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US Presidential campaign strategy 1960 - 2012: observing and explaining change in rhetoric

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Abstract

This thesis investigates core aspects of campaign strategy, through content analysis of campaign rhetoric, to assess whether there is evidence that campaign strategy changes, rather than remains fixed, during presidential general election campaigns. Campaign rhetoric is used as a proxy for campaign strategy as a whole. Established campaign strategy theory states that strategy should remain fixed, but the literature also suggests that changes may be made to campaign strategy. Through analysis of four core categories of campaign strategy: use of tone, character, issues and party, this paradox is investigated. Using content analysis, based on a number of codebooks, a comprehensive dataset of presidential campaign speeches are analysed. For the use of tone, issues and party, this is for all campaigns from 1960-2012. For the use of character this is for the 2004-2012 campaigns due to the more qualitative nature of this analysis. Each chapter presents findings relating to change in the use of each category. There are changes to the use of campaign strategy in all four categories, and in every campaign analysed. The final chapter proposes that rather than thinking of strategy as being fixed, campaign strategy should instead be understood in terms of periods of strategic stability, which are interjected with points of change. These may be minor or major strategic changes. The final chapter also tests potential explanations as to why change may occur, using regression analysis. Further research is necessary to determine specifically why changes occur in campaign strategy, as well as to determine if the findings also can be applied to other media of campaign strategy.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Elections matter. Elections are democracy in action, with voters choosing who will represent their views in national politics for the term and position in question. Campaigns are fundamental to democracy. Presidential campaigns in the United States occur every four years, attracting attention from around the world, with a timeframe of over a year of campaigning in the run up to Election Day. Studying campaigns can give insight into and enhance the democratic system of elections. Although there "is no one way to become President of the United States", the various ways in which candidates interact with voters, and how votes are won, is an integral part of democracy (White 1962: 26). Understanding US presidential elections is fundamental to understanding representative democracy in America, and by focusing on campaign strategy, enhanced knowledge as to what drives politicians' calculations and decisions around campaigning can be discovered.

Preceding Election Day there are months of campaigning, and before this years of planning. The first 'modern presidential campaign', with advertising, televised debates between candidates, and a coherent national focus, is widely considered to have been the 1960 election between JFK and Nixon (Donaldson 2007). Campaign strategy is core to elections, especially to modern presidential campaigns. To try to win, a candidate needs to have a plan, or campaign strategy, that is determined and followed throughout the campaign period. According to one theory, campaign strategy should be fixed during campaigns. However the literature also implies that in actuality changes occur to strategy during the period of campaigning (Shea 1996; Thurber and Nelson 1995). Investigating US presidential elections from 1960 to 2012, this project explores this disjuncture. This is the period of the modern presidential campaign, and includes as recent as possible campaigns available in the timeframe of this project. The project will use the element of message as a proxy for campaign strategy. In investigating change in campaign strategy, the project will

also test hypotheses as to why change occurs, in turn looking at the changes made in order to gain voters and giving insight into this important dimension of democracy in the United States.

It is first necessary to explain what campaign strategy is in detail, and what change in campaign strategy is, as defined for this project. Following discussion of campaign strategy and change in it, the research questions and hypotheses for this thesis will be established. The hypotheses will be investigated using message as a proxy for campaign strategy as a whole. Discussion of message and message substance; the methodology to be used throughout this thesis; the definition of change for this project; and on ensuring data used is representative will be presented. Finally, potential reasons why change may occur will be proposed.

What is Campaign Strategy

Campaign strategy determines what a candidate needs to do, and when, to win an election (Shea 1996: 173). It is a plan that "charts the path to win the election"; the "game plans, blueprints, and calculated efforts to convince the electorate to vote for a particular candidate" (Thurber and Nelson 1995: 4; Wayne 2008: 224; Greener and Arterton in Johnson 2009). The aim of campaign strategy is to place the candidate in a strong position to win, and therefore strategy has to deal "with those features of the political environment that are manipulable by the candidate" and should "incorporate the realities of the current situation" (Kessel 1974: 99; Asher 1992: 285; 286). Campaign strategy is a complex concept, and is much more than appealing to the more politically oriented during 'primaries' and shifting to a more moderate stance during the core election; it is the map of the way to victory (Wayne 2008: 224; Baumgartner 2000: 134; Thurber and Nelson 1995: 4).

Campaign strategy is comprised of a number of elements and should ideally take a four year outlook, in line with when presidential elections occur. Following the conclusion of one election, potential hopefuls for the next begin raising money and testing public opinion to determine whether running for president would be worthwhile, and to establish if winning is a real possibility. Given this timeframe, many factors must be considered and decisions made when formulating campaign strategy. Campaign strategy development covers both the primary period, before a candidate is the formal nominee for each party, and the general election, when there is usually only a Republican or Democratic candidate in the race, working on the presumption that the candidate will become nominee (Jamieson 2001: 14-16). Decisions in strategy formulation therefore cover everything from answers to big questions such as what is the campaign's core message to give to voters, to when an event should happen: from the specific to the very general (Wayne 2008: 224; Bike 1998: 176; Jamieson 2001). As Popkin highlights, "every event and every meeting... is related to previous decisions that the candidate has made about what kind of campaign he is running" (2012: 10). These decisions can be what makes or breaks a campaign (Simpson 1996: 1).

The strategy is developed by the campaign team, which usually comprises the campaign manager(s), pollsters, media specialists, finance specialists, and other experts, who look to various sources of information to determine the current situation of the country, the political environment, public opinion, potential opposition positions, and much more, in order to give the campaign what is seen as the best shot at winning (Popkin 2012; White 1962: 27). Although there are many considerations to incorporate into campaign strategy, there is a general consensus both between academics of the field, and consultants of campaigns, that a number of core elements are necessary for any campaign strategy. These are identification of target voters, the key message, the resources to be used and where, the tactics chosen, and the time frame for campaign actions (Jamieson 2001; White 1962; Shea 1996; Thurber and Nelson 2004; 2010; Shea and Burton 2010; Brams

2008; Bike 1998; Schumaker and Loomis 2002; Tenpas 2003; Popkin 2012; Kendall 1995; Baumgartner 2000).

Widely considered the start point of strategy is the identification of target voters (Shea 1996; Thurber and Nelson 2010; Shea and Burton 2010). Determining what voters the candidate should focus on in order to obtain votes and win is necessary before any other decisions can be made, because it is key to know who, and then how you are trying to convince the electorate to vote for you, in order to determine what resources you may need and what would be the best way to get these votes (Thurber and Nelson 2010: 8; Shea and Burton 2010: 28; Jamieson 2001). The target voter group is usually a "narrow, persuadable slice of the electorate" who are "more moderate and ideologically in the middle", and who are mainly supporters of the party you are affiliated with, and undecided voters (Shea and Burton 2010: 28; Thurber and Nelson 2004: 4, 38). This is because this group is easier to convince to vote for the candidate in question, rather than opposition supporters (Thurber and Nelson 2004).

As Jamieson highlights based on consultant conversations following the 2000 election, you need "the right message to give in the campaign" (2001: 86, 33, 37). The second element of strategy, message, is a necessity in strategy because it helps the candidates to portray information about themselves to voters; their biography, character and issue positions, for example (Thurber and Nelson 2010: 19, 50, 51). Being "carefully crafted from what the voters want, what your candidate has to offer and what the opponent brings to the table", the message is seen as the "central idea that the campaign communicates to the voters" (Shea 1996: 149, 163; Thurber and Nelson 2004: 52; 2010). The message aims to win over target voters, and is expressed through the rhetoric of the campaign, for example through speeches, adverts or website pages (Thurber and Nelson 2010: 51).

The third element of campaign strategy is broader than the first two, and is the campaign resources. Resources can include money, people, and time, although this last resources is also considered an element individually (Wayne 2008; Brams 2008; Shea 1996; Jamieson 2001). "No campaign has enough resources", so decisions on what money to spend, how to raise money, what visits to make, where manpower would be best used, are all crucial to strategy (Brams 2008: 57, 62; Bike 1998: 178; Jamieson 2001: 15, 16, 20, 58, 64, 145, 146). The campaign when formulating strategy must ensure that there is the best use of resources, to both win the campaign but also to have resources available through to Election Day (Brams 2008: 62; Bike 1998: 178).

The distinction between tactics, the fourth element, and strategy overall, is one often confused. Wayne (2008: 236) defines tactics as "the specific ways... strategic objectives are achieved". Tactics are the specific methods used to carry out tasks, events and activities (Thurber and Nelson 2010: 50; Wayne: 2008: 236). In terms of distinguishing the two, tactics can be considered the detailed implementation of strategic objectives. So where strategy would decide what message to put out to voters, tactics would determine the specifics of when to put that specific message out for example.

The final element, time frame, needs to be considered in relation to the long and short term when developing strategy (Tenpas 2003). Seen as "the enemy of all political campaigns", time is the aspect of strategy that a candidate has least control of, but yet if it were ignored could be detrimental to the candidate's success (Thurber and Nelson 2004: 21). When developing strategy, time is considered in many decisions from when to raise or spend money to when to hold events and make announcements (Shea 1998: 168-170). Important years in advance, "a political campaign without the immediate sense of the time remaining... lacks the intensity to win" (Tenpas 2003: 38; Thurber and Nelson 2004: 21).

Change in Campaign Strategy

Change in campaign strategy as a whole has not been investigated, despite the paradox between campaign strategy needing to be fixed, but seemingly changing. When and why candidates change their strategies during elections is an area where this thesis could therefore provide great insight. Whilst campaign strategy as a whole, and the individual core elements, have been extensively researched and explained in regards to putting strategy into practice, how to formulate strategy and the importance of strategy, both by consultants, professionals and academics in the field, changes made to campaign strategy have barely been acknowledged. The lack of research into change in campaign strategy leaves a gap for this thesis to attempt to fill.

Within media commentary and in strategy literature there have been references made that imply campaign strategy changes, however specific investigation has not yet occurred (Newman 1999:77; Kessel 1974; Newman 1994:128; Wayne and Wilcox 1992; Shea 1996). Campaign strategy is designed to be fixed, and in an ideal world would rarely need to change because all eventualities would have been anticipated (Shea 1996; Thurber and Nelson 1995). Although specific details are expected to be edited based on day to day events, the overall plan for the campaign is meant to be fixed throughout the campaign period. As Shea highlights, strategy should not change where it is working correctly for the campaign, and should only change where there is “clear, unrefutable evidence that what you are doing is not working because the fundamental circumstances in which the race is being conducted have changed” (1996:173,174; Thurber and Nelson 1995). Despite this, elections do not happen as planned; and media commentary and strategy literature imply that there are changes made to strategy during campaigns when “the fundamental circumstances in which the race is being conducted” have not changed, with it even being suggested that campaigns may actually be “dynamic and in constant change, reacting to events and opponents” (Newman 1999:77; Kessel 1974; Newman 1994:128; Wayne and

Wilcox 1992; Shea 1996:22, 173, 174; Thurber and Nelson 1995; 2004:5; Ceasar, Busch and Pitney Jr 2011; Abramson, Aldrich and Rohde 2007; Toner in Sabato 2005; Ceasar and Busch 2005). Therefore although the literature suggests that strategy should be fixed, it also suggests that changes are made following reviews of the campaign environment and opposition actions, to ensure the candidate is in the best position to win (Kessel 1974; Newman 1994: 128; Wayne and Wilcox 1992).

The implications that campaign strategy changes relates to fundamental parts of the strategy changing, not minor day to day details, yet without any evidence or research supporting this (Newman 1999:77; Kessle1974; Newman 1994:128; Wayne and Wilcox 1992; Popkin 2012). In order to adequately address this gap in the literature, this research will investigate change, based on data from elections from 1960 through to 2012, the most recent presidential election for which rhetoric was available for the necessary timeframe of this project.

Research Questions

Taking into account this gap in the field of research into campaign strategy, two research questions have been developed to be addressed:

RQ1: What changes can be found in campaign strategy, based on campaign rhetoric, in US presidential elections 1960-2012?

RQ2: Why do changes in campaign strategy occur in US presidential elections 1960-2012?

Hypotheses

Given that change is alluded to but not comprehensively addressed in current research, the first hypothesis is:

H1: Campaign strategy will change during the election period for which the strategy was designed.

Empirical Framework

To be able to investigate the research questions and hypotheses, an empirical framework is needed to capture the nature of candidates' strategy. However, campaign strategy as a whole is multi-faceted given that it is the plan that candidates follow to get elected and covers many different elements. In order to assess campaign strategy in a manageable, and measurable way, the element of message will be used as a proxy for campaign strategy as a whole. This is appropriate firstly because message is a measurable behaviour, as campaign rhetoric can be used to measure what changes occur.

Secondly, given the links that message has with the other elements of strategy it is an ideal proxy. Message is used by candidates to appeal to target voters, and so has links to the target voter element. Without the resources to hold events such as rallies, or produce adverts, the campaign would not be able to give the message as frequently as is possible, so there is a link with resources too. In terms of tactics, decisions on whether to 'attack' in message, for example, show the link with this element as well. Time impacts on what specifics of the message may be said depending on the time available both in the short term and in regards to how long is left to the Election Day and so message also links with this element.

Thirdly due to the accessibility of message through campaign rhetoric it is appropriate to use message as a proxy for strategy. The other elements of strategy would not be appropriate to use as a proxy because these are not measurable in the way that message is, and are not as well linked to each other to provide an all-round campaign strategy proxy. With all this considered, along with the fact that message is frequently given throughout the campaign period, message is an appropriate element to use. Content analysis of campaign rhetoric will occur which will enable message to be measured whilst accounting for the complexities of the element.

The empirical framework is a way of measuring change in campaign rhetoric through the element of message specifically, and will provide evidence of what changes occur. The framework is split into four categories; tone, character, party and issues. Why each of these is important to investigate is discussed in the respective chapters. However these four categories are crucial parts of campaign rhetoric. Through each category, the candidate is able to tell the voter information that may help the candidate to win. These four have been chosen based on what may be considered to be the parts of message that are a result of strategic decisions. For example, tone distinctions are believed to be determined by those decisions taken by the candidate and their campaign team.

Each category will explore an aspect of message that is considered to be determined by the candidate, enabling change in multiple aspects of message to be identified. Under each category are a number of variables that enable an in-depth analysis of each category. For example, the category of tone would have the variables of positive, negative and contrast. Indicators for each of these variables can be identified. These are, in the main, words or phrases that will be used to identify where each category variable is used within the rhetoric. By determining what is said, as well as when and where it is said for each of the category variables over time, it is possible to identify where candidates change strategy. The framework is designed this way in order to capture as much evidence of change as possible, as well as to ensure that the focus remains on the candidates' changing strategic direction throughout the campaign.

The content analysis approach will enable data to be collected on a speech by speech basis, and this will be analysed week by week across the elections. The period for each election study starts from when the Republican and Democratic candidates have both been determined as the nominees for the relevant campaign. This may differ from the official conventions dates, where candidates are formally made nominees, however when it is clear who a candidate's opposition is, they start campaigning for the general election

before the conventions are held. This has been especially true in recent years. Given that the focus is on the general election, the period where the candidates are in full general election mode is important and changes from this period need to be captured.

What makes up campaign message

Whilst the element of message is an ideal proxy for campaign strategy as a whole, message is in itself a broad complex element, and is sometimes confused with rhetoric. 'Message' and 'rhetoric' are often terms used interchangeably, despite there being key distinctions between the two. Rhetoric is an "attempt to persuade" rather than compel people to do something, with audiences having a choice on what their view is after hearing rhetoric (Burke 1982: 51). Rhetoric can be found in presidential speeches, websites and advertisements, among other sources. In relation to elections, rhetoric helps candidates persuade the electorate who is best for the job of president (Burke 1982:51 ; Windt Jr 1986: 102, 103). On the other hand, message is defined as the "central idea that the campaign communicates to voters" to persuade them how to vote (Bradshaw 1995 cited in Shea 1996:149). Rhetoric therefore can be seen as the method of persuasion; message is the content of persuasion. Rhetoric is what is being used in this project to assess candidate message.

It is said that message 'drives' elections, by giving the electorate the relevant information to help differentiate between candidates, and therefore helping voters to decide which candidate to support (Axelrod quoted in Bike 1998: 20; Newman 1994: 86; Shea 1996: 149). Consequently, the substance of message is considered to be "one of the most important decisions a campaign team will make", because a strong message will give the campaign a good chance at winning the election (Shea 1996: 148).

Campaign message substance tells voters about the candidate in question: who they are, what they stand for, what their vision is for the country (Axelrod in Bike 1998:

120; Newman 1994: 86; Shea 1996: 149). The substance of message is usually a "combination of what the voters want, what the candidate has to offer, what the opponent has to offer, and other relevant contextual issues", and is simple and understandable so that the electorate can be persuaded to vote for the candidate in question (Baumgartner 2000: 141; Shea 1996: 150, 152; Bike 1998: 33, 119, 120; Simpson 1996: 103).

It is possible that the idea of Heresthetics, the Spatial Theory of Voting, and the Median Voter Theory may influence decisions of message substance. Heresthetics is "the art of political manipulation", as defined by Riker (1986, cited in McLean 2002: 541). Within rhetoric, candidates would, under the idea of heresthetics, try to manipulate the electorate to vote for them, but also to follow the agenda of the candidate in question (Riker 1990: 47). Riker set his idea of heresthetics in the context of Downs' (1957) Spatial Theory of Voting and in particular the Median Voter Theory (Downs 1957; McLean 2002). The two theories take the view that "competition for votes will drive opposing candidates or parties to the ideal policies of the median voter", and then candidates would try to manipulate voters into choosing them for the job (Ansolabehere et al 2001: 137). The aim is that candidates can show the electorate they are the best candidate, by setting an agenda that gives the candidate an advantage over the opposition because the candidate has taken on board what the median of the electorate favour (Sides 2007; Carsey 2000). The idea behind heresthetics, to manipulate voters by championing advantageous positions therefore is likely to influence strategic decisions, even if those determining strategy may be unaware that this is the theory they are following, and is thought to have led many to ask, when formulating strategy, what would be the most advantageous message for the candidate to put forward in order to win (Sides 2007; Carsey 2000).

When determining message substance, candidates and their teams may also use the theories of framing and priming, although again campaign teams may not know that these are the theories they are implementing. Framing and priming are often mentioned together,

are based within the same tradition, and are core within communication methods, however the two are also distinctly different (Nelson and Oxley 1999: 1040; Petrocik 1996: 829; Druckman and Nelson 2003: 730). Although it is believed that voters are susceptible to both methods influencing their opinions in elections, they are not influenced equally by priming and framing (Petrocik 1996: 829, 830; Krosnick and Kinder 1990).

Framing is the ability to put across issues and topics on the campaign agenda, in a way that suits the candidate in question and that will gain them votes (Druckman 2004: 590). It "relies on cues to belief importance" in relation to what candidates are saying (Nelson and Oxley 1999: 1049). Framing "refers to subtle alterations in the statement or presentation of judgement and choice problems", which in campaigns is a method that candidates, through message, can use to try to persuade the electorate to vote for them (Iyengar 1991). Framing enables candidates to portray themselves in the best light to voters for the job of president. An example of framing is found in President Clinton's campaign by Holian (2004). During the campaign, crime was a salient issue, and is considered as 'owned' by Republicans traditionally; they were considered to be better at dealing with crime compared with Democrats. Clinton successfully promoted an alternative frame for the issue of crime from punishment as is often the stance taken, to instead focusing on prevention of crime (Holian 2004: 99).

Priming, on the other hand, is the idea that candidates can change the standards or evaluator measures that they are judged on (Druckman and Holmes 2004: 756). Priming is reliant on candidates wanting to make their viewpoints and stances "the programmatic meaning of the election and the criteria by which voters make their choice" (Petrocik 1996: 826). Some literature, including that of Damore (2004) consider the main purpose of campaign messages to "prime the information that voters draw on when evaluating candidates" rather than fully changing voters' attitudes (2004: 392). Priming therefore works on the idea that message points which "receive the most *relative* attention are most

likely to serve as the basis for overall evaluations, all else constant” (emphasis original) (Krosnick and Brannon 1993 cited in Druckman and Holmes 2004). Priming is different from persuasion, as priming changes the criteria that evaluations are based on, whereas persuasion changes what a voter's evaluations are of a candidate (Druckman and Holmes 2004: 757).

Many additional factors should be considered to create a potential winning message for the candidate. As will be explained further in this thesis, candidates need to highlight positions on salient issues, and to actively distract focus from issues or positions that may not be considered favourably by the electorate. To achieve this, the campaign team can work with the candidate to form positions on a variety of issues for use throughout the election period, especially when the candidate has the advantage in the issue area in question (Carsey 2000; Banda 2015a; 2015b).

Candidates and their campaign team need to consider the character, personality, and biography of the candidate that may help appeal to the target voters, and conversely determine which aspects it would be preferable to keep out of the spotlight when formulating message substance. This may include for example highlighting certain positive business or political experience the candidate has. It is widely highlighted that these aspects of a candidate are important in portrayal of candidates to the electorate, with varying concepts of what is 'character' being explored to help inform this aspect of message (Hayes 2005; Petrocik 1996; Kinder 1983; 1986; Benoit and McHale 2003; Benoit 2003).

For all the areas that the candidate either takes positions on or tactically ignores, investigation into the opponent and what they will do also needs to occur when creating message substance (Newman 1994: 86; Baumgartner 2000: 141; Bike 1998: 179). What would they take positions on, what would these positions be? What are their strengths? What weaknesses could be exposed if necessary to do so for the campaign? What can be

portrayed as making the candidate a better choice than the opposition? These questions all need answering in the same level of detail as with the candidate in order to be in with a chance of winning the election, and all help to inform the message substance.

The candidate and their campaign team also need to address questions of party and ideology when contemplating message substance. In the United States the main party distinctions for presidential elections are between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, and ideologically are between conservative, liberal and moderate. Candidates may choose to highlight their party or their ideology as a strength to appeal to voters, or may choose to 'run against' the party or distance themselves from their ideological outlook during the campaign (Baumgartner 2000: 142; Shea 1996: 150; Bike 1998). At times using either party or ideological positions can help voters to identify with certain positions that the candidate may take. For example using the Republican Party within message substance is often associated with conservative ideas, such as federal government.

Another important aspect of message substance is the type and tone of the message according to Haynes, Flowers and Gurian (2002). They suggest that there are three types of message strategy; competitive, substantive and 'information dissemination', which it is thought are used throughout all campaigns, but which it is important to recognise in relation to what may go into message substance (Haynes et al 2002).

Competitive message strategy takes the philosophy of a "campaign as war" with any gains that can be made being relative to the opposition's standing (Flowers, Haynes and Crespin 2003: 260). Competitive campaigning wants to "improve one's position within the field while simultaneously harming the standing of the competition"; to rank contenders and handicap the race to your own advantage (Flowers et al 2003: 260; Haynes et al 2002 : 633). In contrast, the idea behind substantive message strategy is linked to "commercial marketing theory" with the goal being "to capture targeted voting populations or markets by presenting the candidate in a particular manner" (Haynes et al 2002: 635).

Instead of making relative gains against the opposition, the aim is to make absolute gains, which could be done by gaining support through specific appeals to target voter 'markets' (Flowers et al 2003: 260). Substantive message strategy focuses on developing particular appeals and standpoints to win voter groups support, and can take the form of policy positions, event responses, and group endorsements (Haynes et al 2002: 635).

The final message type, information dissemination message strategy, was introduced to fill areas of message that it was felt the two fold distinction laid out above were missing. Considered "essential to campaign strategy", information dissemination message strategy is "logistical messages, which detail the candidate's schedule and provide access to the candidate and his staff", (Haynes et al 2002: 635; Flowers et al 2003: 2). An example may be where candidates make reference to campaign team staff changes. In actuality, "all campaigns will utilize substantive, competitive and information messaging", but with competitive messaging generally being the dominant type used (Haynes et al 2002: 643, 647). On this basis although important when considering message substance, this aspect may be less relevant in terms of trying to identify change in campaign strategy through message, because of the wide spread, planned use throughout elections.

A final factor relating to message substance is that of tonal distinctions. Extensive research, especially into campaign advertising, has highlighted the idea of 'going negative' or 'going on the attack' against the opposition candidate as part of message substance (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1997; Ridout and Holland 2010; Krebs and Holian 2007; Ridout and Fowler 2010; Ridout and Franz 2008; Haynes and Rhine 1998; Goldstein and Freedman 2002b; Damore 2002; Sigelman and Buell 2003). This research looks at the use of different tones in campaigns, with there being positive, negative and contrast tone options for message substance to take. Whilst these are explained in detail further in this thesis, these distinctions, briefly introduced below, are frequently identified and studied in message substance.

Damore (2002) considers positive messages as those that “highlight the candidate producing the advertisement, while negative messages focus on the opposition” (671). Generally speaking, positive messages are those that highlight the candidate’s views, positions, policies, qualities, rather than any weaknesses of the candidate (McCain in Chance 2000, cited in Damore 2002: 671; Sellers 1998: 163). The purpose of positive messaging is to tell the voters about the candidate, to give them reasons to want to vote for the candidate in question, and to establish trust in the candidate (Ridout and Holland 2010). Negative messages, sometimes known as attack messages, attack the opposition (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1997). Usually, negative messages are “ads that only address another candidate or candidates (by name and with information about him or her)” without information on the sponsoring candidate (Ridout and Holland 2010). Specifically, they criticise an opponent’s campaign, and “*mentions* an opponent” (emphasis original) (Ridout and Franz 2008: 159; Krebs and Holian 2007). The final tone distinction is contrast message tone. Contrast messages are considered to “contain both positive messages and attacks”, and have “some proportion of information about both the sponsoring candidate and a target candidate” (Ridout and Holland 2010; Ridout and Fowler 2010; Ridout and Franz 2008).

These factors and theories all are important to message substance, even if campaign teams are not necessarily versed in the specific theories that might explain their decisions. Message substance is created with influence from these, as well as looking to polls, intensive research, focus groups and the use of previous voting records in order to determine what aspects would be best to use for winning the target voters and the election as a whole. The campaign team want to have a solid idea what the electorate are ‘bothered’ about, and what messages would work in gaining support. This means that many research methods are employed to develop a clear picture of the electorate, which is specific to the election in question, and kept up to date throughout the campaign period. This enables the

candidate to have a clear idea of what demographics within the electorate would likely vote for them, and what work needs to be done to create a winning coalition of voters.

With all this in mind, examining campaign strategy, through the proxy of message, as identified in campaign rhetoric, will focus on the categories of tone, character, issues and party. These four categories will enable analysis of the substance of message, and are able to be identified and measured clearly within campaign rhetoric.

Methodology: Content Analysis

A core part of the empirical framework explained above is the use of content analysis to explore message substance as a proxy for campaign strategy and in order to investigate change in strategy. Content analysis as a methodology is considered to be a "quantitative technique for analysing communications", that can be undertaken both quantitatively and qualitatively (Burnham et al 2008: 248). Content analysis sees researchers content analyse something, in this case speeches, in order to investigate it. It is a "systematic reading of texts" that has been widely used throughout social science research, since the method was first developed (Krippendorff 2013: 10, 19). The method enables the research undertaken to be "objective and systematic" and by being done under "clearly specified conditions", the generalisability of the work can be enhanced as in future it may easily be repeated (Burnham et al 2008: 259). In relation to investigating change and explanations of change in campaign strategy through the proxy of message, it gives a clear way to be able to systematically read and analyse the text of speeches, and is ideal as the technique is good "for making replicable and valid inferences from texts... to the contexts of their use" (Krippendorff 2013: 24).

In general, there are many advantages to using content analysis as a method. Content analysis is replicable and can be critiqued easily, and is considered unobtrusive, with usually few ethical considerations to have to account for (Bryman 2012: 304). The

method is objective yet can provide insight and "informs practical actions", for example in relation to campaign strategy (Krippendorff 2013). Content analysis can be used; to confirm belief, settle disagreements, formulate and test hypotheses and research questions, and to describe communication trends (Krippendorff 2013: 50; Hofstetter 1981). It is ideal for exploring the current research questions because it can test the hypotheses that change will happen, and why in a clear, replicable, objective way. Although it can be argued that it is "almost impossible to devise coding manuals that do not entail some interpretation on the part of coders", the coding manual devised can be tested for clarity of the content analysis for replication, which thus minimises this potential downfall (Bryman 2012: 306).

There are a number of simple, general steps that constitute content analysis. Firstly it is necessary to choose a topic and identify communication sources. For the empirical framework used in this thesis, this is campaign strategy and campaign rhetoric respectively. Then decisions on the sampling material, in relation to time and what the sample is, must be made (Bryman 2012: 293). The sampling material used will be the speeches of the campaigns from the general election period, from the point when both candidates are the de facto nominee for their party. This may be before the convention, but will be when there is only one candidate remaining in the race for each party. Units define the sample, which are "wholes that analysts distinguish and treat as independent elements" (Krippendorff 2013: 98). According to Krippendorff there can be three degrees of unit: sampling unit, recording or coding unit, and context units (2013: 99-101). The units of the sample are the individual speeches. Fourthly, definition of categories needs to be done, although this can be considered the same level as recording or coding units (Burnham et al 2008: 260; Krippendorff 2013: 100). The categories are tone, character, party and issues. Fifthly a way to code needs to be established in regards to subjects or themes, and then finally a quantitative measure for analysing data needs to be established (Bryman 2012: 297; Burnham et al 2008: 260). The coding will be done through the indicators of each

category variable. The further specifics of the content analysis, which differ slightly between categories, will be explained within their respective chapters to follow in this thesis. However, the overall main steps of content analysis as outlined above are present within the framework as a whole.

To recap, content analysis will be used to analyse message through campaign rhetoric. For each category, tone, character, issues and party, there are a number of variables being studied. For example, with tone, there are the variables of positive, negative and contrast tone. The category of tone, and variable of positive tone will be used as an example, to describe how data which represents change in the use of campaign strategy has been generated.

Positive variable indicators will be used to identify paragraphs which use the positive variable in campaign rhetoric. These paragraphs will be totalled on a weekly basis generating a raw total number of positive variable paragraphs per week. The week will run from Wednesday to Tuesday, given that Election Day is a Tuesday. The schedule of dates can be found in Appendix C. A total number of tone paragraphs per week will also be generated. This will be a total count of all paragraphs which use the three variables of tone. The total weekly positive variable counts will then be converted into weekly percentages, using the total weekly tone category count. Following this, the difference, week to week, between the percentages for the positive variable will be generated. For example, this will be the difference between the weekly positive tone percentage in week 1 and week 2. This will be known as the week to week difference in percentage data. Using the data in this format captures the actual difference from one week to the next in the variables, which is more relevant for answering research question one. This data is more relevant because it focuses on the change week to week, rather than just what percentage of, for example, positive variable paragraphs there are on a weekly basis. It brings into focus what is changing within each category on a week to week basis.

The speeches used for the content analysis are all available speeches for every campaign from 1960 to 2012. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, this is when the ‘modern presidential campaign’ is considered to have started. At the time of analysis, the 2016 campaign speeches were not available, and therefore are not included in this project. The speeches from Goldwater’s 1964 campaign also were unavailable at the time of undertaking this project. Therefore this campaign is not included in the analysis. Where it is not necessary to compare Democratic and Republican campaigns, LBJ’s 1964 campaign is still included in the analysis. This is therefore, potentially the most extensive dataset and analysis of presidential general election campaign speeches, given that previous studies have not included some specific speeches that are included in this analysis, or the Romney 2012 campaign (Rhodes and Albert 2015:7). The speeches will be analysed from the point at which both parties have only one candidate in the race, which may be before the party convention occurs. Given that the speeches used are all available, there has not been any systematic sampling; it is all available campaign speeches for the general election period. The speeches have been obtained from a variety of sources; the American Presidency Project at USCB by John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, Stanford University Political Communication Lab, The Annenberg/Pew Archive of Presidential Campaign Discourse at the University of Pennsylvania, and the Wayback Machine provided by archive.org which gives access to old campaign websites, where additional campaign speeches that have not been archived can be obtained. Without these sources, it would have been impossible to undertake this research.

Defining Change

Before looking to potential reasons why change may occur, it is crucial to define how change will be identified. For each variable, the standard deviation of the week to week difference in percentage data will be calculated. Where there is a change week to

week of two standard deviations for that variable, and which then lasts for two or more consecutive weeks, will be a point of strategic change.

One problem that was identified when developing the definition of change was that at some points in time, there were changes in the data of two standard deviations, based on the week to week difference data, but the following week the use of the variable returned to where it was. For example positive data at week 5 may have a difference of 50, and in week 6 may have a difference of 50; creating a spike in the data. The stipulation for data to be lasting for at least two weeks, without there being a spike in data, ensures that changes identified are evidence of lasting strategic change. This also ensures that changes are not evidence of tactical short term decisions, which may cause the spikes in the data, by candidates focusing on a specific issue, for example, in a particular week. Therefore by ensuring the change lasts for at least two weeks means that strategic change is being identified and measured, which is the main focus of this project.

Ensuring data used is representative of original data

Given the fact that for the majority of analysis in order to answer RQ1 and H1, the week to week difference in percentage data will be used, it is important to explain, with an example, how the data has been used. The graphs in the example below are from the category of tone, using the three variables of positive, negative and contrast tone. The original raw data was used to produce the percentage of each variable of tone as a total of all tone paragraphs for each week of each campaign. This data was then used to work out the difference week to week in the percentage data. From this, standard deviations were worked out and this enabled identification of the point at which change at the level of two standard deviations, which last for two or more consecutive weeks occurred. As can be seen in the graphical representation of the data below, by using the week to week difference in percentage data, the points of change have not been misrepresented or are not a result of using this specific data. As the graphs below indicate, where the changes would

be anticipated by eyeballing the data, they also occur. The example uses the JFK 1960 campaign, and the use of tone data.

Figure 1.1

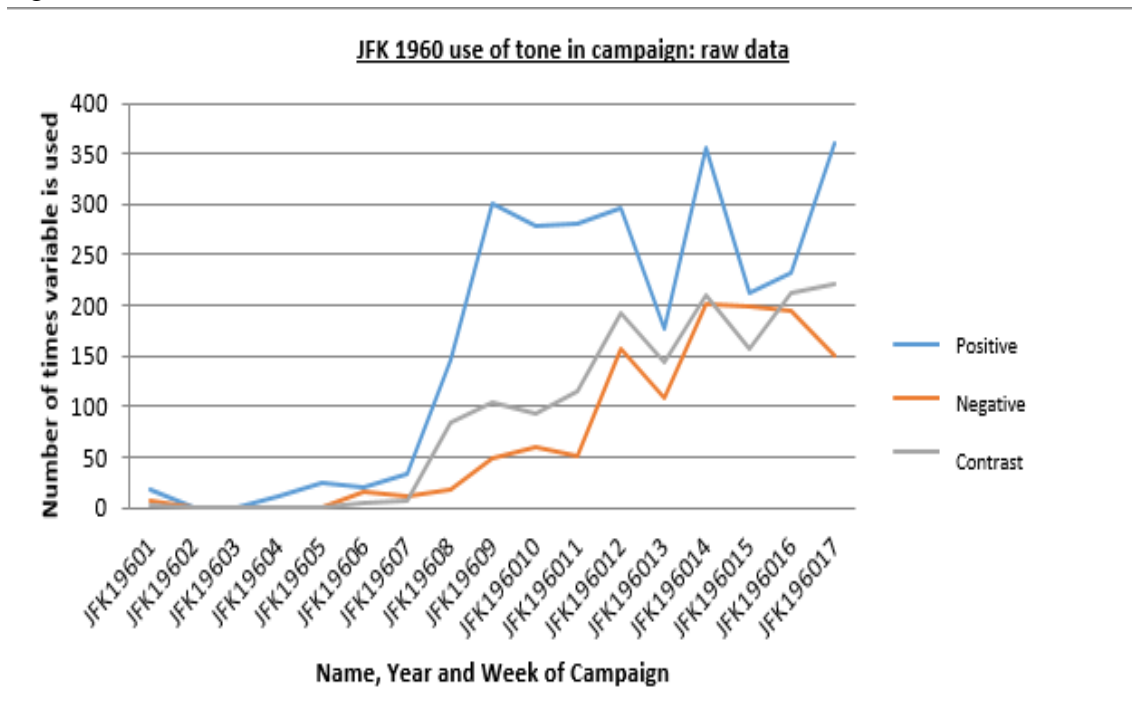


Figure 1.1, above, shows the raw data for Kennedy's use of positive, negative and contrast tone in campaign rhetoric during 1960.

Figure 1.2

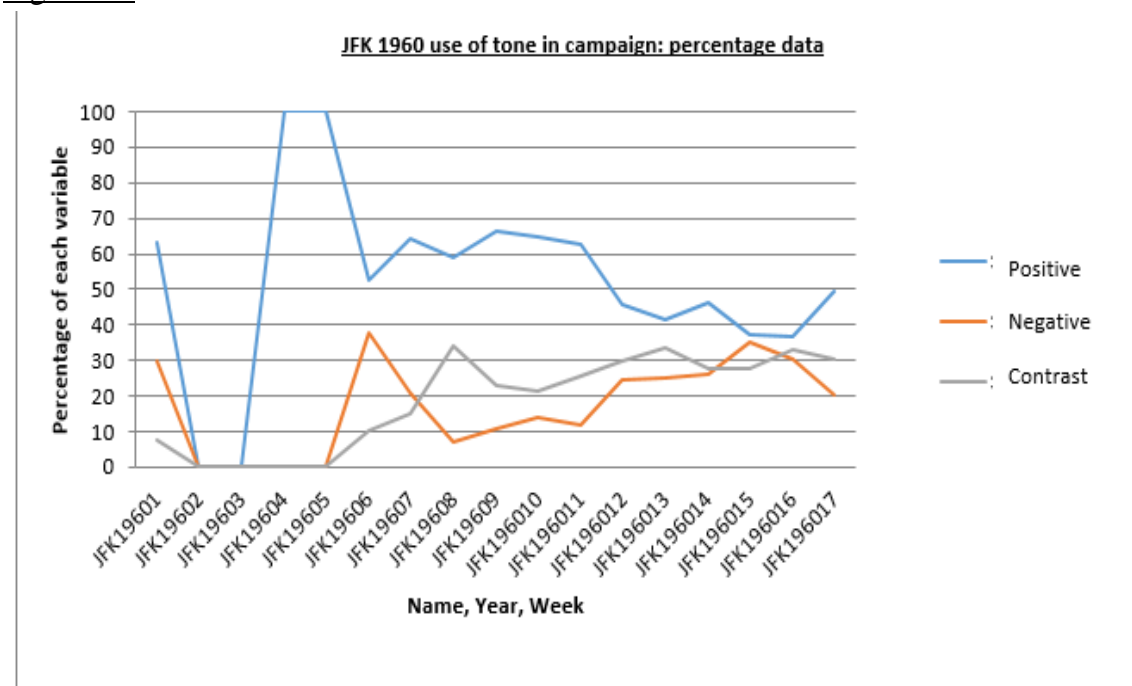


Figure 1.2, above, shows the use of positive, negative and contrast tone as a percentage of all tone paragraphs in the JFK 1960 campaign. The use of percentage data enables all weeks and all campaigns to become comparable.

Figure 1.3

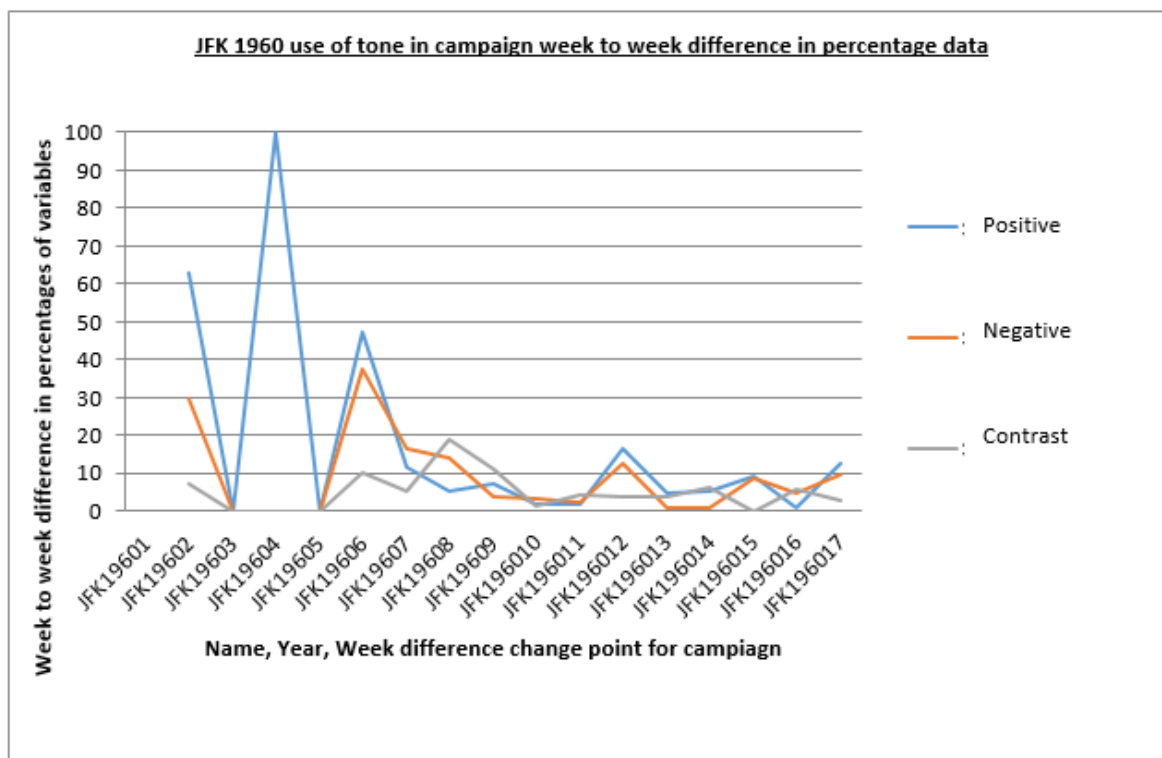


Figure 1.3 above shows the week to week difference in percentage data for positive, negative and contrast tone. This is the difference in each week, of the percentage data for each variable, which is in figure 1.2. The week to week difference data is used in order to focus on difference in the use of each variable, rather than just the percentage each variable is used, which is what figure 1.2 presents.

Figure 1.4

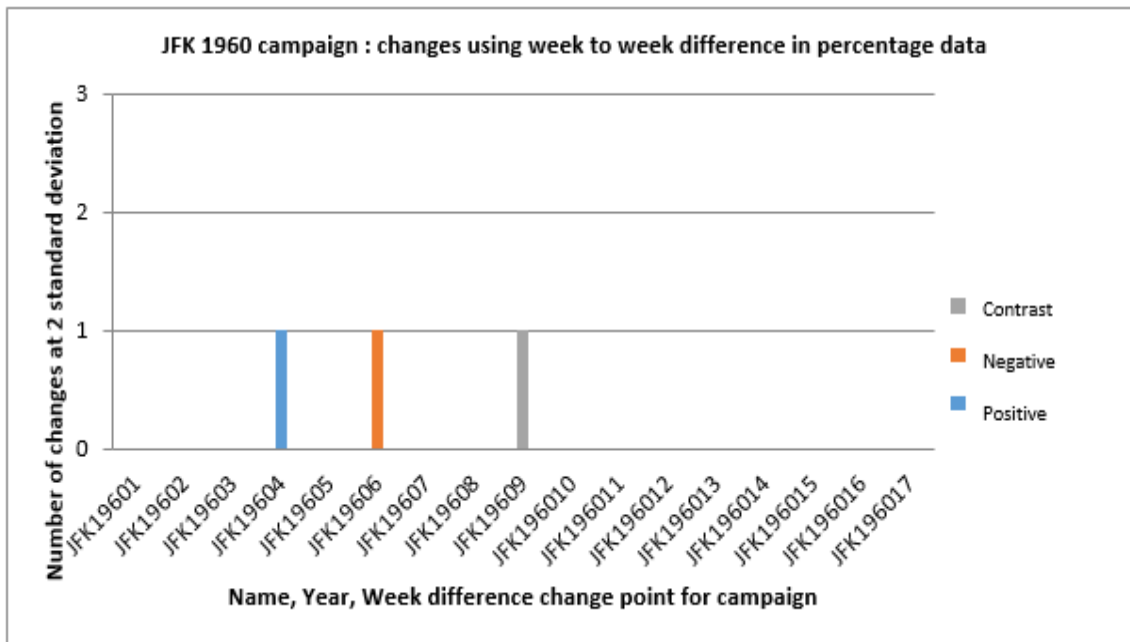


Figure 1.4, above, shows the points of change at the level of two standard deviations for positive, negative and contrast variables, which last for two or more consecutive weeks. As would be anticipated by eyeballing the graphs previously presented, change occurs to the use of positive tone at week to week difference point 4, which is the difference between week 3 and 4, to negative tone at difference point 6, and to contrast tone at difference point 9.

Potential reasons why change may occur

Taking H1 to be true, and working on the basis that change in campaign strategy does occur, it will then be possible to look at why change may occur. The literature offers a range of possible explanations for change in campaign strategy. Perhaps most widely discussed is the idea that the actions of the opposition may lead to the candidate changing their strategy to be in a better position to win (Tenpas 2003; Johnson 2001; Shea 1996; Shaw 1999; Scherer 2008). The resources, in particular the amount of money a candidate has, may also lead to a change in strategy, because if candidates have overspent, resulting in significantly limited funds, the plan of what to buy and spend would need to change (Asher 1992; Holbrook 1996; Johnson 2001). Another reason why change may occur could

be the media; with the media finding out information that candidates may want kept from the public domain, and the media being critical of candidates' actions, it is possible that actions the media take may induce a change in strategy, to counteract what has been said. This can be seen in the frenzy over Obama's relationship with Jeremiah Wright in 2008 (Abramowitz in Sabato 2009; Gulati in Sabato 2009; Ceasar, Busch and Pitney Jr. 2011; Johnson 2009; May in Johnson 2009; Greener and Arterton in Johnson 2009; Arterton and Greener in Johnson 2009). Events could also be an explanation for change. Events are usually unforeseen and may need addressing throughout the election which could result in a change in focus of campaign strategy. Recent examples may include Hurricane Sandy and Hurricane Gustav in 2012 and 2008 respectively, or the financial crash in 2008.

Polls and focus groups can influence candidates to change strategy, if it appears that what they are doing is not winning votes for the candidate in question. With polls and focus groups being watched throughout elections, and the need for the candidate to be ahead with the public, these may help to influence strategy change (Asher 1992; Newman 1994; 1999; Johnson 2001; Polsby and Wildavsky with Hopkins 2008; Gulati in Sabato 2009; Arterton and Greener in Johnson 2009). Similarly the opinions of the candidate's party or particular interest groups may influence what the campaign is doing in terms of strategy. Candidates may take different stances on issues than what their party affiliates generally subscribe to, which may lead to changes being made by candidates when support wavers for example. The previous administration may also influence strategy in a similar way, because what is being done in the last year of the administration, especially in open seat races, could impact what is important in the election, and what criteria voters' judge candidates by.

The candidate or the candidate's family and friends could also explain changes in strategy, as Popkin has implied (2012). Candidates can have trouble trusting campaign managers, instead trying to run everything themselves, leading to staff overhauls and

strategy rethinks (Popkin 2012). Similarly with candidates who place great emphasis in the opinions of family and close friends, trusting these confidantes' opinion over campaign managers could mean strategy changes because of the competing opinions being given to the candidate regarding their campaign strategy (Popkin 2012).

There are many possible explanations, therefore, of change in campaign strategy. These cannot all be investigated in this thesis though, due to restrictions on time, space, and practicalities. Taking all this into consideration, the role of the opposition on campaign strategy will be investigated as a potential explanation of why candidates may change their strategy. It is possible that based on the findings from each chapter, other factors may also arise as potential explanatory factors of why change in strategy occurs. For now, the hypothesis to explore RQ2 is:

H2: The candidate will change campaign strategy due to the actions of the opposition.

With all this in mind, this thesis aims to answer the following questions and hypotheses:

RQ1: What changes can be found in campaign strategy, based on campaign rhetoric, in US presidential elections 1960-2012?

RQ2: Why do changes in campaign strategy occur in US presidential elections 1960-2012?

H1: Campaign strategy will change during the election period for which the strategy was designed.

H2: The candidate will change campaign strategy due to the actions of the opposition.

Structure of the project

To answer these research questions, analysis of the findings from each category; tone, character, issues and party will be presented in the following four chapters. All categories except for character analyse speeches for the whole time period; 1960 to 2012. The category of character only focuses on campaigns from 2004 to 2012, due to the more qualitative nature of the analysis needed to identify character variables. The sixth chapter will then assess the findings as a whole; what relationships are there between the four categories given that they all are part of campaign strategy, examining campaign strategy as a whole, and testing explanations of why change in campaign strategy occurs.

Preview of conclusions

The project finds that in all of the categories, and in all campaigns, there is evidence of change in campaign strategy. A new way of thinking about campaign strategy is proposed; that campaign strategy rather than being thought of as fixed, should be considered to have periods of strategic stability, which are punctuated with points of minor and major strategic change. Many of the established ideas of why campaign strategy may change do not seem to explain the changes found in campaign strategy, and further research must focus on finding more appropriate explanations of why the changes in campaign strategy occur when they do.

Chapter Two: Use of Tone in Campaign Rhetoric

Studies of tone in presidential campaign strategy broadly focus on whether candidates speak positively about themselves and their party, or negatively about the opposition candidate or party. As the modern campaign advanced to television and became more prominent for a longer period of time, so too have candidates increased the use of negativity in campaigns; Wattenberg and Briens posit that “few developments have altered the character of American election campaigns as dramatically as the rise of negative television advertising” (1999: 891). Research has focused on many aspects of tone from voter turnout and tone, citizen knowledge and tone to evaluations of candidates and tone (Ridout and Franz 2008). Much of the focus on campaign tone, has however been focused on the use of negative campaigning. For example, Lau, Sigelman and Rovener (2007) undertook a meta analysis comprising 111 articles focusing on the effects of negative political campaigns. They highlight that “every careful study with which we are familiar that attempts to measure the relative amounts of positive and negative campaigning has reported that attacks comprise 30% or 40% of all campaign messages” (Lau, Sigelman and Rovener 2007: 12). Being that nearly half of campaigning seems to involve negative tone, it is important to explore the use of tone in campaign strategy in order to identify and understand the changes which occur in the use of tone in strategy. With this in mind, this chapter will assess what is already known about tone in campaigns; why it is necessary to look at change in the use of tone when so much is already researched related to tone and campaign strategy; hypothesise as to how the use of tone may change in campaign strategy; offer a methodology to explore use of tone in presidential campaign rhetoric specifically; and present results and discussion from analysis of campaigns from 1960 to 2012 regarding change in the use of tone in campaign rhetoric.

The use of tone in campaigns: the focus of previous research

First, a large proportion of research into tone has focused on campaign advertising. The most common has been research exploring campaign advertising that is on television. Television political advertising research has focused on the effects of negative advertising on things like turnout, political knowledge, candidate evaluations and vote choice (Damore 2002: 669; Ansolabehere et al 1994; Finkel and Geer 1998; Freedman and Goldstein 1999; Kahn and Kenney 1999; Wattenberg and Brians 1999; Brians and Wattenberg 1996; Basil, Schooler, and Reeves 1991; Garramone 1984; 1985; Kaid 1997). As Ridout and Fowler (2012) indicate, “in a wide variety of situations, scholars have measured the tone of “the campaign”” as a whole as well, to assess attitudes and behaviour of the electorate towards television political advertising. Exploring television political advertising in relation to vote choice is very common in research, with findings suggesting that “advertising does matter” (Franz and Ridout 2010: 304, 305; Chang 2001; Clinton and Owen 2006; Kahn and Geer 1994; Meirick 2002; Pinkleton 1997; 1998; Goldstein and Freedman 2000; Franz and Ridout 2007; Huber and Arceneaux 2007). Other researchers have used archives of television adverts to explore tone, such as the Political Commercial Archive at the University of Oklahoma, and coded the adverts from the archive to discover the tone of campaigns overall (Finkel and Geer 1998; Kahn and Kenney 1999). Similar to the Archive is the Campaign Media Analysis Group (CMAG), otherwise known as Kanter Media, which gathers together all television political adverts that are shown on national and cable television channels, and stores the dates, times and station information of when adverts were shown during campaigns, which can then be bought and used by researchers (Goldstein and Freedman 2000: 202; 2002; Freedman and Goldstein 1999; Freedman, Franz and Goldstein 2004).

Exploring television political advertising has benefits and costs. Given that “ads are ubiquitous in modern political campaigns” and “are unfiltered indicators of the messages candidates want to convey to voters” they are very useful especially when trying to understand voter behaviour and effects on voters (Ridout and Franz 2008: 161 citing Brox 2004). Television political advertising brings about “a good representation of the themes, both positive and negative” of the campaign as a whole, and with the development of resources such as CMAG, it has become possible to get a detailed picture of the use of campaign adverts across various markets which helps to get a broader picture of strategy as a whole (Ridout and Franz 2008). However it is important to remember when using televised political campaign adverts for research that “the tone of ads produced is not always equal to the tone of ads aired” as often more of the adverts produced may be much more negative, or positive than the selection chosen to be aired, and this is especially important to remember when examining campaigns as a whole (Ridout and Franz 2008; Prior 2001; Goldstein and Freedman 2002a). It is also important to remember that what airs is not always what viewers see (Prior 2001; Goldstein and Freedman 2002a). A further point to note with regards to researching televised political advertisements is that it is reliant on coders, however intercoder reliability in tone research is generally high (Ridout and Franz 2008).

Televised political advertisements are not the only way that researchers investigate tone. Political advertisements in recent elections have also been accessible online at candidates’ websites. Devlin (2005) examined the 2004 campaign, which was one of the first to have most advertisements online as well as on television. In the 2004 election, Bush actually “ran the most negative campaign in presidential history” with 72% of advertisements being negative (Devlin 2005). However to determine this Devlin looked at the adverts online but also interviewed the advert creators and coordinators giving a detailed analysis of the 2004 campaign with regard to negative campaigning. With this

development in both advertisements and research, it has also been possible to compare televised political adverts with online political adverts. This has also been done for the 2004 campaign, using an experimental procedure to explore effects of televised political advertisements against website political advertisements (Kaid and Postelnicu 2005).

The tone of campaigns is not only investigated in current research on political advertising though. Many scholars have used newspapers to investigate the tone of campaigns. The traditional form and online newspapers, as well as magazines in some cases, have been assessed in relation to campaign tone (Kahn and Kenney 1999; Lau and Pomper 2004; Ansolabehere et al 1994; Djupe and Peterson 2002; Peterson and Djupe 2005; Ridout and Franz 2008). Whilst using newspapers can bring advantages for researchers because it is the same way as many voters get campaign news, making it realistic, and it is possible to see differences in tone over time as they are printed, there is a risk involved in using papers for assessments of campaign tone because the media is determining what is being reported, so it is not a true analysis of the campaign's tone as put forward by the candidate, and at times there is not enough written in papers to gather a good sample for tone analysis (Ridout and Franz 2008). Another less commonly used platform for researching campaign tone is TV news. Whilst local TV coverage has been used for past research, as with newspapers it is difficult to get a good sample, reports are filtered and chosen by journalists, and there is often negativity bias which emphasizes campaign conflict and attack (Leighley 2004: 207; Ridout and Franz 2008; Pelika and Fowler 2004).

Research focusing on news releases can resolve some of the disadvantages found with research into newspaper analysis. Souley and Wicks explored the content of news releases, found on campaign websites for the 2004 election (2005). Whilst the releases were used by the media and voters as sources of information, they were directly from the campaigns, rather than relying on the media to determine what information was released

for example, and therefore news releases can be more accurate in voicing the campaign than newspapers, whilst still being a widely accessible medium for the electorate to gain campaign information from.

Finally, research in the past has used experiments or surveys to try to understand voter perception and thought on campaign tone. This may be done using ANES (American National Election Study), or through set up experimental situations (Sigelman and Kugler 2003; Arceneaux and Nickerson 2010). Surveys can be useful because it does not matter what advertisements were actually seen with regard to tone, but instead focuses on what sticks; the perceptions voters have. However the perceptions people recall may “reflect the most recent considerations in their minds” and so may not give any more than a snapshot of what the campaign tone is (Sigelman and Kugler 2003; Ridout and Franz 2008). Similarly with regard to experiments, whilst findings are interesting and may lead to further research, the generaliseability can be less far reaching external to the experimental setting (Arceneaux and Nickerson 2010).

The overarching theme that comes out of research into campaign tone thus far, be this using the medium of political advertising, newspapers, news releases or experiments is that campaigns ‘go negative’. That is, at some point during the campaign, “most candidates will attempt to attack a rival... because they believe they must” (Haynes and Rhine 1998: 698). In order to understand change in tone in campaign strategy, it is first necessary to explore the differences between positive and negative tone, and try to understand why candidates may go negative during their campaign.

What is already known about the use of tone in campaigns: Defining Positive and Negative Tone

With research focusing on tone being plentiful, defining between positive and negative tone in campaigns is both necessary and easy based on previous work. Positive tone, be it advertisements, speeches or press releases, focus on the candidate producing or giving the content, and is often what “candidates offer to promote themselves on some issue or trait” (Goldstein and Freedman 2002b; Damore 2002: 671; Finkel and Geer 1998: 579). The key factor is that positive tone statements only mention the sponsoring candidate, that is, the candidate that developed the speech, advert, press release; there is not any mention of the opponent (Goldstein and Freedman 2002b; Damore 2002: 671; Finkel and Geer 1998: 579). Positive tone statements present the candidate’s views, positions, qualities, rather than any weaknesses of the candidate (McCain in Chance 2000, cited in Damore 2002: 671; Sellers 1998: 163). The purpose of positive messaging is to tell the voters about the candidate, give them reasons to want to vote for the candidate in question and to establish trust in the candidate (Just et al 1996; Ridout and Holland 2010). Some research, especially which focused on advertising, uses the term ‘advocacy’ instead of positive in relation to tone. Lau and Pomper suggest that advocacy is not considered a ‘loaded’ term and so is more appropriate for advertising based research (2004).

Negative campaign tone, on the other hand is a more contested concept (Ridout and Franz 2008: 159). However the generally accepted definition is any statement that mentions an opponent, usually including “critical, challenging or unflattering information about the opponent”, and that has no mention of the sponsor candidate (Ridout and Franz 2008: 159; Goldstein and Freedman 2002a; Damore 2002: 671; Souley and Wicks 2005: 540). Confusingly, some research uses the term ‘attack’ for negative tone in campaigns as well, given that such messages are considered to be the ones that go on the attack against the opposition (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1997). With negative tone candidates aim to

highlight what the opposition is, or has, done ‘wrong’, in order to show themselves to be the better person for the job of president, perhaps damaging the opposition chances at winning as well (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1997). In the same vein that ‘advocacy’ is considered less loaded, so too it is suggested that ‘attack’ may be a less loaded term than ‘negative’, however both terms will bring about preconceptions when mentioning tone (Lau and Pomper 2004).

The use of tone in campaigns: benefits and costs of positive and negative tone

Whilst it is clear that positive and negative tone is used in campaigns, it is not always best to use one or other of these. There are benefits and costs to both positive and negative tone in campaigns. Firstly, positive campaign tone “can attract undecided voters” (Damore 2002: 671.) With positive tone being perhaps considered the norm before candidates go negative, candidates are able to use positive tone to help voters become familiar with themselves, “the issues and concerns important” to the candidate, which in turn helps undecided voters to choose them (Damore 2002: 671; Lau and Pomper 2002). Secondly, positive tone can help to reduce voter uncertainty. Whilst new voters may be attracted to a candidate, they still may be undecided, and it has been suggested that “it may be beneficial for candidates to discuss themselves clearly with the electorate,” in positive tone in order to reduce uncertainty among the electorate (Alvarez and Franklin cited in Damore 2002: 671; Alvarez 1997; Alvarez and Franklin 1994; Franklin 1991; Skaperdas and Grofman 1995; Shepsle 1972; Page 1976). Thirdly, positive tone plays an important role in voter perceptions overall. Whilst specifics are unclear, Ridout and Fowler explain that

“somewhat surprisingly, we found that positive advertising has as much of an influence in driving perceptions of ad tone as negative advertising. This is an important finding as it indicates that, contrary to the idea that negative advertising

is more memorable (Lau 1985), positive advertising may play a much more important role in the process” (Ridout and Fowler 2010:11).

Although this is vague, it is clear that overall there are benefits to using positive tone in campaigning.

There are costs to using positive tone in campaign strategy as well. Firstly, positive campaign messages may not resonate with voters. Positive messages will not always be relatable for the electorate, and this can be a downside for candidates. One example where this occurred was with Bob Dole’s 1996 presidential campaign. Dole focused on wanting a 15% tax cut, yet polls indicated that Clinton’s idea of paying down the debt was favoured, and resonated more, with the electorate (Damore 2002: 671). Whilst this would not have been the only factor in Dole’s loss in 1996, the benefits of positive campaigning such as attracting undecided voters cannot be achieved if the positive message does not resonate. Secondly, by using positive tone in campaign strategy candidates leave the possibility wide open for the opposition to shape the agenda uninterrupted. By focusing on your positive message, candidates “can allow the opposition to produce its message without interference” (Damore 2002: 671).

Negative campaign tone also has benefits to candidates. Firstly, negative tone enables candidates to give “a significant amount of relevant information to voters” (Freedman and Goldstein 1999:1190). Through what candidates may say about their opposition, voters may learn information that they would not have found out before, and voters can therefore find out more than just positive information about the candidate in question but also potential reasons not to vote for the opposition. Secondly, “negative information carries more weight than positive information and is thus better able than positive information to alter existing impressions and is easier to recall”; voters may be more likely to remember the negative information when deciding who to vote for especially as positive messages do not always resonate with voters (Kern 1989 and

Jamieson 1992 cited in Haynes and Rhine 1998: 698; Freedman and Goldstein 1999: 1190; Arceneaux and Nickerson 2009: 3; Jordan 1965; Lau 1982; 1985; Polsby, Wildavsky Schier and Hopkins 2015: 151; Skaperdas and Grofman 1995; Basil, Schooler and Reeves 1991; Lau 1982; 1985; Newhagen and Reeves 1991; Damore 2002; Brians and Wattenberg 1996 cited in Krebs and Holian 2007; Ridout and Holland 2010). For candidates who want information to be remembered or who want to impart lots of information to the electorate about their opponent, going negative could be the ideal campaign tone to use.

Thirdly, using negative information within campaigns could potentially “help raise the perceived stakes” within campaigns as well (Freedman and Goldstein 1999: 1190).

That is, by critiquing an opponent, a candidate “sends a message that something of substance is at stake in the election, that its outcome matters, and that this is a choice voters should care about” (Freedman and Goldstein 1999: 1190). In other words, by going negative about the opposition, voters may perceive that the choice between the two is more important. Fourthly, negative campaigning undermines an opponent in the campaign, can be detrimental to their campaign and can bring leverage on agendas. Candidates try to “elicit a response from the opposition” enabling them to control their own and the opposition’s messages (Damore 2002: 671). The candidate not only could force a candidate to go negative in a counterattack, but also to talk about certain topics that have been brought to light from the initial attack. Candidates can bring about leverage through going negative because the candidate that goes negative gains the upper hand in the information and dialogue, and in defining the agenda discussed (Damore 2002: 671; Skaperdas and Grofman 1995; Basil, Schooler and Reeve 1991; Lau 1982; 1985; Newhagen and Reeves 1991).

Finally, but perhaps most researched, is the idea that the “current consensus” is that “negative advertising has no ill effects on the electorate” (Ridout and Fowler 2010).

Initially it was posited that going negative in campaigns would alienate voters and

demobilize the electorate (Ansolabehere et al 1994; Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995). However, more recent research has disputed this assertion. There have been “both theoretical and empirical challenges to the demobilization hypothesis”; instead researchers suggest negative tone in campaigns increases engagement, adds information to the electorate’s decision making, may mobilise the electorate, increase turnout and are “just as likely to engage potential voters, leading to a stimulation effect” (Lau, Sigelman and Rovner 2007; Jackson, Mondak and Huckfelt 2009; Goldstein and Freedman 2002a ; 2002b; Lau et al 1999; Finkel and Geer 1998; Freedman and Goldstein 1999; Kahn and Kenney 1999; Wattenberg and Briens 1999). Combined with the other benefits addressed above, it is suggested that actually negative tone in campaigns gets people involved rather than alienates voters (Finkel and Geer 1998; Lau 1985; Goldstein and Freedman 2002a; 2002b). Goldstein and Freedman conclude, “no matter where we looked, no matter whether we ran separate equations or employed interaction terms, no matter how we specified the model, there was no evidence of demobilization whatsoever” (2002a: 735).

This does not mean that going negative is a cost free decision. Firstly, there is no guarantee that going negative will work in a candidate’s favour just because ‘in general’ it works. The way that negative campaign tone works according to research is more that it gives reasons for the voter not to support a candidate’s opponent, but this does not automatically translate into the voter changing their mind to vote for the candidate disseminating the negative messaging (Damore 2002: 672). Secondly, depending on when in the campaign the candidate goes negative influences whether negative campaigning will be a beneficial or a costly decision for the candidate. For example, going negative too soon can actually hinder the candidate who is going negative, with the potential to alienate some of the electorate from voting for the candidate (Damore 2002; Garramore 1984). Thirdly the media may become more critical of a candidate’s campaign once they have gone negative. Given that “the media is increasingly critiquing the tone and content of

candidates' message", it is possible that a decision to go negative will be criticised and this "may alert voters to egregious and strident campaigning", resulting in potential loss of voters (Damore 2002: 672; Jamieson 1996). Finally, as has been discussed above, there had been the suggestion that going negative may alienate voters, however whilst negative campaigning may "slightly lower feelings of political efficacy, trust in government and possibly overall public mood," there is not "any reliable evidence that negative campaigning depresses voter turnout" or alienates voters if not done excessively or too early (Lau, Sigelman and Rovner 2007; Damore 2002: 672; Ansolabehere et al 1994; Basil, Schooler and Reeves 1991, Garramone 1984; 1985; Goldstein and Freedman 2002a: 725; Wattenberg and Briens 1999; Ansolabehere, Iyengar and Simon 1999; Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995).

Why candidates go negative when they do

From the benefits and costs of negative campaigning, it may seem obvious as to why candidates change campaign strategy to go negative: they think it will help them win. However there are many reasons that may influence a candidate's decision to go negative at a specific point in a campaign. As Damore points out, "candidates' decisions to go negative are a function of changes to the campaign environment, the dynamic interplay that develops between candidates over the course of campaigns, and attributes of issues on the campaign agenda" (2002: 669). Whilst some explanations for why candidates may go negative have been proposed, it is possible that other potential explanations for why candidates go negative when they do exist. It also may be that these explanations could explain other changes in the use of tone in campaign strategy.

One factor influencing why candidates go negative at the point in time that they do is the closeness to Election Day. As was hinted at above, the timing of when candidates attack or go negative can be the difference between an attack being beneficial to a candidate or costly. Logit analysis from Damore's examination of the advertisements used

in the 1976-1996 elections show that the closer to the Election Day a candidate is, the more likely it is that a candidate will focus on negatives of the opposition (2002: 679). If candidates attack too early, candidates may not be established in voters' eyes, and so look like they are scaremongering or attacking for no reason or to hide limitations in their own candidacy (Damore 2002). However, the closer it gets to Election Day, the more beneficial going negative is for candidates; this is because candidates will have established themselves and so attacks look more credible and "after candidates have saturated voters with information about themselves, it may be difficult to increase their support further with a message that is largely positive" (Damore 2002: 672, 673, 679).

Timing is key in anything related to campaign strategy, and the decision to go negative is no different. As indicated by the factor of closeness to Election Day, timing is important in this decision. As Goldstein and Freedman highlight, "the early spots were almost exclusively positive in tone, as each side worked to establish its candidate's identities and burnish his image in the eyes of the electorate"; June and July of election year in presidential elections then see a few negative advertisements, August has "a burst of negative advertising" followed by late August seeing positive and negative messages, then a mix of both is used from September onwards, with more negative messages in the last few weeks of the campaign (Goldstein and Freedman 2002b: 13). Whilst "campaign decisions are made in real time" it makes sense that closer to Election day, as previously stated, the more negativity there is in campaigns (Goldstein and Freedman 2002b:18).

Linked to this is a second factor influencing when candidates go negative; the standing of the candidate in the polls. Candidates "with lower levels of support are more likely to attack", and candidates who did worse in pre-campaign polls are also more likely to go negative (Damore 2002: 669, 677). This may be linked to the idea explained above that candidates who attack can influence the agenda and reduce support for the opposition even if this may not translate into support for themselves. A further factor linked to this

idea is the race. This relates to candidates considering not only their own but their opponent's competitiveness (Haynes and Rhine 1998: 695). If a candidate believes their opponent to be trailing and not serious competition, they are less likely to go negative and attack the opponent (Haynes and Rhine 1998: 697). Whereas, if an opponent has gone negative, and is considered serious competition, candidates' are likely to also go negative so that they can counter-attack and continue to shape the campaign agenda (Damore 2002; Skaperdas and Grofman 1995; Basil, Schooler and Reeve 1991; Lau 1982; 1985; Newhagen and Reeves 1991). Campaigns that are competitive are more likely to be more negative overall (Goldstein and Freedman 2002b: 12).

A fourth factor that influences candidates' choice to go negative is the status of the candidate. Candidates who are incumbents or are a frontrunner are likely to be attacked. Challengers or those behind in a race are more likely to attack first because they "must attack the record... compare themselves" and compare promises (Haynes and Rhine 1998: 709; Trent and Freidenberg 1995; Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995; Skaperdas and Grofman 1995). This is especially true when challenging the incumbent in order to prove that there is reason to change government.

Alongside this, incumbents and frontrunners are likely to counterattack in response to an attack in order to maintain their position or continue to control the agenda. Linked to this argument, those with more resources, which often are frontrunners and incumbents, are again likely to be attacked but be able to counterattack faster (Damore 2002; Haynes and Rhine 1998). However, those who are being attacked in general in campaigns should counterattack, or respond to attacks. Candidates need to respond to attacks; "candidates' decisions about the tone of their campaign messages are likely to be influenced as much by their own objectives as by the behaviours of their opponents" (Damore 2002: 673; Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995; Haynes and Rhine 1998: 697; 706). Often it works against a candidate if they do not respond to attacks, as occurred in 1988 when Dukakis did not

respond to attacks from Bush Senior, which left voters with the impression that Dukakis “was ineffectual and indecisive” (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995: 117). It is considered by campaign specialists that “the only way to defuse an attack is to counterattack” (Lau et al 1999 cited in Damore 2002: 673).

Another point that relates to the frontrunner and incumbent ideas is that of reward to be gained influencing when candidates go negative. If a candidate has more to lose; they are ahead in the polls, frontrunner or incumbent for example, they are less likely to attack until they are attacked because there is more to lose and less to gain (Haynes and Rhine 1998: 695; Damore 2002; Skaperdas and Grofman 1995). Candidates who have more to gain can try to alter how voters view them, or at least try and reduce support for their opponent by going negative (Skaperdas and Grofman 1995).

A final factor as indicated from the benefits of going negative is that if a candidate’s opponent goes negative, then the candidate in question is more likely to go negative.

Whilst there are many factors identified, others of course may influence decisions to actually go negative and to attack an opponent. Those highlighted above are key ideas that are discussed across various scholarly pieces.

The third tone variable; Contrast

Research suggests that there may be more than just negative and positive tones. This makes investigation of change in the use of tone even more interesting. As Ridout and Franz have highlighted, the two fold distinction of message tone leaves quite a gap especially in relation to political campaign advertising (2008). Recent research into tone has suggested a third option for campaign tone; contrast or comparative (Jamieson, Waldman and Sherr 2000; Ridout and Holland 2010; Ridout and Fowler 2010; Ridout and Franz 2008; Damore 2002). With regards to political advertising at least, which a great

deal of tone research focuses on, Jamieson, Waldman and Sherr introduced the idea of this third option (2000). They saw adverts that were not purely positive or negative but instead “contain both arguments in favour of the sponsoring candidate and arguments against the opposition, and they may have distinct effects on citizens” (Jamieson, Waldman and Sherr 2000). They felt that by only having positive and negative options for analysis of political advertising there was an exaggeration of the “proportion of attack in political advertising” (Jamieson, Waldman and Sherr 2000). Others, such as Ansolabehere and Iyengar, and Polsby et al have considered this idea in the term of “comparative ads”, whilst still focusing research on positive and negative advertising (1995; 2015). Thinking of most campaign communication, it is rarely the case that candidates are “exclusively positive or negative, but rather mix their positive and negative appeal” in their campaign tone (Damore 2002: 671, 672; Haynes and Rhine 1998: 692; Polsby, Wildavsky, Schier and Hopkins 2015: 150).

Adding contrast to the variables of tone solves an issue with regard to negative messages. Often negative messages, be they with positive information or separate, get treated the same, all negative, when qualitatively the messages in the two styles may be very different (Ridout and Franz 2008: 159). By including contrast as a separate tone variable, this identifies and acknowledges the difference between a negative message with positive information about the opposition and candidate providing the message respectively, as compared with a purely negative statement by a candidate about their opponent. Having only positive and negative messages creates a false dichotomy. Whilst distinguishing between positive and negative is easy to do from a researcher’s perspective, in actuality there is much more occurring. Splitting paragraphs purely into positive or negative for example would miss a lot of the times that candidates do compare themselves to their opposition. With this in mind, the addition of contrast as a variable for tone makes sense because so often candidates try to highlight their positives, against the opposition

negatives, in a less clean cut, exclusive manner than the dichotomy of positive campaigning and negative campaigning allows.

Why investigate change in the use of tone in campaign strategy

Research into the use of tone in campaign strategy has been both extensive and useful. It has focused on a range of media from political advertising to news releases, which have been used to define and explore the use of positive and negative tone, more recently including the third variable of contrast. Focus has been placed especially on the use of negative tone, and the concept of ‘going negative’, of which there has been comprehensive discussion in the research.

However there is still more that can be investigated in relation to the use of tone in campaign strategy. Identification of when the use of tone specifically changes in a campaign, and if change occurs in campaign rhetoric as it does in advertising for example, has not yet occurred. As with party, issues and character, tone is a core part of campaign strategy, and understanding how candidates use and change their tone enables greater understanding of campaign strategy overall.

In order to understand better the use of tone with regard to campaign strategy and change, it is important to include the variable of contrast in the analysis of the use of tone. Contrast is an essential variable to investigate given that it has been identified as qualitatively different to negative tone. Since candidates rarely use purely positive or purely negative tone as defined above, the inclusion of contrast will help to understand candidate campaign strategy, and the changes candidates may make with regard to tone.

In assessing the use of tone in campaign strategy it is important also to use campaign rhetoric, as with the categories of party, issues and character being examined in this project. As has been discussed, research heavily focuses on political advertising, with

some other media also being used to examine tone in campaigns. However, campaign rhetoric has seemingly never been extensively analysed or examined in relation to the use of tone in campaign strategy. Campaign rhetoric works differently to political advertising, websites or news releases. Rhetoric is directly from the campaign, as the other media can be, but it is a medium which can be edited by the candidate and their team right up to the point of delivery. This means that not only does it go directly from the candidate to the potential voters without going through an advertising specialist team or for the purpose of the press, but it can take into account any events, attacks by the opposition, or relevant factors that may influence the use of tone, that could have happened extremely close to the delivery of the rhetoric. Rhetoric can also be adapted to suit the audience that the candidate is addressing, which other media such as websites or advertising cannot do in the same way given the broader audience that these media are designed to appeal to. By examining the use of tone in campaign strategy, not only will existing scholarship be added to and expanded, but also any differences in the use of tone already known about from other media, compared with rhetoric, can be identified.

Whilst the use of tone may have been examined extensively, in order to better understand it in the context of campaign strategy, it is important to try and identify and explain the changes that occur in the use of tone in campaigns. Given that “campaigns behave as if the tone of messages matter”, it matters just as much to try and understand if, and why, candidates may change their use of tone (Arceneaux and Nickerson 2010, citing Damore: 2002 and Sigelman and Buell: 2003). This builds on the proposed reasons why candidates may go negative, but would include changes in use of each of the three variables of tone in campaign strategy. One change that would be anticipated based on existing research would be that campaigns start positive and go negative, given the emphasis of prior research on the phenomenon of ‘going negative’. Similarly it would be expected that candidates that are challengers would be more likely to go negative, and

when an opponent goes negative so too would a candidate, given the past research into what drives candidates to go negative. Although the focus of past research has been negative tone, it is equally important to investigate potential changes in the use of positive and contrast tone as well, to fully understand the use of tone in campaign rhetoric.

It is possible that examining the use of tone, using all three variables of positive, negative and contrast, focusing on rhetoric, and focusing on change in the use of tone, will identify new findings and trends. This is especially relevant to the concept of 'going negative'. Whilst it is clear that candidates go negative, and negative tone is used frequently in campaigns, this may not be the only way that candidates use tone. Exploration of the use of tone using all three variables enables the question to be answered, is going negative all that candidates do with their use of tone? Is it that candidates go negative and stick with this in their use of tone, or do they change to 'go positive' afterwards? Candidates may 'go positive' at times when it is beneficial to do so, and similarly candidates may 'go contrast'. That is, candidates may increase the use of positive tone, or contrast tone, in the same way that previous research has identified increased use of negative tone. There are benefits, as well as costs, to using any of the three variables. Given the benefits and costs associated with contrast, which can be seen as more beneficial and less costly than using positive or negative tone, it may be anticipated that candidates would want to make the last change to 'go contrast'. This would enable them to continue giving reasons to the electorate to vote for themselves, whilst also giving reasons not to vote for the opposition, and whilst experiencing less costs for doing so than would be associated with going negative as a final change in strategy in the use of tone.

With the medium for analysis being rhetoric, it would be difficult to identify paragraphs of speech as always purely positive or purely negative in tone, and doing so would miss a lot of what candidates do with their rhetoric with regard to the use of tone. In examining the use of tone from all three variables, it would be perfectly plausible that

whilst candidates will go negative, they may also go contrast or even go positive.

Candidates may even decrease the use of negativity or contrast in speeches, rather than just going negative or going contrast and staying at the determined level of use of each variable of tone. This could be considered an option especially in rhetoric given that speeches are more flexible and can be changed more last minute than advertising campaigns, and can be tailored to the specific audience. Therefore, the focus of the research should not just be on the idea that campaigns go negative, but more rather examining how candidates use all three variables of tone in rhetoric with regards to change in campaign strategy.

Hypotheses

With all this in mind, and based on existing research and what is known about the use of tone in campaign strategy, the following hypotheses can be made:

H1: Candidates will change their use of tone in campaign rhetoric.

H2: Negative tone will account for 30-40% of tone rhetoric in campaigns.

H3: Campaigns will change the use of tone starting positive and subsequently going negative in campaign rhetoric.

H4: Challenger candidates will be more likely to change to negative tone than incumbents.

H5: If a candidate's opposition has changed to increase the use of negative tone, so too will the candidate in question.

H6: Candidates will decrease the use of negative tone after going negative in a campaign.

H7: Campaigns will change the use of tone to either increase or decrease the use of positive or negative or contrast tone.

H8: There will be more instances where candidates increase the use of contrast, than where they increase the use of negative tone in campaign rhetoric.

H9. The final strategic change made by candidates and maintained until Election Day will be to increase the use of contrast tone, rather than increasing the use of positive or negative tone.

Method: Investigating Positive, Negative and Contrast Tone

As with other categories being investigated in relation to changes in campaign strategy, content analysis of the campaign rhetoric will be completed. The method will be based on previous research into the use of tone. Even though previous research does not focus on campaign rhetoric, the same method can inform investigation into rhetoric and be adapted to be suitable to focus on speeches. The research focused on as a basis for content analysis is that of the Wisconsin Advertising Project, which uses CMAG datasets. Established in 1998, this project “studied campaign television advertisements in the nation’s 75 largest media markets” and coded them into positive, negative and contrast advertisements. The Wisconsin Advertising Project Codebook (2000), found in Appendix A, provided coders with questions that were to be answered whilst watching the advertisement, with the answers provided in a list. For example:

“q12. Is the favored candidate 0 'Not applicable' 1 'Mentioned' 2 'Pictured in the ad' 3 'Not identified at all' 4 'Both mentioned and pictured in the ad’” (page 10 Wisconsin Advertising Project Codebook 2000).

Whilst this form of coding was easily applicable to advertisements, it could not be used directly with speeches. The Wisconsin Advertising Project coded entire adverts into a category for tone, and had both visual and verbal communication to analyse. However the basic premise behind the coding has been translated into a codebook that instead was useable for speeches (also in Appendix A). Where the Wisconsin Advertising Project saw coders answer questions in line with specific answers, the codebook was developed to analyse speech and detailed what a paragraph for each variable would include. Whereas

this meant the Wisconsin Advertising Project had many detailed potential answers to specific questions, the criteria for the coding of speech paragraphs were centred around the premises of mentioning only the candidate trying to win (for positive paragraphs), mentioning only the candidate's opponent (for negative paragraphs), and mentioning both (for contrast paragraphs). This enabled the premises of previous research to inform research into the use of tone in speeches, but also meant that a codebook that was relevant to speech communication could be established. This codebook is detailed further below.

Unlike with the other categories of character, party and issues, the data collected for the use of tone in rhetoric has been explored in relation to the direction of change. This is different in comparison to the other core categories of strategy being examined because with tone it matters whether candidates have 'gone negative' for example, whereas to identify change in issues or character it does not matter for the hypothesis whether it was an increase or decrease in use of the variables.

Codebook definitions

Positive Campaign Rhetoric

Positive messages as detailed above are those which "highlight the candidate"; their views, positions, policies, qualities, actions (Damore 2003: 671; Sellers 1998: 163; Krebs and Holian 2007: 130; Damore 2002; Wisconsin Advertising Project Codebook 2000). Candidates use positive messages to tell the electorate about themselves, in the hope that they will convince the electorate to vote for them. An example of positive campaign rhetoric is:

JFK, 3rd September 1960 speech in Alaska: "I am the first candidate for the presidency to actively campaign in the state of Alaska".

This is positive, as it is about JFK, and is highlighting the idea that he has bothered to travel far to gain votes: it is him talking about something he has done.

In campaign speeches, positive tone will be identified at the paragraph level using the following criteria:

This variable is used whenever a candidate *ONLY* talks about themselves. There is not any mention of the opposition. This includes any paragraph:

- a. Where the candidate talks about their own views, opinions and beliefs.
- b. Where the candidate talks about their experiences (personal and work experiences)
- c. Where the candidate talks about their family
- d. Where the candidate talks about their positions, policies, what they will implement when elected, what they have done in past positions and what they will do as president.
- e. Where the candidate talks about their own qualities.
- f. Where the candidate talks about their party.
- g. Where the candidate talks about the incumbent administration if the incumbent is of the same party as themselves.

Negative Campaign Rhetoric

Negative campaign messages “address another candidate”, specifically an opponent (Ridout and Holland 2010; Ridout and Franz 2008; Krebs and Holian 2007; Hansen and Pedersen 2008; Lau and Pomper 2001; Skaperdas and Grofman 1995; Damore 2002). Sanders and Norris expanded negative campaign messages to include “criticising the record of the opposing party or parties; questioning the judgement, experience and probity of opposing leaders; and generating fear about what the future might hold if the opposing party or parties were in power” (2005: 526). Given that the unit of study is rhetoric rather than advertising, this expanded definition will be used for the codebook. In negative

campaign rhetoric the key difference is that there is no mention of the candidate speaking at all. An example is:

Ronald Reagan, 15th October 1980, speech in Ohio: "The Carter administration has implemented policies which have forced the US auto industry into a depression, with an agonizingly high three out of every ten autoworkers unemployed".

This is negative as Reagan is speaking only of Carter, his opponent, and criticising the policies in which Carter as President had implemented.

This is determined at the paragraph level as:

This variable is used whenever a candidate ONLY talks about the opposition. This includes any paragraph:

- a. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's views, opinions, beliefs.
- b. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's experiences (personal and work experiences)
- c. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's family
- d. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's positions, policies, what the opposition has done or will implement if elected, what they will do as president.
- e. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's qualities.
- f. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's party, excluding statements regarding bipartisanship.
- g. Where the candidate talks about the incumbent administration if the incumbent is of the same party as the opposition, excluding positive or bipartisanship statements.

Contrast Campaign Rhetoric

Contrast messages, as determined above, contain both “positive messages and attacks” and include “some proportion of information about the sponsoring candidate and a target candidate”, or in terms of rhetoric, the candidate and their opposition (Ridout and Holland 2010: 618; Ridout and Fowler 2010; Ridout and Franz 2008; Kaplan, Park and Ridout 2006). Any paragraph where the candidate talks about themselves, their ideas or opinions as well as negatively about the opposition therefore is classified as contrasting. An example would be:

Richard Nixon 24th September 1960, speech in Kansas: "And I say that for a number of reasons, but I say that first, because when you compare the farm programs that I announced in two speeches, one at Guthrie's center, the other yesterday in Sioux Falls, with the farm program that our opponents announced at Sioux Falls, believe me the American farmers aren't going to be fooled”.

This is contrast because it is highlighting Nixon's policy views against those of the opposition, in this case Kennedy.

Again this is identified in speeches by the following criteria:

This variable is used where a candidate talks about both themselves and the opposition candidate. This includes any paragraph:

- a. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's views, opinions, beliefs.
- b. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's experiences (personal and work experiences).
- c. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's family.

- d. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's positions, policies, what they have done and what they will implement if elected, what either candidate would do as president.
- e. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's qualities
- f. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's party, excluding statements regarding bipartisanship.

In the same way that party, issues and character will be analysed, so too will tone be analysed at the paragraph level, then raw numbers on a week- by- week basis will be converted to a percentage of total tone paragraphs. From this, the week to week difference in percentages will be calculated. Change will be identified at the level of two standard deviations using the week to week difference in percentage data, and changes that occur in consecutive weeks will be removed given that change has to last for two or more consecutive weeks.

Qualifying when hypotheses are met

H1: Candidates will change their use of tone in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis proposes that there is change in the use of tone in campaign rhetoric. There will be evidence to support the hypothesis if there are changes in positive, or negative, or contrast variables, at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric.

H2: Negative tone will account for 30-40% of tone rhetoric in campaigns.

Whilst this hypothesis does not directly add evidence to the idea that campaigns change strategy during the election period, it could provide support for the idea that established theories on the use of tone, in particular the phenomenon of going negative, may not be applicable to all media of campaign strategy. If campaign rhetoric does not have the same

percentage of negative tone across elections, there is further reason to believe that other established ideas on use of tone and going negative may not be relevant to media such as rhetoric. This hypothesis will be tested by working out the average percentage of negative tone for each campaign. Then if the majority of campaigns have an average negative tone percentage between 30 and 40% then this hypothesis will be considered true.

H3: Campaigns will change the use of tone starting positive and subsequently going negative in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis proposes that there is evidence to support the idea of ‘going negative’ as discussed heavily in previous research using other media. Evidence would be considered to support it if firstly campaigns start with the majority of rhetoric sampled being identified as positive. This will be determined using the percentage data, and would mean that positive rhetoric is at least 50% of the rhetoric at some point before the campaign goes negative.

The campaign would also have to then have a two standard deviation change which lasts for two or more consecutive weeks, in the increased use of negative tone, using the week to week difference in percentage data.

H4: Challenger candidates will be more likely to change to negative tone than incumbents.

This hypothesis proposes that there is evidence to support the ideas indicated in prior research that certain candidates, in this case challengers, will change tone strategy differently to incumbents. The hypothesis would have evidence to support it if there are more challenger campaigns that go negative than incumbents. Going negative will be defined as under H3. This can be determined both numerically, for example seven incumbents against three challengers, or by taking the total number of incumbents and total number of challengers, and finding the percentage of these that go negative.

H5: If a candidate’s opponent has changed to increase the use of negative tone, so too will the candidate in question.

This hypothesis adapts and tests evidence as to whether the opponent going negative influences a candidate to go negative. There will be evidence supporting the hypothesis if a candidate's opposition has changed to use negative tone, at the level of two standard deviations, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, and the candidate then also changes to use negative tone as measured in the same way, using week to week difference in percentage data. Given that there are 13 elections being studied where there is data for both candidates available, there would need to be evidence of the opponent and the candidate going negative in at least seven elections for this hypothesis to be true, which would mean that candidates go negative if their opponent also has in at least 53% of cases.

H6: Candidates will decrease the use of negative tone after going negative in a campaign.

This hypothesis goes beyond past research on the concept of going negative, looking at whether candidates do not just go negative as is widely reported, but instead may go negative and then decrease the use of negative tone. The hypothesis would be supported if there is an increase in negative tone at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which lasts for two or more consecutive weeks, and at some point after this there is also a decrease in the use of negative tone, at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which lasts for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric.

H7: Campaigns will change the use of tone to either increase or decrease the use of positive or negative or contrast tone.

This hypothesis is aiming to investigate whether positive and contrast variables also increase and then decrease, as investigated with negative tone in H5, or decrease then increase. This is different to H1, because rather than identifying whether there is change in general, it is establishing whether all of the variables can both increase in use and decrease in use in campaign rhetoric. It is looking at whether candidates just change the use of tone

in one direction or if there is much more substantial variation occurring with the use of tone. Evidence would support the hypothesis if a candidate increases or decreases the use of positive tone, and if a candidate increases or decreases the use of contrast tone. The increases and decreases would have to be at the level of two standard deviations, in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric. This may be an increase or decrease in the use of any of the variables.

H8: There will be more instances where candidates increase the use of contrast, than where they increase the use of negative tone in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis is designed to investigate further the role of contrast. In previous research contrast has not been widely included in analyses, and this hypothesis aims to help consider what role contrast has in the use of tone in rhetoric. It would be anticipated that there would be more instances of candidates increasing the use of contrast tone than the use of negative tone, given the benefits associated with contrast and the negatives associated with going negative. There would be evidence supporting the hypothesis if there are more campaigns where candidates increase their use of contrast tone, with a change at the level of two standard deviations, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, using week to week difference in percentage data, than campaigns which increase their use of negative tone, with a change at the level of two standard deviations, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, using week to week difference in percentage data, in campaign rhetoric. This could also be investigated from the point of view of points of change; if there are more points of change across the period studied that go contrast than go negative then the hypothesis could be supported too.

H9. The final strategic change made by candidates and maintained until Election Day will be to increase the use of contrast tone, rather than increasing the use of positive or negative tone.

This hypothesis explores what the final strategic change is in campaigns. The final strategic change is what decides the strategy for the use of tone in the final period through to Election Day. Established ideas suggest that candidates will go negative last, as identified with the great emphasis on this phenomenon, because of the perceived benefits that candidates would get from going negative at the crux of the race. However, given that the role of contrast is less investigated, and could provide a more balanced option presenting reasons to vote for a candidate and not for the opposition close to the end of the race, it would make sense that the final strategic change made by candidates and maintained until Election Day would be to increase the use of contrast tone rather than to increase the use of positive or negative tone. There would be support for the hypothesis if there are more campaigns which have the final strategic change, maintained to Election Day, increasing their use of contrast. This would be as compared with the increased use and maintenance of positive tone and negative tone. This will be determined using the change in week to week difference in percentage data at the level of two standard deviations, in campaign rhetoric.

Results

H1: Candidates will change their use of tone in campaign rhetoric.

From the data, as represented in figures 2.1 to 2.5, below, there is evidence to support this hypothesis. There are 95 points of change in the use of tone, some of which have more than one variable with change at the same point in time. There are 137 total instances of change. Figure 2.1 shows all the changes in positive, negative and contrast tone from 1960 to 2012, with the Y axis representing the number of two standard deviation changes to the variables, and the X axis being the points throughout all the campaigns at which change occurs. Figures 2.2 and 2.3 are the same graphs, but showing only Democratic campaigns or Republican campaigns respectively. As can be seen, at some points of change there are changes in two or three of the variables. Figures 2.4 and 2.5 then

show the direction of these changes, for positive, negative and contrast variables, split into Democratic campaigns (figure 2.4) and Republican campaigns (figure 2.5). This is mapped using the points where changes occur at the level of two standard deviations for all campaigns. The Y axes show the directional change at two standard deviations, and the X axes show points at which change occurs in all the campaigns. For every point there was an increase in a variable, this was given a +1, and for every point there was a decrease this was a -1. When there was a second change in the same direction, the graph goes to either +2 or -2 respectively. Where there are gaps is where one campaign finishes and the next campaign starts. This is why in figures 2.1,2.2 and 2.3 the maximum changes are three, one in each variable, but with the directional graphs in figures 2.4 and 2.5 there can be more changes if there are, for example, five changes in positive tone all increasing use of positive tone.

Figure 2.1

(see below)

**All changes in the use of tone at two standard deviation changes, 1960-2012,
using week to week difference in percentage data**

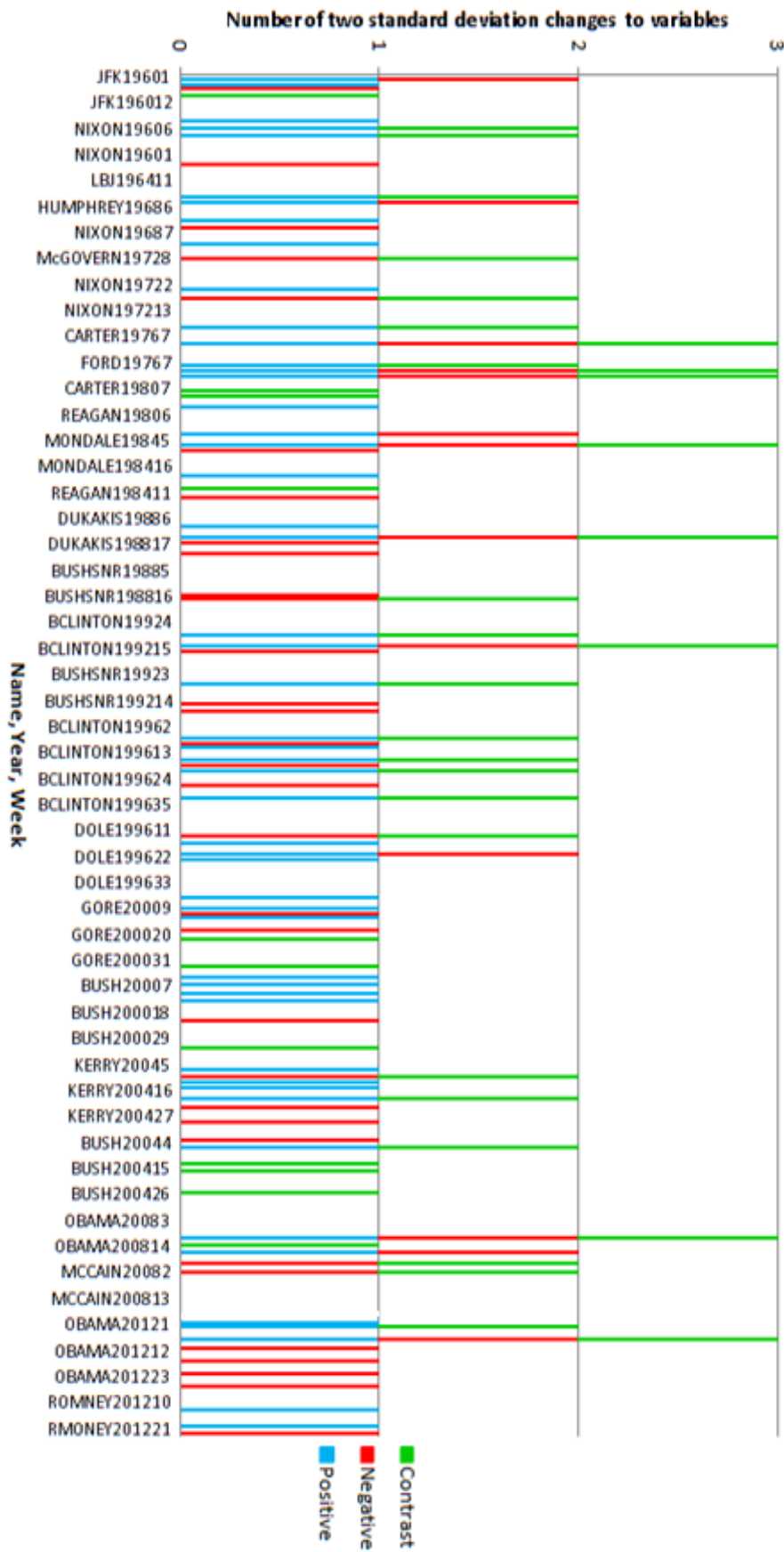


Figure 2.2

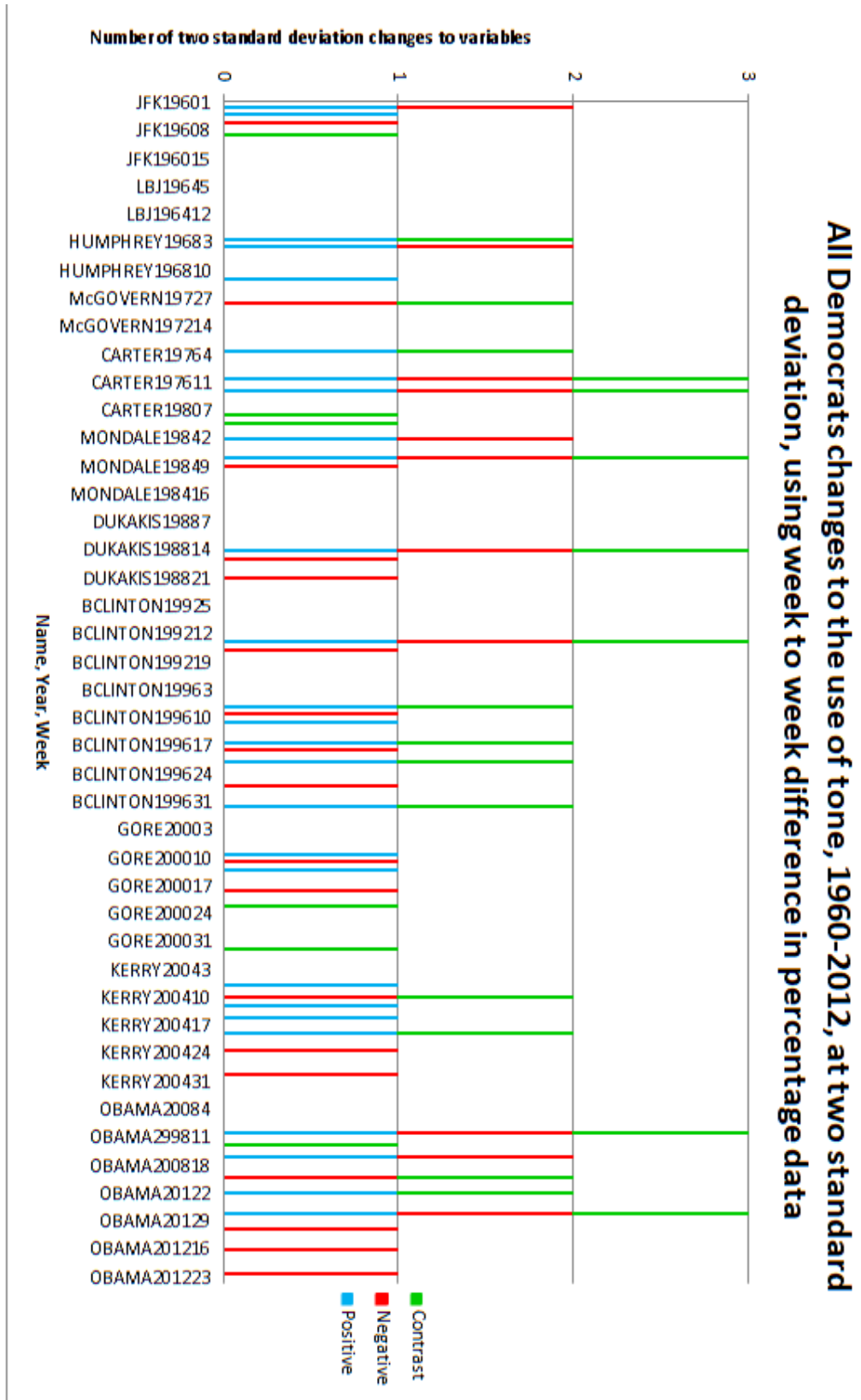


Figure 2.3

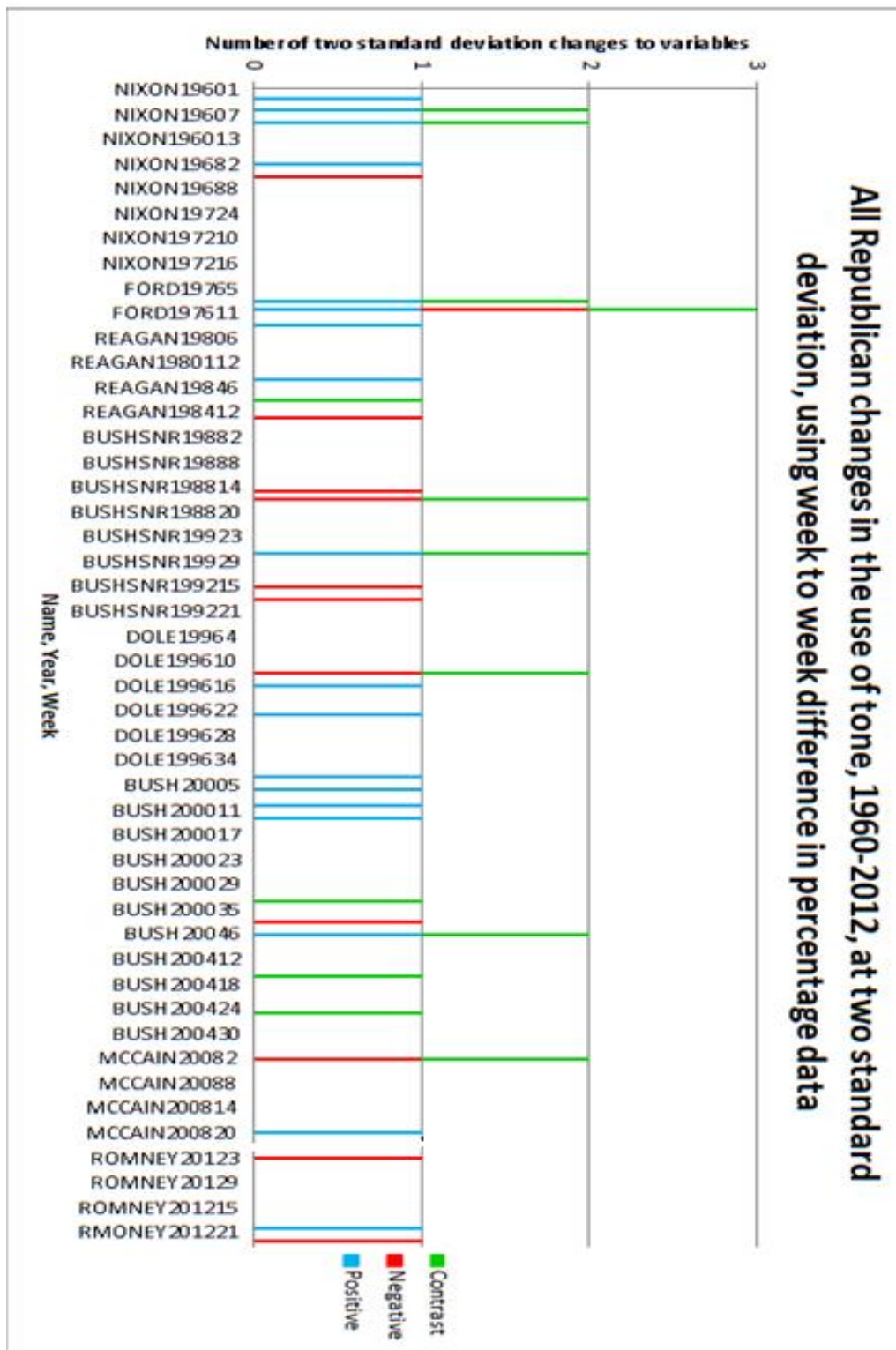


Figure 2.4

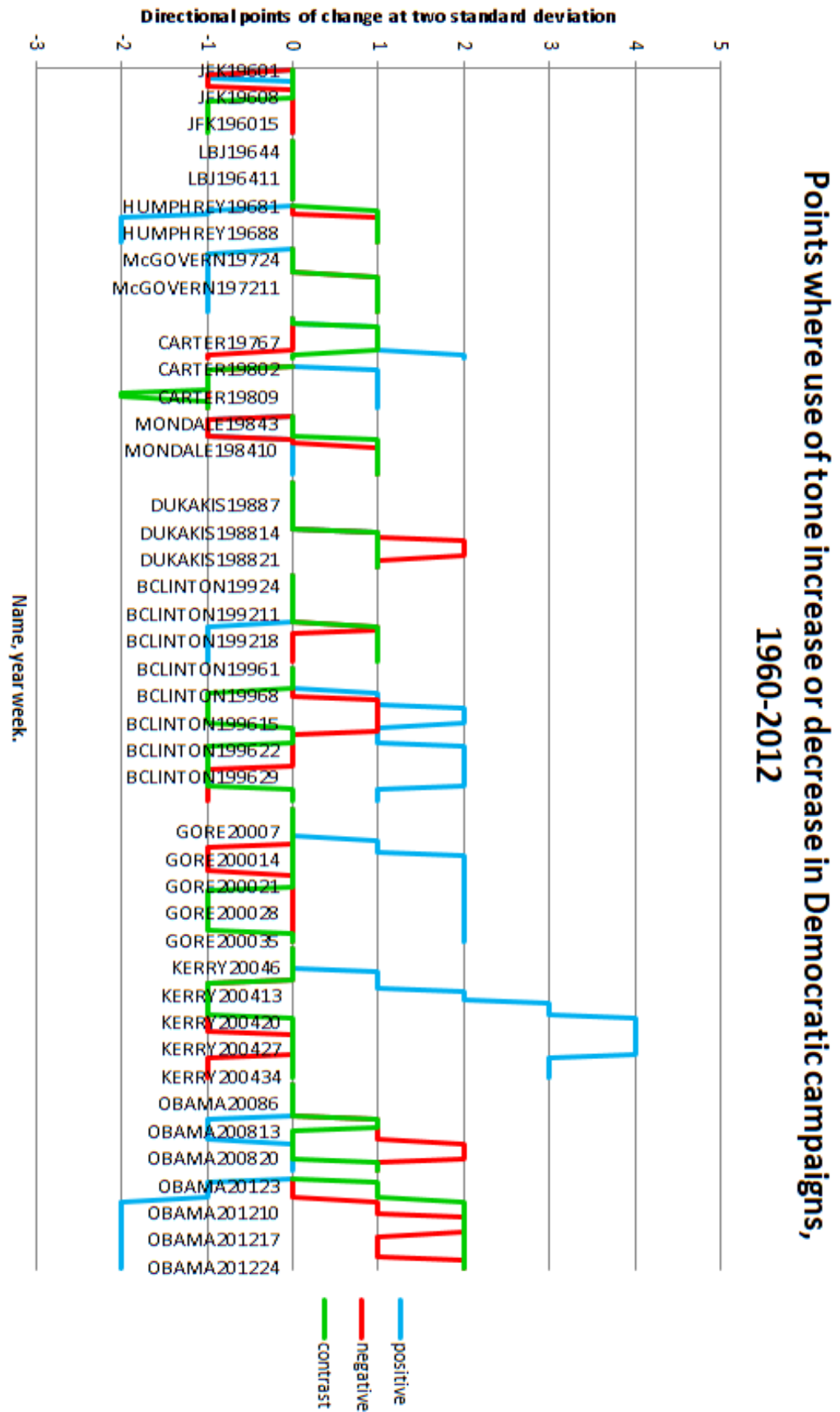
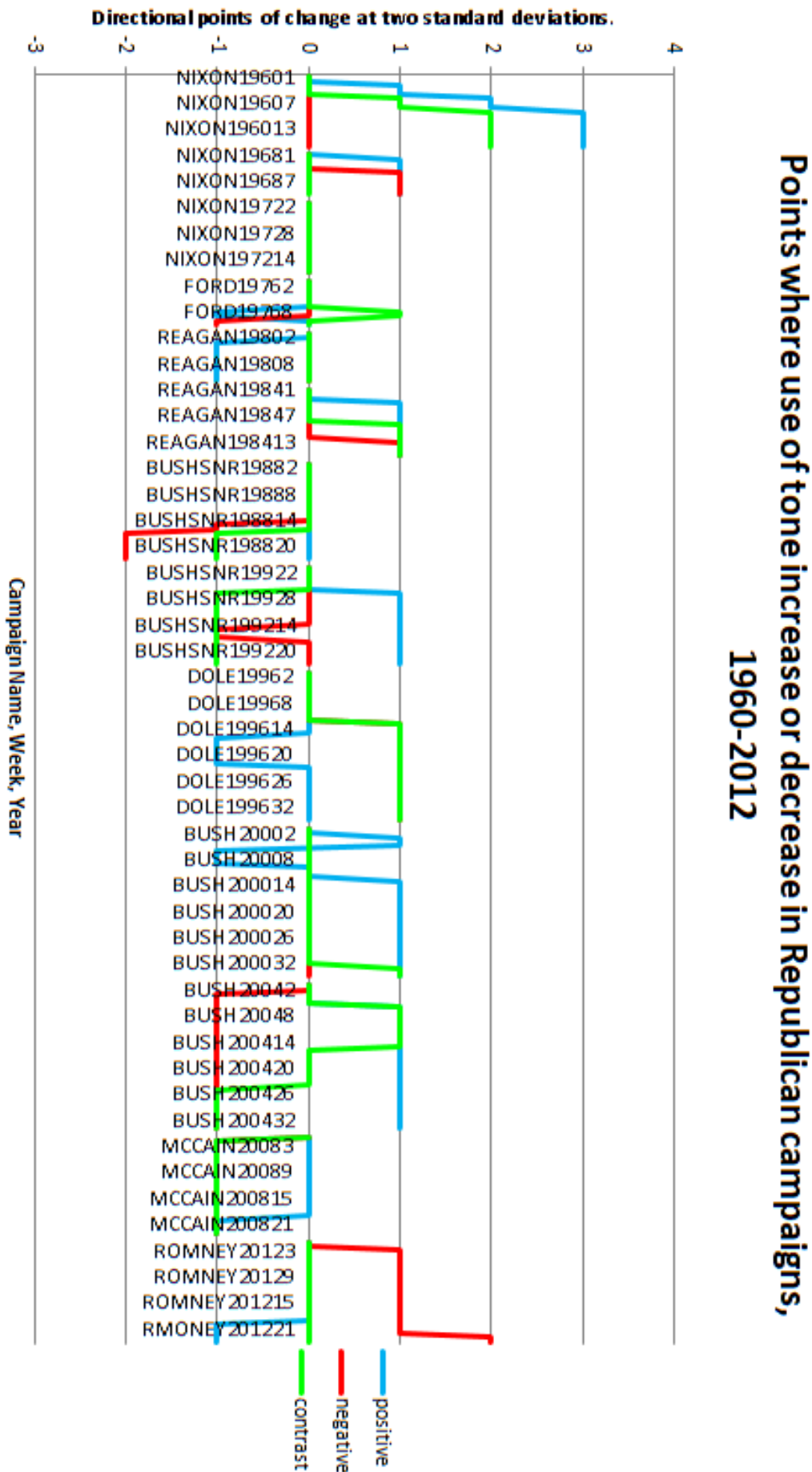


Figure 2.5



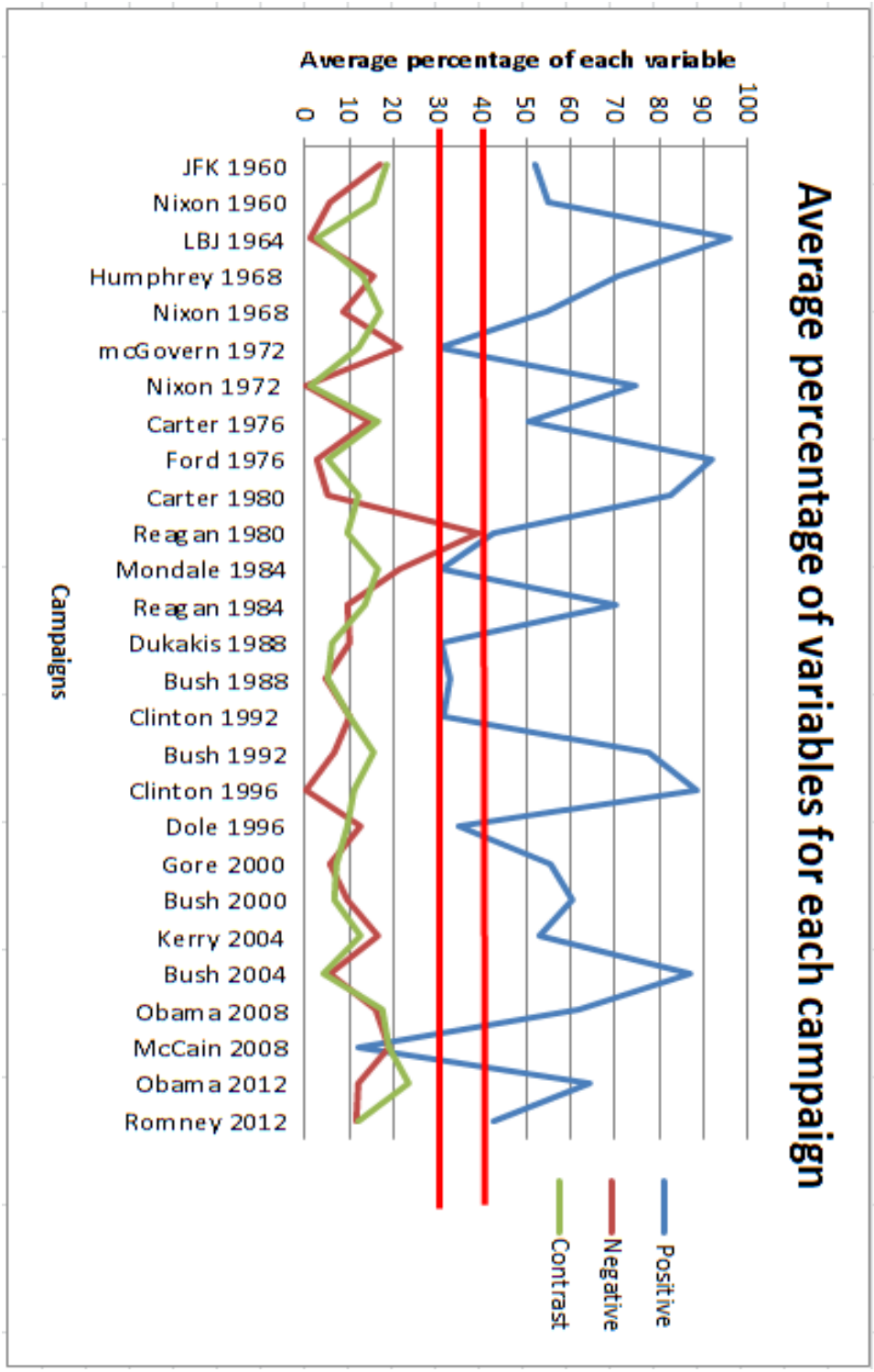
Across all 27 campaigns studied, 25 campaigns saw change in the use of tone in campaign rhetoric; these are the changes seen in figures 2.1 to 2.5 above. Only the campaigns of Johnson 1964 and Nixon 1972 had no significant change in the use of tone in campaign rhetoric.

H2: Negative tone will account for 30-40% of tone rhetoric in campaigns.

Figure 2.6 below shows the average percentage of each variable on the Y axis, and along the X axis are the campaigns studied from 1960 through to 2012. The Y axis has red lines at 30% and 40% so that it is easy to see how many campaigns have an average percentage of a particular tone within this percentage range. As can be seen from figure 2.6 below, there was not a majority of campaigns which had negative rhetoric between 30 and 40% and thus the evidence does not support the hypothesis. On the graph below, in the 30-40% range, signified by the red lines, only one campaign had an average negative tone between 30 and 40%; Reagan 1980.

Figure 2.6

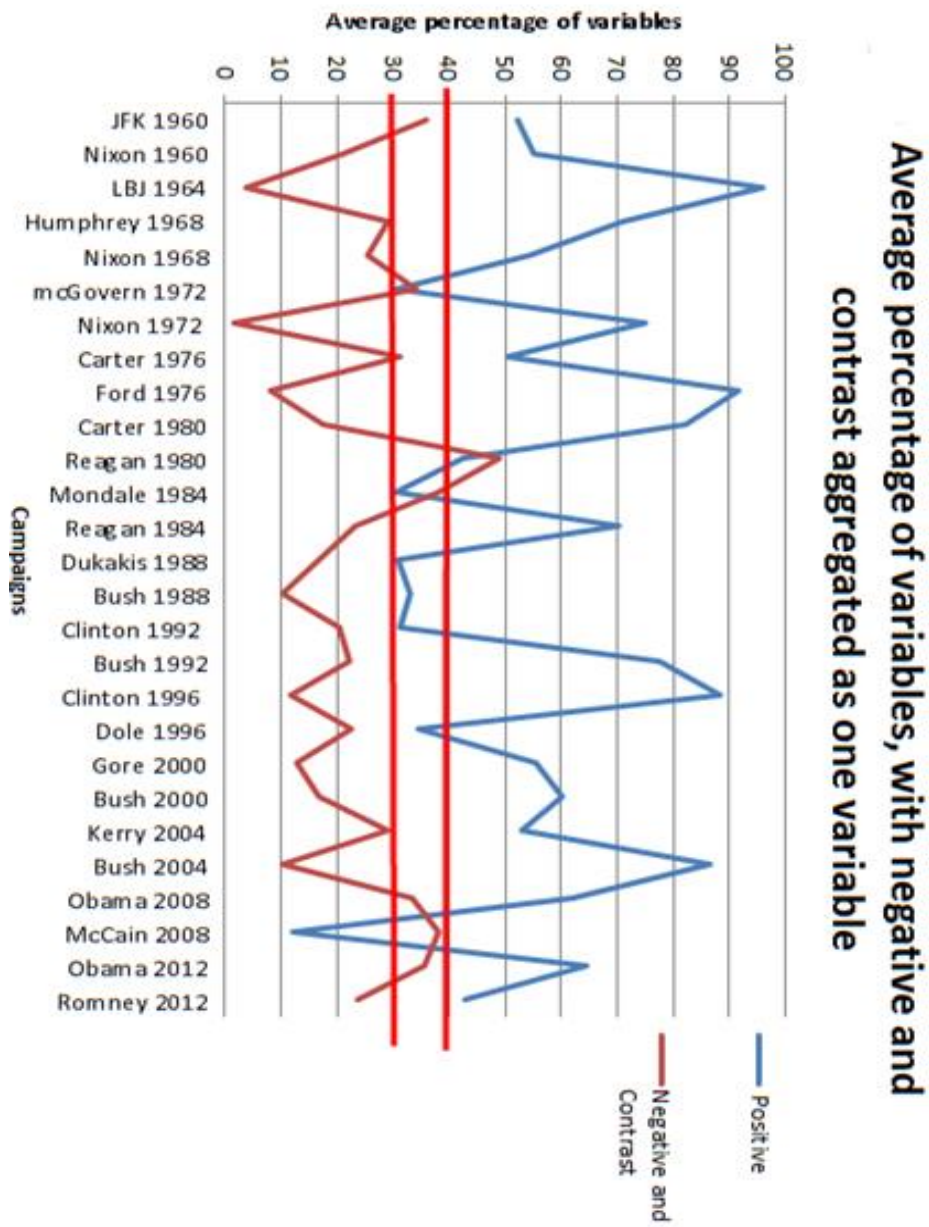
(see below)



Even if the average of all campaign weeks 1960-2012, not the average of each campaign, was considered, negative tone accounts for 30-40% of tone rhetoric in 10% of all weeks. More specifically, out of 576 weeks where tone rhetoric was studied, negative tone accounts for 30-40% of tone use in only 38 weeks (6.59% of weeks). In 25 additional weeks negative tone accounts for over 40% of tone rhetoric, so in 10% of all weeks studied, negative tone was above 30%.

Given that most of the past research does not include contrast, as seen in figure 2.7, the same was done aggregating negative and contrast variables into one. As seen from the graph below, which has the same axes and again 30-40% marked out, more campaigns lie between 30 and 40% on average for negative and contrast tone together, but this is still only seven campaigns out of 27. (see below)

Figure 2.7



Again, looking at the average of all campaign weeks 1960-2012, not the average of each campaign, negative and contrast tone aggregated accounts for 30-40% of tone rhetoric in 22% of all weeks. More specifically, out of 576 weeks of tone studied, negative and contrast tone aggregated accounts for 30-40% of tone use in only 76 weeks (13.19% of weeks). In 132 additional weeks negative and contrast tone aggregated accounts for over 40% of tone rhetoric, so in 36.2% of all weeks studied, negative tone was above 30%.

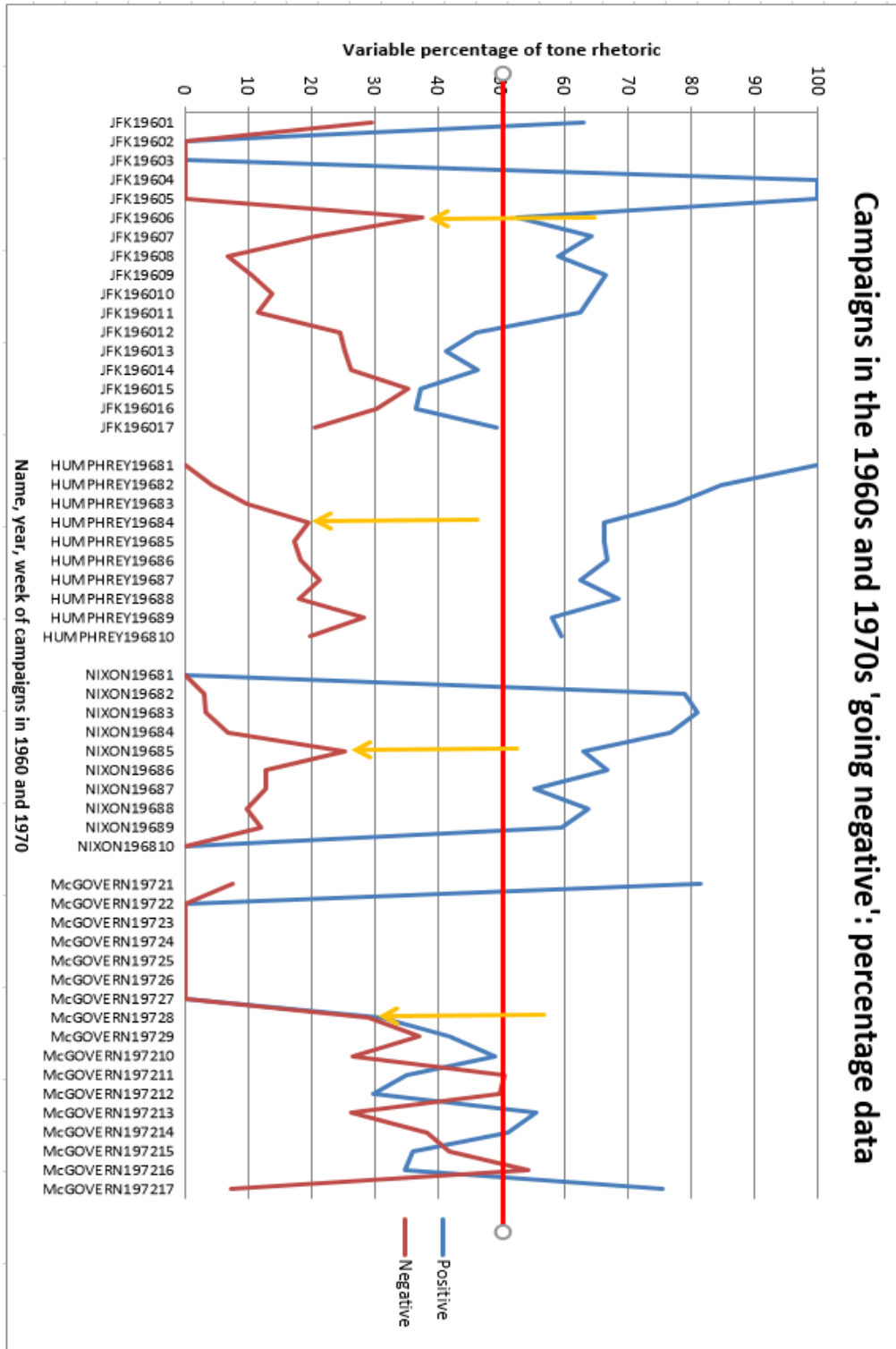
The findings as detailed above and seen in figures 2.6 and 2.7 give an indication that what occurs in other media is not necessarily going to be true for campaign rhetoric when investigating changes, and it is not necessarily true that the same logic is applied to rhetoric as with other media when the use of tone is being determined by a campaign.

H3: Campaigns will change the use of tone starting positive and subsequently going negative in campaign rhetoric.

There is evidence which supports this hypothesis. 16 the 27 campaigns studied go negative that is, there is increased use of negative tone. Positive rhetoric is at least 50%, so the majority of tone in rhetoric being positive, in the weeks before increasing the use of negative tone, in 15 of these 16 campaigns. Whilst this is not all campaigns, over half are both starting positive and going negative. Figures 2.8 to 2.12, below, show the positive and negative percentage data, with the Y axis showing the variable percentage of tone rhetoric, and the X axis showing the campaigns which go negative. There is then a 50% line on the Y axis (in **red**) to help determine whether a campaign was 50% positive before increasing the use of negative tone, and with arrows (in **orange**) identifying where campaigns went negative, by decade. The **green** arrow identifies where one campaign went negative but as can be seen from the 50% line, positive tone was not at 50%. The **blue** line then represents positive percentage of tone rhetoric and the **dark red** line represents negative percentage of tone rhetoric. This enables a clear visual assessment as to whether candidates did have 50% positive rhetoric before going negative. There is a gap between the end of one

campaign and the start of the next. The 1960s and 1970s will be presented in the same graph, as only McGovern went negative out of all the campaigns in the 1970s.

Figure 2.8



As can be seen above in figure 2.8, McGovern 1972 goes negative at point eight. This is also when rhetoric has restarted. Whilst this is useful when determining what explains changes in campaign rhetoric, it does not mean McGovern cannot be classed as going negative. The positive tone had to be at least 50% before going negative, but this did not have to have been in the week directly before going negative. In the case seen in figure 2.12 below, Romney is not classed as going negative because initially, before the point of change to go negative there was not any point where the 50% criteria for positive tone was met.

Figure 2.9
(see below)

Campaigns in the 1980s, 'Going Negative': Percentage data

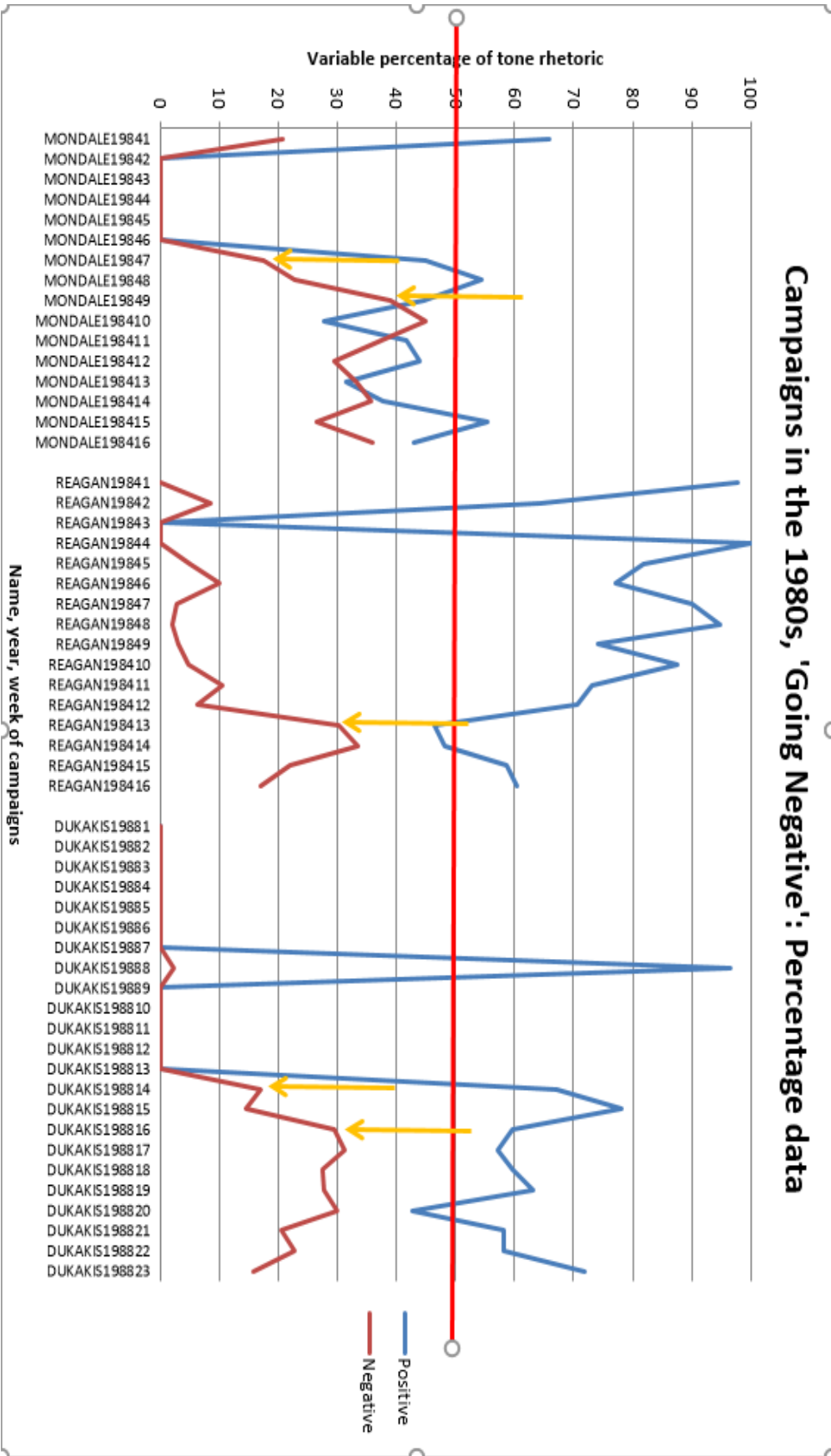


Figure 2.10

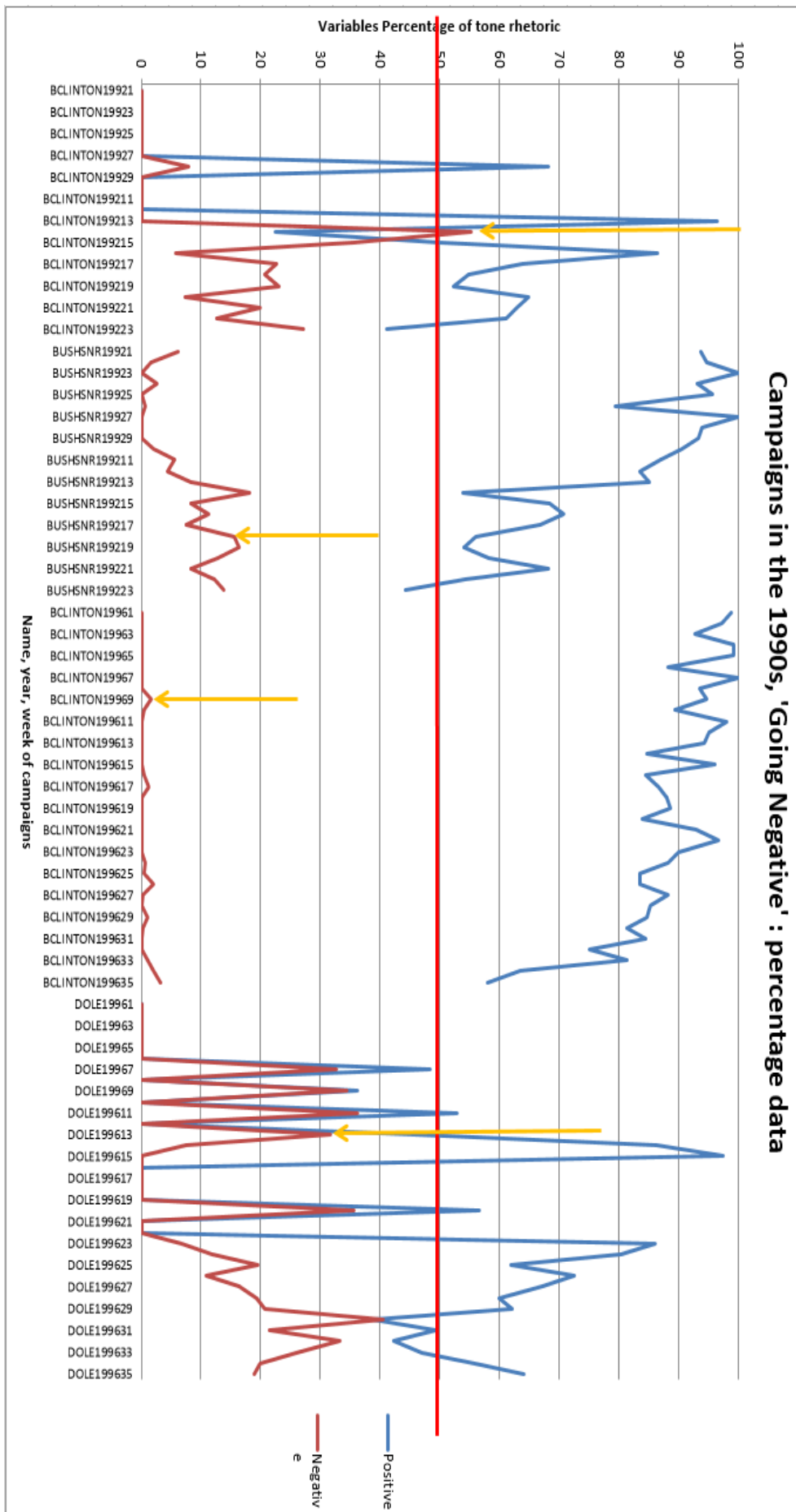


Figure 2.11

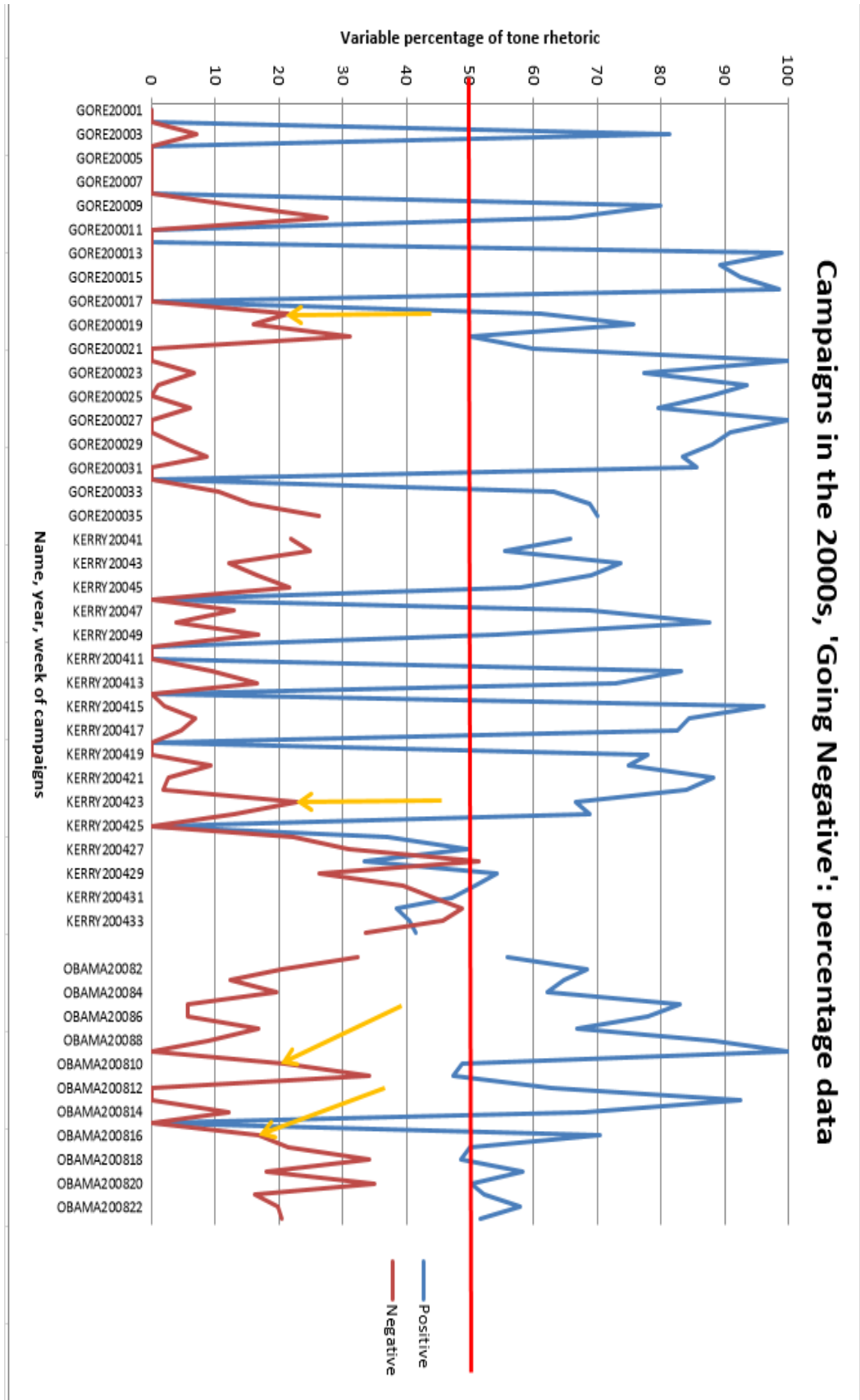
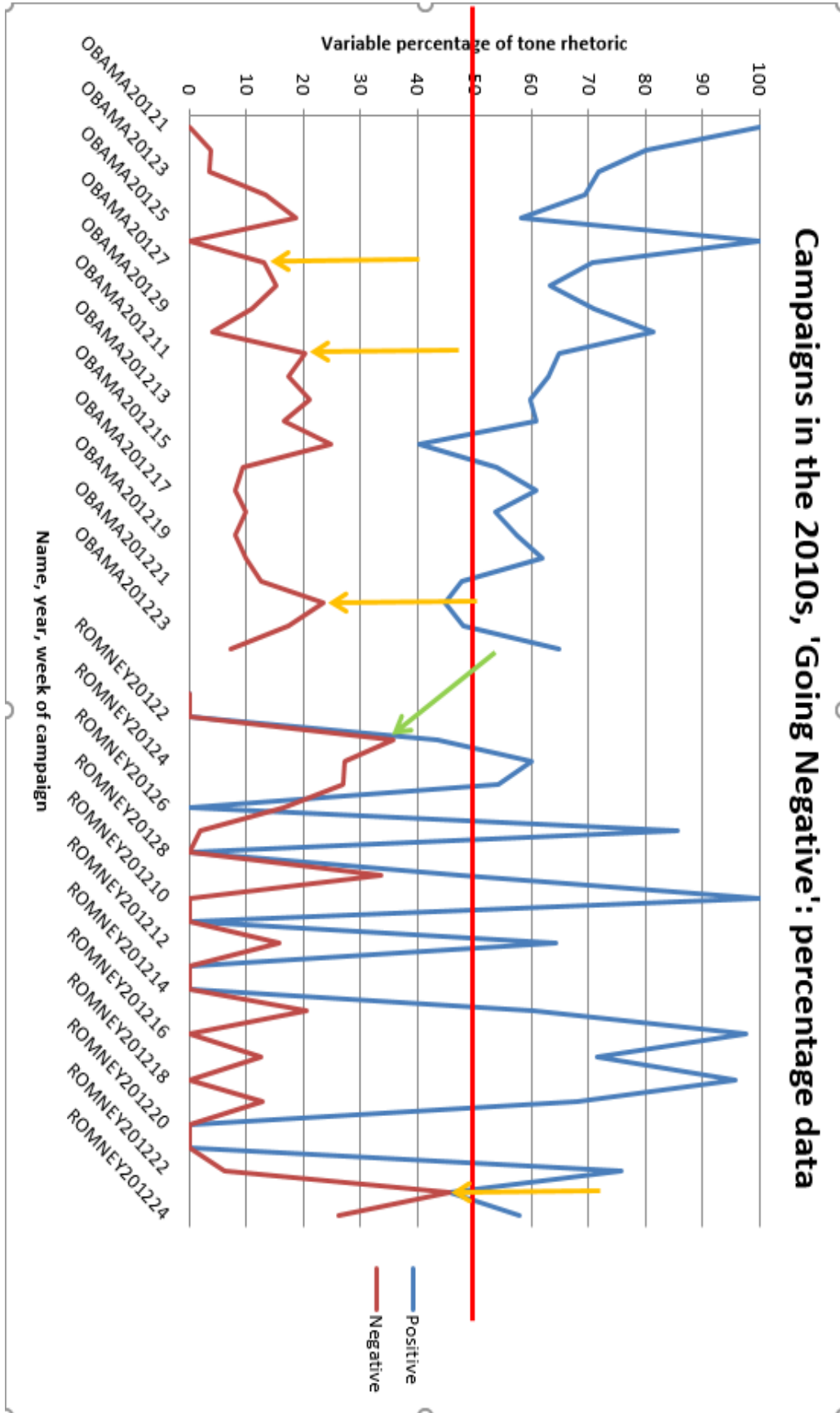


Figure 2.12



As seen in figure 2.12, Romney 2012 was the one campaign which did go negative but not before positive rhetoric was at least 50% of the rhetoric. As can be seen above from figures 2.8 to 2.12, whilst campaigns can go negative, this does not mean that the campaigns stop being positive; campaigns can be both positive and also go negative. Whilst it could be argued this is a function of percentages, the level of two standard deviation criteria for change would not necessarily be met just because of simultaneous percentage changes.

H4: Challenger candidates will be more likely to change to negative tone than incumbents.

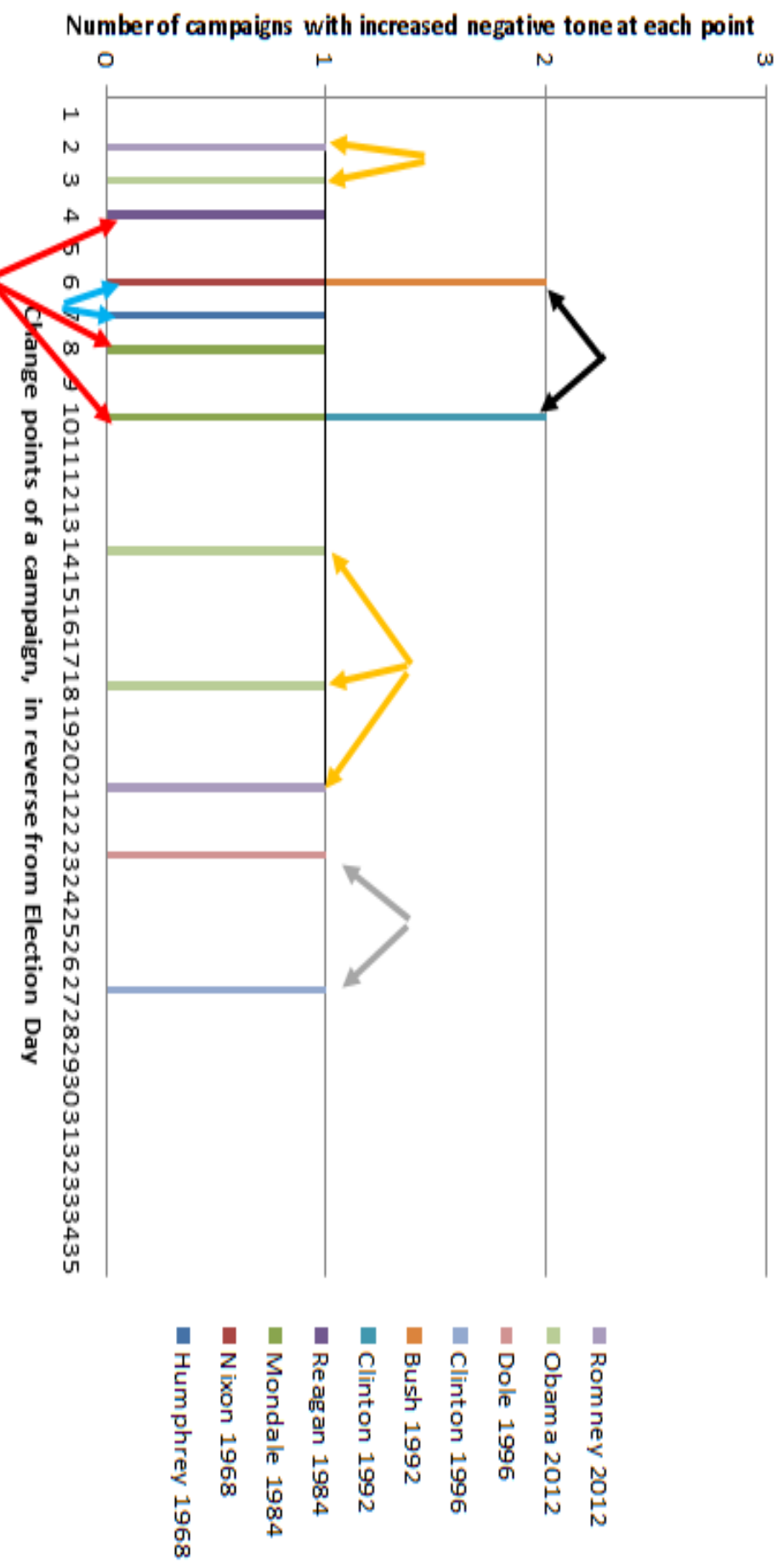
There is support for this hypothesis from both methods of determining the answer. Out of 15 campaigns which go negative as identified under H3, four were incumbent candidates and six were challenger candidates. The incumbent candidates were; Reagan 1984, Bush 1992, Clinton 1996, Obama 2012. The challenger candidates were; McGovern 1972, Mondale 1984, Clinton 1992, Dole 1996, Kerry 2004, Romney 2012. Using the second version, which provides a different method of looking at the same thing by focusing on the total number of challengers and incumbents, and finding the percentage of each that go negative, there is further support for the hypothesis. Using the percentage version, there were nine total incumbent campaigns studied, of which four went negative, which is 44.5% of incumbent campaigns going negative. Whereas there were a total of eight challenger campaigns studied, of which six went negative, which is 75% of challenger campaigns going negative. Using both methods is useful because the first method shows a marginal difference but is backed up by the second method, and both support what would be anticipated to occur with challenger versus incumbent candidates.

H5: If a candidate's opposition has changed to increase the use of negative tone, so too will the candidate in question.

The evidence does not support this hypothesis. 16 campaigns change to increase the use of negative tone. These 16 campaigns are across eleven election years; 1960, 1968, 1972, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012. From these eleven election years where campaigns increase the use of negative tone, there are five elections where both candidates increase the use of negative tone; 1968, 1984, 1992, 1996 and 2012. In figure 2.13 the elections where both candidates increase the use of negative tone are identified. The Y axis shows the number of campaigns which increase the use of negative tone at each point, and the X axis shows at what point the campaigns increase the use of negative tone, where point one is Election Day. This means that the points for each campaign are in a comparable time frame; regardless of how long each campaign is, because it goes backwards from Election Day. The **blue** arrows indicate the changes in 1968, by Humphrey and Nixon, the **red** arrows 1984 and the changes made by Mondale and Reagan, the **black** arrows the changes in 1992 made by Clinton and Bush, the **grey** arrows Clinton and Dole's 1996 changes, and the **yellow** arrows the changes in 2012 by Obama and Romney. Figure 2.14 then shows the campaigns where candidates increase the use of negative tone, but their opponent does not, for comparison.

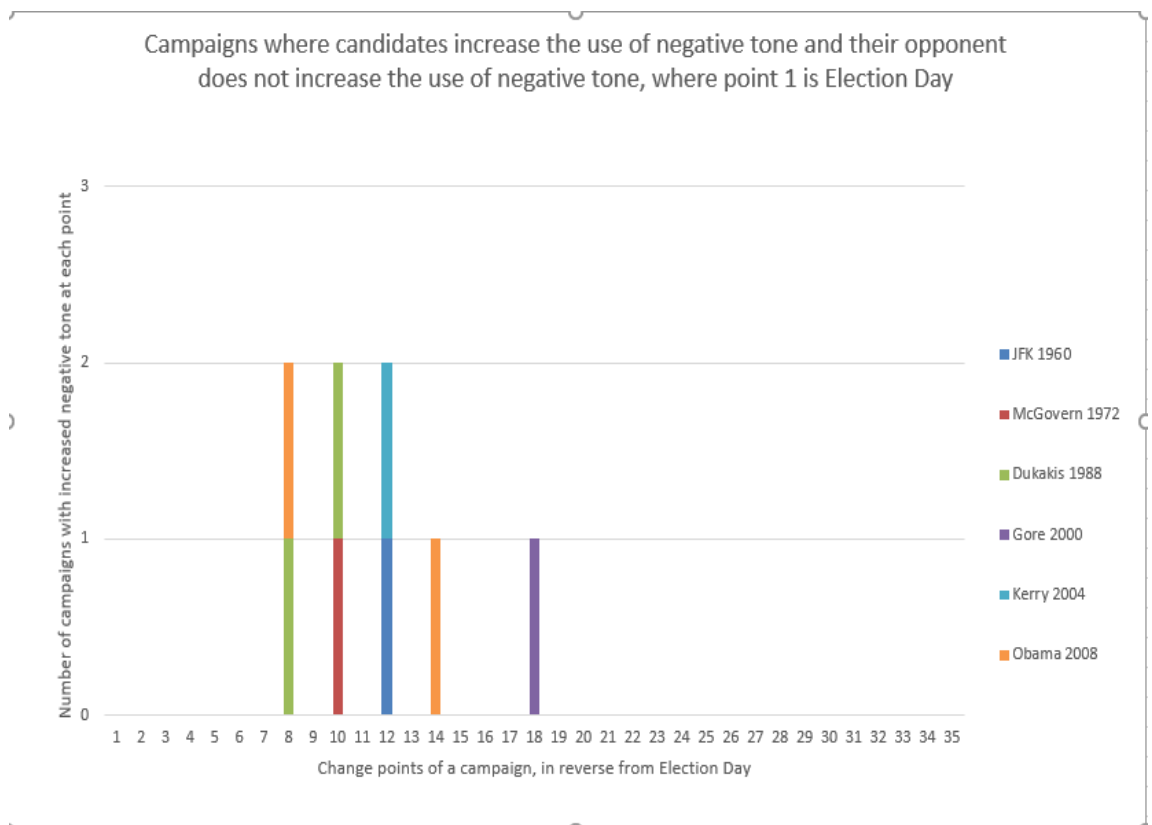
Figure 2.13 (see below)

Campaigns where both candidates increase the use of negative tone, where point 1 is Election Day



There are only five elections where there is evidence of the opponent and the candidate both increasing the use of negative tone; this is only 46% of cases; not the seven or 53% needed to support the hypothesis. As can be seen from figure 2.13 above, the time lag between a candidate and their opponent increasing the use of negative tone ranges from the first week after the candidate increases negative tone, to four weeks after the candidate increases the use of negative tone. This variety, and with a lack of pattern to the different time lags, gives more reason to suggest that actually candidates do not go negative if their opponent does, otherwise there would be a consistent, small time lag between one candidate then their opponent increasing the use of negative tone.

Figure 2.14



Even if it were considered acceptable to have such a range of lag from the first week after the candidate increases negative tone, to four weeks after, there are still only six instances where candidates could be considered to be both increasing the use of negative tone. This, combined with too few instances and too small a percentage of cases which both increase negative tone gives further evidence against the hypothesis.

H6: Candidates will decrease the use of negative tone after going negative in a campaign.

The evidence does not support this hypothesis. Of the 16 campaigns in which there is an increase in negative tone at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, lasting for two or more consecutive weeks, only six campaigns also subsequently decrease the use of negative tone, as defined by the same requirement. These six are listed in table 2.1 below. The table has the campaigns which increase and then subsequently decrease use of negative tone in the first column, the specific point at which the respective campaign increases the use of negative tone in the second column, and the specific point at which the same campaign then decreases the use of negative tone in the third column. Table 2.2 shows what the remaining campaigns that increase the use of negative tone do after, be this maintaining negative tone, or increasing the use of positive or contrast tone.

(see below)

Table 2.1: Table showing campaigns which increase then decrease use of negative tone

Campaign	Increased use of negative tone	Decreased use of negative tone
DUKAKIS 1988	14,16	21
CLINTON 1992	14	16
CLINTON 1996	9	18, 27
KERRY 2004	23	29
OBAMA 2008	10,16	21
OBAMA 2012	7,11	16

Table 2.2: Table showing campaigns which increase the use of negative tone and what they do after, excluding those in table 2.1 above.

Campaign	Point of Increased use of negative tone	What happens after increased negative tone
JFK 1960	6	Decreased use of contrast at point 9
Humphrey 1968	4	Also decreased use of positive at point 4, then this was maintained – no further changes
Nixon 1968	5	Maintained- no further changes
McGovern 1972	8	Also increased use of contrast at point 8, maintained these – no further changes
Mondale 1984	7 and 9	Also increased use of positive and contrast at point 7, after increased use of negative at point 9 this was maintained- no further changes
Reagan 1984	13	Maintained- no further changes
Bush 1992	18	Maintained- no further changes
Dole 1996	13	Also increased use of contrast at point 13, decreased use of positive at point 16, increased use of positive at point 23, this was maintained- no further changes
Gore 2000	18	Decreased use of contrast at point 22, Increased use of contrast at point 33 this was maintained – no further changes.
Romney 2012	3,23	After increased use of contrast at 23 this was maintained- no further changes.

H7: Campaigns will change the use of tone to either increase or decrease the use of positive or negative or contrast tone.

The evidence supports this hypothesis. Table 2.3 below has all the campaigns in the first column then in columns two to seven has the points at which the respective campaign changes, as described in the title of the respective column. For example JFK 1960 changed at point 9 to decrease the use of contrast tone. As can be seen in table 2.3 below, which shows the changes that occur in each campaign, and the point at which they occur, changes occur across multiple campaigns to increase or decrease the variables. There are two instances where there are no changes, in blue (LBJ 1964 and Nixon 1972) and one where there is only one type of change for example of only increased use of negative tone, in red in the figure (Reagan 1980). Across the other campaigns there are at least two types of change occurring with the use of the tone variables. There is also a total instances of changes in each campaign column. Whilst it may be argued that due to the data being based on percentages, there is a higher possibility that two variables will change each week because they all add up to 100%, the changes come from the week to week difference in percentage data, and the difference must be to the level of two standard deviations, which lessens the likelihood that changes will be as a result of adding up to 100%.

(see below)

Table 2.3: Table showing campaigns studied, the type of change in use of tone, and the point the change occurs

Campaign	Increased use of positive tone	Decreased use of positive tone	Increased use of negative tone	Decreased use of negative tone	Increased use of contrast tone	Decreased use of contrast tone	Total instances of changes
JFK 1960	4	2	6	2		9	5
NIXON 1960	3, 6, 9				6,9		5
LBJ 1964							0
HUMPHREY 1968		2, 4	4		2		4
NIXON 1968	2		5				2
MCGOVERN 1972		2	8		8		3
NIXON 1972							0
CARTER 1976	3,10			10	3	10	5
FORD 1976	10	8		10	8	10	5
CARTER 1980	2			2	10	2, 8	5
REAGAN 1980		3					1
MONDALE 1984	2,7		7,9	2	7		6
REAGAN 1984	4		13		9		3
DUKAKIS 1988	14		14,16	21	14		5
BUSH 1988				15,17		17	3
CLINTON 1992		14	14	16	14		4
BUSH 1992	7		18	15		7	4
CLINTON 1996	7, 11,21	16, 32	9	18, 27	16, 32	7, 21	12
DOLE 1996	23	16	13		13		4
GORE 2000	9,13		18	11	33	22	6
BUSH 2000	3, 10, 13	6			33		5

KERRY 2004	7, 12, 15, 19		23	10, 29,	19	10	9
BUSH 2004	6			3	6	16, 25	5
OBAMA 2008	16	10	10,16	21	10,21	13	8
MCCAIN 2008		20		2		2	3
OBAMA 2012		2,7	7,11,22	16	2,7		8
ROMNEY 2012		20	3, 23				3

H8: There will be more instances where candidates increase the use of contrast, than where they increase the use of negative tone in campaign rhetoric.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis. 18 campaigns increased the use of contrast tone out of the 25 that experienced change in the use of tone. This is compared to 16 campaigns which increased the use of negative tone. Even if the same measure was taken of having 50% positive tone first, as in H3, the points in green on the table, table 2.4 below, would be removed, but the difference between candidates going contrast and going negative would be the same proportion; 17 going contrast compared with 15 going negative. Whilst the difference is small, it is important given that contrast is qualitatively different to negative tone. The campaigns which go negative or go contrast are identified in table 2.4 below. The first column indicating the campaign, the second column denoting the point at which the campaign went negative (if at all), and the third column denoting the point at which the campaign went contrast (if at all), and with those in which change occurs to both increased use of contrast and negative tone at the same point highlighted in red.

(See below)

Table 2.4: Table showing campaigns that go contrast and go negative

Campaign	Increased use of negative tone	Increased use of contrast tone
JFK 1960	6	
NIXON 1960		6,9
HUMPHREY 1968	4	2
NIXON 1968	5	
MCGOVERN 1972	8	8
CARTER 1976		3
FORD 1976		8
CARTER 1980		10
MONDALE 1984	7,9	7
REAGAN 1984	13	9
DUKAKIS 1988	14,16	14
CLINTON 1992	14	14
BUSH 1992	18	
CLINTON 1996	9	16, 32
DOLE 1996	13	13
GORE 2000	18	33
BUSH 2000		33
KERRY 2004	23	19
BUSH 2004		6
OBAMA 2008	10,16	10,21
OBAMA 2012	7,11,22	2, 7
ROMNEY 2012	3, 23	

Interestingly if the hypothesis is explored the second way, looking at whether there were more occasions of going contrast than going negative, counting instances of change rather than number of campaigns, there is less evidence to support the hypothesis. Figures 2.15-2.18 below help to explain this. Figures 2.15 and 2.16 show all of the points at which candidates increase the use of negative and contrast tone, with one being for Democrats

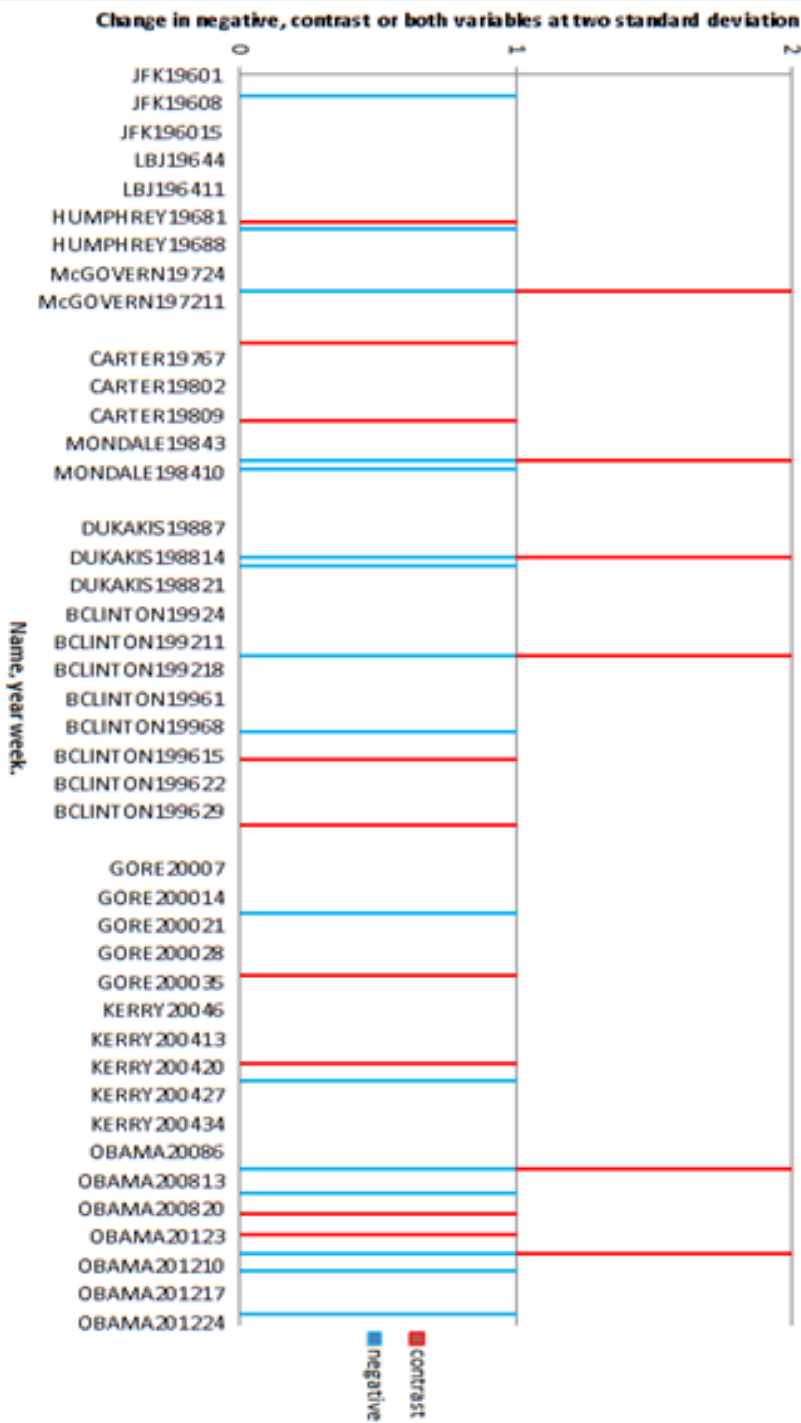
and one for Republican candidates. The graphs give a visual representation of all the points in time candidates increase either the use of contrast, the use of negative tone, or both at the same time. Increased use of negative tone is shown in (blue) and increased use of contrast tone in (red). Figures 2.17 and 2.18 also show the points in time when candidates increase either the use of negative or contrast tone, split into Republicans or Democratic candidates. However the additional benefit of figures 2.17 and 2.18 is that the graphs show what the difference, week to week, using the percentage data, was at each point of change, on the Y axes. This especially enables identification of what the difference is even though both variables may increase in use. For example, Clinton 1992, point 14 has increase in the use of negative and contrast tone. But from figure 2.17 it is possible to see that the increase in the use of negative tone is a difference of 55.22, using the week to week difference in percentage data, whereas the increase in the use of contrast tone is only 18.73, using the same data. As with figures 2.15 and 2.16, increase in negative tone use is in (blue) and increased use of contrast is in (red). Another benefit of figures 2.17 and 2.18 is that it is clear where there are multiple changes to either increased use of negative or increased use of contrast tone made by the same candidate as these are linked by a line on the graph. For example, it is possible to clearly see that Obama 2012 increased the use of negative tone three times during his campaign, using figure 2.17. Points where candidates increased the use of negative tone and contrast tone are indicated within a green circle to help clearly identify these points again. Figures 2.17 and 2.18 also show the two points of change which would be removed if the criteria of 50% positive before going negative was used to answer the hypothesis again, indicated with an orange arrow.

As can be seen, there are actually 22 points of change to increase the use of negative tone and 22 points of change to increase the use of contrast tone, even though these are different points of change. This implies that whilst candidates increase the use of contrast in more campaigns than they do increase the use of negative tone, candidates

which increase the use of negative tone do so at different points, but in similar frequency compared to those who increase the use of contrast tone.

Figure 2.15

(see below)



Points of increased use of negative and increased use of contrast variables in Democratic campaigns; week to week difference data

Figure
2.16

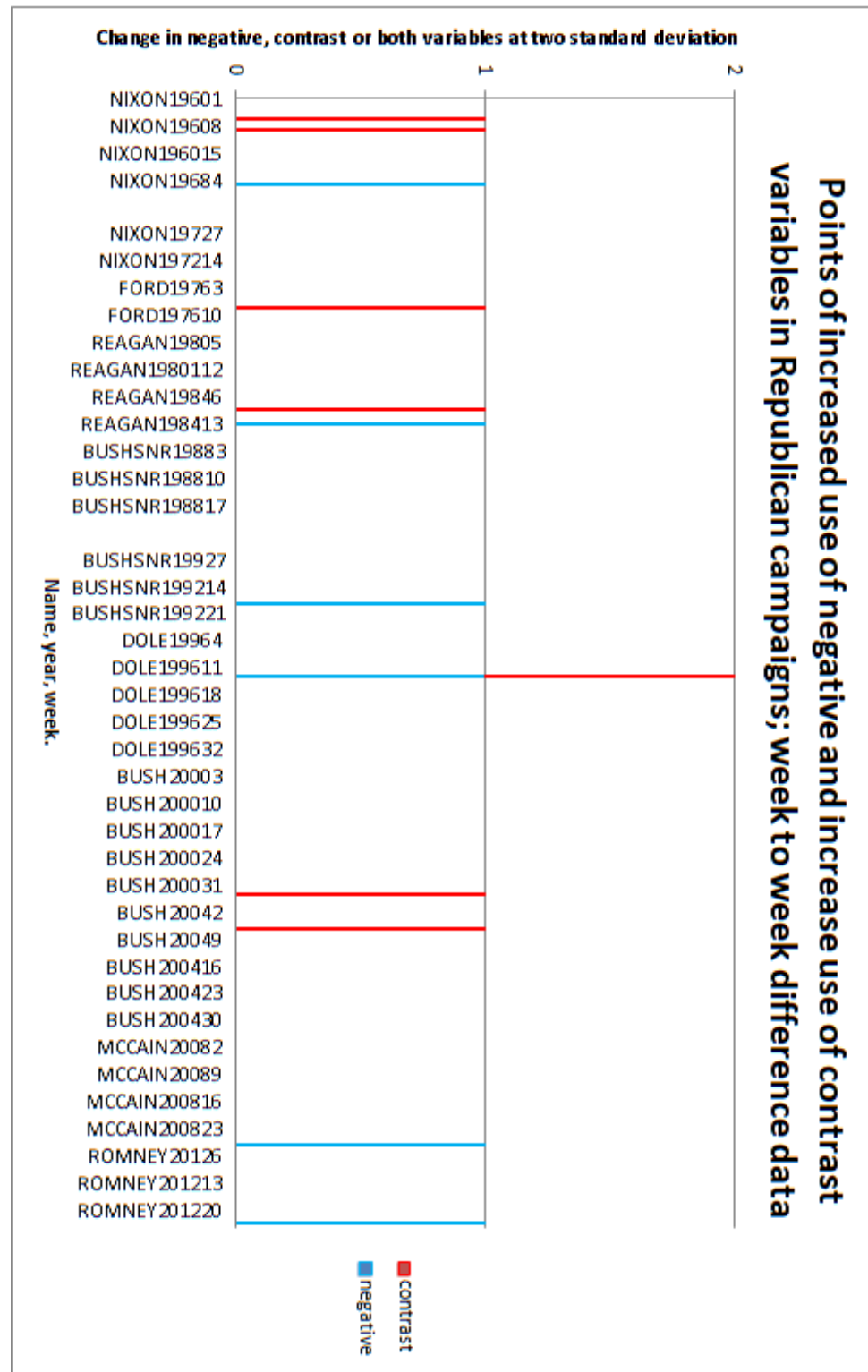


Figure 2.17

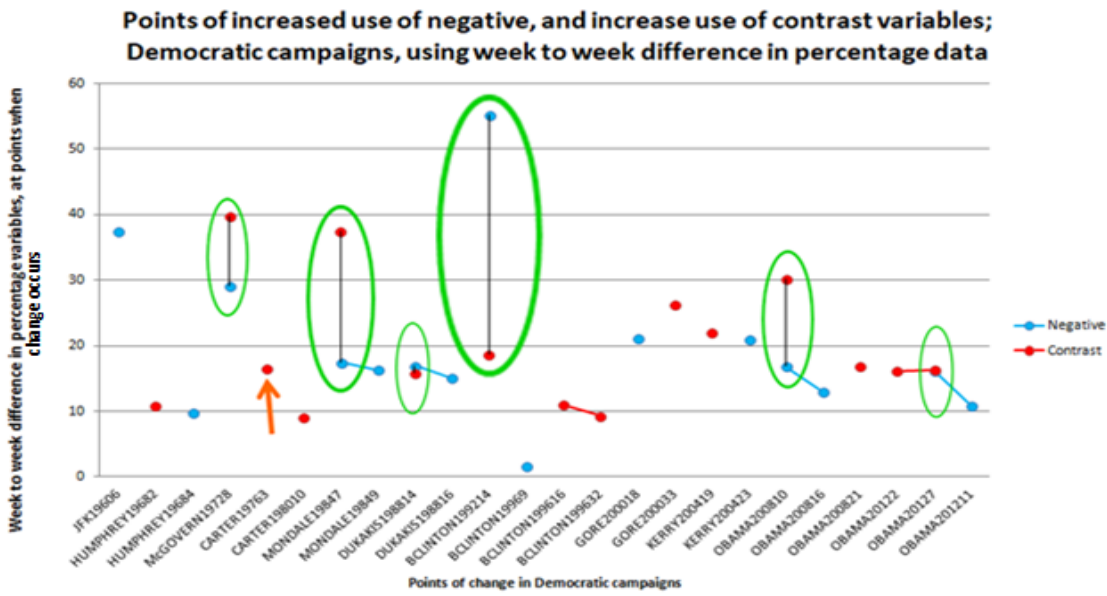
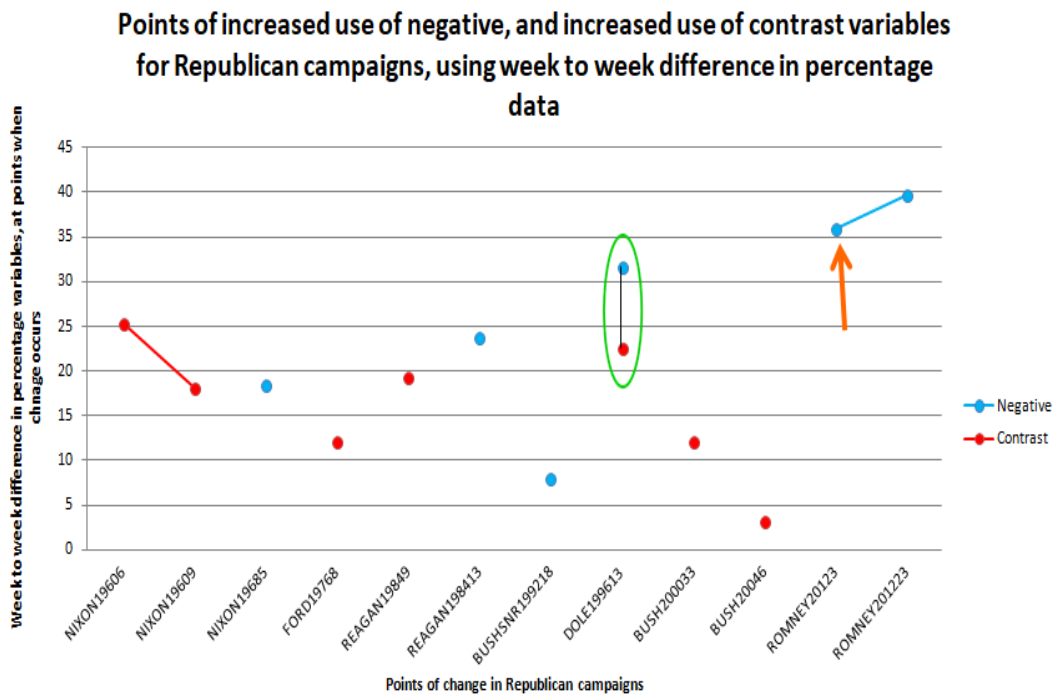


Figure 2.18



H9. The final strategic change made by candidates and maintained until Election Day will be to increase the use of contrast tone, rather than increasing the use of positive or negative tone.

There is no evidence to support this hypothesis. Figures 2.19, 2.20, and 2.21, below, graphically represent the strategy for the campaigns which increase and maintain until the end of the campaign the respective variables. Figure 2.19 has all campaigns which increase and maintain the use of positive tone until Election Day. The graph shows all increases and decreases that occur in the use of positive tone before the campaigns' maintain the increase in positive tone until Election Day. Figure 2.20 has similar information, but showing all campaigns which increase and maintain the use of negative tone until Election Day. Finally figure 2.21 again shows the same information but for campaigns which increase and maintain the use of contrast tone until Election Day. In order to develop this, at every point where there is a change in a campaign increasing a variable, it is given +1, and decreasing is -1. Therefore if there are two changes increasing positive tone in a campaign the line will go to +2 on the graph. This is to visually represent the changes in strategy, and to show visually where the last change occurs and in what variable. The arrows in orange indicate where the final strategic change increasing the use of a variable until Election Day occurs. Figure 2.19 shows the campaigns which have a final strategic change increasing the use of positive tone, figure 2.20 shows the campaigns which have a final strategic change increasing the use of negative tone and figure 2.21 shows the campaigns which have a final strategic change increasing the use of contrast tone. Table 2.5, below, then has all the campaigns in the first column, followed by the six forms of change in columns two to seven. In columns two to seven are the points for each respective campaign at which the change for that column occurs, as with table 2.3. The points which are the final strategic change to increase the use of a variable are indicated in red. As can be seen from figures 2.19-2.21, seven campaigns have a final strategic change increasing the use of contrast

tone until Election Day, eight campaigns have a final strategic change increasing the use of negative tone until Election Day and four campaigns have a final strategic change increasing the use of positive tone until Election Day. This hypothesis is therefore false.

Figure 2.19

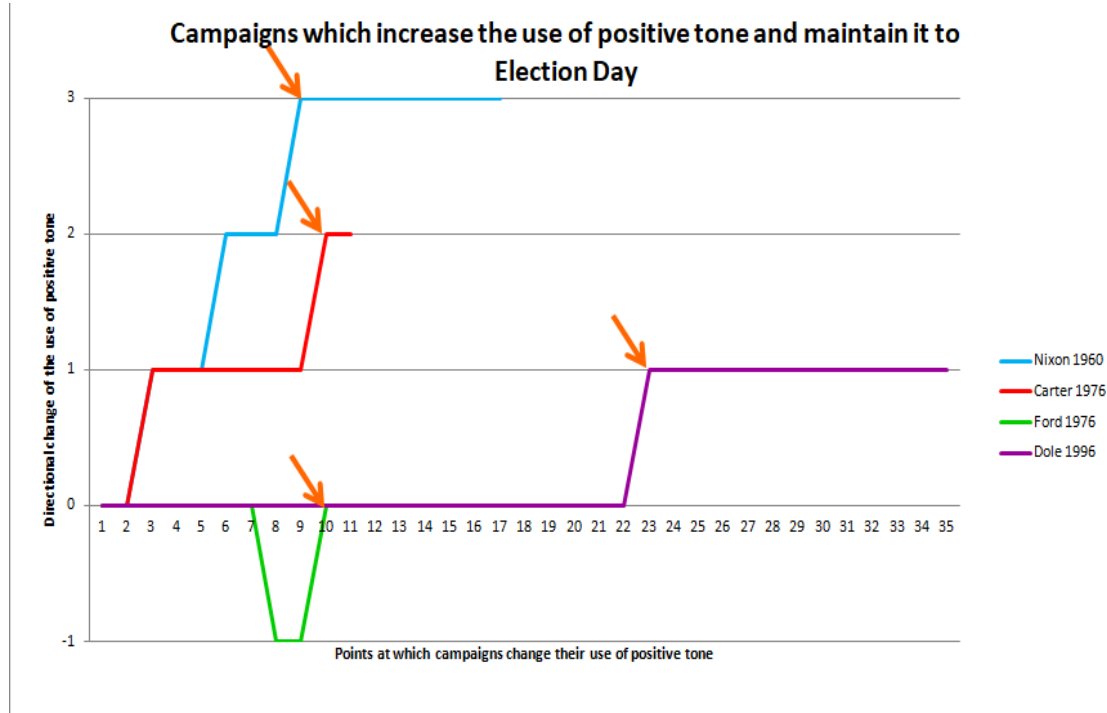


Figure 2.20

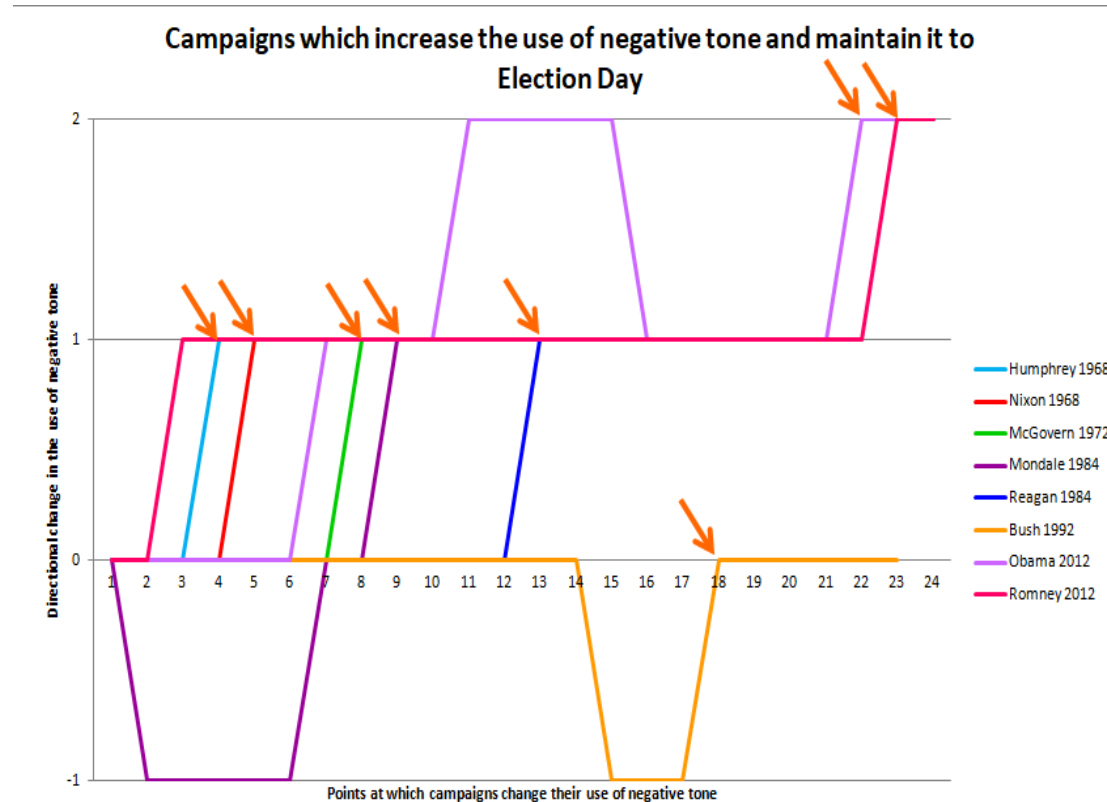
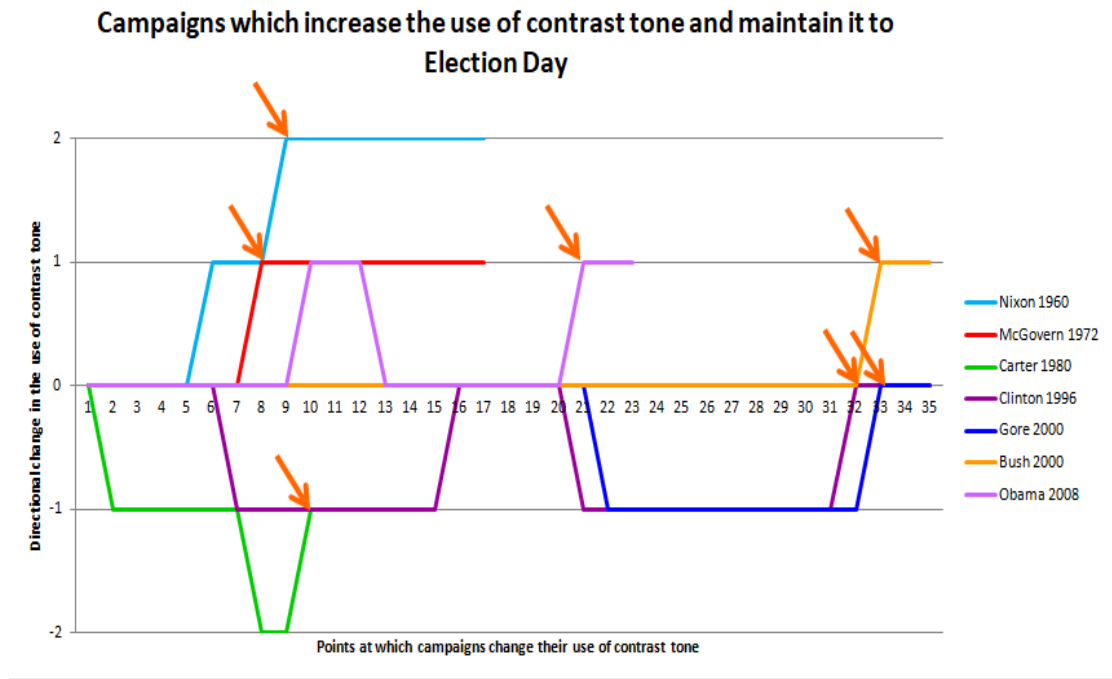


Figure 2.21



(See below)

Table 2.5 Table showing campaigns studied, the type of change in use of tone, and the point the change occurs, with final changes indicated in red

Campaign	Increased use of positive tone	Decreased use of positive tone	Increased use of negative tone	Decreased use of negative tone	Increased use of contrast tone	Decreased use of contrast tone
JFK 1960	4	2	6	2		9
NIXON 1960	3, 6, 9				6,9	
LBJ 1964						
HUMPHREY 1968		2, 4	4		2	
NIXON 1968	2		5			
MCGOVERN 1972		2	8		8	
NIXON 1972						
CARTER 1976	3,10			10	3	10
FORD 1976	10	8		10	8	10
CARTER 1980	2			2	10	2, 8
REAGAN 1980		3				
MONDALE 1984	2,7		7,9	2	7	
REAGAN 1984	4		13		9	
DUKAKIS 1988	14		14,16	21	14	
BUSH 1988				15,17		17
CLINTON 1992		14	14	16	14	
BUSH 1992	7		18	15		7
CLINTON 1996	7, 11,21	16, 32	9	18, 27	16, 32	7, 21
DOLE 1996	23	21	13		13	
GORE 2000	9,13		18	11	33	22
BUSH 2000	3, 10, 13	6			33	
KERRY 2004	7, 12, 15, 19		23	10, 29,	19	10
BUSH 2004	6			3	6	16, 25
OBAMA 2008	16	10	10,16	21	10,21	13
MCCAIN 2008		20		2		2
OBAMA 2012		2,7	7,11,22	16	2, 7	

ROMNEY 2012		20	3, 23			
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Discussion

There is change

When the results are examined the findings are very interesting with regard to the use of tone in campaign strategy as studied using campaign rhetoric. Overall, based on the various hypotheses above, there is change in the use of tone in campaign strategy when analysing campaign rhetoric. There are 137 instances of change across all the campaigns studied; this equates to 95 points of change, with some points having two or three variables changing at the same time. There are 51 positive changes, 45 negative changes and 40 contrast changes. This gives support for the main hypothesis of this project; that campaigns change strategy during the presidential general election campaign.

Support for previous findings

Whilst it was unknown for certain that there would be evidence of change in the use of tone in campaign strategy, if there was change there were certain findings that were anticipated, based on previous research into tone using the medium of advertising especially. A number of the results support these previous findings. Campaigns did start positive and go negative, although this did not happen in every campaign; it supports the idea that campaigns go negative as found in previous research using other media. Given the amount of research into the phenomenon of going negative, the fact that hypotheses do corroborate with past research in that campaigns go negative in rhetoric at some point too is pleasing. Where this differs is that in campaign rhetoric campaigns do not always then stay negative as implied by past research into other media. Another area where the findings support past research is with regard to challenger candidates; they are more likely to go

negative than incumbent candidates, which fits with the current proposed theory as to why candidates may go negative.

Substantial findings that do not support previous research

However there are also substantial findings that do not support previous research. Taking all the findings together, the reality is that especially with campaign rhetoric, the use of tone is much more complex and varied than the popular and highly researched phenomenon of going negative. The different types of change in the use of tone indicate overall that candidates change the use of tone to both increase and decrease the use of the three variables studied; positive, negative and contrast tone. This significantly differs from established ideas of going negative in particular, which suggest that campaigns go negative and maintain an increased use of negative tone. Whereas findings from campaign rhetoric show that candidates go negative, but also decrease the use of negative tone afterward. Whilst only seven campaigns decrease the use of negative tone after increasing the use of negative tone, and this is not a majority of cases, findings indicate that much more is going on than just 'going negative'. The core phenomenon talked about from previous research actually is not the core finding from focusing on campaign rhetoric and the use of tone. This finding enables questioning of the theory that candidates should stay negative in order for the candidate to have the best chance to win the election. Given that candidates do not always stay negative, and also do not always stay contrast, it is clear that strategy in campaign rhetoric does not follow the same norms as the use of tone in other media.

When taken together, the findings from the hypotheses challenge many of these established ideas. In addition to candidates not just increasing the use of negative tone, negative tone use does not make up 30-40% of tone rhetoric in campaigns, and neither does negative and contrast tone use combined. Whereas from research based on other media up to 40% of the campaign has been negative, in campaign rhetoric candidates do increase the use of negative or contrast tone, but this is not generally to the same degree as

the 40% found in other media. This is not to say that contrast or negative tone comprise a small percentage of tone rhetoric. The use of negative or contrast tone does make up 55% and 40% of some campaign tone rhetoric respectively. Whilst on average negative or contrast tone use does not comprise up to 40% of tone in campaign rhetoric, negative and contrast tone do still make up a good proportion of rhetoric; they are not just small percentages of rhetoric that sometimes are used.

Focusing again on the established norm that campaigns go negative; the evidence from H7, that actually campaigns can increase the use of positive, negative and contrast tone, and also decrease the use of positive, negative and contrast tone, suggests something different occurs if only in campaign rhetoric. This is especially true and important when combined with H8 which found that candidates increase the use of contrast more than increasing the use of negative tone in terms of the number of campaigns which go contrast or negative. Again H9 indicates that rather than just going negative or going contrast, campaigns could go negative then decrease negative and go positive and go contrast before going negative, for example, in the final stages of the campaign. Just talking about the phenomenon of going negative, especially in campaign rhetoric, misses what is actually occurring in the use of tone in campaign rhetoric. Furthermore, from the results there was not support for the established idea that if an opponent goes negative, so too will the candidate go negative. Again there are instances when both candidates in a campaign do both go negative, but in general this does not seem to be true across the campaigns studied, unlike with other media. The inclusion of contrast in the analysis of tone enables identification of differences in the use of negative tone, and in part can help explain why the more traditional ideas surrounding the use of tone do not necessarily hold true, especially in campaign rhetoric. Where there are times when use of contrast tone changes rather than negative tone, in previous research this would all be taken together as one

variable. This dissection into two variables has meant that actually, especially for campaign rhetoric findings, explanations and established ideas may not still hold true.

The inclusion of contrast has produced perhaps the most interesting and different findings from the hypotheses, surrounding the role of contrast in the use of tone. Going contrast is different from going negative. It enables candidates to combine the perceived benefits of positive tone with the perceived benefits of negative tone, thus potentially being a far less costly choice for candidates. Given that candidates increase the use of contrast in more campaigns than increase the use of negative tone, there is an indication that candidates may recognise this point. For example, rather than going negative which is considered vitally important by many in campaign advertising strategy especially, more campaigns went contrast. This goes beyond just changing to increase the use of contrast in candidates' use of tone though. In investigating whether candidates go contrast more than go negative, it became apparent that actually candidates may use going negative and going contrast together. In seven of the 22 instances when candidates changed their use of tone to increase the use of contrast, at the exact same point, in the same candidate campaign, so too did the candidate increase the use of negative tone. Changing both at the same point in time especially enables candidates to combine the benefits of going negative with the benefits of going positive.

Studying rhetoric especially helps to highlight the potentially crucial role that contrast plays in change in the use of tone in campaign strategy and more broadly in campaign strategy. Whilst campaign advertising can use contrast and there have been studies that point to the use of contrast in televised advertising, campaign rhetoric as previously noted is direct from the campaign not through an advertising specialist, and can include last minute edits that may attack the opposition. It could be argued that campaign rhetoric is a more appropriate medium to use contrast tone. For starters, campaign speeches are longer than adverts and so where a choice may be needed to only go contrast or go

negative in an advertisement, candidates can use a mixture of all tone variables in speeches. Secondly tone is not separate from campaign strategy or campaigning as a whole. That is; all aspects of campaigns are interlinked, tone does not just exist exclusively in campaign rhetoric. Through tone, candidates can also express to voters aspects of their character. In campaign rhetoric, which rather than being a 30 second snippet of why voters should vote for a candidate or not vote for an opponent, candidates are able to portray a more rounded view of themselves; their positives, their character, their issues and more. With this, rhetoric lends itself to being more appropriate for using contrast because it can help candidates emphasise their own strengths but also remind voters why the opposition is a bad choice; it enables a balanced view to be portrayed across a lengthier period of time.

When the changes are looked at, on the basis of open, incumbent or challenger candidates, Democratic or Republican, and winners or losers, there are further differences between candidates choosing to increase the use of negative or contrast tone. The two tables below show the frequency both in instances and campaigns for firstly going negative and then going contrast.

Table 2.6: Table showing the breakdown in the campaigns that change to increase the use of negative tone

Factor	Number of campaigns (Total 16)	Number of changes (Total 22)
Open race	6	8
Incumbent	4	6
Challenger	6	8
Democrat	11	16
Republican	5	6
Winner	7	10
Losing candidate	9	12

Table 2.7 Table showing the breakdown in the campaigns that change to increase the use of contrast tone

Type of campaign	Number of campaigns (total 17)	Number of changes (Total 22)
Open	6	8
Incumbent	6	8
Challenger	6	6
Democrat	12	15
Republican	6	7
Winning	8	11
Losing	10	11

In terms of increasing the use of contrast as compared with negative tone, more winners, more incumbents and more Republicans choose to increase the use of contrast tone than negative tone. There are equal instances overall of increasing negative tone and contrast tone, but more campaigns increase the use of contrast tone. Democrats increase the use of negative tone slightly more than contrast tone. What is most surprising about these changes in the tables above is that partisanship matters. That is, depending on the party you are in, depends on the likelihood of you increasing either negative or contrast tone. The Democrats increase the use of negative and contrast tone in more campaigns and more instances than the Republicans. Whilst challenger candidates do increase the use of negative tone more than incumbents, they do so in the same proportion as open candidates increase the use of negative tone. However, when looking at percentages, as in H4, 60% of open races increased the use of negative tone, as opposed to 75% of challenger candidates. It would be anticipated that winning candidates would, based on prior research, increase the use of negative tone more than candidates who lost campaigns. This is because of the importance placed on ‘going negative’, the necessity of doing so and the perceived benefits of going negative. Yet in actuality losing candidates increase the use of negative tone in more campaigns and in more instances than winning candidates, further questioning more established ideas being applicable to campaign rhetoric.

A final idea to note is related to the perceived costs and benefits of positive and negative tone. As previously discussed, there are costs and benefits to using positive or negative tone, which campaigns would, according to established theory, consider when determining at what point candidates would go negative, when developing the campaign strategy. However, the findings, for example the idea that candidates do not necessarily go negative when their opponent does, although this would be considered beneficial under the established cost benefit analysis theory, suggest that actually there is much more occurring in campaign strategy, based on campaign rhetoric analysis. According to prior research, candidates would go negative, for example, when they think it would help them win. Research has also proposed potential explanations as to why candidates may go negative including; closeness to Election Day, the timing in the campaign, the standing of the candidate and the status of the candidate. However, taking the findings as a whole, and thinking more broadly about change in campaign strategy, it is possible that candidates actually are constantly using cost benefit analysis to determine their use of tone, and perhaps other aspects of strategy. Factors such as fixed or unexpected events, at times the opposition, and polls, could be driving calculations of what is costly or beneficial at a given time. When, based on factors, the current strategy has become costly; the candidate may instigate change in the use of tone. This could explain why some candidates have not followed their opponent in going negative even though it would have been anticipated that they should based on the costs of negative tone. Rather than focusing on the costs and benefits of the variables, candidates instead are assessing what is costly or beneficial based on other factors; when these calculations show a decision to be costly then change occurs. In future research it would be interesting to investigate whether there is a threshold which after being met, change occurs; a point where it is too costly to continue as is. This idea takes the cost benefit analysis usually associated with voting behaviour, or with the cost and benefits of specific options, and instead considers the calculation of cost benefit to be based on a number of factors, and to be driving the changes. Rather than cost benefit

analysis to be made once a candidate has determined there may be a need to change strategy, it may be being used to determine when to change strategy, in this case the use of tone, based on certain factors.

Future research

Finally, as has been noted throughout this discussion, future research comparing advertising findings and analysing advertising using the three variables over as much of the time period as possible would be extremely interesting as findings do seem to differ between rhetoric and what has been written about tone and advertising. This is both at a general level and in relation to specific examples. For example, Devlin's analysis found Bush's 2004 campaign to be the "most negative" ever, with 72% negative adverts (2005). Yet focusing on campaign rhetoric, Bush's 2004 campaign does not increase the use of negative tone. It did increase the use of contrast tone at point 6. The highest percentage of negative tone in rhetoric for Bush's 2004 campaign is 34.78% in week 33. Similarly, the first hypothesis identifies change across 25 campaigns, but not any significant change occurring in Johnson 1964 and Nixon 1972. In particular, Johnson 1964 is perceived to be a negative campaign based on advertising, however in campaign rhetoric Johnson had negligible percentages of the use of negative tone and did not change at the level of two standard deviations. This again indicates that there are potentially different findings in rhetoric than in advertising. Alongside this, the factors influencing candidates cost benefit analysis which seemingly leads to change and whether they differ across media would be interesting and useful to investigate.

Again when looking beyond the results, it would be relevant to investigate using regression analysis if factors such as a last push, Labor Day, or conventions, have any impact on when candidates change their use of tone across the three variables. It is possible that the final four weeks in the run up to the campaign, considered in this project the last push period before Election Day, may influence changes in strategy. Labor Day is

traditionally the start of the campaign season, and whilst campaigns have started the general election campaigning earlier and earlier, it is possible that this traditional point in time impacts what changes candidates make. Similarly, the conventions for the two parties may influence changes given that it is a time when the party comes together and changes could be beneficial for candidates at this point in time. These three factors could be considered structural events; events which occur in every presidential campaign. The data from change in the use of tone suggests that during the last push period, that is the period four weeks back from Election Day, and Labor Day and the Conventions, there are a higher number of changes during these periods. However the amount of changes which occur during these periods compared with other periods during the campaign is more proportional in the use of tone than compared with other categories researched for the project. This would imply that perhaps these factors are less explanatory of the changes for tone than they may be for other categories.

The idea posed that campaign rhetoric may be a more appropriate medium for using contrast tone rather than negative tone in some ways has posed more questions than potential answers. There are many changes in the use of contrast tone. Taking the view that contrast tone was better suited to rhetoric than advertising, it could be asked, why then there is instances where candidates decrease the use of contrast tone, and why is negative tone increased at all during campaign rhetoric. Until a comparative analysis with another medium for campaign strategy occurs it may be difficult to know just how crucial contrast is across the whole of campaign tone, but it is clear that with regard to campaign rhetoric, a core medium of campaign strategy, candidates use contrast tone and this impacts established thought on candidates' use of tone.

The relationship between changes in the use of negative and contrast tone would be another interesting avenue to investigate as more research focuses on the role of contrast in campaign tone. It may be that whilst candidates do see a need to use negative tone, they

also see that contrast tone helps to keep voters wanting to vote for them. After all, negative tone gives reasons not to vote for the opposition but also a reason not to vote for the candidate going negative, whereas contrast enables candidates to give reasons to vote for themselves whilst comparing themselves clearly to the opposition.

Overall the use of contrast tone in campaign rhetoric lends itself to further exploration of how candidates use contrast besides when they change the use of contrast tone. One aspect where further investigation would be particularly interesting would be related to the number of campaigns versus the number of individual changes which occur to the use of contrast tone. As identified in the findings, there are more campaigns which increase the use of contrast tone than those which increase the use of negative tone. However, there are equal instances of change which increase the use of negative and contrast tone. This could mean that there are fewer campaigns which go negative, but those that do, do so in the same proportion to those that go contrast. Similarly, whilst more campaigns go contrast, as H9 indicates, there are actually more campaigns out of those studied that go negative and maintain going negative to the end of the campaign than go contrast and maintain going contrast to the end of the campaign. Taken together, it seems that candidates prefer to change their use of tone to go contrast in campaign rhetoric, but if they instead choose to go negative they may do so as many times in the campaign and are more likely to stay negative. What will be particularly useful to know would be whether different factors explain why candidates go contrast as opposed to go negative? The other factor to bear in mind is that candidates could go negative and go contrast in the same campaign. From campaigns studied thus far, there does not seem to be any pattern as to whether campaigns go contrast then go negative or go negative then go contrast. More rather the key point is that more campaigns go contrast, but more maintain going negative. However more investigation into this aspect too would be imperative in order to gain a full picture of what occurs with the use of tone in campaign rhetoric.

Conclusion

Overall it is clear that there are changes in the use of tone in campaign rhetoric across the campaigns analysed from 1960-2012. The changes that occur are increasing the use of positive tone, decreasing the use of positive tone, increasing the use of negative tone, decreasing the use of negative tone, and increase to the use of contrast tone and decrease to the use of contrast tone. Whilst some aspects support previous research findings, in that change does occur, and campaigns do go negative, there are substantial findings in this project. Focusing on campaign rhetoric to analyse the use of tone highlights the crucial role that contrast has in candidates' use of tone and it is clear that the relationship between the three variables is complex. There is much more going on in the use of tone than candidates just going negative. In fact, whilst candidates may increase the use of negative tone and maintain increased negative tone to the end of the campaign in more campaigns, candidates increase the use of contrast tone in more campaigns than increase the use of negative tone. Findings differ from what has been suggested about why candidates may go negative, and also about what campaigns are generally perceived to be negative.

Future research into both the disparities between campaign rhetoric and other media, and into perceptions of tone and actual tone from a campaign would be very interesting to further this field of research. From the findings based on the use of contrast tone it is clear that the contrast tone variable should be included in future studies of campaign tone, regardless of the medium being investigated. It may be that where campaigns in the past seemed overwhelmingly negative, in actuality there is much more occurring.

To conclude, the use of tone in campaign strategy is complex, and needs assessing through the variables of positive, negative and contrast tone. There are changes throughout the time period of 1960 to 2012 in all three variables of tone in campaign rhetoric. This

gives evidence to support the overarching idea that campaign strategy, whilst it should be fixed, does instead change during campaigns. These changes are not just going negative as has been indicated in past research, but also to go contrast, and to decrease the use of negative or contrast tone variables. Whilst change does occur and supports the theory that campaign strategy is not fixed, it also is not as simple as just going negative as previous research has so heavily focused on.

Chapter Three: Use of Character in Campaign Rhetoric

There are many aspects of campaign strategy that are relatively easy to quantify in campaign rhetoric. For example, the issues a candidate stands for are, relatively speaking, clear or 'easy' to identify within campaign rhetoric. There are other core aspects to campaign strategy which, in relation to rhetoric, are not so clearly identifiable. Character falls into this latter group. Whilst candidates use character to help highlight aspects of themselves to voters, in order to convince voters that they are the better candidate for the job of president, candidates rarely want to be so obvious as to say "I am honest and have good experience". More likely, they would aim to portray these points to voters in their rhetoric in subtle ways. With this in mind, this chapter explores the use of character in rhetoric from the perspective of candidates needing to portray aspects of themselves subtly to the electorate, rather than from what character in general may be determined as.

Whilst often subtle, portrayal of character is a vital way for candidates to convince the electorate to vote for them. Often people are not as staunchly sold on all policy positions of a candidate, but may get 'a good feeling' for the candidate or may simply vote for them because they like them or feel the candidate is 'like me' (Benoit 2003). Character is the way candidates can try to portray that they are 'like the voter' or to give voters a 'good feeling' about themselves, and therefore is core to understanding campaign strategy changes in rhetoric. In order to fully understand the use of character in rhetoric, character needs to be definable and quantifiable. Since character is considered a core method for candidates to present aspects of themselves to voters which may make them seem a good candidate for president, this chapter will focus more on examining the use of character within campaign rhetoric, rather than dwelling on the theory of character in the abstract sense.

However the candidate decides to portray themselves through their use of character in rhetoric to the voters, it would be anticipated that the candidate would be consistent in

their strategy throughout the campaign period. If the candidate is trying to portray core behaviours which would help make voters feel they are ‘like them’ for example, often such behaviours are hard to change or make up for the sake of a campaign. Put another way, where candidates can choose what to focus on in terms of issues, or their use of party, or could choose when to change their use of tone, it is much harder for candidates to suddenly become humble, or have integrity, especially if there is past evidence to show otherwise. Whilst there are still aspects of choice in what the candidate can focus on, this might be limited, based on how a candidate usually behaves or acts. Given that generally there are expected standards for candidates to adhere to in terms of their character, it would be anticipated that candidates would portray these expected standards such as having integrity or empathy whenever it is possible to do so. As the electorate, media and opposition analyse candidates’ rhetoric and past in depth, it would be difficult for a candidate to portray themselves successfully as, for example, having integrity or empathy if prior action contradicted this. With all this in mind, it would therefore be presumed that compared to the other three areas being examined in this project, there would actually be very few changes in the use of character. The use of character in rhetoric would be more stable than the use of issues, tone or party. This is not to say that there will be no evidence of change, but that there will be fewer instances of change than in other categories being investigated.

In investigating changes in candidates’ use of character, given that it is difficult to quantify what character is, this project has developed a Character in Rhetoric Model (CRM). This model draws on previous attempts at defining what character is, and aims to define the portrayal of character in campaign rhetoric. The model enables understanding of both how candidates use character in rhetoric, and identification of any changes to the use of character throughout campaign rhetoric. The model enables focus on how character is used rather than on what character is, and therefore helps to identify character in campaign rhetoric specifically, rather than character in general. Within the model, the term ‘qualities’

will be used to refer to specific aspects that candidates may be highlighting within rhetoric, such as integrity and morality. The term is more appropriate for the aspects being investigated compared with other descriptive terms used in other literature such as ‘traits’ for example. Whilst there are many complex aspects to the study and modelling of character, this project aims to avoid some of this complexity by using the term qualities to mean specific aspects that candidates may highlight, rather than using terms such as trait, that are burdened with meaning from the discipline of psychology. Given that the CRM uses qualitative methods of analysis, only the campaigns of 2004, 2008, and 2012 will be analysed for this project due to the amount of rhetoric for all campaigns that would need to be analysed in the time constraints. Only these three campaigns will be studied, so when comparing the use of character to see if it is more stable as compared with the use of tone, issues or party, this will occur in the context of only the 2004, 2008, and 2012 elections.

Before explaining in detail the Character in Rhetoric Model, hypotheses will be proposed, and the previous research that has informed the CRM will be introduced.

Hypotheses

With the focus being on the use of character in rhetoric, the initial hypothesis is that:

H1: Candidates will change their use of character in campaign rhetoric.

This would be presumed given that there is an underlying assumption that whilst campaign strategy should be fixed, it does in fact change. This hypothesis looks at whether there is evidence of any change, which is anticipated but to a smaller degree than in other categories given that the nature of character lends itself to being more stable in comparison to tone, issues and party.

The use of character in campaigns: the focus of previous research and existing definitions of character

A number of theories have been proposed as ways to define character in existing research on presidential elections and more broadly. The existing literature covers many aspects of character, yet no one option defines clearly what character is, and terms are often used interchangeably to mean the same thing. Anything from 'trait' to 'characteristic' or 'quality' can be used for a certain term. Before introducing a method to be used for this project to explore the use of character in rhetoric, it is useful to explain what research currently has proposed when defining character.

The literature highlights character, traits, qualities, biography and experience as core aspects that candidates for federal office should portray to voters (Hayes 2005; Petrocik 1996; Glasgow and Alvarez 2000). Each theory gives slightly different priority to certain 'traits' or characteristics. Firstly Hayes (2005) proposes the trait ownership theory, which uses both the term 'trait' and 'quality' to describe potential descriptors used for candidates such as intelligent or compassionate. This theory was developed using data from the ANES (American National Election Study) questions on candidates' personal qualities. Hayes specifically tests the hypothesis on being a strong leader, moral, compassionate, empathetic, decent, intelligent, knowledgeable, and inspiring (Hayes 2005:913). Looking to two aspects of Hayes' research, he uses in the excerpt the words 'qualities', and 'trait', and uses 'qualities' from the ANES to test his hypothesis. However, being a strong leader could be determined as experience, if experience has been gained by a candidate in a position of leadership. Similarly, 'intelligent', and 'knowledgeable', in certain contexts could be determined as biographical points about a person, and 'moral' and 'empathetic' could be considered character, traits, or qualities. In the same vein, Alvarez and Glasgow consider morality to be a personality trait, not a quality or character trait like Hayes (2000).

There is "general agreement" on "a few broad categories" that may be central to the definition of character, specifically competence, trustworthiness, and warmth, however there often is still "disagreement as to the nature and content" of such categories (Funk 1997; Funk 1999; Funk 1996; Kaid and Chanslor 1995). Following from these generally agreed upon areas, definitions of character have taken various additional qualities to be important.

Kinder developed a definition of character in the 1980s when exploring presidential qualities and characteristics for the American National Election Studies (ANES). Character was considered to be comprised of; competence, including "intelligence", and "knowledgeable"; leadership which included "inspiring" and "strong leadership"; integrity including being "moral" and "honest"; and empathy which included "compassion" and "cares about people like me" (Kinder 1983, 1986 cited in Funk 1999: 702). Subsequent research has built on this. Funk, for example, determined that character was made up of "integrity, empathy, and some variation of competence and leadership", placing the latter two as one category (1999: 715). However there are flaws to these two definitions of character as identified by Kinder and then Funk (1983;1997). As with many character definitions, there is an overall lack of clarity as to what exactly character is. Whilst there may never be a perfect definition of character which encompasses every possible aspect of a person's character, the flaw with Kinder is that words such as being "intelligent" does not exactly state, for example, what competence is. Further to this, simplifying character down to just four categories does not seem to cover all aspects that candidates try to imply and portray to voters through campaign rhetoric. Focus on just competence, empathy, leadership and integrity may capture some aspects of candidate character but it will miss other aspects that candidates highlight to gain votes, including humility or resolve, for example. Additionally, these definitions of character could potentially be considered dated in the view of more recent elections. Character qualities such as portraying leadership or

courage may be viewed very differently now in comparison to the post-war world in which these definitions were initially developed. A final issue with the distinctions of both Kinder and Funk, which Funk has acknowledged, is that the categories can be interrelated, making the complex nature of character even harder to identify (1999: 702). Overall Kinder's definition neither helps, nor succeeds, in quantifying character succinctly and is not ideal for analysis of the use of character in campaign rhetoric.

The Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse, identified by Benoit, takes a different approach to character (2001; 2003). The theory in general takes the starting point that "a voter chooses to vote for the candidate who appears preferable to him or her, on whatever criteria are most salient to that voter" (Benoit, Blaney and Peir 1988: 4 in Benoit 2003:99). According to this logic, rhetoric can help a candidate to become the preferred choice of voters (Benoit 2003:99). Candidates can use 'acclaims', that is, positive messages of the candidate, or 'attacks' which are negative messages about the opponent, or defences against attacks, in order to persuade voters to choose the candidate in question (Benoit 2003:99). The theory also considers campaign discourse to have two main topics; "policy (issue) and character (image)" (Benoit 2003: 83), where character addresses "characteristics, traits, abilities or attributes of the candidates" (Benoit and Harthcock 1999: 346 in Benoit 2003: 99). Following this logic, the Functional Theory takes character as personal qualities, leadership ability, and ideals (Benoit 2001; 2003). Personal qualities are considered to relate to the "personality traits of the candidate"; leadership ability captures the "executive or administration experience and ability"; and ideals are "values and principles" of the candidate (Benoit 2003). The benefit of the Functional Theory is that it captures an aspect of character missing from Kinder's distinctions; the idea of personality traits. However, the three areas are very vague to be considered for capturing the intricacies of character that are seen in campaign rhetoric. They also are not much clearer in defining character as a whole than Kinder's previous definition. Therefore whilst

different, the Functional Theory is still not ideal for examining the use of character in campaign rhetoric.

Benoit and McHale (2003) built upon the idea of character using “grounded theory”, and developed a typology based on analysis of advertising spots. Grounded Theory is a method of "constant comparison", which enables the development of "a complex theory that corresponds closely to the data, since the constant comparisons force the analyst to consider much diversity in the data" (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 113-14 in Benoit and McHale 2003: 323). Benoit and McHale used this theory to develop a framework of qualities used by candidates in television adverts for campaigns (Benoit and McHale 2003). The two examined statements about personal qualities to identify characteristics, then discussed and integrated provisional groupings into "emergent categories" (Benoit and McHale 2003: 323). They then individually scrutinized further text excerpts, creating provisional categories where necessary, contrasting excerpts as they went to ensure there were mutually exclusive categories and to ensure the excerpts in the same categories fitted together (Benoit and McHale 2003). Themes emerged from this process, and categories became determined or extinguished where necessary, until the categories were satisfactory and all excerpts assigned (Benoit and McHale 2003). This then led to them 'melding' the typologies into one (Benoit and McHale 2003). The finished typology considered character to be sincerity, morality, empathy, drive, and 'miscellaneous' items (Benoit and McHale 2003). Each typology had qualities within it: sincerity was comprised of honesty, trust, promises, openness, and consistency; morality of decency, integrity, responsibility, and fairness; empathy of understanding and fighting for people; and drive of strength, hard work, determination, and courage (Benoit and McHale 2003). The final area, 'miscellaneous', consisted of charismatic, thrift, reasonable and humility (Benoit and McHale 2003).

This version of character is far more detailed in terms of what qualities fall under the different areas, however it is still not ideal for exploring character in the candidate campaign rhetoric to find evidence of change in strategy. Firstly, the 'miscellaneous' area has aspects of character that do not relate to each other, categorised together. Secondly, the core idea of competence or ability is missing from the typology. Character qualities are a way for candidates to highlight aspects of themselves that make them a good candidate for the job. The competence or ability of a person speaks straight to this; it is a clear proxy for voters to identify if a candidate may be good as president, and yet is not considered for the typology. Again in regards to clarity of what character is, especially for being explored in rhetoric, the typology does not seem to be clear in defining character.

Method: Investigating Character using the Character in Rhetoric Model (CRM)

Given the flaws with each of the identified methods of defining character, this project has taken a different approach again to character, using the Character in Rhetoric Model (CRM) to both enable understanding of how candidates use character in rhetoric, and identification of how use of character changes throughout campaign rhetoric, if indeed it does. The Model is developed by focusing on character from the point of view of the strategic aims of the candidate: to convince the electorate to vote for the candidate and therefore to win an election. This therefore differs significantly from other definitions of character, which focus on character from the point of view of what the electorate look for in a candidate instead.

The CRM has three layers; meta-characteristics, rhetorical devices and qualities. The first layer, meta-characteristics, consists of the three core characteristics that candidates aim to portray to voters, using rhetorical devices and qualities to do so. This layer of meta-characteristics is not measured, because candidates actually portray these to voters using layer two and three, which are measured in the analysis. The point of layer

one is that these meta-characteristics are not able to be ‘found’ in rhetoric, but are captured by the rhetorical devices and qualities, so layer one cannot be measured. Layer two, rhetorical devices, is comprised of nine patterns of rhetorical construction which recur consistently throughout the campaign rhetoric, and help to portray the meta-characteristics. Layer two is measured in order to investigate change. Layer three, qualities, investigates the use of seven qualities that candidates tell voters about in their rhetoric, in order to portray the meta-characteristics. This layer is also measured to investigate change in the use of character. It is essential to have all three layers of the model, in order to fully understand how candidates use and portray character in campaign rhetoric. Layer three, qualities, alone cannot capture all aspects of a candidate’s character that they portray to voters. Hence, it is vital to also measure layer two in order to get as full a picture as possible of how candidates use, and change their use, of character. The model was developed with past research in mind, but aims to give a more complete assessment of the use of character in campaign rhetoric. The model will be explained in further detail below.

The Character in Rhetoric Model: Layer One

What many of the definitions discussed above had in common were the characteristics of leadership and competence, either as separate or combined categories (Kinder 1983; 1986; Funk 1996; 1997; 1999; Benoit 2001; 2003). Along with these two common characteristics was the idea that candidates should project likeability, seen in Funk as ‘warmth’ (1996). The literature points to the three characteristics of leadership, competence and likeability as being very important in how character is used and understood. It is reasonable to assume that these are characteristics that are crucial in the use of character. The three characteristics comprise the first layer of the CRM; meta-characteristics. The model proposes that the strategic aim of candidates during elections, is to portray to the voter these three meta-characteristics of leadership, competence and likeability. The logic follows that if they can succeed in portraying themselves as having

these three meta-characteristics, then this can help convince voters that they are the better candidate for the Presidency. Unlike other theories, this project proposes that the three meta-characteristics cannot be arbitrarily defined by other qualities successfully or succinctly. For example, leadership cannot be defined to be “inspiring” and “strong leadership” (Kinder 1983; 1986; cited in Funk 1999: 702). Instead these meta-characteristics are what the candidate is aiming to portray through the use of character in their campaign rhetoric. This is why layer one is not measured, but layers two and three, which candidates use to portray layer one, are measured.

Competence and leadership have both been identified in the previous definitions of character explained above (Kinder 1983; 1986; Funk 1996; 1997; 1999; Benoit 2001; 2003). Ability to portray the meta-characteristic of competence enables candidates to try to convince voters they can do the job of president, even though they often do not have experience of being president. This is done through layers two and three of the model, explained below. Similarly, ability to portray leadership enables candidates to convince voters that they would be a strong leader, as Kinder identified in his definition of character, again done by candidates by layer two and three of the model (1983; 1986). Likeability was less explicitly identified within previous definitions of character, however this meta-characteristic is considered for this project to be as vital as competence and leadership in enabling candidates to portray themselves as the better candidate for the job of president. Especially given the various challenges that face the world today, it is expected, as Funk highlighted, that a candidate who has ‘warmth’, that people can like and warm to, would be considered a better choice of candidate by voters (1996). This links to the idea that people generally want someone who is likeable and ‘like me’, but also extraordinary in terms of being able to run the country. The three are meta-characteristics because the literature consistently identifies the three as important even when other aspects cannot be agreed

upon. These three meta-characteristics cannot be identified clearly in rhetoric, but instead through the identification of the other two layers of the model in rhetoric.

The Character in Rhetoric Model: Layer Two

The second layer of the CRM proposes that a number of rhetorical devices are used by candidates as ways for them to highlight qualities of their character, and which help to portray the meta-characteristics of leadership, competence and likeability. The devices are a number of patterns of rhetorical construction. For example, candidates often tell stories about themselves or their families; this is the personal or family stories device. The devices are different patterns which recur consistently throughout campaign rhetoric. The categorisation of these devices was developed through investigation of speeches when candidates are speaking to, or portraying aspects of their character. The use of rhetorical devices is in itself a strategic decision taken by candidates. Rhetorical devices are how candidates portray character, whereas layer three, discussed below, is more what the candidates are trying to portray. Nine rhetorical devices have been identified within campaign rhetoric: experience, personal or family stories, future projections, outright claims of character, telling stories of others, opponent, incumbent, niceties and American values. It is proposed that most of campaign rhetoric can be categorised into these nine rhetorical devices, based on a detailed codebook of definitions (in Appendix A). Layer two are familiar structural patterns used to help project a series of qualities, which is layer three of the CRM. Multiple devices may be used in a single paragraph.

The Character in Rhetoric Model: Layer Three

The third layer of the model consists of the qualities of character. Some qualities of character may be obvious, others less so. The third layer of the model was developed based on investigation of what was occurring in campaign speeches, what had been discussed in previous attempts at defining character, and on data from the American

National Elections Study (ANES) exploring qualities that voters perceived candidates to have. The logic followed that if voters believed candidates had certain qualities, these same qualities would be what the candidates are portraying through their campaigns. The qualities of character are: integrity and morality, knowledge, humility, work ethic, resolve, empathy, and empathic promise. These qualities were specifically chosen in order to give as complete a picture of the use of character as possible, whilst ensuring that each quality could be quantifiable within campaign rhetoric. The qualities of character are analysed based on criteria defined within a detailed codebook and in explanation below. There can be multiple qualities identified in a single paragraph.

Overall therefore, this project proposes that the use of character in rhetoric is identified through specific rhetorical devices (layer two), and qualities of character (layer three) which fulfil the candidates' strategic aim of portraying the meta-characteristics (layer one), of leadership, competence and likeability to voters. All three layers are necessary in the model in order to better understand and capture how candidates use character in rhetoric, and what candidates portray about character to voters, and from that how they change the use of character in rhetoric. Both layer two and layer three are necessary in order to understand more fully the use of character; if only layer two or layer three was used in analysis then there would only be a small proportion of candidates' use of character being investigated.

Both layer two and layer three may show evidence of change in strategy. This is because these are the two layers being measured for the use of character in rhetoric, and which candidates use to portray layer one, the meta-characteristics, throughout. The character in rhetoric model enables easier, quantified analysis of changes in relation to the use of character for this project, as compared with previous definitions of character.

Hypotheses

With the CRM and campaign literature in mind, further hypotheses can be made:

H2: Candidates will change the use of rhetorical devices.

This hypothesis again is presumed given that whilst campaign strategy should be fixed there is an assumption that in reality strategy is changing during campaigns. Again, whilst it is anticipated candidates would change the use of strategy less in character, it is still presumed that candidates would change their use of character to a limited degree. As part of this there would be change in the rhetorical devices.

H3: Candidates will change the use of qualities.

As with hypothesis 1 and 2, this again would be presumed given that although strategy should be fixed, in actuality it is suggested it changes. Whilst there is anticipated to be more stability than change, there would still be expected to be some change in the use of qualities overall.

H4: Candidates will change their use of character less than the use of tone, issues or party.

This hypothesis is suggested given that candidates want to portray to voters the meta-characteristics, using the two layers, throughout the campaign and not just at one point in the campaign. There would be anticipated to be consistency given that character is a core way to show the voters the candidate is 'like them', which would always be beneficial for candidates to pursue.

H5: Candidates will change the use of a rhetorical device or quality, if their opponent has changed any rhetorical device or quality.

This hypothesis is suggested because if a candidate changes their use of character, it is likely that the opposition would also want to ensure that they continue to try and be the more electable candidate. However candidates would not necessarily respond by changing the same aspect of character but more rather try to increase voters' opinion of themselves with some part of character.

Codebook definitions

As previously mentioned, layer one is not measured and therefore does not need codebook definitions.

Layer Two: Devices

To help to portray the meta-characteristics of leadership, competence and likeability, this project proposes the idea that candidates use a number of rhetorical devices. There are nine devices. The devices can be identified in text, at the paragraph level, and there may be times when a paragraph uses multiple devices. Paragraphs will be analysed according to the codebook and evidence of each device counted on a weekly basis. This layer, when the data has been analysed and collected, can then be used as a measure of the use of character as a whole in rhetoric, for assessing change in strategy.

1. Experience

The first device proposed is candidates' reference to personal 'work' experience. The term 'work' experience is used loosely here, as it may cover experience in a paid role, or in military situations, or in political office, or in any other role such as volunteering. It is therefore any experience that the candidate can use to imply competence for the job of president, and ability to lead. This speaks directly to portrayal of leadership and competence, with candidates showing experience in order to convince voters they are

capable and able to do the job of president. An example of this device can be seen in the excerpt below:

"I built a business, and turned around another. I helped put an Olympics back on track. And with a Democratic legislature, I helped turn my state from deficit to surplus, from job losses to job growth, and from higher taxes to higher take-home pay" (Mitt Romney, Nov 2 2012).

Romney in the above excerpt is highlighting his past experience, which helps him to portray himself as having the ability to do the job of president given what he has done before.

Therefore any paragraph where experience is referred to is coded as experience. This includes reference to:

- a previous paid role
- past military service
- previously held political office
- any other past held role such as volunteering
- any past experience that the candidates mention broadly, for example previous attendance at high level meetings, discussions with dignitaries etc which are less role specific but are examples of the candidate having had experience which could imply competency for the presidency.
- a career path of candidates should be drawn up and any reference to this within text would be classed as experience device. This need only by major appointments and jobs held.

2. Personal or family stories

The second device proposed is the use of, or reference to personal or family stories, for example of taking children to school, or of family life from when the candidate was younger. Candidates can use personal or family stories to help project likeability through highlighting qualities of character that are used in rhetoric. These qualities will be explained further below. For example, Obama opens with

"Yesterday was a special day around my house. It was back-to-school day for my girls. Sasha started second grade and Malia began 5th. I know Malia was really embarrassed when I walked her to the classroom, but I did it anyway because she's still Daddy's girl" (September 9 2008).

Here Obama is describing a very normal activity that a lot of parents throughout the US would be able to relate to; taking their child to school for the start of another school year. Obama is showing himself to be not above the average person, but instead down to earth, someone who does very normal everyday activities. The device is considered to be a way for the candidate to highlight aspects of their character indirectly, by highlighting important memories and events they have experienced, and sharing these with the audience.

As such, any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as personal or family stories:

- the candidate tells a story about themselves or their family

3. Future projections

The third device which for this project can help identify use of character in rhetoric is the future projections device. This relates to the candidates ideas, thoughts or beliefs about America, primarily in the future, be that under their term if they win, or further into the future. In this context, beliefs does not mean religious beliefs, or moral beliefs, but rather their beliefs of what will be best for, or good for the country, or what should happen

in the next term, in their term as president. Examples of paragraphs that would fall under the remit of this device include:

"Now, on Thursday night, I'm going to offer you what I believe is a better path forward, a path that will grow this economy and create more jobs and strengthen the middle class. And the good news is you get to choose the path we take" (Obama September 2 2012)

"Don't tell me that students who can't afford to go to college should just borrow money from their parents... I'll bet it wasn't an option for a lot of the students who are here today. And so that's why I want to cut the growth in tuition in half by the next 10 years. I want to recruit 100,000 new math and science teachers so we don't fall behind the rest of the world; train 2 million Americans at our community colleges with the skills that businesses are looking for right now. That's what change is. That's what we're fighting for in this election." (Obama November 5 2012)

"If you believe we can do better, if you believe America should be on a better course, if you are tired of being tired, then I ask you to vote for real change. Paul Ryan and I will bring real change to America, from Day One." (Romney November 2 2012).

The above examples show candidates talking about the ideas and beliefs they have for the next four years, from what they want to do, to broader ideas and beliefs focusing on the people voting and what will occur when they do. These future projections paragraphs can portray evidence of the use of character in rhetoric by candidates. This may not always be the case, as some ideas will focus more on explanations of ideas. However at times, the future projections device may identify qualities of character, such as integrity and morality for example. This is seen in the final example below:

"Which raises something else about this Presidential campaign: It's not just about policies, it's also about trust" (Obama November 5 2012).

Obama is sharing his projections for the future of America, and in doing so is portraying the quality of integrity and morality.

This is identified in the rhetoric by any paragraph which refers to the following:

- where the candidate mentions the ideas or vision they have for, or about the country, and for, or about the next term
- where the candidate mentions beliefs for the country, the election, the future
- this excludes any reference to religious beliefs
- this can include any policy suggestions or issues for which they have ideas for the future or for their own future term.

4. Outright claims of character

A fourth device that it is proposed candidates use in campaign rhetoric, is outright claims of a certain quality of character, for example, I am humble. This device would be anticipated to be used rarely, given the subtle nature in which character is used. An example is:

"...But you know that I say what I mean and I mean what I say"

(Obama November 2 2012).

Whilst Obama does not use the word trust, he states outright a claim of character; that he is trustworthy.

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as outright claims of character:

- Where there is mention of any of the qualities of character either using the names, or rephrasing to mean the same as using the name of the quality. E.g. trust : ‘you know that I say what I mean’

5. Telling stories of others

Within candidate rhetoric it is proposed in the context of the project that candidates also use the device of telling stories about other people to show qualities of character in campaign rhetoric. This includes stories of a candidate meeting others, of other people's experiences, or of stories that the candidate has been told by others about someone else. An example is seen below:

"I still remember the email that a woman named Robyn sent me after I met her in Ft. Lauderdale. Sometime after our event, her son nearly went into cardiac arrest, and was diagnosed with a heart condition that could only be treated with a procedure that cost tens of thousands of dollars. Her insurance company refused to pay, and their family didn't have that kind of money" (Obama October 27 2008).

This paragraph sees Obama retelling a story about someone he had met, and within it he is able to imply qualities of character such as empathy.

Therefore, any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as telling stories of others:

- reference to stories of others
- reference to stories told by others to the candidate
- reference to the experience of other people that the candidate has seen or been told about

6. Opponent

Candidates in campaign rhetoric also mention their opponent, opposition party ideas, or the incumbent if they are from the opposing party, and this too is a proposed device used to explore the use of character in rhetoric. Where a candidate compares or mentions another candidate, they are often making a benchmark statement, in order to compare themselves. This device can give candidates another way to subtly imply for example, humility, without directly saying they have humility. By showing what the opposition is not, the candidate can imply they are the opposite, which usually paints the candidate in a light that implies certain qualities of character. Examples of this include:

"I will say, though, that it was something to behold. Despite all the challenges that we face in this new century, what they offered over those 3 days was an agenda that was better suited for the last century. It was a rerun. It could have been on "Nick at Nite". We've seen it before. You might as well have watched it on a black-and-white TV with some rabbit ears." (Obama September 2 2012).

"You know that if the President is re-elected, he will continue his war on coal and oil and natural gas. He will send billions more dollars to his favorite solar and wind companies. And all of this will guarantee higher energy prices at the pump and fewer jobs. Today, gas costs twice what it did when President Obama was elected." (Romney November 2 2012).

The candidates in their rhetoric are not highlighting the opponents' ideas so as to suggest to voters to go and vote for them. It is clear that candidates are showing what the opponents are thinking so as to paint themselves in a better light, and to highlight differences both of issues but also of their character.

As such, any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as opponent:

- where the opponent candidate is mentioned
- where the opposition party is mentioned

- where the incumbent personally is mentioned if from an opposition party
- where the incumbent administration in general is mentioned if from an opposition party.

7. Incumbent

Another device that it is proposed candidates use in relation to character in campaign rhetoric is reference to incumbency, when the candidate has been the incumbent. For example if Obama in 2012 refers to his time as incumbent during the past four years. This again gives the candidate opportunity to imply qualities of character, without having to be outright about it. Although similar to the device of experience, there are certain aspects of character that candidates can portray to the electorate by drawing specifically on the work they have done as president in the past four years; only incumbents can really say 'I have what it takes because I have done the job', as seen in the examples below:

"...And that's what we've been working for 4 years now, Colorado. That's what this campaign is about, and that's why I'm running for a second term as President of the United States of America" (Obama September 2nd 2012)

"It's carried us through the trials and tribulations of the last 4 years. In 2008, we were in the middle of two wars and the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Today, our businesses have created nearly 5 1/2 million new jobs. The American auto industry is back on top. Home values are on the rise. We're less dependent on foreign oil than any time in 20 years, and we've doubled the production of clean energy across America" (Obama November 5 2012).

Obama in the above examples is identifying improvements, or things that have happened across his last term that shows he has done the job successfully for the past four years.

The device can be identified in rhetoric by any paragraph which refers to the following:

- where the candidate refers to the past four years
- where the candidate refers to four more years
- where the candidate refers to what has been achieved so far
- where the candidate refers to what they have done as president
- where the candidate refers to what has occurred while they have been president.

8. Niceties

Another device that may be used within this project to identify use of character, is termed 'niceties'. The niceties device covers any aspects of the candidate rhetoric that deals with saying hello, thank yous, goodbyes. Usually found at the start and end of speeches, this device could identify some qualities of character, for example the criteria for the quality of humility includes gratitude and being thankful, which would fall also under 'niceties'. Examples of this device include:

"Hello, Colorado! Oh, go Buffs!

Can everybody please give Ryan a huge round of applause for that beautiful introduction" (Obama September 2 2012)

Obama in the above example is only using niceties, but are able to portray the quality of humility through the use of the device in campaign rhetoric.

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as niceties:

- where the candidate is saying hello to the crowd or introducing the speech to the crowd
- where the candidate is closing the speech with goodbyes of 'god bless' phrases

- where the candidate is thanking any involved with, for example, rally preparation, introductions and other such situations.

9. American Values

The American Values device is core in campaign rhetoric, and at times may identify qualities of character. This is where candidates speak to ideas relating to American values, the American Dream ideal and patriotism, including that America is great, all American's are great, Americans are all in it together, etc. It gives candidates a way of speaking about values that the nation all subscribes to. Examples include:

"And we believe in something better. We believe in an America that says our economic strength has never come from the top down. It comes from the middle out. It comes from the bottom up. It comes from students and workers and small business owners, and a growing, thriving middle class. It comes from teachers and receptionists and firefighters and construction workers who are helping to build this country each and every day. That's the backbone of this country." (Obama September 2 2012)

As the example indicates, candidates are mentioning aspects of American society that many voters could subscribe to, and which are important to include for appealing to the public.

Therefore, any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as American values:

- where the candidate refers to American values
- where the candidate refers to the American dream
- where the candidate mentions America being great
- where the candidate mentions Americans being great
- where the candidate makes reference to the idea of all being in it together

While not all campaign rhetoric may fall into these devices, for the purposes of analysis of character, this set of devices aims to cover all aspects of candidates' use of character in rhetoric.

The list of device variables therefore is:

- Experience
- Personal or family stories
- Future projections
- Outright claims of character
- Stories of others
- Opponent
- Incumbent
- Niceties
- American values

Layer three: Qualities of Character

To help further portray the meta-characteristics of leadership, competence and likeability, this project proposes the idea that candidates also use seven qualities in rhetoric. The qualities can be identified in text, at the paragraph level, and there can be evidence of multiple qualities in a paragraph of rhetoric. Paragraphs will be analysed using the codebook definitions, and evidence of qualities also counted on a weekly basis. This layer is also used as another measure of the use of character in rhetoric and for assessing change in strategy. In analysis of qualities, word indicators, where relevant, are used firstly to identify qualities, followed by further qualitative analysis.

The qualities can be divided into seven variables:

- Integrity and Morality

- Knowledge
- Humility
- Work ethic
- Resolve
- Empathy
- Empathic promise

Whilst these qualities may on the surface seem no less quantifiable than that of Kinder, Funk or Benoit, as mentioned earlier, investigating them within the parameters of the use of character in rhetoric helps to quantify the qualities. This is because the qualities can be coded as to what counts based on campaign rhetoric, rather than being left vague for any situation. As well as this, the use of the CRM enables the qualities to be more easily identified based on the way the codebook has been developed. The qualities have the following explanations:

1. Integrity and Morality

Paragraphs which identify the quality of integrity and morality can enable candidates to give voters justifications for voting for them, and to portray themselves as both likeable, and of having leadership material in regards to the meta-characteristics. The meta-characteristics are not mutually exclusive, so qualities may portray the multiple meta-characteristics. Since the scandals of the post-war era and especially given the contexts of recent elections, there is perhaps more need than ever for a candidate to prove themselves as having integrity and morality. The public generally are likely to see a candidate they can trust and who follows moral values as more favourable and therefore identifying this quality will help candidates be seen as likeable and having leadership material. Integrity and morality focuses on trust and trustworthiness, having ideals and sincerity, being genuine and reliable, having credibility, being fair, moral, honest, and keeping promises.

This variable is used when paragraphs refer to:

- The words promise(d), pledge, vow, commitment, truth, ideals, trust, openness, transparency, reality, moral, principles, ethics, conscience, right, fair, are words that may be used as individual indicators initially to help identify evidence of integrity and morality in narrative
- Examples of the candidate keeping promises, doing what they promised or said they will do, making pledges, commitments or vows. This does not include phrases such as "I will do this" as this is a commonplace phrase in campaign rhetoric. Instead it focuses on the stronger guarantee that action will be undertaken. For example Barack Obama (June 16, 2008) "I'll make this pledge as President –if you commit your life to teaching, America will pay for your college education” . Including the words pledge/vow/make this commitment makes the point stronger than I will do this or that.
- Examples of and the candidate talking about the truth, ideals, trust, telling the truth, practicing openness and transparency.
- Reference to or stories of the candidate being guided by morals, conscience, principles, ethics.
- Reference to and examples of the candidate doing what is considered 'right'
- Reference to the high road or the moral high road/ ground.
- Reference to or examples of fairness, of being fair, of playing fair

2. Knowledge

Knowledge as a quality focuses on the candidate trying to show the voter that they have the competence and leadership skills to be president. However knowledge also gives evidence to the voter that the candidate has the information and awareness to be president, at least as much as is possible for those who have never done the job before. Knowledge

speaks to the need for voters to know that candidates have the mental capacity to make decisions on the voters' behalf, and the intellectual capacity to run the country, not just the competence based on experience. Taking all this into account, evidence of the quality of knowledge focuses on; having the knowledge for the job, intelligence, expertise, and educational abilities.

The variable is used when candidates refer to:

- Knowledge, education, intelligence, intellectual capacity, expertise, expert may be used as individual word indicators for this category to help initially identify potential narrative relating to knowledge.
- The candidate's educational attainment
- The candidate's intelligence or intellectual capacity
- Areas of expertise that the candidate holds or is an expert on
- Knowledge that helps the candidate with the role of president, e.g. on international affairs, on economic matters, etc.

This does NOT include reference to experience

3. Humility

In aiming to portray themselves as human and relatable to the everyday voter, humility is another core quality candidates could evidence in paragraphs. Humility enables candidates to show voters they have modesty, and do not see themselves as above the average voter, or as an important, out-of-reach person. Humility helps voters to feel candidates are like them, and are 'down to earth'. Humility focuses on having gratitude, respectfulness, sacrifice, self-efficacy and humility.

This variable is used when candidates refer to:

- The words gratitude, grateful(ness), thanks, thankful, opinion, view, humble, humility, respect, honor(ed), privilege(d), appreciate, could be used as initial indicators to help identify evidence of humility in narrative.
- Where the candidate is showing gratitude, gratefulness, thanks, being thankful.
- Where the candidate mentions family in reference to being so grateful or humble and family situations that show the candidate as being humble or having humility
- Reference to and examples of the candidate being honored or privileged
- Reference to and examples of the candidate appreciating people's presence/ support
- Where the candidate mentions or shows evidence of not being proud.
- Where the candidate offers or expresses deference, respect.

4. Work ethic

Along a similar vein to knowledge, voters need to not only understand that candidates have competence and leadership ability from experience, but also from their work ethic. For voters, knowing that the president will work hard and has application, drive and is hard working in anything they do, can help to both make the candidate more appealing to voters as well as show competency and ability to do the job. Therefore it is another core quality that candidates try to evidence in their paragraphs.

This variable is used when candidates refer to:

- Hard work (ing) , difficult situation/ task, persistent(ly), close attention, close focus, drive may be used initially as individual indicators to help identify narrative evidencing work ethic.
- Where the candidate refers to themselves as hard working, taking on or completing hard work / difficult tasks

- Where the candidate gives examples of being persistent, of taking close attention in or focus on certain issues/ events/ situations
- Where the candidate refers to themselves as having drive to undertake tasks, events, in certain situations.

5. Resolve

A further quality that candidates evidence within rhetoric is that of resolve. By identifying resolve to voters, candidates further can portray evidence of the meta-characteristics of leadership and competence. Resolve helps to portray to voters that a candidate can make the necessary decisions in difficult situations as well as in day to day presidential duties. It focuses on aspects such as being decisive, determined, courageous, confident.

This variable is used when candidates refer to the following when mentioned in retrospect:

- Decision, resolve, falter, hesitate (tion), resilient, resiliency, adversity, determined, Courage, courageous (ness), strength, bravery, confidence may be used as individual indicators initially to identify this category.
- Examples of situations where candidates have needed courage or have been courageous in the past
- Examples of the candidate exerting strength or bravery in the past
- When the candidate refers to past decisions they have taken
- When the candidate mentions having resolve in what they have done
- Examples of or reference to the candidate being confident of their decisions and of themselves
- Examples or mentions of situations where the candidate did not falter or hesitate in what they have done

- Reference to and examples of situations where the candidate has been resilient, continued in adverse conditions, stuck at tasks/ decisions in the past.
- Reference to and examples of the candidate being determined and having determination in situations.

6. Empathy

Goleman and Ekman introduce the idea of three types of empathy; cognitive empathy, emotional empathy and compassionate or empathic concern. The first of these is "simply knowing how the other person feels and what they might be thinking"; people are able to see the other person's perspective (2007). Emotional empathy is when "you feel physically along with the other person, as though their emotions were contagious" (2007). It is based on these more common ideas of empathy that the quality of empathy is based. Candidates may benefit from portraying empathy to voters so that voters feel candidates understand their situations, and see candidates as both likeable and having the ability to lead given the knowledge of the situation that voters are in.

This variable is used when paragraphs refer to:

- When the candidate discusses that they know what people are going through, or that they know what 'it' is like for voters
- When the candidate mentions the struggles or challenges facing people.
- When the candidate mentions those who are struggling or brave, or having a 'hard time'.
- When the candidate tells stories that refer to people from the electorate who are struggling or having a hard time e.g. have lost their job, been fighting cancer, single moms, or success stories of those who have been through hard times and got better/ become better off etc.

- When the candidate mentions stories that show the candidate doing normal activities that voters can relate to, e.g. taking children to school, showing they are down to earth, can relate to voters and are like the average voter.

7. Empathic Promise

The final form of empathy identified by Goleman and Ekman is compassionate empathy or empathic concern. This is described as the kind of empathy where "we not only understand a person's predicament and feel with them, but are spontaneously moved to help, if needed" (2007). In relation to campaign rhetoric, the quality based on this theory is empathic promise, looking to situations where candidates show not only that they understand what people are going through but perhaps more importantly what they will do to help the situation. It enables the candidate to show themselves as being human, to show understanding, ability to relate, to be caring and approachable, to have kindness, but to link this to helping the people if and when elected. This will be identified where candidates show empathy, as identified from the main criteria below, but where they conclude this empathy with a promise of action, and it is every time there is a conclusion of a promise of action that empathic promise will be counted within text as occurring.

This variable is used when:

- When instances of empathy as described in the list above end in a promise of action or mention of action to fix the situation either in the same paragraph or the consecutive paragraph.

Additional Hypotheses

Based on the devices and qualities, further hypotheses will be investigated:

H6: Candidates will rarely use the 'outright claims of character' device in rhetoric.

This is suggested because candidates often use character in campaign rhetoric, but do not want to be seen to be using character. This is why candidates are not so outright and obvious in saying they are honest for example, more rather candidates will portray they are honest without directly saying so.

H7: When there is a change in the use of empathy, there will also be a change in the use of empathic promise.

This hypothesis is suggested given that candidates who show they understand a situation from others' point of view, would generally give a reason as to how to fix or improve their situation, which in turn would mean that changes to paragraph use are more likely to occur both in the use of empathy and empathic promise. There will already be an element of correlation in the use of the two, given that empathic promise can only be identified if there is use of empathy. However this does not automatically mean that candidates will change their use of empathic promise when they change their use of empathy, which is what this hypothesis focuses on investigating.

H8: There will be the strongest correlation between change in the use of empathy and change in the use empathic promise

Following from the idea of H7, that if empathy changes, so too will empathic promise, it would be anticipated that the correlation between these two would be strongest out of all correlations in the use of character variables.

Intercoder Reliability

During development of the character in rhetoric model (CRM) intercoder reliability tests were carried out. Whilst studies into the other categories did not need intercoder reliability tests, because they were purely quantitative in their method, the category of character instead uses majority qualitative methods, and therefore inter-coder reliability is

important. These both determined whether the coding of the devices in layer two and qualities in layer three could be agreed upon and established potential future use and replication, and ensured the content analysis was actually measuring use of character in rhetoric. This was done based on a pilot study. A sample was coded by two coders to test the codebook for reliability, feasibility and data capturing.

Adjustments were made following this sample coding. Firstly, honing of the codebook took place. Clarification of certain terms, and details as to what ‘counts’ occurred in relation to devices where, following coder conversations, it was clear differences between coders was down to different interpretations as to what paragraphs counted as being under certain criteria. An example of this honing is with the opponent device. The inclusion of the opposition administration was added into the criteria for the opposition, so that any mentions of, for example the Bush administration by Obama in 2008 were included. This enabled there to be certainty between coders as to what was included as an opponent device paragraph. This led to the codebook criteria changing from the original of

- where the opponent candidate is mentioned
- where the opposition party is mentioned
- where the incumbent is mentioned if from an opposition party.

To:

- where the opponent candidate is mentioned
- where the opposition party is mentioned
- where the incumbent personally is mentioned if from an opposition party
- where the incumbent administration in general is mentioned if from an opposition party.

After this sample coding the device of ‘statement on the situation of the nation’ was also removed from the devices. This device was used a limited amount in the sample data, and was determined not to be measuring any aspects of the use of character in candidate rhetoric. The statement of the nation device often occurred either alongside, or was misidentified as American values. It also was, practically speaking, a very broad device that meant that anything from speaking about the younger generation being left large amounts of debt through to what Washington should do, what the job situation was, through to the nation rising and falling as one was being captured in varying degrees as a statement on the state of the nation. After investigating when statements on the state of the nation were identified, it was determined to be beneficial to remove the device from this particular analysis.

Once any minor revisions had been made as detailed, a second phase of coding was done by two coders. Although there are many various ways to measure and calculate inter-coder reliability, Krippendorff’s Alpha was used to measure inter-coder reliability (Hopkins and King 2010). 10% of the pilot study speeches were coded at the paragraph level into the relevant variables, although not every paragraph had to fit into the available variables. This was the necessary sample for calculating inter-coder reliability with Krippendorff’s Alpha. Realistically, there is always some error when inter-coder reliability is measured (Hopkins and King 2010). However using Krippendorff’s Alpha does reduce errors and was a beneficial method of choice for this style of project. The tables below show the results of the inter-coder reliability tests for each device and quality.

(see below)

Table 3.1: Inter-coder reliability of devices using Krippendorff's Alpha (CRM Layer Two)

Device	Krippendorff's Alpha Score
Experience	.7406
Personal or family stories	.9970
Future Projections	.7048
Outright Claims of Character	.6087
Telling Stories of Others	.4045
Opponent Mentions	.7775
Niceties	.5814
American Values	.2714

Table 3.2: Inter-coder reliability of qualities using Krippendorff's Alpha (CRM Layer Three)

Quality	Krippendorff's Alpha Score
Integrity and Morality	.6891
Knowledge	.8177
Humility	.7788
Work Ethic	.9424
Resolve	.7235
Empathy	.8510
Empathic Promise	.7272

According to Swert (2012) the norm for a good reliability test is .80 using Krippendorff's Alpha, with a minimum of .60 being acceptable. Using this standard, all the quality (CRM level three) scores are acceptable or good in terms of reliability. The devices (CRM level two) scores are more mixed. The devices of telling stories of others, niceties and American values came out as very low scores for the Krippendorff's Alpha test. As a result, further discussion of what 'counts', and clarification of the codebook criteria occurred. The decision to focus more on the data about qualities was also taken, although results from both will be presented. The qualities are both strong in terms of intercoder reliability, and a direct indicator of where change in the use of character occurs.

Method: Measuring the CRM

Following the confirmation of the codebook, the CRM was used to analyse rhetoric from the 2004, 2008 and 2012 election campaigns. This is due to the nature of the analysis of character being more qualitative, with two layers of analysis, and as a result more time

consuming compared with analysis of the use of tone, issues and party data, and thus only recent campaigns were analysed. Focusing on these would give evidence of change in campaign strategy in an open race and an incumbent/ challenger race.

As with the other areas being investigated to determine change in campaign strategy, the paragraphs were coded on a week by week basis, converted into a percentage of total character paragraphs weekly, and then the week to week difference in percentage data was determined. From this, changes to each device and quality at the level of two standard deviations or more were considered change in strategy. Any situations where two changes occurred consecutively were again removed because change in strategy must be lasting for two or more weeks.

Qualifying when hypotheses are met

H1: Candidates will change their use of character in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis proposes that there is change in the use of character in campaign rhetoric. There will be evidence to support the hypothesis if there are changes in the use of devices or qualities variables, at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric.

H2: Candidates will change the use of rhetorical devices.

This hypothesis proposes that specifically, candidates will change the use of rhetorical devices in campaign rhetoric. There would be evidence to support this if there is change in the use of the device variables, at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric. The change could occur to any rhetorical device.

H3: Candidates will change the use of qualities.

This hypothesis proposes that specifically, candidates will change the use of quality variables in campaign rhetoric. There would be evidence to support this if there is change in the use of the quality variables, at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric.

H4: Candidates will change their use of character less than the use of tone, issues or party.

This hypothesis proposes that candidates will use character in rhetoric in a more stable manner than other areas being investigated. There will be evidence to support the hypothesis if there are fewer changes in the use of character than there had been in the same time period for the use of tone, issues or party. This refers to total number of changes in the use of rhetorical devices and the total number of changes in the use of qualities, at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric, as compared to the equivalent total number of changes for the use of tone, issues or party for the period 2004-2012.

H5: Candidates will change the use of a rhetorical device or quality, if their opponent has changed any rhetorical device or quality

This hypothesis tests the idea that candidates are influenced by their opposition's strategy. It proposes that if one candidate changes the use of a variable, either a rhetorical device or a quality, then the opponent is likely to then change the use of a variable. This does not have to be the same variable that changes for the two candidates. There will be evidence to support this hypothesis if a candidate changes a variable, either device or quality, and within two weeks the opponent also changes a variable, at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric.

H6: Candidates will rarely use the 'outright claims of character' device in rhetoric.

This hypothesis proposes that because of the subtle nature of portraying character to voters, candidates will not want to use the variable of outright claims of character often. There will be evidence to support this hypothesis if the 'outright claims of character device' is used in 20% or fewer weeks based on the weekly percentage data. There are 162 weeks being analysed across the three elections so 'outright claims of character' would need to be used in 32 weeks or less for there to be evidence to support this hypothesis.

H7: When there is a change in the use of empathy, there will also be a change in the use of empathic promise.

This hypothesis investigates whether candidates use empathy and empathic promise in similar ways. There will be evidence to support the hypothesis if candidates change the use of empathy and the use of empathic promise at the same time, at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric. This would need to occur in the majority (50%+1) of cases where candidates change their use of empathy.

H8: There will be the strongest correlation between change in the use of empathy and change in the use empathic promise.

Given that it is anticipated that when use of empathy changes so too will empathic promise, then based on the change data it would be expected that the changes in the use of these two will strongly positively correlate, to a statistically significant degree.

Results

H1: Candidates will change their use of character in campaign rhetoric.

As can be seen in figures three, four and five below, there is evidence to support this hypothesis. Figure 3.1 shows the changes made to both rhetorical devices and qualities for the 2004 campaign; figure 3.2 shows the same for the 2008 campaign and figure 3.3 for the 2012 campaign. There were 94 total changes across the three years.

Figure 3.1
(see below)

All changes at two standard deviation in rhetorical devices and qualities, in the 2004 election, using week to week difference in percentage data.

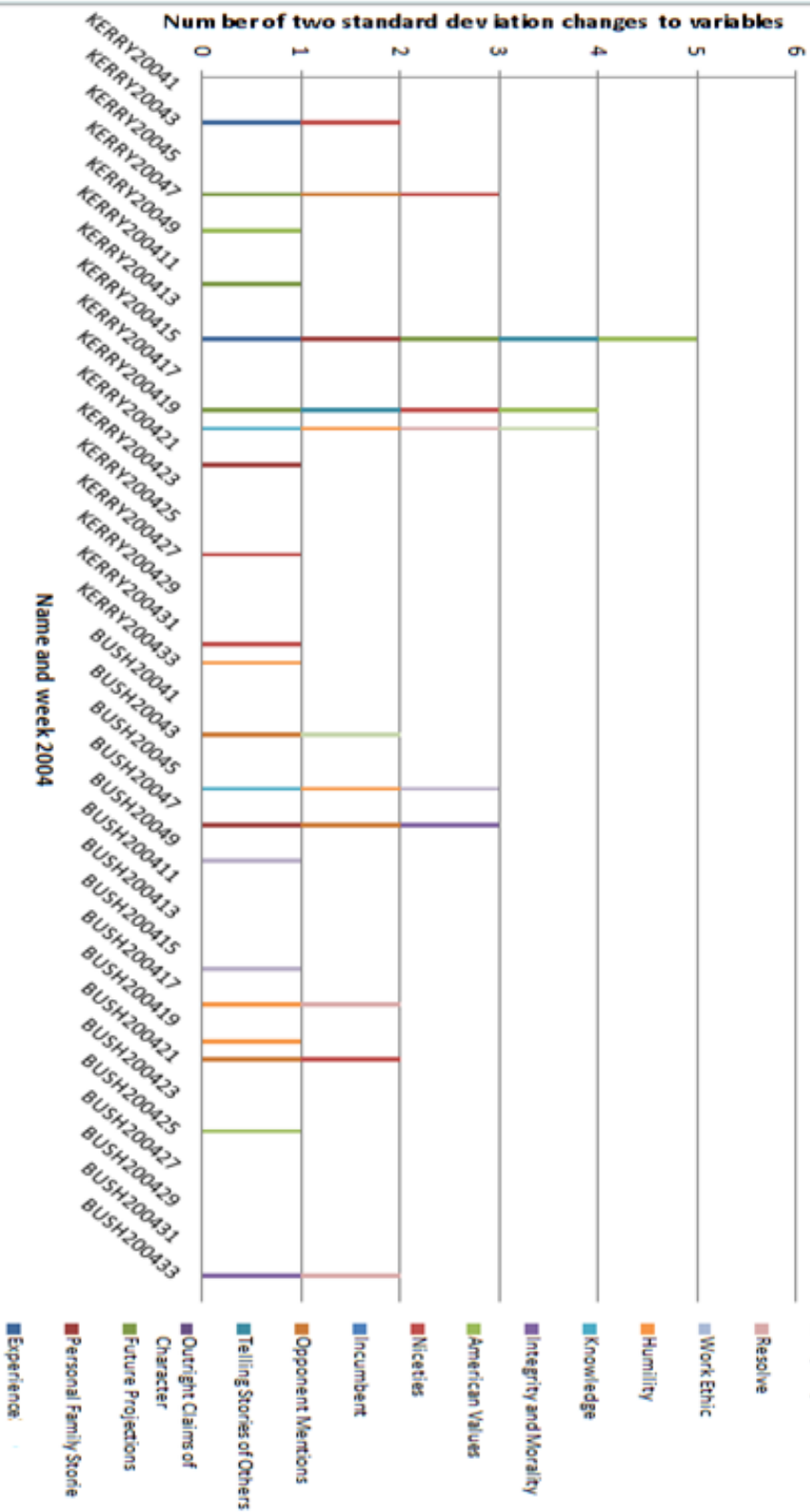


Figure 3.2

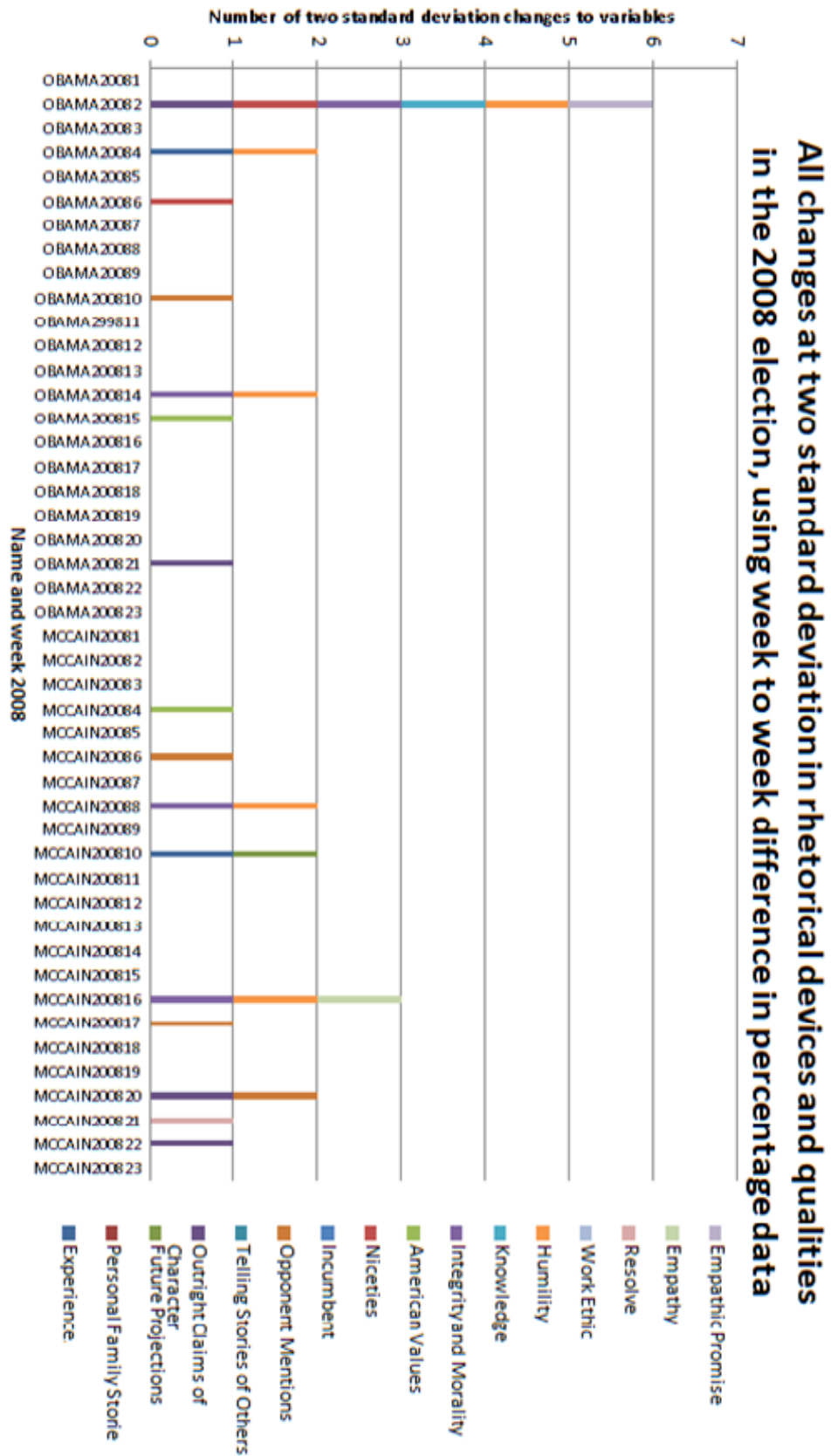
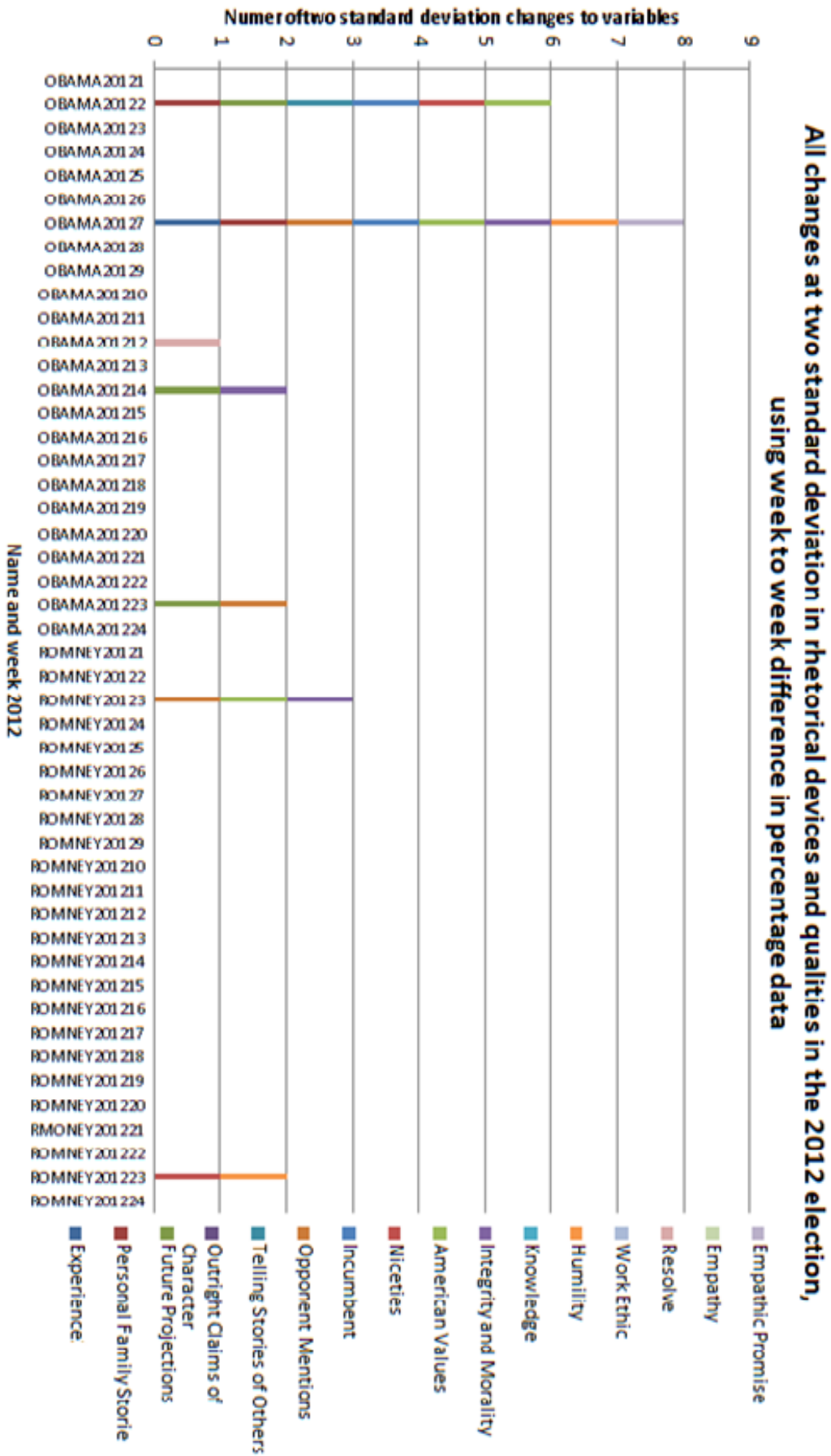


Figure 3.3



H2: Candidates will change the use of rhetorical devices.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis, with there being 31 points of change in the use of rhetorical devices. There were 57 total instances of change in the use of rhetorical devices, with 13 points of change experiencing change in multiple devices, ranging from two devices changing at the same time to six changing at the same time.

H3: Candidates will change the use of qualities.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis, with 21 points of change occurring in the use of qualities. There were 37 total instances of change in the use of qualities. At nine points of change, there were changes across multiple variables, ranging from two to four qualities changing at the same time.

H4: Candidates will change their use of character less than the use of tone, issues or party.

This hypothesis does not have evidence to support it. There were 57 total instances of rhetorical device changes, and 37 total instances of changes in qualities. In comparison, there were 44 total instances of change for the use of issues across the 2004, 2008 and 2012 campaigns. There were 22 total instances of change for the use of party for the same, and finally there were 37 total instances of change to the use of tone for the three elections of 2004, 2008, and 2012.

In terms of points when changes take place, where more than one variable may have changed, there were 31 points of change in the use of rhetorical devices, 21 points of change in the use of qualities, and between the two combined were 44 points of change in the use of character. This is compared with the use of issues which had 29 points of change, the use of party which had 19, and the use of tone with 26 changes across the three campaigns. Therefore either way the changes are analysed, there is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

H5: Candidates will change the use of a rhetorical device or quality, if their opponent has changed any rhetorical device or quality.

As can be seen from table 3.3 below, there is evidence to support this hypothesis. In all but three points of change (in red) that occurred across all three campaigns, if one candidate changed the use of a variable, the opposition also changed a variable within two weeks. This was either a rhetorical device or a quality. There were 93 total instances of change when one candidate changed the use of a variable followed by the opposition within two weeks. Of these, 51 changes were of the same layer for each candidate, e.g. rhetorical device changed by one followed by the other. Given that some changes were across multiple variables, there were 49 points when change took place.

Table 3.3, Table showing when a candidate and their opponent change rhetorical devices or qualities within two weeks of each other. Democrat candidates (left), Republican (right)

Candidate & Year	Point of change	Rhetorical Devices	Qualities	Candidate and Year	Point of change	Rhetorical Devices	Qualities
Kerry 2004	3	Experience Niceties		Bush 2004	3	Opponent,	Empathy
	7	Future projections, Opposition, Niceties			6		Knowledge, Humility, Empathic promise
	9	American Values			8	Personal family stories, opponent	Integrity & morality
	12	Future Projections			10		Empathic promise
	15	Experience, Personal Family Stories, Future projections, telling stories of others, American values			16		Empathic promise
	19	Future projections, telling stories of others,			18		Humility, resolve

		niceties, American values					
	20		Knowledge, Humility, Resolve, Empathy		20		humility
	22	Personal family stories			21	Opponent, niceties	
	27	Niceties			25	American values	
	32	Niceties			33		Integrity & morality, resolve
	33		Humility				
Obama 2008	2	Outright claim of character, niceties,	Integrity & morality, knowledge, humility	McCain 2008	4	American values	
	4	experience	Humility		6	Opponent	
	6	Niceties			8		Integrity & morality, Humility
	10	opposition			10	Experience, future projections	
	14		Integrity & morality, humility		16		Integrity & morality, humility, empathy
	15	American values			17	Opponent	
	21	Outright claim of character			20	Outright claim of character, opponent	
					21		Resolve
					22	Outright claim of character	
Obama 2012	2	Personal family stories, future projections, telling stories of others, incumbent, niceties, American values		Romney 2012	3	Opponent American values	Integrity & morality
	7	Experience, personal family stories, opposition, incumbent, American values,	Integrity & morality, humility, empathic promise				
	12		Resolve				

	14	Future projections	Integrity & morality				
	23	Future projections, opposition			23	niceties	humility

H6: Candidates will rarely use the outright claims of character device in rhetoric.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis. There are 21 instances when the outright claims of character rhetorical device is used, out of 162 weeks when it could have been used, 13% of the time; less than 20%. The highest percentage use in a week of outright claims of character is 5.41%, by McCain in 2008, week 22. This is the least used, in terms of during a number of weeks, out of all the rhetorical devices.

H7: When there is a change in the use of empathy, there will also be a change in the use of empathic promise.

There are five changes to the use of empathy across the three elections. Whilst there are three changes to the use of empathic promise, only one of these changes coincides with when the use of empathy changes. Thus there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. This is surprising because logically it would make sense for candidates to not only portray qualities of empathy, but to then show what they will do to help, through empathic promise. It seems that actually the two are not as closely linked in terms of changes in the use of the qualities as expected.

H8: There will be the strongest correlation between change in the use of empathy and change in the use empathic promise.

As can be seen from the correlations table (table B1) in Appendix B, there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. This correlations table was developed using the points of change for each variable. The correlation between change in the use of empathy and change in the use of empathic promise was negative; -0.25, and not statistically significant.

Given that H7 shows the two do not change at the same time, this is not the most surprising result. The strongest correlations overall were between personal family stories and incumbent, and American values and incumbent, both correlated .809, both $p < 0.01$. The strongest correlation between qualities and devices were also involving the incumbent devices; of .321 ($p < 0.05$), with integrity and morality, knowledge and empathic promise. However this should be treated with caution given that only Bush 2004 and Obama 2012 could use the incumbent device, and so $N=58$, compared with $N=162$ in the main for other variables. The strongest correlation between qualities was with knowledge and empathic promise, at .505 ($p < 0.01$).

However there are many other interesting points that can be drawn from table B1. Firstly, there were 46 statistically significant correlations; 33 where $p < 0.01$, and 13 where $p < 0.05$. Twelve of these correlations were between rhetorical devices and qualities. This indicates that candidates use character devices and character qualities together to portray character. This supports the idea that the character rhetorical devices, layer two, can be tied to qualities, layer three.

Six of the nine rhetorical devices used were statistically significantly correlated to four of the seven qualities. In terms of how candidates use character, there are instances where certain devices and qualities are therefore used together. What are most often used alongside a rhetorical device are the qualities of integrity and morality, and empathic promise. These qualities both correlated with four different rhetorical devices statistically significantly. The devices of experience, personal family stories, opponent, incumbent, and American values were correlated to either integrity and morality, empathic promise, or both. This implies that candidates use these devices especially to portray these specific qualities to voters, in an attempt to increase their share of the vote.

What is also interesting is that there are certain groupings of qualities and devices which seem to be used together, based on the correlations produced. When looking to the correlations between rhetorical devices, and qualities, out of the seven cases where devices correlate with qualities, three cases see a combination of humility, integrity and morality and empathic promise being correlated with the one device. As can be seen from table B1 in the Appendix, experience is significantly correlated to both humility and empathic promise, personal family stories to integrity and morality and empathic promise, and incumbent to all three. These three qualities seem to be used very similarly, and at similar times by candidates. With regard to the correlations between rhetorical devices, out of seven cases, four cases include the pairing of American values and incumbent. They are both correlated with experience, personal family stories, future projections, and telling stories of others. This is interesting in terms of how incumbent candidates use these devices, but caution should be taken with this pairing, as the N=58 for incumbent, given that only Bush 2004 and Obama 2012 are incumbents.

A final grouping of empathy and empathic promise interestingly are often used together, when looking at the cases of qualities correlated with other qualities. In three of the four cases, empathy and empathic promise are both correlated; to integrity and morality, knowledge, and humility. So whilst these two are not correlated to a statistically significant degree with each other, they are used similarly by candidates with other qualities.

Discussion

Is the CRM justified?

Whilst the CRM has only been used to analyse three elections so far, the CRM has measured what it was intended to in a manageable manner. Where other models and theories have had some queries as to where certain traits 'fit', the CRM, by looking at

character from what the candidates want to portray to the voters and how, does seem to overcome many of the shortcomings of other options. Whilst it may not be perfect because character is complex and subtle in nature, the CRM has been successful in identifying both the rhetorical devices that candidates use, and the qualities used to portray the meta-characteristics of leadership, competency and likeability. To further test the model it would be ideal to expand the study from 2004, 2008 and 2012, to both past campaigns as with issues, tone, and party, and to the 2016 campaign.

In terms of the relationship between layer two, the rhetorical devices, and layer three, the qualities; it may be presumed that these two are used in a strategically similar way by candidates. That is to say that if, for example there is a change in a rhetorical device it may be presumed there is also one in the use of qualities. This is not the case however. There were 57 total rhetorical device changes, and 37 total quality changes, and 31 points of change in the use of rhetorical devices compared with 21 for the use of quality. There were however 12 pairings between rhetorical devices and qualities, which were statistically significant; six of the nine rhetorical devices were statistically significantly correlated to four of the seven qualities. Therefore there are instances when candidates use devices and qualities together, potentially suggesting that the devices are used to deliver particular qualities; there is clearly some link between the two layers. This is further supported by the fact that there is a weak positive, but statistically significant, correlation in the timing of changes across the two layers of 0.171 ($p < 0.05$), as seen from table 3.4. This used all points of change for the rhetorical devices variables, added together, and all points of change for qualities variables added together to get the correlation table. The layers therefore whilst not being strongly correlated, can actually give more justification or support to using the CRM, because instead of finding the same changes twice, the layers give a more complete picture of both how candidates are using character in rhetoric, and when they are changing any aspect of it as well.

Table 3.4: Table showing correlation between all points of change for rhetorical devices and all points of change for qualities

Correlations			
		Rhetorical Device	Quality
Rhetorical Device	Pearson Correlation	1	.171*
Quality	Pearson Correlation	.171*	1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Other findings

The most interesting finding that has come from the analysis is shown from hypotheses one to four; that character is treated flexibly by candidates and does change in use in campaign rhetoric, rather than being stable. This was unexpected given that it is much harder for candidates to suddenly become humble for example, and that character strategy choices are constrained by how the candidate already behaves or acts in general. Similarly, all candidates might be expected to perform the same qualities, as they are the most appealing, and therefore it had been anticipated there would be more stability as compared with other categories studied for this project. Further to this, it is surprising that candidate’s use character flexibly rather than in a fixed or stable fashion, because candidates would not want to be labelled by voters or the media as insincere or being a ‘politician’ who just says what people want to hear, just to win voters, even if this is what they are doing. By being flexible in the use of character, candidates would need to take care not to suddenly portray a new quality they cannot evidence, but more rather change the use of character in other ways, such as through potentially increasing their rhetoric on a specific variable. Candidates seem to be using character in rhetoric to portray different aspects of the meta-characteristics, through the devices and qualities, as and when they feel it is beneficial, so long as they can continue to look sincere, and when it will benefit their campaign to do so.

Candidates do not just change the use of character a bit, but actually change the use more often than the use of tone, or issues, or party across the same campaigns. Whilst

2012 does have more stability, there are still seven points of change that occur across the two candidates' campaigns. When taking these results with that of hypothesis five, it would seem that rather than stability, candidates actually use character in a much more fluid, flexible and responsive or reactive fashion. Candidates change the use of devices or qualities in an almost chain reaction fashion, and whilst they may not be responding by changing the same device or quality, as the opposition, candidates are constantly assessing the use of their, and their opponents, use of character.

While what the opposition does is clearly influential, what also could be seen to be influential in the use of character in rhetoric is public opinion. Given that candidates use character especially to show the electorate that they are 'like them', and that candidates change the use of character more than the use of issues, tone or party, there seems to be some support for the idea that what the public think does matter and does influence campaign rhetoric and strategy throughout the campaign. As can be seen from table 3.3, the reactive style of change, based heavily on the opposition, with one candidate changing use of character followed by their opponent the next week, seems to be core throughout the period investigated. It would be interesting to see alongside this what the polls were doing when the changes occurred for the use of character, to determine the role that both the opposition and the public's opinion had on character being fluid rather than stable.

Another potential explanation that could be investigated further in future for the fluidity of the use of character is that in actuality candidates have limited options changing the use of issues, or party or tone, but with the use of character candidates both have more options as to what they could focus on, and how. Candidates can be more experimental in terms of what they want to portray to voters, with potentially less risk of losing votes. Candidates always want to show that they are 'like them', but through the multitude of rhetorical devices and qualities, candidates are only likely to gain by experimenting with what can be focused on when. This may be compared to the use of issues where not

mentioning or mentioning certain issues may alienate voters, or to the use of party where again party members may decide not to vote for a candidate based on the choices made. With the use of character, so long as the meta-characteristics are portrayed, which candidates do through the various rhetorical devices and qualities, there are quite a lot of options available to candidates and therefore more potential freedom to experiment.

Conclusion

Overall, analysis of the use of character is complex, but is possible using the Character in Rhetoric Model, which is an improvement on previous methods or theories of character. By focusing on the use of rhetorical devices and qualities, it is possible to develop in-depth analysis of how candidates use character in campaigns. Whilst only the campaigns of 2004, 2008 and 2012 have been studied, the findings show that the use of character in rhetoric does change. Not only this, but rather than being stable, character is fluid, flexible, and reactive. The opposition seems to be a driver in the reactions, but so too could polls, as a representative of public opinion, be influencing the changes. This fluidity could also be because candidates can be more experimental and have more options available to them which are less likely to lose voters. Whilst there is only a weak positive relationship between layer two and layer three, the CRM does give evidence of working. Expansion of the analysis in future would help strengthen findings as well as justification for using the model. However overall it is clear that the use of character in campaign rhetoric changes, and is fluid and reactive rather than stable as was anticipated.

Chapter Four: Use of Issues in Campaign Rhetoric

Issues are considered core to campaigning (Denton 2002: 226). In any campaign, candidates make clear where they stand on a broad array of issues. In recent elections this has been on anything from the economy, healthcare, women's rights, education, to national security, climate change and everything in between. When planning the campaign strategy, "the candidate should take stands or at least have opinions on a wide variety of issues" (Bike 1998: 119). This is because the issues that candidates identify in their campaign strategy matter. With issues being a potential method to attract voters, it is important that candidates build the use of issues adequately into their overall campaign strategy. As with all aspects of campaign strategy, candidates should initially incorporate the use of issues in a way that tries to anticipate all relevant eventualities during the general election period. Following campaign strategy theory, the use of issues within campaign strategy should not change, unless it was "absolutely necessary" to do so, because the strategy was no longer working (Shea 1996; Thurber and Nelson 1995). Instead, it should remain fixed.

Campaign strategy needs to show the electorate what candidates have to offer and including stances on a number of issues is one way that candidates can do this within the context of the election (Shea 1996: 163; Thurber and Nelson 2004: 46, 49). The electorate can then use the issue stances put forward by candidates as a relatively easy way to understand what a candidate stands for and what kind of person the candidate may be. For those in the electorate who may not vote on partisan lines, or who vote based on specific issues which they consider highly important, identification of issues within campaign strategy enables candidates to try to gain their vote. Given that one of the multitudes of reasons for people determining their vote is the issues the candidate supports, it is important to examine changes in the use of issues in campaign rhetoric. This chapter will explore previous research into issues and campaign strategy and message substance,

discuss why it is important to look at change in the use of issues, introduce hypotheses and methodology, present results from the pilot study and main study, and present discussion on the findings.

The use of issues in campaigns: previous research into issues

There are many various propositions as to which issues candidates may want to focus on in their campaign strategy. Whilst candidates and their campaign teams may not necessarily be aware that they are following a specific theory or concept in relation to their choosing of issues in strategy, it is very possible that their decisions would fall in line with at least some of the theories and concepts surrounding the use and change in use of issues in campaigns.

The first theory that may explain the issues a candidate chooses to focus on in their strategy is the Issue Ownership Theory. This aimed to explain that campaigns do influence voters, making them worthwhile (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994: 336; Petrocik 1996: 826). The theory is based on what issues candidates are seen by the public as best at handling, with Petrocik explaining that

"the theory of issue ownership finds a campaign effect when a candidate successfully frames the vote choice as a decision to be made in terms of problems facing the country that he is better able to "handle" than his opponent" (1996: 826).

It follows then that the candidate who can show themselves as doing best, who can manipulate voters into thinking they are strongest, on the important issues of the election, has a better chance at winning said election. The reputation in regards to who can 'handle' which issues is linked to which party does best on issues traditionally (Petrocik 1996; Sides 2007). Petrocik believed voters to hold "bias toward the party advantaged by the issue agenda", meaning the candidate from the party which owned the issue in question had the advantage (1996: 826, 827). For example, where strong defense was a core issue of a

campaign it may be expected that Republican candidates would be advantaged in the election. On the basis of party strengths, the theory goes further to suggest that even if an issue is not especially salient, a candidate should emphasise that issue's importance if their party is perceived by the public to 'own' the issue (Petrocik 1996; Sides 2007: 466).

The theory of issue ownership has mixed evidence in regards to whether candidates use the theory during campaign decision making, although they may not realise they are doing so. It is believed by some that at the presidential level, issue ownership does occur, although this at times may be dependent on factors such as whether the candidates are in a position of winning or losing at the time in the campaign, the degree to which the candidate is partisan, the importance of the issue in question, and the tone of the messages in the campaign (Damore 2004; Petrocik 1996).

Taking this into consideration, candidates may still be influenced by, or unknowingly use this theory when developing their campaign strategy and thinking about message substance. Given that it is plausible candidates may be influenced by the issue ownership theory when determining their strategy, it is useful to identify what issues may be considered as Democrat or Republican owned. Petrocik in the appendix of his 1996 piece outlines topics or issues of the time that were determined to be either Democratic or Republican, and further research have taken these as the basis for issue ownership work, determining whether the criteria is still applicable (Petrocik 1996; Damore 2004). The list was developed based on a content analysis that placed issue mentions into 14 categories (Petrocik 1996). These categories were then classified as either Democratic, Republican, or a performance issue, with the decisions of "which party owns the issue" being "tied to groups which are part of the party's coalition", and performance issues being considered as "references to the economy, the conduct of foreign relations, and the functioning of the government" (Petrocik 1996: 847). Based on this work the following were classified:

Democratic Owned:

- Civil liberties
- Civil Rights
- Social welfare and spending related topics
- Farmers and agriculture
- Social class and group relationships
- Women
- Organized labor

Republican Owned:

- Civil and social order
- Defense spending and policy
- Big government

Performance Issues:

- Foreign relations
- Economy
- Government functioning.

(Petrocik 1996)

Although today there may be some questioning as to this classification, the way the theory works in regards to 'owned' issues becomes clearer with the distinctions. If the salient issues of the election align with party owned issues, then it would be anticipated that candidates be more likely to focus on these in their strategy.

Associated with the idea of issue ownership is Hayes' proposal of trait ownership (2005). Although not a replacement for the idea of issue ownership, trait ownership extends the concept further. Hayes proposes that candidates own not only certain issues, but also certain traits that can be associated with such issues (Petrocik 1996; Hayes 2005). The example being, Republicans are considered strong, moral leaders, whereas Democrats could be thought of as compassionate and empathetic (Hayes 2005). These traits, according to Hayes, are perceived by the voter through "strategic candidate behaviour and the nature of political information processing"; by focusing on "issues their party owns," candidates can prompt "the public to make trait inferences associated with those issues" (Hayes 2005: 912). For example emphasis of a war record is often associated as showing a strong leader, as with the Republican example above. There is evidence that because traits are not

“directly observable”, voters “infer attributes of another person’s personality from their actions and behaviour”, in order to make sense of the world and evaluate candidates who voters would not normally meet (Popkin 1994). Therefore candidates would get greater benefit perhaps by including issues that not only are ‘owned’ but which portray other beneficial information about them to voters, than by taking a stand on an issue that is not ‘owned’. With voters preferring short cuts to information to help decide between candidates, trait ownership theory enables more information to be gleaned based on the candidates’ campaign (Hayes 2005). This idea of trait ownership may heighten the need for candidates to think carefully about what the substance of their campaign rhetoric is saying about themselves to voters overall.

Issue ownership theory, and indeed trait ownership theory will not always be ideal for candidates however. If, for example, the people wanted strong defence policies and were opposed to a big government, it may be hard for a Democratic candidate, regardless of how good they may perceive themselves to be for the candidacy of president, to win the position. In this case, it is useful to look to the theory of issue trespassing when developing an explanation of the substance of message strategy.

To understand the concept of issue trespassing, it is necessary to recall the ideas of Downs (1957). He posits that within a two party system such as the USA, it is necessary to put “some policies into the other’s territory in order to convince voters that their net position is near them” (1957: 135). In other words, candidates sometimes need to talk about issues that they do not ‘own’, but that are perhaps salient with the electorate or important at the time of the election (Holbrook 1996; Sides 2006; Damore 2004: 392). By doing this in campaign rhetoric, the candidates are issue trespassing; talking about issues that belong to the opposition. There is evidence of “pronounced but selective issue trespassing behaviour”, especially at the presidential level of elections where “such behaviour is common” (Dulio and Trumbore 2009: 240; Damore 2004: 391). Candidates

who are trailing in polls may be more tempted to issue trespass, to increase chances of winning, and some studies show that Democrats tend to issue trespass more than Republicans (Damore 2004: 392, 396). However overall "to some degree, it appears that all candidates" do some issue trespassing (Damore 2004: 392, 396).

Issue trespassing, although occurring at the presidential level, may not always be a successful method for the candidate in question. Some studies have highlighted that issue trespassing can lead to wasted resources as with Iyengar and Valentino, who found that "the sponsoring candidate who chose to advertise on the 'wrong' issue was better off showing no advertisement at all" (2000: 128). Issue trespassing does not lead to voters viewing candidate positions as fake, and it is not suggested that the electorate punish candidates who trespass, rather the point is that it will not always be as effective for the candidate in the race as they may have liked (Norpoth and Buchanan 1992: 88 Sides 2007: 482).

Issue trespassing is not entirely surprising in the context of campaign rhetoric, especially at the presidential level. This is because "candidates have enough rhetorical freedom when designing campaign messages that an amenable frame can likely be found for nearly any issue" (Sides 2007:467,482). Candidates could theoretically "pursue an agenda of their choosing, without scrupulous adherence to either an ownership or a salience strategy" according to Sides (2007: 467, 482). In this regard, both issue ownership theory and issue trespassing theory could influence message substance, or the candidates could not adhere to either concept, but use parts of both within their message development, in order to bring about a winning coalition of voters for themselves.

Following from the idea of issue trespassing and the focus on issues that candidates may place in message substance development, is the theory of 'riding the wave' (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994). This theory takes the view that if the electorate sees certain issues as salient, then those issues are what the candidates need to "establish their

credentials" on (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994: 337). By focusing on issues that are "especially timely and newsworthy", candidates may alter focus onto certain issues throughout the campaign; candidates are 'riding the wave' of opinion (Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1994: 337). The link to issue trespassing being that candidates who follow the wave of opinion would generally end up talking on issues they traditionally would not be considered to own, unless there is an occasion where the election is all on their party owned issue areas. Empirical research has found support for this idea, with opposing candidates emphasising similar, salient issues, even if they do not traditionally own such areas (Sides 2006). In exploring message through rhetoric as a proxy for campaign strategy to look at change, this theory is important to bear in mind, because candidates' who may subscribe to the idea of 'riding the wave' are also likely to show evidence of change in campaign strategy.

There are two further theories that link to issues and their role in message substance, but in order to understand them it is first important to explore Riker's Dominance Principle and Dispersion Principle (Riker 1996: 6 cited in Jerit 2008). The dominance principle follows the idea that "when one side dominates in the volume of rhetorical appeals on a particular theme, the other side abandons appeals on that theme" (Riker 1996: 6 cited in Jerit 2008; McLean 2002: 544). The dispersion principle in contrast takes the view that "when neither side dominates... both sides abandon it" (Riker 1996 : 6 cited in McLean 2002: 544). In other words, when one candidate is dominating on an issue area, the other side stops talking about it, and if neither candidate is dominating, neither candidate will talk about the issue. On this basis it would be said that the two candidates would talk past each other, focusing on different issues rather than holding dialogue on the same issues (McLean 2002: 544; Jerit 2008; Damore 2005).

There is some scholarly support for the dominance Ppinciple, although it is not true to say that there is no dialogue at all between candidates in elections, as this would mean

issue trespassing would never occur (Jerit 2008; McLean 2002; Damore 2005; Arbour 2013). The dominance principle has been criticised for oversimplifying “a multi-faceted process” of campaign rhetoric, and campaigns in general (Damore 2005). However the idea does have some supporting evidence, and is important when thinking about the ideas of issue ownership, divergence and convergence (Damore 2005).

By looking to the dominance principle the idea that candidates talk about the same issues during election periods would be questioned. However, given that campaigns look to salient issues, and debates are held which address issues that both sides make strong arguments on, such as the economy or defense, it is clear that at certain times at least candidates do discuss the same issues. This idea of candidates talking on the same issues is known widely as issue convergence or dialogue. Although Sigelman and Buell distinguish the two, with issue convergence being specifically “those situations in which parties spend campaign funds emphasizing the same issues” and dialogue having “many denotations and connotations that extend beyond paying attention to the same issues”, the focus here, and the term used, will be issue convergence (2004).

More widely the concept of issue convergence is considered to be candidates on both sides of the campaign discussing the same issues and topics (Amoros and Puy 2013; Banda 2015a; 2015b; Banda 2013; Damore 2005; Kaplan et al 2006; Sides 2006; Sides 2007). Although mixed, there is plenty of evidence supporting the idea that convergence occurs during elections (Damore 2004; Petrocik et al 2003-2004; Banda 2013; Banda 2015a ;2015b; Ansolabehere, Snyder and Stewart 2001). The idea of convergence links back to the Median Voter Theorem (Downs 1957), with candidates wanting to get a coalition of voters to elect them, usually based around the median voter, candidates thus will take more moderate positions, or trespass on issues that may be ‘owned’ by the opposition in order to try and win the moderate coalition of the electorate (Damore 2005; Arbour 2013). The point of issue convergence is “issue emphasis, not issue positions”;

candidates will not change their view to what the opposition thinks, or to a more close position to the opposition, but will identify their standpoint alongside the opposition, creating a dialogue on the issue in question (Banda 2013). Banda considers the concept to be a defensive strategy, because “candidates respond to each others’ issue agendas to negate- or at least moderate- the electoral benefits their opponents may receive due to their strategies”(2015a: 826).

There are many possible explanations as to why issue convergence is used by candidates in some campaigns. Often, convergence is dependent upon the election context, the costs involved with converging on certain issues balanced against the benefits, the salient issues of the campaign, the campaign level, whether the candidate is ahead or behind in the race, and many more factors (Damore 2005; Franklin 1991; Kahn and Kenney 1999; Franz and Ridout 2007; Geer 2006). As Banda and others highlight, it becomes necessary in campaigns to respond to attacks, opposition positions, present counterarguments, reframe issues, and respond to any criticism suffered throughout the campaign, which means issue convergence occurs (2015a; Lau and Pomper 2004; Skaperdas and Grofman 1995; Chong and Druckman 2007; Jerit 2008). Whilst this may sound similar to change in the use of issues, candidates would have to incorporate such changes for at least two weeks consecutively for this to be considered strategic change. Although evidence is mixed for issue convergence occurring, it is an important concept when exploring the message element of campaign strategy, given the many situations where issue convergence could be used. Issue convergence could be considered similar to the theory of riding the wave, however where candidates who may ride the wave of public opinion are talking about the salient issues, convergence may occur when candidates want to counter points made by the opposition, even if the issue is not salient.

The counter to issue convergence is issue divergence. Issue divergence is the idea that candidates in opposition to each other discuss different issues, in order to present

themselves in the most advantageous light, rather than discussing issues where the opposition may gain in electoral terms more than the candidate in question (Banda 2013: 449; Banda 2015b; 1, 5, 7; Simon 2002; Damore 2005; Amoros and Puy 2013). Issue divergence follows the dominance principle that leads to the idea that divergence should actually be the norm in campaigns (Damore 2005: 76). As with issue convergence, there is evidence that divergence occurs at a range of levels, leading to the idea that the use of divergence is context dependent (Ansolabehere, Snyder and Stewart 2001; Spiliotes and Vavreck 2002). The concept of issue divergence is important because it can explain decisions of what points candidates decide to focus on, based on the strengths of each candidate in the contest, therefore helping to shape the substance of candidates' messages.

It is important to note that both issue convergence and divergence gain support from empirical studies as demonstrated above, but also that both concepts face methodological limitations in explorations, which makes research and reaching conclusions on which occurs when, more complex (Banda 2015a ; 2015b).

A final concept that places more focus on issues is the idea posed by Arbour that candidates 'own' issues based on personal reputation (2013). This idea was initially based on congressional elections, but could apply to other level elections. According to Arbour, candidates 'own' issues based on the reputation the candidate has developed through their time in office or through previous experience, rather than due to the party being traditionally strong on the issue (2013: 1023). In the same vein as issue ownership theory, Arbour posits that candidates would highlight issues for which they have the advantage based on their reputation, credibility and experience (2013). Given that candidates are better received by the public when campaigns focus on "issues on which their candidate has developed a positive reputation", it would follow that to some degree 'owning' issues based on reputation may occur (Sellers 1998; Arbour 2013). Whilst there is less research

into this area, Arbour has interviewed campaign consultants as part of his evidence for this theory, who give weight to the idea (2016).

Why investigate change in the use of issues in campaign strategy

As issues matter, and enable candidates not only to portray their stances on various points to the voters, but also perhaps personal qualities as well, it is essential to investigate the use of issues in campaign strategy when thinking about the bigger question of whether strategy changes or remains fixed unless “absolutely necessary” (Shea 1996; Thurber and Nelson 1995). Candidates do have the freedom to change focus onto other issues than were originally considered core to their strategy and determining what the changes in the use of issues are and discussing what may be driving these changes is incredibly important in understanding how candidates portray themselves to the electorate, as well as more broadly in relation to strategy.

Hypothesis

There are many various theories that may influence how candidates use issues. Ultimately, candidates want to win a campaign, and therefore candidates may decide to change the use of issues if they felt moving focus to other issues would be advantageous, whether this is because the issue is salient or owned by the opposite party or for other reasons. With this, and the importance of the use of issues in campaign strategy in mind, the initial hypothesis is:

H1: Candidates will change their use of issues in campaign rhetoric.

Method: Investigating the use of issues in campaign rhetoric

To explore the use of issues in campaign rhetoric, identification of issues that candidates may take positions on, that are relevant to campaigns over time, and a method of assessing the use of, and change in, the use of issues is vital. To do this, established

methods which investigate issue areas used in political rhetoric will be used as a methodological starting point. This means that as many of the potential issue areas as possible can be identified and analysed, and also enables a more rigorous, tried and tested approach to be implemented for the investigation of H1.

After consideration of a number of possibilities for exploring and categorising use of issues in campaign rhetoric, the Policy Agendas Project was taken as a start point. The Policy Agendas Project was initially developed by Baumgartner and Jones to investigate “changes in the national policy agenda and public policy outcomes of the United States since World War Two” as part of the Comparative Agendas Project (Jones, Policy Agendas Project Website). Although specific to policy, the project had developed a Codebook which has been used to explore policy agendas but also for content analysis of documents such as the State of the Union Address. Updated in 2014, the Codebook has 20 core categories that have been used in previous analyses which encompass an extensive range of issue areas. Using the Policy Agendas Codebook as a start point for exploring the use of issues within campaign rhetoric enabled coverage of a wide range of issue areas, which have been categorised appropriately in a tried and tested method both in analysis of State of the Union Addresses, and policy rhetoric. The codebook can be found in Appendix A.

The Policy Agendas Project categories are:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. Macroeconomics | 6. Education |
| 2. Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties | 7. Environment |
| 3. Health | 8. Energy |
| 4. Agriculture | 9. Immigration |
| 5. Labor, Employment and Immigration | 10. Transportation |
| | 11. Law, Crime and Family Issues |

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 12. Social Welfare, | 16. Space, Science, Technology, and |
| 13. Community Development and | Communications |
| Housing Issues | 17. Foreign Trade |
| 14. Banking, Finance and Domestic | 18. International Affairs and Foreign Aid |
| Commerce | 19. Government Operations |
| 15. Defense | 20. Public Lands and Water Management |

The codebook provided detail as to what issues would be included in each category, and detailed specific examples as to what, in policy terms, would fall under the category. For example, the first category is Macroeconomics. This category had the issue areas of the following included in its remit:

- General domestic macroeconomic issues
- Inflation, prices and interest rates
- Unemployment rate
- Monetary supply, federal reserve board, and the treasury
- National budget and debt
- Taxation, tax policy and tax reform
- Industrial policy
- Price control and stabilisation.

(Policy Agendas Codebook 2014)

Each of these issue areas then had stipulated examples as to what was included. Using the first issue point, general domestic macroeconomic issues as an example, this covered:

- The administration's economic plans
- Economic conditions and issues
- Economic growth and outlook
- State of the economy
- Long-term economic needs
- Recessions
- General economic policy
- Promote economic recovery and full employment
- Demographic changes
- Population trends
- Recession effects on state and local economies
- Distribution of income
- Assuring an opportunity for employment to every American seeking work.

(Policy Agendas Codebook 2014)

The benefits of using the codebook were the level of detail, as compared with other options, that was provided under both the general category and the issue area. As well as this, the updated version meant that issues from the whole time period being studied, 1960 through to 2012, were addressed because the Policy Agendas Project also looks at this time period and the updates brought more recent specifics into the coding.

Method: Adaptations of the Policy Agendas Project

However, the Policy Agendas Project Codebook could not be used straight away as it was. Although the material for content analysis addresses similar areas that are present in campaign rhetoric and presidential rhetoric, it would not be possible to just use the codebook for campaign rhetoric. Candidates and presidents do refer to similar topics, for

example both will need to mention macroeconomics. Yet overall the audiences, and therefore the detail, language and phraseology used by a candidate as compared with a president are often very different.

Usually candidates focus on what they think will get them a winning coalition, and what specific topics or issues are particularly important to them. Candidates need to tell the electorate what their position is, or express concern with regards to topics such as the economy. To do this, broader terminology, and understandable concepts and phrases would benefit the candidate in their rhetoric, so that a more general audience than those who regularly and avidly follow politics can access the candidate's positions easily. Candidates need to put across issue positions in a way that the majority of voters, who may have little knowledge of economics for example, would understand both the topic and the candidate's position.

In contrast, often presidential rhetoric such as the State of the Union, which the Policy Agendas Project was developed for, has a very different audience. It would be much rarer for the general public to be intensely following such presidential rhetoric. Whilst the State of the Union can attract large audiences, the political rhetoric used speaks more to the legislature, executive, and judiciary, as well as the media. The three branches of government take notice of the President's agenda, as laid out in speeches such as the State of the Union, as what is said could impact their own work and their own actions. The media often follows what is said at such events too, given that they hold the President to account, and inform the people of what the President is saying and doing. These groups; Congressmen, Senators, government officials, judges, justices, and reporters generally have elevated knowledge of the concepts, terminology and phraseology that are associated with various issues that the President may speak on, given their everyday specialist roles. The President therefore can use specialist terminology, policy names, and different phrases to speak about, for example, macroeconomics. Similarly, generally presidents have to

address what is on their legislative agenda, what specifics are most necessary to governing the country at the time, based on what was promised during the campaign and what in reality will be possible during their term. With this there are exceptions, as seen with Trump in 2017 and 2018, continuing in many respects in a more campaign rhetoric style of governing. However overall it is necessary to adapt the codebook so that it captures campaign rhetoric more than presidential, i.e. governing- based rhetoric.

With the distinctions between candidate and president in mind, the Policy Agendas Project Codebook has been adapted for this thesis project. Some of the examples that the Codebook included would not be referenced in campaign strategy, because the language would not be used by candidates. Instead, terms that are about the same topic, but which are likely to appear in campaign rhetoric, as opposed to in presidential rhetoric, needed to be included in the codebook used for the project. Some areas which are in the Policy Agendas Project needed removing entirely from the codebook for investigating the use of issues in campaign strategy. This is because there are aspects of issues that candidates do not mention within campaign rhetoric, given the audience for the general election campaign is the broad electorate, and campaigns only have limited time available to cover all the issues they want to focus on. Therefore relevant topics from the Policy Agendas Project Codebook, under the main original category headings, were adapted for the purpose of analysing campaign rhetoric.

Alongside adapting the focus of the categories, which for this project will be referred to as variables given that the four overarching categories looked at are tone, character, party and issues, it was also necessary to develop specific indicators in order to analyse campaign rhetoric. The Policy Agendas Project provides examples of which subtopics fall under each variable. To analyse campaign rhetoric for the use of issues, specific indicators that relate to campaign rhetoric rather than presidential rhetoric are needed.

Using the categories from the Policy Agendas Project then, the subtopics relevant to campaign rhetoric were identified, and from the examples listed specific indicators that were likely to appear in campaign rhetoric, rather than presidential rhetoric, were developed. This was done based on previous knowledge of campaign rhetoric, and with the view to making terms applicable to campaigns across the time period and for the ability to continue analysis for future elections. Using the example of macroeconomics again, the indicators developed for this variable were:

anti-inflation, budget, budgetary, business, businesses, businessmen, cost of living, deficit, deflation, deflationary, debt, economy, economic (conditions, growth, outlook, plan), economically, fiscal, income(s), industry, industrial, inflation, inflationary, interest rate, IRC/ internal revenue code, marketplace, market(s), monetary, price index, prices, rate, recession, recovery, savings, surplus, tax, taxation, taxcode, taxes, treasury, wage

The indicators were systematically determined, based on what fell under each variable, as taken from the categories of the Policy Agendas Project Codebook. The indicators were also developed based on what was relevant to campaign rhetoric given the terminology, focus, language, and detail that were more commonplace in candidate rhetoric during a general election campaign for the Presidency, rather than in presidential rhetoric.

The Codebook for the Policy Agendas Project also had some policy areas which were in multiple variables, both in a broad sense and in terms of examples. The main problem with regard to campaign rhetoric was that immigration came under variable five, 'Labor, Employment and Immigration', as well as variable nine, 'Immigration'. In order to have consistency in analysis, the decision was taken to remove immigration from 'Labor, Employment and Immigration', having all references to immigration under variable nine. Although immigration does play a factor in economics, within campaign strategy often

immigration is tackled as a separate issue, and thus the decision to keep it separate made the issue more reflective of how candidates use issues. Given that the focus is to understand change in the use of issues, the more the variables reflect how candidates use issues and talk about issues in general, the better.

The second problem was related to certain issue examples which appeared in multiple variables. For example, the Policy Agendas Project Codebook referred to unemployment both under variable one, 'Macroeconomics', and variable five, 'Labor, Employment and Immigration'. Again, decisions were taken in these circumstances as to where certain indicators that had been developed based on the examples would fit most appropriately, with regard to how candidates speak about the issues in question.

The Policy Agendas Project Codebook (2014) and the Issues Codebook for this project (2016) can both be found in full in Appendix A.

As with other aspects of campaign strategy being investigated for change, the codebook was used to content analyse the campaign rhetoric for each campaign, on a speech by speech basis. Any paragraphs which had any of the issue indicators in were identified as issues paragraphs. The issues paragraphs were then coded into the 20 variables based on the indicators which were present in the paragraph. The variables were not mutually exclusive, and therefore paragraphs may have been coded into multiple variables. This is due to the way candidates discuss issues within campaign rhetoric. Often, candidates may mention multiple issues briefly, grouped together in a paragraph, rather than discuss each separately with extensive detail.

Following the coding, any paragraph coded as an issue paragraph was counted, to give a total number of issue paragraphs. Even if a paragraph has been coded into multiple categories, the paragraph was only counted once to obtain the total number of paragraphs

each week which had at least one issue present. Each variable was then represented as a percentage of the total issue paragraphs, on a weekly basis.

In representing the 20 variables as a percentage, it is not possible for all 20 variables' percentages to add up to 100%. This is due to some paragraphs falling into multiple variables. However having the data in a percentage form does enable candidates' use of issues to be compared within a campaign as well as with other campaigns for identification of change. The 'double counting' is a function of the use of multiple issues within campaign rhetoric by candidates.

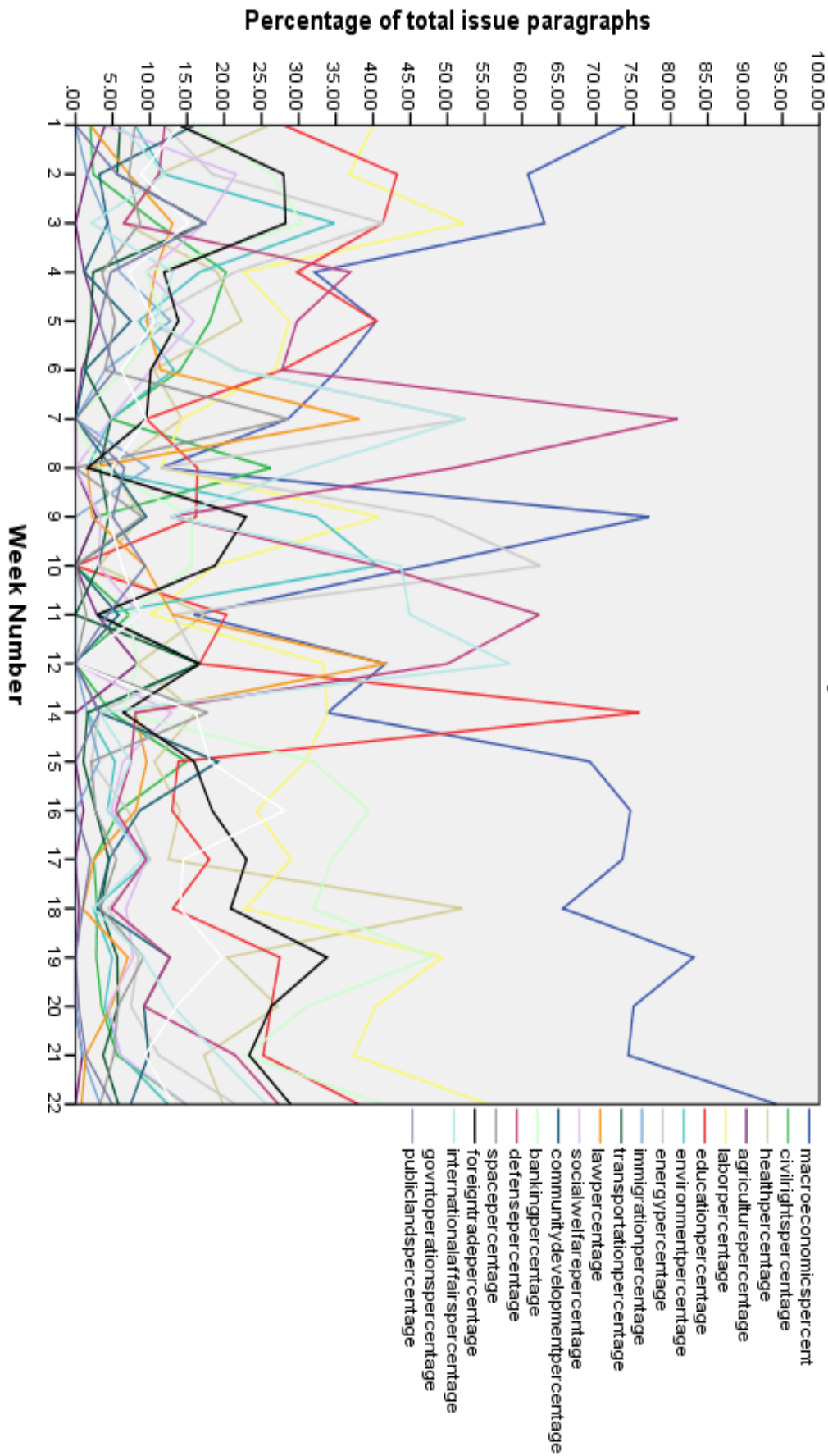
Results: Pilot

The codebook was tested using Obama's 2008 campaign to ensure that the indicators and variables were capturing what they were supposed to, both in the use of issues, and change in the use of issues within campaign rhetoric. Following the pilot, some terms were refined for the indicators of the codebook, either with some being removed because they were, on reflection, unlikely to appear in campaign rhetoric and a few added to include contemporary terms and acronyms that may be mentioned within campaign rhetoric.

The results from Obama's 2008 campaign can be seen graphically below in figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: All Issue Variables' Paragraph data, as a percentage of total issue paragraphs, on a week by week basis, for Obama's 2008 campaign

(see below)



Focusing on Obama's 2008 campaign, there was evidence that hypothesis one was correct, as the use of issues within campaign rhetoric did change during the general election campaign period. However the results were chaotic. This was due to the large number of variables being investigated and the frequency with which each variable was mentioned.

In order to focus more specifically on strategic change, regrouping of the variables into broad issue areas was necessary. Although 20 variables would generally be presumed to capture the use of issues within campaign rhetoric more effectively than a smaller number of broader issue areas, the latter format enables better analysis of the use of issues as they are used in campaign rhetoric. The less political, general electorate are less likely to think in terms of what each candidate's issue position is for macroeconomics, labor and employment, and banking, finance and domestic commerce separately, for example. Often issues are seen much more broadly such as what is their stance economically and what will that mean for my job or for business; what is their stance socially in terms of perhaps immigration or reproductive rights. The issues are not thought of by voters so separately or specifically. This can be seen in the way voters are polled for example, where an issue such as the economy is asked about in general terms rather than broken down as with the original Policy Agendas Project variables (Pew Research Centre 2016). Voters also use issues to infer other information about the candidates, such as competence and knowledge. With these factors in mind candidates often mention many issues together in less detail, such as what they will do with regards to jobs, the national economy, what they will do for business in a more general discussion of economic related points. This is in contrast to presidential rhetoric, which the Policy Agendas Project was developed for, where specific, detailed paragraphs surrounding macroeconomics, then labor and employment, then business, finance and domestic commerce may be more commonplace. There are of course

exceptions to both situations, however on the whole having a smaller number of variables, which focus on a broader issue area, which is more in line with how the electorate think of candidate positions is more appropriate for exploring use of issues in campaign rhetoric. An additional benefit to focusing on a smaller number of broader variables is that there will be less double-counting, and the analysis will more accurately represent how candidates talk about these issues and think about issues as part of campaign strategy.

Regrouping of variables

To be able to regroup the variables, many options were considered. However, with how candidates speak on issues in mind, the 20 variables were grouped into five variables. This is a much more manageable dataset in terms of analysis, whilst still focusing on change in the use of issues in rhetoric.

However, due to the ‘double counting’ of the data, that is, because the variables were not mutually exclusive, multiple issues could be identified in each paragraph, it was not possible to just aggregate the data as would be possible with other areas under investigation for change in campaign strategy. Instead, once the five variables were defined, recounting and analysis of all the data was necessary.

Thinking about areas that candidates speak about both over time and during individual campaigns, the five variables that were developed from the original 20 were:

1. Economics
2. Social
3. Rights and Legal
4. Environmental
5. Foreign / International.

The 20 original variables were apportioned into the variables as:

Economics

- a. Macroeconomics
 - b. Labor and Employment
 - c. Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce
 - d. Agriculture
 - e. Transportation
 - f. Government Operations
2. Social
 - a. Health
 - b. Education
 - c. Social Welfare
 - d. Community Development and Housing Issues
3. Rights and Legal
 - a. Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties
 - b. Immigration
 - c. Law, Crime and Family Issues
4. Environmental
 - a. Environment
 - b. Energy
 - c. Public Lands and Water Management
5. Foreign/International
 - a. Foreign Trade
 - b. International Affairs and Foreign Aid
 - c. Space, Science, Technology and Communications
 - d. Defense

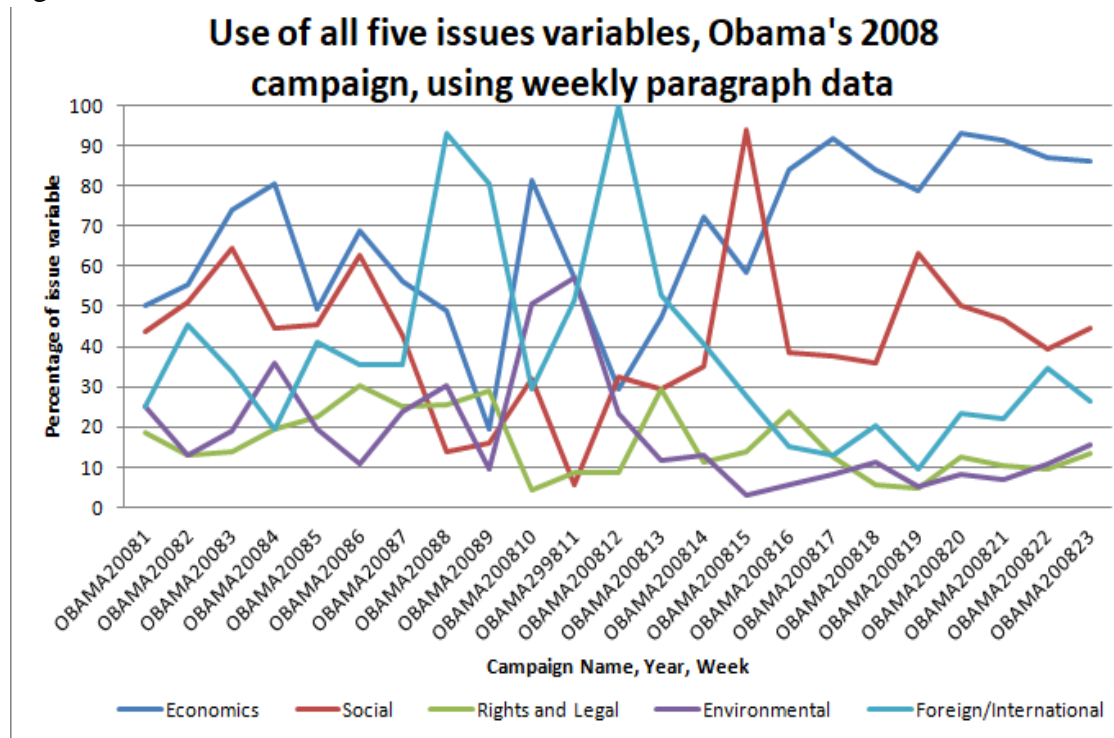
As with any grouping, these variables are not necessarily perfect. There could be more variables added and there could be different groupings of the variables. The original variables of ‘Transportation’, ‘Agriculture’, and ‘Government Operations’, have areas within them which would not normally result in these issues being grouped under the heading of ‘Economics’. ‘Space, Science, Technology and Communications’, especially by today’s thinking of the topic, would not automatically belong under ‘Foreign/International’.

However, taking ‘Economics’ as an example, aspects of the first three original variables mentioned, ‘Transportation’, ‘Agriculture’, and ‘Government Operations’, do relate to economics. Whilst some aspects of these, such as food standards, or automobile safety or FEMA do not obviously sit under economics, these are aspects of the variables which are mentioned less overall within campaign rhetoric and thus the decision was taken to put the original variables in the most appropriate new variable overall, in this case economics. The original variables would not fit more appropriately within any of the other new variables, and a further group of seemingly mis-matched original variables would detract from the focus of identifying strategic change based on how candidates discuss the respective issues.

A similar decision was taken with regards to the ‘Space...’ original variable. Over the time period being investigated, the variable was mentioned by candidates alongside international affairs conversations, in terms of beating other countries in terms of technological advancements or going into space for example. Even in more recent elections there are aspects of the original variable which lend themselves to sitting under ‘Foreign/ International’. Therefore again, focusing on strategic change in how candidates use issues in rhetoric, the decision was taken to put this under the new variable of ‘Foreign/ International’.

As can be seen below, in figure 4.2, the grouping of the 20 categories into five did reduce the chaos and made the data easier to interpret. There perhaps is never going to be a perfect answer to analysing the use of issues in campaign rhetoric given the way that candidates discuss issues, and the aims of appealing to a broad electorate, and in future projects this regrouping into the five variables may not be appropriate. However based on what the candidates say in campaign rhetoric, and the focus on the use of issues and strategic change in the use of issues, this distinction and grouping of the 20 original variables into the five new variables was considered most appropriate for being relevant to the whole time period in question.

Figure 4.2



Hypotheses

In order to determine whether strategy changes, it is important to look at whether this is in general, and also across the five variables. This is similar to other categories where change has been identified both as occurring in the use of issues, and in each

variable. Beyond this, it would be interesting to see if there is any evidence of issue ownership occurring during the period being investigated. It is possible to identify which variables may be more likely used by which party based on the literature on issue ownership. For example, Democratic candidates would be expected to own the variables of social and rights and legal, and so it would be anticipated that if issue ownership had been used by candidates in developing strategy, that the Democrats would use these variables more than the Republicans. Similarly, it would be expected that if the Republicans had used issues ownership theories to inform strategy development, then they would use the variables of economics and foreign/international more than the Democrats. It may be that the findings can give some further support to the theory. Additionally, it would be anticipated that candidates would change the use of issues they did not own more than owned issues, because they may be driven by polls, what the opposition is doing, or events, to talk about issues that they do not own, and in certain ways. What also could be tested is the idea of issue convergence, as if this is an option that candidates consider, or use without knowing they do so, there may be points when a candidate changes their use of an issue variable because the opposition have done so; resulting in the candidates converging and talking on the same issue variable. It would be interesting to see whether there is support for issue ownership theory and issue convergence, as well as for the idea that use of issues in strategy changes.

With all this in mind, the following hypotheses can be investigated:

H1: Candidates will change their use of issues in campaign rhetoric.

H2: Candidates will change their use of each of the five issues variables.

H3: Democratic candidates will use the variables of social, and rights and legal more than Republican candidates.

H4: Republican candidates will use the variables of foreign/international, and economics more than Democratic candidates.

H5: Democratic candidates will change the use of foreign/international, environmental and economics variables more than social, and rights and legal.

H6: Republican candidates will change the use of social, rights and legal, and environmental variables more than foreign/international and economics.

H7: Candidates will change their use of issues if their opponent has done so.

Qualifying when hypotheses are met

H1: Candidates will change their use of issues in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis proposes that there will be change in the use of issues in campaign rhetoric. There will be evidence to support the hypothesis if there are changes in any of the five variables, at the level of two standard deviations, in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric.

H2: Candidates will change their use of each of the five issues variables.

This hypothesis proposes that each of the five issues variables will change in campaign rhetoric. There will be evidence to support the hypothesis if there are changes in economic, social, rights and legal, environmental and foreign/ international variables at the level of two standard deviations in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks in campaign rhetoric.

H3: Democratic candidates will use the variables of social, and rights and legal more than Republican candidates.

This hypothesis proposes that Democratic candidates use the two issues that they own; social, and rights and legal, more than Republican candidates. There will be evidence to

support this measure based on two measures. Firstly if the average percentage of the social variable, and the rights and legal variable for each campaign is higher for Democratic campaigns than Republican campaigns there would be evidence to support the hypothesis. This would need to be true in at least 50% of campaigns. Whilst it is possible that this could be coincidence, there will be a second method of testing this hypothesis to help further corroborate the findings. There are 14 Democratic campaigns, and 13 Republican campaigns. Therefore at least seven Democratic campaigns would need to have the higher average percentage use of the social variable, and the rights and legal variable and less than seven Republican campaigns would need to have the higher average percentage use of the social variable.

The second way to provide evidence to support this hypothesis is by totalling the raw use of the social variable, and the raw use of the rights and legal variable up for all the campaigns for both Democrats and Republicans, and getting percentages based on the totals for each party. The Democratic total use of the social variable percentage, and the rights and legal percentage, would need to be higher than the Republican total use of the social variable percentage to support the hypothesis.

H4: Republican candidates will use the variables of foreign/international, and economics, more than Democratic candidates.

This hypothesis investigates use of Republican owned issues. There will be support for this hypothesis if the average percentage of their foreign/international and economics variables for each campaign is higher for Republican candidates than Democratic candidates. There needs to be at least seven Republican campaigns where this is the case, and less than seven Democratic campaigns. There could also be support for the hypothesis if the percentage of the total use of the foreign/international variable, and the economics variable for all campaigns was higher for Republicans than Democrats.

H5: Democratic candidates will change the use of foreign/international, environmental and economics variables more than social and rights and legal variables.

There will be support for this hypothesis if the variables of social, and rights and legal, have fewer changes than the variables of foreign/international, environmental, and economics, for Democratic candidates.

H6: Republican candidates will change the use of social, rights and legal and environmental variables more than foreign/international and economics variables.

There will be support for this hypothesis if the variables of foreign/international, and economics have fewer changes than the variables of social, rights and legal, and environmental.

H7: Candidates will change their use of issues if their opponent has done so.

There will be support for this hypothesis if candidates change the use of issues, followed within two weeks by their opponent, at the level of two standard deviation, using week to week difference in percentage data, lasting for two or more consecutive weeks. There are 13 elections where there is a Democratic and Republican candidate, so in at least 7, or 50% of cases, this would need to occur to support the hypothesis. Given that this is testing the idea of issue convergence, the candidates would need to change the use of the same issue as their opponent.

Results

H1: Candidates will change their use of issues in campaign rhetoric.

As was seen from the pilot results in figure 4.1, and in figure 4.2 above showing the five variables of issues for 2008, and as can be seen in figure 4.3, below, there was change in the use of issues in campaign rhetoric. Figure 4.3 shows all the changes made in the five variables from 1960 to 2012, with the Y axis representing the number of two standard

deviation changes to the variables, and the X axis being the points throughout all the campaigns at which change occurs. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 are the same graphs, but showing only Democratic campaigns or Republican campaigns respectively.

Figure 4.3

(see below)

All changes in the use of issues, 1960-2012, using week to week difference in percentage data

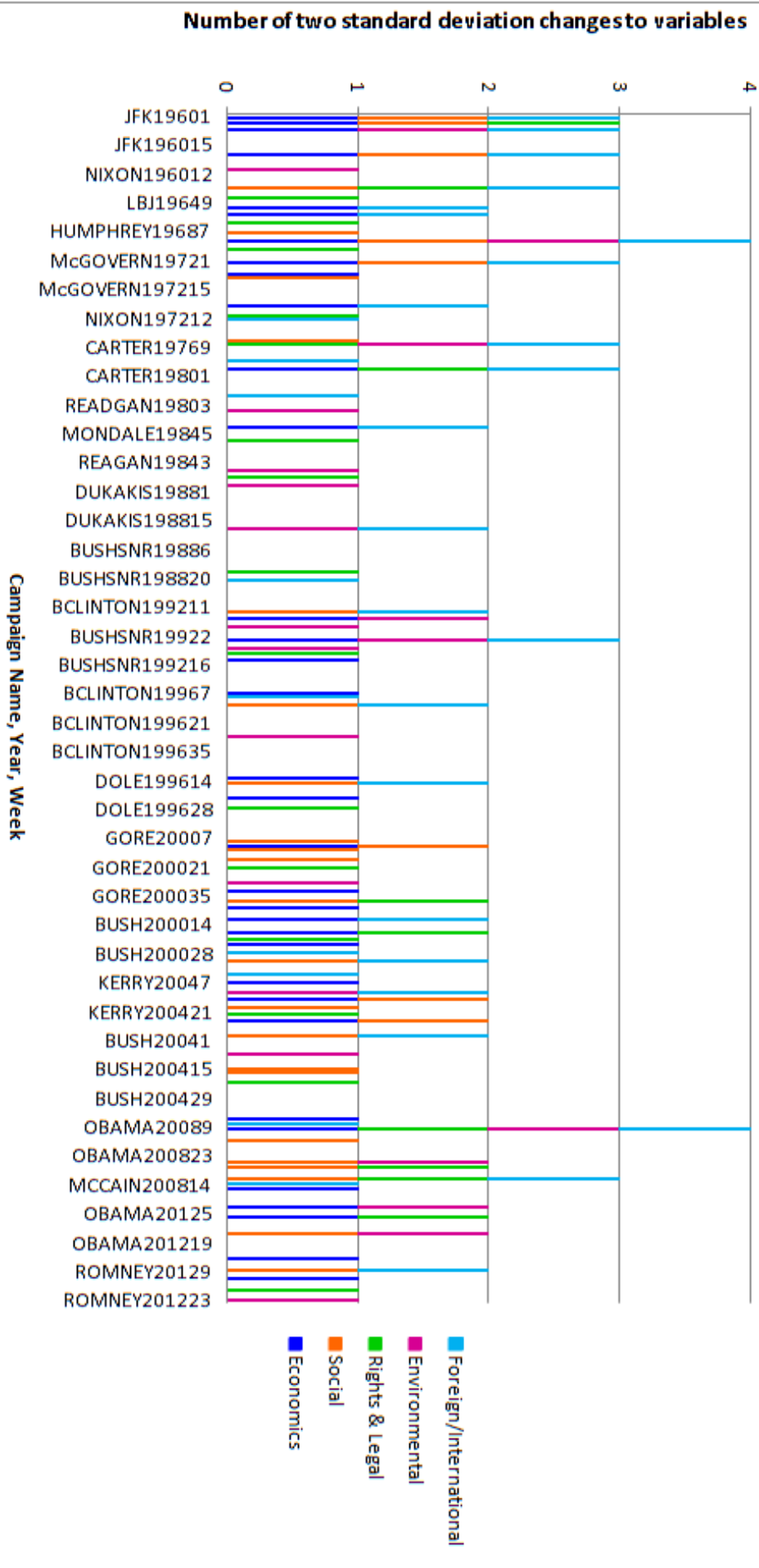


Figure 4.4

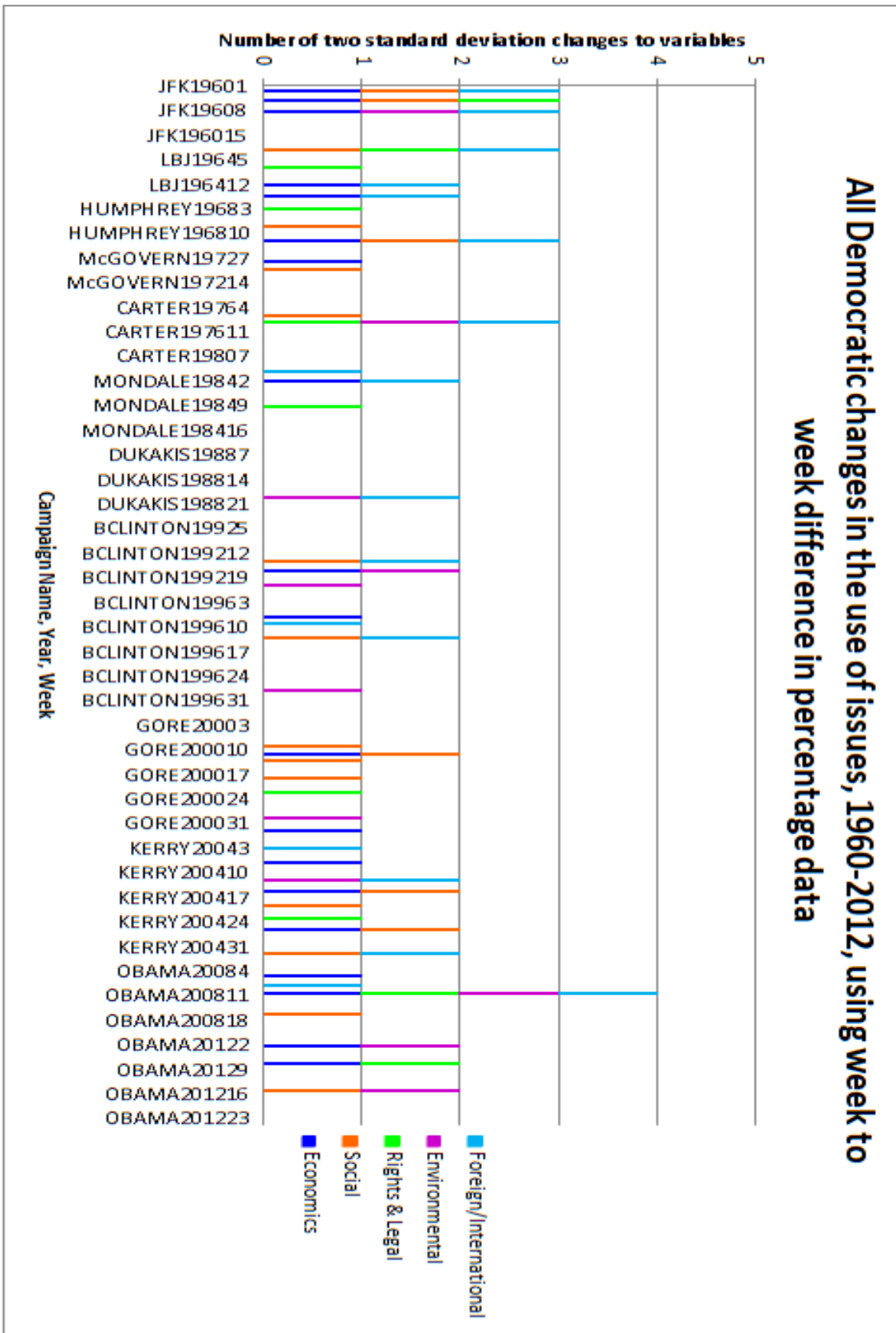
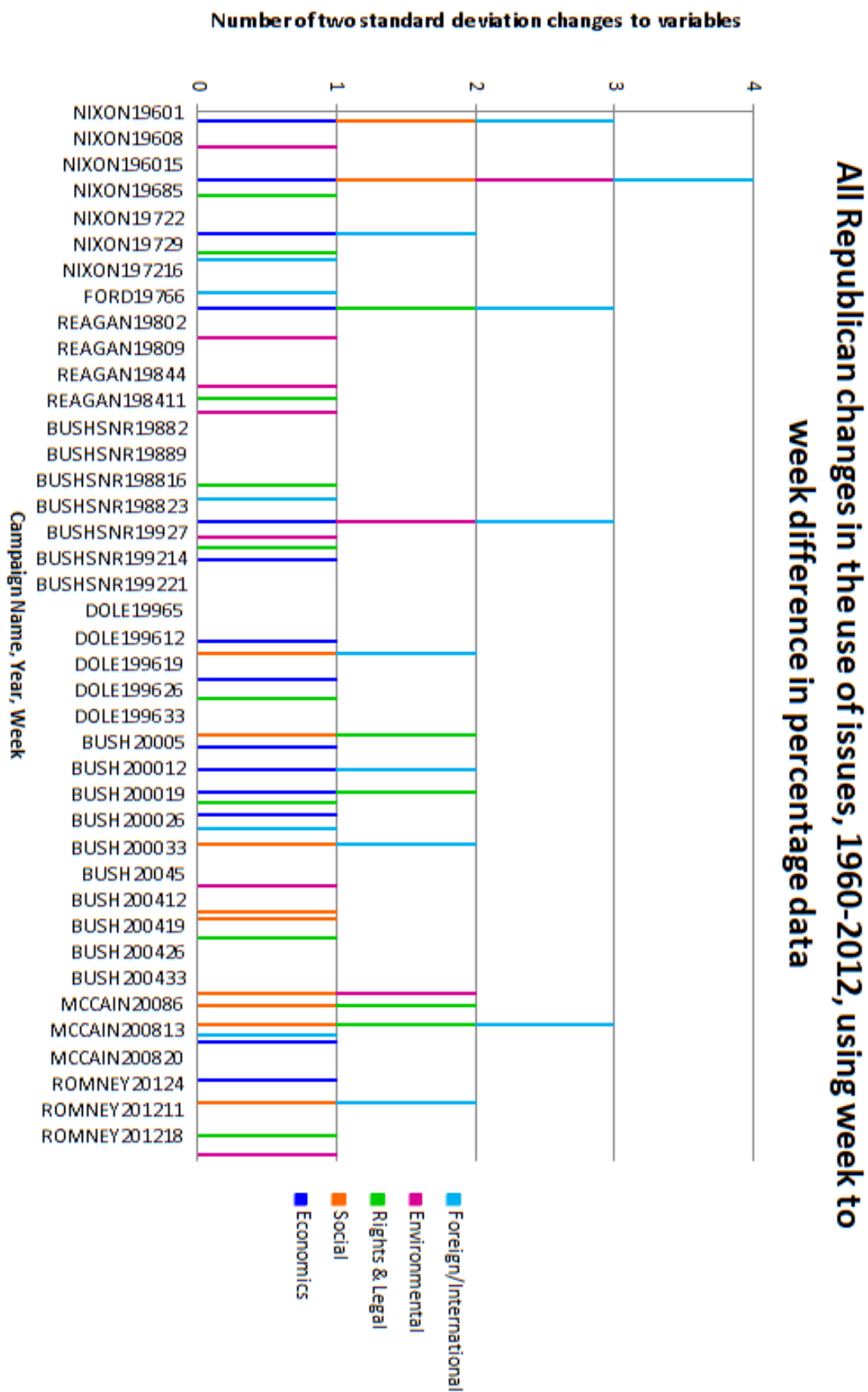


Figure 4.5



As can be seen from the figures above, there are 142 total instances of change in the use of issues and 92 points of change, where some points have changes in multiple variables. There are 77 instances of change across Democratic campaigns, 64 instances of change in Republican campaigns. This equates to 47 points of change during Democratic campaigns, and 45 points of change across Republican campaigns. There is evidence of change in the use of issues in every campaign analysed from 1960 to 2012. There are as many as four variables changing at one point in time; as seen in Nixon's 1968 campaign and Obama's 2008 campaign.

H2: Candidates will change their use of each of the five issues variables.

Whilst there was not evidence in every campaign of change in every issue variable, as table 4.1, below, shows, there was evidence across all the campaigns studied from 1960-2012 that candidates will change their use of each of the five issue variables. The variables of foreign/international and economics had the most changes across the period studied, closely followed by the social variable. Interestingly, whilst there were only 24 changes to the use of rights and legal, these were across more campaigns than the 33 changes to the use of economics, and the same number of campaigns as foreign/international. This means that the variables of economics, social and foreign/ international are changed more than the rights and legal variable; however there are more changes in fewer campaigns. Candidates who change these variables do so more, but less candidates overall change the use of the variables. Whereas the rights and legal variable in the main only is changed once in the campaigns where use of the variable changes. It is also worth noting that there is change in every campaign in at least one issues variable, yet the number of campaigns out of 27 which change the use of the five variables only varies by three, from 17 to 20.

Table 4.1 : Table showing the number of strategic changes across the five issue variables:

	Number of changes	Number of campaigns out of 27
Economic	33	19
Social	30	18
Rights & Legal	24	20
Environmental	21	17
Foreign/International	33	20

H3: Democratic candidates will use the variable of social and rights and legal more than Republican candidates.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis. Table 4.2, and 4.3 below, show the campaign year in the first column followed by the average percentage use of the social variable (table 4.2) and the rights and legal variable (4.3) for each campaign for Democratic and Republican candidates. As can be seen in table 4.2 below, in the majority of elections, the average use of the social variable for each campaign is higher for Democrats than Republicans, these are highlighted in yellow. These points are also shown on the graph, figure 4.5. As can be seen in the graph, the only instance when Republican use of the social variable is higher than Democrats is in 1992, and with 1964 it is not possible to compare. In twelve campaigns, Democrats were higher in their use of the social variable than Republicans. Using the second way of testing this hypothesis, there is also evidence to support it. Totalling up all the issues rhetoric over the period, the social variable is 38.7% of the issues rhetoric for Democrats, and only 27.10% for Republicans.

With regard to the use of rights and legal, figure 4.6 shows this information graphically, with table 4.3 having the average percentage use for each year. As is highlighted, there are nine elections where the average is higher for Democrats than for Republicans. Interestingly again 1992 is lower for Democrats than Republicans, as is 2004 and 2008. Using the second method, the rights and legal variable makes up 16.4% of all issues rhetoric from 1960-2012 for Democrats, but only 12.1% for Republicans, further supporting the hypothesis. From figure 4.6 it is clear that the Republican averages, are

much more similar, compared with the Democratic average use of rights and legal variable over time.

Table 4.2: Use of Social Variable, based on average percentage, split by Democrats and Republicans

Campaign Year	Democrats Average %	Republicans Average %
1960	29.42353	18.35882
1964	19.32813	NA
1968	30.21	19.82
1972	18.38824	14.14118
1976	20.6	17.89091
1980	20.95	19.2
1984	23.2375	18.3875
1988	18.32609	7.926087
1992	23.58696	32.14348
1996	49.62857	15.26286
2000	38.19886	36.39714
2004	31.54941	31.30765
2008	42.15478	26.3213
2012	41.41708	19.625

Table 4.3: Use of rights and legal variable based on average percentage, split by Democrats and Republicans

Campaign Year	Democrats Average %	Republicans Average %
1960	8.505882	2.588235
1964	5.45	NA
1968	21.36	9.54
1972	10.80588	6.564706
1976	13.02727	9.7
1980	17.5	12.61667
1984	14.01875	12.2875
1988	9.634783	5.547826
1992	7.313043	13.43739
1996	31.2	11.75143
2000	23.77357	14.66829
2004	12.72676	14.23206
2008	15.90478	16.00391
2012	9.720908	10.53313

Figure 4.5

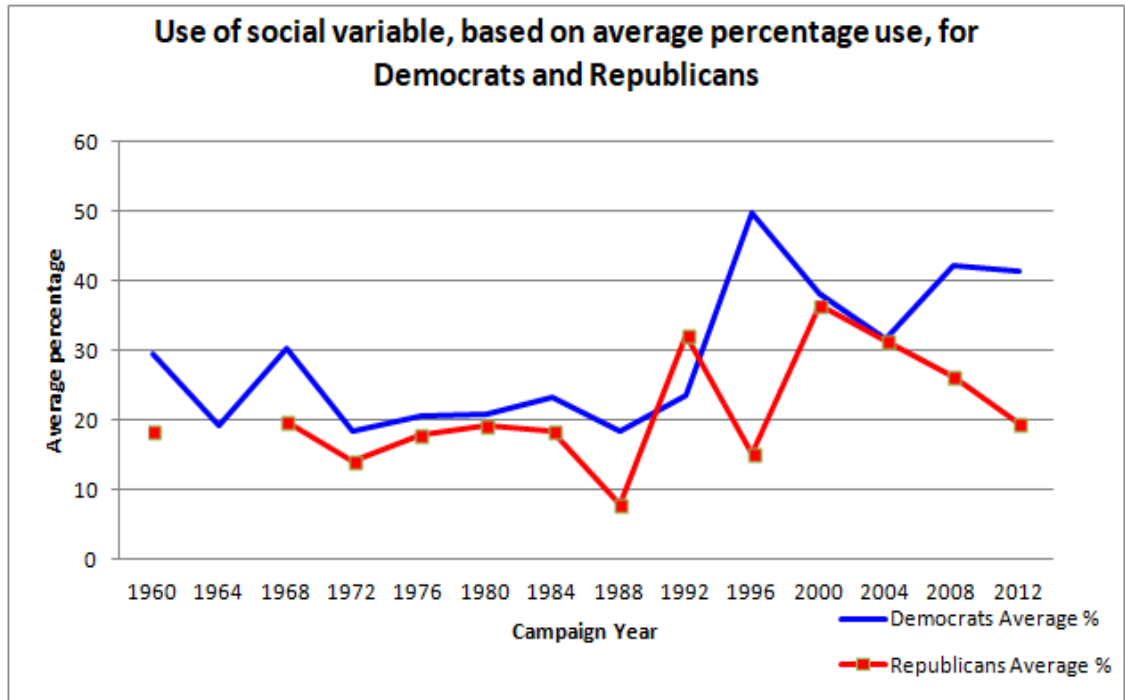
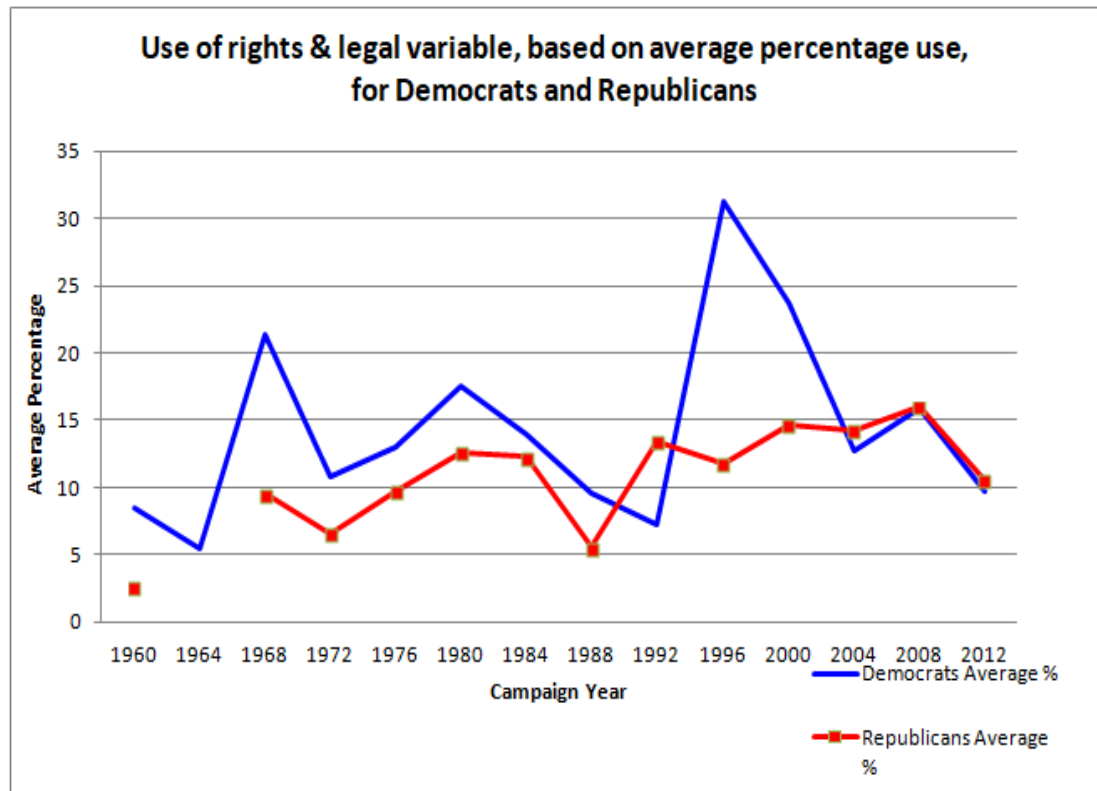


Figure 4.6



H4: Republican candidates will use the variables of foreign/ international, and economics, more than Democratic candidates.

There is some evidence to support this hypothesis. There is evidence which supports this for the use of foreign/international variable, but not for the use of economics. As seen in table 4.4 below, in eight of the 12 campaigns where both party candidates can be studied, the Republicans have a higher average use of the foreign/international variable than Democrats. These are highlighted on the table. This can be seen in figure 4.7 graphically. The first part of the hypothesis is further supported by looking at the percentage use of the foreign/international variable. The overall percentage of the variable of the total issue rhetoric is 40.4% for Republicans, compared to 34.8% for Democrats. As can be seen from figure 4.7, both averages over time vary quite a lot in their use, more so than previous variables looked at.

Table 4.5, and figure 4.8, show the results for the use of economics variable. Somewhat surprisingly there is no evidence to support the second part of the hypothesis. There are six instances where Republicans have higher average percentage use of the economics variable than Democrats. This is below the necessary seven instances to be supportive of the hypothesis. Whilst some of the campaign averages are close, for example the difference between use in 1988 is 0.03%, there is equally no support when examining use the second way. Democrats use of economics is 61.3% of the total issues rhetoric from 1960-2012, whereas Republicans use of economics is 58.3% of the time. This could be because whilst the economy is an area owned by Republicans, the Democrats also are known for class appeals, which are often made with economic rhetoric, and for programs such as the New Deal, which is again economic based. This means that whilst the Republicans may own the economy in general terms, they do not use the economics variable more than the Democrats, given the other points that Democrats would talk about which would fall under the economics variable. Out of all the variables explored, the use of

economics for both Democrats and Republicans has the higher averages over time and larger differences in averages over time.

Table 4.4: use of foreign/international variable based on average percentage, split by Democrats and Republicans

Campaign Year	Democrat Average %	Republican Average %
1960	40.61176	39.07059
1964	42.35	NA
1968	45.35	39.34
1972	19.33529	41.38824
1976	19.99091	34.78182
1980	47.80833	26.24167
1984	29.20625	37.28125
1988	12.22609	15.96957
1992	14.38261	39.10435
1996	34.58	10.086
2000	8.243	18.412
2004	37.12029	48.04206
2008	38.08652	38.61652
2012	32.82917	22.99458

Figure 4.7

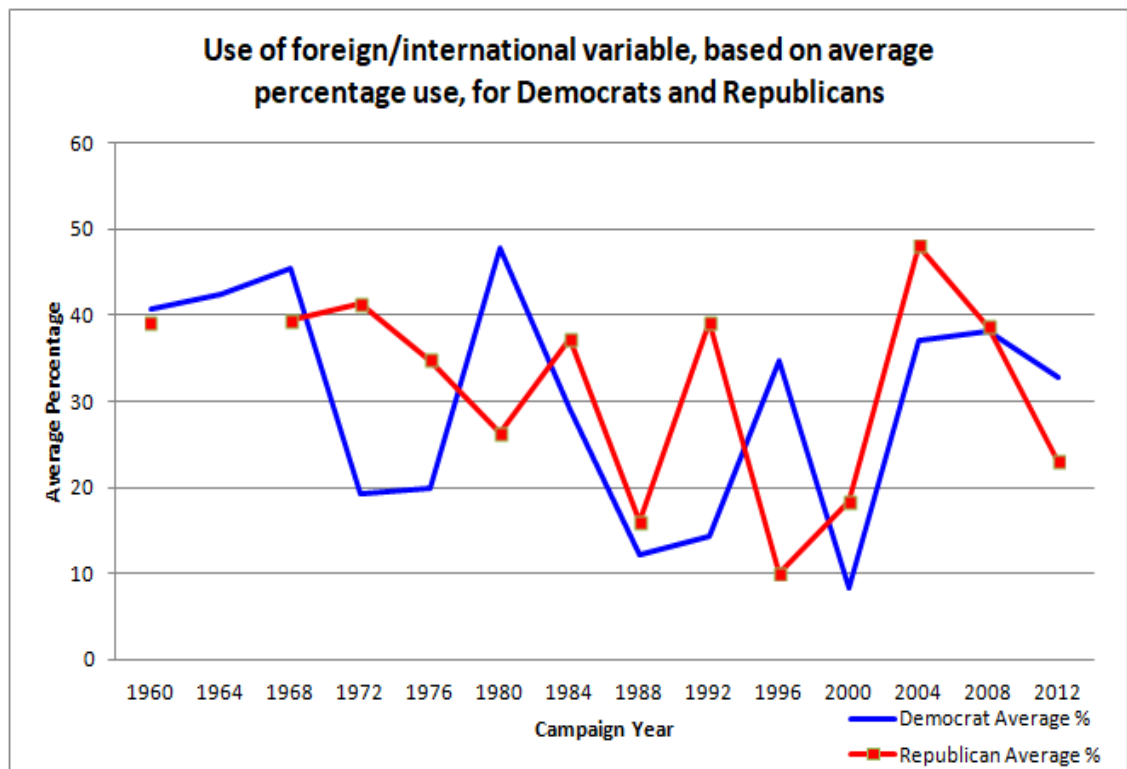
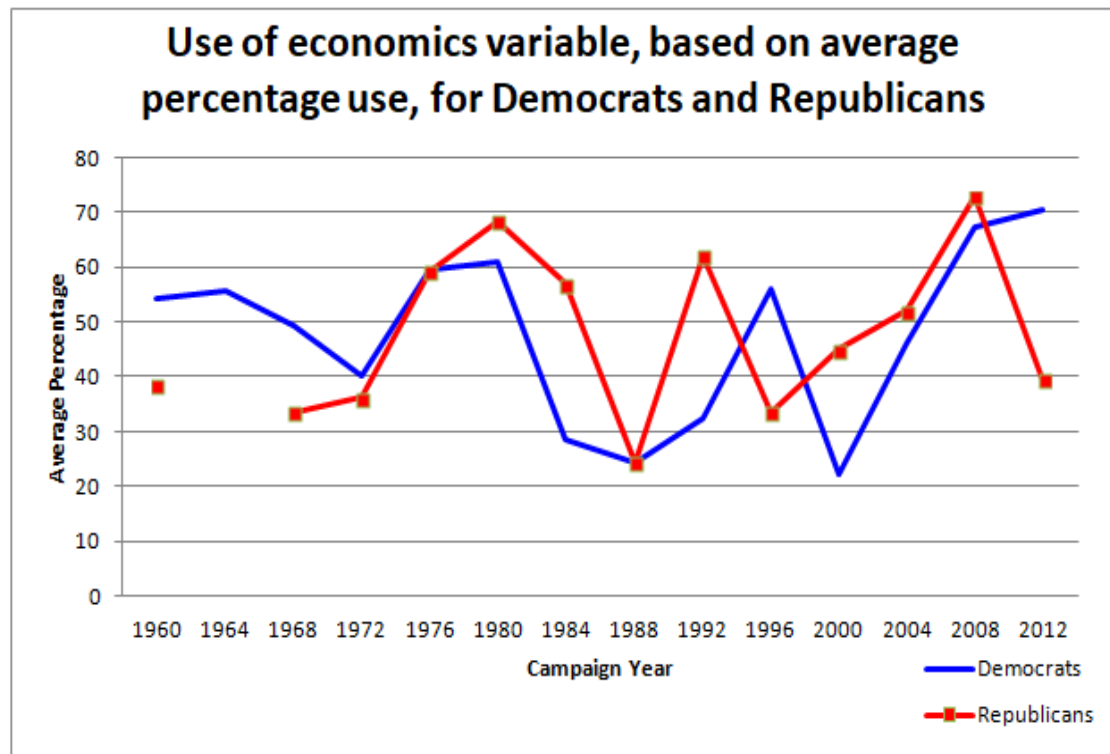


Table 4.5, use of economics variable based on average percentage, split by Democrats and

Republicans

Campaign Year	Democrats	Republicans
1960	54.18235	38.39412
1964	55.525	NA
1968	49.43	33.52
1972	40.01765	36.12353
1976	59.55455	59.17273
1980	60.79167	68.24167
1984	28.475	56.925
1988	24.36957	24.33913
1992	32.31304	62.13913
1996	56.12571	33.64857
2000	22.20114	44.96229
2004	46.14676	51.97735
2008	67.14348	72.79957
2012	70.57125	39.54375

Figure 4.8



H5: Democratic candidates will change the use of foreign/international, environmental and economics variables more than social, and rights and legal

As can be seen from table 4.6 below, there is little support for this hypothesis. Democratic candidates made equal changes to the use of economics, and the use of social variables; 19 changes to both. Democratic candidates made 18 changes to foreign /international, and eleven to environmental. Both of these variables, as well as the economics variable, have more changes than the rights and legal variable, but not the social variable. This would imply that rather than candidates changing their use of issues variables on the basis of ownership, it is possible that other factors may instead be influencing which variables Democratic candidates change in rhetoric.

Table 4.6: Number of changes in issues variables for Democratic candidates 1960-2012

Variable	Number of Changes
Economics	19
Social	19
Rights & legal	10
Environmental	11
Foreign/ International	18

H6: Republican candidates will change the use of social, rights and legal, and environmental variables more than foreign/international and economics.

There is no support for this hypothesis. The variables of economics and foreign/international are both changed 15 times by Republican candidates, more than any of the other three variables. As with H5, this implies that candidates do not change their use of issues on the basis of issues that they own, but more rather there must be other factors influencing and explaining why Republican candidates change their use of issues.

Table 4.7: Number of changes in issues variables for Republican candidates 1960-2012

Variable	Number of changes
Economics	15
Social	11
Rights & legal	14
Environmental	10
Foreign/ International	15

H7: Candidates will change their use of issues if their opponent has done so.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis. Firstly, table 4.8 shows the points where one candidate changes, followed by their opponent, and the variable(s) that both candidates changed. Looking at the changes to all the five variables, there is evidence of the candidates changing the same variable within two weeks of their opponent in nine of the 13 elections where there was the ability to study both candidates use of issues; 1960, 1972, 1976, 1984, 1988, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012. In total, there were 13 instances when a candidate changed their use of a variable and their opponent then did the same either one or two weeks after. This breaks down into four instances in the use of economic variable, three social variable instances, five rights and legal variable instances, one environmental variable instance, and three foreign/international variable instances. This gives evidence to support this hypothesis in 69% of elections studied. In most of these instances, nine of 13 again, the Democratic candidate firstly made the change, followed by the Republican candidate. This implies that there may be some issue convergence occurring, given that the candidates do change the use of the same variable across most of the elections cycles. However this result in terms of issue convergence does need to be treated with caution, as there are only 32 instances of change where candidates change the same variable as their opponent within the two week period, which is only 23% of instances of change that occur.

Table 4.8: Table showing points when one candidate changed followed by opponent, and the variable changed.

Democrats	Republicans	Variable both changed
JFK 1960 2	NIXON 1960 3	Economics, Social
JFK 1960 8	NIXON 1960 10	Environmental
McGOVERN 1972 8	NIXON 1972 6	Economics
CARTER 1976 8	FORD 1976 9	Rights & Legal, Foreign/ International
MONDALE 1984 9	REAGAN 1984 10	Rights & Legal
DUKAKIS 1988 19	BUSHSNR 1988 21	Foreign/International
GORE 2000 11	BUSH 2000 12	Economics
GORE 2000 22	BUSH 2000 21	Rights & Legal
KERRY 2004 15	BUSH 2004 17	Social
KERRY 2004 19	BUSH 2004 17	Social
KERRY 2004 23	BUSH 2004 22	Rights & Legal
OBAMA 2008 10	MCCAIN 2008 11	Rights & Legal, Foreign/ International
OBAMA 2012 2	ROMNEY 2012 3	Economics

However in terms of the hypothesis and candidates changing the use of issues when their opposition does, looking to occasions when candidates may not change the same variable, but do change issues within the two weeks that their opponent does, gives stronger results. Candidates change the use of issues, any variable, within two weeks of their opponent, in 77 of 142 instances of change, which is 54% of all instances of change. In terms of points of change, this equates to 47 out of 92 points of change where both candidates change the use of an issue when the opponent changes the use of an issue; 51% of all points of change. Therefore whilst support for the idea of issue convergence may be weaker, there is still support for the idea that when one candidate changes the use of issues, the opposition will respond and change the use of one of their issues variables. This just does not necessarily mean the same issue area will be changed in response to the opponent. It will be interesting to see if, given that it would be anticipated that opposition may be driving change in some instances at least, opposition behaviour is an explanatory factor in change overall.

Discussion

There is change

The results support the idea that there is change in the use of issues in campaign rhetoric. There are 142 total instances of change across all the campaigns, equating to 92 points of change in the use of issues in campaign rhetoric, across the 27 campaigns. There are points where up to four variables all change at a single point in time. At least one issues variable changed in all of the campaigns studied from 1960-2012. There are 33 changes in the use of economics, 30 in the use of social, 24 to the use of rights and legal, 21 to the use of environmental, and 33 changes in the use of the foreign/international variable. There were 77 total instances, equating to 47 points of change in Democratic campaigns. This is compared with 64 total instances, equating to 45 points of change in Republican campaigns. The differences in Democratic and Republican changes in the use of issues indicate that whilst the two parties change the use of issues a similar number of times, Democrats are likely to change more variables at one point in time. This is because whilst there are only a few points difference between the total points of change, there are 13 points difference in instances of change between the two parties' change in issues variables. Interestingly there is no point where all five variables change at the same point in time, and only two instances where four variables are changed at the same time; Nixon in 1968 and Obama in 2008. In terms of changing the use of issues, more often candidates change a few variables rather than the majority of variables at once.

What it is also important to note is that whilst candidates are widely known to give a 'healthcare' speech and an 'economics' speech, these individual focuses on a specific issue topic do not account for the changes identified in this analysis. This is because firstly the change is from week to week, not from speech to speech, and secondly the change has to last for two consecutive weeks to count as a point of change. Therefore if there were instances where an individual speech had made an impact, the change would not be

counted anyway. Overall, the findings give support for the main hypothesis of this project, that campaigns change strategy during the general election campaign.

Support for previous research

Hypotheses three and four investigate if Democratic and Republican candidates potentially follow, or inadvertently adhere to issue ownership theory. Using the ownership areas identified initially by Petrocik (1996), the hypotheses tested whether the candidates in general used the issue areas that they owned. The Democrats did use their ‘owned’ areas of social, and rights and legal more than the Republicans. The Republicans used their ‘owned’ areas of foreign/international more than the Democrats as well. What was somewhat surprising was that Democrats used the variable of economics more. The economy is a Republican owned issue, but given the points that Democrats would focus on within this broad area, such as the New Deal, and class appeals on economic grounds, this finding does make sense. Whilst this is not directly related to change in campaign strategy, these findings give insight into how candidates use issues more generally, and how candidates may formulate use of issues in campaign strategy. It is very possible that candidates do consider what issues their party is known as being strong on when determining what they will use throughout campaign rhetoric.

Interestingly, looking to changes in owned issues, it does not necessarily follow that candidates will change issues that they do not own more than those that they do own. Hypotheses five and six investigated this. This was anticipated given that candidates may be stronger on owned issue variables, and therefore need to change the use of these variables less. Strategically speaking, candidates always aim to have a strategy that can win them the presidency. If candidates own an issue, they are likely to have a base of voters that agree with these issues and positions that they take on the issues. However, if the candidates do not own an issue, it is possible that they need to change the use of said issue more. However, there is little support for this idea, as identified in the hypotheses

above. In actuality, candidates do change their own issues areas, for example the Democrats changed the use of social variable 19 times, but also changed the economics and foreign and international variable 19 and 18 times respectively.

In terms of strategy, it would seem that whilst issue ownership has an impact on the use of variables, it does not on explaining change in the use of issues variables. It is possible that the issues are changed most based on the salient issues; the two most changed variables looking at the results as a whole are economics and foreign / international, both with 33 points of change over the period studied. Both of these generally are issues which are salient during campaign periods, and this may be driving change. It is also possible that instead, based on H7, there is support for the idea that the opposition may be driving decisions of change in the use of issues, as has been presented as potential explanations for changes in other categories of change as well. This is seen in the fact that, whilst candidates may not change the exact variable that the opponent has, in over half of the changes, one candidate changes an issue variable, and within two weeks the opponent also changes an issue variable. What will be interesting is if there is evidence that opposition behaviour is one of the driving factors of change in the use of issues, and change in strategy overall, as it would be anticipated that opposition behaviour would be.

There is also some further support for the prior theory of issues convergence having a role in campaign strategy, even if candidates do not knowingly use issue convergence, from the findings of H7. This was investigating whether candidates would converge on an issue, by focusing on changes made by candidates within two weeks of their opponent also making a change to the same issues variable. There is some weak evidence to suggest that candidates may change the use of issues to converge and talk about the same issue as the opposition have changed the use of. It is possible that candidates may use issue convergence theory during general election campaigns. However whether this is a conscious decision to converge onto what the opposition are talking about, or whether in

actuality candidates do not want to lose out on the chance to win more voters across to their viewpoint, and so they decide to address the issues the opposition is mentioning, is unclear. What would be interesting from a campaign strategy perspective in future would be to interview both campaign strategists and candidates in order to determine if issues trespassing and issue convergence are impacting decisions made in relation to the use of, and change in the use of issues in strategy, and to expand the findings to other media of campaign strategy, and see if similar findings are replicated.

Future research

It firstly would be interesting to investigate what may be driving decisions to change the use of issues, in order to get more definitive answers than potentially the opposition. As with other categories being studied, it is possible that along with the opposition, there may be structural events such as Labor Day, party conventions or a last push period prior to Election Day, which may help to explain the changes made by the candidates to the use of issues. It would be interesting to determine to what extent each of the theories discussed initially accurately describe what occurs in the use of issues in campaign strategy. Finally, it would be interesting and beneficial to campaign strategy research to investigate if the findings here are translated into other media such as campaign advertising strategy or website strategy.

Conclusion

Overall it is clear that there are strategic changes in the use of issues in campaign rhetoric across the campaigns studied. There are changes in all five variables, and in all campaigns studied between 1960 and 2012. The most changes come from economics, social and foreign/international, which is somewhat expected when thinking about salient campaign issues. There is some support for previous established theories on the use of issues in rhetoric from the findings in this project. It is clear that issues are used throughout

campaigns, and are changed throughout campaigns. Future research would be interesting to see if similar findings are replicated when another media of campaign strategy is analysed, and to determine what can explain the changes in the use of issues in campaign strategy.

To conclude, the use of issues, whilst an integral part of campaign strategy, does still provide evidence that campaign strategy does not remain fixed in the use of issues in campaign rhetoric based on the evidence from the campaigns from 1960 through to 2012.

Chapter Five: Use of Party in Campaign Rhetoric

When candidates are developing campaign strategy, it is necessary to address how they will use party within their campaign rhetoric. The two main presidential candidates usually identify as either Democrat or Republican, and candidates can try to use their respective party affiliation to reinforce predispositions which may encourage those in the electorate to vote for them (Jackson and Crotty 2000; Shaw 2006; Polsby and Wildavsky 2016: 10, 42; Ceasar and Bush 2005: 137; Sides 2007). The electorate is comprised, broadly speaking, of various types of voters; those who are staunchly faithful to their party, and who likely have voted the same way since the first time they cast their votes; independents who do not identify as being affiliated with either party; those who lean towards one party more, but could be convinced to vote otherwise; and undecided voters who may change their mind at each election. There are various theories as to what extent party is important in voters' decision making, and the role of party in candidate strategy. However what is clear is that candidates want to try to develop a strategy that will enable them to gain the larger share of the electorate and therefore win the presidency; this is the core overall aim of campaign strategy. In doing so, whilst candidates will want to use party, there may be times that using party in the classic sense of being a partisan, compared with being above party or being someone who would be more bipartisan or cross-partisan, in their work would not necessarily bring about a winning coalition for the candidate. In this situation, it may be that candidates change their use of party, rather than keeping the use of party fixed as would be anticipated under established campaign strategy theory. This chapter aims to explore how candidates tackle this situation, focusing predominantly on how candidates change their use of party, if they do at all, as has been found in other categories of strategy. Whilst there are many strategic options available to candidates for their use of party, analysis will focus on the use of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party in rhetoric. These will be explained within the chapter. With this in mind, this

chapter will assess what is already known about the role and use of party; hypothesise as to how the use of party may change in campaign strategy; offer a methodology based on Rhodes' (2014) to explore the use of party in campaign rhetoric from the perspective of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party use of party in rhetoric; and present results and discussion from campaigns from 1960 through to 2012 regarding change in the use of party in presidential campaigns.

The use of party in campaign strategy: previous research

Generally speaking, party identification is considered a factor in voter choice, and decisions as to what extent to use party within campaign rhetoric, given that identification can influence voter choice, would be taken when candidates develop their campaign strategy (Jackson and Crotty 2000: 151). However, there is debate in campaign and voting behaviour literature as to the importance that the electorate give party identification when considering who to vote for in presidential elections. It is posited by some that there is a "growing weakness of party identification for much of the electorate" (Congressional Quarterly Inc 1997: 82). Indeed, following analysis over time, whilst suggesting that party identification is still a consideration by voters, results have shown that "nonetheless, the intensity of partisan identification decreased", with more Americans choosing to identify as independent instead (Jackson and Crotty 2000: 152). Some have even proposed the idea of party dealignment, which "holds that party ties were generally eroding as a consequence of social and political modernization" (Wattenberg and Dalton 2000: 22; Jackson and Crotty 2000: 152). This may give candidates reason to use party differently to a classic partisan strategy, instead opting for other options such as positioning themselves as being above party, or as a cross- partisan candidate.

Conversely, many still posit that party identification is important in planning the use of party in campaign strategy. As Campbell (1960) argued, once party identification is formed, it is fairly hard to change. Therefore if a candidate uses party in rhetoric they

would appeal to any voters already identifying as their party's supporter. This is further backed up by Polsby and Wildavsky who suggest that "most Americans vote according to their habitual party affiliation", and once decided, "party regulars rarely change their minds" (2016:10). Whilst party identification and partisanship in voting is different perhaps to how it was in 1960, and may have been less popular at various points in time, this does not mean it is not, and has not been, an influencing factor if not a strong influencing factor in vote decisions now (Bafumi and Shapiro 2009). In fact, it seems more appropriate to say that there was strong partisanship, which did falter for a period, but has re-asserted itself and is again a strong factor on voter choice. It is due to this, combined with the fact that party identification is at least a factor in voters' minds when voting, that candidates may try to portray themselves as a classic partisan in their use of party. This would help to reinforce predispositions which may encourage voters to choose the candidate in question (Jackson and Crotty 2000; Shaw 2006; Polsby and Wildavsky 2016: 10, 42; Ceaser and Bush 2005: 137).

In terms of deciding further how to use party in campaign rhetoric, whilst there is a role for parties within campaigns; providing a national organisational structure, fund raising, helping get public funding, having state and local party entities and more, this may not always mean that candidates will want to use their party in the classic way in campaign rhetoric (Congressional Quarterly Inc 1997: 236; Jackson and Crotty 2000: 111, Polsby and Wildavsky 2016: 42). Also influencing the decision are other factors considered in strategy development, issues that are owned by the party, candidate's views, the strength of the party and the popularity of party issues. All these will impact the extent to which a candidate uses party in their campaign rhetoric (Shaw 2006; Popkin 1994: 69; Jackson and Crotty 2000).

Whilst there has not been extensive research into the role of party in campaign rhetoric, there are six proposed theories, falling under three schools of thought, which

currently aim to examine this role and which will briefly be highlighted here. The first is the idea of party differences, which explains that party rhetoric seems to differ between Republican and Democratic candidates, as a consequence of the differences ideologically and between their political cultures (Grossmann and Hopkins 2015:136, Freeman 1986, Herrnson 2009). Proponents of this theory suggest that Democratic candidates would more likely use party in their campaign rhetoric, in the classic partisan sense, compared with Republican candidates (Grossman and Hopkins 2015; Jarvis 2004).

A second theory that has been suggested is the strategic context model. This quite simply suggests that candidates will determine their use of party based on contextual factors such as whether they are an incumbent or whether they identify with the more popular party at the time; if it will help them to win then candidates are more likely to use party in rhetoric (Damore 2002; 2004, Sigelman and Buell 2003, Vavreck 2009). Another theory which sees the decision based on what is likely to be best in helping a candidate win is that of the competitive partisan advantage model. This argues that “candidates’ rhetoric about parties may be conditioned by their perceptions of the partisan leanings of the political regime” (Rhodes and Albert 2015:567; Galvin 2010; Skowronek 1997). In other words, if a party is considered to have the majority of electorate support at the time of the campaign, the candidate is more likely to use party in a classic partisan way in their rhetoric, in a similar fashion to the context model.

The fourth theory that has been proposed to explain the use of party in rhetoric is the president above parties theory (Coleman and Manna 2007). This suggests that as the presidency has evolved in more recent years, “the public have rendered traditional presidential-party ties less relevant to governing and campaigning”, as perhaps evidenced with the declining party identification, and so candidates are less likely to use a classic partisan based strategy for their rhetoric (Rhodes and Albert 2015: 568; Coleman 1996; Milkis 1993; Hart 1987; Kernell 1986; Tulis 1987). A fifth theory proposed is that of the

partisan presidency. This almost goes against the other ideas in many respects in that it posits that as party polarisation has increased, candidates actually want to appeal to partisans more in order to mobilise their party base, as well as to gain access to party resources and organisation (Milkis and Rhodes 2007; Milkis 1999; Milkis et al 2012; Skinner 2008; 2012; Rhodes and Albert 2015). This would no doubt see candidates using a classic partisan strategy in their campaigning. A final theory is proposed of bipartisan posturing, which proposes that actually candidates end up trying to please two competing entities; the people, and the party, with the people being the ones who can help them win (Azari et al 2013). In order to try and keep both happy, candidates “attend to party *behind the scenes*” (emphasis original) whilst potentially using “their public rhetoric to distance themselves from their political parties” should they deem it beneficial to do so, instead presenting a more bipartisan image to voters (Rhodes and Albert 2015: 568, 569). This may be considered to be when candidates try to be above party in their use of party.

Whilst all these theories seemingly have some support, despite being contradictory to each other, there is no reason to disregard any. That is, aspects of all could be correct and at play when candidates are developing campaign rhetoric. In a similar regard as with the category of issues and the many theories proposed in terms of the role of issues in campaign strategy, it is clear that party is important to candidates even if there are multiple theories that may help explain how candidates use party. The biggest shortcoming in research seems to be, as highlighted by Rhodes and Albert, that “our understanding of the relationship” between party and presidential campaigning is “surprisingly limited” (2015: 573). More often focus is on voter perception of the importance of party, or on whether it is a consideration for the electorate when choosing their vote.

Why investigate change in the use of party in campaign strategy

Previous research, whilst proposing various theories as to how candidates use party, indicates that the use of party is a consideration when candidates formulate rhetoric,

and is a factor in helping the electorate decide their vote. This combined with the fact that this area is comparatively under researched, means it is imperative to investigate change in the use of party in campaign strategy. Through investigating change, there can be greater understanding of how candidates use party, and partisan rhetoric, in campaigns.

The use of party in campaigns: strategic options available to candidates

As highlighted in the introduction to this chapter, the three potential strategic options to be focused on in analysing the use of party are that of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party. There are other options that could be considered and used by candidates, but these three can be measured through adaptation to Rhodes' 2014 methodology, and give broad insight into how candidates use party. In order to investigate the idea that candidates may use a classic partisan strategy, a cross-partisan strategy and an above party strategy, it is necessary to determine what has already been investigated in similar terms and how. Analysis of the use of party, and change in the use of party may be easier to identify, interpret and understand if the potential strategic options are identified and understood.

Rhodes (2014) distinguished between partisan, cross-partisan, bipartisan and contrasting statements in rhetoric when aiming to overcome shortcomings of current party research through the use of content analysis (127). Using the Public Papers of the President, Rhodes was focusing on the propositions that; firstly intensity of partisan polarisation changed over time, secondly more intense partisan polarisation is "directed by party activists and elected officials" when it does occur, and thirdly it is more pronounced among activists and officials than the general public (Rhodes 2014: 122). Whilst having a slightly different focus and medium to this project, Rhodes' work provides a starting point for determining how to assess the three uses of party.

Rhodes defined partisanship in presidential rhetoric as being

"comprised of two kinds of statements: statements in which the president makes *positive* references to or about (members of) his own party and statements in which the president makes *negative* references to or about (members of) the opposition party" (all emphasis original) (2014: 122).

In his definition of partisanship, Rhodes is identifying the fact that at certain times candidates would aim to highlight aspects of their own party, which in campaign terms would benefit the candidate, and conversely accentuate any negative aspects of the opposition party, which would also benefit their campaign (Rhodes 2014: 122). Running a mainly partisan campaign in this way may enable candidates to appeal to their own party members, as well as undecided voters. This strategy could be considered the classic partisan strategy; candidates appeal to their own party, positively, and say negative points about the opposition party. This strategy is very similar to the use of contrast tone identified in the earlier use of tone chapter.

Another strategic option that Rhodes identifies for presidential rhetoric but which would be relevant to campaign rhetoric as well is that of cross-partisanship. According to Rhodes, this is when

"the president makes *negative* references to or about his own party or in which the president makes *positive* references to or about the opposition" (all emphasis original) (Jones 1994 cited in Rhodes 2014: 122).

Although introduced by Rhodes in relation to presidential rhetoric, this is an extension of an idea introduced by Cooper and Young when exploring party voting in Congress. They identify "the fact that party majorities rarely totally oppose one another or totally vote together", which "means that varying degrees of intraparty division persist" (Cooper and Young cited in Dodd and Oppenheimer 1997: 250, 251). This consequently brings the

reality that “partisan votes not only involve patterns of voting in which party majorities oppose one another, but also patterns in which party minorities vote with majorities of the other party” (cited in Dodd and Oppenheimer 1997: 250, 251). In their view, in relation to voting in Congress, what was

“termed or identified as crosspartisanship thus pertains to the residual voting patterns on partisan and bipartisan votes and reflects the degree to which party minorities vote with majorities or minorities of the opposite party in ways that are distinctive from partisan or bipartisan voting patterns” (Cooper and Young cited in Dodd and Oppenheimer 1997: 251).

Whilst such a strategy may not appeal to the party faithful, candidates may use cross-partisanship to be able to appeal to independent identifiers, opposition identifiers, and voters who lean towards but do not always vote for the party the candidate associates with. This is because by acknowledging flaws in their own party, and potential positive aspects of the opposition, voters may consider voting for the candidate who otherwise would vote for the opposition party candidate.

Rhodes also examines bipartisanship for his analysis. He determines bipartisanship as

"explicitly referring to the two political parties in which the president criticizes the partisan posturing of both parties, and statements mentioning both parties in which the president calls for- or praises- compromise, cooperation, or conciliation between them” (Morris and Witting 2001 cited in Rhodes 2014: 122).

This definition is offered for presidential rather than campaign rhetoric, however the basic idea follows that campaign bipartisanship would be where candidates call for and praise compromise, cooperation and conciliation, criticising partisanship. However, for candidates the aim of bipartisan rhetoric would not mainly be to indicate willingness to

work with the opposition. Instead, candidates would focus on using bipartisan rhetoric to appeal to opposition party identifiers and independent identifiers within the electorate who may be unwilling to change or determine their vote in favour of an opponent partisan candidate, but who would be willing to vote for a more bipartisan candidate regardless of their party.

In terms of campaigning, and gathering the biggest coalition of voters, cross-partisanship may be more useful to candidates than bipartisanship. Whilst this may seem unusual to propose, cross-partisanship could enable candidates to say more negative points about their party, and some positive points about the opposition, in a bid to win over voters who are either leaning towards the candidate, who are independent or who have voted for both parties in the past. Candidates could then if needs be use the ‘party behind the scenes’ strategy more, as suggested by Albert and Rhodes (2015). Based on prior knowledge of campaign rhetoric, and with the aim of gathering a winning voter coalition in mind, using cross-partisanship seems more appropriate to analyse use of and change in use of party for this project. Candidates may talk about instances of bipartisanship, but candidates, given the differing role of partisanship over time in influencing the vote, may talk more candidly and negatively about their party if they think it would benefit them electorally; something that investigating the use of cross-partisanship would identify. Whilst this may not be perfect, it is will give insight into how candidates use party.

The final option is that of above party. This option again aims to capture the rhetoric candidates use to convince leaning, independent and those who vote differently each time to vote for them during the election. The idea of above party is that candidates may want to position themselves as being above the fray of everyday gridlock or partisan identity politics. Rather than identifying as a Republican or a Democrat first, they would use other descriptors to position themselves as being above the ties of a party. This may be appropriate if partisanship is low, if gridlock has occurred in the lead up to the election,

when party favourability for both parties is low, and if there is high polarization in partisanship. Candidates would aim to place themselves above party politics, and use the above party option in campaign rhetoric.

Hypothesis

Given the many theories proposed on the use of party in rhetoric, the focus of this project overall, and the potential strategic options that candidates may consider when determining campaign rhetoric, the hypotheses to be investigated in relation to the use of party in campaign strategy are:

H1: Candidates will change their use of party in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis is proposed because it is testing the overarching question; is there change in the use of the party category of strategy.

H2: There will be change in the use of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party variables.

This hypothesis investigates whether candidates change the use of party in regard to the three strategic options identified based on the work of Rhodes (2014) and knowledge of campaign rhetoric. It would be anticipated that candidates would change their use of each strategy behaviours (classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party) given that candidates do change in other categories, and candidates do want to attract as many voters as possible in order to win. The variables are the strategic options, but given that these are being analysed within the category, the term used will be variables.

H3: There will be most changes in the use of the classic partisan variable, and least changes in the use of the above party variable.

Whilst it is proposed that candidates will change the use of all three variables in campaign rhetoric, given that the use of classic partisan variable and appeals to the party faithful may

be considered the norm, it would be anticipated that candidates would focus on ensuring this variable is working to appeal to the party faithful, and thus would be more prone to change the use of classic partisan in order to ensure party voters voted for them. Whilst it would be anticipated that the classic partisan variable would generally be steadily used, it would be anticipated that candidates would focus on changing this in order to ensure as many voters as possible could be appealed to. Conversely there may be minimal times when candidates change their use of the above party variable, given that it helps them to appeal to a smaller portion of the electorate, and would be more beneficial and well-received potentially when certain contexts were in play in a campaign.

H4: Democrats will use party more than Republicans in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis is based on the theory of party differences (Grossmann and Hopkins 2015; Freeman 1986; Herrnson 2009). The proponents of the theory suggest that Democratic candidates would be more likely to use partisan strategies, than Republicans, and so this hypothesis tests whether this occurs throughout the campaigns 1960-2012 (Grossman and Hopkins 2015; Jarvis 2004).

H5: Democrats will change their use of party more than Republican candidates.

This hypothesis suggests that Democrats may be more likely to change their use of party than Republicans. This may be anticipated because Democrats are more likely to want to use above party, or be open to using cross-partisan rhetoric, than more conservative, partisan candidates that are often Republicans.

H6: Incumbents will use party in campaign rhetoric more than challengers or open candidates.

Candidates who are incumbents both have more to lose if they lose a campaign, because they already are the President, and potentially more to gain from using party in campaign rhetoric. Incumbents are already in office, unlike open or challenger candidates, so would

more likely want to use party, in whichever way they feel best, in order to stay in office. Candidates also may gain more from using party in campaign rhetoric because they can help influence other candidates thus potentially having more party affiliates in Congress.

H7: Incumbents will change the use of party in campaign rhetoric more than challengers or open candidates.

As with H6, given that incumbents have more to lose; incumbent candidates are likely to change their use of party more to ensure that they can obtain a larger share of the vote. Additionally, if incumbents are using party more than challengers and open candidates, there are more opportunities for them to change the use of party.

H8: There will be less use of party in recent campaigns.

Given the debate surrounding partisanship, this hypothesis aims to discover if there is less use of party in recent campaigns. If supported, this could give support to the idea that party is at least not such an important factor influencing vote choice.

H9: There will be fewer changes in the use of party in recent campaigns.

Again, following the theory behind H8 through, it would be anticipated that if there is less use of party in recent campaigns, there will be less change in the use of party because there is less opportunity for use of party to change.

To recap, candidates aim to establish a coalition of voters in order to win the Presidency. As part of this aim, candidates use party within campaign rhetoric. Knowing that party identification is at the very least a factor considered when voters are considering their choices for the Presidency, candidates try to win over potential voters for their coalition. These voters may be staunch, faithful party voters of the candidate's party affiliation. They may be voters who lean towards the candidate's party, but need convincing to vote for the candidate in question. The voters may be independents, or those

who change who they vote for at each election. Some may be opposition party voters, who, if disgruntled with their own party may be able to be convinced to vote for the candidate's party. Based on prior research and knowledge of campaign rhetoric, three strategic options have been selected to investigate use of party in campaign rhetoric; classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party. These three options will be the variables used for the category of use of party. Using Rhodes' (2014) as a starting point, a methodology will be developed which enables analysis of campaign rhetoric to occur using the three variables. The methodology, qualification of when hypotheses are met, and results and discussion are explained below.

Method: The Use of Rhodes (2014).

The content analysis used to investigate use of party, as has been the case with other categories, will be an adapted version of that used and developed by Rhodes (2014). Rhodes created an electronic database for each year of the Public Papers of the President, in which he was investigating partisanship, cross-partisanship and bipartisanship, and extracted every paragraph containing the words 'Democratic president', and 'Republican president' (Rhodes 2014: 127). These paragraphs were coded into seven "exhaustive and mutually exclusive categories" (Rhodes 2014: 127). These were:

- Democrats: Positive
- Democrats: Negative
- Republicans: Positive
- Republicans: Negative
- Both Parties: Bipartisanship
- Both Parties: Other
- Not a statement about parties.

Although the focus of argument and rhetoric used here is slightly different, the methodology used by Rhodes (2014) enables consideration of the hypothesis that, in terms of campaign strategy, use of party within campaign rhetoric by an individual candidate will change during the campaign period. By adapting Rhodes' (2014) method to suit campaign rhetoric, it is possible to explore the use of party, and to find a way to measure the three variables of use of classic partisan, cross-partisan, and above party, in a tested, quantitative manner.

Rhodes' (2014) study focused purely on the Public Papers of the President and explored partisanship, cross-partisanship and bipartisanship in this rhetoric. However there are drawbacks with using the approach as it is exactly for campaign rhetoric. Firstly, the way that presidents speak is very different to campaign speeches, given the differences in audiences and purpose. As a result, the indicators used to extract paragraphs relevant to the use of party in rhetoric would benefit from expansion to include more suitable terms so as to enable accurate analysis of potential change. Secondly, it is clear that the seven variables used by Rhodes would be able to provide evidence of partisanship, cross-partisanship and bipartisanship in the Public Papers of the President. However it is possible that the seven variables alone may not identify evidence of the three variables under investigation in rhetoric. It is appropriate therefore to adapt the variables to ensure the use of party in campaign rhetoric can be appropriately and accurately captured in the analysis of change.

Adaptations to Rhodes (2014): The Indicators

The indicators used by Rhodes needed adaptation to capture strategy in campaign rhetoric effectively, and the terms 'Democrat' and 'Republican' without the 'president' were instead deemed more appropriate. These indicators were piloted with campaign rhetoric; however this produced very limited and narrow evidence of the use of party in rhetoric.

After careful consideration, the identification of party paragraphs was extended to use more indicators. Expansion of the indicators was influenced by what words candidates use within campaign rhetoric to reference their own or the opposition party. The aim was to try and balance capturing as many instances of the use of party over time as possible, whilst also wanting to make indicators relevant both across the whole time period and with the potential for future expansion of the database. The indicators were expanded to include: ‘democrat’, ‘republican’, ‘RNC / Republican National Committee’, ‘DNC/ Democratic National Committee’, ‘party’ , ‘bipartisan (ship)’, and presidents names of the past 30 years prior to when the candidate in question is running. For example, with Obama this would mean any paragraphs referencing Carter, Reagan, G H W Bush, Clinton and G W Bush would be identified as party paragraphs. The inclusion of presidents from the past 30 years, commonly considered a generation period, enables more subtle references to the use of party to be evidenced and included within the data set. Often candidates may indicate for example, the use of partisanship or cross-partisanship, without making outright reference to the Democratic or Republican Party, doing so instead by making reference to prior presidents of the party.

By expanding the indicators used to identify relevant paragraphs, the study captures the use of party in campaign rhetoric more accurately. For example, when a Democratic candidate refers to past Democratic presidents to invoke party loyalty or to aid voters by providing reference points, or refers to the DNC, the party or bipartisanship, without specifically stating the Democratic Party name, the paragraph in question would be identified, whereas under Rhodes (2014) these examples would have been excluded from the process. Consequently there will be identification of more instances where candidates use party within campaign strategy as compared with the indicators used by Rhodes (2014).

The indicators were used to identify all party paragraphs from 1960 to 2012. These paragraphs were then coded into mutually exclusive and exhaustive variables.

Adaptations to Rhodes 2014: The Initial Variables

The variables which Rhodes (2014) used to code the party paragraphs were also assessed for appropriateness and relevance in campaign rhetoric as oppose to with the Public Papers of the President. Rhodes (2014) termed these categories, however given that the ‘categories’ in this project refer to issues, tone, party and character, the more appropriate term of variables is used instead. The initial seven variables will be used to identify the three main variables of use of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party. The concept that Rhodes (2014) had was ideal; splitting the party rhetoric into positive and negative for each party, bipartisan, a ‘both other’ variable, and a non party statement variable, as seen below.

- Democrats: Positive
- Democrats: Negative
- Republicans: Positive
- Republicans: Negative
- Both Parties: Bipartisanship
- Both Parties: Other
- Not a statement about parties.

This covers the aspects mentioned that comprise classic partisan, and cross-partisan use of party. However, in order to investigate the use of above party, a new initial variable was needed to be added of ‘above party’. As highlighted when discussing the strategic variables to be investigated, candidates may want to seem ‘above party’, and rather than appeal to their own party base would actually want to appeal to Americans more broadly, and to the idea of Americans coming together as one nation. This may be seen in examples

of rhetoric where candidates talk of being an American first and a Democrat second. As a result, the initial variable of above party, characterised as where candidates speak about being above, or more than just a label of Republican or Democrat, was added to the original seven initial variables.

The initial variables were used to sort the party paragraphs, following the identification of party paragraphs. Each paragraph was coded, in a mutually exclusive and exhaustive fashion into the respective initial variables, using a codebook that had been adapted to be appropriate for campaign rhetoric (in Appendix A). Each paragraph could only be coded into one initial variable. At this point, the original initial variables used by Rhodes were converted into new variables. This was in order to enable comparisons across the whole time period with all the data. Rather than having Democrats Positive, Democrats Negative, for example, the variables were instead converted into own party positive, own party negative, opposition party positive and opposition party negative, for the first four variables. This prevented any confounding of the variables when analysed over time.

Adaptations to Rhodes 2014: The Codebook

From the codebook provided by Rhodes (2014), the definitions of each variable were adapted to be suitable for campaign rhetoric rather than more broad presidential rhetoric and a codebook specific to this project was developed. Using the variable of Bipartisanship as an example, Rhodes (2014) coded paragraphs as Bipartisanship if:

- both parties are mentioned.

And where:

- a. The president claims that his decisions are not affected by party considerations
- b. The president claims that his decisions are simply determined by the best

interests of the American people, not party or ideology

- c. The president claims that he represents the best interests of the American people, while ‘the parties’ are merely representing ‘special interests’
- d. The president calls on both parties to ‘rise above partisan disagreement’
- e. The president calls on both parties to ‘work in the interests of the American people’
- f. The president explicitly criticizes both parties, or leaders of both parties
- g. The president explicitly criticizes parties, partisanship, partisan politics, or ‘politics as usual’ in general terms
- h. The president praises both parties, for example for ‘working together’ and ‘getting things done’
- i. The president makes an explicit appeal for ‘bipartisanship’, ‘working across the aisle’, ‘bringing both sides together,’ and so forth.

Whereas in developing the codebook to make it appropriate for exploring change in the use of party in campaign rhetoric, the paragraphs were coded as bipartisan if:

- both parties, or bipartisan(ship) are referenced.
- and when the candidate:
- a. Criticises parties, partisanship, partisan politics, or 'politics as usual' in general terms
 - b. Praises both parties for working together or getting things done
 - c. Appeals for bipartisanship, 'working across the aisle', bringing both sides together and other similar appeals.
 - d. Gives examples of work where a candidate has brought two parties together or worked with both parties or gained support from both parties.

- e. Gives examples or situations where the candidate would work with or want to work with certain people from both parties in future e.g. to get information or pass a bill or get something done.

It was partly necessary to change the detail for the bipartisan initial variable because Rhodes' (2014) was based on the Public Papers, and this coding had to be used on campaign rhetoric. However other changes to the bipartisan initial variable were necessary because they were more appropriate under the new initial variable of above party, as seen below:

Use above party when a candidate:

- a. Mentions either one or both parties or the candidate is talking about putting being an American, or unity, or the public in general, above the party.
Examples include where candidates say we are 'more than either republican or democrat'.
- b. Mentions meeting the challenges of being Americans first, not Republicans and Democrats/ partisans first.
- c. Describes themselves as American before any other labels and refers to the people being American before e.g. Republican or Democrat
- d. Claims his decisions are not affected by party considerations
- e. Claims his decisions are determined by the best interests of the American people, not party or ideology
- f. Claims he represents the best interests of the people, with parties representing special interests.
- g. Calls upon the parties to rise above partisan disagreements
- h. Calls upon the parties to work in the interests of the American people

Both Rhodes' (2014) Codebook and the Party Codebook (2015) can be found in full in the Appendix. The paragraphs identified as party paragraphs were coded based on

the definitions given for each initial variable in the Party Codebook (2015). As with previous areas studied, the analysis was done on a paragraph basis, and analysed on a weekly timeframe.

Following the collection of the data on the use of party in rhetoric, the initial variable of ‘non party statement’ was not included in the analysis of data in relation to change. The initial variable was vital during the content analysis stage as it enabled any paragraphs which were identified as party, but which in actuality were not related to the use of party, to be categorised. However the category does not enable any insight into or identification of change in the use of party in campaign rhetoric. Therefore the ‘non party statement’ initial variable was not included when analysis of the collected data occurred.

Results: Pilot

The codebook was tested in order to ensure that the initial variables were measuring what they were designed to measure. Whilst some minor tweaks were made, the initial variables were measuring what was anticipated.

Defining the three strategic variables

In order to focus on change in strategy, the seven initial variables needed to be representative of the three strategic variables. Therefore the seven initial variables needed to instead be three variables, based on the strategic options. Knowing that the initial variables were measuring what they were intended to, the strategic variables for the use of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party needed to be defined. The seven variables, based on definitions in the literature, and what the initial variables covered, were able to be aggregated to represent the three strategic variables. Two of the three variables were aggregated using multiple variables, and one used a single variable to identify the three different uses in party. The three strategic variables were defined as:

1. Classic partisan variable: the aggregation of the initial variables of own party positive, opposition party negative and both other.

This variable is expected to be used where candidates use partisanship to their advantage; when candidates are positive about their own party and negative about the opposition party.

2. Cross-partisan strategy: the aggregation of the initial variables of own party negative, opposition party positive and bipartisan.

This is expected to be used when candidates want to highlight they are willing to work across the party lines, appealing to opposition, independent and undecided voters.

3. Above party. This variable does not need to be aggregated, but does capture the points when the above party variable may be used.

These three new variables were aggregated and percentage data, as well as week to week difference in percentage data was used during analysis, as has occurred in other chapters.

Qualifying when hypotheses are met

H1: Candidates will change their use of party in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis proposes that there is change in the use of party in campaign rhetoric.

There will be evidence to support the hypothesis if there are changes in any of the classic partisan, cross-partisan, or above party variables, at the level of two standard deviations, in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric.

H2: There will be change in the use of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party variables.

This hypothesis proposes that there will be change in all three of the variables; classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party, at the level of two standard deviations, in the week to week difference in percentage data, which last for two or more consecutive weeks, in campaign rhetoric.

H3: There will be most changes in the use of the classic partisan variable, and least changes in the use of the above party variable.

This hypothesis proposes that candidates will change the use of the classic partisan variable more than cross-partisan or above party variables. There would be support for this if there were numerically more changes in the campaigns from 1960 to 2012 in the use of classic partisan variable than in cross-partisan or above party variables.

H4: Democrats will use party more than Republicans in campaign rhetoric.

This hypothesis proposes that Democratic candidates will use partisan strategies more than their Republican counterparts, as suggested by prior findings. There will be evidence to support this using the aggregated totals of the raw week to week paragraph counts, for the classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party variables for Democratic and Republican candidates. The Democratic raw totals for the three would need to be higher than the Republican totals. That is using the original weekly paragraph count totals, aggregated, for each variable and for each party.

The second way to test this hypothesis would be using percentage numbers for the variables; if they are higher for Democrats this also would support the hypothesis. That is, the percentage that each variable is of the total party paragraphs.

H5: Democrats will change their use of party more than Republican candidates.

This hypothesis proposes that Democrats will change their use of party more than Republican candidates. There will be evidence to support this if there are more total

changes across the three variables of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party, made by Democratic candidates, than Republican candidates. This can also be supported by looking at the changes made for both Democrats and Republicans as a percentage of all total changes, to control for the fact there is one more campaign for Democrats than Republicans. If the percentage of Democrat changes are higher than the Republican changes then this hypothesis would also be supported.

H6: Incumbents will use party in campaign rhetoric more than challengers or open candidates.

This hypothesis proposes that incumbents will use party in campaign rhetoric most, above challengers or open candidates. There will be evidence to support this if, using the totals for the seven individual initial variables of own party positive, own party negative, opposition party positive, opposition party negative, bipartisan, both other and above party, the incumbents raw numbers are higher than the challenger and open candidates' raw numbers. This means the total paragraph counts weekly for each variable for each of the three; challenger, incumbent, open candidates. The second way to test this hypothesis would be using percentage numbers for the variables; if they are higher for incumbents this also would support the hypothesis. That is, the percentage of the total party paragraphs of each variable.

H7: Incumbents will change the use of party in campaign rhetoric more than challengers or open candidates.

This hypothesis proposes that if incumbent candidates use party more, then they also will change their use of party more. There will be evidence to support this if there are more total changes across the incumbent campaigns than there are for challenger or open campaigns. This could also be supported by looking at the changes as a percentage of all changes for incumbents, challengers and open candidates. This would control for

differences in the numbers of incumbent and challenger campaigns compared with open campaigns. If incumbent changes are higher than then challenger or open races based on percentage of total changes there would also be support for this hypothesis.

H8: There will be less use of party in recent campaigns.

This hypothesis proposes that recent campaigns would see candidates use party in rhetoric less than campaigns of further past. There would be support for this hypothesis if the total percentage numbers for the three variable options for each campaign in 2008 and 2012, the two more recent campaigns and in the last ten years, were lower than the total percentage numbers for the three variable options for each of the previous campaigns back to 1960.

H9: There will be fewer changes in the use of party in recent campaigns.

This hypothesis proposes that recent campaigns would see candidates make fewer changes to the use of party than past campaigns, following the logic of H8 above. There would be support for this hypothesis if the 2008 and 2012 campaigns had fewer total changes respectively than each campaign from 1960-2004. This is looking at all changes in the three party variables.

Overall, the hypotheses and their corresponding results aim to; investigate how candidates use party through the variables of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party; investigate the changes that occur to the use of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party variables; and test some of the theories proposed in literature at the start of this chapter. Combined, this will give further insight into the use of party, change in the use of party in campaign rhetoric, and theories behind candidate choice in appealing to voters through the use of party.

Results

H1: Candidates will change their use of party in campaign rhetoric.

Figure 5.1 below shows all changes in the use of the classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party variables from 1960 to 2012, with the Y axis representing the number of two standard deviation changes to the variables, and the X axis being the points throughout all the campaigns at which change occurs. Figures 5.2 and 5.3, below, are the same only showing Democratic and Republican candidates respectively. This is produced using the points where changes occur at the level of two standard deviations for all campaigns. From the data, as represented in figures 5.1 to 5.3 below, there is evidence to support the hypothesis.

Figure 5.1
(see below)

All changes in the use of party, 1960-2012, using week to week difference in percentage data



As can be seen in figure 5.1 above, there are only ever changes to one or two variables at one point in time. There are 74 total changes in the use of party, and 63 points of change, where eleven points have more than one variable changing at that point. Two campaigns did not have any changes; Clinton 1992, and Gore 2000. As can be seen above, there are many more changes to the use of classic partisan, in blue, across the whole period, than to the cross-partisan or above party variables.

Figure 5.2
(see below)

All Democratic changes in the use of party at two standard deviation, 1960-2012, using week to week difference in percentage data

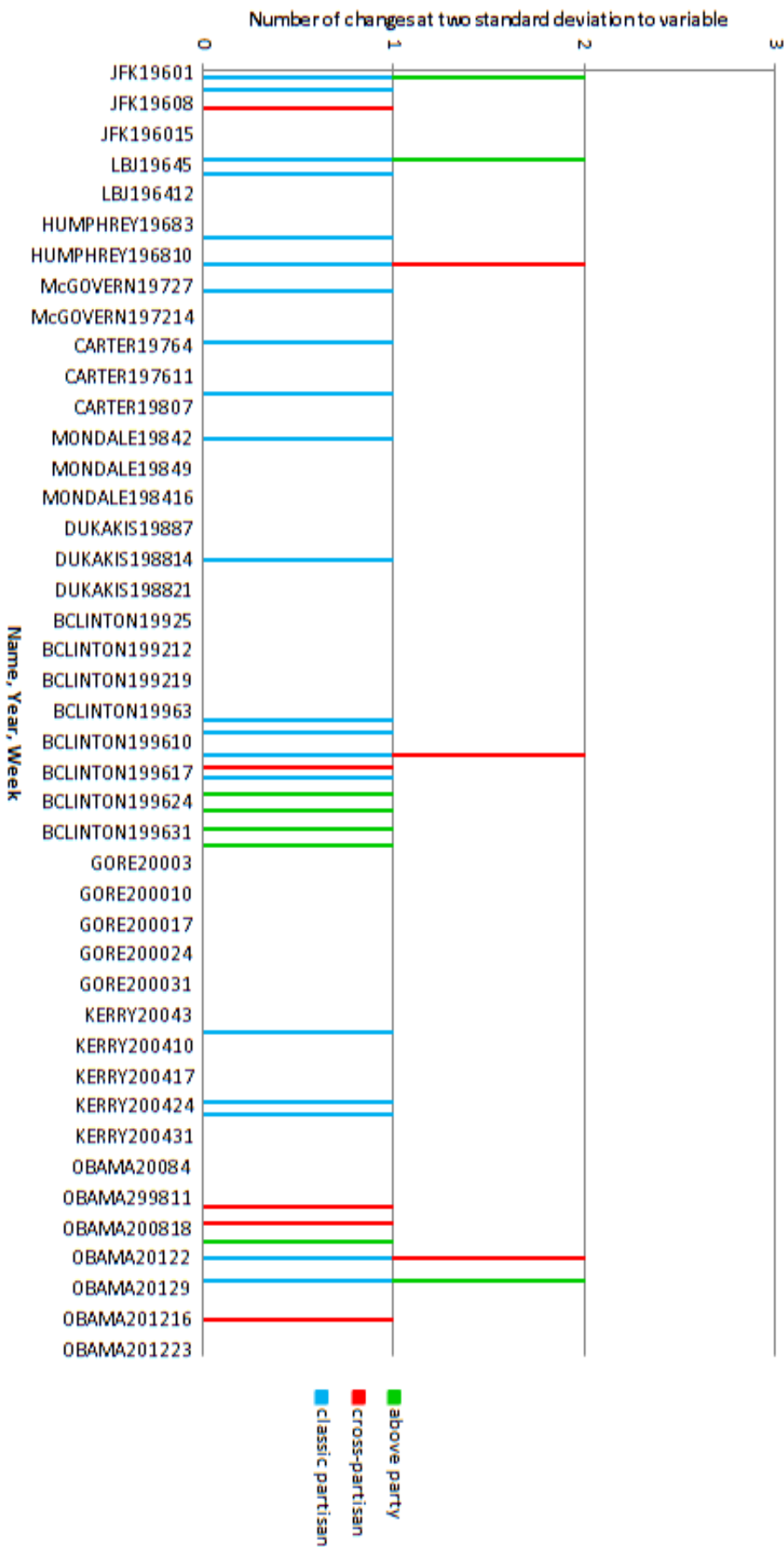
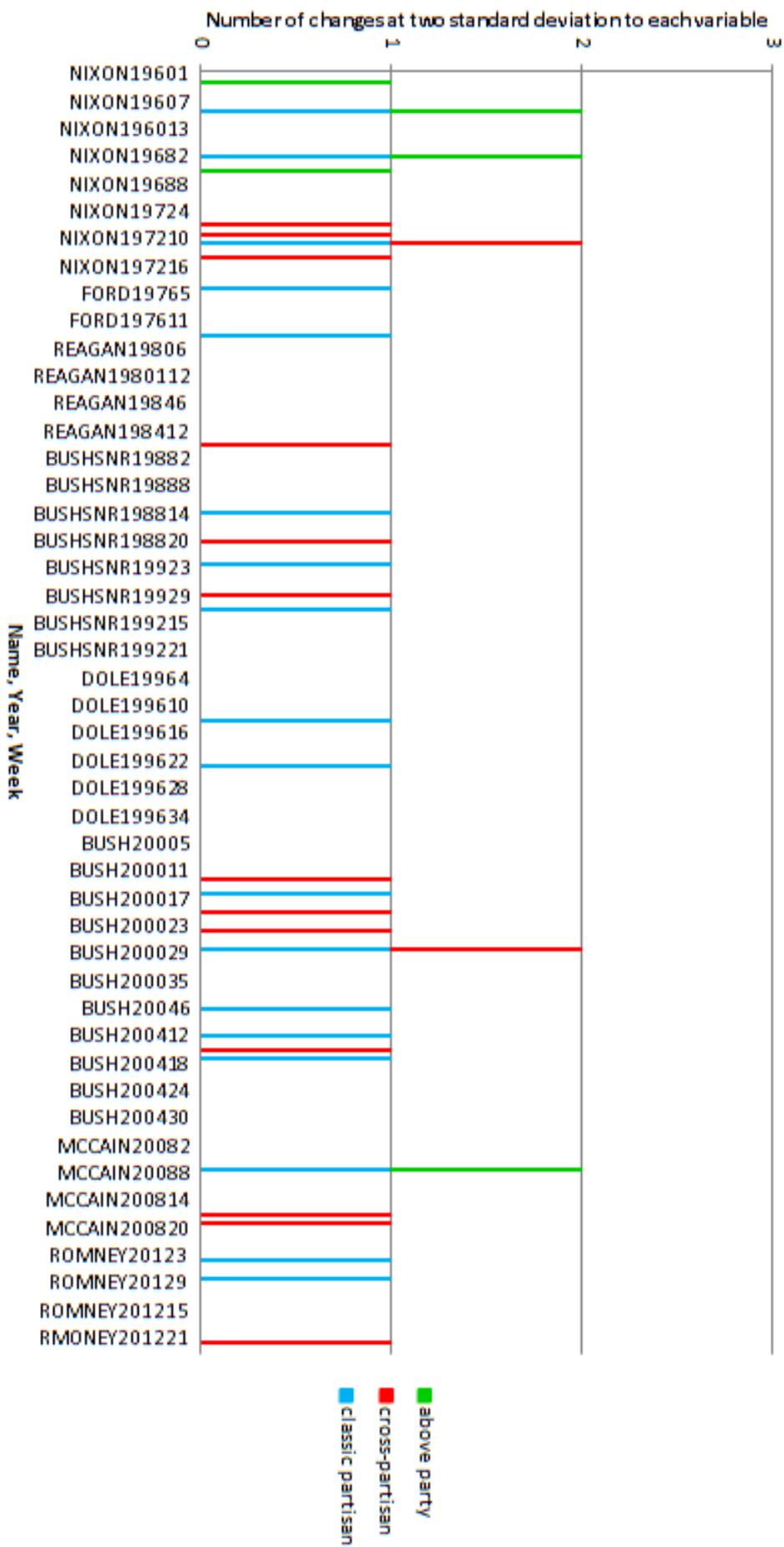


Figure 5.2, above, shows the Democratic changes in the use of party. Again, there are still more changes to the use of the classic partisan variable than the other two. It is clear on the graph that Clinton 1992 and Gore 2000 has no changes at all. When compared with the Republican version of this graph, figure 5.3 below, there are many more changes in the variable of above party by the Democrats. Interestingly the Clinton 1996 campaign has an unusually high number of changes compared with other campaigns both in Republican and Democratic campaigns. Looking to figure 5.2, the changes that occur to Democratic campaigns seem to be grouped in certain periods; with a number of changes in the 60s and 70s, plenty in Clintons 1996 campaign, and then in the Obama years. Comparatively, figure 5.3 below shows that the spread of changes for the Republicans are more even across the time period.

Figure 5.3
(see below)

All Republican changes in the use of party, 1960-2012, using week to week difference in percentage data



H2: There will be change in the use of all three strategic options.

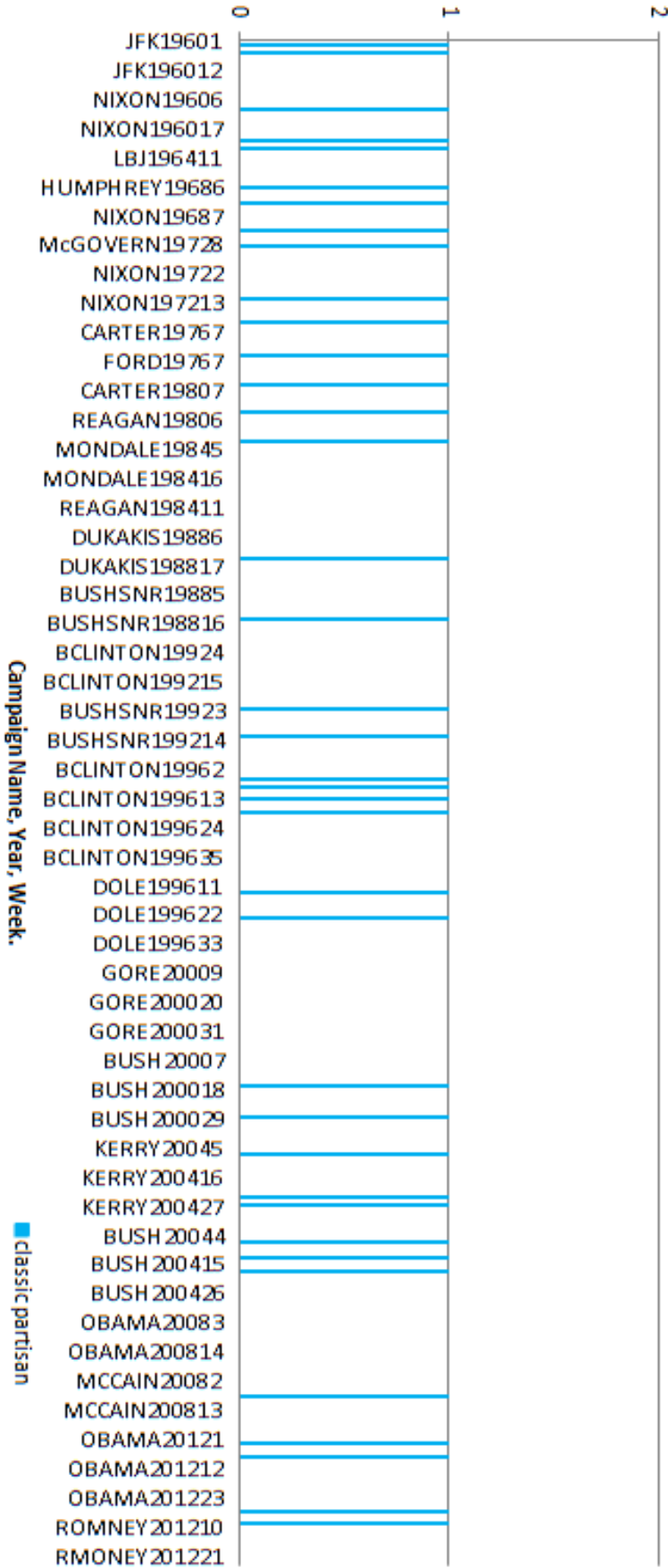
Figure 5.4 below shows all the points of change to the use of the classic partisan variable.

Figure 5.5 shows the same for the use of the cross-partisan variable, and figure 5.6 for the above party variable. There is evidence to support this hypothesis. There are 38 points of change in the use of the classic partisan variable, 23 in the use of the cross-partisan variable, and 13 in the use of the above party variable. These can be seen in figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 below.

Figure 5.4

(See below)

Points of change at the level of two standard deviation in classic partisan variable



All classic partisan changes, 1960-2012, using week to week difference in percentage data

Looking at figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6 together, it becomes clear that classic partisan is the variable changed most throughout the whole period studied, by the majority of campaigns. In comparison, change in the use of cross-partisan is more sporadic, changing more frequently since 2004 given how close together, and how many changes occur, in the campaigns from 2004 onwards compared to prior to this. Then looking to figure 5.6 in comparison, change in the use of above party occurs at very limited periods in time; the 1960s, Clinton's 1996 campaign, and 2008/2012. Interestingly the use of above party had more changes occur in the 1960s than at any other period of time studied since.

Figure 5.5

(See below)

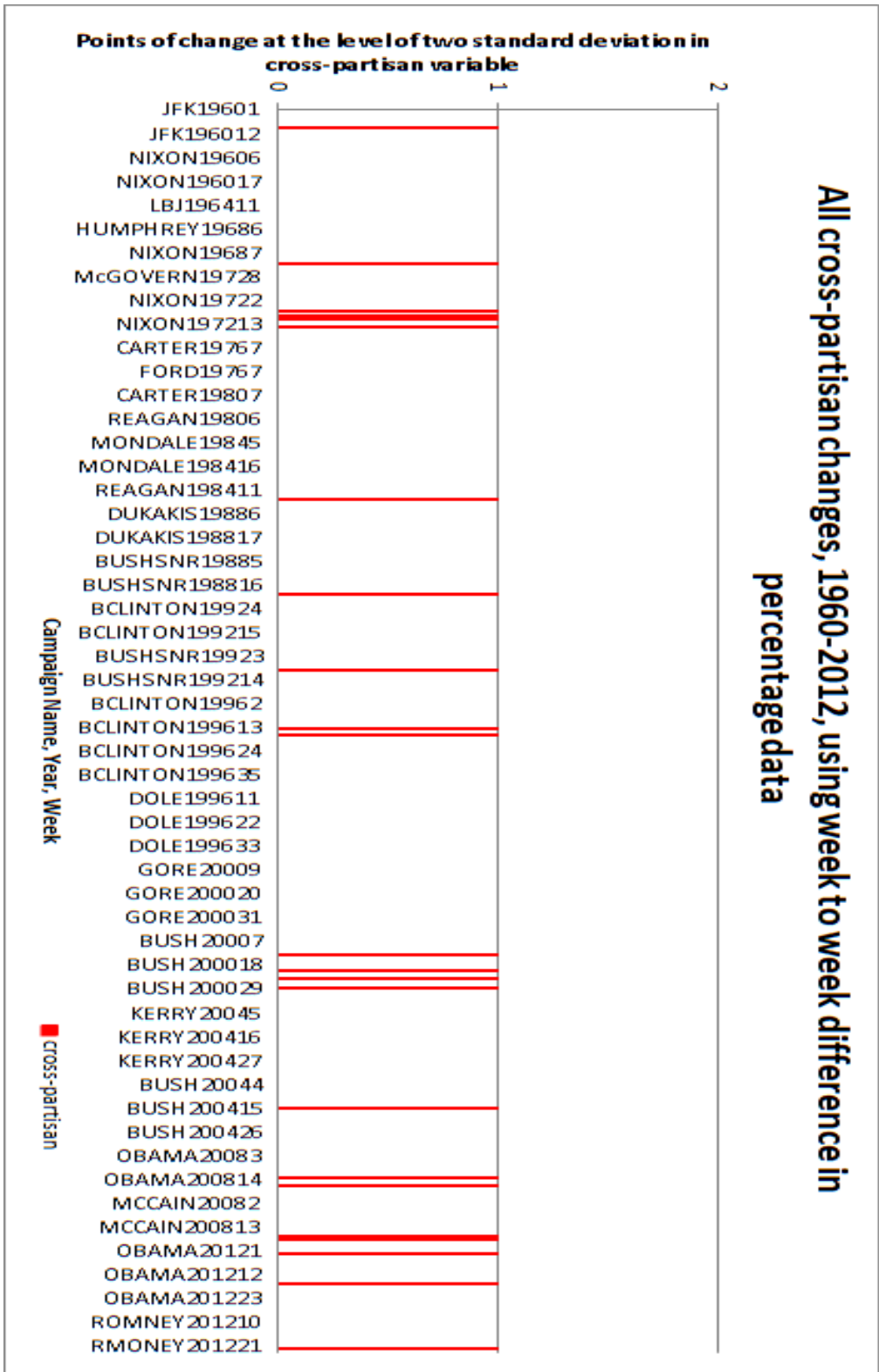
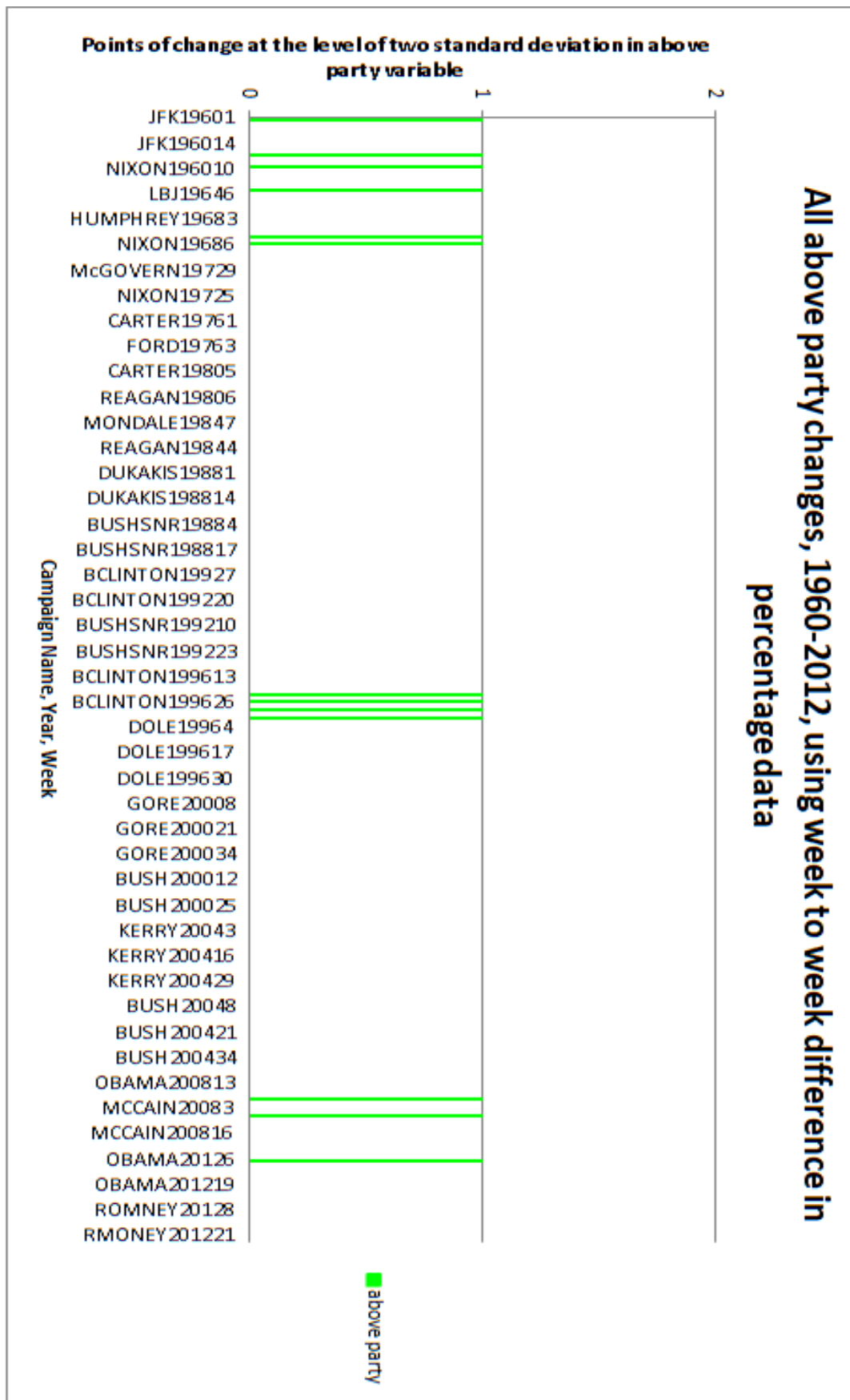


Figure 5.6



H3: There will be most changes in the use of the classic partisan option, and least changes in the use of the above party option.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis. As mentioned above, there are 38 changes in the use of the classic partisan variable compared with 23 in cross-partisan, and only 13 in the above party variable.

H4: Democrats will use party more than Republicans in campaign rhetoric.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis. Table 5.1 below shows the total aggregated week to week paragraph counts for the three variables, and the total percentages for the three variables, for both Democrats and Republicans. As can be seen, on all the variables except for the total cross-partisan percentage (highlighted in yellow), the Democrats have a higher use than the Republicans. This implies that Democrats are more partisan in their use of rhetoric, as suggested in previous literature.

Table 5.1: Table showing total aggregated week to week paragraph counts, and total percentages for the three variables, for Democrats and Republicans

	Total Classic partisan	Total cross partisan	total above party	total classic partisan percentage	total cross-partisan percentage	above party total percentage
Democrats	9087	620	401	17445.83	2717.81	1553.53
Republicans	4638	582	372	13857.91	3626.55	1296.37

H5: Democrats will change their use of party more than Republican candidates

Interestingly, whilst Democrats use party more than Republicans, there is no evidence to support the hypothesis that Democrats change their use of party more than Republicans.

Looking to the total changes for each, Democrats changed their use of party 36 times in total during the campaigns 1960-2012, whereas Republican candidates changed their use of party 38 times. This equates to Democrats accounting for 48.6% of total changes in the use of party, and Republicans 51.4%, as seen in table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: Table showing total changes, and percentage of all changes, made by Democrats and Republicans

	Democrats	Republicans
Total changes	36	38
Percentage of all party changes	48.60%	51.40%

H6: Incumbents will use party in campaign rhetoric more than challengers or open candidates.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 below show the raw number and percentage totals for each of the seven variables used over the campaigns from 1960-2012. Overall there is support for this hypothesis. For four of the seven variables, ‘own party positive’, ‘opposition party positive’, ‘bipartisan’, and ‘both other’, the incumbents have the highest use both in relation to the total usage of raw total weekly paragraph numbers and total weekly percentages. For the variables of ‘own party negative’ and ‘above party’, open candidates use these the most. Challenger candidates use the variables of ‘opposition party negative’ most according to both versions of the data. The variables that the incumbents did not use most are highlighted in yellow on the figures below. These results, when thinking about how the different types of candidates use party, are not surprising. This is because incumbent candidates are less likely to go against the party, and are more likely to use classic partisan rhetoric. They want to keep the party faithful and the party machine perhaps, on board. Overall in terms of the raw total weekly paragraph data totals, open candidates use party the most in total. However there is support based on the four initial variables that incumbents use party the most compared to challengers and open candidates.

Table 5.3: Table showing total use of raw weekly paragraph totals, for incumbent, challenger and open candidates, for seven initial variables

Initial variables	Incumbents raw weekly total paragraph numbers	Challengers raw weekly total paragraph numbers	Open raw weekly total paragraph numbers
Own party positive	1837	605	2218
Own party negative	17	5	21
Opposition party positive	153	27	60
Opposition party negative	707	2550	1516
Bipartisan	668	95	156
Both other	1512	1324	1456
Above Party	257	106	410
Total	5455	4769	5969

Table 5.4: Table showing weekly percentage totals for incumbents, challengers and open candidates, for seven initial variables

Initial variables	Incumbents weekly percentage totals	Challengers weekly percentage totals	Open weekly percentage totals
Own party positive	5241.99	1705.61	4054.59
Own party negative	145.09	30.83	191.93
Opposition party positive	626.71	147.4	347.07
Opposition party negative	1959.03	5029.04	3289.01
Bipartisan	2563.94	443.08	1848.24
Both other	3953.85	2980.45	3089.81
Above Party	1013.64	744.24	1092.02

H7: Incumbents will change the use of party in campaign rhetoric more than challengers or open candidates.

As can be seen from table 5.5 below, there is evidence to support this hypothesis.

Incumbent candidates change the use of party more both based on total party changes, and on the percentage of all party changes. This is followed by open candidates, with challenger candidates making the fewest changes.

Table 5.5: table showing the total party changes, and percentage of party changes for incumbents, challenger and open candidates

	Incumbent	Challenger	Open
Total party changes	33	14	27
Percentage of all party changes	44.59%	18.92%	36.49%

H8: There will be less use of party in recent campaigns.

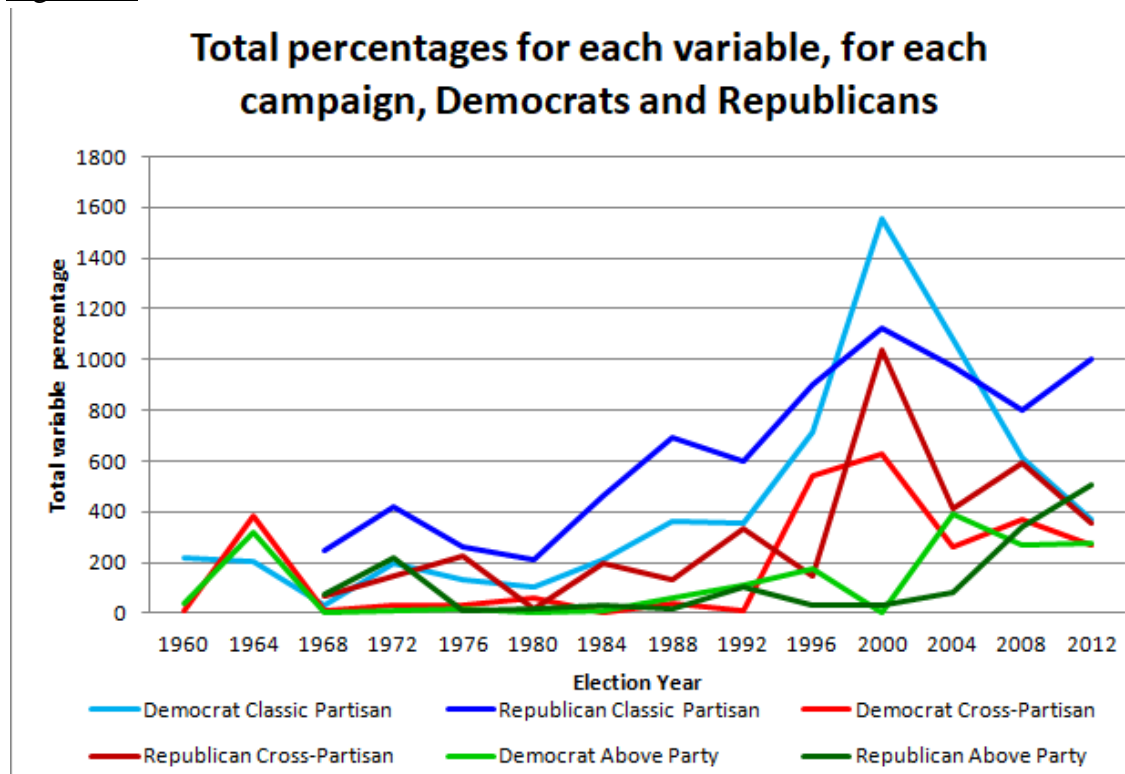
Overall, there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. Table 5.6, below, has the total percentages for ‘classic partisan’, ‘cross-partisan’ and ‘above party’ use of party in rhetoric for every campaign. It also shows the total changes per campaign, for H9. Figure 5.7 then represents this information visually, with the total classic partisan percentage, total cross-partisan percentage and the total above party percentage for the campaigns plotted. The campaigns with the lowest use of party for each variable are highlighted in **yellow**, and the highest use of party for each variable is highlighted in **green**. The four campaigns that are most recent are in bold. As can be seen from the table, the lowest percentage use of the classic partisan variable was Humphrey’s 1968 campaign; the lowest cross-partisan was Mondale’s 1984 campaign, and the lowest above party percentage is both Carter’s 1980 and Gore’s 2000 campaigns. None of these campaigns are in the last two elections, or even the last three elections. The highest percentage use for each variable, however, is Gore 2000 for classic partisan, Bush 2000 for cross-partisan, and Romney 2012 for above party. What is also interesting and gives further evidence against this hypothesis is that all four campaigns in 2008 and 2012 are above the average percentages apart from Obama’s 2012 percentage for classic partisan, which is by no means near the lowest percentage over time. Thus this hypothesis is not supported by the evidence.

Table 5.6 : Table showing total percentages for the three variables, and total changes, per

campaign

Campaign	Total classic partisan percentage	Total cross-partisan percentage	Total above party percentage	Total changes per campaign
JFK 1960	218.97	10.8	36.24	4
NIXON 1960	441.19	38.52	289.55	3
LBJ 1964	206.15	384.84	319.98	3
HUMPHREY 1968	35.05	9.81	1.28	1
NIXON 1968	244.16	70.36	78.3	3
McGOVERN 1972	194.25	30.79	13.41	3
NIXON 1972	420.49	144.39	221.59	5
CARTER 1976	129.15	28.7	20.45	1
FORD 1976	258.83	224.79	13.41	1
CARTER 1980	104.17	63.96	0	1
REAGAN 1980	209.32	16.59	20.91	1
MONDALE 1984	215.06	5.1	7.84	1
REAGAN 1984	465.6	196.81	28.88	1
DUKAKIS 1988	360.82	41.12	62.02	1
BUSH 1988	696.16	130	14.28	2
CLINTON 1992	358.08	11.4	107.95	0
BUSH 1992	599.16	333.92	103.13	3
CLINTON 1996	716.05	541.86	177.53	10
DOLE 1996	903.42	143.49	34.86	2
GORE 2000	1551.68	625	0	0
BUSH 2000	1121.14	1035.8	34.1	6
KERRY 2004	1084.4	264.16	394.35	3
BUSH 2004	976.65	409.58	80.57	4
OBAMA 2008	612.18	366.5	270.62	3
MCCAIN 2008	804.13	589.45	338.18	4
OBAMA 2012	366.38	267.56	274.92	5
ROMNEY 2012	1002.74	352.04	505.5	3
AVERAGES	529.46	234.71	127.77	2.7

Figure 5.7



H9: There will be fewer changes in the use of party in recent campaigns.

As indicated in table 5.6, there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. The last column in table 5.6 shows the total changes in the use of party for each campaign. Whilst Clinton's 1996 campaign had the most changes to the use of party, the 2008 and 2012 campaigns did not have the least. In fact the campaigns with one or no changes occurred between 1968 and 2000. In looking to the average changes, all the campaigns from the two most recent elections are above average. Therefore this hypothesis is not supported by the evidence.

Discussion

There is change

Overall, as evidenced in various hypotheses above, there is change in the use of party in campaign rhetoric. Looking at the use of party through the variables of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party has given insight into how candidates use party in order to appeal to a winning coalition of voters. There are 74 total changes at the level of two standard deviations, lasting for two or more consecutive weeks, in the campaigns

studied between 1960 and 2012. There are 63 points of change over the period studied, with some points having two variables changing at the same point in time. There are 38 changes to the use of classic partisan, 23 to the use of cross-partisan, and 13 to the use of above party. This gives support to the main hypothesis of this project; that campaigns change strategy during the general election campaign. In all campaigns except Clinton 1992, and Gore 2000, there was evidence of change in at least one of the variables.

Support for previous findings

Based on the hypotheses above, there is some support for previous research. Firstly, there is support for the party differences theory. This proposed that parties use party differently, with Democratic candidates being more likely to use party in their campaign rhetoric (Grossman and Hopkins 2015; Freeman 1986; Herrnson 2009; Jarvis 2004). The findings above suggest that this is the case. In all but the percentage total of the cross-partisan variable, Democratic candidates used partisan rhetoric more than Republican candidates. In line with this finding, Democratic candidates had more classic partisan changes than Republicans; 20 to 18. What is different about the findings to what would be expected based on this theory is that it is Republican candidates that change the use of party more, even though Democrats use party more. This indicates that potentially Democrats use partisan strategy more, and in a more stable fashion, whereas although Republicans use partisan strategy less, when they do they are more likely to change their strategy. It could be argued this is a function of the Democrats being the majority party for more of the time period studied, and therefore Republicans struggle more with the use of party. However based on party affiliation of the presidents during the period, there has been an even split; 7 Democratic and 7 Republican candidates were elected during the period analysed. Therefore it seems more likely that Democrats use partisan strategy more, and are more stable in their use of partisan strategy, but when Republicans do use partisan strategy they are likely to change the use of partisan strategy as well.

Another theory for which there is some support is the strategic context model. This suggested that candidates will determine use of party in campaign rhetoric based on context, for example based on their status as an incumbent or challenger (Damore 2002; 2003; Sigelman and Buell 2003; Vavreck 2009). The hypotheses have shown variation in the use of, and changes to the use of, party between incumbents, challengers and open races. Incumbents use the initial variables of ‘own party positive’, ‘opposition party positive’, ‘bipartisan’ and ‘both other’, more than challengers or open race candidates. Challengers use the variable of ‘opposition party negative’ most, and open candidates use ‘own party negative’ and ‘above party’ most. Incumbents also have the most changes in the use of party, followed by open race candidates, then challenger candidates. This could be seen as supporting the idea that context, based on incumbent, challenger or open candidate at least, does impact use of, and changes to the use of party. This could be because incumbent candidates are more secure in their status; they have already won an election once, and so are established as a candidate, they could be considered more secure in their campaign choices, and perhaps do not need the party as much. Candidates who are an incumbent do not need to establish themselves on the national stage which the party often can help with, and may not need to use the party so much for resources compared with a challenger or open candidate. Therefore changing their use of party, even if it means losing out on some party support could be a viable option for incumbents. Also, incumbents may place more importance in other aspects of strategy, and therefore may not mind if they need to change their use of party in order to accommodate other aspects of their strategy. In comparison, open candidates which change party less than incumbents but more than challengers, and challengers, which only change the use of party 14 times, may consider it more high risk, and potentially detrimental to their campaign, to change the use of party too much.

The theory of the partisan presidency can also be supported by the research findings. This proposed that candidates want to appeal to partisans more during polarised times, such as more recently, in order to mobilise their party base, gain resources and organisation (Azari 2014, Milkis and Rhodes 2007; Milkis 1999; Milkis et al 2012; Skinner 2008; 2012; Rhodes and Albert 2015). Results for hypotheses eight and nine do not support the idea that less use of party in recent years has occurred in line with potential lower partisanship. In actuality there is support for the idea that there is more use of party now, based on the use of the strategies than in years previously when there was less party polarisation. Certainly looking to the campaigns since 2000, there was most use of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party variables, with all but Gore since 2000 having above average changes in the use of party.

The findings present further evidence both that candidates do not always talk about their own party, or about their own party positively, as exemplified by evidence of the use of cross-partisan and above party rhetoric. Whilst candidates can and do use the classic partisan strategy, and this has the most changes, and most use, they also can and do use, and change the use of cross-partisan and above party variables as well. In fact, 18 of the changes that occur only occur to the use of the cross-partisan variable, and seven of the changes that occur are only in use of the above party variable. Candidates are using a variety of ways, and have throughout the period, to talk about party, and appeal to the electorate through their rhetoric.

Finally, it can be argued that given there is change in the use of party across all three variables and across the whole period studied; this gives some further support to the idea that candidates consider this an important area of strategy and an important way to gain voters' support when they are developing their rhetoric.

Findings which do not support previous research

However there are also findings which do not support previous research. The findings as a whole indicate support for the idea that the use of party is still useful and important to candidates. This corroborates the idea that candidates presume party identification has some influence on how the electorate choose to vote, and that partisanship may still be occurring but differently to previous times (Polsby and Wildavsky 2016; Bafumi and Shaprio 2009). The extent to which candidates use party throughout, and more importantly change their use of party in all but two campaigns from 1960 to 2012, could be seen as evidence against the idea of party dealignment, or at least against the idea that party dealignment has meant that candidates do not see party as important as in the past.

The findings indicate that rather than the president being above party and therefore not using partisan rhetoric as in the ‘president above parties’ theory (Coleman and Manna 2007; Rhodes and Albert 2015; Coleman 1996; Milkis 1993; Hart 1987; Kernell 1986; Tulis 1987), in actuality the use of party in relation to partisan strategy, is still a core aspect to campaign rhetoric. Whilst the use of ‘above party’ and change in the use of the ‘above party’ variable occurs, the most used option is still classic partisan rhetoric. The total percentage of the classic partisan variable, across all campaigns is 31303%, compared with 6344% for the cross-partisan variable, and 2849% use of the above party variable. Whilst these are very large percentages, it highlights that the use of the classic partisan variable in rhetoric over the whole period studied is more than double that of the cross-partisan variable; partisan talk is still very much in use. As also indicated by hypotheses above, this is also not in decline, but more rather the most use of the classic partisan variable as a percentage total for an individual campaign occurred in the Gore 2000 campaign. Therefore whilst candidates can choose to be above party, this does not mean that this is

becoming the norm within campaign rhetoric or strategy. In fact the ‘above party’ variable was used more in the 1960s than any other period since.

These findings also extend to the idea of bipartisan posturing (Rhodes and Albert 2015; Azari 2013). This was the idea that candidates try to keep the people and the party happy by dealing with the party “behind the scenes” and publicly distancing from the party (Rhodes and Albert 2015: 568,569). However, candidates do not only, or even in the majority of the time, use the variables of cross-partisan or above party variables. In fact the most used and most changed use of party is with the classic partisan variable. Candidates may try to keep both party and people happy, but this certainly is not through distancing from the party or by not using party rhetoric during the campaign.

Other Findings

What also can be taken from this research is that thinking about the use of party in terms of strategic options works; there is a clear difference between how classic partisan rhetoric, cross-partisan rhetoric and above party rhetoric is used and changed in use by candidates. It would be interesting to further investigate these three options especially to see if there is evidence of their use in other campaign media. Investigation into why there is disparity in when the changes to the use of each variable occur would also be interesting, given that more changes occur for the use of above party in the 1960s, but changes are more spread out across the whole period studied for the use of classic partisan and cross partisan variables.

In line with what would be expected for a challenger candidate, the most used initial variable is ‘opposition party negative’. Given that candidates who are challenging an incumbent are going to highlight the flaws in the opposition, the use of this initial variable does make strategic sense. However, it is interesting that challengers also change the use of classic partisan variable the most, and only change the cross-partisan variable two times,

with no challengers changing the above party variable. It would have been anticipated, based on the fact that challengers want to unseat the incumbent, that challengers would, in their use of the 'opposition party positive' initial variable, change the use of the cross-partisan variable more frequently in an attempt to win over opposition party voters. Similarly, it would have been anticipated that challengers would try to place themselves as being 'above party', compared to the incumbent who would likely be embroiled in partisan politics in Congress by re-election time. However this does not seem to happen.

A further point to note is that there are eleven instances where there are two variables that change in the use of party. These are always with one of the variables being classic partisan, as seen in table 5.7 below. Six times the combination is with above party, and five times the other variable changing is cross-partisan. Four of the above party, classic partisan changes occur in elections in the 1960s, perhaps indicating a period of less party polarisation, when candidates were able to appeal by being above the party. Events such as JFK's death, and the Cold War, may have helped to increase the use of this combination for the period of the 60s, giving a way for candidates to appeal to all by coming together and forgetting the labels of Democrat or Republican. The other two occurrences of this combination are in 2008, by none other than John McCain, who, whilst often called a maverick, saw the importance of putting party aside where necessary, and whose handling of party was what contributed towards him being a maverick, and Obama in 2012. The changes in the use of classic partisan and cross-partisan occur in both the 1972 campaigns, Clinton's 1996 campaign, Bush's 2000 campaign and Obama's 2012 campaign. Given that the cross-partisan variable is anticipated to be used when candidates want to highlight they are willing to work across the party lines, it is interesting that all the instances where the two are used together are by incumbents or open candidates. Candidates who are incumbents may feel less need to just use the classic partisan variable, and open candidates

may see this as an option to gain voters from the opposing party in order to better their chances in winning.

Table 5.7: Table showing which campaigns change which variables at the same time

Name, Year, Week	Classic Partisan	Cross-Partisan	Above Party
JFK 1960 2	1		1
NIXON 1960 9	1		1
LBJ 1964 4	1		1
NIXON 1968 2	1		1
McGOVERN 1972 2	1	1	
NIXON 1972 11	1	1	
BCLINTON 1996 13	1	1	
BUSH 2000 28	1	1	
MCCAIN 2008 7	1		1
OBAMA 2012 2	1	1	
OBAMA 2012 7	1		1

Finally, it is relevant to discuss structural events and changes relating to the opposition. Out of the 63 points of change, twelve points of change occur at the same time as conventions. This is only 19% of points of change, which is surprising. Conventions are a point when it would make sense for candidates to change their use of party in some way, given that it is probably the most party focused activity of the campaign trail. Seven of the twelve changes are made by Democratic candidates, which fit again with the idea that Democrats use party more. Yet since Republicans change the use of party more, it is especially surprising that at the time of party conventions there are not more instances where they change the use of party in some way.

There are eleven instances when candidates change their use of party that occur around the time of Labor Day. Traditionally the start of the campaign season, again it is surprising that there are not more changes at this point in time. Eight of these changes were by Democrats, again in line with other findings in proportion of changes by partisanship.

Only two changes occurred during the ‘last push’ when it is proposed that candidates may change their strategy in a final attempt to try and gain as many voters as

possible. Given again that party may be used to gather these voters, this is surprising. It may be that candidates do not change use of party near the end of campaigns as much, as party affiliation is a constant throughout campaigns, and so party identifiers will already by this point have been persuaded to vote on party lines. Instead candidates may focus this last push on other areas that may help gain other undecided voters.

There were four points of change where both candidates changed their use of party at the same time, and nine where one candidate changed and the opposition did the following week. This means that 21% of changes could be related to the changes made by the opposition candidate. This relationship with change and the opposition will be interesting to investigate further in both other media, and also in terms of regression analyses.

Future Research

The findings presented above go some way to better understanding a still “surprisingly limited” and under-researched area of campaigning, but there is still more to do (Rhodes and Albert 2015). It would be interesting to investigate the use of, and changes in the use of party in other media of campaign strategy such as advertisements and websites to be able to compare the role of party themed commentary across all media. It also would be interesting to extend the findings further to the 2016 campaign and determine if the trends continue. Overall, more research into the use of party in rhetoric is necessary to try to counter the heavy focus on voter decisions and identification in relation to the role of party in campaigning.

Conclusion

Overall, it is clear that there are changes in the use of party in campaign rhetoric, across all three variables studied. The use of party in campaign rhetoric, as examined through the variables of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party, in the campaigns

from 1960 to 2012, does give evidence to support the overarching idea that campaign strategy changes during campaigns. There are changes in all but two campaigns from 1960 to 2012, with 74 total changes, 63 points of change in the use of party occurring. 38 changes are to the use of classic partisan, indicating that this is still the most common change in strategy, 23 to the use of cross-partisan, and 13 to the use of above party. In all campaigns except Clinton 1992 and Gore 2000 there was evidence of at least one change in strategy.

There is also evidence that supported previously established theories on party. The first theory which is supported by evidence is the party difference theory. This theory suggested that party rhetoric differs between Democratic and Republican candidates, with Democratic candidates being more likely to use party in campaign rhetoric (Grossmann and Hopkins 2015; Freeman 1986; Herrnson 2009; Jarvis 2004). The results supported this theory, with Democratic candidates using more partisan rhetoric than Republican candidates. However what was interesting was that Republican candidates changed the use of party variables more. From this, it would be anticipated that candidate party affiliation may be an explanatory factor in why changes occur when they do. If candidates use partisan rhetoric, and change partisan rhetoric differently, it may be the party affiliation that helps to explain this difference.

There is also evidence to support the strategic context model. This theory suggested that candidates would determine their use of party based on context, including whether they are an incumbent or challenger (Damore 2002; 2004; Sigelman and Buell 2003; Vavreck 2009). There was support from the findings for this theory as incumbents did change the use of party differently to challengers. Based on this, it would also be expected that candidate status; whether they are an incumbent, challenger or in an open race, would help to explain change in campaign strategy.

Overall the changes in the use of party across the three variables do make sense. Candidates do want to appeal to as many people as possible to formulate a winning coalition of voters. To do this, there would need to be changes made in the use of party to try to appeal to the various types of voter; the party faithful, the leaner, the independent, the voter who changes at each election and more. The evidence of change in the use of party does support this idea given that at different points candidates change use of all three rhetorical strategies; classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party variables. From the results, there has been some support for prior research found, and some findings that question aspects of previous study. In general, there needs to be more focus on the use of party from the candidate's perspective as opposed to the voter identification point of view. Future research could both expand the field, looking at other forms of campaign rhetoric including advertising and websites to determine if candidates continue to change in the use of party, whether the same three variables are appropriate ways to examine this, and to determine if there is evidence that candidates change the use of party to build a broad winning coalition of voters.

Chapter Six: Investigating and Understanding Change in Campaign Strategy

The previous chapters have all focused on one aspect of campaign strategy; tone, character, issues and party respectively. The main focus has been whether campaign strategy remains fixed, or changes. During every campaign studied, and across all four categories investigated, there has been evidence of change. This has been at the level of two standard deviations, lasting for at least two weeks. However, these four categories do not operate independently within campaign rhetoric. Each category is an important aspect to strategy, and therefore decisions on the use of them, including when to change a category, are done in the context of strategy as a whole, rather than being an isolated decision. As a whole, the aim of campaign strategy, which is comprised of the four categories studied, is to convince the electorate to vote for the candidate in question, in order for them to win the Presidency. This chapter will assess the relationships between the four categories, examine change in strategy as a whole, and test potential explanations for change in campaign strategy that have been proposed in previous chapters. These findings should help to enhance understanding of how campaign strategy works, especially in relation to change in campaign rhetoric in US presidential general election campaigns.

At the start of this project, the paradox of campaign strategy was outlined. Campaign strategy should be fixed during campaigns, only changing where there is “clear, unrefutable evidence that what you are doing is not working because the fundamental circumstances in which the race is being conducted have changed”, yet it had been implied that strategy actually does change (Shea 1996: 173, 174; Thurber and Nelson 1995; Newman 1999; Kessel 1974; Newman 1994; Wayne and Wilcox 1992). Throughout each chapter, and every campaign, there has been evidence of change in campaign strategy. However every campaign which has been studied for this project is unlikely to have had the “fundamental circumstances” of the race changed (Shea 1996; Thurber and Nelson

1995). Across the period, there are moments when all categories have been changed; there are moments when some or just one category has been changed; and there have been moments when no changes have occurred. This would not be described as strategy being fixed.

It may be more appropriate to think of campaign strategy as having periods of strategic stability, which are interjected with points of change. Thinking in these terms, it may be that strategy should be discussed in ranging from strategic stability, through to major strategic change. Across every campaign, there are points when change happens, and conversely there are points when change does not happen. The points where there are no changes are moments of strategic stability. Focusing on the categories for which there has been analysis for the whole period (tone, issues and party), points where all three change would be considered major strategic change; a point where strategy is reset. Points where there are one or two categories which change would be considered minor strategic change. In order to measure the degrees of the strategic change, a variable has been generated, so that change can be assessed on a Strategic Change Scale (SCS). The SCS is a zero to three scale; with zero being strategic stability, one and two being minor points of change, and three being major strategic change; a strategy reset. The SCS is a way of showing all points of stability and change across the whole period studied. Given that the SCS represents the points of change identified in the categories, there will be instances where there are consecutive weeks with change in. This is because within each category change lasts for two consecutive weeks at least, but on the SCS all the category changes are amalgamated. As the SCS just represents all the points of stability and change, this is not a problem for assessing change overall. The SCS will be useful in investigating and aiming to understand change in strategy overall because it enables all changes to be measured and discussed in relation to the theory that campaign strategy has periods of strategic stability interjected with points of change.

In investigating and understanding change in strategy, it is necessary to consider the relationships between the four categories. If there are points where all categories change at the same time, because strategy is developed as a whole, it would be anticipated that the categories would be correlated in some way. Whilst categories may not always change at the same point in time, because sometimes there are minor changes and other times major change, it would be anticipated that the categories on the whole may be positively correlated. Candidates develop strategy as a whole, and so would likely use categories together, increasing and decreasing use together for example, even if this is not to the degree of two standard deviation change. There would be reason to anticipate that categories are used together by candidates and therefore would also correlate. It may also be anticipated that the variances of the categories may be similar. This is because candidates when planning strategy may ensure that the four categories are used roughly equally, even if specific points when changes occur differ between categories, resulting in the spread or average variability of the data to be roughly equal.

It is also essential when investigating and understanding change overall, to look to why candidates may go from strategic stability to points of either minor or major change in strategy. There have been a number of potential explanations why a strategic change may occur, be it minor or major strategic change, highlighted in prior chapters. These factors include the behavior of the opposition, structural events (including Labor Day, conventions and a last push period before Election Day), the candidate's status (for example incumbent, challenger, or open race candidate), the party a candidate belongs to, and more. Investigating which may be able to explain the changes made to strategy would give further insight into how candidates use campaign strategy during general election campaigns.

Hypotheses

With all this in mind, the following hypotheses can be made:

H1: Candidates will use the four categories in a similar way.

This hypothesis examines whether candidates do use categories in a similar way. Even though there are instances of change, this does not mean that the categories are not used similarly. Overall candidates may use categories in a similar way, but then have instances of change that may be at a similar point in time, or may be where the difference in use occurs. This is in terms of use of the categories overall, not when categories are changed. It would be anticipated that categories would be correlated, to a statistically significant degree.

H2: The categories overall will be used roughly equally.

As with H1, this is in terms of use of categories. This hypothesis investigates if candidates use the four categories in a similar manner, as indicated by the spread or average variability of data being roughly equal. Even though there are points of change, candidates may still on the whole use categories roughly equally, with the spread or average variability being equal, because in every campaign there is evidence of change.

H3: There will be strategic stability during campaigns.

This is proposed to help test the idea that campaign strategy, rather than being fixed, actually is periods of strategic stability that are punctuated with moments of change.

H4: There will be points of major strategic change during campaigns.

This also is proposed to help test the idea that campaign strategy has periods of strategic stability, that are punctuated by points of major change, where strategy may be reset.

H5: There will be points of minor strategic change during campaigns.

This is the final hypothesis which tests the idea that campaign strategy has periods of strategic stability which is also punctuated by points of minor change.

H6: Opposition behaviour will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

This hypothesis is focusing on determining if there is any basis behind the potential explanation of opposition behaviour helping to explain why change occurs when it does. Candidates may decide to change their strategy if their opponent has, in order to ensure they can have the best possible chance to win the campaign. This may be because the candidate needs to address new issues or new points made, or it may be because as a result of the opponent changing strategy, the candidate needs to address or counteract information given, for example. Whilst this may seemingly contradict the idea of strategic stability punctuated by points of change, because the change due to the opponent changing their strategy is responsive, the two can both occur. Strategic stability is punctuated by points of strategic change, which could be a result of a response to a factor such as opposition behaviour.

H7: Structural events of Labor Day, conventions and a last push will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

This hypothesis tests whether the structural events that have been identified throughout previous chapters, of Labor Day, when traditionally campaigning started for the general election, party conventions, and a last push before Election Day, help to explain why change occurs at the points in time that it does.

H8: A candidate's status, whether they are an incumbent, challenger or in an open race, will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

Hypothesis eight focuses on determining whether the status of a candidate; whether they are an incumbent, a challenger, or in an open race, has any impact on strategic changes made by candidates. It would be anticipated that candidate status would help explain

change in strategy, especially for incumbents, who have the most to lose if they do not win the campaign. This is anticipated based on findings from the four categories which have seen differences in the changes made by incumbents compared with challengers and open race candidates.

H9: The party a candidate is affiliated with will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

Previous research suggests party differences explain many aspects of campaigning, and there are differences in the changes made by Republicans compared with Democrats. This hypothesis investigates whether party affiliation also can help explain why candidates change their campaign strategy.

H10: The outcome of the election, whether the candidate was the winner or the loser, will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

This hypothesis looks at whether there are differences in terms of winning and losing candidates, which help to explain the changes made by the candidates.

H11: Opposition behaviour, structural events, candidate status, candidate party affiliation, and election outcome will explain change in campaign strategy.

This hypothesis suggests that the combination of H6 to H10 will explain why change, be this minor or major strategic change, occurs when it does.

Qualifying when hypotheses are met

This section qualifies when hypotheses 1-5 are met, H6-11 will be discussed in relation to regression analysis in the latter half of this chapter.

H1: Candidates will use the four categories in a similar way.

This hypothesis would be supported if the four categories, with each combination of pairings, are correlated together, to a statistically significant degree. That is; tone with character, tone with issues, tone with party, character with issues, character with party, issues with party. This would give indication that the four categories are used in a similar way, with increases and decreases in the use of each category happening at similar times. This will be measured in two different ways. Firstly, the volume of the categories will be examined in terms of correlation. The volume is focusing on the amount of tone rhetoric, character rhetoric, issues rhetoric, and party rhetoric. This will be done using the raw weekly total paragraph data for each category; how many paragraphs used tone, how many used character, how many used issues and how many used party. The category of character is split into character devices, and character qualities. This is due to there being separate total weekly paragraph counts for the two levels; to add them together would result in double-counting paragraphs which would then not be comparable to other categories. So the amount of character rhetorical devices rhetoric and the amount of character qualities rhetoric will be used.

Secondly, the percentage use of each category will be tested. In order to do this, the most used variable from each category: positive tone, future projections, humility, economics, and classic partisan, will be used as a proxy for each category, again with there being one representing character rhetorical devices, and one representing character qualities. This second version of testing the correlation enables the categories to be compared more proportionally, because with the volume data, the totals could range from, for example, ten to 500. Whereas using percentage data means that 50% of use for a category, for example is comparable across the categories. Therefore for each variable the weekly percentage data will be used to determine correlation. This ensures that high correlation from the first test is not just due to high volume of rhetoric overall. For both, there will be correlations for just the use of tone, issues and party (using data from 1960-

2012), and then including character (using data from 2004-2012). This is because there is a higher N for the use of tone, issues and party, given that character can only be included in data from 2004 onwards, and means that categories can be appropriately compared.

H2: The categories overall will be used roughly equally.

This hypothesis looks at whether the spread of the categories or average variability is roughly equal, which would mean in turn that the categories are used roughly equally, despite instances of change. To investigate this is to focus on the variances; if the variances for the categories are the same or very similar, this would commonly be known as homoscedasticity or homogeneity of variance. The hypothesis would be supported if the variances are the same, or very close (a few points out). This would mean that the categories do have homoscedasticity/homogeneity of variance, supporting the hypothesis. This will again be tested using the raw weekly total paragraph data for each category, and then the percentage data of the most used variables for each category. For both again there will be variances for just the use of tone, issues and party, covering the period 1960-2012, and then including character and the period 2004-2012. This is because there is a higher N for the use of tone, issues and party, given that character can only be included in data from 2004 onwards and ensures that the categories can be compared.

H3: There will be strategic stability during campaigns.

There will be two different methods to examine this hypothesis. Firstly there will be evidence to support this if there are 50% or more weeks where there are no points of change. There are 576 weeks of campaigns that have been studied, so there would need to be no points of change across the categories of tone, issues, and party in at least 288 weeks for this to be supported. This will use the data for change in all categories, which has been coded using the Strategic Change Scale (from zero to three, with zero being when no change occurs).

The second test will be by using the weighting of each category, as a percentage of the totals of all categories. That is, the weekly total raw paragraph use of tone, character devices, character qualities, issues and party will be added up and aggregated together. Each individual category will then be represented as a percentage of this aggregate, in order to show how each category is weighted compared to another each week. For 1960-2000 there will only be the use of tone, issues and party, and for 2004-2012 there will be all categories represented. This will be presented for Democratic campaigns and Republican campaigns. Visually, the categories should look proportionally the same across the two time periods respectively for there to be support for this hypothesis.

H4: There will be points of major strategic change during campaigns.

There will be support for this hypothesis if there are moments in campaigns between 1960 and 2012 where there is change across all three categories of tone, issues and party at the same point in time. Only these three are used to ensure comparability across the whole time period. This will use the Strategic Change Scale (SCS). There would need to be points on the SCS of three to support this hypothesis.

H5: There will be points of minor strategic change during campaigns.

There will be evidence to support this hypothesis if, using the Strategic Change Scale there are points on the scale of one or two. Again this will be from the three categories of tone, issues and party, from 1960-2012.

Results

H1: Candidates will use the four categories in a similar way.

There is support for this hypothesis. Tables 6.1 and 6.2, below, show the correlations for the period 1960-2012, for the use of tone, issues and party, using raw weekly total paragraph data (table 6.1) and weekly percentage data (table 6.2). Tables 6.3 and 6.4 show

the correlations for the period 2004-2012, for all the categories; table 6.3 uses raw weekly total paragraph data, table 6.4 uses weekly percentage data.

Table 6.1: Correlations using raw weekly total paragraph data, use of tone, issues, party (1960-2012)

Correlations				
		Tone	Issues	Party
Tone	Pearson Correlation	1	.930**	.781**
	N	576	576	576
Issues	Pearson Correlation	.930**	1	.712**
	N	576	576	576
Party	Pearson Correlation	.781**	.712**	1
	N	576	576	576

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.2: Correlations using weekly percentage data, top used variables for use of tone, issues, party (1960-2012)

Correlations				
		Positive Tone	Economics	Classic Partisan
Positive Tone	Pearson Correlation	1	.507**	.375**
	N	576	576	576
Economics	Pearson Correlation	.507**	1	.634**
	N	576	576	576
Classic Partisan	Pearson Correlation	.375**	.634**	1
	N	576	576	576

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Looking to tables 6.1 and 6.2, there are statistically significant correlations between the use of tone, use of issues and use of party, ($p < 0.01$), using the raw weekly total paragraph data (1960-2012). These are high positive correlations, especially between issues and tone. However, when looking at the percentage data for the most used variables, whilst still positive and statistically significant, the correlations do drop. Economics and classic partisan have the stronger correlation, using this data, but this is not as high as when using the raw weekly total paragraph data. The very high correlations may well be down to

volume of rhetoric, rather than volume of each category specifically being used. The three categories used throughout the whole period of 1960-2012 are statistically significantly correlated ($p < 0.01$). Whilst these are only the most used variables being tested, this gives an indication and is a proxy for the use of each category. It is interesting that the stronger correlation, using percentage data, is between economics and classic partisan, because both classic partisan and positive tone have similar uses; to talk positively about their own party and so this may have been anticipated to have the stronger correlation instead. This gives insight into how strategy in general is formulated, because the use of economics and classic partisan may not be naturally expected to be the highest correlating pair, and yet it would be implied that these are used similarly in campaign strategy from the correlation results.

Table 6.3: Correlations using raw weekly total paragraph data, use of tone, character, issues and party (2004-2012 data)

Correlations						
		Tone	Character Devices	Character Qualities	Issues	Party
Tone	Pearson Correlation	1	.950**	.875**	.900**	.724**
	N	162	162	162	162	162
Character Devices	Pearson Correlation	.950**	1	.961**	.935**	.728**
	N	162	162	162	162	162
Character Qualities	Pearson Correlation	.875**	.961**	1	.912**	.672**
	N	162	162	162	162	162
Issues	Pearson Correlation	.900**	.935**	.912**	1	.716**
	N	162	162	162	162	162
Party	Pearson Correlation	.724**	.728**	.672**	.716**	1
	N	162	162	162	162	162

Table 6.4: Correlations using weekly percentage data, top used variables of each category (2004-2012 data)

Correlations						
		Positive Tone	Future Projections	Humility	Economics	Classic Partisan
Positive Tone	Pearson Correlation	1	.186*	.474**	.083	.191*
	N	162	154	154	162	162
Future Projections	Pearson Correlation	.186*	1	-.070	.405**	.258**
	N	154	154	154	154	154
Humility	Pearson Correlation	.474**	-.070	1	-.190*	-.022
	N	154	154	154	154	154
Economics	Pearson Correlation	.083	.405**	-.190*	1	.469**
	N	162	154	154	162	162
Classic Partisan	Pearson Correlation	.191*	.258**	-.022	.469**	1
	N	162	154	154	162	162
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).						
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).						

When looking at tables 6.3 and 6.4, the period of 2004-2012, it cannot be said that there are statistically significant correlations for all variables. When looking at raw weekly total paragraph data from 2004-2012, again, there are high statistically significant correlations ($p < 0.01$). The highest correlation is between character devices and character qualities. This is not surprising given that these are based on analysis of the same category; character. The next highest correlation is between character devices and positive tone. However, the high correlations are again a likely result of the volume of rhetoric.

Looking at the percentage data, table 6.4, and so making the simple volume of speech less of a factor, four pairings are positively statistically significant ($p < 0.01$); positive tone and humility, economics and future projections, classic partisan and future projections, and economics and classic partisan. Three others are positively statistically

significant ($p < 0.05$); future projections and positive tone, positive tone and classic partisan, and economics and humility. The strongest correlation is between economics and classic partisan again, as with the weekly percentage data from 1960-2012. Whilst the most used variables were a proxy for the categories as a whole, especially when the volume results and the percentage results corroborate, it is fair to say that the proxy can be used to give indication of the relationship of the categories in general. This gives further evidence to suggest these two are used similarly by candidates in their strategy.

Economics and positive tone, humility and future projections, and humility and classic partisan are not statistically significant in their correlations. The results of economics and positive tone are particularly interesting given that for the whole period (1960-2012) these were statistically significantly correlated ($p < 0.01$). However, given that the analysis from 2004-2012 has a much smaller N, the results could be considered more unreliable. What would be ideal would be to expand analysis of character to further elections, so that the correlations will have a larger N.

In the main, there is support for the hypothesis, even without referring to the raw weekly total paragraph data, which may be producing high correlations due to changes in the volume of rhetoric rather than because each category is used very similarly. However, the percentage data identifies correlations in the majority of pairings when looking at the whole time frame from 1960-2012. Most of these are at ($p < 0.01$).

Given that there are correlations between all variables for the 1960-2012 data, looking at the use of tone, issues and party, for which there is a larger N and therefore more reliability, it is fair to say there is support for this hypothesis. This is encouraging in terms of understanding strategy; strong correlations imply that strategy was planned in a cohesive manner, with candidates ensuring that there is similarity in how the categories are used together, beyond just increased volume of rhetoric causing increased use of all categories. Candidates clearly plan to use the rhetoric of the three categories in a similar

way throughout. It is likely that when formulating rhetoric, candidates plan to use rhetoric from all three categories together at least some of the time during campaigns.

H2: The categories overall will be used roughly equally.

There is no evidence to support this hypothesis. Table 6.5 and 6.6 show the variance for the use of tone, issues and party, 1960-2012, with table 6.5 showing the raw weekly total paragraph data, and table 6.6 showing the weekly percentage data. Tables 6.7 and 6.8 then show the same, raw weekly total paragraph data and weekly percentage data, for all categories for 2004-2012. As can be seen, the variances are not similar. Whilst the percentage data variances for both 1960-2012 and 2004-2012 are lower compared to the raw data versions, there are still large differences in variances. Interestingly the two highest correlated; economics and classic partisan, have the highest variance (classic partisan) and one of the lowest variances. This implies that whilst the two categories may be used similarly, classic partisan has a larger spread in variability, and therefore the percentage points have a higher range over time, compared with economics, which with a small spread of variability would comparatively have a smaller data range. That is, whilst classic partisan may range from 2% use in a week for example, to 100%, economics may only range from 40% to 70%, for example. This is interesting given there was such strong, positive correlations between these two categories.

Focusing on tables 6.6 and 6.8, which are likely to represent actual variance rather than being a product of volume of rhetoric as with the correlations, across both time frames the variable of classic partisan has the highest variance. Since the higher variances mean the data is more spread from the mean compared with other categories, it may be anticipated that there would be more points of change in strategy. However, by using standard deviation as the measure for change, which is the square root of variance, this is unlikely to be the case. This was to ensure that changes that were identified were representative of actual differences in the data. Economics has the smallest variance from

the 1960-2012 results, which would imply that the percentages for economics have again the smallest range and more stability in the use of issues. In the results from 2004-2012, future projections has the smallest variance, and again this means a small range in the use of the variable, also implying more stability in the use of rhetorical devices. To summarise, classic partisan varies the most across both time periods, meaning the range of use for classic partisan varies the most, and economics (for 1960-2012) and future projections (2004-2012) vary the least, with the smallest range in the use of these variables. Given that these are acting as proxies for the categories, it may be anticipated that the category of party has the highest variance, and range in use, and that issues, for 1960-2012, and rhetorical devices for 2004-2012, have the lowest variance and range. There is no support for the idea that there is similar variance.

Table 6.5: Table showing the variance and standard deviation for the use of tone, issues and party, 1960-2012, based on raw weekly total paragraph data

Statistics				
		Tone	Issues	Party
N	Valid	576	576	576
	Missing	0	0	0
Std. Deviation		223.64368	146.00936	48.61003
Variance		50016.495	21318.732	2362.935

Table 6.6: Table showing the variance and standard deviation for the top used variables of tone, issues and party, 1960-2012, based on weekly percentage data

Statistics				
		Positive Tone	Economics	Classic Partisan
N	Valid	576	576	576
	Missing	71	71	71
Std. Deviation		35.056	28.590	38.935
Variance		1228.919	817.368	1515.935

Table 6.7: Table showing the variance and standard deviation for all categories, 2004-2012, using raw weekly total paragraph data

Statistics						
		Tone	Character Devices	Character Qualities	Issues	Party
N	Valid	162	162	162	162	162
	Missing	414	414	414	414	414
Std. Deviation		206.44544	246.61998	80.62256	155.40182	22.78103
Variance		42619.718	60821.414	6499.997	24149.724	518.975

Table 6.8: Table showing the variance and standard deviation for the top used variables of all categories, 2004-2012, using weekly percentage data

Statistics						
		Positive Tone	Future Projections	Humility	Economics	Classic Partisan
N	Valid	162	154	154	162	162
	Missing	485	493	493	485	485
Std. Deviation		32.77213	23.05087	23.44794	25.68829	33.47802
Variance		1074.013	531.343	549.806	659.888	1120.778

H3: There will be strategic stability during campaigns.

There is evidence to support the hypothesis. There are 404 weeks, out of 576, where change does not occur. This is 70% of weeks that were studied.

Below, there are the graphs showing the second test of identifying stability. Figures 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 show the weighting of each category as a percentage of the totals of all categories. This is the weekly total raw paragraph use of tone, character devices, character qualities, issues and party all aggregated together. Each individual category is then represented as a percentage of the category aggregate. Figures 6.1 and 6.3 represent the Democratic and Republican data respectively, for the period 1960-2000, excluding character. Figures 6.2 and 6.4 represent the Democratic and Republican data respectively, for the period of 2004-2012, which includes character. As can be seen, the proportion of

each category does not change that much over time; on the whole the use of each category is fairly stable. The use of tone for the Democrats for the whole period 1960-2000 generally hovers between 40-60% of the aggregated totals for the categories; the use of issues hovers around 20%-30%, and the use of party is about the last 10% of the aggregated raw weekly total paragraphs. For the Democrats, when looking at 2004-2012, the use of tone is around 30% in generally, the use of character devices about 30%, the use of character qualities about 10% of the total, with issues comprising around 20% and the final 10% being the use of party again. Looking at the Republican graphs, the general use of each category is proportionally the same. In other words, there is overall stability in the use of the categories, when looking at them as a proportion of the aggregated total raw paragraph use, with tone being used the most, then issues and then party for the period 1960 to 2000, and tone and character devices being used equally most, then issues, then the use of character qualities and party used the least for the period of 2004-2012.

Figure 6.1

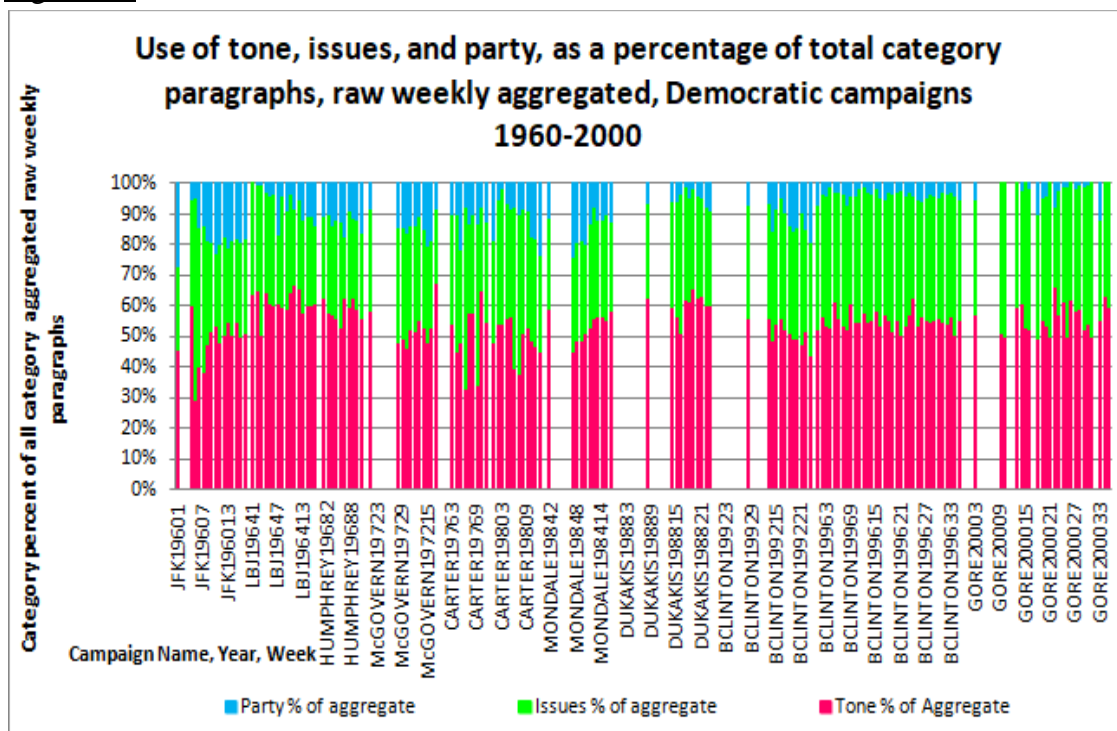


Figure 6.2

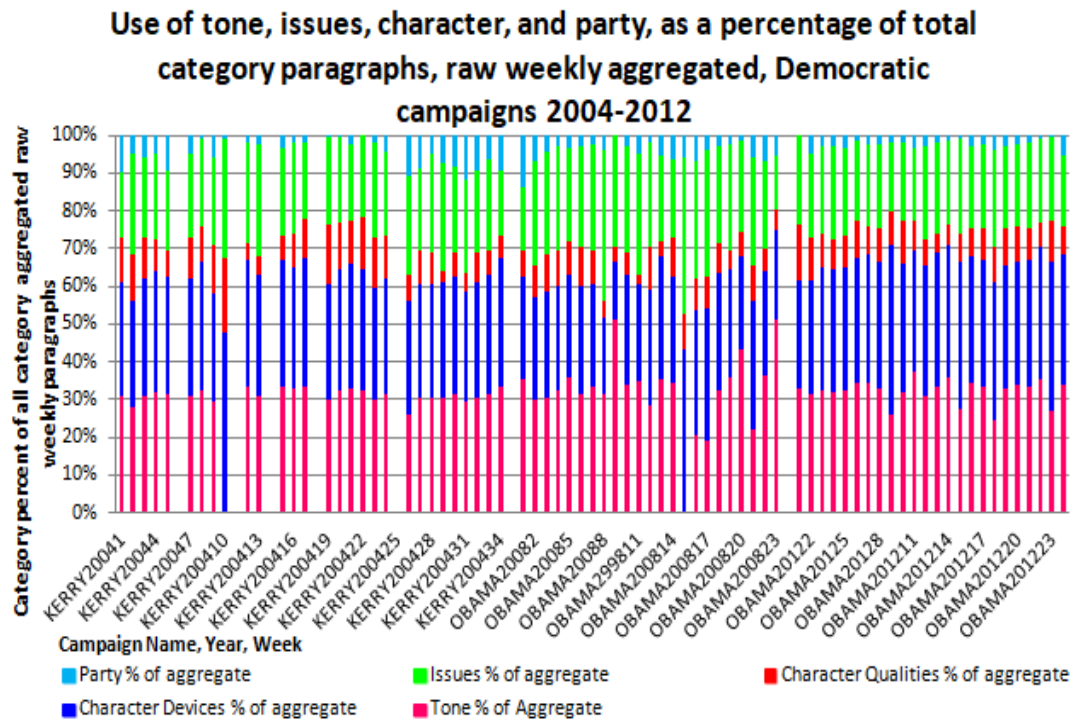


Figure 6.3

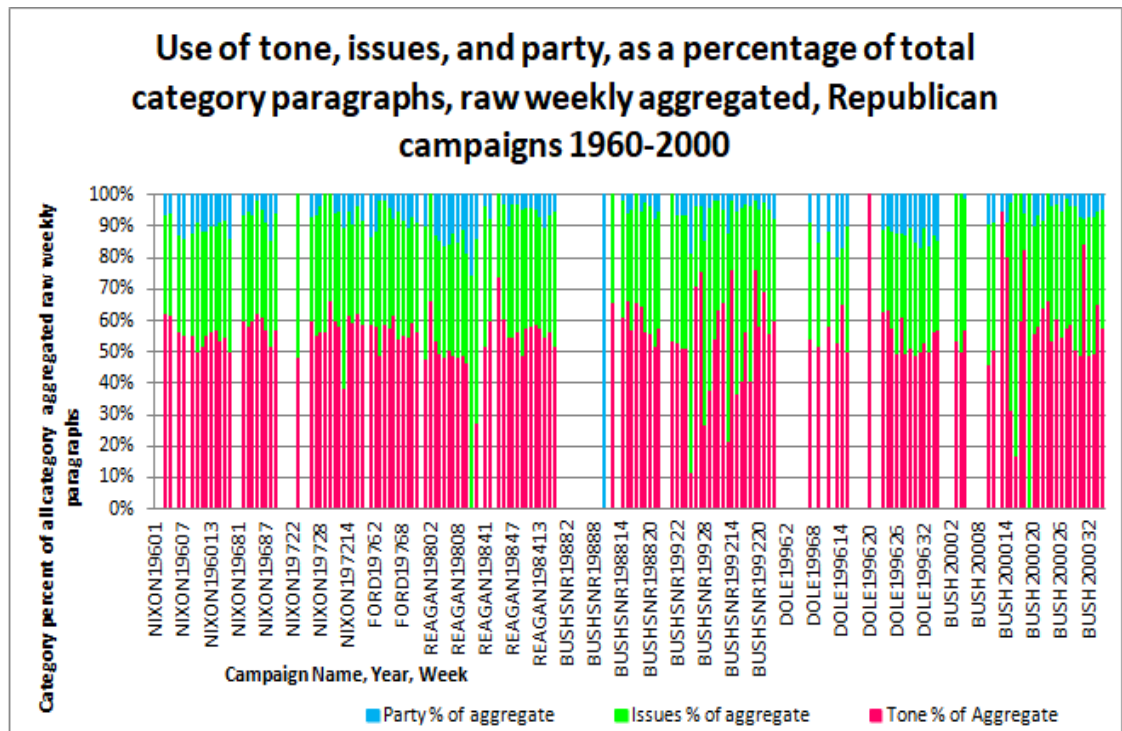
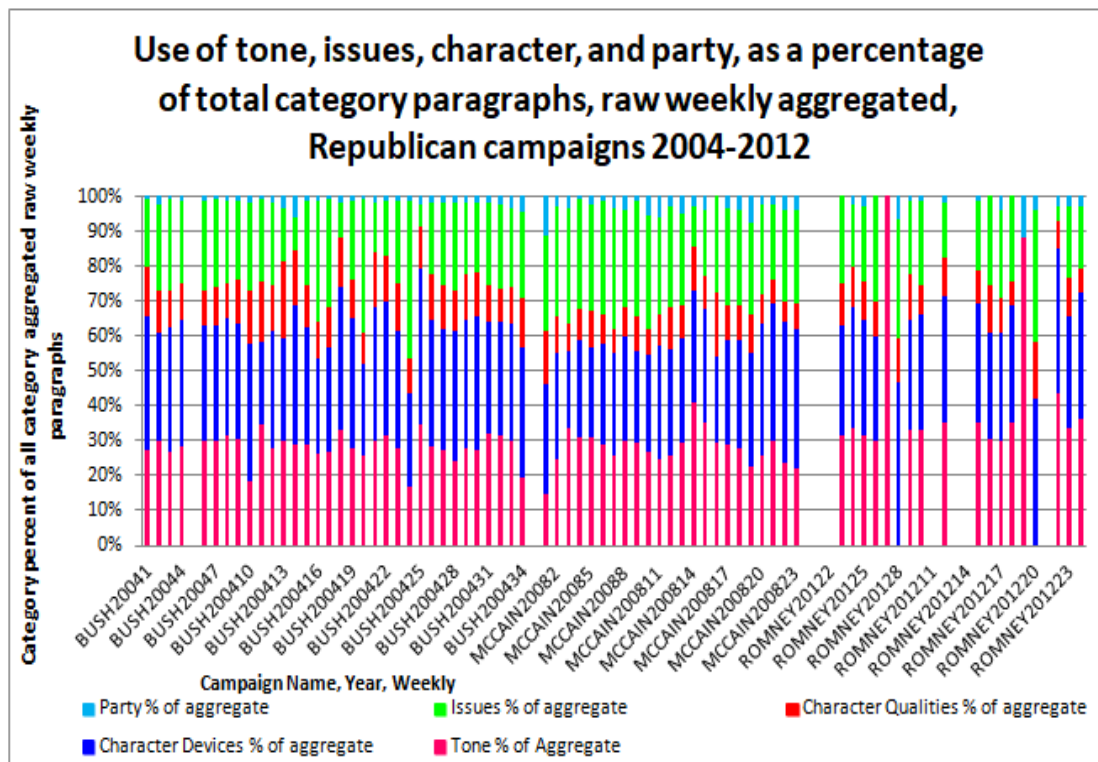


Figure 6.4



H4: There will be points of major strategic change during campaigns.

As seen from table 6.9 below, there is evidence to support this hypothesis. There are 13 instances in which there are changes across all three categories of tone, issues and party, from 1960-2012. Whilst this is only 2% of the total weeks, there is still evidence from eight different campaigns that candidates have enacted major strategic change; a reset of strategy. There is evidence of major strategic change in every decade; 60s, 70s, 80s, 90s, 00s and 10s. There are more major strategic changes made by Democrats, nine of the 13 major strategic changes are Democratic candidates. Only four of the major strategic changes were made by winning candidates. Three of the changes were in open races, eight were in challenger campaigns, and two were by an incumbent candidate. A number of the major changes are early in the campaign, which may be indicative of candidates increasing the use of the categories before stabilising the use of them.

Table 6.9: Table showing points of major change

Candidate, Campaign Year	Point of major change
JFK 1960	2
NIXON 1960	3
NIXON 1968	2
McGOVERN 1972	2
McGOVERN 1972	8
MONDALE 1984	2
DOLE 1996	13
DOLE 1996	23
KERRY 2004	7
KERRY 2004	12
KERRY 2004	23
OBAMA 2012	2
OBAMA 2012	7

H5: There will be points of minor strategic change during campaigns.

There is evidence to support this hypothesis. There are 159 points of minor strategic change, with a one or two score on the SCS. This is 28% of weeks studied, just over a quarter of the cases. There is at least one point of minor strategic change in every campaign studied. These are identified in the table 6.10 below. The table shows firstly the year of the campaigns, followed by the Democratic candidate, with points of minor strategic change identified, and then the Republican candidate and the points of minor strategic change. It is worth remembering that the scale is all three categories together; change in the use of tone, issues and party. As a result, whilst the change for each category would last for at least two weeks, when amalgamated onto one scale, there may be points of change in consecutive weeks, because these are only in one or two of the categories. Even if the scale was adjusted to enforce the change lasting for two weeks rule, by removing points of change that occur in consecutive weeks, there would still be evidence to support the hypothesis, as there would be 117 points of minor strategic change, which is still 20% of weeks having points of minor strategic change.

Table 6.10: Table showing points of minor strategic change, identified as one or two on the strategic change scale, split into Democratic and Republican campaigns, all points scoring one or two on the SCS included.

Year	Democrat	Republican
1960	JFK; 4,5,6,8,9	Nixon 6,9,10
1964	LBJ 2,4,7,12,15	
1968	Humphrey 2,3,4,6,8	Nixon 5,6
1972	McGovern 10	Nixon 6,7,9,11,13,14
1976	Carter 3,6,8,10	Ford 4,5,8,9,10
1980	Carter 2,4,8,10,11	Reagan 3,6,
1984	Mondale 7,9	Reagan 4,7, 9, 10,13,14,15
1988	Dukakis 14,16,19,21,	Bush 14,15,17,20,21
1992	Clinton 14,16,17,21	Bush 2,4,7,8,9,11,12,14,15,18
1996	Clinton 5,7,8,9,11,13,16,18,21,22,26,27,28,30,32,34	Dole 16,28
2000	Gore 9, 11,13,18,22,29,33	Bush 3,6,10,12,13,16,18,20,21,24,28,32,33
2004	Kerry 3, 10, 15,19,26,29,33	Bush 3,6,8,12,15,16,17,22,25
2008	Obama 5,8,10,13,16,17,21	McCain 2,3,6,7,11,14,16,17,19,20
2012	Obama 11,15,16,22,	Romney 3,4,8,9,18,20,22,23

Strategically, it is clear that there are periods of stability, points of minor change and points of major change. Candidates do follow campaign strategy, but also do need to change a category, or all categories when necessary. Figures 6.5 to 6.18 below represent the SCS as a whole. Where there are no changes, these are the periods of stability. When there are one or two changes, these are the minor changes, and when there are three changes, these are the points of major strategic change. The figures show Democratic and Republican campaigns, as a whole, and then split into decades, so that it is clearly identifiable where the points of stability, points of minor change and points of major change are. They are a visual representation of an amalgamation of H3, H4 and H5.

Figure 6.5

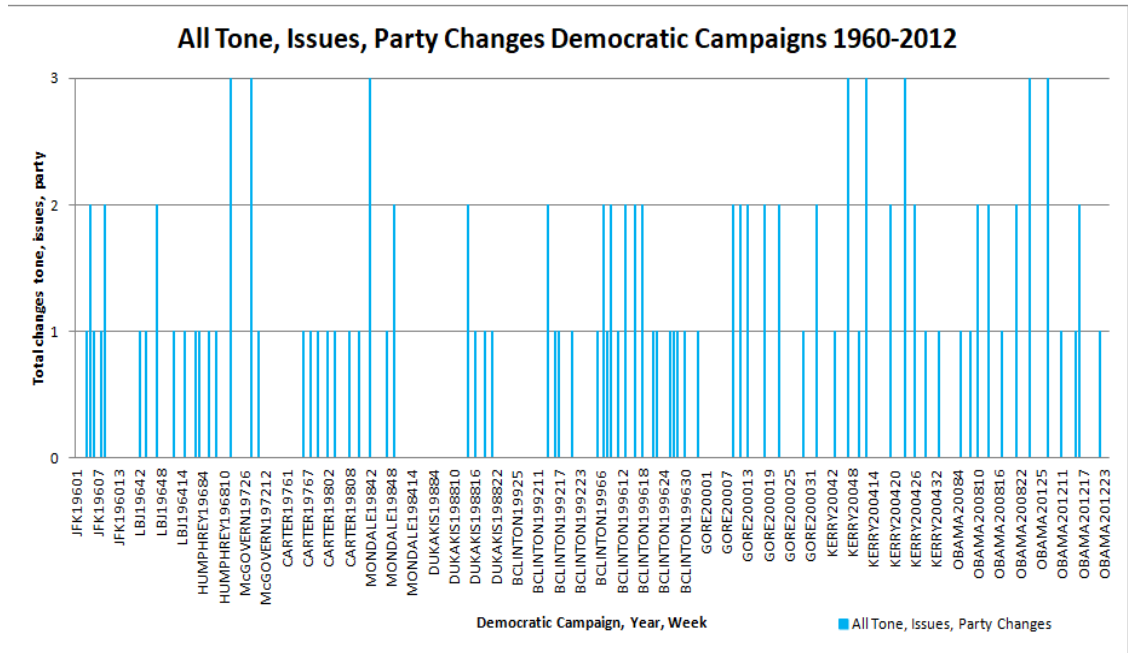


Figure 6.6

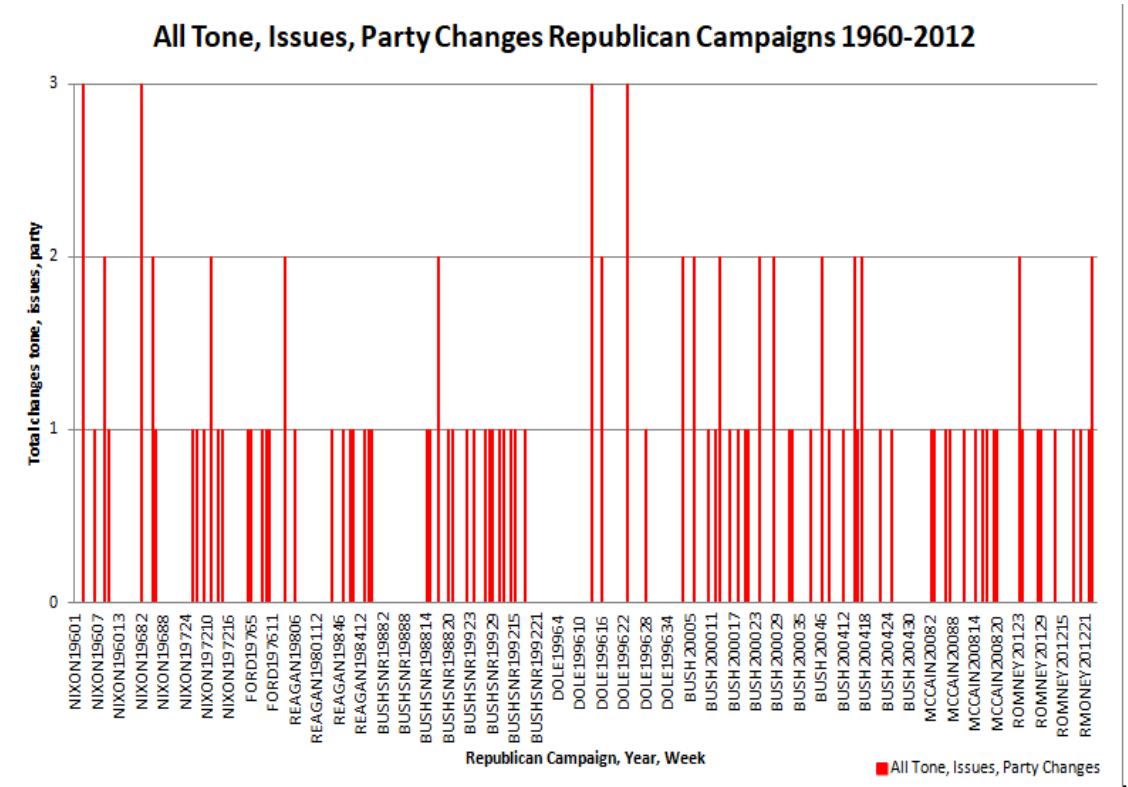


Figure 6.7

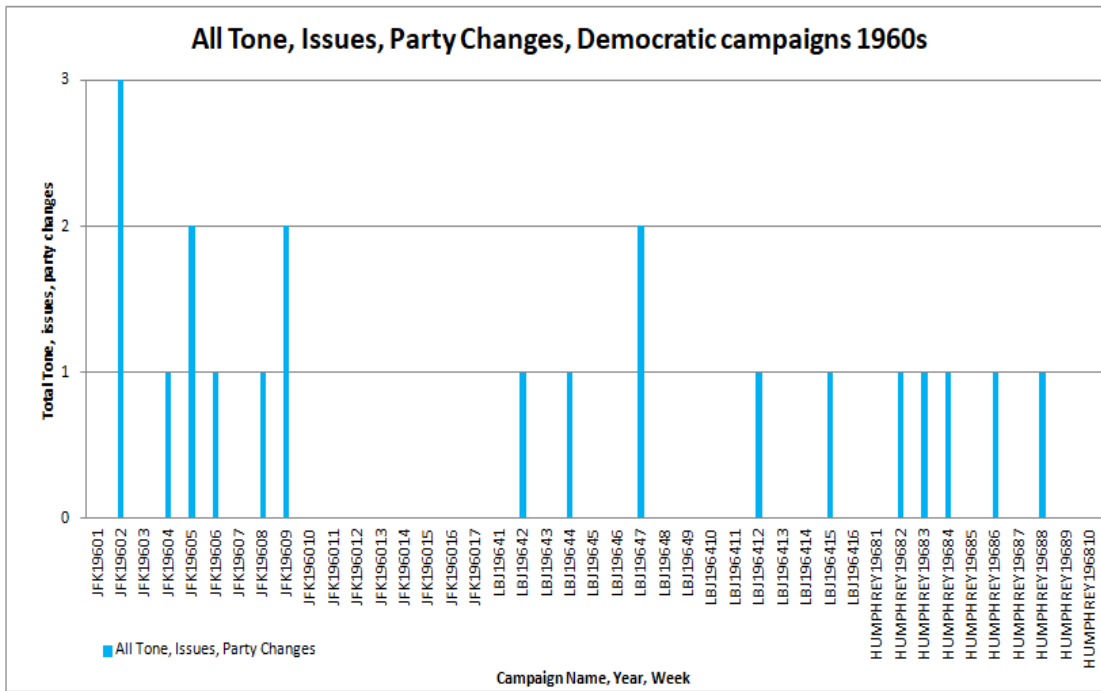


Figure 6.8

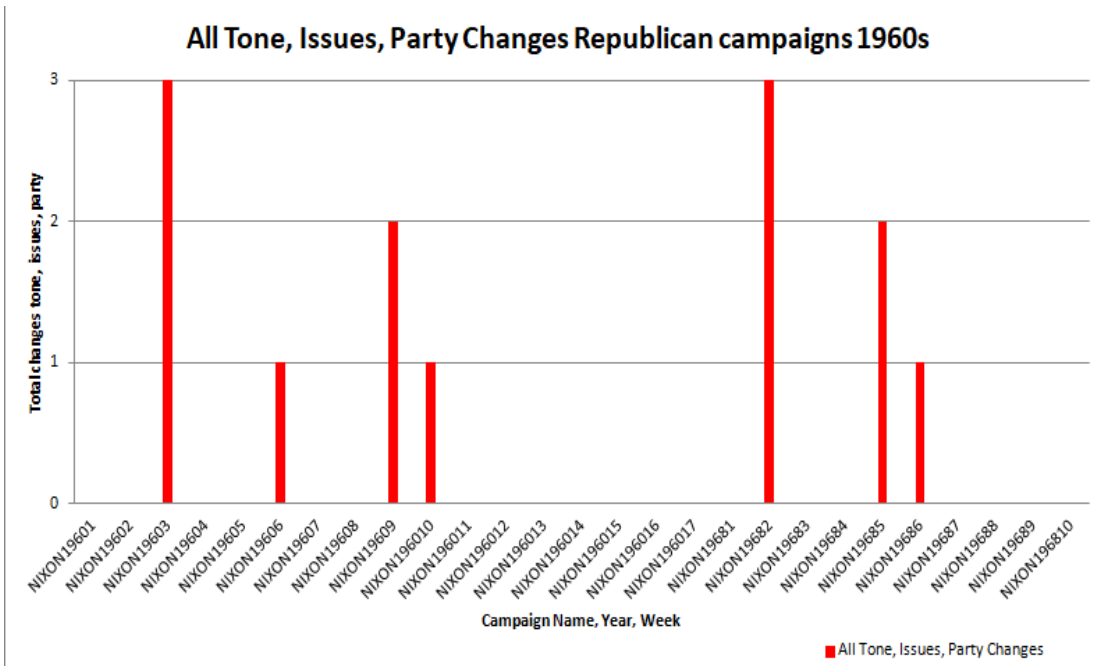


Figure 6.9

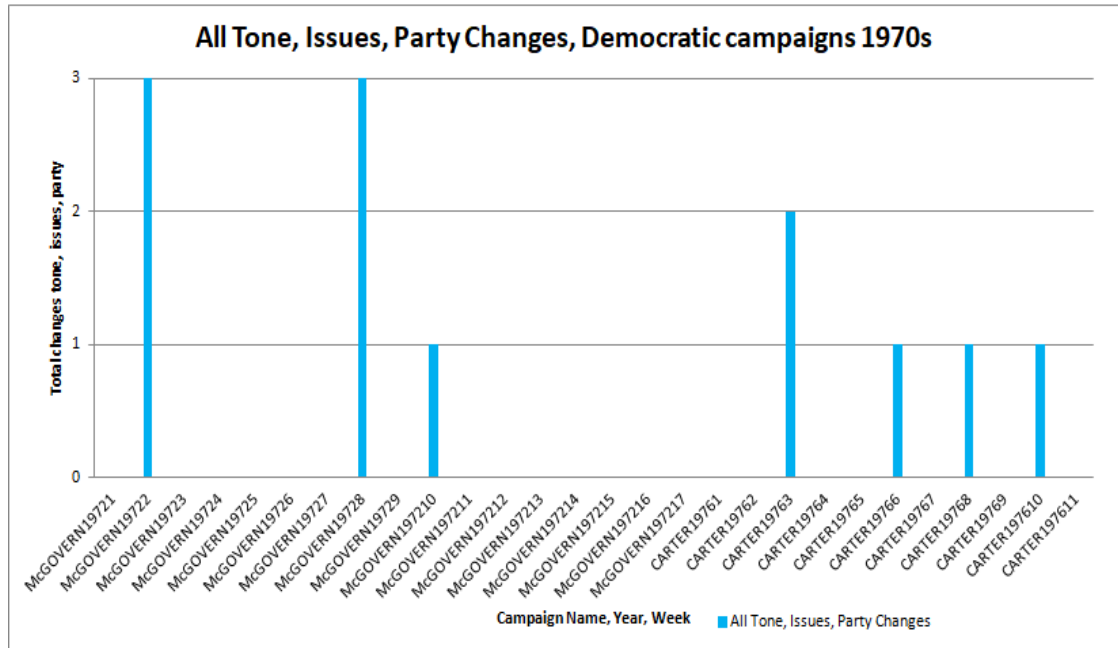


Figure 6.10

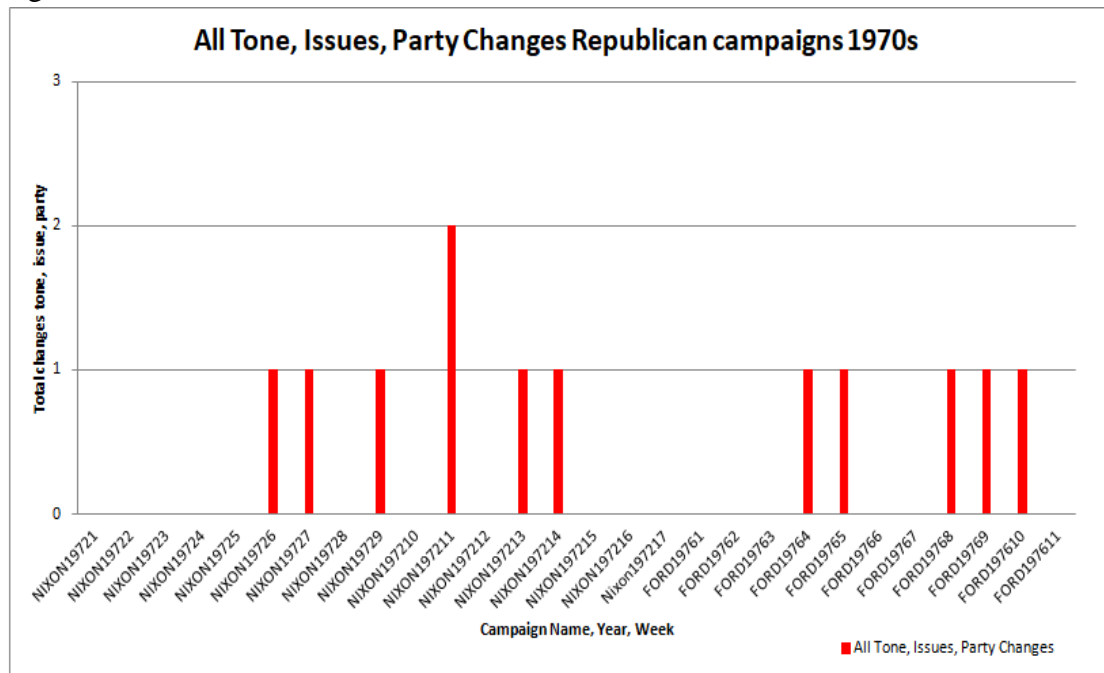


Figure 6.11

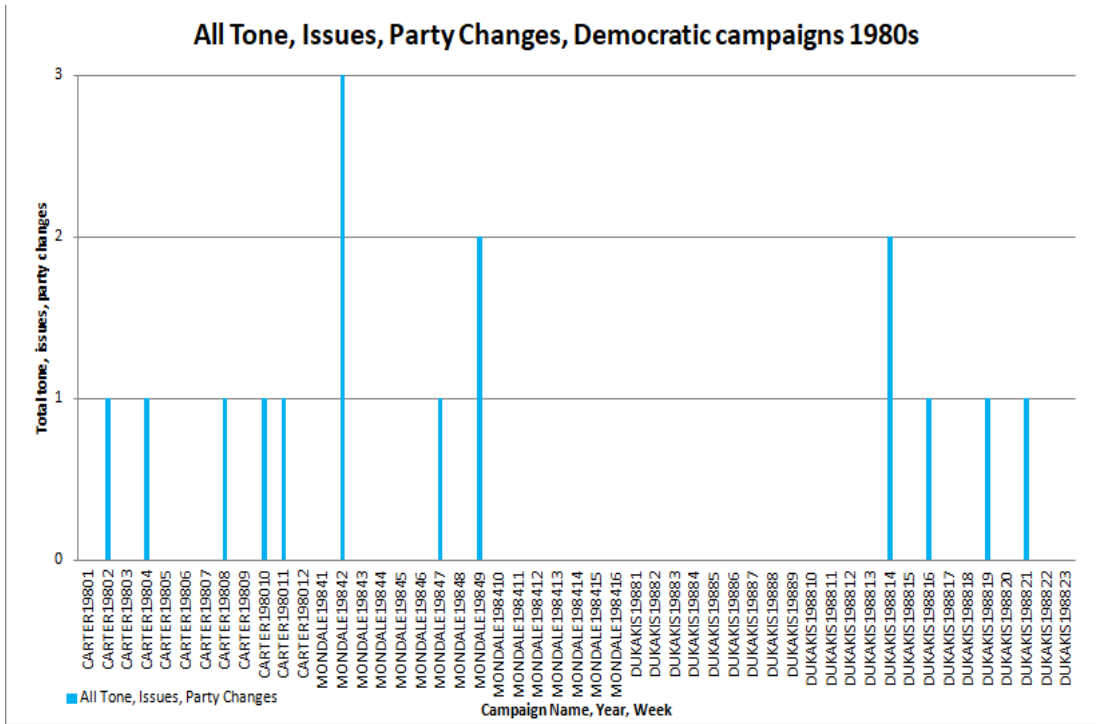


Figure 6.12

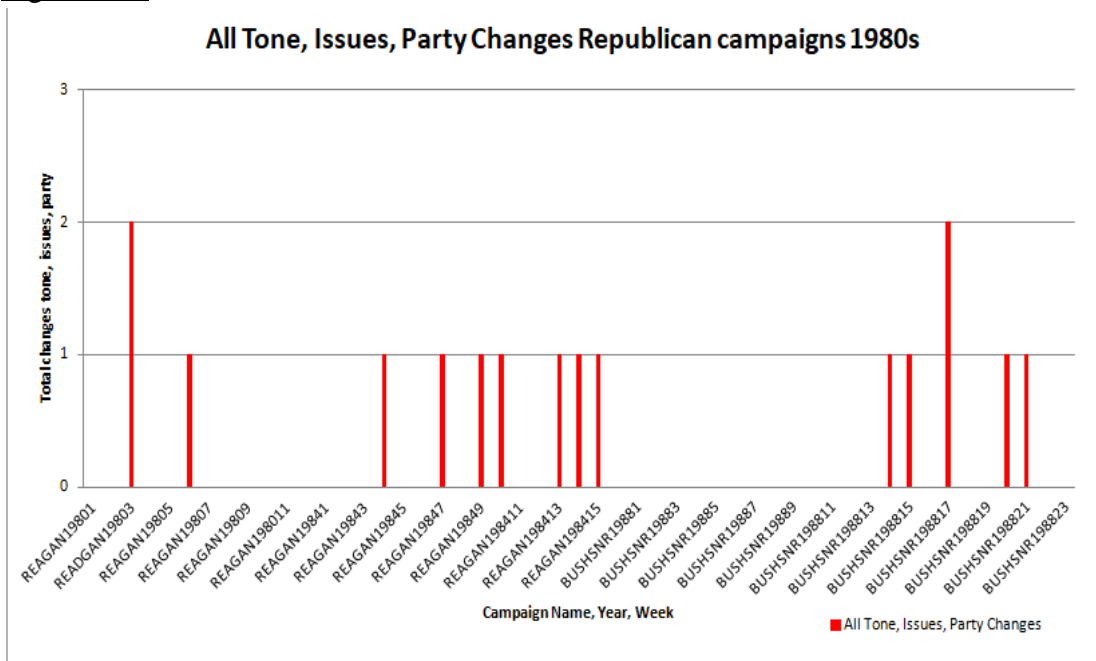


Figure 6.13

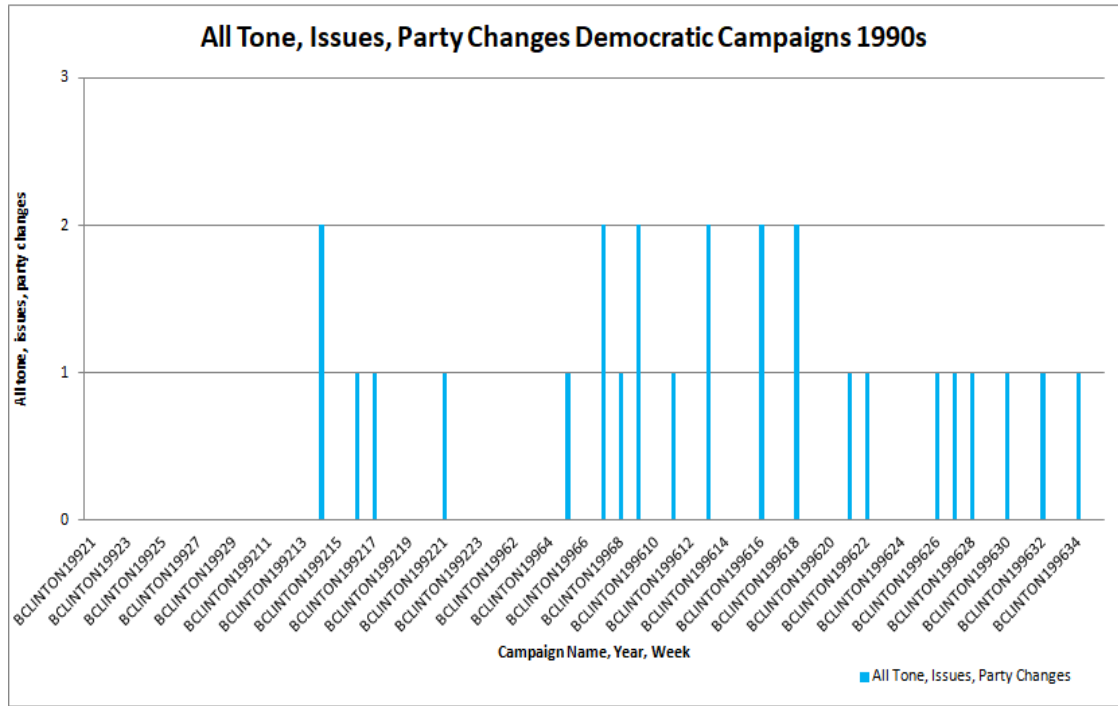


Figure 6.14

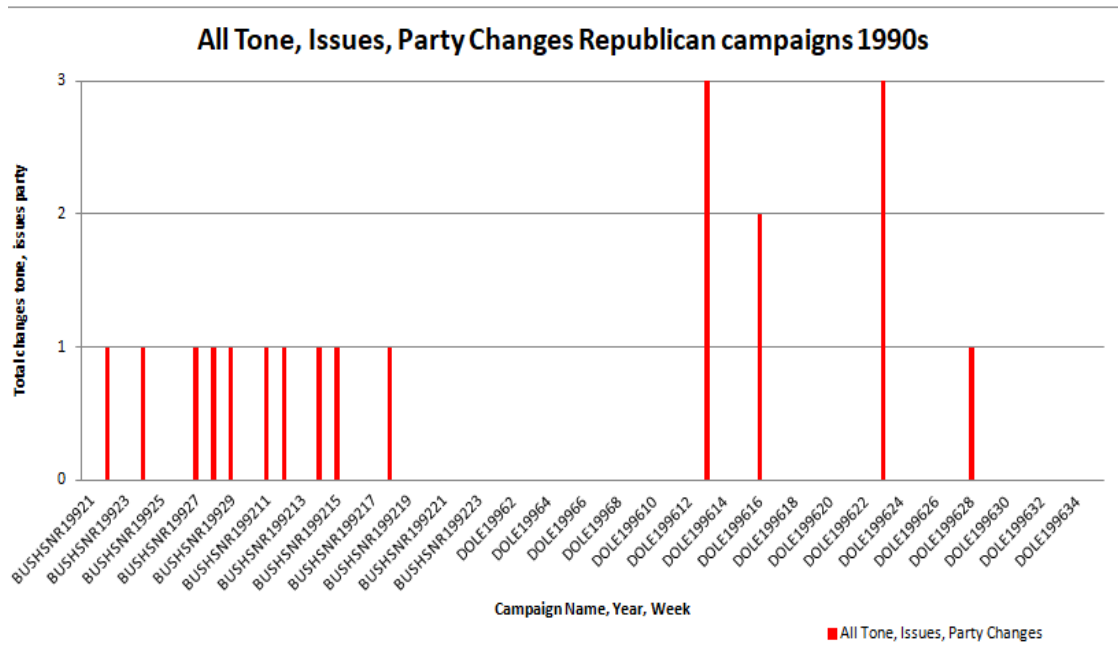


Figure 6.15

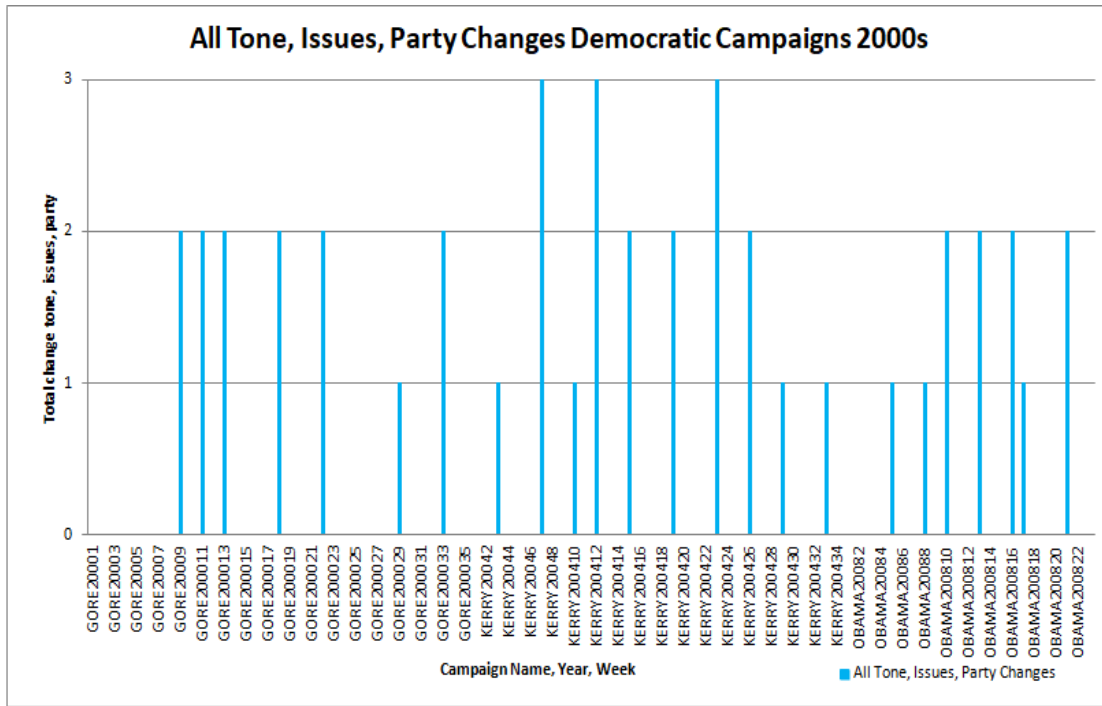


Figure 6.16

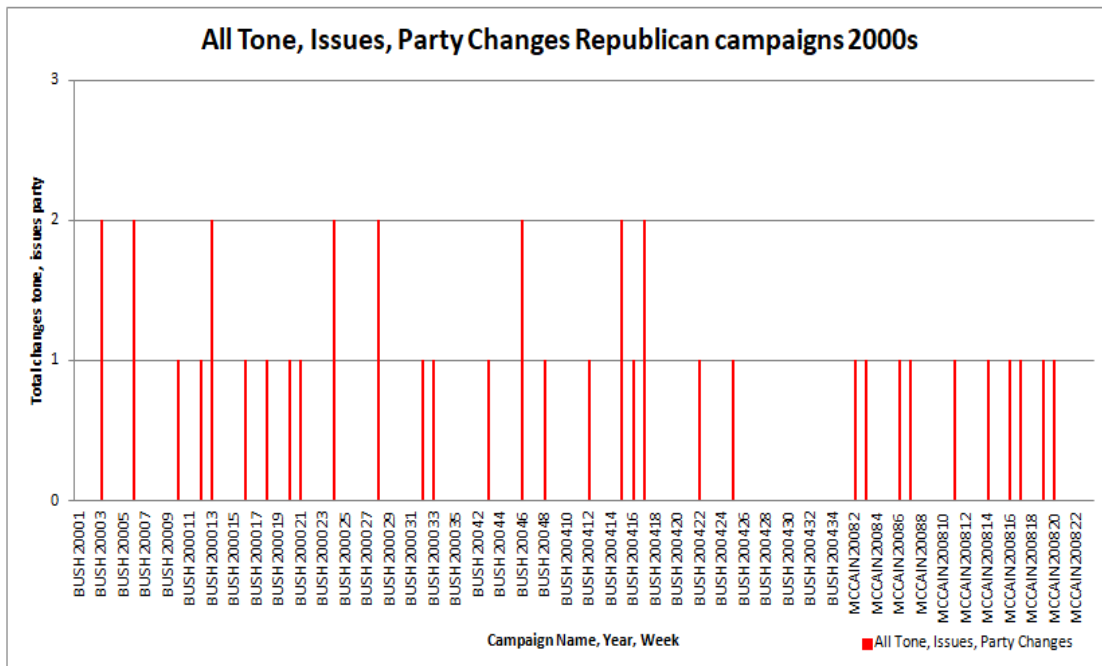


Figure 6.17

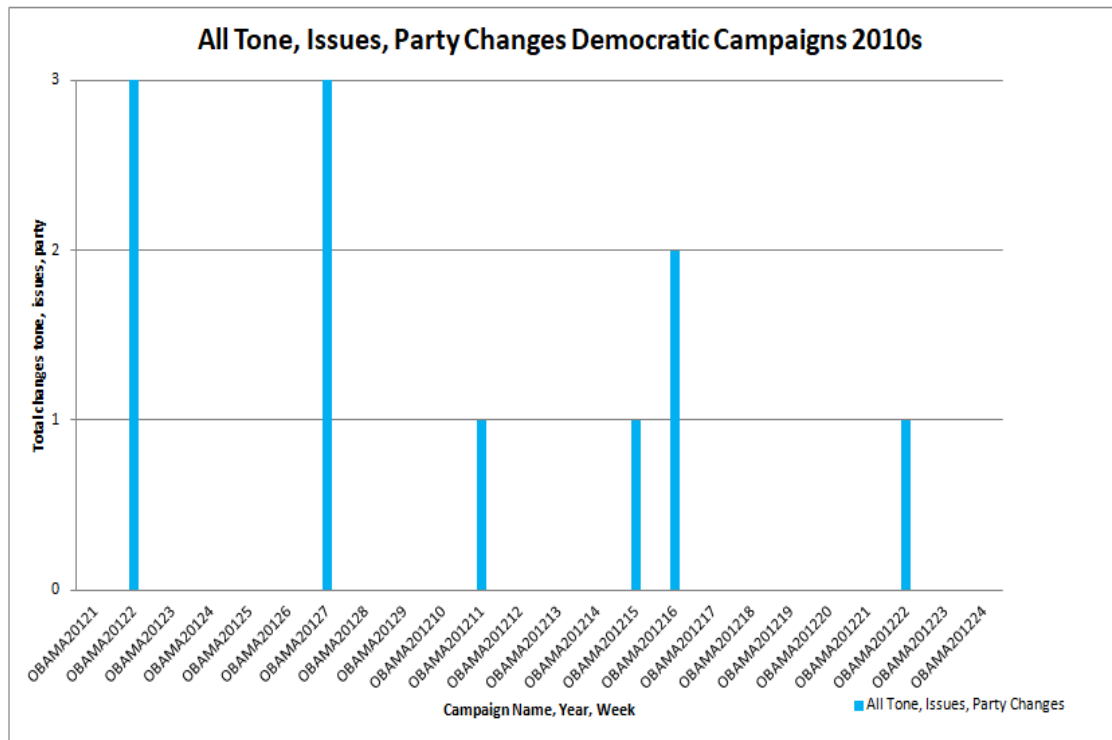
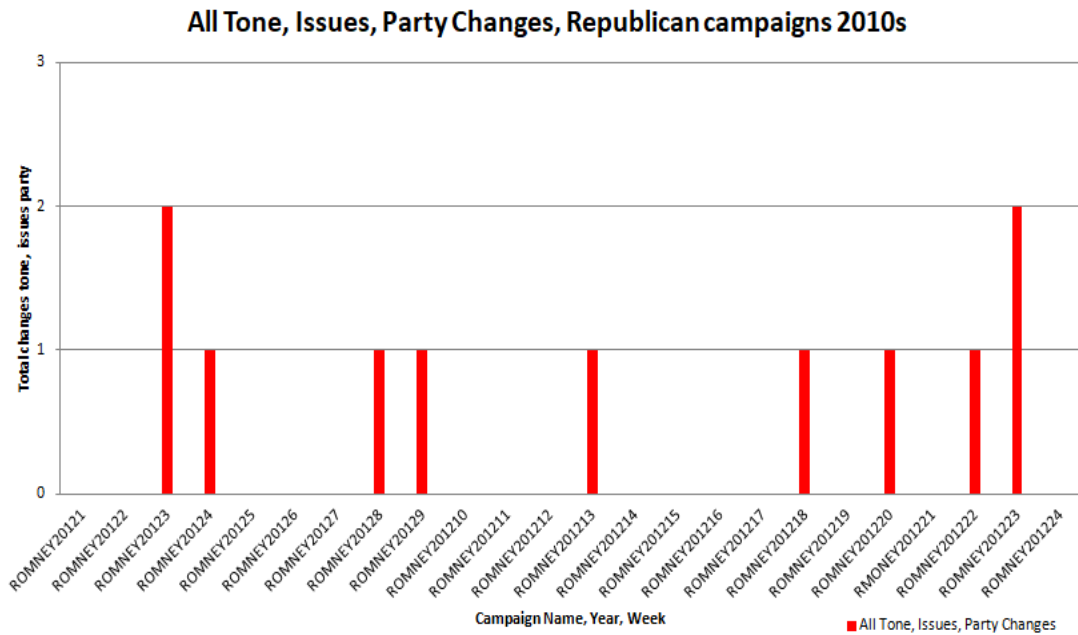


Figure 6.18



Looking to figures 6.5 to 6.18, it is clear that the 60s to the 80s had campaigns which quite clearly had periods of stability, punctuated with points of minor and major strategic change. In the 90s, especially Democratic campaigns there were more instances of minor change compared to the prior decades; a trend that has continued into the 00s and 2010s. However even in the campaigns where there are more minor and major changes,

there are still also periods of strategic stability. The SCS gives an ideal way to represent this theory graphically.

Potential explanations for change

The results from hypotheses 1-5 have focused on the relationships between the categories, and given support to the theory that campaign strategy has periods of stability which are punctuated by minor and major points of change, which can be represented on the Strategic Change Scale (SCS). This latter half of the chapter will discuss the factors identified in H6-11, which aim to test what may explain strategy change, present results of linear regression analysis, and provide discussion on change in campaign strategy as a whole, taking into account both hypotheses tested thus far, and the results of the regression analysis. Given that there is evidence that campaign strategy does change throughout campaigns, it would be interesting to give insight into whether any of these factors are driving change in strategy.

Previous chapters have identified points at which campaign strategy changes across the four categories and across all campaigns. These changes have been considered to be either minor or major change, and can be measured on the SCS. One reason considered as to why change occurs is opposition behaviour. Specifically, the points at which a candidate's opponent changes their strategy may help to explain when a candidate changes their own strategy. Looking back to the use of tone in strategy, this was proposed as one reason why a candidate may go negative; if their opponent had then they may feel they also need to. This may extend to other categories of strategy as well. In any of the other categories it is possible that candidates may change their strategy based on their opponent's behaviour, in order to ensure their narrative and their standing with the electorate is not being tarnished. Candidates may also want to ensure they are addressing similar talking points so as to show their viewpoints as the better option to voters. All these

points combined mean that it would be likely that the opponent's behaviour of when they change strategy influences whether a candidate changes their own strategy.

A second factor which may explain change in campaign strategy is structural events. These are events which occur at certain points in every campaign, which may impact when a candidate changes their strategy. There are three structural events that have been discussed elsewhere in the project. One of these is Labor Day. Labor Day happens early in September, and traditionally was the start of the general election campaign season. Candidates would kick off their general election campaigns on Labor Day weekend. Whilst nowadays presidential candidates start their general election campaigns much earlier, often very soon after the primaries have finished, which can be as early as March for example, it has been suggested that Labor Day still holds importance in relation to campaign strategy. It is proposed that Labor Day may be a point at which campaign strategy may change. This may be because Labor Day is an ideal point in time to re-launch, or do a system reset on campaign strategy if a candidate deems it necessary to do so. But it also may be that candidates see Labor Day as an ideal time to make any minor changes to strategy that may be needed, given the time left, usually around eight weeks, until Election Day.

The second structural event, conventions, has similar reasons as to why it may help explain change. Party conventions are usually held in late July or August, and are national party events. Whilst the general public may not take too much notice on the whole of the party convention, they are a big focus of the campaign media cycle, and very important to party affiliates. It is a point when those who identify as Democrat or Republican are generally all focused on the candidate and their convention speech. The convention speech is when candidates formally accept the nomination of the party to be the presidential candidate. Given the focus that is given to this speech, by the party and the media, it may be an ideal time for candidates again to either re-launch or reset their strategy, or to at least make changes to their strategy. Similarly, the convention of the opposing party may

influence when a candidate changes their strategy, based on what viewpoints the party convention focuses on; the candidate may need to address new areas as a result of the opposition convention.

The final structural event is the concept of a last push. As introduced in previous chapters, this refers to the last four weeks prior to Election Day. It is possible that candidates see this period as an ideal time to change strategy, in a last attempt to gain more voters. In the last four weeks running up to Election Day states may have early voting, and what candidates do or say is more likely to be remembered either by voters or the media, who can remind voters, when they are going to make their vote. It would be anticipated that the last push period would drive major or minor changes in strategy given the close proximity to Election Day.

Another potential explanation for change in campaign strategy that it would be interesting to investigate is that of candidate status. That is, whether the candidate is an incumbent, a challenger, or in an open race. Given what has been discussed briefly in other chapters and in past research, it would be anticipated that incumbents would be less likely to change strategy as they have more to lose, are already in the long term tied to positions and are already doing the job of President. Conversely, challengers would have more to gain, and may be more willing to change their strategy during a campaign. Whereas candidates in an open race have different dynamics of either incumbents or challengers; neither is in the White House, but both aim to be. These differences in candidate status may help to explain change in campaign strategy.

A further factor that may explain campaign strategy change is the party a candidate is affiliated to. As has been previously identified, there are differences between Democrats and Republicans in regards to the number of changes in strategy. It may be that the party a candidate is affiliated with helps to explain the changes that are made, given that evidence already provided suggests the two parties change strategy differently. It would be

interesting to see if this is the case, and if in future it would be possible to predict based on the party a candidate affiliates themselves with, what changes may be made to strategy.

Whether the candidate wins or loses the election may also help to explain change in strategy. It is possible that winners and losers run different campaigns; for example a losing candidate may have taken more risks, whereas, a winning candidate may have made more calculated and careful changes. These differences may contribute to explaining why change in campaign strategy occurs.

To recap, the hypotheses relating to explaining change are:

H6: Opposition behaviour will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

H7: Structural events of Labor Day, conventions and a last push will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

H8: A candidate's status; whether they are an incumbent, challenger or in an open race, will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

H9: The party a candidate is affiliated with will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

H10: The outcome of the election, whether the candidate was the winner or the loser, will partly explain change in campaign strategy.

H11: Opposition behaviour, structural events, candidate status, candidate party affiliation, and election outcome will explain change in campaign strategy.

Qualifying the hypotheses

These hypotheses can be tested using a linear regression model. This will test the impact of the named factors on predicting changes. The model tries to explain change in strategy which has been identified from 1960-2012. The hypotheses would be supported if

the respective factor is found to make a significant difference when added as a predictor to the model. This will be determined using the change statistics F-ratio, and if this is significant ($p < 0.05$) then there will be support for the respective hypothesis. Each factor can be added separately to the regression model, giving each factor an F-ratio under the change statistics.

The model can be represented as an equation. Based on H11, change in strategy could potentially be explained by the equation:

$$change_i = (b_0 + b_1 X_i) + E_i$$

This is written using the predictors that will be investigated:

$$Change_i = (opposition\ behaviour_i + structural\ events_i + candidate\ status_i + candidate\ party\ affiliation_i + election\ outcome_i) + E_i$$

Multiple linear regressions have been used to test the fit of this equation. This means that many models are tested, in order to determine which parts, if any, of the equation above best explain the dependent variable of change. This will provide support for or against the hypotheses. The dependent variable can be represented in four ways. Firstly, using the strategic change scale (SCS) as explained earlier in this chapter. The second is using the total changes of all variables across all three categories, for the same time period. This is similar to the SCS, but whereas the SCS only goes up to three, because there are three categories, this second method uses a scale which could go up to eleven. This is because it is an amalgamation of all the variables. When a variable in tone changes and at the same time four variables in issues change, the number used for the measure would be five, for example.

The third test would use the points of major change, identified as either one for a major point of change, and zero for not. The final test would use the week to week

difference data, which is the data from which two standard deviations of change are identified. The regression will be run four times to test the five predictors (opposition behaviour, structural events, etc) using the different measures of change. If all the factors explain change in using the SCS, it would be anticipated that they also would explain the other measures of change being tested.

In terms of the data used for the predictors, opposition behaviour was the points in time when each candidate's opponent changed the use of any variable. Structural events were measured on a scale, with one representing when a single structural event occurred, up to three if all three occurred at the same time, although given the time frame of campaigns this does not happen. Candidate status was recoded into three dummy variables; open (one for open, zero for not), incumbent (one if they were, zero if not,) and challenger (again one for if they were, zero if not). Candidate party affiliation was also recoded into dummy variables for Democrat and Republican. Election outcome had winners coded with one and losers with zero. This means there may be some concern with the high number of dummy variables used, and the results should be taken more cautiously. In future work, more appropriate data may be able to be used to improve on the models.

There were five versions of the models per dependent variable, each version adding a predictor. This means that it was possible to determine what influence each predictor has on the outcome as well as how much influence all the predictors have on the outcome. Model one was just opposition behaviour as the predictor, through to model five having all predictors in.

For the first three tests, due to there being heteroscedasticity of variance, rather than homogeneity/ homoscedasticity, it was necessary to use the WLS (weighted least squares) method. This method rectifies the fact that heteroscedasticity of variance does not produce optimal estimates of the model parameters. Weighted least squares is where "each case is weighted by a function of its variance" (Field 2015: 175). It enables ordinary least

squares regression to be used then to analyse the data. Once the WLS weight variable has been computed, the General Linear Regression in SPSS can be ran as normal. For the week to week difference data it was not necessary to use WLS. Forced entry was the method for entering the factors for each test as all factors were forced into the model simultaneously, and the order input does not impact the results.

The full Model Summaries, ANOVAs, and Coefficients tables are all in Appendix B. However the results will be explained below. The results and output for model five, the version with all of the predictors in will be presented in this chapter for all four versions of the regression (change measured using the SCS, change amalgamating the variables, major changes and week to week difference percentage data).

Table 6.11: Model Summary of model five, measuring change using the Strategic Change Scale

Model Summary										
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
5: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Election Outcome	.055	.003	-.007	1.24568	.000	.033	1	569	.855	2.285
f. Dependent Variable: Change SCS										
g. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

Table B2 (Appendix B) is the model summary for the first test, using the SCS and all five factors as predictors, these are the model summaries for all five models. Table 6.11 above shows the output for model five, with all the factors in. *R* shows the values of the multiple correlation coefficients between the predictors and outcome, *R squared* is “a

measure of how much of the variability in the outcome is accounted for by the predictors” (Field 2015: 336). Unfortunately model one, with just the opposition predictor, explains 0.01% of the outcome, which is change measured using the SCS. Model two explains 0.1%, model three 0.2%, and models four and five (above) explain still only 0.3% of the dependent or outcome variable. The difference between *R* squared and adjusted *R* squared are very small, which imply that the model may generalise well, however the *R* squared value is very small anyway. For the models the change statistics are provided. The *F*-ratio is based on how much *R* squared increases. Unfortunately the differences that any of the predictors make to the model are not statistically significant. This means that the hypotheses do not have support. The Durbin-Watson statistic is close to 2, which means that the assumption of independent errors is justifiable. Generally the closer to two the value is, the better.

Table 6.12: ANOVA of model five, measuring change using the SCS

ANOVA ^{a,b}						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
5: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Election Outcome	Regression	2.696	6	.449	.290	.942 ^g
	Residual	882.921	569	1.552		
	Total	885.617	575			
a. Dependent Variable: Change SCS						
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight						

Table 6.13: Coefficients table for models five explaining change, measured using Strategic Change Scale.

(see below)

Coefficients ^{a,b}													
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			Collinearity Statistics		
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF	
5	(Constant)	.445	.083		5.368	.000	.282	.608					
	Opposition Behaviour	.010	.028	.015	.361	.718	-.044	.064	.012	.015	.015	.991	1.009
	Structural events	.028	.058	.020	.478	.633	-.087	.143	.022	.020	.020	.997	1.003
	Challenger	-.070	.082	-.045	-.853	.394	-.231	.091	-.035	-.036	-.036	.638	1.567
	Open	-.029	.073	-.019	-.396	.692	-.172	.114	.002	-.017	-.017	.727	1.375
	Republican	-.041	.060	-.029	-.685	.494	-.160	.077	-.024	-.029	-.029	.986	1.014
	Election outcome	.012	.065	.008	.182	.855	-.116	.139	.023	.008	.008	.846	1.182
a. Dependent Variable: Change SCS													
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight													

Table B3 in Appendix B shows the ANOVA output from the models run with change measured using the SCS. The output for model five is above in Table 6.12. The F – ratio “represents the ratio of the improvement in prediction that results from fitting the model, relative to the inaccuracy that still exists in the model”(Field 2015: 337). The F -ratio is not greater than one in any of the models, meaning that for none of the models, the improvement of fitting the model is greater than the inaccuracy within the models. Again, unfortunately none of the F -ratio statistics are statistically significant. In terms of explaining change, this implies that the models do not significantly improve the ability to predict change when compared with not fitting the models. The coefficients table in the Appendix (Table B4), and for model five above as Table 6.13, shows the parameters for the models. Using the b - values, the original equation could be written as:

$$\begin{aligned}
\text{Change } SCS_i &= .45 \\
&+ (0.01 \text{ opposition behaviour}_i) + (0.03 \text{ structural events}_i) \\
&+ (-0.07 \text{ challenger}_i) + (-0.03 \text{ open}_i) + (-0.04 \text{ Republican}_i) \\
&+ (.01 \text{ election outcome}_i) + E_i
\end{aligned}$$

However unfortunately, the *t*-tests are not statistically significant, indicating that the predictors are not making a significant contribution to any of the models, which is further evidence that the hypotheses are not supported. What can be noted from the coefficients table and collinearity table in the Appendix (Table B4 and B6) is that the predictors have no collinearity, which is good.

The models that were testing the predictors of opposition behaviour, structural events, candidate status, candidate party affiliation and election outcome, when change is measured using the SCS, conclude that the predictors, both when taken individually and altogether, may explain a very small amount of change; 0.3%. However this is not to a statistically significant level with any of the predictors. It will be interesting to see if any of the other dependent variables can be explained better using the predictors.

Looking at the models, run in exactly the same way, but using the second method, of change being measured as the total of all variable changes from the three categories of party, issues, and tone, may provide evidence to support the hypotheses. But based on the models using change measured using SCS there is no support for the hypotheses.

The results for model five again are below using the second test. Again, due to heteroscedasticity of variance it was necessary to use WLS (weighted least squares) regression. The full tables are in Appendix B (B7 to B11).

The results were:

Table 6.14: Table showing Model Summary for model five, measuring change as total of all variable changes from party, tone and issues

Model Summary ^{f,g}										
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
5: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Election Outcome	.086	.007	-.003	1.37290	.000	.000	1	569	.988	2.259
f. Dependent Variable: Change Variables Amalgamation										
g. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

Table 6.15: Table showing Coefficients of model five, change measured as all total variable change, from party, issues and tone.

(See below)

Coefficients ^{a,b}													
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			Collinearity Statistics		
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF	
5	(Constant)	.656	.126		5.197	.000	.408	.904					
	Opposition Behaviour	.026	.044	.025	.600	.549	-.060	.112	.021	.025	.025	.993	1.008
	Structural events	.054	.091	.025	.587	.557	-.126	.233	.029	.025	.025	.997	1.003
	Challenger	-.136	.121	-.058	-1.120	.263	-.374	.102	-.052	-.047	-.047	.643	1.555
	Open	-.006	.111	-.003	-.054	.957	-.223	.211	.026	-.002	-.002	.747	1.339
	Republican	-.130	.093	-.059	-1.393	.164	-.313	.053	-.054	-.058	-.058	.986	1.014
	Election outcome	-.001	.098	-.001	-.015	.988	-.195	.192	.020	-.001	-.001	.838	1.193
a. Dependent Variable: Change Variables Amalgamation													
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight													

Table B7 in the Appendix, and Table 6.14 above, again show the model summaries, with model five above, based on change measured as an amalgamation of all total variable changes in party, issues and tone. Looking at the *R squared* values, the models are a small improvement to the first method; however not significantly so. Model one explains 0.04% of the outcome, model two 0.1%, model three 0.4%, and models four and five 0.7% of the outcome. This is a tiny increase of 0.4% better explanatory value than the previous models. Again, the difference between *R squared* and adjusted *R squared* are very small, which imply that the model may generalise well, however the *R squared* value

is very small anyway. The change statistics for the models are again provided and unfortunately looking to the F -ratio none of the predictors make any statistically significant difference to any of the models. Whilst the Durbin-Watson statistic is slightly improved, overall there is no evidence to support the hypotheses again.

The ANOVA results and coefficients tables are in the Appendix (tables B8 and B9). Again, the F -ratio is not greater than one in any of the models. This again means that the improvement of fitting the model is not greater than the inaccuracy within the models, and again none of the F -ratios are statistically significant. Using the coefficients table in the Appendix and table 6.15 above, the original equation again could be written using the b -values:

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \textit{Change Amalgamated Variables}_i \\
 & = .67 \\
 & + (0.03 \textit{ opposition behaviour}_i) + (0.05 \textit{ structural events}_i) \\
 & + (-0.14 \textit{ challenger}_i) + (-0.006 \textit{ open}_i) + (-0.13 \textit{ Republican}_i) \\
 & + (.001 \textit{ election outcome}_i) + E_i
 \end{aligned}$$

However in line with the previous models, there is no evidence to support the hypotheses. There is no support from the models, which, in terms of explaining change, means that the models do not significantly improve the ability to predict change, when compared with not fitting the models. From the coefficients table, it can be seen that the t -tests are also not statistically significant again, even though there is no collinearity. This gives further evidence that the hypotheses are not supported.

The third test explored the relationship with the five factors with major change only. The model summary for model five, the ANOVA for model five and the coefficients table for model five, which has all five predictors in, are below, tables 6.16, 6.17 and 6.18. The full versions are in Appendix B.

Table 6.16: Model Summary of model five, measuring change as major changes

Model Summary ^{f,g}										
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
5; Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Race Outcome	.150 ^e	.023	.012	3.56637	.000	.001	1	569	.978	2.052
f. Dependent Variable: Major Change										
g. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

From Table B12 in the Appendix, and table 6.16 above, we can see the model summary for all the models, above being model five which has all the factors in, for explaining major change. Looking to the *R squared* for model five, the model explains 23% of the dependent variable; major change. This is already more than previous models have been able to explain. Looking to the change statistics, the change in the amount of variance explained by model four, which just excludes the election outcome factor, is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Both model four and model five explain 23% of major changes. This implies that whilst adding election outcome does not make a statistically significant difference to the amount of change explained by the factors, adding party affiliation did make a statistically significant difference. The Durbin-Watson statistic is close to 2 at 2.052, which means the assumption of independent errors is justifiable.

Table 6.17 ANOVA for model five explaining major change

ANOVA ^{a,b}						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
5 Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Race Outcome	Regression	166.775	6	27.796	2.185	.043 [§]
	Residual	7237.097	569	12.719		
	Total	7403.871	575			
a. Dependent Variable: Major change						
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight						

Table 6.17 shows the ANOVA output from model five run with the dependent variable as major change. As can be seen above, the *F*-ratio is 2.185, meaning that the improvement of fitting the model is greater than the inaccuracy within the model. Whilst this did not significantly improve the ability to predict the outcome, it is an improvement on the previous tests undertaken in this chapter.

(See below)

Table 6.18 Coefficients table for model five, dependent variable is major change

Coefficients ^{a,b}													
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			Collinearity Statistics		
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF	
5	(Constant)	.020	.009		2.225	.026	.002	.038					
	Opposition Behaviour	.000	.001	-.012	-.253	.801	-.003	.002	.004	-.011	-.010	.725	1.379
	Structural events	.008	.010	.035	.828	.408	-.011	.028	.059	.035	.034	.959	1.043
	Incumbent	.000	.002	.008	.190	.849	-.003	.003	.017	.008	.008	.992	1.008
	Challenger	.029	.023	.054	1.267	.206	-.016	.074	.074	.053	.053	.949	1.054
	Republican	-.020	.007	-.122	-2.857	.004	-.034	-.006	-.134	-.119	-.118	.946	1.057
	Election outcome	.000	.006	-.001	-.028	.978	-.013	.012	.025	-.001	-.001	.700	1.429
a. Dependent Variable: Major change													
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight													

Table 6.18 above shows the coefficients for model five. Using the *b*- values, we can re-write the original equation as:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Major Change}_i & \\
 &= .02 \\
 &+ (-0.0003 \text{ opposition behaviour}_i) + (0.008 \text{ structural events}_i) \\
 &+ (0.0003 \text{ incumbent}_i) + (0.03 \text{ challenger}_i) + (-0.02 \text{ Republican}_i) \\
 &+ (-.0002 \text{ election outcome}_i) + E_i
 \end{aligned}$$

Whilst not all the *t*-tests are significant, the Republican factor is ($P < 0.05$). It is possible that this is what made the statistically significant change to the model when party affiliation was added to model four. Looking at the VIF and tolerance, there is no concern that multicollinearity is impacting the model. This implies that party affiliation, specifically being Republican, can definitely help to explain major change. Whilst not all

aspects are statistically significant, it is important to note that 23% of major change can be explained by the equation above, specifically by opposition behaviour, structural events, incumbent, challenger, being Republican, and election outcome.

Finally, the results for the test using week to week difference as the outcome or dependent variable are presented below. This did not need a weighted least squares regression to be run, so a normal OLS (ordinary least squares regression) was run. The model summary for model five is below, and in the Appendix B17 through to B21 have the relevant tables to the models using week to week difference as the dependent variable.

Table 6.19: Model Summary for model five, dependent variable is week to week difference

Model Summary ^f										
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
5 Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Race Outcome	.232 ^e	.054	.044	108.02932	.001	.691	1	569	.406	1.273

f. Dependent Variable: Week to Week Difference

Looking to the model summary for model five, table 6.19 above from the *R squared* information it is clear that the model explains over half of the week to week difference; 54%. Whilst the change to adding race outcome is not statistically significant, looking to table B17 in Appendix B, adding candidate status, specifically challenger and incumbent did make a statistically significant change to the model ($p < 0.01$). However the Durbin – Watson statistic is lower than it has been for the other tests, at only 1.273.

Table 6.20 ANOVA for model five, week to week difference as dependent variable

ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
5	Regression	378653.980	6	63108.997	5.408	.000 ^f
	Residual	6640419.420	569	11670.333		
	Total	7019073.400	575			
a. Dependent Variable: Week to Week Difference						
f. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Challenger, Incumbent, Republican, Election outcome						

Table 6.20 shows the ANOVA output for model five, with the dependent variable as week to week difference. The *F*-ratio is 5.408 meaning that the improvement of fitting the model is greater than the inaccuracy within the model. It is also clear from the ANOVA that the model statistically significantly improves the ability to predict the outcome, which other tests have not been able to do.

Table 6.21 Coefficients table for model five, dependent variable is week to week

difference

(see below)

Coefficients ^a													
Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			Collinearity Statistics		
	B	Std. Error				Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero - order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF	
5	(Constant)	142.493	10.774		13.225	.000	121.331	163.655					
	Opposition Behaviour	6.132	3.965	.063	1.547	.123	-1.656	13.919	.082	.065	.063	.988	1.012
	Structural events	-1.321	8.558	-.006	-.154	.877	-18.130	15.487	-.006	-.006	-.006	.997	1.003
	Incumbent	-40.653	11.078	-.173	-3.670	.000	-62.412	-18.894	-.187	-.152	-.150	.751	1.332
	Challenger	3.509	11.302	.015	.310	.756	-18.689	25.707	.096	.013	.013	.757	1.320
	Republican	24.625	9.078	.111	2.713	.007	6.794	42.455	.101	.113	.111	.984	1.016
	Election outcome	-8.118	9.767	-.037	-.831	.406	-27.302	11.066	-.100	-.035	-.034	.850	1.176

a. Dependent Variable: Week to Week Difference

From table 6.21 above, the *b*-values can be obtained to be used for the original equation:

$$\begin{aligned}
 & \text{Week to week difference}_i \\
 & = 142.49 \\
 & + (6.13 \text{ opposition behaviour}_i) + (-1.32 \text{ structural events}_i) \\
 & + (-40.65 \text{ incumbent}_i) + (3.51 \text{ challenger}_i) + (24.63 \text{ Republican}_i) \\
 & + (-8.12 \text{ election outcome}_i) + E_i
 \end{aligned}$$

Whilst not all the *t*-tests are significant, the incumbent factor is ($P < 0.01$). The VIF and tolerance do not cause concern regarding multicollinearity. Again whilst not all aspects of this model are statistically significant, this is so far the best at explaining the outcome

that has been put in, out of the four versions tried. Model five using week to week difference as the dependent variable provides the best explanation thus far. Whilst this is not the straight measure of change, this implies that the factors do have some ability to explain differences in use of the strategy categories, even if there are more factors which must help to explain changes in strategy.

From these four tests, there are some surprising results. What was anticipated, based on previous findings, to help explain change; opposition behaviour, structural events, candidate status, candidate party affiliation, and election outcome, when using the SCS does not explain even one percent of change. When using the amalgamation of the variable changes, there was not much improvement for the factors explaining change, again less than one percent of change was explained. The results when explaining major change were much more encouraging, and more like what had been anticipated; 23% of the outcome could be explained by the five factors, with the Republican factor making a statistically significant difference to the model. The best version that could be explained was the week to week difference outcome. However whilst this is encouraging, because the predictor explained 54% of the outcome, this was not the actual measure of change. What this means is that the five factors can help to explain 23% of major change, less than one percent of change measured both with the SCS and with the amalgamated variables, but can help to explain 54% of difference in the use of the categories. There is some support for hypotheses 6-11, but not in relation to the dependent variables that may be anticipated. Whilst the five factors can explain difference in the use of the four categories, they cannot explain change, which goes against what previous research suggests about opposition behaviour, structural events, candidate party affiliation, and election outcome.

Discussion

Taking all the hypotheses findings, and the regression model, into account, there are significant findings that can help advance the way that campaign strategy, at least with regards to campaign rhetoric, is understood.

Firstly it is clear that based on the findings from analysis of campaign rhetoric there is evidence that campaign strategy is not fixed. Whilst there were 70% of weeks studied that were stable, this does not equate to campaign strategy being fixed. If strategy were fixed, it would be more like 90% or 99% of the time that campaign strategy was stable, with a very rare moment of change. Instead, 30% of the weeks studied saw campaign strategy change; and all 27 campaigns studied had at least one point of change in strategy.

Therefore, instead of thinking about campaign strategy as being fixed, it is more appropriate to think of campaign strategy as having periods of strategic stability, which are interjected with points of change. These points of change can be measured on the Strategic Change Scale (SCS), ranging from zero, where there is strategic stability, through to one and two which are minor strategic change through to major strategic change, three on the scale. If analysis of character was to be expanded for the whole period in future, which would be beneficial both for more enhanced analysis of strategy, and for better understanding of the relationships between character and other categories, then the scale could be expanded to four being major strategic change. However based on these results, a zero-three scale of strategic change is an appropriate way to determine what is actually happening with the use of strategy. The periods of strategic stability are important. But so are the points of strategic change, both minor and major. There are 13 points of major strategic change which occur in the period studied, and 159 points of minor change. The SCS enables the differences to be clearly discussed, because there is a difference between all categories changing strategy at the same time and only one or two changing at the same

time. A strategy reset, as major strategic change has been referred to, would not happen frequently. The five factors of opposition behavior, structural events, candidate status, candidate party affiliation, and election outcome can explain some of the major strategic change; 23%. However it was anticipated that these would be able to explain more of major strategic change than 23%. Therefore it would be interesting to investigate what else may be driving these major changes; perhaps external events, or campaign team events such as a change of core staff, may explain more of the major change in strategy.

A major finding of the analysis completed in this chapter is that what should explain change, based on previous findings, does not explain change. The factors of opposition behavior, structural events, candidate status, candidate party affiliation and election outcome, when all in a model together, do not explain why campaign strategy changes when it does. Whilst these factors do help to explain 54% of week to week difference in the categories, this is not the same as explaining change. This would be an essential question to investigate further in future as to what else is driving change in campaign strategy. This means there must be another, or multiple other factors that are driving change instead. One potential option is the polls; do candidates change strategy based on their standing in the polls. This would be a key factor to investigate thoroughly in future. Another may be staffing changes, as mentioned for major change as well. A further potential factor to investigate would be external events; are there other events, not structural like Labor Day, that help to explain why candidates change their campaign strategy. For example, the 2008 financial crash may help to explain changes in Obama's 2008 campaign.

In terms of the relationships between the categories, it is interesting that the economics and classic partisan variables had the strongest correlations. This implies that candidates use these in a similar fashion. Looking at the changes that occur to the two variables of economics and classic partisan, there is only a four point difference;

economics has 34 changes over the period 1960-2012, whereas classic partisan has 38 changes, even though the two variables have very different variances, with classic partisan having the highest variance, and economics one of the lowest. Interestingly, the total number of changes made both in terms of categories and the top variables, as seen in tables 6.22 and 6.23, do not, in the main, correspond with the order of the variances. However, this is expected, given that standard deviation, which the measure of change is determined by, is the square root of variance. As seen below, focusing on table 6.22, the most total changes for 1960-2012 was the category of issues, yet comparatively the highest variance using the equivalent raw weekly total paragraph data was the category of tone. For table 6.23 for the period of 1960-2012, the most total changes were with tone, but the highest variance based on the percentage data was classic partisan. For 2004-2012, from table 6.22 the most changes were with character devices, and the highest variance was character devices. But in relation to the variables, the total changes for 2004-2012 were with the variable of humility, and the highest variance is for classic partisan. So on the whole, higher variance does not equate to higher changes during the two periods (1960-2012, 2004-2012), which is good given how change was measured.

Table 6.22: Total changes made to each category

	Tone	Character Devices	Character Qualities	Issues	Party
1960-2012	123			142	74
2004-2012	36	57	37	44	22

Table 6.23: Total changes made to top used variables

	Positive Tone	Future Projections	Humility	Economics	Classic Partisan
1960-2012	45			34	38
2004-2012	11	8	12	10	11

Future Research

Whilst this chapter, combined with prior chapters, has proposed ideas and provided analysis that advances understanding of campaign strategy in regards to campaign rhetoric, it is still vital, and would be interesting to determine whether the findings carry over to other media of campaign strategy. Do campaign advertising or websites, or social media, follow the same principle of strategic stability interjected with minor or major change? Do the predictors anticipated to explain change here, actually explain change in other media? It would also be interesting to see if any other predictors, for example external events that are unexpected, or polls can help to better explain change.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings support the overall hypothesis of this project that campaign strategy is not fixed. From analysis of all categories studied throughout, there is support for the fact that the four categories are correlated to a statistically significant degree. However the categories do not have homogeneity of variances. Instead of thinking of campaign strategy as fixed, it is more appropriate to think of and discuss campaign strategy as having strategic stability which is interjected with minor or major strategic change. This can be measured using the Strategic Change Scale. Surprisingly the factors which, based on previous research, it would be presumed would help explain change do not do so. For future research it would be imperative to investigate other factors that may help to explain change in strategy given that the factors of opposition behavior, structural events, candidate status, candidate party affiliation, and election outcome, which would be anticipated help explain change, only explain 0.7% of change in campaign strategy.

Chapter Seven: Final Conclusions

Throughout this project, aspects of campaign strategy have been analysed, through content analysis of campaign rhetoric, to assess whether there is evidence that campaign strategy changes, rather than remains fixed, during presidential general election campaigns. The focus has been on the established theory that campaign strategy should not change when working correctly, only changing when there is “clear, unrefutable evidence that what you are doing is not working because the fundamental circumstances in which the race is being conducted have changed” (Shea 1996: 173, 174; Thurber and Nelson 1995). Yet paradoxically it is also suggested that changes are made on the basis of factors such as opposition actions (Kessel 1974; Newman 1994; Wayne and Wilcox 1992). This project has aimed to address this paradox by investigating if change occurs in campaign strategy, and why the changes may occur at the points in time that they do.

The categories of tone, character, issues and party were examined, with hypotheses focusing on what changes occur in each category, how the categories were used, and whether previous research is supported by study of campaign rhetoric as opposed to other media. Various methods of content analysis were used to investigate the categories, using as many speeches from the campaigns between 1960 and 2012 as it was possible to access. The result is that this is potentially the most extensive dataset and analysis of presidential general election campaign speeches between 1960 and 2012, given that previous studies have not included some specific speeches, or the Romney 2012 campaign (Rhodes and Albert 2015: 7).

Codebooks from previous research by the Wisconsin Advertising Project, Policy Agendas Project US, and Rhodes’ study into bipartisan posturing, were adapted and used for the campaign rhetoric analysis (2000; 2014; 2014). For the use of tone, issues and party, the analysis spanned the whole time frame of 1960 to 2012; the period of what is

considered to be the modern presidential campaign. For character, given the more qualitative nature of analysis, the study focused on more recent campaigns; 2004, 2008 and 2012. The core focus from this research was to answer two main research questions:

RQ1: What changes can be found in campaign strategy, based on campaign rhetoric, in US presidential elections 1960-2012?

RQ2: Why do changes in campaign strategy occur in US presidential elections 1960-2012?

This final concluding chapter will suggest answers to these questions based on the findings of the project as a whole, firstly focusing on RQ1, then on RQ2. Discussion of further findings, as well as the proposed more appropriate way to think of campaign strategy, and future research, follow.

RQ1: What changes can be found in campaign strategy, based on campaign rhetoric, in US Presidential elections 1960-2012?

In the introduction to this project, it was hypothesized that:

H1: Campaign strategy will change during the election period for which strategy was designed.

Based on the findings from the project as a whole, there is evidence to support this. There was change in campaign strategy, based on analysis of campaign rhetoric, in US presidential elections from 1960 to 2012. In every campaign, and across all four categories investigated, there was evidence of change in campaign strategy. Table 7.1 below shows how many changes occurred in each category, spilt into the total instances of change, and the total points of change, where there may have been multiple variables for the category changing at one point in time. The final column also identifies campaigns where changes in the respective category did not occur.

Table 7.1: Total changes, and total instances of change for each category, also identifying campaigns where change did not occur

Category	Total instances of change	Total points of change	Campaigns where change did not occur
Tone	137	95	Johnson 1964, Nixon 1972
Character (2004-2012)	94 (57 for rhetorical devices; 37 for qualities)	31 for rhetorical devices 21 for qualities	
Issues	142	92	
Party	74	63	Clinton 1992 Gore 2000

As identified and explained in chapter six, 13 points of change are points of major strategic change. That is, there is change in the use of tone, issues and party all at the same point in time. 159 points of change are minor strategic change. This means there are 172 total points of change overall for the use of tone, issues and party, where there is at least one category changing at that point in time. There are also the additional changes made in the use of character, which were not included in the analysis in chapter six, or the theory of strategic stability interjected with points of change, because there is only data from 2004-2012 available for character. However, there is therefore support for the idea that campaign strategy changes. The changes that are found are in the use of tone, character, issues, and party.

Tone Changes

The use of tone in campaign rhetoric was investigated using the Tone Codebook (Appendix A) which was adapted from the Wisconsin Advertising Project Codebook (2000: Appendix A). To identify changes in campaign tone, the variables of positive, negative and contrast tone were used. Positive tone focused on what the candidate said about themselves; negative tone was about what they said about the opposition; contrast tone focused on when both positive and negative tone was used in the same paragraph. As

can be seen in figure 7.1, there were 95 total points of change, and there were instances when all three variables were changed at the same time. There were 51 positive variable changes, 45 negative variable changes, and 40 contrast variable changes. The changes to each variable were analysed on the basis of them increasing or decreasing in use, in order to see if campaign rhetoric goes negative as occurs in other media. There was evidence to support this, with 15 of the 27 campaigns studied going negative. In line also with previous findings, more campaigns made the last change before Election Day as increased use of negative tone, compared with increasing the use of contrast or positive tone. Challenger candidates were more likely than incumbents to go negative, with 75% of challengers, compared to only 44.5% of incumbents going negative. Surprisingly, there was no evidence to support the idea that a candidate would change their use of tone due to the opposition, which contradicts previous literature. However given that opposition behavior also does not explain change in campaign strategy overall, it is possible that factors which better explain overall change may also explain change in the use of tone individually. Candidates were found to increase the use of contrast more than they increased the use of negative tone. This is particularly interesting given that thus far contrast is not often used as a variable for analyzing tone. Looking at all three variables, and whether they increase or decrease, not only gave evidence of the changes candidates made and when, but also enabled greater insight into how candidates use tone; especially the relatively under-investigated variable of contrast tone.

Character Changes

Analysis of the use of character occurred for the 2004, 2008, and 2012 campaigns, given the more qualitative nature of analysis and the time frame for the project. The Character in Rhetoric Model was used to analyse character based on character devices and character qualities. There were nine rhetorical devices, and seven qualities. The Codebook for this analysis is in Appendix A. There were 57 total instances of change for the

rhetorical devices, and 37 for the qualities; 94 total character changes. Interestingly, there were more changes in the use of character than there were to any other category, when comparing the changes from 2004-2012 only. Whilst there was no evidence to support opposition behavior explaining change as a whole, there was evidence that opposition behavior could be influencing changes made to the use of character. Of the 94 total changes made to character, 93 had one candidate changing a character variable followed by the opposition within two weeks. 51 of these were changes made by the two candidates using variables from the same layer, e.g. both from rhetorical devices. It would be interesting to determine if opposition behavior can explain character as a category. It would also be interesting to see if when character is added into the regression analysis, following expansion of the content analysis to all campaigns, if opposition behavior better explains change in campaign strategy.

Issues Changes

The use of issues was analysed based on a codebook developed from the Policy Agendas Project (both in Appendix A). The analysis looked at changes in the use of economics, social, rights and legal, environmental and foreign/international variables in rhetoric from 1960-2012. Whilst not perfect, these five variables were more appropriate to measure change in the use of issues over the period, than the original 20 categories. There were 142 total instances of change in the use of issues, 92 points of change. This equated to 33 changes in the economics variable, 30 in the social variable, 24 in the rights and legal variable, 21 in the environmental variable, and 33 in the foreign/international variable. There were only ever up to four variables which changed at one point in time for the use of issues. Again, with the category of issues there was evidence to suggest that opposition behavior would help to explain why change occurs. In nine of the 13 elections studied, candidates changed the same variable within two weeks of their opponent. Again, it would

be interesting to see if individually opposition behavior can help explain change in the use of issues.

Party Changes

The use of party was investigated using Rhodes' 2014 Codebook as a basis for developing the Party Codebook (both in Appendix A). Seven indicators were used to capture party rhetoric, which were then aggregated into three variables for analysis; classic partisan, cross- partisan and above party. During the period of 1960-2012 there were 74 total changes in the use of party, equating to 63 points of change. There was not an instance when all three variables changed at the same point in time, however in 11 instances of change two of the three variables changed at the same point in time. Interestingly, this is always with one of the variables being classic partisan. There were 38 points of change in the use of classic partisan, 23 in the use of cross-partisan, and 13 in the use of above party. Incumbents changed the use of party more than challengers or open race candidates. There was evidence to suggest that rather than there still being party dealignment, there is a resurgence of the use of partisan rhetoric occurring, and therefore a resurgence in partisanship, based on the use of each variable by campaigns over time. Democrats used partisan strategies more than Republicans, but Republican candidates changed the use of party more than Democrats. This is especially interesting given that the candidate party affiliation factor, specifically being Republican, made a statistically significant difference to being able to explain major change.

Overall, there were changes across all four categories, and in all campaigns studied between 1960 and 2012, strongly supporting the idea that campaign strategy does not remain fixed, but instead changes.

RQ2: Why do changes in campaign strategy occur in US presidential elections

1960-2012?

Chapter six in part focused on investigating reasons why changes in campaign strategy occur in the campaigns analysed between 1960 and 2012. This included H2 from the introduction to this project that campaign strategy will change due to actions of the opposition. However, the findings did not go far in explaining why changes in campaign strategy occurred.

It was discussed throughout the project that a number of factors may be able to explain change in campaign strategy. Firstly, opposition behaviour may explain change because candidates are influenced by their opponent. It was presumed that the points at which a candidate's opposition changed their strategy, would help to explain why a candidate would change their own strategy. For example, if a candidate went negative, their opponent may feel they should go negative as well. Candidates may want to be able to ensure what is being said about them they can rebut, and address similar talking points so that they can put across their own viewpoints to the voters.

Secondly, structural events may explain why changes occur. These were considered to be events which occur at certain points in every campaign, and which may help to explain why changes occurred. There were three structural events that were focused on; Labor Day, conventions and the "last push" period. Labor Day was considered to be a potential explanatory factor, because traditionally this was when general election campaigning began. Candidates would start campaigning on Labor Day weekend. Even though candidates start general election campaigns often months before Labor Day, it was suggested that Labor Day would still be important, and would help to explain why strategy changes. It could be seen as an ideal point for a reset in strategy, or for minor changes to be brought in. The second structural event examined as potentially helping to explain why changes occur was conventions. Usually held in late July or August, these national party

events are a big focus for the campaign media cycle and party affiliates. The convention speech is when the candidates formally accept the nomination of the party to be the presidential candidate. Again, it was considered a potentially ideal time for a re-set or for minor changes to be made to campaign strategy. The final structural event was the last push. This referred to the last four weeks prior to Election Day. It was considered a possible time for candidates to change their strategy, in a last attempt to gain more voters. During this period states may have early voting open, and what candidates do or say is likely to be remembered by voters at the polls. Therefore it was anticipated that this period may help explain changes in campaign strategy.

Another explanation that was investigated for why strategy changes was the status of candidates as an incumbent, challenger or being in an open race. Incumbents would have more to lose, and so may be less likely to change strategy, compared with challengers who have more to gain for example. Open race candidates have different dynamics to either incumbents or challengers, and so it was thought the status of the candidate may help explain why changes are made to campaign strategy.

Two other potential factors that could explain why changes were made were investigated: which party the candidate was affiliated to, and whether the candidate went on to win or lose the election.

The five potential explanations for why change may happen; opposition behaviour, structural events, candidate status, candidate party affiliation and race outcome were all analysed using regression analysis, to determine how much each predictor factor could explain the outcome; change in campaign strategy. There were four variations of the regression model run; one using change as measured using the Strategic Change Scale (SCS), one using change as measuring all the changes in variables amalgamated, one using major change, and one using the week to week difference in percentage data. This was using the changes and data from tone, issues and party 1960-2012.

There were some surprising results produced. When using change as measured using the SCS and all the changes in variables amalgamated, there was no support for the hypothesis. Only a maximum of 0.7% of change could be explained by the model. This is surprising; the factors that were expected to explain change, at least in part, do not. When looking to the results using major change and week to week differences, the findings are more encouraging. 23% of major change can be explained using the five predictors, with candidate party affiliation, specifically being Republican, making a statistically significant difference to the model. In terms of major changes, candidate party affiliation can help explain why these occurred when they did. The five predictors could also help explain 54% of week to week difference in the percentage data, but this is not the actual measure of change. In other words, the five factors can explain 54% of why candidates have week to week differences in campaign strategy, but not why they have major and minor points of change. Given that there was evidence in some of the categories' results that opposition behaviour especially may explain change in strategy, it would be interesting to see if individually, the factors help explain changes to the categories. However it is therefore imperative that future research focus on what else may explain campaign strategy change as a whole.

In terms of adequately answering why changes occur, further investigation must be undertaken. Other factors, including polls and external events must be investigated to see if these help explain changes in campaign strategy. In addition, another regression analysis, once the whole period of 1960-2012 has been analysed for the use of character, with all the potential factors, and new explanatory factors, should occur. This is because in terms of understanding why changes in campaign strategy occurred, looking to the results from the changes to the use of character, the actions of the opposition being an explanation seemed a promising factor. In 93 of 94 total instances of change, when one candidate changed a variable, the opposition also did within two weeks. Of these, 51 changes were of the same

layer for each candidate, for example one changed the use of a rhetorical device and then the opponent did the same. It would be interesting to see if, when character analysis has been expanded to the whole time period, the opposition better explains the changes, if the same regression analysis were to be rerun.

Discussion

Strategic stability interject with points of change

It was proposed in chapter six that actually rather than thinking about campaign strategy as being fixed until there is unrefutable evidence that it should change, what would be more appropriate is to think of campaign strategy in terms of strategic stability. Rather than campaign strategy being fixed throughout the whole general election, this theory proposes that there are periods of strategic stability when change does not occur. Looking to the period of 1960 to 2012, this was 70% of the weeks analysed. But the periods of stability are then interjected by points of change. This occurs in the other 30% of weeks studied. This theory can be accessed on a scale; with there being strategic stability when there are no points of change; minor strategic change when one or two categories of strategy change at the same point in time; and major strategic change when all three categories change at the same point in time. Major strategic change can be equated to a strategy reset. If the use of character was analysed for the whole period, the scale would be enhanced with major strategic change being when change occurred in all four categories. This way of thinking about campaign strategy identifies the need of candidates to be receptive to factors that may influence change. It also addresses the paradox that this project has focused on. There are moments of stability, which are when strategy is 'fixed', but there are also periods when strategy changes, as was identified in previous literature (Shea 1996; Thurber and Nelson 1995; Kessel 1974; Newman 1994; Wayne and Wilcox 1992).

This way of thinking about campaign strategy captures more appropriately what actually occurs during the general election campaign because candidates do need to ensure their strategy is as likely as possible to ensure they have a winning coalition of the vote, but at the same time do need to follow the plan that they initially established. Thinking of campaign strategy in terms of strategic stability with points of minor or major strategic change, reflects this need for stability in following a plan, but ability to improve on the plan when necessary. What would be the core focus of future research is to more adequately explain why there are major changes as compared with minor changes, and why minor changes occur as opposed to strategic stability. The factors that were discussed in chapter six give limited insight in to why, but do not go very far in actually being factors that seem to explain why these changes do occur.

Other findings

Investigation into the use of tone highlighted the crucial role that contrast has in candidates' use of tone in campaign rhetoric. In previous research, contrast has been discussed, but has rarely been used as a variable for analysis; as soon as negative tone is established, the paragraph or advert has been categorised as negative in most prior research. It is clear that the relationship between the use of positive, negative and contrast tone is complex. Whilst there are more instances where candidates increase the use of contrast, there are more instances where candidates make their last change in strategy before Election Day and increase in the use of negative than the use of contrast. Candidates also use going negative and going contrast at the same time. The relationship between the two, as well as in the use of the three tone variables in general, is complex and deserves attention in future research. Contrast as a variable of tone should be included in more research. Contrast tone gives candidates the ability to compare themselves with the worst points of the opposition. Therefore contrast as a variable should be used in research which

analyses negative tone, in order that there is a more accurate investigation into how tone is used, regardless of the media being analysed.

The analysis of the use of tone in general did not support previous research findings. Firstly, whilst there was evidence that candidates go negative, to the level that occurs in other media, does not happen. With regards to rhetoric, this also does not mean that candidates will stay negative in their use of tone, as implied by previous research; candidates may go negative but then change the use of tone to go positive for example. Generally, it was clear that with campaign rhetoric the use of tone is much more complex and varied than just 'going negative', which has been researched in the past. The core phenomenon that previous research focuses on is not the core finding from the analysis of tone in this project. It is clear that campaign rhetoric does not follow the same norms as the use of tone in other media; and further research into this area would help to further understand differences in campaign strategy that occur because different media are used. Additionally, negative tone in campaign rhetoric does not make up the 30-40% of tone rhetoric that is found in other media such as advertising. It is clear that the use of tone in rhetoric may, in terms of campaign strategy, be very different to the use of tone in other media.

In terms of analysing character, whilst the Character in Rhetoric Model has only been used on the 2004, 2008, and 2012 campaigns, it has measured what it was intended to, in a manageable manner. The model does seem to overcome many of the shortcomings of other options, and whilst it may not be perfect, in part due to the complex and subtle nature of character, the Model has successfully identified rhetorical devices and qualities, and changes in these. In order to test the model further, expansion of analysis to both the 2016 election, and back to previous elections would be necessary.

One point to note with issues is that the use of the variables, and the changes, are 'messy' and chaotic, because of how issues are used. That is, issues are often spoken about

throughout the campaign, but may be more focused on for a specific speech based on who the candidate is speaking to for example. Often candidates give an ‘economics’ speech or a ‘healthcare’ speech. This does not happen with the other categories, because candidates do not give an ‘integrity’ speech or a ‘positive tone’ speech. These are used throughout all rhetoric instead. This is combined with the fact that presidential candidates speak on a very broad array of issues. So whilst it is possible to analyse the changes made to each variable, it is important to remember that analysis of change in the use of issues tries to focus on the changes, whilst dealing with the mass of topics and the difference in the way that issues are used by candidates. The benefit of the methodology behind analysing issues does mean however that the changes that are identified are not due to one speech being more focused on the issue in question, because changes to each variable had to be lasting for two consecutive weeks in time.

In relation to the results from the use of party, the research suggests that thinking about the use of party in terms of the three strategic options of classic partisan, cross-partisan and above party works. The three variables are used and changed differently, which gives insight into how candidates use partisan rhetoric in their campaigns overall. It would be interesting to further investigate these three options, especially to see if they are used in other campaign media, and in a similar way.

Future Research

In addition to further research into why campaign strategy changes, as mentioned above, one core aspect of more immediate future research would be to expand the analysis of the use of character back to 1960. The codebook was designed to ensure that a range of eras and types of rhetoric could be analysed using the method, and expansion of analysis would be crucial in further understanding the use of character over time. The expansion of the study of character would also enable the theory of strategic stability to be enhanced, because then there could be further evidence of strategy reset or major strategic change,

because this would be determined on the scale as when all four categories change at the same point in time.

It would also be interesting to see if any other core aspects of strategy, such as financial aspects of strategy, that were discussed in the introduction to this project, also change in the ways determined in this analysis. In researching more core aspects of strategy the findings from this project could be strengthened further if there was additional evidence of change in campaign strategy.

Another expansion of the current analysis that would be important to undertake in future is to determine if change, on the basis that it has been established and found in this analysis, occurs in other campaign media. Campaign rhetoric has been ideal to use as a proxy for campaign message. However, what would enhance the findings further, and strengthen the theory if evidence is supportive, is to replicate this analysis using other campaign media instead. For example, all the campaigns in the period studied have campaign adverts that could be analysed. Similarly, for more modern campaigns from 2000 onwards, the website and social media rhetoric could be analysed as well. It would be anticipated that similar findings would be identified across all media, given that strategy is comprised of various categories and directs what actions candidates take in terms of rhetoric, advertising, websites, and social media. Whether this actually occurs would give further insight into how candidates use campaign strategy as a whole.

It would be interesting to investigate, once character has been expanded for the whole time period, differences across decades. Firstly, whether there are differences in how change is used over time, and secondly if any of the factors investigated thus far can help explain the changes. Alongside this, it would be interesting to see whether the different forms of campaigning, the era of direct mail, the era of television adverts, the era of social media, impact the changes in campaign rhetoric.

A final aspect in terms of expanding this research, that would be imperative to focus on, would be the 2016 election. This election was not included in this project because accessing and analysing the necessary rhetoric, along with the rhetoric from 1960-2012 was impossible given the time frame of this project. However determining if this, and future campaigns, enhance current findings or throw question to some findings would be a necessary next step for research, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of campaign strategy in the modern presidential campaigns.

Conclusion

To conclude overall, campaign strategy is not fixed. Whilst there are periods of strategic stability, these are interjected by points of minor and major strategic change. From the analysis of presidential general election campaigns from 1960 through to 2012, there is evidence in all campaigns studied of change in campaign strategy. This is based on analysis of campaign rhetoric, focusing on the four categories of tone, character, issues, and party. Further research is necessary to understand exactly why these changes occur, as well as to determine if this theory and findings also occur in other media that are influenced by campaign strategy such as advertising, or website rhetoric.

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Appendix A

1: Wisconsin Advertising Project Codebook 2000

Political Advertising in 2000

A Dataset Compiled by the Wisconsin Advertising Project

Final Release, December 2002

Wisconsin Advertising Project, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Political Science, 110 North Hall, 1050 Bascom Mall, Madison WI 53706,
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The data were obtained from a joint project of the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law and Professor Kenneth Goldstein of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and includes media tracking data from the Campaign Media Analysis Group in Washington, D.C. The Brennan Center-Wisconsin project was sponsored by a grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts. The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Brennan Center, Professor Goldstein, or The Pew Charitable Trusts.

DATA COLLECTION DESCRIPTION

The data were purchased from Campaign Media Analysis Group (CMAG), a company based in Alexandria, Virginia. CMAG uses information gathered by Competitive Media Reporting (CMR) and specifically, CMR's "Ad Detector" product. CMR is one of the country's leading providers of marketing communication and advertising expenditure information to advertising agencies, advertisers, broadcasters and publishers. CMR's "Ad Detector" technology was originally developed for large corporations to track competitors' advertisements and to confirm that their own advertisements were being aired. In 2000, the system monitored the satellite transmissions of the national networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox) as well as 25 national cable networks (such as CNN, ESPN, and TBS). In addition, the system monitored advertising in the country's top 75 markets. (Although there are over 200 media markets in the United States, over 80 percent of the population lives in the top 75 markets.) The system's software recognizes the electronic seams between programming and advertising. When the system does not recognize the unique digital code of a particular commercial spot, the storyboard (the full audio and every four seconds of video) is captured and downloaded to the firm's headquarters.

After reviewing the storyboards, analysts at CMR then place the advertisements into particular categories -- by product for commercial clients, by candidate or sponsor for political clients -- and tag them with unique digital fingerprints. Thereafter, the system automatically recognizes and logs that particular commercial wherever and whenever it airs. All political spots are flagged and immediately transferred to CMAG - which markets the data to political clients (candidates, parties, and interest groups).

The compilation of political advertising data in the 2000 elections took place in two distinct stages: the pre-election period (referring to coding and merging done up through December 2000) and the post-election period (referring to data cleaning, missing data issues, and additional coding and merging beginning in January 2001).

Two University of Wisconsin-Madison graduate students, along with Professor Ken Goldstein, helped manage the receipt and compilation of two types of information during the summer and fall of 2000: storyboard (content) and ad frequency data. The frequency data were in files containing information on the timing, date, market location, station, show, and estimated cost of each political spot airing. They did not contain information on the content of the advertisements. CMAG sent by e-mail new frequency data every two weeks during the summer, and weekly during the fall of 2000. On about the same schedule, CMAG regularly mailed one-page storyboards, which are captured visual clips of the ad taken every 3-4 seconds along with the accompanying transcript. CMAG would mail a storyboard for each unique creative.

Both sets of data were combined into a larger database. First, the frequency data were placed into a large spreadsheet. Second, the graduate students coded each storyboard using an online coding sheet, accessed through the CMAG website. Approximately 35 questions were asked. (The coding questions were first developed by in spring of 1999 by a committee consisting of Josh Rosenkranz of the Brennan Center at New York University, Jon Krasno of the Brennan Center at New York University, Tom Mann of the Brookings Institute, David Magleby of Brigham Young University, and Darrel West of Brown University. The original coding protocol was developed for 1998. Changes were made to reflect new issues.) Coding at the website was automatically translated into a separate database, which would periodically be downloaded from CMAG and linked to the database containing the frequency data.

As the volume of storyboards increased in September and October, a team of six undergraduates began to assist with the coding. Each undergraduate was given a set of storyboards, and the graduate students logged them on to the CMAG coding website. The undergraduates were given basic instruction on how to operate the coding website, but were instructed to complete the coding as if they were answering questions on a survey

instrument. In other words, no additional instructions were given on particular questions or on the goals of the project as a whole.

In early January of 2001, frequency information and data from the coded storyboards (content information) were merged. Additional quality control was the primary concern of the post-election period.

An initial comparison of frequency data with coded storyboards produced three forms of "missing information:" 1) ad storyboards without accompanying frequency data; 2) frequency data without accompanying ad storyboards; and 3) storyboards that remained uncoded.

The project requested from CMAG frequency data for the storyboards that lacked it and obtained such information for almost all storyboards. The missing frequency data generally came from down-ballot races. The project was also able to obtain storyboards for all but eight ads listed in the frequency data. The graduate students coded storyboards that had slipped through the cracks, either because of an occasional glitch in the CMAG computer system that would not update coding when it was entered or because of an undergraduate coder who lost some storyboards. Some ads concerning low-level races (such as a state senate race) were never coded, though frequency data were included in the database. Missing data codes were put in the data and noted in the codebook.

The project then dealt with "cookie cutter" ads, ads run by interest groups in several congressional districts that are identical except for the name of the candidate. Because the CMAG tracking system cannot identify these slightly different ads as unique, all cookie cutter airings are initially assigned to the same candidate. This yields a situation in which, for example, CMAG reports that an ad running against Rep. Anne Northup of Kentucky aired in Kentucky as well as Minnesota. In truth, however, the ad running in Minnesota used not Northup's name but that of a different candidate. Thus,

the project had to assign the ads running in Minnesota to a Minnesota race, instead of the Kentucky race. This was done by comparing maps of media markets and congressional districts. If an ad ran in the Minneapolis-St. Paul media market, the project identified all congressional districts which the media market covered and then using information on competitive races and conversations with Washington based consultants and party officials, the project determined the actual targeted district.

In addition, the project corrected an additional problem associated with cookie cutter advertising. After assigning a cookie cutter ad to a new district, associated contextual information (such as the incumbency status of the favored candidate) had to be changed.

ESTIMATING AD COST

CMAG estimates the cost of an ad by using market information on the average cost of an ad during the time during which that ad aired. This estimate is likely an underestimate of the true expenditure, especially in the case of interest group and party advertising.

DATA RELIABILITY

For further information about the reliability of the data collection and its coding, please see the following manuscript: Ridout, Travis N., Michael Franz, Kenneth Goldstein and Paul Freedman. 2002. "Measuring Exposure to Campaign Advertising." It is available at www.polisci.wisc.edu/~tvadvertising/reliability.pdf.

VARIABLE NAMES

Custitle: Unique name given to each ad by CMAG

Len: Length of ad in seconds

Daypart: Early morning: 6-10 a.m. Daytime: 10 a.m. - 4 p.m. Early Fringe: 4 p.m. - 7:30 p.m. Early News: News in Early Fringe Prime Access: 7:30 p.m. - 8 p.m. Prime

Time: 8 p.m. - 11 p.m. Late news: 10 or 11 p.m. news Late fringe: 11 p.m. - 1 a.m.

Weekend Day: 6 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Marketlo: Name of media market in which ad was aired

Stncalls: Call letters of television station on which ad was aired

Affil: Network affiliation of television station on which ad was aired

Sptime: Time of day at which ad was aired

Cost: Estimated cost of ad

Showname: Name of show during which ad was aired

Spotdate: Date on which ad was aired

Sponsor: Presidential 1 Bush 2 Gore 3 RNC-pres 4 DNC-pres 5 IG-Bush 6 IG-Gore 7
Bush/RNC 8 Gore/DNC 9 Buchanan 10 Browne (Libertarian) 11 Nader 12 Other candidate
13 GOP-unclear 14 Dem-unclear Presidential Primary 15 GOP - primary 16 Dem -
primary 17 IG-GOP primary 18 IG-Dem primary Senate
21 GOP-candidate 22 Dem-candidate 23 RNC 24 DNC 25 IG-GOP 26 IG-Dem 27
Independent/3rd party candidate 28 GOP-unclear 29 Dem-unclear Senate Primary 30 GOP
primary 31 Dem primary 32 IG-GOP primary 33 IG-Dem primary House 41 GOP-
candidate 42 Dem-candidate 43 RNC 44 DNC 45 IG-GOP 46 IG-Dem 47 Independent/3rd
party candidate 48 GOP-unclear 49 Dem-unclear House Primary 50 GOP primary 51 Dem
primary 52 IG-GOP primary 53 IG-Dem primary Governors 61 GOP-candidate 62 Dem-
candidate 63 RNC 64 DNC 65 IG-GOP 66 IG-Dem 67 Independent/3rd party candidate 68
GOP-unclear 69 Dem-unclear Gubernatorial Primary 70 GOP primary 71 Dem primary 72
IG-GOP primary 73 IG-Dem primary Other 80 Issue Advocacy 81 Regarding a

proposition/other matter 82 Other primary candidacy 84 Vote Republican 85 Vote

Democratic 99 Other type of candidacy

Adcode: Unique numerical identifier given each ad

Statcode:

("AL" =1) ("AK" = 2) ("AZ" =4) ("AR" =5) ("CA" =6) ("CO"=8) ("CT" =9) ("DE" =10)
("DC" =11) ("FL" =12) ("GA" =13) ("HI"=15) ("ID" = 16) ("IL" =17) ("IN" =18)
("IA"=19) ("KS" =20) ("KY" =21) ("LA"=22) ("ME" =23) ("MD" =24) ("MA" = 25)
("MI" = 26) ("MN" =27) ("MS"=28) ("MO" = 29) ("NE" = 31) ("NV" =32) ("NH" = 33)
("NJ" = 34) ("NM" = 35) ("NY" =36) ("NC" = 37) ("ND"=38) ("OH" =39) ("OK" =40)
("OR"=41) ("PA" =42) ("RI" =44) ("SC" =45) ("SD"=46) ("TN"=47) ("TX" =48) ("UT"
=49) ("VT"=50) ("VA" =51) ("WA" =53) ("WV" =54) ("WI" =55) ("US" =99)

Statdist: Unique numerical identifier of each congressional district. (Equals
statcode*100)+q3

q3. Race Number 1-55 'House District' 60 'Senate' 70 'Governor'

80 'Issue Advocacy' 95 'Presidential' 99 'Other'

q4. Is the ad aired for a general election or a primary election? 1 'Primary' 2 'General'

q5. What is the party of the favored candidate? 1 'Democrat' 2 'Republican' 3 'Other'

q6. What is the seat's incumbent status? 1 'Open Seat' 2 'Republican Seat' 3 'Democratic
Seat' 4 'Other (Independent Seat)'

q7. Does the ad direct the viewer to take any action (as opposed to merely providing
information)? 0 'No' 1 'Yes'

q8. (If yes to #7) What is that action? 0 'Not applicable' 1 'Other' 2 'To vote for someone'
3 'To support someone' 4 'To elect or re-elect someone' 5 'To write, call, or tell someone'

to do something' 6 'To reject someone' 7 'To urge action or attention to a particular matter'
8 'To defeat someone' 9 'To send a message or call someone to express yourself' 10 'To
vote against someone' 11 'Other magic word'

q9. (If an ad asks people to contact a public official) Does it provide a specific bill
number to discuss or urge action on? 0 'No' 1 'Yes' 2 'Unclear/Unsure'

q10. (If an ad asks people to contact a public official) Does it provide a phone number or
address to help them do so? 1 'Toll number listed' 2 'No' 3 'Toll-free telephone number
listed' 4 'Address listed'

q11. In your opinion, is the purpose of the ad to provide information about or urge action
on a bill or issue, or is it to generate support or opposition for a particular candidate?

1 'Generate support or opposition for candidate' 2 'Provide information or urge action' 3
'Unsure/unclear'

q12. Is the favored candidate 0 'Not applicable' 1 'Mentioned' 2 'Pictured in the ad' 3 'Not
identified at all' 4 'Both mentioned and pictured in the ad'

q13. Is the favored candidate's opponent. 0 'Not applicable' 1 'Not identified at all' 2
'Both mentioned and pictured in the ad' 3 'Pictured in the ad' 4 'Mentioned by name in the
text of an ad'

q14. In your judgment, is the primary purpose of the ad to promote a specific candidate
("In his distinguished career, Senator Jones has brought millions of dollars home. We need
Senator Jones"), to attack a candidate ("In his long years in Washington, Senator Jones has
raised your taxes over and over. We can't afford 6 more years of Jones.") or to contrast the
candidates ("While Senator Jones has been raising your taxes, Representative Smith has
been cutting them.")? 0 'Not applicable' 1 'Attack' 2 'Contrast' 3 'Promote' 4 'Unsure or
Unclear'

q15. Does the favored candidate appear on screen narrating his or her ad? 0 'No' 1 'Yes' 9
'Not applicable'

q16. Is the office at stake mentioned in the ad? 0 'Not applicable' 1 'Yes referred to in text
of the ad' 2 'No' 3 'Yes written in one of the visual frames of the ad' 4 'Yes referred to in
both the text and visuals of the ad'

q17. Is an opponent's commercial mentioned or shown on screen? 0 'Not applicable' 1
'Yes opponents commercial is shown on screen' 2 'Yes opponents commercial is referred
to in text and screen' 3 'No' 4 'Yes opponents commercial is referred to in text' q18.

Does the ad use any of the following adjective to characterize the favored candidate? 0
'Not applicable'

1 'Common sense leadership' 2 'Independent' 3 'Innovative' 4 'Self made' 5 'Caring or
Compassionate' 6 'Bold' 7 'Principled' 8 'Tough or a fighter' 9 'Proven Tested
Experienced' 10 'Values (shares them, has American ones)' 11 'No adjectives or
descriptions of candidates' 12 'Protector' 30 'Other' 13 'Moderate middle of the road
mainstream' 14 'Conservative' 15 'Fiscally conservative' 16 'Hard working' 17 'Friend of
Clinton' 18 'Committed' 19 'Visionary' 20 'Reformer' 21 'Competent and Knows how to
get things done' 22 'Honest' 23 'Family man'

q19. Second mention (same as #18)

q20. Does the ad use any of the following adjectives to characterize the opposing
candidate? (first mention) 0 'Not applicable' 1 'Dishonest corrupt' 2 'Dangerous' 3 'Friend
of Pat Robertson religious right' 4 'Reckless' 5 'Too risky' 6 'Turncoat' 7 'Incompetent' 8
'Taxing (or some version of liking taxes)' 9 'Hypocrite' 10 'Extremist or radical' 11
'Career Politician' 12 'Heartless (may be used in reference to Social Security)' 13 'Friend
of Newt Gingrich' 14 'Negative' 15 'Liberal' 16 'Reactionary or right-wing' 17 'Friend of
special interests' 18 'No adjectives or description' 19 'Friend of Clinton' 30 'Other'

q21. Second mention (same as #20)

q22. Does the ad mention the party label of the favored candidate or the opponent? 0 'Not applicable' 1 'No' 2 'Yes opposing candidates party'

3 'Yes both candidates party affiliations are mentioned' 4 'Yes favored candidates party'

q23. Does the ad use technology to distort (i.e. morph) the opposing candidate's face? 0 'No' 1 'Yes' 9 'Not applicable'

q24. Is the ad funny or is it intended to be humorous? 0 'No' 1 'Yes'

q25. Does the ad refer to newspaper stories or editorials? 1 'Yes in both the text and visuals' 2 'No' 3 'Yes in the visuals of the ad' 4 'Yes in the text part of the text of the ad'

q26. Does the ad cite supporting sources (including in footnotes) to bolster various claims? 1 'Yes in the visuals of the ad' 2 'No' 3 'Yes in the text part of the text of the ad'

q27. In your judgment, is the primary focus of this ad on the personal characteristics of either candidate or on policy matters? 1 'Policy matters' 2 'Personal characteristics' 3 'Both' 4 'Neither'

q28. Does the ad feature a celebrity or a politician endorsing the candidate? 1 'Celebrity' 2 'Politician' 3 'Neither'

q29. Is the ad in Spanish? 0 'No' 1 'Yes'

q30. Is the ad directly targeted to appeal to a racial minority? 0 'No' 1 'Yes'

q31. Are the people in the ad racially diverse? 0 'No' 1 'Yes'

q32-35: campaign themes. 1 'Background' 10 'Taxes' 11 'Deficit/ surplus/ budget/ debt' 12 'Government Spending' 13 'Minimum wage'

14 'Farming (e.g. friend of)' 15 'Business (e.g. friend of)' 16 'Employment/ jobs' 17
'Poverty' 18 'Trade/NAFTA' 19 'Other economic reference' 2 'Political record' 20
'Abortion' 21 'Homosexuality' 22 'Moral values' 23 'Tobacco' 24 'Affirmative action' 25
'Gambling' 26 'Assisted Suicide' 27 'Gun control' 28 'Other reference to social issues' 3
'Attendance record' 30 'Crime' 31 'Drugs' 32 'Death Penalty' 33 'Other reference to law
and order' 4 'Ideology' 40 'Education' 41 'Lottery for education' 42 'Child care' 43
'Other child-related issues' 5 'Personal values' 50 'Defense' 51 'Missile defense/Star wars'
52 'Veterans' 53 'Foreign policy' 54 'Bosnia' 55 'China' 59 'Other defense/foreign policy
issues' 6 'Honesty/Integrity' 60 'Clinton' 61 'Ken Starr' 62 'Whitewater' 63
'Impeachment' 64 'Sexual harassment/Paula Jones' 7 'Special Interests' 70 'Environment'
71 'Immigration' 72 'Health care' 73 'Social security' 74 'Medicare' 75 'Welfare' 76 'Civil
rights/race relations' 77 'Campaign finance reform' 78 'Government ethics' 95 'Other' 99
'None'

Topics Codebook

Policy Agendas Project 2014*

**: As of February 2014, this codebook reflects significant revisions to the PAP major and subtopic coding system that are now implemented in all public datasets. These changes include the closest implementation of the international Comparative Agendas Project codebook in the U.S. Context. More information is included below.*

Contact Information

Visit www.policyagendas.org or contact us at policyagendas@gmail.com.

Citation Guidelines

Please visit www.policyagendas.org/page/how-cite for guidelines on how to cite the use of Policy Agendas Project datasets.

General Introduction

Observations in Policy Agendas Project datasets are coded according to the guidelines and topic system described below. This codebook is an updated version of the original codebook created by Baumgartner and Jones,

Each entry is coded into one of 20 major topics and 220 subtopics. In this codebook, we provide a series of general coding guidelines for classifying observations, a complete list of all major topics and subtopics, and examples of cases coded in each subtopic. Users should note that not all the topic and subtopic numbers are consecutive and that the coding system is hierarchal: each subtopic falls within a single major topic. Analysts concerned with identifying each case dealing with a particular issue may want to use care in also examining the textual summaries for cases in related subtopics and in the 'general subtopic, since these can include cases that discuss multiple subtopics. Also note that some Project datasets use limited additional codes (for example, New York Times and Encyclopedia of Associations) and these are described in related data codebooks.

2014 Update to Codebook

As of February 2014, this codebook reflects significant revisions to the PAP major and subtopic coding system that are now implemented in all public datasets. These changes include the closest implementation of the international Comparative Agendas Project codebook in the U.S. Context, and are listed below. All datasets now include two sets of codes: major topic codes and subtopic codes updated to the 2014 codebook described below, and major topic codes and subtopic codes that correspond to the Comparative Agendas Project (www.comparativcendas.info/). These changes include, but are not limited to: the addition of a new major topic for “Immigration”, the addition of a subtopic

code for “Fisheries,” and the merging of some country/region subtopic codes within “Foreign Affairs.”

Changes relevant to datasets with subtopics (Hearings, Laws, Executive Orders, State of the Union, Supreme Court, Roll Calls, Bills):

- Moved 530 to 900
- Merged 1907/1908/1909/1911/1912/1914/1919/1920 as 1921
- Merged 342/343/344 as 342
- Recoded obs. mentioning domesticated animal welfare in 709 as 405
- Recoded obs. mentioning fishing issues and fisheries in 709 as 408
- Recoded obs. mentioning specific industries in 504 as substantively related subtopics

Changes relevant to NYT dataset:

- Moved 28 to 23
- Recoded obs. mentioning immigration within 5 (as included in subtopic 530) as 9
- Recoded obs, mentioning domesticated animal welfare within 7 (as included in subtopic 709) as 4
- Recoded obs. mentioning fishing issues and fisheries within 7 (as included in subtopic 709) as 4
- Recoded obs. mentioning specific industries in 5 as substantively related subtopics

Changes relevant to Most Important Problem dataset:

- Moved “Immigration/illegal aliens” in 5 to 9

Changes relevant to Encyclopedia of Associations dataset:

- Moved “Immigration” related observations into 9

Changes relevant to Policy Mood dataset (see data codebook for more information)

- Moved 530 to 900
- Recalculated 500s

For comparability with any existing analyses, the 2013 Codebook and corresponding archived versions of all datasets are available at

<http://www.policyagendas.org/page/archive>. Any future fixes or data updates will not be reflected in these archived versions.

General Coding Guidelines

1. Observations are coded according to the single predominant, substantive policy area rather than the targets of particular policies or the policy instrument utilized.

For example, if a case discusses mental health programs for returning veterans it would be coded according to the predominant substantive policy area (mental illness, code 333) rather than the target of the programs (veterans affairs, code 1609). If a case discusses changes to the home mortgage tax deduction, it is coded

according to the substantive policy area (consumer mortgages, code 1504) rather than the policy instrument (the tax code, code 107).

2. Observations that discuss appropriations for particular departments and agencies are coded according to their substantive policy area. Those that discuss appropriations for multiple departments and agencies that span multiple major topic codes are coded as general government operations (code 2000).

For example, cases that discuss appropriations for the Dept. of Energy are coded as energy (code 800) and those that discuss appropriations for the FAA are coded as air transportation (code 1003). Cases that discuss appropriations across multiple major topic areas, such as appropriations for the Dept. of State (code 1900), the Dept. of Defense (code 1600), and the Dept. of Energy (code 800), are coded as general government operations (code 2000).

3. Observations that discuss terrorism and homeland security issues are coded according to their substantive policy focus.

Since 2001, the U.S. government has revised its nomenclature for many government activities, often associated with the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. Because we are sensitive to the historical consistency of our category system going back to 1947, this has required some adjustments. As a result, and according to the first guideline above, cases discussing terrorism and homeland security are coded according to the particular substantive aspect of terrorism or homeland security at issue. For example, if an observation discusses a

terrorist act outside of the United States by a foreign entity, it will be coded as international terrorism (code 1927), while an observation that discusses strengthening airline security will be coded as air transportation (1003). Further, a case that discusses the protection of citizens from bioterrorist attacks with public health dimensions will be coded as health promotion (code 331), a case that discusses the prevention of terrorist attacks on crops or farm animals will be coded as animal and crop protection (code 405), and a case that discusses the prevention of terrorist attacks on nuclear energy facilities will be coded as nuclear energy (code 801). Observations dealing with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) budget requests, appropriations and other broad or cross-cutting issues involving DHS are coded as Civil Defense and Homeland Security Functions (code 1615), which includes general domestic terrorism prevention efforts.

4. Observations that discuss Native American affairs (code 2102), D.C. affairs (2014), or the affairs of U.S. Dependencies and Territories (code 2105) are placed in their corresponding subtopic codes regardless of substantive policy area. This is an exception to the first guideline.

For example, a case that discusses restrictions on firearms in D.C. are coded as D.C. affairs (code 2014) rather than weapons control (code 1209).

5. Observations that mention foreign countries are coded according to the following subguidelines.

- a. Observations that discuss U.S.-focused implications related to the policy of a foreign country are coded according to the substantive policy area. For example, if a case discusses the implications of a country's CO2 emissions policy on U.S. domestic climate change policy, it is coded as global warming (code 705).

- b. Observations that discuss the U.S. and another country in a dyadic relationship are generally coded within “Foreign Trade,” “Foreign Affairs,” or “Defense” depending on the substantive policy focus. General U.S. foreign policy issues are coded as foreign affairs (code 1900) and non-specific bilateral agreements are coded according to the country mentioned (code 1910 or 1921).

- c. Observations not mentioning the U.S. are coded according to substantive policy area within Foreign Affairs. For example, if a case discusses violations of human rights in a specific country it is coded as human rights (code 1925). Remaining cases without a substantive policy focus are coded according to the region or specific country mentioned. These include cases discussing the entry of a new country into the E.U. (code 1910), the tax system of another country (code 1910 or 1921), or political developments in another country (code 1910 or 1921).

6. The “general” (NN00) subtopic includes cases where more than one distinct subtopic was discussed within a single major topic area.

For example, if a case discusses both water pollution (code 701) and air pollution (code 705), it is coded as a general environmental issue (code 700). Thus, the general category within each major topic area includes some cases that are truly general as well as some cases that are the combination of as few as two subtopics. Each major topic includes an “other” category (NN99) for issues that do not fit into any of the categories and for which there were too few cases to justify the creation of a new category.

7. While it is uncommon that observations not related to appropriations equally span two major topic areas, these observations are assigned the numerically lower major or subtopic code.

For example, a case that discussed both drinking water safety (code 701) and hydroelectricity (code 802) with equal weight is coded according to the numerically lower code (code 701). This is a rarely used, arbitrary guideline employed for cases that do not clearly have a distinguishable, predominate substantive issue focus.

List of Major and Subtopic Codes

1. Macroeconomics

100: General Domestic Macroeconomic Issues (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)

Examples: the administration's economic plans, economic conditions and issues, economic growth and outlook, state of the economy, long-term economic needs, recessions, general economic policy, promote economic recovery and full

employment, demographic changes, population trends, recession effects on state and local economies, distribution of income, assuring an opportunity for employment to every American seeking work.

101: Inflation, Prices, and Interest Rates

Examples: inflation control and reduction, anti-inflation programs, calculation of inflation statistics and price index statistics, consumer price index, food prices, cost of living, interest rates, bureau of labor reports on inflation, effects of inflation on business, general economic statistics.

103: Unemployment Rate

Examples: unemployment and employment statistics, economic and social impact of unemployment, national employment priorities, employment and labor market development, bureau of labor reports on unemployment.

See also: 502, 503 solutions to unemployment problems.

104: Monetary Supply, Federal Reserve Board, and the Treasury

Examples: monetary policy issues, Federal Reserve's yearly monetary policy reports, Department of Treasury and Federal Reserve Board budget requests and appropriations, credit availability, national savings rate, relationship between fiscal and monetary policies, control of gold supply, gold reserve issues, savings bonds, treasury bonds.

See also: 1808 exchange rates; 1501 Federal Reserve banking issues.

105: National Budget and Debt

Examples: administration's yearly budget proposals, balanced budget act and enforcement, budget process, federal debt and deficit, deficit reduction and management proposals, budget projections, increases in the public debt limit, concurrent budget resolutions, impact of budget reductions on industries, states and communities, move trust fund accounts off-budget, move trust fund accounts on-budget, public debt issues, including retirement of public debt, changes in fiscal year status.

107: Taxation, Tax policy, and Tax Reform

Examples: state taxation of income, state and local income taxes, clarification of tax code, tax code reform, luxury and excise taxes, estate and gift taxes, corporate income taxes, administration tax proposals, income tax reform, tax treatment of charities, federal tax code reform and simplification, revenue acts, impact of taxes on business, multiple tax changes (excise and capital gains), general tax changes, charitable contribution deduction bills, domestic tax breaks for foreign businesses, omnibus tax issues, general legislation that amends the Internal Revenue Code.

(Special Note: Specific tax changes should be coded based upon the subject matter. For instance, deductions for mortgages should go in mortgages; tax incentives to promote child care should go in child care.)

See also: 2009 IRS administration.

108: Industrial Policy

Examples: manufacturing strategy, technological capacity of industry, assistance to specific industries, national industrial policy, industry revitalization and growth, decline in U.S. industrial productivity, plant closings and relocation, industrial reorganization, commission on productivity, industrialization centers.

See also: 1806 international business competition; 1403 economic development programs.

110: Price Control and Stabilization

Examples: economic stabilization programs, wage-price control and freezes, administered pricing programs, emergency price controls.

199: Other

2. Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties

200: General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)

Examples: Civil Rights Commission appropriations, civil rights violations, Civil Rights Act, Equal Rights amendments, equal employment opportunity laws, discrimination against women and minorities, appropriations for civil rights programs, civil rights enforcement, coverage of the civil rights act, employment

discrimination involving several communities (age, gender, race, etc. in combination), taking private property, impact on private property rights, employment discrimination due to race, color, and religion, and fair housing initiatives and discrimination in housing.

201: Ethnic Minority and Racial Group Discrimination

Examples: minority set aside programs, minority contracting and business development, appointment of minorities to federal judgeships, school desegregation, minority discrimination by rental car agencies, FBI hiring and promotion of minorities, race based crimes, investigation of the Ku Klux Klan.

202: Gender and Sexual Orientation Discrimination

Examples: gender and sexual orientation discrimination in the military, social security inequities affecting women, employment barriers to women, female salary inequities, sex discrimination regulations, equal pay for women.

204: Age Discrimination

Examples: age discrimination in employment, mandatory retirement ages, age discrimination in selection of federal judges, EEOC problems in enforcing age discrimination laws, retirement age policies.

205: Handicap or Disease Discrimination

Examples: discrimination against the disabled, airline discrimination against blind people, employment of persons with disabilities, insurance discrimination of blind people, civil rights of institutionalized persons and the mentally retarded, travel

problems of the handicapped, discrimination based on genetics or health conditions, Americans with Disabilities Act.

206: Voting Rights, Participation, and Related Issues

Examples: state discriminatory barriers to voting registration, banning literacy tests, Voting Rights Act and enforcement, free mailing of voter registration forms, lowering the voting age to 18, abolition of poll taxes.

207: Freedom of Speech & Religion

Examples: amendments to the civil liberties act, religious freedom, physical desecration of the flag, school prayer, religious speech protection, anti-obscenity legislation.

208: Right to Privacy and Access to Government Information

Examples: privacy of consumer and worker records, employee drug and polygraph testing, computer access and security, police wiretapping, privacy of medical records, access to government records and information, disclosure and confidentiality standards for government information, electronic funds transfer and financial privacy, security and privacy of criminal arrest records, Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), dissemination of USIA films, programs or information within the U.S. or at museums, protection of women's abortion rights.

209: Anti-Government Activities

Examples: theory and practice of Communism, subversive activities control act, investigate the activities of the Black Panther Party, internal security laws,

investigation of the Students for a Democratic Society, investigation of anti-Vietnam War protesters, investigation of the activities of the New Left, communist involvement in urban race riots, investigation of the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, investigation of student unrest at various universities, investigation of communist youth activities, establishing agencies to educate the public on the tactics of communist subversives, investigate the scope of Soviet activity in the U.S., investigate communist infiltration of education institutions and the U.S. military

299: Other

Examples: right to livelihood, legal fees equity act, misuse of OEO funds, membership on the Commission on Civil Rights

3. Health

300: General

Examples: National Institute of Health (NIH) appropriations, Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) appropriations, activities that provide little evidence of policy direction, commissions to study health issues, solvency of Medicare.

301: Comprehensive health care reform

Examples: proposals to reform broader health system (rather than specific aspects of a program), including establishment of a national health care system, comprehensive Medicare reform, delegation of responsibilities to the states,

changing responsibilities of states, regulation of state health care reform, initiatives in women's health, initiatives in rural health, federal assistance percentages, state share of Medicare or Medicaid payments,

See also: 334 long-term health care reform; 302 insurance reform.

302: Insurance reform, availability, and cost

Examples: Access, eligibility, the uninsured, Medicare premiums, Medicare supplemental insurance (Medigap), establishment of tax free medical savings accounts, regulation of the individual insurance market, health-related ERISA issues, coverage of veterans under Medicare, coverage of veterans under federal employee health plans (FEHB), regulation of HMOs and insurers with respect to general availability of coverage (e.g. patients' bill of rights), enrollment mix requirements for HMOs, catastrophic coverage under Medicare.

See also: 331-36 specific benefits; 334 long-term care insurance.

321: Regulation of drug industry, medical devices, and clinical labs

Examples: Generally about safety of products and procedures, approval processes, drug labeling and marketing, organ transplant allocations, safety of the blood supply, faulty cholesterol screening, prescription drug counterfeiting, pacemaker regulation, prescription drug labeling, over-the-counter drug safety, fatal allergic reactions to drugs, drug abuse in nursing homes, vitamin, mineral and diet supplements, regulation of drug marketing procedures, approval of drugs to combat specific diseases, FDA drug approval process, FDA regulation of medical devices,

FDA approval of contraceptive devices, regulation of clinical trials, inspection of x-ray equipment by PHS.

See also: 335 prescription drug costs; 398 research; 1520 for antitrust issues.

322: Facilities construction, regulation, and payments

Examples: Construction of hospitals, laboratories, health centers and nursing homes, including issues of undersupply of such facilities in rural or urban areas (disproportionate share payments to hospitals) payments to hospitals for inpatient services under Medicare, emergency care facilities, regulation of standards and activities within these facilities, including personnel qualifications, HHS certification of long-term health care facilities, nursing home standards and regulation, Public Health Service (PHS) appropriations, PHS activities and regulation, medical lab reliability issues, Hospital Construction Act.

See also: 323 payments to providers; 325 teaching hospitals.

323: Provider and insurer payment and regulation

Examples: Reimbursement rates and methods for physicians, insurance companies, or specific procedures, peer review procedures, prospective payment system (PPS), appeals processes, payment rates for HMO services, regional adjustments, risk adjustment, reimbursement for chiropractors, foreign medical graduates, nurse practitioners, payment for outpatient services.

See also: 325 workforce training programs; 302 insurer or managed care consumer protections.

324: Medical liability, fraud and abuse

Examples: Malpractice issues, fraudulent medical degrees, unfair sales practices, misuse of federal funds for mental health care, Medicare overbilling, conflicts of interest, misuse of federal funds for mental health care, medical malpractice insurance coverage, revocation of physician licenses, suspension of physician privileges, dispute resolution for medical malpractice claims, unfair sales practices in the diet and medical industries, liability protection for federal physicians.

See also: 325 physician certification and licensing.

325: Health Manpower & Training

Examples: Issues of undersupply and oversupply of health personnel, including incentives to practice in underserved areas, certification and licensing procedures, coverage of services provided by training programs and medical schools, reimbursement rates for teaching hospitals, collective bargaining, health manpower training, nurse training, public health training grants, physician training, medical libraries, nurse midwifery.

See also: 324 Malpractice issues, 323 compensation and regulation of health care providers.

331: Prevention, communicable diseases and health promotion

Examples: Cancer screening, health promotion programs, consumer guides, medical information, health education in schools, immunization, prevention

programs for osteoporosis, sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis, federal response to AIDS, breast cancer treatment, skin cancer, renal disease, treatment of high blood pressure, Legionnaire's disease, communicable disease control, sickle cell anemia prevention, polio, Center for Disease Control funding, designation of national health promotion holidays. See also: 208 right to privacy; 341-44 drug and tobacco programs.

332: Infants and children

Examples: Preventive services for children, prenatal care, child and juvenile health care, school health programs, child immunization, Comprehensive Child Immunization Act, reduction of infant mortality, promotion of breast feeding, prenatal care programs, child health care, sudden infant death syndrome, childhood malnutrition, fetal alcohol syndrome, child dental care.

See also: 331 health education programs; 208 abortion related issues.

333: Mental illness and mental retardation

Examples: Federal role in providing services to the mentally ill, mental health services, quality of care for mentally ill, mentally ill and handicapped children, specialized housing for mentally retarded, mental health centers, veteran's mental health.

See also: 324 misuse of federal funds for mental health care; 322 reviews of hospital psychiatric programs.

334: Long-term care, home health, terminally ill, and rehabilitation services

Examples: Benefits and costs issues related to Medicare catastrophic costs, hospice, nursing homes, in home care, regulation of the sale of long-term health care to the elderly, long-term care insurance improvement, court appointed guardianships for the elderly and infirm, aging, gerontology research, National Institute of Aging, problems in financing long-term care, community alternative to institutional care, approaches to long-term care for the elderly, conferences on aging, comprehensive home health care, rehabilitation needs of persons with head injuries, life-sustaining treatments for the terminally ill.

See also: 322 nursing home standards; 333 long-term care for the mentally ill; 1304 disability benefits; 1609 veterans' disability benefits; 323 payment for outpatient services; 336 provision of outpatient benefits.

335: Prescription drug coverage and costs

Examples: Medicare prescription drug coverage, coverage of specific drugs under Medicaid, rising costs of drug coverage, coverage of clinical trials and experimental treatments.

See also: 321 regulation of drug industry.

336: Other or multiple benefits and procedures

Examples: Treatment for Alzheimer's, dental services, vision services, renal disease, breast cancer detection and treatment, durable medical equipment (e.g. wheelchairs).

341: Tobacco Abuse, Treatment, and Education

Examples: cigarette advertising and regulatory issues, ban on smoking in federal buildings, increase public awareness of smoking health risks, smoking prevention education programs, health effects associated with smoking.

342: Alcohol/Controlled and Illegal Drug Abuse, Treatment, and Education

Examples: implementation of the national minimum drinking age act, alcoholic beverage advertising act, alcohol abuse among the elderly, prevention of adolescent alcohol abuse, health insurance coverage of alcohol abuse treatment, drunk driving victims protection, drunk driving enforcement aid for states, alcoholism prevention programs, drug abuse education and prevention programs in schools, community based anti-drug programs, federal prison substance abuse treatment availability act, drug abuse treatment programs and insurance coverage, extension of drug and alcohol abuse prevention programs, health coverage of drug and alcohol abuse treatment programs, drug and alcohol abuse prevention programs in schools, drug and alcohol abuse in the armed services, juvenile alcohol and drug abuse, entertainment industry efforts to curb drug and alcohol abuse.

See also: 1203 drug trafficking; 321 drug safety.

(Special Note: This topic merges previous subtopics 342, 343, and 344.)

398: Research and development

Examples: Alzheimer's research, research on women's health, government tax incentives for research and development, research grants to organizations and educational institutions, conferences on health-related issues, genetic engineering issues, medical research and regulatory issues, sleep disorders research, NASA-NIH biomedical research, fetal tissue transplant research, health policy research programs, medical applications of biotechnology research, research on increased life expectancy, human genetic engineering research, biomedical and behavioral research.

399: *Other*

Examples: health consequences of a nuclear attack,

4. Agriculture

400: *General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)*

Examples: DOX, USDA and FØA appropriations, general farm bills, farm legislation issues, economic conditions in agriculture, impact of budget reductions on agriculture, importance of agriculture to the U.S. economy, national farmland protection policies, agriculture and rural development appropriations, family farmers, state of American agriculture, farm program administration, long range agricultural policies, amend the Agriculture and Food Act, National Agricultural Bargaining Board.

401: *Agricultural Trade*

Examples: FDA inspection of imports, agriculture export promotion efforts, agricultural trade promotion programs, tobacco import trends, agricultural export credit guarantee programs, impact of imported meats on domestic industries, country of origin produce labeling, USDA agricultural export initiatives, value added agricultural products in U.S. trade, establish coffee export quotas, effects of Mexican produce importation, international wheat agreements, livestock and poultry exports, amend Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954, reemphasize trade development, promote foreign trade in grapes and plums, prohibit unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products, extend Agricultural Trade Development, enact the Agriculture Trade Act of 1978, establish agricultural aid and trade missions to assist foreign countries to participate in U.S. agricultural aid and trade programs, Food, Agriculture, Conservation and Trade Act Amendments.

See also: 1800 general foreign trade; 1502 agricultural commodities trading.

402: Government Subsidies to Farmers and Ranchers, Agricultural Disaster Insurance

Examples: agricultural price support programs, USDA crop loss assistance, farm credit system financial viability, federal agriculture credit programs, agricultural disaster relief programs, subsidies for dairy producers, farm loan and credit issues, reforming federal crop insurance programs, credit assistance for family operated farms, federal milk supply and pricing policies, renegotiation of farm debts, USDA direct subsidy payments to producers, establishing farm program payment yields, peanut programs, wheat programs, evaluation of the supply and demand for various agricultural commodities, beef prices, cotton acreage allotments, shortages of agricultural storage facilities, agricultural subterminal storage facilities, financial

problems of farm banks, Agricultural Adjustment Act, farm vehicle issues, Wool Act, Sugar Act, feed grain programs, cropland adjustment programs.

See also: 1404 farm real estate financing.

403: Food Inspection and Safety (including seafood)

Examples: FDA monitoring of animal drug residues, consumer seafood safety, budget requests for food safety programs, food labeling requirements, grain inspection services, regulation of health and nutrition claims in food advertising and labeling, sanitary requirements for food transportation, regulation of pesticide residues on fruit, food irradiation control act, regulation of artificial food coloring, federal control over the contamination of food supplies, meat grading standards, meat processing and handling requirements, improvement of railroad food storage facilities, shortage of grain storage facilities, food packaging standards, food buyer protection, regulation of food additives, federal seed act, definition and standards of dry milk solids.

See also: 401 inspections of food imports.

404: Agricultural Marketing, Research, and Promotion

Examples: soybean promotion and consumer information act, USDA commodity promotion programs, cotton promotion, wheat marketing problems, livestock marketing, new peanut marketing system, establishing a national commission on food marketing, fruit and vegetable marketing, industrial uses for agricultural

products, meat promotion program, national turkey marketing act, federal marketing quotas for wheat.

405; Animal and Crop Disease, Pest Control, and Domesticated Animal Welfare

Examples: USDA regulation of plant and animal mailing to prevent the spread of diseases, control of animal and plant pests, pork industry swine disease eradication program, virus protection for sheep, grasshopper and cricket control programs on farmland, USDA response to the outbreak of citrus disease in Florida, eradication of livestock diseases, brucellosis outbreak in cattle, USDA integrated pest management program, toxic contamination of livestock, fire ant eradication program, proposed citrus blackfly quarantine, predator control problems, biological controls for insects and diseases on agricultural crops, eradication of farm animal foot and mouth diseases, efforts to protect the food-supply from terrorist attacks, treatment and welfare of domesticated animals or animals under human control, use of animals for research, sale or transportation of animals

See also: 403 pesticide residues on foods; 704 pollution effects of pesticides; 709 welfare of wild animals and humane trapping

408: Fisheries and Fishing

Examples: regulation of commercial fishing and fisheries, fisheries conservation and management; fish hatchery development; fishery resources, fish trapping; fishing licenses, general loans to fisheries or fisherman's associations, rebuilding of fisheries; fishing quotas.

See also: 498 fisheries research; 709 protection of fish species/populations, or restoration of fish habitats; 1007 regulation/safety of fishing vessels, 1902 international fishing agreements; 2103 public land conveyance for fisheries.

498: Agricultural Research and Development

Examples: condition of federally funded agricultural research facilities, USDA nutrition research activities, USDA agricultural research programs, regulation of research in agricultural biotechnology programs, organic farming research, potential uses of genetic engineering in agriculture, agricultural research services, research on aquaculture, fisheries research.

499: Other

Examples: methodologies used in a nationwide food consumption survey, agricultural weather information services, federal agricultural census, designate a national grain board, home gardening, redefinition of the term "farm", farm cooperative issues.

5. Labor, Employment, and Immigration

500: General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)

Examples: Department of Labor budget requests and appropriations, assess change in labor markets to the year 2000, human resources development act, recent decline in the number of manufacturing jobs, national employment priorities, employment security administration financing, current labor market developments.

501: Worker Safety and Protection, Occupational and Safety Health Administration (OSHA)

Examples: mine safety regulations, lead exposure risks during construction activities, improving OSHA safety and health programs, petrochemical plant worker safety, repetitive motion illnesses in the workplace, OSHA penalties and procedures for violations resulting in employee death or disability, investigation of a fatal fire at a chicken processing plant in North Carolina, construction safety standards, improve procedures for occupational health hazards identification, identification of high-risk diseases in the work place, worker protection at Superfund clean-up sites, drug and alcohol abuse in the work place, compensation for occupational diseases, safety at DOE nuclear facilities, black lung benefits and black lung disease.

502: Employment Training and Workforce Development

Examples: job training partnership acts (IPTA), job opportunities and basic skills training programs, federal aid for job retraining, job displacement programs among timber workers, workforce 2000 employment readiness act, elderly workers and job re-training, DOL bonuses to states for training and employment of long-term welfare recipients, national employment priorities act, work incentive programs, manpower and employment problems in Cleveland, manpower development and training act, public service jobs for unemployed, public service job programs, Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), job training for veterans.

503: Employee Benefits

Examples: underfunded pension plans and pension plan protection, emergency unemployment compensation, guarantees of retirement annuities, employee stock ownership plans, pension benefit guarantee corporation, voluntary employee leave sharing program, unemployment compensation system financing, worker compensation ratemaking reform, tax treatment of employee fringe benefits, disability insurance legislation, railroad employment benefits, welfare and pension plans disclosure act, corporate solvency of health benefit plans, ERISA.

See also: 2004 federal employee benefits; 300s employee health benefits and access to coverage.

504: Employee Relations and Labor Unions

Examples: general labor-management relations, striker replacement legislation, operations of the NLRB, federal agency guidelines for worker dispute resolution, unions and collective bargaining problems, labor law reform and unfair labor practices, terms of office for local labor union officers, investigation into the causes of labor disputes, notification of plant closures or layoffs, amend the National Labor Relations Act, right to organize, employee organization efforts.

See also: 1202 illegal activities of labor unions; 1926 International Labor Organization.

(Special Note: Industry-specific observations are coded according to substantive issue area when possible: 1003 FAA regulation of pilot rest periods; 1005 federal mediation of railway employee dispute; 602 teacher strikes.)

505: Fair Labor Standards

Examples: minimum wage regulation for federal contracts, increase the minimum wage rate, enforcement of wage and hour standards, require contractors to pay wages at the rate in locality where the construction occurred, fair labor standards act, application of the fair labor standards act in Puerto Rico, penalties on employers for overtime work requirements, Davis-Bacon Act (or Davis Bacon).

506: Youth Employment, Youth Job Corps Programs, and Child Labor

Examples: youth employment through conservation projects, increase youth participation in job training centers, youth employment regulation and protection, voucher system to promote youth service programs, youth involvement in community service programs, summer youth education and employment programs, job training for disadvantaged youths, summer camps and youth camps (all activities and issues associated with summer and youth camps).

See also: 501 child labor safety.

508: Parental Leave and Child Care

Examples: Family and Medical Leave Act, child care assistance programs, child care for low and moderate income families, meeting the child care needs of working parents, affordability of insurance for day care centers, parental and medical leave, child care placement assistance for working parents, dependent care, dependent and Child care.

529: *Migrant and Seasonal workers, Farm Labor Issues*

Examples: migrant and seasonal worker housing, national office for migrant farm workers, migrant children's nutrition and education needs, improvement of migrant living and working conditions, social and economic problems of migrant workers, migrant workers and their effect on American labor, Mexican farm labor programs, migratory labor bills, health clinics for migratory farm workers, farm labor supply programs.

599: *Other*

Examples: discontinuance of monthly press briefings by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, worker alienation research, materialism and the American family work ethic, DOL automatic data processing system.

6. Education

600: *General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)*

Examples: Department of Education (DoEd) appropriations, state of education in the U.S., education programs development, education quality, national education methods, impact of education budget cuts, white house conference on education, National Institute of Education

601: *Higher Education*

Examples: student loan reform, reauthorization of the higher education act, higher education student financial aid programs, violations of NCAA regulations by some colleges, direct loan programs for graduate students, student loan fraud and default, role and financial need of black colleges and universities, Montgomery @bill, military education, veterans education assistance, foreign students at U.S. military academies, rising costs of operating higher education institutions, improving the quality of higher education, Pell Grant eligibility changes, status of university endowments in light of federal aid reduction to higher education, national defense education act, Sea Grant and Space Grant programs.

602: Elementary and Secondary Education

Examples: federal elementary and secondary education programs, school funding disparities, education choice programs, high school dropout intervention programs, certification standards for public school teachers, impact of federal budget cuts on school districts, elementary and secondary school student discipline problems, the Safe Schools Act, construction assistance for school facilities, high school scholarship programs, elementary and secondary schools and supplemental educational centers, preschool issues, charter schools, No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), accountability in education, crime and violence in schools, general funding, broad curriculum reforms, broad testing reforms and teaching standards that do not emphasize specific subjects such as math, science, etc.

See also: 607 specific measures under NCLB aimed to increase the quality of education, math and science teacher certification standards.

603: Education of Underprivileged Students

Examples: Head Start programs, teaching disadvantaged students, Even Start Education Act, education needs of Hispanics, bilingual education needs, Department of Education grants to improve skills of economically disadvantaged students, effects of Head Start on later performance, adult literacy programs, combating adult illiteracy in the U.S., Head Start grant allocation formula, education for children from low income homes, enrichment programs for disadvantaged secondary school students, rural education initiatives.

See also: 201 school desegregation efforts.

604: Vocational Education

Examples: appropriations for vocational education programs, federal aid for vocational training, technical and vocational education programs, vocational aid program requirements, impact of proposed budget cuts on vocational education, vocational and occupational education, displaced homemakers vocational and education assistance.

606: Special Education

Examples: education programs for the deaf, DOEd grants for early intervention services for disabled infants and toddlers, appropriations for Education of the Handicapped Act, progress in implementing program for learning disabled youth, handicapped education, free public education for the handicapped, education assistance for the blind, Disabilities Education Act

607: Educational Excellence

Examples: promotion of excellence in education, promotion of science and math education, education standards and testing, improvement of science education facilities, increase foreign language competency in U.S. schools, programs to promote teacher excellence, grants for improving computer education in schools, establish centers for gifted and talented students, use of telecommunications to share teaching resources, grants for library construction, federal library program developments, public library facilities, teacher certification standards for math and science teachers, subject-specific curriculum, testing standards and/or teaching reforms.

See also: 602 general reform efforts aimed at increasing the quality of education (e.g., NCLB), teacher certification standards for all teachers.

609: Arts and Humanities

Examples: Appropriations for NEA, NEH, Department of Interior loans for performing arts at parks, national endowment for local arts development programs, federal role in funding arts programs, federal funding for the Kennedy Center, White House conferences on the arts and humanities, American folklife.

See also: 1707 public broadcasting; 1798 NSF funding,

698: Research and Development

Examples: education research appropriations, Department of Education research and development programs, research on education technology.

699: Other

Examples: propriety of a videotape made by the Department of Education (DOEd), DOEd internal problems, review National Center for Education Statistics activities, dismissal of Education Appeal Board cases, retirement and lifelong learning.

See also: 2103 school land conveyances.

7. Environment

700: General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)

Examples: EPA, CEO, ERDA budget requests and appropriations, implementation of the Clean Air Act, implementation of National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), review of EPA regulations, Environmental Crimes Act, U.S. Policies and international environmental issues, requirements for states to provide source pollution management programs, EPA pollution control programs, Comprehensive Environmental Response Act (CERPA), environmental implications of the new energy act, environmental protection and energy conservation, adequacy of EPA budget and staff for implementing pollution control legislation

701: Drinking Water Safety

Examples: Clean Water Act, EPA water pollution abatement, pesticides in groundwater, lead contamination of drinking water, drinking water safety

programs, comprehensive program to assess the quality of the nation's groundwater, drinking water availability, dioxin levels in drinking water, fluoridation of water, Federal Water Pollution Control Act.

703: Waste Disposal

Examples: interstate waste disposal, solid waste management, federal management of municipal waste, municipal sewage problems, EPA municipal sewage treatment construction grants program, recovery of energy from municipal solid waste, garbage and/or trash collection issues, waste treatment facility, storm water runoff.

704: Hazardous Waste and Toxic Chemical Regulation, Treatment, and Disposal

Examples: EPA administration of the Superfund program, hazardous waste sites cleanup, hazardous materials transportation, international movement of hazardous waste, insurance company liability for cleanup costs of hazardous waste sites, DOT routing of ultra hazardous cargoes, hazardous waste landfills, possible sites for nuclear waste repositories, toxic substances control and regulation, advance notice of hazardous of hazardous material storage for firefighters, pesticides regulation.

705: Air pollution, Global Warming, and Noise Pollution

Examples: Clean Air Act, air quality issues affecting national parks, EPA regulation of chemical plant emissions, costs and effects of chronic exposure to low-level air pollutants, ambient air quality criteria, global warming, national action plan for reducing greenhouse emissions, ozone layer depletion, national program to control acid rain, effects of chlorofluorocarbons on the ozone layer,

regulation of automobile emissions, EPA noise control programs, CAFE standards, effects of climate change on the Chesapeake Bay.

707: Recycling

Examples: recycling contaminated materials, beverage container recycling, state and local recycling efforts, promotion of recycling as a means of reducing solid waste, resource conservation and recycling.

708: Indoor Environmental Hazards

Examples: radon awareness and disclosure act, indoor air quality and radon abatement legislation, lead exposure reduction, childhood lead poisoning prevention, public school asbestos inspections, management and control of asbestos in government buildings, EPA programs relating to indoor air contamination, airliner cabin air quality, health effects of exposure to low level radiation from video display terminals, EPA regulation of indoor disinfectants.

709: Species and Forest Protection

Examples: endangered species protection act, gray wolf restoration, protection of spotted owls, exotic bird conservation, protection of performance animals, regulation of trapping devices, bald eagle protection, regulation of laboratory animals, fish and wildlife protection and management programs, marine mammal protection, Bristol Bay fisheries protection, salmon conservation issues, sport fish restoration programs, protection of certain tuna species, scientific findings on late-successional forest ecosystems, old growth forest protection, wilderness refuge protection, control of illegal trade in animals and plants.

See also: 405 treatment of domesticated animals or animals under human control; 408 fishery conservation and management; 1902 international agreements on resource/wildlife conservation; 2101 national parks, 2103 public lands management.

710: Pollution and Conservation in Coastal & Other Navigable Waterways

Examples: preservation of wetlands, regulation of ocean dumping, pollution from cruise ships, plastic pollution/invasive species control, marine sanctuaries appropriations, pollution in the Chesapeake Bay, protection of coral reef systems, Columbia river water pollution, coastal barrier improvement, coastal erosion and management, federal and state coastal zone protection policies, toxic pollution in the great lakes, regulation of the incineration of hazardous wastes at sea, oil spills.

See also: 2104 water resources development; 711 pollution in small lakes, rivers, and streams and/or watershed protection.

711: Land and Water Conservation

Examples: watershed protection, including pollution/invasive species in small lakes, rivers, and streams; land and water conservation fund amendments, USDA soil conservation promotion, soil conservation for watershed projects, topsoil conservation standards, water supply problems, federal-state water resources rights with conservation or other environmental dimensions, beach erosion.

See also: 2104 water development projects.

798: Research and Development

Examples: environmental research and development programs, EPA research and development appropriations, global climate change research, ocean research using satellite technology, marine biotechnology research, National Environmental Data System.

799: Other

Examples: Environmental education, environmental citizens, eco-terrorism.

8. Energy

800: General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)

Examples: Department of Energy (DOE) budget requests and appropriations, DOE and NRC budget requests and appropriations, national energy security policy, U.S. energy goals, U.S. energy supply and conservation, regulation of natural gas and electricity, impact of taxation on national energy policy, global energy needs, emergency plans for energy shortages, promotion of energy development projects, long-range energy needs of the U.S., energy capital requirements, establish the DOE, energy advisory committees.

See also: 2104 energy and water development projects.

801: Nuclear Energy and Nuclear Regulatory Commission Issues

Examples: Nuclear Regulatory Commission and Atomic Energy Commission budget requests and appropriations, nuclear power licensing reform, nuclear power plant fire safety legislation, U S. nuclear power policy, safety of nuclear facility storage tanks for high level radioactive waste, revise the claims system for nuclear accidents, standardized design for nuclear power plants, NRC regulation of the TVA nuclear power program, new technologies for safer nuclear reactors, need for international nuclear safety standards, Three Mile Island nuclear plant accident, state of the atomic energy industry, atomic energy patents, fusion energy act, Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), protection of nuclear plants from attack.

See also: 501 nuclear worker safety; 1614 defense related nuclear waste; 704 nuclear waste.

802: Electricity and Hydroelectricity

Examples: Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and Bonneville Power Administration (BPA) budget requests and appropriations, electric power plant construction, hydroelectric project licensing, hydroelectric power development, utility payment reform, FERC licensing of electric power plants, rural electrification programs, ability of rural electric cooperatives to provide adequate power, BPA electric power rates and ratemaking procedures, electric utility rate reform and regulation improvement, regional shortages of electric power, financial management of the TVA, electric utilities financial problems, regulation of electric power plants use of natural gas, vulnerability of U.S. electric power systems to

accidents, increase in rural electric rates, emergency sales of electric power, impact of inflation and recession on the electric utility industry.

803: Natural Gas and Oil (Including Offshore Oil and Gas)

Examples: natural gas regulation, natural gas pipeline safety issues, Trans-Alaska pipeline development, natural gas and oil exploration on federal lands, estimates of natural gas reserves in the U.S., state jurisdiction of the transportation of natural gas, process, collection and dissemination of information on winter heating fuels, oil prices and demand, gasoline price increases, OPEC crude oil prices, oil shortages, increase in world oil prices, long-term outlook of the world oil supply, oil imports and foreign commission payments, administration's gasoline rationing program, oil imports and energy security, foreign oil production and consumption, oil shale mining claims and regulation, estimating domestic oil production, petroleum storage facility fire prevention and safety, strategic petroleum reserve.

See also: 2103 mineral resources of the outer continental shelf; 710 oil spills.

805: Coal

Examples: DOE clean coal program, clean coal technologies, regulation of coal slurry pipelines, extent and recoverability of U.S. coal reserves, Great Plains coal gasification project, regulation of federal land leases for the extraction of coal, federal standards for surface coal mining, coal imports.

806: Alternative and Renewable Energy

Examples: hydrogen and renewable energy programs, promotion of solar and geothermal power, promotion of alternative fuels for automobiles, issues of ethanol gasoline, biomass fuel and wind energy programs, ocean thermal energy research, solar energy development program, assistance for the Synthetic Fuel Development Corporation, loans for alcohol fuel research, geothermal leases on federal lands, hydrogen programs.

807: Energy Conservation

Examples: energy efficiency in the U.S. government, home energy efficiency programs, community energy efficiency act, energy conservation in cities, energy conservation standards for household appliances, establish building energy performance standards, diesel fuel and gasoline conservation act, promotion of carpooling, daylight savings time extensions, motor vehicle fuel efficiency.

898: Research and Development:

Examples: national energy research and development policy, DOE energy technology research and development, energy storage research and development programs, role of national laboratories in energy research and development, hydrogen research and design programs.

899: Other

Examples: DOE and EPA use of consultants, energy materials and equipment allocation, standby energy authorities legislation, future requirements for energy data, establish the institute for long-range energy analysis.

9. Immigration

900: Immigration and Refugee Issues

Examples: immigration of Cuban refugees to the U.S., refugee resettlement appropriations, HHS authority over immigration and public health, INS enforcement of immigration laws, legalization procedures for illegal immigrants, assessment of Haitian refugee detention by the U.S., immigration and education issues for aliens, adjusting visa allocations based on applicant job skills, DOL certification process for foreign engineers working in the U.S., denial of visas to political refugees, appropriations for the INS, citizenship issues, expedited citizenship for military service.

See also: 529 migrant and seasonal workers; 1524 tourism; 1929 passport issues.

10. Transportation

1000: General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)

Examples: Department of Transportation (DOT) and National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) requests and appropriations, budget requests and appropriations for multiple agencies (NTSB, FAA, CAB), surface transportation programs, national transportation policy, rural transportation needs, adequacy of transportation systems, Interstate Commerce Commission policies and procedures,

impact of budget cuts on DOT programs, highway and mass transit programs, transportation assistance programs, high-speed ground transportation systems.

See also: 1003 budget requests and appropriations for FAA and CAB.

1001: Mass Transportation and Safety

Examples: mass transit grant programs, development of new urban public bus system, financial condition of the intercity bus industry, emergency subsidies to urban mass transportation programs, metrorail safety, public transportation.

1002: Highway Construction, Maintenance, and Safety

Examples: National Highway Transportation Safety Administration (NHTSA) budget requests and appropriations, federal aid for highway construction, highway safety and design, highway trust fund surplus, national maximum speed limit laws, pavement deterioration of highways in Florida, freeway problems in California, federal funding for bridge maintenance projects, highway user taxes, defense highway needs, control of advertising on interstate highways, infrastructure development, bridges, National Highway Academy, highway beautification programs, adding trees and plants along highways.

1003: Airports, Airlines, Air Traffic Control and Safety

Examples: Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) budget requests and appropriations, aviation safety issues, financial condition of the airline industry, uses of satellite technology in aviation, FAA delay in procurement of air traffic control equipment, development of new commercial

aircraft, commercial air service restrictions, airline compliance with FAA safety regulations, nationwide airport expansion needs, FAA air traffic controller standards, airlines fares and services, airplane crash liability standards, problems with airline computer reservation systems, air traffic control computer failures, oversight of CAB practices and procedures, CAB regulation of charter air carriers, rates and fares of foreign air transportation, federal airport construction aid, civil aviation academy.

1005: Railroad Transportation and Safety

Examples: AMTRAK budget requests and appropriations, federal railroad safety inspection and enforcement programs, development of high speed passenger rail transportation, growth of regional railroads, sales of short line and regional railroads, ICC rail rate regulation, AMTRAK passenger safety issues, freight rail industry regulation, Northeast Rail Service Act, shortage of railroad cars for commodity transportation, revitalization of Northeast Corridor rail properties, railroad deregulation.

1006: Truck and Automobile Transportation and Safety

Examples: trucking industry regulation, establish a national system of licensing for truck and bus drivers, truck safety audit and investigation procedures, prohibition of tandem trucks, size and weight limitations for trucks on interstate, impact of federal regulations on independent truckers, long and short haul trucking provisions, regulation of freight forwarders, ICC regulation of the trucking industry, motor vehicle safety issues, auto industry development of airbags, motor vehicle information programs, automobile safety belt usage, automobile crash

testing and standards, economic status of automobile manufacturing, all-terrain vehicle safety, trucking industry deregulation, efforts to reduce drunk driving

See also: 705 automobile emissions regulation, automobile CAFE standards.

1007: Maritime Issues, Including Safety and Security

Examples: U.S. Coast Guard, Merchant Marine, and Federal Maritime Commission budget requests and appropriations, cargo liability limits and the carriage of goods by sea, cargo preference laws, revitalization of the maritime industry, commercial fishing vessel safety, navigation safety issues, cruise ship safety, commercial shipbuilding industry, navy policies on transportation of military cargo by Merchant Marine, financing construction of merchant ships, maritime freight industry regulation, intercoastal shipping act, regulation of ocean shipping rates, Great Lakes pilotage, small boat safety, Coast Guard operation of ocean weather stations, navigation rules on inland waterways, designation and naming of channels, designation and naming of vessels.

See also: 1902 international fishing and wildlife agreements; 1915 Panama Canal; 2104 port development and construction.

1010: Public Works (Infrastructure Development)

Examples: budget requests and appropriations for public works and civil works projects, transportation infrastructure improvements, public works investment needs, local public works employment projects, local public works capital development and investment act, Public Works Acceleration Act.

See also: 800 energy projects; 2104 water projects.

1098: Research and Development

Examples: surface transportation research and development, DOE requests for transportation research and development funding, research and development in ground transportation

1099: Other

Examples: metric signing on highways.

12. Law, Crime, and Family Issues

1200: General (includes combinations of multiple subtopics)

Examples: emerging criminal justice issues, administration of criminal justice, revision of the criminal justice system, role of the U.S. commissioner in the criminal justice system.

1201: Executive Branch Agencies Dealing With Law and Crime

Examples: Judiciary, Department of Justice (DOJ), FBI, ATF, Border Patrol and Customs budget requests and appropriations, U.S. federal marshals witness protection program, review of FBI programs, improving criminal justice information systems at the state and local level, computerizing criminal records for

nationwide law enforcement access, law enforcement assistance programs, ATF gang information network, debt collection by the DOJ, Secret Service protection of government officials.

(Special Note: For issues related to the Department of Homeland Security and domestic terrorism prevention efforts see the coding guidelines above.)

1202: White Collar Crime and Organized Crime

Examples: Asian organized crime activities in the U.S., racketeering control, organized crime in Atlantic City, organized crime in labor unions, white collar crime in the oil industry, RICO penalties, gambling and organized crime, president's commission on organized crime, credit card counterfeiting and fraud legislation, corporate criminal liability, prosecution of organized crime labor racketeering cases, cigarette bootlegging, general money laundering, efforts to counter cyber-crime.

See also: 1203 drug related money laundering.

1203: Illegal Drug Production, Trafficking, and Control

Examples: Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) appropriations, national drug control strategy, federal interagency cooperation in drug control border drug interdiction, international narcotics control strategy, status of DEA drug interdiction programs, U.S.-- South American drug control strategy and cooperation, airborne drug trafficking deterrence, U.S. military involvement in drug interdiction, Coast Guard drug confiscation and search policies, drug trafficking

and money laundering, money laundering detection and penalties, federal seizure of drug related property, drug trafficking in New York City, crack-cocaine trafficking in Delaware, legalization of drugs, the relationship between drug trafficking and crime, criminal penalties for drug trafficking.

See also: 1202 general money laundering (non-drug related).

1204: Court Administration

Examples: Judiciary budget requests and appropriations, federal courts administration act, restructuring district courts, construction of new federal courthouse, administration of the federal courts, reorganization of federal courts, reducing the workload of the Supreme Court, reform grand jury procedures, time limits for federal criminal cases, capital punishment procedures, effectiveness of the pretrial services agency, oversight of the Legal Services Corporation, jurisdiction of lawsuits made by foreigners on U.S. companies, criminal fine collection efforts, conditions for pre-trial release, bail guidelines and bail reform, establish and office of the public defender, Supreme Court issues, criminal records, legal services issues, confer jurisdiction upon Court of Claims (with no specific references to other subject matter), judicial pay.

(Special Note: many issues fall within this category regarding court administration so do not be surprised if you use this category many times during coding.)

See also: 1205 parole issues; 1210 criminal sentencing requirements and civil suit guidelines

1205: Prisons

Examples: Federal Bureau of Prisons appropriations and budget requests, Federal Bureau of Prisons programs, halfway house contracts, alternatives to traditional incarceration for criminal offenders, prisoner 'boot' camp proposals, prison overcrowding, prison construction plans and policy, prison violence, shortcomings of the correction system, reform of the present parole system, national correction standards, penal reform.

1206: Juvenile Crime and the Juvenile Justice System

Examples: violent crime involving youth, juvenile justice and delinquency prevention act, juvenile court system, youth criminal activity, homeless and runaway youth assistance programs, adolescent drug use and related criminal activity, juvenile delinquency prevention programs, correlation of unemployment and the crime rate for youth, alternatives to juvenile incarceration, detention and jailing of juveniles, Institute for juvenile justice, institute for continuing studies of juvenile justice, Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act.

1207: Child Abuse and Child Pornography

Examples: child abuse prevention, national child search system, regulation of child pornography, violence against children, sexual exploitation of children, problems and incidence of missing children, federal efforts to relocate missing children, sexual abuse of children in day care homes, parental kidnapping of their children.

1208: Family Issues

Examples: court-ordered child support, battered women and child custody legislation, state of child welfare services, adoption and foster care programs, domestic violence, federal family planning programs, impact of drugs on children and families, aid for abandoned infants and children, teenage pregnancy issues, teenage suicide prevention, family services support for adoption, family economic problems, consequences of divorce, elderly abuse, domestic violence, child tax credits.

1209: Police, Fire, and Weapons Control

Examples: Federal financial assistance to state and local law enforcement, rights of police officers during internal investigations, police misconduct, neighborhood crime reduction programs, arson prevention, handgun control, revise federal gun control laws, seven-day waiting periods for handgun sales, control of explosives, establishment of a national police academy.

1210: Criminal and Civil Code

Examples: revisions of the federal criminal code, federal crime sentencing disparities, hate crimes sentencing enhancement act, federal rape law reform, judicial sentencing in narcotics cases, sentencing in capital cases, criminal penalties for assaults on firemen and policemen, proposals to abolish the death penalty, apply federal law to crimes committed on aircraft, civil penalty guidelines and limitations, criminal justice statistics, habeas corpus reform.

1211: Riots, Crime Prevention, and Crime Control

Examples: programs to prevent crimes against women, crimes against the elderly, deterring auto theft, violent crime control, national crime survey, federal criminal diversion programs, compensation programs for victims of violent crime, causes of urban riots and civil disturbances,

See also: 1208 domestic violence.

1299: Other

13. Social Welfare

1300: General

Examples: Health and Human Services (HHS) and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) appropriations and budget requests, administration's welfare reform proposals, effectiveness of federal and state public welfare programs, social services proposals, public assistance programs, effects of economic and social deprivation on the psychology of underprivileged persons, social security and welfare benefits reforms, related state and local issues.

See also: 300 HHS appropriations specific to health; 300 HEW appropriations specific to health; 600 HEW appropriations specific to education.

1301; Food Stamps, Food Assistance, and Nutrition Monitoring Programs

Examples: USDA grants to states for women, infant and children (WIC) supplemental food program, childhood hunger relief, child nutrition programs, consumer nutrition awareness, food stamp abuse and fraud, approach to the U.S. hunger problem, USDA school breakfast/lunch program, malnutrition problems among the elderly, food assistance for low income families, coordinate USDA and HHS programs for nutrition monitoring, USDA food programs for the homeless, administration task force on food assistance, food stamp reductions, special milk program eligibility for public schools, national nutrition policy study, food assistance for the elderly, national school lunch act.

See also: 331 the role of diets in disease prevention.

1302: Poverty and Assistance for Low-Income Families and Individuals

Examples: Economic Opportunity Act antipoverty programs, programs to alleviate long-term welfare dependency, examine proposals to reform Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, needs of disadvantaged children from low-income families, efforts of Southern states to reduce poverty, mandatory work and training programs for welfare recipients, promotion of economic self-sufficiency for single mothers receiving AFDC benefits, HHS low-income energy assistance programs, budget cut impact on AFDC programs, general or cross-cutting issues related to Supplemental Security Income (SSI).

(Special Note: AFDC issues go in this category even if it also refers to Social Security Act or Administration (Title IV), child welfare issues associated with Social Security Act go in this category as well, Earned Income Tax credit.)

See also: 1204 legal assistance for the poor.

1303; Elderly Issues and Elderly Assistance Programs (Including Social Security Administration)

Examples: contributions into the social security fund, Older Americans Act, revise social security retirement earnings test, social security system filing problems, SSA procedures for handling claims for denied benefits, improve social security benefits for older women, social services for the elderly, management of the social security trust funds surplus, reduction of social security benefits, elderly assistance programs under the older Americans act, problems and needs of elderly women, cost of living adjustments for social security benefits, impact of budget cuts on the elderly, social security financing issues, energy cost assistance for the elderly, needs of rural elderly.

(Special Note: Omnibus legislation which includes multiple topics under Social Security goes in this category. In addition, specific topics such as changes to the SSA for the purpose of child welfare, housing, etc. should be coded in those more precise subtopics. Bills with no specific references to health care but are SS related, should be coded in this subtopic.)

See also: 1301 elderly nutrition assistance programs; 1408 elderly housing.

1304: Assistance to the Disabled and Handicapped

Examples: residential living programs for the mentally retarded and developmentally disabled, revision of aid to handicapped, technologies for assisting disabled persons, HHS grants for persons with chronic disabilities, needs of the elderly blind, rehabilitation assistance for disabled, programs for the deaf and hearing impaired, independent living programs for the handicapped, federal aid for the mentally ill and retarded, aid to physically handicapped, Randolph-Sheppard Act for the blind.

See also: 205 handicapped access to federal buildings.

1305: Social Services and Volunteer Associations

Examples: domestic volunteer service programs, youth volunteer programs, community volunteer programs, providing volunteer services for the elderly, ACTION agency older Americans volunteer programs, federal management of volunteer services, national meals-on-wheels programs, state social services programs, boy scouts of America, older worker community service programs, boys and girls clubs.

See also: 1929 Peace Corps.

1399: Other

14. Community Development and Housing Issues

1400: General

Examples: Housing and Urban Development (HUD) budget requests and appropriations, housing and the housing market, HUD policy goals, building construction standards, future of the housing industry, national housing assistance legislation, administration and operation of national housing programs, housing safety standards.

1401: Housing and Community Development

Examples: HUD housing and community development programs, HUD loans for neighborhood revitalization efforts, HUD block grants, neighborhood development and preservation, housing and urban development, National Housing Act, making repairs and improvements to a residence.

See also: 1403 urban economic development; 1405 rural economic development.

1403: Urban Economic Development and General Urban Issues

Examples: urban enterprise zones, local partnership act, economic development needs of urban areas, community reinvestment act, urban revitalization, economic problems in various cities, national urban policy, effects of budget cuts on cities, federal role in dealing with urban decline, reducing urban sprawl, New York City financial bailout, model cities programs.

See also: 2001 intergovernmental relations.

1404: Rural Housing and FmHA Housing Assistance Programs

Examples: management of FmHA rural housing assistance program, FmHA home loan appeals procedure, shortages of low-income rural housing, housing credit needs in rural areas, FmHA management problems, agriculture real estate loans, FmHA farm loans.

See also: 1405 rural economic development.

1405: Rural Economic Development

Examples: credit assistance and availability for rural economic development, investment in rural areas, rural conditions, Appalachian Regional Development Commission, Economic Development Administration assistance, rural development oversight, economic and social problems of rural America, rural community development.

See also: 802 rural electricity development, 1706 rural telephone development.

1406: Low and Middle Income Housing Programs and Needs

Examples: housing affordability problems of low and moderate income families, federal housing assistance programs, low-income housing shortages, condominium conversion trends and housing affordability, rent control, deficiencies in public housing projects, budget renewal for HUD's Section 8 program, alleged mismanagement of HUD programs, tenant-management initiatives in public housing projects, HUD management of multi-family housing programs, security in

public housing, neighborhood preservation, slum clearance and related problems, multifamily housing projects, housing affordability and availability.

See also: 200 fair housing initiatives and discrimination in housing; 1408 elderly housing.

1407: Veterans Housing Assistance and Military Housing Programs

Examples: VA home loan guaranty program, use of national service life insurance funds to underwrite mortgage loans to veterans, VA mortgage foreclosures, veterans emergency housing act, low cost rental housing for veterans, sale of permanent war housing to veterans, substandard housing of military personnel, housing in military areas, defense housing act.

See also: 1608 on-base military housing.

1408: Elderly and Handicapped Housing

Examples: Elderly housing needs, housing shortages and the elderly, alternative approaches to housing for the elderly, condominiums and the elderly, housing facilities for the elderly and handicapped, adequacy of federal response to housing needs of older Americans

1409: Housing Assistance for Homeless and Homeless Issues

Examples: permanent housing for the homeless, federal aid for the homeless, Homeless Outreach Act, assistance for homeless veterans, lack of housing for homeless and lowincome groups, use of emergency assistance funds for housing for homeless families, extent and causes of homelessness in the U.S.

See also: 603 education of homeless children.

1410: Secondary Mortgage Market

Examples: FHA mortgage insurance fund, soundness of the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation and FANNIE MAE, abuses of FHA mortgage programs, mortgage marketing and mortgage credit, FHA to insure loans for residential mobile home purchases, examine the secondary mortgage market for industrial mortgages, FHA mortgage foreclosure procedures.

See also: 1504 consumer mortgages.

1499: Other

Examples: architectural competition, cellulose home insulation.

15. Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce

1500: General

Examples: Department of Commerce (DOC) and National Bureau of Standards (NBS) budget requests and appropriations, financial system structure and regulation, DOC reorganization plan, national materials policy, regulatory sunshine act, federal regulation of the economy, Interstate Commerce Act.

See also: 1800 Federal Trade Commission.

1501: U.S. Banking System and Financial Institution Regulation

Examples: Regulatory burden on financial institutions, FDIC and Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) policies, interstate banking efficiency, RTC procedures for disposal of assets of failed savings and loan banks, FDIC bank insurance fund, banking regulation reform, failed federally insured savings and loan associations, need for financial service industry restructuring, financial institution fraud investigations, savings and loan crisis, FSLIC acquisition of insolvent savings and loan associations, uniform standards for saving institution advertising, standards for U.S. commercial bank foreign loan transactions, Federal Reserve regulation on check clearing systems--limit length of time that banks can hold checks, financial institution deregulation, electronic fund transfer act, interest rate regulation on savings accounts, national credit union administration, operation of federal intermediate credit banks, Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Federal Credit Union Act, Bank Holding Company Act, financial services industry reform.

See also: 104 Federal Reserve Board issues; 1525 Truth-in-Lending Act; 1202 prosecution of financial institution crimes.

1502: Securities and Commodities Regulation

Examples: Securities Exchange Commission (SEC) budget requests and appropriations, regulation of commodity markets, federal securities regulations, securities laws violations, regulation of commercial bank involvement in the

securities market, SEC regulation of corporate bonds, examine stock market volatility problems, municipal bond market regulation, commodity futures trading commission, growth of money market mutual funds, pension fund investment policies, protection for securities investors, amend the Securities Exchange Act, regulation of mutual fund investment companies, commodities, Public Utility Holding Company Act.

1504: Consumer Finance, Mortgages, and Credit Cards

Examples: mortgage financing reform, consumer credit protection, real estate settlement procedures, consumer access to credit records, consumer information on credit card interest rates, consumer information on mortgage settlement costs, fraud and abuse among credit repair agencies, adjustable rate mortgages, regulation of credit card solicitations, inaccurate credit bureau information reporting procedures, Credit Control Act.

See also: 1410 government mortgage programs.

1505: Insurance Regulation

Examples: fraud and abuse in the insurance industry, insurance industry financial status, effectiveness of state regulation of insurance companies, insurance company failures, automobile insurance affordability and availability, no-fault motor vehicle insurance, life insurance industry regulation, sales of commercial life insurance on military bases, product liability insurance rates.

See also: 1523 flood and earthquake insurance.

1507: Bankruptcy.

Examples: reform of consumer bankruptcy laws, professional fees in bankruptcy cases, bankruptcy code reform, depositor treatment in bankruptcy proceedings of uninsured financial institutions, bankruptcy regulation for farm families, municipal bankruptcy.

See also: 1204 bankruptcy courts; 530 employee benefits during bankruptcy; 1003 bankruptcies in airline industry.

1520: Corporate Mergers, Antitrust Regulation, and Corporate Management Issues

Examples: unfair competition in the tourism industry, meatpacking industry concentration, intellectual property antitrust protection, Sherman Antitrust Act, vertical price-fixing restrictions, price fixing agreements, monopoly problems in regulated industries, limited partnership regulations, foreign acquisition of U S. firms, corporate management structure, hostile corporate takeovers, seed-money corporations, Clayton Act, Sarbanes-Oxley Act.

See also: 1501 banking deregulation; 1003 airline deregulation; 1005 railroad deregulation; 1006 trucking deregulation; 1706 telephone deregulation; 1526 sports regulation; 803 oil industry deregulation, 1505 insurance industry regulation.

1521: Small Business Issues and the Small Business Administration

Examples: Small Business Administration (SBA) budget requests and appropriations promoting small business exports, small business credit availability

problems, health insurance cost burden on small businesses, government assistance to small business, federal set aside contracts for small business, small business competitiveness under current liability laws, problems of small businesses complying with EPA regulations, SBA loans to small businesses, impact of deregulation on small trucking businesses, SBA implementation of small business programs for veterans, promotion of women in small business, impact of product liability costs on small business, increases in small business failures, impact of federal regulations on small business, access to capital for small business, government competition with small business.

See also: 1523 small business disaster loan programs; 201 SBA minority business programs; 1609 VA small business loans.

1522: Copyrights and Patents

Examples: Patent and Trademark Office appropriations, copyrights and telecommunication, biotechnology patent protection, intellectual property rights, copyright infringement remedies, industrial design protection, patents for inventions made in space, copyright protection for computer software, music copyrights, piracy of intellectual property, patent application procedures, trademark use and clarification, home recording of copyrighted material, performance royalties, patent office fees.

1523: Domestic Disaster Relief

Examples: Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) budget requests and appropriations, aid for flood disasters, national flood insurance reform, earthquake

preparedness, FEMA disaster planning and relief operations, FEMA civil defense programs, FEMA--national fire academy training programs, SBA disaster loans, interest rates on disaster loans, emergency credit extension to farmers in disaster areas, hurricane protection projects, early warning systems, drought relief, establishment of a national fire academy.

1524: Tourism

Examples: White House conference on tourism, promotion of tourism in the U.S., using tourism to promote development of rural economies, problems for foreign visitors, status of U.S. tourism industry, national tourism programs, regulation of travel agents.

See also: 530 immigration and refugee issues; 1929 passport issues.

1525: Consumer Safety and Consumer Fraud

Examples: Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) budget requests and appropriations, deceptive mailings and solicitations, consumer reporting reform, auto repair fraud, state consumer protection standards, federal standards for product liability, child car seat safety, infomercials and consumer protection, deceptive ads in the diet industry, telemarketing fraud, debt collection and consumer abuse, penalties for consumer product tampering, the consumer protection advocacy movement, Truth-in-Lending Act, labeling of alcoholic beverages, regulation of deceptive practices in the funeral industry, cosmetic safety, false and misleading advertising, consumer affairs, control of flammable fabrics.

See also: 708 protection from indoor radiation hazards; 1504 fraudulent land sales.

1526: Sports and Gambling Regulation

Examples: regulation of greyhound racing, health and safety standards for boxing, promotion of professional standards for boxing, regulation of gambling on vessels, , regulation of interstate horse racing, status of amateur sports in the U.S., antitrust immunity for professional sports teams, President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, use of performance enhancing drugs in sports.

1599: Other

Examples: conversion to the metric system, emergency chlorine allocation, uniform time standards.

16. Defense

1600: General

Examples: Department of Defense budget requests and appropriations (DOD), Department of the Air Force, Army, or Navy appropriations, armed services bills covering multiple subtopics, DOD operations and maintenance, defense production act, reorganization of the DOD, status of the national military establishment, establishment of the DOD, funding for defense activities of DOE, termination or designation of special defense areas.

See also: 1701 NASA\DOD issues.

1602: U.S. and Other Defense Alliances, U.S Security Assistance

Examples: NATO strategy and U.S. military presence in Europe, Japan-U.S. joint military operations, mutual security acts, changes in the Soviet Union and the future of NATO, NATO defense capabilities in Europe, Warsaw Pact status, Soviet Union and China defense and economic development needs, Soviet strategic force developments, U.S. military commitments to NATO, NATO military equipment, Southeast Asia collective defense treaty, inter-American military cooperation act, security assistance, UN peace-keeping activities.

1603: Military Intelligence, CIA, Espionage

Examples: foreign economic espionage, U.S. intelligence reorganization, congressional oversight of U.S. covert intelligence activities, DOD security review commission, intelligence activities of Soviet-bloc diplomats, CIA funds for the support of Nicaraguan rebels, leaks of classified defense information, national intelligence act, CIA estimates of Soviet defense spending, role of the national security advisor, foreign intelligence electronic surveillance, organized subversion in the U.S. armed forces, communist bloc intelligence activities in the U.S., CIA illegal involvement in Chile, testimony of a KGB defector, intelligence reports on the necessity of ABM missile deployment, workings of the Cuban intelligence network, recent Soviet navy and military activities in Europe, CIA employee retirement and disability system, U.S defense strategies, national security acts, national security council briefings, threats to U.S. interests, Soviet Union and China military capabilities.

1604: Military Readiness, Coordination of Armed Services Air Support and Sealift Capabilities, and National Stockpiles of Strategic Materials

Examples: DOD plans for modernization of nuclear forces, military sealift performance in the Persian Gulf War, defense mobilization requirements of domestic industries, DOD efforts to improve defense communication systems, national defense stockpiles, modernization requirements, integration of military traffic management and military sealift command, U.S. military readiness, DOD combat readiness programs, DOD mobility fuel requirements, fleet readiness, test and evaluation of the armed forces, shortages of essential materials, stockpiling of critical materials, disposal of various stockpiled materials, military air transportation readiness, production of fluorspar.

See also: 803 strategic petroleum reserves; 1616 defense industry.

1605: Arms Control and Nuclear Nonproliferation

Examples: Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) budget requests and appropriations, nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, destruction of nuclear weapons in the Soviet Union, North Korean nuclear program, U.S. arms control policies, nonproliferation of chemical weapons, nuclear testing moratorium, DOE export controls of nuclear production material, arms export controls, arms reduction agreements between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, international ban on chemical weapons, global spread of chemical and biological weapons, prevention of sale of weapons system to Japan, START arms control treaty, conventional forces reduction, violation of arms control agreements, nuclear proliferation in

developing countries, implication of INF treaty for NATO, Soviet Salt II treaty violations, UN report on nuclear proliferation, arms trade in the western hemisphere, nuclear exports to India, U.S.-Soviet arms race control, EURATOM agreements, atomic weapons research and development, Arms Export Control Act revisions.

See also: 1803 chemical and advanced technologies export control..

1606: Military Aid and Weapons Sales to other Countries

Examples: military assistance to other countries, conventional arms sales policies, sale of f-15 aircraft, commercial military sales, donation of an obsolete aircraft carrier, proposed sale of weapons, DOD costs related to sales of military equipment to foreign countries, sale of decommissioned ships

See also: 1901 economic and military aid

1608: Manpower, Military Personnel and Dependents (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines), Military Courts

Examples: DOD authorization requests for armed forces personnel strength levels, military personnel issues, child care programs at military installations, armed forces staffing requirements, imminent danger pay for those serving in the Persian gulf, DOD morale, welfare, and recreation programs, DOD officer promotion procedures, shortage of affordable housing for military families, benefits for military retiree spouses, special pay to encourage personnel retention, survivor benefit plans, defense officer personnel management act, status of army manpower, selective service

system funding, unionization of military personnel, enlistment bonuses for service in a critical skill, increase flight pay for military aviators, recruiting and retention of military personnel, life insurance for military personnel, various personnel issues during W.W.II, Americans missing or prisoner in Asia, POW's in Vietnam, live sightings of U.S. prisoners of war, retired military personnel issues, military court martial, transportation of armed forces, air travel of armed forces, mail for armed forces, mail for servicemen, defense department overseas teachers pay and issues.

See also: 601 GI Bill and military academies.

1609: Veteran Affairs and Other Issues

Examples: veterans programs budget requests, veteran's benefit claims, VA national cemetery system, illness of Persian Gulf veterans, disabled veterans compensation, VA board of appeals adjudication procedures, VA benefits eligibility, compensation for veterans, cost of living adjustments for veterans, delays in processing veterans claims, problems faced by Vietnam era veterans, federal services for women veterans, VA life insurance programs, reorganization of veteran's food service operations, small business loans to veterans, consolidation of the veterans administration, veterans readjustment assistance act, veterans pay, veterans transportation issues.

See also: 300 series for veterans health care (.3 denotes military or veterans health); 601 veterans education benefits; 1407 veterans housing; 1409 homeless veterans; 2008 designating/naming Veterans Administration hospitals and medical centers, 1608 on-base military housing and retired military personnel; 502 for job training.

1610: Military Procurement and Weapons System Acquisitions and Evaluation

Examples: DOD budget requests and appropriations for procurement of weapons, DOD procurement process, DOD aircraft procurement, funding for the B-2, shipbuilding and conversion programs, weapons system testing and evaluation, DOD contracting for support services, procurement of the Navy SSN-21 attack submarine, DOD purchasing and control of military supplies, contracting out of core logistic activities, M-16 rifle procurement program, health of strategic U.S. Industries.

See also: 1617 oversight of defense contractors and contractor fraud; 1604 adequacy of supplies.

1611: Military Installations, Construction, and Land Transfers

Examples: military construction budget requests and appropriations, military construction programs, DOD commissary system, military lands withdraw, national war college restoration act, Fort Hood land acquisition, expansion of U.S. military bases in Spain, construction of bridges by the military, management of military clubs, military land conveyances, military real estate projects, national defense facilities act, military housing supplies, disposal of military property, construction of ordinance facilities, DOD real estate acquisitions, disposal of synthetic rubber facilities, sale of military stores to civilian employees, war plants disposal.

1612: National Guard and Reserve Affairs

Examples: reserve officer personnel management, army reserve force structure, deactivation problems of reserve units participating in Desert Storm, management of military reserve vessels, management of reserve air fleet, national guard tort claims, survivor benefits for reservists, reserve members payments for life insurance, national guard retirement credit, reserve pay, flight training for ROTC, status of reserve facilities, promotion system for reserve officers, composition of the naval reserve.

See also: 601 ROTC college education.

1614: Military Nuclear and Hazardous Waste Disposal, Military Environmental Compliance

Examples: environmental crimes at rocky flats nuclear weapons facility, radioactive and chemical contamination at nuclear weapons facility, disposal of defense related wastes, hazardous waste identification at military bases, navy shipboard waste disposal policy, nuclear site decontamination, DOD compliance with the clean air act, DOE nuclear weapons hazardous waste management, army disposal of chemical weapons stockpile, DOD shipment of toxic chemicals by rail, radioactive spills at an air force base, uranium mill tailings radiation control act, environmental impacts of MX missile siting.

See also: 704 nonmilitary hazardous waste disposal.

1615: Civil Defense & Homeland Security

Examples: radiological emergency planning, civil reserve air fleet, federal civil defense act, effects of limited nuclear warfare, federal fallout Shelter construction, civil defense air raid shelter program, civil defense for national survival, civil air patrol, dept. of the army appropriations for civil functions, Dept. Homeland Security and related functions, DHS and efforts to prevent domestic terrorism within U.S. borders.

(Special Note: for issues related to the Department of Homeland Security and domestic terrorism prevention efforts see the general coding guidelines above.)

See also: 1523 FEMA domestic (weather related) disaster relief.

1616: DOD Civilian Personnel, Civilian Employment by the Defense Industry, Military Base Closings

Examples: assist workers affected by defense spending cuts, assist communities affected by DOD facilities closures, peacetime conversion of defense industry, base closure recommendations, maintenance of the U.S. defense industrial base, defense industry employment, protection of DOD civilian employees, closure of overseas military bases.

1617: Oversight of Defense Contracts and Contractors

Examples: defense contract audit agency, management and pricing of DOD defense contracts, overpricing by DOD contractors, defense procurement fraud, DOD inventory control system problems, defense contractor financial data reporting requirements, inventory control and accounting procedures used Bell Helicopter,

DOD employees ethics program, DOD contractors health insurance reimbursement policy, prosecution of fraudulent defense contractors, problem of product substitution by defense contractors, establish system for documenting defense contractor performance, fraud/cost overruns at General Dynamics, quality assurance problems at Hughes missile production facility, Navy spare parts procurement overpricing, DOD contract profit policy, DOD contract award procedures, review of military catalogue supply system, employment of DOD personnel by defense contractors.

1619: Direct War Related Issues and Foreign Operations

Examples: appropriations for military operations in Vietnam, U.S. relations with Laos, cost of the Vietnam War, impact of the Vietnam War, war-related civilian problems in Laos and Cambodia, air war against North Vietnam, Gulf of Tonkin incidents, U.S-Laotian security relations, military strategy in the Korean War, military supplies and equipment in Korean War, ammunition shortage in Korean War, Korean War mobilization programs, prisoners of war, Geneva convention for protection of POW's, elimination of German resources for war, shipment of war relief supplies, Pearl Harbor attack, war assets administration, investigation of the Katyn Forest massacre.

See also: 1620 settlement of war related claims against the U.S. Government.

1620: Relief of Claims Against U.S. Military:

Examples: refunds or settlements for military dependents, relief of citizen injuries caused by the military, refunds for veterans, return of confiscated property,

settlement of damage claims caused by war, settlement of foreign claims against military.

See also: 1929 International or Foreign Claims Act; Foreign Claims Settlement Commission; 2015 claims against the U.S. Government.

1698: Research and Development

Examples: DOD budget requests and appropriations for research and development, advanced materials research, laser technology, R&D on aerospace plane, office of Naval research, tilt rotor technology, DOD testing of airborne radar jammer, nuclear weapons R&D.

1699: Other

Examples: issues arising from the explosion aboard the U.S.S. Iowa, resolution honoring a DOD staff director, army helicopter safety, government liability for atomic weapons testing, army food irradiation program, military commemorative legislation, including the award of military medals and commemoratives, Congressional Gold Medals for military personnel, incorporate American War Mothers.

See also: 2101 military parks and memorials.

17. Space, Science, Technology and Communications

1700: General

Examples: Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the Office of Science and Technology Policy budget requests and appropriations, science and engineering personnel requirements for the 1990s, U.S. technology policy, FCC oversight review, reorganization of the FCC, national engineering and science policy, automation and technological change, FCC regulation of multiple subtopics (TV, telephone, cable, etc.).

See also: 1798 NSF research funding.

1701: NASA, U.S. Government Use of Space, Space Exploration Agreements

Examples: NASA budget requests and appropriations, NASA administrative issues, president's proposal for the space station Freedom, costs of the space station, policy goals for NASA space programs, problems with the Hubble Space Telescope, nuclear power and space exploration, review the space shuttle Challenger accident, international space policy, shuttle deployment of satellites, U.S. space cooperation with the Soviets, NASA satellite communications, Skylab 1 mechanical difficulties, Apollo 16 mission report, status of the Apollo program, NASA-DOD space programs budget requests and appropriations, DOD-NASA national aerospace plane program, NASA and DOD space launch vehicle requirements, prototype construction of a commercial supersonic transport airplane, DOD use of space.

1704: Commercial Use of Space, Satellites

Examples: international competition in space launch services, U.S. commercial space launch industry, Landsat satellite sale to private sector, encourage private

sector development of satellite launch vehicles, status of private investment in space activities, solar power satellite research, earth resources technology satellite program, communication satellites.

See also: 1707 satellite TV broadcasting; 1708 weather satellites,

1705: Science Technology Transfer, International Scientific Cooperation

Examples: technology transfer improvements act, technology transfer barriers and limitations, science cooperation between U.S. and Latin America, U.S.-East European cooperation in science research, U.S. policy of cooperation with foreign countries on science and technology, international science cooperation, technology transfer from the U.S. government to private industry, U.S.-Japan agreement to conduct more joint science and technology research, Department of Commerce technology transfer activities, international support for supercollider program, university and industry cooperation for technological advancements, create a national scientific information data processing center.

See also: 1803 restrictions on exports of high technology.

1706: Telephone and Telecommunication Regulation

Examples: national communications infrastructure, mobile communications, telephone network reliability, unauthorized switching of consumers to long distance carriers, international communications regulation, FCC regulation of 1-900 numbers, telecommunication development in rural areas, AT&T regulation, FCC regulation of telephone rates, review FCC awarding of cellular licenses, regulation

of interstate telecommunications, FCC regulatory practice in telecommunications, dial-a-porn regulation.

See also: 208 telephone privacy; 1525 telephone marketing fraud.

1707: Broadcast Industry Regulation (TV, Cable, Radio)

Examples: Public Broadcasting Corporation budget requests and appropriations, FCC regulation of cable, reallocation of radio frequencies from federal to private sector use, FCC regulation of radio, use of TV in the classroom for educational purposes, regulation of violence on TV, closed caption regulation of TV, competitive problems in the cable industry, requirements for transferring radio/TV broadcast licenses, oversight of Board for International Broadcasting, FCC network acquisition approval, national public radio financial problems, establish the committee on film classification, regulation of films and broadcasts demeaning ethnic, racial or religious groups, FCC authority to regulate subscription TV, TV and movie rating system, newspaper industry regulation, Newsmen's Privilege Act.

See also: 1929 Radio Free Europe program

1708: Weather Forecasting and Related Issues, NOAA, Oceanography

Examples: NOAA budget requests and appropriations, modernization of the national weather service, weather forecasting and warning technologies, NOAA and NASA global change research program, NOAA ocean research vessels, geological surveys of the U.S., agriculture weather information service, tornado forecasting and detection, status of the federal oceanographic fleet, adequacy of the

national weather service severe storm forecasting, ocean and marine resources programs, U.S. marine and atmospheric science programs, arctic weather reporting stations.

See also: 710 protection of marine environments.

1709: Computer Industry, Computer Security, and General Issues related to the Internet

Examples: high-performance computer development, computer viruses, superconductivity research, lease of computer software.

(Special Note: Issues related to specific issues with the Internet should be coded in their respective categories. For example, financial exploitation over the Internet should go in white collar crime (code 1202).)

1798: Research and Development

Examples: National Science Foundation (NSF) budget requests and appropriations, mission of NSF, alleged abuses of federal research grants to universities, federal cooperation with universities for science research, electric and magnetic field research, telecommunications equipment research, metals research and development, DOE superconducting supercollider program, improving research facilities for science in U.S. universities, HDTV research, robotics research., national aerospace plane technology, missile development and space science.

1799: Other

Examples: establish a systematic approach to value engineering, consider various proposals for defining U.S. time zones, sightings of UFOs, establish a national science academy.

18. Foreign Trade

1800: General

Examples: Federal Trade Commission (FTC), U.S. International Trade Commission, or International Trade Administration, budget requests and appropriations, world steel trade trends and structures, various tariff and trade bills, oversight hearings on U.S. foreign trade policy, U.S. trade relations with socialist economies, trade reform act, trade expansion act, tax and trade regulations, customs court issues, trading with enemy acts.

See also: 401 foreign agricultural trade.

1802: Trade Negotiations, Disputes, and Agreements

Examples: north American free trade agreement (NAFTA), Caribbean basin free trade agreements, U.S. job market implication of NAFTA, GATT final agreement, U.S.-EC meat trade disputes, multinational trade negotiations, U.S. and China trade relations, normalize economic relations between U.S. and the former Soviet Union, U.S. and Japanese commercial trade, MFN trading status of China, energy trade between U.S. and Canada, U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement, MFN status for Romania, taxation convention with Pakistan,

See also: 401 agricultural trade.

1803: Export Promotion and Regulation, Export-Import Bank

Examples: export development administration, compliance with U.S. trade laws related to the Arab boycott, export promotion programs, EX-IM bank export financing programs, restrictions on high technology exports, tax incentives to encourage exports, encourage formation of export companies, national security export licensing, export control to the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries.

1804: International Private Business Investments, Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)

Examples: foreign acquisition of U.S. owned companies, foreign direct investment in the U.S., improve federal coordination of information on foreign investments in the U.S., reciprocal foreign investment protections, U.S. business investment abroad, review foreign bank takeovers, evaluation of the overseas private investment corporation, investors involvement in illegal payments to foreign officials, activities of American multinational corporations abroad, foreign investment and American jobs, removal of tax barriers as an incentive for increased foreign investments, trade fairs, international business exchange and investments.

1806: Productivity and Competitiveness of U.S. Business, U.S. Balance of Payments

Examples: international competitiveness of the U.S. automobile industry, national competitiveness act fostering technological development, report of the competitiveness council policy, U.S. industrial trade competitiveness, federal role

in supporting hi-tech competitiveness, U.S. international economic competitiveness, foreign competition in the banking industry, international competitive status of the U.S. electronics industry, Buy American Act

See also: 108 domestic industry productivity.

1807: Tariff and Import Restrictions, Import Regulation

Examples: violation of country of origin documentation to avoid import quotas, steel import restrictions, increase of duties on materials to make pipes, expedite Commerce Dept. responses for import restriction requests, restrict import activity that adversely affects industries vital to national security, country of origin labeling requirements, U.S. textiles import quota program, countervailing duty waivers, aviation tariff charges, prohibit importation of Rhodesian chrome, duty-free entry, various tariff proposals, meat import restrictions, antidumping act and import restrictions, import restrictions for the domestic shoe manufacturing industry, import relief for leather industry, free entry of various items to colleges, universities, and for other purposes, foreign trade zones.

1808: Exchange Rates and Related Issues

Examples: Dept. of Treasury exchange rate policy, DOT international financial policy, currency manipulation and foreign exchange rates, exchange value of the dollar, U.S. policy regarding dollar decline in foreign exchange value, impact of exchange rates in U.S. trade, international monetary reform, eurocurrency monetary control, Vietnamese currency transfer legislation, fluctuation of the yen-dollar exchange rate.

1899: Other

19. International Affairs and Foreign Aid

1900: General (Department of State and U.S. Information Agency appropriations)

Examples: Department of State and U.S. Information Agency Budget Requests and Appropriations, U.S. foreign policy in view of recent world political developments, U.S. post cold war foreign policy, U.S. foreign policy and national defense issues, international tax treaties, international development and security, the U.S. ideological offensive--changing foreign opinion about the U.S., role of the diplomatic corps in foreign policy development and administration, foreign operations appropriations, information and educational exchange act, require Senate approval of treaty termination, establish the U.S. academy of peace, role of multinational corporations in U.S. foreign policy, Department of Peace, National Peace Agency.

1901: U.S. Foreign Aid

Examples: Foreign Assistance budget requests and appropriations, emergency food assistance program, U.S. economic aid to eastern Europe, U.S. foreign aid to the Soviet Union, foreign assistance and Peace Corps programs, U.S. assistance programs in Africa, proposals for financial assistance to Northern Ireland, donation of surplus agriculture products to countries with famine, U.S. international health assistance activities, migration and refugee assistance, food for peace program,

European recovery program, international disaster relief, Foreign Assistance Act and its relationship to drugs.

1902: International Resources Exploitation and Resources Agreement

Examples: Antarctic environmental protection, prevention of high-seas drift net fishing, U.S. territorial sea boundaries, international agreements on fishing, Antarctic minerals policy, U.S. policy regarding the International Whaling Commission, foreign fishing in U.S. Territorial waters, regulation of exploration and recovery of international seabed hard minerals, north pacific seal fur treaty between the U.S, Canada, Japan, and the Soviets, UN conference on the law of the sea, attempts to outlaw whaling, international conservation efforts.

See also: Major topic 7 environmental protection, especially 700 for U.S. policies and international environmental issues.

1905: Developing Countries Issues

Examples: developing countries population problems, global hunger and food availability, impact of AIDS on children in developing countries, homeless children in developing countries, international family planning, role of environmental degradation in causing famine, assess elementary and secondary education programs in developing countries, effect of economic development projects on public health in developing countries, infant nutrition education practices, world population growth and its impact on natural resources.

1906: International Finance and Economic Development

Examples: International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, multilateral development bank loans, Inter-American development bank, third world debt problems, Council on International Economic Policy, Agency for International Development (AID), private sector development in Africa, U.S. financial contribution to the IMF, European development and the U.S. economy, promotion of economic development in Latin America, Paris economic summit issues, international financial management systems improvement, economic development in the Caribbean Basin, strategies to alleviate third world debt, world economic situation and U.S. economic policies, international debt and implications for international financial institutions, east-west economic relations, international energy development assistance programs, Bretton Woods agreement increasing U.S. contributions to the IMF.

1910: Western Europe and Common Market/European Union Issues

Examples: 1990 German reunification, political and economic conditions in Europe, tax convention with the UK, European Union, treaty of friendship and cooperation with Spain, labor market policy in Sweden, British entry into the Common Market and general implications for the U.S., civil conflict in Northern Ireland, peace treaties with Italy and Romania. (Special Note: Please see guideline #5 regarding the coding of observations that mention foreign countries.)

1915: Panama Canal Issues and Other International Canal Issues

Examples: Panama Canal Commission appropriations, strategic importance of the Panama Canal, claims for ship damages in the Panama Canal, Panama Canal treaty issues, Panama Canal traffic and capacity, maintenance and operation of the Canal, development of new transoceanic canal.

1921: Other Country/Region Specific Issues

Examples: the return of Hong Kong to China, political repression in China, economic conditions in Russia, political changes in Eastern Europe, investigation of communist takeover of Hungary, civil war in Liberia, South African war with Namibia, administration policies on apartheid, political developments in El Salvador, Japanese income tax system, declining political status of Taiwan, restoration of the Kuwaiti government after the Persian Gulf War, peace process in the Middle East, Arab-Israeli conflict.

See also: 1605 U.S.-Soviet arms agreements; 1901 U.S. foreign aid to the former Soviet Union; 1910 issues dealing with the conflict between Turkey and Greece over Cyprus.

(Special Note: Please see guideline #5 regarding the coding of observations that mention foreign countries. This topic merges previous subtopics 1907, 1908, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1914, 1919, and 1920.)

1925: Human Rights

Examples: Human rights abuses in Latin America, human rights abuses in Middle East, war crimes tribunal hearings for Serbs, U.S. international human rights policy, Helsinki Accords human rights agreements, UN report on human rights in Cuba, Soviet human rights issues, government use of torture, human rights violations in Indonesia, worldwide religious persecution, crimes associated with genocide and crimes against humanity.

1926: International Organizations other than Finance: United Nations (UN), UNESCO, International Red Cross

Examples: U.N. conference on environment and development, management of the U.N., international labor organization, termination of U.S. membership in UNESCO, international games for the disabled, international criminal court, UN food and agricultural organization, UN activities in response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, review of U.S. role in the U.N., planning preparation for 1984 summer Olympics, U.N. position on major policy issues, International Health Agency, U.N. report on international housing, construction of Olympic facilities.

See also: 1602 UN peace-keeping force issues.

1927: Terrorism, Hijacking

Examples: U.S. protection of witnesses of terrorist acts, security of nuclear plants from terrorist attacks, impact of international terrorism on travel, legal mechanisms to combat terrorism, political killings in foreign countries and the international response, West Germany's political response to terrorism, international aircraft piracy.

See also: 1615 Dept. of Homeland Security related functions and domestic terrorism prevention efforts within U.S. borders,

1929: U.S. Diplomats, U.S. Embassies, U.S. Citizens Abroad, Foreign Diplomats in the U.S., Passports

Examples: State Department's management of U.S. embassies, U.S. citizens living abroad, regulation of travel for U.S. citizens, restrictions on foreign diplomatic immunity, Overseas Teacher Act, enhancement of security at U.S. diplomatic missions, reform the foreign service personnel system, U.S. citizens imprisoned in Mexico, passport fraud problems, training of foreign affairs personnel, Voice of America program, Radio Free Europe program, United States Information Agency (USIA), Peace Corps, U.S. Academy of Foreign Service or U.S. Foreign Service Academy, Radio Marti, designation of public international organizations, International Claims Act, Foreign Claims Act, Foreign Claims Settlement Commission.

See also: 1603 espionage; 208 display of USIA programs in US.

1999: Other

20. Government Operations

2000: General (includes budget requests and appropriations for multiple departments and agencies)

Examples: budget requests for various agencies and independent commissions, budget requests for DOL, HHS, and DOE, appropriations for VA, HUD, and independent agencies, budget requests for DOC, DOS, and DOJ, appropriations for the GSA, budget requests for legislative branch programs, supplemental

appropriation bills, appropriations for the Treasury, Postal Service, and general government appropriations

2001: Intergovernmental Relations

Examples: federal, state, and local sector role in economic development, general exchange or transfer of funds from federal to state governments, performance of the advisory committee on intergovernmental relations, general revenue sharing authorization, state implementation of federal bloc grants, general revenue sharing, federal grant management reform, problems with state and local government finances, federal v. state claims to offshore resources,

2002: Government Efficiency and Bureaucratic Oversight

Examples: quality improvement strategies, reinventing government--restructuring the public sector, performance standards for federal agency programs, role of the council on competitiveness in regulatory review, agency jurisdiction overlap and reform, financial soundness of government corporations, need to improve government printing practices, government management problems, rule making committees in the development of federal regulations, federal agency use of advisory committees, oversight of the OMB, federal agency internal accounting standards, effort to reduce federal paperwork, allowing industry to comment on proposed federal regulations, decreasing agency reports to Congress, legislative oversight of federal agency programs, proposal to terminate DOE and transfer its functions, government waste and abuse, investigation into mismanagement of the GSA, government reorganization plans, conflicts of interest in regulatory agencies, applying economic analysis to public programs, Inspectors General, executive reorganization or executive branch reorganization, government goals,

Administrative Conference Act, government printing office, recycled paper and products for government printing.

See also: appropriations for departments and agencies see topical field.

2003: Postal Service Issues (Including Mail Fraud)

Examples: United States Postal Service (USPS) budget requests and appropriations, USPS rental of property, need for additional postal facilities, oversight of USPS operations, USPS budgetary and cost issues, performance of USPS first class delivery, USPS implementation of a nine digit zip code, increase in overseas postal rates, operation and organization of the postal rate service, postal worker injuries, postal worker stress disorders, violence in the USPS, postal reorganization act, USPS efforts to automate mail processing, regulation of mail solicitations, deceptive mailing prevention act, commemorative stamps, annual report of the postmaster general, early retirement of postal employees, day care centers for postal employees, training for postmasters, regulation of obscene mail.

See also: 201 racial discrimination in the USPS; 2008 construction of post office buildings.

2004: Government Employee Benefits, Civil Service Issues

Examples: federal employee collective bargaining rights, civil service retirement benefits, federal agencies use of temporary employees, White House personnel authorization act, federal employees leave policy, federal and military wage policies, whistle blower protection for federal employees, federal personnel awards,

executive personnel exchange, personnel management policies of the Senior Executive Service, tort protection for federal employees, reform pay system for federal workers, early retirement program for federal workers, government personnel training programs, federal employee contribution requirement, personnel performance appraisal system, payroll deductions for federal employees, oversight of the civil service retirement system, cost of living allowances for federal employees, authorize additional GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18 positions, civil service pension fund and interest earnings, manpower utilization in the federal government, Presidential compensation, federal employee management relations, congressional pay and congressional wages, combinations of legislative, executive, and judicial pay, reduction in force, merit systems protection board.

See also: 200 discrimination in the federal government employment; 300s changes to federal employee health benefits; 2003 postal employees; 2012 political activities of federal employees.

2005: Nominations and Appointments

Examples: nominations and appointments for all departments and agencies.

2006: Currency, Commemorative Coins, Medals, U.S. Mint

Examples: appropriations for the U.S. Mint, minting of commemorative coins, replacement of one dollar bills with coins, statehood commemorative coins, gold medal awards for Olympic athletes, design of new U.S. currency, George Washington commemorative coin act, Susan B. Anthony dollar, additional mint facilities in Denver, increasing coin production, coin to commemorate the

Louisiana purchase, congressional gold medals, Congressional Medals for non-military actions.

See also: 104 monetary policy.

2007: Government Procurement, Procurement Fraud and Contractor Management

Examples: appropriations for the Office of Federal Procurement Policy, government procurement system, federal acquisition improvement, arbitration of service contract disputes, DOE contractor management, penalties for federal procurement fraud, GSA auditing of contractor bills, timeliness of federal payments to private vendors, efforts by federal agencies to circumvent the competition in contracting act, federal contract auditing policies, fraud in federal procurement programs, federal consulting service contracts, commission on government procurement, federal contract renegotiation act, omnibus contracting legislation.

See also: 1610 military procurement; 1617 military contractor oversight.

2008: Government Property Management

Examples: federal facilities construction, GSA management of public building leases, GSA's capital improvement program, construction projects for federal courthouses, restrict smoking in federal buildings, operating costs of presidential libraries, government office space contract management, DOE property sale authorization, sale of a federal building to San Francisco, donation of surplus federal property to state and local governments, construction of a social security office, relocation assistance and property acquisitions, foreign service buildings act,

post office buildings, designating or naming federal buildings, including postal service buildings, federal courthouses, and VA medical centers, donated surplus property to states and local governments, motor vehicles provided to officers and members of the federal government.

See also: 2100 conveyance of real property.

2009: IRS Administration

Examples: IRS tax system modernization, IRS employee misconduct, taxpayer assistance and treatment, settlement of disputes between tax payers and IRS, IRS collection of delinquent income taxes, , IRS internal management and quality of service, IRS processing of income tax returns, reorganization of the IRS, taxpayers bill of rights, investigation or inspection of tax records by federal agencies or congressional committees, collection procedures for federal taxes.

See also: 107 taxation.

2010: Presidential Impeachment & Scandal

Examples: access to materials of the Nixon Administration, CIA involvement in Watergate, pardon of Nixon, transcripts of recorded presidential conversations, statement of information provided by Nixon, legal issues associated with the impeachment of Nixon, Kissinger's role in wiretapping, 1972 presidential campaign activities, special prosecutor and Watergate grand jury legislation, Whitewater, Clinton impeachment, Lewinsky scandal, Travelgate (White House Travel Office).

2011: Federal Government Branch Relations and Administrative Issues, Congressional Operations

Examples: line-item veto proposals, pocket veto issues, constitutional roles of the president and Congress in declaring and waging war, limits on presidential war powers, amendment to permit legislative vetoes, Supreme Court ruling on the legislative veto, presidential claim of executive privilege for withholding information from Congress, continuity of federal government during an emergency, joint committee on the organization of Congress, operation of Congress, reorganization of Congressional committees, honoring retiring House members, presidential transition funding, TV broadcasts of Senate hearings, operation of the Senate Office of Sergeant at Arms, Congressional page system, investigation of a Senator, electronic voting equipment in the Senate, transmittal of executive agreements to Congress, require the president to submit annual social reports to Congress, House rules for debate, creation of a joint committee on the budget, president's emergency powers, impeachment of federal officers other than the President, legislative reference service, legislative research, Library of Congress issues, depository libraries, congressional investigations, franking privilege, legislative reorganization.

2012: Regulation of Political Campaigns, Political Advertising, PAC regulation, Government Ethics

Examples: appropriations for the Federal Election Commission and the Office of Government Ethics, federal election campaign reform, lobbying regulations for former federal employees, regulation of political campaign ads, televising debates on political issues, revising the presidential election campaign fund system, regulation on foreign corporation lobbying, campaign finance reform, political

activities of federal employees, financial or business interests of Senate employees, lobbying regulations, polling, independent counsel (other than presidential investigations), Hatch Act (specifically dealing with political activities of federal employees), electoral college reform.

2013: Census

Examples: census bureau budget requests and appropriations, census bureau's population estimates and impact on state funding, census undercounting, census data collection techniques, management of the census, federal statistics collection, counting welfare payments as income on the census, reductions in force at the census bureau.

2014: District of Columbia Affairs

Examples: DC budget requests and appropriations, creation of the DC supreme court, DC public school system, health care reform in DC, water quality problems in DC, statehood for DC, transfer ownership of RFK to DC, revise the DC judicial system, overcrowding in DC correctional facilities, DC commuter tax, DC borrowing authority extension, Washington metropolitan area transit authority metrorail construction, DC fiscal problems, drug and crime crisis in DC.

(Special Note: This covers many subject areas that would normally be coded in other subtopics (housing, medical programs, transportation systems, etc.). See related coding guidelines above.)

2015: Relief of Claims against the U.S. Government

Examples: Refunds and settlements for individuals and corporations, terrorist attack compensation policies without other substantive dimensions.

2030: Federal Holidays

Examples: activities of federal holiday and commemorative commissions, enactment of MLK, Jr. birthday as a national holiday, provide for uniform annual observances of legal public holidays on Mondays, establish Veteran's Day as a holiday.

2099: Other

Examples: government check cashing problems, state lottery operations, former members of Congress organization, review winning papers in a high school essay contest, federal audio-visual materials, commemorative legislation, catalog of federal assistance programs, bicentennial celebration, free guide service at U.S. Capitol.

21. Public Lands and Water Management

2100: General

Examples: Budget Requests and Appropriations for the Department of Interior (DOI) and the Bureau of Land Management, proposed plan for the Department of Natural Resources, earth resources and drilling technology, resources planning, resource recovery act, activities and programs of the DOI, conveyance of certain real property of the U.S. government, conveyance of certain real property to states.

2101: National Parks, Memorials, Historic Sites, and Recreation

Examples: Budget requests for the National Park Service and Smithsonian Museums, concessions management at National Parks, Wounded Knee Park and Memorial, park protection legislation, management of Yellowstone Park, National Park Service feasibility study, threats to national parks, establishment of Barrier Island National Park, inclusion of Alaska Lands in the national park system, national forest recreation facilities, national park management issues, river systems recreation assessment, aviation heritage national historic preservation act, community recreation enhancement, recreational boating safety, national African American museum, historical park designation, designation of scenic trails, maintenance on monuments and memorials, proposals for a national visitors center, military parks and memorials, land conveyance for national parks or national memorials, Wild and Scenic Rivers, land conveyance for monuments, national seashore issues, National Historic Preservation Act, National Register of Historic Places, Smithsonian Institution issues.

See also: 2103 public lands management.

2102: Native American Affairs

Examples: Budget proposals and appropriations for Indian programs, Indian health programs, Indian water claims, federal recognition of Indian tribes, assistance to Indian tribal courts, management of Indian irrigation projects, economic aid for Indian reservations, law enforcement on Indian reservations, Indian participation in government contracting, Indian health care programs, Native Hawaiian children

educational problems, Alaskan natives claims settlement, land conveyance involving Native American lands or Native American groups, Indian Child Welfare Act, Indian gambling and casinos, Indian Gaming Regulatory Act.

(Special Note: This covers many subject areas that would normally be coded in other subtopics (housing, medical programs, transportation systems, etc.). See related coding guidelines above.)

2103: Natural Resources, Public Lands, and Forest Management

Examples: Budget requests and appropriations for the Forest Service and the Bureau of Mines, national forest timber sales programs, timber supply stability, forest health and clear-cutting, Colorado wilderness act, wilderness area designation, management of Pacific Northwest old forest growths, mine reclamation, various public lands bills, forest fire prevention and control, modification of public land boundaries, management of livestock grazing on public lands, grazing fees on public lands, public land conveyance bills, enforcement of federal mining standards, wild horse control on public lands, deep seabed mineral resources, development of mineral resources on public lands, mineral exploration and development, conveyance of lands to school districts, conveyance of sewage systems on public lands, protection of archeological resources on public lands, conveyance of fish hatcheries, conveyance of public lands, payments to states from receipts derived from national forests located within such states, protecting the shores of publicly owned property.

See also: 709 animal and forest protection; 803 oil and gas leasing; 805 coal leasing; 1611 military land conveyances; 2101 land conveyance for national parks/monuments,

2104: Water Resources Development and Research

Examples: Budget requests and Appropriations for civil works programs and the Army Corps of Engineers, budget requests and appropriations for energy and water development projects, Army Corps of Engineers water resources development programs, Mississippi water development, water resources development, appropriations for dam construction, Missouri River Basin irrigation project, Colorado River Basin salinity control program, federal flood control programs, River and Harbor Flood Control Act, energy and water development projects, dredging in the Missouri River, deep water port construction, safety of dams and other water storage and control structures, Upper Snake River irrigation projects, various reclamation projects, reservoir construction, navigation and flood control projects, interstate water compacts, connecting bodies of water, Small Reclamation Projects Act, Bureau of Reclamation, general reclamation projects.

See also: 711 water and soil conservation, watershed protection; 802 hydroelectricity; 1007 navigation and maritime issues.

2105: U.S. Dependencies and Territorial Issues

Examples: future political status of Palau, Puerto Rico statehood issues, federal-territorial relationship between the U.S. and Guam, compact of free association between the U.S. and Pacific island nations, federal policies for economic

development of Guam, termination of trusteeship of the Marshall Islands, proposed changes in the constitution of America Samoa, Alaska and Hawaii territorial issues, statehood for Hawaii and Alaska, Virgin Islands Corporation, various Organic Acts related to territories, former territories, and U.S. protectorates.

(Special Note: This covers many subject areas that would normally be coded in other subtopics (housing, medical programs, transportation systems, etc.). See related coding guidelines above.)

2199: Other

List of Major Topic Codes

1 = Macroeconomics

2 = Civil Rights, Minority Issues, and Civil Liberties

3 = Health

4 = Agriculture

5 = Labor, Employment, and Immigration

6 = Education

7 = Environment

8 = Energy

9 = Immigration

10 = Transportation

12 = Law, Crime, and Family Issues

13 = Social Welfare

14 = Community Development and Housing Issues

15 = Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce

16 = Defense

17 = Space, Science, Technology, and Communications

18 = Foreign Trade

19 = International Affairs and Foreign Aid

20 = Government Operations

21 = Public Lands and Water Management

Additional Major Topics for New York Times and Encyclopedia of Associations

(Annual) Datasets

23: Arts and Entertainment

24: State and Local Government Administration

Examples (NYT): state and local candidates, campaigns, and elections, budget and tax issues, ethical issues about state and local officials, state and local buildings, museums, parks, landmarks, historical locations, state and local procurement and contracts, urban planning (zoning, land use, competition between cities to attract businesses, city boundaries), state and local services (water supply, street cleaning), constitutional issues (city charter revision), state and local statutes and ordinances, legislative action, speeches by the mayor or governor (inaugural, state of the city, state of the state addresses), partisan politics in the legislative arena, nominations to the state supreme court.

26: Weather and Natural Disasters

27: Fires

29: Sports and Recreation

30: Death Notices

31: Churches and Religion

99: Other, Miscellaneous, and Human Interest

(Special Note: More information about dataset specific topic coding issues can be found in each dataset's corresponding codebook. The EA full dataset version also utilizes a series of additional codes that are aggregated to the below for annual comparisons to other PAP datasets.)

3: Party Codebook by J. Rhodes, Revised Spring 2012

General Coding Rules:

1.DOCUMENT TAGS: I included the phrase DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT/REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT at the start of the paragraph to provide a little bit of context for the statement. Remember, though: just because this is included at the start doesn't mean that the president is the one speaking. The tag DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT/REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT is just a tag I added to every unit in the dataset. That means that any given statement could STILL be "Not a Statement about the Political Parties."

2.EXCLUSIVE AND EXHAUSTIVE CATEGORIES: The coding categories are mutually exclusive and exhaustive. Each paragraph should receive ONE and ONLY ONE code. For hard/ambiguous cases, see decision rules for Hard Cases below.

3.DON'T READ INTO THE UNITS: Do not try to figure out who the president is, or what party he is a member of. Do not try to read anything into the speaker's words. Just read the paragraph and try to code it based on the content. Remember, the computer will only have the text (and not the broader context) – so you should code based on the content of the text only!

4.BE CAREFUL WITH AMBIGUOUS UNITS: Be careful to pick up the contextual clues, especially footnote markers, statements made TO the president, statements in which the president is referred to in second or third person, and so forth. This is especially important, because some units that initially appear to be presidential party references are actually

statements that are NOT spoken by the president, and thus should be coded as “Not a Statement about the Parties.”

Coding Categories:

1. Democrats: Positive

This category should only be used when there is ONLY a reference to the Democrats.

Use this category when the president:

- a. Personally identifies with the party
- b. Compliments a member/members of the party, or the party in general
- c. Congratulates the party or party members for something
- d. Touts the party’s legislative record
- e. Calls on voters to vote for the party or its candidates
- f. Praises the party’s principles or values
- g. Claims the party is working for the public interest and ordinary Americans
- h. Makes any other statement about the party/party members with a positive connotation or sentiment
- i. Claims that the party is working in the spirit of bipartisanship.

Also use this category when the president makes a neutral reference to a party or member of a party. A 'neutral' reference is a reference in which there is no sentiment content.

2. Democrats: Negative

This category should only be used when there is ONLY a reference to the Democrats.

Use this category when the president:

- a. Seeks to distance himself from the party
- b. Criticizes or mocks the party or its members
- c. Criticizes a member/members of the party or the party in general
- d. Criticizes the party's or members' votes or legislative record
- e. Calls on citizens to vote against the party or its candidates
- f. Criticizes the party's principles or values
- g. Claims the party is harming the public interest or ordinary Americans
- h. Claims the party is 'acting partisan' or 'playing politics'
- i. Makes any other statement about the party/party members with a negative connotation or sentiment

3. Republicans: Positive

This category should only be used when there is ONLY a reference to the Republicans.

Use this category when the president:

- a. Personally identifies with the party
- b. Compliments a member/members of the party, or the party in general
- c. Congratulates the party or party members for something
- d. Touts the party's legislative record
- e. Calls on voters to vote for the party or its candidates
- f. Praises the party's principles or values
- g. Claims the party is working for the public interest and ordinary Americans
- h. Makes any other statement about the party/party members with a positive connotation or sentiment

- i. Claims that the party is working in the spirit of bipartisanship.

Also use this category when the president makes a neutral reference to a party or member of a party. A 'neutral' reference is a reference in which there is no sentiment content.

4. Republicans: Negative

This category should only be used when there is ONLY a reference to the Republicans.

Use this category when the president:

- a. Seeks to distance himself from the party
- b. Criticizes or mocks the party or its members
- c. Criticizes a member/members of the party or the party in general
- d. Criticizes the party's or members' votes or legislative record
- e. Calls on citizens to vote against the party or its candidates
- f. Criticizes the party's principles or values
- g. Claims the party is harming the public interest or ordinary Americans
- h. Claims the party is 'acting partisan' or 'playing politics'
- i. Makes any other statement about the party/party members with a negative connotation or sentiment

5. Both Parties: Bipartisanship

Use this category ONLY when both parties are mentioned.

This category is intended to signal both explicit presidential calls for bipartisanship, and presidential calls for the transcendence of partisanship.

Use this category when the president:

- a. The president claims that his decisions are not affected by party considerations
- b. The president claims that his decisions are simply determined by the best interests of the American people, not party or ideology
- c. The president claims that he represents the best interests of the American people, while 'the parties' are merely representing 'special interests'
- d. The president calls on both parties to 'rise above partisan disagreement'
- e. The president calls on both parties to 'work in the interests of the American people'
- f. The president explicitly criticizes both parties, or leaders of both parties
- g. The president explicitly criticizes parties, partisanship, partisan politics, or 'politics as usual' in general terms
- h. The president praises both parties, for example for 'working together' and 'getting things done'
- i. The president makes an explicit appeal for 'bipartisanship', 'working across the aisle', 'bringing both sides together,' and so forth.

6. Both Parties: Other

Use this category ONLY when both parties are mentioned.

This category is intended for other units, mentioning both parties, that do not fall into the criteria for category 5 (Both Parties: Bipartisanship). This is a 'catchall' category.

7. Not a Statement about Parties

Use this category under the following conditions:

- a. The statement is not spoken by the president (most frequently these will be situations in which the statement is made by a reporter, i.e. “Q: Sir, what do you think the Democrats are going to do after the election?”). But it can also turn up when a person writes a letter to the president (i.e. “You, sir, have not adequately discharged the office of the president of the United States”).
- b. The statement is a footnote or textual note (i.e. “1 Strom Thurmond is a Republican Senator from South Carolina.”)
- c. The statement is an explanatory reference/note (i.e. “After giving the speech, the president met with Democratic leaders in the Oval Office.”).
- d. The statement is a conclusion to a letter (i.e. “Sincerely, John Boehner, Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives”).
- e. The statement is not about a political party (i.e. “Americans enjoy a republican form of government”; “We need to let the democratic process work”; etc.).
- f. The statement really refers to the name of a government (i.e. “the Democratic Republic of the Congo”).
- g. The statement does not include any reference to a political party at all (such statements are unlikely in our dataset, but possible).
- h. Any other instance in which the statement does not fit within categories 1-6.

Hard Cases: Rules

UNITS WITH REFERENCES TO ONE PARTY:

1. If a unit contains a neutral sounding reference to a party, code it POSITIVE.

2. If a unit contains both a positive and a negative sentiment about a party/candidate, code it NEGATIVE.
3. If a unit contains a humorous reference to a party/candidate - even if it might be inferred to be ironic - code it POSITIVE.
4. If a unit suggests that only a few members of a party are behaving badly/inappropriately, but the rest are doing the right thing/behaving admirably, code it POSITIVE.
5. If a unit contains a positive reference to a party, and a negative reference to the party's candidate, code it NEGATIVE.
6. Code appointments units as POSITIVE, unless they contain CLEAR indicators that they are textual notes (start with footnote number; mention the president in the third person; etc.).
7. If there is a statement in which the president talks about different factions of the party, or a division in the party, in general code NEGATIVE. Especially when there is talk about factions, divisions, conflicts, lack of unity, and so forth.
8. If the president mentions that ONLY a FEW members of the party are doing something wrong/bad/etc., then we code as POSITIVE (because it implies/suggests that most are doing right).
9. If president talks about a conversion from a party, that is a NEGATIVE statement about that party.

UNITS WITH REFERENCES TO BOTH PARTIES:

1. If the unit contains criticism of BOTH parties, code it BOTH PARTIES:

BIPARTISANSHIP.

2. If the unit contains both a POSITIVE statement about a party, AND a BIPARTISAN statement about both parties, code it BOTH PARTIES: OTHER.

3. If the unit contains both a NEGATIVE statement about a party, and an BIPARTISAN statement about BOTH parties, code it BOTH PARTIES: OTHER.

4. If the point of comparison is completely AMBUIGUOUS, then code BOTH PARTIES: OTHER.

4. Tone Codebook 2015/16.

NB: Thanks goes to the Wisconsin Advertising Codebook 2000. This codebook was used as a basis in the development of the Tone Codebook 2015/16.

General Coding Rules

1. Any paragraph could be a tone paragraph, therefore the whole document needs to be analysed and paragraphs identified as either positive or negative or contrast, or uncoded.
2. Paragraphs are the unit that is coded.

Coding Variable:

2. Positive

This variable is used whenever a candidate ONLY talks about themselves. There is not any mention of the opposition. This includes any paragraph:

- a. Where the candidate talks about their own views, opinions and beliefs.
- b. Where the candidate talks about their experiences (personal and work experiences)
- c. Where the candidate talks about their family
- d. Where the candidate talks about their positions, policies, what they will implement when elected, what they have done in past positions and what they will do as President.
- e. Where the candidate talks about their own qualities.
- f. Where the candidate talks about their party.

- g. Where the candidate talks about the incumbent administration if the incumbent is of the same party as themselves.

3. Negative

This variable is used whenever a candidate ONLY talks about the opposition. This includes any paragraph:

- a. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's views, opinions, beliefs.
- b. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's experiences (personal and work experiences)
- c. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's family
- d. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's positions, policies, what the opposition has done or will implement if elected, what they will do as President.
- e. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's qualities.
- f. Where the candidate talks about their opposition candidate's party, excluding statements regarding bipartisanship.
- g. Where the candidate talks about the incumbent administration if the incumbent is of the same party as the opposition, excluding positive or bipartisanship statements.

4. Contrast

This variable is used where a candidate talks about both themselves and the opposition candidate. This includes any paragraph:

- g. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's views, opinions, beliefs.

- h. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's experiences (personal and work experiences).
- i. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's family.
- j. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's positions, policies, what they have done and what they will implement if elected, what either candidate would do as President.
- k. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's qualities
- l. Where the candidate talks about their own and the opposition candidate's party, excluding statements regarding bipartisanship.

Hard Cases:

- If the candidate talks about both candidates, but not negatively about the opposition, eg in agreement over a crisis situation, it is positive if the candidate talks positively of themselves. If they merely talk neutrally of themselves and the opposition, it is not a tone paragraph.

5: The Character in Rhetoric Model Codebook

General Coding Rules

1. All paragraphs can be a character paragraph and therefore can be analysed.
2. All Paragraphs can be analysed and coded by device and quality. Paragraphs can use more than one device and more than one quality.
3. Paragraphs may not fall into any of the devices or qualities as they are not an exhaustive list. The list consists of the devices key to analysing use of character in rhetoric.
4. All qualities are looking for evidence of characteristics that the candidate personally portrays. Where a candidate is portraying a quality it is necessary that this is about them specifically. For example, many candidates mention the nation having courage; this would not count as the candidate showing courage even though courage is mentioned.

Coding of Rhetorical Devices.

1. Experience

Any paragraph where experience is referred to is coded as experience. This includes reference to:

- a previous paid role
- past military service
- previously held political office
- any other past held role such as volunteering
- any past experience that the candidates mention broadly, for example previous attendance at high level meetings, discussions with dignitaries etc which are less

role specific but are examples of the candidate having had experience which could imply competency for the presidency.

- a career path of candidates should be drawn up and any reference to this within text would be classed as experience device. This need only by major appointments and jobs held.

2. Personal or Family Stories

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as personal or family stories:

- the candidate tells a story about themselves or their family

3. Future Projections

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as projection of future America:

- where the candidate mentions the ideas or vision they have for, or about the country, and for, or about the next term
- where the candidate mentions beliefs for the country, the election, the future
- this excludes any reference to religious beliefs
- this can include any policy suggestions or issues for which they have ideas for the future or for their own future term.

4. Outright claims of character

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as outright claims of character:

- where there is mention of any of the qualities of character either using the names, or rephrasing to mean the same as using the name of the quality. E.g. trust : ‘you know that I say what I mean’

5. Telling stories of others

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as telling stories of others:

- reference to stories of others
- reference to stories told by others to the candidate
- reference to the experience of other people that the candidate has seen or been told about

6. Opponent

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as opponent:

- where the opponent candidate is mentioned
- where the opposition party is mentioned
- where the incumbent personally is mentioned if from an opposition party
- where the incumbent administration in general is mentioned if from an opposition party.

7. Incumbent

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as incumbent if the candidate is the incumbent:

- where the candidate refers to the past four years
- where the candidate refers to four more years
- where the candidate refers to what has been achieved so far
- where the candidate refers to what they have done as president
- where the candidate refers to what has occurred while they have been president.

8. Niceties

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as niceties:

- where the candidate is saying hello to the crowd or introducing the speech to the crowd
- where the candidate is closing the speech with goodbyes of 'god bless' phrases
- where the candidate is thanking any involved with rally preparation, introductions etc

9. American values

Any paragraph which refers to the following is coded as American values:

- where the candidate refers to American values
- where the candidate refers to the American dream
- where the candidate mentions America being great
- where the candidate mentions Americans being great
- where the candidate makes reference to the idea of all being in it together

Coding of Qualities (word indicators where relevant should be used first)

1. Integrity and morality

This variable is used when paragraphs refer to:

- The words promise(d), pledge, vow, commitment, truth, ideals, trust, openness, transparency, reality, moral, principles, ethics, conscience, right, fair, are words that may be used as individual indicators initially to help identify evidence of integrity and morality in narrative
- Examples of the candidate keeping promises, doing what they promised or said they will do, making pledges, commitments or vows. This does not include phrases such as "I will do this" as this is a commonplace phrase in campaign rhetoric. Instead it focuses on the stronger guarantee that action will be undertaken. For

example Barack Obama (June 16, 2008) "I'll make this pledge as President –if you commit your life to teaching, America will pay for your college education" .

Including the words pledge/vow/make this commitment makes the point stronger than I will do this or that.

- Examples of and the candidate talking about the truth, ideals, trust, telling the truth, practicing openness and transparency.
- Reference to or stories of the candidate being guided by morals, conscience, principles, ethics.
- Reference to and examples of the candidate doing what is considered 'right'
- Reference to the high road or the moral high road/ ground.
- Reference to or examples of fairness, of being fair, of playing fair

2. Knowledge

The variable is used when candidates refer to:

- Knowledge, education, intelligence, intellectual capacity, expertise, expert may be used as individual word indicators for this variable to help initially identify potential narrative relating to knowledge.
- The candidate's educational attainment
- The candidate's intelligence or intellectual capacity
- Areas of expertise that the candidate holds or is an expert on
- Knowledge that helps the candidate with the role of president, eg on international affairs, on economic matters, etc.
- This does NOT include reference to experience.

3. Humility

This variable is used when candidates refer to:

- The words gratitude, grateful(ness), thanks, thankful, opinion, view, humble, humility, respect, honor(ed), privilege(d), appreciate, could be used as initial indicators to help identify evidence of humility in narrative.
- Where the candidate is showing gratitude, gratefulness, thanks, being thankful.
- Where the candidate mentions family in reference to being so grateful or humble and family situations that show the candidate as being humble or having humility
- Reference to and examples of the candidate being honored or privileged
- Reference to and examples of the candidate appreciating people's presence/ support
- Where the candidate mentions or shows evidence of not being proud.
- Where the candidate offers or expresses deference, respect.

4. Work Ethic

This variable is used when candidates refer to:

- Hard work (ing), difficult situation/ task, persistent(ly), close attention, close focus, drive may be used initially as individual indicators to help identify narrative evidencing work ethic.
- Where the candidate refers to themselves as hard working, taking on or completing hard work / difficult tasks
- Where the candidate gives examples of being persistent, of taking close attention in or focus on certain issues/ events/ situations
- Where the candidate refers to themselves as having drive to undertake tasks, events, in certain situations.

5. Resolve

This variable is used when candidates refer to the following when mentioned in retrospect:

- Decision, resolve, falter, hesitate (tion), resilient, resiliency, adversity, determined, Courage, courageous (ness), strength, bravery, confidence may be used as individual indicators initially to identify this variable.
- Examples of situations where candidates have needed courage or have been courageous in the past
- Examples of the candidate exerting strength or bravery in the past
- When the candidate refers to past decisions they have taken
- When the candidate mentions having resolve in what they have done
- Examples of or reference to the candidate being confident of their decisions and of themselves
- Examples or mentions of situations where the candidate did not falter or hesitate in what they have done
- Reference to and examples of situations where the candidate has been resilient, continued in adverse conditions, stuck at tasks/ decisions in the past.
- Reference to and examples of the candidate being determined and having determination in situations.

6. Empathy

This variable is used when paragraphs refer to:

- When the candidate discusses that they know what people are going through, or that they know what 'it' is like for voters
- When the candidate mentions the struggles or challenges facing people.
- When the candidate mentions those who are struggling or brave, or having a 'hard time'.
- When the candidate tells stories that refer to people from the electorate who are struggling or having a hard time e.g. have lost their job, been fighting cancer, single

moms, or success stories of those who have been through hard times and got better/
become better off etc.

- When the candidate mentions stories that show the candidate doing normal activities that voters can relate to, e.g. taking children to school, showing they are down to earth, can relate to voters and are like the average voter.

7. Empathic Promise

This variable is used when:

- When instances of empathy as described in the list above end in a promise of action or mention of action to fix the situation either in the same paragraph or the consecutive paragraph.

6: The Issues Codebook 2015/16.

NB: Thanks goes to the Policy Agendas Codebook 2014, initially developed by Baumgartner and Jones and since updated. This codebook was used as a start point in the development of the Issues Codebook 2015/16.

General Coding Rules:

1. Issues paragraph identification: Issues paragraphs are any paragraph that mentions any of the indicators for any of the variables.
2. Paragraphs are not exclusive to one variable. If a paragraph has an indicator for one variable and another, it is counted as one for each relevant variable. If multiple indicators for one individual variable are found in one paragraph, the paragraph is counted once.
3. Coding occurs based only on the set indicators. This means that there is no reading into the units and it is based purely on what indicators are present.

Coding Variables:

1. Economics
 - a. Macroeconomics

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Macroeconomics:

economy, economic* (conditions, growth, outlook, plan), economically, recession, deficit, surplus, deflation, deflationary, inflationary, inflation, anti-inflation, prices, income(s), price index, debt, cost of living, fiscal, monetary, treasury, budget, budgetary, taxation, tax, IRC/ internal revenue code, recovery, tax code, taxes, taxpayer,

*Exclude any names e.g. Detroit Economic Club

- b. Labor, Employment,

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Labor, Employment, and Immigration:

DoL/ department of labor, labor, human resources development , jobs, employee(s), employer(s), employment, employing, job security, OSHA / occupational and safety health administration, worker(s), workplace, job training partnership act/JPTA, skills, training*, retraining, workforce, wage(s)*** , unemployment, unemployed, pension, national labor relations board /NLRB, minimum wage, family and medical leave act, income(s), job(s)**

*in relation to USA people not Iraqi forces

** (included where relevant, excludes if talking about 'getting the job done', or 'need this to do their job')

*** excluding relating to waging war only to paid wages

c. Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Banking, Finance, and Domestic Commerce:

DoC/ department of commerce, NBS/ national bureau of standards, financial, finance, interstate commerce act, interstate commerce commission, banking, bank(s), federal reserve, interest rate, credit union, SEC/ securities exchange commission, , market(s), marketplace, shares*, trading, investor(s), financing**, consumer credit protection, creditors, credit card, credit control act, bankruptcy, corporations, price fixing, business, SBA, small business, copyrights, patent, trademark, tourism, consumer product safety commission (CPSC), consumer protection truth in lending act, regulation, , businesses, businessmen, industry, industrial,

*In relation only to stocks and shares, not e.g. 'he shares my opinion',

**Excludes reference to financing of terrorists

d. Agriculture

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Agriculture:

DOA /department of agriculture/USDA, FDA/ food and drug administration*, farm(s)**, farmers, agriculture, farmland, agricultural, meat, crops, wool , sugar food safety, food regulation, food prices, food standards, fishing, fisheries, fishery resources, , dairy, crops , livestock , agribusiness, agjobs,

*only in relation to agriculture not health

**excluding wind farms

e. Transportation

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Transportation:

DoT /department of transport, federal aviation administration, transport, transportation, interstate, , highway, mass transit, metrorail, speed limit, freeway, civil aeronautics board/CAB, aviation, airline(s), AMTRAK, railroad, high speed passenger train, rail transport, passenger(s), freight rail,, trucking, truckers, freight, motor vehicle safety, automobile safety, automobile standards, vehicle safety, merchant marine , cargo, maritime, ship(s)*, commercial shipbuilding, , boat safety, coast guard, rail car(s), airport, train station, port, subway, road(s), bridge(s), tunnel(s) , seaport, infrastructure

*excluding naval ships

f. Government Operations

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Government Operations:

budget requests, appropriations* , government, intergovernmental relations, federal block grants, general revenue sharing, federal grant , state finances, local finances, public sector restructure, federal agency performance, agency jurisdiction, , federal regulations, office of management and budget/ OMB, federal paperwork,, inspectors general, executive branch reorganization, administrative conference act, USPS, postmaster general, federal employee(s), civil service, White House Personnel authorization act, federal personnel, senior executive service, federal workers, presidential compensation, congressional pay, congressional wage, legislative pay, executive pay, judicial pay, nomination, appointment, US mint, congressional medals, office of

federal procurement, federal contract, federal facilities construction, GSA/ Government services administration, federal buildings, presidential library, federal property, IRS/ internal revenue service, Watergate, Nixon administration, impeachment, veto, declaring war, war powers,, congress, FEC/ federal election committee, federal election campaign, reform, campaign regulation, census, DC budget, , terrorist attack compensation, state lottery, federal assistance programs, federal holiday, national holiday , FEMA/federal emergency management agency, early warning systems, drought relief,

*excludes foreign operations appropriations

2. Social

a. Health

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Health:

National Institute of Health/ NIH, Department of Health and Human Services/ DHHS, health, healthcare, medicare, Medicaid, insurance, uninsured, medigap, medical, HMO/health maintenance organization , prescription drugs, organ, transplant, medicine, contraceptive, abortion, hospital(s)*, nursing home(s), Public Health Service /PHS, nurses, physicians, medication, cancer, immunization, AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis, disease, treatment*⁶ , prenatal care, mortality, ill, nursing, clinical, smoking, alcohol abuse, alcoholism, contraception, sex education, illness(es), coverage, premium(s), patients, drugs**, nursing care, emergency*** , medical team, doctor(s)****, EMT / Emergency Medical Technician, cure, coverage***** , drugstore, ACA/ Affordable Care Act, CHIP, / Children's Health Insurance Premium, Obamacare.

* excluding reference to personal stories e.g. I was born in X hospital

** in reference to medical drugs

***if medical related not if related to the emergency in New Orleans, or FEMA/ federal emergency management agency or emergency food assistance program

**** in terms of medical doctor not in anecdotal terms e.g. surprised the doctor by the miracle

***** if referring to insurance not internet

*⁶ if focusing on medical treatment, not humane treatment

b. Education

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Education:

DoEd /department of education, education, educators, student loan, student financial aid, FAFSA/ free application for federal student aid, college(s)** , student(s), GI bill, university**, universities, Pell grant, teach, teacher(s), teaching, school(s), scholarships, preschool, no child left behind, curriculum, head start, adult literacy, community college, vocational education, math, science, literacy, English***, arts program(s), graduate, research , educational*

*when relating to an educational institution, not to experience

** excluding names

*** subject not the language or nationality

c. Social Welfare

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Social Welfare:

HHS/ Department of health and human services **, HEW/ department of health, education and welfare, welfare, social services, social security, food stamps, SNAP / supplemental nutrition assistance program, child nutrition, school breakfasts, school lunches, malnutrition, elderly, poverty , food programs, special milk program, retired, retirement, assistance programs, living programs, benefits* , retire, volunteer, TANF/ temporary assistance for needy families, AFDC/ aid to families with dependent children

* specific to monetary/ welfare benefits not benefit the people or 'a benefit' in general

**in relation to human services

d. Community Development and Housing Issues

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Community Development and Housing Issues:

HUD/ housing and urban development, housing, house prices, house market, real estate, community development , neighborhood development, NHA, community reinvestment act, homelessness, homeless outreach , mortgage(s), federal home loan mortgage corporation, FHA/ Federal Housing Association, foreclosure, house*, Freddie Mae, Fannie Mac

* if related to buying a house, families to house etc, excludes White House, House of Representatives, fiscal house, anything NOT related to housing and the public

3. Rights and Legal

a. Civil Rights, Minority Issues and Civil Liberties

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Civil Rights, Minority Issues and Civil Liberties:

civil right(s), equal rights, equality, equal opportunity, discrimination, discriminated, discriminating, minorities, affirmative action, property rights, desegregation, race based crime, gender, sexuality, inequity, inequality, LGBT, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, EEOC, Equal employment, disabled, disability, Disabilities, voting rights act, barriers to voting, voter registration, civil liberties , civil liberty, religion, religious freedom, religious intolerance, freedom of religion, school prayer, protection of religious speech, anti obscenity, desecration/ing (of) the flag, privacy, wiretapping, records access, freedom of information act, racial, minority, KKK, sex, sexual orientation, handicapp(ed), less abled, deaf, hearing impaired, free speech, unequal, African American(s)**, Hispanic(s), latino(s), negroe(s), black(s)* , color(ed)* native American(s), Indian(s), voter suppression, hate crime.

* in relation to people of color only

** and hyphenated

b. Immigration

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Immigration:

Immigrant(s), immigration, illegal immigrant(s), citizenship, aliens, migrant, Mexican labor, migratory

c. Law, Crime and Family Issues

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Law, Crime and Family Issues:

drunk driving , judiciary, department of justice/DoJ/ justice department, FBI/ Federal Bureau of Investigation, ATF /bureau of alcohol, tobacco and firearms, border patrol and customs, witness protection, debt collection, gangs, secret service, criminal(s), crime, gambling, counterfeiting, fraud, , money laundering, cyber-crime, DEA/drug enforcement administration, drug control, narcotics control, drug trafficking, legalization of drugs, marijuana, court, courthouse, supreme court, capital punishment, legal services corporation, federal bureau of prisons, halfway house, incarceration, prison(s)(er(s)), juvenile justice, delinquency, detention, jail, child abuse prevention, child search system, violence, exploitation, missing children, court-ordered child support, battered woman, custody, child welfare services, adoption, foster care, domestic violence, family planning, teen(age) pregnancy, suicide prevention, Family Services, divorce, child tax credit, police, gun control, gun laws, wait period, gun sales, sentencing, death penalty, penal , kidnapping , law**, corruption, justices, prosecutor, judge(s)* child care

* in relation to the job a judge not as in the act of judging

** excluding reference to laws or bills, only in relation to law enforcement/ 'the law'

4. Environmental

a. Environment

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Environment:

EPA/environmental protection agency, council on environmental quality /CEQ, clean air, NEPA /national environmental policy act, environment, environmental, pollution, conservation, clean water , waste disposal, municipal waste, municipal sewage, garbage, hazardous waste, hazardous material, toxic waste, air quality, emissions, pollutants, global warming, greenhouse emissions,

greenhouse gas, acid rain, ozone, climate change, recycling, asbestos, endangered species protection , ecosystem, coastal erosion, coastal improvement, coastal zone protection, , polluters, polluted,

b. Energy

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Energy

DoE /department of energy, NRC / nuclear regulatory commission, energy, natural gas, electricity, energy research and development administration/ ERDA, power plant, hydroelectric, hydroelectricity, FERC /federal energy regulatory commission, electric, electric power, oil, gasoline, OPEC/ Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries, petroleum, coal, mining, hydrogen, solar*, geothermal power, alternative fuel, biomass fuel, clean technology, gas, nuclear **, clean energy

* excluding solar system

** excluding weapons or material

c. Public Lands and Water Management

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Public Lands and Water Management:

DOI/ department of interior, bureau of land management, department of natural resources, earth resources, drilling, resources recovery act, National Park service, park, national forest recreation, national historic preservation act, community recreation, recreational boating safety, park, scenic trail, monument(s), memorial(s), national historic preservation act, national register of historical places, native Americans, Indian, Indian child welfare act, Indian gaming regulatory act, forest service, bureau of mines, timber, wilderness, public lands, forest fire, federal mining standards, mineral resources, archaeological resources, water development, water resources, dam construction, irrigation, federal flood control, deep water port construction, reservoir construction, interstate water compacts, small reclamation projects act, bureau of reclamation, Palau, Puerto

Rico, Guam, pacific islands, Marshall Islands, American Samoa, , Virgin Islands/ Isles, territory, territories.

5. Foreign/ International

a. Foreign Trade

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Foreign Trade:

FTA/ federal trade commission, USITC/US International Trade Commission, ITA/ international trade administration, world steel trade, foreign trade, trade reform , trade expansion , tax and trade regulations, customs court issues, trading with the enemy act, NAFTA/ north American free trade agreement, Caribbean basin free trade agreement, GATT/ General Agreement on tariffs and trade, trade dispute, trade negotiations, trade relations, MFN/ most favored nation status, US Canada free trade agreement, trade laws, foreign investment, investment abroad, overseas private investment Corporation, multinational corporations, Buy American act, import(s),commerce department**, tariff** , exchange rate(s), value of the dollar, decline of the dollar, international monetary reform, euro currency monetary control, fluctuation of the dollar, export(s), competitiveness,

**in relation to foreign trade

b. International Affairs and Foreign Aid

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as International Affairs and Foreign Aid:

DoS/ department of state, USIA/ US information agency, foreign policy, treaties, treaty diplomatic corps, foreign operations appropriations, information and educational exchange act, , peace, international, foreign assistance, emergency food assistance program, economic aid, foreign aid, refugee(s), European recovery, territorial sea boundaries, whaling, law of the sea, developing country(ies), developing world, world hunger, global hunger, world food shortage(s), global food shortage(s), famine, world population, IMF/ international monetary fund, world bank, multilateral development, inter American development bank, third world, CIEP/ council on international economic policy, agency for international development, African development, European development, Latin American development,, world economy, east/ west relations, Bretton Woods,

reunification, Europe, European Union, EU, EEC/ European economic common market, conflict, Panama, eastern Europe, apartheid, Middle East, Arab Israeli conflict, Palestine, Israel, Iraq, human rights, war crimes, Helsinki accords, UN/United Nations, religious persecution, genocide, crimes against humanity, torture, UNESCO, ICC/ international criminal court, terrorist attack, political killing, US embassy, diplomat(s), ambassador(s), overseas*, diplomatic mission(s), abroad, passport fraud, foreign affairs personnel, voice of America, radio free Europe, USIA/ US information agency, US academy of foreign service, US foreign service academy, radio Marti, foreign claims , transnational assistance, humanitarian assistance, international financial assistance, diplomacy, foreign espionage, US relations, allies, Ally, Korea, Vietnam, Lebanon, Cuba, Cold War, Russia, Soviet Bloc, Afghanistan, Gulf War, Kosovo, Bosnia, Pakistan, Libya, Syria, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Saddam Hussein, Al Qaeda, ISIS, Gaddafi, September 11, 9/11, Taliban, Bin Laden, Soviet union, Warsaw pact ,communist bloc, EURATOM, USSR, Cambodia, Iraqi

*excludes reference to jobs being moved overseas.

c. Space, Science, Technology and Communications

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Space, Science, Technology and Communications:

FCC/ federal communications commission, , science, space, technology, engineering, technological change, NASA, satellite(s), Skylab 1, Apollo, Landsat, supercollider, national communications infrastructure, mobile communications, telephone network, international communication, telecommunication, cellular license(s), cellphone, internet, PBC/ public broadcasting corporation, radio, TV, television, cable, broadcasting licenses, BIB/ board of international broadcasting, film classification, film regulation, newspaper regulation, NOAA/ National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, national weather service, global change research program, geological surveys, tornado, federal oceanographic fleet, marine resources, superconductivity, NSF/national science foundation, HDTV, UFOs, national science academy, nanotechnology, computer

d. Defense

Paragraphs with any one of the following indicators will be coded as Defense:

DoD/ Department of Defense, DAF/A/N / Department of Air Force/ Army/ Navy, defense, military, NATO, security, intelligence, surveillance, threats to the US, nuclear forces, nuclear modernization, non-proliferation, weapons of mass destruction/WMDs, nuclear weapons, chemical weapons, arms reduction, biological weapons, arms control, conventional forces, armed forces, boots on the ground, arms trade, arms race, atomic weapons, arms export(s) weapon(s), naval ship(s), prisoners of war, enlistment, servicemen/women, veteran(s), procurement, reservist(s), reserve personnel, national guard, military nuclear waste, terrorism, terrorist(s)**, war, war on terror, munitions, ammunition, department of homeland security/ DHS, commander in chief, nuclear proliferation, troops, soldiers*), bioterrorism, nuclear warhead, missile development, disaster relief, disaster areas,

* war related, US, not freedom soldiers or Iraqi soldiers or any other situation using soldiers

**excludes reference to terrorist attack compensation

7: Party Codebook 2015/6

NB: Thanks goes to Professor Jesse Rhodes, University of Massachusetts Amherst, for allowing me to base this codebook heavily on his codebook used in 2014 to explore party polarization in relation to bipartisan posturing.

General coding rules

1. Party paragraph identification: to identify paragraphs that related to party, the following terms were used. These would produce the narrow party paragraph set that could be coded; ‘democrat’, ‘republican’, ‘RNC / Republican National Committee’, ‘DNC/ Democratic National Committee’, ‘party’, ‘bipartisan (ship)’, and past presidents. Candidates may use past presidents of their party or the opposition party to speak positively or negatively respectively about the party in question. Therefore presidents of the past 30 years prior to the candidate running will be used as initial indicators for paragraph identification. For example with Obama 2008 these would be: Bush Jnr, Clinton, Bush Snr, Reagan, Carter (1978-2008 presidents).
2. Exclusive and exhaustive indicators: the coding of indicators is mutually exclusive. Each paragraph can receive only one code. For hard/ambiguous cases, see decision rules for hard cases (below).

Coding indicators:

2. Democratic Positive

This indicator is used when there is only reference to the Democratic Party, or a Democrat.

Use when the candidate:

- a. Personally identifies with the party

- b. Compliments a member(s) of the party, or the party in general
- c. Congratulates the party or party members for something
- d. Touts the party's legislative record
- e. calls on voters to vote for lower level candidates from the party
- f. praises the party's principles or values
- g. claims the party is working for the public interest and ordinary Americans
- h. Makes any other statement about the party/ party members with a positive connotation or sentiment
- i. makes a neutral reference (a reference without sentiment content) to the party or a party member

3. Democratic Negative

This indicator is used when there is only reference to the Democratic Party, or a Democrat.

Use when the candidate:

- a. Seeks to distance himself from the party
- b. Criticises or mocks the party or its members
- c. Criticises a member(s) of the party or the party in general (excluding mentions of Republican candidate's opposition, for this see indicator point B)
- d. Criticises the party's or party members' votes or legislative record (excluding mentions of Republican candidate's opposition, for this see indicator 7 point B)
- e. Calls on citizens to vote against lower level candidates from the party
- f. Criticises the party's principles or values

- g. Claims the party is harming the public interest or ordinary Americans
- h. Claims the party is acting partisan or playing politics
- i. Makes any other statement with negative connotations or sentiments about the party or its members
- j. Makes statements relating to being 'not that kind of democrat', or not a democrat who (insert negative connotation/statement/point)

4. Republican Positive

This indicator should be used when there is only reference to the Republican Party, or a Republican.

Use when the candidate:

- a. Personally identifies with the party
- b. Compliments a member(s) of the party, or party in general
- c. Congratulates the party or party members for something
- d. Touts the party's legislative record
- e. calls on voters to vote for lower level candidates from the party
- f. praises the party's principles or values
- g. claims the party is working for the public interest and ordinary Americans
- h. Makes any other statement about the party/ party members with a positive connotation or sentiment
- i. makes a neutral reference (a reference without sentiment content) to the party or a party member

5. Republican Negative

This indicator should only be used when there is only a reference to the Republican Party or a Republican.

Use when the candidate:

- a. Seeks to distance himself from the party
- b. Criticises or mocks the party or its members
- c. Criticises a member(s) of the party or the party in general (excluding mentions of Democratic candidate's opposition, for this see indicator 7 point B)
- d. Criticises the party's or party members votes or legislative record (excluding mentions of Democratic candidate's opposition, for this see indicator 7 point B)
- e. Calls on citizens to vote against lower level candidates from the party
- f. Criticises the party's principles or values
- g. Claims the party is harming the public interest or ordinary Americans
- h. Claims the party is acting partisan or playing politics
- i. Makes any other statement with negative connotations or sentiments about the party or its members
- j. Makes statements relating to being 'not that kind of Republican', or not a republican who (insert negative connotation/statement/point)

6. Both Parties: Bipartisanship

Use this indicator only when both parties, or bipartisan(ship) are referenced.

This indicator is designed to identify candidate calls for, and examples of, bipartisanship, and candidate calls for the transcendence of partisanship.

Use when the candidate:

- f. Criticises parties, partisanship, partisan politics, or 'politics as usual' in general terms
- g. Praises both parties for working together or getting things done
- h. Appeals for bipartisanship, 'working across the aisle', bringing both sides together and other similar appeals.
- i. Gives examples of work where a candidate has brought two parties together or worked with both parties or gained support from both parties.
- j. Gives examples or situations where the candidate would work with or want to work with certain people from both parties in future eg to get information or pass a bill or get something done.

7. Both Parties: Other

Use this indicator only when both parties are mentioned.

This indicator is intended for other units, mentioning both parties, that do not fall under indicator 5 or 7; it is a 'catchall' indicator. It generally refers to and captures contrast rhetoric, where both parties are mentioned but in comparison with each other, as other references to both parties fall under either 5 or 7.

8. Above Party Statement

Use this indicator when a candidate:

- a. Mentions either one or both parties or the candidate is talking about putting being an American, or unity, or the public in general, above the party.

Examples include where candidates say we are ‘more than either republican or democrat’.

- b. Mentions meeting the challenges of being Americans first, not Republicans and Democrats/ partisans first.
- c. Describes themselves as American before any other labels and refers to the people being American before e.g. Republican or Democrat
- d. Claims his decisions are not affected by party considerations
- e. Claims his decisions are determined by the best interests of the American people, not party or ideology
- f. Claims he represents the best interests of the people, with parties representing special interests.
- g. Calls upon the parties to rise above partisan disagreements
- h. Calls upon the parties to work in the interests of the American people

9. Not a Party Statement

Use this indicator when:

- a. the statement is not about a political party
- b. the statement is about the candidate in question's opposition e.g. in 2008, Obama's opposition was McCain and vice versa. In this case, these criticisms do not count as party related criticisms, but are candidate based and therefore fall under the 'not a party statement' indicator.
- c. the statement mentions previous presidents but does not criticise them, and does not link, to party, then these are not a party statement.

Hard Cases

- 1. Where past presidents are mentioned, but also a candidate's opposition is mentioned. If the paragraph is criticising McCain, in relation to what Bush has

done/ implemented/ thinks (eg 2008 Obama speeches), then this is a indicator 7 'not a party statement' statement. If the paragraph is criticising Bush and linking McCain as having the same opinion, this is also indicator 7, not a party statement.

These then become:

- Own party positive
- Own party negative
- Opposition party positive
- Opposition party negative
- Bipartisanship
- Both Other
- Above Party

The indicators are then aggregated into three variables:

Classic partisan: aggregation of own party positive, opposition party negative, both other.

Cross-partisan: aggregation of own party negative, opposition party positive and bipartisan.

Above party: just the above party indicator.

Appendix B

Table B1: Correlations of all character rhetorical devices and qualities, using points of change data

Correlations																
	Experi ence	Pers onal Fami ly Stori es	Future Project ions	Outrig ht Claim s of Chara cter	Tell ing Stori es of Oth ers	Oppo nent	Incum bent	Nice ties	Amer ican Value s	Integ rity and Mora lity	Know ledge	Hu mili ty	Work Ethic	Reso lve	Emp athy	Empa thic Promi se
Experi ence	1	.381* *	.289**	-.028	.240**	.094	.701**	.103	.268**	.113	-.025	.222**	. ^b	- .032	-.025	.174*
Person al Family Stories	.381**	1	.289**	-.028	.505**	.236**	.809**	.103	.424**	.268* *	-.025	.086	. ^b	- .032	-.025	.174*
Future Project ions	.289**	.289* *	1	-.036	.603**	.165*	.383**	.297* *	.318**	.069	-.031	- .064	. ^b	- .041	-.031	-.041
Outrig ht Claims of Charac ter	-.028	-.028	-.036	1	-. .022	.115	. ^b	.124	-.039	.135	.273**	.107	. ^b	- .028	-.022	.201*
Telling Stories of Others	.240**	.505* *	.603**	-.022	1	-.037	.701**	.345* *	.566**	-.033	-.019	- .039	. ^b	- .025	-.019	-.025
Oppon ent	.094	.236* *	.165*	.115	- .037	1	.279*	.135	.149	.256* *	-.037	.017	. ^b	- .048	.145	.093
Incum bent	.701**	.809* *	.383**	. ^b	.701**	.279*	1	.482* *	.809**	.321*	-.025	.321* *	. ^b	- .044	-.025	.321*
Nicetie s	.103	.103	.297**	.124	.345**	.135	.482**	1	.162* *	.050	.155*	.123	. ^b	- .046	-.035	.102
Ameri can Values	.268**	.424* *	.318**	-.039	.566**	.149	.809**	.162* *	1	.176* *	-.033	.034	. ^b	- .043	-.033	.112

Integrity and Morality	.113	.268*	.069	.135	-.033	.256**	.321*	.050	.176*	1	.167*	.446**	.b	.113	.167*	.268**
Knowledge	-.025	-.025	-.031	.273**	-.019	-.037	-.025	.155*	-.033	.167*	1	.486**	.b	.240**	.321*	.505**
Humility	.222**	.086	-.064	.107	-.039	.017	.321*	.123	.034	.446*	.486**	1	.b	.222**	.311*	.358**
Work Ethic	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b	.b
Resolve	-.032	-.032	-.041	-.028	.025	-.048	-.044	-.046	-.043	.113	.240**	.222**	.b	1	.240*	-.032
Empathy	-.025	-.025	-.031	-.022	.019	.145	-.025	.035	-.033	.167*	.321**	.311**	.b	.240**	1	-.025
Empathic Promise	.174*	.174*	-.041	.201*	-.025	.093	.321*	.102	.112	.268*	.505**	.358**	.b	-.032	-.025	1

b. Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

All using Pearson correlation

Table B2: Model Summary of all five models, measuring change using the Strategic Change Scale

Model Summary										
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1 :Opposition Behaviour	.012	.000	-.002	1.24204	.000	.085	1	574	.771	
2: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events	.025	.001	-.003	1.24284	.000	.261	1	573	.610	
3: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status	.046	.002	-.005	1.24405	.002	.444	2	571	.642	
4: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation	.055	.003	-.006	1.24462	.001	.476	1	570	.490	
5: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Election Outcome	.055	.003	-.007	1.24568	.000	.033	1	569	.855	2.285
f. Dependent Variable: Change SCS										
g. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

Table B3: ANOVA of all five models, measuring change using the SCS

ANOVA ^{a,b}						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1: Opposition Behaviour	Regression	.130	1	.130	.085	.771 ^c
	Residual	885.487	574	1.543		
	Total	885.617	575			
2: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events	Regression	.534	2	.267	.173	.841 ^d
	Residual	885.084	573	1.545		
	Total	885.617	575			
3: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status	Regression	1.907	4	.477	.308	.873 ^e
	Residual	883.710	571	1.548		
	Total	885.617	575			
4: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation	Regression	2.645	5	.529	.341	.888 ^f
	Residual	882.973	570	1.549		
	Total	885.617	575			
5: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Election Outcome	Regression	2.696	6	.449	.290	.942 ^g
	Residual	882.921	569	1.552		
	Total	885.617	575			
a. Dependent Variable: Change SCS						
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight						

Table B4: Coefficients table for regression models explaining change, measured using

Strategic Change Scale.

Coefficients ^{a,b}													
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.409	.033		12.367	.000	.344	.473					
	Opposition Behaviour	.008	.027	.012	.291	.771	-.046	.062	.012	.012	.012	1.000	1.000
2	(Constant)	.398	.039		10.074	.000	.320	.475					
	Opposition Behaviour	.007	.027	.011	.268	.789	-.046	.061	.012	.011	.011	.998	1.002
	Structural events	.030	.058	.021	.511	.610	-.085	.144	.022	.021	.021	.998	1.002
3	(Constant)	.429	.057		7.536	.000	.317	.541					
	Opposition Behaviour	.009	.027	.013	.315	.753	-.045	.063	.012	.013	.013	.995	1.005
	Structural events	.029	.058	.021	.492	.623	-.086	.143	.022	.021	.021	.998	1.002
	Challenger	-.071	.075	-.045	-.941	.347	-.218	.077	-.035	-.039	-	.760	1.316
	Open	-.030	.071	-.020	-.415	.678	-.169	.110	.002	-.017	-	.761	1.314
4	(Constant)	.454	.067		6.736	.000	.321	.586					
	Opposition Behaviour	.010	.028	.015	.357	.721	-.044	.064	.012	.015	.015	.991	1.009
	Structural events	.028	.058	.020	.479	.632	-.087	.142	.022	.020	.020	.997	1.003
	Challenger	-.076	.075	-.048	-1.005	.315	-.224	.072	-.035	-.042	-	.752	1.329
	Open	-.032	.071	-.021	-.443	.658	-.172	.108	.002	-.019	-	.759	1.317
	Republican	-.042	.060	-.029	-.690	.490	-.160	.077	-.024	-.029	-	.986	1.014
5	(Constant)	.445	.083		5.368	.000	.282	.608					
	Opposition Behaviour	.010	.028	.015	.361	.718	-.044	.064	.012	.015	.015	.991	1.009
	sturctualevents	.028	.058	.020	.478	.633	-.087	.143	.022	.020	.020	.997	1.003
	Challenger	-.070	.082	-.045	-.853	.394	-.231	.091	-.035	-.036	-	.638	1.567

	Open	-.029	.073	-.019	-.396	.692	-.172	.114	.002	-.017	-	.727	1.375
	Republican	-.041	.060	-.029	-.685	.494	-.160	.077	-.024	-.029	-	.986	1.014
	Election outcome	.012	.065	.008	.182	.855	-.116	.139	.023	.008	.008	.846	1.182
a. Dependent Variable: Change SCS													
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight													

Table B5: Excluded Variables for test measuring change using SCS

Excluded Variables ^{a,b}								
Model		Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics		
						Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	Structural events	.021 ^c	.511	.610	.021	.998	1.002	.998
	Incumbent	.032 ^c	.772	.440	.032	.997	1.003	.997
	Challenger	-.036 ^c	-.855	.393	-.036	.999	1.001	.999
	Open	.002 ^c	.050	.960	.002	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Democrat	.025 ^c	.601	.548	.025	.997	1.003	.997
	Republican	-.025 ^c	-.601	.548	-.025	.997	1.003	.997
	Election outcome	.023 ^c	.556	.579	.023	.998	1.002	.998
2	Incumbent	.032 ^d	.763	.446	.032	.997	1.003	.995
	Challenger	-.035 ^d	-.846	.398	-.035	.999	1.001	.997
	Open	.002 ^d	.051	.959	.002	1.000	1.000	.998
	Democrat	.025 ^d	.592	.554	.025	.997	1.003	.995
	Republican	-.025 ^d	-.592	.554	-.025	.997	1.003	.995
	Election outcome	.023 ^d	.550	.582	.023	.998	1.002	.996
3	Incumbent	. ^e	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	.029 ^e	.690	.490	.029	.986	1.014	.752
	Republican	-.029 ^e	-.690	.490	-.029	.986	1.014	.752
	Election outcome	.009 ^e	.200	.842	.008	.847	1.181	.645
4	Incumbent	. ^f	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	. ^f	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Election outcome	.008 ^f	.182	.855	.008	.846	1.182	.638
5	Incumbent	. ^g	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	. ^g	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Change SCS								
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight								
c. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour								
d. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events								
e. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger								
f. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger, Republican								
g. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger, Republican, Election outcome								

Table B6 Collinearity Diagnostics for test measuring change using SCS

Collinearity Diagnostics ^{a,b}										
Model	Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index	Variance Proportions						
				(Constant)	Opposition Behaviour	structural events	Challenger	Open	Republican	Election outcome
1	1	1.433	1.000	.28	.28					
	2	.567	1.590	.72	.72					
2	1	1.892	1.000	.12	.11	.12				
	2	.730	1.610	.02	.77	.25				
	3	.378	2.237	.86	.12	.64				
3	1	2.536	1.000	.04	.05	.06	.03	.03		
	2	1.000	1.592	.00	.00	.00	.29	.22		
	3	.740	1.851	.01	.88	.12	.01	.00		
	4	.551	2.146	.03	.06	.71	.12	.14		
	5	.172	3.835	.92	.01	.11	.54	.60		
4	1	3.095	1.000	.02	.03	.03	.02	.02	.03	
	2	1.003	1.757	.00	.00	.00	.30	.21	.00	
	3	.746	2.037	.00	.93	.07	.01	.00	.01	
	4	.592	2.286	.01	.03	.78	.03	.02	.13	
	5	.429	2.687	.01	.00	.02	.22	.33	.52	
	6	.135	4.788	.96	.00	.09	.42	.42	.31	
5	1	3.564	1.000	.01	.02	.02	.01	.02	.02	.02
	2	1.040	1.851	.00	.02	.00	.26	.14	.00	.02
	3	.763	2.162	.00	.89	.04	.02	.01	.00	.03
	4	.600	2.438	.00	.00	.83	.01	.00	.10	.04
	5	.534	2.583	.00	.06	.01	.06	.32	.01	.39
	6	.409	2.954	.01	.00	.05	.12	.12	.69	.11
	7	.091	6.243	.98	.01	.05	.52	.39	.18	.39
a. Dependent Variable: Change SCS										
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

Table B7: Table showing Model Summary for all five models, measuring change as total of all variable changes from party, tone and issues

Model Summary ^{f,g}										
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1: Opposition behaviour	.021	.000	-.001	1.37162	.000	.262	1	574	.609	
2: Opposition behaviour, Structural Events	.035	.001	-.002	1.37229	.001	.440	1	573	.507	
3: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status	.063	.004	-.003	1.37283	.003	.774	2	571	.462	
4: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation	.086	.007	-.001	1.37169	.003	1.946	1	570	.164	
5: Opposition Behaviour, Structural Events, Candidate Status, Candidate Party Affiliation, Election Outcome	.086	.007	-.003	1.37290	.000	.000	1	569	.988	2.259
f. Dependent Variable: Change Variables Amalgamation										
g. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

Table B8: Table showing ANOVA results of multiple regression analysis, change measured as all total variable changes from party, issues and tone.

ANOVA ^{a,b}						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.492	1	.492	.262	.609 ^c
	Residual	1079.887	574	1.881		
	Total	1080.379	575			
2	Regression	1.321	2	.661	.351	.704 ^d
	Residual	1079.058	573	1.883		
	Total	1080.379	575			
3	Regression	4.237	4	1.059	.562	.690 ^e
	Residual	1076.142	571	1.885		
	Total	1080.379	575			
4	Regression	7.898	5	1.580	.840	.522 ^f
	Residual	1072.481	570	1.882		
	Total	1080.379	575			
5	Regression	7.899	6	1.316	.698	.651 ^g
	Residual	1072.480	569	1.885		
	Total	1080.379	575			
a. Dependent Variable: Change Variables Amalgamation						
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight						
c. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour						
d. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, Structural events						
e. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger						
f. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger, Republican						
g. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger, Republican, Election outcome						

Table B9: Table showing Coefficients of multiple regression models, change measured as all total variable change, from party, issues and tone.

Coefficients ^{a,b}													
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.551	.050		11.135	.000	.454	.649					
	Opposition Behaviour	.022	.044	.021	.511	.609	-.063	.108	.021	.021	.021	1.000	1.000
2	(Constant)	.531	.058		9.162	.000	.418	.645					
	Opposition Behaviour	.021	.044	.020	.484	.628	-.065	.107	.021	.020	.020	.998	1.002
	structural events	.060	.091	.028	.664	.507	-.119	.239	.029	.028	.028	.998	1.002
3	(Constant)	.568	.083		6.805	.000	.404	.732					
	Opposition Behaviour	.024	.044	.023	.539	.590	-.062	.109	.021	.023	.023	.995	1.005
	structural events	.058	.091	.027	.634	.526	-.121	.237	.029	.027	.027	.998	1.002
	Challenger	-.120	.111	-.052	-1.086	.278	-.338	.097	-.052	-.045	-	.773	1.294
	Open	.002	.109	.001	.019	.985	-.211	.215	.026	.001	.001	.774	1.291
4	(Constant)	.655	.104		6.285	.000	.450	.860					
	Opposition Behaviour	.026	.044	.025	.600	.549	-.060	.112	.021	.025	.025	.993	1.007
	structural events	.054	.091	.025	.587	.557	-.126	.233	.029	.025	.025	.997	1.003
	Challenger	-.135	.111	-.058	-1.216	.225	-.353	.083	-.052	-.051	-	.765	1.307
	Open	-.006	.109	-.002	-.053	.958	-.219	.208	.026	-.002	-	.772	1.295
	Republican	-.130	.093	-.059	-1.395	.164	-.312	.053	-.054	-.058	-	.988	1.012
5	(Constant)	.656	.126		5.197	.000	.408	.904					
	Opposition Behaviour	.026	.044	.025	.600	.549	-.060	.112	.021	.025	.025	.993	1.008
	structural events	.054	.091	.025	.587	.557	-.126	.233	.029	.025	.025	.997	1.003

	Challenger	-.136	.121	-.058	-1.120	.263	-.374	.102	-.052	-.047	-	.643	1.555
	Open	-.006	.111	-.003	-.054	.957	-.223	.211	.026	-.002	-	.747	1.339
	Republican	-.130	.093	-.059	-1.393	.164	-.313	.053	-.054	-.058	-	.986	1.014
	Election outcome	-.001	.098	-.001	-.015	.988	-.195	.192	.020	-.001	-	.838	1.193
a. Dependent Variable: Change Variables Amalgamation													
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight													

B10 Table showing Excluded Variables, for all five models, dependent variable is all variables' change amalgamated

Excluded Variables ^{a,b}								
Model		Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics		
						Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	structural events	.028 ^c	.664	.507	.028	.998	1.002	.998
	Incumbent	.026 ^c	.617	.537	.026	.997	1.003	.997
	Challenger	-.053 ^c	-1.261	.208	-.053	.998	1.002	.998
	Open	.025 ^c	.608	.543	.025	1.000	1.000	1.000
	Democrat	.055 ^c	1.308	.191	.055	.999	1.001	.999
	Republican	-.055 ^c	-1.308	.191	-.055	.999	1.001	.999
	Election outcome	.021 ^c	.501	.617	.021	.999	1.001	.999
2	Incumbent	.025 ^d	.603	.547	.025	.996	1.004	.995
	Challenger	-.052 ^d	-1.245	.214	-.052	.997	1.003	.996
	Open	.025 ^d	.607	.544	.025	1.000	1.000	.998
	Democrat	.054 ^d	1.287	.198	.054	.998	1.002	.997
	Republican	-.054 ^d	-1.287	.198	-.054	.998	1.002	.997
	Election outcome	.021 ^d	.490	.624	.021	.998	1.002	.997
3	Incumbent	. ^e	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	.059 ^e	1.395	.164	.058	.988	1.012	.765
	Republican	-.059 ^e	-1.395	.164	-.058	.988	1.012	.765
	Election outcome	.002 ^e	.049	.961	.002	.840	1.190	.651
4	Incumbent	. ^f	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	. ^f	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Election outcome	-.001 ^f	-.015	.988	-.001	.838	1.193	.643
5	Incumbent	. ^g	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	. ^g	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Change Variables Amalgamation								
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight								
c. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour								
d. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events								
e. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger								
f. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger, Republican								
g. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Open, Challenger, Republican, Election outcome								

B11 Table showing Collinearity Diagnostics for all five models, dependent variable is all variables' change amalgamated

Collinearity Diagnostics ^{a,b}										
Model	Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index	Variance Proportions						
				(Constant)	Opposition Behaviour	structural events	Challenger	Open	Republican	Election outcome
1	1	1.419	1.000	.29	.29					
	2	.581	1.563	.71	.71					
2	1	1.847	1.000	.13	.11	.13				
	2	.749	1.571	.02	.75	.27				
	3	.404	2.139	.85	.14	.61				
3	1	2.479	1.000	.04	.05	.06	.03	.03		
	2	1.002	1.573	.00	.00	.00	.27	.25		
	3	.755	1.812	.01	.86	.15	.02	.00		
	4	.583	2.062	.03	.08	.69	.12	.14		
	5	.182	3.693	.92	.01	.10	.56	.58		
4	1	3.082	1.000	.02	.03	.03	.02	.02	.03	
	2	1.003	1.753	.00	.01	.00	.27	.24	.00	
	3	.762	2.011	.00	.92	.08	.01	.00	.01	
	4	.625	2.221	.01	.04	.80	.03	.03	.07	
	5	.400	2.775	.00	.00	.00	.29	.36	.47	
	6	.128	4.904	.97	.00	.08	.37	.34	.42	
5	1	3.532	1.000	.01	.02	.02	.01	.02	.02	.02
	2	1.053	1.831	.00	.03	.00	.24	.15	.00	.03
	3	.774	2.137	.00	.89	.04	.02	.01	.01	.02
	4	.631	2.367	.00	.01	.86	.02	.00	.06	.03
	5	.552	2.530	.00	.05	.00	.05	.35	.00	.41
	6	.369	3.092	.00	.00	.02	.17	.13	.65	.13
	7	.090	6.261	.98	.00	.05	.50	.33	.27	.36
a. Dependent Variable: Change Variables Amalgamation										
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

B12: Table shows Model summary for five models, dependent variable is major change

Model Summary ^{f,g}										
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.004 ^a	.000	-.002	3.59145	.000	.010	1	574	.920	
2	.059 ^b	.003	.000	3.58835	.003	1.992	1	573	.159	
3	.092 ^c	.008	.001	3.58577	.005	1.412	2	571	.244	
4	.150 ^d	.023	.014	3.56324	.014	8.243	1	570	.004	
5	.150 ^e	.023	.012	3.56637	.000	.001	1	569	.978	2.052
a. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour										
b. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events										
c. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger										
d. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger, Republican										
e. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger, Republican, Election outcome										
f. Dependent Variable: Major Change										
g. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

B13: Table shows ANOVA for all five models, dependent variable is major change

ANOVA ^{a,b}						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.129	1	.129	.010	.920 ^c
	Residual	7403.743	574	12.899		
	Total	7403.871	575			
2	Regression	25.783	2	12.891	1.001	.368 ^d
	Residual	7378.089	573	12.876		
	Total	7403.871	575			
3	Regression	62.105	4	15.526	1.208	.306 ^e
	Residual	7341.766	571	12.858		
	Total	7403.871	575			
4	Regression	166.765	5	33.353	2.627	.023 ^f
	Residual	7237.107	570	12.697		
	Total	7403.871	575			
5	Regression	166.775	6	27.796	2.185	.043 ^g
	Residual	7237.097	569	12.719		
	Total	7403.871	575			
a. Dependent Variable: Major Change						
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight						
c. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour						
d. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events						
e. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger						
f. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger, Republican						
g. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger, Republican, Election outcome						

B14: Table shows Coefficients for all five models, dependent variable is major change

Coefficients ^{a,b}													
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	.000	.001		.353	.724	-.001	.002					
	Opposition Behaviour	.000	.001	.004	.100	.920	-.002	.002	.004	.004	.004	1.000	1.000
2	(Constant)	.000	.001		.284	.776	-.001	.001					
	Opposition Behaviour	-2.164E-005	.001	-.001	-.019	.985	-.002	.002	.004	-.001	-	.993	1.007
	structural events	.014	.010	.059	1.412	.159	-.006	.034	.059	.059	.059	.993	1.007
3	(Constant)	3.222E-005	.001		.043	.966	-.001	.002					
	Opposition Behaviour	-8.080E-005	.001	-.003	-.072	.943	-.002	.002	.004	-.003	-	.991	1.009
	structural events	.012	.010	.051	1.211	.226	-.008	.032	.059	.051	.050	.980	1.021
	Incumbent	.001	.002	.016	.391	.696	-.002	.004	.017	.016	.016	.997	1.003
	Challenger	.037	.023	.069	1.643	.101	-.007	.081	.074	.069	.068	.987	1.013
4	(Constant)	.020	.007		2.860	.004	.006	.034					
	Opposition Behaviour	.000	.001	-.012	-.278	.781	-.003	.002	.004	-.012	-	.986	1.014
	structural events	.008	.010	.035	.832	.406	-.011	.028	.059	.035	.034	.963	1.038
	Incumbent	.000	.002	.008	.190	.849	-.003	.003	.017	.008	.008	.992	1.008
	Challenger	.029	.023	.054	1.288	.198	-.015	.073	.074	.054	.053	.972	1.029
	Republican	-.020	.007	-.122	-2.871	.004	-.034	-.006	-.134	-.119	-	.952	1.050
5	(Constant)	.020	.009		2.225	.026	.002	.038					
	Opposition Behaviour	.000	.001	-.012	-.253	.801	-.003	.002	.004	-.011	-	.725	1.379
	structural events	.008	.010	.035	.828	.408	-.011	.028	.059	.035	.034	.959	1.043
	Incumbent	.000	.002	.008	.190	.849	-.003	.003	.017	.008	.008	.992	1.008
	Challenger	.029	.023	.054	1.267	.206	-.016	.074	.074	.053	.053	.949	1.054
	Republican	-.020	.007	-.122	-2.857	.004	-.034	-.006	-.134	-.119	-	.946	1.057
	Election outcome	.000	.006	-.001	-.028	.978	-.013	.012	-.025	-.001	-	.700	1.429

a. Dependent Variable: Major Change

b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight

B15: Table shows excluded variables for all five models, dependent variable is major change

Excluded Variables ^{a,b}								
Model		Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics		
						Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	structural events	.059 ^c	1.412	.159	.059	.993	1.007	.993
	Incumbent	.017 ^c	.409	.683	.017	.998	1.002	.998
	Challenger	.074 ^c	1.778	.076	.074	.999	1.001	.999
	Open	-.022 ^c	-.531	.596	-.022	.998	1.002	.998
	Democrat	.135 ^c	3.245	.001	.134	.992	1.008	.992
	Republican	-.135 ^c	-3.245	.001	-.134	.992	1.008	.992
	Election outcome	-.032 ^c	-.645	.519	-.027	.730	1.370	.730
2	Incumbent	.015 ^d	.355	.723	.015	.997	1.003	.991
	Challenger	.069 ^d	1.636	.102	.068	.987	1.013	.981
	Open	-.020 ^d	-.467	.640	-.020	.996	1.004	.991
	Democrat	.129 ^d	3.070	.002	.127	.971	1.030	.971
	Republican	-.129 ^d	-3.070	.002	-.127	.971	1.030	.971
	Election outcome	-.026 ^d	-.520	.603	-.022	.724	1.382	.724
3	Open	. ^e	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	.122 ^e	2.871	.004	.119	.952	1.050	.952
	Republican	-.122 ^e	-2.871	.004	-.119	.952	1.050	.952
	Election outcome	-.013 ^e	-.253	.801	-.011	.704	1.420	.704
4	Open	. ^f	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	. ^f	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Election outcome	-.001 ^f	-.028	.978	-.001	.700	1.429	.700
5	Open	. ^g	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	. ^g	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Major Change								
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight								
c. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour								
d. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events								
e. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger								
f. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger, Republican								
g. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Incumbent, Challenger, Republican, Election outcome								

B16: Table shows the collinearity diagnostics, all five models, dependent variable is major change

Collinearity Diagnostics ^{a,b}										
Model	Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index	Variance Proportions						
				(Constant)	Opposition Behaviour	structural events	Incumbent	Challenger	Republican	Election outcome
1	1	1.164	1.000	.42	.42					
	2	.836	1.180	.58	.58					
2	1	1.221	1.000	.30	.33	.16				
	2	.947	1.135	.19	.04	.80				
	3	.832	1.211	.51	.63	.03				
3	1	1.577	1.000	.20	.07	.03	.19	.01		
	2	1.108	1.193	.03	.04	.35	.04	.41		
	3	.924	1.306	.02	.66	.02	.05	.29		
	4	.872	1.344	.00	.21	.60	.01	.30		
	5	.519	1.743	.75	.01	.00	.71	.00		
4	1	2.388	1.000	.00	.01	.00	.06	.00	.00	
	2	1.134	1.451	.00	.11	.38	.00	.34	.00	
	3	.940	1.594	.00	.63	.01	.00	.36	.00	
	4	.873	1.654	.00	.24	.57	.01	.27	.00	
	5	.661	1.901	.00	.00	.01	.91	.01	.00	
	6	.004	23.697	1.00	.01	.02	.01	.02	1.00	
5	1	3.316	1.000	.00	.00	.00	.03	.00	.00	.00
	2	1.146	1.701	.00	.11	.37	.00	.30	.00	.00
	3	.952	1.866	.00	.45	.00	.00	.37	.00	.00
	4	.873	1.949	.00	.16	.58	.01	.28	.00	.00
	5	.701	2.175	.00	.00	.02	.95	.01	.00	.00
	6	.009	19.371	.00	.15	.00	.00	.00	.42	.66
	7	.003	31.479	1.00	.13	.02	.01	.04	.58	.34
a. Dependent Variable: Major Change										
b. Weighted Least Squares Regression - Weighted by weight										

B17 Table shows the model summary for all five modes, dependent variable is week to week difference data

Model Summary ^f										
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.082 ^a	.007	.005	110.20798	.007	3.901	1	574	.049	
2	.083 ^b	.007	.003	110.29879	.000	.055	1	573	.814	
3	.201 ^c	.040	.034	108.60673	.034	9.997	2	571	.000	
4	.230 ^d	.053	.044	108.00001	.012	7.434	1	570	.007	
5	.232 ^e	.054	.044	108.02932	.001	.691	1	569	.406	1.273
a. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour										
b. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events										
c. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events Challenger, Incumbent										
d. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Challenger, Incumbent, Republican										
e. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Challenger, Incumbent, Republican, Election outcome										
f. Dependent Variable: Week to Week Difference										

B18: Table showing ANOVA for all five models, dependent variable is week to week difference data

ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	47384.238	1	47384.238	3.901	.049 ^b
	Residual	6971689.161	574	12145.800		
	Total	7019073.400	575			
2	Regression	48056.862	2	24028.431	1.975	.140 ^c
	Residual	6971016.537	573	12165.823		
	Total	7019073.400	575			
3	Regression	283887.076	4	70971.769	6.017	.000 ^d
	Residual	6735186.324	571	11795.423		
	Total	7019073.400	575			
4	Regression	370591.678	5	74118.336	6.354	.000 ^e
	Residual	6648481.721	570	11664.003		
	Total	7019073.400	575			
5	Regression	378653.980	6	63108.997	5.408	.000 ^f
	Residual	6640419.420	569	11670.333		
	Total	7019073.400	575			
a. Dependent Variable: Week to Week Difference						
b. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour						
c. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events						
d. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Challenger, Incumbent						
e. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Challenger, Incumbent, Republican						
f. Predictors: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Challenger, Incumbent, Republican, Election outcome						

B19 : Table showing the coefficients for all five models, dependent variable is week to week difference data

Model		Coefficients ^a											
		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Correlations			Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Zero-order	Partial	Part	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	136.492	5.131		26.600	.000	126.413	146.570					
	Opposition Behaviour	7.942	4.021	.082	1.975	.049	.044	15.840	.082	.082	.082	1.000	1.000
2	(Constant)	137.316	6.218		22.083	.000	125.103	149.529					
	Opposition Behaviour	7.991	4.030	.083	1.983	.048	.076	15.906	.082	.083	.083	.997	1.003
	structural events	-2.054	8.736	-.010	-.235	.814	-19.213	15.105	-.006	-.010	-	.997	1.003
										.010			
3	(Constant)	150.349	8.516		17.654	.000	133.621	167.076					
	Opposition Behaviour	7.005	3.974	.072	1.763	.079	-.801	14.810	.082	.074	.072	.994	1.006
	structural events	-1.657	8.603	-.008	-.193	.847	-18.554	15.240	-.006	-.008	-	.997	1.003
											.008		
	Incumbent	-41.688	10.847	-.177	-3.843	.000	-62.992	-20.384	-.187	-.159	-	.792	1.263
										.158			
	Challenger	3.251	11.099	.013	.293	.770	-18.550	25.051	.096	.012	.012	.794	1.260
4	(Constant)	138.343	9.545		14.494	.000	119.595	157.091					
	Opposition Behaviour	6.211	3.963	.064	1.567	.118	-1.572	13.994	.082	.066	.064	.989	1.011
	structural events	-1.360	8.555	-.006	-.159	.874	-18.164	15.444	-.006	-.007	-	.997	1.003
											.006		
	Incumbent	-42.719	10.793	-.181	-3.958	.000	-63.917	-21.521	-.187	-.164	-	.791	1.265
											.161		
	Challenger	5.407	11.066	.022	.489	.625	-16.327	27.141	.096	.020	.020	.790	1.266
	Republican	24.741	9.074	.112	2.726	.007	6.917	42.564	.101	.113	.111	.984	1.016
5	(Constant)	142.493	10.774		13.225	.000	121.331	163.655					
	Opposition Behaviour	6.132	3.965	.063	1.547	.123	-1.656	13.919	.082	.065	.063	.988	1.012
	structural events	-1.321	8.558	-.006	-.154	.877	-18.130	15.487	-.006	-.006	-	.997	1.003
											.006		
	Incumbent	-40.653	11.078	-.173	-3.670	.000	-62.412	-18.894	-.187	-.152	-	.751	1.332
											.150		
	Challenger	3.509	11.302	.015	.310	.756	-18.689	25.707	.096	.013	.013	.757	1.320
	Republican	24.625	9.078	.111	2.713	.007	6.794	42.455	.101	.113	.111	.984	1.016
	Election outcome	-8.118	9.767	-.037	-.831	.406	-27.302	11.066	-.100	-.035	-	.850	1.176
										.034			

a. Dependent Variable: Week to Week Difference

B20: Table showing excluded variables for all five models, dependent variable is week to week difference data

Excluded Variables ^a								
Model		Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics		
						Tolerance	VIF	Minimum Tolerance
1	structural events	-.010 ^b	-2.235	.814	-.010	.997	1.003	.997
	Incumbent	-.183 ^b	-4.471	.000	-.184	.997	1.003	.997
	Challenger	.094 ^b	2.262	.024	.094	.999	1.001	.999
	Open	.088 ^b	2.131	.033	.089	.999	1.001	.999
	Democrat	-.096 ^b	-2.317	.021	-.096	.995	1.005	.995
	Republican	.096 ^b	2.317	.021	.096	.995	1.005	.995
	Election outcome	-.097 ^b	-2.327	.020	-.097	.998	1.002	.998
2	Incumbent	-.183 ^c	-4.465	.000	-.184	.997	1.003	.994
	Challenger	.094 ^c	2.258	.024	.094	.999	1.001	.997
	Open	.088 ^c	2.130	.034	.089	.999	1.001	.996
	Democrat	-.096 ^c	-2.312	.021	-.096	.995	1.005	.993
	Republican	.096 ^c	2.312	.021	.096	.995	1.005	.993
	Election outcome	-.096 ^c	-2.323	.021	-.097	.998	1.002	.996
3	Open	. ^d	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	-.112 ^d	-2.726	.007	-.113	.984	1.016	.790
	Republican	.112 ^d	2.726	.007	.113	.984	1.016	.790
	Election outcome	-.039 ^d	-.868	.386	-.036	.850	1.176	.752
4	Open	. ^e	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	. ^e	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Election outcome	-.037 ^e	-.831	.406	-.035	.850	1.176	.751
5	Open	. ^f	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
	Democrat	. ^f	.	.	.	.000	.	.000
a. Dependent Variable: Week to Week Difference								
b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour								
c. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events								
d. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events Challenger, Incumbent								
e. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Challenger, Incumbent, Republican								
f. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Opposition Behaviour, structural events, Challenger, Incumbent, Republican, Election outcome								

B21: Table showing collinearity diagnostics, for all five models, dependent variable is week to week difference data

Collinearity Diagnostics ^a										
Model	Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index	Variance Proportions						
				(Constant)	Opposition Behaviour	structural events	Incumbent	Challenger	Republican	Election outcome
1	1	1.446	1.000	.28	.28					
	2	.554	1.616	.72	.72					
2	1	1.930	1.000	.11	.10	.11				
	2	.710	1.648	.02	.79	.23				
	3	.359	2.317	.86	.11	.66				
3	1	2.537	1.000	.04	.05	.06	.03	.03		
	2	1.006	1.588	.00	.01	.00	.27	.26		
	3	.738	1.854	.01	.89	.05	.01	.07		
	4	.537	2.174	.02	.00	.76	.16	.14		
	5	.182	3.732	.93	.05	.13	.54	.50		
4	1	3.059	1.000	.02	.03	.04	.02	.02	.03	
	2	1.016	1.736	.00	.02	.00	.24	.27	.01	
	3	.739	2.035	.01	.90	.04	.00	.07	.00	
	4	.581	2.294	.00	.01	.73	.01	.04	.21	
	5	.450	2.609	.01	.01	.08	.35	.18	.53	
	6	.155	4.438	.96	.03	.11	.37	.42	.22	
5	1	3.597	1.000	.01	.02	.02	.02	.01	.02	.02
	2	1.105	1.804	.00	.05	.01	.15	.24	.00	.04
	3	.744	2.199	.00	.88	.02	.00	.09	.00	.00
	4	.584	2.482	.00	.00	.79	.00	.05	.15	.01
	5	.478	2.744	.00	.02	.07	.05	.12	.64	.13
	6	.364	3.144	.00	.00	.00	.64	.08	.00	.54
	7	.128	5.295	.98	.03	.09	.13	.42	.17	.26

a. Dependent Variable: Week to Week Difference

Appendix C: Schedule of Weeks Used for Analysis

NB: All weeks run Wednesday to Tuesday, given that Election Day is always Tuesday.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1960 | - 11 th – 17 th September |
| - 13 th – 19 th July | - 18 th – 24 th September |
| - 20 th – 26 th July | - 25 th September – 1 st October |
| - 27 th July – 2 nd August | - 2 nd – 8 th October |
| - 3 rd – 9 th August | - 9 th – 15 th October |
| - 10 th – 16 th August | - 16 th – 22 nd October |
| - 17 th – 23 rd August | - 23 rd – 29 th October |
| - 24 th – 30 th August | - 30 th October – 5 th November |
| - 31 st August – 6 th September | |
| - 7 th – 13 th September | 1972 |
| - 14 th – 20 th September | - 12 th – 18 th July |
| - 21 st – 27 th September | - 19 th – 25 th July |
| - 28 th September – 4 th October | - 26 th July – 1 st August |
| - 5 th – 11 th October | - 2 nd – 8 th August |
| - 12 th – 18 th October | - 9 th – 15 th August |
| - 19 th – 25 th October | - 16 th – 22 nd August |
| - 26 th October – 1 st November | - 23 rd – 29 th August |
| - 2 nd – 8 th November. | - 30 th August – 5 th September |
| | - 6 th – 12 th September |
| 1964 | - 13 th – 19 th September |
| - 15 th – 21 st July | - 20 th – 26 th September |
| - 22 nd – 28 th July | - 27 th September – 3 rd October |
| - 29 th July – 4 th August | - 4 th – 10 th October |
| - 5 th – 11 th August | - 11 th – 17 th October |
| - 12 th – 18 th August | - 18 th – 24 th October |
| - 19 th – 25 th August | - 25 th – 31 st October |
| - 26 th August – 1 st September | - 1 st – 7 th November |
| - 2 nd – 8 th September | |
| - 9 th – 15 th September | 1976 |
| - 16 th – 22 nd September | - 18 th – 24 th August |
| - 23 rd – 29 th September | - 25 th – 31 st August |
| - 30 th September – 6 th October | - 1 st – 7 th September |
| - 7 th – 13 th October | - 8 th – 14 th September |
| - 14 th – 20 th October | - 15 th – 21 st September |
| - 21 st – 27 th October | - 22 nd – 28 th September |
| - 28 th October – 3 rd November | - 29 th September – 5 th October |
| | - 6 th – 12 th October |
| 1968 | - 13 th – 19 th October |
| - 28 th August – 3 rd September | - 20 th – 26 th October |
| - 4 th – 10 th September | - 27 th October – 2 nd November |

- 1980
- 13th – 19th August
 - 20th – 26th August
 - 27th August – 2nd September
 - 3rd – 9th September
 - 10th – 16th September
 - 17th – 23rd September
 - 24th – 30th September
 - 1st – 7th October
 - 8th – 14th October
 - 15th – 21st October
 - 22nd – 28th October
 - 29th October – 4th November
- 1984
- 18th – 24th July
 - 25th – 31st July
 - 1st – 7th August
 - 8th – 14th August
 - 15th – 21st August
 - 22nd – 28th August
 - 29th August – 4th September
 - 5th – 11th September
 - 12th – 18th September
 - 19th – 25th September
 - 26th September – 2nd October
 - 3rd – 9th October
 - 10th – 16th October
 - 17th – 23rd October
 - 24th – 30th October
 - 31st October – 6th November
- 1988
- 1st – 7th June
 - 8th – 14th June
 - 15th – 21st June
 - 22nd – 28th June
 - 29th June – 5th July
 - 6th – 12th July
 - 13th – 19th July
 - 20th – 26th July
 - 27th July – 2nd August
 - 3rd – 9th August
 - 10th – 16th August
- 1992
- 17th – 23rd August
 - 24th – 30th August
 - 31st August – 6th September
 - 7th – 13th September
 - 14th – 20th September
 - 21st – 27th September
 - 28th September – 4th October
 - 5th – 11th October
 - 12th – 18th October
 - 19th – 25th October
 - 26th October – 1st November
 - 2nd November – 8th November
- 1996
- 27th May – 2nd June
 - 3rd – 9th June
 - 10th – 16th June
 - 17th – 23rd June
 - 24th – 30th June
 - 1st – 7th July
 - 8th – 14th July
 - 15th – 21st July
 - 22nd – 28th July
 - 29th July – 4th August
 - 5th – 11th August
 - 12th – 18th August
 - 19th – 25th August
 - 26th August – 1st September
 - 2nd – 8th September
 - 9th – 15th September
 - 16th – 22nd September
 - 23rd – 29th September
 - 30th September – 6th October
 - 7th – 13th October
 - 14th – 20th October
 - 21st – 27th October
 - 28th October – 3rd November
- 1996
- 6th – 12th March
 - 13th – 19th March
 - 20th – 26th March
 - 27th – 2nd April
 - 3rd – 9th April
 - 10th – 16th April
 - 17th – 23rd April
 - 24th – 30th April
 - 1st – 7th May
 - 8th – 14th May

- 15th – 21st May
- 22nd – 28th May
- 29th May – 4th June
- 5th – 11th June
- 12th – 18th June
- 19th – 25th June
- 26th June – 2nd July
- 3rd – 9th July
- 10th – 16th July
- 17th – 23rd July
- 24th – 30th July
- 31st July – 6th August
- 7th – 13th August
- 14th – 20th August
- 21st – 27th August
- 28th August – 3rd September
- 4th – 10th September
- 11th – 17th September
- 18th – 24th September
- 25th September – 1st October
- 2nd – 8th October
- 9th – 15th October
- 16th – 22nd October
- 23rd – 29th October
- 30th October – 5th November

2000

- 8th – 14th March
- 15th – 21st March
- 22nd – 28th March
- 29th March – 4th April
- 5th – 11th April
- 12th – 18th April
- 19th – 25th April
- 26th April – 2nd May
- 3rd – 9th May
- 10th – 16th May
- 17th – 23rd May
- 24th – 30th May
- 31st May – 6th June
- 7th – 13th June
- 14th – 20th June
- 21st – 27th June
- 28th June – 4th July
- 5th – 11th July
- 12th – 18th July
- 19th – 25th July
- 26th July – 1st August
- 2nd – 8th August
- 9th – 15th August
- 16th – 22nd August

- 23rd – 29th August
- 30th August – 5th September
- 6th – 12th September
- 13th – 19th September
- 20th – 26th September
- 27th September – 3rd October
- 4th – 10th October
- 11th – 17th October
- 18th – 24th October
- 25th – 31st October
- 1st – 7th November

2004

- 10th – 16th March
- 17th – 23rd March
- 24th – 30th March
- 31st March – 6th April
- 7th – 13th April
- 14th – 20th April
- 21st – 27th April
- 28th April – 4th May
- 5th – 11th May
- 12th – 18th May
- 19th – 25th May
- 26th May – 1st June
- 2nd – 8th June
- 9th – 15th June
- 16th – 22nd June
- 23rd – 29th June
- 30th June – 6th July
- 7th – 13th July
- 14th – 20th July
- 21st – 27th July
- 28th July – 3rd August
- 4th – 10th August
- 11th – 17th August
- 18th – 24th August
- 25th – 31st August
- 1st – 7th September
- 8th – 14th September
- 15th – 21st September
- 22nd – 28th September
- 29th September – 5th October
- 6th – 12th October
- 7th – 19th October
- 20th – 26th October
- 27th October – 2nd November

2008

- 28th March – 3rd June
- 4th – 10th June
- 11th – 17th June

- 18th – 24th June
- 25th June – 1st July
- 2nd – 8th July
- 9th – 15th July
- 16th – 22nd July
- 23rd – 29th July
- 30th July – 5th August
- 6th – 12th August
- 13th – 19th August
- 20th – 26th August
- 3rd – 9th September
- 10th – 16th September
- 17th – 23rd September
- 24th – 30th September
- 1st – 7th October
- 8th – 14th October
- 15th – 21st October
- 22nd – 28th October
- 29th October – 4th November

2012

- 23rd – 29th May
- 30th May – 5th June
- 6th June – 12th June
- 13th – 19th June
- 20th – 26th June
- 27th June – 3rd July
- 4th – 10th July
- 11th - 17th July
- 12th – 24th July
- 25th – 31st July
- 1- 7th August
- 8th – 14th August
- 15th -21st August
- 22nd – 28th August
- 29th August – 4th September
- 5th – 11th September
- 12th – 18th September
- 19th – 25th September
- 26th September – 2nd October
- 3rd – 9th October
- 10th – 16th October
- 17th – 23rd October
- 24th – 30th October
- 31st October – 6th November