle=2012>, retrieved April 1st 2018

Barack Obama (Obama for America) raised \$731,294,250.46, it is almost \$280 million higher than Mitt Romney (Romney for President). Both of them were receiving more from large individual contributors. However, Obama for America's ratio between large individual contributions and small individual contributions was relatively balanced, it was about 7:5, while Romney for President was about 7:2. The total small individual contributors to Obama for America can nearly catch up a larger sum of contributions from the large individual contributors, it means that they have more small individual contributors than their opponent. Besides, we can see the

¹ Funds may be transferred between authorized committees of the same candidate (for example, from a previous campaign to a current campaign committee) (Federal Election Commission, 2018)

contribution from the party committee of each candidate and transfers from other authorized committees (a committee that coordinates under the candidate).

Obama for America did not receive PACs' contributions directly, while Romney for president received \$1,126,219.66 from PACs. However, Mitt Romney did not contribute his personal fund to this committee, while Barack Obama started to fund \$5,000.00. Both campaign committees opted-out the presidential public funds, which means that all of the contributions raised from private sources. The involvement of these private entities that contribute the whole funds for the campaign committee indicates the domination of elite amidst the democratic society.

Private entities refer to individuals and organizations (mostly corporate PACs), in which some of those individuals came from the organizations too. Corporate contributors involved in the 17th highest contributors to Obama for America (The Center for Responsive Politics, 2013).

Table 4. 2 Corporations with Highest Contribution to Obama for America

Contributor	Total
Microsoft Corp	\$815,645
Google Inc	\$804,249
Kaiser Permanente	\$592,761
Deloitte LLP	\$458,275
Time Warner	\$447,521
DLA Piper	\$415,390
Sidley Austin LLP	\$400,671
IBM Corp	\$370,491
Walt Disney Co	\$369,598

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics, March 25th 2013, from <https://www.opensecrets.org/pres12/contrib.php?cycle=2012&id=N00009638>, retrieved March 1st 2018

Table 4.2 lists the highest corporate contributors to Obama for America. Eight from nine corporations on the list were MNCs, and only one of those (Kaiser Permanente) is a domestic corporation.

Corporate contributors also involved in the 17th highest contributors to Romney for President (The Center for Responsive Politics, 2013). Table 4.3 lists the highest corporate contributors to Romney for President. Similar with the contributions to Obama for America, eight from the highest nine corporations on this list were MNCs, and only one of those (Kirkland & Ellis) is a domestic corporation.

Table 4. 3 Corporations with Highest Contribution to Romney for President

Contributor	Total
Goldman Sachs	\$1,045,454
Bank of America	\$1,017,652
Morgan Stanley	\$920,805
JPMorgan Chase & Co	\$835,596
Wells Fargo	\$693,576
Credit Suisse Group	\$645,620
Deloitte LLP	\$615,874
Kirkland & Ellis	\$523,041
Citigroup Inc	\$491,249

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics, March 25th 2013, from <https://www.opensecrets.org/pres12/contrib.php?cycle=2012&id=N00000286>, retrieved April 1st 2018

Second, in each National Party Committee, the contributions were also dominated by individual contributors. Table 4.4 lists contributions raised by each national party committee, which are DNC for Barack Obama and RNC for Mitt Romney.

In total, RNC raised about 118 million higher than DNC. Both committees received contributions from PACs and transfers from affiliated committees. In contrast with RNC,

DNC contributed \$905.33 for the campaign organized by this committee. Individuals dominating the contributions to these committees also came from various organizations, mostly corporation.

Table 4. 4 Contributions to National Party Committees

CANDIDATE	BARACK OBAMA	MITT ROMNEY
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$120,810,755.59	\$225,673,440.81
Total individual contributions	\$119,221,792.94	\$222,679,264.39
<i>Itemized individual contributions</i>	<i>\$43,361,571.43</i>	<i>\$97,251,670.18</i>
<i>Unitemized individual contributions</i>	<i>\$75,860,221.51</i>	<i>\$125,427,594.21</i>
Party committee contributions	\$905.33	\$0.00
Other committee contributions	\$1,588,057.32	\$2,994,176.42
TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED COMMITTEES²	\$135,124,025.40	\$149,081,183.86
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$255,934,780.99	\$374,754,624.67

Source: Federal Election Commission, December 31st 2012, from <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00010603/?cycle=2012>, retrieved March 1st 2018;

Federal Election Commission, December 31st 2012, from <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00003418/?cycle=2012>, retrieved April 1st 2018

Table 4.5 lists the tenth highest corporate contributors to DNC, and Table 4.6 lists the tenth highest corporate contributors to RNC.

² A party committee may receive unlimited transfers of permissible funds from other party committees and party organizations (local party organizations) (Federal Election Commission, 2018).

Table 4. 5 Corporations with Highest Contribution to DNC

Contributor	Total
Time Warner	\$650,673
Google Inc	\$622,626
Microsoft Corp	\$581,259
Blackstone Group	\$527,200
Goldman Sachs	\$486,014
Skadden, Arps et al	\$485,042
Comcast Corp	\$446,129
Nix, Patterson & Roach	\$338,800
Overbrook Entertainment	\$338,000
News Corp	\$327,559

Source: *The Center for Responsive Politics, March 25th 2013*, from <https://www.opensecrets.org/parties/contrib.php?cycle=2012&cmte=DNC>, retrieved March 1st 2018

From the 15th highest contributors to DNC, 12 of them were corporations (*The Center for Responsive Politics, 2013*). And the highest four contributors to this committee were MNCs (Time Warner, Google Inc, Microsoft Corp, and Blackstone Group). Table 4.5 lists 10 corporations with highest contributions, eight of them were MNCs. Only two of them (Nix, Patterson & Roach, and Overbrook Entertainment) were the domestic corporation.

Table 4. 6 Corporations with Highest Contribution to RNC

Contributor	Total
Goldman Sachs	\$1,212,960
KKR & Co	\$822,350
Bain Capital	\$693,500
Blackstone Group	\$673,110
Elliott Management	\$662,150
Las Vegas Sands	\$586,200
Arclight Capital Partners	\$585,600
JPMorgan Chase & Co	\$512,973
Morgan Stanley	\$490,552
Bank of America	\$462,668

Source: *The Center for Responsive Politics, March 25th 2013*, from

<https://www.opensecrets.org/parties/contrib.php?cycle=2012&cmte=RNC>, retrieved April 1st 2018

Same with DNC, 12 from the highest 15 contributors to RNC also came from corporations (The Center for Responsive Politics, 2013). As listed in Table 4.6, eight of it were MNCs and only two of it were the domestic corporations (Las Vegas Sands, and Arlight Capital Partners).

Third, Table 4.7 lists contributions to each primary SuperPAC. Both did not receive fund from the party committees. And in this committee, the major contributors were still individuals. Restore Our Future raised more than Priorities USA. It received far less small individual contributions compared to the large individual contributions. While Priorities USA were maintaining to receive from both small and large individual contributions. In this committee, Priorities USA received more PACs contributions than Restore Our Future.

Table 4. 7 Contributions to Primary SuperPACs

CANDIDATE	BARACK OBAMA	MITT ROMNEY
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$77,929,251.10	\$153,674,270.71
Total individual contributions	\$65,421,352.50	\$153,645,270.71
<i>Itemized individual contributions</i>	<i>\$65,054,663.36</i>	<i>\$153,644,946.71</i>
<i>Unitemized individual contributions</i>	<i>\$366,689.14</i>	<i>\$324.00</i>
Party committee contributions	\$0.00	\$0.00
Other committee contributions	\$12,507,898.60	\$29,000.00
TRANSFERS FROM AFFILIATED COMMITTEES	\$905,853.98	\$0.00
TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	\$78,835,105.08	\$153,674,270.71

Source: Federal Election Commission, December 31st 2012, from <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00495861/?cycle=2012>, retrieved March 1st 2018;

Federal Election Commission, December 31st 2012, from <https://www.fec.gov/data/committee/C00490045/?cycle=2012>, retrieved April 1st 2018

The MNCs still involved in the lists of highest contributors to candidate primary SuperPACs. Tables 4.8 and 4.9 lists 15

MNCs with the highest contribution to each candidate primary Super PACs.

Table 4. 8 Multinational Corporations with Highest Contribution to Priorities USA Action

Rank	Occupation/Employer	Total	From Individuals	From Organizations
1	Renaissance Technologies	\$4,000,000	\$4,000,000	\$0
2	DreamWorks Animation SKG	\$3,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$0
3	Cox Enterprises	\$2,000,000	\$2,000,000	\$0
4	DE Shaw Research	\$1,375,000	\$1,375,000	\$0
5	Dreamworks SKG	\$1,100,000	\$1,100,000	\$0
6	InterSystems Corp	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
7	Jones Apparel Group	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
8	Linkedin	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
9	Soros Fund Management	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
11	Zynga Inc	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
12	Choice Hotels International	\$500,000	\$500,000	\$0
13	Ripplewood Holdings	\$400,000	\$400,000	\$0
14	Saban Capital Group	\$333,333	\$333,333	\$0
15	Grosvenor Capital Management	\$250,000	\$250,000	\$0

Source: Federal Election Commission, December 31st 2012, from <https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/contrib.php?cycle=2012&cmtc=C00495861>, retrieved March 1st 2018

Table 4. 9 Multinational Corporations with Highest Contribution to Restore Our Future

Rank	Occupation/Employer	Total	From Individuals	From Organizations
1	Oxbow Corp	\$4,000,000	\$250,000	\$3,750,000
2	Bain Capital	\$3,250,000	\$3,250,000	\$0
3	Oracle Corp	\$3,000,000	\$3,000,000	\$0
4	Tiger Management	\$2,250,000	\$2,250,000	\$0
5	Renco Group	\$2,000,000	\$0	\$2,000,000
6	Citadel Investment Group	\$1,553,500	\$1,553,500	\$0
7	IntercontinentalExchange Inc	\$1,530,000	\$1,530,000	\$0
8	Melaleuca Inc	\$1,100,000	\$100,000	\$1,000,000
9	Eli Publishing	\$1,000,000	\$0	\$1,000,000
10	Elliott Assoc	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
11	Godaddy.com	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
12	Host Hotels & Resorts	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
13	Marriott International	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
14	New Balance Athletic Shoe	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0
15	Nu Skin Enterprises	\$1,000,000	\$1,000,000	\$0

Source: Federal Election Commission, December 31st 2012, from <https://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/contrib.php?cycle=2012&cmte=c00490045>, retrieved March 1st 2018

Most of MNCs contributors to Priorities USA came from the company focusing on media and information. From the 15 highest contributors, 8 of those were focusing on it. These media are DreamWorks Animation SKG, Cox Enterprises, DE Shaw Research, Dreamworks SKG, InterSystems Corp, LinkedIn, Zynga Inc., and Saban Capital Group. While most of MNCs contributors to Restore Our Future came from the company focusing on finance and investments. Only one of the highest 15 contributors was from media, which is Eli Publishing.

From the previous tables, we can see that there are several organizations such as Time Warner, Google, and Microsoft contributes to more than one committee. It is because the same individuals and PACs were allowed to contribute to more than one committee.

This research also compares the sources detailed in the preceding tables, which are the amount of contributions sourced from large and small individual contributors, and PACs channeled through three major sources of each candidate. Contributions to Barack Obama from small individual contributors and PACs were higher than Mitt Romney, while contributions to Mitt Romney were mostly come from large individual contributors. If we analyze from the provided detailed data of source, contributions to Barack Obama from the highest MNCs contributors were smaller than to Mitt Romney. However, he had a higher number of contributors. In contrast, contributions to Mitt Romney from the highest MNCs contributors were higher. However, he had a fewer number of contributors. It was proved from the total of contributions to Barack Obama that higher than Mitt Romney.

The tables above also provide the data about corporate contributions and prove that MNCs were the highest contributors to each committee for each candidate. Most MNCs contributed higher than the domestic corporations and other organizations. It is related to the characteristics of the individuals of MNCs as the elite, in which they hold power more than the majority of citizens. These power come from their ability to control more extensive resources than the domestic corporations or the citizens in general.

Another power of MNCs, for example, is the relations between Obama and the Fortune 100 corporations CEO during his first tenure. Obama had most often met with CEOs in groups of 11 to 20 people the White House (Rampton, 2015). Meanwhile, for the public, it is a complicated process to have an exclusive conversation in the white house with Obama. By this, we can understand that the MNCs has access to the power of a network through its individuals.

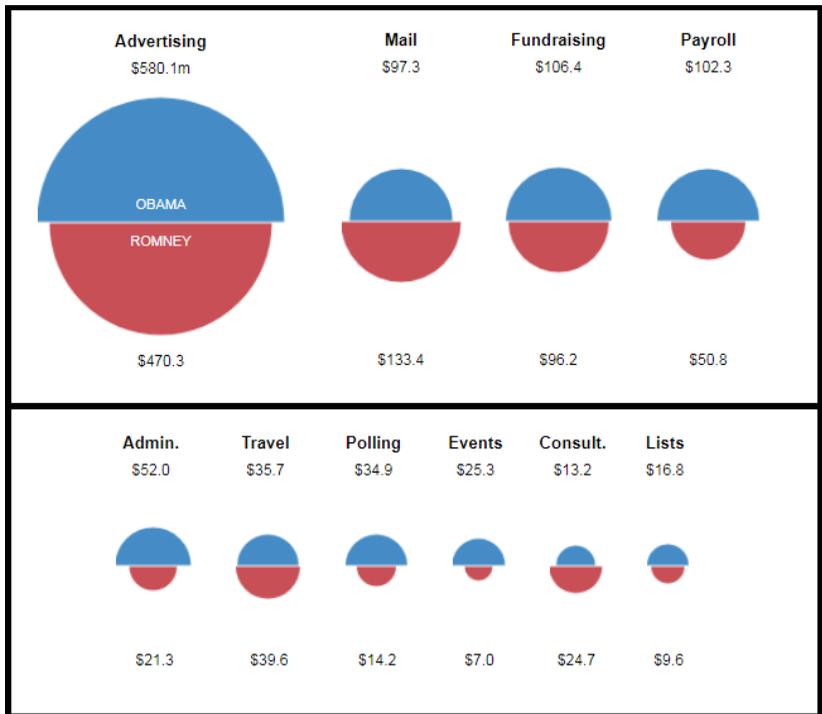
Elitism in the United States is strengthened by the ever-increasing role of “fat cat”³ corporate, PAC, and wealthy individual contributions (Dye & Zeigler, 2009). Public financing only amounted to 0.6 percent of the total contributions raised in 2012. The private sources finance the rest 99.4%. The tiny elite (0.40%) delivered a hefty sum of contributions (63.5%) (The Center for Responsive Politics, 2013). Those contributions utilized to fuel the campaign, reaching the voters to their supports.

B. Process to Influence the Electability

The essential factor that influenced the electability of a candidate is the campaign, and the essential element to do a campaign is the campaign financing. According to the concept of political-media complex, the campaign committees as the political institutions together with the media industries including the multinationals attempt to make impact in public. What MNCs done was increasing the contributions of money to the campaign committee. Contributions from MNCs utilized for the promotion agenda which majorly allocated to advertising (television, internet, or other media) (Bartz, Farnam, Wei, & Youri, 2012). Besides, MNCs that included in media industries were able to contribute directly in campaign management. Diagram 4.4 illustrates the major categories of spending by each candidate.

³ U.S. contributor to political campaign: somebody wealthy who contributes a substantial amount of money to a political campaign. Microsoft® Encarta® 2009. © 1993-2008 Microsoft Corporation. All rights reserved.

Diagram 4. 4 Major Categories of Spending by Each Candidate



Source: The Washington Post, December 7th 2012, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/special/politics/campaign-finance/>, retrieved April 2nd 2018.

Most of the contributions spent on advertising (media). It has been estimated that over 55% of total campaign spending went to media activities (Ballington, et al., 2014). Since the fateful 2010 Supreme Court decision, *Citizens United v. FEC* and related rulings, hundreds of millions of additional dollars have poured into the 2012 elections through "Super PACs," nonprofit groups and trade associations (Appel, 2012). According to the diagram above, Barack Obama spent more than Mitt Romney on media campaigning.

Media campaigning was a very effective method to deliver various and wider range of voters. Its range of airwaves and airing time affect the cost that candidate spent. Candidates spent more to get their advertisement aired in the larger scope of media range, or primetime airing time. The high costs of media campaigning add to the political influence of wealthy contributors and thus add further to elitism in electoral politics (Dye & Zeigler, 2009). To dominate the airwaves, DNC spent \$420 million on television/ radio ads, including “media production” and “placement” services, and \$118.1 million to online ads, while RNC spent less than DNC, which are \$270 million to television/ radio ads, and \$100.6 million to online ads (Stein & Blumenthal, 2012). During the campaign in 2012, Barack Obama ran 600,000 cable ads since April to the Romney’s 300,000 ads since September around the nation (Stern & McLaughlin, 2013).

Media campaigning was not only managed by the campaign committee, but the professional advertising firms may also plan the entire campaign (Dye & Zeigler, 2009). To achieve effective promotion, candidates should make a strategic choice in choosing which media to be its partner. Table 4.1 lists the media empires that dominate the United States.

Table 4. 10 Lists of Media Empire

<p>1. Time Warner</p> <p><i>Television:</i> Turner Network television (TNT), Turner Broadcasting System (TBS), Cable News Network (CNN), Home Box Office (HBO), Cinemax, Time Warner Cable, Cartoon Network (CN).</p> <p><i>Motion Pictures:</i> Warner Brothers, New Line Cinema, Castle Rock, Looney Tunes, Warner Independent Pictures.</p> <p><i>Magazines:</i> Time, People, Sports Illustrated, Fortune, MAD Magazine, DC Comics, plus many other speciality magazines.</p> <p><i>Books:</i> Warner Books; Little, Brown Publishing; Book-of-the-Month Club.</p> <p><i>Music:</i> Warner Brothers Records, Atlantic Records, Elektra.</p> <p><i>Sports and Entertainment:</i> Atlanta Braves, Atlanta Hawks, World Championship Wrestling.</p> <p><i>Internet:</i> AOL, Netscape, Mapquest, Moviefone, AOL Latino.</p>
<p>2. Walt Disney</p> <p><i>Television:</i> ABC-TV, plus ten stations; ESPN, ESPN-2, Disney Channel, A&E, E!, Lifetime.</p> <p><i>Motion Pictures:</i> Walt Disney Pictures, Miramax, Touchstone, Buena Vista.</p> <p><i>Music:</i> Walt Disney Records, Mammoth.</p> <p><i>Sports and Recreation:</i> Disney theme parks in Florida, California, France, Japan, and Hong Kong; Disney Cruise Line; Anaheim Angels, Mighty Ducks.</p>
<p>3. Viacom</p> <p><i>Television:</i> CBS, plus forty TV stations; MTV, BET, CMT, Nickelodeon, Showtime, VH1, Comedy Central, Nick-At-Nite, Spike TV.</p> <p><i>Motion Pictures:</i> Paramount Pictures, Dreamworks, Viacom.</p> <p><i>Books:</i> Simon & Schuster.</p> <p><i>Music:</i> Famous Music Publishing.</p>
<p>4. NewsCorp (Fox)</p> <p><i>Television:</i> Fox Network plus thirty-five TV stations; Fox News, Fox Sports, Fox Family Channel, Direct TV.</p> <p><i>Motion Pictures:</i> 20th Century Fox, Searchlight, Blue Sky Studios.</p> <p><i>Magazines:</i> TV Guide.</p> <p><i>Books:</i> HarperCollins.</p> <p><i>Music:</i> Mushroom Records.</p> <p><i>Sports and Recreation:</i> Los Angeles Lakers.</p> <p><i>Internet:</i> MySpace, BroadSystems.</p> <p><i>Newspapers:</i> Wall Street Journal, London Times, New York Post, and others.</p> <p><i>Financial:</i> Dow Jones</p>
<p>5. Sony (U.S. subsidiary of Sony, Japan)</p> <p><i>Television:</i> Sony Pictures Television (Jeopardy, Wheel of Fortune, etc.).</p> <p><i>Motion Pictures:</i> Columbia Pictures, Sony Pictures, TriStar, Screen Gems.</p> <p><i>Music:</i> Columbia Records, Epic Records, Nashville Records, Sony Classical.</p> <p><i>Sports and Recreation:</i> Sony Theaters, PlayStation.</p> <p><i>Manufacturing:</i> Sony TVs, computers, electronics</p>

<p>6. General Electric</p> <p><i>Television: NBC Network, NBC Universal, plus thirteen TV stations; CNBC, MSNBC, Telemundo.</i></p> <p><i>Motion Pictures: Universal Pictures.</i></p> <p><i>Manufacturing: GE appliances.</i></p> <p><i>Source: Dye and Zeigler, 2009, The Irony of Democracy, Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning</i></p>

Table 4.1 ranks the media empires in the United States. Five from total sixth top media were contributing to Barack Obama's campaign. Four of these media were some of the largest contributors to the campaign committees. These media are Time Warner, Walt Disney, Dreamworks (Viacom), and Newscorp. Sony was also contributing to the campaign, but not in the larger amount compared to the others (The Center for Responsive Politics, 2012).

In online advertising, Barack Obama used the website (barackobama.com), email, social networking (Facebook, Twitter), blogs, social news sites, search engine optimization, and online paid advertisements. This platform shared plenty of constituency-specific digital products (videos, posters, infographics, et cetera) and a constant stream of posts that generated hundreds of thousands of new constituency sign-ups and produced considerable enthusiasm and interest among constituencies online (Obama for America, 2012).

C. Impact to Electability

Obama only opted for private campaign financing, and most of private sources come from individual contributions in which those individuals come from MNCs. MNCs were among the highest contributors, which means that contributions from MNCs hold a vital role for the campaign. Without so much money, it will be hard to reach the voters and promote the candidate.

Barack Obama succeeded in raising contributions more than Mitt Romney. It led to his capability in dominating the media. As many of the highest MNCs contributing to Barack Obama came from media and information company, he could get more access in dominating the airwaves. He was able to spread the messages to the voters, also tackled the attacking campaign from his opponent. By this effort, he could reach more voters than Mitt Romney, and of course the opponent from the third parties that had no sufficient fund to be more dominant. He also got advantages in deeper research and analysis to apply suitable approach for specific voters.

Since the contributions allowed only to citizens, besides the right to support campaign financing, MNCs' individuals also had the right to vote for Barack Obama in the election day.

In the end, Barack Obama got more votes than Mitt Romney in all elections, from primaries and caucuses to general elections and electoral college.

