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POLITICAL MARKETING AND THE U.S.
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES: A
FUNCTIONAL AND RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF
DONALD TRUMP’S AND HILLARY CLINTON’S
DISCOURSE ON TWITTER

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Reza BANAVAND

ABSTRACT
Doctoral Thesis
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Political Marketing and the U.S. Presidential Campaign Strategies: A
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Elections are considered among the most critical events in a national calendar. Twitter, as a cost-effective and rapid means of dissemination of information, has led to a loss of dominance of legacy media on public opinion and plays a pivotal role in electoral campaigns during which political elites increasingly use the platform as a channel for political marketing that has the potential to be a game-changer, to reshape political campaigns, and to impact the outcome of national elections. This trend has been quite apparent in the 2016 presidential election campaign. Thus, considering this trend, the aim of this thesis is to analyze official Twitter posts of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 presidential general election campaign using William Benoit's functional theory of political campaign discourse, Benoit's image repair theory, and Aristotle's rhetoric theory in order to examine the use of traditional political campaign strategies on Twitter platform. This thesis fills a gap and extends the literature because there is no study combined the stated theories to apply them to Twitter posts of political candidates. In the analysis part of the thesis, a content analysis of 1776 Twitter posts of the candidates since the first presidential debate (Sept. 26, 2016) leading up to the Election Day (Nov. 8, 2016) was conducted.

The results revealed that; consistent with the functional theory's predictions, candidates employed acclaims (positive tone) more frequently than attacks (negative tone), while defenses (refutation) were rare. Trump attacked more, and acclaimed less than Clinton. However, candidates were found to place much more emphasis on character than policy in their Twitter posts. Trump discussed policy more and character less than Clinton. He also attacked more on policy and less on character compared with Clinton. In addition, candidates similarly tended to promote their campaigns through nonfunctional themes. Furthermore, an investigation of image repair strategies used by Trump and Clinton revealed that the candidates neither apologized for their wrongful acts nor introduced a plan to solve the problems concerned with the acts. Besides using simple denial strategy, candidates often sought to diminish the offensiveness of their wrongful acts through attacking credibility of the accuser. Moreover, the analysis of rhetorical appeals showed that emotional appeal was the most prevalent and logical appeal was the least common rhetorical strategy used in the Twitter posts. Emotional appeal (pathos) was equally employed by the candidates, while Trump focused on logical appeal (logos) more and on credibility appeal (ethos) less than Clinton. The results showed that the frequency of the use of rhetorical strategies varied based on the functions of the posts.

Finally, the analysis revealed that Twitter users favorited and got engaged with character topic more than policy issues. Popularity and engagement of acclaims were more than attacks in Trump's posts, and less than attacks in Clinton's tweets. Attacking the accuser while simply denying the accusation attracted the most number of favorites in Trump's posts, whereas bolstering was the most popular image repair strategy used by Clinton. Credibility appeal was the most successful rhetorical strategy in terms of gaining more number of favorites and retweets, whereas emotional appeal attracted the most comments. Logical appeal successfully attracted likes and shares from Clinton's followers, while it had the least popularity among Trump's followers. The analysis also revealed that videos boosted the popularity and engagement of the Twitter posts of both candidates, whereas

links had no significant effect on them. Images and hashtags had positive effect on Clinton's posts and negative effect on Trump's posts in terms of attracting more number of favorites, retweets, and comments.

Keywords: Political Marketing; Functional Theory; Image Repair Theory; Rhetoric Theory.



ÖZET

Doktora Tezi

Politik Pazarlama ve ABD Cumhurbaşkanlığı Kampanya Stratejileri: Donald Trump ve Hillary Clinton'ın Twitter Söylemlerinin Fonksiyonel ve Retorik Analizi

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Seçimler, ulusal takvimdeki en kritik olaylar arasında kabul edilmektedir. Bilgi yaymanın uygun maliyetli ve hızlı bir yolu olarak Twitter, eski medyanın kamuoyu üzerindeki hakimiyetini kaybetmesine neden olmuştur. Bununla birlikte, siyasi partiler ve adayların bu platformu politik pazarlama için bir kanal olarak, giderek daha fazla kullandığı görülmektedir. Twitter'ın seçim kampanyalarında oyun değiştirici olma, siyasi kampanyaları yeniden şekillendirme, ve ulusal seçimlerin sonucunu etkileme potansiyeline sahip olarak, çok önemli bir rol oynadığı görülmektedir. Bu eğilim 2016 Amerikan Cumhurbaşkanlığı seçim kampanyasında da oldukça belirgin olarak görülmektedir. Bu eğilim göz önüne alındığında, bu tezin amacı, William Benoit'ın “işlevsel siyasi kampanya söylemi teorisini”, Benoit'ın “imaj restorasyon teorisini” ve Aristoteles'in “retorik teorisini” kullanarak, 2016 Amerikan Cumhurbaşkanlığı genel seçim kampanyası sırasındaki Donald Trump ve Hillary Clinton'ın resmi Twitter paylaşımlarının analizi ve Twitter platformunda klasik siyasi kampanya stratejilerinin kullanımını incelemektir. Bu tez belirtilen teorileri siyasi adayların Twitter paylaşımları üzerine uygulamak sureti ile literatürde var olan bir boşluğu doldurmaktadır. Tezin analiz bölümünde, seçim gününe (8 Kasım 2016) giden ilk cumhurbaşkanlığı tartışmasından (26 Eylül 2016) itibaren adayların 1776 Twitter paylaşımının içerik analizi yapılmıştır.

İşlevsel teorinin öngörülleri ile tutarlı olarak sonuçlar, adayların “övgülleri” (pozitif) “saldırılarından” (negatif) daha yaygın olarak kullanırken, “savunmaları” (çürütme) nadir olarak kullandığını ortaya çıkarmış ve Trump’ın Clinton’dan daha çok “saldırdığı” ve daha az “övgü” kullandığı görülmüştür. Adayların Twitter paylaşımlarında “siyasetten” daha çok “karakteristik özelliklere” vurgu yaptıkları belirlenmiştir. Trump’ın, Clinton’a göre “siyaseti” daha çok ve “karakteristik özellikleri” daha az tartıştığı, Clinton’a kıyasla “siyasete” daha fazla ve “karakteristik özelliklere” daha az saldırıda bulunduğu ortaya konulmuştur. Ek olarak, adayların kampanyalarını “işlevsel olmayan” temalar üzerinden tanıtmaya eğiliminde oldukları belirlenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, Trump ve Clinton tarafından kullanılan imaj restorasyon stratejileri üzerine yapılan analiz sonucunda; adayların ne kötü eylemleri için özür dilediğini, ne de eylemlerle ilgili sorunları çözmek için bir plan sunduğunu ortaya konulmuştur. Basit inkar stratejisi kullanmanın yanı sıra, adaylar genellikle suçlayanın güvenilirliğine saldırarak yanlış eylemlerinin olumsuzluklarını azaltmaya çalışmışlardır. Retorik bileşenlerinin analizi ise, “duygusal çekiciliklerin” en yaygın olarak kullanıldığını ve “rasyonel çekiciliklerin” Twitter paylaşımlarında en az kullanılan retorik strateji olduğunu göstermiştir. Duygusal çekicilikler (pathos) adaylar tarafından eşit olarak kullanılırken, Trump, Clinton’dan daha fazla rasyonel çekicilikler (logos) ve kaynağın güvenilirliğine (ethos) odaklanmıştır. Sonuçlar, retorik stratejilerin kullanım sıklığının gönderilerin işlevlerine göre değiştiğini göstermektedir.

Son olarak, seçmenlerin, Twitter paylaşımlarında, “siyasetten” daha çok karakteristik özellikleri tercih ettikleri belirlenmiştir. “Övgüllerin” popülerliği ve seçmenler tarafından yapılan etkileşimler (beğen, paylaşım, ve yorum kazanması), Trump’ın paylaşımları için “saldırılarından” daha fazla, ve Clinton’ın paylaşımları için ise “saldırılarından” daha azdır. “İtham edenlere saldırmak” ve aynı zamanda diğer stratejileri kullanmak, Trump’ın gönderilerinde en çok etkileşim alan paylaşımlar iken, “destekleme”, Clinton tarafından kullanılan paylaşımlar arasında en popüler imaj restorasyon stratejisidir. “Kaynağın güvenilirliği” bileşeni, favori ve retweet kazanma

açısından en başarılı retorik stratejisi iken, “duygusal çekicilikler” bileşeni ise en çok yorumu alandır. “Rasyonel çekicilikler” bileşeni, Clinton’ın takipçilerinin beğenilerini ve paylaşımlarını başarıyla kazanırken, Trump’ın takipçileri arasında ise en az popülerliğe sahiptir. Analiz sonuçları paylaşımlarda video kullanımının her iki adayın Twitter gönderilerinin popüleritesini ve katılımını artırdığını ancak, link paylaşılmasının onlar üzerinde önemli bir etkisi olmadığını ortaya koymuştur. Görüntüler ve hashtag’ler favori, retweet ve yorum çekme açısından Clinton’ın paylaşımları üzerinde olumlu etki yapmamış ve ancak Trump’ın paylaşımlarını olumsuz etkilemiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Politik Pazarlama; İşlevsel Teorisi; Retorik Teorisi; İmaj Restorasyon Teorisi.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Affective Cognitive Consistency
AMA	American Marketing Association
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPD	Commission on Presidential Debates
CPM	Comprehensive Political Marketing
DMI	Decision/Making/Information
DRT	Direct Response Television
ECFA	Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement
EDT	Eastern Daylight Time
ELM	Elaboration Likelihood Model
ET	Eastern Time
FMT	Free Media Thesis
GIF	Graphics Interchange Format
ICC	Intra-Class Correlation Coefficient
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IPA	Institute for Propaganda Analysis
LIS	Library and Information Science
LOV	List Of Values
MOP	Market-Oriented Party
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
OCEAN	Openness, Conscientiousness, Extroversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism
PACs	Political Action Committees
PINS	Political Information System
POP	Product-Oriented Party
RVS	Rokeach's Value Survey
SNS	Social Networking Sites
SOP	Sales-Oriented Party
TPB	Theory of Planned Behavior
VAL	Value and Life Style
VOA	Voice of America

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INTRODUCTION

Politics and political elections in particular, have become important not only for politicians and voters but also for political marketers. Especially in countries such as the United States, where staggering sum of money is spent to fuel a 596-day political contest. According to campaign finance watchdog *OpenSecrets.org*, \$6.5 billion dollars was spent on the 2016 presidential and congressional contests. Relying on Federal Election Commission data, *The Washington Post* reported that the primary and general presidential elections accounted for \$2.4 billion in which Hillary Clinton's unsuccessful campaign (\$768 million in spending) outspent Donald Trump's successful one (\$398 million) by roughly 2 to 1. Both protagonists raised a huge amount of resources. Clinton got a total sum of \$1.4 billion from her own campaign (\$623.1 million), her party and joint fundraising committees (\$598.2 million), and from Super PACs (\$204.4 million) while Trump gathered a total sum of \$957.6 million from his own campaign (\$334.8 million) his party and joint fundraising committees (\$543.4 million), and from Super PACs (\$79.3 million) (*OpenSecrets.org*).

Political marketing is concerned with the application of marketing concepts and techniques from business world to politics by political elites in order to achieve their goals (Lees-Marshment, 2009:692). Many scholars have discussed the application of marketing techniques by political organizations in electoral campaigns (Glick, 1967; McGinniss, 1969; Nimmo, 1970; Kotler, 1975; Kotler & Kotler, 1981; Mauser, 1983; Newman & Sheth, 1985; Smith & Saunders, 1990; Butler & Collins, 1994). Political communication, a very important component of political marketing has been rooted in classical rhetoric as described by Aristotle (Barutti, 2014). A political phenomenon becomes tangible and discussable merely after being expressed in words. Therefore, politics and language are interrelated and interdependent. Political discourse is a specific interdisciplinary field of study that involves the combining of many academic disciplines such as political science, communication, sociology, psychology, socio-linguistics etc. "Political discourse analysis can be examined as political communication viewed linguistically and of linguistics viewed communicatively" (Dylgjeri, 2014:58). Political discourse analysis is not just a

method, but it's considered as a cross discipline in its own right that have two types of intentions: communication and persuasive intentions. These intentions are fulfilled through a successful persuasive-communicative action (Dylgjeri, 2014).

Political marketing and communications strategies during election campaigns have always been central to the electoral and policymaking process. However, this process was fundamentally changed by some important structural developments during the last decade. Especially with the evolution of new digital technologies and the mass media expansion from the legacy media such as TV, radio, broadcasting, and newspapers to the Internet with websites and social media platforms (Buccoliero et al., 2020) that has led the traditional political structures to migrate toward digital social media platforms (Kwon et al., 2012). The rise of digital media has altered the structure and strategy of political organizing around the world (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Bimber, & Davis, 2003; Bimber et al., 2012; Chadwick, 2007; Karpf, 2012; Bimber, 2014). The communication mediums and information channels have been changing dramatically. Internet was a revolutionary advancement that provided one-to-many communication (Davis, 2017). Internet has a key role in communication technologies in modern society. Political elites, governments, individuals, and institutions around the world are trying to enhance public engagement by utilizing new technologies (Bertot et al., 2010; Lorenzi et al., 2014). The surge in use of social media has become a prominent trend in the online world and everyday communication in recent years (Borah, 2016). The new media has provided a cost effective platform to political elites to communicate quickly and directly with their audience (Heverin & Zach, 2010). It boosts openness and transparency into the working of the political organizations (Bertot et al., 2010). The emergence of social media in general and Twitter in particular has provided the online public with an appropriate tool to actively participate in processes of news creation and circulation. Launched in 2006, Twitter is undoubtedly one of the most popular online information sharing services accessible through variety of digital and mobile devices (Mills et al., 2009; Li & Lao, 2010). With 100 million daily active users and 500 million tweets sent daily, Twitter is the main microblogging platform that is highly associated with non-personal engagement (Mosca & Quaranta, 2016). It is the dominant social and political reporting platform for strategic communication (Li et

al., 2010) and is used to exchange different types of news and information such as yellow press news as well as serious matters, such as politics (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2011). The 2008 presidential elections were a watershed moment in the use of social network sites (SNS) for political campaigning and played a revolutionary role in changing aspects of governance (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011). American government administration embraced social media platforms as strategic political tools. In May 2015, when the white house launched the @POTUS Twitter handle for the US commander in chief Barack Obama, until then the president had been using his own @BarackObama account. This was considered as a major development for the US government administration who were for the first time recognizing the significance of embracing social media platforms as strategic political tools (Clohessy et al., 2017). Politicians employ social media primarily as a channel for political marketing that has the potential to be a game-changer (Buccoliero et al., 2020).

Scholars have begun investigating the influence of social networking sites on politics (Williams & Gulati, 2008; Limperos, & Oliver, 2010; Woolley et al., 2010; Fernandes et al., 2010; Johnson & Perlmutter, 2010; Hong & Nadler, 2012). However, more research is needed in several areas in order to understand the use of social networking sites particularly Twitter in political campaigns (Steenburg, 2015). How political elites employ Twitter platform to connect to the voters? Are the political campaign strategies used by the candidates in Twitter similar to those in legacy media? What kind of Twitter content engages voters the most and attracts the most social endorsement? The answer to those questions and more are found in this thesis. In this thesis theoretical frameworks from William Benoit's functional theory of political campaign discourse, William Benoit's image repair theory, and Aristotle's rhetoric theory were imposed on to get an understanding of how politicians communicated over Twitter during the 2016 U.S. presidential general election. The focus of this study is on how Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton used Twitter as a tool for strategic storytelling and created specific narratives for American citizens.

Donald Trump, a billionaire property developer entered the 2016 presidential race as a Republican and was elected the 45th president of the United States on

November 8th, 2016 in a surprise victory over Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton. Although losing the popular vote, Trump became the oldest first-term U.S. president, and the first president of the United States without prior military or government service. “For many, this was a surreal moment and was a far cry from the 2008 presidential election result when Barack Obama famously tweeted “This is history...” following his victory.” Even more extravagant was that 61% of exit polls was against him (Clohessy et al., 2017:2). A celebrity businessman and television personality who frequently courted damning controversy during the election campaign could shape the unprecedented ‘Trump phenomenon’ with his unprecedented communication skills establishing a close relationship with his audience, as well as presenting his political personality, and publishing his goals (Liu, 2016). That looks like a “fully formed, stunningly successful campaign which, if it has not rewritten the rules of electioneering, got away with flouting most of them” (The Economist, 2016). His Twitter prolific (@realDonaldTrump) and often vocal use of the Twitter during the election campaign has been recognized as a key differentiator by many analysts. His tweets garnered publicity and global attention (Clohessy et al., 2017). Twitter platform “has never been considered a great vehicle of nuance, but is arguably facing its toughest test yet under President Trump - who has amply demonstrated during his presidential campaign that he’s capable of tweeting insults, tweeting vitriol, and tweeting in a way that weaponized his supporters - especially when he feels under critical fire” (Lomas, 2017). *The Independent* newspaper quoted data scientist David Robinson, who performed a statistical analysis of the president-elect’s Twitter account suggesting that “Trump’s tendency to use his Twitter account in the manner of a celebrity - by adopting an off-the-cuff style in the tweets he publishes- was a contributing factor in the billionaire’s presidential victory” (Bulman, 2016). Tweeting like an entertainer rather than a stereotypical politician was another key factors of Donald Trump in garnering the interest of millions of Americans (Bulman, 2016). Donald Trump was widely perceived as a particularly negative candidate. Authors like William Benoit’s were interested to see whether content analysis supports this perception (Benoit et al., 2016). This in this thesis three theoretical frameworks were employed to get a deeper understanding. The first is functional theory of political campaign discourse. The

second is rhetorical theory and the third is image repair strategies in the context of crisis communication. This thesis is a comparison of functional, rhetorical and image repair strategies used by Trump and Clinton in Twitter platform during the presidential campaign.

The thesis is composed of five chapters. The first chapter is about political marketing, its goals and definitions, its difference from commercial marketing, as well as its relationship with communication. Then the chapter discusses the political marketing process, orientations, and history. The second chapter discusses political marketing mix including political product, price, place, and promotion. Moreover, political communication mix from both traditional and specific perspectives are discussed. Political campaign, propaganda, persuasion, and the political climate on social media in general and Twitter in particular are also explained in this chapter. The third chapter refers to the theatrical framework and the three theories used in this thesis in detail, as well as the response and engagement concept. The fourth chapter is concerned with the methodology including: aim of the research, research questions and hypotheses, method of analysis, guidelines for the content analysis, content analysis, reliability, and analysis of the results. A detailed findings regarding the three theories followed by the popularity and engagement were reported in the last chapter. The thesis was concluded by discussion, limitations and implications for future research, and conclusion.

CHAPTER ONE

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL MARKETING THOUGHT

1.1. POLITICAL MARKETING

Political marketing is about application of marketing concepts and techniques from business world to politics by political organizations in order to achieve their goals (Lees-Marshment, 2009:692). Political elites such as “candidates”, “politicians”, “leaders”, “parties”, “governments”, “government departments and programmers”, “NGOs”, “local councils” and “interest groups” apply business marketing tools and concepts “to understand, respond to, involve and communicate with their political market” in order to achieve their wide ranging goals (Lees-Marshment, 2014:2).

Stanley Kelley (1956) is generally considered as the one who initially used the term “political marketing” in his study of on the “increasing influence of professional persuaders or campaigners in politics” (Wring, 1997). Kelley used political marketing virtually synonymous with propaganda because of their similar purpose of persuasion. In his view, propaganda is the forthcoming of political marketing (Apasheev, 2006). However, according to O’Shaughnessy (1990:23), though propaganda and political marketing have similar targeting strategies” comparison of it with contemporary political marketing “would yield superficial resemblances but ultimately be misleading.”

Researches have offered different labels for political marketing like “political management”, “packaged politics”, “promotional politics” or more broadly “modern political communications” (Scammell, 1999:739). Researchers have been trying to show the applicability of marketing to politics (Less-Marshment, 2008). Political marketing is the outcome of a marriage between marketing and political science. However, it is not a simple imposing of marketing and politics one over the other (Lees-Marshment, 2009). As an academic field, political marketing research has made significant progress by publishing its own dedicated journal, special issues of international marketing journals, special research interest groups of

the academy, handbooks and edited volumes, dedicated academic and practitioner conferences and articles in leading field journals (Butler & Harris, 2009). The *Journal of Political Marketing* (Haworth Press) which was established in 2002 and publication of the first comprehensive textbook of *Political Marketing: Principles and Applications* (Lees-Marshment) in 2009 played a great role in this progress (Marland et al., 2012:4).

Scammell (1999) stated that the “marketing concept” is the key to understand political marketing. Without it, political marketing is nothing but a modern form of propaganda and with it, we are talking about a transformation of political entities and fundamental relationships between political leaders, party members and voters. Marketing is not synonym for selling, advertising or public relations. These all are only parts of the broader marketing mix. Marketing is “the process by which companies engage customers, build strong customer relationships, and create customer value in order to capture value from customers in return” (Kotler & Armstrong, 2018:29). American Marketing Association (AMA, 2019) defined marketing as “the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large”

Political marketing is known as a fundamental part of political life (Lees-Marshment, 2014:1). There is scholarly consensus about the importance of political marketing in politics, and its significant effect on the political sphere (Franklin, 1994; Jamieson, 1992a, 1992b; Kavang, 1995b; Newman, 1999; O’Shaughnessy, 1990a; Scammell, 1995). However, it’s also criticized for the negative effects it has on politics and devaluing democratic process (Moloney & Colmer, 2001; Dermody & Scullion, 2001, 2003; Lilleker, 2005; Henneberg et al., 2009). Political scientists mostly criticized ethical aspects of political marketing management practicing the application of marketing instruments during election campaigns. While marketing scientists concerned with theatrical shortcomings of political marketing like the lack of systematic juxtapose of different political marketing concepts with concepts of democracy and political practice (Dermody & Scullion, 2001, 2003; Henneberg et al., 2009; Moloney & Colmer, 2001; Lilleker, 2005). The strategic aspect of political marketing is a very serious threat to democratic processes (Scammell, 1995,1999).

Freedom, as a premise of democracy creates favorable conditions for application of sophisticated marketing strategies. However, the marketing strategies focusing on certain political options limit citizen's political choices. In other words, developing democracy creates conditions that limits democracy. That is one of the various paradoxes of democracy (Cwalina et al., 2015:ix).

However, political marketing has been also discussed in positive light (Henneberg et al., 2009:166). Some political scientists have pessimistic views about political marketing concept while a small group of them embraced political marketing pointing out its distinctive strengths that are not accessible through political science theory (O' Shaughnessy, 2001). Harrop (1990:221) argues that "a marketing perspective offers a fresh slant on understanding electoral change and that marketing techniques have improved the quality of political communication in British elections." Political marketing has the potential to advance the understanding of political motivation and political behavior (Butler & Collins, 1999; Lees-Marshment, 2001a). The relationship building approach of political marketing provides significant interactions between voters and political organizations (Bannon, 2005; Johansen, 2005; Henneberg & O'Shaughnessy, 2009). Moreover, some researches claim that marketing is valuable or even essential in increasing voter interest, knowledge and involvement in policy (Popkin, 1994; Wring, 1997; Scammell, 2003; Corner, 2003). Market research helps to understand voter's needs and wants. Voter profiling is used to create new segments. Strategy guides creation of political brand. Procurement of volunteer involvement is done through internal marketing. Communication messages are tested and refined by analytics and experimental research. Expectations are fulfilled and progress is conveyed by delivery management after election (Lees-Marshment, 2014:1). Market intelligence is used to identify target market's concerns to design, implement and communicate political product offering more effectively (Lees-Marshment, 2001a, 2001b, 2009:692; O'Cass, 1996; Ormord, 2005).

1.1.1. Political Marketing Goals

Political elites apply political marketing in various ways depending on their nature in order to reach their wide-ranging ambitions and dreams such as influencing election results as well as advancing policy or ideology change (Marland et al., 2012:8). Political parties are different in size and goals. Major parties' dominant goal is to win control of government by winning a general election (Lees-Marshment, 2001, 2004). Minor parties mostly seek for carrying out a specific case or influencing debate and policy. Nevertheless, individual candidates look for their own seats rather than success for a party (Lees-Marshment, 2014). In electoral systems that are very candidate based or have weak political parties, parties often look for only electoral victory as the only strategic goal and they are often active only in electoral arena (Plasser & Plasser, 2002; Strömbäck, 2007). However, in moderate or extreme multi-party systems, theatrically, political parties are active at least in four distinct arenas including "parliamentary", "electoral", "internet", "media" arenas. In each, they seek for a different strategic goal (Sjöblom, 1968; Strömbäck, 2002; Nord & Strömbäck, 2003):

- **Parliamentary arena:** maximizing parliamentary influence;
- **Electoral arena:** maximizing electoral and voter support;
- **Internal arena:** maximizing internal cohesion;
- **Media arena:** maximizing positive publicity.

Besides the size of the parties and the electoral systems that influence the party goals, the relative importance of the strategic goals in multiple arenas vary between different parties also depending on the political cultures, the degree of professionalized political campaigning, the extent to which parties and political campaign are market oriented, the degree of polarization between political parties, the media system, and whether or not they are in power. For example, the internal arena is more important if a party is based on mass membership. The media arena is expected to be more important in political systems with high electoral volatility, and the parliamentary arena is more important for the parties that form part of a

parliamentary majority. However, a party can be successful in all arenas simultaneously, having four harmonious goals (Strömbäck, 2007:60).

According to Lees-Marshment (2014:2), political goals contain long-term sustainability. They are more broader, intangible, normative and values based than just electoral victory or winning power. In her book, she has mentioned a group of political goals as bellow:

- “Get a new issue onto the political agenda;
- Create more understanding of a complex policy such as security policy;
- Stimulate action on a growing problem like climate change;
- Ensure an emerging new group in society is better represented;
- Pass legislation such as gay marriage;
- Change behavior in society such as reducing drink driving;
- Gain support from new segments in the market such as the healthy pensioners;
- Create a long-term positive relationship with voters in a constituency;
- Increase the number and activity of volunteers in a campaign or party;
- Become a coalition partner in government;
- Win control of government;
- Gain support for a vision such as universal health care;
- Manage expectations of leaders;
- Get credit for delivery;
- Increase the vote in the next election;
- Make the world a better place.”

The relative importance of political goals varies based on different factors such as party, candidate, political system, the rules, size, philosophy and resources of the marketplace (Lees-Marshment, 2014).

1.1.2. Political Marketing Definitions

Political marketing explores a range of analytical and applied political behavior from a strategic perspective. It considers what happened in the past, what works and what should be done, as well as what might have gone wrong (Lees-Marshment, 2014). Political marketing requires a comprehensive approach. It can be applied not only to party-electoral behavior but also to legislatures, local government, the media, and public services, with both concepts and techniques from marketing, and an understanding from political science literature as well as management studies (Less-Marshment, 2008). There is no uniform definition of political marketing among scholars (Scamell 1999:718). Until 2002, definitions of political marketing mirrored developments in the definition of commercial marketing (Henneberg, 2002). Earlier definitions of political marketing focused on political candidates satisfying voters as the central exchange partners rather than a wider focus on relationships. In such definitions political marketing was perceived as a process rather than an organizational philosophy. Later on, definitions of political marketing reflected developments in the field of commercial marketing from a transaction based to a relationship based approach (Ormrod, 2012).

As part of the broadening of marketing debate in the early 1970's, similar to other scholars (Kotler, 1975; Levy & Kotler, 1969), Shama (1975a:793) defined political marketing as "the process by which political candidates and ideas are directed at the voters in order to satisfy their political needs and thus gain their support for the candidate and ideas in question."

In this point of view, political parties and candidates were often compared to political products. Media played a big role in popularizing the identification of political marketing as product marketing (Cwalina et al., 2015:8). According to Kotler and Levy (1969:10), "political contests remind us that candidates are marketed as well as soap." However, Marland (2003:106) argued that this idea was outdated and hardly appropriate in modern political marketing. That is only a mechanism to condemn the side effects of political marketing. Candidate, parties and ideas are not sold, they are marketed. Selling them with selling concept rather than promoting them within marketing concept is only used by amateur, underfunded and

small-scale election campaign teams. This idea was also supported by O'shaughnessy (1987:63) who stated that "politics deals with a person not a product." Moreover, numerous psychological and neuropsychological researches demonstrated differences in human reactions to political candidate and to consumer product (Lastovicka & Bonfield, 1982; Hampson et al., 1986; Menon & Johar, 1997; Mitchell et al., 2005). Therefore, direct application of mainstream marketing to politics may lead to errors (Cwalina et al., 2015:9). Furthermore, Newman (1994) also criticized the "selling soap" analogy and demonstrated that consumers' decision making process in buying a soap brand does not require same time, effort and information that are needed in voting behavior. He argued that in reality, candidates and parties can be compared to service provider companies. From this perspective of service marketing, parties and candidates offer service to their consumers. The actual delivery of the offered service occurs after the candidate or party begins to govern not during the electoral campaign.

Newman (1994) considered that "exchange" is the key concept for political marketing. The exchange of vote as time and support, with the service offered after election. This idea earlier had been presented by Shostack (1977:79) who stated that "services are often inextricably entwined with their human representatives. In many fields, a person is perceived to be the service. "Because of the unique characteristics of service such as being intangible, heterogeneous, perishable, inseparable, non-standardized, and having no owner (Berry, 1980; Kearsley & Varey, 1998), it can be referred, to a large extent, to the politics (Butler & Collins, 1994; Lloyd, 2005). O'Cass (1996:38) stated that "marketing is applicable to political processes as a transaction occurs and is specifically concerned with how transactions are created, stimulated and valued." Wring (1997, 653), defined political marketing as "the party or candidate's use of opinion research and environmental analysis to produce and promote a competitive offering which will help realize organizational aims and satisfy groups of electors in exchange for their votes." However, although service marketing is more in common with political marketing compared to product marketing, it does not mean that they are identical. Despite all similarities between mainstream marketing and political marketing, the direct transferability of the former to the latter is questionable. The difference between them is big enough to claim that

political marketing needs to develop its own independent frameworks (Cwalina et al., 2015).

According to Butler and Collins (1994:19) political marketing is “the marketing of ideas and opinions which relate to public or political issues or to specific candidates. In general, political marketing is designed to influence people’s votes in elections. It is different from conventional marketing in that, concepts are being sold as opposed to products or services. Political marketing, however, employs many of the same techniques used in product marketing, such as paid advertising, direct mail and publicity.” Scammell (1995) and Kavanagh (1995, 1996) defined political marketing as electioneering, a set of strategies and tools to trace and study public opinion before and during an election campaign, in order to develop campaign communications and to assess their impact.

However, political marketing is not limited to campaign period. In contemporary word, political marketing practically deals with a permanent campaign, in which there is no clear difference between the period right before the election and the rest of the political calendar (Harris 2001; Newman 1999b). Political marketing is not a simple exchange. It has a strong focus on long-term interactive relationships (Cwalina et al., 2015:17). Governing in the whole political calendar gives the chance to politicians to enhance their credibility by stratagems in order to secure their legitimacy (Nimmo, 1999). Considering this, Lock and Harris (1996:21) defined political marketing as both a “discipline” and an “activity.” According to them, political marketing as a discipline is “the study of the processes of exchanges between political entities and their environment and among themselves, with particular reference to the positioning of those entities and their communications. Government and the legislature exist both as exogenous regulators of these processes and as entities within them.” Whereas an activity, political marketing is “concerned with strategies for positioning and communications, and the methods through which these strategies may be realized, including the search for information into attitudes, awareness and response of target audiences.”

Lees-Marshment (2001a) stated that political marketing is about political parties that use business marketing concepts, tools and techniques in order to achieve their goals. Henneberg and O’shaughnessy (2002:68) proposed that “Political

marketing seeks to establish, maintain and enhance long-term voter relationships at a profit for society and political parties, so that the objectives of the individual political actors and organizations involved are met. This is done by mutual exchange and fulfilment of promises.”

Hughes and Dann (2009:244) underlined the role of stakeholders in political marketing and identified four groups as relevant for analysis, namely: political marketers, voter-consumers, party stakeholders and society in general. They proposed that political marketing is “a set of activities, processes or political institutions used by political organizations, candidates and individuals to create, communicate, deliver and exchange promises of value with voter-consumers, political party stakeholders and society at large.”

Winther-Nielsen (2011:29) built a definition on the definition proposed by Lock and Harris (1996) with its focus on entities and environments, and following the modern perception of political marketing as focusing on exchanges of value. They considered political marketing to be “concerned with reciprocated exchanges of value between political entities and their environments.” The American Marketing Association (AMA, 2018) defines political marketing as “Marketing designed to influence target audiences to vote for a particular person, party or proposition. Attempts by an individual or organization only to educate or change attitudes are not political marketing.” Baines et al. (2003:56) suggested a multipart definition of political marketing by which campaigning organization:

- “Communicates messages to its supporters and other electors and influencers, often through the mass media (but not always) in order to encourage support for their organization or discourage support for a competing organization (i.e., negative campaigning);
- Interacts with and responds to supporters, influencers, legislators, opponents, and the general public in the development and adaptation of policies and strategies;
- Delivers to all stakeholders, by means of diverse media, public information, advice, and leadership;

- Develops credibility and trust with supporters, other electors, another external sources enabling them to raise finances and to develop, and maintain, local and national organizational structures; and
- Provides training, information resources, and campaign material for candidates, agents, marketers, and/or other party activists” (Baines et al., 2003:56).

Cwalina, Falkowski, and Newman (2009:70), suggested their own definition of political marketing as ”the processes of exchanges and establishing, maintaining, and enhancing relationships among objects in the political market (politicians, political parties, voters, interests groups, institutions), whose goal is to identify and satisfy their needs and develop political leadership.”

Ormord (2012:13) proposed the following definition of political marketing: “Political marketing is a perspective from which to understand phenomena in the political sphere, and an approach that seeks to facilitate political exchanges of value through interactions in the electoral, parliamentary and governmental markets to manage relationships with stakeholders.” Ormord (2012:13) stated that as with the most of previous definitions of concept, “exchanges of value, relationships and stakeholders are core elements.” However, he argued that definition differs in three key aspects: First of all, “the exchange component is understood as a triadic interaction rather than a dyadic exchange.” In addition, “political relationships are dynamically managed, a characteristic that does not dictate a specific duration or intensity.” And finally, “there is a non-specific understanding of stakeholders that allows for differences at the systemic and organizational level, and from normative and strategic approaches.”

1.1.3. Commercial Versus Political marketing

Recent developments in political marketing theory have underlined the fundamental differences between commercial and political marketing (Baines et al., 2003; Henneberg & Ormrod, 2013). The application of mainstream (product, service, not-for-profit, and relationship) marketing to the politic was justified by the

similarities between them. “Similarities of concepts such as consumers, market segmentation, marketing mix, image, brand loyalty, product concept and positioning and similarities of tools like market research, communication, and advertising.” Even attempts were made to prove that differences between them were just ostensible and would be disappeared under a more comprehensive analysis (Cwalina et al., 2015:8). Table 1.1. shows similarities between commercial and political marketing;

Table 1.1: Similarities Between Commercial Marketing and Political Marketing

Commercial Marketing	Political Marketing
Product	Candidate
Product mix	Candidate mix
Product image	Candidate image
Product development	Candidate development
Product concept	Candidate concept
Product concept testing	Candidate concept testing
Product Positioning	Candidate positioning
Product Life-Cycle	Candidate life-cycle
Product Promotion	Candidate promotion
Personal selling	Canvassing
Product manager	Candidate manager
Brand loyalty	Party loyalty
Brand manager	Party manager
Consumers	Voters
Consumer market segmentation	Voter market segmentation
Consumer satisfaction	Voter satisfaction
Consumer opinion leaders	Political opinion leaders
Business social accountability	Political social accountability
Consumerism	Watergate Era
Consumer market share	Voter market share
Consumer research	Voter research
Marketing campaign	Political campaign
Market planning	Political planning

Source: Shama (1976:765).

According to (Shama, 1976), some well-known concepts of commercial marketing are concepts of political marketing as well. In addition, some of the familiar tools is used in commercial marketing, are also mirrored in political marketing. Mauser (1983:6) identified three main points in these similarities. Firstly, there are number of organizations in both commercial and political marketing that compete with each other to achieve their goals under similar limitation of time, money and man power. Secondly, both consumers and voters play the same role in making their choice among alternatives based on their personal goals and information they received. Finally, both commercial and political marketing use same tools and communication channels.

However, despite many similarities, there are fundamental differences between commercial marketing and political marketing. Consumer concept is one of the main differences between them. In political marketing consumers are called voters. Voters and consumers are different in attitude, formation and decision making. According to the literature and based on the detailed analysis conducted by Lock and Harris (1996:14) seven significant differences between the two spheres, the key points that differentiate commercial and political marketing from each other are summarized as bellow (Baines et al., 2003; Butler & Collins, 1994; Cwalina et al., 2015; Lees-Marshment, 2001b; Lock & Harris, 1996; Suwignyo et al., 2014; Newman, 1994; Niffenegger,1989; O'Shaughnessy 1987; Susila, 2011):

- They are different in philosophy. In commercial marketing, the ultimate goal is financial success, but political marketing seeks to strengthen democracy through voting processes. Unlike commercial marketing, politician's own philosophy may avoid following all market researches suggestions when their own conception of political reality is incongruent with the suggestions (Newman, 1994).
- In Commercial marketing consumers are free to purchase products or services independently at any time that they prefer. Consumers in commercial marketing very rarely buy a product or service simultaneously. In political marketing whole community vote together and all voters make their choice at

the same Election Day (with negligible exceptions like postal and proxy votes).

Although there are some similarities between tracking measures of brand shares and opinion polls, they are different in nature. The former refers to real purchasing decisions that have already been taken but the latter is about unknown future. Moreover a voter's response in polls are not always congruent by his actual behavior. Some people try to hide their actual political views in polls because of being ashamed or being worried about getting exposed to social isolation and scorn. This is what the German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann (1974, 1977) calls; a "spiral of silence."

- Unlike commercial marketing, product in political marketing is not a clear real product. It is an intangible, non-refundable, multi-dimensional, multi-component and complex blend of many inseparable characteristics. The range of issues and concepts in political product even distinguishes it from product or service bundles. Moreover, product or service in commercial marketing is exchangeable right after making the choice while voters in the defeated part of the election have to wait until the next election.
- In business, marketing buying is a pecuniary action and transaction of funds is made by consumers at the time of purchase. Consumers know about the price of the product or service which is its value expressed in financial terms. However, there is no direct or indirect price attached at the time of voting in political marketing. There is also no nominal price for being on the defeated side of an election.
- Unlike commercial marketing, transaction does not occur frequently in political market. Furthermore, there is no legal contract between buyer and seller (Baines et al., 2003).
- In commercial marketing a consumer deals only with his/her own purchases independently from other consumers' purchases whereas in political marketing the party or candidate winning election means winning all voters either voted or not voted to the election winner. Public should accept the result of election. It is a social election rather than an individual choice. The

nearest equivalent of the case to commercial marketing would be a monopolistic market example.

- Apart from visiting physical shops, consumers sometimes have alternative shopping methods like online shopping, telephone or mail order shopping in commercial marketing but in political marketing voters most often have to go to the polling stations personally to vote.
- Unlike commercial marketing, introducing a new brand in the political market in the form of political party is very difficult. Furthermore, there are many supranational brand examples in commercial marketing while there are no supranational parties in politics except than transnational groupings in the European Parliament.
- Brand leaders tend to stay in front in commercial marketing while in political marketing the ruling party may begin to lose support in public opinion polls because of unfavorable decisions such as tax increases.
- Attacking rivals directly, mudslinging, or negative advertising in political marketing is much more common compared to commercial marketing (O'Shaughnessy, 1987).

1.1.4. Political Marketing and Political Communication

“The distinction between political marketing, political management or political communication is not always clear and is often obscured by overlapping” (Henneberg et al., 2015:165). Political scientists have too narrow definitions of political marketing (Collins, 1996). According to political scientists, political marketing is an integral and vital component of political communication. They perceive political marketing in the context of political communications in the short pre-election period (Lock & Harris, 1996:27). From the political scientists’ perspective, political marketing is a part of political campaign. Although political marketing offers a useful vocabulary and typology, it does not provide sufficient theatrical framework for understanding the campaign process. Harris et al. (2002), argued that political marketing is concerned with certain forms of political communications within electoral campaigns. Scammell (1990) noted that the

political communication literature perceived political marketing as only one aspect of the broader process. She stated that according to political communicators, political marketing is a response to developments in media and communication technologies (Scammell, 1990). Political communication scholars argue that political communication is not only interested in campaign studies and voting behavior. It's a wider scope that focusses on all communications and interactions taking place within the political process (Kolvos & Harris, 2005).

However, political marketers clearly have a reverse perception. They perceive political communications as just one part of political marketing (Scammell, 1999). A unique contribution of marketing to politics is the introduction of strategic concern regarding the electorate's wants and needs. The strategy element, shifted the focus of political marketing away from promotional techniques to overall strategic objectives of political elites (Scammell, 1995,1999). This new focus "effectively reverses the perspective offered by campaign studies and political communications approaches. Political marketing is no longer a subset of broader processes. However, political communications becomes a subset of political marketing as a tool of promotion within the overall marketing mix" (Scammell, 1995:723). Thus, from being a subset of political communication, political marketing has grown so much that it has affixed political communication as one of its components (Kolvos & Harris, 2005). Similarly, Lees-Marshment (2001b) counted political communication as subset of a much broader process of political marketing. According to her, political marketing is a broader and comprehensive concept which is concerned with more than just communication. She argued that political communication focuses on the role of long-term communication with target audience while political marketing binds together all its subsets such as political communication, campaigning, market intelligence, political product design and political product promotion. Political marketing "offers a rational economic theoretical basis for explaining party and voter behavior that is more broad and inclusive than either the conventional political science campaign studies or political communications approaches" (Scammell, 1999:739).

1.2. HISTORY OF ELECTIONS, POLITICAL MARKETING, AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Elections are among the main events in democratic nations. “Elections are two-tier elections: direct and indirect.” Direct elections can be applied to “the election of deputies to the people’s congresses of the counties, districts, townships, and towns. They adopt the competitive election method, which means that a candidate wins the election when she or he receives more than half of the votes cast. ” Indirect elections, on the other hand, “are applicable to the election of deputies to the National People’s Congress. Candidates may be nominated by political parties or mass organizations jointly or independently or by more than 10 deputies. ” In the case of government-oriented democracy, “major tasks of the political campaign focus on the communication between the government party and the citizens rather than direct election struggle between candidates or political parties” (Cwalina et al., 2012:256).

There are evidences of using election in Rome at the selection of *Popes* and *Holy Roman Emperors* as well as in Athens, when democracy was introduced by the Athenian democracy in the sixth century BC. One of the duties of *Megisthanes*-the legislature of ancient Persia-was choosing kings of the *Parthian Empire*. we can also find roots of election at the selection of chiefs of tribes in the *Vedic* period of India. An example of a sham election in ancient Arabs is choosing the third caliph, in the early medieval *Rashidun Caliphate*. Since the early days of the American Republic, there have always been some varying degrees of engagement between candidates in any level of election, whether federal, state, or local, with some form of marketing. The origin of modern election consisting of selection of Government officials in the contemporary word lie in the gradual emergence of representative government in Europe and North America in the 17th century (Webb et al., 2018). Since that time the holistic notion of representation characteristic of the Middle Ages transmitted into a more individualistic conception (Encyclopedia Britannica Online).

Political marketing can be thought as a general outlook, notion, opinion and orientation (Lees-Marshment, 2001; Sparrow & Turner, 2001; Butler & Collins, 1994). It is “the marketing of ideas and opinions which relates to public or political issues or to specific candidates” (Butler & Collins, 1994). Even though, the modern election is rooted in the 17th century, the utilization of special persuasion methods

with the help of words and/or images in order to sell ideas and win over people's minds and hearts has been rooted in earliest days of human history (Dziak, 2017). Also, advertising and propaganda which both imply the same meaning of persuading public to take an action through various methods, has a root spanning centuries in human history (Areo & Aareo, 2016). Therefore, it can be stated that the history of political marketing has about the same age of mankind. However, as the business world has changed its orientation over the last decades, political formations have also undergone changes in their thinking and outlook (Lebaron, 2008). According to the managerial and instrumental approach of political marketing, election campaigns have always had marketing character but the sophistication and acceleration of the use of marketing methods in politics has increased in the course of time (Kotler, 1975; Kotler & Kotler 1999).

Political communication, a very important component of political marketing has been also rooted in classical rhetoric as described by Aristotle (Barutti, 2014). Rhetoric is one of the most ancient arts of public discourse (Corbett, 1990). Rhetoric, persuasion, and meaning are three inseparable components of communication (Burke, 1969). They exist as soon as one person addresses another (Warday, 1996). Aristotle defined three distinct segments of rhetoric as ethos, pathos and logos in the theory of persuasion (Christof, 2010). Ethos is the source credibility, consisting of ethical proof of the speaker like knowledge, enthusiasm, trustworthiness, and etc., in order to establish persuasive force. Pathos is the emotional dimension, to persuade audience through appeals to feelings. Logos is the rational evidence based on logical proof consisting of the persuasive force generated from inductive and deductive logic which can be easily understood by audience and readers (Jorgensen, 1998).

These three components of persuasion, form the basis of effective rhetoric like the Holly Quran, Bible and poetry. They still hold favor being applied in contemporary political discourse (Barutti, 2014). Depending on the particular theological interpretation, the Bible for instance, serves as a source of social and cultural values used for religious and political propaganda on issues such as abortion and homosexuality (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019). Classical rhetoric covers plenty of political communication tools such as:

- Metaphors, folk stories, rhyme and repetition;
- Reference to previous Holly books and shared values or to a group's cultural and historical identity;
- The candidate's own personal experience that helps to create an aura of charisma;
- Use of words such as "we", "us", and "our" as inclusive language distinguishes charismatic leaders;
- Use of the second person pronoun of "you" to create affinity with the candidate;
- Use of short aspirational words and sentences and words that contain an emotional quality or evoke an emotional response such as freedom, fairness, opportunity, sweat, hand, heart, journey, path, dream, see, listen and imagine, and;
- Specific tactics and techniques targeting different segment groups of audience (Barutti, 2014).

All the above mentioned techniques are still used and relevant to the contemporary political communication (Barutti, 2014).

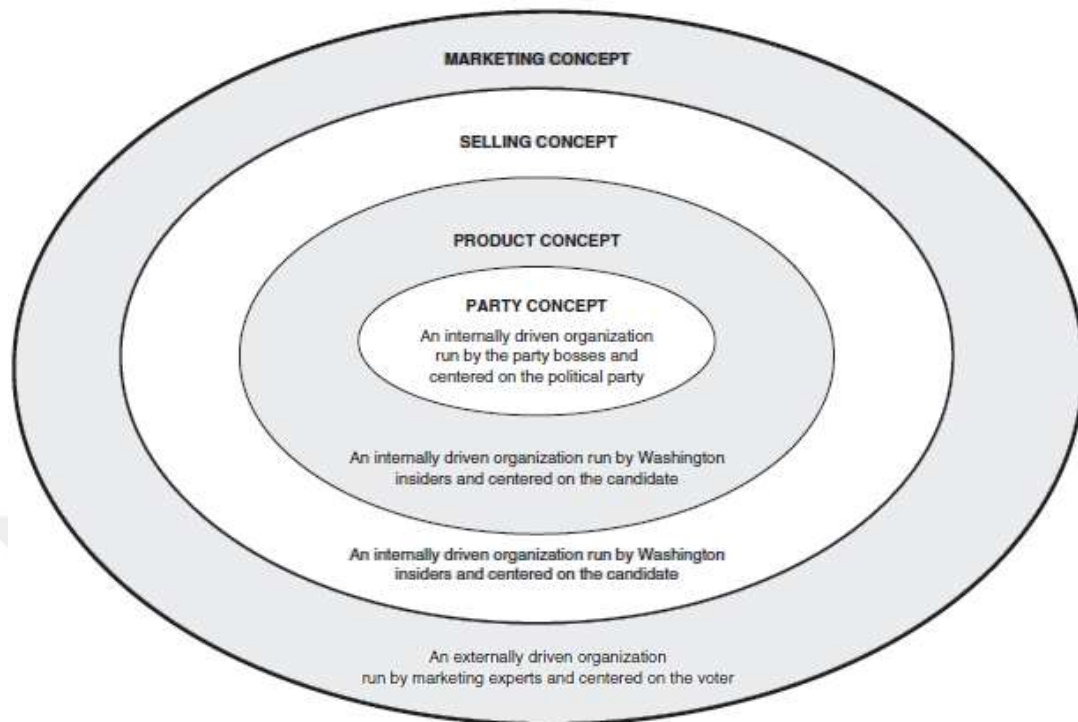
1.2.1. Political Marketing Eras

Marketing management defines five different concepts under which organizations design and carry out their marketing strategies that will engage target customers and build profitable relationships with them: the "production", "product", "selling", "marketing", and "societal marketing" concepts. A product-oriented business is based on the idea that customers will favor the most available and highly affordable products. Thus the concentration goes on improving production and distribution efficiency (Kotler & Armstrang, 2018:35). According to Lees-Marshment (2001b:695) in a product-oriented business the idea is producing product with the best quality, performance and features. The concentration is on making continues product improvement, producing the most efficient and the cheapest product. The failure to sell a product is blamed on customer's ignorance and lacks

appreciation of the product quality. A sales-oriented business has the same idea in designing its products but puts much more effort into selling the products in a short-term perspective. The idea is that customers will not favor the products unless the firm focuses on employing large-scale sales and promotion efforts such as advertising and direct mail. The aim is creating demand, rather than responding to it. A market-oriented business is based on the philosophy that providing consumer satisfaction is the key to achieve the organization's long-term goals. Customer satisfaction depends on understanding customer wants and needs. The products have to be tailored and modified in response to changing customer needs (Lees-Marshment, 2001b:695). According to the societal marketing concept, the possible conflict between consumer short-run wants and long-run welfare should not be overlooked. Marketing strategy should be aimed at maintaining and improving both consumers' and society's well-being. Societal marketing calls for sustainable and environmentally responsible marketing that creates economic and social values and satisfies both current and future generation needs (Kotler & Armstrong, 2018:37).

Parallel to the development of classical marketing, different concepts and orientations in political marketing have been identified. In one of the first political marketing era classifications Shanteau (1976) has suggested three orientations for political parties as: "candidate orientation", "sales management orientation" and "marketing orientation." Afterwards, Newman (1994:32) in his book of *The Marketing of the President: Political Marketing as Campaign Strategy* outlined four stages for evolution of American presidential campaign organizations as: "party concept", "product concept", "selling concept" and "marketing concept." The political campaign organizations have evolved from organizations run by party leaders focusing on political party (party concept), to organizations that have only one goal of finding the best candidate to represent the party (product concept). Then a shift happened from internally driven to externally driven organizations (selling concept) to the organizations run by marketing experts focusing on voter. Figure 1.1 illustrates the evolution of political marketing concept according to Newman (1994:32).

Figure 1.1: The Evolution of Political Marketing Concept



Source: Newman (1994:32).

A similar and widely accepted approach was introduced by Jennifer Lees-Marshment (2001a, 2001b, 2001c) who pointed out three stages for evolution of British parties from “product-oriented” to “sales-oriented” and to “market-oriented” parties. Although these orientations are less tangible and hard to measure academically, they have a deep impact on the effectiveness of political marketing tools and normative implications. Therefore, they have consequences for democracy (Lees-Marshment, 2014). The different political marketing orientations are discussed in the following pages.

1.2.1.1. Party Orientation

Party focus was the first step in development of campaigning according to Newman (1994:32). It's about understanding the party hierarchy and aimed at getting standing, money and grass-roots supports. A party oriented political party has internal focus. It's centered on the party and is run by the party boss or leader. The allegiance is to the party, and the objective is carrying out the philosophy of the party

by following which is referred to as “machine politics.” The candidate is determined by officials based on his/her ability to win the election and carry out the dictates. The candidate has to rely on the party leader to become slated as a nominee. The political campaign platform is based on dictates of party hierarchy and powerful interest groups. The campaign strategy is targeting maximum number of voters through face to face interactions. Therefore, the campaign relies on extensive use of grass-roots efforts and volunteer network. The candidate’s organization linked to the national party hierarchy in which the national committee is at the top of the hierarchy followed by state and local committees which provide grass-root efforts for the candidate. Bush is a classic example of a candidate whose political life was around party orientation (Newman, 1994). Majority of current Polish political campaigns are based on party orientation. American presidential elections up through the Eisenhower presidency, as well as former communist parties in Eastern Europe were other examples of party. In which characteristics of candidate had to be congruent with the party profile otherwise it was treated as a manifestation of disloyalty to the party and led him/her to immediate removal (Cwalina et al., 2015:18).

1.2.1.2. Product Orientation

The early years of modern political marketing were specified by product orientation (Kelly, 1956). Theodor White in his book of *The Making of the President* (1982:165), has gone back to the Kennedy presidency (1961-1963) to describe changing focus of political campaigns from political party to the candidate. When efforts were made to make Kennedy as competitive as possible. The idea was to make a quality product and to find the best candidate that represents the party instead of focusing on party’s ideology. In product orientation, the allegiance is to the candidate in contrast to the party orientation in which allegiance is to the party. A product-oriented party (POP) is an internally driven party centered on the candidate (Newman, 1994:33). Although the candidate is put up by the party, it’s his/her own characteristics that is important for wielding power (Cwalina et al., 2015:33). According to Lees-Marshment (2001b), a product-oriented party (POP), “argues for what it stands for and believes in. It assumes that voters will realize that its ideas are

the right ones and therefore vote for it. This type of party refuses to change its ideas or product even if it fails to gain electoral or membership support.” (Lees-Marshment, 2001b:28). In this orientation, candidate is paramount and the public is secondary. Although public is important, there is no significant attention to public demand. The organization interests and its sustained competitive advantage are significant. Any losses are attributed to inaptitude and unpreparedness of people to receive the message that party delivered or it is blamed on the inability of the party in convincing enough people while the main idea of the party and the message itself are not to blame for the losses (Lebaron, 2008).

1.2.1.3. Sales-Orientation

The next stage in the evolution of political marketing concept is selling or sales orientation. In a sales oriented party (SOP), focus of the campaign organization is shifted from an internally to an externally driven operation. It gives importance to information generated from sources other than the party or campaign organization. Although focus is still on the candidate, the voter's reaction to the candidate's media operation is critical (Newman, 1994:33). This concept argues that market research should be utilized to test the effectiveness of both political product and the medium in persuading audience and to make party communication more effective. The market research in sales orientation is conducted after developing the political product. Thus, it does not affect the political product or the policy of candidate, but it affects how the product is sold. According to Lees-Marshment (2001a: 29), “a sales-oriented party focuses on selling its argument to voters. It retains its pre-determined product design, but recognizes that desired supporters may not automatically want it. Using market intelligence to understand voters' response to its behavior, the party employs the latest advertising and communication techniques to persuade voters that it is right. A sales-oriented party does not change its behavior to suit what people want, but tries to make people want what it offers.” A sales-oriented political party believes that “consumers will not buy enough of the firm's products unless it undertakes a large scale selling and promotion effort” (Kotler & Armstrong, 2004). Though populace gets more attention from the organization in sales orientation

compared to the product orientation, still focus is on the sales and product promotion. Although the use of segmentation and targeting indicates an aborning marketing orientation, the emphasis is still on the message and the idea delivered to the defined segment rather than viewing voters as consumers (Lebaron, 2008). According to Joe McGinniss in his book of *The Selling of the President* (1969), a good example of sales orientation was the Nixon presidency (1969-1974) in which lots of efforts were made to sell Nixon to the voters by relying on media experts. The aim was convincing people to vote for Nixon by using persuasive appeals in television commercials in order to make him as good as possible on television (Newman, 1994:33).

1.2.1.4. Marketing and/or Market Orientation

One step further in political marketing approaches is marketing/market orientation, which is completely different in philosophy compared to the other orientations. According to some authors (Ormrod 2006; Coleman 2007), marketing orientation and market orientation are very similar and there is not much difference between them in work on the process models. Newman (1994) stated that marketing orientation begins with the voter not with the candidate. The aim is identifying voter needs and developing product to meet these needs and the primary focus is on the voter and delivering promises made in the campaign after winning the election. The strategy is segmentation of voters and targeting them separately by specific message derived from the result of marketing research and polling. Therefore, marketing orientation relies heavily on marketing research and polling. Although the national party organization is in conjunction with the candidate's organization, it's not well integrated into the candidate's organization. They are almost exclusive in some cases and the candidate organization operates independently. A marketing oriented political organization has much more decentralized campaign, in which various responsibilities are delegated to different professionals (Newman, 1994:33). Less and Marshment (2001c:30) argue that "a market-oriented party (MOP), designs its behavior to provide voter satisfaction. It uses market intelligence to identify voter demands, then designs its product to suit them. It does not attempt to change what

people think, but to deliver what they need and want. A market-oriented party will not simply offer voters what they want, or simply follow opinion polls, because it needs to ensure that it can deliver the product on offer. If it fails to deliver, voters will become dissatisfied and the party will risk losing electoral support in the long term. It also needs to ensure that it will be accepted within the party and so needs to adjust its product carefully to take account of this. A market-oriented party therefore designs a product that will actually satisfy voters' demands; that meets their needs and wants, is supported and implemented by the internal organization, and is deliverable in government" (Lees- Marshment, 2001c). In this orientation, where parties are becoming more responsive to people, the idea that political parties should design their products to suit voters is against the traditional politic views. The market-oriented party" will not simply offer voters what they want, or simply follow opinion polls, because it needs to ensure that it can deliver the product on offer" (Lees-Marshment 2001b: 696), as "Political marketing identifies the demands of voters but it is still up to parties and politicians to design the policies to meet those needs" (Lees-Marshment 2003: 28). "Parties may use their ideology as a means to create effective solutions to public demands, but party elites try to respond to market demand, rather than trying to shape opinion" (Lees -Marshment 2008:338). Finally, Lees-Marshment (2008: 20-21, 2010a: 4-5) refined his definition and stated that "a market oriented party uses party views and political judgment to design its behavior to respond to and satisfy voter demands in a way that that meets their needs and wants, is supported and implemented by the internal organization, and is deliverable in government." The market-oriented party is the key to success at election time as "the basic assumption of CPM (Comprehensive Political Marketing) theory is that the party which is the most market-oriented wins" (Lees-Marshment 2001a:74).

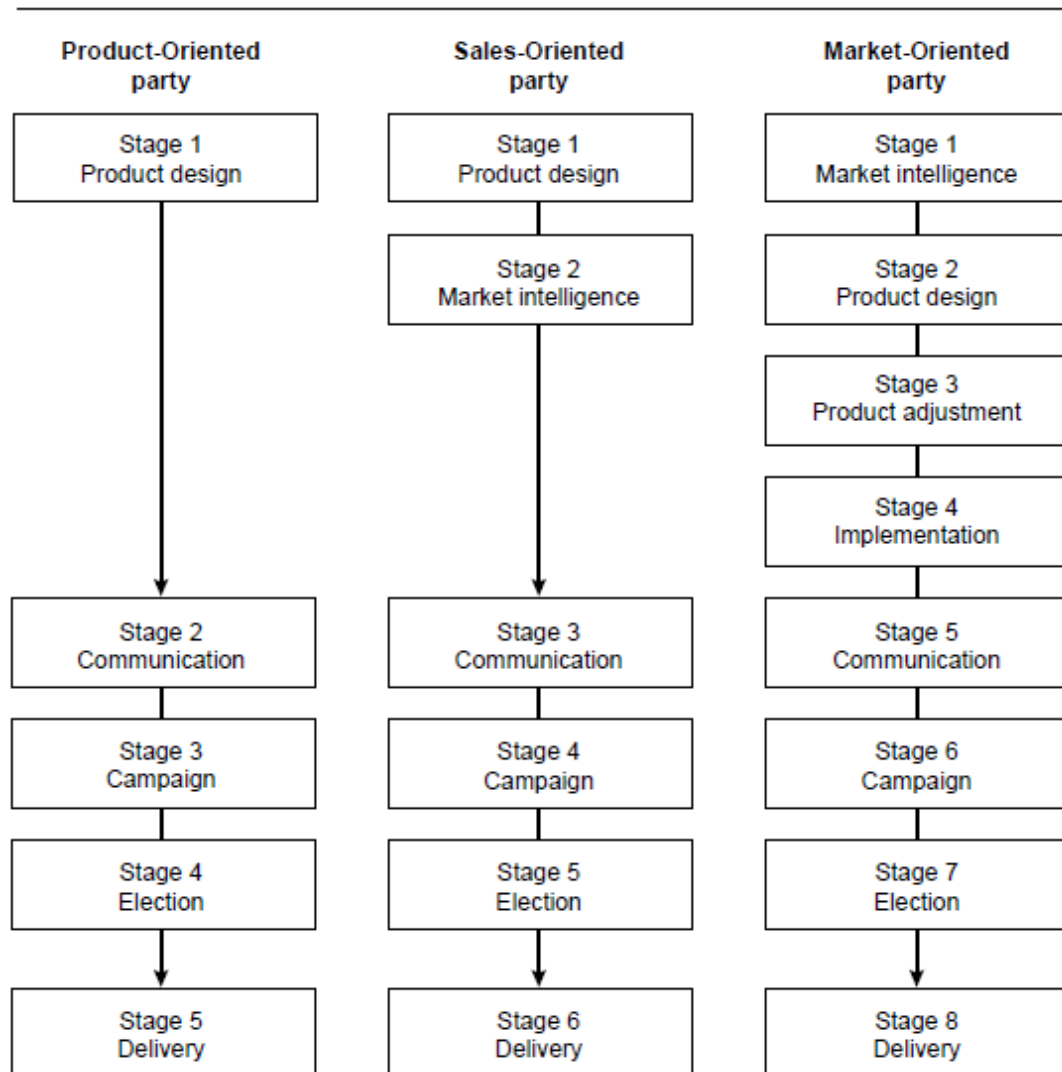
Some authors argued that marketing orientation and market orientation are different. According to Cwalina et al., (2015:21), in marketing orientation voter is in the center of attention in political campaign. The candidate recognizes the nature of exchange process. Fulfilling promises made during campaign, once in office, leads public satisfaction and increases number of voters. Wherein, the market orientation looks for building and maintain stakeholder relationships by the entire political organization. It's aimed at being responsive for both internal and external markets.

Kohli and Bernard Jaworski (1990, 6) defined political market orientation as “the organization wide generation of market intelligence pertaining to current and future customer needs, dissemination of the intelligence across departments, and organization wide responsiveness to it.” Political market orientation refers to the responsibility of all party members in taking part in development of policies as well as implementation and communication of that policies (Ormrod, 2006:113; Ormrod, 2005; Ormrod & Henneberg, 2009). According to O’Cass (2001), market orientation is the key mechanism in adopting of the marketing concept. Marketing orientation is the underlying mind-set, philosophy or culture of approaching the operations of the party. It’s an essential prerequisite for both being market-oriented and implementation the marketing concept. However, as mentioned, some authors criticize the lack of distinction between being market or marketing oriented in work on the process models (Ormrod, 2006; Coleman, 2007).

1.2.1.5. Marketing Process for Different Political Marketing Orientations

As could be understood from the orientations of different eras, political parties follow different approaches in order to achieve their goals. Going through a marketing process, political parties engage in various activities which is presented in the figure 1.2;

Figure 1.2: Marketing Process for Political Parties in Different Orientations



Source: Less-Marshment (2001b:6)

The figure shows the difference in political process among the political marketing orientations. Product adjustment and implementation stages of the market orientation are missing in the other two orientations. Market intelligence is the additional stage in the sales orientation compared to the product orientation. There is also another difference between sales and market orientations. A sales-oriented party engage with market intelligence only after designing its behavior while a marketing-oriented party employs market intelligence in order to identify voters needs and wants before determination of how to behave (Lees-Marshment, 2001b:7).

Lees-Marshment (2001b:7) also described each activity and stage in the process as bellow:

“Stage 1; Product design

- Product and Sales-Oriented parties design behavior according to what they think best.
- Market-Oriented parties determine behavior in response to voter demands

Stage 2; Market intelligence (Sales and Market-Oriented parties only)

- informally, parties ‘keep an ear to the ground’, talk to party activists, meet with the public.
- formally they use quantitative research (electoral results, public opinion polls and privately commissioned studies) and qualitative research such as focus-groups.
- Market-Oriented parties aim to discover voter demands in order to respond to them when they design their behavior.
- Sales-Oriented parties do this after deciding how to behave: they try to find out who does not support the party but might and then target their communication efforts accordingly.

Stage 3; Product adjustment (market-oriented party only)

- it designs its product to suit the electorate at large and then needs to make sure it considers other factors:
 - a) whether the product design is achievable: the party will not promise what it cannot deliver in government.
 - b) internal reaction: the party may alter parts of the design to ensure it will obtain the support of enough MPs and members to ensure its implementation.
 - c) competition: the party will promote opposition weaknesses and highlight their own corresponding strengths; parties will not just become the same; differences will inevitably occur as the party goes through part (b) above because each major party has a different historical and ideological background.
 - d) support: the party will focus on winning the support of voters it does not have but needs to win power; thereby using target marketing. A Market-

Oriented party will not promise everything to everyone (see Reid, 1988, p. 42) or seek the support of all the electorate; given part (b), it may start from traditional supporters and move out, rather than jump directly to the center.

Stage 4; Implementation (Market-Oriented party only)

- findings from Stages 1–3 of the process for such a party must be implemented
- majority within the party need to broadly accept the new behavior and comply with it.

Stage 5; Communication

- this includes the so-called near or long-term campaign but also ongoing behavior.
- all parties communicate their behavior whether or not they design it carefully.
- not just the leader, but all MPs and members send a message to the electorate.
- Sales and Market-Oriented parties:
 - a) attempt to ensure that communication they have with the public helps them achieve electoral success.
 - b) attempt to influence others in the communication process, such as journalists and opposition parties.
 - c) use selling techniques such as direct mail and targeted communications .

Stage 6; Campaign

- the official election campaign period leading up to the election

Stage 7; Election

- the general election.

Stage 8; Delivery

- if the party wins, they deliver the product in government.”

Table 1.2. defines characteristics of three types of parties based on their orientations;

Table 1.2: Characteristics of Product-, Sales- and Market-Oriented Parties

	Product-oriented party	Sales-oriented party	Market-oriented party
Defining characteristic	Argues for its own ideas and policies; assumes that voters will realize that its ideas are the best one and therefore vote for it.	Believes in its own ideas and policies, but realizes that they must be “sold” to the public; does not change its behavior or policies to give people what they want, but tries to make people want what the party offers.	Uses market intelligence to identify voter needs and demands, and design its policies, candidates and behavior to provide voter satisfaction; does not try to change what people want, but give people what they want.
If the party does not succeed in elections	Believes that the voters just do not realize that the party’s policies are the best ones; refuses to change policies.	Tries to make better use of market intelligence and persuasion techniques, i.e., become more professionalized in its campaigning	Uses market intelligence to redesign the product, so that it becomes better suited to the wants and needs of targeted people.

Source: Strömbäck & Kiouisis (2014:58).

1.2.1.6. Applications of the Political Marketing Orientations at the Early Years of the U.S. Democracy

One distinguishing feature of product oriented parties in the U.S. was “smoke filled rooms”, which in the United States jargon is a term for secret political gathering or round table style decision making process in which the political elites decide who would be nominated or elected. This kind of decision making techniques in smoke filled rooms before the public democratic process starts, have a long history in the U.S. politics. An early example of a smoke filled room is the Boston Caucus which was established by Elisha Cooke, Jr., one of the richest men in the province in around 1719 and grew quickly as a powerful political force in the area

and had considerable influence in Boston in the years before and after the American Revolution. A report of a 1763 meeting of this group said, “selectmen, assessors, collectors, fire wards and representatives are regularly chosen [there] before they are chosen in the town” (Schattschneider, 1942).

Another example of the product-orientation is the “front porch campaign” which is a low key electoral campaign in which the candidate does not travel around and remains close to or at home to make speeches to supporters who come to visit. There are numerous examples of successful front porch campaigns like James A. Garfield campaign in 1880, Benjamin Harrison in 1888, William McKinley in 1896, Warren G. Harding in 1920 and etc.

During the 1896 presidential campaign, McKinley spoke to more than 700,000 supporters in front of his house in Canton while his opposing candidate, gave over 600 speeches and traveled many miles all over the United States to campaign. The speeches started as organized meetings between McKinley and delegations from all over the nation. Although it was expensive for the campaign and it costs as double as his opponents’ campaign, to bring these delegations, all in all, this idea became a good strategy because of the publicity it generated. In addition, due to the fact that McKinley’s campaign chose those who would travel as part of the delegation, it was possible to make those who spoke portray McKinley positively.

An example of sales orientation era is the Harry Truman campaign in 1948, in which he began a 30,000 mile whirlwind tour of the United States to get his message to the people that his positions were correct and the voters should support it. As another example of sales orientation era, in the U.S. presidential election of 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower came with one of the first campaigns targeting female voters separately with radio and television commercials discussing topics such as education, inflation, ending the war in Korea, and other issues that were thought to appeal to women as well as extensive use of female campaign workers.

As an example of market orientation, data mining firm behind Trump election built psychological profiles of nearly every American voter and helped elect Trump. *CNN* called them “Donald Trump’s mind readers” and his secret weapon. “A psychographic profile is a personality score based on at least five attributes that is

abbreviated as *OCEAN*, [which] stands for Openness, Conscientiousness, Extroversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism” (Bambury, 2017).

Richard Warthin, head of polling firm Decision/Making/Information (DMI), that is engaged in conducting polls and generation of market intelligence, developed a Political Information System (PINS) within three and half years to be used for the Ronald Reagan’s 1980 campaign. Warthin describes PINS as “a total information system that involves virtually every quantitative, qualitative, institutional, historical data source”, and as “a system that combined attitudinal, behavioral research with institutional information, demographic information from the census, and the political vote data.”

While footprint of a sales oriented approach still existed, market orientation has become the dominant framework in advanced democratic countries, i.e. United States, Canada, Western Europe, during the last decades (Lees-Marshment, 2001b; Newman, 1994) and candidates running at all levels of government have become more marketing savvy and attuned to the wants and needs of voters. “The old model campaign sought to educate voters about a candidate...the new strategy almost completely reversed that approach. Instead of trying to educate voters about Bush, Rove worked at educating himself and his staff about voters” (Hamburger & Wallsten, 2006). Some of the authors argued that Harry Truman campaign in 1948 bridged the gap between the product-orientation and sales-orientation eras (Newman, 1994; Lebaron, 2008). Also, Hamburger and Wallsten (2006) and Newman (1999) stated that the Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan campaigns of 1979 and 1980 are the onset of the consistent and conscientious application of marketing methods in the political domain. There has been a proliferation of marketing methods and techniques used in political campaigns since 1980, including blanketing specific areas with automated phone messages from a celebrity or popular politician, asking panels of voters to complete surveys immediately after campaign events, and using hand-held dials to gauge voter reactions to comments made in debates (Ferrick, 2007; Harnden, 2007). Figure 1.3 represents the turning points of the three eras of political marketing due to the literature.

Figure 1.3: Turning Points of the Political Marketing Eras



Source: Developed From the Literature: Newman (1994); Newman (1999); Hamburger & Wallsten (2006); Lebaron (2008).

However if we turn over the features of the first two orientations, it is inferable that sales orientation has the same age of the product orientation in the policy history. Because segmentation, using market intelligence to understand voters and employing latest advertising and communication techniques have a deep rooted history in the policy lifetime. There are plenty of evidences of sales orientation in classical rhetoric, religious propaganda and classic poetry as mentioned in the this chapter, that have been mostly engaged with communication techniques and persuasion strategies. Moreover, we can also find a trace of sales oriented strategies as well as multiplex and intricate political strategies as *Soft Power* in the human history. According to Nye (2004), soft power is the ability to shape what others want without using hard or coercive power, that is the ability to change what others do. It was stated that persuasion is one of the main aspects of sales-orientated party concept which tries to make voters want what the party offers. According to this fact and based on the definitions of the three political marketing orientations, soft power is placed in the sales orientation category. Soft power has a deep root in history and has been used since thousands year ago (Ying, 2008). Hence it can be stated that both product and sales orientations has been existed since the evolution of political marketing. But it can be accepted that the 1979 and 1980 are the evolution years of market orientation in the political marketing history that bridged the gap between the product and sales orientations with the market orientation.

1.2.1.7. Political Marketing Eras Since the Second World War

Apart the classification of political marketing eras since its evolution which was mentioned in the previous sections, several authors have identified three different phases of political marketing since the second world war. Despite the fact

that they use different labels, the changes and trends they identify are similar (Strömbäck, 2007).

Norris (2000) as well as Plasser and Plasser (2002) identified them as the 'premodern', 'modern' and 'postmodern' periods. Farrell (1996) calls them 'premodern', 'Television Revolution' and "Telecommunications Revolution" whereas Farrell and Webb (2000) call them "Stage 1", "Stage 2" and "Stage 3".

Table 1.3 adapted from Plasser and Plasser (2002), represents the phases and trends identified by all these authors in which "complaints are compared on main four dimensions;

- The general mode or style of the campaigning adopted
- The tool and strategy employed in the campaign itself
- The structure of power relations within the party
- The party's orientation toward the electorate" (Gibson & Römmele, 2001).

It should be noted that social media as a new political marketing tool in the postmodern stage is missing in the Plasser and Plasser (2002)

Table 1.3: Modeling Changing Campaign Practices

Phase	Premodern	Modern	Postmodern
Mode of Political Communication systems	Party-dominated	Television-centered	Multiple channels and multi-media
Dominant Style of Political Communication	Messsages along party lines	Sound bites, image and impression management	Narrow-casted, targeted micro-messages
Media	Partisan press, posters, newspaper adverts, radio broadcasts	Television broadcasts through main evening news	Television narrowcasting, targeted direct mail and e-mail campaigns
Dominant Advertising Media	Print advertisements, posters, leaflets, radio speeches and mass rallies	Nationwide television advertisements, colorful posters and magazine adverts, mass direct mailings	Targeted television advertisements, e-mail campaigns and telemarketing techniques, banner ads in the Internet
Campaign Coordination	Party leaders and leading party staff	Party campaign managers and external media, advertising and survey experts	Special party campaign units and more specialized political consultants
Dominant Campaign Paradigm	Party logic	Media logic	Marketing logic
Preparations	Short-term, ad hoc	Long-term campaign	Permanent campaign
Campaign Expenditures	Low budget	Increasing	Spiraling up
Electorate	Cleavage-group-bases and stable voting behavior	Erosion of party attachments and rising volatility	Issue-based and highly volatile voting behavior

Source: Plasser and Plasser (2002:6).

CHAPTER TWO

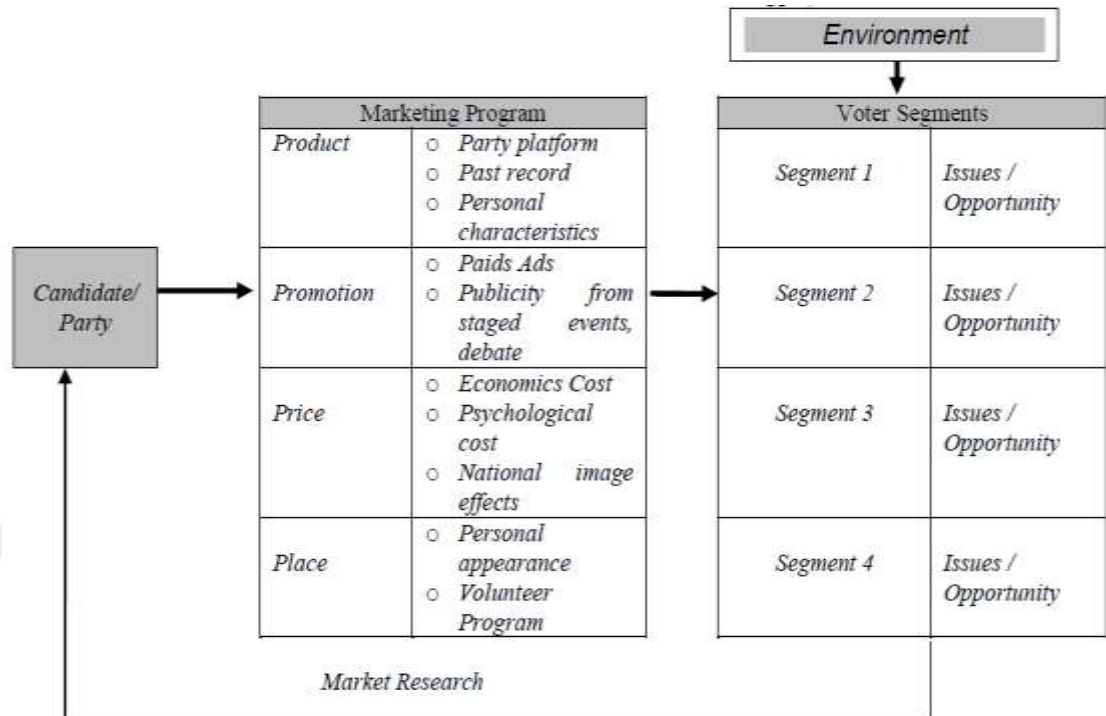
POLITICAL MARKETING MIX

2.1. Political Marketing Mix

“Marketing mix” is one of the major concepts in modern marketing. It’s the set of tactical marketing tools—product, price, place, and promotion—that the firm blends to produce the response it wants in the target market. It includes everything that a company can do in order to influence the demand for its product or service. Product in marketing mix is the goods and services combination that a firm offers to the target market. Price is the amount of money that must be paid to obtain the product. Place consists of company activities that make the product available to the target market. Promotion includes activities that communicate merits of the product to persuade the target customers to buy it (Kotler & Armstrong, 2016).

Besides the traditional marketing, the discussion of 4Ps also touched the essence of political marketing definitions in the literature (Shame, 1975; Farrell & Wortmann, 1987; Newman & Sheth, 1987; Reid, 1988; Niffenegger, 1989; Wortmann, 1989; O’Shaughnessy, 1990; Harrop, 1990; Newman, 1994; Butler & Collins, 1994; Scammell, 1995; O’Cass, 1996; Wring, 1997; Scammel, 1999; Egan, 1999; Lees-Marshment, 2001b; Henneberg, 2002; Henneberg, 2003; Lloyd, 2005; Butler et al., 2009; Cwalina et al., 2009; Susila, 2011; Arofah & Nugrahaajati, 2014; Aguirre & Hyman, 2015; Maryani, 2015; Simbolon, 2016). Accordingly, political marketing mix concept has also been classified into 4P’s namely: “product”, “price”, “place”, and “promotion.” The modern political marketing employs sophisticated segmentation and simulation techniques which is more than just publicity or advertising. Modern political marketing integrates each of the 4P’s of guided by marketing research (Niffenegger, 1989). Using traditional marketing concept of 4P’s, Niffenegger (1989:16) made a simplified model of political process to show how political marketing directed to specific segments. Figure 2.1 depicts his model for political marketing process;

Figure 2.1: Political Marketing Process



Source: Niffenegger (1989:16).

In this model, the product refers to party platform, past record and personal characteristics. Promotion contains paid ads, publicity from staged events and debate. Price consists of economics cost, psychological cost, national images and place is nothing but personal appearance and volunteer program. The 4P's in this model will be discussed in the following sections in detail.

Political marketing implements some of business marketing concepts, nevertheless, political marketing mix elements are more complex compared to traditional marketing mix and there are fundamental characteristics distinguishing them. Application of the 4P's of marketing mix in political science and accurate segmentation of voters, exposes a useful framework for understanding political marketplaces (Aguirre & Hyman, 2015) and helps political parties, organizations and candidates in designing, implementing and evaluating successful and effective political campaigns in order to create trust and confidence of voters (Niffenegger, 1989; Simbolon, 2016). It enables political entities to identify desired target and strategy and formulate a strategy for the desired target market (Suwignyo et al., 2014). Effective use of political marketing mix can influence the competitiveness as

well as political party reputation and image and it is a paradigm shift in the development of political life. Experts argued that there will be high political competitiveness when political parties apply the accurate marketing mix. (Maryani, 2015). However, political marketing mix which is developed to meet the target voters needs and values, should also meet objectives of the party at the same time (O'Cass, 1996).

Niffenegger (1989) stated that modern political marketing employs sophisticated segmentation and simulation techniques which is more than just publicity or advertising. Modern political marketing integrates each of the 4P's of guided by marketing research. Using traditional marketing concept of 4P's, Niffenegger (1989:16) made a simplified model of political process to show how political marketing directed to specific segments. Figure 2.1 depicts his model for political marketing process;

The debate regarding appropriateness and classification of marketing mix elements to political marketing goes on. For example, building on the classic classification, Newman (1994) suggested an alternative and radical categorization of 4P's, namely; "product", "push marketing", "pull marketing", and "polling" in which product is the campaign platform, push marketing consists of grass-root efforts, pull marketing involves mass media communication and polling is market and competitor research. Also, Dominici (2009) stated that, the classic 4P's may not be enough to respond to development of 21st century in a variety of new environments like political environment, nevertheless, it needs long way to find a new and widely accepted standard that can replace the 4P's.

Despite the knowledge of other classifications, in this thesis more emphasis would be given to the classical classification of the 4Ps. Thus, in the following parts more information regarding the 4Ps of marketing for politics would be provided.

2.1.1. Product

Product in general is "anything that can be offered to a market for attention, acquisition, use, or consumption that might satisfy a want or need." Besides tangible objects, product can also be a service, an event, a person, a place, an organization,

and an idea or a mixture of these. A service is “a form of product that consists of activities, benefits, or satisfactions offered for sale that are essentially intangible and do not result in the ownership of anything.” (Kotler & Armstrong, 2018:244).

Product in political marketing literature is generally named as “political product.” However some researchers have also named “political product” as “political concept”, because of its multi-dimensional nature (Butler et al., 2009). Cwalina et al. (2009) and Lees-Marshment (2001b) stated that a party’s product is its entire behavior. That is a blend of many characteristics at all level of the party. It is ongoing, changing over time, never complete, and is offered all times not only at the Election Day. According to political science literature on different aspects of party behavior, a party’s product composes of the leadership, Parliament members, staff, membership, constitution, candidates, symbols, and activities like policies and party conferences (Lees-Marshment, 2001b). Cwalina et al. (2009:4) mentioned certain aspects of the political product that are more visible as:

- “Leadership/the candidate; their powers, image, character, support/appeal, relationship with the rest of the party organization (advisers, cabinet, members, MPs), media relationship;
- Members of the legislature (senators, MPs)/candidates for election; e.g. their nature, activity, how representative of society they are;
- Membership or official supporters; their powers, recruitment, nature (ideological character, activity, loyalty, behavior, relationship to leader);
- Staff – researchers, professionals, advisers, etc.; their role, influence, office powers, relationship with other parts of the party organization;
- Symbols; name, logo, anthem;
- Constitution/rules;
- Activities; meetings, conferences, rallies;
- Policies; proposed, current and those implemented in power.”

From a broader perspective, Lloyd (2005:325) mentioned five components of political product as bellow:

- **Services offering**

This component involves having appropriate management skills and expertise to diagnose and fulfill the whole range of services that the country needs at the form of consultancy, policy and project management associated with government.

- **Representation**

This component refers to the representation of the political party and all aspects that are concerned with it in the eyes of the electorate. It is more than purely communication or promotion. It includes both controllable activities such as policy statements, briefings, political advertising, public appearances, and public relations as well as uncontrollable political activities like media coverage and word of mouth.

- **Accommodation**

This component refers to how political parties understand both functional and symbolic needs of the electorate and public priorities through a constant research program. It also relates to how parties “accommodate” the public interests appropriately.

- **Investment**

This component reflects the stakeholder-type relationships between the electorate and its political representatives for which the electorate expect to see a return whether tangible or intangible. Investment can be monetary, in the form of direct financial investment such as subscriptions to a party or candidate, or in the form of a delayed financial investment like improvement in tax or welfare benefits. The component includes also non-monetary investments like time, effort, and emotion.

- **Outcome**

This component refers to the ability of the party or candidate to fulfill its promises providing the electorate with the outcome that they desire.

Political parties are responsible to design and produce their own unique branded political product that satisfies the needs of the public. Further, they should maintain their relevance and distinctiveness by entering into an ongoing political brand management system Lloyd (2005:329). On the other hand, according to Arofah and Nugrahaajati (2014) the real product in political marketing is the campaign platform that contains four elements:

- The general election program of the candidate based on the party guidelines;
- The party position in the main issues happening during the campaign;
- The candidate image and;
- The reference of the candidate background and the supporter voters.

Niffenegger (1989) stated that the product in political marketing mix is a very complex blend. It is a combination of various potential benefits that voters believe will result if supported party or candidate wins the elections. Based on his definition, there are three categories effecting voters potential benefit expectations;

- Party platform;
- past record and;
- personal characteristics.

A party platform means concepts, ideology and work program of a party. Past records is related to what has been done and personal characteristics, which is characteristics of the party or the party leader behind the figures, or the candidate that can provide symbols, image and credibility of a product. Furthermore, the image of the candidate and the party influence each other and together with the past of the party or candidate effect the success of the product (Niffenegger, 1989).

According to Suwignyo et al. (2014), political product is offered in the form of promises that can be proven only after winning the election. Hence, voters interpret candidates or political parties based on the messages they receive. In other words, informed choices made by voters are based only on the hopes given by the political parties or candidates being implemented if they win the election. According to Butler and Collins (1994), political product contains three dimensions:

- The multi-component nature;
- The significant degree of voter loyalty involved and;
- The fact that it is mutable (adaptability).

The product in political marketing has several distinct components as candidate, party or grouping and ideology. These components cannot be offered separately. They are usually indivisible. This makes confusion, contradiction and a complex trade-offs of costs and benefits. A voter may support the nominated candidate of supported party without having confidence in the candidate personally (Butler & Collins, 1994). Or vice versa, a voter may support a candidate while being against the general ideology of the party. A political product is a complex blend and it must be taken as whole package. The voter cannot just pick certain attributes of his or her interest without taking the others and has to choose the product as a whole. This contradictory feeling toward a product is one of the significant characteristics of political product (Butler & Collins, 1994).

The other characteristics of political product is the extraordinary level of loyalty that it creates. Unlike traditional marketing, continuity of support is a dominant trait of political marketing. Electoral volatility, In other words, shifting ideas about a product rarely happens in political marketing, especially in Europe. A high level of voter loyalty exists in first-order elections like national parliamentary or presidential elections. This allows parties to be flexible in shifting policy but makes a restriction to entry to the political market as voters are stuck with old parties and candidates. In another hand, second-order elections such as local councils or to the European parliament are involved with a level of volatility. A great degree of validity in loyalty exists in protest votes, when voters reject some aspects of a party or a

candidate records rather than stating loyalty to the opponent (Butler & Collins, 1994).

The third trait of political product is mutability or its adaptable nature. Unlike the traditional marketing, in political marketing the product is alterable completely in the post-purchase setting once exchange has taken place. A candidate or a party may change its promises after election for some reason and there is no guarantee beforehand this. An example for this situation is coalitions when parties have to form a political liaison after election which is very common in Europe. Although in many cases pacts are formed before elections and voter is aware about it before the elections, the consequences of the leasing is very hard to estimate. The coalition signify a defeat to win outright the election by one party or candidate and the credibility of parties or candidates forming liaison is questioned if changing in promises become routine behavior. Although it is a successful outcome for parties compete to enter coalitions and win enough seats to influence power (Butler and Collins, 1994).

Based on the Suwignyo et al. (2014) and Niffenegger's (1989) definitions of political product, we can state that despite the statements in the literature by number of scholars, political product is not the party or the candidate. Neither of the leadership, MPs, staff, membership, constitution, symbols, past records, activities, programs, ideology, behavior, characteristics, image, issues nor campaign platform are really the political product. Indeed, these all are among factors effecting and forming the political product and can be categorized into three groups of party platform, past record and personal characteristics as explained before, yet they are not the product itself. Accordingly, developing a comprehensive definition from the literature; political product can be defined as:

A compound of ongoing various potential benefits offered at the form of promises and hopes given by the political elites, through the messages delivered to the target voters (Developed from the literature).

As product is an important element of political marketing mix, developing a political product based on the voters' need and values, plus successful delivery of the product by the party or candidate, make voters to have a sense of being a part of

responsive political organization and increase the level of satisfaction (Newman & Sheth, 1987). It also builds brand loyalty and repeat voter exchange (O'Cass, 1996).

2.1.2. Price

Price in marketing is “the amount of money charged for a product or a service. More broadly, price is the sum of all the values that customers give up to gain the benefits of having or using a product or service.” (Kotler & Armstrong, 2018:309). Pricing is one of the conundrums of political marketing (Wortmann, 1989) and redefining of the price in political marketing is required as an element of costs or sacrifices (Henneberg, 2002). There is no direct and indirect price attached at the time of voting in political marketing (Susila, 2011) and there is no nominal price that must be paid due to supporting defeated party or candidate (Suwignyo et al., 2014). Price in political marketing is a psychological construct (Wring, 2002; Reid, 1988; Egan, 1999) vote is a psychological purchase (Reid, 1988), and it refers to the actual and perceived attitudinal and behavioral barriers of supporting a political organization (Henneberg, 2002).

According to Niffenegger (1989), the price in political marketing mix is the total costs associated with the party or candidates' election. He classified price into three categories:

- Economic costs;
- Psychological costs and;
- National image effects.

Economic costs include main voter concerns like possible increase in taxes and interest rates or cuts in government benefits etc. Psychological costs are sense of discomfort with a candidate's background. Psychological costs refer to the hidden psychological perceptions and assessments associated with inconvenient feelings of the voters with a candidate's or a party's economic, ethnic, education, religious background, and etc. As the third element in the pricing mix, national image is the sense of pride associated with the election of a candidate or party. National image

costs are the perception of possible humiliation or decrease in positive national image value by voters caused when a candidate or party ruling the government (Niffenegger, 1989).

Pricing is the least tangible but useful strategy of marketing mix and can be seen to interlock and overlap with the other strategic tools like product management and communication (Wring, 1997). One of the common strategies in political marketing is minimizing the expected costs of own and maximizing the perceived costs of the opponents (Niffenegger, 1989). A common and effective tactic for maximizing opponent's costs is the negative campaigning or mudslinging. Minimizing own costs is done when the party or candidate defends against opponent's attacks or when an incumbent reduces the perceived costs by promoting the idea of a domestic "feel good factor" or perceived increase in the nation's international standing as a pricing strategy. Hence pricing is not necessarily a negative strategy (Wring, 1997).

An example of minimizing own costs is when John F. Kennedy faced cost as the first Catholic candidate in 1960. Non-Catholics perceived psychological cost being discomfort with the candidate's religious background. He could successfully minimize this cost by TV spots showing him meeting with and answering Protestant audience's questions (Niffenegger, 1989).

2.1.3. Place

The place or distribution function refers to the conditions regarding the availability of the political product as the exchange offer to the exchange partner. Place/distribution function in political marketing overlaps with promotion. They both can be highlighted regarding place/distribution (Henneberg, 2003). According to Niffenegger (1989), place strategy in political marketing refers to the channels or methods, which are used to get a party or candidate across in a personal way to the voters. A successful place strategy involves both following programs:

- Personal appearance programs and;
- Volunteer programs (Niffenegger, 1989).

Personal appearance programs are the programs that candidates or parties use to reach directly to the voters. As personal appearance programs, numerous methods have been used, such as speaking events, rallies, front porch campaigns, whistle-stop train tours, airport whistle-stop tour, factory gates, club meetings, dinners, Television, radio, personal interviews, print media, billboards, telecommunications, direct mailing, email, party conferences, chat shows, websites and most recently social media networking, and mobile marketing (Niffenegger, 1989; Wring, 1997; Harris, 2001; Henneberg, 2003; Cwalina et al., 2012)

As a radical change in character of voting behavior in 1999 general elections, voters intensively were involved in electoral process as voluntary programs (Suwignyo et. a., 2014). Voluntary programs are used to extend the candidate or party in a personal way to the public through canvassing, putting up signs, registering, voters, and soliciting funds or using party members as surrogates to speak on their behalf (Niffenegger, 1989). Volunteers are a major part of sales force. However, it can be clearly stated that sales force in a political campaign is not always limited to volunteers. Personal appearance programs and volunteer programs do not cover all political campaign activities. Paid staff at any level within the political organization can also play the sales force role in dissemination of political product indirectly to the public. Therefore, we can state that the paid sales force component is missing in the Niffenegger's classification.

Apart from the classification of Niffenegger (1989), other researchers have suggested that political product could be conveyed to the target market in two different ways that should be well coordinated by each other (Cwalina et al., 2012:261; Sharlamanov & Jovanoski, 2014:274). Those are:

- Direct (personal/interpersonal) way and;
- Indirect (mediated) way.

The direct communication occurs when political organization communicates with the target audience in a direct way without using any mediator. Door-to-door campaign, sending letters, phone calls or billboards are some examples of direct marketing, which is also labeled as interpersonal way of communication

(Sharlamanov & Jovanoski, 2014:274). Direct or personal campaign refers to the grassroots efforts that seek to communicate with the target audience in direct manner. It includes meetings with voters and power brokers, such as lobbyists and interest groups. Besides dissemination of political product, the other goal of direct way of communication is to establish and/or enhance relationships with target market (media, party organizations, sponsors, lobbyists, interest groups, etc.) as well as building up a volunteer network in order to handle the day-to-day activities in the running the political campaign (Cwalina et al., 2012:261).

On the other hand, in an indirect (mediated) campaign, political product is conveyed to the public through traditional or new media outlets (Cwalina et al., 2012:261; Sharlamanov & Jovanoski, 2012:274) such as “television, radio, newspapers, magazines (e.g., advertisements, TV debates, sponsored press releases), direct mail, the Internet (e.g., email, websites, blogs, social network sites), campaign literature (e.g., flyers, brochures), billboards, new technologies (e.g., web 2.0, mobile marketing)“, and so on (Cwalina et al., 2012:261).

Direct and indirect communication have been also distinguished based on the audience ((Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Vaccari & Valeriani 2013). This classification becomes especially relevant to social media. Audience in social media such as Twitter are divided into “primary” and “secondary” audiences. Primary audience is those who can be reached directly by the political elites. They are exposed to the public posts of the party/candidate by following the social media site. Secondary audience are those that are not followers but still they can be addressed through primary audiences that autonomously re-broadcast the message. Targeting primary and secondary audience are respectively known as “direct” and “indirect” communication (Vaccari, Valeriani 2013). Direct and indirect communications are also named as “one step flow of communication” (Bennett & Manheim, 2006) and “two step flow of communication” (Katz & Lazarsfeld: 1955) in the literature. Based on these definitions, we can state that the direct way of communication interacts with the personal appearance program in the Niffenegger’s classification. Moreover, volunteer programs are a part of the indirect way of communication. An example of successful direct and indirect communication was Barack Obama’s political

campaign that used both ways for fund raising purpose and to reach young voters (Cwalina et al., 2012:261).

Henneberg (2003:2-13) mentioned that the place or distribution function has two aspects:

- Campaign delivery;
- The offering delivery.

The campaign delivery aspect provides the target audience, with access to the all relevant elements of the political product (Henneberg, 2003). It includes all personal appearance and volunteer programs, direct and indirect ways.

The offering delivery aspect refers to the fulfillment of political promises (Harrop, 1990 Palmer, 2002; Henneberg, 2003). It comes to play when the party or candidate is in the governing position or has political and legal means to fulfill the political promises. This function is ambiguous and complicated because services are co-created. A successful delivery needs coordination between electorate and the executive powers and monitoring of this offering delivery. However, many significant variables of the delivery function that effect the success of the implementation of services are outside the party's or the government's powers (Henneberg, 2003:14).

2.1.4. Promotion

Promotion or communication is the key element of political marketing (Niffenegger, 1988:19). It's "the most obvious part of political marketing campaign" (Wring, 1997:656). Promotion or communication in political marketing is concerned with providing political content, political images and cues (Kotler & Kotler, 1999). It often involves simplification of political messages (Wortmann, 1989; Harris, 2001). This function sometimes interacts with the campaign delivery aspects of place (distribution) function. For example, social media tool or voluntary programs can either be considered under place (distribution) or promotion (communication) functions. However, the distinction is clear. Place function provides the medium

while promotion defines the content derived from the product function and prescribes a dialogue with the exchange partners (Henneberg, 2003). According to Avraham Shame (1975b:109) promotion in political marketing is “the specific mix of mass media advertising, specialized media advertising, and personal selling (i.e.: canvassing)”, that the candidate or party uses to reach his specific target voters. Simbolon (2016:105) adds this definition also the efforts of public relations and promotions. Different promotion mixes are used to target different voter segments. For example, both loyal voters and swing voters need different promotion mixes to be reached (Shama, 1975b).

According to Kotler and Armstrong (2016), along with creating customer value, organizations must clearly and persuasively communicate the value propositions to the customers. Communication is the most profoundly changing area of marketing. Promotion either in traditional marketing or political marketing is not a single tool. It is a blend of various elements. In the following parts more detailed explanation of promotional mix in both traditional and political marketing are given.

2.1.4.1. Traditional Communications Mix (Promotional Mix) Elements and Their Usage in Political Marketing

Promotion in traditional marketing is a blend of five key elements. This specific blend is called “promotional mix” or “marketing communications mix” and consists of “advertising”, “personal selling, sales promotion, public relations and direct marketing. The marketing communication mix is used by companies in order to persuasively communicate customer value with customers and other stakeholders and to build customer relationship. Communication mix is the primary communications activity of any company and it must be coordinated with the entire 4P’s of marketing mix to have greatest impact. Furthermore, in order to deliver a clear, consistent, persuasive and right message, at the right time, via preferred media, each of the marketing communication mix elements must be well coordinated and reinforce each other, under the concept of “integrated marketing communications.” Integrated marketing communications ties together all the messages and images and is defined as; “carefully integrating and coordinating the company’s many

communications channels to deliver a clear, consistent, and compelling message about the organization and its products” (Kotler & Armstrang, 2016:412). The main promotion tolls in marketing are defined bellow:

2.1.4.1.1. Advertising

Advertising is as old as mankind (Dunn & Barban,1978). Its roots as a marketing tool goes back to the beginning of recorded history (M.Areo & A.Aareo, 2016). Advertising was defined in many ways with different perspectives. It is a mode of communication intended to link companies to customers by means of paid media (Tellis, 2000). American Marketing Association defines advertising as; “The placement of announcements and persuasive messages in time or space purchased in any of the mass media by business firms, nonprofit organizations, government agencies, and individuals who seek to inform and/ or persuade members of a particular target market or audience about their products, services, organizations, or ideas” (AMA, 18 Dec.2018). According to Kotler (2007, 855) “advertising means any paid form of non-personal presentation and promotion of ideas, goods, or services by an identified sponsor.” Based on these definitions, there are a few fundamental characteristics for advertising (Kotler & Armstrang, 2016):

- Advertising is a paid activity, it is never free of cost;
- Advertising is non-personal. It means that messages are disseminated to the target audience through communication channels, there is no direct inter-personal contact with buyers;
- Advertising is used to promotes ideas as well as goods and service;
- Advertising is generally done by an identified sponsor. It attributes identity of the sponsor as the source of the idea that it presents. The sponsor can be producer or trader;
- Advertising influences behavior of the audience to the advantage of the advertised ide, product or service;
- Advertising is an element of Marketing Mix. It is a main part of Marketing communications (or Promotional) Mix.

According to Kotler and Armstrang (2016:437), the overall purpose of advertising is “to build a customer relationship by communicating customer value” and based on their primary purpose, advertisings are classified into three groups; “informative”, “persuasive”, and “reminder” advertising. Informative advertising is mostly used while introduction of a new product in order to build a primary demand. Persuasive advertising is heavily used at the time of growth in competition to build selective demand. Reminder advertising main goal is to maintain customer relationship and to keep customers thinking about a matured product or service. The table below adapted from Kotler and Armstrang, (2016:437), describes in detail possible intended goals related to these three types of advertising;

Table 2.1: Possible Advertising Objectives

Informative Advertising	
Communicating customer value	Suggesting new uses for a product
Building a brand and company product	Informing the market of a price change
Telling the market about a new product	Describing available services and support
Explaining how a product works	Connecting false impression
Persuasive Advertising	
Building brand preference	Persuading customers to purchase now
Encouraging switching to a brand	Persuading customers to receive a sales call
Changing customer perceptions of product value	Convincing customers to tell others about the brand
Reminder Advertising	
Maintaining customer relationships	Reminding customers where to buy the product
Reminding customers that the product may be needed in the near future	Keeping the brand in a customer's mind during off-seasons

Source: Kotler & Armstrang (2016:437).

Moreover, advertisings are classified into two groups based on their nature; “commercial” and “non-commercial” advertising. While commercial advertising or “profit-making” advertising deals with consumer product or service, non-commercial advertising which is also called “non-profit advertising”, is intended to change public attitudes by about specific issues. interest groups, government agencies political

parties and religious organizations are advertised in non-commercial advertising instead of advertising product or service (Devianbarasi & Mathivanan, 2015).

On the other hand, from political marketing perspective both commercial and non-commercial advertisings considered as different forms of a broader concept called “propaganda” (McGarry, 1958; Taylor, 1995; Carey, 1997; Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019). Propaganda is defined as “a form of communication that attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist” (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019:1). Politicians everywhere in the world try to govern people by sending messages to them through various tools like television, radio Internet , email, direct mail, social media, journals, periodical, billboards, banners, posters, print media and etc. This process is nothing but advertising or propaganda (M.Areo & A.Aareo, 2016). According to M.Areo and A.Aareo (2016), advertising and propaganda has a root spanning centuries in human history, and both imply the same meaning. Thus, they can be used interchangeably. Modern advertising and propaganda were developed in late 19th and early 20th centuries and their importance rised worldwide. The purpose of advertising and propaganda is to persuade public to take an action through various similar methods (Rochon, 2017). However, some authors differentiated propaganda with advertising (Rochon, 2017; Ellul, 1965:62). As the former has political and the latter has economic ends. However, due definitions of propaganda, advertising which feeds the manufacturer’s profit can also be considered as a form of propaganda under the concept of political marketing (Carey, 1997). Advertising is a primary type of propaganda (McGarry, 1958). Advertising is the most type of propaganda in the United States (Jowett & O’Donnell 2019:2). It’s counted as “economic propaganda” or “commercial propaganda” (Cull et al., 2003:6).

2.1.4.1.2. Direct marketing

In direct marketing individual consumers or targeted segments are directly connected on a one-to-one or interactive basis through an impersonal medium. Direct marketing is a supplemental medium for some companies while being a complete way of doing business for some others. (Kotler & Armstrang, 2016:496). “Personal

selling”, “direct-mail marketing”, “catalog marketing”, “telephone marketing”, “direct-response television (DRTV) marketing”, “kiosk marketing”, “new digital direct marketing technologies”, and “online marketing” are main forms of direct marketing (Kotler & Armstrang, 2016:500).

Based on the definition, we can state that direct marketing interacts with “personal appearance” and “one-step flow of communication” in place function of political marketing mix. Direct marketing in political sphere occurs when a candidate or party communicate directly with the public through various tools. Therefore, we can state that place strategies that can be used to reach directly to the target audience, such as porch campaigns, speaking events, rallies, front, whistle stop train tours, airport whistle stop tour, factory gates, club meetings, dinners, Television, radio, personal interview, print media, billboards, telecommunications, direct mailing, email, party conferences, chat shows, websites, and most recently personal social media accounts are sorts of direct marketing in political sphere.

2.1.4.1.3. Personal Selling

Personal selling includes a face-to-face interaction with the customer (AMA, 2018). Kotler and Armstrang (2016:464) stated that personal selling occurs when a company’s sales force tries to create and communicate customer value through personal interactions with customers.” In other words, personal selling is “Personal presentations by the firm’s sales force for the purpose of engaging customers, making sales, and building customer relationships.” Personal selling, as the interpersonal arm of the promotion mix, is one of the oldest professions (Kotler & Armstrang, 2018:480).

The firm’s sales force in personal selling go by many names such as “sales people”, “sales representatives”, “sales consultants”, “agents”, “district managers”, “account executives”, and “sales engineers” (2018:480). Salesperson who “represents the company to customers” and “represents customers to the company”, is “an individual who represents a company to customers by performing one or more of the following activities: prospecting, communicating, selling, servicing, information gathering, and relationship building” (2018:481). Nowadays, sales forces

utilize online mobile and social media tools in order to engage business customers, build relationships, and make sales. The digital technologies will not make salespeople obsolete. They will make them even more productive and effective (2018:490).

In political marketing domain, personal selling is very influential for parties. It has advantages such as having more flexible operations. Sales forces are able to hear and respond to prospective voters. They can also observe the candidate's reaction directly and adjust his/her approach (Wahyudi, 2017). Personal selling interacts with the "indirect communication" or "two-step flow of communication" in the place function of political marketing mix. Based on the definition of sales person, we can state that every individual within the political party -other than the candidate or the party leader-, who represents the political party/candidate and the public to each other, can play sales forces role and engage with personal selling.

An example of personal selling in the US last presidential election was Kellyanne Conway, Donald Trump's campaign manager, who also played sales force role for Trump's campaign in an interview with CNBC. She named Trump as a game player, a problem solver and a builder. She stated that Trump would win the election. Another example was Beyoncé and her husband Jay Z, the popular musicians, who wore T-shirts with an inscription "I am with her" and played salespersons role for Hillary Clinton's campaign.

Besides the paid sales forces, volunteers are the major sales forces that link political organizations to the public. Volunteer programs play a significant role in political marketing. According to Niffenegger (1989), volunteer programs are used to extend the candidate or party in a personal way to the target market through canvassing, putting up signs, registering, voters, and soliciting funds or using party members as surrogates to speak on their behalf. Thus, we can state that as a part of place function, volunteer programs, can also be counted as the main personal selling tool in political marketing.

2.1.4.1.4. Sales Promotion

American Marketing Association (2018) defined sales promotion as “The media and non-media marketing pressure applied for a predetermined, limited period of time at the level of consumer, retailer, or wholesaler in order to stimulate trial, increase consumer demand, or improve product availability.” According to Kotler & Armstrang (2016:481), sales promotion is: “short-term incentives to encourage the purchase or sale of a product or a service.” It is the most short-term element among the promotional tools. It works closely with the two previous promotional mix elements and says “buy now” while the others say “buy.” Sales promotions includes many different tools like: “samples”, “coupons”, “cash refunds (or rebates)”, “price packs (also called cents-off deals)”, “premiums”, “advertising specialties”, “point-of-purchase (POP) promotions”, “contests, sweepstakes, and games” and event sponsorship” (Kotler & Armstrang, 2016:483).

Sales promotion in political marketing deals with short-term intense advertising of special services offered by the party or candidate such as free education or tax decrease. Sales promotion is aimed at building brand image and brand relationship to the public and simulating voter’s interest in facilities and campaigners offered. It includes promotion activities such as demonstrations and exhibitions (Wahyudi, 2017).

Political campaigns are the “periods of uncommon intensity in the political order” (Johnston & Brady, 2006:1). Based on the definitions, sales promotion element of marketing mix interacts with the political campaigning. Qualter (1962) explained that based on the phrase “deliberate attempt” which is the key to the idea of propaganda, it can be stated that any act of promotion that is part of a deliberate campaign can be thought as propaganda.

2.1.4.1.5. Public Relations

Public relations as one of the main promotion tools, deals with building a good relations with communities, media, investors as well as consumers. Public relations has a brand building power due to most of marketers. Its used to promote

products, people, places, ideas, activities, organizations, and even nations (Kotler & Armstrong, 2016). Public relations is defined as “The profession or practice of creating and maintaining goodwill of an organization’s various publics (customers, employees, investors, suppliers, etc.), usually through publicity and other nonpaid forms of communication. These efforts may also include support of arts, charitable causes, education, sporting events, and other civic engagement” (Business Dictionary, 2018) Kotler & Armstrong (2016:454) defined public relation as “Building good relations with the company’s various publics by obtaining favorable publicity, building up a good corporate image, and handling or heading off unfavorable rumors, stories, and event.”

Further, Kotler and Armstrong (2016:454), defined some functions as public relations as: “press relations or press agency”, “product publicity”, “public affairs”, “lobbying”, “investor relations”, and “development.” Any of these functions can be performed separately or along with others;

- Press relations or press agency: Its about generation and publication of news worthy information in the news media in order to attract attentions to a person, idea, product, or service.
- Product publicity: It means publicizing a particular product, service or a specific idea.
- Public affairs: It contains building and maintaining relationships with local, national and even international communities.
- Lobbying: Its described as building and maintaining relationships with legislators and government officials in order to influence legislation and regulation.
- Investor relations: Its about maintaining relationships with financial community as whole, including shareholders and others.
- Development: It means cooperation with donors or members of nonprofit organizations in order to obtain financial or volunteer support (Kotler & Armstrong, 2016:454).

Grunig and Grunig (1989, 1992) identified four typical models in which public relations is practiced in countries with Anglo cultures: “press agency/publicity”, “public information”, “two-way asymmetrical”, and “two-way symmetrical.” Press agency/publicity characterizes propagandistic public relations that is aimed at gaining media attention in almost any feasible way. It is also labeled as “propaganda.” Public information describes the journalistic model of public relations. In which journalists disseminate accurate information about the organization without volunteering negative information. Public information is also labeled as “journalism.” Press agency and public information are one-way models that form a continuum of craft public relations. In one-way models, public relation professionals follow the information about the organization given to the public and do not seek for information from public through research and informal methods. Two-way asymmetrical and two-way symmetrical make up a continuum of professional public relations. They are more sophisticated and utilize methods of two-way communication such as research. Two-way asymmetrical model uses research to produce messages that gain support of the public without having to change the organizational behavior. It’s labeled as “persuasion” and benefits the organization not the public. However, from a neutral observer’s perspective, the two-way symmetrical model of public relation benefits both organization and the public. In this model, bargaining, negotiating, and strategies of conflict resolution are used by organizations in order to make symbiotic changes in the ideas, attitudes, and behaviors of both the organization and the public. This model is also labeled as “conflict management” or “collaboration” (Grunig, E. et al, 1995:169).

However, based on broader and more clear definitions of propaganda, public relations in general, is classified as another form of a propaganda (McGarry, 1958; Taylor, 1995; Carey, 1997; Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019). The main objective of public relations is “to create positive media relations, framing favorite narratives, event management, and sloganeering” (Cwalina et al., 2012:261). Public relations seeks for building good relationships with the public in order to gain support, build a party/candidate image, handle or get rid of gossip, stories and events that could harm candidate, party or party members.

2.1.4.2. Political Communication Mix

Besides the classical identification of communication mix elements, scholars have tried to make a dedicated definition of marketing mix in political marketing sphere (Franklin, 1994; Niffenegger, 1988; Wortmann, 1989; Wring, 1997). According to (Less-Marshment, 2014:162), campaigning and communication are the most obvious parts of political marketing. While political campaign gets great attention in the period right before the election, political organizations communicate all the time for several reasons:

- “Improve the candidates of political leader’s image;
- Represent what the party or politician is about;
- Persuade voters to point of view;
- Make something clearer;
- Counter negative attacks from the opposition;
- Educate and inform voters;
- Gain or increase support for a particular piece of legislation;
- Place an issue on the agenda;
- Increase support for referendum proposition” (Less-Marshment, 2014:162).

In order to reach target voters, both candidates and marketers combine the most suitable set of media that is called political promotional mix or political communication mix. Promotional mix in political marketing can be divided into two principle parts namely (Niffenegger, 1988; Wring, 1997:656):

- Paid advertising and;
- Non-paid publicity that parties or candidates receive (Free media).

Paid advertising covers all posters, print, and broadcast advertisings as well as telephone and direct mail marketing (Wring, 1997:656,657). Free media refers to the non-paid publicity that parties or candidates receive (Wring, 1997). It consists of free campaign coverage by the news media from stage events or debates (Niffenegger,

1988). Free media function targeted at secondary exchange partners and intermediaries such as journalists and other opinion leaders (Wortmann, 1989; Franklin, 1994). It refers to the publicity management that is not directly controlled by the political entity (Wortmann, 1989). However, the communication itself in free media can only be influenced rather than being managed in the sense of controlling it (Franklin, 1994). Parties and candidates have less control over their product exposure in free media compared to paid advertisings. Therefore, free media have greater importance according to political strategists. Electoral organizations rely a lot on news management strategies. News coverage of the political campaign can be influenced to a candidate's advantage by as press, publicity and broadcasting officers who are employed to promote a favorable interpretation that helps one side and hurts another. These political press agents are called "spin doctors" (Wring, 1997). Spin is often used regarding manipulation of political information (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019:3). "Spin" and "news management" are the terms that imply propaganda and has gained popularity today. They refer to a coordinated strategy that tries to minimize negative information and present the damaging stories in a favorable light. Press secretaries and public relation officers are counted as spin doctors when they try to launder news (Kurtz, 1998). The term "spin doctor" entered the political lexicon in 1980s. Free media strategies are broader than only defensive news management strategies. They are designed to attract favorable media attention to the organization interests (Wring, 1997).

Besides the two parts of political communication mix, "party colors, designs, slogan copy and symbols provide an additional dimension to the overall communications mix" (Wring, 1997:657).

2.1.4.2.1. Political Communication Mix and Propaganda/Persuasion

As discussed earlier, "direct marketing" and "personal selling" elements of promotional mix, interact with place element. Furthermore, "sales promotion" in political marketing is also congruent with "political campaigning." In addition, any act of promotion that is part of a deliberate campaign can be thought as "propaganda" (Qualter, 1962). Moreover, many political marketing scholars counted

“advertising” and “public relations” as sorts of the broader concept “propaganda” (Carey, 1997; Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019; McGarry, 1958; Taylor, 1995) which is often considered as a subcategory of persuasion and information. Thus, it could be concluded that, some elements of the classical promotional mix (i.e. direct marketing and personal selling) interacts with the place element in the political marketing mix whereas the other elements (i.e. advertising, public relations and promotions) have been considered as a subcategory of propaganda.

On the other hand, from a political perspective, it was mentioned that promotional mix contains two elements: paid advertising and publicity. As discussed earlier, advertising is a form of propaganda (Carey, 1997; Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019; McGarry, 1958; Taylor, 1995). Moreover, publicity as a model of public relation is labeled as propaganda (Grunig et al., 1995:169). The centrality of persuasion to public relations was acknowledged by public relations theorists. According to the British authors Morris and Goldsworthy (2008), public relations and persuasion are same things. They argued that public relations is the planned persuasion of people to behave in ways that attempts to fulfill its sponsor’s desired intents. According to Miller (1989), the similarities between the two notions is overwhelming. However, for some other authors, “persuasion is an anathema and it is perceived to be on the slippery slope that skids through publicity and ends up with propaganda” (Tucker, 2018).

Therefore, it can be stated that, from both traditional and political perspectives, propaganda (or persuasion), if not congruent with political communication mix, it is the essential part of it. Politics and political campaigns both have their foundation in persuasion and look for motivating the masses to support a particular message or stand behind a grouping of messages (Mutz, 1999). In a political campaign, the focus is on getting voters to pledge their vote to a specific party or candidate (Devlin, 1987). This is performed through persuasive messages telling individuals to change their belief, attitude, or behavior for their own benefit. For instance, asking someone to brush his/her teeth for his/her own personal benefit. Similar to persuasion, propaganda is also used by political campaigns. However, the focus of propaganda is on the desirability of the belief, attitude, behavior, or action to social groups of which the individual belongs to. For example, asking someone to brush his/her teeth

because people within his/her group find people with halitosis to be disgusting (Johnson-Cartee, 2004). Propaganda and persuasion are two categories of communication that have been used interchangeably in the literature on propaganda and in everyday speech. It is often hard to know if something is propaganda or persuasion (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019). They overlap each other as both in that both use communication to influence attitudes (Perloff, 2017). It is not always easy to separate them from each other (Fawkes, 2013). Most types of propaganda are simplistic and didactic and are aimed at persuasion and not truth, unlike other types of persuasion (Baines & O'Shaughnessy, 2014). According to Jowett and O'Donnell (2019) the main difference between propaganda and persuasion is that propaganda as a form of communication that further the propagandist's objectives, while persuasion is interactive and is aimed at satisfying both the needs of the persuader and the audience (Jowett, O'Donnell, 2015). According to Perloff (2017), propaganda and persuasion differ in four ways: First, propaganda is concerned with instances in which a group has total control over the dissemination of information, such as Hitler in Nazi Germany. In contrast, even though, persuasion can be slanted and one-sided (negative political ad), it generally allows for a free flow of information. The audience can ordinarily criticize the persuader or offer contrasting opinions. Second, propaganda is deceptive and presents only one sliver of the facts. The propagandists and their media system deliberately hide or distort the opposing positions and make it impossible for citizens to access the alternative viewpoints. Third, propaganda is typically invoked to describe mass influence through mass media whereas persuasion occurs in mediated settings or in interpersonal and organizational contexts such as one-on-one in group meetings on the job, and at large scale rallies. The fourth difference refers to the connotation or meaning of the terms. Contemporary propaganda after the Second World War has got a negative connotation. Propaganda is associated with bad things or evil forces whereas persuasion is observed as a more positive force, one that can produce useful results (Perloff, 2017). Public relations theorists Tench and Yeomans (2009) developed five steps that can be used to distinguish persuasion and propaganda: "Intent" (the good or bad intentions of the communicator), "free will" (the measures of freedom), "truth" (verity, deception, or manipulation), "autonomy of audiences" (measure of equality and respect to the

audience), “ethics” (measure of ethical practice). Because of the significant role of propaganda and persuasion in political marketing communication mix, and the use of them in this thesis, they need more attention and further explanation.

2.1.4.2.2. Persuasion

Communication is simply defined as the process in which a sender transmits a message to a receiver through a channel. Communication process has been illustrated by both linear and transactional models. Aristotle is the one who developed one of the earliest models of communication in which he described a speaker (orator), a speech, and an audience as the main components of the communication act (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019). Communication is defined as “an essential life process of exchange through which humans create, acquire, transmit, and utilize information” (O'Donnell, 1993:8). Communication typically has two goals. People communicate with each other either to be understood or to be believed. Persuasion is the communication act that looks for fulfilling both objectives. When a person is persuaded, he/she has understood the message, and believed its content (Taillard, 2001). Persuasion is considered as an integral part of mass communication and an essential skill for leadership and democracy where political elites attempt to produce persuasive messages in order to persuade the audience to support or oppose a specific point of view. Persuasion studies seek to investigate the use of words, images, symbols, and media. They are aimed to understand the meaning and intent of the persuader (Fawkes, 2013). Scholars have different definitions and differently approach the topic. Persuasion is defined as:

- “A communication process in which the communicator seeks to elicit a desired response from his receiver” (Andersen, 1971:6);
- “A conscious attempt by one individual to change the attitudes, beliefs, or behavior of another individual or group of individuals through the transmission of some message” (Bettinghaus & Cody, 1987:3);

- “A symbolic activity whose purpose is to effect the internalization or voluntary acceptance of new cognitive states or patterns of overt behavior through the exchange of messages” (Smith, 1982:7);
- “A successful intentional effort at influencing another’s mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the persuadee has some measure of freedom” (O’Keefe, 1990:17).

Perloff (2017:22) condensed the main components of the definitions into one unified perspective and defined persuasion as “a symbolic process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behavior regarding an issue through the transmission of a message, in an atmosphere of free choice.” Perloff (2017) further explained that the symbolic process means that persuasion takes time and does not happen with the flick of a switch. Symbols are persuaders’ tools that include words (e.g. freedom or justice), nonverbal signs (e.g. flag or Holy Cross), and images that are instantly recognized and processed (e.g. Nike Swoosh or McDonald’s Golden Arches). The process of persuasive communication is a conscious and deliberate attempt and it does not automatically or inevitably succeed. Moreover, persuaders provide arguments, set up the bait, and activate the audience’s desire. Persuaders cannot force the audience to be persuaded. It is the power of self-persuasion that leads people to persuade themselves to engage in an activity or change a behavior. It is clear that self-persuasion is not always therapeutic. It can be either benevolent provided by an ethical communicator, or malevolent that is made by a dishonest persuader. Persuasion communication typically focuses on change rather than forming attitudes. It attempts to convince people to shape, mold, or reinforce their existing attitudes. Persuasion is a communication activity and therefore, needs a message that is relayed interpersonally through various types of media. The message can be verbal or nonverbal, reasonable or unreasonable, emotional or factual. It may consist of argumentation or simply cues such as a pleasant music. Furthermore, the significance of self-persuasion in the persuasion process necessitates freedom in choice. The audience should be free to change his/her behavior or to do other than what is suggested by the persuader (Perloff, 2017). Persuasion seeks to evoke a particular change in the attitudes or

behaviors of the target audience. The change sought is a particular response from the audience. There are three distinct forms of response (Rolloff & Miller, 1980:16). The first is “response shaping” which is similar to learning, wherein the persuader plays the teacher’s role who offers positive reinforcement of learning and attempts to shape the response of a student by teaching him/her how to behave. The second is “response reinforcing” wherein the persuader attempts to strengthen the existing positive attitude. Most of the persuasion in contemporary world such as rallies and fundraising are response reinforcing. The third is “response changing” which is the most difficult type of persuasion because it seeks to convince the audience to switch from a particular attitude to another, to go from a neutral position to a positive or negative one, to change a behavior or to adopt a new behavior. People are unwilling to change. Therefore, the persuader has to relate the desired change to something which is already believed by the audience. This is called “anchor” and represents something widely accepted by the target audience including beliefs, values, attitudes, behaviors, and group norms. It is a starting point for change and is used to tie down new attitudes or behaviors.

There are two approaches for the study of persuasion. The first one is the social psychology schools that use psychology in designing persuasive messages. The other is the study of speech acts, or rhetoric, which is an ancient topic of study rooted in ancient Greece, particularly Aristotle (Fawkes, 2013), who wrote 170 works including the book of Rhetoric which is known as the greatest work on persuasion ever written (Golden et al., 2000). Since the beginnings of the study of rhetoric, Rhetoric was synonymous with persuasion since the beginnings of its study until the early 20th century. This concept will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. The following section is concerned with propaganda, the bad boy of persuasion (Perloff, 2017), which is hardly separated from rhetoric in many instances as there is a grey zone between them (Romarheim, 2005).

2.1.4.2.3. Propaganda

Propaganda derives from the new Latin verb “propagare”, which is synonymous with publicizing (Nichol, 2013). In Latin it means “to spread” (Romarheim, 2005), “to propagate” or “to sow” and in a natural sense it means disseminating or promoting specific ideas (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019). The term propaganda was first popularized from a papal attempt to propagate the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* which means the sacred congregation for propagating the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, established by Vatican in 1622 in order to spread the faith to the new world and to oppose Protestantism (Romarheim, 2005; Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019). However, long time before and after the first usage of the term, methods of social persuasion to sell ideas and gain support were used for many cases in the human history (Dziak, 2017). Utilization of persuasion methods with the help of words and/or images in order to sell ideas and win over people’s minds and hearts is rooted in earliest days of human communication. Propaganda dramatically rose in the 19th and 20th centuries along of developments in communication technology and freedom of choice (Dziak, 2017). Propaganda is systematically spreading of both information and disinformation. Application of propaganda by totalitarian regimes like the Nazi Germany to spread distorted facts and falsehood signified a negative connotations to the concept in the 20th century (Business dictionary, 2018). Along with the Nazi party which is the most referenced organization that used propaganda, many other groups relied on propaganda. The term has been largely used in everyday language after the Second World War (Romarheim, 2005). Therefore, although its neutral nature, propaganda acquired strong negative views in the 20th century after being widely used by both sides during World Wars and the Cold War (Rochon, 2017). Since that time, because of its manipulative utilization, numerous words have been frequently used as synonyms for propaganda like “lies”, “distortion”, “deceit”, “manipulation”, “mind control”, “psychological warfare”, “brainwashing”, “palaver”, and “fake news” (Jowett & O’Donnell 2019:2) as well as “public information policy”, “press/media relations” or “spin doctoring” (Taylor, 2003:6,7).

Propaganda in general is a deliberate, premeditated and methodical attempt that employs persuasion techniques in order to persuade audience to think and behave in a specific manner that is intended to benefit the sponsor (business dictionary, 2018; Carey, 1997). Thus, under the concept of political marketing, advertising and public relations both are considered as forms of propaganda (Carey, 1997). According to Qualter (1962:27), propaganda is “a deliberate attempt by some individuals or groups to form, control, or alter the attitudes of other groups by use of the instrument of communication, with the intention that in any given situation, the reaction of those so influenced will be that desired by the propagandist... .” Qualter (1962) explained that based on the phrase “deliberate attempt” which is the key to the idea of propaganda, it can be stated that any act of promotion that is part of a deliberate campaign can be thought as propaganda. Jowett & O’Donnell (2019:7) examined propaganda in their book as “subcategory of persuasion and information” and defined it as “the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.” According to Jowett & O’Donnell (2019:7-13), this definition focuses on the purpose of the communication process. Examining the words used in the definition, they further stated that “deliberate means willful, intentional, and premeditated.” It implies that propaganda is carefully through out to find the best consideration and the most effective strategy to promote an ideology and alter or maintain a desirable position (2019:7).

The “systematic means precise and methodical” implies an organized performance. The word is a complement for deliberate (2019:7). Moreover, propaganda is “an attempt” or “a try” to reach its established goal. Its objective is to effect certain audience in order to create a desirable position (2019:7). According to the definition, the intended state for the propagandist can be “perceptual, cognitive, behavioral”, or all of these. Desirable beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors characterize the formation of a propaganda message, propaganda campaign, or both. Hence a comprehensive information about target audience is needed (2019:13).

“Shaping perceptions is usually attempted through language and images.” During wartime, slogans, posters, symbols, and architectural structures are developed to shape perceptions (2019:8). Our perception is based on “complex psychological,

philosophical, and practical habitual thought patterns that we carry over from past experiences” (Hayward, 1997:73). Perceptions are shaped but “cognitions” are maintained or manipulated. “The formation of cognitions and attitudes is a complex process related to cultural and personal values and emotions” (2019:11). One of the ways that a person’s beliefs are established is through trust in his/her own senses (Bem, 1970). “An attitude is a cognitive or affective reaction to an idea or object, based on one’s perceptions. Once a belief or an attitude is formed, a person’s perceptions are influenced by it” (2019:11). As mentioned before, the intention of propaganda can be whether “perceptual, cognitive, behavioral” or all of them. However, the goal of propaganda effort is often to direct a certain behavior” (2019:12). The objective of propaganda is to achieve a specific response or certain action or reaction, that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. These are the key words for the definition of propaganda. “The propagandist’s motives are selfish ones. Selfish motives are not necessarily negative, and judgment depends on which ideology one supports” (2019:13).

Romarheim (2005) scrutinized Jowett and O’Donnell definition of propaganda and argued that the definition is too wide. According to him, although its current reputation, propaganda is not exclusively negative and can serve good ends as well as bad ends. Passive behavior like maintaining and supporting the current status can also be a goal. A desired behavior can be beneficial for both of propagandist and propagandee from time to time. He, therefore argued that common incommensurability between propagandist and propagandee should not be a definitional criterion. Romarheim (2005), stated that the following definition provided by Jacques Ellul (1965) can be remedy for shortcomings of Jowett and O’Donnell definition. However he perceived the word “behavior”, more precise rather than the word “action” in the preferred definition. Jacques Ellul (1965: 61) defined propaganda as “a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions (behaves) of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization.” In the following part we scrutinized various categorization of propaganda in the literature.

2.1.4.2.3.1.Types of Propaganda

Propaganda can be studied from many different perspectives like its source, accuracy, nature, scope, theme, content, method, strategy, tactic and technique (Baines & O'Shaughnessy, 2014). Thus, different researchers have classified propaganda from different perspectives. Some of the main classifications would be provided in the following parts.

2.1.4.2.3.1.1. Classification of Propaganda Based on its Source and Accuracy of Information

Based on its source and accuracy of information, propaganda is classified into three forms as white, black and grey propaganda (Rusu & Herman, 2018; Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019:17).

- **White Propaganda**

White propaganda spreads accurate information that comes from a clearly identified source. National celebrations, international sports competitions are some examples that inspire white propaganda from journalists (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019:17). Free Europe Radio during the Cold War is another example of the white propaganda (Rusu & Herman, 2018) .

- **Black Propaganda**

Black propaganda delivers lie, fabrications and deceptions from a concealed source or from a source that credited to a false authority. Its a “big lie” comprising all types of deception (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019:18). According to Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister, “outrageous charges evoke more belief than milder statements that merely twist the truth slightly” (Bogart, 1995, p. xii). Moreover, Jowett and O'Donnell (2019:20) stated that the success or failure of this type of propaganda highly depends on the credibility of the source, the content of the

message and the decision of the target audience to accept these two factors. Therefore, understanding of social, cultural, and political framework of the target audience by the sender, plays a big role in success of the black propaganda.

An example of black propaganda is, the New England Broadcasting Radio Station which was under command of the Nazis, used to broadcast news targeting soldiers morally (Rusu & Herman, 2018:120).

- **Gray Propaganda**

Grey propaganda is between white and black propaganda. It spreads uncertain information from a correctly identified or from an unknown source. *Voice of America* (VOA) has been an example of grey propaganda. Another example in 1966–1967 years is the *Radio Free Europe* which claimed that it is dependent only on voluntary contributions and publicly denied any connection to CIA (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019:20). Grey propaganda is the most common form of propaganda and it penetrates quickly in all environments (Rusu & Herman, 2018:120).

It's always easier to identify the use of propaganda during war times. Bruntz (1972:85) distinguished five well defined stages during which the Allies used propaganda against the German Empire. Although it's impossible to mention the beginning and expire date of each stage, each type was clearly distinguished from the others in the following order; "Propaganda of enlightenment" which tries to "get true facts to the people and army of the enemy country, negating the false information they are fed by their own country." "Propaganda of despair" which "attempts to break down the morale of the enemy by showing that death, disaster and defeat face him." "Propaganda of hope" that "presents to the enemy civilians and army a picture of a promised land, if they will only lay down their arms. President Wilson gave the Fourteen Points as America's war aims." "Particularist propaganda" which "is aimed at factions in the opposing country and army, seeks to divide them into antagonistic groups-Catholic against Protestant, the people of Alsace-Lorraine against the Prussians in the last war." And "revolutionary propaganda" that "is aimed at breaking down the government of the enemy from within. The propaganda by the

Allies in the last war aimed at stirring up the German people against the Hohenzollerns” (Bernays, 1942:2).

Moreover, propaganda can be “initiative” or “reactive” (Cull & Culbert & Welch, 2003:194). It can be used for “political”, “social”, “cultural” or “economic” purposes (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019:2). Based on its scope, there are different groups of propaganda such as; “national propaganda”; which effects public opinion inside a nation. “International propaganda”; which has international target audience or “religious propaganda” and “party propaganda” that have the power to effect public opinion in a certain level (Ellul, 1965:214).

2.1.4.2.3.1.2. Ellul’s Classification of Propaganda

Jacques Ellul (1965), the well known French psychologist and philosopher, classified propaganda into four pairs of contrasting types in his book of *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*. The first term of each pair represents the notion that normally come in mind while thinking about propaganda and the second one represents Ellul’s extended notion. His pre-propaganda notion had a great contribution to the propaganda theory and its important to understand his categories even though it impedes to maintain a consistent tight grasp of the propaganda (Marlin, 2013:36).

- **Political Versus Sociological Propaganda**

Ellul’s (1965), first classification is based on context and methods of propaganda. Due to this classification, there are two types of propaganda. Political and sociological.

1. Political Propaganda

The political type is the traditional focus of propaganda studies in which themes and the objectives are often political, goals are limited but clearly distinguished and meticulous, the choice of methods and techniques used is

deliberate and its employed by a defined body like government, a party, an administration, or a pressure group. Political form of propaganda has political ends. It's the most differentiable form of propaganda. "It establishes the general line, the array of arguments, the staggering of the campaigns; it seeks to obtain immediate results within that framework (such as wartime pamphlets and loudspeakers to obtain the immediate surrender of the enemy" Hitler's or Stalin's propagandas are examples of political propaganda (Ellul, 1965:62). Political propaganda can be either strategic or tactical:

- I. **Strategic Political Propaganda** creates the general line, the array of arguments, the staggering of the campaigns.
- II. **Tactical Political Propaganda** looks for immediate results like using wartime pamphlets and loudspeakers in order to obtain the immediate surrender of the enemies (Ellul, 1965:62).

2. Sociological Propaganda

According to Ellul, (1965:15,62), political propaganda does not cover all forms of propaganda. Propaganda compasses phenomena much more vast and uncertain than only political type. Along with using different instruments, different types of propaganda should also be used. Besides the political form, he combined all other types of propaganda together and named it as sociological propaganda which is more difficult to understand, rarely discussed and reverse of the political propaganda in many ways (Ellul, 1965). It does not fit the usual definition of the propaganda as an organized and systematic deliberate attempt. But it is important as the effect of these methods on us are same as the usual propaganda. Sociological propaganda penetrates slowly and introduces an ethic gently and in a benign form. It changes a person's environment at the deepest level and creates a fully established personality (Marlin, 2013:37).

Sociological propaganda is defined as "the penetration of an ideology by means of its sociological context" (Ellul, 1965:63) or "the group of manifestations by

which any society seeks to integrate the maximum number of individuals into itself, to unify its members behavior according to a pattern, to spread its style of life abroad, and thus to impose itself on other group.” (Ellul, 1965:62). Its about reinforcing and imposing an ideology by psychological, economic and cultural structure of the target audience through plenty of subtle means. “In sociological propaganda the movement is reversed. The existing economic, political, and sociological factors progressively allow an ideology to penetrate individuals or masses. Through the medium of economic and political structures a certain ideology is established, which leads to the active participation of the masses and the adaptation of individuals” (Ellul, 1965:63-64). Sociological propaganda initially was involuntary but became more and more deliberate (Ellul, 1965:67).

Moreover, Ellul (1965:15,62) argued that direct propaganda which seeks to modify ideas and attitudes can not be effective without pre-propaganda, sub-propaganda or In other words, sociological propaganda. Vice versa, without a direct or significant aggression, the propaganda efforts are limited to create ambiguities, diminishing prejudices, and propagating images, apparently without having a clear purpose. Sociological propaganda is the basis for organized propaganda, it prepares ground before implementation of the direct propaganda but it will never induce someone to change his/her actions. It leaves him/her at the level of his/her routine life without having a new decision. Thus, both techniques should be used, although sometimes sociological form may itself transformed into direct propaganda (Ellul, 1965).

Movies and human relations are counted as the best media for sociological propaganda. An individual is more disposed to believe in a nation's grandeur if he/she has already seen a dozen of movies implying greatness of the nation. Advertising can be included in this form of propaganda. Furthermore, public relations, human relations, human engineering and the motion pictures are also counted as sociological propaganda. They all impress converge toward the same point in nations living by sociological propaganda like the United States, where in they are divergent in their aims and intentions in other societies like France in 1960. Entertainment, social marketing and “the great American way of life” are some examples of sociological propaganda. If someone accepts superior of the American life style, it acts as the

backdrop for many propaganda and becomes a criterion of good and bad things. The person perceives any non-American as a bad thing.

As mentioned, sociological propaganda is typically seen as not-political but one or more political type can be expressed within the domain of sociological propaganda. The propaganda of Christianity in the middle ages and American and Chinese propaganda in recent decades are some examples (Ellul, 1965).

- **Agitation Versus Integration**

According to Ellul (1965:70-71), another great classification within the general propaganda concept is the propaganda of “integration” and propaganda of “agitation.” This classification corresponded the classification of “subversion (with regard to an enemy)” and propaganda of “collaboration (with the same enemy).” Furthermore, Lenin’s well known classification of “agitation” and “propaganda” is similar to this classification but having reverse meaning of the words.

1. Propaganda of Agitation

Agitation propaganda looks for arousing people from apathy to participate in or support a case by giving them feasible actions to carry out (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019:291). It is the most visible and widespread, most often subversive, revolutionary and opposition’s propaganda, seeking rebellion or war. It attacks attentions to destroy the Government or the established order but cannot be kept up for so long time. This form of propaganda nourishes one itself and does not need continues use of mass media. Agitation propaganda has always had place in human history, especially in all revolutionary movements and popular wars such as the French movement of 1793 and the Crusades. It reached its height with Lenin, who specified that along with the opposition groups, Governments also can use the agitation propaganda such as trying to galvanize energies in order to mobilize the entire country for war. This type of propaganda includes most of the Hitler’s propaganda (Ellul, 1965:71).

2. Propaganda of Integration

Propaganda of integration was developed in the twentieth century and did not exist before that. Total adherence to society's truths and behavioral patterns is needed in modern western societies and its not enough to obtain only transitory political act like vote. Ellul (1965:74) considers integration propaganda as "propaganda of developed nations", "propaganda of conformity" and "characteristics of civilization." "It is a long-term propaganda, a self-reproducing propaganda that seeks to obtain stable behavior, to adapt the individual to his everyday life, to reshape his thoughts and behavior in terms of the permanent social setting." It is much more complex, extensive and inconspicuous than agitation form of propaganda. Intellectuals are susceptible to this type of propaganda. It seeks for "a total molding of a person in dept." rather than a temporary excitement, "getting individual to participate in society", "stabilizing the social body" and "unifying and reinforcing it" (Ellul, 1965:74-76; Marlin, 2013:37). Therefore, Governments and officials are often sponsors of this type of propaganda but it can be utilized by group of organizations other than Governments. Mass media communication and all propagandical and opinion analysis should be utilized in integration propaganda. Propaganda of the Soviet Union since 1930s, propaganda of all the People's Republics since the second World War are some examples of this.

- **Vertical Versus Horizontal Propaganda**

The other classification of Ellul is based on the direction that propaganda occurs. It can occur either from top to bottom or inside the group.

- **Vertical propaganda**

Vertical propaganda is what normally people conceive, occurring in top to bottom direction, from the leader, a technician, a political or a religious head, to the crowd bellow. In such form of propaganda, the superior position of the authority seeks to envelop a mass of individuals but stay outside. It effects people using all

technical methods of mass communications. In vertical propaganda the mass of propagandees have a passive attitude. Although they act with vigor and passion and they think that their action is their own but they are transformed to passive objects, they are seized, mechanized, dominated, manipulated, committed, ruled by the leader who act through them reducing their condition to a passive instrument. They act like hypnotic subjects, who are depersonalized and act from conditioned reflex imposed by the leader. Even though, being a part of a crowd, the propagandee remains alone in vertical propaganda. His shouts of enthusiasm or hatred, although being a part of the shouts of the crowd, are only a response to the leader and do not put him in communication with others. Propagandee loses his individuality being plunged into a mass of propagandees. He is an inseparable element among others and unconceivable without the mass. Vertical propaganda is easy to make though it needs the huge apparatus of the mass media of communication. It is primarily useful for agitation propaganda. It should be renewed constantly because of having extreme imperishable direct effects. Vertical propaganda needs. The propaganda of Hitler, Stalin and the French government since 1950 are some examples of this form (Ellul, 1965:79-82).

- **Horizontal Propaganda**

Horizontal propaganda was developed much more later than the vertical type. By contrast it is inside the group not from top to bottom. The leader is just an animator or the discussion leader who even sometimes is not known. “Ghost writer” in some American groups and “police spy” in some Chinese groups are some examples. All individuals are equal and they communicate with each other rather than with a leader. It is known in two forms of integration propaganda; “Chinese propaganda” which is political propaganda and “group dynamics” in human relations which is counted as sociological propaganda, both are integration propaganda. This content of such propaganda is “presented in didactic fashion and addressed to the intelligence” always seeking for “conscious and intellectual adherence.” In other words, adherence of individual to his group is conscious and intellectual. He is aware of it the adherence and he recognizes it, but it is ultimately “spontaneous” because he is trapped in a group and a dialectic that lead him involuntary and permanently to this

adherence. He has freedom to express his opinion clearly and logically but it is not “genuine.” Because the information, the data and the reasoning behind leading him to the adherence to the group were themselves deliberately falsified in order to lead him to such status. Therefore the content of such propaganda is “presented in didactic fashion and addressed to the intelligence” (Ellul, 1965:81).

But the most significant trait of this form of propaganda is the small homogeneous and specialized groups including individuals from same sex, age, class and environment. Preferably many groups with convergent action, each group having fifteen to twenty members to allow active participation by each member in the life of the group in a genuine, lively, intimate and informal discussion in which there is no leader presides. Every individual helps to shape the opinion of the group by speaking, expressing himself, giving his opinions and helping others to shape their but the group also helps individuals to find out their correct line. The progress is gentle here. There must be many meetings to share a common experience in which the former events are recalled in each. In contrast with vertical propaganda, much more advanced, effective and binding method is needed in horizontal form in order to develop a “voluntary” adherence rather than a mechanical devotion and to develop a solution that is “found” by the individual rather than being imposed from above. In contrast with the vertical propaganda which needs huge apparatus of “mass media communication”, horizontal propaganda needs a huge “organization of people.” Organizing great many groups and group leaders is the main problem. There also must be liaison men between the authority and each groups who “exert a stabilizing and lasting influence.” These liaison men are inseparable and integrated members of the group as well as belonging to an integrated political organization (Ellul, 1965:82).

Horizontal propaganda coincide with egalitarian societies that claim they are democratic based on will of their people. But in fact it “is much more stringent and totalitarian than explosive propaganda” (Ellul, 1965:84). The horizontal propaganda needs two conditions;

- Lack of contact between groups;

A member of a group must not belong to other groups. The effect of another group would give him the chance to find himself again and would strengthen him to resist. This is the reason that the Chinese Communist party tried to break up traditional groups like family. A family as a private and heterogeneous group including members with different ages, sexes and occupations is a huge barrier for such propaganda. However breaking family up is not necessary in the United States and in the western societies because of flexible social structure which is not a obstacle. A western family does not have power to envelop members. It's not the place that an individual is formed. Its already broken up.

- The second condition is identity between propaganda and education;

Although the small groups are the center of total moral, psychological, intellectual and civic education, they are primarily political and their all actions are related to politics. Education in small groups only has meaning in relation to politics which is defined in its broadest sense in here. The political education given by *Mao* is most effective in small groups. It is on the catechism level. But political instruction is not possible in American groups in which members are already aware about principles of democracy. They are taught how to behave as a member of democracy. Hence they have a complete civic education and the groups are still political. Here education is only one of the elements of propaganda seeks to obtain adherence to a society.

It was already mentioned that the small groups in horizontal propaganda requires to break up the other groups such as family. Therefore, a regime employing horizontal propaganda restricts academic education or integrates it in the system. American schools played simple mechanism in adapting youngsters to American society while Chinese school were only a propaganda system “catechizing children while teaching them to read” (Ellul, 1965:79-84).

- **Irrational Versus Rational Propaganda**

According to Ellul (1965), propaganda can either be rational and irrational. Similar to advertisements using irrational and rational elements.

1. Irrational Propaganda

Propaganda has an irrational nature. “It’s addressed to feelings and passions” using emotive appeals, myths and so on to effect audience. “It’s irrational.” Such as Egyptian propaganda and Patrice Lumumba’s propaganda in Belgian Congo in 1960 that were based only on claims without any relation to reality. That is how propaganda is distinguished from information which “is addressed to reason and experience and furnishes facts.”

2. Rational Propaganda

But Ellul (1965:84-87) does not consider it as a comprehensive distinction and he characterizes another form of as rational propaganda. Rational propaganda is characterized with facts, serious arguments, factual statistics, and figures, dissemination of knowledge and economic ideas. Propaganda of Soviet Union since 1950 and French grandeur since 1956 had been rational and factual propaganda centered around their scientific progress, economic development and technological success. The wartime propaganda seeking to surrender enemy soldiers right after they suffered a defeat is often a successful example of rational propaganda based directly on an obvious fact. Mao established the Chinese education system on pseudo-rational proofs. The news bulletins of American services are also based on knowledge and information and has exactly the same style of the German Democratic Republic propaganda.

Ellul argued that purely impassioned and emotional propaganda was discredited and disappeared. Even such propaganda contained factual elements. Such as some facts that served as base or pretext in the most of incentive speeches of Hitler. Propaganda is becoming increasingly similar to information. Because “modern man needs a relation to facts, a self-justification to convince himself that by acting in a

certain way he is obeying reason and proved experience” (Ellul, 1965:85). It has been improved that a violent, excessive and shock-provoking propaganda text is extremely less persuasive than a propaganda text based on information and reasoning in the same subject. For instance, a small dose of rationality creates stable adherence but a big dose of fear causes only an immediate action. More rational and less violent propaganda reduces critical power of the audience.

Furthermore, Ellul (1965:86) argued that, either the audience understand it or not, all data and reasons in factual, rational and logical propaganda are forgotten and what remains is “an impression, a perfectly irrational picture, a purely emotional feeling, a myth.” This is the propagandist’s conclusive aim. Because an individual acts on the basis of emotional pressure, the vision of future, the myth rather than beginning to act on the basis of rationalism and he has a purely rational behavior. Thus he transforms all content of the message spontaneously and responds irrationally to a rational and factual propaganda message. The irrational response must be fed with facts logical proofs to evoke frenzy. “Thus propaganda in itself becomes honest, strict, exact, but its effect remains irrational” Ellul (1965:86).

Ellul (1965:87) stated that this is also true for information. Even a very well presented information gives people only a broad image of the world. Ellul exempted specialists from this argument and claimed that “much of the information disseminated nowadays—research findings, facts, statistics, explanations, analyses—eliminate personal judgment and the capacity to form one’s own opinion even more surely than the most extravagant propaganda.” According to him, only limited data can be recalled by an individual, it is a shocking fact that excessive data drown and paralyzes an audience. A surfeit of data do not enlighten an individual because remembering, coordinating and understanding all of them is not possible. What the audience can do is only drawing a general picture from all data in his mind in order to prevent forgetting them. He gets a general idea or arrives at a summary judgment. “And the more facts supplied, the more simplistic the image.” The modern information mechanisms induce sort of hypnosis in people, People form their final opinion exclusively on the basis of the facts they receive rather than on personal experience and free choice. “The more the techniques of distributing information develop, the more the individual is shaped by such information.” Thus, ”propaganda

is an inner control over the individual by social force. It deprives him of himself” (Ellul, 1965:87)

2.1.4.2.3.2. Propaganda Techniques

There are numerous types and techniques of propaganda (Baines & O’Shaughnessy, 2014). The Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA) as an American organization composed of social scientists, opinion leaders, historians, educators, and journalists, was formed in 1937 for combatting propaganda by creating teaching methods and curricular material. It was aimed at educating American public about how to think, rather than teaching them what to think. The seven basic propaganda devices developed by *IPA* are; “Name-Calling”, “Glittering Generality”, “Transfer”, “Testimonial”, “Plain Folks”, “Card Stacking”, and “Band Wagon” (Hobbs & McGee, 2014; E.B.Lee & a.McC, 1979). These techniques have been frequently repeated in the literature (Combs & Nimmo, 1993).

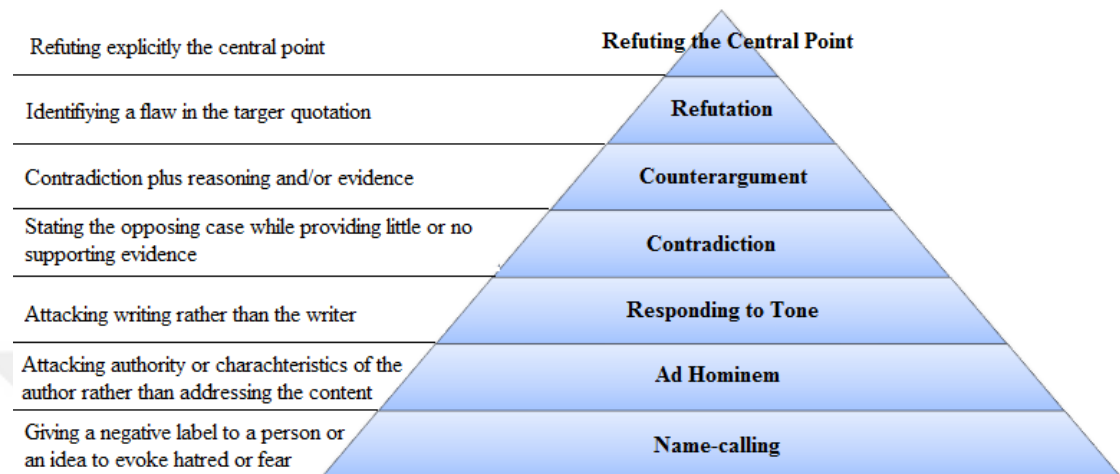
- **Name-Calling**

Name calling is a verbal abuse trick that gives a negative label to a person or an idea that makes the audience to reject or condemn it by evoking hatred or fear without examining the evidence (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019:237). It makes the audience to accept a conclusion without full consideration of rational and fact-based evidences. More people can be moved by fear and hatred rather than good-will. “Boondoggling” which is pouring contempt and putting stigma upon a project, using labels such as “a liar”, “a betrayer”, “a double-crosser”, “economic royalists” are some examples of name calling trick. The antidote for this trick is to ask ourselves unemotionally who calls this name and why. We need to determine the name caller’s interests and realize if it serves our interests too or not (Miller & Edwards, 1936:71).

Name calling is listed as the lowest type of argument in the Graham’s Hierarchy of Disagreement. He proposed seven levels of disagreement in a 2008 essay “How to Disagree.” He observed that moving up the hierarchy makes people less mean and

happier. Following diagram implies Graham’s statement that the disagreement hierarchy can also be taught as a pyramid as the higher levels are rarer;

Figure 2.2: Graham’s Hierarchy of Disagreement



Adopted from Paul Graham (2008): “How to Disagree”.

- **Glittering Generality**

This trick is opposite of name calling. It uses “virtue words” and gives a positive label and symbol to a person or an idea in order to make the audience approve and accept it without examining the evidence (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019:237). People are against sin and are for all the virtues in a large general way. Everybody wants good paid jobs, economic security, freedom, social justice, truth, education, democracy. Even the most intelligent people want to believe that time and life is getting better for us, for our family and people. The great psychological power of “will to believe” along with the love of ourselves, our families, our friends and our people can be misused by propagandists to make us easy victims.

To not be subject to such trick, we can break down these generalities into particular terms. We need to ask; “why” and “what”, and “how” and “when”? For instance; “Jobs for every- body at good wages.” We may ask ourselves what does the party have to do to fulfill this promise and what are the obstacles? Is it possible? Would the regulations, socio-political and business environment hinder achievement of the goal? What should be done in order to make it practical? As another example

we can question “freedom”, asking ourselves freedom to do what? Freedom for whom? Would our interests be better served under the type of freedom that being advocated? What is the difference between different types of freedom? What price is attached to such freedom? Will the freedom reduce freedom of any other group? Name calling and glittering generality tricks are the most common techniques used in propaganda (Miller & Edwards, 1936:72,73,77).

- **Transfer**

Its linking the authority, approval, respect or prestige of something to something else to make the latter accepted. Or linking something disrespected to something else to make the latter rejected (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019:237). Symbols are effectively used in propaganda to link an idea, a party or a candidates to the nation, church, religion, history, ethnicity and culture in order stir our emotions and gain acceptance. Using Hymns as the symbols of church and God, using the constitution, the Liberty Bell, Catholic priests, Jewish rabbis and Negro preacher, waving the flags representing all the national virtues, hopes and aspirations, showing cross of the church as well as symbolizing the nation as merciful by giving aids to unfortunate are some examples of this trick. Propagandists often use such good symbols to lure their target audience but bad symbols like skull and cross-bone also can be used connoting poison, disaster, and death.

A symbol is charged with high emotions. As antidote for this trick, we need to strip the symbol of the emotions, so we observe that it can mean all things to all men. For instance, we may ask; “Does the flag represents a great army or stands for responsibility of the Government to relief labor, banking, business and industry regulations for everyone? (Miller & Edwards, 1936:73&76).

- **Testimonial**

This trick is the use of respected or hated person to endorse or reject an idea, a program, product, or person (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019:237). This technique which is often used in patent medicine and Cigarette advertising, is also used by

propagandists. Celebrities, social and business leaders that are used to endorse political parties or candidates. A large number of good, plain and solid citizens voting for an organization or supporting an idea can also cause additional supporters to swarm to the Band Wagon. Due to some people, the “*straw vote*” which is an ad-hoc or unofficial vote taken by different organizations is counted as Testimonial trick (Miller & Edwards, 1936:76,77).

The antidote for this trick is asking ourselves what who gives the testimonial? Why does he gives it? Does his interests are our interest and people’s interests too? Is the testimonial a rational statement based on past deeds and future performance? (Miller & Edwards, 1936:77).

- **Plain Folks**

This trick aimed at convincing the audience that a person and his ideas are good because they are” of the people” and “the plain folks” (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019:237). Front porch and back porch campaigns, talking with folks in parks, camp meetings, family picnics, home pictures with babies, mother and family members, are some tricks to imply that the person is just a plain folk among neighbors.

To not be fooled by thus trick, me should remember that personality is important but a candidate’s love for apple pie, home and family, has small or no effect on solving economic, social, national or international problems. We should question a candidate’s ability to solve problems instead of caring a his will and interest to solve the issues (Miller & Edwards, 1936:76).

- **Band Wagon**

This trick tries to persuade audience to jump on the bandwagon rather than be left out utilizing the theme of “everybody doing it, so should you” reinforcing their desire to be on the winning side (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019:237). It is a powerful appeal to follow the crowd because people naturally want to be with winning crowd. Thus, this trick is widely used in political conventions and notification ceremonies with the theme of: “Follow the crowd!”, “everybody’s doing it”, “hail, hail the

gang's all here! "Don't throw your vote away, vote for X" slogans, "happy days are here again" sentences, while choosing special theme songs, addressing different voter groups by different themes to call them to join the crowd are examples of Band Wagon technique.

Intelligence is the antidote for Bad Wagon trick. Intelligent people are not easily be fooled by catchy theme songs, organized noises, shouting, hullabaloo, synthetic enthusiasm, pre-election forecasts (Miller & Edwards, 1936:71-72).

- **Card Stacking**

Card stacking trick is the "use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distractions, and logical or illogical statements in order to show the best or the worst features of an idea, program, person, or product" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2019:237). "It often utilizes clever manipulation of under-emphasis and over-emphasis to dodge and evade basic issues and embarrassing facts" (Miller & Edwards, 1936:76-77). Its telling half-truths while hiding, neglecting or lying about the other half. Trying to divert public and media attention from own failures while stressing successes, emphasizing the opponent's unfulfilled promises and failures while ignoring the opponent's successes, all falsehood, misrepresentation, censorship and even whispering so unfavorable things are counted as card stacking trick. Card Stacking may be the hardest trick to figure out (Miller & Edwards, 1936:76-77). There are evidences in religious rhetoric and Islamic literature implying the old age of this effective trick. *Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib* (AD 600-661) stressed the significance and peril of this propaganda trick in one of his public speeches; "If wrong had been pure and unmixed it would not be hidden from those who are in search of it. And if right had been pure without admixture of wrong those who bear hatred towards it would have been silenced. What is, however, done is that something is taken from here and something from there and the two are mixed!" (Raḍī, 1989:sermon50).

To not be subject to such trick, we must get facts dispassionately without emotions. Statement made by whispering campaigns in a democracy are 100 percent false. Intelligent people hardly need to inspect such statements (Miller & Edwards, 1936:76-77).

2.1.4.2.4. Political Campaign

A campaign is the period right before citizens make a real political choice. Though it's difficult to locate a campaign's inception. The incumbent may begin campaigning immediately if the person or party determined to seek reelection.

Johnston and Brady (2006) argue that a campaign cannot be easily defined and there are two empirically linked, but conceptually distinct approaches to define a campaign. The first approach focuses on institutional or quasi-institutional conditions that if all are true, a campaign is certainly in progress. But if some of the conditions below are true, a campaign may or may not be in progress;

- The election date is determined
- The identity of the candidates is known
- Candidates are ready to spend practically all of their time getting (re)elected
- Particular actions that are normally unregulated are regulated now and, some actions that are normally allowed are prohibited now, like fund-raising and spending.

The other approach to define a campaign considers campaigns as “periods of uncommon intensity in the political order, which can either broaden the period identified as a campaign or narrow it” (Johnston & Brady, 2006:1). Formal institutional definitions of political campaigns are usually characterized by heightened intensity. “Intensity is related to, but distinct from, competitiveness. A competitive election is one in which the outcome is in question. An intense campaign is one contested doggedly by the candidates or parties, regardless of whether any or all of them has a real chance of winning. Our guess is that all competitive elections have intense campaigns but that not all intense campaigns correspond to a competitive election” (Johnston & Brady, 2006). “Intensity may not correspond to the formal period of the campaign, as it depends on the intentions of the players themselves. A campaign could easily begin early if the candidates take to the hustings well in advance of Election Day, though that is no guarantee that anyone

would pay attention” (Johnston & Brady, 2006:2). There are three indexes defined for intensity as bellow;

- **Deadline of Election Day;**

“Campaign activity is more likely to register on voters’ minds as Election Day draws near”. There is an interaction between campaign effort or heightening citizens’ attention to politics and proximity of the election. Any campaign story should be more interesting to the audience the closer is their moment of choice (Johnston & Brady, 2006:2).

- **The effort put into the campaign by parties and candidates;**

Through the effort put by competitors the campaign seems more intense to (some) voters and the media. The most fundamental indicators of candidate efforts are time and money or dollars and hours spent in terms of debates, conventions, voter mobilization, appearances and television and social media advertising (Johnston & Brady, 2006).

- **Mass media attention to the campaign;**

This is the last indicator of intensity that without it a campaign is not noteworthy. Media attention increase toward the end of the campaign as the audience are more ready and more interested in the story toward the end of the campaign (Johnston & Brady, 2006).

Electoral campaigns are the primary means by which voters are informed of policy views of parties and candidates in a democratic systems (The Canadian Encyclopedia) and can come to pass even in non-democratic societies so long as freedom of expression allowed in particular issues. Scholars have been interested in how and to what extent political campaigns affect views of citizenry about parties, candidates and political issues. They have also been interested in the type of

messages campaigns try to convey as well as the type of organizational frameworks that campaigns are carried out. These studies have often compared between campaigns in different countries and political systems and are useful for political organizations in improving the benefits and effectiveness of campaign actions (Johnston & Brady, 2006).

2.1.4.2.4.1. Political Campaign Importance and Impact

The time and money being spent on campaigns, as well as the clear dependency of all other aspects of political parties' activity to the political campaign indicate that campaigning is an essential part of political life today (Galagher, 2003). Campaigns are the most visible expressions of democracy (Swanson & Mansini, 1996:275). Despite imperfections such as apathetic voters and deceptive candidates that can damage democracy, political campaigns nowadays are the vivacity and livelihood of democracy. Especially in the United States where candidates run for an extensive variety of elective offices, including federal, state and local governors, congress, senate, city council, jurisdictions as well as president. This promotes an incredible amount of political campaigning (Lawless, 2012).

Some scholars questioned the actual effect of campaigning on individual vote choice and its consequences for the electoral outcome. Beginning around the middle of the 19th century, some political scientists have found that numerated number of American electorates change their mind during election campaigns. On the other hand, emergence of sophisticated election forecasting models that are capable to predict election results with considerable accuracy led to the inference that campaigns have "minimal effects" on election outcomes (Gardner, 2009). Finkel (1993:1) in his study, showed that majority of individual votes could be predicted based merely on attitudes such as voter ethnicity, party identification, and presidential approval. He argued that "rather than simply reinforcing individuals' preexisting vote intentions, the campaigns serve mainly to activate existing political predispositions and make them electorally relevant" Finkel (1993:1). Some studies on voting behavior showed that the final voting decision for most of the electorate occurs prior to election campaign. Moreover, it was argued that even voters who

certainly believe they have an open mind during the campaign have predictable voting behavior based on their religious affiliation, occupation, or socioeconomic status (Gardner, 2009). Studies also showed that changes in orientation during the campaign had little impact on the election outcomes. For instance, Blais (2004) estimated that shifting from one choice to another in the month leading an American presidential election moved roughly from 6% in 1960 to 8% in 2000 (Blais, 2004). Obviously, saying that campaign persuasion is not a determinant factor of election results does not mean that campaign persuasion never occurs. Election campaign persuasion can be decisive in very close contests. However, more recent body of findings tend to undermine the “minimal effect” thesis (Gardner, 2009). Evidences indicate that political campaigns affect election results (Campbell, 2008:26) and many voters learn about the contestants and their issue positions during the political campaign. Meta-analysis by Benoit, Hansen and Verser (2003:335) confirmed that watching presidential debates has a significant effect on increasing issue knowledge and issue salience (the number of issues a voter uses to evaluate candidates). It can also alter preference for candidates’ issue stands and his/her personality. Kamber (1997) believes that political campaign, especially TV ads are capable to bring all voters into the picture, even uninvolved voters and those actively avoid political communications. According to Popkin (1994), people who do not follow politics obtain political information from news, Internet and everyday life issues. Thus, even those who are not interested in politics at some extent are engaged with political campaign. Moreover, political campaigns, especially presidential campaigns are quite competitive (Campbell, 2008:26). If one part stops campaigning, the opponents would benefit (Sides & Vavreck, 2012).

2.1.4.2.4.2. Political Campaign Activities

Gibson and Römmele (2001) identified a list of 12 key party activities or initiatives that appeared to be closely associated with the implementation of professionalized campaigning and that were directly observable. Though this list is not exhausting but it covers some of the most commonly observable practices utilized by professionalized campaigners (Gibson & Römmele, 2009):

- “use of telemarketing for contacting own members and outside target groups;
- use of direct mail to own members and outside target groups;
- use of outside public relations/media consultants;
- use of computerized databases;
- use of opinion polling;
- conducting opposition research;
- presence of an internal Internet communication system;
- e-mail sign-up or subscription list for regular news updates;
- outside campaign headquarters, and;
- continuous campaigning.”

2.1.4.2.4.3. Political Campaign Organization

Different campaigns have different organizations and staff. There are lots of roles and individual units in political campaign such as candidate, campaign manager, Fundraising director, campaign accountant or treasurer, campaign accountant or treasurer, campaign accountant or treasurer, communications director, media strategist, press secretary, political consultant, networking director, events director, chief information officer, grassroots coordinator, field organizers, campaign researcher, volunteer coordinator, volunteers. Depending on the size and scope of a campaign, it might fill several (or all) of these roles on a daily basis. These roles can be varied and need people with different skills.

Political campaign messages are commonly distributed through mass media, in mediums such as television, newspapers, and the Internet. In contemporary political campaigns, candidates use a mix of the three major forms of media to develop what is called a media plan. However, political campaigns do more than just delivering campaign messages designed to influence the voters, they provide work for the political elites, their staff, and the reporters on the campaign trail as well as giving the citizens a sense of involvement in the political process (Devlin, 1987). Social media is one of the most recent and most important political marketing tools

that goes a long way toward playing the vital role in any election campaign. The following section describes the use of social media in politics.

2.1.4.2.4.4. Social Media as a Political Campaign Tool

Political campaign messages are commonly distributed through mass media, in mediums such as radio, television, newspapers, and the Internet. However, political campaigns do more than just delivering campaign messages designed to influence the voters, they provide work for the political elites, their staff, and the reporters on the campaign trail as well as giving the citizens a sense of involvement in the political process (Devlin, 1987). Social media is one of the most recent and most important political marketing tools that goes a long way toward playing the vital role in any election campaign. The following section describes the use of social media in politics.

The revolution of digital media has changed the structure and strategy of political organizing around the world (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Bimber, & Davis, 2003; Bimber et al., 2012; Chadwick, 2007; Karpf, 2012; Bimber, 2014). The ways of gathering and exchange of information as well as communication among people have been changing dramatically over the last decades. Internet was a revolutionary advancement that provided one-to-many communication (Davis, 2017). Campaign websites have been used by candidates since the late 1990's (Woolley et al., 2010), initially as online brochures and public relations tools avoiding direct interaction with voters (Stomer-Galley, 2002). Political campaigns moved into a new era in 2004 when some Democrat candidates started using campaign blogs with the aim of gaining higher interactivity (Trammel et al., 2006). Even though there are some similarities in rhetoric, the literature reveals that the tone of the political message differs in online communication and traditional media. Internet as a platform needs a more provocative tone. While Television as a "push" medium that allows passivity on the part of the audience, online communication is regarded as "pull" medium that needs to be consciously selected and engaged with its content (Roberts, 2013). Legacy media provides a one-way and asynchronous communication, whereas social

media follows a multi directional and interactive communication (Ross & Bürger, 2014; Kruikemeier et al., 2016).

The rise of social media as a large-scale (Boynton & Richardson Jr, 2016) and two-way communication tool (Kapoor & Dwivedi, 2015; Vaccari & Valeriani, 2015), as well as a sharing platform (Hollander, 2008; Dwivedi et al., 2015; AlAlwan et al., 2017; Barnett et al., 2017; Kapoor et al., 2018), helped the online users to actively participate in the news creation and circulation processes (Kwon et al., 2012). Social media have emerged as a tool with which users can establish and maintain relationships with the public (Hennig-Thurau et al., 2010). Social network sites as an integral part of the lives of most of the Internet users around the world, was defined as web-based services that allow users to;

- “Construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system;
- Articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and;
- View and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system” (Boyd & Ellison, 2007:211).

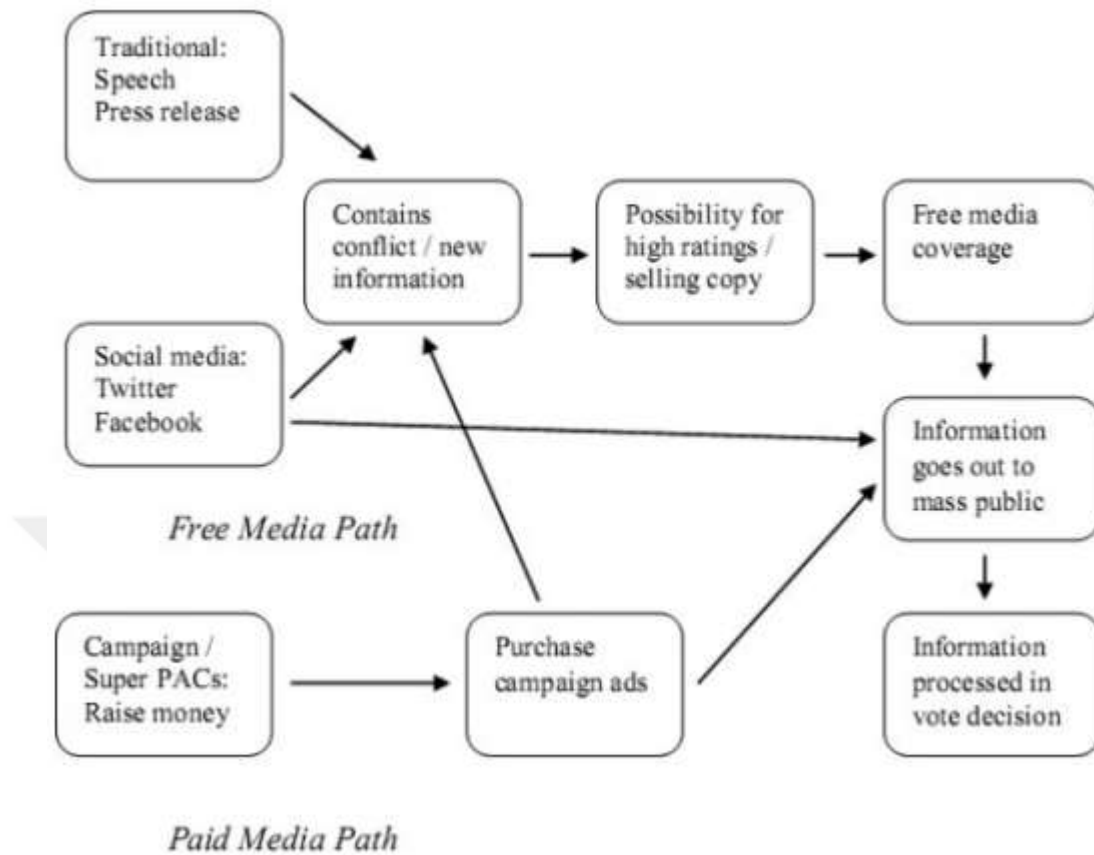
Being able to bypass the journalists, and the press, Twitter and Facebook are the most popular online information sharing services due to their large number of users (Davis, 2017).

Social media websites have the ability to shape the way people think, interact, behave and organize (Sevin et al., 2011). Media is presumed to be even more important for politicians than for companies (Temple, 2010). Social media tools joined politics niche channels and publications displaying what candidates do and say. Besides its benefits for traditional marketplace, social network sites (SNS) provides new ways to market political campaigns and creates new channels to for political elites and the public to interact. Social network sites have become a rapid information source for many users (Gibson, 2001; Hanson et al., 2010). Accordingly, political information has got a new dissemination platform that has a substantial impact on civic engagement and political participation (Andersen & Medaglia, 2009; Park et al., 2009; Vitak et al., 2011; Zuñiga et al., 2012). The engagement of political science and social media started with researches on the influence of online

campaigning (Bode & Epstein, 2015). The 2008 presidential elections were a watershed moment in the use of social network sites for political campaigning and played a revolutionary role in changing aspects of governance (Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011). Besides candidates, Government organizations have got new channels to communicate with the public (Lorenzi et al., 2014), especially in terms of increasing transparency and openness (Bertot et al., 2010).

The ability to attract free media, through the use of social media was one of the reasons behind Trump's victory. Especially Twitter platform was often at the center of his ability to generate free media. There are two ways to reach a mass audience. One way is paid media, the other is through free media. Social media has the ability to pass information directly to an audience of millions (Francia, 2018). Traditional 30-second television ads also directly addresses the public. However, social media has the advantage of eliminating the high costs of traditional campaign advertising (West, 2014) All information goes to the mass public through different ways, have significant effect on the process of evaluation of the candidates by voters (Lodge et al., 1995). Figure 2.3. displays this process;

Figure 2.3: Path of influence for free media and paid media on vote choice



Source: Francia (2018:445).

The 2008 presidential election first highlighted the potential of social media in political campaigning (Romero et al. 2011). Barack Obama was the candidate who began to use social media to reach out voters in 2008. He embraced the power of social media in election and move information into the mainstream of politics (Greengard, 2009; Baumgartner et al., 2010; Cogburn & Espinoza-Vasquez, 2011; Johnson, & Perlmutter, 2011; Bruns et al., 2015). Obama's social media campaign was one of the biggest drivers behind Democrat victory of 2008 (Stirland, 2008). His online campaign was the most sophisticated and intensive use of digital media in politics in 2008. Four years later, in 2012, he brought forward a new surge of technical innovation employing extensive data analytics and behavioral modeling. While social media was merely one of Obama's success factors in 2008, the adaptation of his political campaign to new technical innovation had a greater effect on his victory in the 2012 election (Bimber, 2014). Facebook played a crucial role in

political campaigns of Obama in both 2008 and 2012 (Johnson & Perlmutter, 2010; Bode, 2012; Carlisle & Patton, 2013; Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015; Gupta-Carlson 2016; Karlsen & Enjolras 2016).

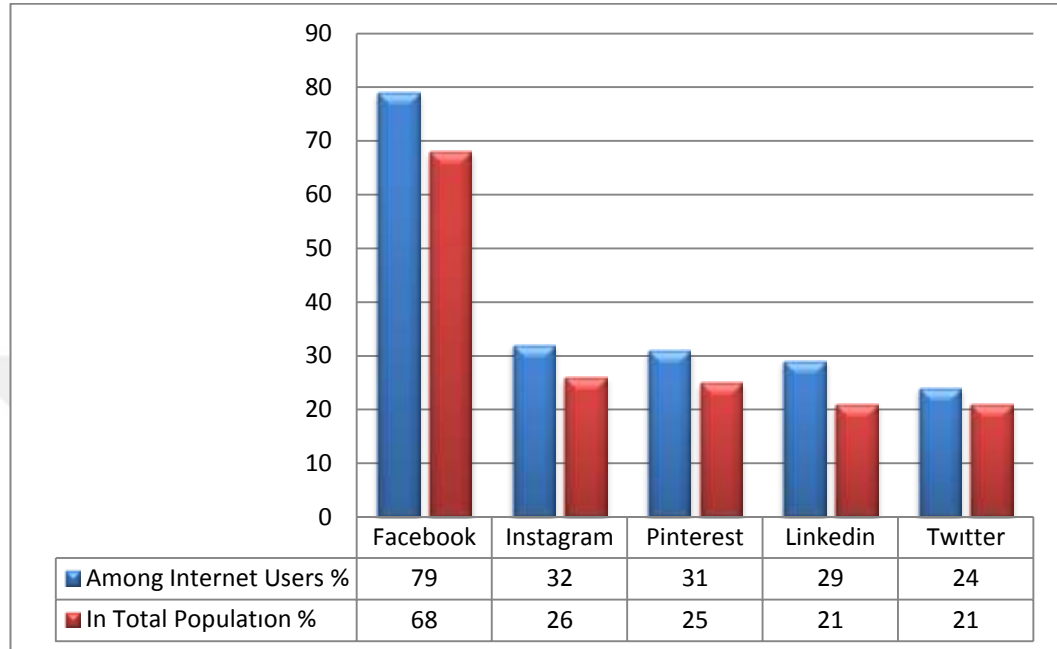
Social media platform took center stage in political campaigning once the 2012 election cycle. Candidates, media outlets and the public started using digital communication tools such as Facebook and Twitter. The Internet became much more accessible and political elites had to adapt themselves to the contemporary communication environment (Davis, 2017). Social media as a rich medium of communication, has been recognized by political candidates and political organizations globally (Romero et al. 2011). Social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter are considered as professional communication tools used for politics purposes (Kelm et al., 2017), through which politicians can freely circulate their messages and ideology (Engesser et al., 2017). There are two broad styles: of political campaigning across social media; party centric or individually targeted (Karlsen & Enjolras, 2016). The use of digital media has positive correlation with political participation, political knowledge, and political engagement of citizens (Dimitrova et al., 2014; Ogola, 2015; Hossain et al., 2018). It empowers voters by enhancing deliberative democracy among them (Lawrence et al., 2010; Yardi & Boyd, 2010). Social media, with regard to politics, is used for communication, and marketing purposes. Facebook is the platform that is often preferred for marketing purposes, whereas Twitter is often preferred for continuous dialogue (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013).

2.1.4.2.4.4.1. Political Use of Social Media in 2016

Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan fact tank, that documented the wide variety of ways in which Americans use social media in order to get information and interact with others. A study of the same type (March 7-April 4, 2016) found that 86% of American adults were Internet users. Majority of Americans said that social media played the role of a news source for them and half of the public noted that they turned to these sites to learn about the 2016 general election (Greenwood et al.,

2016). Figure 2.4 displays the popularity of some social media tools among Americans in general as well as among Internet users in 2016.

Figure 2.4: Popularity of Social Media Platforms in the U.S. in 2016

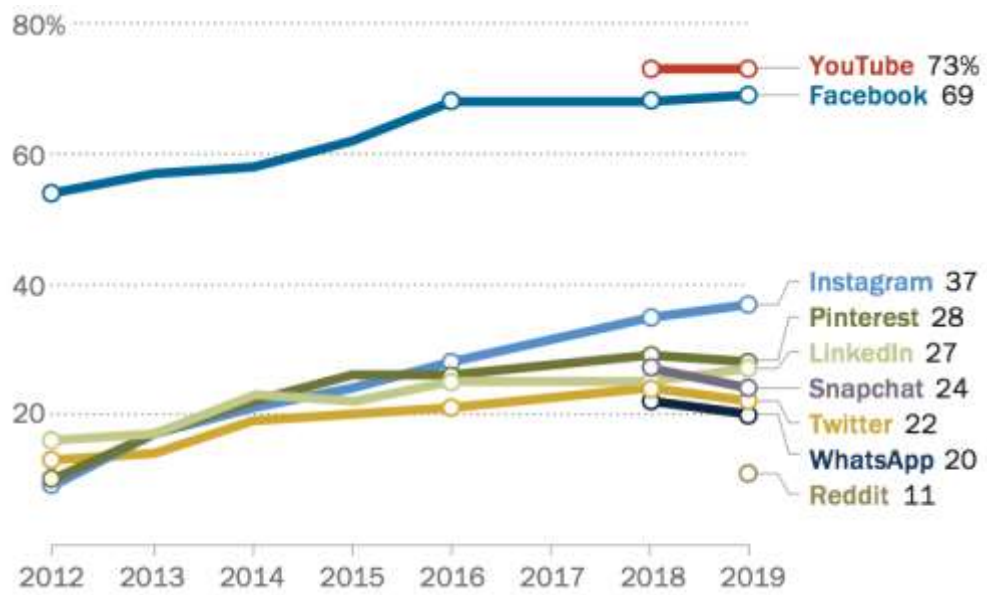


Source: Greenwood et al. (2016).

The results also indicated that roughly one quarter (24%) of American Internet users used Twitter. However, counting people who never used Internet, Twitter shared 21% popularity among the total population of the U.S. in 2016. The research also reported that social media users tend to use diverse array of platforms. 49% of Instagram users also used Twitter, as did 45% of LinkedIn users, 38% of Pinterest users, and 29% of Facebook users (Greenwood et al., 2016).

According to a more recent Pew Research Center survey conducted Jan. 8 to Feb. 7, 2019, the steady growth in adoption of social tools in the United States over the past decade appears to be slowing since 2018. The shares of American adults used each Facebook, Pinterest, LinkedIn and Twitter in 2019 were largely the same as in 2016, Instagram was the only platform that had a constant growth during this time period. Comparable trend data for Reddit and pre-2008 telephone poll data was not available for the rest of the applications. Figure 2.5 illustrates the growth in social media use in the U.S. since 2012.

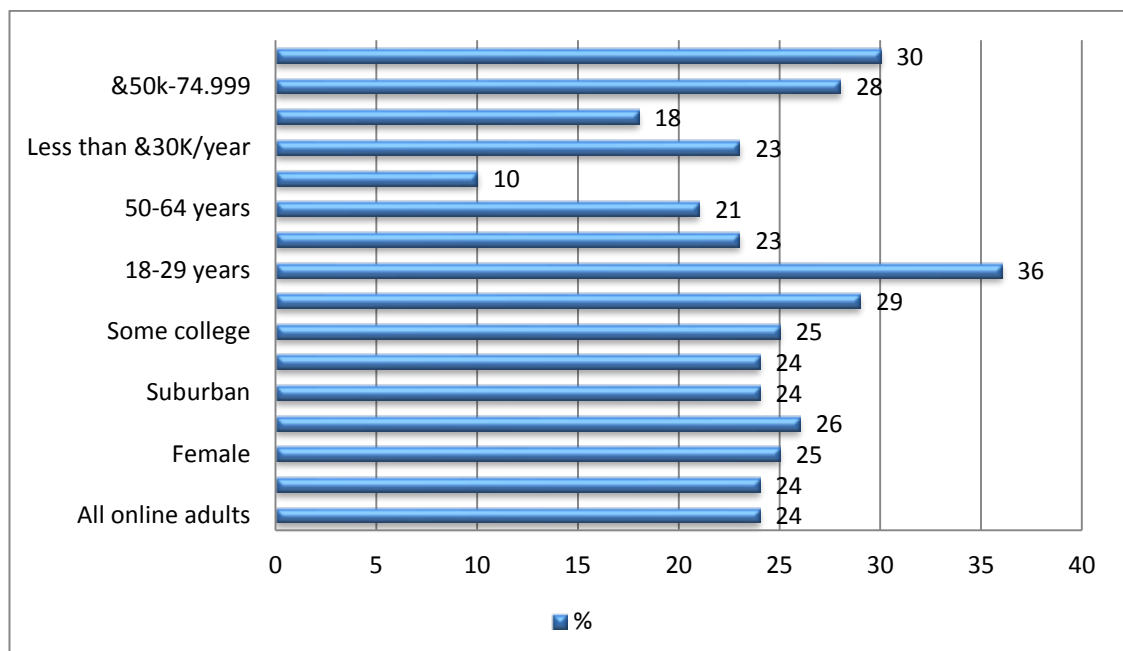
Figure 2.5: The Growth in Social Media Use Since 2012



Source: Anderson & Perrin (2019).

Further findings concerned with the share of American Internet users who used Twitter, is displayed in the figure 2.6;

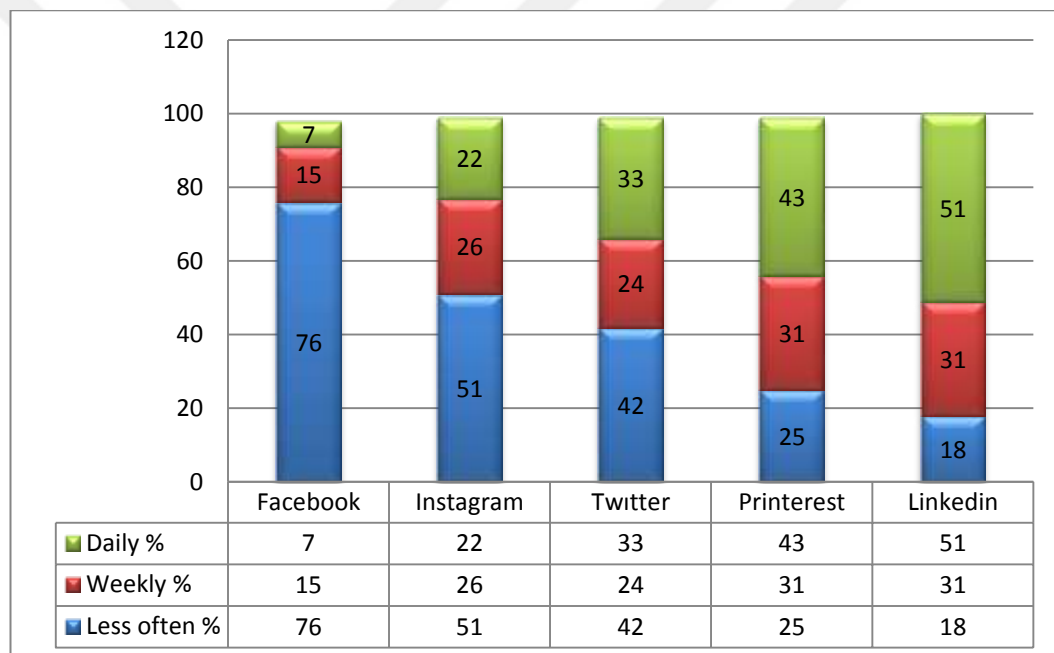
Figure 2.6: Share of American Internet Users Used Twitter in 2016



Source: Greenwood et al. (2016).

Demographic statistics demonstrated that gender and geographical differences had almost no impact on the popularity of Twitter among online users. However, younger, more educated, and Internet users with higher income, were more likely to use Twitter. The sample size in the research was not large enough to show the impact of race or ethnicity. According to the study, 42% of Twitter users mentioned that they use the platform on a daily basis among which 23% visited more than once a day. 24% said that they use Twitter on a weekly basis whereas 33% noted that they use the tool less often. Figure 2.7 indicates as shown in the frequency of use of social media in 2016 (Greenwood et al., 2016).

Figure 2.7: Frequency of Use on Social Media in 2016

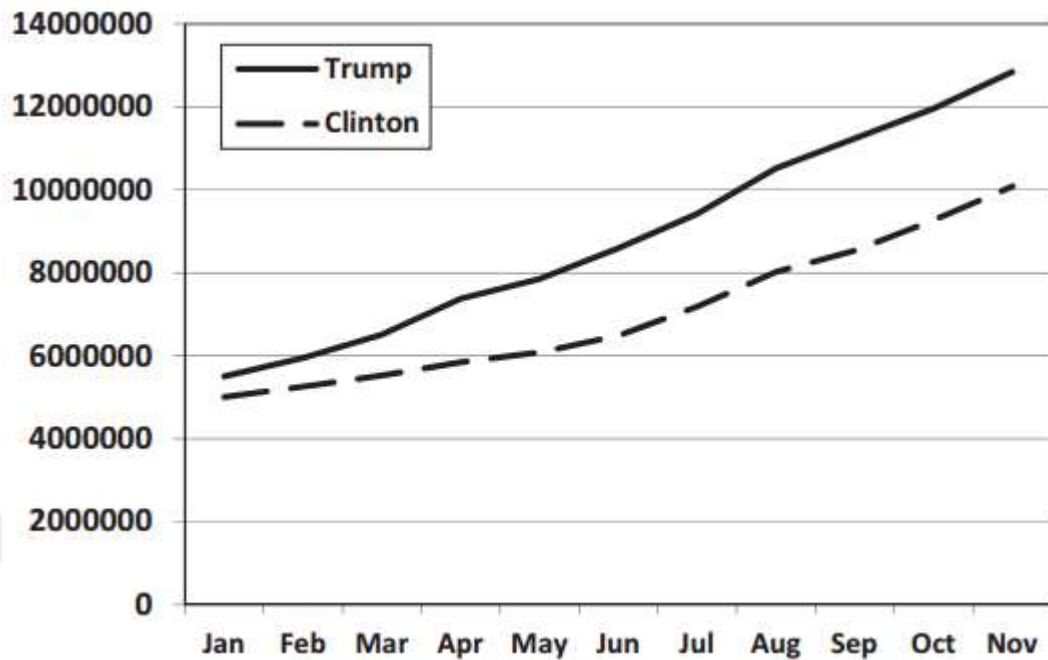


Source: Greenwood et al. (2016).

According to Pew Research Centre (May, 2016), Trump had nearly 10 million and Clinton had 7 million followers. They averaged 11 to 12 posts per day on their official Twitter accounts (Williams & Newman, 2018).

In the first month of 2016, Trump had 5.5 million Twitter followers, while Clinton had roughly 5 million followers. However, by the Election Day their Twitter followers had grown to accordingly 13 and 10.3 million (Francia, 2017). Figure 2.8 reflects the raise in Twitter followers of both candidates during 2016;

Figure 2.8: Twitter followers of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in 2016



Source: MediaQuant (<https://www.mediaquant.net>).

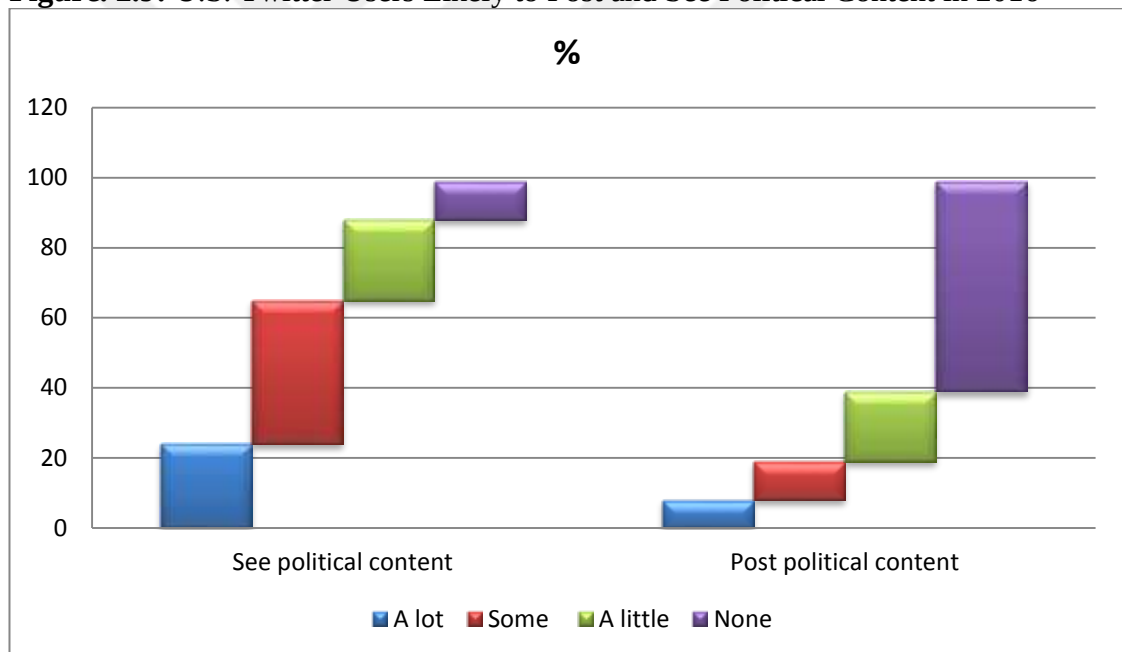
Political information is easier and cheaper to access across social media (Carlisle and Patton 2013). Studies also focused on the political environment on social media. A study conducted by Pew Research Center (Duggan & Smith, 2016) between July 12-Aug.08, 2016, after selection of Hillary Clinton as the Democrat presumptive nominee and Donald Trump as Republican party's Presumptive nominee. The reports indicated that even though younger users relied much more on social media as source of campaign news, both young users ages under 50 (8%) and old users ages above 50 (10%) almost identically shared, discussed, or posted political issues. In addition, Democrats (8%) and Republican users (10%) almost equally did this. Furthermore, those who learned about election news from more social network source types were more likely (29%) to share political content compared to who learned from fewer social network source types (12%). Although, the U.S. adults with higher income were most likely to use social network sites in general, Low income users were more likely to share political-related content (Duggan & Smith, 2016).

The study also demonstrated that Twitter users tended to follow a wider mix of people. Thus, Twitter users were exposed to a relatively substantial amount of political content from a wide range of people holding different political beliefs.

Statistics shows that 48% of Twitter users stated that they mostly follow people who they don't know personally whereas 37% said that they mostly follow a mix of those they know and don't know personally. Only 15% mentioned that they mostly follow people that they know. 17% of Twitter users mentioned that most of the people they associate with in their networks held similar political viewpoints. More than one-third of Twitter users (39%) indicated that their networks contain people with a mix of political views whereas only 6% of Twitter users said that most of their connections held different political beliefs from their own (Duggan & Smith, 2016).

Furthermore, American Facebook and Twitter users in 2016 were equally likely to see and post political content. Figure 2.9 shows the portion of Twitter users who were likely to post and see political content on the platform.

Figure 2.9: U.S. Twitter Users Likely to Post and See Political Content in 2016



Source: Duggan & Smith (2016).

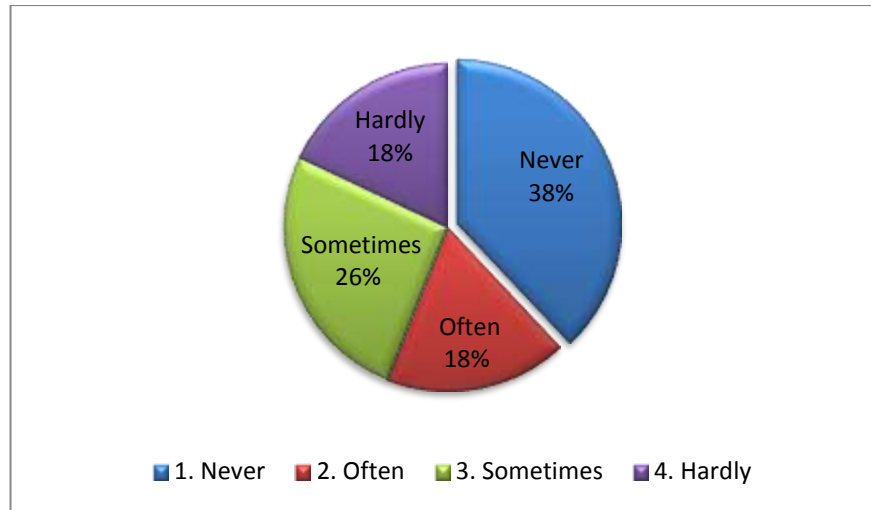
Statistics revealed that 24% of the users said that what they saw on Twitter was related a lot to politics, while what users saw on Twitter was some related to politics for 41% of the users, a little related for 23% of them, and not related for 11% of the Twitter users in 2016. The portions for Twitter users who likely to post highly, some, a little, and not related content to politics were accordingly 8%, 11%, 20%, and 60%.

(Duggan & Smith, 2016). Moreover, majority of the users (59%) remarked that they feel stressful to talk about political issues on social media with people they disagree with their political viewpoints while the rest of the users found it interesting and informative. Republicans and Democrats similarly respond to the subject. Most of the users (83%) indicated that they usually ignore the post that they disagree with while only 15% said that they response the post either by a comment or post on their own wall. Even though, users expressed annoyance at tone of political conversation on social networks, some still believed that social media is a useful tool for political engagement that helps to brings new voices into the political discussions. In addition, the research illustrated that SNS users mostly didn't like social the volume of political content they faced. Roughly one-in-five (37%) of the users describe themselves as being "worn out" by the amount of political discussions they see, whereas only one-in-five of the users (20%) said that they like to see lots of political content on social media.

Another interesting finding was that one-fifth of the users (20%) said that they modified their view about a political issue, and 17% indicated that their mind about a particular candidate, because of a content that they saw on social media (Duggan & Smith, 2016). All those reports indicate the significant role and impact of social networking websites in the 2016 U.S. presidential election and displays how vital it is for political campaigns.

Another survey conducted by Pew Research Center during the height of the presidential primaries in the early 2016, found that about 6-in-10 of American adults (62%) got informed about political news through social media. The contribution of SNS websites was much more compared with the percentage cited for local or national print media or for candidate websites and emails. Figure 2.10 shows the percentage of the U.S. adults who get news on a social network site.

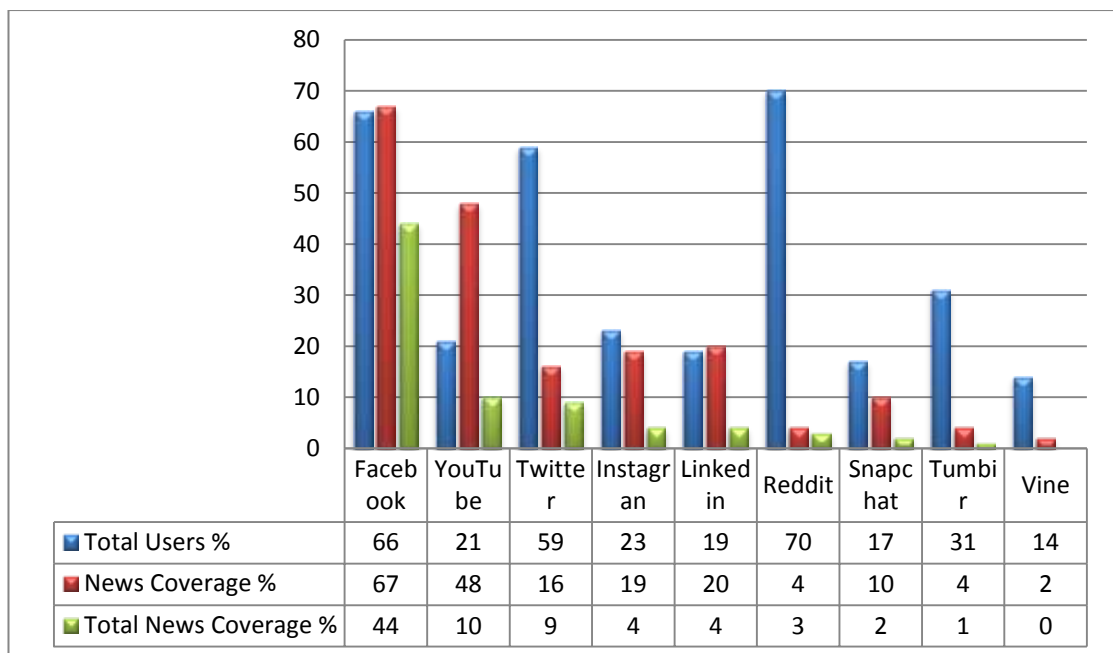
Figure 2.10: Portion of American Adults Used News Across Social Media in 2016



Source: Gottfried & Shearer (2016).

Twitter had the forth greatest reach in terms of general usage, at 16% of U.S. adults in 2016 as shown in the figure 3.3. Moreover, the results showed that Reddit, Facebook, and Twitter users are most likely get to get news on each platform. Neraly six-in-tenof Twitter users (59%) got their news from Twitter. Figure 3.6 illustrates the contribution of each social network site in informing their American users about politics in the early 2016 (Gottfried & Shearer, 2016).

Figure 2.11: Portions of American Adults Used News Across Each Site in 2016

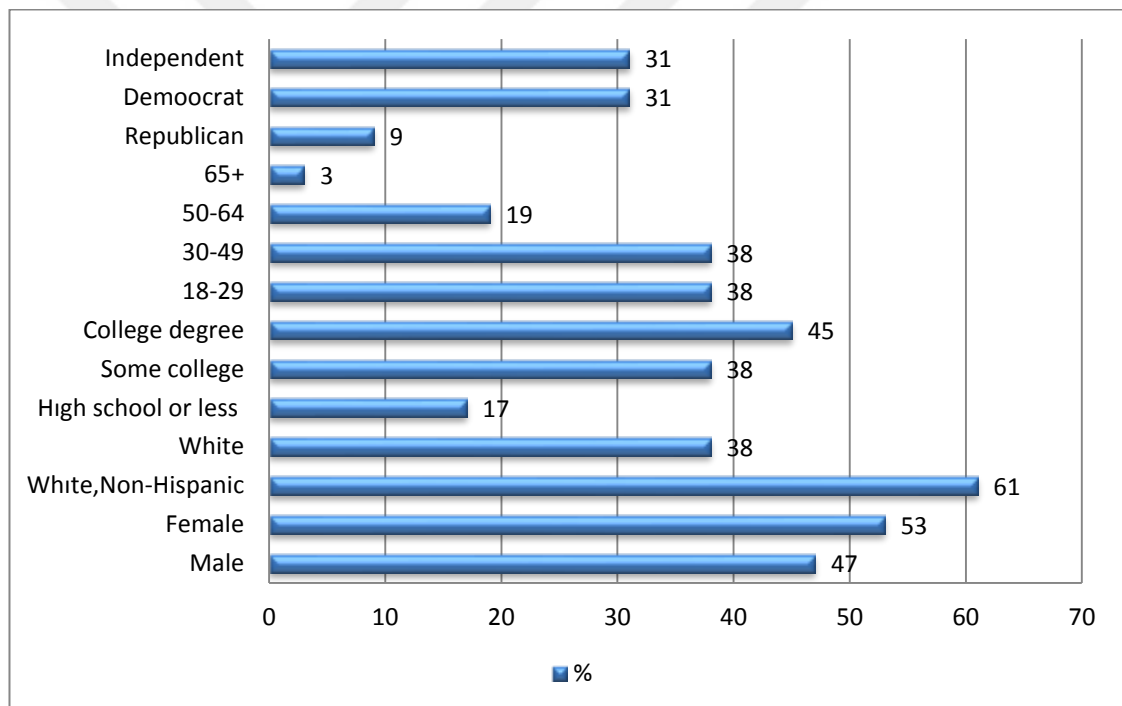


Source: Gottfried & Shearer (2016).

Majority of the social media users (64%) got news from a single platform and rest of them got informed through two or more social network tools. The results indicated that social media were the news and information source for nearly half of the U.S. adults (45%). Unlike Facebook, YouTube, and Instagram news users who more likely to get their news by chance while doing other things, LinkedIn, Twitter, and Reddit news users are more evenly divided between news seekers and non-seekers (Gottfried & Shearer, 2016).

According to same research (Gottfried & Shearer, 2016), male (53%) and female users (47%) of Twitter news roughly had the same portion. Figure 2.12 represents other demographic information concerned with American Twitter users in 2016.

Figure 2.12: American Twitter News Users in 2016



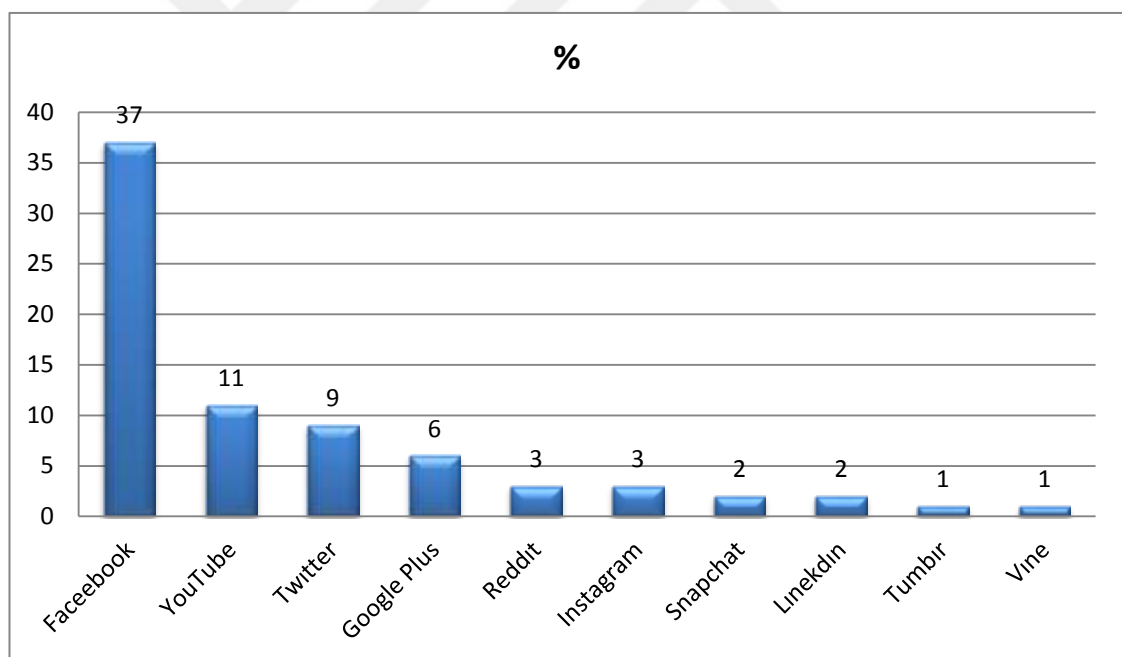
Source: Gottfried & Shearer (2016).

Statistics showed that Twitter news users in 2016 were mostly educated adults bellow 50 years old (77%) who experienced university level education (83%). White and non-Hispanic news users were in majority while Democrats and Republicans had the same population (31%). Even though, the above statistics have been changing since the time survey conducted in the early 2016 until the general Election Day on

the 8th of November, the modest increase in the statistics (especially regarding older, non-white, and less educated Americans) obtained from a similar research conducted in the month of August of the next year (Gottfried & Shearer, 2017) indicates that there was not a notable statistical difference between the 2016 primary and the general elections.

A Survey conducted by Pew Research Center (Mitchell et al., 2016) between Jan.12-27, 2016, reported that roughly nine-in-ten American adults (91%) learned about the 2016 election in the past week from at least one of 11 types of digital and print media sources. However, majority of them (91%). cited more than one source. 44% of those who was informed about the election in the past week said that they used social media(including 9% share of Twitter).Figure 3.9 displays the portion of each social network site cited by the U.S. election news seekers in 2016.

Figure 2.13: SNS as an Election Campaign News Source



Source: Mitchell et al. (2016).

14% of those who used variety of sources to get election news stated that they found social media as the most helpful source of election news. In this regard, social media ranked as the second most helpful source after cable TV news (24%). Youngers found social media more helpful than the elders. More than third of adults

(35%) below 30 years old named social media as the most helpful source, whereas the portion was 15% for 30-49, 5% for 50-64, and only 1% for 65+ age groups. About a quarter (28%) U.S. adults who say they learned about the election from social media in the past week named it as the most helpful type of source which was again the second ranking after cable TV news (41%). According to the results, getting news from social media was more common than sharing. As mentioned before, about half (51%) of the social media users learned from the 2016 presidential election from these sources whereas only 18% of social networking users shared election-related content on the platforms either as a post, comment, or reply, which amounts to 15% of American adults overall. Moreover, those who learned about election news from more social media types were more likely (29%) to share political issues compared with who learned from fewer social media types (12%). Furthermore, while American users with higher income were more likely to use social media, lower income members were more likely to share election-related information (Mitchell et al., 2016). Table 2.2 represents the statistics in more details.

Table 2.2: Social Media as a Presidential Election News Platform

	Portion of each group learned about election news from SNS	Portion of each group learned about election news from SNS and found it as the most helpful source
Total	44%	14%
Male	47%	16%
Female	41%	12%
18-29	61%	35%
30-49	51%	15%
50-64	36%	6%
65+	23%	1%
College grad.	47%	12%
Some college	49%	17%
High school or less	38%	12%
Republicans	41%	9%
Democrats	44%	13%

Source: Mitchell et al. (2016).

2.1.4.2.4.2. Twitter and Politics

Microblogging platforms are, “form of blogging in which entries typically consist of short content such as phrases, quick comments, images, or links to videos” (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013:219). Microblogging services help political elites to disseminate information, engage with voters, monitor public opinion, and make public relations (LaMarre & Suzuki-Lambrecht, 2013; Frame & Brachotte, 2015). Voters who tend to acquire and respond to the online political information across social media are more likely to attend in offline events (Vaccari et al., 2015a; Vaccari et al., 2015b).

Twitter is the main microblogging platform that is highly associated with non-personal engagement (Mosca & Quaranta, 2016), used to exchange different types of news and information including yellow press news as well as serious matters, such as politics (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2011). Twitter is defined by three main features: simplicity, impulsivity, and incivility (Ott, 2017). Twitter launched in March, 2006, and is accessible through various digital and mobile devices (Mills et al., 2009; Li & Lao, 2010). It's a constellation of users' personal networks, that enable users to exchange direct messages as well as publishing short messages called “tweets” that are limited to a maximum of 140 characters. Twitter users play a dual role of both audience and broadcaster. As audience, they receive information both from within their personal network and from external sources. As broadcaster, Twitter users are able to create and share their posts with their followers as well as redistributing works of others either by manual posting or by using “retweet” button (Kwon et al., 2012). Hash tags and tagging other users in the posts is another way to get the post into a realm that maybe some would never see without it. Because of the limitation in using characters, photos, videos, and links etc. play a significant role in Twitter (Davis, 2017).

With regards to politics, Twitter, has been used for broadcasting purpose (Klinger, 2013; Ross & Bürger, 2014; Hutchins, 2016; Theocharis et al., 2016), announcing and promoting awareness of various public issues (Harris et al., 2014), interaction with the public and the media (Vaccari & Valeriani, 2015; Shapiro & Hemphill, 2017; Waisbord & Amado, 2017), advertising (Domingo & Martos, 2015;

Hutchins, 2016), campaigning (Jungherr, 2014), mobilizing voters (Skogerbø & Krumsvik, 2015), engagement with citizens (Ahmed et al., 2016), communication with fellow politicians (Hsu & Park, 2012), electoral forecasting (Burnap et al., 2016), indicating social tension (Burnap et al., 2015), estimating public engagement over the election period (Adams & McCorkindale, 2013; Ahmed et al., 2016; Bode, 2016; Burnap et al., 2016; Ceron et al., 2014; Domingo & Martos, 2015; Ernst et al., 2017), and political opposition (Kessel & Castelein, 2016), and emergency management purpose (Panagiotopoulos et al., 2016; Singh et al., 2019) in various countries. It has been also increasingly used as a journalistic source (Skogerbø & Krumsvik, 2015) as well as a populist communication tool in western political market (Ernst et al., 2017). Established and new parties apply different strategies on their Twitter channel. The former tries to supplement offline strategies whereas the latter emphasizes on self-promotion and media validation (Ahmed et al., 2016). The journalism and press that a politician receives depends on the social media activity that he/she has (Rauchfleisch & Metag, 2016). Maintaining synergy between social media and legacy media channels is a key factor for politicians who want to be influencer on social media platforms (Conway et al., 2015; Karlsen & Enjolras, 2016). Studies also demonstrated that politicians who use Twitter receive considerable attention on the platform (Larsson, 2017) and have more chance to win the election (LaMarre & Suzuki-Lambrecht, 2013).

Jungherr (2016) reviewed 127 previous studies concern with the use of Twitter during election campaigns and during mediated campaign events and presented dominant findings of studies. He categorized the findings into three groups, referring to three main areas of campaigns: the use of Twitter by candidates and parties, the use of the platform by politically vocal publics, and the use of the tool during and in reaction to mediated events. Table 2.3 represents the key findings of the previous literature on Twitter political campaigns in different countries.

Table 2.3: Key Findings of Pre-2016 Literature on Twitter Political Campaigns

Categories	Findings
Parties/ Candidate	-Parties and campaigns in opposition appear more likely to use Twitter than those in government. -Twitter is not very likely to be used by resource-strapped campaigns, therefore, unlikely to significantly change power relationship between parties or candidates. -Candidates primarily use Twitter as a broadcast medium to post their campaign activities and links to Web site, not to address policy. -Candidates predominantly do not use Twitter to enable interactive dialogue between candidates and citizens or increase transparency. Still they actively use cyber-rhetoric to describe their motives for Twitter use. -Candidates use Twitter to influence media coverage, for example, by publicly interacting with journalists or by publishing sound bites. -Candidates view Twitter as an informal barometer for public opinion. -There is strong variation in Twitter use, with many candidates following patterns described above but some, mostly insurgents, deviate quite strongly. Twitter use is related to electoral success, if at all, indirectly. -The stability of this relationship seems to depend upon the electoral context. -Politically vocal Twitter users represent a small, no representative, politically interested, and partisan subgroup of the public.
Publics	-Strong variation in intensity of users' contributions to political communication space, with most contributing only very little and few contributing very heavily. -In general, the volume of messages referring to politics follows the dramaturgy of campaigns, with message volume increasing strongly toward the end of the campaign and showing volume spikes on days of high public attention on politics. -Political Twitter activity is highly interconnected with political coverage in traditional media, although not following it deterministically. -Users tend to publicly interact with other users through @mentions irrespective of their political conviction but appear to be more likely to retweet messages of users sharing their political conviction. -Messages referring to politics often are negative toward candidates or parties and contain humor or irony.
Mediated campaign events	-Mediated campaign events, such as televised leaders' debates or election night coverage, create strong reactions on Twitter. -Volume shifts in messages posted during mediated events tend to signify key moments during the events. Comments on mediated events are part of a public negotiation of meaning of the event and the performances of candidates. -Increasingly journalists incorporate public commentary on Twitter in their coverage of mediated campaign events.

Source: Adopted from Jungherr (2016:84).

2.1.4.2.2.3.2.1. Twitter and the U.S. 2016 Election Campaign

Prior to the 2016 presidential election, Twitter was seen more Democrat than Republican platform, however, Trump changed this perception well (Galdieri et al., 2018). Twitter was the main communication channel for both Trump and Clinton in the 2016 race (Buccoliero et al., 2020). Nearly a quarter of the U.S. voters in 2016 presented on Twitter. With its 67 million monthly active users within a political market with 225.78 million voting population, Twitter played the role of an effective information source for Americans during 2016 political campaigns (Grover et al., 2019). Many studies investigated the role of Twitter in the U.S. 2016 presidential election (Burnap et al., 2015; Jungherr, 2016; Bovet & Makse, 2016; Yagub et al., 2017; Becker, 2017; Enli, 2017; Morris, 2018; Francia, 2018; Bossetta, 2018; Galdieri et al., 2018; Zhang et al., 2018; Bovet & Makse, 2019; Grover et al., 2019; Buccoliero et al., 2020).

Examining the use of Twitter by political campaigns in 2016, Grover et al. (2019) suggested that discussions on Twitter could have polarized users significantly and are able to impact the outcome of elections. Investigating the sentiment of tweets by Trump and Clinton, Yagub et al. (2019) found that, Twitter was initially used for rebroadcasting purpose rather than creating original political content. Moreover, users did not engage in direct conversations with each other. Sentiment and topics expressed on Twitter represents public opinion. However, findings suggested that even though, Trump used more positive words and was able to create a positive sentiment around his campaign, these messages was not highly influential on the overall sentiment of the political discourse on Twitter in 2016. An analysis of the viral tweets during the 2016 presidential campaign showed that tweets favoring Trump were usually retweeted much more than pro-Clinton tweets (Magdy & Darwish, 2016).

Enli (2017) discussed Twitter strategies used by Trump and Clinton in their 2016 presidential campaigns and found that the election campaigns used social media primarily as a political marketing tool. Like previous campaigns, 2016 campaigns limited their engagement and had no interest in concerning online exchanges with voters. Communication professionalization of Clinton's campaign was challenged by

Trump's amateurism. "The Trump campaign's more amateurish yet authentic style in social media points toward de-professionalization and even amateurism as a counter-trend in political communication" (Enli, 2017:59). Moreover, the study suggested that social media platforms might have an agenda-setting impact and play a remarkable role in maintaining a candidate's image. It was difficult for a candidate like Trump who neither had political experience nor a support structure within the Republicans, to come across as viable.

Davis (2018) compared the believability and persuasion power of campaign messages about candidates sent using USA Today headlines with the messages sent via Twitter. The results demonstrated that campaign messages sent via Twitter resonate just as strongly with potential voters as campaign messages sent via the legacy media. Findings highlighted the role of Twitter as one of the myriad factors that may have led to shocking rise of Trump's political fortunes. Francia (2018) claimed that some of the basic conditions necessary for the Free Media Thesis (FMT) were present in the presidential 2016 election and stated that Trump indeed was dominated the unpaid media market and received more free news coverage that was one of the main reasons behind his victory. Moris (2018) argued that Twitter platform is as strong as traditional media in resonating campaign messages with potential voters. That is one of the main reasons for shocking rise of Donald Trump's political success.

Analysis of the candidates' Twitter posts revealed that Clinton tweeted on average 21.56 times a day while Trump shared average of 13.25 posts on through Twitter platform. There is no specific correlation between their number of tweets per month. This implies that they tweeted when they actually had something to say not just to reach a predetermined amount of tweets (Buccoliero et al., 2020). Table 2.4 displays the average daily tweets of the candidates each month since the primary election campaign started in 2015;

Grouping the most used words into six general content categories of: “actions”, “America”, “time”, “competitors”, “oneself”, and “media” indicated that both candidates tweeted a lot about their opponents. Temporally close moments such as “tonight”, “today”, “tomorrow”, were used by both of the candidates. Both wrote very much about America. Trump focused more on single states like “Florida”, while Clinton tweeted more about general terms such as “Americans”, “families”, and “women.” Trump cared a lot about what the media, including newspapers and TV shows say about him while Clinton didn’t much mention media in her tweets. Both frequently used the word “thank” to show their gratitude to their supporters. Both used verbs that remind action and change such as: “make”, “let”, “going”, “get”, “got”, “work”, “made”, “join”, “fight”, “run”, “vote” (Buccoliero et al., 2020:102). Table 2.5 illustrates the most used words for each of the six categories;

Table 2.5: Most Used Words For Each Category

Category	Trump	Clinton
Actions	To thank, to make, to get, to like, to vote, to join, to go, to win, to watch, to want, to see, to enjoy, to support, to love, to need, to live, to interview, to run.	To make, to need, to vote, to get, to like, to know, to let, to change, to want, to go, to live, to see, to work, to think, to help, to care, to watch, to pay, to stand, to take, to keep, to fight, to love, to win, to build.
America	#makeamericagreatagain, america, people, iowa, country, carolina, Hampshire, florida, ohio, #maga, state, american, national, #americafirst.	America, country, Americans, people, women, families, family.
Time	Tonight, now, just, time, night, today, tomorrow, years, day, morning.	Time, now, today, tonight, day, night, years, year, just.
Competitors	Hillary, cruz, ted, rubio, clinton, jeb, marco, obama, bush, @jebbush, Bernie.	Trump, @realdonaldtrump, donald, #gopdebate, republican, republicans.
Oneself	@realdonaldtrump, trump, #trump2016, donald, republican, #votetrump, gop.	Hillary, @hillaryclinton, #demdebate, clinton, @thebriefing2016 #imwithher
Media	@foxnews, @CNN, media, @megynkelly, @nytimes .	/

Source: Buccoliero et al. (2020:103).

CHAPTER THREE

POLITICAL MARKETING THEORIES

Political discourse is a specific interdisciplinary field of study that involves the combining of many academic disciplines such as political science, communication, sociology, psychology, socio-linguistics etc., into one topic. Political discourse analysis is not just a method, but it's considered as a cross discipline in its own right that have two types of intentions: communication and persuasion. These intentions are fulfilled through a successful persuasive-communicative action (Dylgjeri, 2014). Present study uses theoretical frameworks from William Benoit's functional theory of political discourse, Benoit's image repair theory and Aristotle's rhetoric theory. The three theories were combined in order to analyze Twitter campaigns of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 presidential general election. Since the study draws upon research on the two theories to investigate how political campaigns on Twitter were constructed to achieve their persuasive objectives. The main focus of this chapter will be on the specified theories, thus, the following portrays the theories in in detail.

3.1. FUNCIONAL THEORY OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN DISCOURCE

William Benoit's functional theory of political campaign discourse has been commonly furnished theoretical grounding to understand political campaign strategies in Television (advertising, news, and debates) and print media over the years (Benoit, 2017).

Functional theories of mass communication have been drawn upon theoretical framework that was developed first by sociologist Robert Merton in 1957 (Wright, 1960, 1974). Functional analysis is primarily about "consequences of standardized, patterned, and repetitive social phenomena, such as social roles and institutional patterns" (Wright, 1974:198). Functional theory is particularly appropriate for analyzing political campaign discourse since its rhetoric is a functional means to an end process to reach the political goal such as winning the election (Benoit et al., 1998; Benoit, 2007). It's designed in order to help to understand the nature and

content of election campaign messages (Benoit, 2017). Many researchers (e.g. Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Benoit et al., 2000, 2014, 2016; Benoit & Brazeal, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2007; Benoit & Stein, 2005; Benoit & Goode, 2006; Choi & Benoit, 2009; Henson & Benoit, 2010; Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015; Benoit & Compton, 2016; Borah, 2016) used Benoit's functional theory in order to investigate political campaign discourse to understand the aspects of the nature or content of political campaign messages.

3.1.1. Key Assumptions of the Functional Theory

According to Benoit's functional theory of political campaign discourse, political campaign statements are a means of accomplishing a goal. The goal is obtaining sufficient votes to win the election (Benoit, 2001, 2007, 2017). Therefore, political campaign messages are instrumental or functional in nature. Consequently, as Benoit suggests, the theory is intended to apply only to the candidates who have reasonable chance and serious intention to win the election' for follower parties with no chance application of functional theory would not be appropriate (Benoit, 2007:32, 2017:5).

Functional theory begins with several key assumptions about the nature of the political campaigns as further discussed (Benoit et al., 1997; Benoit, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2007).

3.1.1.1. Voting is a Comparative Act

The first assumption of the theory is that; "voting is a comparative act" (Benoit et al., 1998:4). Voters make their choice among two or more candidates by comparing the choices against each other. Nevertheless, voters do not necessarily vote for a candidate that they like just based on criteria that are most important to them. They are neither always so blessed with a choice for better of the two desirable candidates, nor so lucky to make a choice between liked and disliked candidates. Sometimes voters have to prefer the candidate that they dislike less than the others, in other words, the lesser of the two evils. The main idea of political campaigns is voter's

perception. A candidate does not need to appear perfect to voters nor to persuade all votes in order to win the election. All that is necessary is to be perceived as preferable compared with the opponent(s) for enough number of voters (Benoit et al., 1997, 1998).

3.1.1.2. Candidates Need to Distinguish Themselves from Opponents

The second assumption of the theory; one candidate cannot be perceived as preferable to the opponent(s) if the contenders are indiscernible. Therefore, a candidate has to appear distinct in every respect if he/she wants to win the election, or voters would have no basis for preferring him/her over the opponents. Candidates have to distinguish themselves from opponents by identifying the points of contrast between themselves and the others (Benoit, 2007, 2014, 2017; Choi & Benoit, 2009). Thus, the aim of each campaign is to elevate its political candidate in the eyes of the voter and to make the opponent side perceived worse (Popkin, 1994). During this process the role of communication is vital.

3.1.1.3. Distinguishing Over Opponents is Created Through Political Campaign Messages

As the third assumption of the theory, candidates create distinction through messages conveying information about themselves and their opponents to the voters. Campaign messages are the mean for establishing the distinction between the contenders (Benoit, 2007; Choi & Benoit, 2009). Citizens learn about candidates and their issue positions through the political messages they receive from candidates, their supporters, other politicians, political action committee, news media, print media, TV, social media, Internet, special interest groups, political discussions with family or friends, and other direct and indirect sources (Benoit & Goode, 2006; Benoit, 2007, 2017). Voter's opinions about candidates are perceptions developed from the messages delivered to them (Benoit & Goode, 2006). Thus, candidates strive to convey informative and persuasive political messages to the voters about themselves and their opponents via variety of sources (Benoit et al., 1998, 2003).

3.1.1.4. Functions of Political Message

Forth assumption is that, in order to establish their preferability, candidates attempt to influence the voter's perception by enhancing three types of functions in their messages. The functions are named as: acclaim, attack, and defense. The "acclaim" type of messages praises own strengths, "attack" type highlights the opponents' weaknesses, and "defense" type refuses the accusations (Benoit, 2007, 1999, 2001). These three functions, together, work as informal variant of cost-benefit analysis as citizens compare candidates. However, functional theory does not assume that voters quantify benefits or costs. Conceptualizing vote choice as a form of cost-benefit analysis does not imply that voters engage in mathematical calculations in their vote. The point is that acclaims, if accepted by the audience, have the tendency to enhance the candidate's perceived value and make him/her look more desirable. Attacks, if persuasive, are prone to increase the apparent costs of an opponent and make him/her appear less desirable. Finally, defenses, when accepted by the voters, can reduce the one's alleged costs and restore lost desirability by minimizing perceived costs (Benoit & Goode, 2006; Choi & Benoit, 2009; Benoit, 2017). The three type of functions are further explained in the following part.

3.1.1.4.1. Acclaim

Acclaim praise candidates' own strengths and advantages (Benoit, 2017), and highlights the qualities or good deeds of candidates (Henson & Benoit, 2010). Acclaims are positive statements aimed at making a candidate appear more desirable (Benoit, 1997; Benoit & Goode, 2006). These statements seek to promote the candidates with the aim of enhancing their own credentials as a desirable office-holder (Benoit et al., 1997). The bellow statements can be given as examples of acclaim function;

- *"99 percent of all our kids under 18, all our low-income working people, and a third of our seniors have health insurance in my state"* (Benoit & Goode, 2006:32).

- *“I believe in an America where special interests don’t run the country you do.” (Brazeal & Benoit, 2006:420)*
- *“I’m the only one up here so far who’s been willing to say that I’ll cancel NAFTA and the WTO. That’s specific action that will regain real power for the American workers and for workers everywhere” (Benoit & Goode, 2006:32).*

3.1.1.4.2. Attack

Attacks are negative statements that criticize an opponent and seek to highlight the opponent’s weaknesses. They point out the opponent’s weaknesses in order to make him/her less desirable (Benoit & Goode, 2006). Attacks are designed to downgrade the opponent’s credentials as an undesirable office-holder (Benoit et al., 1997). Following are some examples of attack function;

- *“My opponent wants taxpayers, not polluters, to pay for cleaning up toxic waste.” (Benoit, Goode, 2006:32).*
- *“The newspapers across the state are criticizing him for refusing to release his tax returns and not being honest about his finances.” (Brazeal & Benoit, 2006:420).*
- *“In the State of the Union, the president promised another \$1 trillion tax cut. Where does he think he’s going to get the money on top of the \$500 billion deficit?” (Benoit & Goode, 2006:32).*

3.1.1.4.3. Defense

Attack functions pave the way for defense functions. Defenses are statements that refute or respond to attacks made by opponents (Henson & Benoit, 2010). When candidates are subject to attacks, they may attempt to refute the accusations in order to reduce the undesirable effects of the attacks (Benoit & Goode, 2006). According to Benoit (2001:114) defenses can be defined as “self-defense, apologia, accounts or image repair.” They have to be in the talk alluding to an attack, to be considered as

defense. Defenses are effective functions especially if they are delivered in timely manner like right after the attack (Sonner, 1998).

However, the usage of defense function is not common compared with the first two types of messages. The reason for that is; candidates may be afraid to be perceived as defensive and reactive rather than being active candidate. Moreover, defending may stress the weaknesses of the accused candidate. Thus, the usages of defense functions are relatively rare.

Many researches have been done on self-defense, apologia, accounts, or image repair. Number of theories were developed in different areas such as communication and rhetoric, as well as sociology, in order to explain verbal self-defense. But each approach comprises options neglected by the others. Benoit (1995) outlined strategies that can be used to restore one's damaged image and developed the most complete typology of image repair strategies which is also known as image restoration theory Benoit (2001). This typology was explained in several publications (e.g., Blaney & Benoit, 2001; Benoit, 2015) and will be discussed separately in a distinct section.

Bellow statements are some examples of defenses;

- *"My opponent is wrong to say I do not support legislation to help minorities"* (Benoit, 2017:8).
- *"My opponent's claim that I don't care about ordinary people is simply false"* (Benoit, 2017:8).

In their third debate, Nixon refuted Kennedy's accusation denying that he had distorted the record. That is also a defense example;

- *"Senator Kennedy has indicated on several occasions in this program tonight, that I have been misstating his record, and his figures. I will issue a white paper after this broadcast, quoting exactly what he said...and the record will show that I have been correct"* (Benoit, 2017:8).

3.1.1.4.4. Other Functions

Scholars have also suggested various other functional categorization of political advertising. Diamond and Bates (1984) offered four functions related to political campaigns namely; identification, argument, attack, and visionary. Jamieson et al. (2000) offered three categories as advocacy, attack, and contrast. However, advocacy (Jamieson et al., 2000), identification, argument (Diamond & Bates, 1984) and acclaim (Benoit et al., 1997; Benoit, 1999, 2001) functions serve the same purpose. They all resemble the positive claims regarding a candidate. Attack function is used similarly in all of the categorizations.

Jamieson et al. (2000) in their categorization, put forth the “contrast” function, which is about making comparisons between candidates. Diamond and Bates’ (1984) suggested “visionary” function which is concerned with the candidate’s vision and ideal of the world –ideal world picture-. Based on the previous definition of acclaim and attack function it can be concluded that “contrast” is a combination of “acclaim and attack” and “visionary” corresponds with the “acclaim” function. Visionary is concerned with the candidate’s ideals as we illustrate in the following sections. Thus as Benoit’s functions cover all the above categorizations and it is among the most cited categorizations (Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Benoit et al., 2000, 2014, 2016; Benoit & Brazeal, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2007; Benoit & Stein, 2005; Benoit & Goode, 2006; Choi & Benoit, 2009; Henson & Benoit, 2010; Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015; Benoit & Compton, 2016; Borah, 2016). Thus, in the following part of the thesis this categorization would be accepted.

3.1.1.5. Topic of Political Message

The fifth assumption of functional theory posits that the three functions (acclaim, attack, and defense) occur in two broad topics namely; “character” (image) and “policy” (issue) (Benoit et al., 1998; Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit & Wells, 1996; Wells, 2000; Brazeal & Benoit, 2001).

Since the first launch of political television advertising by Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952, there was a very passionate debate about whether political advertisings

should contain more information about policy issues or predominantly discuss about candidates' image. Issue ads predominantly allude candidates' and/or the opponents' statements about public concerns and policies. On the other hand, image ads are concerned about the character, personality or qualifications of the candidates (Kaid, 1996). When those concepts are used to analyze political campaigns, researchers mainly make the classification of issue and image according to predominant verbal content of the advertising message. An important fact that should be underlined is that; issue function is also capable of effecting the candidates' image (Rudd, 1986). However, according to some researchers, this dichotomy merely fits organizational and classification purposes since image and issue are actually two closely intertwined topics (Johnston-Cartee & Copeland, 1997). As issues refer to disputable questions in the literature, a character can be an issue during a political campaign. In addition, voters may speak about images of the candidates' policy positions. In order to avoid such potential difficulties, Benoit (2017) suggests using the terms "character" and "policy" instead of issue and image. The two topics "character" and "policy" are further discussed in the following parts.

3.1.1.5.1. Character

Character emphasizes personality characteristics, traits, abilities, or attributes of the candidates, often known as image in the literature (Brazeal & Benoit, 2001). Character, personality, or qualifications of the candidates and/or their opponents are discussed in arguments related to image topics (Kaid, 1996). According to Shyles (1983), image most frequently refer to the special qualities and strength, honesty, competence, leadership ability and experience of the candidates. For example, the following statement concerns with character topic; "I will work hard if elected" (Benoit, 2017:8). According to functional theory there are three basic forms of character. The theory subdivides character topic into three groups of; "personal qualities", "leadership ability", and "ideals" (Brazeal & Benoit, 2001). Each form is discussed with examples in the following heading.

3.1.1.5.1.1. Personal Qualities

According to (McNair, 2006) candidates' perceived personal quality is an important factor in shaping voting behavior. There is a long list of attributes discussed by scholars concerned with specific personality traits such as intelligence, independence, trust, honesty, reliability, compassion, calmness, integrity, thrift, cautiousness, charisma, being faithful to spouse or forceful speaker (Sigel, 1966; Marshall, 1984; Kinder, 1986; Miller et al., 1986; Trent et al., 2001). Private work experience is also considered under personal qualities according to researchers (Benoit & Goode, 2006; Benoit, 2001, 2009, 2014, 2017). Benoit and McHale (2003, 2004) used the method of constant comparison to develop a grounded theory typology of personal qualities. They defined four global dimensions of character traits discussed in political campaign discourse: "sincerity (trust, honesty, consistency, and openness), morality (decency, integrity, responsibility, and fairness), empathy (understanding, similar to voter, fights for voter, and compassion), and drive (courage, work, strength, and determination)" (Benoit, 2017:22). For instance, below statements are concerned with the personal qualities of the opponent candidate whereby the candidate attacks opponent by saying that he/she is not a honest person.

- *"After eighteen years in Washington, he just can't tell the truth about taxes"* (Brazeal & Benoit, 2006:420).
- *"My opponent can't be trusted"* (Benoit, 2017:8).

3.1.1.5.1.2. Leadership Ability

Leadership ability is about skills and qualities that are required to succeed in office. Even though, the "leadership" and "personal qualities" dimensions of "character" has some overlapping parts that might lead to confusion; the main distinction is suggested to be related to private work experience or governmental work experience. Whereby private work experience is related to personal qualities, government work experience is related to leadership abilities. This type of statements seek to characterize an experienced leader via referring to Government experiences

or a vague past decisions without providing specifics (Benoit & Goode, 2006; Benoit, 2001, 2009, 2014, 2017). The following statement targets the leadership abilities of the opponent by attacking his unsuccessful accomplishments in government;

- *“We sent you to Congress to get things done and vote right. But you haven’t passed one bill”* (Brazeal & Benoit, 2006:420).
- *“The major issue in this campaign is the direct political, personal, and moral responsibility of the Democratic party leadership for the unprecedented calamity which has befallen us”* (Benoit, 2017:20).

3.1.1.5.1.3. Ideals

Finally, ideals allude principles and values embraced by the candidate (Benoit & Goode, 2006; Benoit, 2001, 2009, 2014, 2017). Such as justice, democracy, peace, freedom and etc. For instance, in the bellow statement, Reagan speaks about his ideals;

- *“Ready to build a new consensus with all those across the land who share a community of values embodied in these words: family, work, neighborhood, peace, and freedom”* (Benoit, 2017:21”)

Followings is an examples of ideals category concerned with the opponents. In other word, the candidate attacks ideals of the opponents;

- *“I honestly don’t believe that John Ashcroft and George Bush... view the Constitution the way... most American citizens do”* (Benoit & Goode, 2006:33).

3.1.1.5.2. Policy

Policy which is also referred to as issue, describes statements about governmental actions and problems amenable to governmental action (Kaid, 1996; Benoit, 2014a). According to Pomper (1975:10), many voters “change their partisan choice from one election to the next, and these changes are most closely related to their positions on the issues and their assessment of the abilities of the candidates.” The following

statement has a policy topic; “I will keep America safe” (Benoit, 2017:8). The candidate claims that he will work on national security. Safety is an issue topic.

Functional theory suggests three key forms of policy. Policy is comprised of “past deeds”, “future plans”, and “general goals” (Brazeal & Benoit, 2001).

3.1.1.5.2.1. Past Deeds

Past deeds which facilitate retrospective votes are concerned with accomplishments and failures of the candidate or the opponents that is record in office (Brazeal & Benoit, 2001). For instance, this statement is considered as past deed of the candidate. Therefore, it is an acclaim;

- *“I made Wall Street, Congress, and the whole world wait because I would not let the budget compromisers compromise on your Social Security”* (Brazeal & Benoit, 2006:420).

The following statement is concerned with past deed of the opponent. Thus, it is an attack;

- *“Unemployment rose sharply during my opponent’s administration”* (Benoit, 2017:8).

3.1.1.5.2.2. Future Plans

“Future plans pertain to prospective voting (campaign promises) for voters who are more concerned with the future than the past” (Brazeal & Benoit, 2001:440). Future plans are specific campaign promises that are basically talking about particular issue and problem that the candidate is working on or plans to do in the future (Benoit & Goode, 2006; Benoit, 2001, 2009, 2014, 2017). Some examples of future plans are mentioned bellow;

- *“And now the opponent first has pledged to give another tax break for the rich, paid for by cutting Medicare”* (Brazeal & Benoit, 2006:420).
- *“I will reduce taxes 15% across-the-board for every taxpayer in America”* (Benoit, 2017:19).

3.1.1.5.2.3. General Goals

General goals are somehow similar to future plans whereby they “pertain to prospective voting (campaign promises) for voters who are more concerned with the future than the past” (Brazeal & Benoit, 2001:440). General goals are pertained to objectives and the ends that candidates promise to achieve without describing the specifics (Benoit & Goode, 2006; Benoit, 2001, 2009, 2014, 2017). Both “past deeds” and “future plans” are more specific than “general goals.” If details are provided like I promise to decrease taxes 2% for next year this would be considered as a future plan (Benoit, 2017). The bellow argument on the other hand where no details are provided refers to a general goal topic;

- *“I say, make welfare recipients work for their checks, abolish Congressional perks, cut taxes to help families”* (Brazeal & Benoit, 2006:420).

Focusing on domestic, rather than foreign policy is a general goal that is mentioned in the following statement;

- *“It is also the time to turn away from excessive participation overseas to rebuilding our own nation”* (Benoit, 2017:19).

Table 3.1 offers some other hypothetical examples of the three functions and the topics;

Table 3.1: Hypothetical examples of acclaim and attack functions on the different forms of policy and character

	Acclaim	Attack
Past deeds	"I fought for and passed the legislation to move women up an out of poverty, to protect seniors' health care, and to prevent domestic violence."	"He has systematically used the American treasury giving it to his friends... the pharmaceutical companies, the HMOs and the insurance companies"
Future plan	"I'm coming to you with a common-sense plan to make prescription drugs affordable and protect Social Security."	"He has risky plans for Social Security and Medicare threaten seniors"
General goals	"I think a president needs to put America back to work, and that's what I intend to do"	"She wants taxpayers, not polluters, to pay for cleaning up toxic waste"
Personal qualities	"She has the courage of his convictions."	"The president lied to the American people in his justification for war in Iraq"
Leadership ability	"I'm going to be a leader who will do what's right for America, whether it's politically popular or not. That's what a commander in chief should do"	"It's just about leadership. And that's what this president doesn't show in Washington on our economy"
Ideals	"I'm strong on civil rights, strong on values"	"My father was a paratrooper in the Greatest Generation, and he taught me well that freedom is not free."

Source: Developed from Brazeal & Benoit (2006, 2001:454); Benoit & Goode (2006).

3.1.2. Applications and Implications of Functional Theory in Literature

Functional theory of political campaign discourse has been commonly used to examine elements of political campaign messages and the strategies used in legacy media regarding political campaigns launched in variety of media and platforms comprising; TV spots (Benoit, 1999), presidential debates (Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit & Brazeal, 2002; Benoit, 2014b), vice presidential debates (Benoit & Airne, 2005a), candidacy announcement speeches (Benoit, 2014a), presidential nominating convention acceptance addresses (Benoit, 1999b, 2014a); nominating convention key note speech (Benoit et al., 2000), direct mail brochures (Benoit & Stein, 2005), candidate webpages (Benoit et al., 2013), and press releases (Benoit & Cho, 2004, 2005; Benoit & Kratzer, 2010).

Functional theory of political discourse has also been applied to gubernatorial, Senate, and mayoral debates (Benoit et al., 2007), gubernatorial, Senate, and House TV spots (Benoit & Airne, 2005b, 2009; Benoit & Brazeal, 2006) in the United States. The theory was also applied in other countries and seen on TV spots (Benoit et al., 2004) and debates (Benoit & Klvukovski, 2006; Benoit & Shearer, 2006; Benoit & Bryan, 2013, 2014, 2015). All of these studies support Functional theory (Benoit, 2010, 2014b).

Functional theory is concerned with reasons rather than causes. The theory focuses on reasons for certain considerations while developing political messages. However, candidates are free to develop messages according to their preference (Benoit, 2017). Some of the main suggestions of the theory are For instance, the Sponsor of the attack is seen as mudslinger (Lau, 1982; Lau et al., 1999). Voters generally report that they dislike mudslinging (Merritt, 1984; Stewart, 1975) and find it unethical (Shapiro & Reiger, 1992). Moreover, attacks have the potential to damage both its target and source. Thus, candidates avoid excessive reliance on attacks and rely more on acclaims. Functional theory merely indicates reasons for such distribution and does not claim that candidates must apply acclaims more than attacks on their messages. There is no obligation of preferring acclaims over attacks (Benoit, 2017).

Studies on political campaigns also confirm findings of Functional theory regarding functions. For example acclaims are generally more preferred compared to attacks, except than rare campaigns such as non-candidate messages. Ukraine debates in 2004 (Benoit & Klvukovski, 2006) employed more attacks and less acclaims.

Furthermore, among the three functions, defenses are always the least used without any exception. According to Functional theory, there are three reasons for that. First, opponents generally attack on the candidate's weaknesses. Defense as a response on previous attacks likely takes the candidate off-message. Second, another disadvantage of defense is making candidate appear reactive rather than proactive. Third, defense entails identifying the criticism being refuted. Which is nothing but informing voters about the potential weaknesses. Researches has shown that negative information is more salient than positive

statements (Bradley, Angelini, & Lee, 2007), and reputational statements are merely marginally effective (Weaver-Lariscy & Tickham, 1999). Even though defense type of messages are among the least used ones, that kind of messages are more often used in political debates compared with other types of campaign messages. Functional theory argues that defense in debate is an immediate response to an attack and does not remind weaknesses to the audience (Benoit, 2010, 2017).

Many factors influence the production of campaign messages (Benoit, 2017), such as incumbency and ad sponsorship (Sullivan & Sapir, 2012). Nomination acceptance addresses prone to be more positive than convention keynote speeches. Candidates tend to be more positive than the other speakers in presidential TV advertisements (Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Benoit, 1999). Moreover, advertisements sponsored by candidates tend to acclaim more and attack less than advertisements sponsored by the political parties and interest groups (Benoit, 2014c, 2015b; Fowler et al., 2015). The reason for this contrast is the assumption that mudslinging from candidates is more likely to upset voters compared with mudslinging from a surrogate sources. Neglecting occasional exceptions, this prediction is generally confirmed in political campaign messages from candidates.

Candidates prone to employ more attacks and fewer acclaims after they become the nominee compared with the time that they seek their party's nomination. Functional theory posits two reasons for that. First, there are more policy differences and attack opportunities between opponents from different parties in the general election compared with members of the same party in the primary election. Second, candidates seeking party nomination in the primary, has to moderate attacks on opponents in the primary elections in order to obtain support of the opponents from the same party and their supporters in general election after nomination. While no such motive exists in the general election (Benoit, 2014a, 2014c, 2015b).

Functional theory also posits that messages sponsored by incumbents and challengers have different emphases. "Incumbency advantage" is the term used regarding the electoral advantage for an in-office candidate (Ansolabehere &

Snyder, 2002; Weisberg, 2002; Mayhew, 2008). The electoral edge for candidates running for the second time might be a reason for attacking less than their challenger opponents. Having record in the office sought, could be a reason that incumbents acclaim more than challengers. On the other hand, challengers have more opportunity to attack the incumbents. Furthermore, past records are the best evidence for future performance. Thus, both incumbents and challengers speak more about their own past performance in office (acclaim) or the opponent's past deed (attack). Therefore, incumbents tend to acclaim more and attack less compared with challengers (Benoit, 2007, 2017). Many studies demonstrated the role of incumbency in negative advertising supporting findings of Functional theory in traditional media (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Tinkham & Weaver-Lariscy, 1995), as well as social media such as Twitter campaigns (Evans et al., 2014). In addition to the incumbency factor, the frequency usage of functions varies between Democrats and Republicans. Researches has indicated that Republican candidates as a group attack more and acclaim less than Democrats in United States (Benoit et al., 1997).

Benoit (2014a) classified presidential candidates into three groups: first group comprises of those in competitive races, second group contains those who led the polls throughout the campaign, and the third group consists of their opponents, who trailed throughout the campaign. Benoit found that candidates who trailed tend to attack more, and acclaim less, compared with the candidates from the other two groups. According to Damore (2002), competitiveness of race, closeness to election-day, and attacks from the opposition, are the three factors that influence frequency of advertising attacks. Studies on presidential primary debates demonstrated that there is a significant positive relationship between the intensity of attacks targeted one candidate, and his/her position in the polls just prior to the primary debate (Benoit, 2002). According previous researches (Benoit, 2010; Benoit & Bryan, 2010, 2014), political messages in the primary elections pertain to employ more acclaim with a great emphasis on character (image) of the candidates compared with the general elections messages which are more attack based with less emphasis on character. According to Benoit (2014c), the source of political campaign message also influences the frequency of functions. presidential TV

advertisements, use more attacks when the speaker is someone else other than the candidate compared with the time that the candidate speaks. Benoit (2010) also found that acceptance addresses made by candidates have more acclaims and less attacks compared with keynote speeches delivered by others.

Researches on American presidential and non-presidential political campaigns, as well as studies on TV advertisements and debates in some other countries demonstrated that candidates prone to discuss policy more than character in their campaigns (Benoit, 1999, 2003, 2010, 2014b). However, there is an exemption in TV advertisements in some countries (Kid & Bacha, 1995). Researchers found that winners of presidential elections discuss policy more and character less than the election losers. Some studies show that attacks on policy are more common (Geer, 2006), and more persuasive than attacks on character (Roddy & Garrarrione, 1988; Pfau & Burgoon, 1989). Furthermore, candidates who attack more on policy, and less on character are more likely to win the presidential elections (Benoit, 2004). Functional theory does not claim that candidates should never discuss character (either acclaim, or attack). The theory does not assert that emphasizing on character will lead a loss. However, winners emphasize more on policy in both forms of acclaim and attack than losers. Again, functional theory does not assert that candidates must emphasize on policy more than character in forms of acclaim and attack. The theory only posits that they have a reason to do so (Benoit, 2017).

Researchers also found that general goals and ideals are used more often as the basis for acclaim compared with attacks (Benoit, 1999, 2010, 2014a). It's easier to advocate goals and ideals rather than attacking ideas. Also, it's easier to attack future plans rather than general goals (Benoit, 2017). Researches demonstrated that policy is discussed more frequently in general elections than the primaries (Benoit, 1999, 2010, 2014a). That is because many candidates and their policies are unknown in the primaries. For instance, at the beginning of the 2016 campaigns, people knew not much about Donald Trump's policy positions. Barack Obama in 2008 and Mitt Romney in 2012 were better known in general election campaigns rather than the primaries. Moreover, some primary candidates continue to develop policy positions after the campaign starts. Thus, there are

more policy opportunities to discuss in general election campaigns compared with primary phases.

Studies also demonstrated that voters find attacks on character more offensive than attack on policy (Cartcc & Copeland, 1989). Attacks are more likely to be questioned than acclaims (Benoit, 2017). Thus, more evidences are offered for attacks than acclaims by candidates (Geer, 2006; Henson & Benoit, 2010). In addition to Benoit's sub-categories regarding topics of political message, researchers classified character and policy into different categories. Character can appear in the form of altruism, competence, personal characteristics, experience, honesty, leadership, strength, and other special qualities (Shyles, 1984). Number of categories differentiated under policy issues, for instance, a recent study on official Twitter posts of Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton and Jill Stein, provided the core issues that were focused in 2016 general presidential election as; health insurance, immigration, jobs, Medical for all, women's equality, minimum wage, climate change, the environment and etc. (Clohessy et al., 2017). Moreover, target of attack has been also under investigation in some studies. Candidates may attack the opponents from same or different party. They also attack the status quo in some cases (Benoit et.al., 1998, 2007).

In addition to reflecting candidates' own messages, functional theory have been also applied on news coverage of political campaigns, adding categories for horse race covering (polls, campaign news, and fund raising), *New York Times* coverage of American general (Benoit et al., 2005) and primary (Benoit et al., 2010) election presidential campaigns. Functional theory has also been expanded to understand news coverage campaigns of Senate, Gubernatorial, and Mayoral elections (Benoit et al., 2013b), as well as campaigns outside the United States (Benoit et al., 2013a). News coverage of campaigns typically emphasizes more on attacks and less on acclaims, compared with the candidate themselves. Horse race is the most common topic of newspaper coverage of election campaigns. Contradicting to the usage of character and policy issues by the politicians themselves; journalists discuss character more frequently than policy (Benoit, 2017).

Besides increasing interest on researches about political use of social networking sites, functional theory have also been expanded to get an understanding of social media pages of the candidates. However, there is still little research on this area, especially on Twitter as a strategic tool for presidential political campaigns. Furthermore, most of such studies focused on public's posts (Dayican et al., 2014; Bazarova & Choi, 2014) rather than social media messages posted by politicians and their campaigns. This area definitely deserves more attention.

Using functional theory, the analysis of websites and blogs of candidate for the 2004 presidential election showed that blog posts discussed policy topic and attack function (Trammell et al., 2006). The findings from Facebook (Borah, 2016) and Twitter (Evans et al., 2014) presidential campaigns supported the findings of functional theory, demonstrating that political campaigns follow the same strategies and rules used in mainstream media settings such as television advertising. Borah (2016) content analyzed the official Facebook posts of U.S. presidential candidates in 2008 and 2012 elections and found that John McCain and Mitt Romney as challengers attacked more, while the incumbent president, Barack Obama acclaimed more. However, candidates used Facebook to discuss about policy issues or to promote their campaigns. Unlike television, they did not discuss character traits. An analysis on the Facebook and Twitter communication of 2012 presidential general elections (Buratti, 2014), showed that attack, acclaim, and defense functions appeared in social media posts of Obama and Romney, almost similarly to the legacy media. However, both candidates primarily focused on motivating citizens to show support for the candidate and get out the vote.

3.1.2.1. Tone of the Campaign Message

Even though, it is not included in the functional theory, tone of the campaign message has also been discussed in literature. Tone of a message is concerned with "the communicator's attitude toward the audience and the subject of the message. The overall tone of a message affects the audience just as one's tone of

voice affects the listener in everyday exchanges” (Ober, 1995:88). In this part the focus would be on emphasizing the relationship of the tone of message and functional theory.

Kaid (1996:136) defined positive advertising as messages that primarily focus on the enhancement of the sponsoring candidate. Thus, all types of acclaims are considered as positive advertising (Benoit, 2007). According to Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1997:162), positive advertisings are used in modern campaigns not to persuade voters but mainly aimed at following goals:

- “ To increase the candidate’s name recognition among voters.
- To associate the candidate with specific policy issues, image attributes, and groups or persons.
- To emphasize the candidate’s similarity to voters” (Copeland, 1997:162).

On the other hand, negative advertising was defined as “advertising that implicitly or explicitly places the opposition in an inferior position” (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997:20). All forms of attacks on the opponent(s)’ policy or character has negative tone (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Roddy & Garramone, 1988; Lau et al., 1999; Benoit & Brazeal, 2006). In addition to attacks, comparisons between the candidate and the opponents that conclude the candidate’s superior position compared with the opponents are counted as negative advertising (Salmore & Salmore, 1985). Defenses are neither counted as positive nor negative in tone (Benoit, 2007). Defenses could be neutral in tone. However, in practice they are mostly negative.

Besides analyzing image and issues topics of political discourse, the other primary dichotomy is contrasting positive and negative (attacking) functions. Negative advertising or mudslinging has been always a part of political communication. It’s known as one of the most prevalent political campaign strategies (Krupnikov & Piston, 2015). Some rhetorical theorists argued that the rhetoric of attack was one of four motivations for human communication (Fisher, 1970). Negative advertising has been an interesting topic of study for years (Merritt, 1984; Roddy & Garramone, 1988; Cartee & Copeland, 1989; Kaid &

Johnston, 1991, 2002; Jamieson, 1992; Skaperdas & Grofman, 1995; Klotz, 1998; Wicks & Souley, 2003; Lau & Pomper, 2004; Benoit et al., 2005, 2013; Benoit & Brazeal, 2006; Benoit, 2007; Buell & Sigelman, 2008; Lau & Rovner, 2009; Druckman, Kifer, & Parkin, 2009; Fowler & Ridout, 2010). Especially, the effect of positive and negative advertising (Ansolabere & Iyengar, 1994; Ansolabahere & Iyengar, 1999; Lau et al., 1999, 2007; Allen & Burrell, 2002), is one of the largest areas of study into political advertising (Benoit & Henson, 2010). Most of these studies classified each political ad as either negative or positive, ignoring the fact that some ads contain both positive and negative appeals. Such studies have been also neglected defense function. However, some researches began adding defense as the third category (Benoit et al., 1997).

Kathleen Hall Jamieson (1992), in her book of *Dirty Politics*, suggested that there are two general approaches comprised in political attacks; association and opposition. Although using negative advertising is very common, it was mentioned in the previous part that the frequency of negative advertising varies significantly based on the candidates' status (e.g., incumbency), and different election levels. For instance, previous studies has shown that challengers used more negative advertising than incumbent candidates. Negative advertisings were also positively related to the race's competitiveness. In other words, frequency of negative ads varies not only from election to election, but also within time frame of a single political campaign. Advertisings became more negative as the campaign progressed. It was also mentioned in the previous part that advertisings sponsored by political parties were more negative compared with those from candidates themselves (Benoit & Compton, 2016). Benoit and Hansen (2002) showed that the use of negative ads has increased dramatically since the very negative campaign of 1952. All findings of attack and acclaim functions in the literature, are coincident with the result for negative and positive advertising.

Studies on Television political advertising has shown that negative messages are better remembered than positive messages (Merritt, 1984; Newhagen & Reeves, 1992; Newhagen & Reeves, 1991; Lau et al., 1999; Allen & Burell, 2002). Negative information is remembered for longer time (Winnick & Archer, 1974) and retrieved easier compared with positive information (Reeves et al.,

1986). Negative messages tend to evoke different psychological changes and greater arousal (Thorson & Friestad, 1985; Lang, 1985; Lang & Friestad, 1987; 1990; Newhagen & Reeves, 1991; Lau et al., 1999; Newhagen et al., 2000). Responses to negative messages are similar to responses to potentially dangerous stimuli. Audience of a negative message prone to focus clearly on the content of the message, and bypass the elaborate processing associated with higher order mental activities (Zajonc, 1984). It means that cognitive capacity as well as information processing strategy both of which effect memory, is changed by negative messages (Iszard et al., 1984; Lang, 1985).

It was discussed in the previous part that, besides the target of the attack, negative messages have the potential to harm attacking side as well (Stewart, 1975; Merritt, 1984; Shapiro & Reiger, 1992; Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997; Delton, 2007). However, if the negative message is sponsored by an independent source, this risk is minimized (Garramone, 1984; Kaid & Boydston, 1987). If audience find the attack unfair and dishonest, it can make them feel sympathy for the victim (Garramone, 1984). Yet, candidates still turn to negative messages because they work. Researches has shown that negative messages have the potential to deepen the dislike for the opposing candidate (Sonner, 1998). Negative messages can demobilize an opponent's supporters. They are more likely to engage voters compared with positive messages (Ansolabehere et al., 1994). Thus, negative messages are capable to increase voter turnout (Goldstein & Freedman, 2002). However, all scholars do not agree with this conclusion. According to some other researches negative messages have the potential of disenchanting citizens with the election process and minimizing voter's desire to vote (Ansolabehere et al., 1994). Negative messages can led to greater attitudinal change toward a candidate's character compared with positive ads (Homer & Batra, 1994; Kaid Boydston, 1987). Researchers also found that a single negative behavior neutralized five positive behaviors (Richey et al., 1975). People prone to weight negative messages more heavily than positive messages (Lau, 1982).

Several strategies introduced to avoid unintended and damaging consequences of negative messages and backlash reactions. First, focusing the attacks on the opponent's stands on issues rather than attacking on the target's character (Johnson-

Cartee & Copeland, 1989; Shapiro & Rieger, 1992). Second way is to use a surrogate to attack the opponent rather than linking the attacks directly to the candidate. That is dissociating candidate from negative messages and let independent sources deliver the attack (Garrazone, 1984). Third, expressing attack as a form of direct comparison between the candidate and the opponent (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997). People with low level of political knowledge are primarily influenced by negative advertising (Stevens, 2005).



3.2. IMAGE REPAIR THEORY

Image is defined as the perceptions of a communicative entity (an organization or an individual that is engaged deliberately in public communication) shared by an audience (Benoit & Hanczor, 1994; Moffitt, 1994; Benoit, 1995, 2015; Brinson & Benoit, 1996; Derina & Glen, 2009). The perceptions are the results of the words and deeds of the communication entity (Derina & Glen, 2009) as well as the words and behavior of others toward it (Benoit, 2015). Politicians, governments, organizations, companies, celebrities, and people frequently face accusations or suspicions of wrongdoing. Threats to image are common and inevitable in modern societies because of the following reasons. First reason is the competition for limited resources that leads to undesirable distribution of them for some parties. Second, we meet all kinds of surprises and deal with many unexpected events in everyday life that are out of our control and can keep us from meeting our obligations. Third, we as humans are simply not unexceptionable or perfect and consequently sometimes we perpetrate misdeeds or make honest errors. Sometimes our behavior, judgment, or performance, are under influence of our self-interests or physical health and mental health. Fourth, our different priorities can create conflict arising from our competing goals. For instance, demanding the best but the least expensive products, or fighting against crime while preserving rights of criminals. These factors altogether ensure that actual or perceived wrongdoing is a recurrent trait of human activity that can be a subject of criticism. Individuals and organizations are most likely to be accused by others for committing actual or perceived wrongdoing, for the things they did (or said) or left undone (or unsaid), or for the way they performed the actions. Persuasive attacks are the messages that attempt to create (or strengthen) an unfavorable attitude toward the target (Benoit, 2015). According to Fisher (1970) rhetoric of attack was one of four motivations for human communication. Several studies have investigated persuasive attack concept (e.g., Benoit & Delbert, 2010; Benoit & Dorries, 1996; Benoit & Harthcock, 1999). Complaints or attacks to an image comprise two components; blame or responsibility that the accused is held for an action, and the offensiveness of the act (Benoit, 1995, 1997, 2006a). Attack strategies and tactics are categorized under two main approaches which derive from these two components. An attack either is aimed at “increasing the target’s perceived responsibility for the act” or look

for “increasing the perceived offensiveness of the act” (Disanza & Legge, 2016:4). These two components are the base for image repair strategies. The target of attacks must understand the nature of the threats to image, both blame and offensiveness for each accusation to be able to attempt to counteract them (Benoit, 2015).

Attempts to rehabilitate reputation are often prompted by attacks. However, image repair can be also adopted as a respond to anticipated image problems. An attack on reputation is a serious issue that effects the image negatively. A damaged reputation impairs the trustworthiness and credibility and thus, it hurts persuasiveness (Benoit, & Benoit, 2008; Benoit & Strathman, 2004). A crisis can be defined as “an incident that is unexpected and overwhelming and, in an organizational context, could threaten image and reputation if not handled appropriately” (Grimmer, 2017:19). Communication has the potential to manage such crises and repair a damaged image or reputation. Crisis communication as a subcategory of communication consists of messages about different form of crisis such as image repair discourse, natural disasters, and terrorism. Image repair discourse includes “messages intended to improve images tarnished by criticism and suspicion” or preempt anticipated criticism (Benoit, 2015:304). Defensive utterances or image repair messages respond to perceived damage to reputation. They are “persuasive attempts to reshape the audience’s attitudes: creating or changing beliefs about the accused’s responsibility for an act and/or creating or changing values about the offensiveness of those acts” (Benoit, 2015:304).

The modern image repair theory has a long history of development in public relations and is rooted in both rhetoric-especially political rhetoric-and social science (Derina & Glen, 2009). Benoit’s (1995) theory of image restoration discourse is based on the previous studies (Scott & Lyman, 1968; Burke, 1970), especially on Ware and Linkugel’s (1973) theory of apologia. However, the theory is more exhaustive than its earlier version and focuses on message options rather than describing the types of crisis situations (Dutton, 1986) or the stages in a crisis (Fink et al., 1971). The theory rests on two assumptions. The first assumption is that communication, which is known as the art of persuasion, is a goal-directed activity and thus, rhetorical discourse is purposeful. The second assumption that is made by image repair theory is that maintaining a favorable impression is an important goal in

interaction (Benoit, 2015). Benoit's (1995) image restoration theory is based on the nature of the persuasive attacks. Beyond responding to blame and offensiveness as the components of the persuasive attacks, the accused can admit wrong-doing, apology, or promise to solve the problem.

3.2.1. Image Repair Strategies

The image repair theory comprises five general strategies, three of which with subcategories, overall 14 distinct image repair strategies that are describes in the followings;

- **Denial**

One general strategy of image repair is denial, which is classified into two different variants: "simple denial" and "shift the blame." A communicative entity may simply deny that the act happened, that it did not perform the act, or that the act was harmful to anyone in order to separate itself from the offence. Secondly, it can deny the responsibility for the act by shifting the blame to another organization or individual arguing that they are actually responsible for the offensive act (Benoit, 1997, 2006a). Coombs (2007) argued that the denial strategy is beneficial only when the crisis challenge is unjustifiable.

- **Evasion of Responsibility**

Evasion of responsibility states that the accused has minimal responsibility for the crisis (Coombs & Schmidt, 2000). The strategy can be performed in four distinct ways. First, the communication entity can try to evade responsibility for the wrongful act by pleading provocation arguing that the offensive act was just a quick and reasonable message to another's offensive act committed against it. In other words, it can state that its act was actually provoked and responded to the act of another. This strategy is called "provocation." Second, the communication entity argue "defeasibility" due to a lack of information, power, or ability about or control over important elements of the situation. The third option is claiming that the offensive act

occurred by “accident” to reduce the accountability and damage on image. As the fourth specific form of evasion responsibility, one can insist on that the offensive action was performed with “good intentions” arguing the events went awry despite trying to do the right thing (Benoit, 1997, 2006a).

- **Reducing Offensiveness of Event**

The accused A communicative entity may attempt to reduce the perceived offensiveness of the act through its six variants. First, using “bolstering” to improve the audience’s positive feelings toward itself, in order to offset the offensiveness of the wrongful action. Stressing own good traits or mentioning positive acts in the past, an accused can strengthen the positive feelings of the audience toward itself and therefore, compensate the negative feelings connected with the offensive act. Second way to reduce the offensiveness of an act is “minimization” which argues that the effects of the wrongful act are smaller than they appear. In other words, the accused attempt to diminish the contrary feelings related to the offensive act suggesting that the act is not as serious as presented. Third, subcategory is “differentiation” which argues that the wrongful act is not as offensive as other similar one. In other words, it tries to distinguish the act from other similar but more offensive actions in order to reduce its offensiveness. The fourth option is “transcendence” which is aimed at placing the act in a more favorable context arguing that the accused of wrong-doing was actually motivated by other, more important, concerns. Fifth, those accused for an offensive action, can “attack the accuser” to diminish the credibility of the accuser and the accusation. If the accuser is the victim, this strategy tries to create the impression that the victim deserved such behavior. “Compensation” is the sixth way of reducing offensiveness of an act through which something of worth is offered to the victim in order to redress the loss. Compensation can improve the image if is acceptable to the victim (Benoit, 1997, 2006a).

- **Corrective Action**

Using “corrective action” strategy as a vitally important strategy in crisis time (Sellnow et al., 1998) that specifies the changes to prevent the crisis (Coombs &

Schmidt, 2000), the communication entity promises to correct the problem and repair the damage caused and/or prevent its recurrence.

- **Mortification**

“Mortification” or confess is the final general strategy for image restoration with which the communication entity admits responsibility for the offense and requests forgiveness. This strategy can deal with both full and partial apology. The full apology is used when there is no victim and the partial apology strategy is employed in other circumstances.

This typology was applied to image repair messages in a variety of contexts such as corporate, celebrities and athletics, international contexts, and international contexts (Benoit, 2015) as well as political context (e.g., Benoit et al., 1991; Benoit & Nill, 1998; Len-Rios & Benoit, 2004; Benoit, 2006a, 2006). Insults and mudslinging has been a staple of American presidential campaigns. According to Pew Research Centre, 92% of the American voters viewed the 2016 contest as more negative than the past election campaigns. We were keen to apply the image repair theory to the defensive messages of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in order to investigate the strategies they used to repair their image. The aim was to reveal how they tried to managed the crisis and how the Twitter users respond to these strategies.

3.3. RHETORIC THEORY

Besides functional theory, rhetoric theory is also a very important and relevant to the analysis of political communications. In this study, another focus point is rhetoric theory and rhetorical analysis of the candidates' tweets tackling the presence of rhetoric in communication on Twitter. The aim is to analyze how the candidates tried to interact with the citizens and persuade the electorate through rhetorical means and rhetorical techniques. The research specifically intends to show how Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton used communication strategies portrayed by rhetoricians since its origins in Greco-Roman antiquity. Even though, the theory has a long history "classic rhetorical elements and strategies are still clearly recognizable, and now reinforced by the possibilities which emergent technologies offer" (Berlanga et al., 2013:128). Political elites now use new rhetorical tools such as Twitter, in order to develop relationships and effectively communicate with the public. The term rhetoric is haphazardly used in political coverage during campaign season (Johnson, 2012). In the following parts of the thesis, the concept of rhetoric, and its history was be given.

3.3.1. Rhetoric

The term rhetoric is "the counterpart of dialectic" and is simply defined as "the art (techne) of persuasion" (Aristotle, Trans., 2004:I.I). It's "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion" (Aristotle, Trans., 2004:I.II). In other word, rhetoric is "an ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion" (Aristotle, Trans., 1991:37). Rhetoric is concerned with finding all communication options within a specific situation and attentively choosing effective tools in order to persuade the audience. According to Kenneth Burke in his impressive book of *A Rhetoric of Motives* (1969:172), "wherever there is persuasion, there is rhetoric. And wherever there is meaning, there is persuasion." Besides grammar and logic, rhetoric is one of the most ancient arts of public discourse which seeks to inform, persuade, and motivate the audiences in particular situations (Corbett, 1990). "Rhetoric is a complex discipline with a long history: It is

less helpful to try to define it once and for all than to look at the many definitions it has accumulated over the years and to attempt to understand how each arose and how each still inhabits and shapes the field” (Bizzell & Herzberg, 2000:1).

Rhetoric, especially in the contemporary era it often perceived negatively, having deceptive and manipulative connotation. It implies artfulness over real content (Johnson, 2012). Because of the simplification of rhetoric, “general usage by the public tends to use the term to mean only style, or worse, as a pejorative applied to false or manipulative arguments”, regardless of the moral and ethical concerns (Eyman, 2015:14). Even though sophistic perspective on rhetoric describes it compatible with logic and moral ethics, Plato and Socrates considered ancient sophists’ approach to be unethical. According to them, rhetoric is just an appearance while philosophy is concerned with the truth (Klamer, 2009).

Aristotle was the first person to identified rhetoric as a morally neutral art of communication, which can be used for either good or ill (Aristotle, Trans, 2007). He observed rhetoric from a more scientific perspective and emphasized on ethical requirements that should be considered while trying to convince the audience. According to Aristotle, barely being right is not enough, an orator has to convince the audience that he is indeed right (Klamer, 2009). As a comprehensive tool, rhetoric is the total way of using discourse. In other words, the physical features of speech including the sounds of a linguistic message, the modes of delivery, pronunciation, facial expressions, body language and gestures are not sacrificed to the intellectual dimension. In fact, all of these features interfere in an oral rhetorical communication in which mutual involvement of both orator and the audience plays a key role. The audience judge, engage, appreciate, and enjoy the physicality of speech only after getting involved in the speech through rhetorical tools (Barilli & Trans. 1989).

Since the ancient Greece, rhetoric has played a significant role within European traditions, both as a subject of study and also in civic activities. particularly in training orators, lawyers, counsellors, historians, statesmen, and poets. Classic rhetoric limited its application to three types of speech namely; legal, political, and ceremonial (Eyman, 2015). However, according to modern scholars, rhetoric can be applied to a variety of subjects such as social sciences, natural

sciences, religion, history, fine arts, journalism and architecture (Nelson et al., 1987).

3.3.2. Definitions of Rhetoric

“Rhetoric is a sort of division or likeness of Dialectic, since neither of them is a science that deals with the nature of any definite subject, but they are merely faculties of furnishing arguments” (Aristotle, Trans., 1926). Aristotle (Trans., 1975) stated that dialectic and rhetoric are related to each other and they are only faculties of furnishing arguments. Rhetoric is kind of division or of likeness dialectic and ethical studies. That may be reasonably called politics. Thus, rhetoric dresses itself up in the form of politics. That is the reason, rhetoric assumes the character of politics and those who claim to possess it act politically (Aristotle, Trans., 1926). However, dialectic and rhetoric are two distinct abilities of supplying arguments (Aristotle, Trans., 1975). “Dialectic comes closest but deals with general questions, not specific cases, and for dialectic the final term, means of persuasion (pithanon), would presumably be means of reasoning (syllogismos)” (Aristotle, Trans., 1975:38). Rhetoric is undoubtedly backbone of political discourse (Dylgjeri, 2014). It is “the analyses of connection of means and goals by help of discourse” (Meyer, 2001:22)

The original Greek word “rhetorike” derives from a combination of different words such as public speaker, oratorical and anything which is said or spoken (Liddell & Scott, 1940). Scholars suggested various definitions for rhetoric. It was broadly defined as the study of communication (Richards, 1930) or study of persuasive language (Burke, 1966). Rhetoric as the ability to persuade others, or a practical realization of this capability. Rhetoric is an attempt at persuasion, either successful or failed. It is the ability to get the audience to act according the rhetor’s desire, regardless of their wants. This ability can be either natural or acquired. Some describes rhetoric as a mood of communication, whether admirable or deplorable. While some others argue that rhetoric exists as soon as one person addresses another. Moreover, rhetorical practice is not always confined to language. For instance, visual or architectural rhetoric is counted as a metaphorical extension of rhetoric (Warday, 1996).

According to Aristotle (Trans., 1924:VII), “Rhetoric, in the general sense of the use of language in such a manner as to impress the hearers and influence them for or against a certain course of action.” The word has various overlapping meanings as: “the practice of oratory; the study of the strategies of effective oratory; the use of language, written or spoken, to inform or persuade; the study of the persuasive effects of language; the study of the relation between language and knowledge; the classification and use of tropes and figures; and of course, the use of empty promises and half-truths as a form of propaganda” (Bizzell & Herzberg, 2000:I).

Rhetoric is a way of persuasive communication as well as a formal art of studying this communication (Buchanan, 1989). It’s both an analytical method and a guide for producing persuasive discourse (Eyman, 2015). In other words, it is persuasion through communication (Johnson, 2012). Rhetoric is an ambiguous term. It is differently described as “the art of persuasive, impressive or effective speaking, or orating.” Thus, rhetoric is initially aimed at effecting the public rather than looking for response, answer or dissemination of information. For instance, a “rhetorical question” is primarily designed to effect the audience rather than being a direct inquiry.” A rhetorician is a person skilled in their ability to win the arguments by virtue of their use of figures and or speech, platitudes, hyperbole, statements and compositional techniques rather than being simply correct” (Aristotle, Trans., 2012:3). Crick (2013:2) defined rhetorical public speaking as “the art of addressing pressing public concerns by employing deliberate persuasive strategies before a public audience at a specific occasion in order to transform some aspect of a problematic situation by encouraging new forms of thought and action.” Besides the definition of classical rhetoric, a few scholars have tried to develop a definition for the term “digital rhetoric” (Bogost, 2007; Losh, 2009; Eyman, 2015). Digital rhetoric is simply defined as the application of rhetorical theory to digital texts and performances (Eyman, 2015). Digital rhetoric is not a complete and integrated theory (Zappen, 2005), and it’s is an exciting and troublesome application (Reeves, 2013).

3.3.3. History of Rhetoric

According to Aristotle (Trans., 1924:VII), “Rhetoric, in the general sense of the use of language in such a manner as to impress the hearers and influence them for or against a certain course of action, is as old as language itself and the beginnings of social and political life.” Rhetoric can be applied to all communication events. Based on a broad definition of rhetoric, it can be stated that almost all human acts of communication engage rhetorical practice (Eyman, 2015). However, the degree of influence and the presence of persuasive ingredients varies in every situation (Gass & Seiter, 2013).

3.3.3.1. Ancient Non-Western Rhetoric

The scholarly attention to the history of rhetoric has flourished over the last decades. Majority of the studies address the Greco-Roman rhetorical tradition as the origin of rhetoric (Sullivan, 2005). Little attention has been given to ancient non-western rhetoric prior to and contemporary with the classical Greece (Lipson & Binkley, 2004). However, more recent expansion in the study of history of rhetoric has addressed outside the classical Greek tradition. several scholars has examined other ancient rhetorical systems in their study such as Chinese, Egyptian, Hebrew and etc. (Sullivan, 2005). William W. Hallo (2004) defended the idea that rhetoric is originated in Mesopotamia. According to the number of scholars (Fox, 1983; Wardy, 1996; Hoskisson & Boswell, 2004; Binkley, 2004; Hallo, 2004), there are evidences of rhetorical practice in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Rhodes, and China, as well as within the Jewish scriptures. Rhetoric existed in some cultures that thrived for 2500 years or more prior to the classical Greek. An early rhetorical example within Akkadian Empire as the first ancient empire of Mesopotamia, is the writings of Sumerian princess-poetess *Enheduanna* (23th century B.C.). She is the earliest known poet whose name has been recorded and is said to be the author of at least three hymns to the goddess *Inanna*. The literary remains of her is likely the earliest surviving materials in which an author refers to herself in the first person. Based on a wide

definition of rhetoric, the curriculum of the scribal schools of Old Babylonian Mesopotamia can also be counted as a practice in rhetoric (Hallo, 2004).

3.3.3.2. Ancient Greek Rhetoric

However, most of the studies regarding histories of rhetoric begin with assumption of Greek classical rhetoric as ancient rhetoric (Lipson & Binkley, 2004). Scholars conventionally look for the origins of rhetoric in ancient Greece and Roman Empire in the 5th and 4th century BC (Hallo, 2004), when oral communication started playing a fundamental role in public discussions within democratic systems in which rhetoric functions were utilized as a tool to exert political influence (Eyman, 2015). Lipson and Binkley (2004) suggested that the earlier cultures solely developed primitive approaches to communication. Their rhetoric have generally disappeared by now. Thus, they lack interest or importance among scholars.

In the history of rhetoric, there is a notable example of rhetorical practice in the second half of the 5th century within the Greek tradition itself by a group of intellectuals known as “sophists.” Sophists were a group of itinerant professional teachers in ancient Greece, such as Protagoras, Gorgias, and Hippias (Aristotle, Trans., 2007), who used to travel to teach practical or verbal skills of virtue or excellence for free, contributed to shaping the concept (Schiappa, 1991). They acted as mobile universities in offering free education through logical arguments, critical thinking, and reasoning. They are known as the first humanists because they utilized rhetoric to bring about better experience to the world that benefits both the orator and the audience. However, they were accused of undermining traditional ethics through false reasoning because of their boast that they are capable in turning the weaker argument into the stronger (Crick, 2013). Since Sophist’s advice was underdeveloped theoretically, Plato scoffed their oratorical devices. The contemporary negative connotation among people, using the term mere rhetoric to the label the speech of tricky lawyers, mealy-mouthed politicians, spellbinding preachers, and fast-talking sales force derives from Plato’s skepticism (Griffin, 2012). Plato, accused rhetoric “of being the use of empty words to distract us from reality and deceive us about the truth in the pursuit of narrow pleasures” (Crick, 2013:4). In other words, he

conceived that rhetoric is kind of pastry baking that is used for making sweet lectures without having any nutritional value. Based on such assumption, Plato counted Sophists as a breed of social parasites (Crick, 2013). As the solution he “wished to ban all rhetoric that was not based on prior philosophical inquiry into the nature of the fixed ideals of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True. On the other hand, he encouraged a form of rhetoric that could inspire people to pursue genuine virtue and thereby liberate themselves from bodily pleasures” (Crick, 2013:5). Besides the Sophistical and Platonic approaches, Plato’s student Aristotle, has a different attitude toward rhetoric. If Sophists are counted as rhetorical humanists, and Plato is presumed as a rhetorical idealist, Aristotle is considered as a rhetorical realist. Aristotle did not seek to praise or condemn rhetoric. He acknowledged limitations of rhetoric and identified the situations in which rhetoric was an essential tool of making collective judgments in a practical democracy. Similar to Plato, Aristotle also deplored the demagoguery of orator in misapplication of their skill to move the audience while showing a casual indifference to the truth. These three Sophistic, Platonic and Aristotelian attitudes toward rhetoric still thrive within contemporary culture and carry important ethical considerations (Crick, 2013).

According to some scholars rhetoric was not defined or theorized before the 4th century B.C. (Burkean et al., 1996). Aristotle was the one who described, analyzed, simplified, completed and began to theorize the rhetoric theory and codified the persuasive oration methods in the late 4th century BC (Lipson & Binkley, 2004; Eyman, 2015). His system represents the others preceding it and was followed by other earlier cultures (Lipson & Binkley: 2004).

3.3.3.3. Rhetoric After the Rise of Christianity

Rhetoric lost its popularity after the rise of Christianity in the medieval period because it was seen as pagan and antithetical to the church. Augustine (354 – 430 BC.), the early Christian theologian and Neoplatonic philosopher, argued that; because of its persuasive nature, rhetoric can be very useful for the church. Augustine’s finding helped rhetoric and the study of “style” as the most important

element of rhetoric, to retrieve its popularity, particularly with regard to composing verse (Eyman, 2015).

During the Renaissance period, even though the focus was still on style and stylistic elements, the Renaissance caused renaissance of sorts and innovations for rhetoric. While the classic rhetoric was only concerned with public discourse, rhetoric was applied on private discourse as well. In the seventeenth century, “Ramists” and “Ciceronians”, the two opposing camps of rhetoricians emerged. “The Ramists claimed invention and arrangement for the field of dialectic and limited rhetoric to style, memory, and delivery, while the Ciceronians argued for a classical approach to rhetoric that included the five elements of the canon” (Eyman, 2015:15). In the later part of the Renaissance, Francis Bacon (1561 – 1626) – the English philosopher and statesman – separated science and rhetoric from each other and argued that science concerns with inquiry while rhetoric is aimed at supporting logic by providing “imagination or impression” (Kiernan, 2000: 127).

John Locke FRS (1632–1704) – the English philosopher and physician – attacked stylistic ornamentation of the Renaissance period. He criticized that approach for being an impediment to communication and laid the foundation for Enlightenment rhetoricians to call for a threefold reformed notion of rhetoric; “Rhetoric should rethink its reliance on tropes for invention (and instead focus on observation); syllogistic reasoning should be limited to avoiding fallacies; and clarity should be preferable to ornamental style” (Eyman, 2015:16). The reforms suggested by the Enlightenment scientists facilitated rhetoric the connection between rhetoric and new scientific discipline of psychology (Eyman, 2015).

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844 – 1900) – the German philosopher, cultural critic, composer, poet, philologist, and Latin and Greek scholar – argued that “knowledge is a social arrangement, rather than an objective entity” (Eyman, 2015:16). Rhetoricians in the 20th century responded to his attack on the quest for objective truth. I. A. Richards (1930) in his book of *Practical Criticism* argued that “meaning is a function of context.” According to him, rhetoric can be broadly defined as “the study of communication and understanding” (Eyman, 2015:16). Kenneth Burke (1966) also presumed rhetoric broadly as “the study of language as human action that has intentions (motivations) and effects” (Eyman, 2015:16).

Chaim Perelman (1982) in his book of “the realm of rhetoric” situates the realm of rhetoric as “covering the ground between any argument that is not a self-evident truth and arguments that draw persuasive power from coercion or physical force” (Eyman, 2015:16). According to Bizzell and Herzberg (2001), the contemporary rhetorical theory focuses on source and status of knowledge. They considered rhetoric “synonymous with meaning, for meaning is in use and context, not words themselves. Knowledge and belief are products of persuasion, which seeks to make the arguable seem natural, to turn positions into premises—and it is rhetoric’s responsibility to reveal these ideological operations” (Bizzell & Herzberg, 2001:14).

3.3.4. Aristotle’s Rhetoric

The practice of rhetoric was concerned with methods of constructing successful persuasive oration. Aristotle as Plato’s student and a respected instructor of Plato’s academy in the golden age of Greek civilization, had a remarkable influence on classical rhetoric by simplifying, completing and theorizing these methods (Eyman, 2015). He is known as “the earliest authority on persuasive discourse” (McCormack, 2014:132). In his book of “rhetoric”, Aristotle was the first author that organized the description of rhetoric (Ilie, 2006). His definition is one of the earliest definitions of rhetoric. He defined rhetoric as “the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion.” Aristotelian rhetoric with its sanctioned principles, conventions, and goals, has been canonized in the rhetorical teaching of western world as rhetoric (Lipson & Binkley, 2004:1). According to Aristotle, some modes of persuasion strictly belong to rhetoric while some others do not (Aristotle, Trans., 2012:2).

3.3.4.1. Three Genre of Rhetoric

According to the role of the audience, Aristotle’s rhetoric was concerned with three kind of speeches namely; deliberative, forensic, and epideictic (Eyman, 2015), that are also known as three genres of rhetoric (Ilie, 2006). Aristotle divided persuasive process into three main elements; the orator, the hearer, and the subject of

the speech that were the ground is distinguishing technical proofs. In this triad, the hearer, as the end of rhetorical process, acquires the position of predominance and provides the criterion for formulating three genres of rhetoric (Pepe, 2013). These three branches of rhetoric are expanded in the following parts.

- **Deliberative or Political**

The deliberative or political rhetoric was developed to target the audience that is supposed to make a decision about the advantages and disadvantages of a future action such as political decision. Even though the deliberative rhetoric in traditional societies basically seeks to persuade consensus rather than the majority, unanimity is also important for both democratic society and leaders (Ilie, 2006). Roman rhetoricians such as Gorgias, Plato, Isocrates, Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian basically focused on political uses of rhetoric (Eyman, 2015).

- **Judicial/Forensic or logical**

As a result of Greek constitutional democracy, judicial rhetoric was specifically developed for male citizens who needed to speak on their own behalf in prosecution/defense in the courts of law. The judicial or forensic rhetoric was developed to target and persuade the audience that is expected to make a decision about the preceding justice or legality of an action. (Ilie, 2006).

- **Epideictic or Ceremonial**

The epideictic or ceremonial rhetoric addresses the audience that is not supposed to make any decision, but to pass a judgment about a person's character or deeds. The epideictic rhetoric is concerned with some ceremony such as funeral orations, anniversary speeches, meant in order to enhance traditional values like what is honorable or dishonorable (Ilie, 2006).

Table 3.2 illustrates the three genres of rhetoric and distinguishes their temporal orientation, means of persuasion, purpose, and the type of audience action called for;

Table 3.2: The Three Genres of Rhetoric

Genres of Rhetoric	Temporal Orientation	Means of Persuasion	Purpose/Ends	Audience
Deliberative	Future	Exhort and dissuade	Expedience, the dis/advantageous	Decision maker (legislator/voter)
Forensic	Past	Accuse and defend	The just and the unjust	Decision maker (judge/jury)
Epideictic	Present	Praise and blame	The noble and the shameful	Spectator

Source: Adopted from (Ilie, 2006:575).

3.3.4.2. Five Canons of Rhetoric

In addition to these three types, Aristotle divided the process of developing a speech into five different stages that can be considered a step-by-step plan of a persuasive appeal (Eyman, 2015). These steps were clearly organized by Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 - 43 B.C.), the Roman statesman, orator, lawyer and philosopher in his series of books called *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Rhetoric: For Herennius) as five distinct canons or tenets of rhetoric namely; “invention (inventio/heuresis)”, “arrangement (dispositio/taxis)”, “style (elocutio/lexis)”, “memory (memoria/mne⁻me⁻)” and “delivery (actio/hypokrisis/pronuntiatio)”. Even though, these distinct tents were described with a focus on oratory, or public speaking, they are also applicable to the writing process stages (Cicero, Trans.,1968). The five canons are described in the following table;

Table 3.3: Five Canons of Rhetoric

1 Invention	Finding the most persuasive ways to present information and formulate the argument.
2 Arrangement	The organization of the speech.
3 Style	The use of appropriate and forceful language.
4 Memory	Using mnemonic devices so you don't forget your lovely style and arrangement.
5 Delivery	Presenting the speech effectively (including projection and appropriate gestures).

Source: Adopted from (Eyman, 2015:14).

In the first step, sound arguments are gathered. The arguments are ordered in the second step and are formulated in an effective stylistic manner in the third step. Then the orator memorize the speech and finally deliver it to the audience (Cicero, Trans.,1968). Although the steps are organized in a linear fashion, the rhetorical experience suggests that they are practically some recursive and interrelated activities (Ilie, 2006).

The classical “canon of invention” is concerned with “creation and development of ideas in rhetoric.” Aristotle suggested types of arguments made by the author “from the evidence used to support them.” He labeled the forms of arguments as “artistic proofs” and the evidence as “non-artistic proof” (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:25,26).

3.3.4.2.1. Artistic and Non-Artistic Means of Persuasion

In respect of the first canon of invention, Aristotle and later rhetoricians differentiated between artistic (entechnic) and non-artistic (atechnic) means of persuasion (Ilie, 2006). Non-artistic proofs are materials that already exist but not invented. The speaker/author needs just to be put them to use (Hoffman & Ford, 2010). According to Aristotle, non-artistic appeals include “witnesses, admissions under torture, written contracts, and like.” However, there are more forms of non-artistic appeals used in contemporary world such as “examples”, “statistics”, “testimony” (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:43), “oaths and written documents, that have been taken by litigants” (Ilie, 2006:576).

Aristotle defined rhetoric as an intentional art. Invention derived from the Latin word “invenire” which means “to find.” Thus, invention refers to the act of finding something that provides support for the orator’s position (Crick, 2017). The artistic appeals are created by the orator, who can use the technical means of persuasion in order to construct a successful persuasive speech and provide the audience with effective strategies to believe and to act in a desired manner (Eyman, 2015). Aristotle divided artistic proofs into three prime means of persuasion that still serve as the basis for contemporary studies of rhetorical proofs (Hoffman & Ford, 2010).

3.3.4.2.2. Aristotle's Three Forms of Persuasion

“Wherever there is persuasion, there is rhetoric. Wherever there is meaning, there is persuasion” (Burke, 1969:72). Any form of argumentation and persuasion tries to persuade the audience that the thesis of a narrator is valid, and to engage them in the activities in narrator's favor. Aristotle introduced three distinct lines of arguments that is still used by Modern rhetoricians as modes, ways or technical means of persuasion (Aristotle, Trans., 2007). He stated that persuasion depends on three modes of proof;

- “The truth and logical validity of what is being argued;
- The speaker's success in conveying to the audience a perception that he or she can be trusted, and;
- The emotions that a speaker is able to awaken in an audience to accept the views advanced and act in accordance with them.” (Aristotle, Trans., 2007:X).

As the earliest authority on the subject, Aristotle's rhetorical analyses, prepared the ground for most of the later Roman authors such as Quintilian and Cicero to divided persuasive and legal discourse into three categories of logical (logos), emotional (pathos), and ethical (ethos) arguments. Logos, ethos, and pathos are ancient Greek rhetoric terms. These three primary ways to make a persuasive appeal, have been commonly known as Aristotle's three modes of proof (McCormack, 2014). Communication studies consider the three as rational, emotional (Cenk & Geeta, 2010; Chandler & Munday, 2011; Heo & Park, 2016), and credibility appeals (Hovland et al., 1953; Benoit, 1987; Heo & Park, 2016). Within the artistic means of persuasion, Aristotle stated that “of the pisteis provided through speech there are three species; for some are in the character (ethos) of the speaker, and some in disposing the listener in some way, and some in the speech (logos) itself, by showing or seeming to show something” (Aristotle, Trans., 2007:38:I.II.1356a). According to Aristotle (Trans., 1975), the orator is expected to be a competent judge of virtue and character. He\she must possess a precise knowledge of the emotions and potions, as

well as the power of reasoning. There three appeals are foundations of persuasive discourse. The rhetorical appeals of logos, ethos, and pathos are expanded in the following.

3.3.4.2.2.1. Logos

In Greek, the term logos often means the reason or argument inherent in speech. It also means “what is said”, speech, a speech, a word (Aristotle, Trans., 2007). According to Aristotle (Trans., 1926), “Logos or rational appeal and factual basis of the message, concerns with logical arguments that support’s orator’s position.” Logos concerns with reasoning process of the orator. It’s expected to convince the audience to believe and act in a desired manner by providing good and sufficient reasons to them (Ilie, 2006). However, logos is not just rationality. It’s also the appearance of rationality, such as ‘commonsense’ which doesn’t require the same verbal proofs as logic to persuade the audience (Higgins & Walker, 2012).

Logos “contained in the speech itself when a real or apparent truth is demonstrated” (Aristotle, Trans., 1926:I.II). Logos includes everything you say and do to appeal to logic and sound reasoning (Verderber et al.,2012). It refers to the clarity and integrity of the argument itself (Holt & MacPherson, 2010; Higgins & Walker, 2012). Logos tries to persuade the audience through using the proof, or apparent proof, that is provided by the argument itself (Demirdöğen, 2010).

According to Aristotle (Trans., 1926), similar to dialectic, real or apparent, rhetoric also possess two modes of arguments as “induction” and the “syllogism.” He focused on two forms of logos and called rhetorical syllogism as “enthymeme”, and rhetorical induction as “example.”

- “Inductive argument, called paradigm, for example, drawing a particular conclusion from one or more parallels” (Aristotle, Trans., 2007:21).
- “Deductive argument, called enthymeme, or rhetorical syllogism, drawing a conclusion from stated or implied premises” (Aristotle, Trans., 2007:21).

3.3.4.2.2.1.1. Enthymeme

“Deductive argument involves the use of a rhetorical syllogism, called ‘enthymeme’; it is usually probable, though not a certainty, and it tends to assume one premise that is unexpressed.” (Ilie, 2006:576). According to Aristotle (Trans., 1926), enthymeme is the strongest of the proofs that is the process of logical arrangement of topics, opinions, and informative data. He underlined the crucial importance of audience analysis for the effective use of the enthymeme. Enthymeme is known as rhetorical demonstration. It’s easy to persuade people when they think that something has been demonstrated (Christof, 2010). Enthymeme is designed to use deductive logic, moving from global principle to specific truth (Griffin, 2012).

Syllogism is an argumentative statement that comprises a conclusion and premises (Corbett, 1999). An enthymeme can be counted as “an incomplete version of a formal deductive syllogism that is created by leaving out a premise already accepted by the audience or by leaving an obvious conclusion unstated” (Griffin, 2012:292). However, compared with a stilted syllogistic argument, enthymeme is more artistic, in terms of style (Griffin, 2012). Moreover, syllogism is concluded with a universally true premises while enthymeme is resulted in a tentative conclusion from probable premises (Aristotle, Trans., 1926). Examples for enthymeme are provided in the following table:

Table 3.4: Enthymeme

Major or general premise:	All people are created equal.
Minor or specific premise:	I am a person.
Conclusion:	I am equal to other people

Source: Adopted from Griffin (2012:291).

However, “typical enthymemes, leave out a premise that is already accepted by the audience; All people are created equal...I am equal to other people” (Griffin, 2012:291). Moreover, sometimes an enthymeme, bases a conclusion on the truth of its contrary. For instance the following statement is in this kind: “*If to be foolish is evil, then it is virtuous to be wise*” (Silvia Rhetoricae, 2016).

3.3.4.2.2.1.2. Example

“In Western rhetorical theory, inductive argument uses ‘paradigms’ that support a proposition by implying a universal conclusion from experience, which need not be expressed” (Griffin, 2012:292). In other words, an example draws a final conclusion from a specific case through a inductive reasoning process. Example is one of the effective ways to define an idea. It is also a favorite tool that preachers, orators and teachers can utilize in order to explain their thought to make it more understandable by the audience (Griffin, 2012). Enumerating any type of facts, evidence, and figures is resorting to reason. According to Aristotle (Trans., 1926), example includes all fact such as actual past fact and statement by a third person. Political speakers need to provide their speech by quoting what has actually happened in the past, because future takes after the past (Aristotle, Trans.,1926). Achievement type of examples refers to “a topic-supporting paragraph that cites achievements during the presidency” (Heo & Park, 2016:309). Following are two achievement examples: Obama: *“When I took office, we were losing 750,000 jobs a month. Last month we gained 250,000.”* Lee: *“At last, the international trade reached trillion dollars, and S. Korea is now one of the nine countries worldwide that have come this far”* (Heo & Park, 2016:309). Fact type of examples refers to “a topic-supporting paragraph citing actual past facts” (Heo & Park, 2016:309). Here are two illustrations of fact example; Obama: *“We have fallen to 16th in the proportion of our young people with a college degree.”* Lee: *“Jae-joong Kim of JYJ says “Cultural exchange between Korea and Turkey is essential”* (Heo & Park, 2016:309).

3.2.4.2.2.2. Ethos

Aristotle stated that mere plausible arguments are not enough to persuade the audience. The audience must see the speaker credible as well to believe what is said. Many audience form their opinions even before the speaker begins to speak. Especially, within the realm of politics, the audience need to find the speaker as a credible and trustworthy person to agree with his/her political plans. In the contemporary complex social, economic, and political challenges, among the

audience, only small group of elites and experts in the field do really understand the rational arguments and facts provided to them. Rest of the people are not knowledgeable enough to evaluate logical arguments.

Aristotle (Trans., 1926:I.II.1356a) recognized the inherent fact that “[w]e believe good men more fully and more readily than others: this is true generally whatever the question is, and absolutely true where exact certainty is impossible and opinions are divided.” Even though some neglected the contribution of personal goodness revealed by the speaker to the power of persuasion, but Aristotle recognized its key role as the most effective mode of persuasion. The importance of ethos, suggested by Aristotle, has been investigated and supported by mother rhetoric and legal scholars (Weresh, 2012). Ethos is achieved by what the speaker says and by what people think of his character before starting the speech (Aristotle, Trans., 1926). However, regarding the etical appeal, Aristotle was interested more on the audience perceptions that are shaped by what the speaker does or doesn’t say rather than focusing speaker’s background or reputation (Griffin, 2012).

Ethos or credibility appeal (the character and authority of the communicator (Green, 2004), refers to the persuasive power derived from credibility of the orator (Hovland et al., 1953; Aho, 1985; Conrad & Malphurs, 2008; Heo & Park, 2016). Ethos is the “perceived credibility, which comes from the speaker’s intelligence, character, and goodwill toward the audience, as these personal characteristics are revealed through the message” (Griffin, 2012:293). Ethos deals with providing sufficient guarantee for the credibility of the communicator. Ethos according to Aristotle is the evidence that makes the speaker trusted. According to Cicero, ethos is an expression of moral character and of the gentler emotions associated with moral character (Ilie, 2006). Ethos includes everything you say and do to convey competence and good character. For example, even dressing professionally, being poised as you speak, citing credible sources, and speaking within the time parameters allotted, convey ethos (Verderber et al., 2012). Ethos, simply emphasizes the character of the orator by deliberately establishing his/her image in order to persuade the audience through an argument, that he/she is competent, reliable, fair, honest and etc. (Ching ko, 2015). Ethos as an argument that appeals to the audience with

solidarity, engagement and goodwill, is successful only if the communicator is competent, reliable, fair, and frank (Amossy, 2000).

Some authors distinguished two types of ethos: “preliminary ethos” and “discourse ethos.” Preliminary ethos is about what is preliminarily known about the orator’s authority, marital, or social status. If it’s positive can be used in favor of the orator during the discourse, and if it’s negative the orator may try to revoke or repair it. Discourse ethos is created immediately for the specific situation and during the discourse itself (Amossy, 2000). References to the intelligence, character, and goodwill are forms of preliminary ethos (Connors, 1979). However, in a more common classification, ethos is comprised of “artistic” and “non-artistic” forms. Non-artistic form is something that is brought to the occasion such as the authority of the speaker, known to the audience from his/her position or previous deeds (Ilie, 2006). According to Aristotle (Trans., 1926), artistic ethos comprises three forms as “practical wisdom” (phronesis) and common sense, “moral virtue” (arete) or virtues character, and “goodwill” (eunoia). Expertness, trustworthiness, and goodwill are the three elements of ethos (Hovland et al., 1953). These three qualities that build source credibility are also known as perceived intelligence, virtuous character, and goodwill (Griffin, 2012). Later, rhetoricians, such as Cicero, recognized other forms of ethos such as moral character and religion of the audience. However, Cicero, reconceptualized ethos as degree of emotion (Ilie, 2006). Although Aristotle’s comment on ethos constitutes a few brief sentences, no other part of rhetoric received such scientific scrutiny. Sophisticated researches on testing of audience attitudes, supports his three-factor theory of source credibility comprising; competence (intelligence), trustworthiness (character), and care (goodwill) (Griffin, 2012). In the following section, the three elements of ethos suggested by Aristotle are described in detail;

3.2.4.2.2.1. Perceived Intelligence

Expertness of a speaker can be demonstrated by citing his/her righteous characteristic, such as their social position (Heo & Park, 2016). Audience judge intelligence by the overlap between their beliefs and the speaker’s way of mentation.

“My idea of an agreeable speaker is one who agrees with me”) (Griffin, 2012:293). The intelligence of a speaker can be conveyed by indicating his/her competence through sharing his/her experiences that confirms the speaker’s special knowledge in some fields or simply by adding the current information in the speech. Moreover, using evidence from a respected source that is expert in the field within the speech, makes the audience perceive the speaker’s qualification and expertise. Thus, the speaker sounds more convincing and the audience start believing on what is said (Verderber et al., 2012). For instance, the following sentences are two examples of expertness; Obama: “*As Commander-in-Chief, I announced the end to our combat mission in Iraq.*” Lee: “*I am President*” (Heo & Park, 2016:309).

3.2.4.2.2.2.2. Virtuous Character

“Character has to do with the speaker’s image as a good and honest person.” (Griffin, 2012:293). The speaker has to indicate that he/she does not intend to deceive others to achieve trustworthiness (Heo & Park, 2016). According to Aristotle (Trans.,1975), quoting personal stories from the speaker’s own experiences and values, is one of the techniques to demonstrate trustworthiness. The trustworthiness achieved from the speaker’s shared experience, values, and motives to demonstrate his/her character, helps the audience to start believing what is said by the speaker (Verderber et al., 2012). Obama used this form of ethos when he said: “*Our children need our time. So recently, I took on a second job: assistant coach for Sasha’s basketball team. On Sundays, we’d get the team together to practice, and I’d help coach the games.*” (Heo & Park, 2016:309).

3.2.4.2.2.2.3. Goodwill

Aristotle suggested that “a speaker can possess extraordinary intelligence and sterling character yet still not have the listeners’ best interest at heart. Goodwill is a positive judgment of the speaker’s intention toward the audience” (Griffin, 2012:293). Orators can possess goodwill by demonstrating his/her concerns and understanding toward the audience (McCroskey & Teven, 1999). Goodwill is the

audience's perception that the speaker is an understanding, empathic, and responsive person that makes the audience believe to what the speaker says (Verderber et al., 2012). Obama, tried to possess goodwill in the following: *"There are a lot of people who are hurting all across the country. Here in Florida, we have all got cousins, uncles, family members who are still struggling."* (Heo & Park, 2016:309).

3.3.4.2.2.3. Pathos

Pathos is a Greek word that refers to experience or emotion. Pathos is rhetoric is emotional proof comes from the feelings the speech draws out of the audience (Griffin, 2012). According to Aristotle (Trans, 1975), pathos is a rhetorical skill that appeals to emotions of the audience. Aristotle's analysis of pathos is known as the earliest systematic discussion of human psychology (Kennedy, 1991). Aristotle's intention of offering pathos was not to take advantage of an audience's destructive emotions, "but as a corrective measure that helps orator craft emotional appeals that inspire reasoned civic decision making" (Griffin, 2012:294). Aristotle (Trans., 1975) stated that people do not give the same judgment when they are grieved and rejoicing or when being friendly and hostile. He considered ethos as an important means of persuasion. The aim here is to put the audience in a certain state of mind and influence them with a series of emotions (Aristotle, Trans., 1975). In order to engage the audience, the speaker should make the audience feel s connection. Thus, the orator should consider the audience's values, believes, background as well as psychological, socio-cultural, demographic profile of the audience to achieve a connection (Hyland, 2005). However, pathos should be appropriate and powerful enough to engage audiences in terms of their own experience, psychological and demographic features (Amossy, 2000).

Herrick (2005:80) stated that "emotions are not irrational impediments to decision making. Rather they are rational responses to certain kinds of circumstances and arguments." Aristotle demonstrated that emotional reaction is intelligent behavior opened to reasoned persuasion. He argued that emotional appeals need not to be necessarily irrational and irrelative parts of persuasive discourse. Rather, they are considered as properly part of carefully reasoned case. Moreover, they are not expected to manipulate the audience (Herrick, 2005). Pathos is attended by pain or

pleasure and it can either be negative or positive. Fear, anger, hatred are examples of negative emotions whereas pity, like, hope are considered as positive emotions. Each emotion is conceptualized with specific type of argument. For instance, hope is conceptualized with arguments concerned with enthusiasm, optimism, and other affirmative feelings (Erisen & Villalobos, 2014).

Cicero reconceptualized both Aristotle's ethos and pathos as degrees of emotions. According to him, ethos is an emanation of moral character and of the gentler emotions associated with moral character, such as friendliness or pity. He considered pathos as expression of strong emotions such as anger and outrage. Moreover, the nature and intensity of emotional appeals are influenced by culture, time, and other characteristics such as age, gender, and social status (Ilie, 2006).

In presidential speeches, there are three main emotional appeals: fear, warmth, and humor (Paletz, 1990; Foster, 2010; Heo & Park, 2016). Humor appeal arouses the feeling of closeness with the speaker through laughter or making them feel comfortable (Chapel, 1978). For example: *Obama: "This is a nice gym [laughter]. So Vince said that he left the other side open in case I wanted to get in a dunk contest with him. But I told him I did not bring my sneakers, so not tonight [laughter]"* (Heo & Park, 2016:309). Furthermore, "storytelling or narrating certain events prevent possible counter-arguments through their emotional and entertaining features and enable audiences to relate the stories to their lives" (Heo & Park, 2016:305). However, unlike ethos, such narratives are not based on the rhetor's own personal experiences (Heo & Park, 2016).

Aristotle described the conditions under which each mood is experienced and explained how an orator can get the audience to feel that specific way (Griffin, 2012:294). According to Aristotle (Trans., 1975), people very often look at a case through the prism of their emotions. Single proposed object might be perceived differently by the same audience through arousing different emotions in them. Therefore, emotional appeals can be employed by the candidates as an impulse to put the voters in a certain state of mind (Aristotle, Trans., 1975), and change or boost their current points of view, likes, and hatreds regarding the candidates and the opponents, as well as making them to take a certain action such as mobilizing, donation, voting, or any kind of support.

For instance, fear, hatred, or shame are widely used appeals in political campaigns in order to attack the opponents and collect “negative” or “disapproval” votes which allow voters to indicate their dislikes or hatreds. Previous researches demonstrated the effective role of fear appeals at changing citizen’s behavior, especially when the appeal offers the audience the way to mitigate the danger such as voting a certain way (Brader, 2005). Candidates also can call voters’ attention to unmet needs to create fear, and therefore, a desire to act. Shame is another emotional appeal that can be used to persuade voters by linking the message to the voters’ societal values, and suggesting that shame will result in case of failing to act on the message (Hoffman & Ford, 2010).

3.3.4.2.2.3.1. Aristotle Pairs of Opposite Emotions

Aristotle cataloged a series of opposite feelings under pathos. Then he described the conditions under which each mood is experienced. He also explained the ways than a speaker can get the audience to experience the feelings. Aristotle’s pairs of emotions are explained in more detail in the following;

- **Anger Versus Mildness**

Anger and calmness are opposite feelings. When anger grows, calmness quiets and vice versa. Aristotle’s discussion of anger was nothing but an early version of Freud’s frustration–aggression hypothesis. Anger according to Aristotle (Trans., 1975:II.II.1378a) can be defined as “an impulse, accompanied by pain, to a conspicuous revenge for a conspicuous slight that has been directed either at the person himself or at his friends.” When someone is thwarted in an attempt to fulfill a need, he/she feels angry. People may also get angry when they are offended. “Remind them of interpersonal slights, and they’ll become irate. Show them that the offender is sorry, deserves praise, or has great power, and the audience will calm down” (Griffin, 2012:294).

- **Love/Friendship versus Hatred**

Aristotle recognized that similarity leads to the development of mutual warmth. Thus, it is important that the speaker demonstrates common goals, experiences, attitudes, and desires. Sometimes even a common enemy can be used to create solidarity in the absence of these positive forces (Griffin, 2012). The warmth appeal induces the sentiments or sympathy of people (Gass & Seiter, 2010). For example the following sentence is categorized under this appeal; Lee: *“I was tearing up as I heard kids with a developmental disability sing at Holt special care center last April”* (Heo & Park, 2016:309). Hatred is another emotional feeling that may lead voters to vote for a specific candidate because of the hatred they have toward the opponent candidate. Hatred is the driver force in such situation.

- **Fear versus Confidence**

Aristotle defines fear “as a pain or disturbance due to a mental picture of some destructive or painful evil in the future” (Herrick, 2005:80). Fear derives from a mental image of potential disaster. Painting a vivid word picture of tragedy, demonstrating that its occurrence is probable leads to fear. On the other hand, demonstrating the danger as remote builds up confidence (Griffin, 2012). The fear appeal stimulates people’s fear or anxiety about their safety, financial security, or health (Curnalia, 2009). Such as the following examples; Obama: *“If middle class stop spending money, it will damage our recovery”*. Lee: *“Welfare populism will lead to the threat of sovereign default”* (Heo & Park, 2016:309).

According to Aristotle, fear appeals in general derive from three kinds of fears. First, the fear of death or physical harms either or us of loved ones. Second, fear of loss regarding health, wealth, security, or occupation. Third, the fear of the deprivation of rights or freedom (Herrick, 2005).

- **Indignation Versus Pity**

Pity appeals usually starts with demonstrating that someone or something helpless is being harmed. Pity appeal is intensified if the audience realizes that the harm is being done carelessly and intentionally by someone else. Therefore, children and animals are sources for pity appeals. Indignation is nearly opposite of pity (Herrick, 2005). Human being has a built-in sense of fairness. It's not hard to arouse a sense of injustice by demonstrating a despotic use of power upon those who are helpless (Griffin, 2012). Arousing pity or indignation is a rhetorical strategy through which the communicator seeks to persuade the audience. This strategy is widely used in political campaigns particularly in the 2016 election campaign.

- **Admiration Versus Envy**

People tend to admire moral virtue, power, wealth, and beauty. For instance, people increase admiration if they are told that an individual has acquired life's goods through hard work rather than mere luck (Griffin, 2012). According to Aristotle (Trans., 1975), envy is pain at the sight of such good fortune as consist of the good things already mentioned; a person feels it toward his or her equal; not with the idea of getting something for himself or herself. According to (Sabini & Silver, 1978), envy is the by-product of a social comparison process. Similar to the previous emotions, admiration and envy also can be the sources of emotional appeal used to persuade the audience.

Aristotle's three persuasion strategies have been employed for thousands of years. More recently, the topic have been expanded and new persuasive strategies have been identified based on psychology theories and concepts. However, they are regularly employed and studied in communication considering their role particularly in marketing and politics. The new persuasion appeals are often focused on emotions, therefore, we discuss them under pathos concept. Besides discussions concerned with pathos in traditional rhetoric, contemporary focus of pathos is based on the ideas derived from "consistency" or "cognitive dissonance", "needs",

“positive and negative motivation”, “values”, and “identification” concepts that are described in the following;

3.3.4.2.2.3.2. Pathos and Consistency Theories

Consistency notion prepares the ground for contemporary conceptions of pathos. The concept is based on the idea that human beings naturally strive to maintain a state of logical and psychological balance (Hoffman & Ford, 2010). People perceive imbalance as unpleasant and therefore, are motivated to change either their cognitions or behavior to obtain consistency. Consistency concept became one of the most studied topics in social psychology during 1960s.

“Cognitive dissonance theory” of Festinger (1957) states that human beings fall into unpleasant state of affairs in case of inconsistency between their behaviors and cognitions (attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs). Festinger (1957:13) argued that “two elements are in dissonant relationship if, considering these two alone, the obverse of one element would follow from the other.” Thus, people strive to reduce the dissonance to resolve the undesirable state pursuing one of the three following ways;

- Changing one or more of involved elements in the dissonance relationship (e.g., attitudes, behaviors, beliefs).
- Adding new supportive elements (e.g., new information)
- Reducing the importance of the conflicting elements (Vaidis, 2014)

Heider’s “balance theory” (1946, 1958) is another consistency theory which describes the relationship between two different persons of “A” and “B”, and an attitude, object, or topic (“C”). A balance triad occurs if the relationship between them is positive. The balanced relationship is perceived as pleasant and stable. According to Heider, there are four different balanced, and four unbalanced relationships. For instance;

- The “A” person likes “B” (positive relationship);
- The “B” person dislikes the “C” attitude, object, or topic (negative relationship), and;

- The “A” person dislikes the “C” attitude, object, or topic (negative relationship).

The above balanced triad illustrates a positive relationship which is supposed to be pleasant and stable. People prefer to have consistent attitude with each other and toward their environment. They do not like incompatibility, and therefore, are motivated to resolve the inconsistency by establishing balanced triads in their daily lives through altering elements and relationships with each other, changing their attitudes toward an object or topic. People may also resolve the inconsistency by reorganizing triads. For instance, if “A” person likes the “B” person but he dislikes the “B” person’s hobby. He would try to not be rude about the hobby.

Osgood and Tannenbaum in their “consistency theory” (1955) expanded “balance theory” in terms of quantitative evaluation of the positive or negative relationships between the two persons and the object, attitude, or topic. Congruity occurs if the values of the relationships in the balanced triad are similar. For instance, incongruity and unpleasant state of mind is the consequence if; “A” person likes the “B” person and both have positive attitude toward the “C” object, but in different quantitative values (one more positive, the other mild). Therefore, the persons are motivated to re-establish congruity.

“Affective–Cognitive Consistency (ACC)” theory of Rosenberg (1956, 1960), suggests that attitudes comprise two components as “cognitive” and “affective.” The former refers to the instrumental means (e.g., beliefs or thoughts about an issue or a candidate), and the latter alludes to the evaluation of the attitude object (e.g., positive or negative feeling/evaluation toward an issue or a politician). Consistency is the agreement between “cognitive” and “affective” components. An attitude is in a stable state when both components are mutually consistent. In other words, the strength of an attitude is influenced by more than just its favorability. Strength and stability of an attitude is determined by consistency between the two components. As with the other consistency theories, people seek for consistency among the two components of their attitudes. The theories’ main assumption is that human beings seek for a balanced state of cognitions and behaviors. Any contradiction in cognitions and behaviors to the person experiences them leads to state of imbalance and dissonance. This state is perceived as unpleasant by the

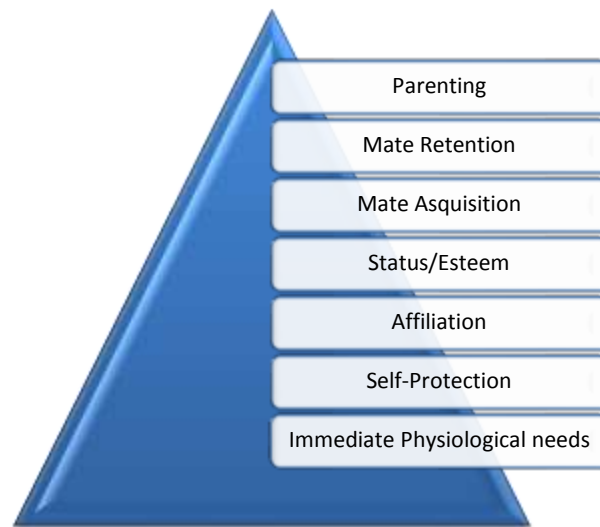
affected person and motivates him/her to reduce dissonance through either altering cognitive activity or changing/adding a behavior. However, consistency theories are criticized for lack of complexity to predict human behavior. Furthermore, imbalance and inconsistency situation not be always unpleasant for people (Treppe, 2008).

Contemporary notion of pathos often focus on how rhetors can create needs, and offer to satisfy them through employing rhetorical appeals (Hoffman & Ford, 2010). Thus, candidates may appeal to emotions through creating a sense of imbalance in the voters by calling their attention to unmet needs, or displaying a contradiction between cognitions (values, attitudes, thoughts, and beliefs) and behaviors. Then candidates offer the distressed voters a way to minimize the imbalance by changing a thought, feeling, or behavior. The following part tackles needs, values, and identification concept as the main sources of emotions.

3.3.4.2.2.3.3. Appeals to Voter's Needs

It was described that how appeals to needs can be employed as persuasion strategy in relation with principles of consistency theories. The significance role of needs in persuasion was discussed by a number of psychologists, sociologists, and communication scholars (Hoffman & Ford, 2010). Abraham H. Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs is motivational theory in psychology which puts forward that human beings pursue five-tier model of human needs, often illustrated as hierarchical levels arranged in order to priority within a pyramid. Closer needs to the base are more important for human survival and happiness. Immediate physiological needs are based at the bottom of the pyramid as the most fundamental needs followed by safety, love (affection, belonging, social), esteem (respect), and self-actualization needs. Each need becomes dominant if the previous need is satisfied. Figure 3.1 depicted an updated hierarchy of fundamental human motives which integrates ideas from Maslow's classical hierarchy of needs and life-history development;

Figure 3.1: Fundamental Human Motives



Source : Kenrick et al. (2010:293).

The hierarchy level is flexible, especially in rhetoric, they function in the same way. Appealing to the audience's needs is a common persuasive strategy (Kenrick et al., 2010). Candidates can either identify voters' existing needs or create new needs, and then seek to find ways to appeal to those needs in order to motivate voters to alter their thoughts, feelings, or behaviors (Hoffman & Ford, 2010). Appeals to needs are often combined with "positive or negative motivation" in order to boost the persuasiveness of the message (Kenrick et al., 2010).

3.3.4.2.3.4. Positive and Negative Motivations

Human's choices among voluntary activities are governed by motivations. Motivation can be defined as willingness to expend energy in order to achieve a goal or a reward (Moran & Morner, 2018). Motivation is the process of simulating people to take a desired course of action. According to McFarland (1974) motivation is concerned with to the process in which "urges, drives, desires, aspirations, striving, or needs direct, control, or explain the behavior of human beings." Motivations are widely used persuasive strategy that can be employed by candidates. They are often paired with appeals to needs to enhance persuasiveness. Candidates seek to motivate voters to admit the message through making the content relevant to their lives

(Jordan & Kunda, 2002). The degree of motivation is influenced by few factors as: Individual's "self-esteem", individual's "expectation", "the standard of competition", "the impact of environmental factors", "spectator support", "the state of event", "the ability of the rhetor to motivate" (Ruskin et al., 2007).

Motivations are classified into positive and negative forms. Positive consequences (e.g., rewards) are used for positive motivations. Thus, positive motivation is a response to previous reinforcing behavior. Candidates may use positive motivations by implying or stating the idea that following their advice will result in positive consequences for the voters. On the contrary, negative consequences (e.g., punishment, fear) are used for negative motivations. Therefore, negative motivation is a driver force out of fear of the consequences due to failure of following the candidate's advice. Candidates can employ negative motivations through conveying the implicit or explicit idea that ignoring their advice will lead to negative results (Ruskin et al., 2007). Promotion-focused individuals, who favor strategies for achieving success, are most motivated by positive motivation whereas, prevention-focused individuals, who prefer a strategy of avoiding undesirable results, are most inspired by negative motivation (Jordan & Kunda, 2002).

Based on its source, motivation can also be categorized as intrinsic, extrinsic, or a combination of both. Intrinsic motivation is derived from internal reasons such as personal enjoyment, interest, and satisfaction of the task or skill. An individual is engaged with intrinsic motivation for his/her own sake without existing an obvious external driver. Conversely, extrinsic motivation refers to external driving forces like parents, peers approval, public recognition, financial rewards (Morris & Summers, 1995; Buchanan & Nemec, 2010).

Besides Maslow's need hierarchy theory that was discussed in the previous part, there are a few other motivation theories such as motivation-hygiene theory or two factor theory that was suggested by Frederick Herzberg. The theory associates intrinsic factors with job satisfaction & relates extrinsic factors to dissatisfaction. McClelland's theory of needs argues that there are three main needs that explain motivation: achievement, power, and affiliation. Self-determination theory that was suggested by Deci and Ryan discusses about advantageous effects of intrinsic

motivation and adverse effects of extrinsic form of motivation (Sandhe & Joshi, 2017).

3.3.4.2.2.3.5. Appeals to Values of the Audience

Aristotle's (Trans., 1932) stated that negative emotions are consequence of the threat of punishment, being disgraced by others, or fear of negative result. One situation that drives negative motivation is when someone violates commonly held values (Hoffman & Ford, 2010). Values are cognitive representations of universal human needs. They are "concepts or beliefs about desirable end states or behaviors that transcend specific situations, guide selection, or evaluation of behavior and events, and are ordered by relative importance" (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987:551). A value is defined, as "an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" (Rokeach, 1973:5). Marketing literature suggests that appeal to social values is a widely employed strategy in adverting and it can effect audience reactions to advertising appeals (Vinson et al., 1977; Becker & Connor, 1981; Kahle et al., 1988; Lin, 2001; Zhang & Shavitt, 2003; Chow & Amir, 2006). Value appeal in political marketing is often an statement that demonstrates the candidate's value align with the values of voters. Candidates can appeal to voters' values by showing how they practice the commonly held values. Discussing about charitable activities and praising those who embody the values of voters are other strategies that can be used by candidates (Hoffman & Ford, 2010).

Values identify the proper channel through which human needs are satisfied. They vary based on culture, environment, personal beliefs. Honesty, freedom, justice, and respect for human dignity are among universally accepted values (Bronowski, 1956). The complication of the construct "personal values" has motivated several scholars to first organize the elements that form it, employing instruments such as the Mitchel's (1983) *Value And Life Style* (VAL), Kahle's (1983) *List Of Values* (LOV) as an abbreviated measurement instrument, and the Rokeach's (1973) *Value Survey* (RVS) which includes 18 "instrumental" (ideal modes of behavior) and 18 "terminal" (ideal end states of existence). Through empirical

research, Schwartz (1992, 1994) investigated 10 universal values. He highlighted top 10 values that exist in 44 different countries, comprising the United Kingdom and the United States. Table 3.5 represents Schwartz's values, goals, and characteristics;

Table 3.5: Schwartz's 10 Types of Universal Values

Value type	Goal	Characteristic
Achievement	Personal success through demonstration of competence	Being successful, ambitious, capable, intelligent, and influential
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself	Experiencing pleasure and enjoying life
Power	Social status and prestige, control of people and resources	Having social power, wealth, authority, social recognition, and preservation of one's public image
Self-direction	Independent thought and action, choosing one's own goals	Having freedom, curiosity, creativity, self-respect, choice of one's own goals, and independence
Stimulation	Pursuing a life that is novel, varied, and exciting	Having a daring, exciting, and varied life
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the lives of significant others	Being honest, helpful, forgiving, loyal, responsible, and striving for true friendship and mature love
Universalism	Understanding, appreciating, and protecting the welfare of all people	Experiencing unity with nature, protecting the environment, and striving toward the attainment of a world of beauty and peace, social justice, and equality by being broadminded and wise
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, personal relationships	Enhancing personal security by being clean and healthy, having a sense of belonging, and being able to reciprocate favors; endorsing family security and family security, which includes a need for social order
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas of one's culture	Need to be devout, humble, modest, to accept one's lot in life, and to show respect for traditional rituals
Conformity	Restraint of impulses and actions that would violate the expectations of others	Need to be polite, obedient, and self-disciplined and to show respect for one's parents and elders

Source: Schwartz's (1992, 1994).

Arguments built on principles and values are generally accepted by the audience. Thus, voters' values are counted among source of persuasion (Hoffman & Ford, 2010). Appeal to value of voters through showing contradiction between values and behaviors is a persuasion strategy that is explained through consistency theories.

3.3.4.2.2.3.6. Sub-processes of Pathos

The psychologist Rolf Sandell (1973) in his study on style and persuasion found two aspects for emotional appeals. One is the descriptive value and the other is to create a favorable or at least suggestible mood on the audience. According to Smith (2012; 2018) the process of pathos includes two distinct sub-processes of persuasion. Both of these separate aspects "of pathos are relevant to political discourse and are defined as bellow;

- **Emotional Substance**

Persuading through this process “involves eliciting an emotional response from the audience regarding substance of the matter under consideration” (Smith, 2018:83). This aspect of pathos is concerned with the rhetor's attempts to persuade the audience through appealing on their needs, values, and emotions (Smith, 2012). Based on the definitions, emotional substance component of pathos refers to the formal type of pathos that was described until now within the canon of invention. However, there is another form of pathos that plays a significant role in persuasive discourse and is related to style of the message rather than its substance.

- **Medium Mood Control**

In contrast to the emotional substance component of pathos, medium mood control “involves eliciting a favorable mood in one's audience through the medium of the message as opposed to the substance of the message” (Smith, 2018:83). Medium mood control is concerned with aspects of the medium employed to communicate the message which affect the audience's mood or emotions. Medium

mood control strategies are used even in commercial advertisings in order to boost entertaining aspects of the commercials and make the audience to watch them. In persuasion discourse, medium mood control comprises “stylistic” strategies and techniques employed by the author to capture the audience’s attention, engage them, and put them in a contented and receptive mood. Classical rhetoricians have long suggested that messages with charming and captive “style” have an advantage over messages with boring and irritating style. For instance, “humor” is a common technique of style (Smith, 2012). When an audience feels happy, he or she is more likely to be receptive to (and, therefore, persuaded by) the message. Medium mood control in Twitter posts focuses on the way that the style of a message, in contrast with its substance, affects the mood or emotions of voters. “Style” is the third of the five distinct canons or tenets of rhetoric that was introduced by Aristotle and organized by Cicero (Eyman, 2015). It is described in the following part.

3.3.4.2.2.3.7. Style

Ancient communicators identified and codified features of language that might boost its power over audience. Early evidences of effective style can be found in orations of the Sophists Gorgias and Isocrates as well as the third book of Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*. Advice of effective expression finally became the most implicated canon of rhetoric, “since linguistic choice is the point of realization for the rhetorical precepts theories belonging to the other canons” (Fahnestock, 2011:7). While the persuasion triad of ethos, logos, and pathos are essential to rhetorical invention, style and arrangement are the significant concepts for rhetorical performance (Ross, 1995; Barnes, 1995). Style is defined in many ways such as a “dress of thoughts” (Lord Chesterfield) or “perfection of a point of view” (Richard Eberhart). “Style is a character. It is the quality of a man’s emotion made apparent; then by inevitable extension, style is ethics, style is government” (Charon, 1997:102).

Style has been studied for years by scholars of communication but its main aspects have not changed since the antiquity. “Style traditionally has been the province of those concerned with the correctness, beauty, and even workability of

language-the investigation or analysis of the words and arrangements a speaker or writer chooses in preparing a message” (Trent & Friedenberg, 2000:50). Therefore, the language that a candidate uses as his or her political campaign is one of the elements that need to be investigated in the analysis of a political campaigns style. However, contemporary scholars go beyond merely language. They have come to think of style as a quality pervading all elements of a person’s communication (Trent & Friedenberg, 2000), arguing that style is not only linguistic, “but also embodied in movement, gesture, facial expression-even in clothes one wear the cars one drives, the way we decorate our homes and choose our entertainment” (Brummett, 2009:252). Barry Brummett (2008) in his book of *A Rhetoric of Style* argues that identity today is largely structured by style. He argued that style is the key to constructing a rhetoric for this century and offered the following definition of performative sense of style as an aid to rhetoric of Aristotle, George Campbell, and Kenneth Burke: “style is a complex system of actions, objects, and behaviors that is used to form message that announce who we are who, who we want to be considered akin to. Thus, style is “a system of communication with rhetorical influence on others” (Brummett, 2008:xi). In this perspective, style encompasses “each of nonverbal aspects of communication” such as “physical behavior, sound of the voice, body shape and movement, appearance, clothing, and choice of setting.” Such aspects function as symbol to form the meanings we infer from transaction (Trent & Friedenberg, 2000:50). It is a blend of habitual modes of thought and action on which voters perceive or judge a candidate (Gronbeck, 1978).

In writing messages, together with the language, a range of symbols form meaning including “the quality, texture size, color of the paper, whether it is handwritten or typed for one particular person or printed and prepared for distribution to many.” In election campaigns, therefore, style can be thought as “a blend of what candidates say-in speeches, news, conferences, websites, talk show interview, advertisements, brochures” and all, as well as candidates’ “nonverbal political acts or behavior such as kissing babies, wearing funny hats, shaking hands at rallies, waving at crowds from the motorcade, and their facial expressions and gestures while answering questions” (Trent & Friedenberg, 2000:50). Moreover, Trent and Friedenberg (2000) noted that imagery plays an important role in the

creating style. They further defined style as a manner of campaigning and sets of communication strategies that are used by all candidates and suggested three forms of political campaign style and number of contemporary strategies within each style. According to them the “incumbency” style is a combination of symbolic and pragmatic communication strategies aimed at making voters to perceive candidates “as not only good enough for the office sought but appear as if they already possess the office”, whereas the “challenger” style is a series of communication strategies that seek to “persuade voters that change is needed and the candidate is the best person to bring about change.” They also noted that the combination of strategies that comprise the combined “incumbent/challenger” style, “can play a major role in the creation of empty political rhetoric” (Trent & Friedenberg, 2000:85).

3.3.4.2.2.3.7.1. Figures of Speech

Roman rhetorical tradition encompasses some main concepts as “levels of style” (high or grand, middle, and low or plain), “qualities of style” (a large terminology describing qualities of style), virtue of style (clarity, ordinary speech, correctness, and propriety), and “figures” (Graves, 2014). According to Quintilian figures can be defined as the use of language for effect (Ray, 2015). To make sense of figures and learn their different qualities scholars, over the time, have organized figures in many different ways and suggested variety of grouping for them. The word “figure” refers to both strategies of argument and means of expression. Thus, the simplest arrangement introduced by rhetoricians is the two broad dichotomies of “figures of thought” and “figures of speech” (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016). Both types of figures are “rhetorical devices” that are defined as the use language for effect. “Figures of speech” are concerned with the uses of language that alters the way an idea is expressed (figures of expression). However, “figures of speech” are not part of structuring of an argument (Ray, 2015). A figure of speech is defined as “a literary device in which language is used in an unusual—or “figured”—way in order to produce a stylistic effect.” On the other hand, “figures of thought” refer to argumentation strategies that pertain to ideas and generally overlap with “invention” and its topics. These two types sometimes differ from each other only in degree.

Therefore, scholars have introduced the third category of “figures of amplification” that consists of overlapping figures of the two main categories (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016). A “rhetorical figure” or a “figures of speech” is defined as “a peculiar expression of a sentiment different from the ordinary way.” It is a deliberate deviation from ordinary language that seeks to create a rhetorical effect. Using ornamental language in writing or speaking is a common way of rendering discourse “more empathic, striking, or elegant.” There are more than 250 figures of speeches defined by rhetoricians that are generally categorized under two groups. Some of the main types are “metaphor”, “simile”, “hyperbole”, “allegory”, “irony”, “antithesis”, “metonymy”, “synecdoche”, “personification”, “apostrophe”, “climax”, “incrementum”, “exclamation”, “interrogation” (Mar, 1842:113).

3.3.4.2.2.3.7.1.1. Tropes and Schemes

However, they are generally categorized within two main groups of schemes and tropes (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016). Aristotle introduced an oldest and still most common categorization of the topic and classified “figures of speech” into two groups of “tropes” (means of inference) and “schemes” (forms of inference) (Gross & Dascal, 2001). Tropes and schemes both pertain to the use of language in an usual “figured” way. Gideon Burton defined trope as “an artful deviation from the ordinary or principal signification of a word” and scheme as “an artful deviation from the ordinary arrangement of words” (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016). Tropes are means to artistic effect via word, phrase or an image (Miller, 1990), and are defined as the “deviation from ordinary word use” such as metaphor (“language that refers to one thing as another”). It means they play with the ordinary meaning of words. “Schemes” are concerned with “the alteration of word order” and play with the ordinary arrangement of words, such as parallelism (“the use of parallel clauses”) (Ray, 2015:35). “Simile” is another type of tropes by which one object is compared with another. For instance: “*A faithful friend is like a strong bulwark*” is a simile. Moreover, a “metaphor” is defined as a simile “without any formal comparison.” The phrase “*A faithful friend is a strong bulwark*” is a metaphor. “Hyperbole” is also a type of tropes which is “the excess of figurative comparisons” such as: “*Oceans of*

tear”, “*rivers of blood*.” “personification” is a figure of speech by which human characteristics such as “life and action are attributed to inanimate objects” such as: “*how sweet the moonlight sleeps upon the bank*.” “Irony” is a type of tropes “in which we directly speak contrary to what we mean” (Miller, 1990:113). For example Saying “*what lovely weather!*” when the weather is not pleasant (Alba-Juez, 2014:148). “Alliteration” is a scheme which can be defined as “repetition of initial or medial consonants in two or more adjacent words.” For example repeating “w” sound in the following sentence: “*Why not waste a wild weekend at Westmore Water Park?*.” More examples of schemes are “antimetabole” and “ellips” that are defined accordingly as “repetition of words, in successive clauses, in reverse grammatical order” and “omission of a word or short phrase easily understood in context.” The following sentence is an example of both type. However it is also a personification: “*I don’t know if I’m working my job or my job, me*” (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016). As another type of tropes, “rhetorical questions” are one of the main engagement devices that seek to encourage curiosity and bring the voters into an arena where they can be led to share the candidate’s point of view and/or accept the candidate’s answer. Questions can be used to arouse voters’ interest (Hayland, 2018). Moreover, rhetorical technique of posing questions that expect no answer is common persuasive device (Frank, 1990). While an ordinary question is aimed at eliciting information or an answer from the audience, a rhetorical question does not seek for an answer (Sadock, 1971, 1974). In general, “a rhetorical question has the illocutionary force of an assertion of the opposite polarity from what is apparently asked.” Under the this type of question reading, the yes—no questions “*Did I tell you that writing a dissertation was easy?*” and “*Didn’t I tell you that writing a dissertation was easy?*” for example, respectively assert “I didn’t tell you that writing a dissertation was easy and I told you that writing a dissertation was easy” (Han, 2002:201).

Tropes can be classified into different kinds of “reference to one thing as another”, “wordplay and puns”, “substitutions”, “overstatement or understatement”, and “semantic inversions”, whereas schemes are generally grouped as “structures of balance”, “change in word order”, “omission”, “repetition.” Each kind comprises several figures of speech that are displayed in Table 3.6;

Table 3.6: Categories of Troops and Schemes

Tropes		Example
1.Reference to One Thing as Another		
Metaphor	Reference to one thing as another, implying a comparison.	No man is an island , Life is a beach, Who captains the ship of state?
Simile	Explicit comparison of one thing to another.	My love is like a red, red rose, You are like a hurricane”
Synecdoche	A whole is represented by naming one of its parts. (genus named for species), or vice versa (species named for genus).	Listen, you’ve got to come take a look at my new set of wheels. <i>One refers to a vehicle in terms of some of its parts, “wheels”</i> He shall think differently, the musketeer threatened, when he feels the point of my steel. <i>A sword, the species, is represented by referring to its genus, “steel”</i>
Metonymy	Reference to something or someone by naming one of its attributes.	The pen is mightier than the sword <i>The pen is an attribute of thoughts that are written with a pen; the sword is an attribute of military action.</i>
Personification	Reference to abstractions or inanimate objects as though they had human qualities or abilities.	The insatiable hunger for imagination preys upon human life.
2.Wordplay and puns		
Antanaclasis	Repetition of a word in two different senses.	our argument is sound...all sound <i>The meaning of “sound” first appears to be “solid” or “reasonable”; in its repetition, it means something very different, “all air” or “empty”.</i>
Paronomasia	Using words that sound alike but that differ in meaning (punning).	A jesting friar punned upon the name of the famous humanist Erasmus, “Errans mus” [erring mouse].
Syllepsis	Using a word differently in relation to two or more words that it modifies or governs (sometimes called zeugma).	Rend your heart, and not your garments. <i>“rend” governs both objects, but the first rending is figurative; the second, literal.</i>
Onomatopoeia	Use of words whose sound correspond with their semantic value.	The buzzing of innumerable bees <i>The “zz” and “mm” sounds in these words imitate the actual sounds of bees.</i>
3. Substitutions		
Anthimeria	Substitution of one part of speech for another.	I’ve been Republicaned all I care to be this election year. <i>Noun used as verb.</i>

Periphrasis	Substitution of a descriptive word or phrase for a proper name or of a proper name for a quality associated with the name.	In the TV show “Dinosaurs” the infant dino called his father, “Not-the-Mama.”

4. Overstatement/Understatement

Hyperbole	Use of exaggerated terms for emphasis or effect.	I’ve told you a million times not to exaggerate.
Auxesis	Reference to something with a name disproportionately greater than its nature (a kind of hyperbole).	Look at this wound! <i>Said of a scratch.</i>
Litotes	Understatement used deliberately.	It isn’t very serious. I have this tiny little tumor on the brain.
Meiosis	Reference to something with a name disproportionately lesser than its nature (a kind of litotes).	“It’s just a flesh wound” <i>Said of an amputated leg.</i>

5. Semantic Inversions

Rhetorical Question	Asking a question for a purpose other than obtaining the information requested.	Why are you so stupid? Why me, God?!
Irony	Using language in such a way as to convey a meaning opposite of what the terms used denote (often by exaggeration).	“what lovely weather!” <i>when the weather is not pleasant.</i>
Oxymoron	Placing two ordinarily opposing terms adjacent to one another. A compressed paradox.	The Sounds of Silence No light, but rather darkness visible.
Paradox	An apparently contradictory statement that contains a measure of truth.	It seems impossible to me that this administration could so quickly reverse itself on this issue.

Schemes

1. Structures of Balance

Parallelism	Similarity of structure in a pair or series of related words, phrases, or clauses.	She tried to make her pastry fluffy, sweet, and delicate.
a. Isocolon	A series of similarly structured elements having the same length.	Veni, vidi, vici (I came, I saw, I conquered).
b. Tricolon	Three parallel elements of the same length occurring together.	Veni, vidi, vici.

Antithesis	Juxtaposition of contrasting ideas (often in parallel structure).	It can't be wrong if it feels so right.
Climax	Generally, the arrangement of words, phrases, or clauses in an order of increasing importance, often in parallel structure.	Miss America was not so much interested in serving herself as she was eager to serve her family, her community, and her nation.

2. Changes in word order

Anastrophe	Inversion of natural word order.	Glistens the dew upon the morning grass. (<i>Normally: The dew glistens upon the morning grass.</i>)
Parenthesis	Insertion of a verbal unit that interrupts normal syntactical flow.	But what might you think, When I had seen this hot love on the wing— As I perceiv'd it (I must tell you that) Before my daughter told me—what might you, Or my dear Majesty your queen here, think...?
Apposition	Addition of an adjacent, coordinate, explanatory element.	Albert Einstein, perhaps the greatest of scientists, seemed not to have mastered the physics of hair combing.

3. Omission

Ellipsis	Omission of a word or words readily implied by context.	"The average person thinks he isn't." – Father Larry Lorenzoni The term "average" is omitted but understood after "isn't."
Asyndeton	Omission of conjunctions between a series of clauses.	Veni, vidi, vici (Caesar: "I came; I saw; I conquered").
Brachylogia	Omission of conjunctions between a series of words.	Phillip! Rise! Eat! Leave! Love, hate, jealousy, frenzy, fury drew him from pity.
Polysyndeton	Opposite of asyndeton, a superabundance of conjunctions.	I said, "Who killed him?" and he said, and...

4. Repetition

Alliteration	Repetition of initial or medial consonants in two or more adjacent words.	Why not waste a wild weekend at Westmore Water Park?
Assonance	Repetition of similar vowel sounds, preceded and followed by different consonants, in the stressed syllables of adjacent words.	The seargent asked him to bomb the lawn with hotpots.
Polyptoton	Repetition of words derived	With eager feeding food doth choke

	from the same root.	the feeder.
Antanaclasis	Repetition of a word in two different senses.	Your argument is sound...all sound.
Anaphora	Repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive clauses.	This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle.
Epistrophe	Repetition of the same word or group of words at the ends of successive clauses.	We are born to sorrow, pass our time in sorrow, end our days in sorrow.
Epanalepsis	Repetition at the end of a clause of the word that occurred at the beginning of the clause.	A lie begets a lie. To each the boulders that have fallen to each.
Anadiplosis	Repetition of the last word of one clause at the beginning of the following clause.	The love of wicked men converts to fear, That fear to hate, and hate turns one or both To worthy danger and deserved death.
Climax	Repetition of the scheme anadiplosis at least three times, with the elements arranged in an order of increasing importance.	Miss America was not so much interested in serving herself as she was eager to serve her family, her community, and her nation.
Antimetabole	Repetition of words, in successive clauses, in reverse grammatical order. (Sometimes mistaken as chiasmus).	When the going gets tough, the tough get going.
Chiasmus	Repetition of grammatical structures in reverse order in successive phrases or clauses (not to be mistaken with antimetabole).	It is boring to eat; to sleep is fulfilling.

Source: Silvia Rhetoricae (2016)

3.3.4.2.2.3.7.1.2. Attribution of Figures of Speech to Persuasion Triad

Style often relates to pathos (Charon, 1997) because its figures of speech often used to persuade audience through emotional appeals (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016; Florman, 2017). In this regard, it can be defined as the “Medium Mood Control” that is a sub-process of pathos which includes stylistic strategies and techniques used by rhetors to capture their audience’s attention, engage them, and put them in a contented and receptive mood (Smith, 2012). However, there is a controversy about the type of persuasion appeals that aligned with style. Gideon Burton (2006) gives an excellent overview about the reason behind such controversy. He stated that there is a close proximity between figures of speech and topics of invention. Even though, style is often attributed to pathos, it is just as much to do with logos or even ethos. He further argued that although figures of speech aligned with emotional appeals, nearly every figure of speech can be used in such a way as to make an argument more reasonable (logos) or enhance the authority and credibility of the orator (ethos). For instance, using schemes of repetition that is a kind of schemes boosts coherence and clarity of the message which is an obvious attributes of logos. Other examples are metaphor (e.g. “*life is a journey*”) and irony (e.g. “*life is like a journey*”) that are the most identifiable tropes which often refer to emotional appeals. Metaphors are often concrete and sensory, therefore they have emotional effects on the audience often attributed to pathos (Connor & Gladkov, 2004; Higgins & Walker, 2012). Moreover, triggering audience to laugh through use of humor and irony involves voters by connecting them emotionally (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). Metaphor can evoke emotions associated with metaphoric concept (emotional substance). For instance, in the “wild west” example, metaphoric theme arouses emotions related to frontier justice like fear and dread. Metaphor can refer to the rhetor’s amusing style (medium mind control) that avoids boring the audience and keep them interested and in a positive mood. Metaphor can draw attention to the rhetor’s argument and make it more memorable to the audience. However, on the other hand, metaphor is an analogy by which a rhetor tries to communicate the substance of his/her argument to the audience (Smith, 2007). Metaphor is simply a form of comparison that is an appeal to reasoning and is a part of invention (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016). Thus, some

metaphors refer to substantive strategies that effect the substantive content of the message. The stylistic metaphor refers to “*what is said*”, whereas the substantive metaphor relates to “*how it is said.*” In addition to pathos and logos, metaphor according to Aristotle is a “sign of genius” that enhances the rhetor’s credibility and intelligence (Smith, 2007).

Candidates sometimes seek to create a funny and friendly atmosphere through using humor and irony both when they attack the opponent or explain something. Thus irony also can be considered as a pathos strategy. However, similar to metaphor, irony is also a type of analogy and is aligned with logos which is a part of invention (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016). Rhetorical questions on the other hand, can be either used to provoke, argue, or emphasis when no real answer is expected. Rhetorical questions that are designed for emotional effect are considered as appeals to pathos. It is a way of persuasion where the voters are seduced to be involved and reflect upon the rhetorical question or it is able to seduce them into a mutual agreement with the candidate (Halmari, 2005). Thus, rhetorical questions are often emotional and make voters think deeply and are capable to bring up variety of emotions in voters. However, there is an argument type of rhetorical questions that can be categorized within claim strategy as an appeal to logos. In that case, the rhetorical question itself is used as a reasoning implying the answer (candidate’s viewpoint) is so obvious that anyone who disagrees is foolish. Moreover, asking the opinion or judgment of the audience, usually implying their common interest with the communicator in the matter, is another type of rhetorical question is called anacoenosis and is an appeal to ethos (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016).

Burton (2006) stated that “the difference between a figure and a topic of invention, then, may sometimes simply be a matter of degree, or it may be a matter of whether one views the strategy as one of expression of an idea (an issue of style) or the composition or discovery of an idea or argument (an issue of invention).” Besides the overlapping figures, He further listed the figures of speech that specifically designed to the three appeals of logos, ethos, and pathos. Table 3.6 illustrates figures of speech specifically attributed to each of the persuasion appeals.

Table 3.7: Figures of Speech Specifically Aligned with Each Persuasive Appeals

Figures of Pathos	Definition	Example
adhortatio	A commandment, promise, or exhortation intended to move one's consent or desires.	
adynaton	The expression of the inability of expression —almost always emotional in its nature.	<i>I will sooner have a beard grow in the palm of my hand than he shall get one of his cheek.</i>
aganactesis	An exclamation proceeding from deep indignation.	
apagoresis	A statement designed to inhibit someone from doing something	<i>If your parents discover what you did, you will not see your next birthday.</i>
aposiopesis	Breaking off suddenly in the middle of speaking, usually to portray being overcome with emotion.	<i>O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts, And men have lost their reason. Bear with me, My heart is in the coffin there with Caesar, And I must pause till it come back to me.</i>
apostrophe	Turning one's speech from one audience to another, or addressing oneself to an abstraction or the absent—almost always as a way of increasing appeal through emotion.	<i>O, pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth, That I am meek and gentle with these butchers! Thou art the ruins of the noblest man, That ever lived in the tide of times.</i>
cataplexis	Threatening/prophecy payback for ill doing.	<i>War it is that you are bringing into Attica, Aeschines, an Amphictyonic war.</i>
conduplicatio	The repetition of a word or words in adjacent phrases or clauses, either to amplify the thought or to express emotion.	
congeries	Piling up words of differing meaning but for a similar emotional effect.	
deesis	The vehement expression of desire put in terms of "for someone's sake" or "for God's sake."	<i>"For God's sake hold your tongue and let me love..."</i>
descriptio	Vivid description, especially of the consequences of an act, that stirs up its hearers. (See enargia, below).	<i>Should you let the defendant go free, consider how he will prey upon other hapless victims, perhaps even hunting in your own neighborhood.</i>
diacope	Repetition of a word with one or more between, usually to express	<i>"All lost! To prayers, to prayers! All lost!"</i>

	deep feeling.	
ecphonesis	An emotional exclamation.	<i>O tempora! O mores!</i>
enargia	Enargia, or vivid description, can be inherently moving, especially when depicting things graphic in nature.	
energia	Energia, the vigor with which one expresses oneself, can obviously be emotionally affecting.	
epanorthosis	Amending a first thought by altering it to make it stronger or more vehement.	<i>I am angry—no, I am furious about the delay.</i>
epimone	Persistent repetition of the same plea in much the same words, a direct method for underscoring the pathetic appeal.	
epiplexis	Asking questions in order to chide, to express grief, or to inveigh.	<i>Why died I not from the womb? why did I not give up the ghost when I came out of the belly?</i>
epitrope	A figure in which one turns things over to one's hearers, either pathetically, ironically, or in such a way as to suggest a proof of something without having to state it.	<i>Go ahead, make my day... If you seeke the victorie take it, and if you list, triumph..</i>
excitatio	To excite an audience, especially out of a stupor or boredom.	
exuscitatio	Stirring others by one's own vehement feeling.	<i>Can I stand by and let the government trample on my rights? Is that safe? Is that right? Can any of us afford to allow this wrong to continue?</i>
inter se pugnancia	Using direct address to reprove someone before an audience, pointing out the contradictions in that person's character, often between what a person does and says.	<i>Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?</i>
mempsis	Expressing complaint and seeking help.	
ominatio	A prophecy of evil. As the term's name connotes, this can be "ominous" in tone.	<i>Fool: When priests are more in word than matter; When brewers mar their malt with water; When nobles are their tailors' tutors; No heretics burn'd, but wenches' suitors; Then shall the realm of Albion Come to great confusion.</i>
paenismus	Expressing joy for blessings obtained	<i>Thank heavens the toupee was</i>

	or an evil avoided.	<i>self-adhesive!</i>
pathopoeia	A speech or figure designed to arouse emotion.	<i>O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.</i>
perclusio	A threat against someone, or something.	<i>You can walk on over here, but you won't be walking back.</i>
synonymia	The use of several synonyms together to amplify or explain a given subject or term. A kind of repetition that adds force.	<i>You blocks, you stones, you worse than senseless things!</i>
Figures of Logs	Definition	Example
enthymeme	The informal method of reasoning typical of rhetorical discourse. A truncated syllogism.	<i>All people are created equal. I am a person. I am equal to other people. If to be foolish is evil, then it is virtuous to be wise.</i>
sorites	Concatenated enthymemes. A chain of claims and reasons which build upon one another. Concatenated enthymemes.	<i>Sorites is sometimes seen as, and certainly can be, a logical fallacy, since the rapidity of claims and reasons does not allow the unstated assumptions behind each claim to be examined.</i>
syllogismus	The use of a remark or an image which calls upon the audience to draw an obvious conclusion.	
aetiologia	A figure of reasoning by which one attributes a cause for a statement or claim made.	
ratiocinatio	Reasoning (typically with oneself) by asking questions.	
anthypophora	A figure of reasoning in which one asks and then immediately answers one's own questions.	
apophasis	The rejection of several reasons why a thing should or should not be done and affirming a single one, considered most valid.	
contrarium	Juxtaposing two opposing statements in such a way as to prove the one from the other.	
expeditio	After enumerating all possibilities by which something could have	

	occurred, the speaker eliminates all but one.	
proecthesis	When, in conclusion, a justifying reason is provided.	
prosapodosis	Providing a reason for each division of a statement, the reasons usually following the statement in parallel fashion.	
paromologia	Admitting a weaker point in order to make a stronger one.	
dirimens copulatio	A figure by which one balances one statement with a contrary, qualifying statement.	
commoratio	Dwelling on or returning to one's strongest argument.	
Figures of Ethos	Definition	
anamnesis	Calling to memory past matters. More specifically, citing a past author from memory.	
litotes	Deliberate understatement, especially when expressing a thought by denying its opposite.	

Source: Silva Rhetoricae (2016).

Simply stated, even though, figures of speech often are appeals to pathos, they sometimes, may be employed for reasoning purpose (logos) or to enhance credibility (ethos). In order to distinguish the appeal attributed to the figures of speech, we should identify if the figure refers to the substance of the message and topic of invention or it is mere a medium mind control simply designed for emotional effect in order to capture the audience's attention, engage them, and put them in a contented and receptive mood. However, some figures (see Figure 3.5) are excluded from this general rule, and are specifically attributed to one of the persuasion triad.

3.3.4.2.3.8. Impact of Emotions in Political Persuasion

Scholars have discussed about the effects of mood and emotions on persuasion and processing of information. A large body of research suggested that emotions can profoundly affect cognitive processes (Clore et al., 1994; Forgas, 1995; Schwarz & Clore, 1996). There are basic reasons behind such effect. First, human are

more likely to recall information from memory that is congruent with their current feelings compared to the time that information and their feelings are incongruent (Isen et al., 1978; Bower, 1981). Second, human are more likely to evaluate an issue positively when they are in happy rather than sad mood (Schwarz & Clore, 1988, 1996). They tend to overestimate the likelihood of positive outcomes and underestimate the likelihood of negative results or events, in contrast with the time they are in sad mood (Johnson & Tversky, 1983; Nygren et al., 1996). Moreover, affective states effect the type of information processing strategy adapted by individuals (Schwarz, 2000).

Political consultants and practitioners observe emotions as the central to the work of political advertising (Perloff & Kinsey, 1992; Kern, 1989). However, some researchers believe that appealing to emotions rather than reasoning is a form of trickery that manipulates and poisons democratic decision making process (Arterton, 1992; Kamber, 1997). More recent others argued that emotions have ability to enhance rationality and thus, play a fundamental role in reasoning (Kinder, 1994; Damasio, 1994; Marcus, 2000; Brader, 2005). Emotions can change the way voters respond to political message and have the ability to make the message more persuasive (Hartmann, 1936; Roseman et al., 1986; Huddy & Gunthorsdottir, 2000).

Sandell (1973) argued that even though the emotional effects of style might not be very large on a general scale, and they may be considered to be of marginal importance in relation to effects of substance and content factors, but even marginal effects sometimes may have decisive importance. However, it does not imply that style is optional aspect of discourse. But it is essential to rhetoric. Connor and Gladkov (2004) stated that emotions allow the audience to feel compelled to act. Thus, persuading a positive and hopeful audience is easier because he or she is more receptive to action compared to a pessimistic and distrusting person. In addition, Brader (2005) noted that optimistic attitudes show a correlation between emotion and ethos. Positive mood lead the audience to fall back on existing beliefs and rely on the credibility of the orator (ethos) rather than the content of the message, whereas negative mood in contrast, connect emotions with logos because the audience relies more on the content of the message rather than other factors. However, Brader (2005) argues that emotions are short-term and it is hard to determine their influence

on long-term basis. Positive ads allow voters to like the sponsor of the ad whereas negative ads make them to dislike the opponent. He focused on the two types of common emotions of enthusiasm and anxiety or fear and found that anxious voters tend to be more attentive and make rational choices, while enthusiastic voters are more likely to rely on party predispositions. “Cueing enthusiasm motivates participation and activates existing loyalties”, whereas “cueing fear stimulates vigilance, increases reliance on contemporary evaluations, and facilitates persuasion.” These results demonstrates that political campaigns reach their goals to some extent through appealing to emotions, and emotional appeals are bale to promote democratically desirable behavior (Brader, 2005:388).

3.3.4.2.2.4. Kairos

In addition to the three rhetorical appeals of ethos, logos, and pathos, many scholars have come to recognize the significant importance of the notion of “Kairos” in contemporary rhetoric. It is a key term for Sophistic rhetoric, “an art that seeks capture in opportune moments that which is appropriate and attempts to suggest what is possible” (Rickert, 2013:80). The concept also plays a significant role in Aristitole’s definition of rhetoric and its kinds, different types of arguments, and other terms such as virtue, equity, fitness, and occasion, (Kinneavy, 2002). However, Aristotelian scholars have generally ignored or demeaned use of the notion by Aristotle’s in his rhetoric (Kinneavy & Eskin, 2000). “The neglect of study of the term *Kairos* in research on Aristotle’s Rhetoric can be seen as a manifestation of the more general neglect of the concept.” Yet, as the concept was a dominant issue in classical rhetoric and many contemporary scholars are discovering and incorporating the concept into their work, it is generally referred to Platonic rhetoric and is not explored in Aristotle’s Rhetoric (Kinneavy, 2002:66).

“Kairos” in Greek mythology is the God of opportunity and was the youngest child of *Zeos*. Kairos in ancient Greek it appears in many contexts. It means “the right moment” or “the right opportune” (Haskins, 2004:67). It is often translated as “the right time” (Miller, 1992:312). However, “Kairos” is among the ancient Greek terms which does not translate simply to contemporary English. There are two

different aspects of its meaning, “two metaphors embedded in it, a temporal one and a spatial one, both of which are applicable in science” (Miller, 1992:311). Eric Charles While in his book of *Kaironomia* stated that the two meanings of kairos (“the right moment” and “the right opportune”) apparently derive from two distinct sources. “In archery, it refers to an opening, or “opportunity” or, more precisely, a long tunnel-like aperture through which the archer’s arrow has to pass.” Therefore, “successful passage of a Kairos requires that the archer’s arrow be fired not only accurately but with enough power for it to penetrate.” On the other hand, “the second meaning of the Kairos traces to the art of “weaving.” There it is “the critical time” when the weaver must draw the yarn through a gap that momentarily opens in the warp of the cloth being woven.” Putting together the two metaphoric dimensions of the term (temporal and spatial), White portrayed Kairos as “a passing instant when an opening appears which must be driven through with force if success is to be achieved” (White, 1987:13). In 1953, for instance, “the time was right for a bold Nobel-winning claim about the structure of DNA.” in 1944, on the other hand, “the time was right for elaborating the phenomenon of bacterial transformation, but the time was not yet right for identifying DNA as the active substance in heredity” (Miller, 1992:312). “Clearly, the notion of Kairos points out that speech exists in time; but more important, it constitutes a prompting toward speaking and a criterion of the value of speech. In short, Kairos dictates that what is said must be said at the right time” (Poulakos, 1983:40-41). Kairos generally is concerned with “the way a given context for communication both calls for and constrains one’s speech.” Therefore, With regard to Kairos, “a speaker or writer takes into account the contingencies of a given place and time, and considers the opportunities within this specific context for words to be effective and appropriate to that moment.” As such, Kairos “is tightly linked to considerations of audience (the most significant variable in a communicative context) and to decorum (the principle of apt speech.” Adolph Hitler’s rhetoric is an example of successful use of Kairos. Besides his personal charisma and mastery of delivery, he knew his audience well. He understood that German people in that time “wanted a way out of its economic morass and its cultural shame”, and therefore, “he provided them both with his strong, nationalistic oratory ” (Silvia Rhetoricae, 2016).

Kairos is commonly used to create pressure such as sales and discounts. Success of an advertising or argument often depends on its appropriate tone and structure as well as its timing. It can be stated that in political communication, Kairos is an appeal to the particular “time”, “timing”, “timeliness”, “setting”, and “place” that a candidate communicate with the potential voters. It is therefore, a form of persuasion that pertains to “the right place and the right time.” Using Kairos, a candidate strives to convince the voters to take immediate action through establishing a sense of urgency by setting a goal referring a timeline. Kairos can be combined with negative motivations, conveying that ignoring the candidate’s advice will result in negative consequences. Displaying urgency in this case, was considered as an appeal to pathos in some researches (Caudill, 2018), through which candidates may call voters to take a quick action such as giving them a deadline for donation or joining polls.

Besides classical observation of the persuasion topic, a different aspect persuasion that was introduced by Kenneth Burke (1950) is described in the next parts.

3.3.5. Identification

Appeals to values of voters boost identification which is the key for persuasion. Identification concept is described in the following part. Sigmund Freud (Trans., 1922) postulated the existence of a principle that binds an individual to another based not on desire for an object but on feeling, or an emotional bond of identification that overlaps with some other concepts such as “sympathy” and “mental cognition.” According to him, the concept is known to psycho-analysis as the earliest and original form of emotional tie with another person. In the book of *A Rhetoric of Motives*, the American literary theorist, Kenneth D. Burke (1950) suggested a new form of rhetoric, the key concept of which is identification. Burke (1950) first introduced the concept of identification in conjunction with two other terms to shape its meaning: “consubstantiality”, and “division.” Identification is rooted in Burke’s other concept of “substance.” However, Scholars tracked down the influences of Socrate’s bifurcation of dialectic and rhetoric, as well as the division of art from science on Burke’s thought (Heath, 1984). Burke stated that without

identification, there is no persuasion. To persuade a target audience, the rhetor must connect with him or her on some level. This connection is achieved through identification which is a feeling of relating to something or somebody. Burke illustrated the concepts through a frequently quoted passage;

“A is not identical with his colleague, B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is identified with B. Or he may identify himself with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so” (Burke, 1950:20). When A is identified with B, A is a substantially one with another person. However, simultaneously, A still remains unique, “an individual locus of motives.” In other word, “he is joined and separate, at once distinct substance and consubstantial with another”.... To identify A with B is to make A consubstantial with B.” (Burke, 1950:20,21).

Within Burke’s theory, people can become consubstantial, both joined and separate. Thus, division between two sides is essential for identification to occur and to be necessary. “Identification is affirmed with earnestness precisely because there is division. Identification is compensatory to division” (Burke, 1950:22). However, identification always is provisional and incomplete process because human can never completely share substance and be totally similar to each other. According to Burke (1950), a person identifies objects, groups, or himself through their substances. This is through the “property” in which a thing is identified. His wide understanding of property contains both materialistic and metaphysical components of a substance.

After publication of Burke’s book in 1950, rhetorical scholars started applying, qualifying, and extending his discussion of identification. Hochmuth (1952) conceptualized identification as both “a means” and “an end.” Conceptualizing identification as a means, Chency (1983) suggested three key strategies of identification through which Burkeian theory can be applied which are described in the following section.

3.3.5.1. Strategies of Identification as a Means

There are three forms of strategies within the notion of identification as a means suggested by Chency (1983) as: “the common ground”, “antithesis”, and a form of “transcendent” such as collective “we.” Each works to persuade the audience that the rhetor shares similar interests with them (Jasinski, 2001; Heath, 2013).

- **The Common Ground Technique**

This strategy focusses on shared interests and/or values between the two parties. It occurs “where the rhetor equates or links himself or herself with others in an overt manner.” For instance, when voters are told directly that the candidate shares their values or goals and offer them identity (Chency, 1983:148). Identification in this strategy is achieved through “the recognized common ground between speaker and audience, such as physical characteristics, talents, occupation, experiences, personality, beliefs, and attitudes; consubstantiation” (Giffin, 2012:300). In regard with political communication, the candidate focuses on how he or she shares humble origins with voters. The common ground is an associative strategy. This direct, associative process allows the candidate to say in effect: “I am like you” or “I have the same interests as you” (Heath et al., 2018:121).

- **Identification Through Antithesis**

This strategy seeks to establish identification over a *common enemy* by focusing on uniting in the face of a “shared enemy.” For instance emphasizing threats from “outsiders, “misguided environmentalists, overzealous government regulations, and unprogressive community leaders.” (Chency, 1983:148). It is the most urgent form of “reaching congregation by segregation in which the rhetor holds up an antithesis to some thesis being advocated by some group or interest.” This strategy introduces a common enemy for both rhetor and the audience to fight. It can also be used to deflect criticism by suggesting that “it is launched against us.” It is a disassociative strategy that indirectly seeks to establish a new association or reinforce the existing

one (Heath et al., 2018:121). This strategy functions by “us” versus “them.” For example when a candidate figures out the difference between himself/herself and the opponents (Heath, 2013).

- **Assumed or Transcendent “We” (and the corresponding “They”)**

Sometimes identification is employed as a means to persuade the audience at an unconscious level. Identification can derive from unnoticed or subconscious situations (Foss, 1986). Burke (1950) provided an example of this unconscious level of identification as when a person is driving a car. He always mistakes the engine power as his own ability. According to Burke (1950) collective “we” (along with surrogate form) often plays an unnoticed identification appeal between parties that may have little common property. “Assumed “we” and the corresponding “they” (symbolizing outsiders) can be found in discourse when the sharing of interests” by two parties taken for granted. occurs when a candidate says for instance: “*we are against taxes on profit*” if the “we” clearly refers to all audience members (Chency, 1983:149). The this type of identification occurs when an environmentalist, for instance, identifies himself with a famous activist to participate in a same protest action as an activist. “*We are at war*” statement, for example, “includes soliders, defense constrctors, and the citizenry-all with their different spheres and interests” (Heath et al., 2018:122).

3.3.5.2. Identification in Old and New Rhetoric

George Chency (1983) mentioned a paradoxical aspect of analyses focussing on identification as a means to an end (strategy). Because strategy often refers to conscious intention while Burke shifted away from the classical notion of identification as a function of persuasion and sought to “move beyond the constraints of intentionality and incorporate unconscious aspects of symbolic appeals into his account of rhetoric” (Jasinski, 2001:306). Scholars have tried to investigate the link between identification and the unconscious. However, they noticed the difficulty of reveal such connection (Wright, 1993). Wright (1993) focussed on the link between

primordial sensations (e.g., failing, shrinking, heat) with the unconscious cluster of images in the famous sermon of *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God* written by British Colonial Christian theologian, Jonathan Edwards in the early 18th century. He argued that these images were capable to evoke arouse a form of preconscious emotional response such as fear in the audience. Weight's study investigated that the unconscious or preconscious functions as a factor in the process of invention and audience reception. Many contemporary scholars agree with Burke's idea that "discursive action not only aims at overt persuasion but also solicits identification between advocates and audiences" (Jasinski, 2001:307).

Cardador and Pratt (2006) looked at identification in terms of base, rather than strategies. This perspective, led to a new form of identification strategies what is called "unifying symbols" which can be used either in "explicit" such as banners and flags or "implicit" form, or even just "partially conscious" such as emotional reactions to the presumed other (Heath et al., 2018:121). Wess (1996:200) stated that "by constituting subject as participants in a distinctive culture, identification on a sub- or unconscious level make possible the activity of persuasion on a conscious level." Therefore, identification operates more than just an instrumental strategy or instrumental objective. It serves a constitutive function that deserves further attention of rhetoricians (Charland, 1987; Wess, 1996).

Unlike classical rhetoric that provides resources for speakers to develop persuasive design of their speeches, Burke regarded his new theories as an extension of concepts of the social use of language. Burke considered his theories as a contribution to the "new rhetoric." He agreed with Aristotle that persuasion is the basic function of rhetoric. He recognized persuasion and its focus on deliberate design as the key term of old rhetoric (Burke, 1951). However, he recognized identification and its partially unconscious factors in its appeal as the key term for new rhetoric. Burke used his theory as an extension of Aristotelian idea of persuasion. He argued that the primary aim of rhetoric is to make connection rather than winning an argument and any persuasive practice is first an identifying practice: "You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his" (Burke, 1950:55). Burke and some other authors proposed identification as the central concern for the new

rhetoric (Burke, 1951; Ehninger, 1975). Contemporary rhetoricians considered persuasion as only one potential function of discourse (Bitzer, 1968). The old rhetoricians conceived identification as a means for persuasion, whereas new rhetoricians argue that persuasion is but one means for identification (Hansen, 1996).

Burke agrees with Aristotle's view that identification can be a function of a persuasive appeal. Considering identification as a means to an end which is persuasion. For instance, when a politician seeks to identify himself with voters (Burke, 1951). That is an appeal to the credibility of the speaker used to persuade voters, which is also known as *ethos* (Hansen, 1996). From this perspective, it can be stated that identification as an appeal to *ethos* encompasses the three strategies of the common ground, antithesis, and transcendent. On the other hand, the identification concept is in relation with both needs and values and is considered as an additional form of *pathos* by some authors as it is an appeal to needs and/or values of the audience (Freud, Trans., 1922; Hoffman & Ford, 2010; Higgins & Walker, 2012). In this perspective, Cardador and Pratt's (2006) contribution to the subconscious identification strategies, which is known as "unifying symbols", can be counted as an appeal to *pathos*. Moreover, identification by "sympathy" is a popular method that can be used as a means of persuasion. Sympathy as a feeling that can bind people together through common affections and therefore, identification by sympathy can be considered as an appeal to *pathos* (Chen & Li, 2015). However, Burke's primary focus was on identification as an end in itself rather than as a means (Hansen, 1996). In addition, it was mentioned that discursive action (*logos*) is able to enhance identification (Jasinski, 2001). Therefore, correspondent with the work of Burke (1950); together with the works of Young et al. (1970); Kinneavy (1971); and Lauer et al. (1985), Ulla Connor and Janice Lauer (1985) defined written persuasive discourse as that which integrates the Aristotle's three means of persuasion (*logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*) in its effort in order to effect cooperation and identification with the audience. The following part discusses the application of Aristotle's triad to the political marketing concept.

3.3.6. Application of Aristotle's Rhetorical Theory to Political Marketing

Aristotle's (384-322 B.C.) rhetoric has formed the theoretical framework for later research on persuasive discourse in different contexts such as fundraising direct letters (Connor & Gladkov, 2004), social/environmental reports (Higgins & Walker, 2012), traditional media (Halmari & Virtanen, 2005), social media (Berlanga et al., 2013), online websites (Emanuel et al., 2015), and political speeches (Mori, 2015). However researches on Aristotle's means of persuasion have mainly focused on politics and advertising (Johnston & Kaid, 2002; Postelnicu, 2006).

Few studies have conducted the political discourse and Aristotelian rhetoric. Some researchers have investigated public orations made by politicians such as presidents, or candidates (Jay, 2006; Mshvenieradze, 2013; Erisen & Villalobos, 2014; Mori, 2015; Harlow, 2016). However, studies concerning social media discourse of politicians and Aristotelian rhetoric strategies are limited (English et al. 2011; Johnson, 2012; Brostein, 2013; Samuel-Azran et al., 2015). This research is aimed at extending the literature on this field.

Halmari and Virtanen (2005) argued that facts and data (logos) are frequently used appeals in newspaper genre. Judicial arguments commonly employ a combination of logos and ethos to affect the audience. Media, especially the linguistic context of advertisements, is the genre that most frequently applies pathos. According to them, all appeals are commonly used in political speeches. Politicians need a credible character (ethos) in order to connect and interact with the audience. Logical arguments and facts is an essential part of political speeches (logos). Finally, the audience generally is convinced through using emotional appeals (pathos). The characteristics of Aristotle's triangle of rhetoric make it a favorable strategy for politicians to employ.

Previous studies indicated the effect of culture on the use of rhetorical appeals. For instance, logos and reasoning appeals are preferred by Americans, whereas Japanese mostly prefer pathos (Kamimura & Oi, 1998; Okabe, 1983). Researches also argued that language as a cultural element influences the use of rhetorical proofs (Uysal, 2012; Karatepe, 2016).

An analysis of three addresses delivered by three speakers at the UN General Assembly in 2015 revealed the employment of the Aristotelian triad in the speeches with some distinctions. The study reported that Hassan Rouhani mostly appeals to ethos, emphasizing his moral and ethical character, by showing his piety and suggesting idealistic policies on regional and international issues. In addition, Rouhani employed logos in order to effectively demonstrate Iran's righteousness and reveal the oppressive treatment imposed by the United States and Israel. Mahmoud Abbas mostly used pathos to describe the hapless situations of Palestinians. Moreover, Abbas utilized logos by emphasizing the Israel's violation of international law and agreements as well as ethos by describing Palestine as a peaceful, law-abiding state. Benjamin Netanyahu, on the other hand, mostly focused on logos outlining the facts that display the potential threat posed by Iran. He also employed pathos by warning Western countries about the threat from Iran and illustrating miserable history of Jews. Furthermore, ethos was used by him indicating the respect of Israel to the holy sites and freedom of worship of all (Mori, 2015).

Johnston & Kaid (2002) analyzed televised political ads of U.S. presidential elections from 1952 to 2000. They found that issue ads were dominated by emotional appeals (44%), followed by logical appeals (38%), whereas, ethos had the least frequency in issue ads (18%). On the other hand, image ads were dominated by ethical appeals (54%), followed by emotional (34%) and logical appeals (10%). However, the analysis demonstrated that more than one appeal presented in the most of the ads. An analysis of American televised and online political ads in 2004 revealed that there are significant differences between the two media and different sponsor groups regarding the frequency of rhetorical appeals used in the ads. For instance, Television political ads sponsored by the candidates and Democrat groups were dominantly focused on logos, while TV ads sponsored by Republicans were dominantly ethos based. Web based ads sponsored by John Kerry mostly focused on logical elements while ads sponsored by George W. Bush and the other groups were dominantly emphasized at emotional appeals. The frequency of persuasion appeals used by each sponsor also varies in TV and online media (Postelnicu, 2006).

English et al. (2011) conducted an online experiment, in which they examined university students' responses to the persuasive impact of logos, pathos,

and ethos on YouTube on the topic of a US health reform campaign as the main component of Barack Obama in the months surrounding the 2008 presidential election. They identified ethos, or source credibility, as the highest-ranked appeal in terms persuasion among the participants.

Johnson (2012) argued that Mitt Romney's Tweets during the U.S. election campaign of 2012, were aimed at building his credibility (ethos), expressing his reasoning (logos), and emotionally connecting with citizens (pathos). Focusing on the rhetorical elements of Donald Trump's tweets during the last month of 2016 campaign, Liu (2016) argued that in order to establish a close relationship with voters, as well as presenting his political personality, and publishing his goals, Trump could shape the unprecedented 'Trump phenomenon' with his unprecedented communication skills. The author, therefore argued that "proficient language and rhetoric skills are enough to make a politician who has no advantage in every respect become a double idol of politics and the public" (Liu, 2016:2). Examining Facebook posts of Barack Obama and Mitt Romney during the three months prior to the 2012 US presidential election, Brostein (2013) found that both candidates used different persuasion elements to create a social capital. However, the posts were mostly emphasized at emotional and motivational appeals rather than reasoning and logic. Obama used more pathos (68%) than Romney (46%) whereas Romney's post were more ethos based (25%) compared with Obama's posts (15%).

An investigation of Aristotelian rhetorical strategies on five major Israeli politicians' posts on Facebook during the 2013 election campaign revealed different results from Bronstein's (2013). The findings showed that Israel's multi-party political system encourages focus on ethos rather than focusing on pathos in two-party systems such as the U.S. election campaigns (Samuel-Azran et al., 2015). However, logos had the least frequency in both studies of Bronstein's (2013) and Samuel-Azran et al. (2015). Both of these studies indicated that pathos draws the attention of the most followers that makes it the most powerful strategy regarding mobilization purpose.

A research on political discourses of Jacques Chirac and Nicolas Sarkozy during the French presidential elections in 2002 and 2007 revealed that how the candidates similarly employed the Triad of Argumentation in their discourse

(Mshvenieradze, 2013). Another study on several pre-election political discourses in Albania, tried to highlight the linguistic means used by each politician to present the triad persuasion triad (Dylgjeri, 2014). An analysis of Taiwan's President Ma Ying-Geopolitical discourse on the cross-strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) indicated that he skillfully adopted the three appeals during the debate in which pathos was the most prevalent appeal used, whereas, ethos was the least rhetorical strategy (Ko, 2015). A study applying Aristotle's means of persuasion to the speeches of two north American native leaders demonstrated that Tecumseh and Pushmataha similarly used the rhetoric appeals in their discourse (Jay, 2006). English et al. (2011) and Bronstein's (2013) suggested that persuading the audience to like a candidate depends on pathos or emotional appeals but getting them to trust the candidate, largely stems from ethos or source credibility of the candidate.

3.4. RESPONSE AND ENGAGEMENT

An important means of evaluation regarding the success of political communication through social media is related with the favorability and virility of the messages. Thus the number of likes, comments and shares are relevant indicators for the success of a message. The analysis of likes, shares, and comments displays the popularity of the rhetoric strategy used and the ability of the candidate to engage online network members. There is a competition among candidates to receive the greatest number of likes and shares from the social media users as an index of popularity (Samuel-Azran et al, 2015). Furthermore, evaluation of popularity of the online messages can be a useful factor in political message adjustments in future.

However, some scholars underlined the role of contextual factors, arguing that social media is just a platform facilitating communication in the political market and cannot replace message, motivation, or strategy (Metzgar & Maruggi, 2009; Vaccari, 2010). A politician's influence on Twitter is determined based on how he/she uses those 140 letters rather than on the number of followers (Pearson & O'Connell, 2012).

The like button represents a form of positive response to the post. It's a replacement of short affective statements such as "Awesome" and "Congrats" (Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013). "The intuitive assumption is that the number of likes implies exposure, attention, and some sort of affirmation, ratification, or endorsement of what is posted" (Gerodimos & Justinussen, 2015:117). Liking a post entails minimum effort and little engagement. Therefore, the like button attracts members who tend to merely befriend the politician rather than possessing high political engagement (Erikson, 2008; Vitak et al., 2011). Studies on advertising and marketing showed that pictures and informational posts were liked much more compared with traditional marketing buzzwords (Kwok & Yu, 2013).

The discussion about the effect of functional and rhetorical strategies used in social media platform is only relevant if the message reach a large number of audience. Political campaigns seek for generating viral activity by motivating followers to share the content (Roberts, 2013). Gerodimos and Justinussen (2015) stated that attention and interaction are positively interdependent to each other. In

other words, posts with more interactions are capable to grasp more attention and spread more widely, whereas posts with low interactions are not deemed worthy or interesting to engage with.

Studies demonstrated the impact of emotional element on information sharing and indicated that emotional valence and arousal (pathos) is a particularly effective strategy to make information viral (Poels & Dewitte, 2006; Binet & Field, 2007; Dobeles et al., 2007; Southgate et al., 2010; Berger, 2011; Shifman, 2012; Berger & Milkman, 2012; Swani et al., 2013; Hoang et al., 2013; Nelson-Field et al., 2013; Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013). Especially positive emotions, that evokes the greatest arousal, publishes more quickly and thoroughly (Borah, 2016).

Pathos effects citizen's involvement and voting choice (Brader, 2005). Statistical analysis of the Facebook pages of American presidential candidates revealed that the numbers of comments and likes given to the posts were influenced by the persuasion appeals. Findings revealed that Romney's posts received more likes for the posts using ethos and pathos appeals whereas Obama's posts using logos appeal received more comments (Bronstein, 2013).

Another study examining Aristotelian rhetoric on Facebook and its reception during presidential election eliminated comments from the analysis arguing that comments are mostly negative and can distort evaluations of rhetoric popularity. The study showed that pathos based posts received the most likes while messages using logos were the most viral posts. The study illustrated the significance of pathos-based messages in attracting likes and mobilizing followers. It also demonstrated the ability of logos-based messages to attract shares. This discrepancy in sharing and liking signifies the need for certainty in some cultures (Samuel-Azran et.al, 2015). In addition, sharing entails greater engagement than liking (Malhotra et al., 2013; Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013; Nicholas, 2013; Katz, 2014). Those who share a social media content prefer logos-based discourse because they are often more engaged members compared with those who like it and therefore, they prefer logos-based discourse. The authors, therefore argued that that sharing is a more relevant measure of politicians' rhetoric popularity in social media compared with commenting (Samuel-Azran et.al, 2015). Industry research on Instagram revealed that it takes an average of 72 minutes for an Instagram posts to receive half of its engagement (Takumi,

2015). Additionally, the data collected long time after the election. Therefore, not weighting messages for time posted, doesn't have a detrimental effect on involvement level.

Studies demonstrated the use of social media during 2016 presidential election campaigns showed that, even though, social media was the election news source for about half (51%) of the users, roughly only one-fifth (18%) of them shared election-related news or information on social media platforms. That amounts to 15% of American adults overall (Mitchell et al., 2016).

Studies also indicated that those who learned about election news from more SNS source types were more likely (29%) to share political issues compared with who learned from fewer SNS source types (12%). Even though, American adults with higher income were most likely to use social network sites in general, low income users were more likely to share political-related content. Although younger users relied much more on social media as source of campaign news, both young users ages under 50 (8%) and old users ages above 50 (10%), as well as Democrats (8%) and Republicans (10%) almost identically shared, commented, or posted political-related content (Duggan & Smith, 2016).

Different Twitter functions, such as hashtag, @mention, reply, and retweet, have been used by candidates with the aim of voter engagement (Borondo et al., 2014; Hosch-Dayican et al., 2016; Jensen, 2017). Spreadability is concerned with the ease with which political campaigns can spread across the Twitter platform. Spreadability is directly affected by number of likes and retweets (Mills, 2012). While two-way interaction and engagement are measured via the reply and retweet features of Twitter (Purohit et al., 2013), hashtag analysis is used to understand how Twitter campaigns were run by each candidate (Grover et al., 2019). Twitter campaigns are launched with the help of using hashtags (Grover et al., 2019). Hashtags help to share posts across a broader community of similar interest (Chae, 2015). Hashtags provide meta data about political campaigns. Using hashtag in campaigns is cost-effective for presidential candidates (Abascal-Mena et al., 2015) and make campaign message more influential (Chadwick et al., 2017). Political engagement through using hashtags is the most consistent (Vaccari et al., 2015a, 2015b; Chadwick et al., 2017). Further, the @mentions analysis helps to identify the

influencers who had attracted users to engage in Twitter discussion with the influencer on the tweet topic (Shuai et al., 2012). In the 2016 Twitter campaigns, Clinton used “#DEMdebate”, “#GOPdebate”, “#ImWithHer”, and “#Debatenigh” hastags the most while the most favorite hastags for trump were: “#Trump2016”, “#MakeAmerica”, “greatAgain”, “#voteTrump”, and “ #MAGA” (Buccoliero et al., 2020).

Studies on Tweets of the candidates during primary and general election campaigns showed that although Clinton tweeted the most, Trump gained more favorites and retweets on average. An in-depth time analysis of tweets, favorites, and retweets related to the 2016 election campaign revealed that the most profitable time for Clinton to post, was between 11 pm and 6 am while the best time for Trump to tweet was between 7 am and 2 pm. However, findings indicated that Trump and Clinton didn't tweet the most in their most successful hour range (Buccoliero et al., 2020). The study also investigated the effects of using hashtags, links, and media by candidates on retweets and favorites. The results indicated that use of links in the posts had no influence the frequency of retweets and favorites for none of the candidates. However, media embedding had positive effect on the frequency of retweets and favorites for both candidates. Further, findings surprisingly showed that use of hashtags in tweets, had negative effect on the frequency of retweets and favorites for both Trump and Clinton (Buccoliero et al., 2020).

CHAPTER FOUR METHODOLOGY

4.1. AIM OF THE STUDY

In this thesis, William Benoit's "functional theory of political campaign discourse", Benoit's "image repair theory", and "Aristotle's rhetoric theory" were used together in order to understand what strategies were used in the political campaigns on Twitter undertaken by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 presidential general election. The study draws upon research on the three theories to investigate how political campaigns on Twitter were constructed to achieve their persuasive objectives. In addition, the study was aimed to investigate the popularity and engagement of various functional, restoration (image repair), and persuasion strategies in Twitter posts of the two candidates. Thus, the aim of this thesis was to analyze Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump's Twitter posts in order to understand how they used the Twitter platform to address their followers, communicate, connect, and establish a close relationship with the electorate, illustrate their political personality, represent their goals, influence and persuade potential voters, and attempted to rehabilitate their image through the functional, rhetorical, and restoration means and techniques. A comparison between rhetorical, functional, and image repair strategies used by the contenders as well as the response and engagement of their Twitter posts give an understanding of both candidates' and their followers' mindset, values, political interests, and their Twitter campaigns key success factors. Examining the content of the tweets, we could gain insight into the political climate of the 2016 elections, and into the candidates' political interests and attitudes. Another important contribution of this study is that it fills a gap in the extend literature by analyzing the twitter posts of the candidates regarding the three stated theories. Benoit suggested to extend the line of research to other media, such as Twitter (Benoit et al., 2016). In line with his suggestion, this study tried to examine concepts from traditional campaign literature in the candidates' Twitter campaigns.

There have been good amount of research done in the field of social media and its application in politics. Besides increasing interest of researches about political

use of social networking sites, functional theory have been expanded to get an understanding of social media pages of the candidates. However, there is a shortage of work done concerned with the analysis of Twitter posts for their content. There is still little research on this area, especially on Twitter as a strategic tool for presidential election campaigns. Furthermore, most of such studies focused on citizen's posts (Dayican et al., 2014; Bazarova & Choi, 2014) rather than the messages from politicians or their campaigns. Moreover, only few studies have conducted the political discourse and Aristotelian rhetoric (Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013; Brostein, 2013; Mshvenieradze, 2013; Dylgjeri, 2014; Samuel-Azran et al., 2015). Application of Rhetoric Theory on political campaign discourse, particularly in Twitter platform is rare. The area definitely deserves more attention. Thus, this area of research was chosen because there is no such comprehensive study examining the content in candidates' own Twitter account combining all these concepts.

Investigating the content of the tweets, counting the amount of tweets, likes, retweets, comments, hashtags, and visual elements as well as categorizing the tweets to find out what the campaigns posted most about, what types of functional, image restoration, and persuasion strategies they employed, and what types of messages could engage the voters more successfully, provided interesting information regarding how the candidates used Twitter platform as a campaign communication tool and how that could have affected the election and contributed to the election results.

4.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

Hypotheses and research questions are derived from functional, rhetorical, and image repair theories and has also been confirmed by prior research on political campaigns, particularly in legacy media (mainly in the United States). As mentioned in the theory chapter, acclaims have no drawbacks, so they are expected to be the most frequently used function (Benoit, 2001). However, attacks are likely to be less common as they have one disadvantage: Many voters dislike mudslinging (Stewart, 1975; Merritt, 1984; Reinemann, 2005) and find it unethical (Shapiro & Reiger, 1992). Moreover, attacks have the potential to damage both its target and source. Thus, the risk of backlash may lead candidates to moderate their attacks and encourage them to avoid excessive reliance on attacks and rely more on acclaims. Defenses on the other hand have three drawbacks: They may introduce the defender as a reactive rather than proactive candidate. Moreover, since attacks are most likely to occur on a candidate's weaknesses, defenses usually take a candidate off-message. Finally, a candidate must identify an attack to refute it. So, defending against an attack could remind, or inform the electorate of a potential weakness (Benoit et al., 2016). Therefore, two hypotheses were developed as bellow;

H1. Candidates' focused more on acclaim than attack and defense in their Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H2. Candidates used defense strategy the least frequently in their Twitter posts during the election campaign.

In 2016 presidential election none of the candidates was incumbent (President or Prime Minister). However, similar to an incumbent candidate, the incumbent party candidate most often has various advantages (e.g., ease of obtaining media coverage) (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Tinkham & Weaver-Lariscy, 1995; Ansolabehere & Snyder, 2002; Weisberg, 2002; Mayhew, 2008; Evans et al., 2014). The electoral edge for candidates running for the second time might be a reason for acclaiming more and attacking less than their challenger opponents. Hillary Clinton was one of the most influential First Ladies of the US and the 67th United States Secretary of

State. Having record in the office sought, could be a reason that incumbents acclaim more than challengers. On the other hand, challengers have more opportunity to attack the incumbents. Therefore, incumbents tend to acclaim more and attack less compared with challengers (Benoit, 2007, 2017). In addition to the incumbency factor, the frequency usage of functions varies between Democrats and Republicans. Studies demonstrated that Republican candidates as a group, attack more and acclaim less than Democrats in United States (Benoit et al., 1997). Thus, the following three predictions were considered;

H3. Incumbent party (democrat) candidate (Clinton) focused on acclaims more than challenger (republican) party candidate (Trump) in Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H4. Challenger party (republican) candidate (Trump) focused on attacks more than incumbent party (democrat) candidate (Clinton) in Twitter posts during the election campaign.

Moreover, in American political campaigns in legacy media, policy is discussed more frequently than character. American debates also discuss policy more than character (75% to 25%) (Benoit, 1999, 2003, 2010, 2014b; Benoit et al., 2016). Opinion polls spanning several campaigns illustrated that more Americans found policy issues to be more important than character. According to previous researches on political campaign in legacy media, winners of Elections are found to discuss policy more and character less than the losers of Elections (Geer, 2006). Therefore, it was anticipated that:

H5. Candidates discussed policy more than character in Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H6. Trump discussed policy more than Clinton in Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H7. Trump discussed character less than Clinton in Twitter posts during the election campaign.

Previous studies demonstrated that voters consider attack on policy to be fair while they reported that attack on character is an unethical and an unfair behavior (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1989). Moreover, some studies indicated that attacks on policy are more common (Geer, 2006), and more persuasive than attacks on character (Pfau & Burgoon, 1989; Roddy & Garrarrione, 1988). These provide an advantage to candidates who tend to attack more on policy compared with their opponents. An analysis on presidential direct mail advertising showed that winners attack more on policy, and less on character, than losers (Benoit & Stein, 2005). Thus, it was proposed that:

H8. Candidates attacked policy more than they attacked on character in their Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H9. Trump attacked more on policy than Clinton in his Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H10. Trump attacked less on character than Clinton in his Twitter posts during the election campaign.

Each post may or may not contain function. Some posts include more than one function. The first research question is concerned about the proportion of single and mixed functions and topics within the tweets. Thus, in addition to the hypotheses above, the following research questions were added:

RQ1. What is the relative proportion of single and mixed functions in the Twitter posts?

RQ2. What is the relative proportion of single and mixed topics in the Twitter posts?

It was stated that tone of the message derives from its function (Lucavicate, 2005; Benoit et al., 2013b, 2014b; Benoit, 2017). Acclaims and attacks are respectively positive and negative in tone. Mixed posts have mixed tone, while posts containing only defense are considered as defensive is tone. Defenses can be used with acclaim or attack. That leads a slight difference between tone of the posts and

dominant function of the posts. Donald Trump, was generally perceived as a particularly negative candidate. Authors (Benoit et al., 2016) are interested to see whether content analysis supports this perception. In order to investigate tone of the Twitter posts in more detail, the next research question was proposed as the following;

RQ3. What is the relative emphasis on negative, positive, and mixed tone (and the frequency of defense) in Twitter posts?

Besides the functional theory, this study in aimed at investigating the Image Repair Strategies used by the candidates in their Twitter posts. Therefore, the following research question is considered;

RQ4. Which image repair strategies were used by the candidates in their Twitter posts?

In present study, we also combined the functional and image repair theories with Aristotle's persuasion theory trying to test the predictions derived from previous researches, on Twitter accounts of the two candidates. Previous researches on American election campaigns in Facebook revealed that Democrat and Republican are more interested in using pathos based messages in their campaigns compared with the logos and ethos, while logos based messages had the least frequency among the other appeals (Brostein, 2013). Thus, the next hypotheses were proposed as bellow;

H11. Pathos was the most prevalent rhetorical strategy used by both candidates in their Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H12. Logos was the least prevalent rhetorical strategy used by both candidates in their Twitter posts during the election campaign.

On the other hand, the research revealed that the incumbent party (Democrat) candidates focused on ethos and logos less, and on pathos more than the challenger (Republican) (Brostein, 2013). It led to the following hypotheses;

H13. The incumbent party (democrat) candidate (Clinton) focused more on pathos than the challenger party (republican) candidate (Trump) in her Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H14. The incumbent party (democrat) candidate (Clinton) focused less on ethos than the challenger party (republican) candidate (Trump) in her Twitter posts during the election campaign.

H15. The incumbent party (democrat) candidate (Clinton) focused less on logos than the challenger party (republican) candidate (Trump) in her Twitter posts during the election campaign.

Similar to the functions and topics, we were also keen to investigate how often the candidates used the multiple and triple combinations of the appeals. Thus, the fourth research question is concerned with the proportion of single, and mixed appeals used within the posts.

RQ5. What is the relative proportion of single and mixed appeals in the Twitter posts?

We were also keen to investigate the cross-classifications of the functions, topics, and appeals as well as the Image Repair strategies to identify the most popular appeal within each category. The following research questions are aimed at exploring these subjects;

RQ6. What is the relative emphasis on the rhetorical strategies used by the candidates in each cross-classification category of functions and topics?

RQ7. What is the relative emphasis on the rhetorical appeals used by each Image Repair strategy?

Moreover, in this study, another research question was concerned with the usage of videos, images, hashtags, and links by the candidates in their Twitter posts in order to determine their positive or negative effect in popularity and engagement of the posts. Thus the next questions are considered as:

RQ8. What is the relative proportion of visual appeals (video and image), hashtags, and links usage in Twitter posts?

RQ9. What is the influence of video, image, hashtag, and link on popularity and engagement of the twitter posts?

Besides the three theories, we sought to investigate the popularity and engagement of the Functional, Rhetorical, and Image Repair strategies used by the candidates. As mentioned earlier, previous studies argued that voters often dislike mudslinging (Stewart, 1975; Merritt, 1984; Reinemann, 2005) and find it unethical (Shapiro & Reiger, 1992). This is known as one of the drawbacks of attacks that leads to the first assumption of functional theory expecting attacks to be less common than acclaims. As Twitter has provided more liberty in responses and more freedom in expressing feelings toward different content, we were keen to reveal if there is any change in voter response toward attacks during time. Therefore, the following hypotheses and research question were considered:

H16. Attacks attracted less favorites than acclaims the Twitter posts.

H17. Attacks gained less shares than acclaims the Twitter posts.

RQ10: How did the Twitter users favorited and engaged with different functions and topics?

Moreover, evidence suggests that voters react more favorably to attacks on policy issues than on character (Benoit, 2017). The candidates followers may react differently to the each cross-classification category of functions and topics. Thus, the next hypothesis and research question are:

H18. Attacks on policy attracted more favorites than attacks on character in the Twitter posts.

H19. Attacks on policy gained more shares than attacks on character in the Twitter posts.

RQ11: How did the Twitter users favorited and engaged with different cross-classification categories of functions and topics?

In addition, candidates followers and users in general, may response differently to the Image Repair strategies. The next research question was designed to compare the popularity and engagement of each strategy. Popularity refers to the number of likes (favorites) and shares (retweets), while engagement is concerned with likes, shares, and comments. That is because comments contain both positive and negative responses.

RQ12: How did the Twitter users favorited and engaged with different Image Repair strategies?

Previous studies also demonstrated the significant effect of emotions in popularity of political messages (Baxter & Marcella, 2012; Bronstein, 2013; Hoang et al., 2013; Swani et al., 2013; Stieglitz & Dang-Xuan, 2013; Brostein, 2013; Larsson, 2014; Samuel-Azran et al., 2015). Furthermore, according to Aristotle, the appeals are used most effectively, where more than one appeals are combined. Therefore, it could be predicted that combining pathos with other appeal(s) increases popularity and engagement in terms of attracting likes and shares. Thus, the last hypotheses were considered as follow:

H20. Pathos based combinations (pathos/logos, pathos/ethos, and pathos/ethos/logos) were the most popular (attracted the most “likes”) compared with the other appeals.

H21. Pathos based combinations (pathos/logos, pathos/ethos, and pathos/ethos/logos) had the greatest shareability, compared with the other appeals.

Finally, it can be stated that based on the moral attitudes, values, interests, and needs, social status, and other demographic features of the target groups of the two candidates as well as the political climate of the campaign time, Twitter users may or may not respond differently to the rhetorical appeals in general, and to the rhetorical appeals in each Image cross-classification category of functions and topics. Thus, following research questions were designed to understand that subject.

RQ13: How did the Twitter users favorited and engaged with different rhetorical appeals?

RQ14: How did the Twitter users favorited and engaged with different rhetorical appeals used in each cross-classification category of functions and topics?

4.3. METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The main part of the analysis consisted of assigning each tweet to specific categories in order to understand in which proportion Trump and Clinton used Twitter to talk about different topics and functions, and in which proportion they used different persuasion and image repair strategies. This study is primarily qualitative and is therefore interpretative and relies heavily on context. It is also quantitative because the number of likes, retweets, comments, videos, images, hashtags, and links are included in the analysis. Content analysis was used to analyze content of the posts by the candidates on Twitter platform. It is a highly flexible research method which is applied in qualitative, quantitative, and mixed modes of research frameworks and has been extensively employed in Library and Information Science (LIS) studies with different research objectives (White & Marsh, 2006).

A code sheet was used to calculate the quantitative elements and to categorize themes within the posts with reference to their functions and topics, the persuasion strategies employed by the candidates, as well as favorability and virality of the messages.

4.3.1. Sampling and Unit of Analysis

A sample can be defined as “a subset of units from the entire population being studied” (Riffe et al., 1998:81). For this study overall 1176 tweets were collected throughout the last 44 days leading up to the 2016 presidential election campaign (September 26-November 8, 2016). The unit of analysis for this study was each individual tweet.

Election Day in 2016 occurred on Tuesday, November 8. Donald Trump declared his candidacy and formally launched his presidential campaign on June 16, 2015 at Trump Tower in New York City. He was officially nominated by the Republican party on July 19, 2016, at the Republican National Convention. Clinton, on the other hand, announced her candidacy in a Youtube video on April 12, 2015 and officially received the nomination of the Democrat Party on July 26, 2016, at the Democratic National Convention (TheWashingtonPost).

Final month of the election campaign is critical phase because of its importance to the campaign efforts in targeting undecided voters that have not made up their minds yet and pay close attention to the race in the month leading to the Election Day. The issue of undecided voters is a recurrent problem of political surveys. Each survey indicate a significant proportion of respondents that have not made up their minds (Arcuri et al., 2008). Rates of one fifth or even more undecided voters are common in political surveys (Perry, 1979; Mannheimer, 2003). For instance, *Rasmussen Reports* found that in 2008 general election, 14 percent of the electorate came to a decision within the month leading to the Election Day (Shaw, 2018). Moreover, most of these undecided respondents decide only a few days before the vote or even in the polling booth at the Election Day (Barisone & Mannheimer, 1999). Furthermore, despite the controversy about the effects of political campaigns in changing one's mind, studies indicated some amount of shift from one party to another even in the month preceding the election. The rates vary based on the country and the election year. For instance, probability of changing voters' mind in the final month of an American presidential election moved roughly from 6% in 1960 to 8% in 2000 (Blais, 2004), which is a considerable rate and is decisive in very close contests such as the 2016 general election. In this study our sample covers tweets posted in the month preceding to the Election Day because of the decisive role of the final month conversations in persuading both decided and undecided voters and turning them out to vote.

Studies also demonstrated the significant effect of presidential debates on increasing issue knowledge and issue salience (the number of issues a voter uses to evaluate candidates). Presidential debates are also capable to change preference for candidates' issue stands and their personality (Benoit et al., 2003). The Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD) held series of debates for 2016 presidential election including three presidential debate that took place on September 26, October 9, October 19, and one vice-presidential debate that was held on October 4 from approximately 9 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. EDT. The dates are listed in the Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: 2016 Presidential Debate List

Date	Topic	Participants
September 26	First Presidential debate	Donald Trump vs Hillary Clinton
October 4	Vice-Presidential debate	Mike Pence vs Tim Kaine
October 9	Second Presidential debate	Donald Trump vs Hillary Clinton
October 19	Third Presidential debate	Donald Trump vs Hillary Clinton
November 8	Election Day	

Source: Prokop (2016)

We primarily collected tweets since official nomination day of the candidates and observed that there was a rise in the number of tweets posted every month compared with the previous month while both candidates posted the most at the debate days. The maximum number of tweets posted in October 2016. Moreover, both candidates kept tweeting and calling electorate to vote on the Election Day itself. All these underline the importance of final weeks in campaign communication. We, therefore, collected data two weeks prior in addition to the last month of campaign in order to cover all debate dates.

Based on the above considerations, our sample in total covered 44 days leading up to Election Day starting from Sept 26 Monday ending on Nov 8 Tuesday, the Election Day in the Eastern Time Zone (ET). By limiting the analysis to that time period, the study is aimed at identifying the campaigns' communication strategies and techniques presented on their candidates' Twitter platform in the crucial final weeks leading to the Election Day. The data was extracted from the home pages of each candidate's official Twitter account using screen shots and were saved as both image (JPG) and PDF files at the time of retrieval. Only the official accounts of Trump and Clinton were included in the analysis as the focus was on how the campaigns themselves conducted their messaging rather than others. Data was categorized based on the date posted. The population was the totality of Twitter posts of the candidates during this time period that includes 1776 tweets.

4.3.2. Content Analysis

Human beings are social creatures who communicate with each other through exchanging information and messages. “The ubiquity of communication information is evidenced in sources ranging from ancient carvings in caves, designs on antiquities, religious scripts, books, newspapers, photographs, music, television programs, and films” (Lac, 2016:1). More recently, flourishing Internet technologies like blogs, smartphone applications, social media platforms and microblogging tools such as Twitter, offers an extensive digitized content for research purposes.

Content analysis is known as one of the most important research methods used for classifying, evaluating, and studying recorded communication information systematically and objectively (Lac, 2016:1-2). “Media content analysis is a specialized subset of content analysis” that was introduced as a systematic and well-established research methodology to study mass media (i.e. propaganda) by Lasswell (1927). It gained popularity as a research method during the third and the fourth decades of the 19th century to study the expanding communication content of movies. The emergence of Television in 1950 extended the use of the method in mass communication studies and social sciences primarily for investigating portrayals of violence, racism and women in TV programming and movies. However, the term content analysis is nearly 60 years old. It is known as one of the main research methods in the social sciences that “views data as representations not of physical events but of texts, images, and expressions that are created to be seen, read, interpreted, and acted on for their meaning, and must therefore be analyzed with such uses in mind.” Analyzing texts in the contexts of their uses distinguishes this research technique from other methods (Krippendorff, 2019:xiii). Content analysis is a highly flexible and widely employed research method that is applied in qualitative, quantitative, and sometimes mixed approaches (White & Marsh, 2006). Berelson (1952:18) defined the method as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” He suggested the following five basic purposes of the method:

- “To describe substance characteristics of message content;
- To describe form characteristics of message content;
- To make inferences to producers of content;
- To make inferences to audiences of content;
- To predict the effects of content on audiences” (Macnamara, 2005:3).

Neuendorf (2002:53) summarized four main roles and approaches of content analysis as “descriptive”, “inferential”, “psychometric”, and “predictive.” Berelson’s (1952) definition of content analysis was criticized by some authors (Berger & Luckman, 1966) who argue that even the most scientific methods of social science can not be totally objective, specifically concerned with media analysis, the text contents in media are open to different interpretations and therefore, analysis of them is not expected to be objective. The definition was also criticized for restricting the method in manifest content and not including latent content (Macnamara, 2005). In other words, Berelson’s definition illustrates the early focus on quantitative analysis and does not include the qualitative and latent perspectives. In order to make the method applicable to both quantitative and qualitative modes of research frameworks, and without specifying the depth of analysis, Krippendorff (2004:18) suggested another definition of the content analysis as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use.” Downe-Wambolt (1992:314) stressed that content analysis is not only a counting process, but it is “a research method that provides a systematic and objective means to make valid inferences from verbal, visual, or written data in order to describe and quantify specific phenomena.” Babbie (2010:323) broadly defined content analysis as “the study of recorded human communications.” Neuendorf (2002:10) as one of the most prominent contemporary scholars using, teaching, and studying the method, defined content analysis as “a summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity/intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of messages that may be analyzed, nor as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented.” She argued

that media content analysis is a quantitative approach, whereas qualitative analysis of texts is more appropriately described and categorized as other forms of message analysis that compete with or complete content analysis such as “rhetorical analysis”, “narrative analysis”, “discourse analysis”, “structuralist or semiotic analysis”, “interpretative analysis”, and “critical analysis” (Neuendorf, 2002:5-7). However, such strict interpretation of the content analysis as a quantitative research method only, was both supported and criticized by other authors. Moreover, most of the mass media and communication researchers do not draw her sharp definitional distinctions between text, content and discourse analysis and refer to both qualitative and quantitative approaches observing the fields as complementary and part of a continuum process of text analysis that seeks to reveal their likely meanings to and impact on audiences (Newbold et al., 2002; Gauntlett, 2002; Curran, 2002). Shoemaker and Reese (1996) who are also considered among the main authors on media content analysts argued that content analysis can be undertaken using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. They categorized content analysis into humanist and behaviorist traditions and noted that behavioral content analysis does not always strictly employs quantitative or numerical techniques, but both quantitative and qualitative approaches tend to go together. “Similarly, humanistic content study naturally gravitates toward qualitative analysis.” They further stated that “reducing large amounts of text to quantitative data ... does not provide a complete picture of meaning and contextual codes, since texts may contain many other forms of emphasis besides sheer repetition” (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996:32). Authors who consider content analysis as a research method to investigate both manifest and latent contents as a way of understanding meaning of the texts integrate both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Macnamara, 2005). Newbold et al. (2002:80) mentioned that “the problem [with quantitative content analysis] is the extent to which the quantitative indicators are interpreted as intensity of meaning, social impact and the like. There is no simple relationship between media texts and their impact, and it would be too simplistic to base decisions in this regard on mere figures obtained from a statistical content analysis.” They further note that the quantitative approach “has not been able to capture the context within which a media text becomes meaningful” and suggested attention to qualitative approaches as well

(Newbold et al., 2002:84). Neuman (1997:273) noted that “in content analysis, a researcher uses objective and systematic counting and recording procedures to produce a quantitative description of the symbolic content in a text” but he further added, although “not highly respected by most positivist scholars”, there are also qualitative or interpretative approaches of the method.

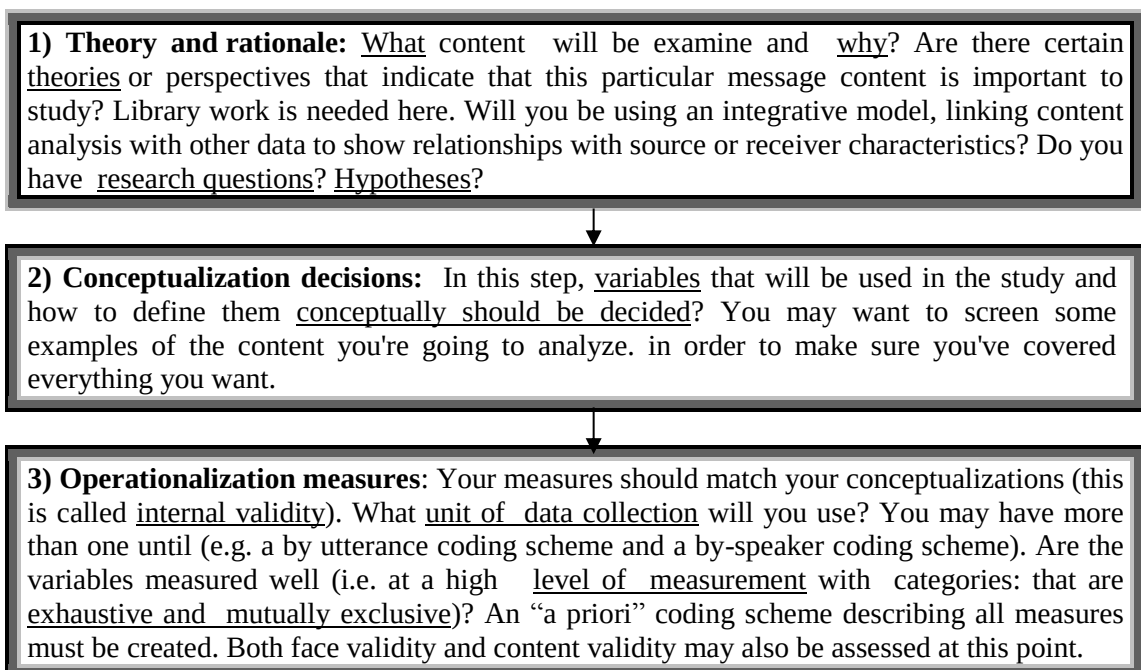
Qualitative approach of content analysis investigates the “relationship between the text and its likely audience meaning, recognizing that media texts are polysomic” - i.e. capable of having different possible meanings to different audience - and seeks to reveal the likely meaning of texts to audiences.” It means that qualitative content analysis focuses not simply on the text, but also on audience, media and contextual factors. Accordingly, it relies highly on researcher readings and interpretation of media texts that requires intensive focus and considerable time. Qualitative content analysis therefore, have often comprised small samples of media content and been criticized by some authors as “unscientific and unreliable” (Macnamara, 2005:5) some others argued that in fact meanings of texts and predicting their likely audiences effect cannot be accessed through analysis of the texts because of many problematic issues regarding audience studies (Newbold et al., 2002). Even though, it can adapt to the scientific and reliable research method, it is difficult and maybe impractical to do with scientific reliability. However, qualitative approach is essential to understand the deeper meanings of texts and audiences’ likely interpretations as the ultimate goal of media content analysis. Therefore, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative content analysis seems to be the ideal approach (Macnamara, 2005:5). Such combination offers the best of both approaches that gives a throughout understanding of the meanings of the media texts and their possible impacts on audiences (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Hansen et al., 1998). Mayring (2104:10) stated that “the central idea of qualitative content analysis is to start from the methodological basis of quantitative.” He therefore, argued that “the qualitative content analysis is a mixed methods approach: assignment of categories to text as qualitative step, working through many text passages and analysis of frequencies of categories as quantitative step.”

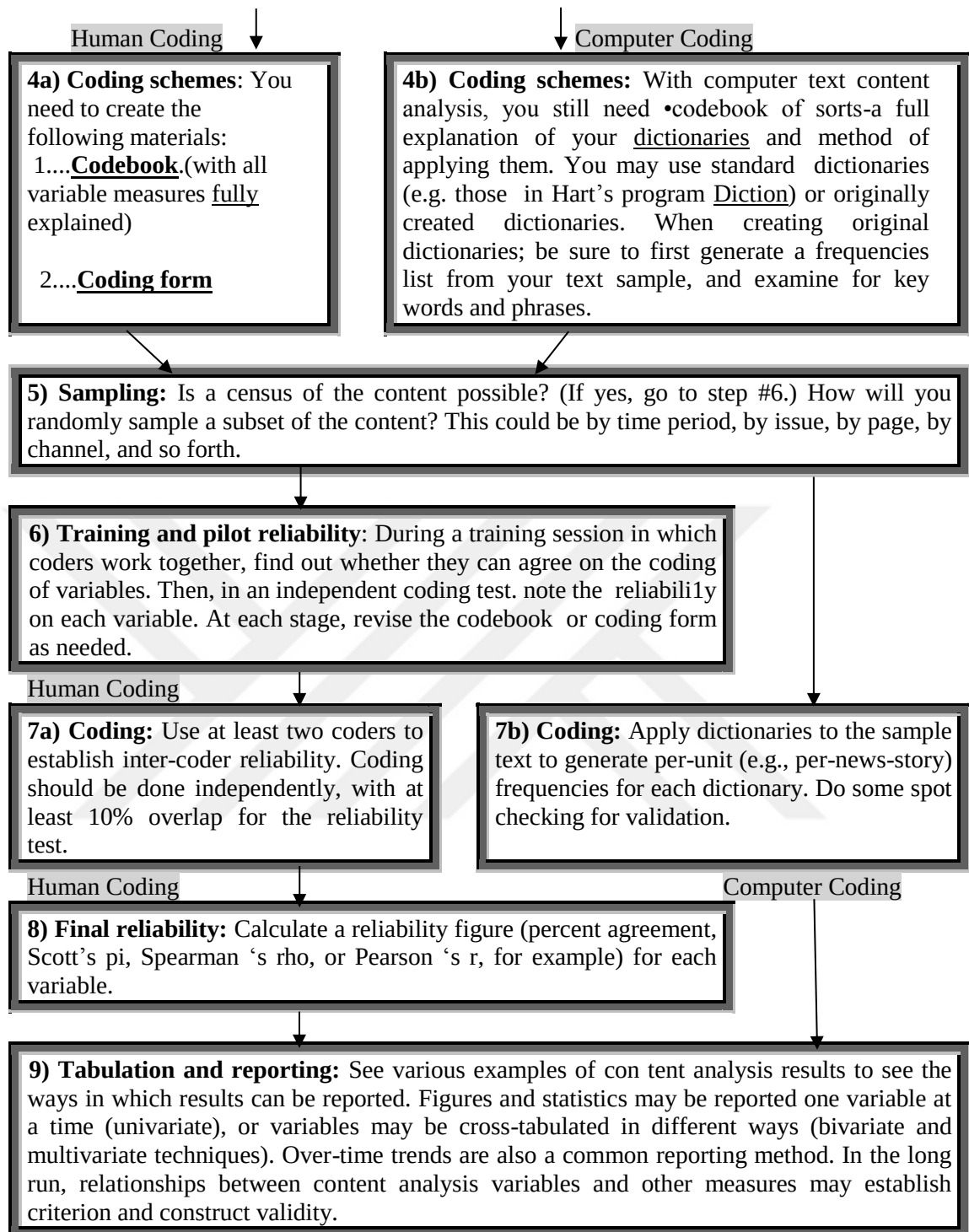
Content analysis is employed “to study a broad range of texts from transcripts of interviews and discussions in clinical and social research to the narrative and form of

films, TV programs and the editorial and advertising content of newspapers and magazines” (Macnamara, 2005:1). Political marketing is an interdisciplinary discipline that shares topics, literatures, expertise, and research methods with many academic fields of study such as communication. Content analysis is specifically appropriate and fundamental for communication research and theory, in particular for the study of mass communication i.e. the analysis of messages (Lombard et al., 2002). On the other hand, social media is a fundamental part of social life that “affects the beliefs, values, and attitudes of people, as well as their intentions and behaviors.” It also comes to the aid of governments and political elites in order to engage citizens while allowing them to make informed decisions. Thus, converting the content of social media into information, key concepts, and themes is vital for producing knowledge and formulating strategies (Lai & Ming, 2015:138). Content analysis is generally employed to analyze content of social media. Thus, in this thesis, the method is the perfect choice to investigate how Trump and Clinton used Twitter platform to communicate with the electorate in their campaigns.

Scholars have suggested different stages and step-by-step models for conducting a content analysis. A more detailed overview of the processes of content analysis was provided by Kimberley Neuendorf (2017:40,41) which is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: A Flowchart for the Typical Process of Content Analysis Research





Source: Neuendorf (2017:40,41).

4.3.3. Coding Instrument

The categories in the content analysis of the Twitter speeches of Clinton and Trump have been developed from previous researches on Benoit's functional theory of political campaign discourse, Benoit's image repair theory, and Aristotle's rhetorical theory. Overall 10 themes were identified regarding Benoit's functional theory, 14 themes were categorized under image repair theory, and 37 themes were identified concerned with Aristotle's persuasion theory. However, categories were not restricted strictly to the pre-identified ones and new themes that emerged while coding process were also considered.

In addition to the three theories, the tweets were also analyzed regarding the number of likes, retweets, and comments they took.

4.3.3.1. Guide for the Categorization of the Content Regarding Functional Theory

Functional theory of political campaign discourse suggests a framework for examining different elements of political campaign messages. The theory focuses on two aspects of political campaign messages including functions and topics which is described in the next sections;

4.3.3.1.1. Functions

The first aspect of the functional theory is concerned with the "function" of the messages including "acclaim", "attack", and "defense" functions. Each tweet was virtually classified into themes that attributed to a single function. All existing functions in each post were coded according to the rules. Table 4.2 illustrates the coding rules concerned with each function;

Table 4.2: Coding Rules Concerned with the Functions of the Messages

Function	Coding Rule
Acclaim	Themes that portray the candidate (or the candidate's political party) in a favorable light.
Attack	Themes that portray the opposing candidate (or that candidate's political party) in an unfavorable light.
Defense	Themes that explicitly respond to a prior attack on the candidate (or the candidate's political party) by the opponent (or a journalist who repeats the attack).

Sources: Benoit et.al. (2006:53); Benoit (2017:16:25).

4.3.3.1.2. Topics

The next aspect of the functional theory encompasses two topics of “policy” and “character.” Each theme was aligned to a topic based on the rules displayed in the Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Coding Rules Concerned with the Topics of the Themes

Topic	Coding Rule
Policy	Themes concern governmental action and problems amenable to governmental action (<i>past deeds, future plans, or general goals</i>). (e.g. accomplishments and failures, or specific campaign promises that are basically talking about particular issue and problem such as to immigration, environment, Medicare, foreign policy, increasing jobs, improving education, social security, economy, welfare, wages, income, reducing interest rates, inflation, crime, cutting taxes, and etc.).
Character	Themes concern the characteristics, traits, abilities, or attributes of the candidates or their parties” including <i>personal qualities</i> : sincerity (trust, honesty, consistency, openness), morality (decency, integrity, responsibility, and fairness), empathy (understanding, similar to voter, fights for voter, and compassion), and drive (courage, work, strength, determination), <i>leadership ability</i> , private or governmental work experience as well as <i>ideals</i> (principles and values embraced by the candidates such as justice, democracy, freedom, equality, opportunity or right to education for all, and etc.).
Campaign Promotion	Themes concern giving information about current or upcoming rallies, debates, speeches, interviews, or events, urging fans to vote or to join polls or rallies, as well as asking them to watch speeches, to donate, follow a specific account, send message, or to participate in campaign activities.

Sources: Benoit et.al. (2006:53); Kaid (1996); Shyles (1983); Benoit (2001, 2009, 2014a, 2017); Brazeal & Benoit (2001); Benoit & McHale (2003, 2004); Benoit & Goode (2006).

All existing topics within a post were coded accordingly. A more detailed explanation about the categories is provided in the theory section. Furthermore, some themes refer to promotion of the campaign activities such as calling for donation, joining election polls, or participation in events. Such themes were excluded from the topic of the messages and were grouped under “campaign promotion” category. The next step is identifying tone of the messages which is derived from their functions.

4.3.3.1.3. Tone of the Message

Tone of a post is determined based on the acclaim and attack functions identified in the post. Attack themes indicate negative tone whereas acclaim themes display positive tone. Defense themes are rejection of criticisms and labeled as defensive in tone (Benoit et al., 2013b, 2014b; Benoit, 2017). A post therefore, was classified as positive, if it comprised only positive themes (acclaims) and was tagged as negative, if it contains only negative themes (attacks), and it was considered as defensive if only defense functions were included. Posts including both positive and negative themes are labeled as mixed in tone. Table 4.4 displays the coding rules regarding tone of the messages;

Table 4.4: Coding Rules Concerned With Tone of the Posts

Tone	Coding Rule
Positive	Posts contain acclaim functions portraying the candidate favorably.
Negative	Posts contain attack functions portraying the opponent unfavorably.
Defensive	Posts concerned only with rejection of criticisms.
Mixed	Posts contain both acclaim and attack functions.

Sources: Lucavicate (2005); Benoit et al. (2013b, 2014b); Benoit (2017).

In addition to the functional theory, the messages were analyzed based on the Aristotle's Rhetorical theory in order to investigate the strategies employed by the candidates to persuade the electorate. The next section describes the methods used for this purpose.

4.3.3.2. Guide for the Categorization of the Defenses Regarding Image Repair Theory

As discussed earlier, theory of image repair introduces 14 distinct strategies that can be used to repair a damaged image or prevent possible crisis. Benoit's (1995) typology comprises five general strategies with their subcategories. Defense

functions were classified into different categories. The strategies were coded using the Table 4.5;

Table 4.5: Coding Rules Regarding Image Repair Strategies

General Strategy	Strategy	Key characteristic
Denial	Simple denial	Did not perform act
	Shift blame	Another performed act
Evasion of responsibility	Provocation	Responded to act of another
	Defeasibility	Lack of information or ability
	Accident	Mishap
	Good intentions	Meant well
Reducing offensiveness	Bolstering	Stress good traits
	Minimization	Act not serious
	Differentiation	Act less offensive than similar acts
	Transcendence	More important values
	Attack Accuser	Reduce credibility of accuser
	Compensation	Reimburse victim
Corrective action		Plan to solve/prevent recurrence of problem
Mortification		Apologize

Source: Benoit (2006:293).

4.3.3.3. Guide for the Categorization of the Content Regarding Aristotle's Persuasion Theory

As described in detail in the theory section, Aristotle distinguished between three forms of persuasion appeals than can be used by the communicator in order to persuade the audience. Ethos is concerned with the credibility and trustworthiness of the communicator (Hartelius & Browning, 2008). Logos is the appearance of rationality, and pathos refers to the audience's emotions and feelings (Higgins & Walker, 2012). However, Aristotle did not specify a method for examining the identification of persuasion appeals in a communication process. Therefore, a working system of appeals was needed. Such system was developed from the literature, especially considering Aristotle (Trans., 1926), Connor and Lauer (1985),

Connor and Gladkov (2004), Anthony and Gladkov, (2007), and Higgins and Walker's (2012) works on persuasive writing. However, there is no uniform system and the typologies employed by different authors include opposing categorization in some cases. Therefore, some adjustments such as additions, removals, compounds, and name changes, were made in order to develop a new exhaustive, understandable and more clear system matching principal definitions of the three notions. Our system encompasses 37 persuasive appeals with 11 credibility (ethos), 11 rational (logos), and 8 emotional (pathos) appeals. It should be mentioned that in this thesis we deal only with general notions of "ethos", "logos", and "pathos." The purpose of this study was not to classify each persuasion appeal into subcategories. Moreover, even though, some of the categories might be rare in microblogging services such as Twitter, the aim was to list the main identifiable persuasion appeals from the literature, in order to provide the coders with a wide range of possible strategies that might be used within a text. In addition, the system can be also used for future studies concerned with other forms of text content.

Furthermore, despite the fact that scholars have separated the three forms of persuasion, it is clear that logos, pathos, and ethos are often intertwined and interdependent. Thus, while identifying logos, pathos, and ethos appeals, it is important to recognize that the use of them can often overlap. For instance; building credibility of the candidate may require the use of claims, evidences, or other logical appeals. On the other hand, logical arguments will be more persuasive if voters believe the candidate to be credible. Voters' positive emotional state makes them receptive to the message. Furthermore, candidates may appeal to values of voters (pathos) that are commonly held between candidates and voters, in order to establish credibility or ethos (Hoffman & Ford, 2010). Thus, pathos as an effective tool in rhetorical arguments, can be a subordinate to ethos in some situations (Garver, 1994).

The interdependency between ethos, logos, and pathos, has led different interpretations, contradictory typologies, and challenging categorization of the appeals among authors. However, it can be stated that the three appeals differ from each other based on their focus (i.e. candidate, message, or audience). Therefore, it can be stated that the focus of the appeal is the key factor that can come as an aid in order to overcome such discrepancies among researchers. Accordingly, the three

appeals of ethos, logos, and pathos can be independently identifiable and distinguished from each other based on their orientation and focus.

Ethos appeal is concerned with the candidates' intelligence, trustworthiness, and goodwill toward the citizens, or in other word his/her credibility that is revealed through the message (Griffin, 2012). Ethos is concerned with the persuasive power derived from the character, authority and credibility of the communicator (Hovland et al., 1953; Aho, 1985; Green, 2004; Conrad & Malphurs, 2008; Heo & Park, 2016). It deals with deliberately establishing candidate's image and providing sufficient guarantee for the credibility and trustworthiness of the communicator (Ilie, 2006; Verderber et al., 2012; Ching ko, 2015). Ethos invites the electorate to confer authority of the candidate (Green, 2004) and it focuses on the persuasiveness of the candidate's character (Aho, 1985; Conrad & Malphurs, 2008). Thus, the focus is on the credibility of the candidate whereas logos is about the clarity and integrity of the argument itself (Holt & MacPherson, 2010; Higgins & Walker, 2012). It is concerned with the rational appeal and factual basis of the message (Aristotle, Trans., 1926). In other words, logical appeal supports the message itself and is concerned with credibility of the message rather than credibility of the candidate. On the other hand, emotional appeal addresses audience's own values, needs, identification, and experience, in order to put them in a certain state of mind. The focus, therefore is on the audience rather than the candidate or the message. With regard to the rhetorical theory, final coding schema with the summarized meaning of each persuasion appeal was composed as follows;

4.3.3.3.1. Ethos

"Ethos" appeal refers to the perceived intelligence, goodwill, and character of the candidates and is detected if a theme includes one or more of the 11 categories comprising: "expertise", "consistency", "common ground", "transcendent we", "antithesis", "respected source", "righteous character", "self-criticism", "opponents' opinions", "mercifulness", and "civility."

Indicating competence through sharing "experiences" confirms the candidate's special knowledge in the field. The candidate's "personal taste",

“practical living”, or “first-hand experience” or information that comes directly from his/her experience (Connor & Gladkov, 2004:284), titles such as *M.D* or *P.H.D* (Gass & Seiter, 2013), as well as “qualifications, judgment, and first-hand knowledge”, demonstrate competence of the candidate and signal “**expertise**” category (Higgins & Walker, 2012:198). It gives the impression that the candidate is knowledgeable and versed on the subject (Connor & Lauer, 1985:266). In addition to those above, “recommendations” or “promises” in some cases as well as “jargon” (specialized terms), are used to stress the candidate’s expertise in a field and therefore, can be classified within this category.

Candidates can also enhance credibility by “inclination to succeed” through “drawing attention to accomplishments or forecasts of future success.” Moreover, “consistency” in keeping promises also enhances credibility (Higgins & Walker, 2012:198). We combined these two categories within the “**consistency**” category. Showing competence in achieving the past promises, implies consistency that the future promises will be kept as well.

“Identification through **common ground**” is a strategy that highlights the mutual viewpoints, interests, and/or values between the candidate and voters and minimizes the differences. It complements the candidate’s identity by establishing a sense of belonging and inclusiveness. It helps the candidate to build up solidity with the voters (Connor & Gladkov, 2004:284). Higgins and Walker (2012) named this category as “ingratiation.” It is similar to one of the four credibility appeals in the Connor and Lauer’s (1985) system. Common ground is defined as the overlap between beliefs of a candidate and voters. Voters judge intelligence by the overlap between their beliefs and the candidate’s ideas by establishing identification (“*My idea of an agreeable speaker is one who agrees with me*”) (Griffin, 2012:293). “Identification through shared viewpoints and interests” enhances the candidate’s positive character and is considered as an ethos appeal. It occurs where the candidate equates or links himself or herself with voters in an overt manner (Chency, 1983) through recognized common ground between candidate and voters, such as “physical characteristics, talents, occupation, experiences, personality, beliefs, and attitudes; consubstantiation” (Giffin, 2012:300). The common ground is a direct associative strategy of identification as a means, which allows the candidate to say in effect: “I

am like you” or *“I have the same interests as you”* (Heath et al., 2018:121). In addition, appeal to “shared knowledge” is also an engagement strategy through which candidates seek to bring the voters in agreement with themselves. Candidates can construct kinds of explicit signals asking the voters to recognize something as familiar or already accepted knowledge (Hyland, 2005; 2018).

“Assumed”, “collective”, or **transcendent “we”** and the corresponding “they” (symbolizing outsiders), is another identification strategy which is used to persuade voters at an unconscious level. As illustrated in the literature part, it occurs when a candidate says, for example: *“we are against taxes on profit”* if the “we” clearly refers to all audience members (Chency, 1983:149). *“We are at war”* statement, for example, “includes soliders, defense constructors, and the citizenry-all with their different spheres and interests” (Heath et al., 2018:122). Besides being an identification strategy, according to Hyland (2005; 2018) inclusive “we” is the most explicit and the most frequent engagement strategy that is used to bind a rhetor and the audience together. It gives the audience a sense of membership with similar goals and understanding as the candidate. This strategy is also homologous with the “similitude” category of Higgins and Walker (2012:198) and is most evident with the use of pronouns such as “you and I”, “together”, collective “we”, “our”, “us”, and “metaphorical relationships” (e.g., friend, family, partner).

Another identification strategy that can be used as a means of establishing credibility of the candidate is **antithesis**, which focuses on uniting in the face of a “common enemy.” For example, highlighting dreads from “outsiders, misguided environmentalists, overzealous government regulations, and unprogressive community leaders” (Chency, 1983:148). It is a form of “reaching congregation by segregation “ This strategy introduces a common enemy for both candidate and the voters. It can also be used to deflect criticism by suggesting that “it is launched against us.” It is a disassosiate strategy that indirectly seeks to establish a new assosiation or reinforce the existing one (Heath et al., 2018:121). This strategy functions by “us” versus “them” (Health, 2013).

Using evidence from a “**respected source**” or an expert in the field supporting the candidate (not the message itself), makes voters perceive the candidate’s qualification and expertise. Therefore, increases credibility and

persuasiveness of the candidate (Verderber et al., 2012). Referring to an authority of a famous person or a higher status such as a “celebrity”, “scientist”, or any well-known figure (not a scientific research which is an appeal to logos), enhances credibility and increase candidate’s persuasiveness. Highlighting acknowledgements (e.g., *everybody noted my ...*), using “endorsement”, “testimonials”, mentioning a source or a reference that focus on the candidate and boosts the his/her image are included within this category.

Credibility of a candidate can be enhanced by citing his/her good (Connor & Gladkov, 2004) and “**righteous characteristic**”, such as social position (Heo & Park, 2016), or moral character (e.g. being reliable, fair, frank, gentler, good, neutral, objective, punctual and honest) (Amossy, 2000; Ilie, 2006; Griffin, 2012). Even speaking within the time parameters increases credibility by indicating the speaker’s punctuality (Verderber et al., 2012). If a candidate is able to show that he/she does not intend to deceive the citizens, he/she enhances trustworthiness (Heo & Park, 2016). Trustworthiness can be also achieved from the candidate’s own experiences, personal Stories related to morality, principles, values, ideals, and motives (Aristotle, Trans., 1975; Verderber et al., 2012). This category was named as “righteous character” in our typology.

Elements of “**self-criticism**” and self-deprecation also illustrate the honesty of the candidate, who can confess his/her mistakes or deficiencies, and therefore, it increases credibility (Higgins & Walker, 2012:198). It may occur when a candidate reveals negative values of himself or herself to make a contra-point. For instance: “*Although I was not in good mood*” or “*Even though I was not so kind.*”

In addition, citing “**opponents’ opinions**” in a tweet, in a respectful manner (e.g., “I must admit”), implies honesty of the candidate and increases her/his credibility and trustworthiness. It is clear that attacks on the opponents’ opinions are not included in this category.

“**Civility**” in our typology corresponds with “deference” category of Higgins and Walker (2012) and the “respect to audience’s interests and points of view” strategy of Connor and Lauer (1985:314). Credibility is enhanced when the candidate respect to the voter’s interests and viewpoints and avoids any clash with the voter’s own beliefs or conviction. It creates the impression of “good willed” candidate in the

mind of voters and may often takes the form of “appreciation” (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). “Civility” represents the candidate’s “politeness” or his/her “respect” for the “rights” and “feelings” of the voters by creating an impression that the candidate has “good intentions.” It is evident, for instance, with the use of phrases such as “with your permission”, “join me, if you would” (Higgins & Walker, 2012:198). “Greetings”, “compliments”, words such as “thank you” and any phrase implying “politeness”, “respect”, and “appreciation” that create a positive judgment of the candidate’s intention toward the voters are also considered within this category. In addition, second person pronouns (you, your) are the clearest way a candidate can acknowledge the audience in order to bringing the voters to the discourse. However, these forms are rare outside philosophy because they imply the separation between the candidate and voters (Hyland, 2018). Thus, we neglect them in coding.

According to the literature, “understanding” toward the citizens, “having voter’s interest at heart”, “not being self-centered”, being concerned with the voters, being sensitive (McCroskey & Teven, 1999), “empathy”, “care”, and “responsiveness” (Verderber et al., 2012), all represent the candidate’s goodwill and make the voters believe to what the candidate says through enhancing his/her credibility. This also creates a form of positive judgment of the candidate’s intention toward the voters (Griffin, 2012:293). This category was named as “**mercifulness.**” “Showing empathy” using statements such as “*I know how you feel*” is referred to this strategy (Gass & Seiter, 2013). In addition, goodwill is illustrated by Aristotle as the treatment of the emotions, often to friendship (Braet, 1992). Therefore, focusing on friendship between candidate and voters, presenting himself/herself as a friend of the voters without referring to the transcendent “we”, is another appeal to goodwill which can be included within this category. It should be noted that “expressing friendship or sympathy” by the candidates as ethos strategies differs from arousing voters’ friendly and sympathetic feelings that can be achieved through humor or sad stories. Thus, identification through friendship or sympathy is an appeal to pathos and should be distinguished from showing friendship or sympathy which is an appeal to ethos. Furthermore, “vocatives” are words or phrases that address the audience directly through personal name, title, and etc. (e.g., Reza, Doctor). Considering empathic and friendship functions of vocatives (Busse, 2006), they can be included

within this strategy. Moreover, based on their respect and politeness function they can be also categorized within civility group. However, in both cases they are appeals to goodwill. Yet, second person pronoun of “you” is eliminated from vocatives because of functioning as superlative and negative ethos.

Moreover, it was mentioned in the previous chapter that ethos according to sophistic researches comprises of three types: “competence” (intelligence), “trustworthiness” (character), and “care” (goodwill) (Griffin, 2012). Three elements of ethos suggested by Aristotle were described as “perceived intelligence”, “virtuous character” and “goodwill” (Griffin, 2012). Ethos through “**perceived intelligence**” is possessed when the candidate shares her/her special competence and experience to represents his/her special knowledge. Thus, “expertise”, “consistency”, “common ground”, “transcendent we”, “antithesis”, and “respected source” categories can be classified under this sub-category. “**Virtuous character**” refers to personality of a good and honest candidate. Three categories of “righteous characteristic”, “self-criticism”, and “opponents’ opinion” represent honesty. Therefore can be classified under “virtuous character.” “**Goodwill**” indicates good intention of the candidate. Therefore, it includes “mercifulness” and “civility” categories.

It should be noted that, such classification was done in order to ease understanding the developed typology. It can also be used in further researches. However, it is not included in content analysis of this study. The study is not intended to categorize different types of persuasion appeals. Figure 4.6 Features of ethos based on the developed typology;

Table 4.6: Appeals to Ethos

ETHOS	Perceived intelligence (competence)	Expertise
		Consistency
		Common Ground
		Transcendent “We”
		Antithesis
	Virtuous character	Respected Source
		Righteous Characteristic
		Self-Criticism
	Good will	Opponents’ Opinion
		Mercifulness
		Civility

Sources: Aristotle (Trans., 1975); Chency, (1983); Braet (1992); McCroskey & Teven (1999); Amossy (2000); Connor & Gladkov (2004); Hyland (2005); Ilie (2006); Busse (2006); Anthony & Gladkov (2007); Higgins & Walker (2012); Griffin, (2012); Verderber et al. (2012); Heath (2013); Gass & Seiter (2013); Heo & Park (2016); Heath et al., (2018).

4.3.3.3.2. Logos

Logos refers to the logical appeal used by the candidate to support the message. It was mentioned before that logos With regard to rhetoric, is broader than just rationality. logos is more like “commonsense.” Even an “appearance of rationality” stresses logos. Therefore logos in rhetoric does not need the same verbal proofs as logic, in order to persuade the audience (Higgins & Walker, 2012). The literature suggests many types of argumentation and systems of reasoning with regard to logos. 18 categories that identify logos were finalized as: “claims”, “clarity”, “warrants”, “justifications”, “historical evidences”, “information”, “cause-means-consequences”, “narrative example”, “descriptive example”, “classification”, “comparison”, “contrast”, “degree”, “authority”, and “model.”

Aristotle (Trans., 1926), focused on two general forms of logical appeals as “**enthymeme**”, and “**example**.” As described in previous chapter in detail, “enthymeme” is an argumentative statement that comprises premises and is concluded with a tentative conclusion from probable premises. “Example” was defined as a “paradigm that supports a proposition by implying a universal

conclusion” from a specific experience through an inductive reasoning process, “which need not be expressed” (Griffin, 2012:292). Example according to Aristotle’s (Trans., 1926), includes achievement, and fact forms. “**Achievement**” form of examples was described as “a topic-supporting paragraph that cites achievements during the presidency” (Heo & Park, 2016:309). “**Fact**” type example is “a topic-supporting paragraph citing actual past facts” (Heo & Park, 2016:309). In addition to Aristotle’s classification, number of “example” types and other logical appeals were detected in the literature and are described in the following paragraphs;

Example is a strategy through which candidates want voters to conclude that if something is true for someone, then it is true for another. Using a compelling “**descriptive example**” from the candidate’s own or someone else’s experience is another type of logical appeals that can be used to support the candidate’s standpoint in form of a story (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). “Descriptive example” seeks to portray features (e.g., price, location, taste, service, time, and etc.) of the object of the review. The verbal tense used by the reviewer is more likely to be simple present.

“**Narrative example**” is a compelling example that comprises “a beginning, middle, and end of a story.” In other word, it is a type of description that provides reasons about the candidate’s standpoint in form of a story. Past verbal tense often used for “narrative example.”

Logos refers to the “**clarity**” and integrity of the argument (Holt & MacPherson, 2010). Clarity represents logic and is an appeal to reason (Aho, 1985; Green, 2004; Higgins & Walker, 2012). Thus, using communal understandable language rather than using advanced scientific terms is an appeal to reason. It is simplifying complex terms and make them understandable for all voters.

“**Classification**” is a form of argument which places an object (e.g. individual or topic) in certain class and then offers defining features.” It is a persuasion appeal through reasoning (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). Through this strategy candidate can place voters within a specific class in order to illustrate the benefits of being in that class or to associate the desired action with the certain class. “Definitions” are also included within this category (Connor & Lauer, 1985).

Logical appeals can be presented at the form of “**comparison**” or “**contrast**.” The two rational appeals that establish a logical argument on the relationship of like

to like. “Comparison” supports a conclusion on a subject “from a description of a related subject” whereas “contrast” supports a conclusion about a subject “by describing its counterpart” (Connor & Gladkov, 2004).

The Aristotle’s (Trans., 1932) argument of “more or less” is also an appeal to logic. For instance: “if the less frequent thing occurs, the more frequent thing would occur” (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007:126). This category was named as “**degree**” by Connor and Lauer (1985). It is “arguing that two things are separated by a difference of degree rather than kind, or making an appeal for an incremental change” (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007:124). This strategy also relies on the assumption that if one thing is true (or happens), then the other is also true (or should happen) (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). We also included generalization within this group. “Generalization” is sweeping statement about a whole group, based on one or a few members of the group.

“**Justifications**” and “defenses” in the text are also considered as logos appeal. Mentioning “**historical evidences**” such as historical events or historical facts and examples, is another way of appeal to reasoning (Higgins & Walker, 2012).

According to Aristotle, “since it commonly happens that a given thing has consequences both good and bad, you may argue from these antecedents, in urging or dissuading, in prosecuting or defending, in praising or blaming” (Aristotle, Trans., 1932:166). Contrasting the consequences of both taking and not taking a specific action is a way of persuading voters (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). “**Cause-means-consequences**” strategy helps to urge an action in the voters by “forecasting effects, consequences, or ends” (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007:127). “Consequences can be observed or foreseen, ascertained, or presumed. It is the truth of an idea that can only be judged by its effects” (Perelman, 1982:83). The “cause/effect-means/end-consequences” appeal is employed to let the audience evaluate an event through its illustrated consequences. It is the used when the candidates shows how one event is the cause of another (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007).

Using “**authority**” of a person is another persuasion strategy that was categorized as logos by Connor and Lauer (1985). However, there is not a consensus about this strategy among authors. It is a challenging strategy because using authority of a person other than the communicator can be considered as both logos and ethos.

As mentioned before, we suggest that focus of the strategy is the key factor that helps to differentiate the two strategies. While logos focuses attention on the message itself, ethos focuses on the candidates' credibility or trustworthiness. In other words, logos is credibility of the message, whereas ethos is credibility of the candidate. Thus, using the "authority" of a person other than the candidate to support the message itself (not the candidates' character which is ethos) is considered as logical appeal (Perelman, 1982). Using a distinguished name that certifies the message and enhances its validity, is a way of persuasion. In this category, "prestige is the quality that leads others to imitate acts of authoritative people" (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007:126). In short, this strategy deals with using authority of a second person that focuses on something other than candidates' intelligence, trustworthiness, and goodwill (e.g. news, claims, attacks).

Offering a "**model**" for action that is based on existing programs is an appeal to reasoning. "Model" provides the audience "with a description of the way a proposed end can be achieved. A working model reflects and supports the current case by a precedent" (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007:126).

Aristotle believed that "the speaker must, first of all, be provided with a special selection of premises (facts). The more facts he has at his command...The more easy he will make the point" (Aristotle, Trans., 1932:57). Sometimes logos relies on an "**information**" or a final conclusion from a specific case that gives definiteness to the argument. Logos is often supported by "numbers", "data", "statistics", "v", "scientific research", "links", "warrants", and any type of "facts" included in the tweet (Aristotle, Trans., 1926; Connor & Lauer, 1985; Connor & Gladkov, 2004; Higgins & Walker, 2012).

"Reviewing previous steps and looking forward to what steps need to be taken" also helps to persuade the audience through logical appeal (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007:125). It is used when there is a gap between the concept that is accepted by the voters, and the proposal that the candidate is defending. The gap is closed by demonstrating that how the proposal can be "**stage in process**" (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007). "Instead of going from A to D, one offers to lead the interlocutor first to B than to C and finally to D" (Perelman, 1982:87). In other words, when covering the distance between initial and final stage (goal, proposal) sounds

inconceivable to the voters, the candidate provides one or more middle stages or transitional goals, that would be easier to reach in the voters' mind (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007).

Universal premises that are accepted by all voters can be employed to persuade the voters. A type of convincing discourse is "one whose premises are universalizable, that is acceptable in principle of all members of the universal audience" (Perelman, 1982:18). In the "**ideal or principle**" category, the candidate demonstrates that how his/her argument is based on a universal principle to persuade the voters (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007). We added the "claim" strategy in Higgins and Walker's (2012) typology under this category. "Claims" are declarative sentences that make an statement and end with a period. They refer to the "declarative sentences" that are the opposite to a question (Higgins & Walker, 2012). They declare or state something and are the beliefs which candidates attempt to convince the voters to accept (e.g. my car is blue). This category is considered as an appeal to logos. However, in here, we only consider claims that imply universal premises that are accepted by all people, and are used to argue something. That is nothing but the "ideal and principle" category. Sometimes "rhetorical questions" come in to play as a reasoning or claim emphasizing validity of the message. Candidates can use this type of rhetorical questions to imply that the answer (his/her viewpoint) is so obvious that anyone who disagrees is foolish. Thus, this type of rhetorical questions is a form of claim and is included within this category (Silva Rhetoricae, 2016).

Table 4.7: Appeals to Logos

LOGOS	Enthymeme
	Achievement
	Ideal or principle
	Clarity
	Justifications
	Historical Evidences
	Information
	Cause-Means-Consequences
	Narrative Example
	Descriptive Example
	Classification
	Comparison
	Contrast
	Degree
	Authority
	Model
	Stage in Process

Sources: Aristotle (Trans., 1932); Chency, (1983); Perelman (1982). Connor & Lauer (1985).McCroskey & Teven (1999); Connor & Gladkov (2004); Anthony & Gladkov (2007); Holt & MacPherson (2010); Higgins & Walker (2012); Griffin, (2012); Verderber et al. (2012); Heath et al., (2018).

4.3.3.3. Pathos

Pathos refers to the arousal of emotion through messages. Candidates can apply pathos to target emotional aspects of the voter's mind. Different types of emotional appeals they can be used to persuade voters are categorized within the following 8 groups including "voters' situation", "voters' empathy", "voters' interests, needs, and values", "positive and negative motivations", "vivid picture", "charged language", "figures of speech", and "urgency" as described in detail in the following paragraphs;

A type of pathos occurs when candidates seek to evoke an emotion by placing voters in the situation of the people who need help (Connor & Gladkov, 2004).

Emotion in “**voters’ situation**” is an appeal to voters’ own situation by evoking an emotion that has personal relevance (e.g., fear, anger, and joy). This category seek to establish an “*it could happen to me*” mentality in voters. The following statements refer to this strategy; “*It could happen to you*”; “*It could kill you, your family, your friends*” (Connor & Lauer, 1985:315). When a candidate says, for instance: “*few words no parent wants to hear. Your son was killed in Iraq*”, he/she aimed at using the chilling first sentence to put the voters in the situation of facing the loss of a child in Iraq War and consequently make them feel like helpless and frustrated parents who do everything to save their Childs (US army) in Iraq (Caudill, 2018).

“**Voters’ empathy**” is the strategy used is to induce voters to feel empathy for others. Empathic feeling is the likely consequence of taking the perspective of another person (even a creature) in need, imagining how he/she is affected by his/her plight (Stotland, 1969; Coke et al., 1978). It is “an other-oriented emotional response congruent with another’s perceived welfare; if the other is oppressed or in need, empathic feelings include sympathy, compassion, tenderness, and the like” (Batson et al., 1997:105). Appeal to “voters’ empathy” and sensitivity of the voters can evoke their empathy and pity. It is a form of identification that can establish a sense of connection between voters and the other party. This strategy is categorized as an appeal to pathos by Connor and Lauer (1985) as well as Higgins and Walker (2012). It should be noted that sometimes the appeal to “voter’s situation” may lead directly into the appeal to “voter’s empathy.”

Appeal to the “**voters’ interests, needs, and values**” arouses emotions in the voters by addressing their emotional, attitudinal, and moral values and needs (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007; Goering et al. , 2009). “Contemporary conceptions of pathos often focus on how rhetors can craft appeals that create and offer to satisfy needs, or that appeal to commonly held values” (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:29) such as fairness, compassion, safety, and justice (Hauser, 2002), as well as identification through cultural references such as sport, health (Higgins & Walker, 2012). This topic was previously discussed under the concept of consistency theories. Appeals to voters needs and values often paired with positive and negative motivations to enhance persuasiveness (Jordan & Kunda, 2002).

Candidates can highlight voters unmet needs and create fear which is used in persuading voters. They can also suggest that shame will result from refusing the candidate's advice (Hoffman & Ford, 2010:29). As discussed in the third chapter, "**positive and negative motivations**" are common persuasive strategies that can be employed by candidates as extended forms of pathos (Jordan & Kunda, 2002). In positive motivation, voters are rewarded for following the candidate's advice, whereas negative motivation is a driver force out of fear, guilt, or shame of the consequences due to failure of following the candidate's advice (Ruskin et al., 2007).

"**Vivid picture**" creates the effect of the presence of voters in a situation described in the message. That is "creating a thought, a mind's eye vision." The candidate needs to bring an object as close to the voters as possible. Than is done through using vivid language to word pictures for the voters (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007). For example, "non-literal language" is an appeal to pathos because it requires sort of imagination and consequently the arousing of feelings. This strategy also comprises "photographic" and "artistic images" (Higgins & Walker, 2012), "imagery" (vivid and descriptive language), "fables", "fictional stories", most of "poets" and "proses" that aligned with imaginations, as well as talking about a "nostalgia", writing about a "memory" or an "experience in common" to make voters remember something are appeals to vivid picture.

The next appeal is "**charged language**." It is the use of strong language to arouse emotions in voters (Anthony & Gladkov, 2007). It contains implications beyond the meanings of words often employed to persuade or convey a specific way of thinking. "Some speech and writing trade on emotionally charged language which is also called loaded language." A mood or attitude can be set through the use of "emotionally charged language without providing arguments, reasons, or any consideration of alternative possibilities." For instance, the word "change" can be altered with other words such as "diversion of funds" or "reform." The former suggests negative attitude while the latter represents a positive attitude. It is easier to persuade people to reform something than to convince them that to diverting funds was a good thing to do (Govier, 2005:58). Charged language often exists as a substitute for other words or phrases, one more negative or positive than the other depending on the circumstance (e.g. dreadful vs. bad, historic vs. memorable,

tremendous vs. very good). Charged language that has the potential to victimize the audience (Ho et al., 2020). It is employed to gain support, sway opinions, degrade opponents, gain a political foothold, or push an agenda. This strategy is intended to anger voters and provoke them into action (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). It uses potentially emotive words to appeal strong feelings or exaggerated emotions in order to rile the voter into action. However, such words are included in this category when the core strategy is solely pathos (e.g., “*I love it*”), and emotional words within a statement that basically appeal to *logos* or *ethos* are not matter of this category (e.g., “*I love it, because it suits on me*” is an appeal to logos). Charged language strategy in addition, includes using powerful and depicting adjectives (e.g., “horrifying reality”, “incredible truth”). It should be mentioned that “it would be unrealistic to insist on universally and completely neutral language.” Neutrality in emotional tone is almost impossible (Govier, 2005:59). Thus only the words that have strong enough negative or positive connotation was considered (e.g., historic, tremendous, horrific, battle, etc.).

“Figures of speech” encompass literary devices that are intentionally deviated from ordinary language. It uses language in an unusual or figured way toward producing a “stylistic” and rhetorical effect through “medium mind control” which is a sub-process of pathos (Smith, 2018). In persuasion discourse, medium mood control comprises stylistic strategies and techniques (e.g., humor) employed by the rhetor to capture the audience’s attention, engage them, and put them in a contented and receptive mood (Smith, 2012). “Figures of speech” seek for eliciting a favorable mood or emotion in voters through the medium of the message rather than substance of the message (Smith, 2018). “Figures of speech” therefore, are not part of structuring of an argument (Ray, 2015) and should be distinguished with the topics of invention. This category comprises great number of strategies such as “rhetorical questions”, “similes”, “puns”, “metaphors”, “personifications”, “abstracts” (e.g., chill, classy, vibe), “idioms” or “Internet slangs” (e.g., “*LOL*”). Figures of speech often are aligned with pathos, however, there are some figures of speech that can be attributed to logos or ethos in some cases. This category includes figures of speech that are specifically employed in order to provoke rather than to argue or emphasis. For instance, “metaphors” are often concrete and sensory. Thus

they have emotional effects on the audience (Connor & Gladkov, 2004) and are often attributed to pathos (Higgins & Walker, 2012). They often evoke emotions associated either with “metaphoric concept” or rhetor’s “amusing style.” However, some metaphors can be recognized as substantive strategies that effect the substantive content of the message. In this case a metaphor is an analogy by which the candidate tries to communicate the substance of his/her argument to the voters. The latter refers to “what is said”, the former relates to “how it is said” (Smith, 2007). More detailed description about different types and overlapping figures is given in the third chapter. Moreover, Even though, this category overlaps in some cases with “charged language” and “vivid picture” categories that described above, we grouped them separately because the two latter appeals are available in the system suggested by Connor and Lauer (1985).

Candidate may appeal to “Kairos” in order to convince the voters to take a quick action through establishing a sense of “**urgency**” by setting a goal referring a timeline. Such urgency can be combined with negative motivations, conveying that ignoring the candidate’s advice will result in negative consequences. Displaying urgency in this case, was considered as an appeal to pathos in some researches (Caudill, 2018), through which candidates may call voters to take a quick action such as giving them a deadline for donation or joining polls.

Table 4.8: Appeals to Pathos

PATHOS	Voters’ Situation
	“Voters’ Empathy”
	Voters’ Interests, Needs, & Values
	Positive and Negative Motivations
	Vivid Picture
	Charged Language
	Figures of Speech
	Urgency

Sources: Stotland (1969) ; Coke et al. (1978); Connor & Lauer (1985); Batson et al. (1997); Jordan & Kunda (2002); Hauser (2002); Connor & Gladkov (2004); Anthony & Gladkov (2007); Ruskin et al. (2007); Ray (2015); Caudill (2018); Goering et al. (2009); Hoffman & Ford (2010); Higgins & Walker (2012); Caudill (2018); Smith (2018).

Strategies concerned with ethos, logos, and pathos appeals were identified in each Twitter post according to the rules. Each post often contained either one or more of the persuasion triad while some posts did not aligned with any appeal. Posts were coded based on the existence of the three appeals rather than each sub-category. A combined table with summary and examples of the three appeals is illustrated in table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Persuasion Appeals and Examples

ETHOS	EXAMPLES
Expertise	Competence, experiences, knowledge, personal taste, practical living, qualifications, titles such as Ph.D., judgment, using jargon or recommendations.
Consistency	Showing competence in achieving the past promises, implies consistency that the future promises will be kept as well. Referring consistency in keeping promises, or “inclination to succeed” through drawing attention to past accomplishments or forecasts of future success.
Identification Through Common Ground	Implying “I am like you” or “I have the same interests as you.” Focusing on mutual viewpoints, interests, values, physical characteristics, talents, occupation, experiences, personality, beliefs, and attitudes, shared knowledge, and consubstantiation with the electorate.
Identification Through Transcendent “We”	Collective “we”, “our”, “us”, “they” (symbolizing outsiders), “you and I”, “together”, “metaphorical relationships” (e.g., friend, family, partner).
Identification Through Antithesis	Common enemy, “it is launched against us”, “us” versus “them”, highlighting dreads from “outsiders, misguided environmentalists, overzealous government regulations, and unprogressive community leaders. It can be merged with “Transcedent we” strategy in most cases.
Respected Source	Using an expert, famous person, a higher authority or status such as a celebrity, scientist. Acknowledgements (e.g., everybody noted my ...). Using endorsement, testimonials, source or a reference that focus on the candidate’s credibility.
Righteous Characteristic	Social position, moral character, being reliable, fair, frank, gentler, good, neutral, objective, punctual and honest. Stories related to morality,

	principles, values, ideals, and motives embraced by the candidates.
Self-Criticism	Confess to mistakes or deficiencies. e.g. “although I was not in good mood”, “although I was not so kind”.
Opponents’ Opinion	Citing opponents’ opinions without attacking it. e.g., “I must admit.”
Mercifulness	Showing good intention, politeness, and respect to the voters’ rights, feelings, interests, beliefs, and viewpoints. Greetings, compliments, appreciation, thanking, and avoiding clashes.
Civility	Understanding, empathy, care, responsiveness, being concerned, sensitive, having voters’ interest at heart, being not self-centered, “I know how you feel.” Expressing friendship or sympathy (it differs from transcendent “we” or arousing voters’ friendly and sympathetic feelings which is pathos). Vocatives (e.g. addressing the audience directly through personal name, title, and etc. such as; Reza, Doctor).

LOGOS	EXAMPLES
Enthymeme	Deductive argument involves the use of a rhetorical syllogism. E.g. All people are created equal (I am a person). Thus I am equal to other people.
Achievement	A topic-supporting argument that cites achievements during the presidency.
Ideal or principle	Employing universal premises that are accepted by all voters within the argument, demonstrates that how the argument is based on a universal principle.
Clarity	Using communal understandable language rather than using advanced scientific terms.
Justifications	Justifications and defenses.
Historical Evidences	Historical events or historical facts and examples.
Information	Numbers, data, statistics, figures, scientific research, links, warrants, and any type of facts supporting the message itself rather than the candidate’s intelligence, trustworthiness, and goodwill.
Cause-Means-Consequences	Contrasting good or bad consequences of both taking and not taking a specific action, forecasting effects, consequences, or ends. Showing

	how one event is the cause of another.
Narrative Example	compelling example including a beginning, middle, and end of a story that provides reasons about the candidate's standpoint in form of a story. Past verbal tense often used.
Descriptive Example	Compelling descriptive example from the candidate's own or someone else's experience that seeks to portray features (e.g., price, location, taste, service, time, and etc.) of the object of the review. The verbal tense is more likely to be simple present.
Classification	Definitions, arguments which place an object (e.g. voters, an individual, or a topic) in certain class in order to offer defining features and illustrate the benefits of being in that class, or associate the desired action with the certain class.
Comparison	It supports a conclusion on a subject from a description of a related subject.
Contrast	It supports a conclusion about a subject by describing its counterpart.
Degree	Generalization, arguing that two things are separated by a difference of degree rather than kind. Thus, if the less frequent thing occurs, the more frequent thing would occur. if one thing is true (or happens), then the other is also true (or should happen).
Authority	Using authority of a distinguished name to support the message itself rather than focusing on the candidate's intelligence, trustworthiness, and goodwill (e.g. news, claims, attacks etc.).
Model	Offering a model for action that is based on existing programs that provides the voters with a description of the way a proposed end can be achieved.
Stage in Process	Reviewing previous steps and looking forward to what steps need to be taken. Providing one or more middle stages or transitional goals.

PATHOS	EXAMPLES
Voters' Situation	Evoking an emotion that has personal relevance (e.g., fear, anger, and joy) by placing voters in the situation of the people who need help. Establishing an "it could happen to me" mentality in voters. It sometime leads directly into empathy.
Voters' Empathy	It is an "other-oriented" emotional response aimed at inducing voters

	to feel empath, i.e. feeling sympathy, compassion, tenderness, pity, and the like.
Voters' Interests, Needs, & Values	Arousing emotions in the voters by addressing their emotional, attitudinal, and moral value, and unmet needs such as fairness, compassion, safety, and justice, as well as cultural references such as sport, health. It is often paired with positive and negative motivations.
Positive and Negative Motivations	In positive motivation, voters are rewarded for following the candidate's advice, whereas negative motivation is a driver force out of fear, guilt, or shame of the consequences due to failure of following the candidate's advice.
Vivid Picture	Imagination, creating a thought, a mind's eye vision. Creating the effect of the presence of voters in a situation described in the message. Imagery (vivid and descriptive language), fables, fictional stories, poems and prose, nostalgia, a memory or an experience in common.
Charged Language	Use of strong language or potentially emotive words (e.g., evil, war, fire, battle, love, horrifying reality, incredible truth, crooked, dishonest, worst, corrupt, and liar) to appeal strong feelings or exaggerated emotions.
Figures of Speech	Stylistic literary devices that are intentionally deviated from ordinary language such as rhetorical questions, similes, puns, metaphors, personifications, abstracts (e.g., chill, classy, vibe), idioms or Internet slangs (e.g., "LOL").
Urgency	Trying to convince the voters to take a quick action through establishing a sense of urgency by setting a goal referring a timeline.

Sources: Aristotle (Trans., 1932); Stotland (1969); Aristotle (Trans., 1975); Coke et al. (1978); Perelman (1982); Chency, (1983); Braet (1992); Batson et al. (1997); McCroskey & Teven (1999); Amossy (2000); : Jordan & Kunda (2002); Hauser (2002); Connor & Gladkov (2004); Hyland (2005); Ilie (2006); Busse (2006); Anthony & Gladkov (2007); Ruskin et al. (2007); Goering et al. (2009); Hoffman & Ford (2010); Holt & MacPherson (2010); Higgins & Walker (2012); Griffin, (2012); Verderber et al. (2012); Health (2013); Gass & Seiter (2013); Ray (2015); Heo & Park (2016); Heath et al., (2018); Caudill (2018); Smith (2018).

4.3.3.4.Quantitative Categories

In addition to the functions, topics, image repair strategies, and persuasion appeals, the number of tweets were calculated as a total to also see how often each candidate tweeted. Moreover, tweets were divided into posts as with and without multimedia, hashtag, and link to see how often each candidate used these abilities in their posts. There have been variety of links attached to the tweets that were categorized within one group (e.g. links to news, pages related to the candidate's campaign, other web pages). The multimedia attachments in the tweet were grouped as videos and images (pictures, graphics, gifts, screen shots, and visual texts). Finally, the number of likes, comments, and retweets were calculated to investigate the favorability and shareability of each strategy as well as the effect of using media, hashtag, and link on favorability and virality of the strategies.

4.3.3.5. Coding Process, Training, and Pretest

A rigorous scientific approach to media content analysis to obtain maximum reliability necessitates using two or more individuals for coding at least a sub-sample of the content which is called reliability sub-sample. Even when the research is mostly conducted by a primary researcher, using a second or third coder for coding a reliability sub-sample is a significant element in gaining reliability (Mcnamara, 2005) and ensuring that, in the words of Tinsley and Weiss (1975:359), "obtained ratings are not the idiosyncratic results of one rater's subjective judgement." The number of coders in content analysis must be two or more to determine reliability of the coding scheme by independently analyzing content (Lombard et al., 2002; Neuendorf, 2011). Two coders who were fluent in English were recruited and trained for the coding. Both coders were familiar with the concepts and had previously used content analysis as a research method for research projects. Prior to the coding period, the coders were provided with the codebook and the codesheet as well as discussion and training sessions.

One unique feature of human-coded content analysis measures that distinguishes them from measures in other form of studies such as surveys and

experiments is their reliance on trained coders as part of the coding protocol. It is the most important step to enhance valid and reliable measurement process (Viney, 1983; Neuendorf, 2011) and an important aspect of objectivity in content analysis research (Kolbe & Burnett, 1991; Lombard et al., 2002; Neuendorf, 2002). The literature describes coder training “as a procedure for improving the study’s inter-coder reliability by means of theoretical instruction and practical advice” (Krippendorff, 2009:220). Even though instructions ideally should be clear and understandable, it is typical that for content analysts to hold additional training sessions which may take months in some cases. During the training sessions categories are refined, instructions are modified, and data sheets are revised until the coders feel comfortable with the coding process (Krippendorff, 2019).

Consistent with Neuendorf’s (2011) guideline, training process in this study involved a full discussion of the coding scheme, categories, and codebook as well as a series of group coding sessions, during which the coders were familiarize with variables and became calibrated to one another. Coders were trained on content that has been oversampled for this purpose. A coding list, including description of the codes, was provided to the coders to minimize a cognitive change during the coding process in order to secure reliability (Catanzaro, 1988; Downe-Wambolt, 1992; Morse & Richards, 2002). We also considered some other strategies suggested by authors (Macnamara, 2005:12; Neuendorf, 2011), in order to maximize agreement and co-variation between coders. A separate “pilot test” was used to assess reliability during coder training. The pilot provided the last chance to modify the coding scheme in order to maximize reliability. Reliability of the pilot test was tested. Although, the reliability was acceptable, in order to maximize it, before applying coding on the whole sample, the Code Book/List was reviewed and changed in this step. “Re-briefing”, and “retraining” were done to make descriptions and instructions more clear. Since it is suggested that, if the coding scheme is modified during the coding process, it must be re-applied to the data already coded so that all data are coded according to the same coding scheme (Neuendorf, 2011).

“As the full sample typically is representative of a larger defined population of interest, the reliability subsample is viewed as representative of the sample” (Neuendorf, 2011:283). There are several techniques for selection of reliability

subsamples. A random subset of the full sample is the most common type which is “usually about 10-20% of the full sample (Neuendorf, 2011:283). Studies on the Benoit’s functional theory have frequently conducted the *Cohen’s Kappa* reliability test on a subset of 10% of the main content analysis sample analyzed by two coders and reported the results as the final reliability (Benoit, 1999; Benoit & Arine, 2005a; Brazeal, & Benoit, 2006; Choi & Benoit, 2009; Benoit et al., 2013; Buratti, 2014; Benoit, 2014; Benoit & Compton, 2016). Correspondingly, a random subsample of 10% of data were independently coded by the two coders for calculating inter-coder reliability. According to professional content analysts and academic researchers, “the reliability sub-sample should probably never be smaller than 50 and should rarely need to be larger than about 300” (Neuendorf, 2002:159). The reliability sub-sample for this study was 10% of the data which includes 180 Twitter posts and is acceptable based on the above information. Working independently is important for objectivity purposes (Kolbe & Burnett, 1991) Coder independence is a precondition for the ability to interpret observed inter-coder agreement as suggesting that the data making process is replicable (Krippendorff, 2019). Therefore, “blind coding” was conducted by the two coders of the sub-sample to minimize what is termed “demand characteristic” - a tendency of the second coder in providing what the primary researcher wants. Cohen’s (1960) Kappa was used to test the reliability which was reported in the next part.

As mentioned before, the unit of analysis for this study was each Twitter post. In this study our focus was on the presence or absence of each strategy in each post regardless of how many times the strategies were repeated in a single tweet. For example, a post with one instance of a function, topic, image repair strategy, or a persuasion appeal was counted the same as a tweet with multiple instances. Besides proportion of each strategy used by the candidates, this method allowed us to find out the combined strategies as well as their favorability and virality. We, therefore, neither needed to classify each tweet into themes that constructs a huge number of themes, nor to determine the dominant function, tone, or persuasion strategy within each post which leads to personalized interpretations and devaluation of inter-coder reliability. However, in order to ease detection of categories in the posts, especially those concerned with the functional theory, the coders were told that each tweet can

be classified into virtual themes in their mind in a sense that each theme represents only one of the acclaim, attack, or defense functions.

Consistent with Kenneth Burke's (1966) broad definition of rhetoric and rhetorical analysis, the verbal persuasion appeals identified in this study were supplemented by those identified in images which help the candidate to beat Twitter's 140 character cutoff. All visible texts within the posts were considered in coding. However, the content of videos in the posts were excluded from the analysis.

4.3.3.6. Inter-coder Reliability

Reliability is essential when human coding is employed (Neuendorf, 2011), It is "a necessary criterion for valid and useful research" (Neuendorf, 2002:142). Inter-coder reliability which is also known as "inter-coder agreement" (Tinsley & Weiss, 1975; 2000) is almost the heart of content analysis (Singletary, 1993). However, there are few standards or guidelines available concerning with calculation and reporting inter-coder reliability in a proper way.

Inter-coder reliability examines the quality of a research instrument. High levels of agreement between coders indicate that an instrument is reliable (Kolbe & Burnett, 1991; Lombard et al., 2002; Neuendorf, 2002; Macnamara, 2005; Neuendorf, 2011 Krippendorff, 2019). Authors reported dozens of different agreement indices of intercoder reliability (Popping, 1988; Lombard et al., 2004). However, there is a consensus among number of researches that the following indices are the most reliable and impotant:

- "Per cent agreement (basic assessment);
- Scott's π (π);
- Cohen's $Kappa$ (κ);
- Spearman's ρ (ρ);
- Pearson's correlation coefficient (r);
- Krippendorff's α (α); and
- Lin's concordance correlation coefficient (r_c)" (Mcnamara, 2005:11).

According to (Neuendorf, 2011:283-284) inter-coder reliability statistics can be classified into three groups. The first category is indicator of “agreement”, that does not take into account the impact of chance on agreement and is therefore, not acceptable as the sole indicator of reliability with no correction for chance (i.e., simple percent agreement or Holsti’s coefficient). “Co-variation” is the second category which is appropriate for interval/ratio and ordinal data (Neuendorf, 2011). “Co-variation assesses whether, when scores do vary as they no doubt will in human coding, they go up and down together.” In other words, it indicates whether there is consistency or a high level of variance” (Mcnamara, 2005:10). “Krippendorff’s alpha (interval or ratio)” and the “ICC (Intra-Class Correlation Coefficient)” are recommended for the assesment of covatiation with interval or ratio data, whereas Spearman rho, “Cohen’s Kappa” or “multi-coder Kappa” , and “Krippendorff’s alpha (ordinal)” are the main choices to assess reliability for ordinal data. Finally, the third category is “chance-corrected agreement” (agreement beyond chance)”, which is appropriate for nominal data. “Cohen’s Kappa”, “Scott’s pi”, and “Krippendorff’s alpha (nominal)” are the three statistics that control for chance and/or chance agreement between coders. Initial Monte Carlo (MC) tests show only minor differences in the performance of these three coefficients, while all of them possess similar advantages and disadvantages (Neuendorf, 2011:283-284).

In 1960, Cohen introduced the *Kappa* coefficient as an extention of “Scott (1955) pi” to measure chance-corrected nominal scale agreement between two coders (Banerjee et al., 1999). Cohen’s (1960) Kappa is widely used statistic to calculate reliability for nominal/categorical data (Lombard et al. 2002). “To estimate the degree of absolute agreement on a categorical variable, Cohen’s Kappa is commonly applied for exactly two coders and Fleiss’ Kappa for two or more raters” (Lac, 2016:2) (Banerjee et al., 1999:5). In this study Cohen’s (1960) Kappa was employed to test the inter-coder reliability because it controls for agreement by chance. Cohen (1960:38) assumed some conditions to propose its coefficient;

- There were two coders who operated independently;
- The units of analysis are independent;

- “The categories of the nominal scale are independent, mutually exclusive, and exhaustive.”

Cohen (1960:39) added that “there is no criterion for the correctness of judgments, and the judges are a priori deemed equally competent to make judgments.” Moreover, “there is no restriction placed on the distribution of judgments over categories for either judge.” Based on these conditions, Cohen (1960:39) suggested two relevant quantities for any problem in nominal scale agreement between two coders:

- P_o which is “the proportion of units in which the judges agreed.”
- P_e that is “the proportion of units for which agreement is expected by chance.”

The coefficient Kappa therefore, “is simply the proportion of chance-expected disagreements which do not occur, or alternatively, it is the proportion of agreement after chance agreement is removed from consideration” (Cohen, 1960:40). As a measure for nominal agreement, the Kappa coefficient was proposed as:

$$\kappa = \frac{P_o - P_e}{1 - P_e}$$

The following assumptions are considered to assess the P_o (observed) and the P_e (expected) proportions of agreement (Banerjee et al., 1999:5; Matthijs, 2010:326-327);

- Suppose two coders classify each of m ($m > 0$) units into one n ($n \geq 2$) categories. This classification can be illustrated in a $n \times n$ agreement table P with entries P_{ij} , where P_{ij} is assumed to be the proportion of units that were placed in the $(ij)^{th}$ cell, i.e., assigned to the i^{th} category by the first coder and to the j^{th} category by the second coder ($i, j = 1, \dots, m$), and;
- The marginal probabilities of P are given by:

$$P_{i.} = \sum_{j=1}^n p_{ij} \text{ and } P_{.j} = \sum_{i=1}^n p_{ij}$$

- Then, the observed (raw) proportions of agreement is:

$$P_o = \sum_{i=1}^n P_{ii}$$

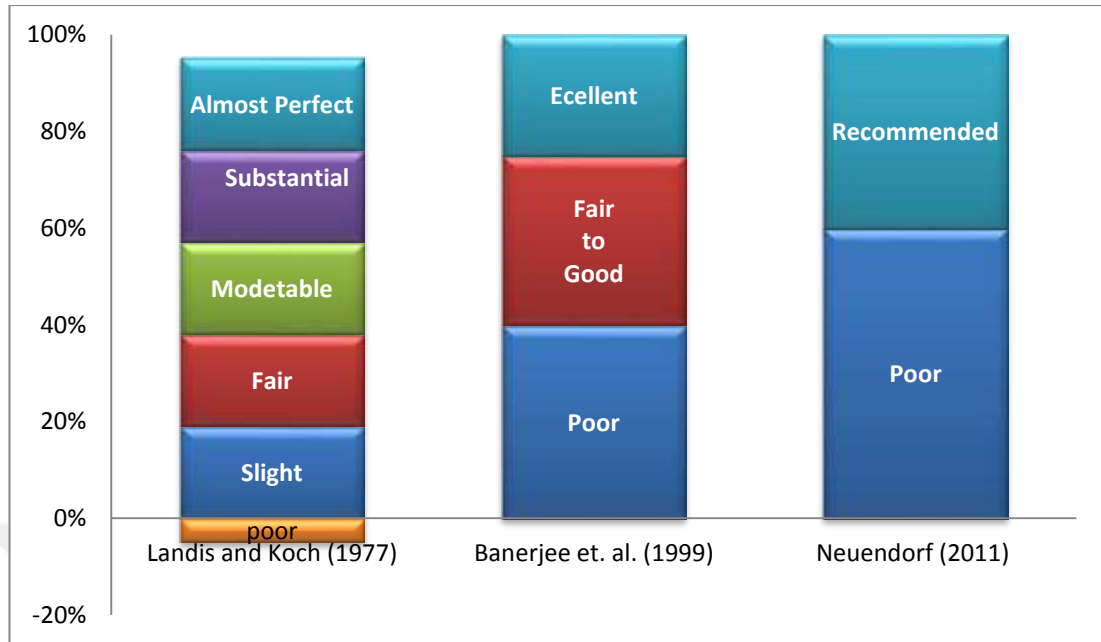
- And, the expected proportions of agreement is:

$$P_e = \sum_{i=1}^n P_{i.} \cdot P_{.i}$$

The complex formulae makes the calculation of inter-coder reliability indice a time-consuming, sophisticated and challenging process. Manual assessment of the reliability requires familiarity with statistics and considerable time. However, a number of software programs such as *PRAM* and *SPSS* can be used to assess values for Cohen's Kappa (κ). In this study, *SPSS* was employed for this purpose.

Besides the choice of the appropriate index and its calculation, another difficulty is determining the threshold of acceptability of reliability (Lombard et al., 2002). There is no consensus about the threshold of acceptability for the coefficient. "Most basic textbooks on research methods in the social sciences do not offer a specific criterion or cut-off figure and those that do report a criterion vary somewhat in their recommendations" (Neuendorf, 2002:143). Neuendorf (2011) stated that most scholars (including himself) recommend a chance corrected agreement coefficient of at least 0.60, while some authors suggesting 0.80 as minimum acceptable reliability value. For instance, Ellis (1994) declare that correlation coefficients exceeding 0.75 to 0.80 represent high reliability. Frey et al. (2000) consider 70% agreement (0.70) as reliable. Concerned with Cohen's Kappa, Popping (1988) stated that the 0.80 or greater is required whereas. Mayring (2003) stated that 0.70 would be a sufficient value. Landis and Koch (1977:165) who assigned different labels for to the corresponding ranges of Kappa suggested that values greater than 0.81 represents "almost perfect" reliability, values 0.61 to 0.80 reflect substantial, whereas figures between 0.41-0.60, 0.21-0.40, 0.00-0.20, and <0.00 accordingly indicate moderate, fair, slight, and poor reliabilities. Even though, Landis and Koch (1977:165) noted that these original suggestions are "clearly arbitrary", the divisions have become incorporated into the literature as standards for the discussion of Kappa values (Banerjee et al., 1999). Neuendorf (2011) stated that the most liberal criteria were provided by Banerjee et al. (1999:6), who hold values of Kappa over 0.75 or so as "excellent agreement beyond chance", values below 0.40 as "poor agreement beyond chance", and values between 0.40 and 0.75 as "fair to good agreement beyond chance" for most purposes. Figure 4.2 represents a complete list of how Kappa might be interpreted according different authors;

Figure 4.2: The Threshold of Acceptability for The *Kappa* Coefficient



Sources: Landis and Koch (1977); Banerjee et al. (1999); Neuendorf (2011)

As mentioned before, a random subset of 10% of the sample (180 posts) were independently analyzed by two coders for calculating inter-coder reliability. Inter-coder reliability indices for the variables were good. The average rate was .90 for all measures. Table 4.10 represents the individual figures of the measures;

Table 4.10: Reliability Results

Variable	Cohen's (1960) κ
Acclaim	0.85
Attack	0.95
Defense	0.89
Policy	0.95
Character	0.86
Image Repair Strategy	0.91
Ethos	0.84
Logos	0.89
Pathos	0.82
Number of likes	1.00
Number of shares	1.00
Number of comments	0.97
Video	1
Picture	1
Hashtag	0.99
Link	0.95

Cohen's Kappa (1960) score for function (acclaims, attacks, and defenses) ranged from .85-.95, for topic (policy and character) it ranged from .86-.95, for form of persuasion appeal (ethos, logos, and pathos) it ranged from .82-.89, for favorability and engagement it varies from .97-.1.00, for visual elements, hashtags, and links it ranged from .95-1.00, and for image repair strategies it was .91. Based on the threshold of acceptability of Kappa illustrated in the Figure 4.1, Ladis and Koch (1997), Banerjee et al. (1999), and Neuendorf (2011) explained that values of κ over .81 represents almost perfect inter-coder reliability. The values gave confidence in the coding of the Twitter posts.

4.4. ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS

The data were coded according to the code sheet and entered into SPSS 26, a Windows-based software package used for statistical analysis. After completing final coding, descriptive statistics such as frequencies (percentage and proportion) and *chi-square* test were used to analyze the qualitative (nominal) data. Chi-square is the most common statistical tool that is used to estimate the likelihood that the results indicate the situation for the population as a whole. It “measures the degree of association or linkage between two variables by comparing the differences between the observed values and expected values” (Walliman, 2011:122). Chi-square is the appropriate statistical test for differences using frequency (nominal, categorical) data (Benoit et al., 2014). *Chi-square goodness of fit* test was employed to test difference in the frequencies of the categories. Frequency data was converted to ratio data (percentages) to test for longitudinal shifts. In addition, *chi-square test of independence* was employed for cross-categorized data. When appropriate, *Phi ϕ* as a measure of the effect size of the relationship between two variables was reported (effect size requires two variables, so it is not meaningful one-way chi-squares as there is only one independent variable in a one-way chisquare).

Besides analyzing the qualitative data, the quantitative data obtained through the content analysis process were analyzed using descriptive statistics such as mean and standard deviation.

CHAPTER FIVE FINDINGS

5.1. DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

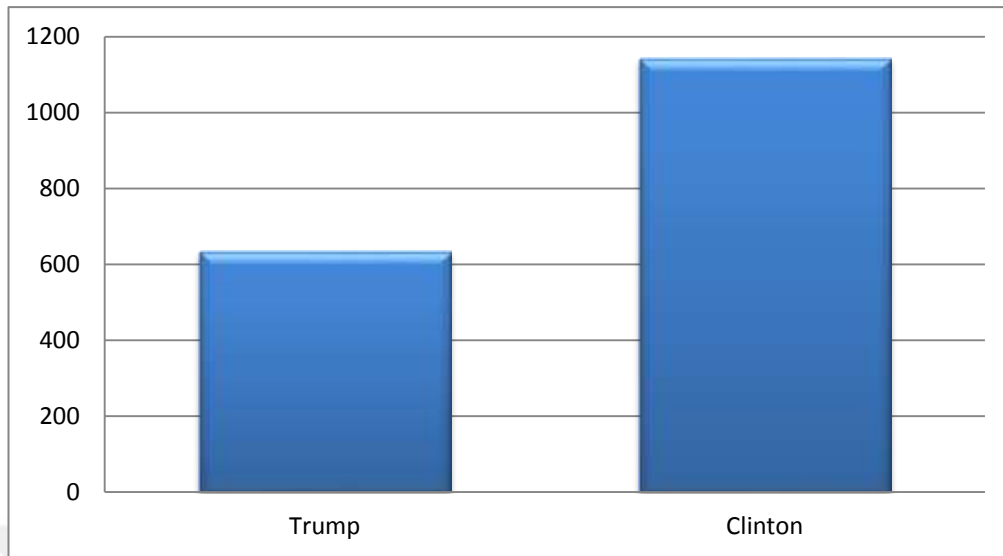
Donald Trump has been active on Twitter platform since March 2009 while Hillary Clinton started using Twitter on April 2013. Three weeks next to the Election Day, by Dec.1 2016, Trump had 16.3 million followers while the rate was 11.4 million for Clinton. There had been a consistent growth of the number of followers of both Trump (+73.4%) and Clinton (+59.3%) accounts in the last 6 months (Buccoliero et al., 2020). This section presents the results of the application of the Functional, Rhetorical, and Image Repair Theories to the Twitter posts of the candidates during the presidential general election campaign and comparing popularity and engagement of each strategy. Tests of each hypothesis and answers to the research questions were presented in the following. The content of the official Twitter accounts of the U.S. presidential candidates between Sept. 26, 2016 and Nov. 8, 2016 were examined. The total number of 1776 posts from Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton were analyzed.

Comparing the activity of the candidates on Twitter platform revealed that even though, Trump is always thought of as posting on Twitter so much and “tweeting everything”, he posted only 634 times with an average of roughly 14 tweets per day, which is surprisingly much less compared with Clinton’s 1142 posts and an average of nearly 26 posts per day on Twitter during this period. A chi-square goodness of fit test confirmed that there was a significant difference between Twitter activity of the two candidates ($\chi^2 [df = 1] = 145.3, p < .0001$). Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1 represent the Twitter activity of the candidates during this period;

Table. 5.1. Twitter Activity of the Candidates

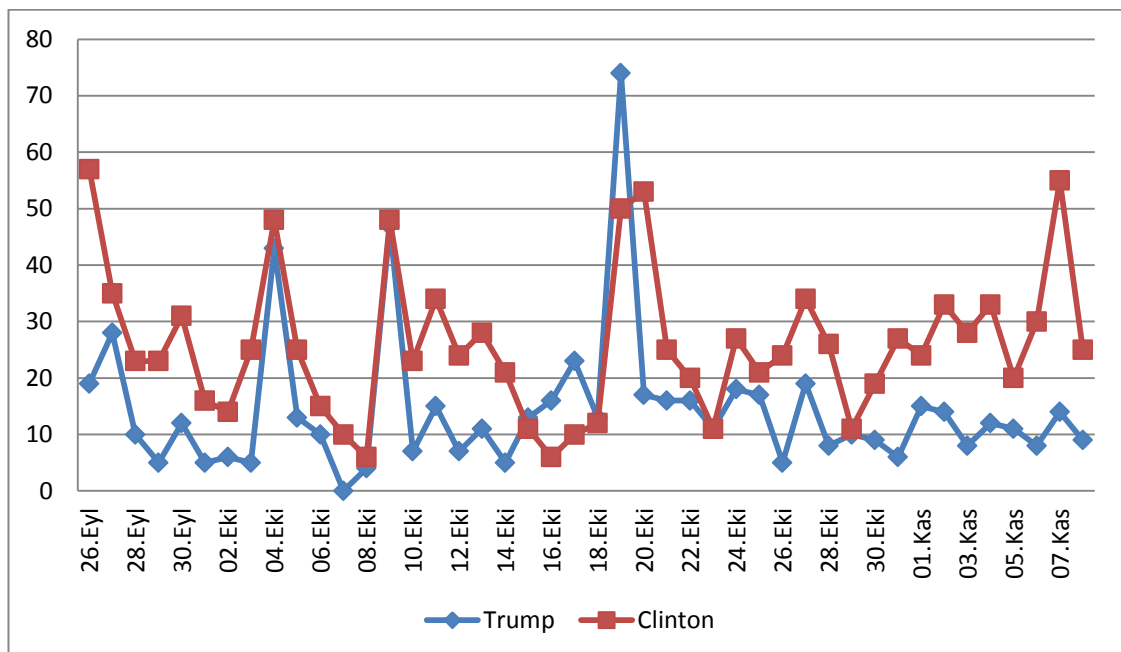
Candidate	Frequency	Percentage	Average Daily Post
Trump	634	35.7%	14.4
Clinton	1142	64.3%	26
Total	1776	100%	40.3
$\chi^2 (df = 1) = 145.3, p < .0001$			

Figure 5.1: Twitter Activity of the Candidates



The data showed that Trump had the maximum activity on Twitter on the three presidential debate days (i.e. Oct. 4, Oct. 9, and Oct. 19). He tweeted the most on Oct. 19 (74 posts) whereas he didn't tweet on 7th of October. Clinton tweeted the most on the four debate days (i.e. Sept. 26, Oct. 4, Oct. 9, and Oct. 19) as well as the day next to the final presidential debate and the day ahead to the Election Day. Her daily number of tweets varies between 6-57. Figure of 5.2 illustrates the number of daily posts of the candidates during the analysis period.

Figure 5.2: Daily Twitter Activity of the Candidates



5.2. USE OF VIDEOS, IMAGES, HASHTAGS, AND LINKS

The results indicated that both candidates frequently used videos, images (picture, screenshot, gif) hastags, and links (retweet, link) in their posts in order to beat Twitter's 140 character cutoff. Overall, videos used in 14.4% percent of the posts, images attached in 23.1% of the tweets, hashtags presented in 27.9% percent of the total posts, and links used in half (50%) of them. Table 5.2 and Figure 5.3 refer to the presence of attachments and hastags in the Twitter posts of the candidates.

Table 5.2: Usage of Video, Image, Hashtag, and link in the Twitter Posts

	Video	Image	Hashtag	Link	None
Trump	56 (8.8%)	192 (30.3%)	310 (48.9%)	281 (44.3%)	158 (24.9%)
Clinton	200 (17.5%)	219 (19.2%)	186 (16.3%)	607 (53.2%)	232 (20.3%)
Total	256 (14.4%)	841 (52.3%)	411 (23.1%)	888 (50%)	390 (22%)
Presence vs not presence, Trump vs Clinton: Video $\chi^2(df=1)$ 12.71, $\phi=.085$, $p < .0001$; Image $\chi^2(df=1)$ 28.28, $\phi= -.126$, $p < .0001$; Hashtag $\chi^2(df=1)$ 215.36, $\phi= -.348$, $p < .0001$; Link $\chi^2(df=1)$ 12.71, $\phi=.085$, $p < .0001$; None $\chi^2(df=1)$ 5.05, $\phi=.053$, $p < .05$.					

Figure 5.3: Usage of Video, Image, Hashtag, and link in the Twitter Posts

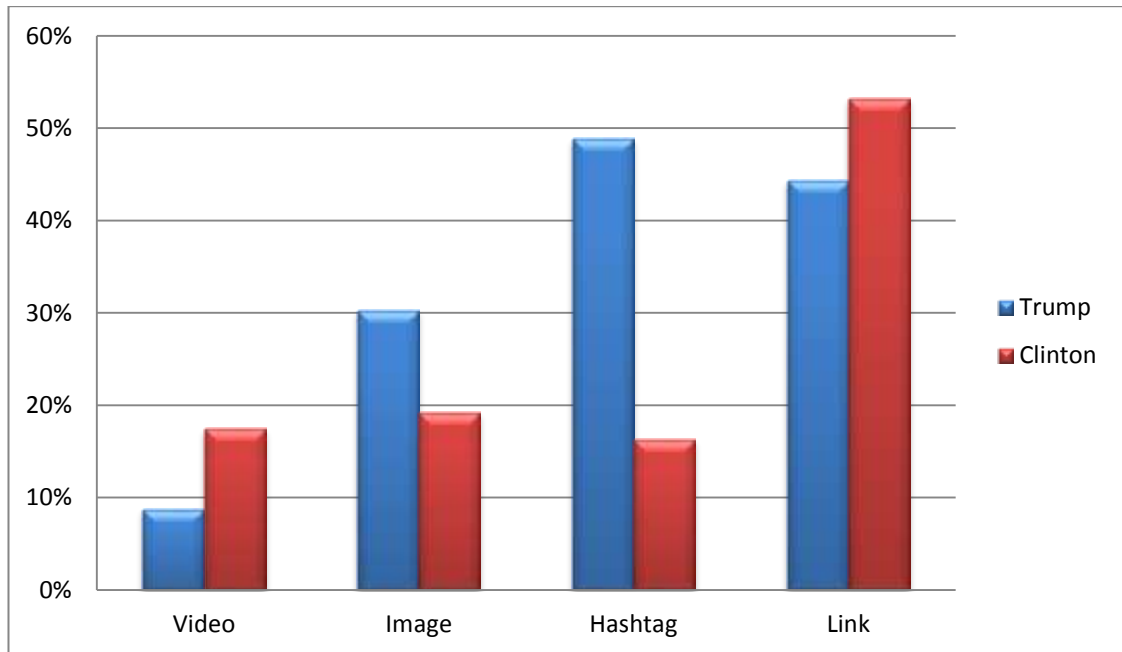


Table 5.2 indicates that Clinton was more interested in attaching videos in her posts (17.5%) than Trump (8.8%). She also used more links (53.2%) in her posts

compared with Trump (44.3%). One-way chi-square tests confirmed that the difference was significant for videos ($\chi^2[df=1] = 12.71, \phi=.085, p < .0001$) as well as for links ($\chi^2[df=1] = 12.71, \phi=.085, p < .0001$). On the other hand, Trump used more images (30.3%) than Clinton (19.2%). He also used hashtags three times (48.9%) more than Clinton (16.3%). One-way chi-square tests revealed that the differences were significant (Images: $\chi^2[df=1] = 28.28, \phi= -.126, p < .0001$; Hashtags: $\chi^2[df=1] = 215.36, \phi= -.348, p < .0001$). Roughly one-fourth (24.9%) of the tweets posted by Trump contained none of the categories, while Clinton posted 20.3% plain text. Chi-square tests showed that the difference was significant ($\chi^2[df=1] = 5.05, \phi=.053, p < .05$).



5.3. FUNCTIONS OF THE POST

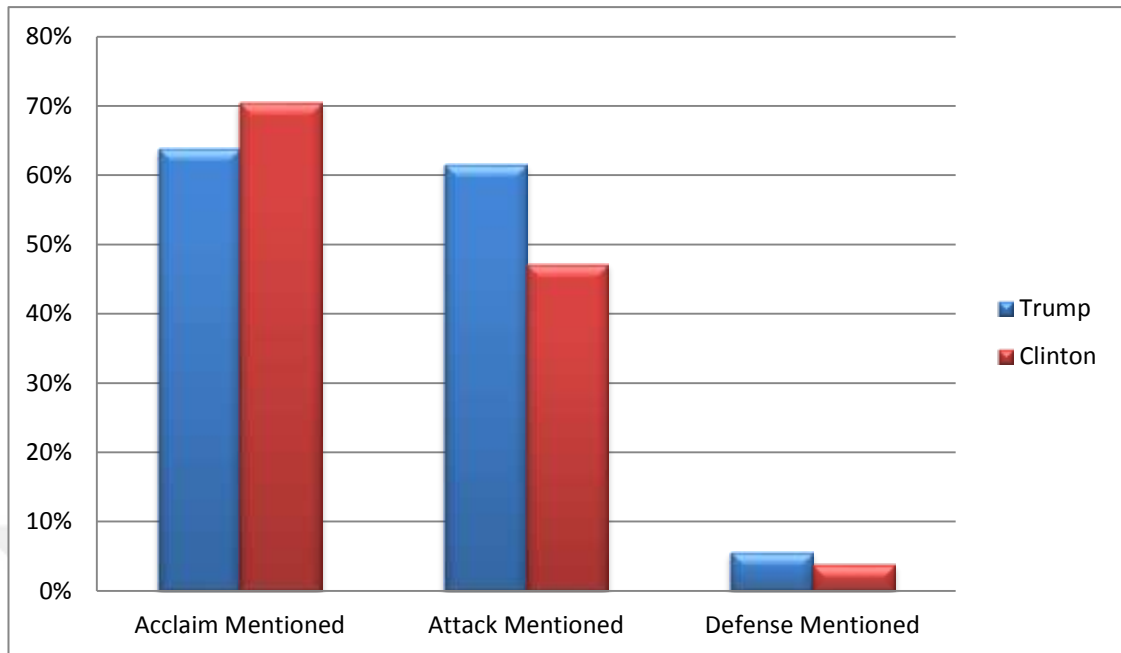
The first four hypotheses addressed the functions of the 2016 presidential candidates Twitter posts in the general election. According to the data, acclaims occurred in 61% percent of the total tweets while 47.3% percent of the posts contained at least one attack theme. Defenses appeared in 4% percent of the total tweets. The results illustrated that overall, 9.5% percent of the Twitter posts contained none of the functions whereas the functions appeared in 90.3% percent of the posts. Such “nonfunctional” themes are not analyzed in functional theory because Benoit does not find them significant to the overall cause and they are not as prevalent and therefore, do not have a significant impact on the findings (Loughery & Ewald, 2013). Thus, nonfunctional posts were excluded from the analysis concerned with functions and topics of the posts.

Excluding non-functional posts (9.5%) from the analysis, the results indicated that acclaim strategy was used in 68.2% percent of the posts, whereas attack strategy employed in roughly half (52.3%) of the posts. Defenses occurred in 4.4% percent of the tweets. Acclaims were presented in 70.6% percent of Clinton’s tweets while Trump employed acclaim strategy in 63.9% of the his tweets. Trump used attacks in 61.6% percent of his posts while 47.2% of Clinton’s posts contained at least one attack theme. Defenses mentioned in 3.8% and 5.6% percent of the tweets posted by Clinton and Trump. One-way chi-square tests revealed that the difference was significant for acclaims ($\chi^2 [df = 1] = 7.48, \phi = .066, p < .01$), as well as for attacks ($\chi^2 [df = 1] = 30.79, \phi = .138, p < .0001$). However, there is no significant difference between the presence of defenses in the posts of the two candidates ($\chi^2 [df = 1] = 2.95, ns$). These data are reported in Table 5.3 and Figure 5.4.

Table 5.3: Presence of the Functions in the Twitter Posts

	Acclaim	Attack	Defense	Total
Trump	365 (63.9%)	352 (61.6%)	32 (5.6%)	570 (89.9%)
Clinton	731 (70.6%)	489 (47.2%)	39 (3.8%)	1034 (90.5%)
Total	1096 (68.2%)	841 (52.3%)	71 (4.4%)	1604 (90%)
Presence vs not presence, Trump vs Clinton: Acclaims $\chi^2(df=1) 7.48, \phi = .066, p < .01$; Attack $\chi^2(df=1) 30.79, \phi = .138, p < .0001$; Defense $\chi^2(df=1) 2.95, ns$.				

Figure 5.4: Presence of the Functions in the Twitter Posts



An example of acclaim could be seen in the post presented in the Figure 5.5 in which Trump attached a link to an article from *foxbusiness.com* discussing resemblance between 1980 and 2016 presidential elections, and similarities between Ronald Reagan and himself, arguing that he will be the same type of leader, a president for all Americans. The post portrayed Trump in a favorable light and thus, was classified under acclaim strategy.

Figure 5.5: Acclaim Example



The following post illustrated in the Figure 5.6 refer to an interview with the former beauty queen who claimed that Trump has called her “Miss Piggy” and “Miss Housekeeper.” The second quotation in the post concerned with Trump’s post-debate interview with *FOX News* in which he went after the former Miss Universe and said: “she gained a massive amount of weight, and it was a real problem.” This post portrayed Trump in an unfavorable light and therefore was categorized as an attack on him.

Figure 5.6. Attack Example



Trump responded to attacks on him in different ways. Referring to an accusation by a former writer for *People Magazine* who wrote that Trump cornered her alone in 2005, while she was at his Florida residence to interview him and his wife, Trump denied the story in a post displayed in the Figure 5.7. The post explicitly responded to a prior attack on him and therefore, was classified under defense category.

Figure 5.7: Defense Example



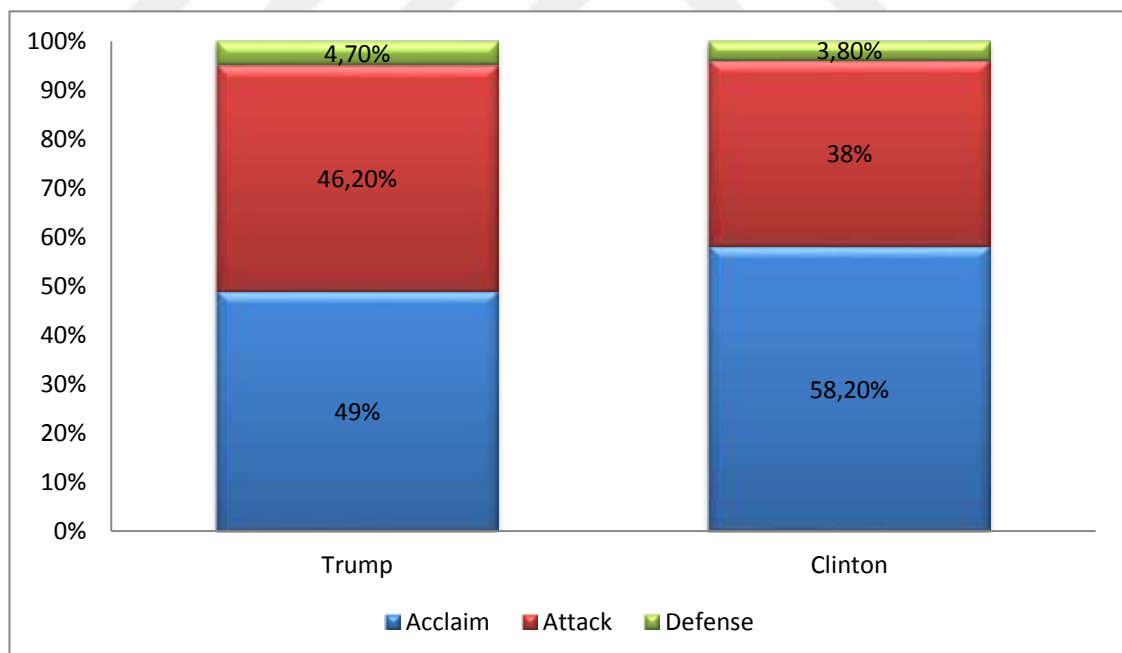
Furthermore, the functional analysis indicated that some posts contained more than one functional strategy. Identifying the dominant function in each post, the results indicated that 54.9% percent of the posts were dominantly acclaim and 40.9% percent were dominantly attack, while defense was the dominant strategy in 4.1% percent of the posts. A chi-square goodness of fit test confirms that dominant

functions did not occur with the same frequency in the posts ($\chi^2 [df = 2] = 663.14, p < .0001$). Acclaims, attacks, and defenses were dominant respectively in 49%, 46.2%, and 4.7% percent of the tweets posted by Trump whereas Clinton's posts were dominated by 58.2% percent acclaims, 40.9% percent attacks, and 4.1% percent defenses. A two-way chi-square indicates that the difference was significant ($\chi^2 [df = 2] = 12.51, \phi=.088, p < .005$). Table 5.4 and Figure 5.8 represent the dominant functions in the Twitter posts of the candidates.

Table 5.4: Dominant Functions in the Twitter Posts

	Acclaim	Attack	Defense	Total
Trump	280 (49%)	264 (46.2%)	27 (4.7%)	571 (35.5%)
Clinton	603 (58.2%)	394 (38%)	39 (3.8%)	1036 (64.5%)
Total	883 (54.9%)	658 (40.9%)	66 (4.1%)	1607 (100%)
Total: $\chi^2(df=2) 664.95, p < .0001$; Trump vs Clinton: $\chi^2(df=2) 12.51, \phi=.088, p < .005$				

Figure 5.8: Dominant Functions in the Twitter Posts



The results illustrated that overall, acclaim was the most prevalent function and attack was the second most common function in the posts whereas defense was the least frequently used function in the posts. The first and second hypothesis

predicted that the two candidates would acclaim more than they attack and attack more than they defend. Thus, these predictions were confirmed. Both candidates acclaimed more than they attacked. The least common function in the posts was defense. The third and fourth hypotheses predicted that Trump attacked more and acclaimed less compared with Clinton. These two hypotheses were also confirmed by the analysis. According to the data, Clinton defended less compared with Trump.

The results also showed that the weight of dominant functions in the candidates' posts did not follow any specific rule over time within the 44 days prior to the Election Day . Both candidates often focused on acclaims in their daily posts. However, the debate days (Sept. 26, Oct. 4, Oct. 9, and Oct. 19) are among those days that both candidates attacked more than they acclaimed (excluding the Oct. 9 for Clinton). Both candidates focused on attacks the most on the first presidential debate day while none of them used attacks on the Election Day . The results regarding trends in dominant functions over time were reported in the Table 5.5, Figure 5.9, and Figure 5.10.

Table 5.5: Trends in Dominant Functions Over Time

Date	Trump			Clinton			Total
	Acclaim	Attack	Defense	Acclaim	Attack	Defense	
SEP 26	16.7%	83.3%	0%	26.9%	69.2%	3.8%	100%
SEP 27	80.8%	19.2%	0%	51.7%	37.9%	10.3%	100%
SEP 28	80%	20%	0%	72.7%	27.3%	0%	100%
SEP 29	81.8%	18.2%	0%	81.8%	18.2%	0%	100%
SEP 30	36.4%	36.4%	27.3%	41.9%	58.1%	0%	100%
OCT 01	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	75%	25%	0%	100%
OCT 02	50.0%	33.3%	16.7%	40%	60%	0%	100%
OCT 03	100.0%	0%	0%	52.4%	45.8%	0%	100%
OCT 04	46.3%	51.2%	2.4%	43.8%	52.1%	4.2%	100%
OCT 05	83.3%	8.3%	8.3%	32%	64%	4%	100%
OCT 06	100.0%	0%	0%	85.7%	14.3%	0%	100%
OCT 07	0%	0%	0%	60.0%	40.0%	0%	100%
OCT 08	100.0%	0%	0%	83.3%	16.7%	0%	100%
OCT 09	40.0%	55.6%	4.4%	62.2%	33.3%	4.4%	100%
OCT 10	42.9%	57.1%	0%	31.8%	68.2%	0%	100%
OCT 11	25%	66.7%	8.3%	84.8%	15.2%	0%	100%
OCT 12	40.0%	60.0%	0%	66.7%	16.7%	16.7%	100%
OCT 13	57.1%	14.3%	28.6%	59.3%	40%	0%	100%
OCT 14	60.0%	40.0%	0%	85.0%	15%	0%	100%
OCT 15	45.5%	9.1%	45.5%	60%	40%	0%	100%

OCT 16	18.8%	62.5%	18.8%	66.7%	33.3	0%	100%
OCT 17	36.4%	50.0%	13.6%	75%	17%	0%	100%
OCT 18	38.5%	61.5%	0%	63.9%	27.3%	9.1%	100%
OCT 19	28.2%	71.8%	0%	29.8%	63.8%	6.4%	100%
OCT 20	53.3%	40.0%	6.7%	51%	28.6%	20.4%	100%
OCT 21	43.8%	56.3%	0%	57.1%	42.9%	0%	100%
OCT 22	53.3%	46.7%	0%	77.8%	22.2%	0%	100%
OCT 23	40.0%	60.0%	0%	66.7%	33.3%	0%	100%
OCT 24	56.3%	37.5%	6.3%	34.6%	53.8%	11.5%	100%
OCT 25	41.2%	58.8%	0%	52.9%	47.1%	0%	100%
OCT 26	16.7%	83.3%	0%	75.0%	25.0%	0%	100%
OCT 27	46.7%	53.3%	0%	85.3%	14.7%	0%	100%
OCT 28	16.7%	83.3%	0%	61.9%	38.1%	0%	100%
OCT 29	87.5%	12.5%	0%	44.4%	11.1	44.4	100%
OCT 30	75%	25%	0%	56.3%	31.3%	12.5%	100%
OCT 31	66.7%	33.3%	0%	25%	70.8%	4.2%	100%
NOV 01	38.5%	61.5%	0%	38.1%	64.9%	0%	100%
NOV 02	61.5%	38.5%	0%	67.9%	32.1%	0%	100%
NOV 03	57.1%	42.9%	0%	64%	36%	0%	100%
NOV 04	37.5%	62.5%	0%	63.3%	36.7%	0%	100%
NOV 05	75.0%	25.0%	0%	72.2%	22.2%	5.6%	100%
NOV 06	87.5%	12.5%	0%	75%	25%	0%	100%
NOV 07	85.7%	14.3%	0%	79.6%	18.4%	2%	100%
NOV 08	100.0%	0%	0%	100.0%	0%	0%	100%

Figure 5.9: Trends in Dominant Functions Over Time – Donald Trump

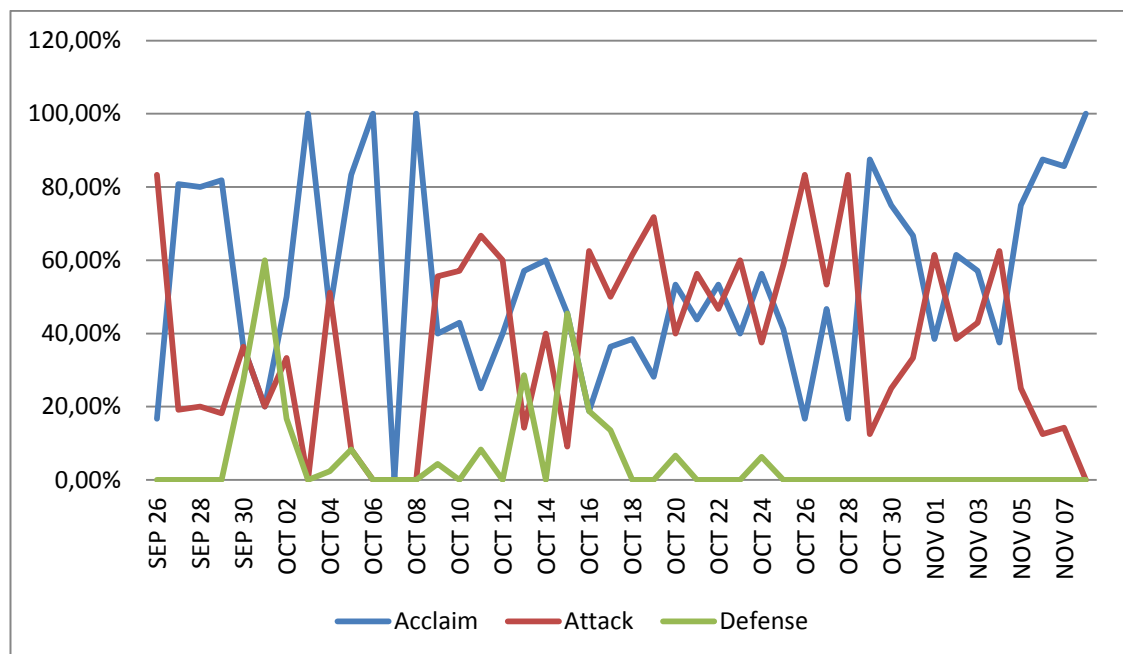
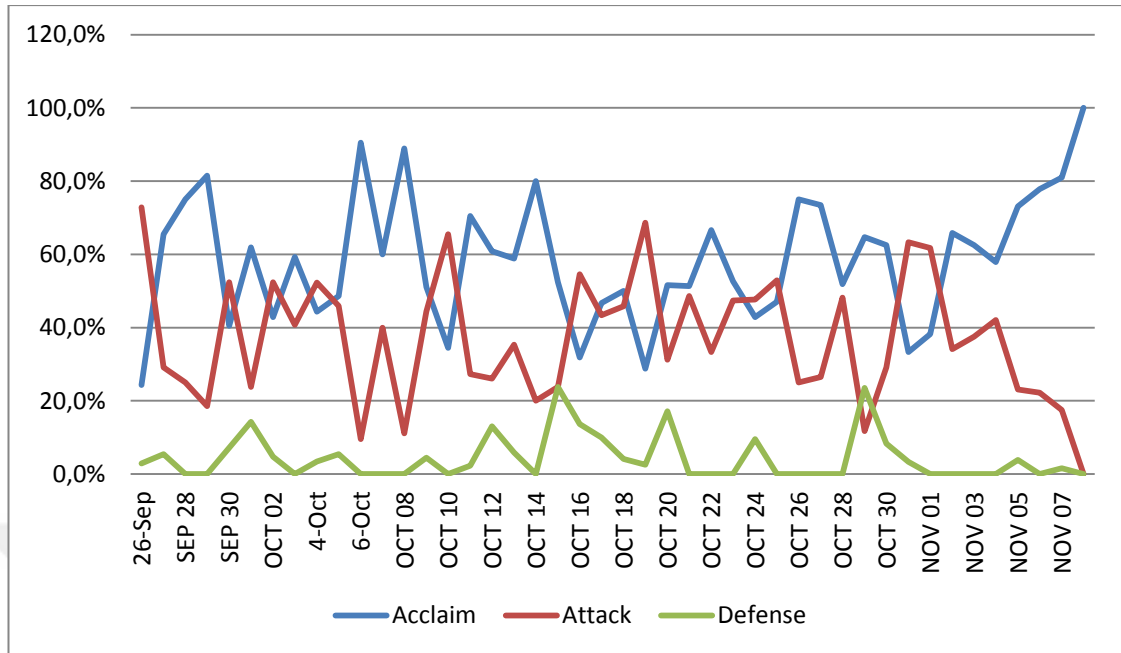


Figure 5.10: Trends in Dominant Functions Over Time – Hillary Clinton



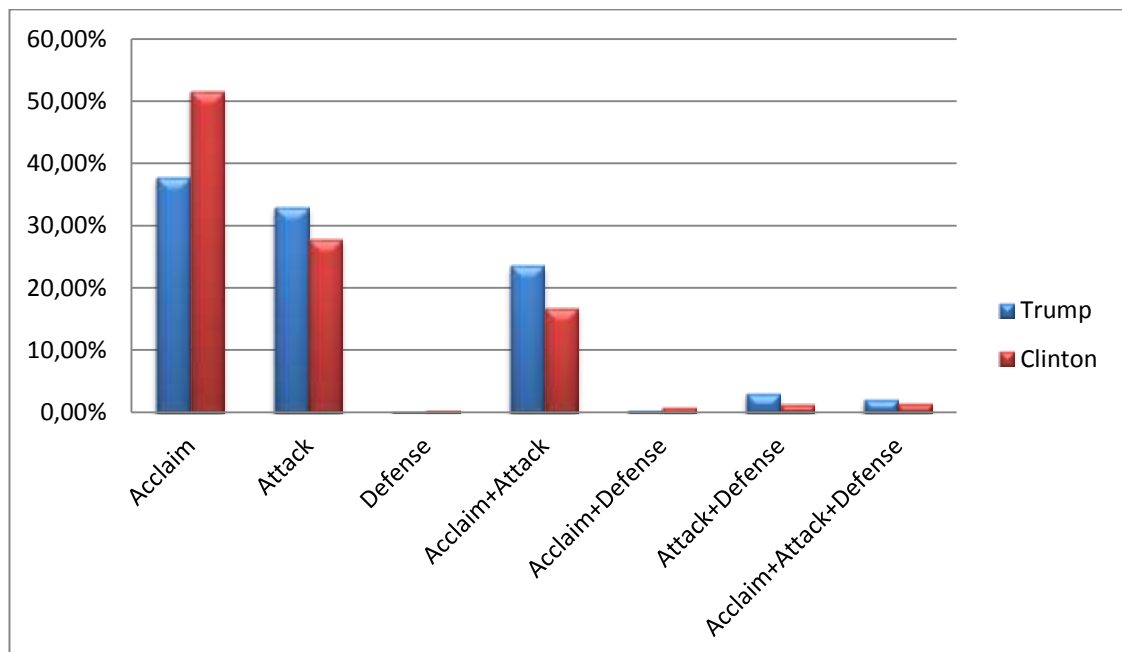
A more detailed functional analysis of the total posts regarding the first research question revealed that nearly one-fourth of the functional posts contain more than one function. However, single acclaim was the most frequent strategy used by both candidates (46.7%). The second common strategy was single attack (32.9%). Trump used more attacks (32.9%) than Clinton (27.8%) while Clinton used more acclaims (51.6%) compared with Trump (37.8%). Clinton defended more (0.4%) than Trump (0.2%). In addition to the single functions, the candidates used combination of acclaim and attack as the third common strategy in 19.2% percent of the total posts. The results showed that Trump were more interested in using different strategies within single post compared with clinton. Trump used more than one strategy in 29.1% of his functional posts while the rate was 20.3% for Clinton. A chi-square goodness of fit test confirmed that the frequency of the categories were significantly different (χ^2 [df = 3] = 194.58, $p < .0001$) and a chi-square test of cross classification indicated that there was a significant difference between the candidates (χ^2 [df = 3] = 27.29 $\phi = .133$, $p < .0001$). The results also revealed that both candidates prefer to combine their defenses with acclaim and/or attacks rather than using single defense. Mere defenses are rare and the candidates most often attacked and/or acclaimed while trying to defend themselves against prior attacks. That means

in most of the cases when a candidate wanted to defend, he or she attacked the opponent in the same post. Table 5.6 and Figure 5.11 represent the functions in detail.

Table 5.6: Single and Mixed Functions in the Twitter Posts

Function	Trump	Clinton	Total
Acclaim	216 (37.8%)	535 (51.6%)	751 (46.7%)
Attack	188 (32.9%)	288 (27.8%)	476 (29.6%)
Defense	1 (0.2%)	4 (0.4%)	5 (0.3%)
Acclaim+Attack	135 (23.6%)	174 (16.8%)	309 (19.2%)
Acclaim+Defense	2 (0.4%)	8 (0.8%)	10 (0.6%)
Attack+Defense	17 (3%)	13 (1.3%)	30 (1.9%)
Acclaim+Attack+Defense	12 (2.1%)	14 (1.4%)	26 (1.6%)
Total	571 (100%)	1036(100%)	1607 (100%)
Total: $\chi^2(df=3)$ 194.58 $p < .0001$; Trump vs Clinton: $\chi^2(df=3)$ 27.29 $\phi = .133$, $p < .0001$. Note: Defenses and the combinations contain defenses were excluded from χ^2 because of their infrequency.			

Figure 5.11: Single and Mixed Functions in the Twitter Posts



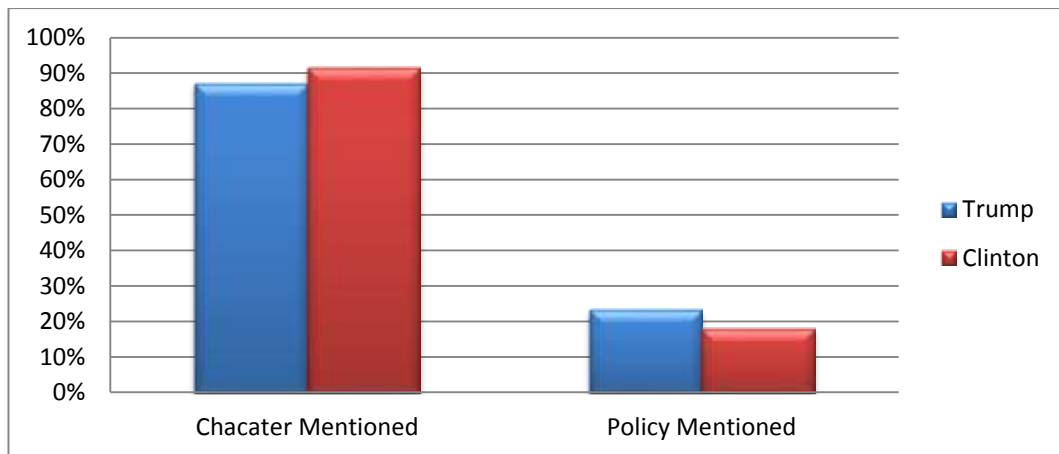
5.4. TOPIC OF THE POST

According to the functional theory, every function occurs in one general topic. Acclaim, attack, and defense functions are categorized within character (image) and policy (issue) topics. Posts contain no function (9.5% percent) refer to non of the topics, thus they were excluded from analysis of topics as well. The results indicated that both candidates addressed character much more than policy in their tweets. Candidates discussed character topic roughly in 90% of their posts while the rate was nearly 10% for the policy issues. However, Clinton mentioned character (91.7%) more than Trump (87.2%), and policy (23.3%) less than him (18%) in her Twitter posts. One-way chi-square tests confirmed that the difference was significant for character ($\chi^2(df=1) = 8.30$, $\phi=.072$, $p < .005$) and for policy ($\chi^2(df=1) = 6.56$, $\phi = -.064$, $p < .05$). Table 5.7 and Figure 5.12 represent the results for presence of character and policy topics in the Twitter posts of the candidates.

Table 5.7: Presence of Topics in the Twitter Posts

	Character	Policy	Total
Trump	798 (87.2%)	133 (23.3%)	571 (35.5%)
Clinton	950 (91.7%)	186 (18%)	1036 (64.5%)
Total	1448 (90.1%)	319 (19.9%)	1607 (100%)
Presence vs not presence, Trump vs Clinton: Character $\chi^2(df=1) 8.30$, $\phi=.072$, $p < .005$; Policy $\chi^2(df=1) 6.56$, $\phi = -.064$, $p < .05$			

Figure 5.12: Presence of the Topics in the Twitter Posts



The following example displayed in the Figure 5.13 refer to policy position of Trump in which he discussed his future plan of renegotiating the *North American Free Trade Agreement* (NAFTA) signed by the United States, Canada, and Mexico. He also discussed his general goal of running the economy again. Both “NAFTA” and “economy” are concerned with governmental actions and problems amenable to governmental actions and thus, were classified under policy topic.

Figure 5.13. Example of Policy Topic



Donald J. Trump ✓ @realDonaldTrump · Oct 19, 2016

I will renegotiate NAFTA. If I can't make a great deal, we're going to tear it up. We're going to get this economy running again. #Debate

An example of character topic occurred in the following tweet posted by Clinton in which she quoted from Michelle Obama's speech on Trump's offensive behavior toward women and his insulting comments about them. The post presented in the Figure 5.14 clearly discussed Trump's personal qualities and therefore was categorized as character.

Figure 5.14: Example of Character Topic



Hillary Clinton ✓ @HillaryClinton · Sep 28, 2016

"If a candidate regularly and flippantly makes cruel and insulting comments about women...that's who that candidate really is." —@FLOTUS

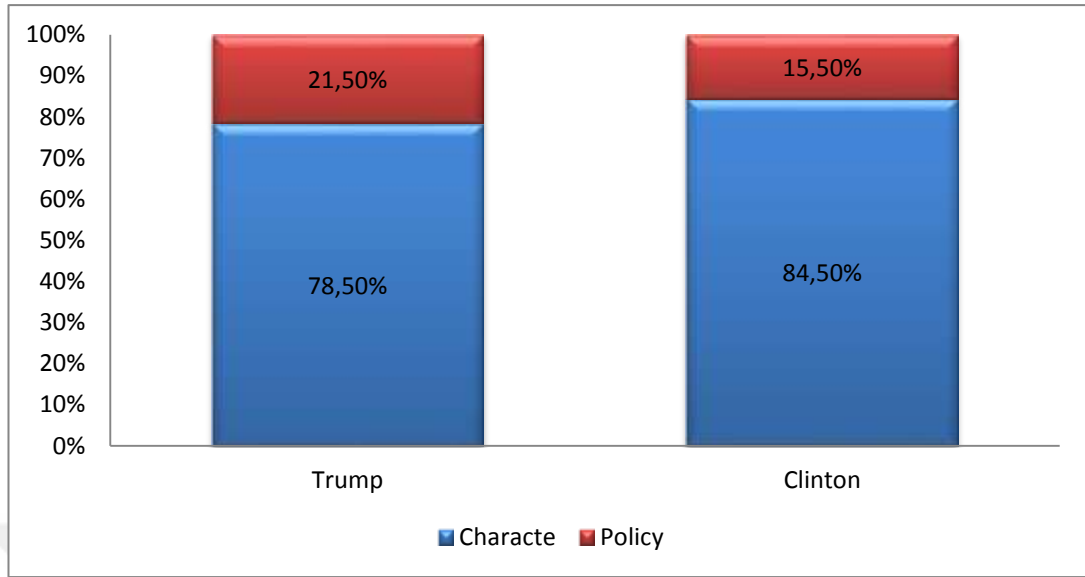


Moreover, similar to the functions, the analysis revealed that some posts included multiple topics. Identifying the dominant topic in each tweet, the results illustrated that 82.3 % percent of the posts were dominantly discussed about character whereas only 17.7% percent of them dominantly focused on policy issues. A chi-square goodness of fit test confirmed that dominant topics did not occur with the same frequency in the posts ($\chi^2 [df = 1] = 671.76, p < .0001$). The fifth hypothesis addressed the topics of the 2016 presidential candidate Twitter posts in the general election expecting that the candidates would address policy more frequently than character. The data rejected this hypothesis. In addition, Character and policy were dominant respectively in 78.5% and 21.5% percent of the tweets posted by Trump whereas Clinton's posts dominated by 84.5% percent character and 15.5% percent by policy issues. A one-way chi-square test indicated that the difference was significant ($\chi^2 [df = 1] = 9.11, \phi = -.075, p < .005$). The sixth and seventh hypotheses anticipated that Trump discussed policy more and character less than Clinton in their Twitter posts during the election campaign. These two hypotheses were supported by the analysis. Table 5.8 and Figure 5.15 represent the dominant topics in the Twitter posts of the candidates.

Table 5.8: Dominant Topics in the Twitter Posts

	Character	Policy	Total
Trump	448 (78.5%)	123 (21.5%)	571 (35.5%)
Clinton	875 (84.5%)	161 (15.5%)	1036 (64.5%)
Total	1323 (82.3%)	284 (17.7%)	1607 (100%)
Total: $\chi^2(df=1) 671.76, p < .0001$; Trump vs Clinton: $\chi^2(df=1) 9.11, \phi = -.075, p < .005$			

Figure 5.15: Dominant Topics in the Twitter Posts



The results also illustrated that similar to the functions, the weight of dominant topic in the candidates' posts did not follow any specific rule over time. Both candidates most often focused on character in their daily posts. Trump discussed policy more than character only in two days including the first presidential debate day held in 26th Sep and 25th Oct. He also discussed both topics similarly on the last presidential debate day held in 19th Oct. while Clinton discussed policy more than character only in 11th Oct. The results regarding trends in dominant topic over time were reported in the Table 5.9, Figure 5.16, and Figure 5.17.

Table 5.9: Trends in Dominant Topics Over Time

Date	Trump		Clinton		Total
	Character	Policy	Character	Policy	
SEP 26	33.3%	66.7%	88.5%	11.5%	100%
SEP 27	92.3%	7.7%	96.6%	3.4%	100%
SEP 28	100.0%	0%	54.5%	45.5%	100%
SEP 29	100.0%	0%	59.1%	40.9%	100%
SEP 30	100.0%	0%	83.9%	16.1%	100%
OCT 01	100.0%	0%	62.5%	37.5%	100%
OCT 02	66.7%	33.3%	80.0%	20.0%	100%

OCT 03	100.0%	0%	83.3%	16.7%	100%
OCT 04	73.2%	26.8%	77.1%	22.9%	100%
OCT 05	100.0%	0%	92.0%	8.0%	100%
OCT 06	100.0%	0%	92.9%	7.1%	100%
OCT 07	0%	0%	100.0%	0%	100%
OCT 08	100.0%	0%	100.0%	0%	100%
OCT 09	73.3%	26.7%	73.3%	26.7%	100%
OCT 10	85.7%	14.3%	90.9%	9.1%	100%
OCT 11	91.7%	8.3%	45.5%	54.5%	100%
OCT 12	80.0%	20.0%	83.3%	16.7%	100%
OCT 13	85.7%	14.3%	96.3%	3.7%	100%
OCT 14	100.0%	0%	80.0%	20.0%	100%
OCT 15	90.9%	9.1%	100.0%	0%	100%
OCT 16	93.8%	6.3%	66.7%	33.3%	100%
OCT 17	90.9%	9.1%	75.0%	25.0%	100%
OCT 18	76.9%	23.1%	100.0%	0%	100%
OCT 19	50.7%	49.3%	68.1%	31.9%	100%
OCT 20	73.3%	26.7%	95.9%	4.1%	100%
OCT 21	81.3%	18.8%	90.5%	9.5%	100%
OCT 22	93.3%	6.7%	88.9%	11.1%	100%
OCT 23	90.0%	10.0%	66.7%	33.3%	100%
OCT 24	75.0%	25.0%	92.3%	7.7%	100%
OCT 25	41.2%	58.8%	82.4%	17.6%	100%
OCT 26	75.0%	25.0%	68.8%	31.3%	100%
OCT 27	80.0%	20.0%	97.1%	2.9%	100%
OCT 28	83.3%	16.7%	81.0%	19.0%	100%
OCT 29	87.5%	12.5%	100.0%	0%	100%
OCT 30	100.0%	0%	93.8%	6.3%	100%
OCT 31	83.3%	16.7%	87.5%	12.5%	100%
NOV 01	92.3%	7.7%	85.7%	14.3%	100%
NOV 02	92.3%	7.7%	92.9%	7.1%	100%
NOV 03	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%	0%	100%
NOV 04	62.5%	37.5%	86.7%	13.3%	100%

NOV 05	100.0%	0%	100.0%	0%	100%
NOV 06	100.0%	0%	89.3%	10.7%	100%
NOV 07	92.9%	7.1%	95.9%	4.1%	100%
NOV 08	100.0%	0%	87.5%	12.5%	100%

Figure 5.16: Trends in Dominant Topics Over Time – Donald Trump

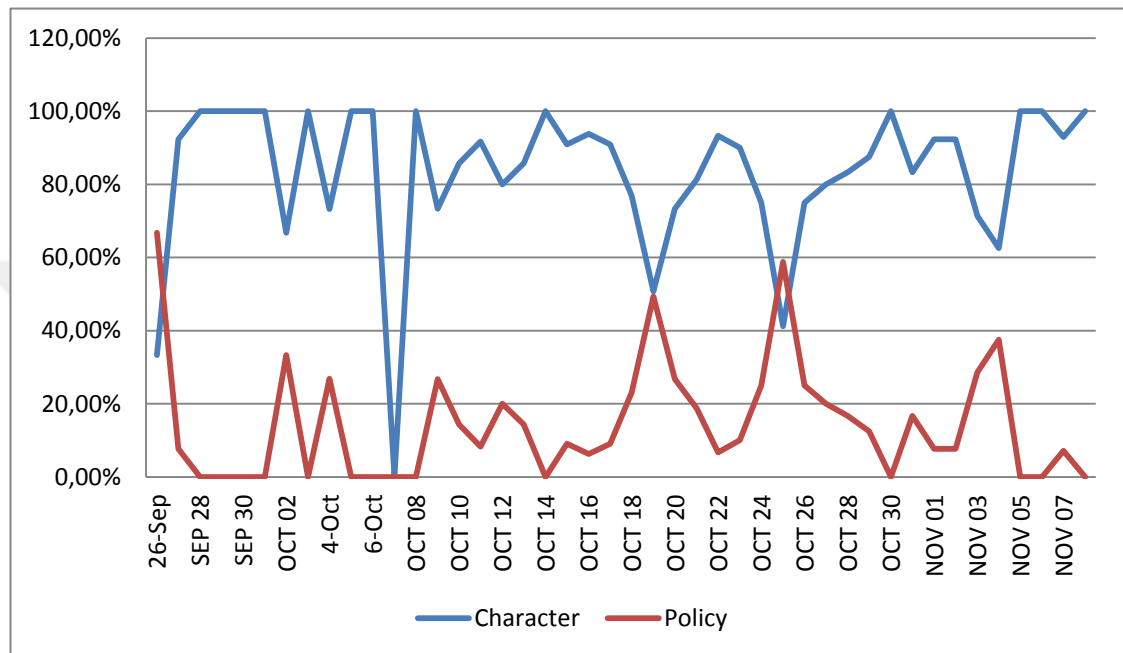
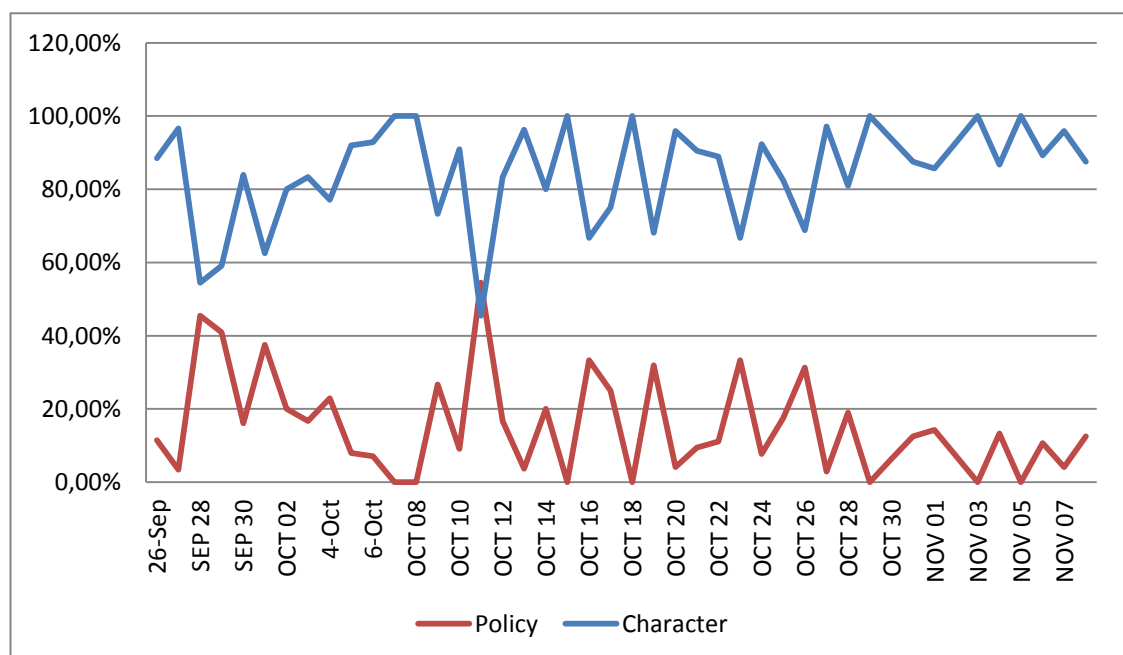


Figure 5.17: Trends in Dominant Topics Over Time – Hillary Clinton

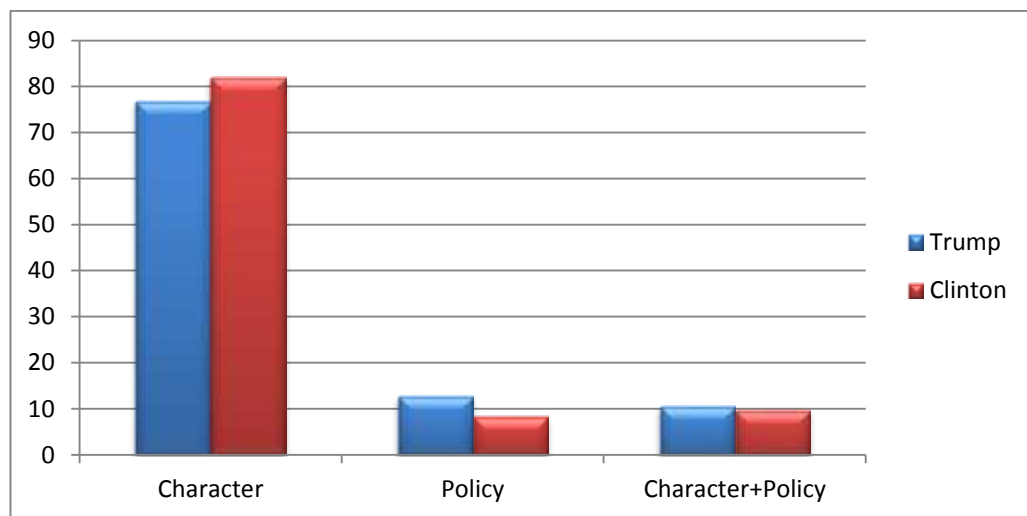


Separating the mixed topics from the single character and policy topics to answer to the second research question, results still illustrated the dominance of character category for both candidates. Overall character was discussed in 80.1% percent of the posts while the frequency of policy was 9.9%. Candidates were used both character and policy topics simultaneously in one-tenth of the tweets. The rate roughly equals to the single policy category (9.9%). That means half of the posts dominantly discussed policy issues were combined with a character topic. A chi-square goodness of fit test confirmed that the categories discussed differently (χ^2 [df = 2] = 1584.96, $p < .0001$). Based of the data, the rate of mixed category was slightly higher for Trump (10.5%) compared with Clinton (9.7%) who focussed on character (82%) more than Trump (76.7%) and discussed policy (8.3%) less than him (12.8%). A chi-square of cross classification showed that these differences are significant (χ^2 [df = 3] = 9.06, $\phi = .075$, $p < .05$). Table 5.10 and Figure 5.18 display the single and mixed categories of topics in the Twitter posts.

Table 5.10: Single and Mixed Functions in the Twitter Posts

	Character	Policy	Mixed	Total
Trump	438 (76.7%)	73 (12.8%)	60 (10.5%)	571 (35.5%)
Clinton	850 (82%)	86 (8.3%)	100 (9.7%)	1036 (65.5%)
Total	1288 (80.1%)	159 (9.9%)	160 (10%)	1607 (100%)
Total: $\chi^2(df=2)$ 1584.96, $p < .0001$; Trump vs Clinton: $\chi^2(df=2)$ 9.06, $\phi = .075$, $p < .05$				

Figure 5.18: Single and Mixed Topics in the Twitter Posts



5.5. ACCLAIM, ATTACK, AND DEFENSE ON POLICY AND CHARACTER

As discussed in the theory section, the functional theory posits that every function discusses either character or policy topic. In line with the previous analysis, the nonfunctional tweets were also excluded from this analysis. The eight hypothesis predicted that the candidates attacked on policy more than they attacked on character in their Twitter posts during the election campaign. This hypothesis was rejected because classifying functions into two groups, the results revealed that both candidates discussed character more than policy when they acclaimed, attacked, and defended. A chi-square test of cross classification confirms that there is a significant different between the categories for total posts (χ^2 [df = 2] = 15.1, $\phi = .097$, $p < .005$). The data regarding cross classification of functions and topics were reported in the Table 5.11

Table 5.11: Cross-tabulation of Topics and Functions

Candidate				Function			Total
				Acclaim	Attack	Defense	
Trump	Topic	Character	Count	243	178	27	448
			% within Topic	54.2%	39.7%	6.0%	100.0%
			% within Function	86.8%	67.4%	100.0%	78.5%
			% of Total	42.6%	31.2%	4.7%	78.5%
	Policy		Count	37	86	0	123
			% within Topic	30.1%	69.9%	0.0%	100.0%
			% within Function	13.2%	32.6%	0.0%	21.5%
			% of Total	6.5%	15.1%	0.0%	21.5%
	Total		Count	280	264	27	571
			% within Topic	49.0%	46.2%	4.7%	100.0%
			% within Function	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% of Total	49.0%	46.2%	4.7%	100.0%
Clinton	Topic	Character	Count	495	343	37	875
			% within Topic	56.6%	39.2%	4.2%	100.0%
			% within Function	82.1%	87.1%	94.9%	84.5%
			% of Total	47.8%	33.1%	3.6%	84.5%
	Policy		Count	108	51	2	161
			% within Topic	67.1%	31.7%	1.2%	100.0%
			% within Function	17.9%	12.9%	5.1%	15.5%
			% of Total	10.4%	4.9%	0.2%	15.5%

Total			Count	603	394	39	1036
			% within Topic	58.2%	38.0%	3.8%	100.0%
			% within Function	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% of Total	58.2%	38.0%	3.8%	100.0%
Total	Topic	Character	Count	738	521	64	1323
			% within Topic	55.8%	39.4%	4.8%	100.0%
			% within Function	83.6%	79.2%	97.0%	82.3%
			% of Total	45.9%	32.4%	4.0%	82.3%
		Policy	Count	145	137	2	284
			% within Topic	51.1%	48.2%	0.7%	100.0%
			% within Function	16.4%	20.8%	3.0%	17.7%
			% of Total	9.0%	8.5%	0.1%	17.7%
	Total		Count	883	658	66	1607
			% within Topic	54.9%	40.9%	4.1%	100.0%
			% within Function	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
			% of Total	54.9%	40.9%	4.1%	100.0%
Total χ^2 [df = 2] = 15.1, ϕ = .097, p < .005; Trump χ^2 [df = 2] = 37.92, ϕ = .258, p < .0001; Clinton χ^2 [df = 2] = 7.83, ϕ = .087, p < .05.							

Data indicated that Clinton acclaimed on character in 47.8% percent of her total posts and discussed policy in 10.4% of her total tweets which was higher than the rates for Trump's acclaims discussing character (42.6%) and policy (6.5%). The ninth and tenth hypotheses anticipated that Trump attacked more on policy and less on character than Clinton. Both hypotheses were supported by the analysis. Trump attacked on the policy (15.1%) more than Clinton (4.9%) while Clinton attacked on character (33.1%) more than Trump (31.2%). Based on the data, Clinton defended her policy in 0.2% percent of her posts while Trump's merely respond the attacks on his character. Chi-square tests of cross classification show the relationship between the topics and functions appear to be significant for both Clinton (χ^2 [df = 2] = 7.83, ϕ = .087, p < .05) and Trump (χ^2 [df = 2] = 37.92, ϕ = .258, p < .0001). Figures 5.19 and 5.20 illustrate the cross classification of functions and topics of the candidates' posts.

Figure 5.19: Cross Classification of Functions and Topics in Trump's Posts

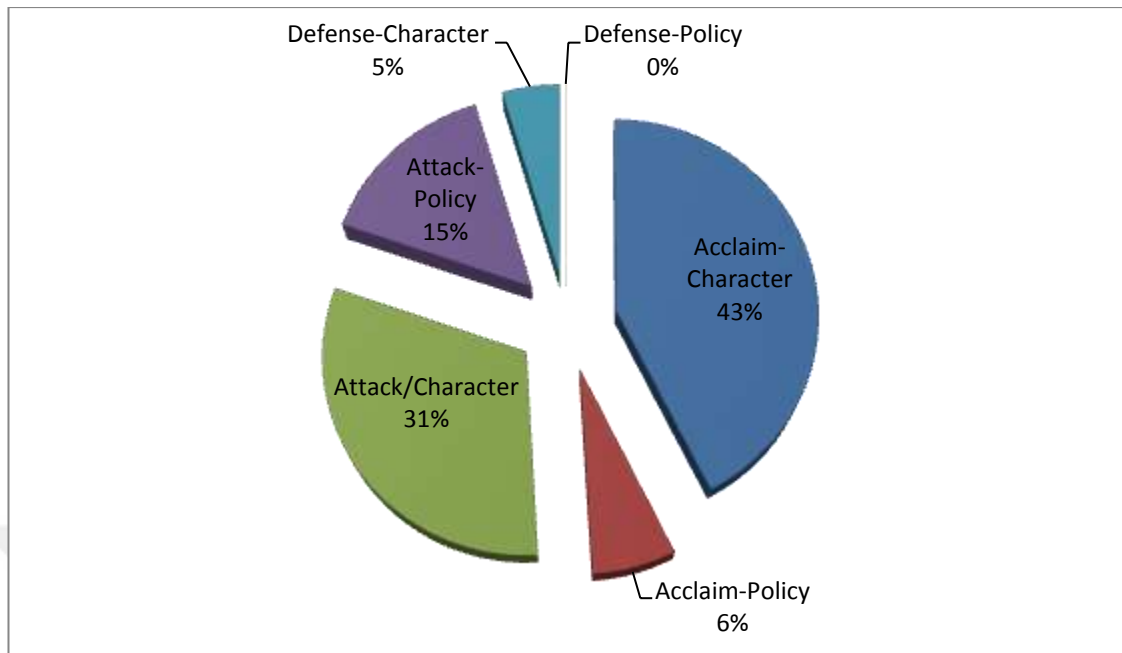
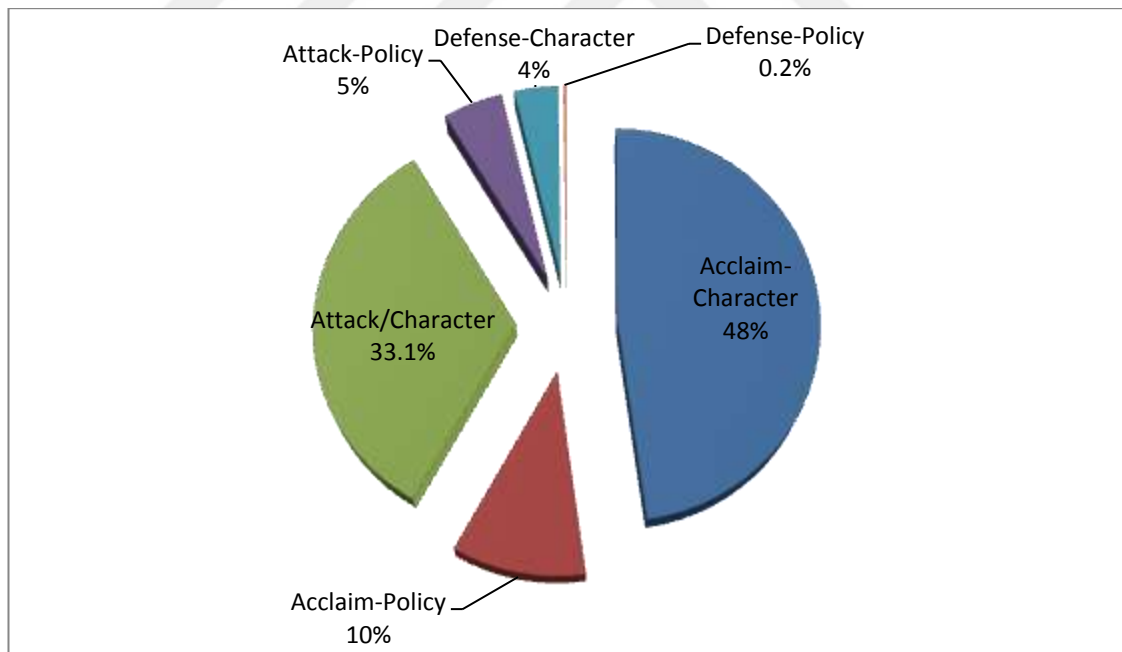


Figure 5.20: Cross Classification of Functions and Topics in Clinton's Posts



An example of acclaim on policy occurred in the post illustrated in the Figure 5.21 in which Clinton discussed her future plans of making college tuition-free for families earn not more than \$125000 and debt-free for everyone. The post discussed

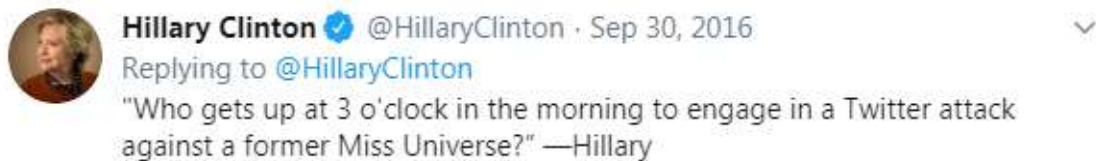
specific governmental actions and portrayed Clinton in an unfavorable light. Therefore, was coded as acclaim on policy.

Figure 5.21: Acclaim on Policy



An example of attack on character is illustrated in the Figure 5.22 in which Clinton attacked on the opponent's character for his offensive tweet posted in the early morning of the same day. The post did not discuss any specific governmental action or problems amenable to a governmental action but it discussed Trump's personal qualities and portrayed him in unfavorable light and therefore, was coded as an attack on character.

Figure 5.22: Attack on Character



However, on the same day, Trump responded to the accusation by the following post displayed in the Figure 5.23. The post discussed Trump's character and defended him against the attack and thus, was coded as defense on character.

Figure 5.23: Defense on Character



The next section discussed tone of the posts which derived from its functions. Similar analysis therefore conducted to investigate the tone of the tweets posted by each candidate.

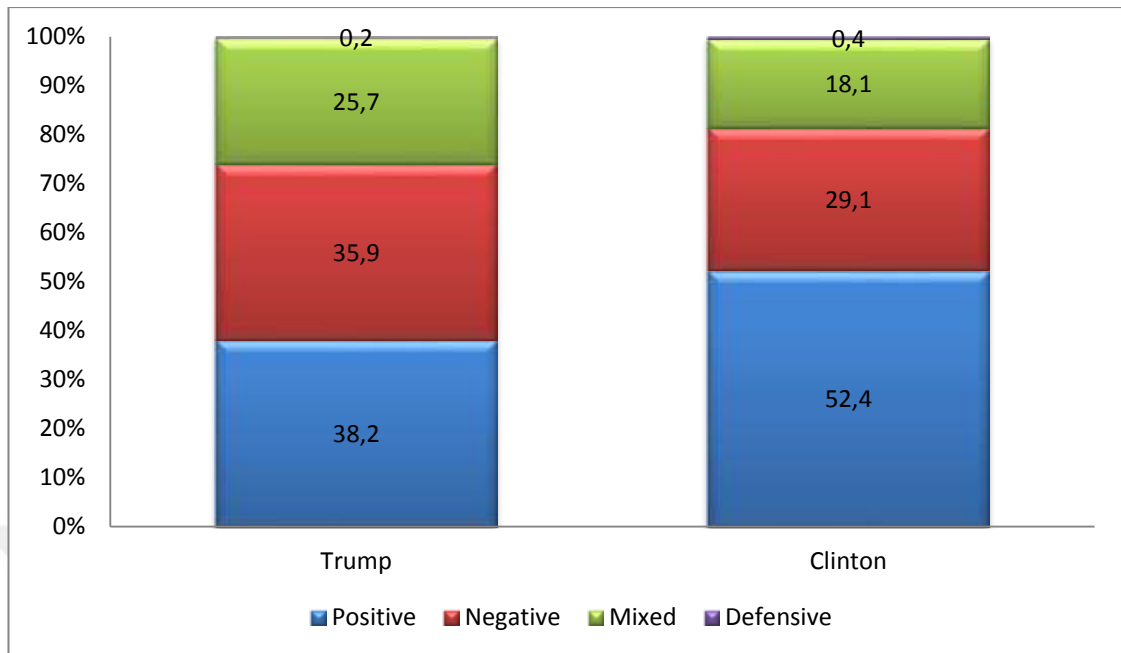
5.6. TONE OF THE POST

As discussed in the methodology part, posts contain only acclaims have positive tone. Attacks are negative and posts include both acclaim and attack were considered as mixed tone (Lucavicate, 2005; Benoit et al., 2013b; Benoit et al., 2014b; Benoit, 2017). Single defenses have defensive tone. To answer the third research question, the results revealed that overall 47.4% percent of the functional posts were positive, whereas 31.5% percent of them had negative tone, and 20.8% percent of them were mixed in tone. A chi-square goodness of fit tests confirmed that the differences were significant $\chi^2(df=2) 1575.85, p < .0001$). Clinton tended to post more positive (52.4%) and more defensive (0.4%) posts compared with Trump (38.2%, 0.2%) while Trump posted more negative (35.9%) and more mixed posts (25.7%) than Clinton (29.1%, 18.1%). A chi-square test of cross classification showed that the differences were significant ($\chi^2(df=2) 31.40, \phi = .140, p < .0001$). Table 5.12. and Figure 5.24 illustrate the tone of the posts.

Table 5.12: Tone of the Twitter Posts

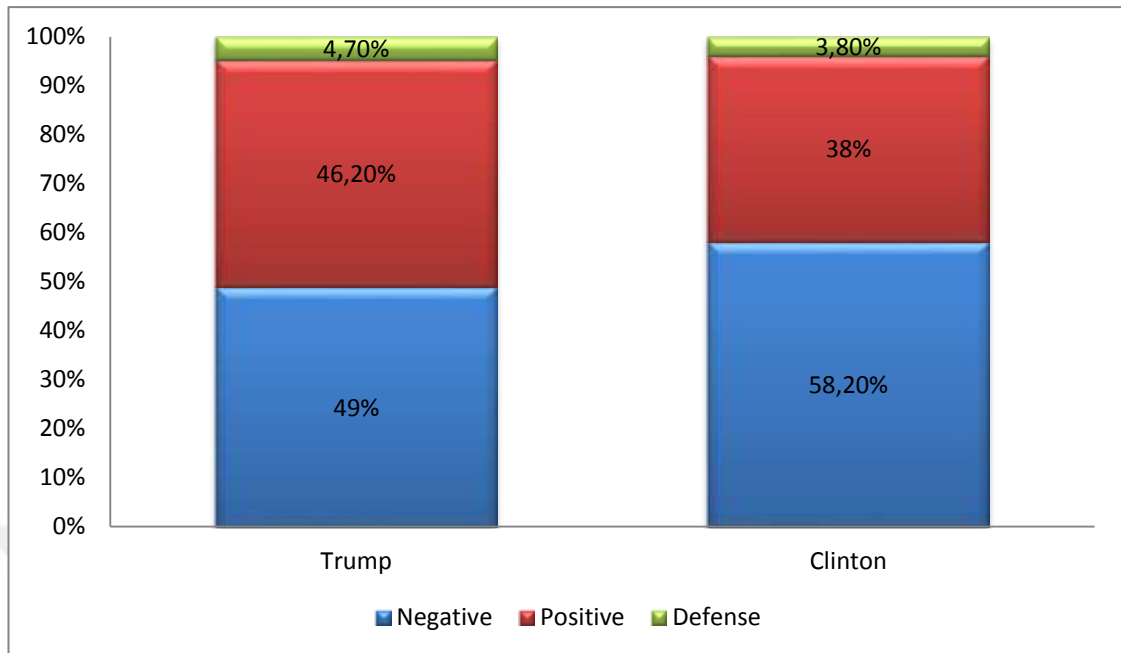
	Positive	Negative	Mied	Defensive	Total
Trump	218 (38.2%)	205 (35.9%)	147 (25.7%)	1 (0.2%)	571 (35.5%)
Clinton	543 (52.4%)	301 (29.1%)	188 (18.1%)	4 (0.4%)	1036 (65.5%)
Total	761 (47.4%)	506 (31.5%)	335 (20.8%)	5 (0.3%)	1607 (100%)
Total: $\chi^2(df=2) 1575.85, p < .0001$; Trump vs Clinton: $\chi^2(df=2) 31.40, \phi = .140, p < .0001$. Note: Defensesive posts were excluded from χ^2 because of their infrequency.					

Figure 5.24: Tone of the Twitter Posts



Combining mixed and negative posts together, it can be stated that more than half of the total posts (52.3%) comprise at least one negative theme. The rate for Trump (61.6%) is more compared with Clinton (47.2). On the other hand, if we determine the dominant tone in the posts having mixed tone, the results regarding the dominant tone of the posts and trend of the tone over time would be similar to the dominant function that were discussed earlier. In which acclaims refer to positive and attacks have negative tone. Defensive posts include defense function. Figure 5.25 presents the dominant tone of the Twitter posts of the candidates.

Figure 5.25: Dominant Tone of the Posts



5.7. CAMPAIGN PROMOTION

As discussed earlier, some themes did not refer to any of the functions but promoted the candidates' campaigns. The "campaign promotion" category refer to the nonfunctional themes concerned with giving information about current or upcoming rallies, debates, speeches, interviews, or events, urging fans to vote or to join polls or rallies, as well as asking them to watch speeches, donate, follow a specific account, send message, or participate in campaign activities. This category presented alone or with other functions in the tweets. For instance, in the post showed in Figure 5.26, Trump promoted his rally in Colorado urging the supporters to join the rally at the given time and date.

Figure 5.26: Trump's Campaign Promotion



Clinton similarly promoted her campaign in the post shown in Figure 5.27, asking the users to watch her speech in Iowa live at the mentioned time and date. She also requested the voters to make their plan to vote through the attached link, by registering to vote, signing up to vote by mail, and find early voting or Election Day polling places.

Figure 5.27: Clinton's Campaign Promotion

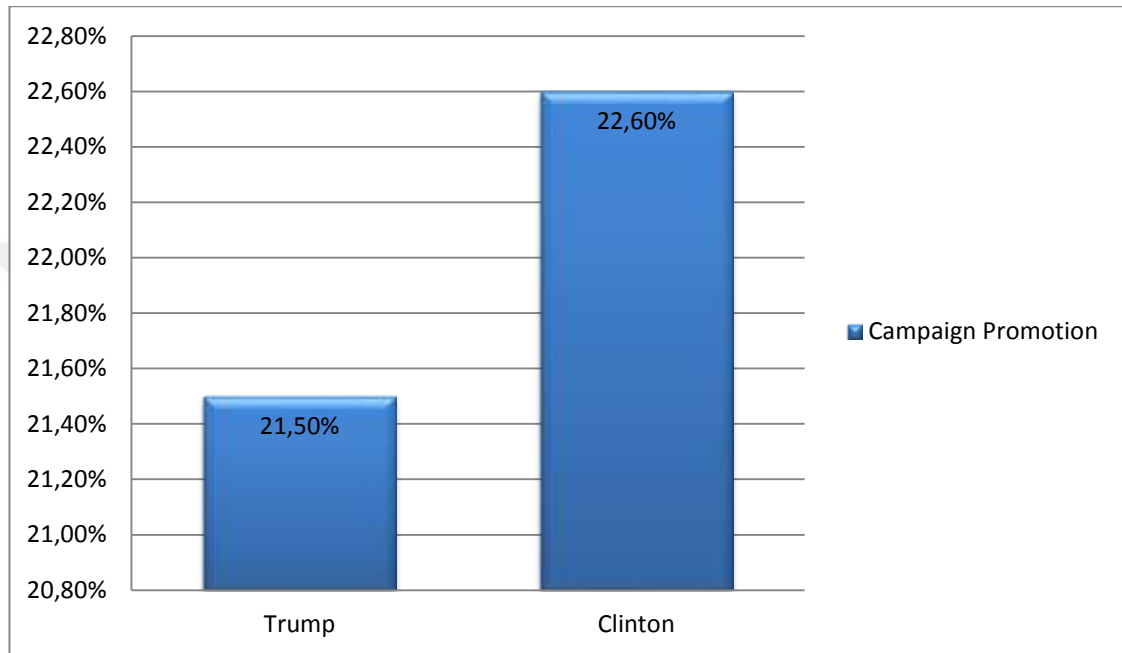


Results illustrated that both candidates almost similarly employed Twitter platform to promote their election campaigns. A one-way chi-square test confirmed that the difference was not significant ($\chi^2[df=1]$ 8.30, *ns.*). Table 5.13 and Figure 5.28 represent the frequency of campaign promotion category.

Table 5.13: Promoting Campaign in Twitter Posts

Candidate	Trump	Clinton	Total
Campaign Promotion	136 (21.5%)	258 (22.6%)	394 (22.2%)
Presence vs not presence, Trump vs Clinton $\chi^2(df=1)$ 8.30, <i>ns</i> .			

Figure 5.28: Presence of Promoting Campaign in Twitter Posts



Results indicated that more than half of campaign promotion themes (56.9%) were presented along with acclaim function while roughly 40% percent of them used in non-functional posts.

5.8. IMAGE REPAIR STRATEGIES

The fourth research question is concerned with the frequency of image repair strategies used by the candidates. The analysis of defenses revealed that overall, defense strategy was used in 71 Twitter posts. As discussed before, Image Repair Theory differentiates 14 distinct strategies among which 7 strategies were used by the candidates in their Twitter campaigns. One-way chi-square tests revealed that there is no significant difference between the candidates in terms of using image repair strategies. Candidates tried to reduce the offensiveness of the wrongful acts using various strategies. Attacking the accuser was the most frequent strategy used almost in two-third of the total defenses to diminish the credibility of the accuser and the accusation. This strategy was used by Trump (84.4%) more than Clinton (66.7%). For instance, in the following post, Trump attacked the former Miss Universe who accused him of being verbally abusive to reduce the credibility of his accusation. In addition, this strategy also was aimed at creating the impression that the she deserved such behavior.

Figure 5.29: Attack Accuser Strategy Example



Trump and Clinton also used bolstering strategy (15.6% to 15.4%) to Stress their own good traits or mentioning positive acts in the past, in order to improve the users positive feelings toward themselves and thus, offset the offensiveness of the wrongful actions. As mentioned earlier, Trump was accused of getting up at 3 o'clock to engage in a tweet attack against the former beauty queen. In the following example displayed in the Figure 5.30, Trump sought to strengthen the positive feelings of the users toward himself and thus, compensate the negative feelings connected with the offensive tweet.

Figure 5.30: Bolstering Strategy Example



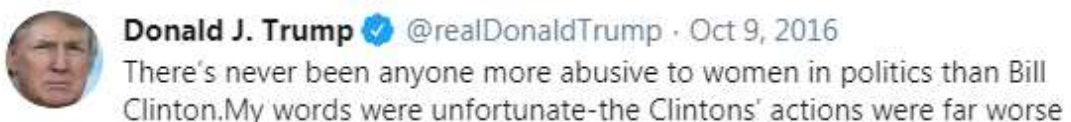
Minimization strategy was also used by the candidates to diminish the contrary feelings concerned with the wrongful act suggesting that the act was not very serious (9.4% to 2.6%). Figure 5.31 shows that how Trump tried to minimize the offensiveness of accusations when he was questioned about the tape in which he had an extremely lewd conversation about women in 2005 with the television host Billy Bush. Trump defended himself claiming that it was a “locker room talk” and a private conversation. He also stated that the world has serious problems implying that such issues are not important topics in order to minimize the offensiveness of the act.

Figure 5.31: Minimization Strategy Example



Trump used the differentiation strategy in one post (3.1%) arguing that his wrongful act was not as offensive as Bill Clinton’s similar one in order to reduce the offensiveness of his wrongful acts.

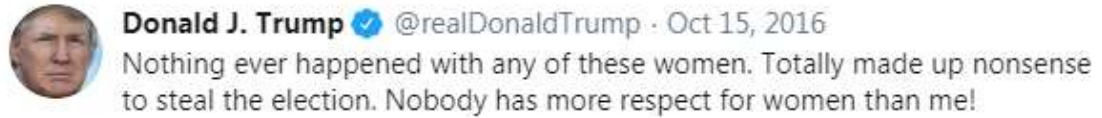
Figure 5.31: Differentiation Strategy Example



Denial was the other general strategy that was used by the candidates in more than one-third of the defensive posts. It comprises two strategies: simple denial and shift of blame. Simple denial was the second most frequent strategy. Trump and

Clinton simply denied the accusations roughly in one-third of their defenses (31.3% to 35.9) by denying that the act happened, that it was performed by them, or that the act was harmful to anyone. Figure 5.32 displays an example of simple denial strategy in which Trump simply denied that the act happened.

Figure 5.32: Simple Denial Strategy Example

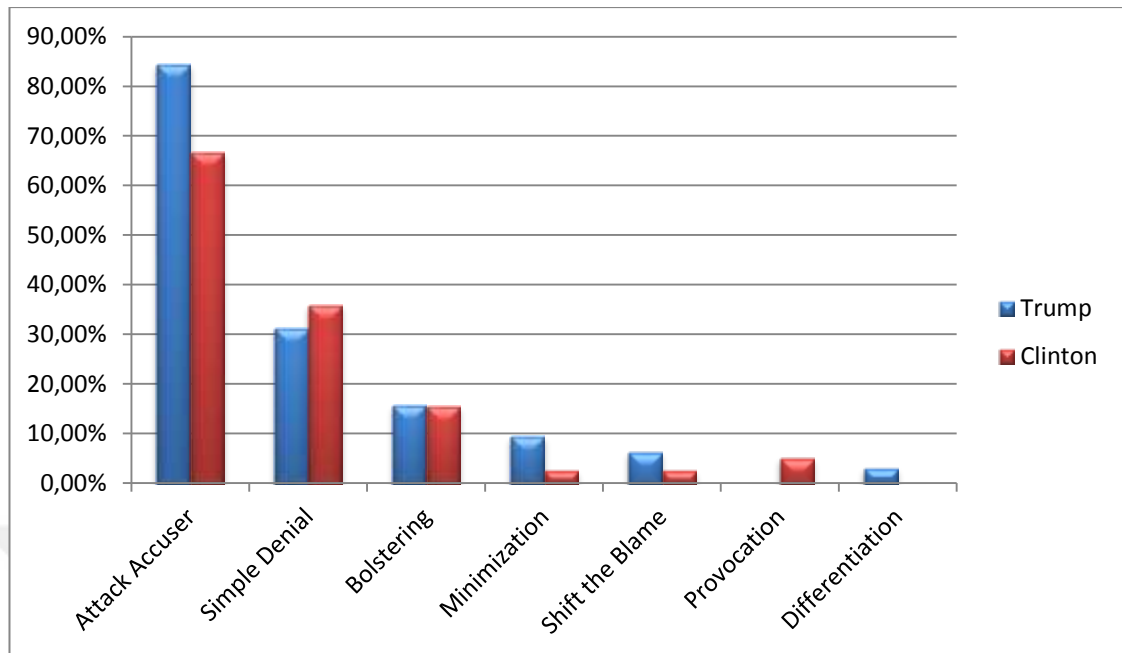


They also denied the responsibility for the acts by shifting the blame to someone else (6.3% to 2.6%). In addition to the above strategies, Clinton sought to evade the responsibility for the acts by pleading provocation in her two posts (5.1%). However, candidates neither apologized for the offensive acts nor introduced a plan to solve the problems. Table 5.13 and Figure 5.33 represent the data regarding image repair strategies used by the candidates.

Table 5.13: Presence of Image Repair Strategies in the Twitter Posts

Strategy	Trump	Clinton	Total
Attack Accuser	27 (84.4%)	26 (66.7%)	53 (74.6%)
Simple Denial	10 (31.3%)	14 (35.9%)	24 (33.8%)
Bolstering	5 (15.6%)	6 (15.4%)	11 (15.5%)
Minimization	3 (9.4%)	1 (2.6%)	4 (5.6%)
Shift the Blame	2 (6.3%)	1 (2.6%)	3 (4.2%)
Provocation	0 (0.0%)	2 (5.1%)	2 (2.8%)
Differentiation	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.4%)
Presence vs not presence, Trump vs Clinton: Attack Accuser $\chi^2(df=1)$ 2.91, <i>ns.</i> ; Simple Denial $\chi^2(df=1)$.17, <i>ns.</i> ; Bolstering $\chi^2(df=1)$.001, <i>ns.</i> ; Rest of the strategies were excluded from χ^2 because of their infrequency.			

Figure 5.33: Presence of Image Repair Strategies in the Twitter Posts



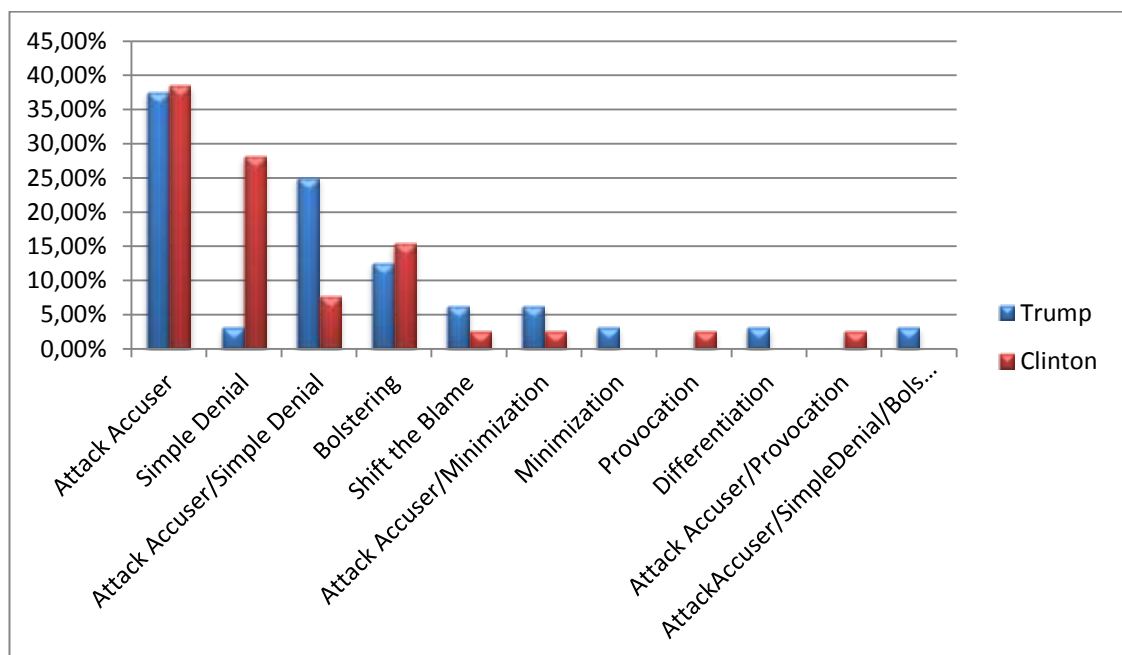
The data indicated that nearly one-fourth of the defenses contain more than one strategy. In other words, candidates tended to combine different restoration strategies to maximize the effect of the strategies. Trump attacked the accusers while simply denying the wrongful acts in one-fourth of his defenses. He combined attack accuser strategy with other strategies nearly in one-third of his defenses while the rate for Clinton was only one-tenth. A chi-square goodness of fit test revealed that the differences were significant ($\chi^2[df = 10] 102.06, p < .0001$). The data showed that attacking accuser was still the most frequent single strategy used by Trump and Clinton in more than one-third of their posts contain defense function (37.5% to 38.5%). Despite Clinton (28.2%), Trump rarely used simple denial strategy alone (3.1%). He often combined the simple denial and the attack accuser strategies together. Simply denying the offensive acts and attacking the opponent's credibility were simultaneously used by Trump (25%) more than Clinton (7.7%). Besides using single bolstering (12.5% to 15.4%) and shifting the blame (6.3% to 2.6%), Trump and Clinton combined attack accuser and minimization strategies together in some of their posts (6.3% to 2.6%). Trump also employed single minimization (3.1%) and differentiation (3.1%) strategies. He also once (3.1%) combined the three strategies of simple denial, attack accuser, and bolstering to repair his image. Clinton on the

other hand, used single provocation (2.6%) as well as provocation and attack accuser combination once in her posts (2.6%). Table 5.14 and Figure 5.34 illustrate the single and mixed strategies used by the candidates in their posts.

Table 5.14: Single and Mixed Image Repair Strategies in the Twitter Posts

Strategy	Trump	Clinton	Total
Attack Accuser	12 (37.5%)	15 (38.5%)	27 (38%)
Simple Denial	1 (3.1%)	11 (28.2%)	12 (16.9%)
Attack Accuser/Simple Denial	8 (25%)	3 (7.7%)	11 (15.5%)
Bolstering	4 (12.5%)	6 (15.4%)	10 (14.1%)
Shift the Blame	2 (6.3%)	1 (2.6%)	3 (4.2%)
Attack Accuser/Minimization	2 (6.3%)	1 (2.6%)	3 (4.2%)
Minimization	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.4%)
Provocation	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.6%)	1 (1.4%)
Differentiation	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.4%)
Attack Accuser/Provocation	0 (0.0%)	1 (2.6%)	1 (1.4%)
Attack Accuser/Simple Denial/Bolstering	1 (3.1%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.4%)
Total	32 (100%)	39 (100%)	71 (100%)
Total: $\chi^2(df=10)$ 102.06 $p < .0001$; Trump vs Clinton: $\chi^2(df=10)$ 16.48, <i>ns</i> .			

Figure 5.34: Single and Mixed Image Repair Strategies in the Twitter Posts



5.9. RHETORICAL APPEALS

In this section a description of the candidates' usage of the three rhetorical strategies in their Twitter campaigns is followed by an analysis of the popularity and engagement of the messages, measured by users' reception of the messages. Hypothesis 11-15 addressed the use of Aristotle's tirad of ethos, logos, and pathos that are the foundation of persuasive arguments in any persuasive discourse including Twitter campaigns. Table 5.15 and Figure 5.35 illustrate the presence of the rhetorical appeals in the Twitter posts of the candidates.

Table 5.15: Presence of Rhetorical Appeals in the Twitter Posts

	Ethos	Logos	Pathos	Total
Trump	317 (50%)	306 (48.3%)	485 (76.5%)	634 (35.7%)
Clinton	673 (58.9%)	494 (43.3%)	859 (75.2%)	1142 (64.3%)
Total	990 (55.7%)	800 (45%)	1344 (75.7%)	1776 (100%)
Presence vs not presence, Trump vs Clinton: Ethos $\chi^2(df=2)$ 13.18, $\phi=.086$, $p < .0001$; Logos $\chi^2(df=2)$ 4.13, $\phi = -.045$, $p < .05$; Pathos $\chi^2(df=2)$.36, <i>ns</i> .				

Figure 5.35: Presence of the Rhetorical Appeals in the Twitter Posts

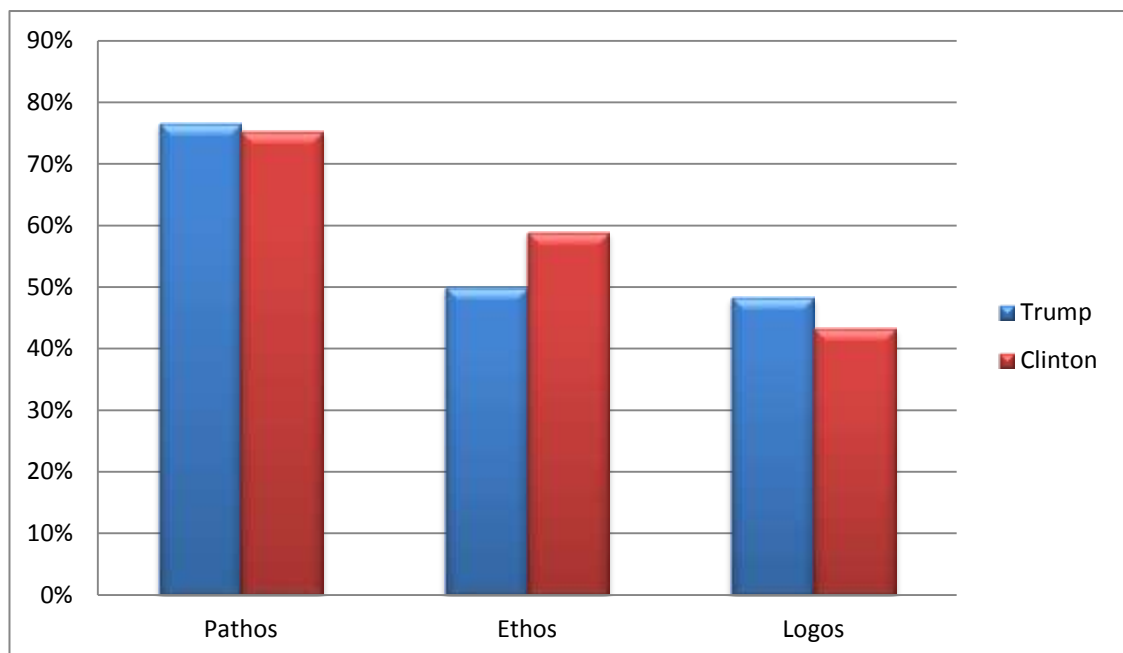


Table 5.15 shows that overall, the pathos element was presented in more number of tweets (75.5%) compared with the other appeals. Thus, the eleventh hypothesis was confirmed. The twelfth hypothesis predicted that logos presented in the least number of tweets posted by both candidates. The data also confirmed this hypothesis. Logos employed in 45% of the posts while 55.7% of the tweets contained at least one credibility (ethos) element. Candidates used the pathos element to convey an emotional message in a large number of their posts. Trump chose this element in 76.5% percent of his posts while Clinton appealed to emotions so in 75.2% percent of her tweets. A chi-square test revealed that the difference was not significant ($\chi^2[df=2] .36, ns.$). The following post is an example of using emotional appeal in which Clinton sought to induce users to feel empathy and pity for the victim of the verbal abuse. The post referred to the “voter’s empathy” subcategory of pathos in the typology suggested in the methodology part and therefore, was classified under emotional appeal.

Figure 5.36: Example of Emotional Appeal (pathos) Used by Clinton



Another example of using emotional appeal is illustrated in the Figure 5.37. Trump argued that they would lose the country in case of losing the election. He used “negative motivation” as a driver force out of fear of the consequences due

to failure of winning the election. The negative motivation is a persuasive strategy that was employed by Trump as an extended form of pathos.

Figure 5.37: Example of Emotional Appeal (pathos) Used by Trump



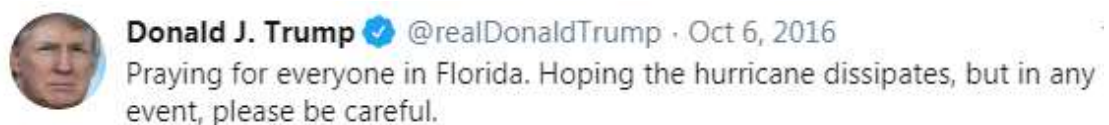
The data indicated a difference in the frequency of the credibility element between the candidates. Ethos was mentioned in 58.9% percent of Clinton's posts while Trump used this element in half of his posts. A chi-square test confirmed that the difference was significant ($\chi^2[df=2] 13.18, \phi=.086, p < .0001$). Figure 5.38. shows a post in which Clinton was endorsed by LeBron James, who is widely considered to be one of the greatest basketball players in *NBA* history. The "social endorsement" strategy refers to the "respected source" subcategory of ethos in our typology. Clinton in the tweet, referred to the authority of the celebrity, in order to enhance credibility and increase her persuasiveness.

Figure 5.38: Example of Credibility Appeal (ethos) Used by Clinton



In the next example (Figure 5.39), Trump showed his sympathy, care, and understanding toward the victims of the *Hurricane Matthew*—the strongest tropical cyclone to affect the First Coast of Florida since 1898. The post refers to goodwill and good intention of Trump toward citizens and boosted his credibility. This strategy is a subcategory of ethos which was named as “merifulness” by us.

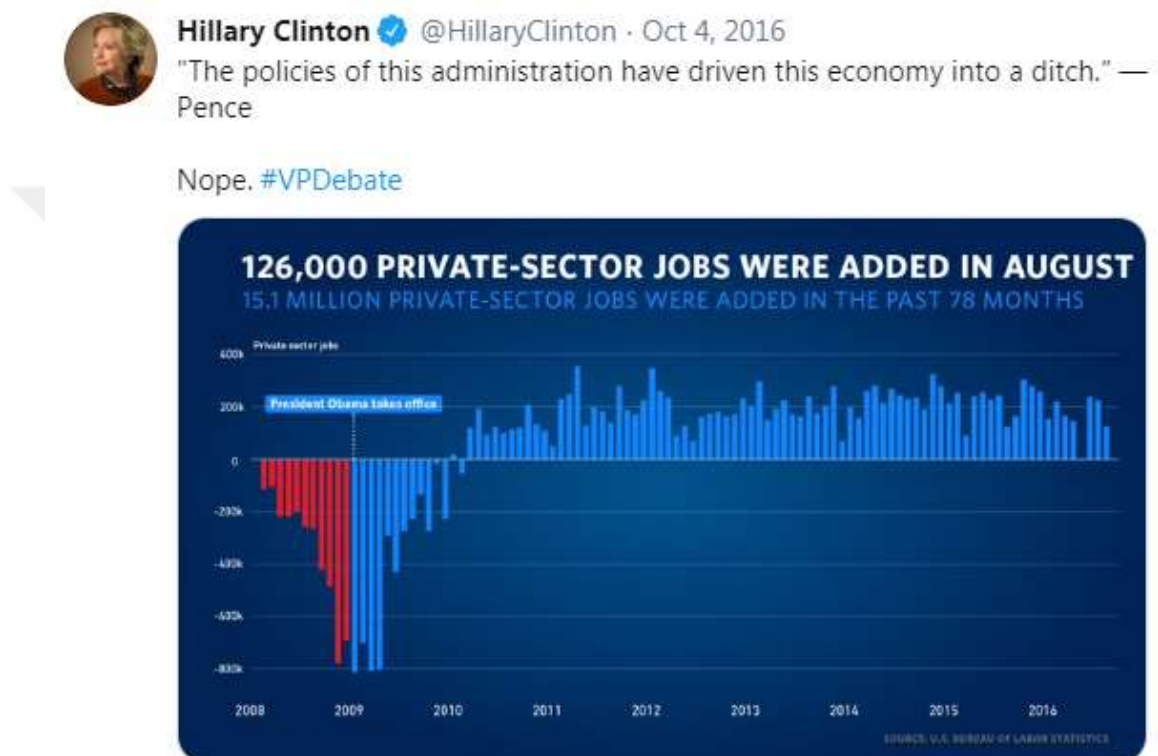
Figure 5.39: Example of Credibility Appeal (ethos) Used by Trump



Based on the results, roughly half of the tweets posted by Trump (48.3%) contained at least one logical element whereas the rate was 43.3% percent for Clinton. A chi-square test revealed that there was significant difference between the presence

of logical appeals in the tweets posted by the two candidates ($\chi^2[df=2] 4.13, \phi = -.045$, $p < .05$). An example of logical appeal is presented in the following post (Figure 5.40) in which Clinton supported her argument by statistics and figures. Using data, statistics and figures to support the message, are appeals to rationality and logic. The strategy refers to the “information” subcategory of logos in our typology.

Figure 5.40: Example of Logical Appeal (logos) used by Clinton



In the next post displayed in the Figure 5.41, mentioning number of his future plans, Trump argued that he was clearly a better choice in contrast to Clinton who had none of those plans. As stated in the methodology part, “contrast” is a form of logical appeal. It is rational appeal that establishes a logical argument on the relationship of like to like, supporting a conclusion about a subject “by description its counterpart” (Connor & Gladkov, 2004). Trump therefore, appealed to logos in this post.

Figure 5.41: Example of Logical Appeal (logos) Used by Trump



The Hypothesis 13-15 predicted that incumbent party (Democrat) candidate (Clinton), focused more on pathos, and less on ethos and logos, than the challenger party (republican) candidate (Trump) in her Twitter posts during the election campaign. Despite the predictions, emotional appeal was less frequently used by Clinton compared with Trump. Thus the 13th hypothesis was rejected. The analysis also failed to support the 14th hypotheses which predicted that Clinton employed credibility appeal in less number of tweets than Trump. However, the 15th hypothesis that anticipated Clinton used logos less than Trump was confirmed. Trump indeed appealed to logic more frequently than Clinton in the Twitter posts.

Moreover, Aristotle suggested that the appeals are used most effectively when are combined together in a text. The difficulty in any work of persuasion specially in microblogging platforms such as Twitter, is navigating the type of appeals that has the most effects on the audience. Analysis of the fifth research question showed that in line with Aristotle's suggestion, the candidates frequently used more than one appeal in their Twitter posts in order to influence a greater number of voters. Table 5.16 and Figure 5.42 illustrate the distribution of candidates' single and mixed rhetorical appeals in the Twitter posts.

Table 5.16: Single and Mixed Rhetorical Appeals used in the Twitter Posts

Appeal	Trump	Clinton	Total
Ethos	31 (4.9%)	110 (9.6%)	141 (7.9%)
Logos	65 (10.3%)	86 (7.5%)	151 (8.5%)
Pathos	109 (17.2%)	149 (13%)	258 (14.5%)
Ethos+Pathos	169 (26.7%)	357 (31.3%)	526 (29.6%)
Logos+Pathos	124 (19.6%)	202 (17.7%)	326 (18.4%)
Ethos+Logos	34 (5.4%)	55 (4.8%)	89 (5%)
Ethos+Logos+Pathos	83 (13.1%)	151 (13.2%)	234 (13.2%)
None	19 (3%)	32 (2.8%)	51 (2.9%)
Total	634 (100%)	1142 (100%)	1776 (100%)
Total: $\chi^2(df=7)$ 735.15 $p < .0001$; Trump vs Clinton: $\chi^2(df=7)$ 23.92 $\phi = .116$, $p < .005$.			

Figure 5.42: Single and Mixed Rhetorical Appeals used in the Twitter Posts

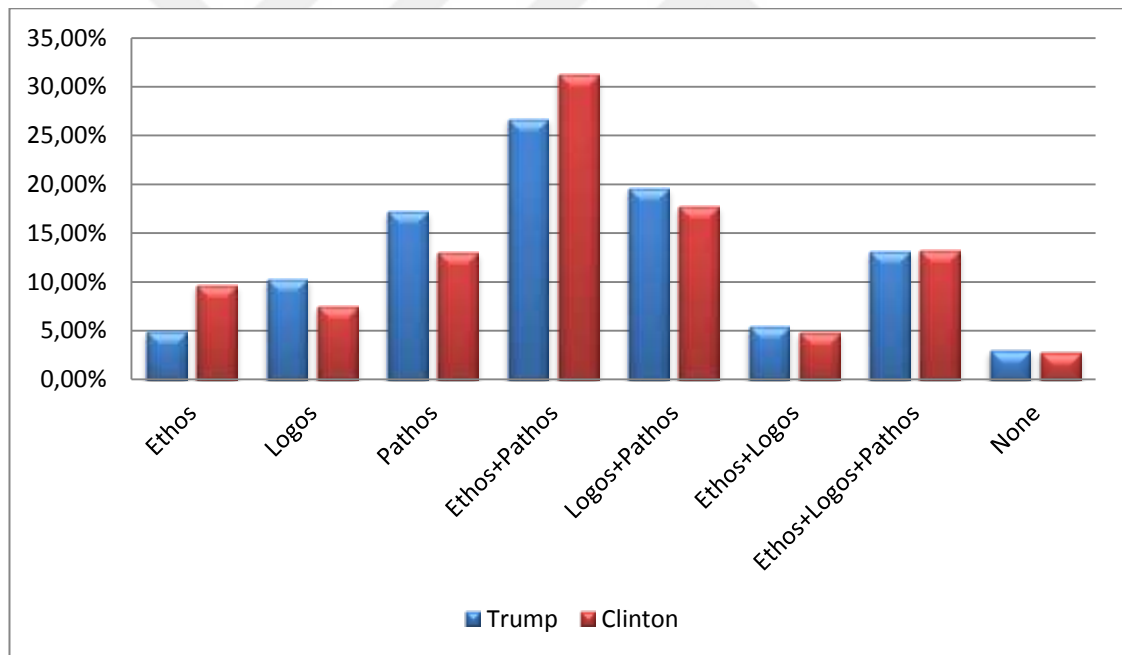


Table 5.16 presents that less than one-third (30.1%) of the candidates' posts consisted of single appeals. The posts often contained multiple appeals. Single appeals of ethos, logos, and pathos were respectively used in 7.9%, 8.5%, and 14.5% percent of the total posts. Candidates tend to use ethos and pathos together the most (29.6%). Candidates' posts on Twitter contained the combination logos and pathos

(18.4%) as the second frequent combination. Ethos and logos presented simultaneously in only 5% percent of the posts. The candidates combined all appeals together in 13.2% of the posts while 2.9% percent of the posts contained none of the appeals. A chi-square goodness of fit confirmed that the differences were significant ($\chi^2[df=7] 735.15 p < .005$). According to the results, single logos and pathos appeals respectively were presented in 10.3% and 17.2% percent of tweets posted by Trump which was more than presence of the logos (7.5%) and pathos (13%) in Clinton's posts. However, Clinton posts focused more on ethos (9.6%) than Trump (4.9%). Combination of ethos and pathos was used in 26.7% percent of Trump's posts and 31.3% percent of Clinton's tweets. Ethos and logos together were presented in 5.4% percent of tweets of Trump and 4.8% percent of the posts belong to Clinton. Trump combined pathos and logos together in 19.6% percent of his posts while the rate was 17.7% percent for Clinton. The full triangle of rhetoric was used almost similarly by Trump (13.1%) and Clinton (13.2%) in their Twitter posts. 3% and 2.8% percent of the posts belong to Trump and Clinton contained none of the persuasion appeals.

5.9.1. Cross Classification of Functions-Topics-Appeals

Besides the usage of the rhetorical appeals by the two candidates, we were keen to investigate the difference between the usage of appeals when the candidates discussed about character and policy topics or while using acclaim, attack, and defense strategies. Data (appendix 3) regarding the sixth research question revealed that ethos/pathos combination was the most frequently used appeal when both candidates acclaimed policy or character. That means regardless of the topic of the post and its sponsoring candidate, ethos/pathos was the most popular appeal in the acclaim posts. Figure 5.13 and Figure 5.44 represent the cross classification of the topics and appeals using acclaim strategy.

Figure 5.43: Cross Classification of Acclaim-Topics-Appeals- Donald Trump

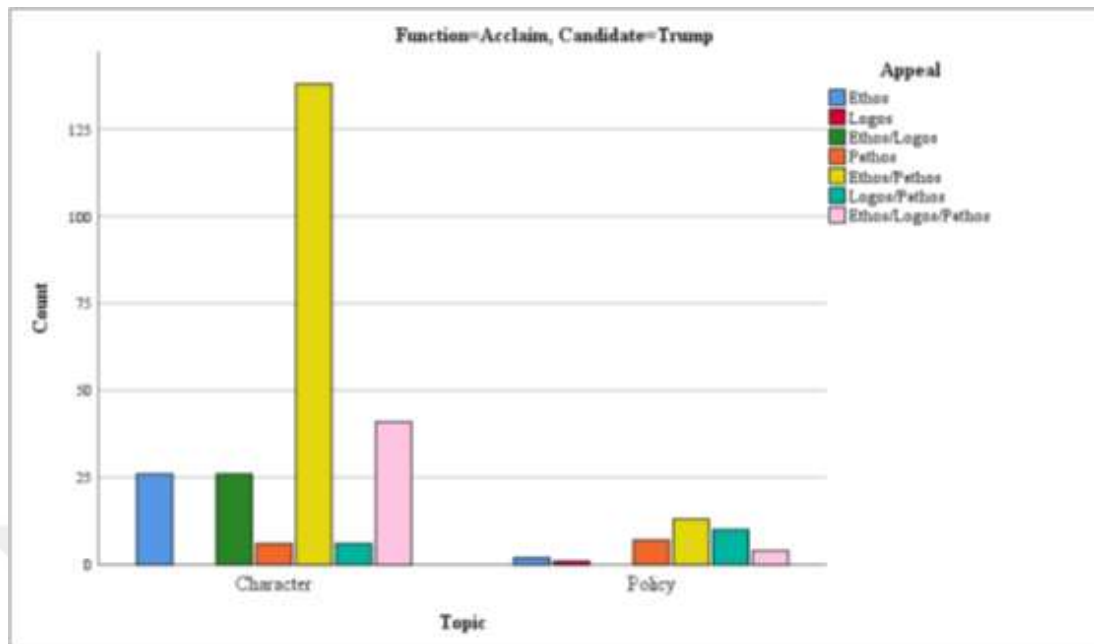
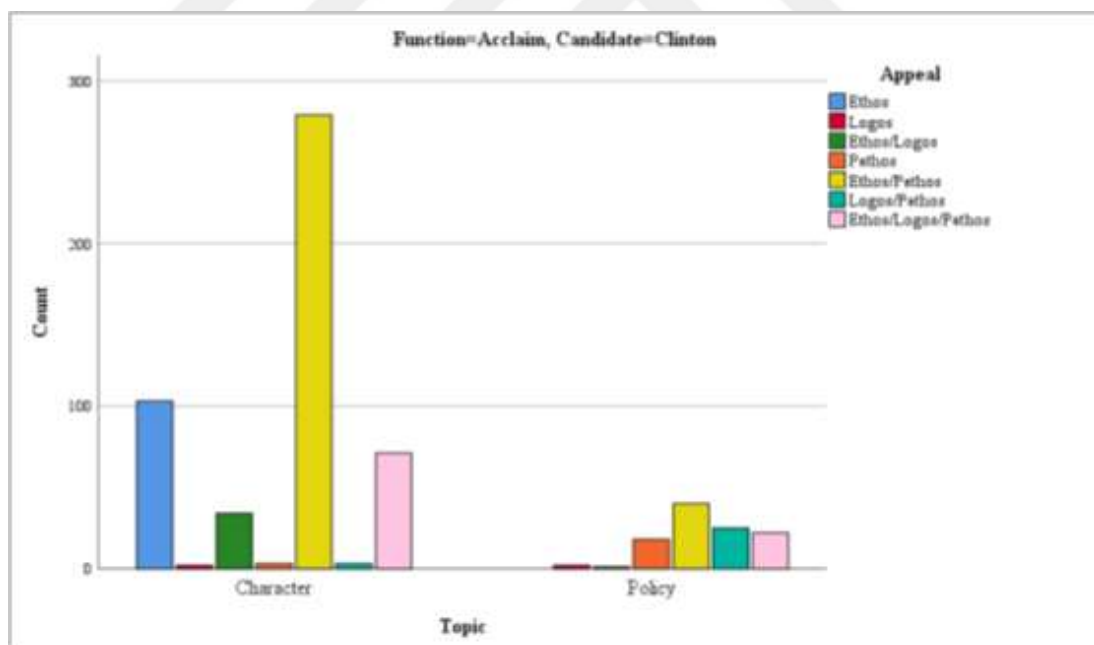


Figure 5.44: Cross Classification of Acclaim-Topics-Appeals- Hillary Clinton



Findings demonstrated that candidates tended to use different rhetorical appeals when they attack the opponent in contrast with acclaiming about themselves. Data (appendix 3) showed that both candidates used most frequently logos/pathos combination when they attacked the opponent's policy and character. Pathos and

logos single appeals were the second and third most frequently used appeals in attack posts. Figure 5.45 and Figure 5.46 illustrates the cross classification of the topics and appeals using attack strategy.

Figure 5.45: Cross Classification of Attack-Topics-Appeals- Donald Trump

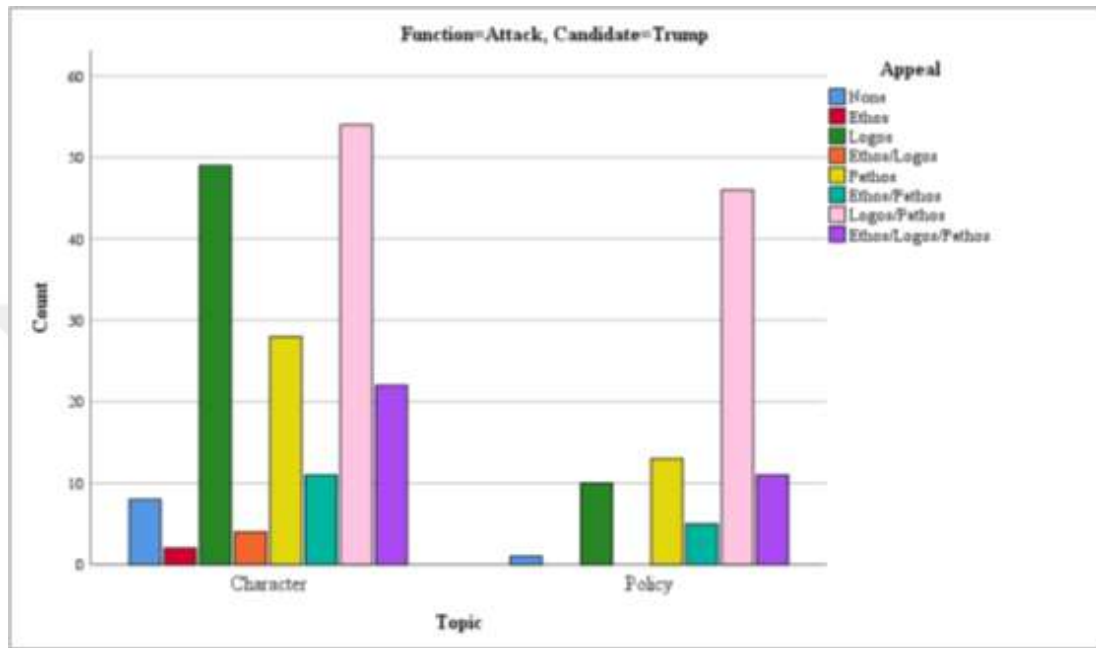
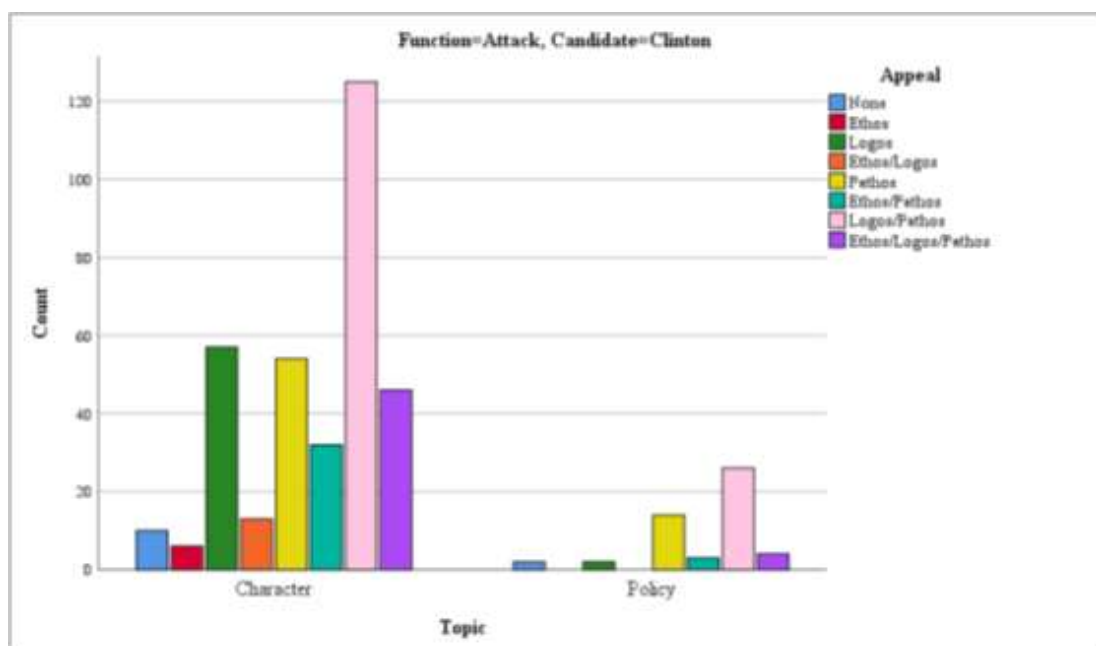


Figure 5.46: Cross Classification of Attack-Topics-Appeals- Hillary Clinton



Findings also revealed that both candidates used logos/pathos combination the most frequently at the time of defending. That is similar to the attack function. Because candidates often used to attack besides defending themselves. Figure 5.47 and Figure 5.48 shows the cross classification of the topics and appeals using attack strategy.

Figure 5.47: Cross Classification of Defense-Topics-Appeals- Donald Trump

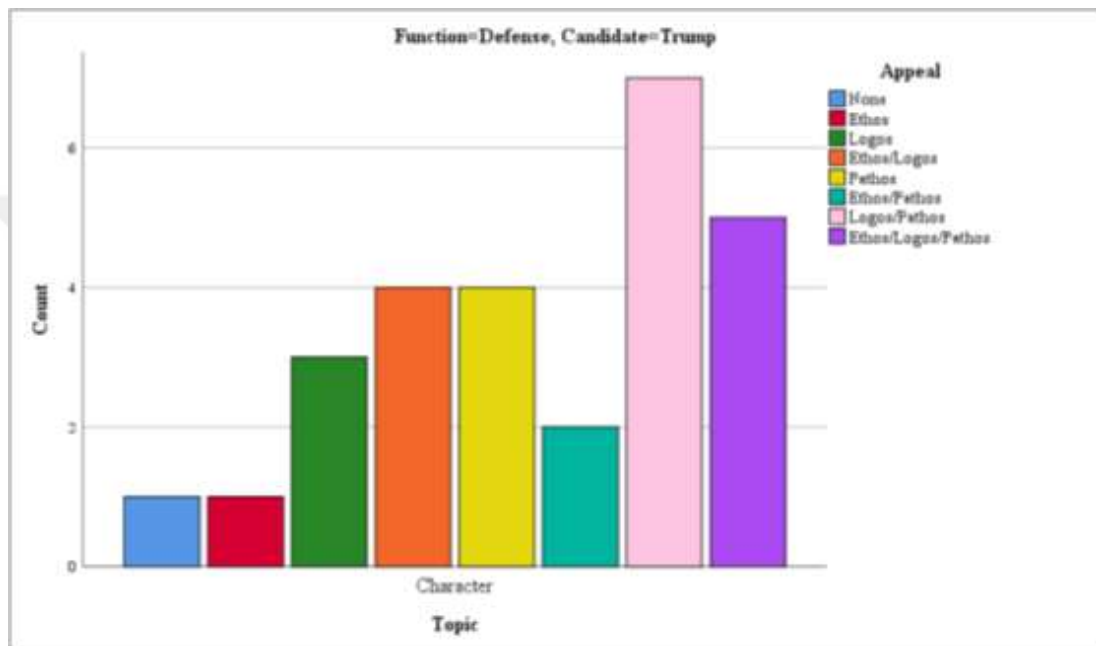
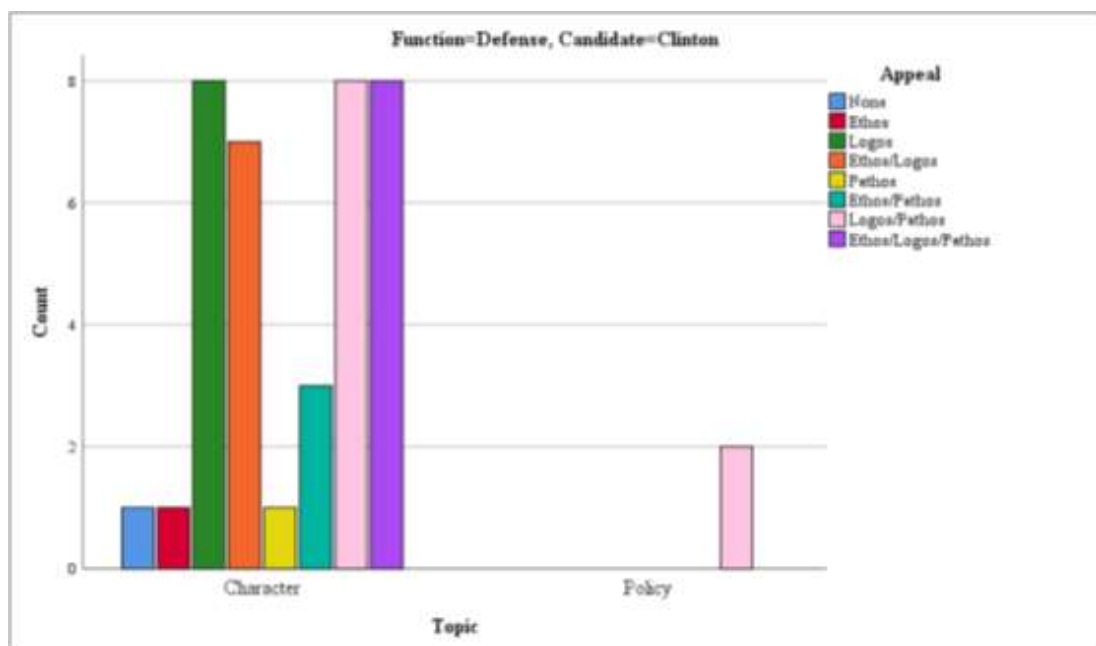


Figure 5.48: Cross Classification of Defense-Topics-Appeals- Hillary Clinton

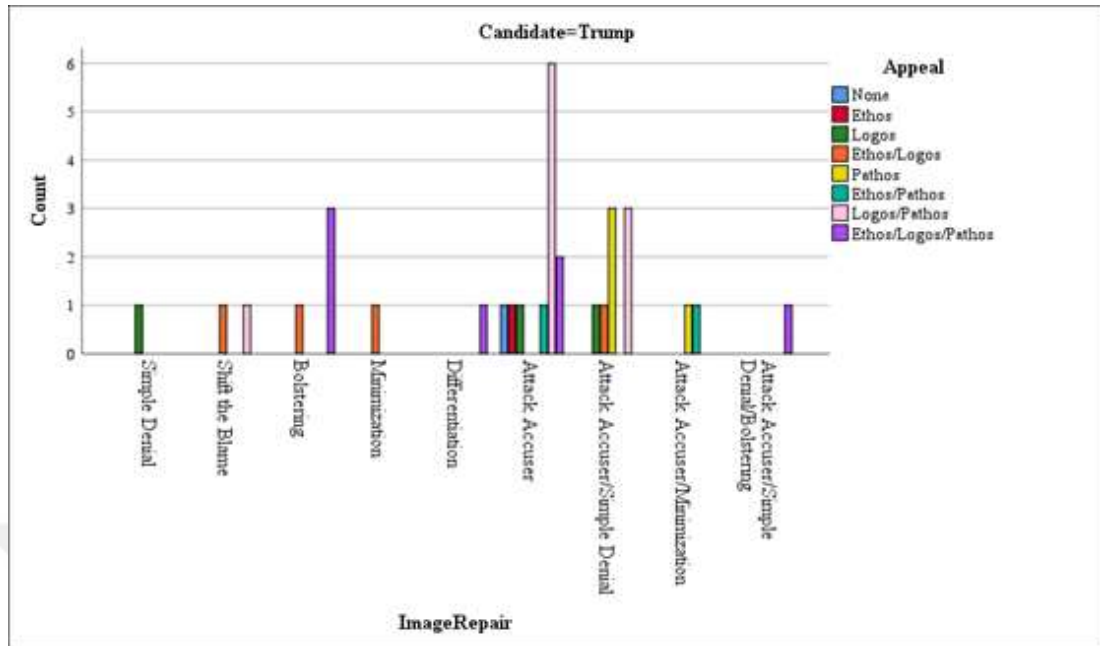


Overall, the data indicated that there is no significant difference between the candidate's and between the topics in terms of the most frequently used rhetorical appeal. In other words, candidates similarly favored utilizing rhetorical appeals discussing both policy and character. However, there was a difference between the usage of the appeals among three functions. Attacks utilized appeals differently compared with acclaims and defenses. Further, the analysis revealed that roughly 90% of campaign promotion themes that were presented in nonfunctional posts used emotional appeal to engage the users.

5.9.2. Use of Rhetorical Appeals by Image Repair Strategies

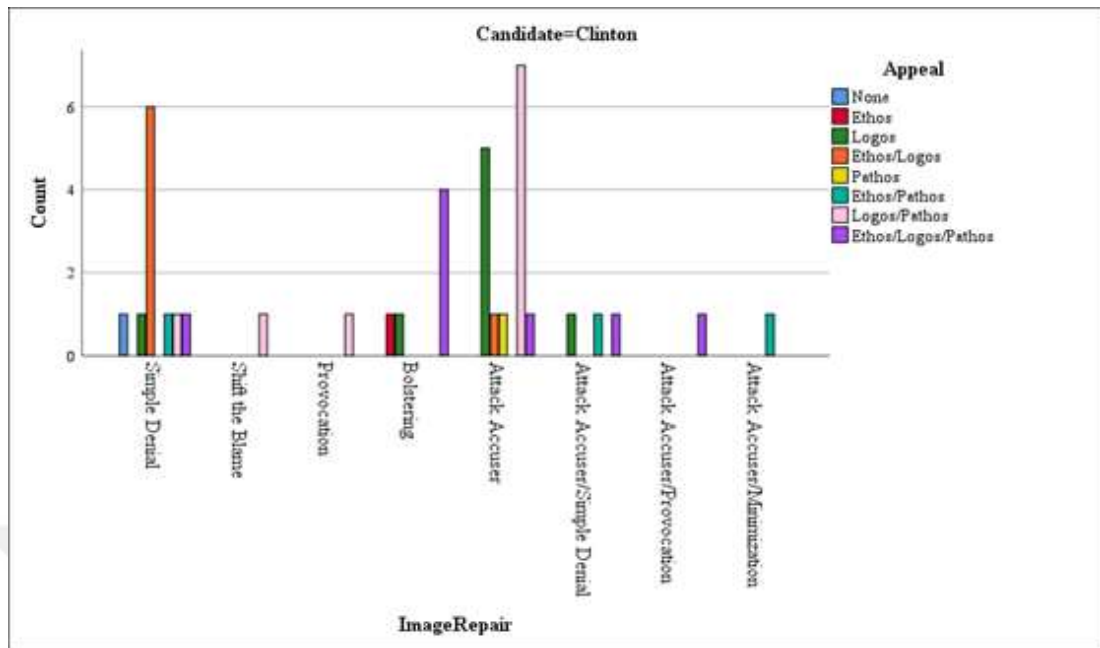
As discussed earlier, the Image Repair Theory was applied to the defense functions to examine different image restoration strategies used by the candidates. We were keen to investigate the rhetorical appeals used by each strategy to persuade the users. The data (appendix 4) concerned with the seventh research question indicated that both Trump and Clinton used logos/pathos combination the most. The analysis of Trump's defenses showed that simple denial strategy employed only logical appeal, shift the blame strategy used logos/pathos and ethos/logos combinations, bolstering strategy used ethos/logos and ethos/logos/pathos combinations, minimization strategy employed only ethos/logos combination, differentiation strategy used ethos/logos/pathos combination, attack accuser strategy used ethos, logos, ethos/pathos, logos/pathos, and ethos/logos/pathos appeals, attack accuser and simple denial combination used logos and/or pathos and ethos/logos appeals, attack accuser and shift blame combination employed logos, pathos, logos/pathos, ethos/logos appeals, attack accuser and minimization combination used pathos and ethos/pathos appeals, the triple combination of attack accuser, simple denial, and bolstering strategies only used the full triangle of ethos/logos/pathos appeal. Figure 5.49 shows the use of rhetorical appeals within each image repair strategy in Trump's posts.

Figure 5.49: Use of Rhetorical Appeals by Image Repair Strategies-D.Trump



The analysis of Clinton’s defenses revealed that simple denial strategy used logos, ethos/logos, ethos/pathos, logos/pathos, ethos/logos/pathos appeals, shift blame and provocation strategies used only logos/pathos, bolstering strategy used ethos, logos, and ethos/logos/pathos appeals, attack accuser strategy employed logos, ethos/logos, pathos, logos/pathos, and ethos/logos/pathos appeals, attack accuser and simple denial combination used ethos/logos, pathos, logos/pathos, and ethos/logos/pathos appeals, attack accuser and provocation combination used only ethos/logos/pathos triple appeal, and finally attack accused and minimization combination used ethos/pathos appeal. Figure 5.50 illustrates the use of rhetorical appeals by different image repair strategies in Clinton’s posts.

Figure 5.50: Use of Rhetorical Appeals by Image Repair Strategies-H.Clinton



5.10. POPULARITY AND ENGAGEMENT

An examination of the popularity of the candidates' Twitter posts indicated a greater number of likes ($m = 25579.34$; $SD = 24482.64$) than retweets ($m = 10770.98$; $SD = 12634.43$) and comments ($m = 25579.34$; $SD = 3487.06$) in the total sample. Differences in the popularity and engagement of the the various strategies, measured by the mean of the number of likes, shares, and comments each attracted. Table 5.17 presents the popularity and engagement of candidates' total posts (measured by the number of likes, shares, and comments).

Table 5.17: Descriptive Statistics of Activity and Engagement

	Like Count		Retweet Count		Comment Count	
	Trump	Clinton	Trump	Clinton	Trump	Clinton
No. of Tw.	634	1142	634	1142	634	1142
Minimum	6900	400	1300	100	200	100
Maximum	513000	143500	291700	85300	31400	25700
Mean	25579.33	9313.57	10770.98	4095.88	3007.57	950.52
Std. Deviation	24482.64	13230.46	12634.43	7119.38	3487.06	1415.10

The data confirmed that despite Clinton tweeted almost twice compared with Trump, it is Trump who on average gained the most favorites, retweets, and comments by obtaining roughly +275% favorites, +263% retweets, and +316% comments when compared with Clinton.

5.10.1. Influence of Videos, Images, Hashtags, and Links on Popularity and Engagement of the Twitter posts.

The data concerned with the eighth research question was reported in the Tables 5.18, 5.19, 5.20, 5.21 which represent the influence of videos, images, hashtags, and links on popularity and engagement of the posts by comparing the mean of favorites, retweets and comments with and without using such elements.

Table 5.18: Influence of Videos on Popularity and Engagement of the Twitter Posts

	With Videos			Without Videos		
	Favorites	Retweets	Comments	Favorites	Retweets	Comments
Trump	33464.29	15383.93	3703.57	24815.40	10324.05	2940.14
Clinton	14435.50	6918.50	1557.50	8226.12	3496.60	821.66

Table 5.19: Influence of Images on Popularity and Engagement of the Twitter Posts

	With Images			Without Images		
	Favorites	Retweets	Comments	Favorites	Retweets	Comments
Trump	20654.17	8725.00	1744.27	27718.78	11659.73	3556.33
Clinton	13324.20	6207.76	1194.06	8361.97	3594.80	892.74

Table 5.20: Influence of Hashtags on Popularity and Engagement of the Twitter Posts

	With Hashtags			Without Hashtags		
	Favorites	Retweets	Comments	Favorites	Retweets	Comments
Trump	21220.97	9194.51	2005.16	29749.38	12279.32	3966.67
Clinton	16751.08	8108.06	878.50	7866.53	3315.27	964.54

Table 5.21: Influence of Links on Popularity and Engagement of the Twitter Posts

	With Links			Without Links		
	Favorites	Retweets	Comments	Favorites	Retweets	Comments
Trump	18328.83	8458.01	1839.15	31350.99	12612.18	3937.68
Clinton	7329.16	3146.13	876.94	11565.05	5173.46	1034.02

Table 5.18 demonstrates that attaching videos in the tweets increased the favorites, retweets, and comments for both candidates. On the other hand, Table 5.19 highlights that embedding images had a positive effect for Clinton while it reduced the favorites, retweets, and comments for Trump. Table 5.20 surprisingly indicates that on average, the hashtags had a negative influence on Trump's retweets and comments as well as Clinton's comments, while it increased favorites and retweets for Clinton. Finally, Table 5.21 suggests that links in the tweets did not increase the favorites, retweets, and comments for neither candidate.

5.10.2. Popularity and Engagement of Functions (tone) and Topics of the Posts

Based on the previous researches which demonstrated that voters dislike attacks (Merritt, 1984; Stewart, 1975; Shapiro & Reiger, 1992; Reinemann, 2005), H16 and H17 predicted that attacks are less popular than acclaims in terms of gaining likes and shares. However, inconsistent with the two hypotheses, the analysis indicated that Twitter users in general favorited and retweeted attacks more than acclaims. Thus, both hypotheses were rejected by the analysis. Comparing the mean of favorites, retweets, and comments that each function and topic received, the data illustrated similarities and differences in the popularity and engagement of the categories. Analysis of the tenth research question showed that in general, users liked and shared defenses the most while Trump's defenses and Clinton's attacks got the most comments. Results also showed that despite Trump's followers who favorited and got engaged with acclaims (positive content) more than attacks (negative posts) in general, attacks got more popularity and engagement than acclaims from the followers of Clinton. Moreover, the 18th and 19th hypotheses predicted that attacks on policy attracted more favorites and retweets than attacks on character in the Twitter posts. The analysis failed to support these two hypotheses because despite these two predictions, discussing character had much more potential to attract likes, shares, and comments compared with policy positions.

While the candidates' defenses were the most successful in gaining the most number of likes and shares, a detailed analysis of the eleventh research question, gave more information about popularity and engagement of each cross-classification category of functions and topics. Discussing character, Trump's acclaims (positive content) were more popular than attacks (negative messages) in terms of attracting likes while his attacks were able to gain more shares and comments than his acclaims. Discussing policy issues, Trump's acclaims received more popularity and engagement than his attacks. Clinton's attacks on the other hand, were able to get more likes, shares, and comments than her acclaims discussing both character and policy. Table 5.22 reported the mean of likes, shares, and comments for each cross classification of functions and topics.

Table 5.22: Popularity and Engagement of Functions and Topics of the Twitter posts (mean in k)

Candidate	Topic	Function	Favorite	Retweet	Comment
Trump	Character	Acclaim	28.940	11.384	2.995
		Attack	26.048	12.326	3.233
		Defense	34.030	13.170	8.007
		Total	28.097	11.866	3.392
	Policy	Acclaim	22.322	9.119	2.241
		Attack	18.757	8.383	1.814
		Total	19.829	8.604	1.942
	Total	Acclaim	28.065	11.085	2.896
		Attack	23.673	11.041	2.770
		Defense	34.030	13.170	8.007
		Total	26.316	11.163	3.080
Clinton	Character	Acclaim	9.319	3.713	.857
		Attack	11.134	5.601	1.286
		Defense	14.103	6.705	1.230
		Total	10.233	4.579	1.041
	Policy	Acclaim	5.924	2.196	.619
		Attack	7.088	3.327	.727
		Defense	7.950	3.650	.350
		Total	6.318	2.573	.650
	Total	Acclaim	8.711	3.441	.814
		Attack	10.610	5.306	1.213
		Defense	13.787	6.549	1.185
		Total	9.625	4.267	.980

5.10.3. Popularity and Engagement of Rhetorical Appeals in the Twitter Posts

In addition to the popularity and engagement of different topics and functions, and the influence of attachments and hashtags on the concept, this study is also aimed at investigating the impact of rhetorical appeals on the popularity and engagement of the messages posted by the candidates. Table 5.23, Figure 5.51, and Figure 5.52 represents the popularity and engagement of the rhetorical appeals in the Twitter posts of the candidates.

Table 5.23: Popularity and Engagement of Rhetorical Appeals in the Twitter Posts
(mean in k)

Candidate	Appeal	Favorites	Retweet	Comment
Trump	None	28.242	11.184	4.563
	Ethos	32.503	11.339	4.042
	Logos	20.575	9.857	2.551
	Ethos/Logos	28.806	11.071	3.994
	Pathos	23.142	9.648	3.106
	Ethos/Pathos	30.119	12.286	2.829
	Logos/Pathos	20.738	9.994	2.534
	Ethos/Logos/Pathos	26.171	10.608	3.161
	Total	25.579	10.771	3.008
Clinton	None	5.475	2.338	.816
	Ethos	12.237	5.175	.993
	Logos	10.633	5.716	1.097
	Ethos/Logos	10.667	4.669	.878
	Pathos	9.593	4.505	1.178
	Ethos/Pathos	7.974	3.022	.826
	Logos/Pathos	10.344	5.071	1.045
	Ethos/Logos/Pathos	8.267	3.382	.835
	Total	9.314	4.096	.951
Total	None	13.957	5.633	2.212
	Ethos	16.693	6.530	1.663
	Logos	14.913	7.499	1.723
	Ethos/Logos	17.597	7.115	2.069
	Pathos	15.317	6.678	1.992
	Ethos/Pathos	15.089	5.998	1.470
	Logos/Pathos	14.298	6.944	1.611
	Ethos/Logos/Pathos	14.618	5.945	1.660
	Total	15.120	6.479	1.685

Hypotheses 20 predicted that messages combined pathos element with other appeals were the most popular content attracting greater number of likes. The analysis failed to support this hypothesis because the data indicated that despite the prediction, in general, both candidates' followers favorited the credibility appeal (ethos) the most compared with the other appeals. Analysis of the thirteen research showed that combinations of ethos with other appeals attracted the second most

favorites from Trump's followers. While Trump's followers favorited logical appeal (logos) the least, Clinton's followers favorited logos based posts as the second most and emotional appeal as the second least popular content.

The 21th hypothesis predicted that pathos based multiple appeals were the most popular content attracting greater number of shares. This hypothesis was also rejected because the data showed that Clinton's followers retweeted logical arguments the most. Posts included emotions got the least shares among the other appeals from Clinton's followers. Trump's posts were shared the most when he used both ethos and pathos appeals together in the post. However, there is no significant difference between the appeals in terms of shareability in Trump's posts. Trumps followers were the most engaged with posts with no appeal and ethos based posts in terms of comments while pathos based messages were the most challenging post type getting the most number of comments, both positive and negative in Clinton's posts. However, there was no significant difference in potential of gaining comments between the categories in Clinton's posts.

Figure 5.51: Popularity of Rhetorical Appeals in the Twitter Posts-Donald Trump

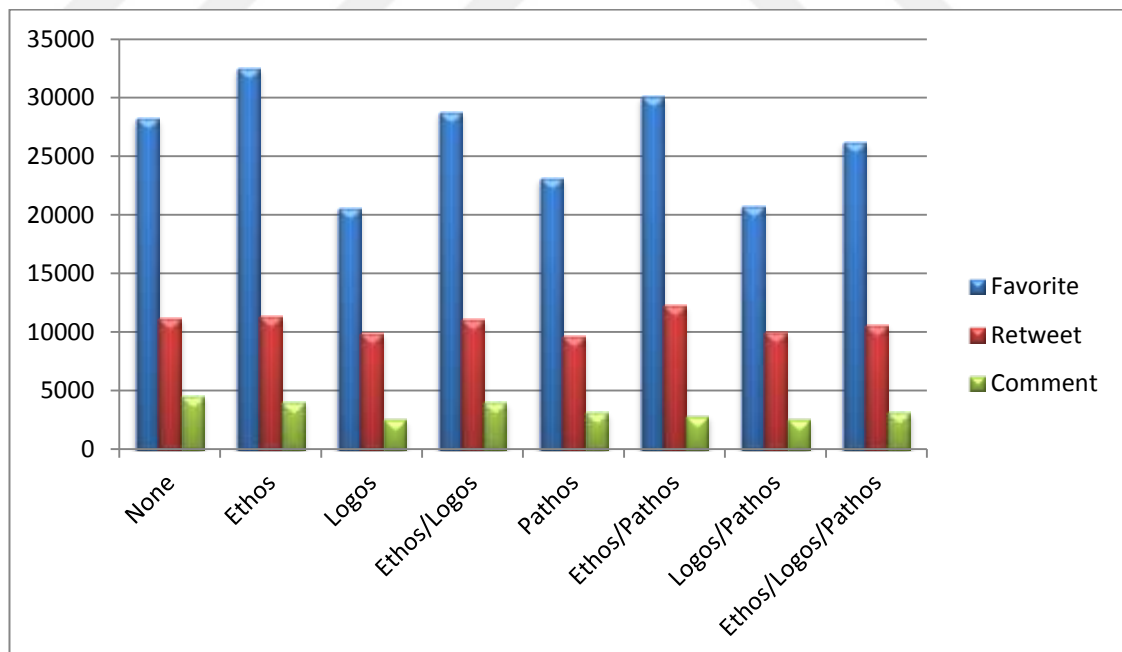
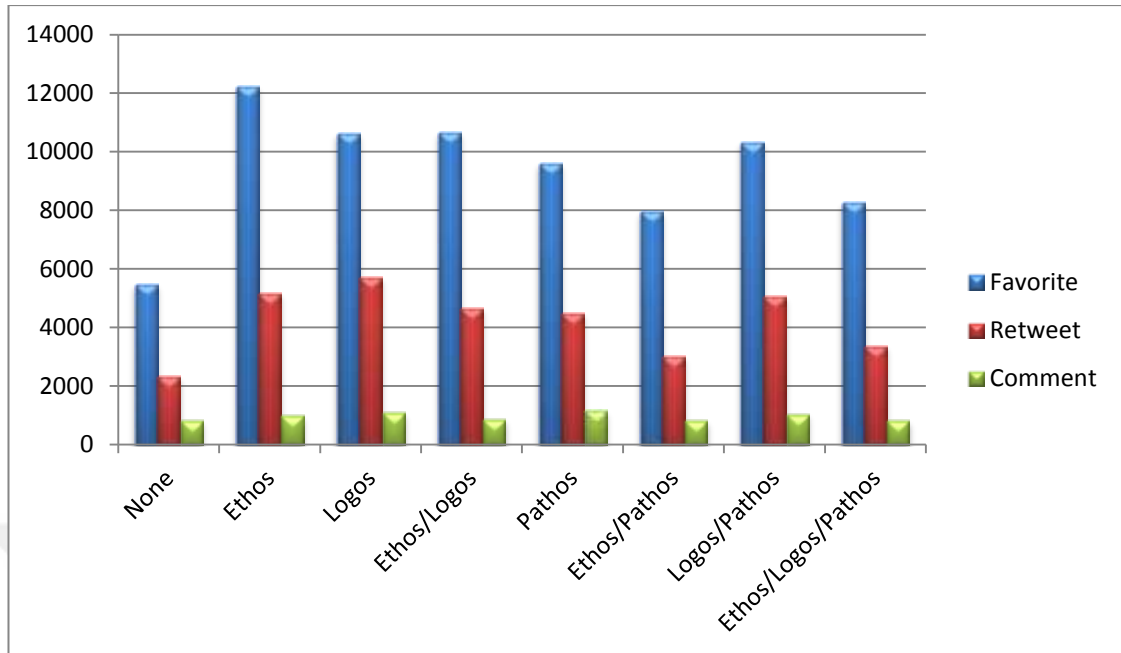


Figure 5.52: Popularity of Rhetorical Appeals in the Twitter Posts-Hillary Clinto



5.10.4. Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts

The results concerned with the fourteen research question revealed that the popularity and engagement of the rhetorical appeals differ in each category of functions and topics from the others. In other words, Twitter users responded differently to each rhetorical appeal based on the cross category of functions and topics that the message belonged to. Table 5.22 and Figures 5.53-5.63 illustrate the number of favorites, retweets, and comments that each cross category has obtained.

Table 5.24: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts (mean in k)

	Function	Topic	Appeal	Favorite	Retweet	Comment
Trump	Acclaim	Character	Ethos	32,196	10,585	4,012
			Ethos/Logos	26,212	9,912	3,038
			Pathos	23,583	10,433	3,817
			Ethos/Pathos	30,679	12,331	2,749
			Logos/Pathos	16,283	8,750	1,983
			Ethos/Logos/Pathos	25,385	10,163	3,180
			Total	28,940	11,384	2,995

	Policy		Ethos	33,900	13,300	3,900
			Logos	14,300	9,600	2,300
			Pathos	22,829	9,029	2,257
			Ethos/Pathos	24,423	9,915	2,392
			Logos/Pathos	18,110	7,570	1,550
			Ethos/Logos/Pathos	21,350	8,350	2,600
			Total	22,322	9,119	2,241
			Attack	Character	None	21,913
	Ethos	35,300			18,200	3,550
	Logos	20,320			10,280	2,063
	Ethos/Logos	25,825			11,600	3,075
	Pathos	33,011			15,271	4,650
	Ethos/Pathos	34,409			16,609	3,955
	Logos/Pathos	24,144			11,807	3,159
	Ethos/Logos/Pathos	31,136			13,118	3,768
	Total	26,048		12,326	3,233	
	Policy	None		15,000	5,300	1,800
		Logos		17,320	6,290	3,070
		Pathos		25,508	10,454	2,715
		Ethos/Pathos		19,440	7,920	1,140
		Logos/Pathos		16,459	8,270	1,457
		Ethos/Logos/Pathos		21,727	8,800	1,409
		Total		18,757	8,383	1,814
		Defense	Character	None	29,100	14,800
	Ethos			32,100	13,300	6,100
	Logos			34,933	14,300	8,133
	Ethos/Logos			48,650	18,075	11,125
	Pathos			38,700	14,425	12,150
	Ethos/Pathos			31,600	11,750	9,200
	Logos/Pathos			31,171	12,300	6,771
	Ethos/Logos/Pathos			24,400	9,000	4,640
	Total	34,030	13,170	8,007		
Clinton	Acclaim	Character	Ethos	12,145	5,164	955
			Logos	9,300	2,450	750
			Ethos/Logos	11,829	5,162	882
			Pathos	56,433	33,900	5,067
			Ethos/Pathos	8,182	2,991	834
			Logos/Pathos	6,867	2,567	633
			Ethos/Logos/Pathos	6,601	2,555	627

		Policy	Total	9,319	3,713	857
			Logos	9,600	3,400	900
			Ethos/Logos	8,400	4,800	200
			Pathos	3,622	1,339	556
			Ethos/Pathos	6,245	2,183	660
			Logos/Pathos	4,544	1,784	544
			Ethos/Logos/Pathos	8,345	3,164	673
			Total	5,924	2,196	619
	Attack	Character	None	6,800	2,960	1,040
			Ethos	14,633	5,783	1,717
			Logos	11,358	6,305	1,079
			Ethos/Logos	5,008	2,238	862
			Pathos	12,330	6,235	1,835
			Ethos/Pathos	8,956	4,563	1,006
			Logos/Pathos	12,710	6,437	1,259
			Ethos/Logos/Pathos	8,902	3,933	1,280
			Total	11,134	5,601	1,286
		Policy	None	6,600	3,250	300
			Logos	3,550	1,450	450
			Pathos	6,871	3,014	850
			Ethos/Pathos	1,467	733	367
			Logos/Pathos	8,504	4,085	804
			Ethos/Logos/Pathos	4,875	2,425	425
			Total	7,088	3,327	727
	Defense	Character	None	4,700	1,800	800
			Ethos	7,400	2,600	500
			Logos	17,750	10,788	2,275
			Ethos/Logos	15,857	6,771	986
			Pathos	3,900	1,200	700
			Ethos/Pathos	7,667	2,867	867
			Logos/Pathos	7,850	3,888	1,200
			Ethos/Logos/Pathos	20,875	8,638	775
			Total	14,103	6,705	1,230
		Policy	Logos/Pathos	7,950	3,650	350
			Total	7,950	3,650	350

Findings indicated a significant difference between the two candidates in term of favorability and engagement of different cross-classifications. With regard to acclaim posts discussing character, Trump’s followers favorited such posts the most,

when the posts appealed to ethos or both ethos and pathos. In addition, ethos/logos and ethos/logos/pathos appeals also got a good popularity. In terms of shares and comments, they retweeted the post that appealed simultaneously to ethos and pathos and commented the most on the ethos based posts. However, Clinton's followers favorited and got engaged the most with the posts used pathos appeal and did not respond well to the other appeals. Figures 5.53 and 5.54 illustrate the popularity and engagement of this cross category.

Figure 5.53: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts-Trump: Acclaim/Character

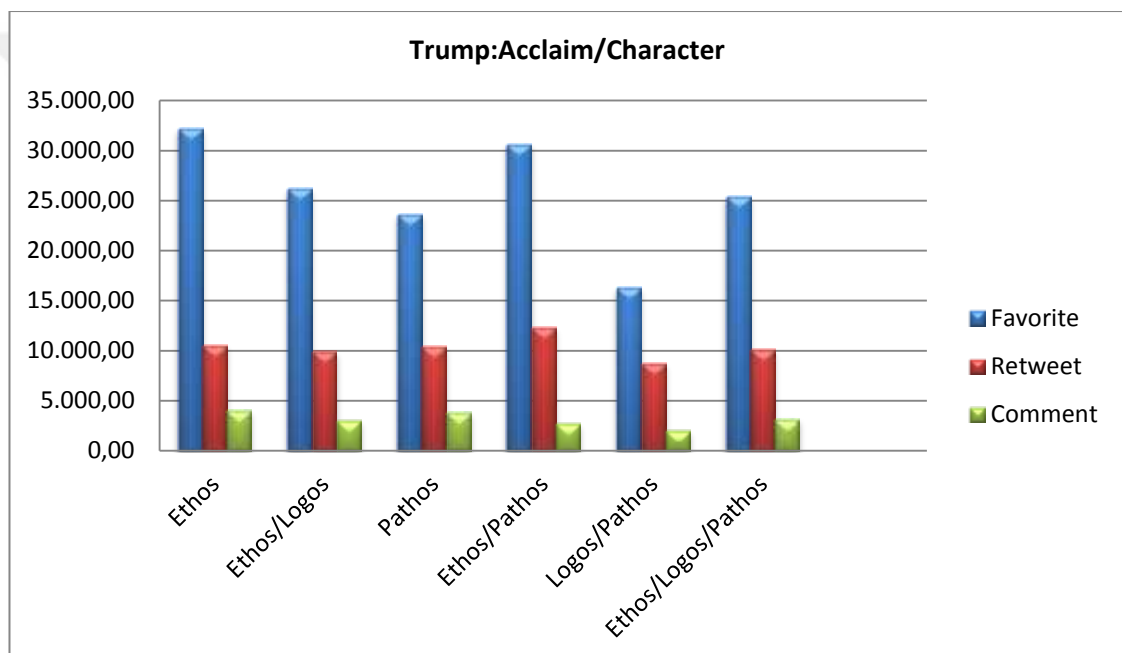
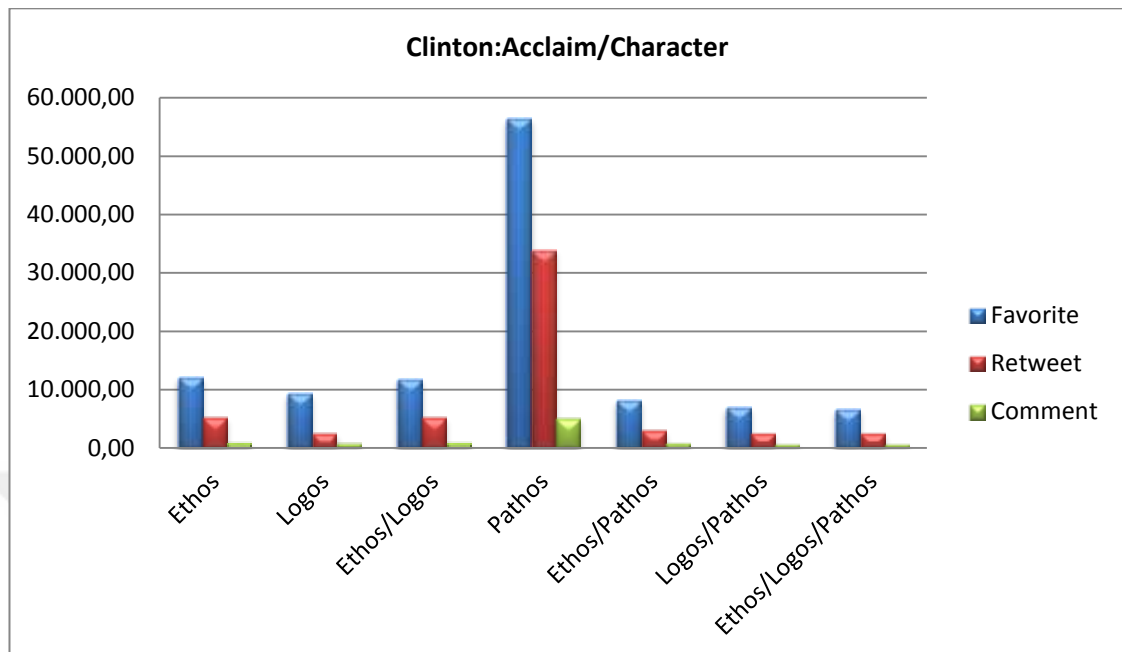


Figure 5.54. Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts-Clinton: Acclaim/Character



Based on the findings, logos was the most successful appeal in gaining popularity and engagement from Trump's followers when the message is discussing acclaim and policy. Either single logos, or the combinations of logos with other appeals (i.e. logos/ethos and ethos/logos/pathos) were the most successful appeals with this regard. Logos based posts got the most favorite and comment, while logos and ethos combination retweeted the most. Pathos were the least favorited appeal among others in this cross category. The results are similar to Clinton's posts. That means, the followers of Trump and Clinton responded similarly to the rhetorical appeals in the posts discussing acclaim and policy. Figures 5.55 and 5.56 represent the popularity and engagement of this cross category.

Figure 5.55: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Trump: Acclaim/Policy

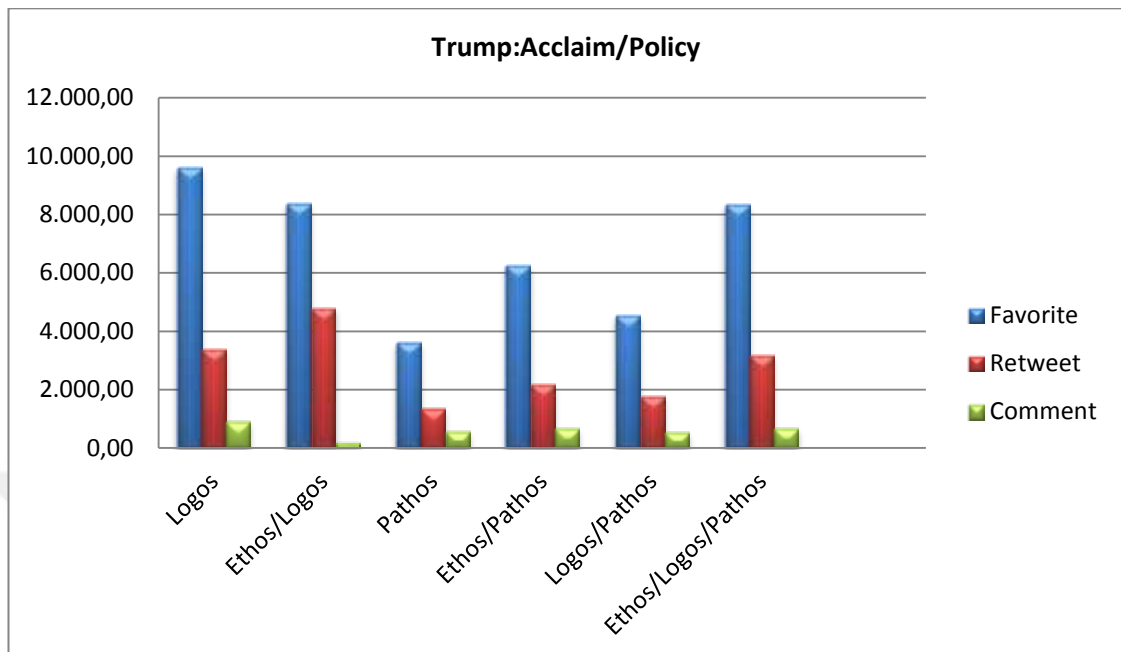
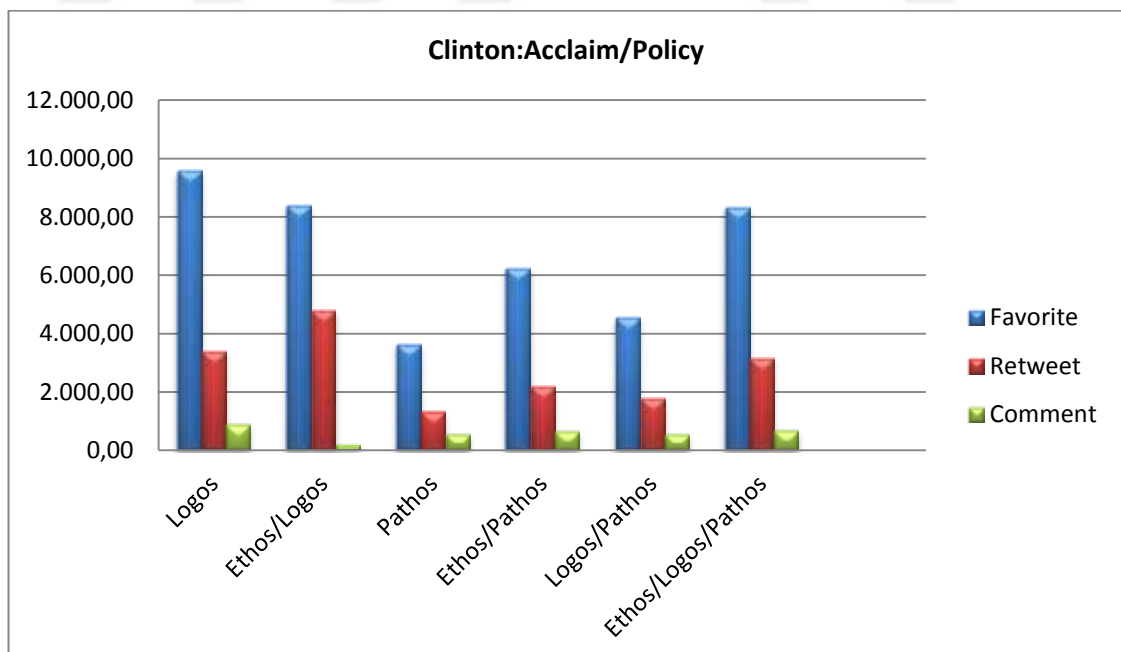


Table 5.56: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Clinton: Acclaim/Policy



Attacking on the character of the opponent was favored and responded the most by the followers of Trump when ethos or pathos appeals, or their combination were

used. Trump's followers responded to and engaged the least with the posts used logical arguments in this cross category. With regard to Clinton's posts, ethos, pathos, and logos respectively were the most successful appeals in terms of gaining the most popularity and engagement. Figures 5.57 and 5.58 show the popularity and engagement of this cross category.

Figure 5.57: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Trump: Attack/Character

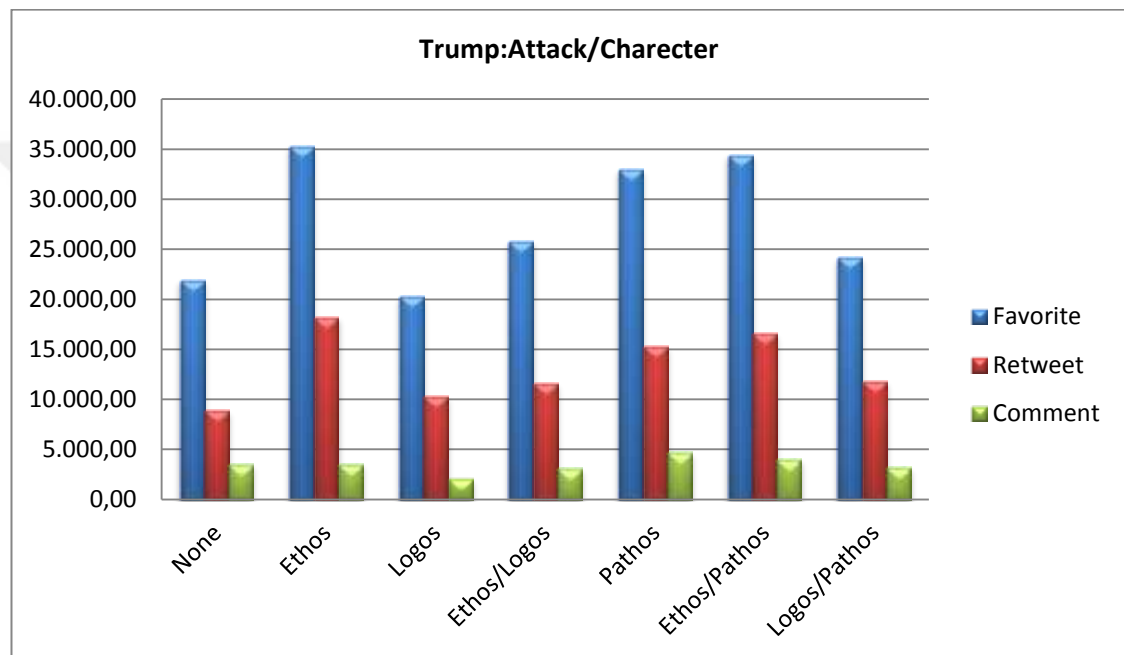
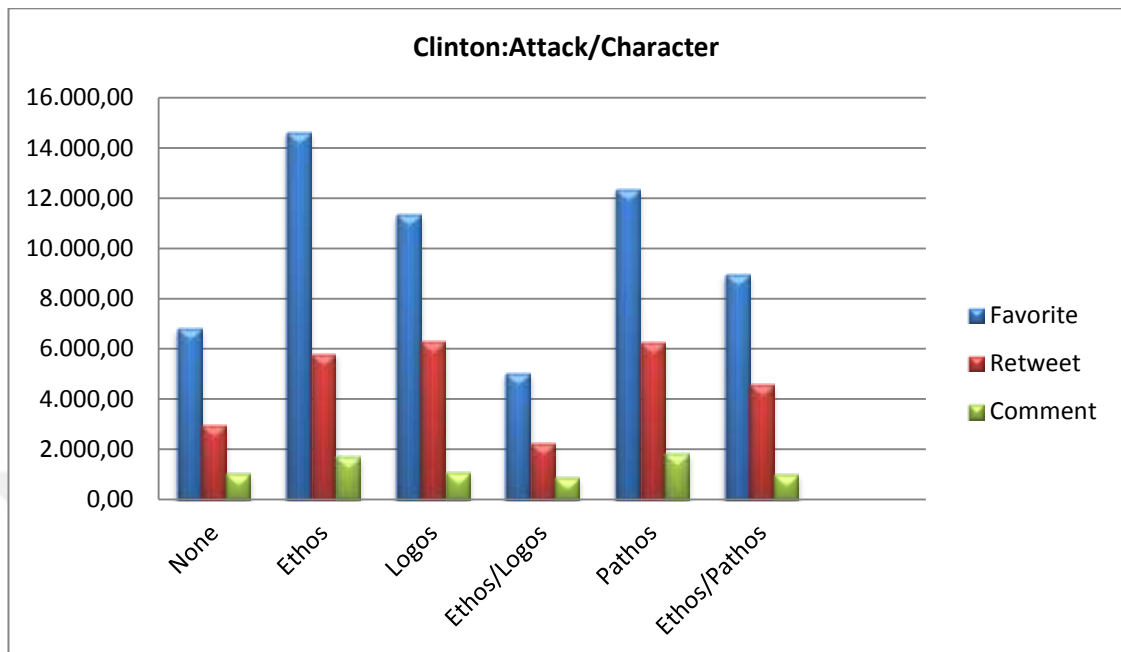


Figure 5.58: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Clinton: Attack/Character



Trump's followers responded the most to pathos based appeals when he Attacked on policy of the opponent. Single pathos was the most popular appeal with this regard. Combining pathos with ethos or with both ethos and logos also was also effective in terms of attracting popularity and engagement. However, in this cross category, Clinton's followers favorited and got engaged the most with logos based posts in which single logos or its combinations with ethos, and both ethos and pathos are presented. Figures 5.59 and 5.60 show the popularity and engagement of this cross category.

Figure 5.59: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Trump: Attack/Policy

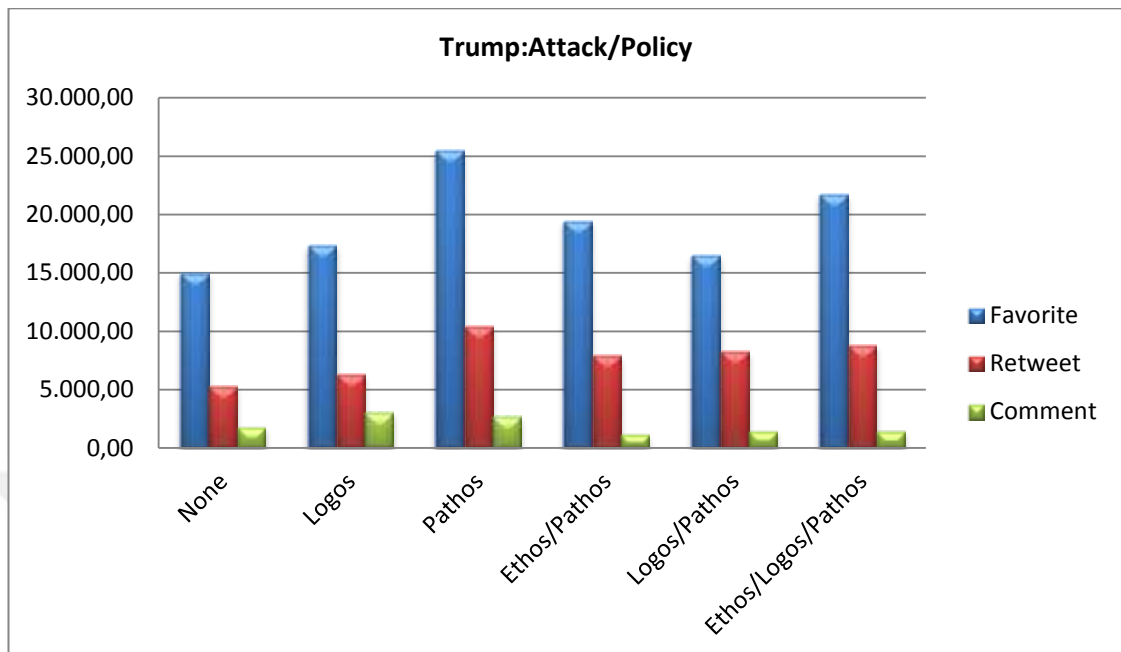
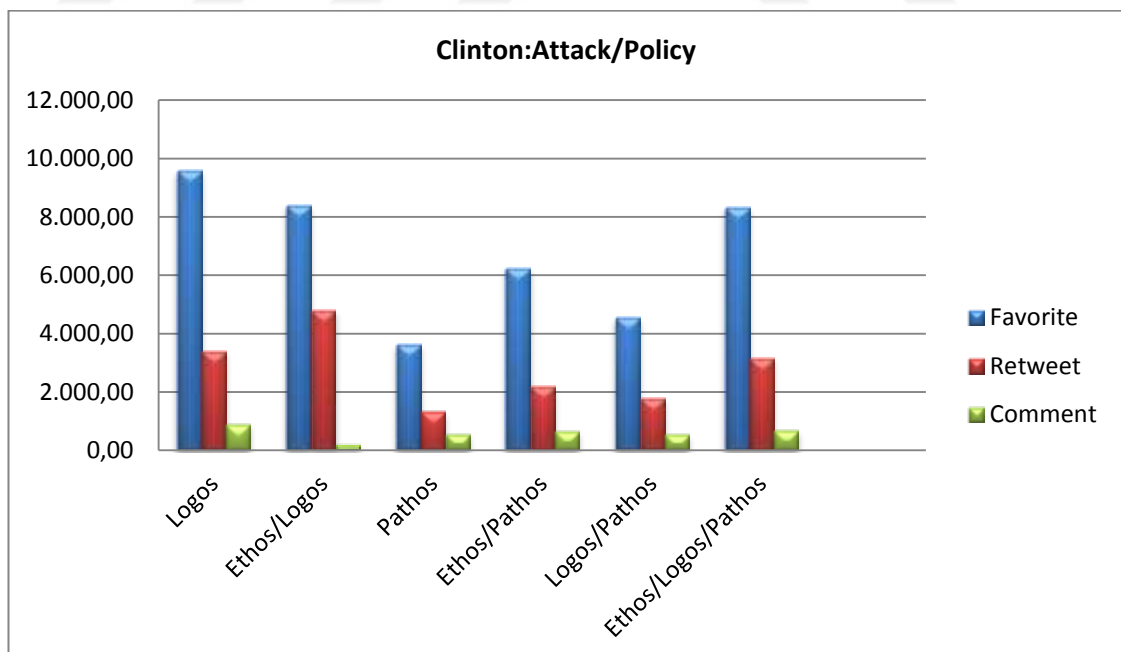


Figure 5.60: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Clinton: Attack/Policy



Findings also revealed that Trump's followed responded the most to the combination of ethos and logos when he defended himself against a prior attack,

while the highest popularity and engagement of the Clinton's defenses referred to the combination of logos and pathos. Figures 5.61, 5.62, 5.63 present the popularity and engagement of this cross category. (note: no defense theme recognized regarding Trump's policy.

Figure 5.61: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Trump: Defense/Character

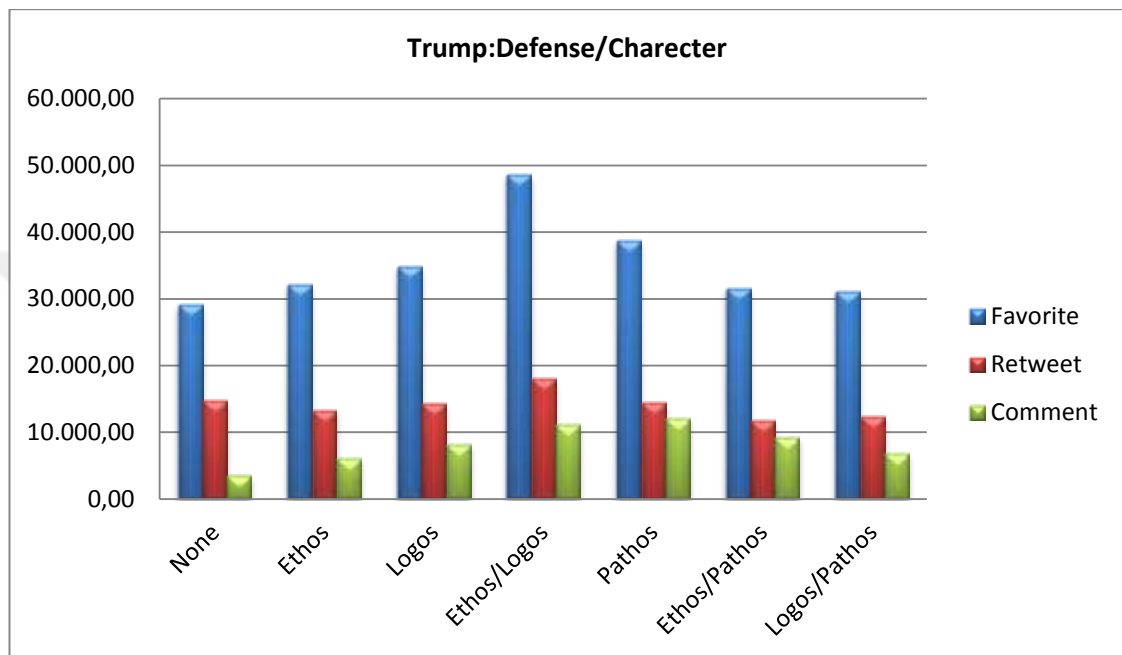


Figure 5.62: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Clinton: Defense/Character

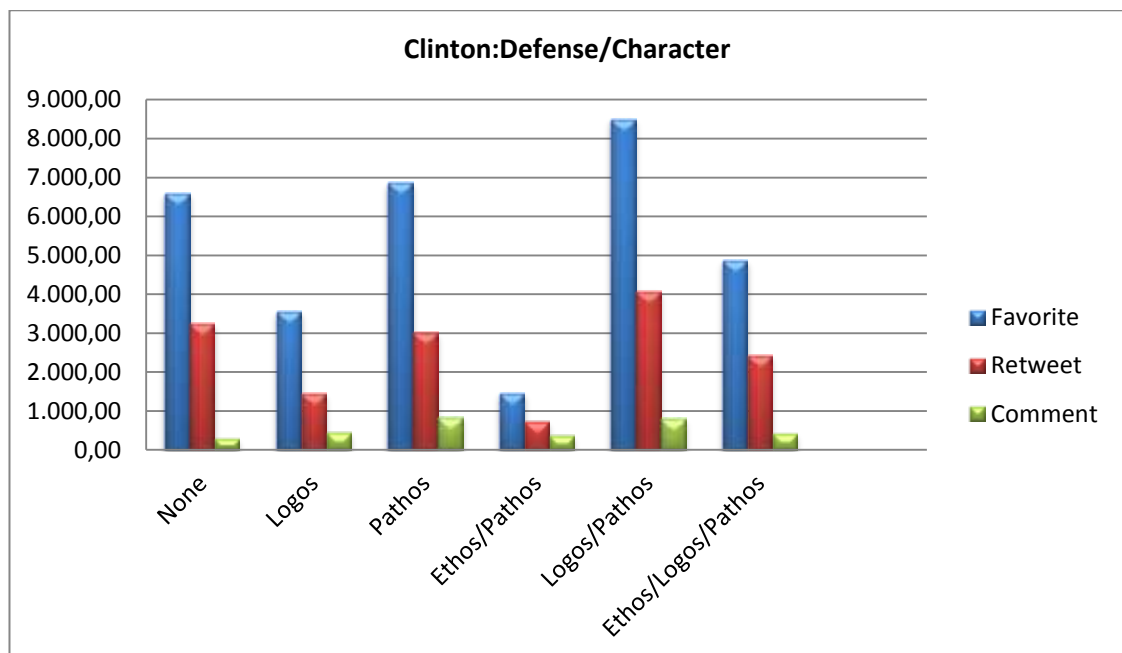
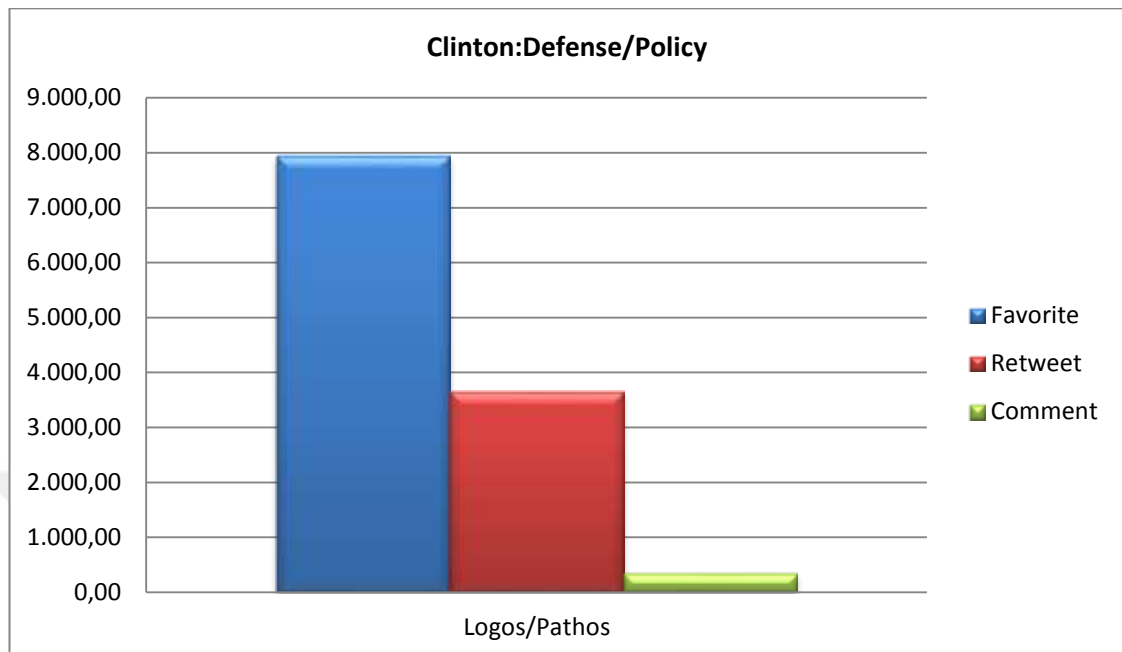


Figure 5.63: Popularity and Engagement of Cross Classification of the Twitter Posts- Clinton: Defense/Policy



In addition to the findings above, the analysis indicated that rhetorical appeals had negative effect on popularity and engagement of campaign promotion topic presented in nonfunctional tweets posted by Trump. Emotional appeal gained the most number of favorites and retweets while logical appeal attracted the most comments from Clinton's followers.

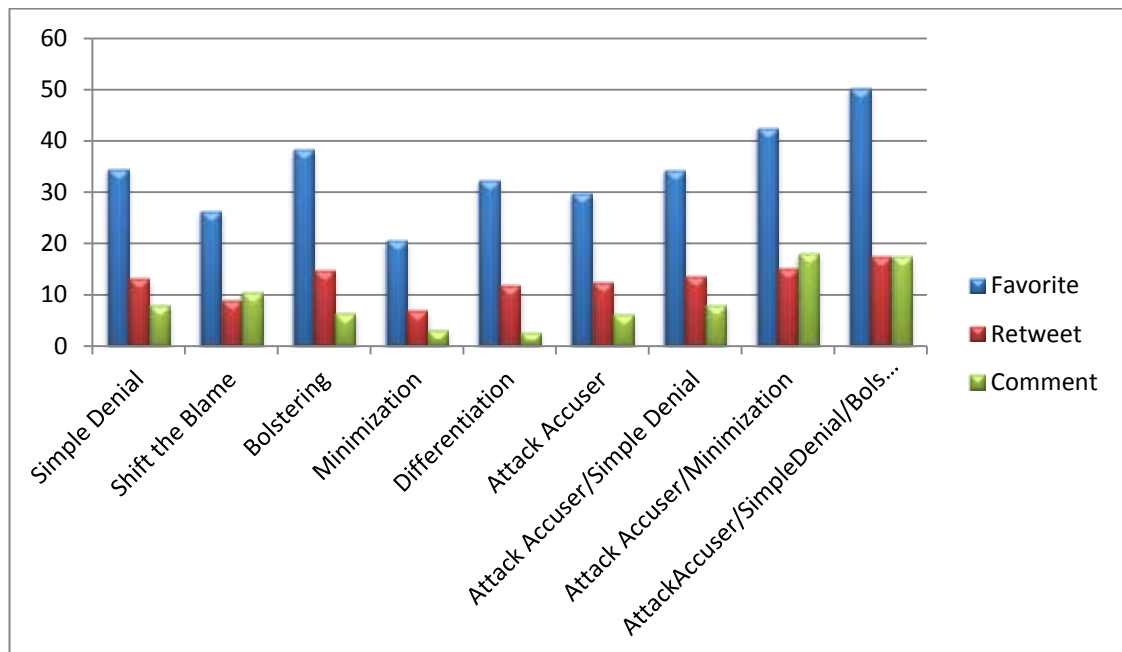
5.10.5. Popularity and Engagement of the Image Repair Strategies

Analysis of the twelfth research question revealed that the candidate's followers reacted differently to the image repair strategies. Trump's followers responded to mixed strategies more than single forms. The popularity and engagement of attack accuser/simple denial/bolstering, and attack accuser/minimization mixed strategies were respectively the highest ones. The other popular image repair strategies that were used by Trump were respectively bolstering, simple denial, attack accuser/simple denial, differentiation, and attack accuser. Table 5.24, Figure 5.64, and Figure 5.65 illustrate the popularity and engagement of the image repair strategies used by the candidates in their Twitter posts.

Table 5.24: Popularity and Engagement of the Image Repair Strategies (mean in k)

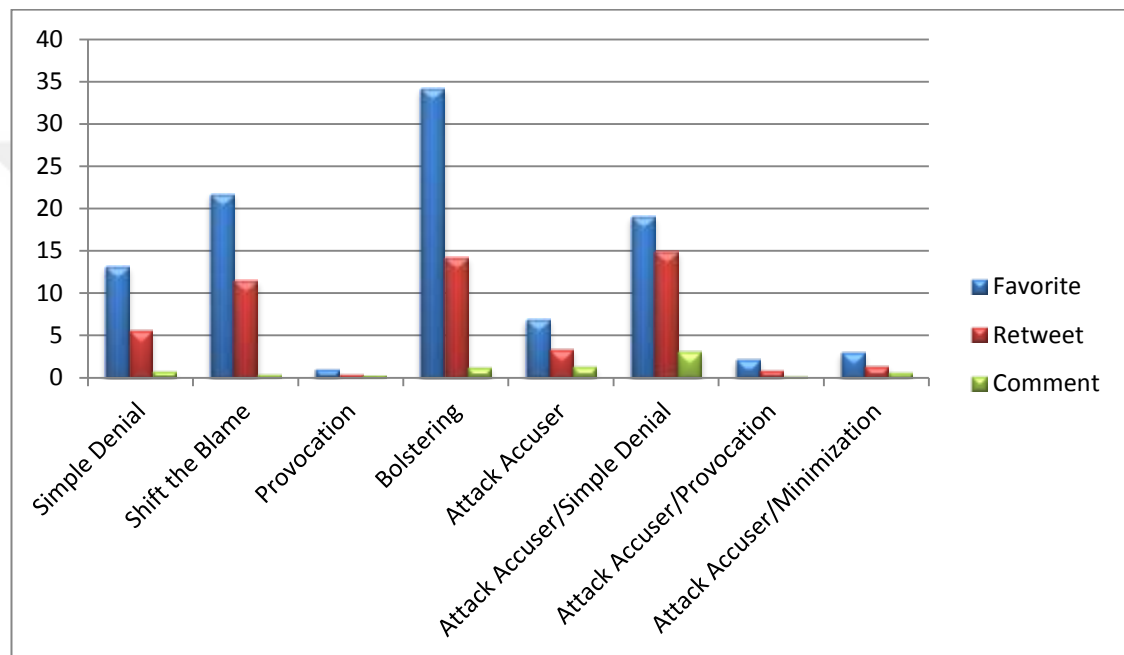
Candidate	Strategy	Favorite	Retweet	Comment
Trump	Simple Denial	34.500	13.100	8.000
	Shift the Blame	26.350	8.850	10.500
	Bolstering	38.275	14.775	6.350
	Minimization	20.600	6.900	3.100
	Differentiation	32.400	11.700	2.600
	Attack Accuser	29.708	12.375	6.117
	Attack Accuser/Simple Denial	34.175	13.513	7.887
	Attack Accuser/Minimization	42.500	15.100	18.000
	Attack Accuser/Simple Denial/Bolstering	50.300	17.400	17.500
	Total	33.078	12.897	7.816
Clinton	Simple Denial	13.173	5.564	.773
	Shift the Blame	21.700	11.500	.400
	Provocation	1.000	.400	.300
	Bolstering	34.150	14.233	1.233
	Attack Accuser	6.860	3.320	1.307
	Attack Accuser/Simple Denial	19.067	14.933	3.067
	Attack Accuser/Provocation	2.100	.900	.200
	Attack Accuser/Minimization	3.000	1.400	.600
	Total	13.787	6.549	1.185

Figure 5.64: Popularity and Engagement of the Image Repair Strategies-Trump



The data shows that Clinton's followers on the other hand favorited respectively bolstering, shift the blame, attack accuser/simple denial and simple denial strategies the most. They also shared respectively attack accuser/simple denial, bolstering, shift the blame more compared with other strategies. The most comments referred to attack accuser/simple denial strategy. Figure 5.65 shows the Popularity and Engagement of the Image Repair Strategies used by Clinton.

Figure 5.65: Popularity and Engagement of the Image Repair Strategies-Clinton



DISCUSSION

“Ancient Greek agora was seen as an open place for gathering, a free market both literally and in terms of ideas. It is associated with the utopian ideal of a direct democracy where citizens listen and share ideas and govern directly.” Even though, Twitter is not a form of agora and may never reach the utopian ideal, it is a “compelling tool to enable a large-scale movement of the free market of ideas and mutual influence from place to space” (Wattal et al., 2010:683), through which, political elites have direct access to both message production and distribution channels. This has modified the power of the relation between political elites (and political campaigns), journalists, and mainstream media. Moreover, Twitter differs from broadcast media and newspapers in their interactive potential, which becomes an essential pillar in any discussion concerned with political communication. Researchers have demonstrated profound reluctance among political elites concerned with enhanced interactivity with electorate. Because of its potential to be a game-changer, political campaigns primarily employ Twitter platform as a channel for political marketing rather than a way to interact with electorate or encourage dialogue which might empower the citizens (Buccoliero et al., 2020).

Currently, political elites go a long way toward using Twitter to reach the electorate. Previous researches show that political campaigns have used functional, rhetorical, and image repair strategies successfully in traditional campaigns. However, not much research has been done on understanding the type of strategies most commonly used by candidates in their Twitter campaigns. Analyzing the functions and topics of the posts was necessary to test functional theory of political campaign discourse in Twitter platform. Both these concepts along with rhetorical appeals and image repair strategies are fundamental to understanding campaign strategies. The purpose of this investigation therefore, was to assess the content of 2016 presidential general election candidates’ Twitter accounts using functional, rhetorical, and image repair theories. The study examines American presidential candidates’ functional, image repair, and Aristotelian rhetorical strategies used on their Twitter posts, and the popularity and engagement of each strategy measured by favorites, retweets, and comments.

The demographic findings revealed that Clinton posted almost double compared with Trump. Both candidates posted the most on the debate days. Our analysis involved exploration of both presence and dominance of the functions and topics, as well as presence of restoration strategies and persuasion appeals which led to identification of mixed categories in some Twitter posts.

With regard to the functional theory, roughly one-tenth (9.5%) of the posts were not assigned to any of the three function categories and were excluded from the analysis of functions and topics as stated earlier. In line with H1, which anticipated that the candidates emphasized acclaims more than attacks and defenses, acclaim was indeed the most popular strategy used by both candidates. Thus, the first hypothesis was supported by the analysis. The results also supported H2, which predicted that the candidates used defense strategy the least frequently in their Twitter posts. H3 was also supported as incumbent party (democrat) candidate (Clinton) focused on acclaims more than challenger (republican) party candidate (Trump) (58.2% to 49%). Furthermore, H4 predicting that challenger party (republican) candidate (Trump) focused on attacks more than incumbent party (democrat) candidate (Clinton), was supported by the analysis (46.2% to 38%). These results with respect to the first four hypotheses are consistent with functional theory's predictions (Benoit, 2007). These results make sense given that the three functions have different drawbacks, as discussed earlier. These results are also consistent with the previous research on mainstream media such as presidential primary debates (Benoit et al., 2002), general debates (Benoit et al., 1998; Wells, 2000; Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit & Brazeal, 2002; Benoit et al., 2003), congressional television spots (Brazeal & Benoit, 2001; Airne & Benoit, 2005), primary and general television spots (Benoit, 1999, 2001; Benoit & Compton, 2016), and nomination acceptance addresses (Benoit et al., 1999), as well as the candidate webpage (Benoit et al., 2016).

The most obvious difference in our analysis of Twitter posts is the fact that despite prediction of H5, both candidates discussed character extremely more than policy in their Twitter posts during the campaign. The analysis is inconsistent with functional theory's predictions and prior research on legacy media mentioned above. Data revealed that only one-fifth of the posts discussed candidates' policy positions

while their character was presented in 90% of the posts and it was the dominant topic roughly in 80% percent of the tweets. However, in line with the findings of the research on legacy media (Geer, 2006), and predictions of the H6 and H7, Trump as the winner of the Election, discussed policy more (21.5% to 15.5%) and character less (78.5% to 84.5%) than Clinton in the Twitter posts during the election campaign. Thus, both H6 and H7 were confirmed by the analysis. The results showed that candidates attacked on character four times more than they attacked on policy, failing to support H8, which anticipated that candidates attacked policy more than they attacked on character in their Twitter posts during the election campaign. Furthermore, H9, predicted that Trump attacked on policy position more than Clinton, was supported by the data (15% to 5%). In addition the results revealed that Clinton acclaimed on policy and discussed her own policy issues more than Trump (10% to 6%). Finally, H10 anticipated that Trump attacked less on character than Clinton (31% to 33.1%). This hypothesis also was confirmed. Moreover, the data indicated that Clinton discussed her character while acclaiming more than Trump. She also defended her policy more and her character less than Trump.

RQ1 explored how often the candidates used single and mixed functions in their Twitter posts. The results illustrated that candidates used combinations nearly in one-fourth of the total posts. Trump was more interested in combining the strategies than Clinton. He also used single attack more than Clinton. However, single acclaim was more likely used by Clinton who used the single functions nearly in half of her posts. Statistics indicated that single defenses are rare and both candidates tended to use acclaim and/or attack functions while defending themselves against a prior attack. They often attacked the opponent besides using defense strategy. Analysis of RQ2 demonstrated that roughly one-tenth of the posts discuss only policy positions of the candidates. Moreover, character and policy simultaneously were presented nearly in one-tenth of the tweets posted by both candidates, while the remaining posts (80%) discuss only character of the candidates. Clinton focused on character more than Trump, while Trump used policy and mixed topics more than Clinton. It was discussed that tone of a theme derives from its functions. Because of infrequency of defenses, there is no significant difference between the results for RQ1 and RQ3. Analysis of RQ3 showed that both of candidates' posts tended to be

more positive than negative in tone. One-fourth of tweets posted by Trump had mixed tone while the rate was nearly one-fifth for Clinton. Excluding the posts having mixed tone, the results indicated that respectively 38.2%, 35.9%, and 0.2% of Trump's posts were positive, negative, and defensive in tone while the rates were 52.4%, 29.1%, and 0.4% for Clinton. Furthermore, identifying dominant tone of the posts having mixed tone, the results revealed that almost half of the tweets posted by Trump were dominantly positive in tone which was less compared with Clinton (49% to 58.2%). However, Trump's tweets were more negative (46.2% to 38%) and more defensive in tone compared with Clinton's posts (4.7% to 3.8%) with regard to dominant tones. Moreover, the analysis detected no specific rule concerned with using functions and discussing topics over time during the period of analysis. However, both candidates often had more positive tone in their daily posts than negative. Based on the results, the debate days are among those days that the tone of posts were more negative than positive. As stated earlier, functional theory focuses on reasons rather than causes. The theory is concerned with reasons for certain considerations while developing political messages. However, candidates are free to develop their messages with any features they choose.

With regard to the use of image repair strategies, the analysis of RQ4 showed that the candidates did not apologize for the offensive acts. They also did not introduce a plan to solve the problems regarding their wrongful acts. Trump and Clinton often sought to reduce the offensiveness of their wrongful acts. With this respect, they tried to diminish the credibility of the accusations by attacking the accuser (84.4% to 66.7%). Using bolstering strategy, Trump and Clinton (15.6% to 15.4%) attempted to improve the users positive feelings toward themselves, in order to offset the offensiveness of the wrongful actions. Candidates used minimization strategy to diminish the contrary feelings concerned with the wrongful act arguing that the acts were not very serious (9.4% to 2.6%). Trump also used the differentiation strategy (3.1%) arguing that his wrongful act was not as offensive as Bill Clinton's similar one. In addition to the attempts to reduce the offensiveness of the wrongful acts, Trump and Clinton used simple denied strategy roughly in one-third of their defensive posts (31.3% to 35.9) by denying the act happened, that it was performed by them, or that the act was harmful to anyone. They also denied the responsibility

for the acts by shifting the blame to someone else (6.3% to 2.6%). Moreover, Clinton sought to evade the responsibility for the act by pleading provocation (5.1%). The analysis revealed that Trump attacked the accusers besides simply denying the offensive acts in one-fourth of his defensive posts. Attacking accuser while using other restoration strategies (i.e. simple denial, bolstering, minimization, provocation) roughly occurred in one third of his posts while Clinton was less interested in using such mixed strategies which occurred only in one-tenth of her posts.

The next five hypotheses were concerned with Rhetorical theory. H11 predicted that pathos was the most prevalent rhetorical strategy used by both candidates in their Twitter posts during the election campaign. Pathos indeed was presented more frequently in the posts compared with the other appeals. Roughly three-fourth of the posts contained at least one emotional element (pathos). Thus, this hypothesis was supported by the analysis. In line with H12, although nearly half of the posts contained at least one logical appeal, logos was the least prevalent rhetorical strategy used by both candidates. Thus the results also confirmed this hypothesis and findings are consistent with the previous studies (Brostein, 2013). H13 anticipated that the incumbent party (Democrat) candidate (Clinton) focused more on pathos than the challenger party (Republican) candidate (Trump). The results failed to support this hypothesis as pathos was mentioned in slightly more number of Trump's posts than Clinton's Tweets (76.5% to 75.2%). Moreover, H14 was not supported, as the results were the opposite of what was anticipated, with Clinton using credibility appeal more than Trump (58.9% to 50%). However, H15 predicting that Clinton, as an Democrat and as a candidate who was nominated by the incumbent party, used logical appeal less than Trump, as a challenger Republican, was supported by the analysis. Logos indeed was presented more frequently in Trump's posts than Clinton's tweets (48.3% to 43.3%).

Analysis of RQ5 indicated that both of the candidates, often used dual or triple appeal in their posts rather than using single appeals, in order to make more effective arguments and influence a greater number of audience. Combinations were used in more than two-third of the posts. In general, it can be stated that candidates most frequently used pathos based combinations. Based on the results, both candidates combined ethos and pathos appeals the most, in their tweets. However,

the rate was higher for Clinton compared with Trump (31.3% to 26.7%). The second popular combination was logos/pathos which was appeared in nearly one-fifth of the posts of Trump and Clinton (19.6% to 17.7%). Single pathos was the third popular appeal that was used by Trump and Clinton in their Twitter posts (17.2% to 13%). As the next popular appeal, triple combination of ethos/logos/pathos was presented in equal number of the posts by Trump and Clinton (13.1% to 13.2%). Trump used single logos more (10.3% to 7.5%) and single ethos less (4.9% to 9.6%) than Clinton. Finally, Trump used ethos/logos combination slightly more than Clinton in his posts (5.4% to 4.8%). Data showed that only about 3% percent of the posts did not employ a rhetorical appeal. Results regarding RQ6 indicated that there is no difference between the candidates or the topics, in terms of the frequency of the appeals. Function of the posts is the only distinguishing factor. Results illustrated that both candidates tended to use ethos/pathos combination the most frequently in the acclaim posts, either discussing policy or character. Moreover, logos/pathos combination was the most common strategy while attacking the opponent's policy or character. However, single logos and single pathos were also frequently used by the candidates in the attack posts. Furthermore, similar to attack posts, logos/pathos combination was the most prevalent appeal at the time of defending.

The analysis of the rhetorical appeals within defensive posts concerned with RQ7 showed that simple denial strategy employed only logical appeal in Trump's posts whereas Clinton used ethos/logos, ethos/pathos, logos/pathos, and ethos/logos/pathos combinations when she simply denied the accusations. Logos/pathos combination was used by the candidates while shifting the blame of their offensive acts to someone else. In addition Trump used ethos/logos combination for that purpose. Bolstering strategy used ethos/logos and ethos/logos/pathos combinations in Trump's posts and ethos, logos, and ethos/logos/pathos appeals in Clinton's tweets. Trump used logos and/or ethos and their combinations with pathos as well as ethos/logos/pathos combination when he attacked the accusers, while Clinton employed logos and/or pathos, ethos/logos, and ethos/logos/pathos combinations when she used attack the accuser strategy. Trump used ethos/logos combination while trying to minimize the offensiveness of his wrongful acts and appealed to ethos/logos/pathos combination while employing differentiation strategy.

Trump used logos and/or pathos and ethos/logos, while Clinton employed ethos/logos, pathos, logos/pathos, and ethos/logos/pathos appeals when they simultaneously attacked the accusers and simply denied their offensive acts. Trump used logos and/or pathos and ethos/logos when he simultaneously attacked the accusers and shifted the blame of his wrongful acts to someone else. Trump employed pathos and ethos/pathos appeals whereas Clinton used pathos, and ethos/pathos appeals when they mixed attack accuser and minimization strategies. Ethos/logos/pathos combination was used by Trump when he mixed attack the accuser strategy with simple denial and bolstering strategies. The triple combination of appeals was used by Clinton when she mixed attack accuser strategy with provocation, and when she mixed it with simple denial and bolstering strategies.

In addition, analysis of RQ8 showed that Trump used hashtags and links nearly in half of his posts while Clinton used links in more than half of her posts. Trump used hashtags and images more than Clinton while Clinton used links and videos more than Trump.

With respect to popularity and engagement of the Twitter posts, the analysis revealed that Trump on average gained almost three times more favorites, retweets, and comments compared to Clinton. Popularity refers to both retweet (sharing) and favorite (liking) actions that declare support. However, retweets are considered to entail greater engagement with the subject matter compared with favorites (Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013; Malhotra et al., 2013; Nicholas, 2013; Katz, 2014). Comments, on the other hand are either positive or negative and engage both supporters and opposers. RQ9 explored that attaching videos to the tweets had positive effect on popularity and engagement of the posts by both candidates. Images and hashtags had positive effect for Clinton while they reduced popularity and engagement of Trump's posts. Moreover, links had no significant effect on popularity and engagement of the posts.

Furthermore, H16 and H17 predicted that attacks were less popular than acclaims in terms of gaining likes and shares. The analysis failed to confirm these two hypotheses. Attacks in general were more popular than acclaims in the Twitter posts concerned with attracting both likes and shares. Analysis of RQ10 showed that defense posts were the most popular posts that got the most likes and shares. In terms

of receiving more comments, Trump's defenses and Clinton's attacks were the most successful functions. Acclaims (positive content) got popularity and engagement more than attacks (negative posts) in Trump's posts, and less than attacks in Clinton's tweets. Moreover, in general, discussing character had much more potential to attract likes, shares, and comments compared with policy issues. Moreover, H18 and H19 anticipated the attacks on policy attracted more favorites and retweets than attacks on character. The results rejected both hypotheses indicating that both candidates' followers liked and shared attacks on the opponent's character more than attacks on her/his policy positions. A more detailed analysis regarding RQ11 illustrated that, Trump's acclaims discussing character attracted more likes and less shares than his attacks on character. Discussing policy, his acclaims received more likes, shares, and comments than his attacks. Clinton's attacks on the other hand, get more likes, shares, and comments than her acclaims discussing both character and policy.

Analysis of RQ11 indicated that the Trump's and Clinton's followers did not respond similarly to the image repair strategies. Trump's followers favorited and got engaged with mixed strategies more than single forms. With this regard, the most successful strategies used by Trump respectively are attack accuser/simple denial/bolstering, attack accuser/minimization, bolstering, simple denial, attack accuser/simple denial, differentiation, and attack accuser. Clinton's followers on the other hand, favorited respectively bolstering, shift the blame, attack accuser/simple denial and simple denial strategies more than other strategies. They also retweeted respectively attack accuser/simple denial, bolstering, shift the blame the most. Furthermore, attack accuser/simple denial strategy got the maximum number of comments in Clinton's posts.

H20 and H21 predicted that pathos based combinations had the most popularity in terms of both attracting likes and gaining shares compared with the other appeals. The results failed to support these two hypotheses because single ethos had the most favorability in both candidates' posts. Even though, Trump's followers shared ethos/pathos combination the most, which is in line with the H21, Clinton's followers retweeted logos based arguments the most compared with other appeals. Analysis of RQ13 indicated that single ethos and ethos based combinations gained

the greatest popularity and engagement in terms of favorites, retweets, and comments from Trump's followers. However, the least popularity and engagement of his content refers to the posts used logical appeal. Clinton's followers on the other hand, liked and shared single ethos and logos based combinations the most, while commenting the most on pathos based content. Her followers favorited and got engaged the least with ethos/pathos combination. Overall, the results illustrated the potential of emotional appeal to gain more number of comments. Credibility appeal was popular among both candidates' followers. In addition, logical arguments also had a good popularity among Clinton's followers while it had the least popularity among the followers of Trump. Finally, with regard to the RQ14, the analysis demonstrated that the Twitter users and followers of the two candidates responded differently to the rhetorical appeals used in the posts based on the function and topic of the post. In other words, each cross-classification of the functions and topics required different rhetorical strategy in order to attract the most favorability and engagement. The results revealed that discussing character in the acclaim posts, Trump's content got the most popularity and engagement when he used ethos and ethos based combinations,. However, Clinton's acclaims discussing character were the most popular and engaged when she used pathos appeal. In terms of acclaim posts discussing policy positions, both candidates' followers favorited and engaged with the content using logos and logos based combinations. Trump's attacks on character were the most successful to engage the users when he used ethos, pathos, or their combination while Clinton's attacks on character got engaged the most using the three single appeals, accordingly ethos, pathos, and logos. Attack on policy was the most popular among Trump's followers when he used pathos and pathos based combinations whereas logos and logos based combinations were the most successful appeals for Clinton while attacking on policy stand of the opponent. Finally, ethos/logos, pathos, logos, ethos, accordingly were the most popular appeals when Trump defended his character whereas logos/pathos and pathos accordingly attracted the most favorites and engagement in the defense posts of Clinton.

Moreover, besides the character and policy topics, candidates similarly tended to promote their campaigns in more than one-fifth of their total posts. As discussed earlier, campaign promotion category concerned with rallies, debates,

speeches, interviews, events, urging, voting, donation, following a specific account, sending message and etc. The analysis revealed that more than half of the campaign promotion themes presented in acclaim posts. Only 40% percent of them were used in none-functional posts, most often employing emotional appeal to engage the users. Emotional appeal could successfully gain popularity for such none-functional posts by Clinton while appeals had negative effect on Trump's posts with this regard.

LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As with any other empirical studies, this thesis is also subject to a number of limitations. However, such limitations can be viewed as avenues that are ripe for future studies. The analysis is based on the Twitter posts that were available at the time of coding. The Twitter timeline is a dynamic space where the admins of the accounts are able to delete the tweets at a later time. Moreover, since this thesis was a content analysis, it was not possible to draw conclusions regarding how these Twitter posts can influence the users. There is much work left to be done in understanding the effect of campaign messages on citizens. Future research on the effects of functions and topics on the audience would be very helpful in understanding political campaigns discourse. In line with Benoit's suggestions, it would be helpful to combine functional theory with the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) or the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) for research on audience effect of campaign message.

This study examined only Twitter campaigns. It would be useful to extend this line of research to include other media, such as YouTube, Facebook, or LinkedIn, besides examining other message forms in political campaign discourse, such as direct mail brochures, candidate-sponsored webpages, TV spots, debates, speeches, and news coverage of campaigns, to generalize the findings beyond Twitter and bring more insights. Undoubtedly, future will bring a slew of new technologies, products, and tools that will change the way people communicate with each other and with machines. It would be interesting to examine the use of next generations of communication tools in political sphere. Moreover, some studies applied the functional theory on non-presidential (e.g., gubernatorial, mayoral, state

House, and Senate) and non-U.S. campaign messages as cited earlier. However, more works in these areas as well as a longitudinal analysis of political campaigns could be useful. It would be also interesting to implement further research to compare the results for before and after elections to see if there is a difference between the candidates' attitudes during and after the election campaign.

As stated earlier, functional theory subdivided character into personal qualities, leadership ability, and ideals, whereas policy comprises past deeds, future plans, and general goals. Such classifications were omitted in this study because the primary focus of the study was on functions (tones), topics, rhetorical appeals, and investigating them jointly, as well as popularity and engagement of the two candidates' posts, which overall generated a wide number of variables. Further studies may include these variables in addition to the following classifications;

Each policy theme can be classified into issue topics (e.g. jobs, taxes, foreign policy, education, health care, and environment), which is determined by an opinion poll. The frequency of the issue topics discussed in the campaign discourse and its correlation with the public opinion poll data, can show which candidate devotes the most messages to the issues that matter to majority of the citizens. Issues can also be coded as "owned" by Democrats or Republicans. American voters often consider Democrats to be best able to handle issues such as jobs, education, environment, while Republicans are considered by the majority of voters to be best able to handle issues including war, crime, and business. Furthermore, based on Peterson's (1995) theory of functional federalism, Benoit (Henson & Benoit, 2009; Benoit et al., 2011; Benoit, 2017) argued that candidates for president (or federal office: Senate, House) discuss national issues more and local issues less than candidates for Congress (or local office: governor) and Congress. This area needs more investigation. In addition to the issue topics, personal quality as a subcategory of character is also classified into four groups of "sincerity (trust, honesty, consistency, and openness), morality (decency, integrity, responsibility, and fairness), empathy (understanding, similar to voter, fights for voter, and compassion), and drive (courage, work, strength, and determination)" (Benoit, 2017:22). Future studies can pursue the discussion of personal qualities and issues topics in campaign messages.

Besides policy and character (and personal quality) topics, attack and defense functions can also be classified into various groups. In primary election campaigns or in multi-party systems with more than two contenders, there are more than one target for the attacks. Candidates may attack opponents from same or different party as well as attacking status quo generally to make distinction or devalue the target of attack. Because of infrequency of defenses, they are rarely classified. However, because of the large sample size in this thesis, we could classify them into character and policy. However, they can also be classified into forms of policy and character.

As mentioned earlier, Aristotle did not specify how to examine the persuasion in communication. We therefore, extended the prior works and typologies developed by the scholars to build an exhaustive and working system of appeals which encompasses 37 different categories and can be used in text, content, or discourse analysis. Additions, eliminations, adjustments, and mergers were done not to make the system include too much nor be too narrow to be able to be applied correctly on both online and offline (e.g. reports, letters, books) communications. However, as there are linguistic differences between social media posts in online and offline communications, removing some categories from the system, even a narrower typology can be designed specifically for social media rhetorical analysis. This area deserves even more attention. Furthermore, in this study, the primary aim was to combine functional and rhetorical theories and investigate the use of ethos, logos, pathos, and their dual or triple combinations in the functional posts rather than analyzing functions and rhetorical appeals separately. On the other hand, despite identification of the dominant function and topic within mixed post which is an easy task in most of the cases, as they refer to the content of the message, we thought that identifying the dominant rhetorical appeal in posts with more than one appeal type, is a subject to error. We therefore, sought to identify presence and absence of the three appeals within each post rather than counting them, classifying them into subcategories, or trying to find the dominant appeal. Further studies may seek to enumerate all existing subcategories within each post to identify the most prevalent subcategories or find a scientific way to identify the dominant appeal within each post.

Further studies may include video transcriptions or use even a larger sample, recording all posts starting from the official nomination day or the Labor Day to see if the results would display anything different. It would be also interesting to investigate the role of Twitter in the next election campaigns and in more immediate election cycles to see if the 2016 presidential election served as a blueprint for future politicians on how to use Twitter as a political campaign tool.

CONCLUSION

This thesis extended previous research on the content of presidential candidate campaigns in mainstream media to the Twitter campaigns of 2016 presidential general election. Past research has separately used Functional, Rhetorical, or Image Repair theories to analyze the traditional political campaigns discourse in legacy media. The three theories were combined and were applied to the Twitter campaigns of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 presidential general election campaign in order to investigate the different functional, rhetorical, and image repair strategies employed by the candidates as well as examining each strategy's popularity and engagement. Results are consistent with most of the predictions of functional theory: acclaims were more common than attacks and defenses were rare; the incumbent party's (Democrat) candidate acclaimed more and attacked less than the challenger (Republican). Only one prediction was not confirmed. Despite the prediction, both candidates discussed character extremely more than policy positions. However, in line with prior research on mainstream media, Trump as the winner of election, discussed policy more and character less than Clinton. He also attacked more on policy and less on character than Clinton, who acclaimed more on both policy and character than him. Findings also revealed that one-fourth of posts performed more than one function (or topic). Single defenses are rare and candidates most often used defenses with attack and/or acclaim functions. The functional analysis also showed that the tone of both candidates' posts tended to be more positive than negative, However, Trump's posts were more negative than Clinton's tweets in tone. Defensive and mixed tones were also more common in Trump's posts. Furthermore, besides using acclaim, attack, and defense strategies, both candidates tended to promote their campaigns through non-functional

themes which were presented in more than one-fifth of the total posts. With respect to popularity and engagement of different functions and topics, the analysis demonstrated that in general, defenses were the most popular function in terms of gaining likes and shares, while attacks were more popular than acclaims. Moreover, in general, character was much more popular than policy. However, users reacted differently to the negative and positive tones in the candidates messages. Popularity and engagement of acclaims (positive tone) was more than attacks (negative tone) in Trump's posts, and less than attacks in Clinton's tweets.

A rhetorical analysis on the candidates' persuasion language indicated some differences and similarities in the use of rhetorical strategies between them. Candidates tended to impose their points of view by using their credibility, employing logical arguments, or pressing on audience's emotional reaction. Emotional appeal was the most prevalent and logical appeal was the least common rhetorical strategy used by both candidates in their Twitter posts during the election campaign. Both candidates almost equally employed emotional appeal while Trump focused on logical appeal more and on credibility appeal less than Clinton. Moreover, consistent with Aristotle's suggestion, candidates often tended to use more than one rhetorical strategy in their posts in order to increase the persuasiveness of the message. Ethos/pathos was the most common combination used by both candidates in general and in acclaim posts. However, both candidates tended to use logos/pathos combination the most while attacking on the opponent's policy or character, or defending themselves against a prior attack. In addition, analysis of hashtags, links, and visual elements within the posts demonstrated that Trump used images and hashtags more, but links and videos less than Clinton.

With regard to popularity and engagement of the rhetorical appeals, the data showed that overall, credibility appeal was the most popular element among both candidates' followers in terms of attracting likes and shares. The most obvious difference refers to the logical appeal which successfully attracted Clinton's followers likes and shares while having the least popularity among Trump's followers. In addition to the rhetorical popularity which engages supporters who like and share the message, results showed that emotional appeal enhanced gaining comments, engaging both supporters and opposers. The analysis revealed more

details concerned with the rhetorical popularity and engagement while using different functions and topics. With this respect, logical appeal was the most effective when both candidates discussed their policy positions in their acclaim posts. Moreover, credibility was the most successful appeal for Trump in terms of attracting more number of likes and shares, while emotional appeal was the most prosperous appeal for Clinton, at the time of acclaiming and discussing their own characters. Credibility and/or emotional appeals engaged Trump's followers the most in attack posts targeting character of the opponent, while all three appeals were popular when Clinton attacked on the opponent's character. Emotional appeal was the most popular rhetorical strategy when Trump attacked on policy positions of the opponent, whereas logical appeal was the most successful appeal for Clinton with this regard. Finally, ethical/emotional and logical/emotional combinations attracted the most popularity and engagement respectively from Trump's and Clinton's followers when they defended themselves against attacks.

The analysis of image repair strategies revealed that the candidates neither apologized for their offensive acts nor introduced a plan to solve the problems concerned with their acts. They often sought to reduce the offensiveness of their wrongful acts through diminishing the credibility of the accusations by attacking the accuser. In addition, they tried to improve the users positive feelings toward themselves (bolstering), or to diminish the contrary feelings concerned with their offensive acts arguing that the acts were not very serious (minimization). Trump also argued that his act was not as offensive as former President Bill Clinton's similar one (minimization). Furthermore, as the second common strategy, both candidates simply denied the accusations or denied the responsibility for the wrongful acts by shifting the blame to someone else. Moreover, Clinton sought to evade the responsibility for the act by pleading provocation. The analysis indicated that the candidates used more than one strategy in some posts in which they attacked the accuser while using another image repair strategy. The analysis of the rhetorical appeals within the restoration strategies revealed that different rhetorical strategies were used by the candidates in each case. With respect to the popularity and engagement of the image repair strategies, the data indicated that Trump's followers favorited and got engaged with mixed strategies more than single forms. Attack accuser/simple denial

/bolstering was the most popular combination of restoration strategies used by Trump. However, bolstering was the most popular image repair strategy used by Clinton.

The analysis also revealed that videos boosted the popularity and engagement of the Twitter posts of both candidates while links had no significant effect on them. Images and hashtags had positive effect on Clinton's posts and negative effect on Trump's posts in terms of attracting more number of favorites, retweets, and comments.

Campaign messages are considered as essential elements of political campaigns. functional theory of political campaign discourse was developed to explain certain aspects of campaign messages, whereas rhetoric is concerned with finding all communication options within the messages and attentively choosing effective tools in order to persuade the voters. The content of the message, together with argumentation and persuasion, are the most crucial characteristics of political discourse through which politicians seek to distinguish themselves from opponents in every respect, and make the voters believe that their personality characteristics, traits, abilities, attributes, policy positions, ideology, beliefs, opinions, and promises are the best one to be offered, in order to be perceived as preferable compared with the opponent for enough number of voters and thus, win the election. Functional theory illustrates the way that candidates and more specifically their political products - a compound of ongoing various potential benefits offered at the form of promises and hopes given by the candidates, through the messages delivered to the voters - appear distinct from the others, while Aristotelian triad and its several linguistic means of expression make the discourse acts argumentative and persuasive. Both approaches besides the image repair strategies are very important for understanding the content of the messages and impacting the electorate.

Twitter goes a long way toward playing an influential role in political campaigns. Even though, it may be impractical to say Twitter wins elections, the particular styles of tweeting could be associated with winning elections (Evans et al., 2014). Since the specific tweeting style and the ability to attract both free media and users through the use of Twitter is known as one of the reasons behind Trump's surprise victory over Clinton (Francia, 2018). Although election campaigns might differ from each other

in some aspects such as the electoral system, incumbency levels, competitiveness of the race, and political climate in general, the characteristics of the tweeting style of the winners, as well as the candidates' successful strategies in terms of engaging the voters can be patterned in other similar campaigns. For instance, in this election, the candidate that used more attacks than the opponent won the election, despite the fact that many voters dislike mudslinging. Moreover, despite the fact that attacks and defenses have some drawbacks (Benoit, 2017), this thesis furthers the discussion about Twitter campaigns and suggests that defenses and attacks although having drawbacks, work. Particularly when they are combined, they get the best response from the users and are able to attract the most popularity and engagement. Similarly, despite the opinion polls spanning several campaigns indicated that more Americans considered policy issues to be more important than character (Geer, 2006), the analysis revealed that Twitter users were much more interested in character than policy. The analysis also underlined the persuasion power of credibility appeal and also suggested that every function or restoration strategy used by each candidate, requires certain rhetorical appeal in order to gain the maximum popularity and engagement.

In addition to the many other findings concerned with the three theories and the tweeting styles of the candidates during the election campaign, the way that the users respond to the different strategies offers a useful insight for political message adjustments in future campaigns. Thus, findings of this research regarding the content of the Twitter posts of both candidates during the election campaign as well as the users' response and engagement to the different types of content is useful for both researchers and political consultants and practitioners. The findings also helped to illuminate the use of Twitter platform as a strategic election campaigns tool as well as the three theories' approaches to understand Twitter campaigns of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton and investigated the Twitter users' response to various strategies used in their campaign.

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APPENDIX 1
CODESHEET FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS

1. Coder ID:
 #1
 #2
2. Tweet Number:
3. Who posted the Tweet?
 1.Trump
 2.Clinton
4. What is the publishing day of the post?
 (1-30)
5. What is the publishing month of the post?
 09.September
 10.October
 11.November
6. Is there any video attached to the post?
 0.No
 1.Yes
7. Is there any image attached to the post?
 0.No
 1.Yes
8. Is there any hashtag used in the post?
 0.No
 1.Yes
9. Is there any link added to the post?
 0.No
 1.Yes
10. Does the post utilize any acclaim function?
 0.No
 1.Yes
11. Does the post utilize any attack function?
 0.No
 1.Yes
12. Does the post utilize any defense function?
 0.No
 1.Yes

13. If yes, circle the image repair strategy that is used.

1.Simple denial	2.Shift blame	3.Provocation
4.Defeasibility	5.Accident	6.Good intention
7.Bolstering	8.Minimization	9.Differentiation
10. Transcendence	11.Attack accuser	12.Compensation
13.Corrective action	14.Mortification	

14. What is the dominant function of the post?

1. Acclaim
2. Attack
3. Defense

15. Does the post discuss any character topic?

- 0.No
- 1.Yes

16. Does the post discuss any specific policy issue?

- 0.No
- 1.Yes

17. What is the dominant topic of the post?

1. Character
2. Policy

18. Does the post include a campaign promotional element?

- 0.No
- 1.Yes

19. Is there any logical appeal (logos) used in the post?

- 0.No
- 1.Yes

20. Is there any credibility appeal (ethos) used in the post?

- 0.No
- 1.Yes

21. Is there any emotional appeal (pathos) used in the post?

- 0.No
- 1.Yes

22. How many comments did the post attract?

23. How many times was the post retweeted?

24. How many favorites did the post attract?

APPENDIX 2

CODE BOOKFOR CONTENT ANALYSIS

The following is a description of categories for coding each Twitter post on the code sheet. Please fill in the blank space with the appropriate text response or circle the appropriate code.

Sample and coder information

1. Coder ID

Please identify the ID number corresponding to your name (i.e.,1).

2. Tweet Number

Each Twitter post is given a unique serial number. Please record the serial number of the post in the code sheet.

3. Candidate

Please circle 1 if the post belongs to Trump's Twitter account, and 2 if it belongs to Clinton Twitter account.

4. Day

Please record the day that the Twitter post was published in (i.e.,09).

5. Month

Please identify the month that the Tweet was published on (Sep., Oct., Nov.).

6. Video

A post is video based if it there is a video attacked to the post. Please circle 1 if it's a video based post. Circle 0 if not.

7. Image

A post is image based if there is a picture, screenshot, or Graphics Interchange Format (GIF) element attached to the post. Please circle 1 if it's a image based post. Circle 0 if not.

8. Hashtag

Hashtag is a word or phrase preceded by a hash sign (#) used in the post. Please circle 1 if there is any hashtag mentioned in the post. Circle 0 if not.

9. Link

A link is an HTML object or a retweet that directs you a new location when you click or tap it. Please circle 1 if there is any link mentioned in the post. Circle 0 if not.

Functions

Attack, acclaim, defense are the three functions that may be present in the Twitter posts. Each function refers to a theme. Posts may contain more than one theme. Read each post carefully and decide if the post used any of the three functions or not.

10. Acclaim Theme

Acclaims are themes that put the candidate himself or his/her political party in a favorable light. Please circle 1 if the acclaim approach is present. Circle 0 if not.

11. Attack Theme:

Attack themes portray the opponent candidate or party in an unfavorable light. Please circle 1 if the attack approach is present. 0 if not. Circle 0 if not.

12. Defense Theme

Defense themes are explicitly respond to the opponent's prior attacks. Please circle 1 if the defense approach is present. Circle 0 if not.

Image Repair Strategies

13. Every defense theme belongs to one category. Please circle the corresponding category;

1.Simple denial (did not perform the act); 2.Shift blame (another performed the act); 3.Provocation (respond to another act); Defeasibility (lack of information or ability); 5.Accident (mishap); 6.Good intention (meant well); 7.Bolstering (stress positive traits); 8.Minimization (act less harmful than believed); 9.Differentiation (act less harmful than similar act); 10.Transcendence (more important values); 11.Attack accuser (reduce accuser's credibility); 12.Compensation (reimburse victim); 13.Corrective action (plan to repair/prevent recurrence); 14.Mortification (apologize, express remorse for acts).

14. Dominant Function

Every post may include more than one functional theme. Dominant function is identified based on the content of the post. Comparing the number of themes related to each function is the next criteria when the dominance is not clearly identified from the general content of the message. Choose a function mentioned the most as the dominant. Counting words is the next criteria when functions are equally mentioned. The longer theme is the dominant one when there is a significant difference between the length of the themes (at least 1-2). If not choose the first mentioned function. Please identify the dominant function of the post.

Topics

Every acclaim, attack, and defense should concern one of the two types of topics namely policy and character. Read each theme carefully and note the related category. Indicate if any of the following topics mentioned in the post.

15. Character (Image)

Character emphasizes personality characteristics, traits, abilities, or attributes of the candidates or parties. Please circle 1 if the theme concerns a character topic. Please circle 0 if not.

16. Policy (Issue)

Policy concerns specific policy issue, governmental action (past, current, or future) and any issue inclined to governmental action. Please circle 1 if the theme contains a policy topic. Circle 0 if not.

17. Dominant Topic

Every post may include more than one topic theme (i.e. character and policy). Dominant topic is identified based on the content of the post. Comparing the number of themes related to each topic is the next criteria when the dominance is not clearly identified from the general content of the message. Choose a topic mentioned the most frequently as the dominant one. Counting words is the next criteria when the two topics are equally mentioned. The longer theme is the dominant one when there is a significant difference between the length of the themes (at least double). If not, choose the topic mentioned first. Please record the dominant topic.

18. Campaign Promotion

Themes related to any campaign issue remain out of these categories above and are presented in the “campaign promotion” category. This category remarks themes concern promoting events, urging fans to register, vote, join polls, watch debates or interviews, send a short message, follow a page, donate, or asking them to do something or participate in a campaign activity (note: exclude themes only give information about events in the past). Please circle 1 if the theme is related to campaign promotion. Circle 0 if not.

Rhetorical Appeals

Three types of rhetorical appeals may be present in the themes namely Logos, ethos, and pathos. Read each theme carefully and note which appeal is present or not present.

19. Ethos

Ethos is appeals to ethics. It’s used as a mean to convince voters via the authority or credibility of the candidate. The intelligence, credibility, or trustworthiness of candidate is enhanced using the one of the 11 categories comprising: “expertise”, “consistency”, “common ground”, “transcendent we”, “antithesis”, “respected source”, “righteous character”, “self-criticism”, “opponents’ opinions”, “mercifulness” and “civility.” Please circle 1 if at least one of these categories is used in the post. Circle 0 if not.

20. Logos

Logos concerns to logical facts are presented in order to persuade voters that the evidence is overwhelming in favor of some position. It concerns with the credibility of message through using 18 categories of: “claims”, “clarity”, “warrants”, “justifications”, “historical evidences”, “information”, “cause-means-consequences”, “narrative example”, “descriptive example”, “classification”, “comparison”, “contrast”, “degree”, “authority”, “model.” Please circle 1 if any logical fact is used in the post. Circle 0 if not.

21. Pathos

Pathos addresses emotional appeals designed to invoke particular feelings or emotions in voters. Pathos appeal seeks to create an emotional response to an impassioned plea or a convincing story in order to convince the voter about an argument through 8 groups including “voters’ situation”, “voters’ empathy”, “voters’ interests, needs, and

values”, “positive and negative motivations”, “vivid picture”, “charged language”, “figures of speech”, and “urgency”. Please circle 1 if any emotional appeal is utilized in the theme. Circle 0 if not.

Popularity and Engagement

Popularity and engagement in this study refers to the total number of times that users interacted with the post via likes, retweets, and replies.

22. Comment

Please indicates the number of comments of the post. Record the number in the code sheet.

23. Shares

Please indicates the number of times that the post retweeted. Record the number in the code sheet.

24. Favorite

Please displays the number of favorites that the post attracted. Record the number in the code sheet.

APPENDIX 3

CROSS CLASSIFICATION OF FUNCTIONS-TOPICS-APPEALS

Candidate	Function				Appeal							Total	
					None	Ethos	Logos	Ethos/ Logos	Pathos	Ethos/ Pathos	Logos/ Pathos		Ethos/ Logos/ Pathos
Trump	Acclaim	Topic	Character	Count		26	0	26	6	138	6	41	243
				% within Topic		10.7%	0.0%	10.7%	2.5%	56.8%	2.5%	16.9%	100.0%
		Policy		Count		2	1	0	7	13	10	4	37
				% within Topic		5.4%	2.7%	0.0%	18.9%	35.1%	27.0%	10.8%	100.0%
		Total		Count		28	1	26	13	151	16	45	280
				% within Topic		10.0%	0.4%	9.3%	4.6%	53.9%	5.7%	16.1%	100.0%
	Attack	Topic	Character	Count	8	2	49	4	28	11	54	22	178
				% within Topic	4.5%	1.1%	27.5%	2.2%	15.7%	6.2%	30.3%	12.4%	100.0%
		Policy		Count	1	0	10	0	13	5	46	11	86
				% within Topic	1.2%	0.0%	11.6%	0.0%	15.1%	5.8%	53.5%	12.8%	100.0%
		Total		Count	9	2	59	4	41	16	100	33	264
				% within Topic	3.4%	0.8%	22.3%	1.5%	15.5%	6.1%	37.9%	12.5%	100.0%
	Defense	Topic	Character	Count	1	1	3	4	4	2	7	5	27
				% within Topic	3.7%	3.7%	11.1%	14.8%	14.8%	7.4%	25.9%	18.5%	100.0%
		Total		Count	1	1	3	4	4	2	7	5	27
				% within Topic	3.7%	3.7%	11.1%	14.8%	14.8%	7.4%	25.9%	18.5%	100.0%
	Total	Topic	Character	Count	9	29	52	34	38	151	67	68	448
					% within Topic	2.0%	6.5%	11.6%	7.6%	8.5%	33.7%	15.0%	15.2%

				Policy	Count	1	2	11	0	20	18	56	15	123
					% within Topic	0.8%	1.6%	8.9%	0.0%	16.3%	14.6%	45.5%	12.2%	100.0%
				Total	Count	10	31	63	34	58	169	123	83	571
					% within Topic	1.8%	5.4%	11.0%	6.0%	10.2%	29.6%	21.5%	14.5%	100.0%
Clinton	Acclaim	Topic	Character	Count			103	2	34	3	279	3	71	495
				% within Topic			20.8%	0.4%	6.9%	0.6%	56.4%	0.6%	14.3%	100.0%
		Policy		Count			0	2	1	18	40	25	22	108
				% within Topic			0.0%	1.9%	0.9%	16.7%	37.0%	23.1%	20.4%	100.0%
		Total		Count			103	4	35	21	319	28	93	603
				% within Topic			17.1%	0.7%	5.8%	3.5%	52.9%	4.6%	15.4%	100.0%
	Attack	Topic	Character	Count		10	6	57	13	54	32	125	46	343
				% within Topic		2.9%	1.7%	16.6%	3.8%	15.7%	9.3%	36.4%	13.4%	100.0%
		Policy		Count		2	0	2	0	14	3	26	4	51
				% within Topic		3.9%	0.0%	3.9%	0.0%	27.5%	5.9%	51.0%	7.8%	100.0%
		Total		Count		12	6	59	13	68	35	151	50	394
				% within Topic		3.0%	1.5%	15.0%	3.3%	17.3%	8.9%	38.3%	12.7%	100.0%
	Defense	Topic	Character	Count		1	1	8	7	1	3	8	8	37
				% within Topic		2.7%	2.7%	21.6%	18.9%	2.7%	8.1%	21.6%	21.6%	100.0%
		Policy		Count		0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
				% within Topic		0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Total		Count		1	1	8	7	1	3	10	8	39
				% within Topic		2.6%	2.6%	20.5%	17.9%	2.6%	7.7%	25.6%	20.5%	100.0%
	Total	Topic	Character	Count		11	110	67	54	58	314	136	125	875
				% within Topic		1.3%	12.6%	7.7%	6.2%	6.6%	35.9%	15.5%	14.3%	100.0%

				Policy	Count	2	0	4	1	32	43	53	26	161
					% within Topic	1.2%	0.0%	2.5%	0.6%	19.9%	26.7%	32.9%	16.1%	100.0%
				Total	Count	13	110	71	55	90	357	189	151	1036
					% within Topic	1.3%	10.6%	6.9%	5.3%	8.7%	34.5%	18.2%	14.6%	100.0%
Total	Acclaim	Topic	Character	Count		129	2	60	9	417	9	112	738	
				% within Topic		17.5%	0.3%	8.1%	1.2%	56.5%	1.2%	15.2%	100.0%	
			Policy	Count		2	3	1	25	53	35	26	145	
				% within Topic		1.4%	2.1%	0.7%	17.2%	36.6%	24.1%	17.9%	100.0%	
			Total	Count		131	5	61	34	470	44	138	883	
				% within Topic		14.8%	0.6%	6.9%	3.9%	53.2%	5.0%	15.6%	100.0%	
	Attack	Topic	Character	Count	18	8	106	17	82	43	179	68	521	
				% within Topic	3.5%	1.5%	20.3%	3.3%	15.7%	8.3%	34.4%	13.1%	100.0%	
			Policy	Count	3	0	12	0	27	8	72	15	137	
				% within Topic	2.2%	0.0%	8.8%	0.0%	19.7%	5.8%	52.6%	10.9%	100.0%	
			Total	Count	21	8	118	17	109	51	251	83	658	
				% within Topic	3.2%	1.2%	17.9%	2.6%	16.6%	7.8%	38.1%	12.6%	100.0%	
	Defense	Topic	Character	Count	2	2	11	11	5	5	15	13	64	
				% within Topic	3.1%	3.1%	17.2%	17.2%	7.8%	7.8%	23.4%	20.3%	100.0%	
			Policy	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	
				% within Topic	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
			Total	Count	2	2	11	11	5	5	17	13	66	
				% within Topic	3.0%	3.0%	16.7%	16.7%	7.6%	7.6%	25.8%	19.7%	100.0%	
	Total	Topic	Character	Count	20	139	119	88	96	465	203	193	1323	
				% within Topic	1.5%	10.5%	9.0%	6.7%	7.3%	35.1%	15.3%	14.6%	100.0%	

	Policy	Count	3	2	15	1	52	61	109	41	284
		% within Topic	1.1%	0.7%	5.3%	0.4%	18.3%	21.5%	38.4%	14.4%	100.0%
	Total	Count	23	141	134	89	148	526	312	234	1607
		% within Topic	1.4%	8.8%	8.3%	5.5%	9.2%	32.7%	19.4%	14.6%	100.0%

APPENDIX 4 USE OF RHETORICAL APPEALS BY IMAGE REPAIR STRATEGIES

				Appeal								Total
Candidate				None	Ethos	Logos	Ethos/ Logos	Pathos	Ethos/ Pathos	Logos/ Pathos	Ethos/ Logos/ Pathos	
Trump	ImageRepair Strategy	Simple Denial	Count	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
		Shift the Blame	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100%
		Bolstering	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	4
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	75.0%	100%
		Minimization	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
		Differentiation	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	100%
		Attack Accuser	Count	1	1	1	0	0	1	6	2	12
			% within ImageRepair	8.3%	8.3%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	50.0%	16.7%	100%
		Attack Accuser/Simple Denial	Count	0	0	1	1	3	0	3	0	8
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	12.5%	12.5%	37.5%	0.0%	37.5%	0.0%	100%

Clinton	ImageRepair Strategy	Attack Accuser/Minimization	Count	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
		Attack Accuser/Simple Denial/Bolstering	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	100%
		Total	Count	1	1	3	4	4	2	10	7	32
			% within ImageRepair	3.1%	3.1%	9.4%	12.5%	12.5%	6.3%	31.3%	21.9%	100%
		Simple Denial	Count	1	0	1	6	0	1	1	1	11
			% within ImageRepair	9.1%	0.0%	9.1%	54.5%	0.0%	9.1%	9.1%	9.1%	100%
		Shift the Blame	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	0.0%	100%
		Provocation	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	0.0%	100%
		Bolstering	Count	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	6
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	16.7%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	66.7%	100%
		Attack Accuser	Count	0	0	5	1	1	0	7	1	15
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	6.7%	6.7%	0.0%	46.7%	6.7%	100%
		Attack Accuser/Simple Denial	Count	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	3
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	100%
		Attack Accuser/Provocation	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	100%

Attack Accuser/Minimization			Count	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	0.0%	0.0%	100%
Total			Count	1	1	8	7	1	3	10	8	39
			% within ImageRepair	2.6%	2.6%	20.5%	17.9%	2.6%	7.7%	25.6%	20.5%	100%
Total	ImageRepair Strategy	Simple Denial	Count	1	0	2	6	0	1	1	1	12
			% within ImageRepair	8.3%	0.0%	16.7%	50.0%	0.0%	8.3%	8.3%	8.3%	100%
		Shift the Blame	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%	100%
		Provocation	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	0.0%	100%
		Bolstering	Count	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	7	10
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	70.0%	100%
		Minimization	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
		Differentiation	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0 %	100%
		Attack Accuser	Count	1	1	6	1	1	1	13	3	27
			% within ImageRepair	3.7%	3.7%	22.2%	3.7%	3.7%	3.7%	48.1%	11.1%	100%
		Attack Accuser/Simple Denial	Count	0	0	2	1	3	1	3	1	11
			% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	18.2%	9.1%	27.3%	9.1%	27.3%	9.1%	100%

	Attack Accuser/Provocation	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100%
	Attack Accuser/Minimization	Count	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	3
		% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100%
	Attack Accuser/Simple Denial/Bolstering	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		% within ImageRepair	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100%
	Total	Count	2	2	11	11	5	5	20	15	71
		% within ImageRepair	2.8%	2.8%	15.5%	15.5%	7.0%	7.0%	28.2%	21.1%	100%