Comparing Managed Impressions of Presidential Candidates in Official Campaign Websites and Social Media

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Comparing Managed Impressions of Presidential Candidates in Official Campaign Websites and Social Media

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ABSTRACT

MICCA Z. TERRELL. Comparing Managed Impressions of Presidential Candidates in Official Campaign Websites and Social Media (Under the direction of DR. ROBERT BARON). Research conducted in this project suggests presidential candidates in 2000 and 2016 worked to provide positive images to the voting public in order to succeed in the election. Some were more successful than others. Candidates' official websites and social media channels were analyzed, in order to compare the frequencies with which candidates provided positive impressions to voters through impression management theory and framing. This research posits that Democratic presidential candidates as a group were better able to manage more positive images on their campaign websites and social media than Republicans, yet on an individual basis, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump was better able to manage his positive images, particularly in the areas of attire and setting, than Democratic challenger Hillary Clinton.

Keywords: presidential, candidates, website, social media, impression, management, framing, positive, images, voters, Republicans, Democrats, Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Presidents Kennedy, Reagan, and Clinton, considered some of the most influential politicians of their time, were skillful in the art of using television to manage their impressions in the 20th century, but candidates now must add more skills to their repertoire. In the 21st century, presidential hopefuls who hope to persuade voters must also be adept in their use of the internet and social media, with nearly three in four online adults using social networks, according to Duggan et. al (2015). Due to this large amount of social media usage, presidential candidates are utilizing their official social media channels and campaign websites in addition to traditional media to directly communicate their ideas and images with voters. In the 2012 presidential election, Democratic candidate Barack Obama's campaign digital engagement with social media users outweighed Republican challenger Mitt Romney's, with Obama's campaign team posting nearly four times as much information and images on social media as Romney's (Pew Research Center, 2013). In the 2016 election, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump understood the power of social media, and had garnered more Twitter followers than Obama (Johnson, 2016).

Direct communication with voters has never been more important, with few large corporations owning most of the television stations and newspapers in the United States, communicating their agendas to the public (Iyengar & McGrady, 2007). The amount and quality of public affairs programming on television and cable news has been steadily decreasing due to consolidation, regulation, and other economic factors (Pew Research Center, 2013). Instead of relying on cable news networks, presidential candidates instead disseminate information and images to voters on their own. Official campaign websites, and by extension, social media, offer

candidates venues to explain their stances on issues, show how they differ from their opponents, manage or enhance their images, and raise money for their runs for office, without interruption from news anchors or political analysts.

While the 2000 presidential campaign has been called a turning point in politics because of candidate's expanded use of internet technologies and management of impressions of visual images within those technologies, this study posits that the 2016 presidential campaign could be called a turning point because of the expanded use of social media, and the management of impressions of visual images within social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, and Pinterest. For this reason, the 2000 presidential election was selected as a baseline of comparison to the 2016 presidential election. In both elections, photographs and videos posted on the internet were believed by many to hold great power, as research by Verser and Wicks (2006) has shown that images have global reach and can provide tremendous impact. Political candidates may take advantage of this power by using photographs and videos in their messages to voters, and manage those images in such a way so as to present a favorable impression of themselves. Political commercials and other political messages assist in the election of leaders, and in the determination of public policy (Berger, 2012).

Despite the importance of images and their use, very little research has been conducted on candidates' images within official campaign websites, typically because visual analytic work has traditionally been more difficult than textual analysis (Verser & Wicks, 2006). A gap exists in empirical studies focused on the analysis of presidential candidates' images within their social media channels and websites, likely because the field of research is rather new, and because of the nature of social media: new content is constantly being added, often several times per hour.

This research project is patterned after Verser and Wicks (2006), who conducted one of the few

research analyses of images from presidential candidates' official websites, mainly relying on impression management theory. Managing impressions has roots in agenda setting theory, in which media typically select the issues to which they direct attention and news coverage (Verser & Wicks, 2006). The contemporary application of impression management also pertains to framing theory, in which researchers investigate news messages through content analysis then evaluate the themes, attitudes, opinions, and beliefs in an effort to derive a perceived meaning among viewers.

Studies of impression management in presidential campaigns by Verser and Wicks (2006) and Moriarty and Garrimone (1986) have shown that Democrats have appeared to manage positive impressions more effectively than Republicans. This study hypothesizes that drawing upon impression management theory, that Democratic presidential candidates, as a group, have more effectively managed positive images on their official social media networks and official campaign websites than Republican candidates during the 2000 and 2016 presidential elections. However, on an individual basis, this hypothesis did not hold, with Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump winning the 2016 election over Hillary Clinton, based on his successful management of context and setting on his social media channels (particularly Twitter) and his official campaign website (Johnson, 2016).

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

This examination of scholarly literature will examine many components related to the management of political candidates' images during presidential campaigns. Gender and sexism are relevant because of women in prominent roles in presidential politics. Race will also be examined, as previous research has indicated a candidate's race and the race of the voters, may impact the outcome of a presidential election. Racial prejudice on the part of voters may be reduced by a diverse array of presidential candidates, according to at least one study examined in this paper. Regardless of race or gender, politicians' presentation of positive impressions of themselves to voters will potentially lead to positive outcomes, based on studies utilizing theories of agenda setting, frame analysis, and priming. Previous literature has suggested candidates who show they may effectively manage their images, may also show success and power in the arena of politics. Other studies posit that many politicians have opted to put forth effective images through their official campaign social media channels, and to publicize their stances on important issues; however, voters' perception of those images may vary, depending on the medium used. Particularly, the manner in which the voting public gathers information about the presidential candidates has changed with the increasing number of both traditional and non-traditional websites. First, the issue of gender has remained front and center in the 2016 presidential campaign.

Gender & Sexism in Presidential Races

Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton and Republican candidate Carly Fiorina, who suspended her campaign in February, 2016, have both been the subject of many discussions of possible sexism in presidential politics in the mainstream media. According to scholarly

literature, Carlin and Winfrey (2009) examined the historic 2008 presidential election and found that lingering sexism toward women candidates still exists. America's first African American president, Barack Obama, was elected. Obama's victory over Hillary Clinton for Democratic nomination was a very narrow one. On the Republican side, the party had its first woman candidate, Sarah Palin. Carlin and Winfrey (2009) used common stereotypes of women in corporations to examine 2008 presidential coverage. Those stereotypes include the sex object, mother, the child or pet, and the iron maiden. In the examination of the sex object stereotype, the "double bind," consideration was explored, in which women who are considered feminine will be judged as incompetent, and women are competent are considered unfeminine; once the competent women succeed, they are held to different standards than their male counterparts (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Both Palin and Clinton varied greatly in the category of sex object stereotypes, with Palin's attractiveness referred to often as "sexiness," because of her youth and past participation in beauty pageants, while Clinton was considered not feminine because she was more mature, and preferred pantsuits over dresses or skirts (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009)

In the mother stereotype, Palin was consistently referred to as "a mother of five" or as "supermom" in news reports, making it appear as though being a mother was the second most important thing about her (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Reporters also questioned Palin's ability to serve as political candidate and to take care of her family, particularly with a special needs child and a 17-year-old who was pregnant (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Clinton was portrayed with several negative mother stereotypes, including the derisive scolder, talking down to her adult daughter Chelsea (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Clinton was also the subject of negative comments from television news hosts regarding her daughter's appearances on the campaign trail, even

though male candidates had made a practice of taking their children with them (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009).

In the pet or child frame, Palin was seen as a cheerleader for John McCain's presidential campaign, and at other times, she was actually protected by McCain and literally treated like a child (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Such protection was discussed as necessary by some media outlets after Palin gave interviews with journalists such as Charles Gibson and Katie Couric which were described as disastrous; meanwhile, Clinton's competence was rarely brought into question (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). However, Bill Clinton was always thought to be behind the scenes, helping his wife (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009).

As part of the iron maiden frame, Clinton was often called "cold" or "scary," and these sexist comments often led to other vulgar overtones, with some male reporters actually discussing their worries that Clinton was so tough, she might castrate them (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). Meanwhile, Palin tried to use the iron maiden framing to her advantage by going negative in the campaign yet still utilizing her dominant feminine appeal; for example, she was called a "pit bull with lipstick" by Donny Deutch of CNBC (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009).

The researchers also examined the theories of language and media framing in the 2008 campaign coverage of Palin and Clinton. Carlin and Winfrey (2009) found that there was a considerable amount of negative coverage of both women by the media. This coverage could affect voters by casting doubt on a woman's suitability for the office of president or vice president. In addition, Carlin and Winfrey (2009) recommended that journalists need to stop sexist commentary, female candidates need to refuse to stand for such comments, and that the cultural viewpoint of the office of the president needs to be "gender neutral." As sexism has been

brought to the fore in the presidential election, the issue of race has also been the subject of much discussion.

Race in the Presidential Election

Some have posited that Barack Obama's election as the first African American president in 2008 created a shift to a post-racial era, where a candidate's race plays a very minute role in electoral prospects. Donovan (2010) said there were theoretical and empirical reasons for questioning this assumption, and the 2008 presidential election presents a unique opportunity to test how race affected support for an African American candidate in a majority white electoral setting.

Donovan (2010) drew on the racial threat thesis to determine whether white voters who live in areas with larger African American populations were less receptive to Barack Obama. According to Donovan (2010), the racial threat thesis may explain how the effect of racial context might influence the relationship between the candidate's race and voting, and suggests that the likelihood that a white voter might support a black candidate is not randomly distributed geographically. The racial threat thesis, or the white backlash hypothesis, has suggested that whites are more likely to fear social, economic, or political advances by minorities when they reside in jurisdictions where the minority group's population share is larger (Donovan, 2010). This research project was one of the few studies that analyzed how white voters in different geographical settings responded to an African American presidential candidate.

Donovan (2010) studied random digit dial surveys in nearly every state in late February 2008, as well as analyzed data from the American National Election Study (ANES) (Donovan, 2010). The results suggested Democrats, liberals, younger voters, Latinos, people who viewed the national economy as worse than a year before, and people who disapproved of George W.

Bush's handling of the Iraq War, were more likely to support Obama; on the other hand, Republicans, conservatives, born-again Christians, and people who lived in the South were more likely to say they would vote for McCain (Donovan, 2010). Based on the findings, some white voters may still find it difficult to support an African American candidate for president. Results from the research were consistent with the racial threat thesis: some whites living in places with more African Americans were more likely to prefer Clinton to Obama when presented with hypothetical match-ups against John McCain (Donovan, 2010). Regardless of race or gender, presidential candidates typically strive to present the most positive images of themselves to the voting public, as shown in the next study.

Political Figures & Positive Impressions

Goffman (1959) theorized that this self-presentation or impression management was the process of controlling how one was perceived by other people. Goffman (1959) and his contemporary Edward Jones have suggested that positive impressions will lead to positive outcomes. Political leaders, (or "actors" according to impression management theory), must appear to be productive, motivated, and competent in order to achieve a satisfactory interaction with the public and to receive a positive evaluation from voters. Political campaigns have aimed to show attributes of candidates that will lead to positive perceptions on the part of voters, with the positive outcome of an impression management campaign being convincing voters and winning elections.

While self-presentation may seem based on insecurity or manipulation, Goffman (1959) suggested that it is an essential part of human interaction. Because people's success or failure in life depends on how others perceive and evaluate them, they often regularly check and update the impressions others have of them. Presenting a favorable image of oneself is common because

people tend to be rewarded for making a good impression, yet some people may want to make an unflattering impression if they think an undesirable image will help them achieve their goals.

Framing Analysis

To analyze the managed impressions presented by politicians, Goffman (1974) provided a framework for frame analysis, in which researchers may divide these impressions into "strips," or any arbitrary slice or cut from the sequence of ongoing activity. These strips may occur within a variety of primary frameworks which are central to human culture: natural or social. Natural frameworks are occurrences which are "purely physical" in which no actor continually guides the outcome, while social frameworks are "guided doings" in which motive and intent are involved (Goffman, 1974).

In a rough musical analogy, Goffman (1974) explained that strips may be keyed in a particular manner. Keying was defined by Goffman (1974) as a set of conventions by an activity that is already meaningful in terms of a primary framework, may be transformed into something patterned on the activity, but which is seen by the participants as something else. In keying, the participants (in this case, political candidates) are meant to know and acknowledge that alteration of their images to put forth the best possible images, is involved. Keys may be categorized into make believe, contests, ceremonials, technical re-doings, and re-groundings. The central types of make believe are defined as playfulness, daydreaming, and dramatic scripting (Goffman, 1974). A literal model of contests may be defined as fights, while keying might involve combat training or exercises (Goffman, 1974). Ceremonials are defined as social rituals such as marriage and funerals, while technical re-doings may involve practices, demonstrations, replicas of records of events, group therapy, and running through an experiment (Goffman, 1974). Re-groundings may be defined as performances of an activity that may be done more or less for reasons for motives

completely different from those that govern ordinary actors (Goffman, 1974). Political candidates photographed at a debate or other special event for their social media channels may be seen as a variation, or even reversibility in keying, in which Goffman (1974) explained may be reduction or abstraction of the original event, and may also influence later occurrences of the real thing.

As reduction or abstraction of original events may influence the future, racial prejudice may be an issue of concern for future presidential elections. Prejudice against other races and its effects on voters is the subject of the next area of study in this review.

Racial Prejudice's Potential Influence

Many studies after Barack Obama's election have focused on how racial prejudice potentially influences the votes of whites. Goldman (2012) examined what he believed previous research had overlooked: several months of coverage of Obama and his family, in which images contradicted negative racial stereotypes which associated African Americans with laziness, crime, and fatherless families. The 2008 presidential campaign thus "provides an opportunity to look for evidence of mediated intergroup contact, which is the phenomenon by which the media acts as a point of virtual contact between in-group and outgroup members, and prejudice is reduced in a way similar to face-to-face contact" (Goldman, 2012). The researcher conducted panel surveys in three different time periods during the 2008 campaign. Goldman (2012) found the Obama campaign produced a significant decline in white racial prejudice; specifically, between July 2008 and July 2009, the so-called "Obama effect" reduced racial prejudice "by a rate that was at least five times faster than the secular trend of decline in prejudice occurring in the United States over the previous two decades."

Goldman (2012) also found the reduction of prejudice among McCain supporters, Republicans, and conservatives was greater because exposure to a counter-stereotypical black exemplar typically should be more informative for those who have already accepted negative pre-existing images of African Americans. In contrast, racial prejudice declined more among McCain supporters, Republicans, and conservatives when compared to Obama's supporters, Democrats, and liberals (Goldman, 2012).

One of shortcomings of the research was that implicit prejudice or racial resentment associated with Obama was not measured. The length of time the "Obama Effect" would continue beyond the election also was not established (Goldman, 2012). Further research should include content analysis of the coverage of the presidential campaign and measurement of individuals' exposure. Being exposed to visuals found in television news about political candidates, and, by extension, social media and websites, may allow viewers to recall more stories, and potentially learn more about political issues, as shown by the next study.

Visuals in News Reports & Learning

Graber (1990) suggested that visual themes were more memorable than verbal ones; that is, the more that viewers were exposed to pictorial images found in political stories in television news, the more likely they were able to recall information about those stories later. Graber (1990) hypothesized that the visuals of television news reports were more easily remembered by subjects, possibly due to the majority of the stories containing close up visuals of human beings. Out of 189 news stories analyzed in a gestalt coding scheme. Graber (1990) found that one third of the visual scenes contained close up visuals. This emphasis on close up shots of newscasters, reporters, and newsmakers was not entirely unexpected, according to Graber (1990), because television news traditionally makes use of such visuals in order to hold the audiences' attention.

Secondly. Graber (1990) suggested that close ups of humans are "rich information sources" in that viewers draw a large number of inferences from human physical appearances and movements. Faces of news anchors, reporters, and others may show a variety of mental states and emotions: happiness, sadness, anger, fear, and many more. Graber (1990) showed the news report samples to a group of college students and found evidence that the majority of the subjects inferred personality characteristics from a person's appearance; a person wearing glasses may be considered intellectual, while people who are short and heavier may be considered jolly. The eyes of the person the viewer is looking at may also disclose information. Graber (1990) posited that direct eye contact denoted honesty while averting one's eyes may indicate dishonesty.

Graber (1990) suggested that body cues such as movement, posture, and grooming, may give clues to a person's age, physical well-being, poise, vigor, financial status, and even possibly conformity or non-conformity to society. Graber (1990) said evidence indicated about 40 percent of information that subjects gathered about the persons in news reports was communicated physically rather than verbally. The media's coverage of presidential candidates' attributes as potential leaders may also have an effect on which issues voters feel are important, as the subsequent study suggests.

Impression Management's Link to Framing, Priming

Modern studies of media effects have also aligned impression management with agenda setting, framing, and priming theories. According to Iyengar and McGrady (2007), agenda setting involves "influencing what Americans see as important problems facing the country, to shifting citizens' take on the public issues (framing), to altering the criteria by which voters make their choices (priming)." Kiousis et al. (1999) examined several studies on agenda setting and have found several mediating factors: the audience orientation, education level, and degree of

exposure. Kiousis et al., (1999) suggested more experimental research needs to be done to examine how media coverage of politicians' attributes affects the agenda setting process. According to Kiousis et al., (1999), several dimensions of attributes should be explored, and suggested the inclusion of subtopics, framing mechanisms, affective, elements, and cognitive elements. Instead of a simply one-way communication relay, Kiousis et al., (1999) suggested an interaction between media, policy makers, and the public existed. Media portrayals of politicians' qualities were expected to affect constituents' perceptions of their personalities and qualifications (Kiousis et al., 1999). The findings of two experiments by Kiousis et al. (1999) indicated that media portrayals of politicians' personality and qualification traits appeared to affect respondents' perceptions of those attributes, yet media emphasis of politicians' personality and qualification traits did not appear to affect the person's importance. The next area of research suggested that a person's effectiveness and power as a political leader depends on public image.

Public Image & Presidential Effectiveness

According to Leary (1996), a person who wants to "become or remain a leader will try to convey images that correspond to others' prototypes of a leader," such as appearing decisive, effective, and concerned for the welfare of his or her constituents. Further, those wanting to be leaders would avoid appearances that are inconsistent with the leader prototype and would stay away from any appearance of incompetence, weakness, or apathy.

Leary (1996) explained that American presidents, despite differences in their styles, typically try to appear "presidential" and try to match the public's idea of what a president is, which may vary depending on the particular period of time in history. Five specific impressions are considered vital to leaders' images, however, which are not restricted by time period, according to Leary (1996). The five impressions are not expressed simultaneously, but each is

required periodically. First is the perception of "expert power," which includes competence, ability, or expertise (Leary, 1996). Followers' perceptions of a leader's competence would influence their perceptions of whether that leader was ideal for the task. Second is the "attraction power," through which leaders manage their impressions to appear likable, friendly, modest, and approachable, yet still competent (Leary, 1996). Third, some leaders seek to be perceived as upstanding, moral citizens, and an example to follow (Leary, 1996). While religious leaders would likely seek this most often, Leary (1996) explained that "this can be seen in the case of American presidents and their families who are expected to provide leadership in morals and taste as well as politics." Fourth, leaders typically want to be seen as calm, confident, and unflappable; Leary (1996) said this self-presentation of potency is particularly vital when a leader's group is under stress, or, as in the case of a president, times of war or crisis. This control of emotions influences the president's own public standing but also affects people's confidence and morale. Leary (1996) cited several presidential examples of calm in the face of crisis: Franklin Roosevelt's "cocky impression" during World War II; John F. Kennedy's calm during the Cuban Missile crisis; and, George H. W. Bush's controlled, confident image during the Persian Gulf War of 1991. The fifth self-presentation is coercive power, by which some leaders can intimidate their enemies or followers into submission.

The most important points suggested by Leary (1996) appear to be that politicians who want to lead, need to act like leaders. Leary (1996) also argued candidates should put forth consistent behaviors and images in order to be seen as attractive, competent, and successful in the political realm. The effects of presidential candidates' management of public images within social media has also been the subject of recent study, as shown in the next portion of this review.

Presidential Candidates & Social Media

Presidential candidates have utilized social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube to manage their images 2008 presidential election, but according to Metzgar and Maruggi (2009), little evidence has supported the claim that social media actually generated discussion, voter participation, or election outcomes. Findings did indicate the overall effect of social media on the presidential election was greater than each individual channel on its own (Metzgar and Maruggi, 2009). Furthermore, researchers suggested the interactive nature of internet technology was much different than the traditional one-way relay of communication, with citizens able to compete with traditional media in gatekeeping authority and accountability (Metzgar and Maruggi, 2009). At the center of social media's disruptive nature was the shift from consumer to consumer/producer, where users are actively producing a shared understanding of society which is open for other people to take part in, or with which to disagree (Metzgar & Maruggi, 2009). For the first time, an online analysis tool called Radian6 was used to measure the impact of social media.

Metzgar and Maruggi (2009) found social media were highly relevant, cost-effective tools for political campaigns, particularly Barack Obama. On the day before the 2008 general election, Obama had more than 2 million followers on Facebook, compared to Senator John McCain's tally of just over 600,000. On Twitter, Obama had more than 112,000 followers, while McCain had approximately 4,600. YouTube channel views for Obama were more than 18 million, compared to 2 million for McCain.

Overall, Metzgar and Maruggi (2009) found three important points in their analysis of social media in the 2008 election: first, social media are successful because of their "communal nature" and "lack of strict hierarchies"; second, even in the seemingly chaotic environment of

social media, thought leaders can help influence public discussion of issues relevant to the political campaign; third, audiences are highly segmented, but they are still there. Metzgar and Maruggi (2009) suggested that while social media has remained part of the total package of a political figure, findings indicated that presidential candidates must still be able to communicate a message that resonates with audiences both online and offline. Social media channels seem to help get voters talking about the issues in the election, but it is not clear just how much social media channels get voters talking about the candidates themselves. The candidates' images put forth on social media may have one effect on voters, while another medium may have another effect, as the next study supposes.

Candidates' Images & Perception

Images of candidates may vary widely depending upon the medium in which they appear, and those images may influence voters' perceptions of the candidate, according to Moriarty and Garramone (1986). Politicians were likened to actors playing roles, deliberately controlling their visual cues depending on the medium, whether it was a newspaper, television segment, or news magazine.

Moriarty and Garramone (1986) used the person perception process theory to analyze several hundred photos of Democratic and Republican vice presidential and presidential candidates published in from three national news magazines during the 1984 election. The basic tenets of person perception process include a person performing some type of action in particular situation or context. Moriarty and Garramone (1986) said a photograph could provide information about a politician through "stop action" slices of behavior such as facial expressions or body movements, and the behaviors exhibited could be evaluated as positive or negative.

Moriarty and Garramone (1986) also examined attire of the candidates in the photographs, the settings, and the level of the camera used to capture the images.

More than 43 percent of the news magazines featured images of Ronald Reagan, while 30 percent featured Walter Mondale, 18 percent showed Geraldine Ferraro, and 7.5 percent featured George H. W. Bush. Reagan's behavior appeared to be more positive than Mondale's early in the campaign, but that trend was reversed near the end of the election. Bush's behavior early in the campaign appeared to be more positive than Ferraro's, based mostly on facial expression, arm, and torso movement, but this trend reversed as the campaign progressed. Moriarty and Garramone (1986) observed these differences from magazine to magazine, but could not offer reasons for them.

Moriarty and Garramone (1986) did suggest, as further research, examining whether differential treatment of candidates' images occurred in other media, such as television and newspapers. The internet had not yet reached widespread use during the time of Moriarty and Garramone (1986), however, a recent study has shown the world wide web may affect how voters choose to inform themselves about candidates and elections.

Internet's Influence on Elections

Parmelee, Davies & McMahan (2011) focused on the internet's influence on elections, however the aim of their survey research was updating and clarifying what researchers know about how people gather political information online. Their study grew out of concerning data from previous studies which found the majority of online users viewed traditional media companies' websites, and that those websites marginalized non-traditional sites which presented alternate viewpoints. Meanwhile, other research indicated that online users are accessing non-traditional sites more often, but it has not yet been determined why those sites were chosen, or

what demographic, psychological, or social factors may be involved. Furthermore, the research by Parmelee, Davies & McMahan (2011) was important because of a gap in research on traditional site dominance. Previous studies have not looked specifically at the patterns exhibited by people gathering political information online. Furthermore, the authors believed their study was needed based on the rapid growth of the use of the internet to gather political information. While Parmelee, Davies, and McMahan (2011) found 3 percent of Americans used the internet as their primary source of information in the 1996 presidential campaign, that percentage increased to 40 percent in the 2008 presidential election. In this study, the authors surveyed political information gatherers in the 2008 presidential election and found that overall, both non-traditional and traditional websites controlled respondents' attention online when it came to political information.

Parmelee, Davies, & McMahan (2011) cited previous studies which found that traditional media sites have too much control over editorial content and threaten any diverse viewpoints.

This concern originated from the large corporate dominance of news both offline and online. The domination has been such a concern that some even believe that such sites should be regulated by the federal government and that government funding should support sites which allow users to search for information directly related to societal issues. However, it has remained unclear whether people seeking political information online are visiting a mix of traditional and non-traditional sites, or exclusively non-traditional sites, and what is attracting them to those websites

Parmelee, Davies, & McMahan (2011) suggested two notable findings in their research: first, when gathering political information on the internet during a presidential election, traditional website dominance in the sample was much smaller than what was defined in

previous studies; second, there are demographic, psychological, and social factors which are linked to some people "relying heavily on both traditional and non-traditional sites." The studies suggest that the Internet has continued to be an ever-changing environment. Not everyone takes advantage of the wide variety of information choices, and again, the vast array of choices the internet offers seems to help with diversity only when users are willing to check out a diverse group of information sources (Parmelee, Davies, & McMahan, 2011). Further research needs to be done on what the messages are from social ties that are getting people to choose non-traditional sites over traditional ones. The important of image, rather than information gathering, in political elections is the subject of the next study in this review.

Photographs, Videos, & Political Image

Research by Verser (2008) posited photographs and videos may be used to improve a politician's self-image, and manipulated to detract from an opponent's self-image. Verser (2008) analyzed content of television advertisements of Senator John Kerry and George W. Bush from the 2004 presidential election. Verser (2008) said the findings suggested several ways in which visual images may perform important roles in communication. First, they can convey realism, credibility, believability, and truthfulness, (Verser, 2008). Visual images may also be used to cause a specific response among those who view them, and to form opinions about people. The study was important in that it helps fill the gap in empirical research on content of visual imagery in political advertising. Verser (2008) suggested that nonverbal behavior cues can be used to create and manage positive impressions of people, but can also be used to create and manage negative, which could be helpful in political candidates' campaigns.

Impression management theory may work in two ways: first, the ability to manage impressions of attractiveness, likeability, and immediacy through the use of nonverbal behavior

cues; second, the ability to manage impressions of credibility and power through nonverbal behavior cues (Verser, 2008). Four areas of nonverbal behavior cues may be useful in forming and maintaining impressions of attractiveness, likeability and immediacy: physical attractiveness (including clothing); warmth and pleasantness (including facial expressions and head nods); immediacy (including posture, eye gaze, and body movement); and dominance (including posture and gestures) (Verser, 2008).

The overall purpose for political campaign messages was, for the most part, to differentiate between the candidates in order to secure votes, according to Verser (2008). Visual images were another strategy available to the candidates to show how the candidate differs from the opponent (Verser, 2008). However, for visual differentiation to be effective, Verser (2008) said that candidates must consistently emphasize different characteristics in themselves than they do in their opponents.

Limitations of this study were the small number of sample television ads. Further research needs to be conducted over a larger sample of ads, over a longer period of time, to better examine how candidates present themselves and their opponents. Verser (2008) suggested another avenue of research: to conduct a content analysis study of political televised advertisements from 1952 to the present, to see if it would yield similar results to this research.

Democratic and Republican candidates in the 2000 presidential election may have used their campaign websites to help shape images of themselves and manage these impressions for voters to view (Verser & Wicks, 2006). This research was important because until this time, no studies had analyzed visual content of campaign websites. Furthermore, the 2000 presidential election was the first time in which the candidates utilized internet technology to further their campaigns (Verser & Wicks, 2006).

Photographs from each candidate's site were analyzed from September 25, 2000, to December 3, 2000 (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Researchers found that Gore's campaign added more new photos more often to the campaign website than the Bush campaign did, almost 400 more. The findings indicated major differences between the visual images of candidates' interactions. The Gore website appeared to convey the candidate taking part in activities in various schools, restaurants, and neighborhoods, with the candidate dressed in rolled up shirt-sleeves and denim, often waving to constituents. Bush was typically attired in a business suit and had very little movement. Based on impression management theory, it appeared that the Gore photo gallery suggested more human interaction than Bush's did, while the Bush website presented the candidate as stern civil leader.

Limitations of the study by Verser and Wicks (2006) were that, due to the constant addition of new material to the websites, photographs may have been left out unintentionally. In addition, textual messages accompanying the images were not analyzed. Website images were not compared with photographs from other media (such as social networks or newspapers) to determine whether any bias had occurred.

CHAPTER III

Theoretical Framework

Scholarly literature has shown that presenting positive images to the voting public remains important for political candidates. Visual images have power, and are remembered long after words are forgotten (Graber, 1990). Political advertising has taken advantage of image manipulation for some time, using camera angles, lighting, effects, perception, and proximity to create a candidate's image (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Images do not function on their own, but are analogies of concepts, according to Moriarty and Garramone (1986). Images can be used to suggest associations, connections, contrasts, and generalizations (Graber, 1990). The human brain can take a photograph of a well-executed smile and interpret the image with thoughts of warmth, sincerity, and friendliness (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Using visual rhetoric, or using a system of signs, may involve a candidate standing in front of an American flag to borrow the meaning of the flag to suggest a connection to patriotism or patriotic attitudes (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Basically, visuals act as implied arguments, with the viewer filling in the missing information with his or her own reasoning (Graber, 1990). Within the visuals, a candidate's behavior is exhibited, and a candidate's behavior exists in some context; the contexts serve as cues for judgments about the candidate (Moriarty & Garramone, 1986). Observers' perspectives are important aspects of the perception of political candidates, in that different perspectives and reasoning may lead to different interpretations of a scene or strip (Moriarty & Garramone, 1986, Goffman, 1974).

Due to a gap in research in the area of recent instances in which presidential candidates manage their images in the official campaign websites and social media, this research will examine the differences in photographs and videos posted to presidential candidates' websites in

2000 and 2016, based on impression management theory and framing analysis (Verser & Wicks, 2006, Goffman, 1974). The gap in research leads to the first research question, which is:

RQ1: What are the differences in the way images were managed by presidential candidates in 2000 and 2016 on official campaign websites?

Most scholarly studies have focused on verbal rhetoric, not visual rhetoric. According to a review of the history of early political communication research by Schill (2012), only five out of more than 600 articles focused on visual symbols, and those studies mostly examined the perceived ethos of the political candidate, not the actual media. Similarly, only five articles in the past decade has examined the visual content of political candidates' websites, the most recent being Verser and Wicks (2006). Comparison of the images of presidential candidates' social media channels has been the subject of even fewer analyses, as the field of research is still very new, but is still growing, according to Schill (2012). The medium selected to publicize the candidate's image is as important as the message itself, according to Moriarty and Garramone (1986), because the public's perception of politicians can vary depending on the medium used. Analyzing a particular candidate's actions in a certain context should provide vital details about that candidate. Facial expressions, body movements, and other physical attributes may be evaluated as positive or negative. Previous studies have not attempted to determine whether any differences between particular media have existed. This research attempts to discover whether there is a disparity between the images placed by presidential candidates in the 2016 election on their official campaign social media channels, resulting in research question two:

RQ2: What are the differences in the way images were managed by presidential candidates in 2016 on official campaign social media channels?

In addition to examining the differences in the way images are managed by presidential candidates within their social media channels, this research aims to examine whether differences exist in the manner in which presidential candidates from marginalized groups manage their social media channels.

CHAPTER IV

Method

Images presented by presidential candidates in the 2000 and 2016 elections on their official campaign websites and social media channels of Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, were analyzed first quantitatively and then qualitatively, using framing analysis techniques from Goffman (1974), person perception analysis from Moriarty and Garramone (1986), and impression management analysis from Verser and Wicks (2006). The three social networks chosen, were used because they are the ones used most by people 18 years and older, according to Duggan et. al (2015). Facebook was chosen for analysis because 71 percent of online adults use it (Duggan, et. al, 2015). Twitter is used by 23 percent of online adults, and Instagram is used by 26 percent of online adults (Duggan, et. al, 2015).

In order to analyze the images of the 2000 presidential candidates' websites, two coders followed the coding procedure outlined in Verser and Wicks (2006). Coders analyzed a total of 48 images from the candidate's archived websites at www.4president.us. Images included video clips of advertisements, still photos, and screen grabs from each candidate's official campaign website from March 1999 – December 2000. In addition, a total of 5 Al Gore and George W. Bush campaign website images visually cited in the research of Verser and Wicks were analyzed (2006). These images were selected for analysis because no active websites from the 2000 presidential election were available to the researcher; therefore, archived website materials and previously cited images were selected for analysis.

For the 2016 election, coders used the same coding procedure of Verser and Wicks (2006) and analyzed image samples gathered randomly from each candidate's official campaign website and official social media channels between March 28, 2016 to April 16, 2016. This segment of

time was chosen because several pivotal primaries (including Super Tuesday) had already occurred across the United States. At this time, the field of candidates included a field of five politicians: Republican candidates Ted Cruz, John Kasich, and Donald Trump; and, Democratic candidates Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders. A total of 295 samples were selected, with 59 from each candidate. Sixteen samples were chosen from each politician's website. The remaining 43 images were broken down as follows, based on the relative popularity of each respective social media channel (Pew Research Center, 2015): 18 images from Facebook, 15 images from Twitter, and 10 images from Instagram.

The coders, both media professionals with more than a decade of employment at Nashville television news station, were trained in two stages: first, by familiarizing themselves with the coding procedures outlined in Verser and Wicks (2006) and Moriarty and Garramone (1986) by reading the actual studies; second, by conducting a trial coding session in which five sample images not used in the study were analyzed with the coding procedures outlined in Verser and Wicks (2006) and Moriarty and Garramone (1986). The coders informally compared their codes for each image, and found disagreement on only two attributes: position of the candidate image on the website page and size of the candidate image on the website page. The two-stage training lasted approximately four hours.

After the training was completed, the coders analyzed visual imagery relating to human interaction in each photo, as well visual imagery relating to the photographic setting, and appearance. Visual imagery relating to photographic production values was also analyzed. Ten specific attributes were analyzed in each image: torso position, arm position, hand position, facial expression, setting, dress/clothing choice, interaction with the crowd or colleagues,

position of the political candidate, size of the political candidate within the image, and camera angle (Moriarity & Garramone, 1986).

Coders first quantitatively analyzed the samples, and coded on an interval scale of 3-most favorable, 2-favorable, and 1-least favorable, for each attribute (Moriarty & Garramone, 1986).

Percentage of agreement scores for the ten attributes were calculated in the range of 81.5 percent to 68.7 percent. In both analyses, the number of matched coded data were divided by the total number of coded data (Scott, 1955, Birkimer & Brown, 1979, Hayes & Hatch, 1999).

In the area of human interaction, the attribute of torso position was considered first, as outlined by Moriarty and Garramone's coding scheme (1986). Standing tall or upright was coded as most favorable, sitting or an unclear torso position was coded as favorable, and slumped or bowed posture of the torso was coded as least favorable. For the attribute of arm position, arms raised above the head was coded as most favorable, arms placed in the middle of the body or unseen were coded as favorable, and arms at the side, at rest, or folded were considered least favorable. For the attribute of hand position, gesturing hands were coded most favorably, while hands held in the mid-body area were coded as favorable, while hands at the side, at rest, or in a downward position were coded as least favorable. The attribute of facial expression was coded with a cheerful, confident look as the most favorable, a serious or indeterminable look was coded as favorable, and an unhappy, worried, or tired expression was coded as least favorable.

In the category of context of the candidate's imagery, a formal setting or backdrop for the image was coded as most favorable (Moriarty & Garramone, 1986). Formal settings included debates, rallies, or other public speaking engagements at a podium, such as fundraising dinners (Moriarty & Garramone, 1986). A setting that was not clearly discernible within the image, unfocused and blurry, or miscellaneous campaign business (such as a candidate walking from an

airplane to a waiting car) was coded as favorable. An informal setting such as a local restaurant or local business was coded as least favorable, along with behind-the-scenes images of candidates preparing for speeches, reading, or talking with their families.

According to Moriarty and Garramone (1986), a candidate's choice of clothing was another notable attribute to consider for analysis of context. Formal clothing, such as a suit and tie for men, and a suit coat and skirt for women, was coded as most favorable. A male candidate wearing a dress shirt and tie but no jacket was coded as favorable, as was a female candidate's outfit which did not include a suit jacket. Informal clothing was coded as least favorable, and included raincoats, denim, khakis, and golf shirts. Interaction with potential voters has always been key for candidates in the context of a campaign, and images of candidates who spoke before cheering crowds or attentive colleagues were coded as most favorable. Images of candidates who spoke or performed some other action with an unseen crowd or colleagues were coded as favorable. Images which included the candidate appearing alone, or with an inattentive crowd or colleagues, were coded as least favorable.

The perspective of the images was examined next, with particular attention paid to photographic production values. The attribute of the position of the image within the website or social media entry was coded with the top of the page as most favorable, while the middle of the page was coded as favorable, and the bottom of the page was coded least favorable. The size of the image was next considered. Images which occupied more than half of the page were coded as most favorable, while images which occupied half of the page were coded as favorable. Images which were smaller than half of a page were coded as least favorable. The angle of the camera lens for the image was analyzed next. Images in which the photographer was looking up at the candidate subject were coded as most favorable. Images in which the photographer was on the

same level as the candidate were coded as favorable, while images in which the photographer was looking down at the candidate were coded as least favorable. In both the 2000 and 2016 presidential elections, the analysis of images bases on these ten attributes lends to another layer of story behind the story, as Goffman (1974) asked, "What is really happening here?" The pictures present a unique, visually rhetorical story beyond the differences in numerical analysis of the images.

CHAPTER V

Results

Analyses on each presidential campaign website were conducted, with highest percentages of "most favorable" attributes compared to highest percentages of "least favorable" attributes, in order to answer the first research question regarding the differences in the ways images were used:

RQ1: What are the differences in the way images were managed by presidential candidates in 2000 and 2016 on official campaign websites?

The analyses begin with the 2000 presidential candidates, George W. Bush and Al Gore, and then continue with the 2016 presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton, Ted Cruz, John Kasich, Bernie Sanders, and Donald Trump.

The first analysis was conducted on Republican candidate George W. Bush's official presidential campaign website from 2000. Bush's website image samples showed the highest number of "most favorable" percentages in the variables of dress, torso, and position of the image on the web page, and size of image, as shown in Table A1. The "most favorable" attribute of torso stance, in this case, standing tall and upright, was found in 66.7 percent of the samples. Formal dress, a most favorable contextual attribute, was found in 83.3 percent of the samples, with the candidate mostly in dark suits and ties. Position of images of Bush were at the top of the web page in 66.7 percent of the samples.

Size of images on Bush's website had the highest percentage of least favorable results at 50 percent, likely due to the large number of small head shots. Interaction had the next highest percentage of least favorable results, at 33.3 percent, with the candidate seen mostly alone, at a lectern speaking.

Comparatively, Democratic presidential candidate Al Gore's website image analysis indicated a higher number of "most favorable" percentages. Specifically, torso, arms, hands, facial expression, setting, interaction, size and position of the image on the website, were at 51 percent or higher, as shown in Table A2. Upright, standing torso position results were at 83.3 percent, as were hands in gesturing motions, and position of images at the top of the web page. Positive facial expressions, such as smiles and looks of confidence made up 66.7 percent of the web image analysis results.

Gore's arms were raised up over his head in a most favorable position in 50 percent of the samples. The setting in which the candidate was seen was equally divided between most favorable formal settings (such as debates and rallies) and favorable routine campaign business. Gore was also seen interacting positively with voters and colleagues in 50 percent of the images sampled. The attribute with the highest number of least favorable results was size of images, at 33.3 percent. Next, the frequency of attributes of the 2016 presidential candidates will be analyzed.

Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders website images

(www.berniesanders.com) had more than 51 percent of most favorable results in the areas of torso, hands, dress, setting, and position of images on the web page, as shown in Table A3.

Sanders was seen in a standing, upright position near the top of the web page 75 percent of the time in the samples. Formal dress and setting were both at 68.8 percent, with Sanders often attired in suits and ties in debate, rally, or campaign fundraising settings. The candidate was shown using his hands in a gesturing motion in 56.3 percent of the sampled images, often in a closed fist.

The frequency of positive interaction with constituents and colleagues was divided, with 43.8 percent of interactions of the most favorable type. Thirty-seven point five percent of interactions were least favorable, with Sanders alone in sampled images. Size of the candidate's images on the official campaign were very small in 12.5 percent of samples.

Images from Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton's website (www.hillaryclinton.com) had a higher frequency of most favorable results in the attributes of torso, facial expression, and dress/clothing choice, as shown in Table A4. Clinton's attire was a formal suit in 75 percent of the sampled images from her official campaign website. The former Secretary of State's torso was in an upright position in 56.3 percent of the samples. Clinton was seen smiling or looking confident in 56.3 percent of the images sampled from her official campaign website. This frequency of most favorable facial expression by Clinton was second only to Al Gore's positive facial expressions in his 2000 presidential campaign website, at 66.7 percent.

As far as least favorable attributes, Clinton was not seen interacting with voters or colleagues very often in samples from her website. The candidate was shown alone in 50 percent of the images. Types of settings in which Clinton was shown were mixed, with 37.5 percent in formal situations, 43.7 percent in routine campaign business, and 18.8 percent in informal settings, such as family gatherings. Clinton's arms were also shown folded (a least favorable attribute) in 18.8 percent of the samples.

Republican presidential candidate Ted Cruz was most frequently shown in the most favorable torso position – standing upright – 81.3 percent of the time in images from his official campaign website (tedcruz.org), as shown in Table A5. Position of the candidate's images at the top of the official campaign website occurred in 62.5 percent of the samples.

Settings for Cruz's website images were almost evenly divided between formal (most favorable) and regular campaign business (favorable), at 43.8 percent and 43.7 percent, respectively. Least favorable interactions were shown in 43.7 percent of Cruz's images, with the candidate standing alone. The size of the images on the website samples were smaller than half the page 37.5 percent of the time.

Like Cruz, Republican presidential candidate John Kasich was seen most often in sampled website images (johnkasich.com) in a most favorable torso position – standing upright. Kasich's frequency was lower than Cruz's 81.3 percent, at 62.5 percent of the samples, as shown in Table A6. Interactions shown in the samples were most often the most favorable kind, with crowds and colleagues paying close attention or cheering for Kasich in 68.8 percent of the samples, and was shown alone in 12.4 percent of the samples.

While Kasich's arms were not shown in the most favorable position in the samples, the candidate's arms were at a favorable position – in the middle of the body – in all of the samples. Settings that Kasich was shown in were almost evenly split among formal, routine campaign business, and informal settings, at 37.4 percent, and 31.3 percent, respectively. Size of the images of Kasich on his official campaign website were nearly evenly divided among most favorable size – more than half the page – and favorable – one half of the page, at 43.8 percent and 56.2 percent, respectively.

Images from Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's campaign website (donaldjtrump.com) received most favorable results in the areas of dress, torso, hands, and position of images on the web page, as shown in Table A7. Trump was shown in formal dress of suit and tie in 100 percent of the sampled images, the highest frequency of the candidates in the 2016 election. The candidate's torso position was standing upright in 87.5 percent of the images

from his campaign website. While the samples on arm movement were evenly split between arms raised (50 percent) and arms at mid-body (50 percent), Trump's use of hand gestures was present in 68.8 percent of the images.

Trump's interaction with crowds and colleagues was least favorable, with the candidate shown alone in samples 43.8 percent of the time. The size of the images of the business mogul were mostly small on Trump's website, with 43.8 percent smaller than half a page.

Next, the social media channels of the 2016 presidential candidates were analyzed, with highest frequencies of "most favorable" attributes compared to highest frequencies of "least favorable" attributes. This comparison will help to attempt to answer the second research question regarding the differences in the ways images were used:

RQ2: What are the differences in the way images were managed by presidential candidates in 2016 on official campaign social media channels?

First, images of Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton from her official Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram accounts were analyzed, as shown in Table A8. Attributes with the highest frequency of most favorable results were: dress, torso, position of images on the social media page, size of the images, interaction with voters and colleagues, and setting of the images. Clinton was seen most often in the samples in a suit, at 95.3 percent. The former Secretary of State was also shown with the most frequency in a standing, upright position, at 76.7 percent. Sixty-nine point eight percent of Clinton's images positioned at the top of the page. Images sized larger than half the page were shown in 67.4 percent of the samples. A smiling Clinton was shown in 67.4 percent of the images.

Cheering crowds and attentive colleagues were shown in 60.5 percent of the samples, but Clinton was also shown alone without any positive interactions in 25.5 percent of the samples.

This area of interaction was the one which showed the most disparity between most favorable and least favorable. Republican Ted Cruz's social media will be analyzed next.

Much like the website images of Republican presidential candidate Ted Cruz, the Texas senator's most favorable images on social media included higher frequencies of most favorable results in the areas of torso, setting, position of images, and size of images, as shown in Table A9. Cruz was shown in an upright, standing position in 81.4 percent of the samples. Position of the social media images were at the top of the page 74.4 percent of the time. Size of the images of Cruz were larger than half of the page, at 62.8 percent. While the camera angle which is most favorable, looking up at the candidate, did not rise above 50 percent for any of the candidates, Cruz had the highest of all the candidates, at 25.6 percent.

The candidate's images showed slightly more interaction with citizens and colleagues on social media than on the official campaign website. Cruz's interaction on social media was 44.2 percent of the most favorable kind – attentive colleagues and cheering crowds. Cruz's interaction on his website images of the most favorable kind was 31.3 percent. Cruz's least favorable interactions – being shown alone in images - were 37.2 on social media, and 43.8 percent on the website. Comparatively, Cruz's most favorable interactions on social media were the lowest of all the 2016 candidates. Next, John Kasich's social media images will be examined.

Republican candidate John Kasich's images on social media showed most favorable in the areas of setting, torso, interaction, size of the images, and position of the images on the page, as shown in Table A10. The Ohio governor was shown in a formal campaign setting (rally, debate, or campaign speech) in 72.1 percent of the samples. Kasich was shown in the most favorable torso position – standing upright – in 65.1 percent of the images. Interaction of the most favorable type – cheering crowds, shaking hands, attentive colleagues – was at 60.5

percent. Kasich was not shown alone very often in the samples, at 18.6 percent. Size of the candidate's images on social media were mostly larger than half the page, at 69.8 percent, and the placement of the images on the pages was near the top in 65.1 percent of the samples.

Kasich's behavior and manner of dress did have some disparities. While the candidate was seen in almost equal amounts of formal apparel and shirt sleeves (44.2 percent and 53.5 percent respectively), Kasich's facial expression was very rarely cheerful, and was only shown smiling in 18.6 percent of the images from his social media channels. The Ohio governor was also shown mostly in straight-on camera shots at 83.7 percent. Next, Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders' social media will be analyzed.

Sanders' most favorable impressions on his social media included torso, dress, position of images on the social media page, size of the images, setting, arms, and hands, as shown in Table A11. The Vermont senator was shown most often standing upright, at 86 percent, most often wearing a suit and tie (76.7 percent). The position of Sanders' images on social media pages was near or at the top in 72.1 percent of samples. The size of the images was more than half the page 69.8 percent of the time. The candidate was shown in most favorable campaign settings (rallies, speeches, debates) in 67.4 percent of the samples. Sanders raised his arms and made gestures with his hands at 53.5 percent and 55.8 percent, respectively.

While interaction with cheering crowds (most favorable) was at 51.2 percent, Sanders was also shown alone (least favorable) 34.8 percent of the time. These percentages are similar to Sanders' website interactions, at 43.8 percent for most favorable and 37.5 for least favorable.

Next, Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump's social media will be analyzed.

Trump's clothing choice, torso position, setting, position and size of image on social media pages, hand position, and interaction with crowds and colleagues were all over 50 percent,

as show in Table A12. The entrepreneur's dress was a suit and tie in 97.7 percent of the samples. Torso position was the most favorable upright and standing at 79.1 percent, a little lower than Trump's web site images, at 87.5 percent. Trump was shown in formal campaign settings in 72.1 percent of the sampled images. The candidate was shown gesturing with his hands, most often a wave, at 62.8 percent. Position of images were shown at the top of the social media page 67.4 percent of the time, and size of the images was more than half the page 60.5 percent of the time.

The candidate's interaction with cheering people and colleagues (most favorable) was at 62.8 percent, but Trump was also shown by himself (least favorable) in 30.2 percent of images sampled from Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. The next section of this study will discuss the significance of these results.

CHAPTER VI

Discussion

Several differences were found between Democratic and Republican presidential candidates in 2000 and 2016. Results will be analyzed qualitatively, using framing analysis techniques from Goffman (1974), person perception analysis from Moriarty and Garramone (1986), and impression management analysis from Verser and Wicks (2006), in order to answer the first research question:

RQ1: What are the differences in the way images were managed by presidential candidates in 2000 and 2016 on official campaign websites?

Results show that the images presented on presidential campaign websites by Democratic presidential candidates tended to be more personal and more informal, presenting a more "human" side of the politician, while the Republican candidates appeared to be more focused about the job of securing the presidency, shown at rallies, debates, and fundraising dinners mostly in suits and ties. Historical photos and family photos in black and white were found on the websites of Al Gore, Hillary Clinton, and Bernie Sanders, but on the Republican side were only found on the website of George W. Bush. Ted Cruz, John Kasich, and Donald Trump had very few historical photos, and those were in color. Democratic candidates were also shown more often in photos interacting with constituents: Al Gore had the most interaction as compared to opponent George Bush. A more detailed analysis of Gore's and Bush's official campaign website images found many other differences, as shown in the next section.

2000 Presidential Candidates' Websites

New content was added to Al Gore's campaign website much more often that Bush's, with nearly 400 more photos (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Significant contrasts between the

candidates' interactions were also found. The Gore website appeared to convey the candidate in various community interactions: taking part in activities in various schools, restaurants, and neighborhoods, with the candidate dressed in rolled up shirt-sleeves and denim, often waving to constituents. Images of Al Gore primarily featured the candidate interacting with a variety of races and genders of all ages, in various settings: classrooms, restaurants, and auditorium halls. Gore was often shown smiling, with casual attire, hands up or arms outstretched (Verser & Wicks, 2006). The archived websites also showed Gore interacting with his wife Tipper Gore and with vice presidential candidate Joseph Lieberman and Lieberman's wife. In those images, the men are shown in dress shirts and ties, with arms up, heads tilted up, smiling but looking away from the camera lens, as in Figure 1.



Figure 1

Gore's campaign staff may have been attempting to use interactive activities in an effort to "key" or present the candidate as less boring than media reports may have indicated. Keying, according to Goffman (1974), is the set of conventions by which a given activity, in this case political campaigning, was transformed into something patterned on this activity, but seen by the participants to be something else.

While Gore dressed informally more than formally, Bush was typically attired in a business suit and had very little movement. Based on media reports of Bush as not very intelligent, the images of Bush in campaigning events suggest an attempt by campaign staffers to "key" the candidate into appearing to be a serious servant of the people (Goffman, 1974). The majority of the images of George W. Bush very rarely showed the candidate interacting with the public. Instead, most of the images showed Bush at a lectern, in a head-and-shoulders shot in a dark suit and tie, typically wearing a slight smile (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Bush was also shown in images with his wife Laura Bush, usually upper torso shown or almost full length, usually smiling. In these images, the couple dressed more informally, with Bush in a shirt, no tie, and jacket, while Laura Bush usually wore a red or white blouse or dress. Vice presidential candidate Dick Cheney was shown in later images as the election was nearing its conclusion, wearing dark suits, heads uplifted (usually angled towards the right), and their arms lifted, as in Figure 2.

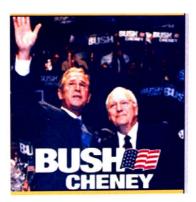


Figure 2

Overall, Democratic candidate Al Gore attempted to use more positive attributes on his official campaign website than Republican candidate George W. Bush in the 2000 presidential election. Based on impression management theory and framing, the Gore website photos suggested more human interaction than Bush's did, while the Bush website suggested the

candidate as no-nonsense, stern civil leader. Next, the results of analysis of the official campaign websites of the 2016 presidential candidates will be discussed.

2016 Presidential Candidates' Websites

While Al Gore had a hundreds of images on his presidential campaign website in 2000, Democratic presidential candidates in 2016 appear to see their websites as more of a place for recruiting volunteers, news about the candidates, and a site for supporters to donate money, rather than places for photo galleries. Both Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton had pop-up pages for persons entering the websites, asking for volunteers or donations. Both candidates also had several historical photographs in color and black and white in the biographical sections of their websites.

Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders did not have a very large number of images on his official campaign website: three images in the media kit section, and about two images per news story in the news section, with the number of stories ranging from just over a dozen to about two dozen. Sanders exhibited some characteristics of positive candidate behavior. The Vermont senator was shown standing upright in 75 percent of the sample, as in Figure 3, an image from Sanders' website home page. Just over 62 percent of the images of Sanders showed his arms in the middle region of the body. Sanders was shown gesturing with a fist or extended hand in 56 percent of the sample. He was very rarely shown smiling in the sample; instead, Sanders was more often seen with a serious, determined expression, at 87.5 percent.

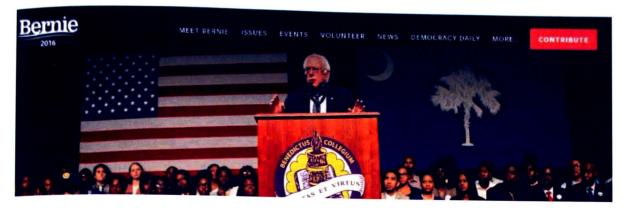


Figure 3

The candidate may have taken on a serious demeanor on purpose to show that he takes the responsibilities of the office of president seriously (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Or, Sanders' campaign managers may have felt that Sanders' show of a somber look may have actually been a keying or purposeful move (Goffman, 1974); specifically, using a show of seriousness to emphasize that the candidate has concern for his constituents, much like Al Gore did on his official campaign website in the 2000 presidential election (Verser & Wicks, 2006).

Analysis of context of images on Sanders' official presidential website suggested that the candidate typically dressed the part of a presidential candidate. Sanders was most often seen in suits and ties, with 68.8 percent of the images showing the candidate dressed in this manner. The settings for the candidate's photos also tended to be more formal than informal, with 68.8 percent showing Sanders at debates, fundraising dinners, rallies, or meetings with world leaders, such as Pope Francis.

Sanders' interactions in website photos were mostly with cheering crowds and attentive colleagues (43.8 percent), followed by images of the candidate alone (37.5 percent). The crowds tended to have young people as the main components, as well as minorities. These findings suggest that the candidate's campaign staffers attempted to key Sanders in the crowd photos to be

seen as well-liked by voters who have tendencies to be disenfranchised with the political system (Goffman, 1974).

Perspective of the images of Sanders' website appeared to show the candidate as a nofrills politician attempting to get across an urgent message. Positions of the images on the website were mostly on the top portion of the page (75 percent), suggesting importance to the news stories which they accompanied. Sizes of the images on each page were not very large, usually taking up about half the page or less (62.5 percent). Font sizes for the images were also not very large, which could be difficult for users reading the website on their mobile devices. Next, analysis of Hillary Clinton's website suggests a candidate who dresses formally, yet smiles more than any other of her peers. Findings indicated the former New York senator was attired in suits most of the time, at 75 percent. Somber dark color such as navy blue or dark green were seen the most, as in Figure 4. In the splash page which visitors to Clinton's official website see first, the candidate was attired alternatively in navy blue or cardinal red, colors similar to those found in the American flag. Such use of color suggests Clinton may be attempting to show voters she has feelings of patriotism, attempting to associate herself with those who are patriotic, or attempting to incite feelings of patriotism in others (Verser & Wicks, 2006, Graber, 1990).



Figure 4

Along with color, Clinton was the candidate out of all those analyzed who was shown smiling the most in website image samples, at 56.3 percent. According to Verser and Wicks (2006), a candidate who smiled or nodded more was seen as more likable and more attractive by voters. Campaign managers could be coaching Clinton to smile more in order to offset media reports that she seem cold or unapproachable, as in the iron maiden frame (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009).

While Clinton was shown in more than half of the website images in a most favorable, standing upright torso position (56.3 percent), the candidate also had a higher frequency of being shown in the least favorable seated position compared to other candidates (43.8 percent). Clinton was shown often sitting with family members, such as black and white photos with her parents and color wedding photos with her husband, former President Bill Clinton.

Clinton also had mixed results regarding the attribute of interaction. While nearly one-third of images (31.3 percent) showed the candidate with cheering crowds or attentive colleagues, Clinton was shown in 50 percent of website images alone, often in a shot from the

shoulders up or waist up. Like Bush, this tendency to be shown alone may be an attempt to show the candidate to be a serious public servant who can shoulder responsibility (Verser & Wicks, 2006).

Much like Clinton, Ted Cruz was often shown solo (43.8 percent) in images from his website, but Cruz tended to be dressed less formally more often, typically in dress shirts without ties, blazers, and cowboy boots (56.3 percent). Cruz did have one of the highest frequencies of standing upright and alert, most favorable torso position, at 81.3 percent. The position of the candidate's photos on his official campaign website was also near the top (a most favorable attribute) about 62.5 percent of the time, which were often associated with news updates about the candidate's latest debate or trip. Placing images near the top of the website page was associated with lending importance to the image, according to Verser and Wicks (2006).

Cruz was the candidate shown most often in the most favorable camera angle of looking upward, at 25 percent; see Figure 5 for an example. Such a camera angle can give the impression that the candidate is attempting to show authority or power (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Cruz's facial expression was often serious, at 87.4 percent.



Figure 5

In the area of context of Cruz's website images, the Texas senator was shown with attentive crowds or colleagues about one third of the time (31.3 percent). The settings in which the candidate was shown were evenly split between formal events such as debates (43.8 percent), and informal events (43.8 percent), often with his wife and children. Next, Republican candidate John Kasich's website will be analyzed.

Much like Cruz, Kasich was shown in a most favorable torso position, standing upright, in about 62.5 percent of his campaign website images, but his arms were always at his side or mid-body (100 percent). Kasich's facial expression was most often a serious, unsmiling expression (75 percent), lending a serious tone to the images (Verser & Wicks, 2006).

The Ohio governor had a higher frequency of most favorable interaction, with 68.8 percent of images showing Kasich shaking hands with voters, signing autographs, and crowds waving signs at his speeches. The context of Kasich's website images was almost evenly divided, with 37.4 percent showing the candidate in a formal (most favorable) setting; 31.3 percent showing the candidate in routine campaign business; and, in an informal setting, such as a restaurant or delicatessen, at 31.3 percent.



Figure 6

Position of images featuring Kasich were also more positive than not, with 56.3 percent of images showing the candidate at the top of the website page, often in large photo albums from various campaign stops, as in Figure 6. Camera angles were mostly straight on (93.8 percent), showing a no-nonsense candidate, according to Verser & Wicks (2006). Next, Republican candidate Donald Trump's website images will be examined.

Trump, like Kasich, was mostly shown in level camera angles (93.8 percent) which previous research has found to suggest a serious, dignified candidate (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Trump's torso position was also frequently in the most favorable category, with the candidate standing upright and alert in 87.5 percent of his website images. The business mogul was often gesturing with a pointed index finger or waving to the crowd (68.8 percent), but rarely smiling, often with a serious expression (81.3 percent).

The context and perspective of the images of Trump's website were most favorable in the areas of setting, dress, and position of images. The candidate was most often shown in a formal setting, on a stage for a debate or a town hall speech at 81.3 percent, as shown in Figure 7.

Trump's attire was shown in the samples to be the most favorable, dignified suit and tie, in 100 percent of the samples. Trump's ties were either red or blue, possibly alluding to the candidate's feelings of patriotism, or attempting to identify with those feelings with voters (Verser & Wicks, 2006, Graber, 1990). Images of Trump were most often placed near the top of the website, at 62.5 percent, lending importance with such placement (Verser & Wicks, 2006).

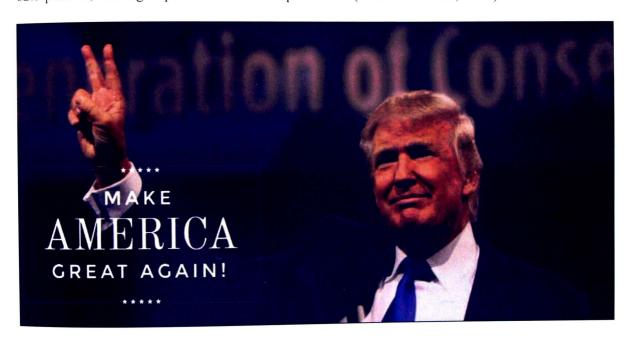


Figure 7

Trump's interaction with voters and colleagues was frequently the least positive type, with the candidate shown alone, not interacting with anyone (43.8 percent). The size of images on Trump's website was least favorable, at 43.8 percent. Next, the social media images of the 2016 candidates will be analyzed, in order to answer the second research question:

RQ2: What are the differences in the way images were managed by presidential candidates in 2016 on official campaign social media channels?

2016 Presidential Candidates' Social Media

Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders' social media images suggested a more energetic candidate than his campaign website images. The samples showed higher percentages of most favorable attributes in behavior (torso, arms, face, and hands), as well context (dress, setting, and interaction) and perspective (size). The Vermont senator was most often shown in a standing upright position (86 percent), with arms raised above his head (53.5 percent), gesturing with his hands (55.8 percent), and smiling (44.2 percent), as shown in Figure 8. According to Verser & Wicks (2006), these attributes together suggest the image of a prize fighter who has just won a match. Or, Sanders' positively managed social media images can transform him visually from an ordinary politician to a more dynamic individual, with energy and enthusiasm, based on Goffman's theory of keying (1974).



Figure 8

Sanders' contextual visual analysis showed higher percentages of most favorable attributes of dress, setting, and interaction with voters and colleagues. The Democratic presidential candidate was shown most in dignified suit and tie (76.7 percent), more so than he was on his official campaign website (68.8 percent). Sanders was shown most often in formal campaign settings (debates, rallies, speeches) at 67.4 percent. Interaction with voters and

colleagues was more prevalent on social media than on the website, at 51.2 percent and 43.8 percent, respectively.

Social media image perspective analysis showed size and position to be higher in the most favorable area. Most social media photos were at the top of the page (72.1 percent), and were larger than half the page (69.8 percent). Camera angle was more positive on social media, with Sanders shown looking upward (32.6 percent) compared to 6.3 percent on the campaign website. Next, Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton's social media will be analyzed.

Clinton's social media images featured more most favorable attributes in areas of behavior, context, and perspective. The former New York senator's torso position was upright and standing (76.7 percent), as in Figure 9. Arms and hands were at her side in 67.4 percent and 58.1 percent of images, respectively.



Figure 9

Clinton was seen smiling more in sampled social media images than website images, at 67.4 percent and 56.3 percent, respectively.

Context areas of setting, dress, and interaction were all higher for Clinton on her social media channels than her campaign website. The former Secretary of State was shown in formal settings such as debates, rallies, and campaign dinners in 58.1 percent of the social media samples, compared to 37.5 percent of website images. Clinton was most often attired in suits on social media, at 95.3 percent, while she was wearing suits in 75 percent of website images sampled. Colors of the suits were also brighter on social media, with mostly red, pink, and bright blue compared to navy blue and dark tones on the website. Interaction with cheering voters and colleagues was shown in 60.5 percent of Clinton's social media, compared to 31.3 percent on Clinton's website. While interactions with celebrities were not seen on Clinton's website, interactions with celebrities were seen on Clinton's social media, including photos of the candidate with pop singer Katy Perry, journalist Barbara Walters, and the all-female host panel of the midday television talk show, "The View." In a qualitative analysis of the visuals of the celebrity photos, Clinton seems less of a politician and lawyer and more of a celebrity, by association with the women celebrities (Verser & Wicks, 2006).

Perspectives of Clinton's images were overall more positive on social media than on the campaign website. Images tended to be positioned at the top of the page more often on social media than on the candidate's official campaign website, at 69.8 percent and 31.2 percent, respectively. Sizes of images were larger on social media than the website, at 67.4 percent and 18.8 percent, respectively. Camera angles looking upward at Clinton were slightly higher on social media than the website, at 23.3 percent and 18.8 percent, respectively. Next, the Republicans' social media sites will be analyzed, beginning with Texas senator Ted Cruz.

Cruz's behavioral attributes on social media were similar to those on his official campaign website, particularly in the area of the most favorable attribute of torso position. Cruz

was shown standing upright in 81.4 percent of social media images, compared to 81.3 percent of website images. Cruz's arms and hands in social media images were mostly in the favorable midbody area, at 74.4 percent and 60.5 percent, respectively. On Cruz's website, the candidate's arms and hands were in the favorable mid-body area at 81.3 percent and 56.2 percent, respectively. Cruz was shown smiling more on social media than on his campaign website (as in Figure 10), at 34.9 percent and 6.3 percent, respectively.

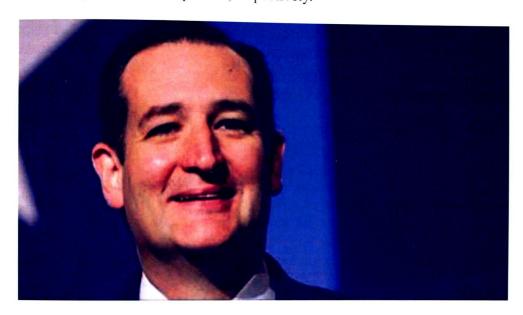


Figure 10

Contextual analysis of Cruz's social media channels shows more formal settings, more formal dress, and more interaction with voters and colleagues overall. Cruz was shown in formal settings (rallies, debates, town halls) on social media images about 58.1 percent of the time, compared to 43.8 percent on his website. Cruz was shown wearing suits and ties in 41.9 percent of social media images sampled, compared to 31.3 percent on his website. Interaction with cheering, energized voters on social media was 44.2 percent, while most favorable interaction on Cruz's website was lower at 31.3 percent.

Perspective of Cruz on his social media channels included more photos positioned at the top of social media feeds, larger images, yet about the same amount of most favorable camera

angles, looking up at the candidate. Position at the top of social media feeds was at 74.4 percent, compared to 62.5 percent for Cruz's campaign website. Size of images larger than half a page was shown in 62.8 percent of social media, compared to 18.8 percent of website images sampled. Camera shots of Cruz from an upward angle were about the same between social media and website images, at 25.6 percent and 25 percent, respectively. Overall, Cruz seemed to be a stern politician in both social media and website images, but seemed to be more energetic and active in social media images, perhaps again a suggestion that such enthusiasm may help reach more voters (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Next, social media images of Republican presidential candidate John Kasich will be analyzed.

Kasich's behavior in social media images roughly paralleled those of the candidate's website images of an experienced politician. The Ohio governor was shown in an upright torso position in 65.1 percent of social media images sampled, and in 62.5 percent of website images sampled. While Kasich gestured with his hands (most favorable) in 30.2 percent of social media images, he gestured in about 25 percent of website images. Arm placement attribute saw the most disparity, with Kasich raising arms above his head in 25.6 percent of social media images, and not raising his arms above his head at all in his campaign website samples. Facial expressions in social media images varied slightly, with Kasich shown smiling in 18.6 percent of social media and 25 percent of website images sampled.

Contextual analysis of Kasich's images suggested more formal settings (most favorable) in social media images than in website images, at 72.1 percent and 37.4 percent, respectively. Kasich also dressed more in suits and ties on social media than on his website, at 44.2 percent and 25 percent, respectively. Interaction with voters and colleagues was slightly lower on social media for Kasich, at 60.5 percent compared to 68.8 percent on the campaign website.

Perspective analysis of Kasich's images showed slightly more positive positioning of images, larger sizes of images, and more upward tilt of camera angles. Positioning images at the top of social media feeds was found in 65.1 percent of images sampled, compared to 56.3 percent of website images. Images larger than half a page were found in 69.8 percent of social media (Figure 11), and 43.8 percent of website images sampled.



Figure 11

Kasich was shown with an upward camera angle in 11.6 percent of social media images sampled, and in none of the website images sampled.

Overall, Kasich's images seemed to indicate the same straight-ahead, serious leader behavior on both his social media channels and website, with more voter interaction in more formal settings, suggesting that the campaign managers want to reinforce the image of the candidate as an experienced civil servant, much as Bush's handlers did in his website images (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Next, Donald Trump's social media images will be analyzed.

Frequencies of Trump's most favorable behavioral attributes in social media images were similar to frequencies of website images. Trump was shown in an upright standing position in 79.1 percent of social media, slightly lower than 87.5 percent of website images sampled. The business mogul's arms were not shown above his head (most favorable) as much in social media images as in website images, at 37.2 percent and 50 percent, respectively. Trump gestured with his hands in 62.8 percent of social media images, and in 68.8 percent of website images. A noticeable difference was found in the amount of smiling (most favorable). Trump was shown smiling in 37.2 percent of social media images sampled (Figure 12), and in 18.8 percent of website images.



Figure 12

Frequencies of Trump's most favorable contextual attributes in social media images sampled differed significantly from website images. The candidate was seen in formal campaign

settings in 72.1 percent of the social media images, compared to 81.3 percent of website images. Trump's attire was mostly formal suits and ties in social media images, at 97.7 percent, only slightly lower than in website images, at 100 percent. Interaction with cheering crowds and attentive colleagues was much higher in social media images than website images, at 62.8 percent and 31.3 percent, respectively.

Most favorable perspective attributes were more frequent in Trump's social media images than in website images. Photos were placed near the top of the social media feed 67.4 percent of the time, compared to 62.5 percent for website images. Images larger than half the page were shown on social media feeds than on Trump's campaign website, at 60.5 percent and 37.5 percent, respectively. Slightly more images showed Trump from an upward camera angle in social media than on the official campaign website, at 7 percent and 6.3 percent, respectively. Overall, Trump appeared more friendly in images on social media than on his website. Higher frequencies of smiles and positive interactions create a warmth and approachability in candidates, according to Verser and Wicks (2006).

Candidates also showed more arm and hand movement in social media overall, lending them more energetic, dynamic personae that may very well help them win more votes (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Dressing more formally was more frequent overall, giving candidates an air of authority, and of actually looking the part of political leader (Goffman, 1974). Larger images were also more prevalent, possibly due to candidates/actors seeking to appear larger than life to voters, as in a theatrical frame (Goffman, 1974).

Among marginalized groups, Democratic presidential candidate Hillary Clinton was shown in more images with favorable behaviors and context than Republican presidential candidate Ted Cruz, who has a Latino background. Clinton's percentages in the areas of torso,

face, setting, dress, interaction, image position, and size, were all over 50 percent, while Cruz's percentages were over 50 percent in the areas of torso, setting, image position, and size of image.

Along party lines, Democratic presidential candidates had more positive impressions in their social media channels. All the candidates' images in campaign social media versus campaign websites overall showed more smiles and warmth, which tends to lead voters to think the candidates are more friendly, more approachable, and more likeable (Verser & Wicks, 2006, Moriarty & Garramone, 1986). Yet, Democrats scored higher overall in positive candidate behavior, with Hillary Clinton smiling and being cheerful the most at 67.4 percent. Candidates also showed more arm and hand movement in social media overall, lending them more energetic, dynamic personae that may very well help them win more votes (Verser & Wicks, 2006). Democratic candidates did show more activity, with Bernie Sanders showing the most upright standing, hand gesturing, and arm raising, at 86 percent, 53.5 percent, and 55.8 percent, respectively. Republican candidates succeeded at providing more positive context, with Donald Trump having the most positive dress impressions in social media and on his website, at 97.7 percent and 100 percent respectively. Trump's and John Kasich's social media images also contained the highest percentage of positive settings, at 72.1 percent, slightly more than the highest Democratic candidate Bernie Sanders, at 67.4 percent. Democrats were also better at managing the perspectives of their impressions, with Sanders having the overall best positions of his images on both his website and social media, at 75 percent and 72.1 percent, respectively. Republicans were shown to dress better and have better settings in their website and social media images, yet the Democrats were shown more positive interaction with voters and positive behavior displayed on websites and social media. Based on the analysis of images, the hypothesis was supported, but only when comparing each party's group of candidates;

Democratic presidential candidates more effectively managed positive images on their official social media networks and official campaign websites than Republican candidates in the 2000 and 2016 presidential elections. However, once the presidential race narrowed and votes were cast, the Republican candidate, Donald Trump's positive dress and better settings appeared to resonate with voters more than Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton's positive interactions with voters and positive behavior.

Despite the majority of national polls predicting Clinton as the victor, Trump was declared the winner of the 2016 presidential election with 290 votes in the Electoral College; Clinton received 232 votes in the Electoral College, a surprise to many of her supporters and media entities (Lopez & Gibson, 2016). As in 2000, the Republican candidate received the majority of the Electoral College votes, while the Democratic candidate received the majority of the popular vote; Clinton received 47.81 percent of the 127.7 million votes counted, while Trump received 47.28 percent. According to Alexander (2016), Trump's margin of loss of the popular vote could range from 500,000 votes to 1,000,000 votes. As far as Trump's win in the Electoral College, Clinton's high profile celebrity supporters (Sia, Lady Gaga, and Pink) as well as millions of regular Americans have signed a petition to ask Republican electors to honor the popular vote and give the win to Clinton (Alexander, 2016). While the likelihood of such a development happening has been called unlikely (Alexander, 2016), it was an indicator of just how much of a surprise the Trump victory was.

According to my analysis and analysis of several media, like Lopez & Gibson (2016), Clinton appeared to have the most experience, the most positively managed images, and the public speaking skills to take the advantage in several of the presidential debates; yet, Trump overcame any lead the Democratic candidate held. All this, despite a very messy campaign:

Trump's sexist comments were caught on tape, questions about his tax returns which were never answered, as well as a series of debates which never really addressed questions from the public on where either candidate stood on important policies such as whether the United States should continue its wars on the other sides of the globe, whether women and other marginalized groups should be paid equally, what should be done about the mental health and physical health of American veterans returning from the front lines, or what to do about environmental concerns. But a poorly-timed letter may have ended it all for Clinton.

The Democratic candidate has laid blame at the feet of James Comey, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who, just days before the election, sent a letter to Congress regarding the reinstatement of the investigation into the former Secretary of State's possible mishandling of classified information while using a private email server from 2009 – 2012 (Lopez & Gibson, 2016). A second letter from Comey cleared Clinton of any wrongdoing, but Clinton has claimed that the development damaged her standings in the polls (Lopez & Gibson, 2016).

These events leading up to the election no doubt left a mark on each candidate, and researchers will be analyzing those for years to come. But how did the candidates' looks lead to this outcome? Exploring further the hypothesis tested in this paper may offer some answers about the larger picture, particularly regarding how well each candidate's campaign team presented positive images to the voting public.

According to my research, Trump made sure he looked the part, from the beginning of his campaign down to the very end. The Republican candidate's well-managed physical appearance and photographic settings were apparent in his official social media and website, and carried over into his television interviews and personal life. Trump's most common look was a business suit

and tie. Trump's reputation as a business mogul and his celebrity status from the NBC reality show, "The Apprentice," meant that most Americans were already familiar with his fashion style. Very rarely was he ever seen during the campaign not wearing his trademark suits, and when he donned informal garb, there was almost always the "Make America Great Again" baseball cap, which echoed his campaign message.

This reinforcement of Trump's brand was prevalent in his website, and his official social media channels, as well as his own personal Twitter account (Johnson, 2016). Because Trump never deviated from the same script – a visual script and a verbal one – and that script of "Making America Great Again" endeared him to the disgruntled white working class voters, also known as the Silent Majority or the Reagan Democrats, according to Johnson (2016). In contrast, Clinton seemed to be "rebranding herself throughout the campaign, leaving voters to wonder who was the real Hillary" (Johnson, 2016).

On the other hand, Hillary Clinton was seen very often in her favorite gear throughout her candidacy: the pant suit, and was often smiling, but towards the end of the campaign, the smile that may have seemed genuine at first seemed more and more forced. I think the meme that made the rounds of social media which showed Clinton in a dark pantsuit alone on a park bench wearing retro-shaped sunglasses really encapsulated what happened: this very talented woman who had the best handlers in the world, was not really that happy at all, was not really that much of a people person after all, and just wanted to be left alone. It was this distance, this cool exterior that repelled voters. This disconnect between what Clinton looked like and what she said, these disparities in managed visual impressions she put out and the verbal messages she sent out led me, and I think other women voters, to believe that even though Hillary Clinton was a great woman candidate but she was not the one candidate that would be the first woman

suitable for the Oval Office. Too many questions remained in my mind about what happened in Benghazi, what happened with the classified information kept on her private email server, and I think those questions weighed heavily on the minds of other voters – no matter what their gender, social class, or race. As mentioned previously, some limitations existed within this research, which will be explored next.

CHAPTER VII

Limitations of Research

Some new information was gathered regarding presidential candidates and their management of images in their campaign websites and social media. However, keeping up with the flow of new images proved to be challenging in this study, as new material was added each hour or every few minutes to candidates' websites and social media. This proved to be an issue in previous research as well (Verser & Wicks, 2006).

Time frames for the gathering of samples could also have been lengthened to follow the candidates and their images from the start of the election to the finish. Such action would provide a more representative sample, and would allow the analysis of images over time to observe any changes in behavior, context, or perspective.

Other limitations of this study include the lack of relational statistical analyses to show any significant relationships between particular attributes. Determining whether such attributes such as candidate's behavior and interaction are related to the setting in which the candidate is shown would be helpful to both researchers and campaign managers.

Studying the effects of viewing the attributes on voters' choices would have helped establish how much positive impressions actually help or hinder candidates. Analysis of the comments and "likes" and "shares" on social media images as well as the images themselves might have further assisted in the area of determining the effectiveness of positive impressions. Areas of exploration for future researchers will be explored next.

CHAPTER VIII

Future Research

Comparing the online media of websites and social media with more traditional media such as television or newspapers would be one way to advance the research of visual political communication, by helping to determine any differences in treatment of candidates, or differences in themes from medium to medium. Analyzing each social media channel on its own and comparing each's images and effectiveness would be another avenue of further study. Adding more channels to study, such as Google Plus, Snapchat, and Tumblr, would also help to advance the study of visual rhetoric in politics, particularly as social media use grows.

CHAPTER IX

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CHAPTER X

Appendix A

Table 1 Analysis of George W. Bush's 2000 Presidential Campaign Website Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Loost F- 11	
Torso	66.7%	33.3%	Least Favorable	Total
Arms	16.7%	66.7%	16.6%	100.0%
Hands	16.7%	66.6%	16.7%	100.0%
Face	50.0%	50.0%	10./%	100.0%
Setting	33.3%	50.0%	16.7%	100.0% 100.0%
Dress	83.3%		16.7%	100.0%
Interaction		66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Position	66.7%	33.3%	22.370	100.0%
Size	33.3%	16.7%	50.0%	100.0%
Camera Angle	33.3%	66.7%	20.070	100.0%

N=29

Table 2 Analysis of Al Gore's 2000 Presidential Campaign Website Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	Total
Torso	83.3%	16.7%		100.0%
Arms	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
Hands	83.3%	16.7%		100.0%
Face	66.7%	33.3%		100.0%
Setting	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
Dress	33.3%	66.7%		100.0%
Interaction	50.0%	33.7%	16.7%	100.0%
Position	83.3%	16.7%		100.0%
Size	50.0%	16.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Camera Angle	33.3%	66.7%		100.0%

Table 3

Analysis of Bernie Sanders' 2016 Presidential Campaign Website Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	T-4-1
Torso	75.0%	25.0%	Least Favorable	Total
	37.5%			100.0%
Arms		62.5%		100.0%
Hands	56.3%	43.7%		100.0%
Face	12.5%	43.7%		
Setting	68.8%	25.0%	6.207	100.0%
	68.8%		6.2%	100.0%
Dress		31.2%		100.0%
Interaction	43.8%	18.7%	37.5%	100.0%
Position	75.0%	25.0%	57.570	
Size	25.0%		10.507	100.0%
		62.5%	12.5%	100.0%
Camera Angle	6.3%	93.7%		100.0%

N=16

Table 4

Analysis of Hillary Clinton's 2016 Presidential Campaign Website Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	Total
Torso	56.3%	43.7%		100.0%
Arms	6.2%	75.0%	18.8%	100.0%
Hands	12.5%	75.0%	12.5%	100.0%
Face	56.3%	43.7%		100.0%
Setting	37.5%	43.7%	18.8%	100.0%
Dress	75.0%	18.7%	6.3%	100.0%
Interaction	31.3%	18.7%	50.0%	100.0%
Position	31.2%	68.8%		100.0%
Size	18.8%	68.7%	12.5%	100.0%
Camera Angle	18.8%	81.2%		100.0%

N = 16

Table 5

Analysis of Ted Cruz's 2016 Presidential Campaign Website Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	Total
Torso	81.3%	18.7%	zoust i avoiable	
Arms	18.8%	81.2%		100.0%
Hands	43.8%	56.2%		100.0%
Face	6.3%	87.4%	6.3%	100.0%
Setting	43.8%	43.7%	12.5%	100.0%
Dress	31.3%	56.2%	12.5%	100.0%
Interaction	31.3%	25.0%	43.7%	100.0%
Position	62.5%	37.5%	43.7%	100.0%
Size	18.8%	43.7%	27.50/	100.0%
Camera Angle	25.0%	75.0%	37.5%	100.0%
N=16	23.070	73.070		100.0%

Table 6

Analysis of John Kasich's 2016 Presidential Campaign Website Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	Total
Torso	62.5%	37.5%		100.0%
Arms		100.0%		100.0%
Hands	25.0%	75.0%		100.0%
Face	25.0%	75.0%		100.0%
Setting	37.4%	31.3%	31.3%	100.0%
Dress	25.0%	75.0%		100.0%
Interaction	68.8%	18.8%	12.4%	100.0%
Position	56.3%	43.7%		100.0%
Size	43.8%	56.2%		100.0%
Camera Angle	93.8%	6.2%		100.0%

N = 16

Table 7

Analysis of Donald Trump's 2016 Presidential Campaign Website Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	T
Torso	87.5%	12.5%	Least Favorable	Total
Arms	50.0%	50.0%		100.0%
Hands	68.8%			100.0%
	18.7%	31.2%		100.0%
Face		81.3%		100.0%
Setting	81.3%	18.7%		100.0%
Dress	100.0%			100.0%
Interaction	31.2%	25.0%	43.8%	100.0%
Position	62.5%	37.5%	13.070	
Size	37.5%	18.7%	12.00/	100.0%
Camera Angle	6.2%		43.8%	100.0%
Camera Angie	0.270	93.8%		100.0%

N=16

Table 8

Analysis of Hillary Clinton's 2016 Presidential Campaign Social Media Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	Total
Torso	76.7%	20.9%	2.4%	100.0%
Arms	25.6%	67.4%	7.0%	100.0%
Hands	32.6%	58.1%	9.3%	100.0%
Face	67.4%	27.9%	4.700	100.0%
Setting	58.1%	25.6° o	16.3%	100.0%
Dress	95.3%	4.700		100.0%
Interaction	60.5° o	14.0° o	25.500	100.0°°
Position	69.8° o	27.9° o	2.300	100.0° o
Size	67.4° o	32.6° a		100.0° o
Camera Angle	23.30 0	76.7° o		100.0° o

N=43

Table 9

Analysis of Ted Cruz's 2016 Presidential Campaign Social Media Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	T-4-1
Torso	81.4%	18.6%	Least Favorable	Total
Arms	20.9%	74.4%	4.70/	100.0%
Hands	30.2%	60.5%	4.7%	100.0%
Face	34.9%	65.1%	9.3%	100.0%
Setting	58.1%	32.6%	9.3%	100.0%
Dress	41.9%	55.8%	2.3%	100.0% 100.0%
Interaction	44.2%	18.6%	37.2%	100.0%
Position	74.4%	23.3%	2.3%	100.0%
Size	62.8%	27.9%	9.3%	100.0%
Camera Angle	25.6%	67.4%	7.0%	100.0%

N = 43

Table 10

Analysis of John Kasich's 2016 Presidential Campaign Social Media Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	Total
Torso	65.1%	34.9%		100.0%
Arms	25.6%	69.8%	4.6%	100.0%
Hands	30.2%	62.8%	7.0%	100.0%
Face	18.6%	81.4%		100.0%
Setting	72.1%	11.6%	16.3%	100.0%
Dress	44.2%	53.5%	2.3%	100.0%
Interaction	60.5%	20.9%	18.6%	100.0%
Position	65.1%	34.9%		100.0%
Size	69.8%	25.5%	4.7%	100.0%
Camera Angle	11.6%	83.7%	4.7%	100.0%

N = 43

Table 11

Analysis of Bernie Sanders' 2016 Presidential Campaign Social Media Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Loggt Farm 1.1	- ·
Torso	86.0%	14.0%	Least Favorable	Total
Arms	53.5%	46.5%		100.0%
Hands	55.8%	44.2%		100.0%
Face	44.2%	51.2%		100.0%
Setting	67.4%	27.9%	4.6%	100.0%
Dress	76.7%		4.7%	100.0%
Interaction	51.2%	18.6%	4.7%	100.0%
Position	72.1%	14.0%	34.8%	100.0%
• 1	69.8%	25.6%	2.3%	100.0%
Size		25.6%	4.6%	100.0%
Camera Angle	32.6%	60.4%	7.0%	100.0%

N = 43

Table 12

Analysis of Donald Trump's 2016 Presidential Campaign Social Media Images

Attribute	Most Favorable	Favorable	Least Favorable	Total
Torso	79.1%	20.9%		100.0%
Arms	37.2%	53.5%	9.3%	100.0%
Hands	62.8%	27.9%	9.3%	100.0%
Face	37.2%	55.8%	7.0%	100.0%
Setting	72.1%	23.2%	4.7%	100.0%
Dress	97.7%	2.3%		100.0%
Interaction	62.8%	7.0%	30.2%	100.0%
Position	67.4%	27.9%	4.7%	100.0%
Size	60.5%	27.9%	11.6%	100.0%
Camera Angle	7.0%	81.4%	11.6%	100.0%

N=43

CHAPTER XI

Appendix B

CODING SHEET – based on Moriarty & Garramone (1986)

Scale: 3-most favorable, 2-favorable, 1-least favorable

1. Torso

Standing tall, upright -3

Sitting or unclear – 2

Slumped or bowed – 1

2. Arm Position

Arms above head -3

Arms mid-body or unseen -2

Arms at side, at rest, or folded - 1

3. Hands

Hands gesturing – 3

Hands in mid-body or unseen – 2

Hands at side, at rise, or down - 1

4. Face

Cheerful, confident -3

Serious, indeterminate - 2

Unhappy, worried, or tired – 1

5. Setting

Formal - 3

Unclear, unfocused, miscellaneous business – 2

Informal - 1

6. Dress/Clothing Choice

Dignified suit and tie -3

Shirtsleeves, light suit, unclear – 2

Casual, sport, raincoat - 1

```
7. Interaction

Cheering crowd, attentive colleagues – 3
Unseen crowd, colleagues – 2
Alone, inattentive crowd, colleagues - 1

8. Position

Top of page – 3
Middle of page – 2
Bottom of page - 1

9. Size

Larger than ½ page – 3
½ page – 2
Smaller than ½ page - 1

10. Camera Angle

Looking up at - 3
Level – 2
```

Looking down at - 1

CHAPTER XII

Appendix C

SAMPLED IMAGES

Figure 1: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: Verser & Wicks (2006)



Figure 2: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: Verser & Wicks (2006)



Figure 3: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4President.us



Figure 4: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 5: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 6: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 7: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 8: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 9: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 10: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 11: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us

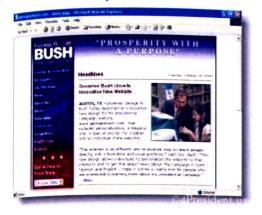


Figure 12: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 13: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 14: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 15: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 16: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 17: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 18: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 19: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 20: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 21: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 22: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 23: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 24: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us

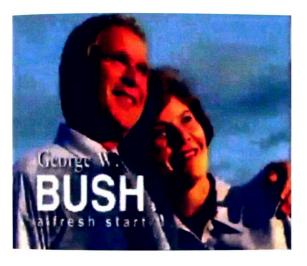


Figure 25: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us

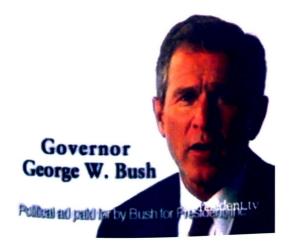


Figure 26: George W. Bush Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 27: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: Verser & Wicks (2006)



Figure 28: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: Verser & Wicks (2006)



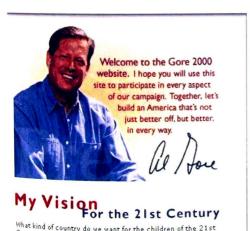
Figure 29: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: Verser & Wicks (2006)



Figure 30: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 31: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



What kind of country do we want for the children of the 21st Century? That is the choice we face in the year 2000. I want to create an America where we empower every individual by continuing our prosperity, and bringing revolutionary change to our public schools. I want to create an America where we recognize how tired today's working parents are — and take action to strengthen families and enable them to spend more time together. I want to create an America where we create safer, stronger, more livable communities — with clean air and water, and parks and playgrounds for our children. With your help and hard work, that is the America we can have — for ourselves and for our children.

Figure 32: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 33: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 34: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 35: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 36: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 37: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 38: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 39: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 40: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 41: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 42: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 43: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 44: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 45: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 46: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: <u>www.4president.us</u>



Figure 47: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 48: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 49: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us

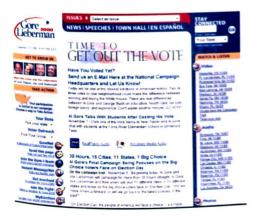


Figure 50: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 51: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 52: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 53: Al Gore Presidential Campaign Website, Courtesy: www.4president.us



Figure 54: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.berniesanders.com.



Figure 55: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Meet Bernie

Bernie Sanders is a Democratic candidate for President of the United States in 2006, he was elected to the U.S Senate after 16 years as Vermont's sole congressman in the House of Representatives. Bernie is now serving hid second term in the U.S. Senate after winning re-election in 2012 with 71 percent of the vote.

Figure 56: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from: www.berniesanders.com.



Figure 57: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Figure 58: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:



Figure 59: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.berniesanders.com.



Figure 60: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.berniesanders.com.



Figure 61: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from:



Figure 62: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.berniesanders.com.



Figure 63: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Figure 64: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:



Figure 65: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Figure 66: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:

www.berniesanders.com.



Figure 67: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:



Figure 68: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from: www.berniesanders.com.

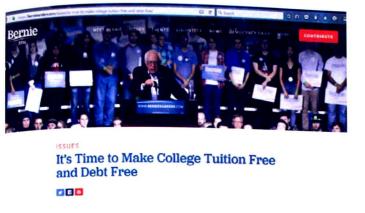


Figure 69: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Figure 70: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:



Figure 71: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from: www.hillaryclinton.com.



Figure 72: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:



Figure 73: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Figure 74: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.hillaryclinton.com.



Figure 75: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Figure 76: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:



Figure 77: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:

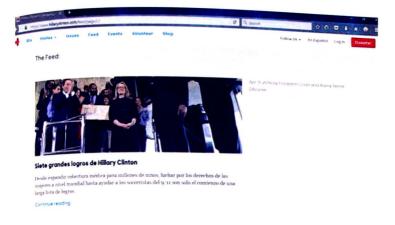


Figure 78: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:

www.hillaryclinton.com.



Figure 79: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:

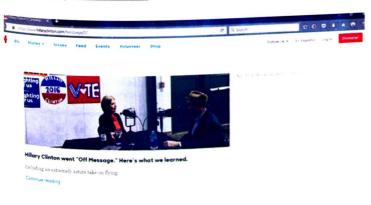


Figure 80: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from: www.hillaryclinton.com.

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Figure 81: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.hillaryclinton.com.



Figure 82: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Figure 83: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.hillaryclinton.com.



Figure 84: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:



Figure 85: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:



Figure 86: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from: www.tedcruz.org.



Figure 87: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:

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Figure 88: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:

www.tederuz.org.

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www.tedcruz.org.

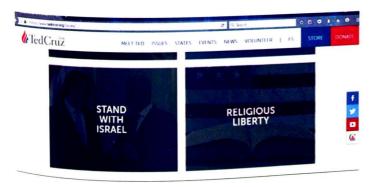


Figure 89: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.tedcruz.org.



Figure 90: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from: www.tedcruz.org.



Ted Cruz at AFP Road to Reform

Figure 91: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:

www.tederuz.org.



Join the #CruzCountry #CruzToVictory!

Figure 92: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:

www.tederuz.org.



We Must Defend Religious Liberty

Figure 93: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:

www.tedcruz.org.



Republican Primary Voters are Looking for a Consistent Conservative who Walks the Walk

Figure 94: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:

www.tedcruz.org.



@brucereddenjr • Apr 02

<u>attedcruz</u> it's a great day to be in <u>#WI</u>

#WisconsinDecidesDinner #CruzToVictory #CruzCrew #Cruz2016 #ChooseCruz Lco



@brucereddenjr • Apr 01

.atedcruz talking to #CourageousConservatives at #PLC2016

#CruzToVictory #CruzCrew #Cruz2016



@brucereddenjr • Mar 31

Watch atedcruz on ajimmykimmel tonight on ABC #Kimmel #CruzToVictory #CruzCrew #crufts2016 #ChooseCruz t.co

Figure 94: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from: www.tedcruz.org.



Figure 95: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.tedcruz.org.

Figure 96: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:

www.tedcruz.org.



Figure 97: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from: www.tedcruz.org.



Figure 98: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from:

www.tederuz.org.



Figure 99: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from

www.tederuz.org.



100

Figure 100: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from:

nnw.tederuz.org.



Figure 101: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 102: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from

www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 103: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.

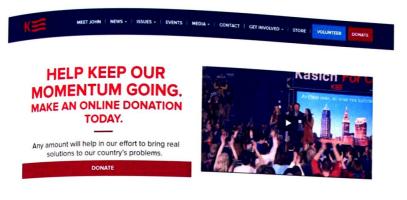


Figure 104: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 105: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 106: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 107: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 108: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 109: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 110: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 111: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 112: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 113: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 114: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 115: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 116: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016, from www.johnkasich.com.



Figure 117: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 118: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 119: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from:

www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 120: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from:

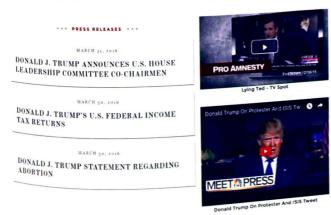


Figure 121: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 122: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 123: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from:



Figure 124: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 125: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 126: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.

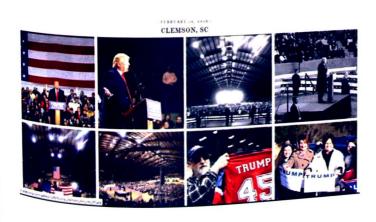


Figure 127: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 127: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 128: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from:



Figure 129: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 130: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 1, 2016 from: www.donaldjtrump.com.



Figure 131: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Website. Retrieved April 16, 2016 from:



Figure 132: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 133: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4,2016, from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 134: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016,

from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 135: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 136: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016 from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 137: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016 from:

www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 138: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



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Figure 143: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016,

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Figure 144: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 145: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 146: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016,

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Figure 147: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 148: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 149: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016,

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Figure 150: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from:

www.facebook.com/tederuz.



Figure 151: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/tedcruz.



Figure 152: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016, from:

www.facebook.com/tedcruz.



Figure 153: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/tedcruz.

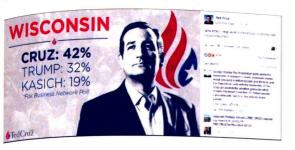


Figure 154: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/tedcruz.



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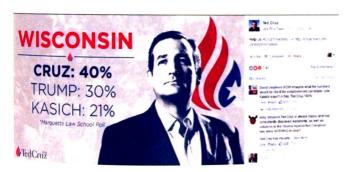


Figure 158: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from:

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Figure 165: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from:

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Figure 167: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from.

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Figure 168: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/johnkasich.



Figure 169: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/johnkasich.



Figure 170: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from:



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Figure 173: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from:



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Figure 176: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016, from:



Figure 177: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/johnkasich.



Figure 178: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from:

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Figure 179: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016, from:



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Figure 181: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from:

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Figure 185: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016, from:

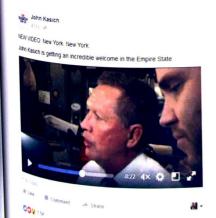


Figure 185: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/berniesanders.



Figure 186: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016,

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Figure 187: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016,

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Figure 188: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/berniesanders.



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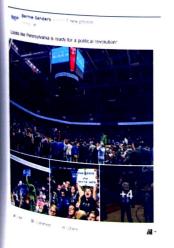


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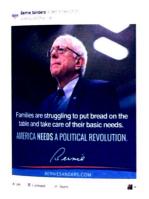


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Figure 199: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016,

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Figure 200: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/berniesanders.

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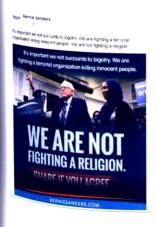


Figure 203: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 28, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/donaldtrump.



Figure 204: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved March 31, 2016, from: www.facebook.com/donaldtrump.



Figure 205: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from:

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Figure 219: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from:

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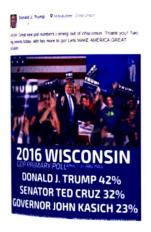


Figure 220: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Facebook Post. Retrieved April 7, 2016, from:

Mu.facebook.com/donaldtrump.



Figure 221: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from:



Figure 222: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.

Hillary in 1995: Raising the minimum wage is the right thing to do.
Hillary in 2016: Still true.



Figure 223: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.

Mouldn't be a Brooklyn campaign stop without a visit to @JuniorsCheeseck.



Figure 224: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from:



Figure 225: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 226: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.

"I will stand my ground against any efforts to undermine our country or set us back."

—Hillary



Figure 227: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from:



Figure 228: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.

Wisconsin: Go vote today! Text WHERE to 47246 to find your polling place.



Figure 229: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.

Fighting for women and girls for 40 years and counting.



Figure 230: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from: nun twitter.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 231: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.

How can you stop @GovWalker and the GOP's attacks on education and women's rights?

Figure 232: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from:

munitter.com/hillaryelinton.



Figure 233: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from:

unw.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.



Figure 234: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryclinton.

We should all be able to get time off to care for a newborn baby or sick spouse. It's time to guarantee paid leave.



Figure 235: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/hillaryelinton.



Figure 236: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from num.twitter.com/tedcruz.





Figure 237: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from

www.twitter.com/tedcruz.



Figure 238: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from

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Figure 239: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from

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Tonight is a turning point. It is a rallying for Join us: tedcruz.org/volunteer cy. Join us: tedcruz.org/volunteer youtube.com/watch?v=UPq5gE...#ChooseCruz



fed Crea's Victory Speech in Wisconsin | April 8, 2016 Lean more about fed Creat wave tedcreat ong Follow field fwitter com/field:

Figure 240: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from

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Figure 242: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from mun.twitter.com/tederuz.



Figure 243: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from www.twitter.com/tedcruz.

The Date Schwerfer Washington Examiner Independent of the National Right to Life endorsed Ted Cruz, the only candidate "who has always been pro life" washex amv/1N7cX11



Figure 244: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from

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Figure 245: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from www.twitter.com/tedcruz.

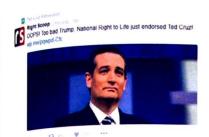


Figure 246: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from www.twitter.com/tedcruz.



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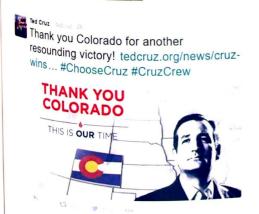


Figure 248: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from https://www.twitter.com/tedcruz.





Figure 249: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from

www.twitter.com/tederuz.





Figure 250: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from

www.twitter.com/tederuz.



Figure 251: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from: www.twitter.com/johnkasich.



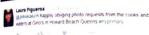


Figure 252: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from:

www.twitter.com/johnkasich.

In case you missed it: Turnout for last night's town hall in Huntington, NY was incredible. johnkasich.com/blog-posts/lon



Figure 253: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from:

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Figure 254: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from:

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Figure 255: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 5, 2016, from:

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reason to hop aboard the Kasich train? Check out our top 5 list: johnkasich.com/blog-posts/5-r ... 5 Reasons To Vote For John Kasic

Figure 256: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from:

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Figure 257: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from:

Honest.

Direct.

Authentic.

Tenacious.



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Figure 259: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved April 9, 2016, from:

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Figure 260: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from:





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Figure 266: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Tweet. Retrieved March 30, 2016, from:

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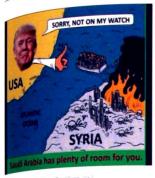




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Figure 296: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016, from: www.instagram.com/hillaryclinton/.



Figure 297: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016,

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Figure 301: Hillary Clinton Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016,

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Figure 306: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016, from: www.instagram.com/cruzforpresident/.



Figure 307: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016, from:

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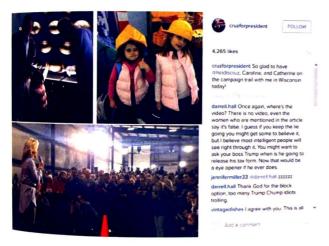


Figure 310: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016, from:

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Figure 311: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016, from:



Figure 312: Ted Cruz Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016, from:

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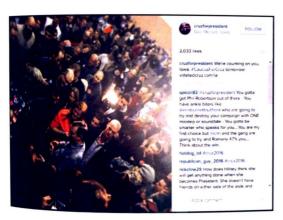


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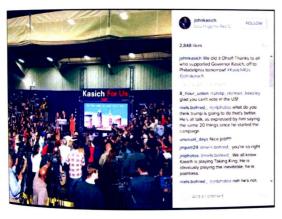


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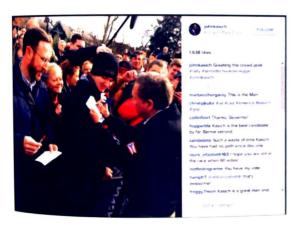


Figure 325: John Kasich Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016 from:

www.instagram.com johnkasich.



Figure 326: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016,

from www.instagram.com/berniesanders/.



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Figure 334: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016

from: www.instagram.com/berniesanders.



Figure 335: Bernie Sanders Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016 from: www.instagram.com/berniesanders/.



Figure 336: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016,

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Figure 337: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016, from:

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Figure 338: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016, from: www.instagram.com/realdonaldtrump/.



Figure 339: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016, from:

www.instagram.com/realdonaldtrump/.



Figure 340: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved March 29, 2016,

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Figure 341: Donald Trump Presidential Campaign Instagram Post. Retrieved April 6, 2016, from: nun.instagram.com/realdonaldtrump/.



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