



اسم المقال: تحليل نقدي لمقال بعنوان "حملة الاتصالات في انتخابات الكونجرس الأمريكي"

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تحليل نقدي لمقال بعنوان "حملة الاتصالات في انتخابات الكونجرس الأمريكي"

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هذه الدراسة تبحث تحليلاً نقدياً لمقال تحت عنوان "حملة الاتصالات في انتخابات الكونجرس الأمريكي". هذا المقال صدر في آب ٢٠٠٩، العدد ٣ المجلد ١٠٣ للباحثين، جيمس دروكمان، كيفرمارتن، وباركين مايكل في العلوم السياسية الأمريكية. الدراسة تستخدم تحليل المحتوى لتزويد الباحثين أساساً للمضي قدماً نحو فهم أكثر اكتمالاً من حملات الكونغرس. أداة هذا للبحث تقدم حملات الكونغرس الأمريكي من خلال دمج وتوسيع نظريات موجودة لحملة الاتصالات. الباحثون حاولوا تحليل محتوى البيانات لحملة الاتصالات في انتخابات الكونغرس الأمريكي من أجل اختبار التنبؤات بالنتائج مع مجموعة بيانات جديدة استناداً على مواقع شبكة الانترنت الخاصة بالمرشح للانتخابات على مدى ثلاث دورات انتخابية. البحث يقدم دراسة متعمقة لتحليل المحتوى لدراسة كيف تؤثر حملة الاتصالات في نتائج الانتخابات. نتائج الدراسة كشفت أن حملة الاتصالات مهمة جداً لتحقيق نتائج إيجابية في الانتخابات البرلمانية أو الانتخابات الرئاسية الأمريكية.

A Critical Analysis of an Article Entitled Campaign Communications in U.S Congressional Elections

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١,١ Abstract

This study inspected the critical examination to the article under the title " Campaign Communications in U.S. Congressional Elections". The American Political Science Review , James N. Druckman, Martin J. Kifer, and Michael Parkin (2009): August

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2009. Vol 103, NO3 . The study utilizes Content examination to give scientists with a premise to moving toward a more finish comprehension of congressional battles . This instrument advance exploration on a U.S. Congressional campaign by coordinating and increasing surviving speculations of battle correspondence . The creators have attempted examination the substance information of Campaign Communications in American Congressional Elections keeping in mind the end goal to test the subsequent forecasts with a novel dataset taking into account applicant Web locales more than three race cycles . It embraces an inside and out investigation of the substance examination to inspect how the campaign interchanges influences the Election results. The finding uncovered that the campaign communications are critical to accomplish positive results in the parliamentary decisions or the U.S. presidential decision .

Keywords: Campaign communications, Congressional elections, Content analysis, U.S.

١,٢ Introduction

This study incorporates another form of electronic battle underlining the significance of the campaign communications as one of the imperative tools that can be utilized to accomplish positive results in the parliamentary races or the U.S. presidential race .

There many gaps discovered which provoked the creators of this work to do it. One of these issues was said that, the study stays incoherent to reveal the grant on electoral campaigns, especially on the essence of the campaign communications to influence and change the views and convictions of the future public in a specific direction . Another concentrate additionally found out that an almost,there is no thought about the logical substance of campaigns ¶ . There were numerous weaknesses intensely much the same as the U.S presidential battles. Additionally, around a large portion of a century back, examination demonstrates that voters give careful consideration to battle talk, and construct their

choices in light of a subset of available contemplations^٤. All these and different things, summon the consideration of the creators to direct the study around there keeping in mind the end goal to fill in the gaps, which were not inspected by the past studies or not fittingly concentrated well .

The authors legitimize their position for the study by evaluating the legitimacy of their case that sites catch the collection of campaign communications went for voters when all is said in done . They explained the purpose behind utilization the battle of talk for at first set up the criteria on which voters base in their choices . Another defense being given by them is that they needed to look at between the officeholders and challengers, which will put fundamentally more confirmation on issues, individual components, and gathering alliance^٥. All these were considerably confirmed by the speculations separated from the beforehand done inquires about .

The authors specified the past writing, connecting them to their present study . The concentrate successfully led to the members utilizing negative impelled methodology was alluded to, which had a critical impact result as the members significantly paid consideration on the topic^٥ .

Another concentrate additionally recognized the critical determinants of campaign technique most eminently, how rivalry and incumbency impact expository decisions^٦ .

As per distinctive studies by Rahn et al, and Druckman, it was found that, with regards to congressional races, voters tend to construct their choices in light of incumbency, issues, competitors' close to home components, and gathering^٧ . In a

^٤ Kinder, Donald R. 1998. "Opinion and Actions in the Realm of Politics" In *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Daniel T. Gilbert, Susan T. Fiske and Gardner Lindzey. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill, 778-867 .

^٥ Lau, Richard R., and Gerald M. Pomper. 2004. *Negative Campaigning: An Analysis of U.S. Senate Elections*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield .

^٦ Trent, Judith S., and Robert V. Friedenberg. 2008. *Political Campaign Communication*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield .

^٧ Rahn, Wendy M., John H. Aldrich, Eugene Borgida, and John L. Sullivan. 1990. *A Social-Cognitive Model of Candidate Approval*. In *Information and Democratic Processes*, ed. John Ferejohn and James Kuklinki. Urbana: University of Illinois Press .

study done by Gronke^(١), congressional decisions, incumbency serve as an exceedingly available premise of vote decision; all else consistent, voters support officeholders^(٢).

١,٣ Research Problem

Although the campaign communications in the U.S is the best mechanism by which political parties and candidates to present and put political programs by the voters, but these campaigns are dominated by many weaknesses affecting the options and positions of voters in the battles of the US presidency .

١,٤ Hypothesis of the Study

The hypothesis of the research are summarized below : The campaign communications play a key role to achieve positive results in parliamentary decisions or the U.S presidential decision .

١,٥ Questions of Study

The study expects to distinguish a shabby, simple approach to catch a morefull specimen of current campaign messages. Verifiably, this mission statement contains a progression of inquiries :

١. How do competitors choose what to underscore in their campaign communications ?
٢. When do they go negative ?
٣. When do they adhere to the issues ?
٤. When do they accentuate their experience and group ties ?

(١) Druckman, James N. 2004. Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir) relevance of Framing Effects. American Political Science Review 98: 671-86 .

(٢) Gronke, Paul. 2000. The Electorate, the Campaign, and the Office: A Unified Approach to Senate and House Elections. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 440-441 .

- ٥. How numerous a huge number of battles are circled this nation every decision cycle, in what manner would we be able to conceivable concentrate this ?

١,٦ Significance of the Study

The importance of this critical study lies in an attempt to shed light on the important topic of contemporary art in the competitive American elections and get to know some of the observations and loopholes that can be used to rebuild the electoral life in democratic countries depends on the sound basis of realism, not the imagination and aspirations of interest required . This self-reading for anyone interested in the book of the implications on the competitiveness of the elections, including those few of us who are still skeptical of its benefits .

In addition, the experimental rigorous analysis, and interpretation of the vision and the result of this study could help researchers and decision-makers improve both the quality of the environment through the quality of participation of voters in the Web Sites during electoral process campaigns in many countries of the world .

١,٧ Methodology of Study

The study used two basic methodologies are quantitative research and interpretation . The study relied on the quantity that has been collected by James N. Druckman, Martin J. Kifer, and Michael Parkin (2009), and that can be input and analyzed numerically, whereas the explanation in a secular context is associated with and support the creative work and the original data, the scientists analyzed .

١,٨ The Sample of the Research

The authors utilized an example of (n= 137) to propel research on campaigns, concentrating on communication in U.S. congressional campaigns, beginning in 2002 , a year in which Web destinations first turned into a basic part of any applicant's methodology . In every year 2002 , 2004 , and 2006 , they recognized the world of significant gathering "Democrat and Republican" House of Representatives and Senate hopefuls

using the Congressional Quarterly, National Journal site and distinctive state party home pages . They incorporated the universe of Senate competitors and a while later picked a productive unpredictable example of approximately 20% of House of Representatives races, stratified by state and area to ensure provincial arranged qualities in the example . They begins by presenting a framework to discuss the effort of the communications campaign that includes and up the previous work . Site information spread three election cycles .

١,٩ The Analysis Instrument

The instrument comprised of content analysis . The examination concentrates on the degree to which candidates go out on a limb or take no chances in their battle techniques . They test desires from the system with new after some time information taking into account applicant sites, which is proposed to be unmediated, all encompassing, and agent picture of battles . This perspective found that information from sites essentially varies from past studies that depend on publicizing and daily paper stories to study applicant conduct .

١,١٠ Data Analysis

The data utilized here as a part of this study, was a survey qualitative method by which the analysts pass by offering the conversation starters on the site for the reactions of the voters on the campaign . It appears to be clear from the aftereffect of the information, the adequacy of this strategy than the already utilized technique, regardless of the fact that, evaluate is still found in it . The study is directed very much in light of the exploration general guideline .

In this study, Candidate Websites were utilized to consider the Campaign Strategy since this technique concurs that the information utilized as a part of such likely studies were unmediated, comprehensive in nature, complete and illustrative of the number of inhabitants in campaigns in view of the creators sureness from different sources that applicant battle sites interestingly meet these criteria . In seeking after these criteria, the authors looked for the majority of the sites in their examples

by taking after connections from National Journal's site (www.nationaljournal.com) and utilizing internet searchers, for example, Google). Every one of the data that were gathered spread three election cycles, beginning in 2002, 2004, and 2006.

In this study, a model of "going antagonistic" was utilized to experimentally show the adequacy of adverse dialect in propelling the voters and pointing out their campaign talk as it is clear from political brain science inquire about that, nature of pessimism gets people to give careful consideration and give more weight to pessimistic than constructive data in light of the factual confirmation that individuals give more consideration when recounted insignificantly 5% of unemployment rate exists in the nation than when recounted 95% of work presence (1).

This reason was upheld by Southwell and Lee in their studies that cynicism fortifies collaboration and data looking for practices (2)

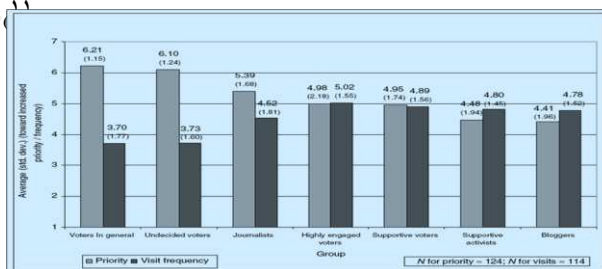


Figure 1: Web Site Visitor Priority and Visit Frequency

Variable	Measure	Percentage/Mean(std. dev.)	Dependent Variable
Candidate status (Challenger, open seat)	Two dichotomous variables indicating challenger status or open seat status (baseline is incumbent)	41.85% challengers	All
		13.59% open seat	All
		67.66% solid	All

(1) Baumeister, Roy. F., Ellen Bratslavsky, Catrin Fickener, and Kathleen D. Vohs. 2001. "Bad Is Stronger Than Good." Review of General Psychology 5: 323-70.

(2) Southwell, Brian G., and Mira Lee. 2004. "A Pitfall of New Media? User Controls Exacerbate Editing Effects on Memory." Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly 81, 643.

<p>Competition</p>	<p>Four point Cook rating with 0 = solid Democratic or Republican;</p>	<p>8.02% likely 11.28% leaning 13.04% toss-up</p>	<p>All</p>
<p>Year (2004, 2006)</p>	<p>.33 = likely Democratic or Republican;</p>	<p>36.55% 2004 39.67% 2006</p>	<p>All</p>
<p>Office (Senate)</p>	<p>.67 = leaning Democratic or Republican;</p>	<p>25.95% Senate 48.10% Democrats</p>	<p>All</p>
<p>Party (Democrat)</p>	<p>Two dichotomous variables indicating 2004 and 2006 (baseline is 2002).</p>	<p>17.12% Females \$2,257,233 (\$3,598,908) (On 0–1 standardize scale).</p>	<p>All</p>
<p>Gender (Female)</p>	<p>Dichotomous variable indicating Senate candidate (baseline is House candidate).</p>	<p>39.67% clear trailer 19.29% not clear trailer front-runner</p>	<p>All</p>
<p>Funds raised</p>	<p>Dichotomous variable indicating Democratic party candidate (baseline is a Republican party candidate).</p>	<p>41.03% clear front-r 51.21% (11.25%) for Bush</p>	<p>All</p>
<p>Front-runner status</p>	<p>Dichotomous</p>	<p>44.70%</p>	<p>Negativity, issue negativity, personal negativity</p>

<p>Issue saliency</p> <p>District/state Republican partisanship ×Democrat</p> <p>2004 × Democrat</p> <p>2006 ×</p>	<p>variable indicating female (baseline is male) †.</p> <p>† The amount of money candidate raised (according to the Federal Election Commissions) †.</p> <p>† Three point rating with †</p> <p>† 0 = clear trailer; †</p> <p>† .5 = not clear trailer or front-runner; †</p> <p>† 1 = clear front-runner †.</p> <p>† Percentage of district/state voters for Bush in 2000/2004 †.</p> <p>† Dichotomous variable indicating opponent's negative statement about the candidate †.</p> <p>† Weighted national importance of the issues discussed (based on public opinion "most important</p>	<p>13.21% (7.38%)</p> <p>24.50% (26.65%) for Bush</p> <p>17.53%</p> <p>20.11%</p> <p>67.93%</p>	<p>† Issue ownership †</p> <p>Issue ownership, party emphasis</p> <p>Issue ownership, party emphasis</p> <p>Issue ownership, party emphasis</p> <p>prior office experience familiarity, district benefits †</p>
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<p>Democrat</p> <p>Held prior office</p>	<p>issues” measures) .(The range is 0% to 50.50%). Interaction between district/state partisanship and Democratic party Candidate. Interaction between year 2004 and Democratic party candidate. Interaction between year 2006 and Democratic party candidate. Dichotomous variable indicating holding of prior elected office.</p>		
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Table 1: Independent Variables

Table 2: Personal Features

	Leadership	Competence	Empathy	Polls
Challenger	0.77 (0.31)	1.56 (0.50)	0.50 (0.30)	1.75 (0.43)
Open seat	0.43 (0.30)	1.03 (0.40)	-0.05 (0.28)	0.85 (0.45)
Competition	0.35 (0.25)	0.71 (0.39)	0.44 (0.24)	1.98 (0.35)

2004	0.29□ (0.23)	0.07 (0.28)	-0.48** (0.21)	-0.73*** (0.28)
2006	0.45□□ (0.22)	0.11 (0.29)	-0.17 (0.20)	—
Senate	0.08 (0.24)	0.02 (0.33)	0.01 (0.23)	-0.24 (0.41)
Democrat	0.55*** (0.17)	0.35 (0.23)	0.17 (0.16)	0.13 (0.27)
Female	-0.23 (0.22)	(0.29) 0.25	0.28* (0.21)	-0.31 (0.36)
Funds raised	-0.63 (1.29)	1.85 (1.57)	1.98* (1.27)	1.47 (1.65)
Front-runner status	-0.45 (0.32)	0.74 (0.49)	-0.25 (0.30)	0.83*** (0.47)
District Republican	0.01 (0.01)	0.03 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Constant	-1.66*** (0.52)	0.02 (0.73)	-0.65* (0.50)	-3.09*** (0.79)
Log likelihood	-431.37	-284.09	-473.03	-197.61
N	718	718	715	548

Table 3: Going Negative and interactivity

	Negativity	Issue negativity	Personal negativity	Interactivity
Challenger	1.45□□□□ (0.36)	1.76□□□□ (0.39)	0.82□□ (0.39)	0.43* (0.32)
Open seat	0.28 (0.33)	0.50* (0.38)	0.66** (0.40)	0.37 (0.31)
Competition	1.75 (0.32)	0.95** * (0.34)	1.66*** (0.34)	0.22 (0.26)
2004	0.61***	-0.37*	-0.92**	(0.25)

	(0.26)	*	*	0.67***
		(0.22)	(0.23)	
2006	1.07***	---	---	0.78***
	(0.26)			(0.25)
Senate	0.33	0.27	0.07	0.30
	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.31)	(0.25)
Democrat	0.50***	0.26	0.61***	0.67***
	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.18)
Female	0.41	0.45	-0.01	-0.10
	2.16*	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.23)
Funds raised	(0.26)	2.61	1.10	2.63
	*	(1.53)	(1.39)	(1.30)
	(1.48)			
Front-runner status	-1.74**	-1.63	-1.79**	-0.05
	*	(0.40)	*	(0.33)
	(0.37)		(0.43)	
District Republican	-0.001	-0.002	-0.01	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Opponent negativity	0.21	0.55**	0.44*	---
	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.28)	
Constant	-1.57***	-0.99	-0.76	-2.71
	(0.60)	(0.66)	(0.68)	(0.57)
Log likelihood	-337.61	-268.2	-256.94	-406.22
		3		718
N	714	546	546	0.67***

١,١١ Results

The three writers of the article have introduced the data in a sensible arrangement and movement bolstered with writing audit, tables and diagrams fittingly . The writers finished up through their article with the accompanying results: Read phonetically Dictionary - View point by point word reference :

- Challengers are much more probable than occupants to utilize pessimistic assaults (whether individual assaults or issue contrasts) than officeholders .
- Challengers are more probable than officeholders to utilize "Web 2.0" technologies that empower guests to make content (e.g. by means of remarking on the site) .
- Challengers are more probable than officeholders to push their gathering alliance and to raise issues that their gathering "possesses," especially if the incumbent is not an individual from the area's greater part party .
- Incumbents are more probable than challengers to underline their experience, their long history in the area, and the particular advantages that they have given to the region .This is particularly valid in fervently locale; somewhere else, officeholders are unrealistic to put much exertion at all into their sites .

The writers have succeeded in utilizing another system to for all intents and purposes animate voters consideration . For them to achieve this point, a hypothesis of new media was presented which already settled from the past hypothesis that voters connected with all the more better when novel advances, for example, sites (e.g., through message sheets, gatherings, live outlines...) were utilized that permit their clients to conform and inter personally speak to the campaign as well as with different voters on the race without intervention from pariahs^{١٧}.

At last, the three writers of the article have concurred with the perspective of "Harold Laswell and Kippendorf. Harold Lasswell"

(^{١٧}) Bucy, Erik P. 2004. "Interactivity in Society: Locating an Elusive Concept." *The Information Society*, 20: 373-83".

formulated the core questions of content analysis: Who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what impact ?

As indicated by Dr. Klaus Krippendorff, six inquiries must be tended to in each content analysis (1):

١. Which information is examined ?
٢. How are they defined ?
٣. What is the populace from which they are drawn ?
٤. What is the setting with respect to which the information is broke down ?
٥. What are the limits of the investigation ?
٦. What is the objective of the inferences ?

١,٢ Critical Analysis

Druckman and his partners reviewed a critical analysis to clarify these discoveries ;

To begin with, Going negative and empowering intelligent Web 2.0 advancements are dangerous ."Since occupants appreciate critical appointive advantages, they feel no compelling reason to go for broke. Be that as it may, challengers looking to beat these points of interest may discover these dangers worth taking" . Accordingly, challengers will probably pepper their destinations with negative remarks furthermore to give gatherings, wikis, or commenting interfaces .

Second, Partisanship is regularly as importantly a signal to voters as incumbency. In this manner, challengers put forth a factional defense against incumbents who have a place with the area's minority party .

Third, Incumbents need to do what they can to reinforce their incumbency. In this way, an accentuation on discussing things that exclusive incumbent has experience, credit guaranteeing open doors, and so forth .

(1) Klaus Krippendorff ,2004, Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology . 2 nd edition, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage .

The authors should be careful not reliance on websites as a genuine measure of what messages campaigns are really pushing may not be as much a panacea as asserted .

To start with: Who peruses campaign websites? The writers utilize a study of campaign web designers to show who, in the engineers' psyches, peruses the sites . Indeed, even the designers' yield that the fundamental target audience—swing voters—is the most unrealistic of all to really visit the site . In any case, recall that the web engineers most likely significantly overestimate the significance of their subject, . By what other method would they offer their administrations ?

Druckman et al (2009) would most likely counter that it doesn't make a difference whether anyone visits the site . What makes a difference is that the website outlines the campaign messages being utilized by the hopeful by and large, both on the web, in promotions, and in appearances .

Second: Do the candidates really push the same messages in this present reality as in their sites? You can fit numerous, numerous campaign messages into a website . You can just fit a little modest bunch into a solitary advertisement, appearance, or mailer . Maybe applicants purposefully put their most provocative messages on their sites to abstain from telling them to their rival's face amid a level headed discussion . We saw this in the 2008 presidential race. Both presidential campaigns discharged their most exceedingly bad advertisements online just, realizing that the media would see them and transfer the assault's message to strife hungry viewers . This was a hands-off path of possibility to get pessimistic messages out into the blogosphere without pushing the messages actually . In the event that that happens in Congressional races as well, then this study is flawed—perhaps profoundly .

Finally, although that the authors' biggest contribution is the use of careful, thoughtful, insightful sites campaign, and This allows the data source to near global averages (especially after 2002) , but This method does not, in fact, yield different results than we'll find if the book had relied on traditional data sources more, such as television ads or media coverage . When writers restrict

their analysis to those races, that has been buying large advertising or media coverage and many of the important results that disappear in the statistics .

١,١٣ **Conclusion**

The writers estimate two key illustrative variables which are; applicant status variable and rivalry variables . These variables are dichotomous in nature to recognize challengers, incumbents, and open seat candidates . The outcomes demonstrate that, for each situation, there are factually noteworthy and substantively important contrasts amongst challengers and officeholders . For instance, the likelihood of the normal challenger going negative is (.65) which is significantly higher than the incumbent probability of (.31) . These outcomes not just constitute the primary exact affirmation for a considerable lot of the individual measures, however they additionally, when taken together, uncover principal elective ways to deal with campaigning . Something else about these outcomes is that, they uncover the significance of rivalry, both with the criticalness of rivalry variable and in addition the assets raised measure (e.g., gathering pledges increments in close races) . The outcomes additionally give scientists with an establishment to moving towards a more finish comprehension of congressional campaigns that was not recognized in advance .

The authors' greatest commitment is their intensive, attentive, and clever utilization of campaign websites . This data source takes into account a close widespread (particularly after 2002), unfiltered take a gander at what competitors need voters to listen . Furthermore, this strategy does, to be sure, yield diverse results than we would discover if the creators had depended on more conventional information sources, for example, TV advertisements or media scope . At the point when the creators confine their examination to those races that had critical promotion purchases or media scope, a significant number of their vital results vanish into measurable obscurity . The writers have recognized a modest, simple approach to catch a fuller example of current campaign messages .

١,١٤ **References**

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