



## Voters versus the Corpus of Fictional POTUS

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### ABSTRACT

Scholars have argued that voting behaviour changes over time and, today, voters are no longer loyal to traditional ‘political brands’. We, hence, try to explore, through constructing ‘action corpora’ using novels, movies and TV dramas from the last 50 years (1960-2012) relating to fictional US presidents to see what the mass media have been conveying to the public subconsciously over time. We then looked at and discussed how people have responded since they last voted over the past five US presidential elections from 1992 through 2008 using excerpts from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). While voters were found to fall into two broad categories when making their voting decisions, powerful media bias right before elections could have caused vote swings and, hence, voters could have voted for ‘the wrong person with all the wrong reasons’ when, in fact, they were subconsciously warned – not by anyone else, but by the mass media.

*Keywords:* Corpus application, fictional POTUS, mass media, movies, novels, presidential election, TV dramas, voting behaviour

### INTRODUCTION

Classical studies of voting behaviour at Columbia University from the 1950s suggest that voters do not take what the media say very seriously when they decide on who to vote for (Berelson *et al.*, 1954;

Lazarsfeld *et al.*, 1944). According to these studies, subconscious loyalty to ‘brands’, in terms of religion, social class and status, as well as views from like-minded peers, are more often referred to as the important factors because voting decisions “seem to be matters of sentiment and disposition rather than reasoned preferences” (Berelson *et al.*, 1954, pp.310-311) and that such decisions may better be related to “cultural tastes – in music, literature, recreational activities, dress, ethics, speech, social behavior...

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(and) have their origin in ethnic, sectional, class, and family traditions” (p.310-311). Yet, recent studies (Dellavigna & Kaplan, 2007; Bergan *et al.*, 2009; Clinton & Enamorado, 2012) are beginning to steer away from such a traditional viewpoint as the relationship between media bias and voting is grabbing the attention of more and more researchers and is no longer merely about simple media persuasion in the arena of linguistics (Lakoff, 1987). For election campaign strategists who need to plan ahead for any given political party, such a shift in voting behaviour is anything but worrying, particularly when bias through the media is completely *ad hoc* and volatile in nature and is terribly difficult to plan effectively and accurately.

This paper, written from the practical perspective of an election campaign strategist, set out to look at what kind of message(s) (through novels, movies and TV dramas) the mass media have been sending to the public subconsciously over time, how people have responded since they last voted, and eventually, if any resemblance could be identified between the messages the media sent and the actual responses from the voters. The goal of the study was to find out what voters would really consider or fail to consider, even subconsciously, in the course of casting their votes. Our target of study for this paper is the series of presidential elections held every four years in the United States of America.

Specifically, we looked at two separate sets of data, both relating to the President of the United States (i.e. ‘POTUS’). On the one hand, we looked at how fictional Republican and Democrat POTUSes have been portrayed differently in mainstream best-selling American novels, Hollywood movies and popular TV dramas within the last 50 years<sup>1</sup>. An ‘action corpus’ is constructed to help understand what kind of message(s) the media are sending to the public about these fictional POTUSes. On the other hand, a corpus of how people responded four years after they last voted for their ‘once favorite candidate’ is constructed using the Corpus of Contemporary American English<sup>2</sup> (COCA). Concordance lines containing the core term ‘voted for (*someone*, e.g. Clinton or Bush)’ was gathered. The corpus covers voter responses found in COCA right before five consecutive U.S. presidential elections from 1992 through 2008. The results obtained from the two data sets were then compared and contrasted.

Our main result was that voters basically fell into two broad categories when they made their voting decisions. People either voted for a man they loved (e.g. a countryman or a patriot for whatever reason or no reason at all) or a plan (soundly entrusted with an enlightening

<sup>1</sup>A full list of movies, novels and TV dramas is available upon request.

<sup>2</sup>Corpus of Contemporary American English developed and maintained by Mark Davies at Brigham Young University (Provo, Utah), accessible online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/>

goal by an eloquent salesperson-like candidate) before they realised they had picked the wrong choice four years down the road. The implication of the results was clear for the election campaign strategist. The classical Chicago findings have not expired and voters are still just as partisan and loyal to ‘brands’ as their parents were in the 1950s. With powerful media bias, we may now be able to do quick-fixes and effectively manipulate voter decisions or make them swing and vote for ‘the wrong person for the wrong reasons’. In other words, with increasing media bias, we can expect more political leaders to be elected by voters who vote for all the wrong reasons, possibly implying that stability of democratically elected governments or credibility of new administrations will face even more challenges than ever as candidates could have been elected merely because of a ‘quick swing as a result of intensive media bias right before elections’,

and not because of a ‘long-time partisan loyalty, sentiment, and disposition that was implanted through years of exposing to the traditional media’.

### MESSAGE FROM THE FICTIONAL POTUSES

First, to understand how fictional Republican and Democrat POTUSES are being portrayed differently in mainstream media, over 500 mainstream American movies, novels and TV dramas have been reviewed<sup>3</sup>. Among these, 119 fictional POTUSES (or f-POTUSES) have been identified showing recognisable political affiliations i.e. either a Republican or a Democrat (see Table 1). These have been shortlisted and the descriptions of the characters were combined to form an ‘action corpus’ – a corpus based on the actions of the f-POTUSES. A full list of the sources of these f-POTUSES is given in Appendix I.

TABLE 1  
Source of Fictional Presidents of the United States (‘f-POTUSES’)

	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN
<b>Novels</b>	37	37
<b>Movies / HBO</b>	13	8
<b>TV series</b>	11	13
	(N=61)	(N=58)
	TOTAL = 119	

Their ‘backgrounds’, stories of ‘how s/he came to power’, ‘personalities and lifestyles’, adventures ‘during his/her term’, deeds or ‘what s/he had done’ plus ‘dirty works’ (fictional, of course), endings and even their

deaths of these f-POTUSES are all tabulated and compared (see Tables 2a to 2h).

<sup>3</sup>Owing to paper length restrictions, the full listing with descriptions of all 500 reviewed movies, TV drama series and novels will be available upon request.

TABLE 2a  
Action Corpus of f-POTUSes – His/Her Background

<b>Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS</b>	<b>Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• was the first Hispanic-American president</li> <li>• was first African-American president and the oldest elected president</li> <li>• became the first foreign-born VP</li> <li>• became the first woman President</li> <li>• was the first Asian-American president (third generation Japanese-American)</li> <li>• was the first straight female president</li> <li>• was second African-American president</li> <li>• was the nation's youngest president at 39</li> <li>• was first to divorce while in office</li> <li>• was a widow of Mars expedition commander</li> <li>• was from a wealthy family</li> <li>• married to former movie star</li> <li>• served in Vietnam</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• former screen actor</li> <li>• was a decorated Vietnam veteran and a Medal of Honor winner</li> <li>• was a former WWII General</li> <li>• was CEO of a successful investment firm</li> <li>• was a fighter pilot</li> </ul>

TABLE 2b  
Action Corpus of f-POTUSes – How Did S/He Come to Power?

<b>Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS</b>	<b>Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• took over as acting President due to President's failing health under the 25th Amendment<sup>11</sup></li> <li>• assumed the reins of power as acting President, as per the 25th Amendment, after his predecessor went on leave of absence due to deep depression</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• took office after POTUS died from wounds received in terrorist bombing of US Senate</li> <li>• used the nuclear destruction of Metropolis as an issue to win the presidency</li> <li>• became president after slipping poison into his predecessor's coffee, under orders from the leader of the extraterrestrials</li> <li>• elected after a nuclear exchange sparked by the Cuban Missile Crisis</li> </ul>

TABLE 2c  
Action Corpus of f-POTUSes – Personality and Lifestyle

<b>Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS</b>	<b>Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• enjoyed cigars and shark steak sandwiches</li> <li>• ate junk food</li> <li>• depicted as rather mediocre and uncertain of himself</li> <li>• interested only in his domestic agenda</li> <li>• appeared to be a charming and philandering politician</li> <li>• listened more to the counsel of his amoral advisers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• was recently lobotomised</li> <li>• was strongly anti-Communist</li> <li>• portrayed as devious, a grasper of power and slightly paranoid</li> <li>• was a pro-cloning president</li> </ul>

<sup>11</sup> The Twenty-fifth Amendment (Amendment XXV) to the United States Constitution deals with succession to the Presidency and establishes procedures both for filling a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, as well as responding to Presidential disabilities. See <http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxxv>

TABLE 2d

Action Corpus of f-POTUSes – What Happened During His/Her Term?

<b>Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS</b>	<b>Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• orchestrated the first manned space mission to Mars</li> <li>• was in office during massive earthquake, which hit Los Angeles</li> <li>• was there when VP was killed along with most of Congress in a terrorist attack</li> <li>• was in office when the Soviet Doomsday Device detonated, destroying most living things on the planet</li> <li>• was in a series of planned bio-terrorist attacks on Rome, Jerusalem and Mecca, orchestrated by rogue FBI agent</li> <li>• was in chaotic times due to Republican opposition to a controversial arms control treaty with the Soviet Union</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• was in office when China invades the US</li> <li>• was in office during US-Iran War</li> <li>• was found two days later curled up naked in an air duct after accidentally being given tea with an LSD-laced sugar cube by his daughter</li> <li>• was President during the 16-day World War III which ended with the nuclear destruction of Birmingham, England, and Kiev in the Soviet Union</li> <li>• was in office when the space shuttle Atlantis II was marooned in space after deflecting off of the Earth's atmosphere to go careening towards the sun</li> </ul>

TABLE 2e

Action Corpus of f-POTUSes – What Did S/He Do?

<b>Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS</b>	<b>Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• resolved a Constitutional crisis due to an election stolen by computer fraud</li> <li>• backed down the Soviets in a crisis</li> <li>• created a loose American Federation with neighboring Canada</li> <li>• launched a successful rescue operation when a Chinese submarine was downed off the coast of Los Angeles</li> <li>• relocated the nation's capital back to Philadelphia after tsunami hit DC</li> <li>• worked towards multilateral disarmament and the coalition of the World Peace League</li> <li>• refused to use bombing attack for political gain as he regretted the killing of innocents</li> <li>• attempted to give part of the Southwest US to Mexico as a goodwill gesture</li> <li>• normalised relations with Cuba</li> <li>• got US Virgin Islands as the 51st State</li> <li>• led surviving Earth resistance military forces into battle against alien invasion</li> <li>• consented to using nuclear power on American soil after learning of aliens' invasion plan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ordered the conscription of all 18-24 y.o.</li> <li>• supported tax in exchange for anti-terrorism</li> <li>• opposed evacuating the US when new Ice Age freezes the Northern Hemisphere</li> <li>• ordered a covert war against drug lords</li> <li>• led the nation during a crisis in Georgia and a rebellion in Indonesia</li> <li>• defended S. Korea during an American-Japanese conspiracy to start WWII</li> <li>• led the US in 2nd American Civil War</li> <li>• faked a cross-country trip in Air Force One in order to negotiate a mutual defence treaty against China with the Soviets, forced to remain in hiding after Air Force One crashed</li> <li>• promoted (with political opposition) an interventionist line on foreign policy and a strong stance against terrorism</li> <li>• nominated a Democrat as his running mate (and shocked everyone) during the election campaign</li> <li>• clashed with President-Elect over policies regarding a free Taiwan</li> </ul>

TABLE 2f  
Action Corpus of f-POTUSes – What Kind of Dirty Work Did S/He Do?

<b>Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS</b>	<b>Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• blackmailed Republican Congressman into backing an administration bill after he procured evidence of the Congressman's closeted homosexuality</li> <li>• approved a CIA plan to aid an exile invasion of Dominica, but ordered an assassination to make the invasion fail</li> <li>• leaked info (about unethical behaviour of his opponent) to a journalist before the presidential debate through a third party</li> <li>• spent his Administration propping up the House of Saud to ensure the flow of oil</li> <li>• ordered the bombing of Libyan Intelligence Headquarters in retaliation for bombing of an American missile defence system in Israel</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• started World War III and resulting nuclear holocaust</li> <li>• was one of the principal instigators when European terrorists released nerve gas on American soil</li> <li>• faked the death of his brother and framed another person for the murder</li> <li>• escalated the Cold War in an effort to regain lost status and prestige, risking nuclear war with the expectation that he and his supporters could withdraw safely to another universe should events escalate</li> <li>• began a military build-up and a campaign against terrorist states</li> </ul>

TABLE 2g  
Action Corpus of f-POTUS Adventures: What Happened to Him/Her?

<b>Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS</b>	<b>Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• kidnapped by the KGB (during the Cold War) and replaced with a Soviet agent who had been surgically altered</li> <li>• was punched in the Oval Office</li> <li>• became mentally unhinged during multiple crises faced by her administration, all worsened by her fatally flawed executive decisions</li> <li>• became a figurehead and lame duck after his powers were removed by an antichrist</li> <li>• held in secure bunker for many days during a terrorist attack on the White House causing his unpopular VP to take control</li> <li>• ignored evidence of a terrorist plot that threatened to cause a massive tidal wave</li> <li>• had a massive stroke (and his staff attempted to replace him with a lookalike, but then the double became mentally unstable and was assassinated to cover up the truth)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• suffered a major political scandal involving the collaboration with a neo-fascist conspiracy</li> <li>• survived a failed nuclear attack on Nashville, Tennessee by American terrorists</li> <li>• suffered from severe stress</li> <li>• was blamed for “anointing the regimes that haunt the US today”</li> <li>• attempted suicide</li> <li>• kidnapped by Swiss terrorist group</li> <li>• had a finger cut off by the group as proof of his kidnapping</li> </ul>

TABLE 2h  
Action Corpus of f-POTUS Deaths: How Did S/He Die?

Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS	Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• died in his sleep at the age of 91</li> <li>• assassinated while running for President</li> <li>• dies in office of electrocution, as a result of a hairdryer in bathtub</li> <li>• killed in crash of Air Force One</li> <li>• was killed in the crash of Air Force One on Thanksgiving Day during a Nuclear strike on Washington</li> <li>• dies of a heart attack</li> <li>• committed suicide in the Oval Office minutes after assuming the presidency</li> <li>• assassinated for not being a puppet</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• assassinated by anarchists prior to his inauguration</li> <li>• executed for colluding with Al Qaeda</li> <li>• became a selfish tyrant and was killed</li> <li>• died from a blood clot after breaking his leg in a horse riding accident</li> <li>• was killed in a war</li> <li>• killed in terrorist strikes</li> <li>• was stabbed by the First Lady</li> </ul>

### What kind of presidents were they?

A close study of the above f-POTUS action corpora revealed that Democrat f-POTUSes, when compared to their Republican counterparts, were often portrayed by the popular media to be more accepting and open to new ideas. For instance, the first Hispanic-American president, the first Japanese-American president and the oldest elected president are all depicted to be Democrats (see Table 2a). In reality, however, other than the fact that Barack Obama is indeed the first African-American president and is a Democrat, both the youngest and the oldest presidents at time of their inauguration, as well as the longest living presidents were in fact all Republicans<sup>4</sup>. Even the first black female Haitian-American to be elected Congresswoman in Utah (where the black is

the absolute minority) is also a Republican<sup>5</sup>. Other than being portrayed to be more open and accepting, Democrat f-POTUSes were also depicted to be more charming, philandering yet rather mediocre leaders who choose to enjoy their lives (see Table 2c). They differed from the Republican f-POTUSes in the sense that Republican f-POTUSes showed a strong stance against anti-American values (e.g. Communism) and were often decorated veterans, jet-fighter pilots or war generals, and were generally devious, a grasper of power and even, in one case, slightly paranoid (see Table 2c). Yet when it came to how they rose to power, Democrat f-POTUSes were in general, legitimate successors of an outgoing or recently deceased president whereas Republican f-POTUSes would use

<sup>4</sup>The youngest president of the United States at the time of inauguration was Theodore Roosevelt (at age 42, in 1909), the oldest was Ronald Reagan (at age 69, in 1989), and the longest living president was Gerald Ford, who died at the age of 93 in 2006.

<sup>5</sup>See “First black female Republican in Congress: Mia Love wins Utah House seat in tight race”, International Business Times, dated November 5, 2014. Retrieved November 6, 2014 from <http://www.ibtimes.com/first-black-female-republican-congress-mia-love-wins-utah-house-seat-tight-race-1719069>



war, terrorism or anything military-related to help pave their way to the top (see Table 2b). In short, Democrat f-POTUSes were intellectuals who would work their way to the presidency with plans or via the use of the constitution, whereas Republican f-POTUSes were power leaders who would take advantage of military conflicts in order to take hold of the presidency.

**What did these presidents do?** Democrat f-POTUSes were also depicted to resolve not only constitutional crises within the country, face down the Soviets, work towards multilateral disarmament, promote world peace but were also shown to be socialist-friendly. This is shown in the rescuing of a Chinese submarine and the normalising of relations with Cuba (see Table 2e). It is also particularly interesting to note that only the Democrat f-POTUSes had ever been portrayed to lead in the rebuilding of the United States after major natural disasters (e.g. tsunami and earthquakes) or to defend the country from an alien invasion. Writers and film producers seem to love including a Democrat president whenever it came to leading people out of difficult times. Republican f-POTUSes, on the other hand, were the ones to lead in battles with drug lords and to drag the country into wars. They were also the ones who would choose to ‘stay and fight’ during adverse times, just as when one f-POTUS opposed the evacuation of the country when a new Ice Age froze the entire Northern Hemisphere (see Table 2e). Republican f-POTUSes, therefore, were leaders who fought for

the goodwill of allies while at the same time could also start a self-devastating second civil war. Just as they would order the conscription of all 18 to 24 year-olds or nominate a Democrat as their running mate, Republican f-POTUSes made shocking, surprising and even unwelcome decisions. Yet in reality, it is an open secret that the Chinese Communists actually preferred to work with the Republicans and not the Democrats<sup>6</sup> due to various reasons including their difference of stance on human rights issues. In fact, US President Obama’s recent pivot to Asia has also been criticised by the Chinese to have heightened disputes in the region<sup>7</sup>, a phenomenon not seen during the days when a Republican president was in office.

<sup>6</sup>See the BBC article on “China’s socialist rulers prefer Republicans to Democrats”, dated November 4, 2004, accessible online at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3978489.stm> See also the Slate V article, “Jon Huntsman compares Republican Party to Communist Party”, dated April 23, 2012, accessible online at [http://www.slate.com/blogs/trending/2012/04/23/jon\\_huntsman\\_compares\\_republican\\_party\\_to\\_communist\\_party.html](http://www.slate.com/blogs/trending/2012/04/23/jon_huntsman_compares_republican_party_to_communist_party.html) and the YouTube clip at <http://youtu.be/edcmubro0A0>

<sup>7</sup>The U.S. already has stationed approximately 320,000 troops in the region, as well as 50 percent of its formidable global naval assets. Under the current pivot strategy, the US is set to commit several thousand additional troops and increase its naval strength by another 10% in the coming few years. See the Anti-war.com article by Richard Javad Heydarian on “US pivot heightens Asian disputes”, dated December 14, 2012, accessible online at <http://original.antiwar.com/javad-heydarian/2012/12/14/us-pivot-heightens-asian-disputes/>



### What was worst about these presidents?

While the Republican f-POTUSes were often portrayed to be more conservative, occasionally paranoid and possibly war-loving, the Democrat f-POTUSes were no better leaders when it came to dirty work. One Democrat f-POTUS blackmailed a homosexual congressman into backing his administration bills, another ordered an assassination in order to ruin a government plan he ordered himself and one other leaked information unethically to the press just before the presidential election (see Table 2f). Republican f-POTUSes, in this regard, seemed to score better as their scandals were basically all related to military operations: escalate the Cold War, begin a military build-up or even start World War III. Yet, if we reviewed the top 10 scandals in American history that involved the president, we may easily see that this really was not the case. According to historian Martin Kelly (see Table 3), in the four out of 10 major scandals in history concerning the Democrats, a stunning three were either a marriage issue or a sex scandal whereas for the Republicans, all of their six scandals were either related to corruption or abusive trading practices that involved under-the-table money or abuse of power.

### DO VOTERS' COMMENTS MATCH WHAT IS PORTRAYED OF F-POTUSES?

In our previous section we looked at how mainstream traditional media portrayed the Republican and the Democrat POTUSes in

novels, movies and TV dramas differently. Having identified some of the key characteristics of these fictional POTUSes, we went on further to see how people, or voters, actually responded four years after they last voted for their 'once favorite candidates'. Specifically, we focused on whether comments from voters would match the fictional characters we discussed above.

In order to look for the voter's comments, a corpus with the core words 'voted for (a Republican or a Democrat president since 1988)' in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) was constructed (see Appendix II). Out of the 258 matching excerpts found from COCA, 123 excerpts were found for the Democrat president and 125 for the Republican (selected excerpts in italics below). Those related to the Republicans seemed to be more willing to vote for a Democrat candidate without later regretting it, especially when they believed that the American people *were mired in a terrible recession and the country needed something*. Such a mentality seemed to match perfectly with our previous discussion about people expecting Democrat f-POTUSes to be the kind of presidents who 'would lead people out of their difficult times'. Similarly, many registered Republicans, *voted for Clinton and Gore, voted for Clinton twice*. This again coincided with our previous findings related to the f-POTUSes in the sense that as the American economy was recovering during the two Clinton terms (1997-2001) even the Republicans were expecting the

country to rise again through a Democrat president. In fact, there were even rumors that *President (Ronald) Reagan voted for Clinton* – another indication of the dependence on Clinton (a Democrat) to bring the American people out of the shadow of recession.

But no matter for whom Republicans voted, Republicans were still Republicans, as summed up by one voter who said *he voted for Obama (in 2008), but remains a Republican*. This remark matched the finding of the classical Columbia studies, in which the voter was found to be subconsciously loyal to ‘brands’ i.e. Republicans, yet for some reason voted for a Democrat. Such a response also agreed with other studies (Markus & Converse, 1979; Page & Jones, 1979) in which partisan predispositions were said to unlikely dominate an election completely as all candidates were being assessed continuously, not just in terms of the candidates themselves but also on the extent to which current issues ‘conflict or coincide with established party cleavages’ (Page & Jones, 1979, p.1088).

However, this was not quite the same for Democrats. They seemed to complain more when they chose to vote for the wrong Republican. One Democrat *who voted for Bush in 2004... (said) he doesn't plan to do so again*, and there were some *blue collar Democrats who voted for Bush and (said they) don't want to again*. If there was one simple explanation for these remarks, it could be that the Democrats thought they switched just

because they were then voting for ‘a Republican with a plan’ and when it turned out to be just ‘a man without a plan’, they all regretted casting their votes for the wrong person.

Similarly, people who voted for a Republican because of ‘the man’ seemed to regret their choices more when economic conditions worsened. One person (political affiliation or orientation not known, presumably a member of the general public) *who voted for Bush ... thinks despair is now at an all-time high* and a medical doctor who also *voted for Bush ... (says) he's unhappy with high taxes and the economy*. Interestingly, there was also a certain *worried Jarvis, who voted for Bush but sympathizes with Gore's position*, too. While some *Americans voted for Bush because he made them feel safe*, others said *Americans deserved to be bombed because they had voted for Bush*, and that *because you voted for Bush, so you're responsible for this disaster, or they voted for Bush, (and so) support(ed) the Iraq war*. The comments seem to coincide with what our study of the f-POTUSes revealed in the previous section: people either voted for a man (who was a Republican) or a plan (from a Democrat).

What about Democrats for Democrats or Republicans for Republicans? While the excerpts did not reveal much on this, they did provide some hints as in the following two examples: A *Republican who voted for Bush in 1988 ... said he reluctantly would do so again*, and, for

the *Democrat who voted for Obama in 2008 ... (said he/she) would again*. It does seem like the sixty-year-old Chicago concept was still applicable, and partisan predisposition was still working to some degree, especially when voters were voting for a candidate from their own party.

### CONCLUSION: A MAN OR A PLAN?

The paper studied the kind of messages the mass media, through novels, movies, and TV dramas, had been sending to the public subconsciously over time in terms of fictional POTUSes and compared them to how people, voters specifically, have responded and commented on the real-life presidents since they last cast their votes four years ago through the construction of a corpus. Our goal was to find out what voters would really (fail to) consider, even subconsciously, in the course of casting their votes, so that election campaign managers may focus their resources on the crucial factors in formulating their campaign strategies.

Our results from our ‘action corpus’ was that Democrat f-POTUSes, as portrayed by the media, were intellectuals who would ‘bring people out of difficult times’ and ‘lead the nation when mother nature strikes’ whereas Republican f-POTUSes were patriots who would never leave their wingmen and would choose to ‘stay and fight’ for American values, even if it meant getting killed (see Table 2h). These findings, interestingly,

coincided with the voter comment excerpts we found from COCA. Voters seemed to understand that when they voted for a Republican presidential candidate, they voted for a person who shared the American dream and envisioned a united America with strong military power; whereas, when they voted for a Democrat, they voted for a charismatic leader with a great plan: a plan either to help the people or to save the country. For instance, one lady who *won't say whether she voted for Obama ... (says) she feels his health plan may be the answer*. Another man who *voted for Obama ... said he still believes in this president's (plan)*. There are some others who also said that they either *voted for Obama's big government health care (plan)* or *Obama's Wall Street bailout (plan)*. As long as the Democrat's plan was working and the economy was reviving, voters would not complain and the president would always get a second term, even when Democrat presidents were notorious for sex scandals in the American presidential history (see Table 3). As a matter of fact, Bill Clinton (42th president) served two terms (1993-2001), Andrew Jackson (7th president) served two terms (1829-1837) and even Grover Cleveland (22nd and 24th president) managed to get reelected and served two non-consecutive terms (1885-1889 and 1893-1897) and was the only US president to be counted twice in the numbering of the presidents.

TABLE 3  
Top 10 American Presidential Scandals 1810-2010

President	Scandal	Description of Scandal	Party
Andrew Jackson	Andrew Jackson's marriage (1828)	Believing that she was legally divorced, Rachel Donelson married Jackson in 1781. Her first husband later charged her with adultery.	Democrat
Ulysses S. Grant	Black Friday (1869)	Grant found out gold prices were soaring and quickly had the Treasury add gold to the economy. This in turn resulted in the lowering of gold prices on Friday, September 24, 1869, which adversely affected all those who had bought gold.	Republican
	Credit Mobilier (1872)	The Credit Mobilier company stole from the Union Pacific Railroad while trying to cover up by selling stocks at a large discount to government officials and Congress members.	
	Whiskey Ring (1875)	Grant called for swift punishment of government employees who were pocketing whiskey taxes but caused further scandal when he attempted to protect his also implicated personal secretary.	
James Garfield	Star Route (1881)	Concerns corruption in the postal service.	Republican
Grover Cleveland	Ma, Ma, Where's My Pa? (1884)	Cleveland had previously had an affair with a widow named Maria Halpin who had given birth to a son. Cleveland paid child support and then put the child in an orphanage.	Democrat
Warren G. Harding	The Teapot Dome (1920-1923)	Harding's Secretary of the Interior sold the right to the oil reserves in Teapot Dome etc. in exchange for personal profit and cattle.	Republican
Richard Nixon	Watergate (1972)	In 1972, five men were caught breaking into the Democratic National Headquarters located at the Watergate business complex. Richard Nixon and his advisors worked to cover up the crimes.	Democrat
Ronald Reagan	Iran-Contra Affair (1985-1987)	Money that had been obtained through selling arms to Iran was given secretly to the revolutionary Contras in Nicaragua. The hope was that by selling the weapons to Iran, terrorists would be more willing to give up hostages.	Republican
Bill Clinton	Lewinsky Affair (1998)	Lewinsky was a White House staffer with whom Clinton had an intimate relationship, or as he later put it, an "improper physical relationship."	Democrat

Source: Presidential Scandals by Martin Kelly [http://americanhistory.about.com/od/uspresidents/tp/presidential\\_scandals.htm](http://americanhistory.about.com/od/uspresidents/tp/presidential_scandals.htm)

Indeed, by comparing popular cultural fantasy taken from novels, movies, TV dramas with COCA excerpts, we could see why even when the media were in part misrepresenting the reality of the POTUS, the kind of long-lasting American sentimental loyalty and attachment to the two main parties, in terms of either ‘a man or a plan’, could still be reinforced (Campbell *et al.*, 1960, p.121). Such sentiments effectively reduced the other more reasonable factors in importance when it came to making voting decisions<sup>8</sup> (Campbell & Miller, 1957; Campbell *et al.*, 1960; 1966). When party loyalties and social characteristics, which are relatively inert through time, are bombarded with new, collaborative, uncensored and open forms of continuous assessment of the candidates over the new battlefield of social media, traditional political parties will have to move quickly into this new arena of political discourse (Shamma *et al.*, 2010), if not merely to make up for lost time during election campaigns<sup>9</sup>. Despite the fact that social media platforms are used ‘mainly as a way to push messages out’ (Pew Foundation, 2012) and are considered cross-ideological (Yardi & Boyd, 2010), polarisation of similar political views can be

lightning fast (Conover *et al.*, 2011) through natural homophily<sup>10</sup> patterns (McPherson *et al.*, 2001). These patterns of polarisation, adding to the fact that it is often the average (non-elite) user who eventually controls distribution (Parnell *et al.*, 2012), makes social media a substantial component in the final vote swing. For the election campaign strategists, this would translate into the sad fact that it would be easier to anticipate immediate success for a new, young conservative star (who would rely heavily upon the attached loyalties to his/her party) than to maintain votes for an experienced, heartfelt politician who has really dedicated his/her life to the people. The media subconsciously warned the people of this long ago; they just failed to realise it.

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<sup>8</sup>These are a series of findings from follow-up studies at the University of Michigan in the 1960s that further supported the Columbia results.

<sup>9</sup>See the Phys.org article by Stephane Jourdain, “Republicans make up for lost time on social media”, dated November 3, 2012, accessible online at <http://phys.org/news/2012-11-republicans-lost-social-media.html>

<sup>10</sup>Homophily, a concept in sociology, is the tendency of individuals to associate and bond with similar others. The presence of homophily has been discovered in a vast array of network studies (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001).

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## Appendix I. Full Listing of Fictional POTUS Sources

List of 58 fictional Republican POTUSes and their sources:

### NOVELS

President Jeremy Haines	"The President's Plane is Missing" (1960) and its sequel "Air Force One is Haunted" (1993) by Robert Serling
President Edgar Frazier	"Seven Days in May" (1962) by Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey, Jr.
President Robert Winslow Sheldrake	"Missing!" (1969), a novel by Michael Avallone
President Andrew Bee	Brian Garfield's 1972 novel "Line of Succession"
President "Dad" Kampferhaufe	Death of a Politician, a 1978 book by Richard Condon
President Thompson	"The Third World War", a novel by General Sir John Hackett (1978)
President Browning Dayton	"The Zero Factor" by William Oscar Johnson (1980)
President Augustus Alvin York	"The Zero Factor" by William Oscar Johnson (1980)
President Jack Donnelly	"The KGB Candidate", a 1988 novel by Owen Sela
President Wesley Hamlin	"Moonfall" by Jack McDevitt (1988)
President Veronica Townshend	"Moonfall" by Jack McDevitt (1988)
President Peter Arnold Robinson	Michael P. Kube-McDowell's 1988 novel, "Alternities"
President Carmen Hiero	"The Stone Dogs" by S.M. Stirling (1990)
President Liedermann	"The Stone Dogs" by S.M. Stirling (1990)
President Herbert Forrest	Superman Annual #3 (vol. 2), DC Comics (1991)
President Connor Doyle	"The People's Choice" by Jeff Greenfield (1995)
President-Elect MacArthur Foyle	"The People's Choice" by Jeff Greenfield 1995)
President Matt Hutton	"The First Lady" by Edward Gorman (1996)
President Charles Foster Kane	"Back in the USSA" by Eugene Byrne and Kim Newman (1997)
President Kevin Martindale	"Shadows of Steele" (1997) by Dale Brown
President Anna Bester	John Shirley's "Eclipse" Trilogy (1999)
President-elect Phil Bristol	"Protect and Defend" by Eric L. Harry (1999)
President Gordon Davis	"Protect and Defend" by Eric L. Harry (1999)
President C. Douglas Dillion	"Resurrection Day" by Brendan Dubois (1999)
President George Romney	"Resurrection Day" by Brendan Dubois (1999)
President George W. Knox	"GURPS Alternate Earths" by Kenneth Hite, Craig Neumeier and Michael S. Schiffer (1999)
President Bill Baker	"Invasion" by Eric L. Harry (2000)
President Rupert Justice Tolliver	"Rides a Pale Horse", a 2000 novel by Franklin Allen Leib
President Jack Rutledge	"The Lions of Lucerne" (2002) by Brad Thor
President David Bowers	"Splinter Cell" series by Tom Clancy (2004)
President James MacPherson	Joel C. Rosenberg novels: "The Last Jihad" (2006), "The Last Days" (2006), "The Ezekiel Option" (2006), "The Copper Scroll" (2007) and "Dead Heat" (2008)
President LaMonte Nielson	Orson Scott Card's novel, "Empire" (2007)
President Floyd Davis	Paul J. McAuley's alternate history novel, "Cowboy Angels" (2008)
President Lee Alexander James	"Dead Heat" by Joel C. Rosenberg (2008)
President William Harvard Oaks	"Dead Heat" by Joel C. Rosenberg (2008)
President David Payne	"The Interim" (2011) by John Prescott
President George White	"The Kid Who Ran for President" (2012) by Dan Gutman



### TV SERIES

President Richard Monckton	"The Company" by John Ehrlichman, adapted as TV series "Washington: Behind Closed Doors" (1977)
President Johnny Cyclops	"Whoops Apocalypse" (TV series, 1982)
President Kang	The Simpsons: "Treehouse of Horror VII" (1996)
President Owen Lassiter	"The West Wing" (TV series, 1999-2006)
President Wyndom Brody	"The Outer Limits" episode "Decompression" (TV drama, 2000)
President Caroline Reynolds	"Prison Break" (TV series, 2005-2009)
President Mackenzie Allen	"Commander-in-Chief" (TV series, 2005–2006)
President Teddy Bridges	"Commander-in-Chief" (TV series, 2005-2006)
Acting President Nathan Templeton	"Commander-in-Chief" (TV series, 2005-2006)
President John Keeler	"24" (TV series, 2005-2006)
President Charles Logan	"24" (TV series, 2006-2007)
President Allison Taylor	"24: Redemption" (TV series, 2008)
President P.J. Aimes	"The Summit" (TV mini-series, 2008)

### MOVIES

President Edward Bennett	"Clear and Present Danger" (film, 1994)
President William "Bill" Haney	"My Fellow Americans" (film, 1996)
President Ted Matthews	"My Fellow Americans" (film, 1996)
President James Marshall	"Air Force One" (film, 1997)
President Raymond Jarvis	"The Event" (drama film, 2003)
President Raymond Becker	"The Day After Tomorrow" (film, 2004)
President John Ballentine	"The Sentinel" (novel 2003, film 2006)
President Andrew Boone	"Swing Vote" (film, 2008)

### List of 61 fictional Democrat POTUSes and their sources:

#### TV SERIES

President Esker Scott Anderson	"The Company" by John Ehrlichman, adapted as TV series "Washington: Behind Closed Doors" (1977)
President William Arthur Curry	"The Company" by John Ehrlichman, adapted as TV series "Washington: Behind Closed Doors" (1977)
President Josiah "Jed" Bartlet	"The West Wing" (TV series, 1999-2006)
President D. Wire Newman	"The West Wing" (TV series, 1999-2006)
President Matt Santos	"The West Wing" (TV series, 1999-2006)
President David Palmer	"24" (TV series, 2001-2005)
Acting President Jim Prescott	"24" (TV series, 2003)
President Wayne Palmer	"24" (TV series, 2009)
President Fred Collier	"Political Animals" (TV miniseries, Season 1)(2012)
President Paul Garcetti	"Political Animals" (TV miniseries, Season 1)(2012)
President Donald "Bud" Hammond	"Political Animals" (TV miniseries, Season 1)(2012)

#### MOVIES

President Jordan Lyman	"Seven Days in May" (1962)(adapted film 1964)
President Merkin Muffley	"Dr. Strangelove" (film, 1964)
President Arthur Morose	"By Dawn's Early Light" (novel, 1990) (HBO movie, 1990)
President Andrew Shepherd	"The American President" (1995)
President Thomas J. Whitmore	"Independence Day" (film, 1996)

President Jack Stanton  
 President Jackson Evans  
 President Paul L. Greene  
 President Lisa Simpson  
 President Monroe "Eagle" Cole  
 President Gerald Fitzhugh  
 President Eugene Lorio  
 President James Stanford

"Primary Colors" (1996 novel, 1998 film) by Joe Klein  
 "The Contender" (film, 2000)  
 "The Last Debate" by Jim Lehrer (2000)  
 The Simpsons: "Bart to the Future" episode  
 "Welcome to Mooseport" (film, 2004)  
 "Left Behind: World at War" (film, 2005)  
 "Jack & Bobby" (film, 2005)  
 "In xXx: State of the Union" (film, 2005)

## NOVELS

President Mark Hollenbach  
 President Kenneth Saxon  
 President Howard Brewster  
 President Tommy Owens  
 President Andrew Bradford  
 President Florentyna Kane  
 President Hawley Briggs  
 President Joseph Armando  
 President Bedford Forrest Lockwood

President Pete Parkin  
 President Tucker Attenborough  
 Acting President Sam Clark  
 President Roger Durling  
 President Thomas Nelson Tucker  
 President Thomas Edison (Shy)  
 President William Ballard  
 President Andrew Y. Culpepper  
 President Charles Haskell  
 President Henry Kolladner  
 President Benjamin Knight  
 President Clark Kent  
 President Walter N. Livingston  
 President Kenneth Yamaoka  
 President Ed Kealty  
 President Kerry Francis Kilcannon

President Kathy Alton  
 President Mark Hunt  
 President Donald Kilbourne  
 President Andrew Tyler  
 President Robert Hayes  
 President Eve Carol Larsen  
 President Katherine Powers  
 President Noah Daniels  
 President Charles McBride  
 President Warrick  
 President Matthew Bernstein

President Jeff Warnock

Fletcher Knebel's novel "Night at Camp David" (1965)  
 "Missing!" by Michael Avallone (1969 novel)  
 Brian Garfield's 1972 novel "Line of Succession"  
 "The Essential Man" by Al Morgan (1977)  
 "The Second Lady" (novel) by Irving Wallace (1981)  
 "The Prodigal Daughter" by Jeffrey Archer (1986)  
 "The Red President" by Martin Gross (1988)  
 "Mars" by Ben Bova (1993)  
 Charles McCarry's novels: "Better Angels" (1979) and "Shelley's Heart" (1995)  
 "The Prodigal Daughter" by Jeffrey Archer (1986)  
 "Shelley's Heart", a 1995 novel by Charles McCarry  
 "Shelley's Heart", a 1995 Novel by Charles McCarry  
 Tom Clancy novel, "Debt of Honor" (1995)  
 "The White House Mess" (1995) by Christopher Buckley  
 "Garland Father's Day" by John Calvin Batchelor (1996)  
 Tom Clancy's "Politika" (1997)  
 "Moonfall" by Jack McDevitt (1998)  
 "Moonfall" by Jack McDevitt (1998)  
 "Moonfall" by Jack McDevitt (1998)  
 "The Lucky Ones" by Doris Mortman (1998)  
 Action Comics Annual #3 (1991)  
 "Arc Light" by Eric L. Harry (1994)  
 "Eagle" by Kaiji Kawaguchi (2000)  
 "The Teeth of the Tiger" by Tom Clancy (2002)  
 Richard North Patterson's novel "Protect and Defend" (2001) and  
 "Balance of Power" (2003)  
 "The Illuminati" by Larry Burkett (2004)  
 "The Illuminati" by Larry Burkett (2004)  
 "The Illuminati" by Larry Burkett (2004)  
 "Fourteen Points" (2004) by Emily McCormack  
 "Transfer of Power", novel by Vince Flynn (2005)  
 Quantico by Greg Bear (2008)  
 Ellen Emerson White's "President's Daughter" (2008)  
 "24" (TV series) (2009)  
 "Scimitar SL-2" by Patrick Robinson (2009)  
 John Ringo's novel "The Last Centurion" (2009)  
 "2030: The real story of what happens to America", novel by Albert Brooks (2011)  
 "Lockout" (film, 2012)

## Appendix II. Concordance Lines of ‘Voted for (Someone)’

There are 123 instances of voted for (a Democrat president):

4 year that showed 89 percent of Washington journalists voted for Clinton - a study Alexander and several  
in the audience  
5 presidential election and then thwart it. I mean, you voted for Clinton -- most of you who did -- the four  
out of 10 of  
6 the poll's respondents -- roughly the percentage that voted for Clinton -- said they were more optimistic  
about their p  
7 no voters made up 30 percent of the voters, 69 percent voted for Clinton and 29 percent for Obama. //  
This is the state  
8 cation. Most are registered Republicans, but many also voted for Clinton and Gore. # For many, it's the  
anti' 12 2004  
9 think what I have a mandate to do from the people who voted for Clinton and Perot, and some of the  
people even who vote  
10 of the issues. # "I'm a registered Republican, but I voted for Clinton because I thought the country  
needed something  
11 ed nearly three of every four votes from blacks. # "I voted for Clinton because I think he'll do the most  
for the econo  
12 finding that 89 percent of the Washington press corps voted for Clinton four years ago, has offered a  
reason for this:  
13 of course, they lost the war. The 48 percent that had voted for Clinton in 1992 stayed largely Democratic.  
But the 19 p  
14 Democrats, Republicans and independents. All but a few voted for Clinton in 1992, but they have not  
decided whether to s  
15 offered on Monday night. # Despite the fact that many voted for Clinton in 1992, the group gave him  
mediocre to poor gr  
16 are women. # -- Four-fifths are Democrats; four-fifths voted for Clinton in 1992. # -- About half describe  
themselves as  
17 , 45, a Bristol, Ind., postal worker, a Republican who voted for Clinton in 1992. # Clinton political  
adviser Paul Begal  
18 nof, a 43-year-old independent from Newton, Mass., who voted for Clinton in 1992. Homonof, who  
was recently laid off fro  
19 you know how'd you go? ED HOLLINGSWORTH, Republican: I voted for Clinton in 1992. TED  
KOPPEL: Haven't made up your mind?  
20 ays Donna Wheelock, 40, a Preble, N.Y., Republican who voted for Clinton in 1996. # But Congress'  
failure to do more tha  
21 women voted for Obama In 2008 Iowa caucus 30 of women voted for Clinton In 2008 Iowa 47 2008  
SPOK NBC\_Today A B  
22 women voted for Obama In 2008 Iowa caucus 30 of women voted for Clinton In 2008 Iowa caucus 57  
of voters were female I  
23 were women In 2008 New Hampshire primary 46 of women voted for Clinton In 2008 New Hampshire  
primary 34 of women vote  
24 2008 SPOK NBC\_Today A B C primary 46 of women voted for Clinton In 2008 New Hampshire  
primary 34 of women vote  
25 o, was Jim Wengerd. The 57-year-old insurance man, who voted for Clinton last fall, says he's now  
disappointed. JIM WENG  
26 Lakeland. # "I voted for Bush's daddy in 1992, but I voted for Clinton last time," she said as she stood  
outside the  
27 ton, 5,593 jobs, all but 473 military. All four states voted for Clinton last year. # Most people were  
expressing shock

28 the world is not in our best interest. # Ironically, I voted for Clinton on the basis he would not be as big  
a military  
29 s abortion rights and stem-cell research. In 1996, she voted for Clinton over Bob Dole. But she can't  
envision crossing  
30 die. # Though women in the 1996 presidential election voted for Clinton over Dole by a margin of 15  
percent, and some p  
31 d Kennedy. One poll found that 52 percent of those who voted for Clinton still harbor serious concerns  
about his capacit  
32 t was George Bush that couldn't handle both. Myself, I voted for Clinton to do both, as the job dictates.  
# Additionally  
33 linton presidency going. I -- and I -- I want to say I voted for Clinton twice and support 80 percent of  
the -- of his p  
34 time job is mother of two. A registered Republican who voted for Clinton twice, this time Megan is  
undecided. MEGAN PHUC  
35 n New York, I believe I am a registered Independent. I voted for Clinton twice. But in Pennsylvania I'm  
probably still a  
36 ck. Linda Fischer is another registered Republican who voted for Clinton twice. She's uneasy about  
both candidates. LIND  
37 during the 1980s and Lewis says one reason minorities voted for Clinton was to change the federal  
judiciary. (Footage-o  
38 eard abortion denounced as an unspeakable sin and then voted for Clinton!) After all, people reasonably  
ask, if they got  
39 might not have been sincere: Among the Republicans who voted for Clinton, "41 percent say they  
would be dissatisfied if  
40 ers who professed no religious affiliation, 62 percent voted for Clinton, 18 percent for Bush and 20  
percent for Perot.  
41 nts voted for Obama; 24 are neutral whose constituents voted for Clinton, according to the 56 2008  
NEWS Atlanta A  
42 nts voted for Obama; 24 are neutral whose constituents voted for Clinton, according to the AP review.  
// "Our nominee m  
43 y. About half of the Perot people said they would have voted for Clinton, and about half said they would  
vote for Bush.  
44 t say, the Clinton Republicans -- that is, people that voted for Clinton, but also a Republican House  
member, which seem  
45 t a scientific sample of the country, but in 1992 four voted for Clinton, four for Bush and two for  
independent Ross Per  
46 ed. But I think part of that may have been when people voted for Clinton, they were going back to  
people they knew down  
47 I'm going to cut your taxes 15 percent. Instead, they voted for Clinton, who said I'm going to cut  
somebody else's tax  
48 uy has written a letter to the editor, Republican, who voted for Clinton, who thought we were mired in  
a terrible recess  
49 " # At his first White House briefing, Gergen said he voted for Clinton. # 11. Louis Freeh, the FBI  
director-designate,  
50 t? Nearly half, 48 percent, say they would indeed have voted for Clinton. 34 percent say they would have  
gone for Obama.  
51 was actually a previous Edwards supporter, and today I voted for Clinton. But I also gave two delegates  
over to Obama. S  
52 e for. I mean if it was a close election, I would have voted for Clinton. But it was not. (LAUGHTER)  
MORGAN: Coming up,  
53 , about 140, said that they were Clinton-inclined, had voted for Clinton. Does that seep through? JOHN-  
PODHORETZ-TH: Wel

54 different,” she said, “but it’s politics as usual. I voted for Clinton. I wouldn’t now.” # Ms. Bloom  
 55 asserted that an  
 56 bout this -- on all these rumors that President Reagan voted for Clinton. Some... Unidentified Man 1:  
 57 Yeah, right. LIMBA  
 58 t bothers these people, folks? They love Clinton. They voted for Clinton. They think Clinton is their  
 59 president. They ar  
 60 was -- and you just saw this. To review it: 89 percent voted for Clinton; 91 percent describe themselves  
 61 as liberal or m  
 62 B C as mine, I’ll hire’ em, “ says Egan.) Callaway voted for Clinton; Egan voted for Bush. Callaway  
 63 is lean, dignifi  
 64 linois. GRAPHICS Three-quarters of them - 75 percent - voted for Clinton; only eight percent went for  
 65 Jerry Brown; seven  
 66 creases on people like Bob. Listen, not one Republican voted for Clinton’s budget or the tax increase,  
 67 and people like B  
 68 a, whose well-being relies on defense contracts -- all voted for Clinton’s military budget. # Where did  
 69 the peace divide  
 70 is problem. Is this the new Feinstein? Or someone that voted for Clinton’s tax increase? # JOHN A.  
 71 DERONDE Jr. # Fairfie  
 72 an outrage that Notre Dame invited him. But Catholics voted for Obama 54 percent. That’s shocking.  
 73 HANNITY: It really i  
 74 votes here in the next election.” # Benjamin Abramson voted for Obama as well, but he says the  
 75 president’s statement on  
 76 vid on this. You talk to Republicans and they say they voted for Obama because Sarah Palin was John  
 77 McCain’s pick. That  
 78 n troop commitment to 60,000 or more. # Many Americans voted for Obama because we felt he would  
 79 realize that Afghanistan  
 80 primary. // Heidi Johannesen, 33, of Fairfax said she voted for Obama even though she has voted for  
 81 George W. Bush. “I  
 82 ogers, 31, a technology consultant from Bellevue, Ky., voted for Obama four years ago and credits him  
 83 with doing “some  
 84 large numbers of troops,” said Foust, a Democrat who voted for Obama in 2008 and said he would  
 85 again. “We’ve been the  
 86 her in Maricopa, Ariz., said she is an independent who voted for Obama in 2008 and would do so again  
 87 if given the chance  
 88 . TEXT: Decision 2008 In 2008 Iowa caucus 36 of women voted for Obama In 2008 Iowa caucus 30 of  
 89 women voted for Clinto  
 90 08 SPOK NBC\_Today A B C Iowa caucus 36 of women voted for Obama In 2008 Iowa caucus 30  
 91 of women voted for Clinto  
 92 ther way.” # Both men are Republicans, though Seymour voted for Obama in 2008, Saylor for  
 93 Republican John McCain. A rou  
 94 anager and kayak fisher-woman from Lafayette, La., who voted for Obama in 2008, says she is angry,  
 95 but not sure who she  
 96 e region is getting worse,” said Joshua Schwartz, who voted for Obama in 2008. “However, I find his  
 97 plan to return to  
 98 lic population, a majority of respondents- 60 percent- voted for Obama in 2008. Three years later, 75  
 99 percent of those w  
 100 t Bush won in 2004 around security issues who have not voted for Obama in this campaign. And that  
 101 is - you know, you can  
 102 picked a white woman. They’re obviously targeting who voted for Obama last time around. Mr-JOE-  
 103 KLEIN-1Tim: Right. It wo  
 104 owns a company that makes candles for dogs. Though she voted for Obama last time, she said she was  
 105 disappointed in some

84 stick figure. And yet -- and yet, ten of these people voted for Obama last time. Only four of the group  
 85 would commit to  
 86 can In 2008 Iowa caucus 72 of African-American voters voted for Obama Ms-SANCHEZ: Health care  
 87 is related to that. And t  
 88 for Clinton In 2008 New Hampshire primary 34 of women voted for Obama Ms-SYLER: 3 2008  
 89 SPOK NBC\_Today A B C Iow  
 90 for Clinton In 2008 New Hampshire primary 34 of women voted for Obama Ms-SYLER: You know, as  
 91 we all sort of move down t  
 92 d in and you take abortion. I'm not for abortion but I voted for Obama on the first go around. COATES:  
 93 Absolutely. (CROS  
 94 ogram. Eleven of the 17, including California's Third, voted for Obama over Sen. John McCain in  
 95 2008. Moreover, support  
 96 out that way. A larger proportion of Jews (78 percent) voted for Obama than had for George W. Bush  
 97 four years ago. In th  
 98 ways, I think it tells us more about where red states voted for Obama will be next year. But I also think  
 99 you can't tak  
 100 supporters... BLANKLEY: Yes... HANNITY:... and 13 who voted for Obama, 13 that voted for McCain,  
 101 but they were almost u  
 102 uine grassroots movement. But about 20 percent of them voted for Obama, about 5 percent black, about  
 103 10 percent Hispanic  
 104 o the smear campaign by Republicans. I'm a Democrat. I voted for Obama, and let's assume for a  
 105 second that the statement  
 106 ils tell the story. Thirty-four percent of white males voted for Obama, but 51 of white females selected  
 107 him - while  
 108 mean to Hillary. You know, I don't understand that. I voted for Obama, but I still don't know why  
 109 people have to be --  
 110 I was really excited to vote for the first time and I voted for Obama, but Im hoping to be, like, reengaged.  
 111 REID: But  
 112 kson, a black Republican political consultant, says he voted for Obama, but remains a Republican. He  
 113 wants to help the p  
 114 bly be dead from worrying. # She won't say whether she voted for Obama, but she feels his health plan  
 115 may be the answer  
 116 he Republican candidates. Who leans towards Obama? Who voted for Obama, but won't be voting for  
 117 him again? We've got 12  
 118 kumbiyah side of the story. But there were people who voted for Obama, even who wouldn't want to  
 119 live next door to him  
 120 we have to have some type of jobs program. You know, I voted for Obama, I don't think he's presidential!  
 121 I got ta tell  
 122 got her master's degree in education, Norris, 38, who voted for Obama, is just scraping by on \$75-a-day  
 123 substitute-teac  
 124 e got granddaughters coming in. I've got people who've voted for Obama, liberals that are scared of  
 125 losing their rights  
 126 a coffee cake from Grandma's of New England? " Or, " I voted for Obama." # Speaking of Obama, it  
 127 looks like he's going  
 128 lawyer Michael Jordan, 67, a political independent who voted for Obama. # "The market is still slow,"  
 129 says real estate  
 130 I told the lady earlier, four months ago, I would have voted for Obama. But it's like one of the earlier  
 131 callers was com  
 132 n's ideals may run counter to the large percentage who voted for Obama. Cain's decision, on advice  
 133 from his father to si  
 134 me. No-I-think-you-jus# HANNITY: Because he admits he voted for Obama. He doesn't want to admit  
 135 it any more. CUMIA: 34

110 eally was. It was this extraordinary sight. And he, he voted for Obama. He said he still believes in this  
 111 president, but  
 112 most disastrous American president in recent times. I voted for Obama. He's a lot like Jack Kennedy -  
 113 they both have bi  
 114 ese, 56 percent voted for McCain while only 43 percent voted for Obama. In other words, she appears  
 115 to have helped McCai  
 116 a month ago showed that 20 percent of the Tea Partiers voted for Obama. More than 50 percent had a  
 117 favorable opinion of  
 118 deral power over health care or anything else. Neither voted for Obama. Neither is sentimental about  
 119 American enemies. B  
 120 e said. # Campbell, the city worker, is a Democrat who voted for Obama. She has a son-in-law in the  
 121 Marine Reserves who  
 122 ican, over the decades. It also voted for Gore, and it voted for Obama. So you can never really pin it  
 123 down. And that te  
 124 Obama; 42 percent of those who claim to be born again voted for Obama. That people - whereas child-  
 125 killing used to be a  
 126 of the devil, and by inference I am as well, because I voted for Obama. The debacle at Notre Dame  
 when President Obama s  
 voters. He expanded the electorate. 71 of new voters voted for Obama. These voters are getting  
 increasingly disilluio  
 egates back Clinton although their states or districts voted for Obama; 14 back Obama in states that  
 went for Clinton. A  
 A B C are uncommitted, although their constituents voted for Obama; 24 are neutral whose constituents  
 voted for Clin  
 delegates are uncommitted, although their constituents voted for Obama; 24 are neutral whose  
 constituents voted for Clin  
 or 28 2009 SPOK NPR\_TalkNation A B C Catholics voted for Obama; 42 percent of those who  
 claim to be born again v  
 osion? Mr-TERRY: The fact that 55 percent of Catholics voted for Obama; 42 percent of those who  
 claim to be born again v  
 00 billion. Unidentified Man 1: Congressman Joe Sestak voted for Obama's big government health  
 care. Unidentified Man 2:  
 "He complained that she was a Democratic enabler who voted for Obama's Wall Street bailout and  
 perpetuated the mind-se

There are 135 instances of voted for (a Republican president):

5 unce the tens of thousands of Democrats in Florida who voted for Bush -- when twelve times more  
 Democrats in Florida vot  
 6 acy, now worrying about where the Reagan Democrats who voted for Bush -- where they're going to  
 go this time. Will they  
 7 n't been anything... for the domestic side." # Eliazs voted for Bush against Dukakis as " " the lesser of  
 two evils. "  
 8 ing again asked people coming out of the polls who had voted for Bush and Clinton,' If you thought  
 Perot had a chance to  
 9 But for other swing voters, blue collar Democrats who voted for Bush and don't want to again, Perot is  
 an appealing alt  
 10 ." Not many people live here, but most of them who do voted for Bush and for the Republicans running  
 for the House and  
 11 d to conservatives and of conservatives," In 1988, we voted for Bush and got Dukakis. It's not supposed  
 to work that wa



12 crat except Carter did anything to green up America. I voted for Bush and I am as green and  
 13 environmentally correct as t  
 14 bers of fundamentalist Christians and evangelicals who voted for Bush and might otherwise have  
 15 stayed home. # Constituti  
 16 rmsley and Jeannie McKeo. They're all Republicans, all voted for Bush and most expect to do so again.  
 17 But for a variety  
 18 we focus on the large metropolitan core counties which voted for Bush and the several kinds of  
 19 nonmetropolitan counties  
 20 ce Reagan was president," said Gloriann Beer, 48, who voted for Bush and thinks despair is now at an  
 21 all-time high. # "  
 22 eople, blacks and Latinos, voted for him. The centrist voted for Bush and voted for his opposition in  
 23 1996. I think that  
 24 p, Seattle, "Bill, it's absurd to think all those who voted for Bush are dumb. Some who did are rich. The  
 25 rest are dumb  
 26 h it is precisely the opportunity. A lot of people who voted for Bush are gonna love this movie. "WHEN  
 27 PROULX'S SHORT  
 28 ay from them." # Her current theory is that Americans voted for Bush because he made them feel safe.  
 29 But all that, she  
 30 e to tell what voters meant by the term. Many may have voted for Bush because of what's generally  
 31 called the coarsening  
 32 giance to Bill Clinton. TERTZAKIAN Dr. Garo Tertzakian voted for Bush but he's unhappy with high  
 33 taxes and the economy.  
 34 , it can go on for years," says a worried Jarvis, who voted for Bush but sympathizes with Gore's  
 35 position. # "I think  
 36 opes that they might be able to compete there. Georgia voted for Bush by 17 points. Now McCain is  
 37 ahead in Georgia, but  
 38 ntered the writers' minds that perhaps those of us who voted for Bush did so simply because they  
 39 believed he was the bes  
 40 others me." # Bates said he is an independent, but he voted for Bush for president and Williams for  
 41 governor. # East Te  
 42 he lunch crowd here at Dalton's Restaurant in Gonzales voted for Bush four years ago, even though  
 43 many of them are Democ  
 44 vid Jencks, who runs a small manufacturing company and voted for Bush four years ago, says he  
 45 probably won't do so again  
 46 year-old Chrysler worker from St. Clair Shores, Ulrich voted for Bush four years ago. He probably will  
 47 again. But right  
 48 e?" Martinsburg Mayor Karos asks. He's a Democrat who voted for Bush four years ago. He doesn't  
 49 plan to do so again. 5  
 50 sampled group were defined as "Democrats who say they voted for Bush in 1988 and independents with  
 51 household incomes be  
 52 Bush? "Tired," said Joe Butler, 41, a Republican who voted for Bush in 1988 and said he reluctantly  
 53 would do so again.  
 54 would make it any better, " said Annamae Bechtel, who voted for Bush in 1988 but is now undecided.  
 55 # " " Bush is more  
 56 car whether you can afford it or not." # Although she voted for Bush in 1988, Avery has all but given  
 57 up on the preside  
 58 B C out in taxes... it doesn't go very far." Greene voted for Bush in 1988, but Clinton holds some appeal  
 59 for her. #  
 60 luent," said Thomas, the telephone company worker who voted for Bush in 1988. " There's more of a  
 61 chance of remembering  
 62 ng some new and good jobs for people WALLACE Well, you voted for Bush in 1988. Could you see  
 63 supporting him again next t

38 registered to vote. 67 voted for Reagan in 1984. 62 voted for Bush in 1988. Interviewing, “Are women’s  
39 issues still imp  
40 last night with four other Orange County residents who voted for Bush in 1988. The speech did little to  
41 change their min  
42 ival in Summerlin, Denise and Tim Haines say they both voted for Bush in 2000 - but are strong Kerry  
43 supporters now. Den  
44 mple, a math teacher at nearby Baker College, says she voted for Bush in 2000 but hasn’t made up her  
45 mind this time arou  
46 ote Democratic this year. # And one middle-agedman who voted for Bush in 2000 said he didn’t plan  
47 to this time: “Usual  
48 ling of foreign policy. Hart and Mearsheimer, who both voted for Bush in 2000, have publicly  
49 announced their enthusiasti  
50 red Republican from the Detroit suburb of Oak Park who voted for Bush in 2000, told FORTUNE that  
51 his concern over the de  
52 ory, tend to be people who agree with them, people who voted for Bush in 2000. \*\*\* The central, basic  
53 assertion of the B  
54 t too much government interference in business. And he voted for Bush in 2000. But this year Schaupeter  
55 is on the fence.  
56 C Paul says no: He misled us in 2000.’ “Asked if he voted for Bush in 2000. No, “ I didn’t vote for him  
57 then 12 200  
58 would love to have sweet revenge by taking Florida. It voted for Bush in 2004 by five points, now it’s  
59 tilting slightly  
60 g lot. # Carroll County, in which Tamworth is located, voted for Bush in 2004, one of four counties in  
61 the state to do s  
62 B C “All of us stood up,” he said. # Samora, who voted for Bush in 2004, said the speech only  
63 strengthened his bel  
64 emocrats, mostly female, middle class, moderates. They voted for Bush in’ 88 and Clinton in’ 92 and  
65 they are also cool  
66 start with. He legitimized for a lot of people who had voted for Bush in’ 88 that Bush’s presidency was  
67 a failed preside  
68 ez is an unemployed operating engineer, a Democrat. He voted for Bush in’ 88, but says he won’t this  
69 year and he 110 1  
70 thousands of votes out. Quarter of a million Democrats voted for Bush in Florida. There is all kinds of  
71 thievery in Flor  
72 ld me before that you mostly vote for Republicans. You voted for Bush in the last election. Could you  
73 see yourself votin  
74 C,’ Oct. 5. # I am an American, a Republican and I voted for Bush in the last election. With that stated,  
75 I must add  
76 a. Home is New York where is married with two kids. He voted for Bush in the last election. Does not  
77 believe in God and  
78 r Missouri. He won the latter in the primaries, but it voted for Bush in the past two elections. // Privately,  
79 some Obam  
80 ught of the deal-making Dole succeeding Reagan, and he voted for Bush instead of Kemp in the primary  
81 because he consider  
82 ll the states we have been calling battleground states voted for Bush last time, which means John  
83 McCain is defending Re  
84 raq was Bush’s biggest blunder. WERTHEIMER: Jane Moore voted for Bush last time. She works for  
85 the community newspaper,  
86 and Bush. Here are the responses of those who in 1988 voted for Bush or did not vote: # On Clinton:  
87 “Human.” 97 199  
88 who do not claim to be born again or evangelical. They voted for Bush over Kerry 56-44, McCain over  
89 Obama 54-44. It’s wo

64 gby International, 70 percent of voters in states that voted for Bush say marriage should be between a  
 65 man and a woman,  
 66 eir recruitment goals. Why aren't the young people who voted for Bush signing up? Why aren't the  
 67 parents who voted for h  
 68 they went to the polls in historic numbers? Those who voted for Bush talked about his record. Unidentified  
 69 Man 3: Well,  
 70 or Bush -- when twelve times more Democrats in Florida voted for Bush than voted 60 2004 ACAD  
 71 Humanist A B C Dem  
 72 or Bush -- when twelve times more Democrats in Florida voted for Bush than voted for Nader/LaDuke.  
 73 I've never witnessed  
 74 ar. Another self-described conservative Republican who voted for Bush twice, Anderson is a military  
 75 booster who sells"  
 76 to organized religion. Fifty-five percent of those who voted for Bush were in the habit of attending  
 77 church at least wee  
 78 will vote for Bush and that there are many people who voted for Bush who will not vote for him this  
 79 time, and that's ho  
 80 id Mark Alsentzer, a 49-year-old chemical engineer who voted for Bush, "but he's battle tested. He  
 81 sticks to his guns  
 82 ion officials, he brings a map that shows which states voted for Bush," Morris said. The map showed  
 83 solid Republican su  
 84 ignoring, to the peril of people like themselves. "I voted for Bush," said Jim Thomas, a telephone  
 85 company worker, "  
 86 went for Kerry by 66-33; 49 percent said no, and they voted for Bush, 70-29. # The support that the  
 87 Republican Party ga  
 88 nt differences between women. While 55 of white women voted for Bush, 75 of women of color voted  
 89 for Kerry; while 62  
 90 a half-century. # About half of those who participated voted for Bush, about half for Gore. All sometimes  
 91 vote for Democ  
 92 t the Americans deserved to be bombed because they had voted for Bush, and even Gore, rather than  
 93 for Ralph Nader; Edwar  
 94 Bush and Gore. And more than 250,000 Florida Democrats voted for Bush, and not for Gore. Furthermore,  
 95 Gore failed to car  
 96 Area standards. Although somehow one doubts any of you voted for Bush, and you raise civil libertarian  
 97 issues, there's n  
 98 n is whether you're going to look down upon people who voted for Bush, as many of the columnists are  
 99 doing now in the le  
 100 BREAK) BATTISTA: Couple of e-mails, Jessica says, "I voted for Bush, but I don't want him winning  
 like this. This is  
 for Clinton and Perot, and some of the people even who voted for Bush, is to try to make the government  
 work again, to s  
 nk," says Nick Zeger, a young pharmacy technician who voted for Bush, outside a Nashville grocery  
 store. "I'm disgust  
 mail him the news article as if to say, see, look, you voted for Bush, so you're responsible for this  
 disaster. CONAN: M  
 bservations of the energy industry are any guide, they voted for Bush, support the Iraq war, think  
 climate change is a l  
 or him encouraging their children to enlist? When they voted for Bush, they voted for the war. Obviously  
 it was easier t  
 Agriculture Commissioner Bob Crawford, a Democrat who voted for Bush, took his place. # That, in  
 any event, is 76 200  
 ker, 64, a beauty store owner from Novato, Calif., who voted for Bush. "We just have to wait for the  
 process to be comp

90 y personnel, a healthy majority of whom appear to have voted for Bush. # Bush seemed to have given  
 up little in dropping  
 91 his group prefer Clinton to Bush. In 1988, six of them voted for Bush. # Clinton's choice of Gore as a  
 running mate was  
 92 emocrats voted for Kerry and 91 percent of Republicans voted for Bush. # For the first time in anyone's  
 memory, the Demo  
 93 were their top issues, and 80 percent of those voters voted for Bush. # Gore wanted to make the election  
 about issues l  
 94 apers. Saw another batch today. Everybody's stupid who voted for Bush. All these faith-based people  
 are fanatics. If you  
 95 Al Gore in 2000, compared with 43 percent of women who voted for Bush. And John Kerry received  
 51 percent of the female  
 96 s Lieutenant Little(ph). I'm from Bel Air, Maryland. I voted for Bush. And the main reason for Bush is  
 he's a Christian  
 97 ring himself to admit that, alone in this foursome, he voted for Bush. Bernie maybe guesses it. He says,  
 "After eight y  
 98 as never really something she questioned. In 2000, she voted for Bush. But as an ardent supporter of  
 abortion rights and  
 99 # In the last presidential election, Steve Baker, 40, voted for Bush. But Baker said he told his wife,  
 Cindy Maloney, 3  
 100 m? -- let's see, flirtations is I think that's why she voted for Bush. But like I said, I think this coming  
 election tha  
 101 not. They clearly were Republican voters; they clearly voted for Bush. But the question is, was what  
 that legal? And kee  
 102 re' em," says Egan.) Callaway voted for Clinton; Egan voted for Bush. Callaway is lean, dignified,  
 handsome; Egan is no  
 103 t of Asians supported Gore, while 54 percent of whites voted for Bush. Fifty-three percent of men cast  
 their ballots for  
 104 per stickers that say things like DO N'T BLAME ME -- I VOTED FOR BUSH. His would presumably  
 say DO N'T BLAME ME -- I GAV  
 105 then voted for Dubya in 2000. Even Gore's home county voted for Bush. III DO N'T BOTHER THEM  
 WITH FACTS; THEIR MINDS AR  
 106 inct that had only 800 votes -- voters in it, OK, that voted for Bush. Let's talk about the miracles of  
 Diebold. BUCHANAN  
 107 re, but not as solidly. More than a third of Hispanics voted for Bush. MARIA CARDONA, NEW  
 DEMOCRAT NETWORK: I would cert  
 108 s going to help Iraq. And those are the main reasons I voted for Bush. Mr-RICHARD-FEASEL-: My  
 name's Richard Feasel(ph).  
 109 a no-brainer who I'm going to vote for. So last time I voted for Bush. Ms-COLCORD: I think most  
 Democrats are more ferve  
 110 is," Burk continued. "The public is being cut out. I voted for Bush. Now I'm ashamed I did. They have  
 betrayed the con  
 111 by the Nazis for 27 months, Poush said he and his wife voted for Bush. Now, they are ready to decide  
 among the crop of D  
 112 power. In 2000, 84 percent of evangelical Protestants voted for Bush. Part of the spoils was the promise  
 of \$8 billion  
 113 Where is Missouri right now? Of course last time they voted for Bush. Right now it's just about a tie.  
 McCain can take  
 114 ow the economy - the people who cited it said - mostly voted for Bush. So it was the anti - abortion  
 rights people rathe  
 115 nalists surveyed voted for Bill Clinton. Seven percent voted for Bush. Two percent said they're  
 conservative. Four perce

116 e for Gore while the more racially homogeneous regions voted for Bush. While the division between  
regions in voting beha  
117 are lesbians, or who are married to white men, or who voted for Bush; or the very possibility of  
meaningful criteria or  
118 A B C . # “Dad? # Nothing. # “Do you think Ted voted for Bush?” I said. # I knew the answer and so  
did 19 200  
119 Brosnan, a 37-year-old housewife from Lakeland. # “I voted for Bush’s daddy in 1992, but I voted for  
Clinton last time  
120 ve up to Dean’s standard of anti-Bush purity; Kucinich voted for Bush’s education bill, the No Child  
Left Behind Act, wh  
121 an he would endorse the man’s son to succeed him if he voted for Bush’s Medicare drug plan. # In 1999,  
the committee war

