URL: http://www.internet.com

How Can California Modernize Voter Education and Outreach:
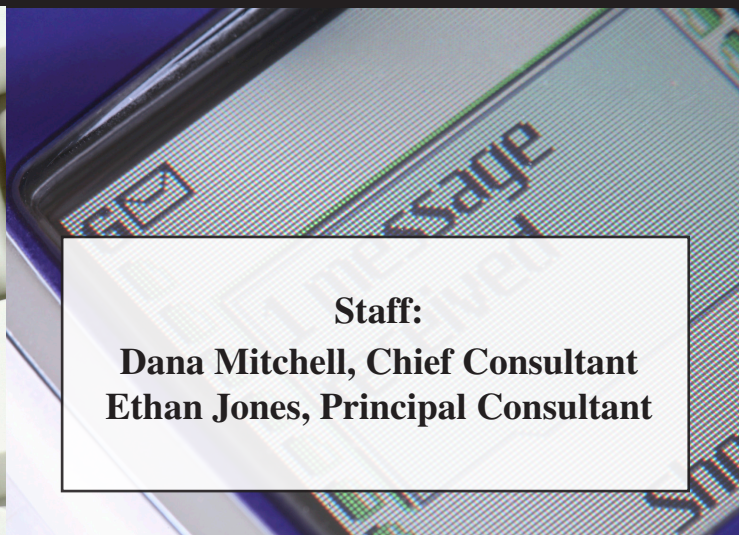## *Lessons Learned from New Media Pioneers*

ASSEMBLY JOINT INFORMATIONAL HEARING

Committee on Arts, Entertainment, Sports, Tourism and Internet Media
Betty Karnette, Chair

&

Assembly Committee on Elections and Redistricting
Curren D. Price, Jr., Chair

Staff:
Dana Mitchell, Chief Consultant
Ethan Jones, Principal Consultant

Assembly
California Legislature

REVISED
Joint Informational Hearing

The Assembly Committee on Arts, Entertainment, Sports,
Tourism & Internet Media
and
The Assembly Committee on Elections and Redistricting

How Can California Modernize Voter Education & Outreach:
Lessons Learned From New Media Pioneers

Junipero Serra State Building, Carmel Room
320 West Fourth Street, Los Angeles, CA
Monday, December 10, 2007
10:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.

I.   **Opening Remarks by Committee Chairs Betty Karnette and Curren D. Price, Jr.**

II.   **Existing State and Federal Responsibilities For Voter Outreach and Participation: How is California Adopting New Technologies?**

      California State Secretary of State Debra Bowen

III. **User-generated Media as The New Public Forum.**

      Rock The Vote: Heather Smith, Executive Director
      Nationwide Overview of Best Practices For Voter Outreach Using New Media

      Facebook. Chris Kelly, Chief Privacy Officer & Head of Global Public Policy
      Experience With Conducting Online Debates

      MySpace: Jeff Berman, General Manager of MySpace TV and Senior Vice President for Public Affairs at MySpace.com
      Experience With Conducting Online Candidate Forums

IV.   **Voter Participation Survey: Comprehensive analysis of voter participation, barriers and incentives.**

      California Voter Foundation: Kim Alexander, President

V.   **Public Comments and Closing Remarks.**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- **Hearing Agenda**

- **Participants' Biographies**

- **Wikipedia Definitions**

    Social Media

    Blogs

- **News Articles and Background Material**

    MySpace Nudges Users Into Politics; *New York Post*

    On YouTube, Candidates Get an Eyeful; *The Caucus, NY Times Political Blog*

    Politics 2.0; *The Politico*

    Political Candidates Have Invaded the Web And Tamed the Blogs; *Wall Street Journal*

    Engagement and Participation; *Journalism.org*

    New Tools: Leverage Social Networks; *New Politics Institute*

    Rock The Vote: popular culture and politics; *Politics (1998)*

    Rhetorical reduplication in MTV's Rock The Vote campaign; *Central States Speech Association*

- **Relevant California Laws**

    Elections Code: Sections 2103, 2105, 2131, 9081, 9084

    Administrative Code, Title 2: Sections 20000, 20001, 20002

###

Assembly
California Legislature

Joint Informational Hearing

The Assembly Committee on Arts, Entertainment, Sports,
Tourism & Internet Media
and
The Assembly Committee on Elections and Redistricting

How Can California Modernize Voter Education & Outreach:
Lessons Learned From New Media Pioneers

Junipero Serra State Building, Carmel Room
320 West Fourth Street, Los Angeles, CA
Monday, December 10, 2007
10:00 a.m. – 1:00 p.m.

I. **Opening Remarks by Committee Chairs Betty Karnette and Curren D. Price, Jr.**

II. **Existing State and Federal Responsibilities For Voter Outreach and Participation: How is California Adopting New Technologies?**

California State Secretary of State Debra Bowen

III. **User-generated Media as The New Public Forum.**

Rock The Vote: Heather Smith, Executive Director
Nationwide Overview of Best Practices For Voter Outreach Using New Media

MySpace: Jeff Berman, General Manager of MySpace TV and Senior Vice President for Public Affairs at MySpace.com
Experience With Conducting Online Candidate Forums

IV. **Voter Participation Survey: Comprehensive analysis of voter participation, barriers and incentives.**

California Voter Foundation: Kim Alexander, President

V. **Public Comments and Closing Remarks.**

PARTICIPANTS'
BIOGRAPHIES

Biography

DEBRA BOWEN

California's 30th Secretary of State

A pioneer in open government reform, election integrity, and personal privacy rights, Debra Bowen became only the sixth woman in California history elected to a statewide constitutional office when she was elected as Secretary of State in November 2006.

As the chief elections officer for the largest state in the nation, Secretary Bowen is responsible for overseeing state and federal elections, a role that also requires her to test and certify the voting equipment used in California. Her goal is to ensure that voting machines certified for use in California elections are secure, accurate, reliable and accessible, and every voter's ballot is counted exactly as it was cast. Secretary Bowen is also responsible for ensuring election laws and campaign disclosure requirements are enforced, maintaining a statewide database of all registered voters, certifying the official lists of candidates for each election, tracking and certifying ballot initiatives, compiling election returns, and certifying the election results for all state and federal contests.

Beyond her role as the state's chief elections officer, Secretary of State Bowen is also charged with managing a number of other programs for the people of California. She is committed to carrying out all of her responsibilities in an open, transparent fashion that opens up government and builds people's confidence in our democracy. As Secretary of State, Secretary Bowen:

- Plays a key role in making government more transparent by providing public access to a wide range of corporate, Uniform Commercial Code, campaign finance, lobbying and election records. Her office also maintains online editions of the California Lobbyist Directory and the California Roster of federal, state and local government officials.

- Grants the authority to do business in California by approving articles of incorporation and registering trademarks, trade names, service marks and fictitious business names.

- Provides online resources and services to businesses through the California Business Portal, a website that easily connects people with electronic versions of important business documents and handbooks, searchable lists of registered businesses, a step-by-step guide to starting a business and assistance for international businesses looking to operate in California. The Secretary of State also appoints and commissions notaries public and oaths of office for non-civil service officers and employees, and administers the Victims of Corporate Fraud Compensation Fund (VCFCF) from which court-ordered restitution is provided.

- Maintains the Domestic Partners Registry, the Advance Health Care Directive (AHCD) Registry and the Safe at Home program. Currently, same-sex couples, regardless of the age of the partners, and opposite-sex couples in which one partner is at least 62 years old may register as domestic partners in California

by filing a Declaration of Domestic Partnership with the Secretary of State. An AHCD allows a person to indicate to their loved ones and medical providers their medical treatment preferences if they can't speak or make decisions for themselves. The AHCD may also designate someone else to make decisions regarding medical treatment. AHCDs and related information can be stored with the AHCD Registry, and that information can be provided upon request to the registrant's health care provider, public guardian or legal representative. Safe at Home's confidential address program helps protect the identities of survivors of domestic violence, sexual assault, stalking victims and people who work with reproductive health care clinics, enabling these Californians safely receive mail and register to vote while protecting themselves and their children at home and at school.

- Keeps the complete record of the official acts of the Legislature and executive departments of the state government, and is charged with the custody of the Constitution, the state archives and the Great Seal of California.

First elected in 1992 to represent the 53rd Assembly District in west Los Angeles County, Secretary Bowen served three terms before being elected to represent the 28th Senate District in 1998. She then served two terms in the Senate until she was elected Secretary of State.

During her time in the Legislature, Secretary Bowen chaired the Senate Elections, Reapportionment & Constitutional Amendments Committee for two years, the Senate Energy, Utilities and Communications Committee for six years, and the Assembly Natural Resources Committee for two years. At the national level, she chaired the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) E-Communications Steering Committee, served three years on NCSL's Executive Board, and was California's appointee to the NCSL Task Force on State and Local Taxation of Telecommunications and Electronic Commerce.

As a legislator, Secretary Bowen authored a number of election-related laws designed to build public confidence in voting systems, including measures to require all election results to be audited using the paper record produced by the electronic voting machines and requiring all audits to be conducted in public and include absentee and early-voter ballots.

Secretary Bowen is a longtime advocate of personal privacy and government transparency, especially through her groundbreaking use of the Internet to open government to computer users worldwide. In 1993, she authored the first-in-the-world law that put all of California's legislative information online, giving the public Internet access to information about bills, committee analyses, legislators' voting records and much more. The law has served as a model for other U.S. states and countries. Secretary Bowen was also the first California lawmaker to voluntarily put her campaign finance reports online in 1995.

Secretary Bowen also authored landmark consumer protection laws, to protect people from becoming identity theft victims and worked with community-based groups to close the digital divide. Those laws make it more difficult for criminals to commit identity theft by banning businesses, schools, universities and government agencies from using social security numbers as public identifiers, requiring credit card numbers to be removed from receipts kept by merchants, giving people the right to freeze

access to their credit reports and giving people the tools to fight back against unsolicited email and fax advertising.

Secretary Bowen was born in Rockford, Illinois, and graduated from Michigan State University in 1976. After earning her law degree at the University of Virginia, she practiced corporate, tax and ERISA law at Winston & Strawn in Chicago and in Washington, D.C., at the Los Angeles office of Wall Street firm Hughes, Hubbard & Reed; and as a sole practitioner in Los Angeles. Bowen first volunteered her legal services as a member of the Heal the Bay Legal Committee, and eventually her practice grew to include environmental and land use cases, as well as tax and business matters.

Secretary Bowen is married to Mark Nechodom, a research scientist with the U.S. Forest Service.

(Updated April 2007)

Biography of Heather Smith

Heather Smith is the Executive Director of Rock the Vote. Prior to Rock the Vote, Ms. Smith founded and directed Young Voter Strategies, a nonpartisan project in partnership with The Graduate School of Political Management at The George Washington University with support from The Pew Charitable Trusts, that provided the public, parties, candidates, consultants and nonprofits with data and research on the youth vote as well as best practices to effectively mobilize young people. In 2006, Smith and Young Voter Strategies coordinated the nation's largest non-partisan project to register young voters using innovative and replicable methods of voter outreach. The project registered over 540,000 youth ages 18-30 and played a large role in the young voter turnout increase in 2006.

Prior to launching Young Voter Strategies, Smith served as the national field director for the Student PIRGs New Voters Project, the largest nonpartisan grassroots effort ever undertaken to register and mobilize young voters. Across the country, the New Voters Project, under Smith's direction, registered nearly 600,000 voters and conducted an intensive, multi-faceted get-out-the-vote effort to bring these newly registered voters to the polls on Election Day. Youth turnout was 11 percentage points higher than in 2000.

Prior to her work at the New Voters Project, Smith was an organizing director for Green Corps' Field School for Environmental Organizing in Boston. Smith received a B.A. with honors in economics and public policy from Duke University. In 2006, Smith was named one of Campaign & Elections magazine's Rising Stars for her work with young voters. She has also been named one of Esquire Magazine's Best and Brightest of 2007

Biography of Chris Kelly

Chris Kelly is Vice President of Corporate Development and Chief Privacy Officer of Facebook, Inc., an online directory company in Palo Alto. Chris brings more than a decade of business, information privacy, public policy, and legal experience to the Facebook management team. He has served as an advisor on corporate transactions such as Disney's purchase of Infoseek, Macromedia's purchase of Andromedia, and numerous strategic business deals in the Internet and software sectors for clients such as Google, Netscape, eBay, and DIRECTV. He also previously created the Chief Privacy Officer position at broadband Internet service provider Excite@Home, digital marketing company Kendara (which was sold to Excite@Home), and professional connection management company Spoke Software. Through his in-house work and service at international law firm Baker & McKenzie and technology law firm Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati, Chris has advised major Internet and media clients on the increasing challenges of online business, intellectual property, and privacy protection in the digital age.

Prior to his time in legal practice, he served as an advisor to the Clinton Administration's White House Domestic Policy Council and the U.S. Department of Education. Chris holds a B.A. from Georgetown University, an M.A. from Yale University, and a J.D. from Harvard Law School. At Harvard, he served as Editor-in-Chief of the Harvard Journal of Law & Technology and was part of the founding team for the Berkman Center for Internet & Society.

JEFF BERMAN BIO

Jeff Berman is General Manager of MySpace TV and Senior Vice President for Public Affairs at MySpace.com, the world's largest social networking community. Since coming to MySpace, Jeff has overseen the launch of MySpace TV, Presidential Dialogues with MTV, the Impact Channel, and a host of other programs.

Jeff joined MySpace after running his own strategic, political, and crisis communications consulting firm working with a range of non-profit, political, and private interests. From 2001-2005, he served as Chief Counsel to US Senator Chuck Schumer and Staff Director of the Subcommittee on Administrative Oversight and the Courts. Prior to working on Capitol Hill, Jeff was a public defender specializing in representing children charged in adult criminal courts. While in DC, he also served as an adjunct professor at the Georgetown University Law Center.

A frequent commentator on politics, social issues, and media, Jeff has lectured at dozens of the nation's leading universities and has made frequent appearances on television news outlets.

Jeff received his J.D. from Yale Law School and graduated Connecticut College *summa cum laude*. He lives in Los Angeles with his wife Melissa, a television producer, and their son.

www.myspace.com/jeffberman

Kim Alexander

President and Founder

Kim Alexander is president and founder of the California Voter Foundation (CVF), a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to advancing the responsible use of technology in the democratic process. Through her work with CVF, Alexander has engaged in a variety of issues where democracy and technology intersect, working to ensure that democracy is enhanced, rather than harmed through technological changes.

Under Alexander's leadership, CVF has pioneered and promoted good technology and democracy practices and programs that benefit California voters while also serving as an example for other states. The effectiveness of this strategy has been repeatedly demonstrated throughout the eleven years Alexander has led the organization, with other states following California's lead in online voter education, Internet disclosure of money in politics and voting technology reform.

In the mid-1990's, CVF successfully advanced electronic filing and Internet disclosure of campaign finance data in California, and continues to promote the concept of "digital sunlight" across the country through its annual *Grading State Disclosure* report. Since 1994, CVF has been publishing the *California Online Voter Guide*, a nonpartisan election information resource designed to help California voters make informed, confident choices in statewide elections.

In 1999 CVF's web site, www.calvoter.org, earned the prestigious Webby Award, and in 2001 Alexander was named by Harvard University and the American Association of Political Consultants as one of the "25 People Changing the World of the Internet and Politics". In 2004 she received the Electronic Frontier Foundation's Pioneer Award, along with computer science professors David Dill and Avi Rubin, for their pioneering work spearheading and nurturing the popular movement for integrity and transparency in modern elections.

Alexander is the author of several articles and publications, including CVF's *California Voter Participation Survey* report, a comprehensive analysis of California voter participation barriers and incentives, and *Voter Privacy in the Digital Age*, a nationwide, 50-state assessment of voter registration data gathering and dissemination practices.

Kim Alexander is a 1988 graduate of the University of California, Santa Barbara, with degrees in political science and philosophy. She is a fifth-generation Californian, was raised in Culver City, and resides in Sacramento.

Contact Information:

Contact Kim Alexander at (916) 441-2494 or via CVF's email form.

WIKIPEDIA DEFINITIONS

Social media

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Social media: Participatory online media where news, photos, videos, and podcasts are made public via social media websites through submission. Normally accompanied with a voting process to make media items become "popular". [citation needed]

Social Media Expanded Definition: Social Media is the democratization of information, transforming people from content readers into content publishers. It is the shift from a broadcast mechanism to a many-to-many model, rooted in conversations between authors, people, and peers.

Social media uses the "wisdom of crowds" to connect information in a collaborative manner. Social media can take many different forms, including Internet forums, message boards, weblogs,wikis, podcasts,pictures, and video. Technologies such as blogs, picture-sharing, vlogs, wall-postings, email, instant messaging, music-sharing, group creation, and voice over IP, to name a few. Examples of social media applications are Google (reference, social networking), Wikipedia (reference), MySpace (social networking), Facebook(social networking), Last.fm (personal music), YouTube (social networking and video sharing), Second Life (virtual reality), and Flickr (photo sharing).

Contents

Distinction from traditional media

Social Media or Social Networking(industry term) has a number of characteristics that make it fundamentally different from traditional media such as newspapers, television, books, and radio. Social media is not finite: there is no set number of pages or hours. The audience can participate in social media by adding comments or even editing the stories themselves. Content in social media can take the form of text, graphics, audio, or video. Several formats can be mixed. Social media is typically available via feeds, enabling users to subscribe via feed readers, and allowing other publishers to create mashups. Social Media signifies a broad spectrum of topics and has several different connotations. In the context of internet marketing, Social Media refers to a collective group of web properties that are driven by users. For example, blogs, discussion boards, vlogs, video sharing sites and dating sites. Social Media Optimization (SMO) is the

process of trying to get ones content more widely distributed across multiple Social Media networks. Social Media has two important aspects. The first, SMO, refers to on-page tactics through which a webmaster can improve a website for the age of social media. Such optimization includes adding links to services such as Digg, Reddit and Del.icio.us so that their pages can be easily 'saved and submitted' to and for these services. Social Media Marketing, on the other hand, is an off-page characteristic of Social Media. This includes writing content that is remarkable, unique, and newsworthy. This content can then be marketed by popularising it or even by creating a "viral" video on YouTube and other video sites. Social Media is about being social so this off-page work can include getting involved in other similar blogs, forums, and niche communities. Searhc Engine Marketing or SEM involves utilization of all available Social Networking platforms to brand a product using Search Engine Optimization or SEO techniques of communication, to the end consumer.

Examples

A few prominent examples of social media applications are

- Social Advertising: Social Advertising and Social ads
- Wikis: Wikipedia
- Social networking: MySpace and Facebook
- Presence apps: Twitter
- Video sharing: YouTube (video sharing)
- Virtual reality: Second Life
- Events: Upcoming
- News aggregation: Digg, Reddit and Stumbleupon
- Photo sharing: Flickr and Zooomr
- Livecasting: Justin.tv
- Episodic online video: Stickham, YourTrumanShow
- Media sharing: ShareNow and Pownce
- Social bookmarking: del.icio.us and Digg.com and StumbleUpon.com and Sphinn.com
- Online gaming: World of Warcraft
- Game sharing: Miniclip.com
- Social shopping: Amazon.com
- Search Engine Marketing: aka SEM SeoMoz.org
- Search Engine Optimization: aka SEO MattCutts.com and Sebastians-Pamphlets.com and Andybeard.eu

See also

- Web 2.0
- User-generated content
- Social media optimization
- Social Web
- Social media marketing

References

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_media"

Categories: Pages needing expert attention | All articles with unsourced statements | Articles with unsourced statements since November 2007 | Social media

This page was last modified 11:00, 2 December 2007.

All text is available under the terms of the GNU Free Documentation License. (See **Copyrights**

Blog

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

A **blog** (a portmanteau of **web log**) is a website where entries are written in chronological order and commonly displayed in reverse chronological order. "Blog" can also be used as a verb, meaning *to maintain or add content to a blog.*

Many blogs provide commentary or news on a particular subject; others function as more personal online diaries. A typical blog combines text, images, and links to other blogs, web pages, and other media related to its topic. The ability for readers to leave comments in an interactive format is an important part of many blogs. Most blogs are primarily textual, although some focus on art (artlog), photographs (photoblog), sketchblog, videos (vlog), music (MP3 blog), audio (podcasting) and are part of a wider network of social media. Micro-blogging is another type of blogging which consists of blogs with very short posts.

As of September 2007, blog search engine Technorati was tracking more than 106 million blogs.[1]

Contents

Topics in journalism
Professional issues

News • Reportage • Writing • Ethics •
Objectivity • Values • Attribution •
Defamation • Editorial independence •
Education • Other topics

Fields

Arts • Business • Environment •
Fashion • Music • Science • Sports •
Trade • Video games • Weather

Genres

Advocacy journalism
Citizen journalism
Civic journalism
Gonzo journalism
Investigative journalism
Literary journalism
Narrative journalism
New Journalism
Visual journalism
Watchdog journalism

Social impact

Fourth Estate
Freedom of the press
Infotainment

History

Before blogging became popular, digital communities took many forms, including Usenet, commercial online services such as GEnie, BiX and the early CompuServe, e-mail lists[2] and Bulletin Board Systems (BBS). In the 1990s, Internet forum software, such as WebEx, created running conversations with "threads". Threads are topical connections between messages on a metaphorical "corkboard". Some have

likened blogging to the Mass-Observation project of the mid-20th century.

1983–1990 (Pre-HTTP)

Usenet was the primary serial medium included in the original definition of the World Wide Web.[3] It featured the Moderated Newsgroup which allowed all posting in a newsgroup to be under the control of an individual or small group. Most such newsgroups were simply moderated discussion forums, however, in 1983-84, one exception, named mod.ber (http://groups.google.com/group/mod.ber/topics?lnk=srg), was created, named after and managed by an individual: Brian E. Redman. Regularly, Redman and a few associates posted summaries of interesting postings and threads taking place elsewhere on the net. With its serial journal publishing style, presence on the pre-HTTP web and strong similarity to the common blog form which features links to interesting and cool places on the net chosen by the blogger, mod.ber had many of the characteristics commonly associated with the term "blog". It ceased operation after approximately 8 months. Brad Templeton calls the newsgroup rec.humor.funny (news://rec.humor.funny/) (which he founded) the world's oldest still existing blog.[4]

Media bias
News propaganda
Public relations
Yellow journalism
News media

Newspapers
Magazines
News agencies
Broadcast journalism
Online journalism
Photojournalism
Alternative media
Roles
Journalist • Reporter • Editor •
Columnist • Commentator •
Photographer • News presenter •
Meteorologist

1994–2001

Brad Fitzpatrick, an early blogger.

The modern blog evolved from the online diary, where people would keep a running account of their personal lives. Most such writers called themselves diarists, journalists, or journalers. A few called themselves "escribitionists". The Open Pages webring included members of the online-journal community. Justin Hall, who began eleven years of personal blogging in 1994 while a student at Swarthmore College, is generally recognized as one of the earliest bloggers,[5] as is Jerry Pournelle. Another early blog was Wearable Wireless Webcam, an online shared diary of a person's personal life combining text, video, and pictures transmitted live from a wearable computer and EyeTap device to a web site in 1994[6]. This practice of semi-automated blogging with live video together with text, was referred to as sousveillance, and such journals were also used as evidence in legal matters.

Other forms of journals kept online also existed. A notable example was game programmer John Carmack's widely read journal, published via the finger protocol. Some of the very earliest bloggers, like Steve Gibson of sCary's Quakeholio (now Shacknews (http://www.shacknews.com/)) and Stephen Heaslip of Blue's News (http://www.bluesnews.com/) (still running since 1995 with online archives (http://www.bluesnews.com/archives/) back to July 1996), evolved from the Quake scene and Carmack's .plan updates. Steve Gibson was hired to blog full-time by Ritual Entertainment on February 8, 1997 [7], possibly making him the first hired blogger.

Websites, including both corporate sites and personal homepages, had and still often have "What's New" or "News" sections, often on the index page and sorted by date. One example of a news based "weblog" is the Drudge Report founded by the self-styled maverick reporter Matt Drudge, though apparently Drudge dislikes this classification. Another is the Institute for Public Accuracy which began posting news releases featuring several news-pegged one-paragraph quotes several times a week beginning in 1998. One noteworthy early precursor to a blog was the tongue-in-cheek personal website that was frequently updated by Usenet legend Kibo.

Early weblogs were simply manually updated components of common websites. However, the evolution of tools to facilitate the production and maintenance of web articles posted in reverse chronological order made the publishing process feasible to a much larger, less technical, population. Ultimately, this resulted in the distinct class of online publishing that produces blogs we recognize today. For instance, the use of some sort of browser-based software is now a typical aspect of "blogging". Blogs can be hosted by dedicated blog hosting services, or they can be run using blog software, such as WordPress, Movable Type, blogger or LiveJournal, or on regular web hosting services.

The term "weblog" was coined by Jorn Barger on 17 December 1997. The short form, "blog," was coined by Peter Merholz, who jokingly broke the word *weblog* into the phrase *we blog* in the sidebar of his blog Peterme.com in April or May of 1999.[8][9][10] This was quickly adopted as both a noun and verb ("to blog," meaning "to edit one's weblog or to post to one's weblog").

After a slow start, blogging rapidly gained in popularity. Blog usage spread during 1999 and the years following, being further popularized by the near-simultaneous arrival of the first hosted blog tools:

- Open Diary launched in October 1998, soon growing to thousands of online diaries. Open Diary innovated the reader comment, becoming the first blog community where readers could add comments to other writers' blog entries.
- Brad Fitzpatrick, a well known blogger started LiveJournal in March 1999.
- Andrew Smales created Pitas.com in July 1999 as an easier alternative to maintaining a "news page" on a website, followed by Diaryland in September 1999, focusing more on a personal diary community.[11]
- Evan Williams and Meg Hourihan (Pyra Labs) launched blogger.com in August 1999 (purchased by Google in February 2003)

Blogging combined the personal web page with tools to make linking to other pages easier — specifically permalinks, blogrolls and TrackBacks. This, together with weblog search engines enabled bloggers to track the threads that connected them to others with similar interests.

2001–2004

Several broadly popular American blogs emerged in 2001: Andrew Sullivan's AndrewSullivan.com, Ron Gunzburger's Politics1.com, Taegan Goddard's Political Wire, Glenn Reynolds' Instapundit, Charles Johnson's Little Green Footballs, and Jerome Armstrong's MyDD — all blogging primarily on politics (two earlier popular American political blogs were Bob Somerby's Daily Howler launched in 1998 and Mickey Kaus' Kausfiles launched in 1999).

By 2001, blogging was enough of a phenomenon that how-to manuals began to appear, primarily focusing on technique. The importance of the blogging community (and its relationship to larger

society) increased rapidly. Established schools of journalism began researching blogging and noting the differences between journalism and blogging.

Also in 2002, many blogs focused on comments by U.S. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott. Senator Lott, at a party honoring U.S. Senator Strom Thurmond, praised Senator Thurmond by suggesting that the United States would have been better off had Thurmond been elected president. Lott's critics saw these comments as a tacit approval of racial segregation, a policy advocated by Thurmond's 1948 presidential campaign. This view was reinforced by documents and recorded interviews dug up by bloggers. (See Josh Marshall's *Talking Points Memo*.) Though Lott's comments were made at a public event attended by the media, no major media organizations reported on his controversial comments until after blogs broke the story. Blogging helped to create a political crisis that forced Lott to step down as majority leader.

The impact of this story gave greater credibility to blogs as a medium of news dissemination. Though often seen as partisan gossips, bloggers sometimes lead the way in bringing key information to public light, with mainstream media having to follow their lead. More often, however, news blogs tend to react to material already published by the mainstream media.

Since 2002, blogs have gained increasing notice and coverage for their role in breaking, shaping, and spinning news stories. The Iraq war saw bloggers taking measured and passionate points of view that go beyond the traditional left-right divide of the political spectrum.

Blogging by established politicians and political candidates, to express opinions on war and other issues, cemented blogs' role as a news source. (See Howard Dean and Wesley Clark.) Meanwhile, an increasing number of experts blogged, making blogs a source of in-depth analysis. (See Daniel Drezner and J. Bradford DeLong.)

The second Iraq war was the first "blog war" in another way: Iraqi bloggers gained wide readership, and one, Salam Pax, published a book of his blog. Blogs were also created by soldiers serving in the Iraq war. Such "warblogs" gave readers new perspectives on the realities of war, as well as often offering different viewpoints from those of official news sources.

Blogging was used to draw attention to obscure news sources. For example, bloggers posted links to traffic cameras in Madrid as a huge anti-terrorism demonstration filled the streets in the wake of the March 11 attacks.

Bloggers began to provide nearly-instant commentary on televised events, creating a secondary meaning of the word "blogging": to simultaneously transcribe and editorialize speeches and events shown on television. (For example, "I am blogging Rice's testimony" means "I am posting my reactions to Condoleezza Rice's testimony into my blog as I watch her on television.") Real-time commentary is sometimes referred to as "liveblogging."

2004–present

In 2004, the role of blogs became increasingly mainstream, as political consultants, news services and candidates began using them as tools for outreach and opinion forming. Even politicians not actively campaigning, such as the UK's Labour Party's MP Tom Watson, began to blog to bond with constituents.

Minnesota Public Radio broadcast a program by Christopher Lydon and Matt Stoller called "The blogging of the President," which covered a transformation in politics that blogging seemed to presage. The *Columbia Journalism Review* began regular coverage of blogs and blogging. Anthologies of blog pieces reached print, and blogging personalities began appearing on radio and television. In the summer of 2004, both United States Democratic and Republican Parties' conventions credentialed bloggers, and blogs became a standard part of the publicity arsenal. Mainstream television programs, such as Chris Matthews' *Hardball*, formed their own blogs. Merriam-Webster's Dictionary declared "blog" as the word of the year in 2004.[12]

In 2004, Global Voices Online, a site which "aggregates, curates, and amplifies the global conversation online – shining light on places and people other media often ignore" surfaced, bringing to light bloggers from around the world. Today, the site has a relationship with Reuters and is responsible for breaking many global news stories.

Blogs were among the driving forces behind the "Rathergate" scandal, to wit: (television journalist) Dan Rather presented documents (on the CBS show *60 Minutes*) that conflicted with accepted accounts of President Bush's military service record. Bloggers declared the documents to be forgeries and presented evidence and arguments in support of that view, and CBS apologized for what it said were inadequate reporting techniques (see Little Green Footballs). Many bloggers view this scandal as the advent of blogs' acceptance by the mass media, both as a news source and opinion and as means of applying political pressure.

Some bloggers have moved over to other media. The following bloggers (and others) have appeared on radio and television: Duncan Black (known widely by his pseudonym, Atrios), Glenn Reynolds (Instapundit), Markos Moulitsas Zúniga (Daily Kos), Alex Steffen (Worldchanging) and Ana Marie Cox (Wonkette). In counter-point, Hugh Hewitt exemplifies a mass media personality who has moved in the other direction, adding to his reach in "old media" by being an influential blogger.

Some blogs were an important news source during the December 2004 Tsunami such as Medecins Sans Frontieres, which used SMS text messaging to report from affected areas in Sri Lanka and Southern India. Similarly, during Hurricane Katrina in August 2005 and the aftermath a few blogs which were located in New Orleans, including the Interdictor and Gulfsails were able to maintain power and an Internet connection and disseminate information that was not covered by the Main Stream Media.

In the United Kingdom, *The Guardian* newspaper launched a redesign in September 2005, which included a daily digest of blogs on page 2. Also in June 2006, BBC News launched a weblog for its editors, following other news companies.[13]

In January 2005, *Fortune* magazine listed eight bloggers that business people "could not ignore": Peter Rojas, Xeni Jardin, Ben Trott, Mena Trott, Jonathan Schwartz, Jason Goldman, Robert Scoble, and Jason Calacanis.
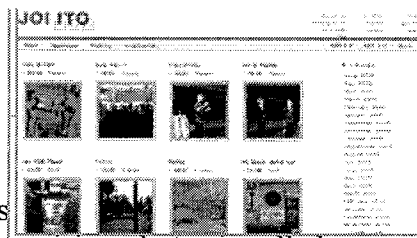
In 2007, Tim O'Reilly proposed a Blogger's Code of Conduct.

Types

There are various types of blogs, and each differs in the way
content is delivered or written.

By media type
>A blog comprising videos is called a vlog, one comprising links is
>containing a portfolio of sketches is called a sketchblog or one comprising photos is called a
>photoblog.[14] Blogs with shorter posts and mixed media types are called tumblelogs.
>
>An Artlog is a form of art sharing and publishing in the format of a blog, but differentiated by the
>predominant use of and focus on Art work rather than text.
>
>A rare type of blog hosted on the Gopher Protocol is known as a Phlog

By device
>Blogs can also be defined by which type of device is used to compose it. A blog written by a
>mobile device like a mobile phone or PDA is called a moblog.[15]

Genre
>Some blogs focus on a particular subject, such as political blogs, travel blogs, fashion blogs,
>project blogs, niche blogs, legal blogs (often referred to as a blawgs) or dreamlogs. While not a
>legitimate type of blog, one used for the sole purpose of spamming is known as a Splog. A Slog
>(Site or website log) is a section or 'slice' of a regular business website, which is seamlessly
>integrated within the regular website structure but is produced with blogging software.

Legal status of publishers
>A blog can be private, as in most cases, or it can be for business purposes. Blogs, either used
>internally to enhance the communication and culture in a corporation or externally for marketing,
>branding or PR purposes are called corporate blogs.

Blog search engines
>Several blog search engines are used to search blog contents (also known as the blogosphere),
>such as blogdigger, Feedster, and Technorati. Technorati provides current information on both
>popular searches and tags used to categorize blog postings.

Blogging Communities and Directories
>Several online communities exist that connect people to blogs and bloggers to other bloggers,
>including Blog Catalogue and MyBlogLog. A collection of local blogs is sometimes referred to as
>a Bloghood.

Popularity

Recently, researchers have analyzed the dynamics of how blogs become popular. There are essentially
two measures of this: popularity through citations, as well as popularity through affiliation (i.e.
blogroll). The basic conclusion from studies of the structure of blogs is that while it takes time for a blog
to become popular through blogrolls, permalinks can boost popularity more quickly, and are perhaps
more indicative of popularity and authority than blogrolls, since they denote that people are actually
reading the blog's content and deem it valuable or noteworthy in specific cases.[16]

Recently, through the mass popularity of sponsored post ventures such as PayPerPost a large number of personal blogs have started writing sponsored posts for advertisers wanting to boost buzz about new products and services. It has revolutionised the blogosphere almost in the same way that Google AdSense did.[17]

The blogdex project was launched by researchers in the MIT Media Lab to crawl the Web and gather data from thousands of blogs in order to investigate their social properties. It gathered this information for over 4 years, and autonomously tracked the most contagious information spreading in the blog community, ranking it by recency and popularity. It can thus be considered the first instantiation of a memetracker. The project is no longer active, but a similar function is now served by tailrank.com.

Blogs are also given rankings by Technorati based on the number of incoming links and Alexa Internet based on the web hits of Alexa Toolbar users. In August 2006, Technorati listed the most linked-to blog as that of Chinese actress Xu Jinglei and the most-read blog as group-written Boing Boing.[18]

Gartner forecasts that blogging will peak in 2007, leveling off when the number of writers who maintain a personal website reaches 100 million. Gartner analysts expect that the novelty value of the medium will wear off as most people who are interested in the phenomenon have checked it out, and new bloggers will offset the number of writers who abandon their creation out of boredom. The firm estimates that there are more than 200 million former bloggers who have ceased posting to their online diaries, creating an exponential rise in the amount of "dotsam" and "netsam" — that is to say, unwanted objects on the Web.

It was reported by Chinese media Xinhua that the blog of Xu Jinglei received more than 50 million page views, claiming to be the most popular blog in the world.[19] In mid-2006, it also had the most incoming links of any blogs on the Internet.[18]

Blurring with the mass media

Many bloggers, particularly those engaged in participatory journalism, differentiate themselves from the mainstream media, while others are members of that media working through a different channel. Some institutions see blogging as a means of "getting around the filter" and pushing messages directly to the public. Some critics worry that bloggers respect neither copyright nor the role of the mass media in presenting society with credible news. Bloggers and other contributors to user generated content are behind *Time* magazine naming their 2006 person of the year as "you".

Many mainstream journalists, meanwhile, write their own blogs — well over 300, according to CyberJournalist.net's J-blog list. The first known use of a weblog on a news site was in August 1998, when Jonathan Dube of The Charlotte Observer published one chronicling Hurricane Bonnie.[20]

Blogs have also had an influence on minority languages, bringing together scattered speakers and learners; this is particularly so with blogs in Gaelic languages, whose creators can be found as far away from traditional Gaelic areas as Kazakhstan and Alaska. Minority language publishing (which may lack economic feasibility) can find its audience through inexpensive blogging.

There are many examples of bloggers who have published books based on their blogs, e.g., Salam Pax, Ellen Simonetti, Jessica Cutler, ScrappleFace. Blog-based books have been given the name blook. A

prize for the best blog-based book was initiated in 2005, [21] the Lulu Blooker Prize.[22] However success has been elusive offline, with many of these books not selling as well as their blogs. Only sex blogger Tucker Max cracked the New York Times Bestseller List. [23]

Blogging consequences

The emergence of blogging has brought a range of legal liabilities and other often unforeseen consequences. One area of concern is the issue of bloggers releasing proprietary or confidential information. Another area of concern is blogging and defamation. A third area of concern is employees who write about aspects of their place of employment or their personal lives, and then face loss of employment or other adverse consequences. A number of examples of blogging and its sometimes negative or unforeseen consequences are cited here.

Defamation or liability

Several cases have been brought before the national courts against bloggers concerning issues of defamation or liability. The courts have returned with mixed verdicts. Internet Service Providers (ISPs), in general, are immune from liability for information that originates with Third Parties (U.S. Communications Decency Act and the EU Directive 2000/31/EC).

In *John Doe v. Patrick Cahill*, the Delaware Supreme Court held that stringent standards had to be met to unmask anonymous bloggers, and also took the unusual step of dismissing the libel case itself (as unfounded under American libel law) rather than referring it back to the trial court for reconsideration. In a bizarre twist, the Cahills were able to obtain the identity of John Doe, who turned out to be the person they suspected: the town's mayor, Councilman Cahill's political rival. The Cahills amended their original complaint, and the mayor settled the case rather than going to trial.[24]

In Malaysia, eight Royal Dutch Shell Group companies collectively obtained in June 2004 an Interim Injunction and Restraining Order against a Shell whistleblower, a Malaysian geologist and former Shell employee, Dr John Huong. The proceedings are in respect of alleged defamatory postings attributed to Dr Huong on a weblog hosted in North America but owned and operated by an 89 year old British national, Alfred Donovan, a long term critic of Shell. The Shell action is directed solely against Dr Huong. Further proceedings against Dr Huong were issued by the same plaintiff companies in 2006 in respect of publications on Donovan weblog sites in 2005 and 2006. The further proceedings include a "Notice to Show Cause" relating to a "contempt of court" action potentially punishable by imprisonment. The contempt hearing and a related application by the eight Royal Dutch Shell plaintiff companies for Dr Huong to produce Alfred Donovan for cross-examination in connection with an affidavit Donovan provided, was scheduled to be heard in the High Court of Malay in Kuala Lumpur on 17 August 2006. Donovan's principle weblog is royaldutchshellplc.com. In January 2007, two prominent political bloggers, Jeff Ooi and Ahiruddin Attan were sued by pro-government newspaper, The New Straits Times Press (Malaysia) Berhad, Kalimullah bin Masheerul Hassan, Hishamuddin bin Aun and Brenden John a/l John Pereira over an alleged defamation. The plaintiff was supported by the Malaysian government [25] . Following the suit, the Malaysian government proposed to "register" all bloggers in Malaysia in order to better control parties against their interest. [26]. This is the first such legal case against bloggers in the country.

In Britain, a college lecturer contributed to a blog in which she referred to a politician (who had also expressed his views in the same blog) using various uncomplimentary names, including referring to him

as a "Nazi". The politician found out the real name of the lecturer (she wrote under a pseudonym) via the ISP and successfully sued her for £10,000 in damages and £7,200 costs.[27]

In the United States blogger Aaron Wall was sued by Traffic Power for defamation and publication of trade secrets in 2005.[28] According to Wired Magazine, Traffic Power had been "banned from Google for allegedly rigging search engine results."[29] Wall and other "white hat" search engine optimization consultants had exposed Traffic Power in what they claim was an effort to protect the public. The case was watched by many bloggers because it addressed the murky legal question of who's liable for comments posted on blogs.[30]

Employment

Losing one's employment as a consequence of personal blog commentary about the place of employment has become so commonplace that there is now an informal verb for the event: "dooced". The word dooce originates from the pseudonym of Heather Armstrong, who lost her job after writing satirical accounts of her place of employment on her personal blog. In general, attempts at hiding the blogger's name and/or the place of employment in anonymity have proved ineffective at protecting the blogger.[31] Employees who blog about elements of their place of employment raise the issue of employee branding, since their activities can begin to affect the brand recognition of their employer.

Ellen Simonetti, a Delta Air Lines flight attendant, was fired by the airline for photos of herself in uniform on an airplane and comments posted on her blog "Queen of the Sky: Diary of a Flight Attendant" which her employer deemed inappropriate.[32][33] This case highlighted the issue of personal blogging and freedom of expression vs. employer rights and responsibilities, and so it received wide media attention. Simonetti took legal action against the airline for "wrongful termination, defamation of character and lost future wages".[34] The suit is postponed while Delta is in bankruptcy proceedings (court docket (http://deltadocket.com/delta_downloads/delta_downloads_CourtFiledDocuments/Twelfth_OmnibusClai

In the spring of 2006, Erik Ringmar, a tenured senior lecturer at the London School of Economics was ordered by the convenor of his department to "take down and destroy" his blog in which he discussed the quality of education at the school.[35].

Mark Cuban, owner of the Dallas Mavericks, was recently fined during the 2006 NBA playoffs for criticizing NBA officials on the court and in his blog.[36]

Mark Jen was terminated in 2005 after a mere 10 days of employment at Google for discussing corporate secrets on his personal blog.[37]

In India, blogger Gaurav Sabnis resigned from IBM after his posts exposing the false claims of a management school, IIPM, led to management of IIPM threatening to burn their IBM laptops as a sign of protest against him.[38]

Jessica Cutler, aka "The Washingtonienne (http://washingtoniennearchive.blogspot.com/)", blogged about her sex life while employed as a congressional assistant. After the blog was discovered and she was fired,[39] she wrote a novel based on her experiences and blog: *The Washingtonienne: A Novel*. Cutler is presently being sued by one of her former lovers in a case that could establish the extent to which bloggers are obligated to protect the privacy of their real life associates.[40]

Catherine Sanderson, aka Petite Anglaise, lost her job in Paris at a British accountancy firm as a consequence of blogging.[41] Although given in the blog in a fairly anonymous manner, some of the descriptions of the firm and some of its people were less than flattering. Sanderson later won a compensation claim case against the British firm, however.[42]

On the other hand, Penelope Trunk, writing in the Globe (http://www.boston.com/business/globe/articles/2006/04/16/blogs_essential_to_a_good_career/) in 2006, was one of the first to point out that a large portion of bloggers are professionals, and a well written blog can actually help attract employers.

Political dangers

Blogging can sometimes have unforeseen consequences in politically sensitive areas.

In Singapore, two ethnic Chinese were imprisoned under the country's anti-sedition law for posting anti-Muslim remarks in their weblogs.[43]

Egyptian blogger Kareem Amer was charged of insulting the Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and an Islamic institution through his online blog. It is the first time in the history of Egypt that a blogger was prosecuted. After a brief trial session that took place in Alexandria, the blogger was found guilty and sentenced to prison terms of three years for insulting Islam and inciting sedition, and one year for insulting Mubarak.[44]

Egyptian blogger Abdel Monem Mahmoud was arrested in April 2007 for things written in his blog (http://www.ana-ikhwan.blogspot.com/). Monem, for whom a campaign has been taken up at [1] (http://freemonem.cybversion.org/) is a member of the Muslim Brotherhood.

After expressing opinions in his personal weblog about the state of the Sudanese armed forces, Jan Pronk, United Nations Special Representative for the Sudan, was given three days notice to leave Sudan. The Sudanese army had demanded his deportation.[45][46][47]

Other consequences

One unfortunate consequence of blogging is the possibility of attacks or threats against the blogger, sometimes without apparent reason. A blog is, after all, open to the public to read and respond to. Kathy Sierra, author of the innocuous blog Creating Passionate Users (http://headrush.typepad.com/), was the target of such vicious threats and misogynistic insults that she canceled her keynote speech at a technology conference in San Diego, fearing for her safety. [48] While a blogger's anonymity is often tenuous, internet trolls who would attack a blogger with threats or insults can be emboldened by anonymity. Sierra and supporters initiated an online discussion aimed at countering abusive online behavior,[49] and developed a blogger's code of conduct.

See also

- Adult blog
- Blogskin
- BROG - (We)blog Research on Genre project

Internet Portal

- Citizen journalism
- Collaborative blog
- Customer engagement
- Dream blog
- Edublog
- List of blogging terms
- Blog search engines
- List of social networking websites - includes many blog and journal sites
- Massively distributed collaboration
- Sideblog
- User-generated content
- Webmaster

 Journalism Portal
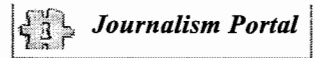
References

1. ^ Welcome to Technorati (http://technorati.com/about) (unknown). Retrieved on 2007-09-21.
2. ^ The term "e-log" has been used to describe journal entries sent out via e-mail since as early as March 1996.Norman, David (2005-07-13), *Users confused by blogs (http://lists.drupal.org/archives/development/2005-07/msg00208.html)*, <http://lists.drupal.org/archives/development/2005-07/msg00208.html>. Retrieved on 2007-Feb-20, Research staff and students welcome 'E-Log' (http://www.ucl.ac.uk/news-archive/archive/2003/december-2003/latest/newsitem.shtml?03120901). University College London (December 2003). Retrieved on 2007-02-20.
3. ^ Berners-Lee, Tim (November 1990). WorldWideWeb: Proposal for a HyperText Project (http://www.w3.org/Proposal.html). Retrieved on 2007-09-24.
4. ^ http://www.netfunny.com/rhf/oldest-blog.html
5. ^ Harmanci, Reyhan (2005-02-20). Time to get a life — pioneer blogger Justin Hall bows out at 31 (http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/c/a/2005/02/20/MNGBKBEJO01.DTL). San Francisco Chronicle. Retrieved on 2006-06-09.
6. ^ Template:Title=Wearable,Tetherless, Computer-Mediated Reality (with possible future applications to the disabled)
7. ^ Giggling About sCary Times for Ritual! (http://www.ritualistic.com/content.php/articles/press/970208.php). Ritual Entertainment (1997-02-08).
8. ^ "It's the links, stupid (http://www.economist.com/surveys/displaystory.cfm?story_id=6794172)", The Economist, 2006-4-20. Retrieved on 2006-07-21.
9. ^ Merholz, Peter (1999). Peterme.com (http://web.archive.org/web/19991013021124/http://peterme.com/index.html). The Internet Archive. Retrieved on 2006-07-21.
10. ^ Kottke, Jason (August 26, 2003). kottke.org (http://www.kottke.org/03/08/its-weblog-not-web-log). Retrieved on 2006-07-21.
11. ^ Jensen, Mallory A Brief History of Weblogs (http://cjrarchives.org/issues/2003/5/blog-jensen.asp?printerfriendly=yes)
12. ^ "Wikinews blog declared Word of the Year (http://en.wikinews.org/wiki/Blog_declared_Word_of_the_Year)", Wikinews, 2004-12-01. Retrieved on 2006-06-22.
13. ^ Wilson, Dawn. "Down with blogs... so here's another (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/magazine/5116654.stm)", BBC News, 2006-06-26. Retrieved on 2006-06-26.
14. ^ What is a photoblog (http://wiki.photoblogs.org/wiki/What_is_a_Photoblog). Photoblogs.org Wiki. Retrieved on 2006-06-25.
15. ^ "Blogging goes mobile (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/technology/2783951.stm)", BBC News, 2003-02-23. Retrieved on 2006-06-25.
16. ^ Marlow, C. Audience, structure and authority in the weblog community (http://alumni.media.mit.edu/~cameron/cv/pubs/04-01.pdf). Presented at the International Communication Association Conference, May, 2004, New Orleans, LA.

17. ^ Eloquentia, Sponsors and the revolution of the blogosphere (http://eloquentia.forgottenmidnight.net|/).

18. ^ *a b* Fickling, David, Internet killed the TV star (http://blogs.guardian.co.uk/news/archives/2006/08/15/internet_killed_the_tv_star.html), The Guardian NewsBlog, 15 August 2006

19. ^ "Xu Jinglei most popular blogger in world (http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2006-08/24/content_672747.htm)", China Daily, 2006-08-24. Retrieved on 2006-11-18.

20. ^ "blogging Bonnie. (http://www.poynter.org/column.asp?id=52&aid=48413/)", *Poynter.org*, 18 September, 2003.

21. ^ "Blooker rewards books from blogs (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/technology/4326908.stm)", BBC News, 2005-10-11. Retrieved on 2007-04-04.

22. ^ "Blooker prize honours best blogs (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/technology/6446271.stm)", BBC News, 2007-03-17. Retrieved on 2007-04-04.

23. ^ Dude, here's my book (http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/16/fashion/sundaystyles/16CADS.html? ex=1302840000&en=778087aa367d0620&ei=5090&partner=rssuserland&emc=rss)

24. ^ "John Doe No. 1 v. Patrick Cahill and Julia Cahill (http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/data2/delawarestatecases/266-2005.pdf)

25. ^ "New Straits Times staffers sue two bloggers (http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=20489)", *Reporters Without Borders*, 2007-01-19. Retrieved on 2007-04-17.

26. ^ "Government plans to force bloggers to register (http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=21606)", *Reporters Without Borders*, 2007-04-06. Retrieved on 2007-04-17.

27. ^ Gibson, Owen. "Warning to chatroom users after libel award for man labelled a Nazi (http://www.guardian.co.uk/law/story/0,,1737445,00.html)", *The Guardian*, 2006-03-23. Retrieved on 2006-05-17.

28. ^ Kesmodel, David. "Wall Street Journal Blogger Faces Lawsuit Over Comments Posted by Readers (http://online.wsj.com/public/article/SB1125419092217267743-_vX2YpePQV7AOIl2Jeebz4FAfS4_20060831.html?mod=blogs)", Wall Street Journal Online, 2005-08-31. Retrieved on 2006-11-18.

29. ^ Wired Magazine, Legal Showdown in Search Fracas (http://www.wired.com/culture/lifestyle/news/2005/09/68799), Sept 8, 2005

30. ^ Slashdot, Aug 31 (http://yro.slashdot.org/yro/05/08/31/1427228.shtml?tid=123)

31. ^ Sanderson, Cathrine. "Blogger beware! (http://commentisfree.guardian.co.uk/catherine_sanderson/2007/04/blogger_beware.html)", Guardian Unlimited, 2007-04-02. Retrieved on 2007-04-02.

32. ^ Twist, Jo. "US Blogger Fired by her Airline (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/technology/3974081.stm)", *BBC News*, 2004-11-03. Retrieved on 2006-06-29.

33. ^ "Delta employee fired for blogging sues airline (http://www.usatoday.com/travel/news/2005-09-08-delta-blog_x.htm)", *USA Today*, 2005-09-08. Retrieved on 2006-06-29.

34. ^ "Queen of the Sky gets marching orders (http://www.theregister.co.uk/2004/11/03/airline_blogger_sacked/)", The Register, 2004-11-03. Retrieved on 2006-06-23.

35. ^ "Lecturer's Blog Sparks Free Speech Row (http://education.guardian.co.uk/higher/news/story/0,,1766663,00.html)", The Guardian, 2006-05-03. Retrieved on 2006-10-15. See also Forget the Footnotes (http://ringmar.net/forgethefootnotes/)

36. ^ "NBA fines Cuban $200K for antics on, off court (http://sports.espn.go.com/nba/playoffs2006/news/story? id=2440355)", ESPN, 2006-05-11. Retrieved on 2006-06-23.

37. ^ Hansen, Evan. "Google blogger has left the building (http://news.com.com/Google+blogger+has+left+the+building/2100-1038_3-5567863.html)", CNET News, 2005-02-08. Retrieved on 2007-04-04.

38. ^ http://cities.expressindia.com/fullstory.php?newsid=152721

39. ^ "The Hill's Sex Diarist Reveals All (Well, Some) (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A48909-2004May22.html)", *The Washington Post*, 2004-05-23. Retrieved on 2007-03-27.

40. ^ "Steamy D.C. Sex Blog Scandal Heads to Court (http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/16366256/)", *The Associated Press ,MSNBC*, 2006-12-27. Retrieved on 2007-03-28.

41. ^ "Bridget Jones Blogger Fire Fury (http://edition.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/europe/07/19/france.blog/index.html?section=cnn_tech)", *CNN*, 2006-07-19. Retrieved on 2007-03-27.

42. ^ "Sacked "petite anglaise" blogger wins compensation claim (http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20070330/tc_afp/lifestyleinternet_070330205230)", Yahoo News, 2007-03-30. Retrieved on 2007-04-04.

43. ^ Kierkegaard, Sylvia (2006). "Blogs, lies and the doocing: The next hotbed of litigation? (http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=ArticleURL&_udi=B6VB3-4JH47F6-5&_user=1004260&_handle=V-WA-A-W-AB-MsSWYWW-UUA-U-AACUCWYVWU-AAVYAUEWWU-YDDYCBWVV-AB-U&_fmt=summary&_coverDate=12%2F31%2F2006&_rdoc=5&_orig=browse&_srch=%23toc%235915%232006%23999779997%23619171!&_cdi=5915&view=c&_acct=C000050178&_version=1&_urlVersion=0&_userid=1004260&md5=9278207a80ea3ebbe2c672944a3fb67a)". *Computer Law & Security Report*.

44. ^ "Egypt blogger jailed for "insult" (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6385849.stm)", *BBC News*, 2007-02-22. Retrieved on 2007-03-27.

45. ^ "Sudan expels U.N. envoy for blog (http://www.cnn.com/2006/WORLD/africa/10/22/sudan.darfur.un/index.html)", *CNN*, 2006-10-22. Retrieved on 2007-03-14.

46. ^ "UN envoy leaves after Sudan row (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/6076022.stm)", *BBC NEWS*, BBC, October 23, 2006. Retrieved on 2006-10-24.

47. ^ "Annan confirms Pronk will serve out his term as top envoy for Sudan (http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=20396&Cr=sudan&Cr1=)", *UN News Centre*, UN, October 27, 2006. Retrieved on 2006-10-28.

48. ^ Pham, Alex. "Abuse, threats quiet bloggers' keyboards (http://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-internet31mar31,0,4064392.story?coll=la-home-headlines)", Los Angeles Times, 2007-03-31. Retrieved on 2007-04-04.

49. ^ "Blog death threats spark debate (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/technology/6499095.stm)", BBC News, 2007-03-27. Retrieved on 2007-04-04.

Further reading

- Alavi, Nasrin. *We Are Iran: The Persian Blogs*, Soft Skull Press, New York, 2005. ISBN 1-933368-05-5.
- Bruns, Axel, and Joanne Jacobs, eds. *Uses of Blogs*, Peter Lang, New York, 2006. ISBN 0-8204-8124-6.
- Kline, David; Burstein, Dan. *Blog!: How the Newest Media Revolution is Changing Politics, Business, and Culture*, Squibnocket Partners, L.L.C., 2005. ISBN 1-59315-141-1.
- Michael Gorman. "Revenge of the Blog People!" (http://www.libraryjournal.com/article/CA502009.html). *Library Journal*.

External links

- blog software comparison chart (http://www.ojr.org/ojr/images/blog_software_comparison.cfm) by Online Journalism Review (http://www.ojr.org/), USC Annenberg
- blogging, personal participation in public knowledge-building on the web (http://www.essex.ac.uk/chimera/content/pubs/wps/CWP-2005-02-blogging-in-the-Knowledge-Society-MB.pdf) (PDF file) by Mark Brady, Chimera Working Paper 2005-02 Colchester: University of Essex
- Computer Law and Security Report Volume 22 Issue 2, Pages 127-136 (http://www.sciencedirect.com/science?_ob=ArticleURL&_udi=B6VB3-4JH47F6-5&_user=10&_handle=V-WA-A-W-AB-MsSAYZW-UUA-U-AAVYYUUEZC-AAVZBYADZC-YBADCWEZW-AB-U&_fmt=summary&_coverDate=12%2F31%2F2006&_rdoc=5&_orig=browse&_srch=%23toc%235915%232006%23999779997%23619171!&_cdi=5915&view=c&_acct=C000050221&_version=1&;_urlVersion=0&_userid=10&md5=3a7 blogs, Lies and the Doocing by Sylvia Kierkegaard (2006)

- Legal Guide for bloggers (http://www.eff.org/bloggers/lg/) by the Electronic Frontier Foundation
- Ringmar, Erik. *A Blogger's Manifesto: Free Speech and Censorship in the Age of the Internet (http://www.ringmar.net/imbloggingthis/) (London: Anthem Press, 2007).*

Retrieved from "http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Blog"

Categories: All articles with dead external links | Articles with dead external links since July 2007 | Semi-protected | All articles with unsourced statements | Articles with unsourced statements since August 2007 | All pages needing cleanup | Articles that may contain original research since September 2007 | Articles with unsourced statements since March 2007 | Articles with unsourced statements since October 2007 | Wikipedia external links cleanup | Blogs | Blogging | Digital Revolution | Internet terminology | Politics and technology | Technology in society

NEWS ARTICLES
and
BACKGROUND
MATERIALS

MYSPACE NUDGES USERS INTO POLITICS

By HOLLY M. SANDERS, Post Wire Services

March 19, 2007 -- Social networking site MySpace aims to help capture the youth vote in '08 with a new section dedicated to politics.

The "Impact Channel" will launch with profiles of 10 presidential hopefuls, including senators Hillary Clinton, John McCain and Barack Obama, and former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

MySpace said the channel will link to candidates, organizations and non-profit groups, making it easier for its 60 million users to get information and participate in the political process.

The Impact Channel, at impact.myspace.com, will feature videos from the candidates, along with voter registration and fund-raising tools.

MySpace is also in a race of its own with Web 2.0 rivals like Facebook and YouTube that are angling to attract young users ahead of the 2008 presidential election.

MySpace executives are touting one feature that will allow users to put candidate ads on their own pages, calling it a digital yard sign.

"Our digital candidate banners will be the yard signs of the 21st century and our political viral videos and vlogs [video logs] are the campaign ads of the future," MySpace chief executive Chris DeWolfe said in a statement.

MySpace is owned by News Corp., which also owns The Post.

Candidates are looking beyond campus rallies to court young, technology-savvy voters. Most are deploying Internet strategies - uploading videos to YouTube, making appeals on MySpace and setting up Facebook pages - to raise money and garner support.

So far, Obama is the most popular candidate among the millions of young users on social networking sites like Facebook and MySpace. His MySpace page listed 66,080 friends, while Clinton claimed about 359 friends.

JUNE 27, 2007, 7:04 PM

On YouTube, Candidates Get an Eyeful

By MICHAEL FALCONE

From top to bottom, Rachel from Durham, N.C., Isaac Myhrum and the Viking, "Bjorn," are among those who have posted video questions for the presidential candidates on YouTube.com

"Bjorn," an imposing figure in a two-horned Viking helmet and a thick, black beard – the stick-on kind – wonders how the candidates plan to deal with illegal immigration. Someone else has "a very, very serious question" – about aliens: Will the candidates agree to Congressional hearings on the existence of extraterrestrials?

Then there's Rachel Richardson, a recent high school graduate from Lake Oswego, Ore., who's worried about all the loans she has to take out to pay for college. Do the candidates favor changes "so that people are more easily able to afford college without graduating in significant debt?"

1

And Al Cannistraro, of Clifton Park, N.Y., wants a world view: "What moral and political principles, if any, would guide the development of your own administration's national security strategy," he asks.

In bedrooms, dorm rooms, offices and backyards, the presidential candidates are getting a virtual grilling by a motley group who are among the first to submit video questions for consideration on the CNN-YouTube presidential debate next month.

In his video, Isaac Myhrum drives up in a 1987 gray Chevrolet Celebrity that definitely shows its age.

"I wish I could drive a hybrid," he complains. "But at this stage in my life I just can't afford one."

"If you are the next president, what will you do to make sure that alternative fuel technology is affordable to everyone?"

Another woman, who identifies herself only as Cj425 (her YouTube screen name), sees a downslide in the economy. "Right now it's doing a complete one of these," she says, sending her arm and hand in a nose-dive gesture. "Our Social Security is going down, our taxes are going up."

Turning to the camera, she asks: "It used to be what, mom, 20 cents for a loaf a bread, 25 cents for a gallon of milk? It's $3 for milk nowadays. The more money we get, the less it's worth, and you guys need to do something about that."

Since YouTube began allowing users to upload video questions on June 14, the site has received more than 270 submissions. The deadline for sending in a question for next month's Democratic debate is July 22. The Republicans take part in a YouTube debate in September.

And, while this may be the first YouTube venture in the world of debates, it also offers a new twist for Web-savvy candidates and their campaigns. They may find debate prep a little easier – and quite amusing – now that they can preview potential debate questions in advance.

As we wrote earlier this week, the video site and CNN have come under a bit of Internet fire by undercutting the freewheeling nature of YouTube. CNN has the ultimate say in choosing questions; YouTube has taken away features that let users see their peers' most popular videos.

Leave it to the Web crowd to find a way around such controls. As the TechPresident blog pointed out, David A. Colarusso, a high school physics

teacher in Lexington, Mass., and several friends have mounted an insurgency. They have devoted a section of their Web site, communitycounts.us to what they call "a netroots campaign to have the presidential candidates answer your questions."

There, a "mashup" of all the video questions from YouTube appears so that users can vote for the ones they like, and see how they rank by popular vote.

As of Wednesday, the top-rated video on Mr. Colarusso's site was submitted by Rachel from Durham, N.C. who wanted to know about the candidates' views on gun control.

"I am concerned about my right to protect myself in a violent world," she says. "Can you explain how you interpret the second amendment of the U.S. Constitution?"

But as Mr. Colarusso pointed out, the video's popularity may be a bit skewed; highly mobilized backers of Congressman Ron Paul are driving traffic to the site. (Rachel's personal YouTube channel includes several videos expressing her support for Mr. Paul.)

Setting aside the serious policy issues, some submissions reflect the farflung interests of YouTubers and clearly don't stand a chance in prime time.

There's the chatty Kermit the Frog hand puppet who sends in a message to the candidates from East Lansing, Mich. And, "Jackie and Dunlap," who pose on their own political satire site as a beer-drinking, cigarette-smoking pair, are dying to know what role each of the Democrats would play if they could be on "Law and Order" just like Fred Thompson.

We're not sure whether debate organizers will be won over by the creative use of presidential action figures, either. Holding miniature versions of Abraham Lincoln and George W. Bush, John Kramer and Aaron Sjoholm of Chicago, offer up this question for the entire group:

"In 1860, Abraham Lincoln won his party's nomination by being everyone's second choice," Mr. Kramer explains.

"America did a pretty lousy job choosing this guy twice," he says as his counterpart wiggles the presidential doll. "We could really use a little help this time around."

"You candidates work and socialize with each other, you know each other's strengths and weaknesses better than anyone," Mr. Sjoholm says. "So, who would each of you vote for if you couldn't vote for yourself?

We're pretty sure the editors choosing the video will have to reject this one. It's a likely bet the candidates won't all raise their hands at once to answer. Then again, a little levity might be in order if Kermit, Vikings or space aliens don't make the cut.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
ONLINE

April 11, 2007

PORTALS
By LEE GOMES

Political Candidates Have Invaded the Web And Tamed the Blogs

April 11, 2007

It already has launched one candidacy, helped to raise record amounts of money and prompted fears about a new breed of anonymous political attack ads. But as a force in the 2008 presidential race, the Internet is just getting started. A good thing, too; with more than a year and a half to go before the actual election, the country is going to need all the help it can get to escape burnout.

When Hillary Clinton wanted to announce her candidacy back in January, she simply posted a video on her Web site. The regular media noticed right away -- the point of using the Web, after all, was as much to reach political reporters as it was to reach regular voters -- and it became big news.

It has been an Internet-assisted election ever since. The biggest role for the Web has involved raising money. Barack Obama got 27% of his $25 million in contributions from online donors. Sen. Clinton, the only other candidate to announce the percent raised online, got about 23%. But all the candidates have learned that putting a "Give money" button on the home page of their Web sites usually is both cheaper and more effective than mass mailings or 800 numbers, the two standards for populist fund raising in the days before the Web.

Big Web operations such as Yahoo and Google have learned that the interest in a presidential election, just like the interest in "American Idol," can, with the right sort of marketing, be translated into more "page views" and thus more advertising. The sites have begun actively recruiting presidential candidates to avail themselves of politically oriented special features, such as a presidential election "channel" on Google's YouTube.

The effort isn't just in the U.S. In France, Yahoo's French home page links to "Presidentielle 2007" about that country's current election campaign.

For their part, the candidates seem to see Yahoo and Google as competitors, of sorts, and are trying, as they say in marketing, to "own the customer relationship." As much as possible, the campaigns are attempting to keep voters from ever leaving their Web sites. Today's campaign Web sites are evolving into complete portals about the candidates. In addition to the appeal for money and candidate bio, you'll find pictures, videos and social networks. More often than not, a candidate's site will even include links to outside news articles about the campaign, or at least those that don't put it in a bad light.

There are also blogs, though of a singular sort. When blogging began, it had a rebel vibe to it. Bloggers were supposed to be free thinkers deep in an organization who would tell the straight story about things, the story the public-relations department didn't want you to know. But it didn't take long for blogs to be co-opted. These days, much of the discussion about blogging, at least in the tech blogosphere, involves how companies can best use them for public relations.

Naturally, it's this new, sanitized blogging that has been adopted by the presidential campaigns. Typical blog posts involve the enthusiasm of the crowds at the latest rally or the need for supporters to get out and volunteer.

As candidates deal with the Web, they will start to learn that many Web users have an extremely high opinion of themselves and the online lifestyle they are now leading. Last week, Joe Biden responded via a Webcam to a question posed to him via YouTube. The response was called "a milestone in presidential politics" by one blogger, as though it marked the first time a candidate had ever been asked a question by a citizen.

Then again, Sen. Biden's answer was one minute and 47 seconds long, which is the length of the average long report on a nightly newscast. The question involved the sorts of sacrifices Americans should be called on to make. The answer from the senator mentioned energy conservation and the war in Iraq. Being able to watch a candidate talk about an issue for a whole two minutes unfortunately has been a luxury in the U.S., though the Internet is in the process of changing that.

The 2006 election is remembered as the "macaca election," for the YouTube video of a now-former senator making a racially insensitive remark. As a result, campaign managers all across the country advised their candidates to never do or say anything in public that they wouldn't want to see one day on YouTube.

The season of user-generated political videos has begun anew. Last month, a reworking of Apple's famous "1984" Macintosh TV commercial, with Hillary Clinton subbing for Big Brother, appeared online. It had been made on a Sunday afternoon -- on a Mac, of course -- by a now-former employee of one of the Obama campaign's contractors.

The ad came to the attention of political reporters (them again) as well as the Drudge Report and as a result, millions saw it. So now there is a new concern: that the Web will be home to similar kinds of video hit pieces for which no one will claim sponsorship.

But I think we'll be OK. Someone, somewhere always manages to smoke these things out.

• Email me at lee.gomes@wsj.com[1]

URL for this article:
http://online.wsj.com/article/SB1176253377335665794.html

Hyperlinks in this Article:
(1) mailto:lee.gomes@wsj.com

RELATED ARTICLES AND BLOGS
Related Content may require a subscription | **Subscribe Now -- Get 2 Weeks FREE**

Related Articles from the Online Journal
• Marvel Puts Comic Books Online
• Late Entry Sparks Fear of Seoul Split By Conservatives
• Democratic Rivals Rap Clinton On Iran Vote in Afternoon Debate
• Poor-Performing Nursing Homes Come Under Government Fire

Blog Posts About This Topic
• Web 2.0 and the Electoral Process | dev.aol.com dev.aol.com
• Online Campaigning as a New Venue for Politics in the Era of Globalization diaspora50.wordpress.com

⹂POLITICO

Politics 2.0

By: Andrew Rasiej and Micah L. Sifry
January 29, 2007 10:08 AM EST

Ever since Howard Dean's 2004 Internet-driven presidential campaign ended, many observers concluded that the Internet was not really changing anything in politics -- other than making fundraising easier. It couldn't alter the agenda of an election, and it certainly couldn't decide who wins. Well, a closer look at the 2006 midterm election reveals that bottom-up political action using the Internet is dramatically altering campaign dynamics.

As we head into 2008, one big question is who will have the upper hand: top-down campaigns that see technology as a tool to better game the existing system or grass-roots activists who have discovered their power to change it.

Some examples of the net's impact in 2006 are well-known: Sen. George Allen's "macaca" moment was posted on YouTube, fatally wounding the Virginia Republican's re-election bid. Michael J. Fox's moving 30-second ad for Missouri Democratic Senate candidate Claire McCaskill, in which he pleaded for expanded federal stem-cell research funding, was viewed online more than 2 million times, affecting several other races. McCaskill won her race narrowly. Chris Bowers, of the progressive-populist blog MyDD.com, rallied "bloggyists" (blog lobbyists) to goad cash-rich Democrats in uncontested districts to share their wealth with Democratic challengers; in less than a week, the bloggers pried loose more than $2.3 million from previously cash-rich but stingy incumbent lawmakers.

More important for the Democrats, the Web has enabled a vibrant inter-networking of activists, leaders, staffers, pundits and plain old citizens through MyDD and other blogs, plus less visible listservs, which function as sieves, spurs and switching stations for moving money, ideas and people. Volunteers made more than 7 million get-out-the-vote calls through MoveOn's "Call for Change" program, which allowed anyone in the country to phone bank from their home. And ActBlue, an innovative Web site that enabled anyone to form his own mini-PAC, channeled $16.5 million in small donations, averaging $110, to a plethora of candidates.

None of this happened because national Democratic leaders organized it. Rather, people used the new tools to organize themselves and spread the messages that they liked the most. This new force, the so-called "net-roots," is revitalizing the Democratic Party's previously hollow infrastructure and proving to be an able counterweight to the Republican base in talk radio; and for the most part it's really bottom-up, not top-down.

What's next? After a decade of political use of the Internet, two very distinct schools of thought are emerging. In one, traditional institutions -- including political parties, elected officials and organizations like think tanks and PACs -- use technology to hold on to power and maintain top-down control. This model has its place, and no one has done it better than the GOP, which uses its sophisticated voter files to provide thousands of volunteers with precise walk lists of people to contact in their own neighborhoods.

What's developing now, in contrast, is a more net-centric approach that values open collaboration, participation and decentralization -- and it's why the net-roots are so potent. We're seeing an explosion of voter-generated content alongside the old top-down stuff. If you go to Myspace.com's groups home page, you'll find 24,000-plus groups on "government and politics." More than 63,000 people belong to the Myspace Democrats group -- five times as many as a year ago.

Savvy political organizers are busy learning how to make this "power of many" work for their causes. For example, in Colorado, an organization called ProgressNowAction has built an online platform that enables its

more than 300,000 members -- nearly 10 percent of the state's voting age population -- to start groups, hold house parties, raise funds, petition and blog about local political issues. The key to its growth has been its willingness to connect members to each other and get out of the way.

Over time, online strategies that shift power to networks of ordinary citizens may well lead to a new generation of voters more engaged in the political process. That, in turn, could make politicians more accountable, creating a virtuous circle where elected officials who are more open and supportive of lateral constituent interaction, and less top-down, are rewarded with greater voter trust and support.

If you're a smart politician (or work for one), you'll stop worrying about losing control of your message and instead figure out how to embrace this change. As the 2006 election has shown, it is now possible for grass-roots activists to be much more directly involved in the political process. Better to catch and ride that wave instead of being swamped by it.

Andrew Rasiej and Micah L. Sifry (politico@personaldemocracy.com) are, respectively, founder and editor of the Personal Democracy Forum (www.personaldemocracy.com), an online magazine and annual conference on how technology is changing politics.
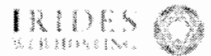
Engagement and Participation

One of the biggest trends in online information is the two-way conversation. To what extent did the candidate Web sites take advantage of the potential for users to "converse" with candidates and the campaign?

To a greater extent than many information sites. All candidates offer at least one way for users to "converse" with the candidate or the campaign. The majority even let voters talk to each other. And, unlike most of the mainstream press, the candidates have gone one step further. They have found a way to turn the dialogue into action—putting the user to work for them.

PEJ assessed the degree of engagement and participation at two levels. First, we looked to see if the Web sites offered any of three main features that allow visitors to engage in the conversation: commenting on blogs, creating their own citizen blogs and being able to connect with the candidates on various social networking sites.

Next, we measured the degree to which citizens were then encouraged to turn the dialogue into grassroots action. Here, we looked for three different components: raising money, hosting community gatherings or registering to vote.

Finally, we tallied how many of the six different features each site contained and ranked [1] them accordingly.

Blogs

In 2004, Howard Dean gained significant attention and generated a cadre of youthful workers to his campaign through the use of a blog on his Web site. The notion that a candidate would regularly speak directly to supporters struck observers as exciting and new.

Three years later, campaign blogs are mainstream. Fifteen of the 19 sites contain them—including all of the top-tier candidates. Most of the blogs appear to be authored primarily by one or two campaign staffers, though Mitt Romney's blog is written by his five sons and focuses more on family updates than the campaign.

Two of the four candidates who do not have blogs—Dennis Kucinich (D) and John Cox (R)—offer similar alternatives: user-based forums or links to outside blogs.

Blogs on Candidate Web sites

4 candidates

15 candidates

- Official Campaign Blog
- No Campaign Blog
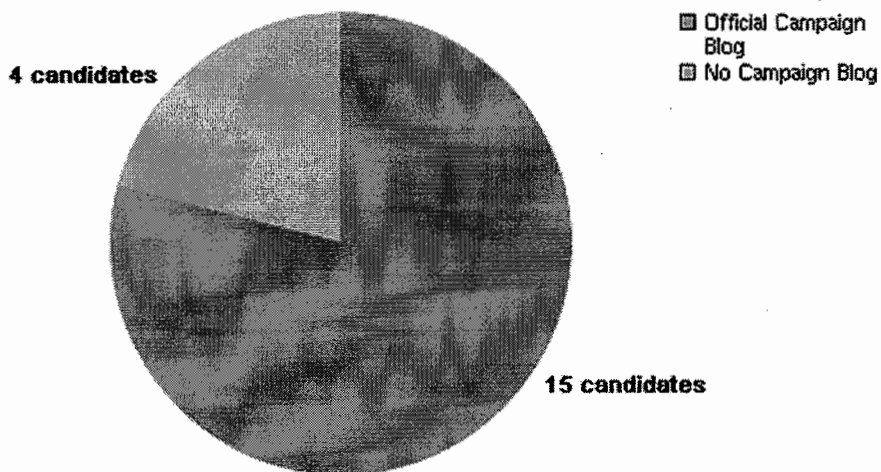
Source: PEJ Content Analysis, June 11-12, 2007

In fact, it is no longer enough just to blog. Now, "readers" want—or rather expect—to be able to join in. And, here again, candidate Web sites have excelled. Of the 15 candidates who have official campaign blogs on their sites, all but two (Rudy Giuliani and Ron Paul) allow users to post comments on blog entries.

Campaign 2008: State of Blogging

Official Campaign Blog with Comments	Alternative Blog with Comments	Official Campaign Blog without Comments	No Campaign Blog
Biden (D)	Cox (R)	Giuliani (R)	Hunter (R)
Brownback (R)	Kucinich (D)	Paul (R)	Thompson (R)
Clinton (D)			
Dodd (D)			
Edwards (D)			
Gilmore (R)			

Gravel (D)			
Huckabee (R)			
McCain (R)			
Obama (D)			
Richardson (D)			
Romney (R)			
Tancredo (R)			

Source: PEJ analysis, June 11-12, 2007

Citizen-Initiated Blogs

Some candidates have taken blogging even one step further in 2007. Just over one-third of the Web sites encourage supporters to stir up community support by starting their own blogs on the site. Seven of the 19 candidates—though only two front runners (both Democrats)—host citizen-initiated blogs: John Edwards (D), Barack Obama (D), Bill Richardson (D), Duncan Hunter (R) and Sam Brownback (R). Serving a very similar function, Dennis Kucinich (D) and Mike Gravel (D) host community-based discussion forums on their sites.

Candidate sites with Citizen Initiated Blogs
Edwards (D)
Obama (D)
Gravel (D)
Kucinich (D)
Richardson (D)
Brownback (R)
Hunter (R)

Source: PEJ analysis, June 11-12, 2007

The Web site of Barack Obama, for example, allows users to create their own personal blog, similar to services like blogspot.com and livejournal.com. John Edwards gives users the tool to establish their own "diary," a feature similar to that offered by the popular liberal blog, Daily Kos. On Sam Brownback's campaign site, visitors are invited to become members (by registering a profile) and to contribute posts to the official blog. On all these sites most visitors use the platform to voice their support for the candidate or to inform their peers of upcoming events.
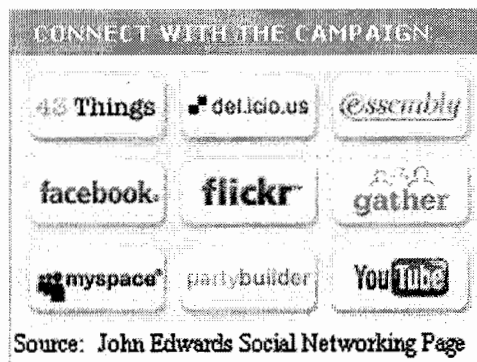
Social Networking

Most notably perhaps, social networking sites—the latest phenomenon in online communication—have taken the 2008 election by storm.

Social networking sites like MySpace (the most popular), Facebook, YouTube, Meetup and Flickr facilitate interaction among people who share something in common—in this case, interest in a particular candidate. Users who register on one of these sites can then "meet" and network with any other registered user, including the presidential candidates. On MySpace and Facebook, networks are established by becoming "friends" with other users and posting comments to them.

Even though the effect of social networking on voting behavior is as yet unknown—as is whether these "friends" are even of voting age—all but three candidate Web sites (those of Republicans Rudy Giuliani, Mike Huckabee and John Cox) offer the tools—usually right on the home page—for joining at least one of these social networks.[1] [2] Hillary Clinton even asks people to download an icon to their profile which says, "I am not only voting for Hillary, she's my friend!"

Most candidates offer links to a number of different networks, but Democrat John Edwards surpasses others in the ability to 'connect' with him. His site features 23 unique social networking sites and a full page dedicated to these networks.

Source: John Edwards Social Networking Page

To gauge the magnitude of social networking among candidates, PEJ tallied the number of "friends" each candidate had on the MySpace Impact [3] page. The Democrats took the lead: Barack Obama had three times as many "friends" as John McCain, the leader in "friends" for the Republicans.

Presidential Candidates on MySpace

Candidate (y-axis): Thompson, Tancredo, Romney, Richardson, Paul, Obama, McCain, Kucinich, Hunter, Gravel, Gilmore, Edwards, Dodd, Clinton, Brownback, Biden

No. of MySpace Friends (x-axis): 0, 20,000, 40,000, 60,000, 80,000, 100,000, 120,000, 140,000

Legend: ■ MySpace Friends
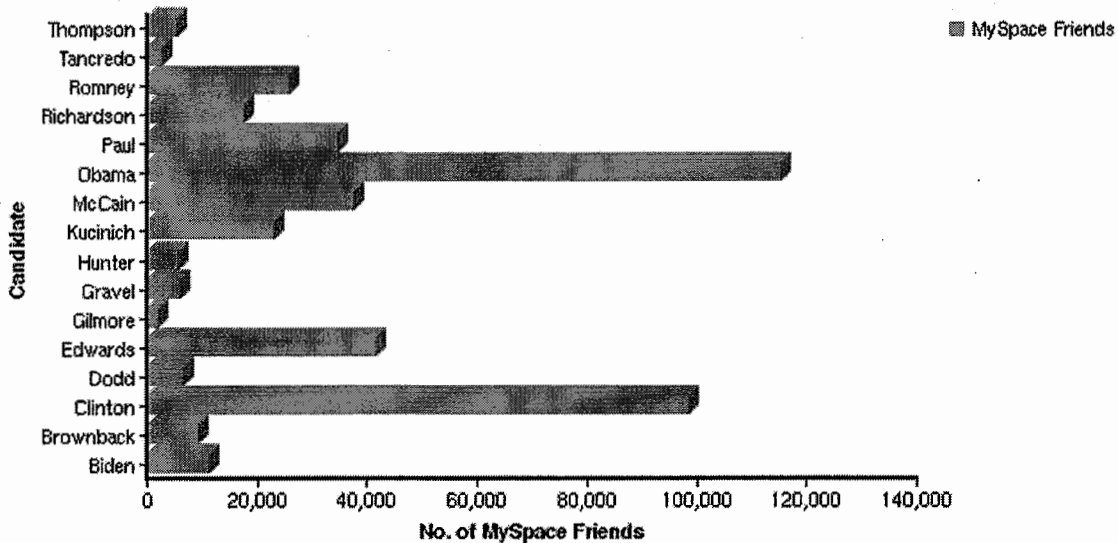
Source: MySpace Impact Page, June 21, 2007

Presumably, social networking creates enthusiasm, drives traffic, and might translate into both fundraising and votes. In theory, it might be particularly helpful in caucus states, such as Iowa, where getting someone to actually turn out for you involves more than just going to a polling place for a few minutes to cast a quick vote.

Grassroots Activity

What about moving beyond networking to community activity—everything from hosting fundraisers, organizing community events and learning where to register to vote—not to mention, the old standard of soliciting donations?

All 19 candidates use their Web site to solicit donations, but many go several steps further.

Eight candidates (four Republicans and four Democrats) provide supporters with tools for hosting fundraisers. Bill Richardson, for instance, allows users to create and manage their own fundraising page. Rudy Giuliani offers an email form letter that supporters can send to their friends to encourage them to donate to the campaign.

In addition to fundraising, 12 of the 19 campaign Web sites help supporters organize grassroots events such as house parties in their communities to help raise awareness and support for the candidates. Six of the eight Democrats promote such activity and five of the eleven Republicans do the same.

The least common tool, though perhaps one of the most fundamental, is information on registering to vote. Only four candidates provide this: John McCain (R), Barack Obama (D), Hillary Clinton (D) and long-shot candidate John Cox (R). Cox offers a PDF document explaining the process while Barack Obama provides a link to an external site, govote.org, where citizens can complete the registration process online and mail in their forms.

Grassroots Activity by Candidate

Candidate	Option for Community Events	Fundraising Option	Voter Registration Info.
Biden (D)	X		
Brownback (R)			
Clinton (D)	X	X	X
Cox (R)	X		X
Dodd (D)			
Edwards (D)	X	X	
Gilmore (R)	X	X	
Giuliani (R)	X	X	
Gravel (D)			
Huckabee (R)			
Hunter (R)	X	X	
Kucinich (D)	X		
McCain (R)	X		X
Obama (D)	X	X	X
Paul (R)			
Richardson (D)	X	X	
Romney (R)	X	X	
Tancredo (R)			
Thompson (R)			

Site Comparisons

How do the different sites stack up in engagement with potential supporters? We tallied the six different features discussed above and found that Democrats, particularly top-tier ones, had the most, and Barack Obama out-paced all others.[2] [4] He was the only candidate to offer all six methods we identified. Democrats Hillary Clinton, John Edwards and Bill Richardson had five out of six of these features (Clinton did not offer citizen blogs and Edwards and Richardson did not offer voter registration tools).

Republican candidates were far less likely to have participatory features, even those leading in the polls. Mitt Romney had four of the six features, John McCain had three, and Rudy Giuliani had two. Surprisingly, long-shots Duncan Hunter and Jim Gilmore scored pretty well on the scale, featuring four of the six participatory tools that PEJ identified (Hunter did not feature a campaign blog with comments while Gilmore did not offer citizens the ability to establish their own blog on the site; and neither offered tools to register to vote).

Comparing Candidates: Engagement and Participation
Number of Opportunities to Engage and Participate on Web sites

1	2	3	4	5	6
Ron Paul (R)	John Cox (R)	Sam Brownback (R)	Jim Gilmore (R)	Hillary Clinton (D)	Barack Obama (D)
Tommy Thompson (R)	Rudy Giuliani (R)	John McCain (R)	Duncan Hunter (R)	John Edwards (D)	
	Mike Huckabee (R)	Joe Biden (D)	Mitt Romney (R)	Bill Richardson (D)	
	Tom Tancredo (R)	Mike Gravel (D)	Dennis Kucinich (D)		
	Chris Dodd (D)				

Source: PEJ analysis, June 11-12, 2007

1. *Rudy Giuliani has a MySpace page, but he does not promote it from his campaign Web site. You can find it by visiting the Impact MySpace page (www.impact.myspace.com), which displays those candidates who host a page. Mike Huckabee also has a MySpace page, which one can find by visiting an alternative campaign Web site called Team Huckabee (www.teamhuckabee.com/blog).*

2. *These six features include: user comments on campaign blogs, opportunity to establish citizen-initiated blogs, fundraising, community events, voter registration information and social networking sites.*

Subject: Five Main Ways to Use Social Networking in Politics
From: Chris Kelly, Chief Privacy Officer and Head of Global Public Policy, Facebook

LEVERAGE SOCIAL NETWORKS

Getting involved in politics is one of the earliest forms of "social networking." Supporting a candidate or cause is a critical way in which people connect with the world around them and express themselves to others. Technology is just making these connections easier all the time.

These relatively new "social technologies," of which social utilities like Facebook are an increasingly large subset, are demonstrating that individuals not only can easily connect to politics but directly affect their world as well. People inside politics, both in campaigns and advocacy organizations, are beginning to recognize the potential and are seeking ways to use this powerful new tool.

Early social technologies like email and blogs were the first steps in the construction of digital models reflecting processes of "social networking" from the real-world. These technologies garnered mainstream media attention in the 2004 and 2006 elections, and had some direct effect on voting behavior.

Now companies are creating more and more accurate models of how people socially interact, and are building on the web of connections that people share. The next generation of social networking websites are creating new ways for people to effectively leverage those connections and scale them up.

Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace are new means to reach political participants where they are interacting with their friends, and in a much more efficient way than previously possible. Each commands the attention of tens of millions of people on a daily basis. For example, more than half of Facebook's over 50 million unique users (growing by more than 1 million weekly) visit the site daily, and generate an average over 2 billion page views per day. YouTube streams more than 100 million videos daily.

By leveraging "friend" connections and using virtual "word-of-mouth" marketing, these social sites offer an opportunity to break through the media cacophony. On sites like Facebook, trusted people spread political messages in a way only dreamed of in the age of mass media.

Social technology assists politicos and advocacy organizations in five key areas – branding, voter registration, fundraising, volunteering, and voter turnout. We will look at each in the memo below.

It's important to note that the longer-term political relationships that lead to the most dedicated supporters come through good constituent services and communications. These, too, can be facilitated through social technology. Yet technology is not a substitute for the core human connections that drive politics – it is an enhancement and amplification of those personal connections. The fact that all politics is personal should still be front and center for all political professionals using these new tools.

Number 1: Branding

Most candidates and advocacy organizations have quickly grasped the need to set up their Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace accounts, and possibly engage smaller sites more focused on politics. Having a meaningful presence on these sites has become a critical branding factor to show that the candidate "gets it," where "it" is the radical transformation in modern media.

Barack Obama

Networks:	Chicago, IL
	US Politics
Sex:	Male
Relationship Status:	Married to Michelle Obama
Birthday:	August 4, 1961
Religious Views:	United Church of Christ

Election 2008

Position:	President
Party	Democratic Party

▼ **Information**

Current Office

Current Position.	Senate
Current State:	IL
Current Party.	Democratic Party

Contact Info

Land Phone.	866.675.2008
Current Address	P.O. Box 8102
	Chicago, IL 60680
Website:	http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=23...
	http://www.myspace.com/barackobama
	http://youtube.com/barackobama
	http://students.barackobama.com
	http://digg.com/users/obamaforamerica

Personal Info

Interests:	Basketball, writing, loafing w/ kids
Favorite Music:	Miles Davis, John Coltrane, Bob Dylan, Stevie Wonder, Johann Sebastian Bach (cello suites), and The Fugees
Favorite TV Shows:	Sportscenter
Favorite Movies:	Casablanca, Godfather I & II, Lawrence of Arabia and One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest
Favorite Books	Song of Solomon (Toni Morrison), Moby Dick, Shakespeare's Tragedies, Parting the Waters, Gilead (Robinson), Self-Reliance (Emerson), The Bible, Lincoln's Collected Writings
Favorite Quotes:	"The Arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice." (MLK)

Remove Support

View More Photos from Barack (365)

Send Barack a Message

▼ **Supporters**

151,071 Supporters   See All

Elton Chan   Naomi Lew   Jason Campbell

David Weinzimmer   Michael Faber   Reggie Love

It is important to emphasize you don't generally need a company's permission or help to get set up or experiment on social sites – so get going! The three largest sites we focus on here all have easy sign up processes for free accounts and you can be up with a basic presence in a manner of minutes. The same is true for smaller sites more focused on politics.

Chances are that your supporters on the big networks have already set up groups that you can leverage and organize to meet all of the other needs of the campaign. Find champions for your candidate within existing online environments and let them help you think about how to maximize the number of supporters and most effectively use the site.

Number 2: Voter Registration

Ultimately, all the political messaging in the world won't help if the people you're reaching can't or don't vote. And because of our decentralized and antiquated registration systems in the states, significant chunks of the eligible population aren't registered properly. Technology can help smooth this process, and can also be used to promote registration among organized friend networks.

In 2006, Rock the Vote and Facebook jumped in to promote voter registration and turnout, helping to drive the largest turnout increase among 18 to 24 year-olds in a generation. With more than a 10 percent turnout boost over 2002 (the last midterm) levels, voters 18 to 24 flexed their muscles and showed they are a force that can be tapped for change. For 2008, Facebook is working with Rock the Vote and Working Assets to promote a voter registration tool (called an application) that will make the process of registering simpler and more social than ever.

Applications like this voter registration tool on social networking sites allow the extension of functionalities within the social context of the site. They allow easy sharing of information with friends, and are another weapon in the arsenal of any candidate or cause campaign.

Imagine being able to easily complete your own registration and to promote registration to your friends and networks with a couple of clicks. MySpace is engaged in a similar effort with Declare Yourself, and other sites are examining various means to promote registration as well.

While many primary efforts of social sites will be on youth voting, the fastest growing

demographics on many sites are older ones – 25 to 34 and 35 to 49. Use the investments that social sites have made in assisting the infrastructure for voter registration -- word-of-mouth or other promotional campaigns, including both free and paid media, can be deployed to further drive registration. With these tools in place, targeted efforts can be further leveraged by various campaigns to promote registration among all demographics.
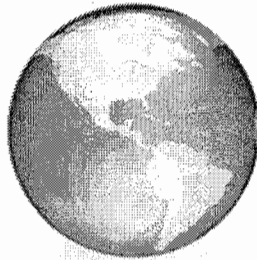
Number 3: Fundraising

Organizations like Change.org and Project Agape have brought a more social focus to the fundraising process, as well as offering easy connections to social sites like Facebook through their applications. Long-time players in this area, like Care2, are also a solid way to get at millions of potential donors using web and email technologies. These organizations and campaigns themselves use Facebook applications and MySpace widgets to allow users to promote their chosen candidates to friends via their personal pages.

Change.org
by Change.org

Share +

change.org

Change.org enables you to get involved with over 1 million nonprofits and hundreds of political campaigns. Raise money and awareness, organize action, and be the change you want to see in the world.

This application can be added to your Facebook account.

+] Add Application

About this Application

Users:
164 daily active users
1% of total, 2 friends

Categories
Education, Politics

This application was not developed by Facebook.

About Change.org

These technologies, particularly with the plug-ins to social sites, are in their infancy. But as Joe Trippi, manager of Howard Dean's insurgent 2004 effort and now involved in the John Edwards campaign, regularly points out, $10 each from 10 million people is $100 million dollars, enough to provide a funding base for any presidential candidate.

Campaigns need to use social technology to activate networks of donors, and sites like Project Agape and Care2 and their interfaces with other social organizing sites like Facebook makes it simple and straightforward to drive fundraising. Sign up with these organizations, find who your supporters may already be, and use the services in combination with Facebook, MySpace, and YouTube to reach out to them for donations.

Number 4: Volunteering and Other Organizing

A great strength of the developing social technologies is their ability to build order out of chaos – of course one of the key things that anyone needs to do in an electoral or issue campaign. Campaigns traditionally underinvest in field operations and don't adequately appreciate how prior organization can make the middle of a campaign run more smoothly, and then become a great strength at the end of a campaign.

Every major social site has a means of setting up events and inviting friends to those events. Groups can be formed to support or oppose a candidate or cause, and then be promoted throughout the social infrastructure of the sites. A prime example are the thousands of groups that have formed on Facebook around the 2008 elections – candidates and causes both – and the millions of people who have joined them.

Once formal friend or group membership connections are established, messaging through direct channels and through the group and other infrastructures available on social sites is relatively easy. RSVPs for events and actual attendance can be tracked and used for further outreach building to election day.

Hillary at the College Democrats of America National Convention — Global
Come support Hillary as she addresses the College Dems this Saturday!

Information

Event Info
Name: Hillary at the College Democrats of America National Convention
Tagline: Come support Hillary as she addresses the College Dems this Saturday!
Host: Hillary for President
Type: Causes - Rally

Time and Place
Date: Saturday, July 28, 2007
Time: 10:00am – 11:30am
Location: Russell House, University of South Carolina
City/Town: Columbia, SC

Description

Add to My Events

Share + | Export

Other Information
- Guests are allowed to bring friends to this event.

Paid advertising to reach out to new audiences and build attention is also available for groups and events. Facebook allows advertising to promote both groups and events. It further allows both geography and interest-based targeted advertising to promote groups and events, and MySpace offers bulletins and various other promotional opportunities, including targeted demographic advertising.

In most cases for targeted events, promotional material can be purchased through easy self-service interfaces, and larger, more strategic buys can be brought to dedicated professionals in the sales forces of Facebook, MySpace, and YouTube.

Of course, every person who becomes a supporter of your candidate, a member of your issue group, or an attendee of your event by any channel becomes another means to spread your message to their friends. Use this exponential power to draw people to your campaign – Facebook makes this easy through the News Feed that is a personalized homepage about what your friends are doing, and other sites are adding similar functionality.

Number 5: GOTV: Get Out The Vote

Time spent registering voters, fundraising, and building a volunteer and supporter base should flow into a get out the vote effort, not be locked up in a database somewhere.

Social technologies offer you real-time access to this information in a way that has led more than one political professional to describe Facebook to me as "an interactive voter list." The recent mantra of most political consultants that "GOTV means Get On TV," is being eroded by traditional media's shrinking user base. The declining attention paid to TV and its exorbitant cost (especially when the consultants' commissions are figured in) should make candidates pause and look to more efficient means to reach voters and drive them to either fill out their absentee ballots or get to the polls. Social technologies offer a reasonable way to talk to real voters at a reasonable cost. Particularly if the campaign has spent proper time and attention on the registration and connection aspect of the campaign, it can activate its supporters and turn them out.

In 2006, the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee had a last minute push around 41 targeted districts. The DCCC was able to target nearly 500,000 Facebook users in those districts for last minute get out the vote messages through Facebook, and won 38 of the races in question. In one race, Connecticut's second district, Democrat Joe Courtney won the race by 83 votes on the strength of a 600% turnout increase in the precinct containing the University of Connecticut, which had been a major target of the Facebook Flyer – one form of electronic targeted advertising -- campaign.

Bonus Tips

The shift to social media is only beginning. Rules and norms are just being figured out, particularly what is acceptable in politics. So here are a few final thoughts:

It is critical to respect people's desired engagement level. Many people have become turned off by overuse of email, IM, and banner ads. Over-communication can become a problem – it is important to think through how to classify supporters and do outreach based on a reasonable estimation of their level of interest. People understand that they may need to be bugged to get to the polls when the election is near, but hounding them incessantly six months beforehand is likely to turn off a supporter.

Despite all of the justified excitement about the use of social technology for politics, it is also important to remember that crisp messaging is more important than ever. Nothing has changed about the value of compelling messages to drive site presence and branding, voter registration, fundraising, volunteering, and ultimately voter turnout. All of these processes can be done more efficiently using the social technologies that have now reached the mass market – but these are new means of doing the basic business of politics, not replacements of core political functions.

Facebook, YouTube, MySpace and other social networking sites will play major roles in the 2008 campaign, and can be used effectively to establish a victory plan for candidates and advocacy groups at all levels. Most eyes will be on the presidential election, but the tools easily extend their usefulness to all levels of the process and for various causes. Each of these sites and many others offer outstanding opportunities for free and paid media and should be a core part of the path any political professional builds to victory.

Bio

Chris Kelly is the Chief Privacy Officer and Head of Global Public Policy at Facebook. Previously, Chris served as Chief Privacy Officer at Excite@Home, Kendara (which was acquired by Excite@Home) and Spoke Software. Through his in-house work and service at international law firm Baker & Mckenzie and technology law firm Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati, Chris advised major Internet and media clients on the increasing challenges of intellectual property and privacy protection for the digital age. Chris also served as an education advisor in the Clinton Administration. Chris holds a bachelors degree from Georgetown University, a masters from Yale University and a J.D. from Harvard Law School.

Rock The Vote: popular culture and politics

Martin Cloonan & John Street

Rock the Vote was founded in 1996 as an attempt to exploit popular culture to boost political participation. Using pop musicians and comedians, it attempted to encourage young people to take part in politics. This article examines the formation of Rock the Vote, and explores its implications for the character of contemporary politics. It argues that Rock the Vote has to be understood not only as part of a larger shift in the nature of political campaigning and communication, but also as a response to the mutual needs of political parties and the popular culture industry. Rock the vote is both a symptom of new forms of campaigning and also a pragmatic solution to particular political problems.

Introduction

Early in 1996, the music writer Neil Spencer claimed: 'Strange but true: the next general election could be decided by the British music business.' (*Observer Review*, 21 September 1996, p.8) He was referring to the formation of a new pressure group, Rock The Vote, which was intended to increase participation in general elections by young (18–24 year old) people. Spencer's ideas might be dismissed as typical journalistic hyperbole. Equally, Rock the Vote might seem like another cynical exercise by the political establishment to acquire cheap publicity and/or

credibility – on a par with the way politicians across the world (from Bill Clinton to Boris Yeltsin) have courted pop stars in pursuit of the popular vote. In Britain, this habit has a long history, extending from Harold Wilson's award of the MBE to the Beatles, through Neil Kinnock's appearance in a pop video to John Major's award of knighthoods to Cliff Richard and Paul McCartney. But while it may be tempting to dismiss such exercises as the trivia of politics and the hype of popular culture, there are, we want to suggest, more profound and important currents underlying this linkage between the worlds of popular culture (and especially popular music) and politics.

Superficially, Rock The Vote may appear as merely the latest episode in the occasionally bizarre, but ultimately inconsequential, relationship between the worlds of electoral politics and of popular music. In fact, the campaign's launch raises a number of important issues for political scientists which we would like to explore here. The extensive use of popular culture can be seen as representing evidence of a new era in political campaigning and communications, one which Norris (1997, p.196) characterises as 'postmodern'. For Norris, this era is marked by the presence of a 'permanent campaign' in which the mass media provides both the forum for, and the content of, political persuasion. In this article, we want to add to this claim about political campaigning by showing how

Martin Cloonan, University of York and John Street, University of East Anglia.

phenomena such as Rock the Vote represent important shifts in the nature of contemporary political life.

Rock The Vote

Rock The Vote was launched at the Ministry of Sound nightclub in London on 18 February 1996. Inspired by a similar movement in the United States, the campaign had one simple objective: to raise the proportion of the electorate under 25 who would vote in the next general election. In 1992, only 61% of 18–24 year-olds voted, compared to 75% of older age groups. Young people who were registered to vote were much less likely to use their vote than older people. (British Election Survey, 1992)

Rock The Vote campaign adopted a three stage strategy. Its first aim was to raise its own profile and funds. It issued information leaflets and in April 1996 it organised a comedy tour of Britain featuring 'alternative' comedians such as Eddie Izzard and Harry Hill. Local initiatives were also encouraged. For example, the Waterfront in Norwich put on a free concert for Rock The Vote and there were Rock The Vote nights at various university campuses in November 1996. The organisation's literature was available at all the venues. In keeping with its modern image, the campaign created a worldwide web page (http://www.rockthevote.org.uk/). It also courted big business, as well as individual supporters. Carlsberg-Tetley sponsored the campaign's launch and other sponsors included Lloyds Bank and Tower Records. In short, Rock The Vote marketed itself like the industry on which it depended: there were tours, compilation CDs and record store promotions.

The second stage of Rock The Vote's strategy was voter registration. It planned a series of country-wide Registration Days, attended by various pop celebrities. The campaign was built on the assumption that young people were less likely to be registered and more likely to be unaware of how to register to vote. It therefore distributed – with Home Office approval – registration postcards for the young to fill in and return. Two million cards were made available in record shops, night clubs, pop concerts and student unions.

Rock The Vote's third stage was launched in the run up to the 1997 general election when a high profile campaign urged those who had registered to actually use their vote. There were advertisements on television, radio, in cinemas and in the press; a major open air concert was also planned.

At first glance, Rock The Vote may seem an awkward blend of the worthy and the tacky, drawing on a mixture of marketing skills and pressure group politics. It may also appear to be just another good cause being taken up by those stars of showbusiness with a keen eye on an opportunity to marry a social conscience and good publicity. But these are not, in themselves, reasons for dismissing the venture. First, the alliance of pop music and worthy charities has raised awareness and money for a number of good causes. We need only think of the extraordinary success of Live Aid in 1985. Secondly, this alliance is relatively new. Although popular music has a reputation for supporting political causes or expressing political views, Live Aid marked the point at which it became 'respectable', when it extended its audience beyond its traditional generational confines into mainstream entertainment (Garofalo, 1992). Thirdly, Rock the Vote's appearance coincided with increasing political concern over the *malign* effects of popular culture, as evidenced in worries about violence on television and sex in the cinema (with the films *Kids* and *Crash* in particular). Most tellingly, Rock The Vote appeared only months after the Criminal Justice Act sought to curb raves and the playing of music including that which is characterised by, in the words of the Act, 'a succession of repetitive beats' (Cloonan, 1996). In short, Rock the Vote is implicated in a wider set of issues and concerns, and so in thinking about it, we need to take a broader perspective. We

want to show how Rock the Vote is tied to trends in youth politics, party practice and commercial interests, which together form part of a new, postmodern politics.

Youthful discontent?

Rock The Vote's major publicly-declared aim was to maximise the number of under 25s who voted in the 1997 general election. As we have noted, the 1992 election revealed that the young were less likely to vote than older generations. There is evidence that this is typical of youth politics. As Heath et al. (1991, p.212) comment: 'The young elector tends to be rather less interested in politics, somewhat less likely to turn out and vote, less committed to any political party, and somewhat more volatile.' But this view of the young voter should not necessarily be taken as evidence of youth apathy or indifference to all things political. It may be true that young voters are less strongly aligned to party politics, but this may be part of a general process of dealignment (Sarlvik & Crewe, 1983). However, this data relates to conventional (i.e. electoral) forms of political participation. As Parry et al (1992, p. 156) point out, there is no indication of a decline in political *participation*, only of party loyalty or of a commitment to party politics generally. Parry et al. call into question the idea of youth apathy. They report that problems of registration, and the fact that the young may be relative newcomers to an area, do not constitute barriers to participation, indeed they are *more likely to participate than established residents.* Furthermore, it appears that though the young lack resources, this does not necessarily create a barrier to participation.(Parry et al., 1992, pp.156-9) There is, of course, also evidence of youth interest in a different form of politics, in particular in single issue politics and in a non-materialist politics (Wilkinson & Mulgan, 1995; Inglehart, 1977).

If this is the case, then there does not seem to be a 'problem' of youth participation, or, rather, that it is a problem for a particular

kind of politics. To this extent, Rock The Vote becomes an attempt to revive one type of political activity, namely party politics, which for the most part requires a politics of passive consumption rather than active participation.

For while, at one level, Rock The Vote is addressing young people as potential voters, another aspect of the campaign is youth-as-consumer. It is no coincidence that its key sponsors – a bank (Lloyds), a brewer (Carlsberg-Tetley – 'Carlsberg Ice Rocks the Vote,' according to the publicity), an insurance company (Endsleigh – a familiar sight on many university campuses) and a record retailer (Tower Records) – are those who have a strong interest in establishing brand loyalty among the young. Their sponsorship is partly, therefore, a consequence of their commercial interests. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that the commercial success of these sponsors is itself a consequence of the skill and style with which they communicate with young customers. It is a success which political parties are keen to emulate.

However much stress we place upon these commercial interests (and this is a topic to which we return later), it is evident that Rock the Vote does not just represent a solution to the problem of youth participation. It owes more to the problem of party politics, and to the solution represented by the cultural creation of popularity.

Politics, packaging and popular culture

Instead of seeing Rock the Vote as an attempt to revive youth politics, it may better be understood as part of an attempt by parties and politicians to re-establish themselves and their politics. It is notable that Rock the Vote received endorsements from Conservative, Labour and Liberal-Democrat party leaders. But Rock the Vote represents more than a general political consensus; it is an element of current political practice.

Rock The Vote can be viewed as part of the process often dubbed the 'packaging of politics' (Franklin, 1994). Increasingly the skills and techniques of popular culture have appeared as part of the repertoire of party campaigns. This has not merely been a matter of getting a few entertainers to appear at election rallies, it has also meant the use of advertising executives and film directors to produce propaganda. It has meant the deployment of image makers and set designers; it has meant the importing of formats and styles from chat shows. It has meant John Prescott appearing with the stars of *Coronation Street* and John Major with those of *Emmerdale*. Hence the awards to the Beatles, the honorary knighthood for Bob Geldof following Live Aid, and even John Redwood's attempt to recruit 'Britpop' to the Euro-sceptic cause (*The Guardian*, 20 March 1996, p.13).

Popular culture does not, though, just represent a set of useful tools, it also embodies a notion of 'popularity' to which many politicians are attracted. What politicians are buying is the appearance of the popular, where that is established through the images portrayed on television (Combs & Nimmo, 1990; Schroeder, 1996). Politicians and parties seek the affection and admiration which audiences give to their idols. They crave the way in which performers make themselves popular and capture the public's imagination. Labour's Sheffield rally on the eve of the 1992 General Election was an example of this synthesis of showbiz style and political campaigning. The fact that the latter event was widely held to have damaged Labour in the run-up to the election provides evidence that the image was wrong, not that image-management itself is a futile endeavour.

For some commentators, it is true, this use of popular culture to advance political causes is seen as the trivialisation of politics (Franklin, 1994). Form takes precedence over content, appearance over reality. Others, by contrast, see it as increasing the quality of democracy (Scammell, 1995). Whatever is the case, it is hard to escape the fact that politics feeds off popular culture, if only because of their common concern with notions of popularity and authenticity, and their shared desire for publicity. Their closeness is the legacy of the way in which all forms of communication are, in Thompson's word (1990), 'mediatized'. To this extent, Rock The Vote is not just part of a trend in party politics but of political communication generally. Nonetheless, we need to be wary of lumping all uses of popular culture together. We can illustrate this by contrasting Rock the Vote with other such ventures.

The last comparable movement, the Labour Party-supporting Red Wedge (formed in the run up to the 1987 election), had a more radical, critical edge. Musicians involved in this project spoke openly of reform of drug legislation, of more pop radio stations, of being a pressure group for youth issues within the Labour Party and of politicising a generation of British youth via pop music. Rock the Vote appears to have no party allegiance or overt interest of its own. Moreover, whereas Rock The Vote is a centralised campaign run a self-selected committee, Red Wedge grappled continually with issues of how to make itself democratic and its campaigns local. Red Wedge even got the Labour Party to endorse the musicians' 'election manifesto'. But it now seems that at the same time as the Labour Party has narrowed its vision, so political pop is also now somewhat less ambitious. So while Red Wedge, although committed to the Labour Party, wanted to provoke argument, Rock The Vote confined itself to getting people to vote for anyone, and makes much of the fact that it is 'apolitical'.

Unlike Red Wedge, Rock The Vote does not seek to change the system – indeed it has the backing of some key players in the system; it does not seek to create new forms of political involvement. In this respect it mirrors the movement within certain political parties, most notably Labour, towards cultivating supporters and donors rather than activists. It reinforces a more passive,

consumerist politics. The party leaders' support for Rock the Vote is, again, in marked contrast to the response to Red Wedge, which was attacked by Conservative MPs (*Melody Maker*, 25/1/86).

In short, Rock the Vote is, in political terms, conservative. This is partly a reflection of party shifts which have seen Labour, in particular, move into territory previously occupied by the Conservatives. But it would be wrong to see Rock the Vote as a direct barometer of a party political mood, if only because this would be to ignore the vast industry mediating between the two. Rock the Vote is a product of the music industry – just as was Red Wedge and Live Aid. But what is distinctive about Rock the Vote is that, where the others were driven by musicians and their obsessions, Rock the Vote has relied primarily upon the business itself.

Rock the industry

Unlike previous political pop campaigns, Rock The Vote was initiated by the music industry. It is politics as a private sector initiative; and despite its fashionable gloss, it harbours no radical ambitions. For the industry, the rhetoric of Rock the Vote is that of 'responsibility', as if it were an exercise in civics. John Preston, chair of both the BMG record company and Rock The Vote, has spoken of voting engendering a sense of belonging to society. (*Observer Review*, 21 January 1996, p.8)

Although politicians can see gains in being associated with glamorous stars, there is another agenda at work. The British music industry is central to the economy. Politicians from all the main parties are now regular attenders of music business awards ceremonies. In 1987 Norman Tebbit attended the British Phonographic Industry (BPI) awards, while in 1996 Tony Blair turned up at both the BPI's 'Brits' awards and the *Q* magazine awards and Virginia Bottomley attended the former.

These appearances are tacit acknowledgement that the British music industry has contributed significantly to the country's balance of payments. In 1993, the industry earned over £1 billion overseas. Meanwhile the industry had realised the need to court politicians following condemnation over CD-pricing contained in a 1993 National Heritage Committee report. It has also been assiduous in lobbying at national and international level for stricter control of copyrighting, especially in the Far East. Rock the Vote has, therefore, to be seen in the context of these commercial interests. As one of Rock The Vote's directors, Charles Stewart-Smith of the PR company Luther Pendragon, said, 'the music industry has no interest in being seen as partisan and loathed by the Conservatives.' (*The Guardian*, 15 January 1996, p.3.) It is worth noting that a similar relationship emerged in the US, and that the American music industry got a clampdown on pirated imports in exchange for their contribution to Rock the Vote. In short, in understanding the significance and politics of Rock the Vote, it is important to look to the commercial interests organised around it, and to see it as part of a network of industrial and political interests.

Conclusion

Our concern in this article has been to use Rock the Vote, one particular example of the relationship between politics and popular culture, to suggest that engagement with popular culture has greater significance than is often acknowledged. This significance derives from the way that Rock the Vote is the product of shifts in, and pressures upon, the interests of the music industry, musicians and politicians, Rock the Vote embodies a variety of different concerns, about future economic/industrial policy, political popularity, and political behaviour.

A similar argument applies to other instances of the meeting of pop and politics such as Red Wedge, Rock Against Racism in the

1970s and Live Aid. They each embody parti-
cular moments and drives within the political
economy of popular culture and the political
interests of politicians. They are moments
when differing agendas coincide. These
events should not be cynically dismissed as
trivial moments in the ever-changing popular
culture scene. They are, in fact, powerful
emblems of the ways in which political
aspirations both express themselves within,
and draw inspiration from, popular culture.

Rock The Vote is the latest link made
between popular music and politics. It is
highly unlikely that it will be the last. Indeed,
as the media in general plays an ever greater
role in politics and as politics becomes an
extension of mass media (Zolo, 1992), we
should expect to find such links proliferating.
This suggests that political scientists would be
well-advised to give it rather more attention
than they generally do. This is not to suggest
that we should believe the hype, but equally,
we should not dismiss such ventures as Rock
The Vote as inconsequential. Rock The Vote
is one sign among many of a changing poli-
tical landscape.

References

British Election Survey (1992), ESRC Archive, Uni-
versity of Essex.

Cloonan M. (1996), *Banned! Censorship of Popu-
lar Music in Britain: 1967–1992*, Aldershot,
Arena.

Franklin, B. (1994), *Packaging Politics*, London,
Edward Arnold.

Garofalo, R. (ed.) (1992), *Rockin' the Boat: Mass
Music and Mass Movements*, Boston, South End
Press.

Heath, A., R. Jowell & J. Curtice (1991), *Under-
standing Political Change: The British Voter
1964–1987*, Oxford, Pergamon Press

Ingelhart, R. (1977), *The Silent Revolution: Chan-
ging Values and Political Styles among Western
Publics*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University
Press.

Parry, G., G. Moyser, & N. Day (1992), *Political
Participation and Democracy in Britain*, Cam-
bridge, Cambridge University Press.

Nimmo, D. & J. Combs (1990), *Mediated Political
Realities*, London, Longmans.

Norris, P. (1997), *Electoral Change since 1945*,
Oxford, Blackwell

Sarlvik, B. & I. Crewe (1983), *Decade of Deal-
ignment*, Cambridge, Cambridge University
Press.

Scammell, M. (1995), *Designer Politics*, London,
Macmillan, 1995.

Schroeder, A. (1996), 'Watching between the Lines:
Presidential Debates as Television, *The Harvard
International Journal of Press/Politics*, 1 (4),
pp. 57–75.

Thompson, J. (1990), *Ideology and Modern Cul-
ture*, Cambridge, Polity.

Wilkinson, H. & G. Mulgan (1995), *Freedom's Chil-
dren*, London, Demos.

Zolo, D. (1992) *Democracy and Complexity*, Cam-
bridge, Polity.

RHETORICAL REDUPLICATION IN MTV'S ROCK THE VOTE CAMPAIGN

Tindell, John H

MTV's Rock the Vote campaign was an apparently successful effort to persuade young people age 18-24 to cast a vote in the 1992 presidential election. However, comparison with other voter enhancement campaigns of that year indicates that the primary difference between the Rock the Vote effort and other campaigns designed to increase voter turnout among young people involved differences in rhetorical form rather than in argumentative content. By examining three aspects of Rock the Vote's presentational form and the rhetorical contexts within which those functioned, the authors provide an explanatory rationale for the campaign's apparent success.

Over the course of the last thirty years, voter turnout in American presidential elections has steadily decreased. From an overall participation rate of 69.3% of eligible voters in 1964 to 55% in 1992 (Jennings, 1992), the American electorate has engaged in a slow but marked turn away from the ballot box. While this steady decline cuts across all racial, social, and demographic groups, studies have identified young voters aged 18-24 as the group for whom the decline has been greatest (Cassel & Hill, 1981 ;Jennings, 1992).[1]

However, something happened to halt that decline during the 1992 presidential election. For the first time in more than twenty years, voter turnout among young people actually increased-from 36.2% in 1988 to 42.8% in 1992 (Jennings, 1992). One might speculate on any number of potential causes for this dramatic increase in voting behavior-a young Democratic nominee, heavy use of new technologies such as the Internet, specific efforts to target the youth vote, etc. Yet one crucial factor is clear: for the first time in electoral history a television channel that caters largely to young people engaged in a massive "get out the vote" campaign. The channel was MTV (Music Television) and the campaign was "Rock the Vote."

MTV'S ROCK THE VOTE CAMPAIGN

Rock the Vote was a voter enhancement campaign targeted specifically to young voters and aired solely on MTV. Unlike any preceding voter enhancement campaign, Rock the Vote utilized famous actors such as Whoopi Goldberg, Robin Williams, and Tom Cruise. Music personalities including Madonna, Jodie Watley, and L L Cool J appeared in individual spots. Even popular bands such as Aerosmith, En Vogue, and Wilson Phillips donated their time to deliver the message of the campaign-voting is important. Each Rock the Vote public service announcement (PSA) borrowed heavily from the style and popular culture that has been created by the music videos that comprise the majority of MTV's programming.

Young people seem to have gotten the message. Following the 1992 presidential election, Rock the Vote claimed victory with full-page advertisements in the Washington Post, New York Times, and Los Angeles Times, claiming that 17 million young adults had voted. A Bureau of the Census report confirmed MTV's claim, finding that turnout

among young voters aged 18-24 had increased by more than 6.5 percentage points over 1988-the largest percentage increase of any demographic group surveyed (Jennings, 1992). The uniqueness of the Rock the Vote campaign, coupled with the uncharacteristic increase in young voter turnout, invites a critical analysis of MTV's campaign.

Although it appears as though the Rock the Vote campaign had a positive effect on youth voter turnout in 1992, proving a direct cause-and-effect relationship is beyond the powers of rhetorical criticism. As Lucas (1981, p. 7) observes, "to attain absolute confirmation about any subject as mutable, diverse, and variegated as rhetorical influence is virtually impossible." This study, therefore, focuses on a qualitative analysis of the rhetorical forms that characterize the Rock the Vote campaign. The authors seek to uncover and analyze the various rhetorical strategies utilized and argue why these strategies are appropriate for the target audience.

Specifically, we argue that a strategy of rhetorical reduplication lay at the heart of the Rock the Vote campaign. By means of this strategy, the producers of the campaign were able to utilize a preexisting rhetorical form (the music video) to advocate a new behavior (voting). Because the form of the PSAs duplicated the form of the surrounding music video programming through use of visual and audio rhythm, issue and image familiarity, and stylistic repetition, two goals were achieved: first, the form participated in the creation and satisfaction of appetites already aroused in the viewers by the music videos; and second, it achieved this rhetorical reduplication without calling attention to itself as civic advocacy.

To illustrate the functioning of rhetorical reduplication in the Rock the Vote campaign, we will contrast MTV's 1992 campaign with two other televised campaigns designed to "get out the vote" during the 1992 presidential election: the Advertising Council's "Vote" campaign and the state of Texas' "Voter Enhancement" campaign. These two televised campaigns are useful points for comparison because both were produced by nonpartisan organizations and both utilized public service announcements targeted to young voters. A comparison of these three campaigns will illustrate that the discursive appeals used to persuade young people to vote were constant across all three campaigns, but that the Rock the Vote campaign presented these discursive appeals in a form that was quite different from those found in the Advertising Council or state of Texas campaigns.

DISCURSIVE APPEALS ACROSS CAMPAIGNS

Political scholars have identified several factors that can affect the vote/no vote decision (Ashenfelter & Kelly, 1975; Rosenstone & Wolfinger, 1978; Jackson 1983; 1993; Filer, Kenny, & Morton, 1993; Gant & Lyons, 1993; Ansolabehere, Iyengar, Simon, & Valentino, 1994). Three such factors are central at the level of individual decision making concerning voting: sense of duty, perceived personal benefits from the election's outcome, and personal concern over the election's outcome (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; Cassel & Hill, 1981; Morton, 1991). A fourth motivating factor operates at the level of group decision making-the group's perceived effect on the

election's outcome (Morton, 1991). In other words, when a group such as young voters believes that it can alter the possibility of a preferred candidate or cause a win, turnout in that group will increase. Voter participation campaigns attempt to create discursive appeals built around one or more of these four factors. All four factors are used as rhetorical building blocks in the MTV, Advertising Council, and state of Texas campaigns, but sense of duty and perceived effect on election outcome are the topoi most often utilized.

The Advertising Council's "Vote" Campaign

The Advertising Council produced two thirty-second PSAs that were aired during the 1992 presidential election. These two PSAs, titled "Flag" (targeted at the general populace) and "Phone Booth" (targeted specifically at young voters), were aired nationally in the months preceding the 1992 presidential election. Both PSAs will be described and then the discursive appeals targeting voting behavior will be highlighted.[2]

The Advertising Council's Flag PSA begins with a closeup of an American flag waving the wind. Patriotic music plays in the background. The following voice-over corresponds with the following images:

This PSA transforms the American flag into a symbol of surrender. The argument can be capsulated as "if you do not vote, you have surrendered your obligation as an American citizen, and eventually may surrender your country as well." The discursive appeal here is clearly to sense of duty.

The second PSA produced by the Advertising Council, titled Phone Booth, specifically targets young voters. The PSA begins with approximately ten male college-age individuals enthusiastically squeezing themselves into a phone booth. Once all ten have successfully squeezed into the phone booth, the voice-over asks, "can you imagine what a difference it would make if the young people of our country had the same enthusiasm for the voting booth?" Visually, the Phone Booth PSA is very grainy, as if it were filmed at a time when film technology was not as advanced as today. Adding to the dated feel of this PSA is the 1920s style jazz background music. This spot hints at sense of duty as an argument for voting. However, the primary argument being advanced in the PSA is that young people could have an effect on the election's outcome if they were "enthusiastic" about the process. The argument that young people could make a difference assumes that voters ages 18-24 are a group large enough to sway an election's outcome, which is certainly a valid assumption as this group comprises 17% of the electorate.

Texas' "Voter Enhancement" Campaign

The state of Texas campaign produced six thirty-second PSAs and one sixty-second PSA. Two of the Texas PSAs, titled "Harsh Conditions" and "Sophisticated Weapons" were produced by the Advertising Council, but aired only in Texas. The other five PSAs-

"Montage," "Berlin," "Tankman," "Grandpa," and "Full Song"-were produced by GSD&M, an independent advertising agency.[3]

The primary discursive appeals used in the Texas campaign are also to sense of duty and perceived effect on the election's outcome. Several of the Texas PSAs utilize images of citizens in other countries fighting for the right to vote. For example, Harsh Conditions matches the corresponding television news footage and voice-over:

The PSA ends with the single word "vote" displayed on the television screen.

In the PSAs titled Berlin and Tankman, pictures of the fall of the Berlin Wall and the student uprising at Tiannanmen Square are both juxtaposed with the following voice-over:

This past year, all over the world, people have put their lives on the line for the right to self-govern. Come election day, will you be willing to stand in line for it?

These two PSAs also closed with the single word "vote" prominently displayed. Finally, the PSA titled Sophisticated Weapons uses the same voice-over as the Berlin and Tankman PSAs, matched to the images of military weaponry that is presumably being used in the fight for democracy.

All of these images provide a framework that highlights the human struggle to gain or preserve democracy. This struggle emphasizes the value others in the world place in the act of voting. From a rhetorical perspective, the PSA's arguments would presume that if others have fought and died for the right to vote, then Americans should feel a sense of duty to use this right-a right for which American ancestors also fought. Clearly, the primary discursive appeal being utilized in these PSAs is to sense of duty.

The other three Texas PSAs include images of Texas and Texans juxtaposed with the following voice-over:

Texas has a history of close elections, elections that could have gone either way if just a few more people had taken the trouble to vote. In this next election let's step up to it. Register and vote, because every single vote counts.

The following song either replaces the above voice-over or comes after the voice-over in the three PSAs employing images of Texas and Texans:

You can hear the winds of freedom, blowing in every land

The need to be strong and free, is one we understand

When it's your turn to be counted

don't give your chance away

Vote your choice, let them hear your voice, on election day

Everyone matters, just one vote can save the day

Everyone matters, stand up on election day

Both the voice-over and song lyrics of these three PSAs stress the importance of each individual vote. The every-vote-matters philosophy of these PSAs rhetorically couples the discursive appeal to sense of duty with perceived effect on the election's outcome. Sense of duty and perceived effect on the election's outcome are the two discursive appeals for voting utilized by the Texas campaign.

MTV's Rock the Vote Campaign

The Rock the Vote campaign produced over 75 spots ranging from ten seconds to one minute.[4] The majority of these PSAs, like those used in the Advertising Council and the Texas campaigns, appeal primarily to sense of duty and perceived effect on the election's outcome.[5] For example, one Rock the Vote PSA begins by showing a young male standing in the middle of a skateboard ramp, with two skateboard riders in the background. The young man reads a piece of paper which conveys to him that 65% of people under the age of 25 do not vote. As this statistic sets in, the young man looks up and screams "NOOOOO!" In another spot, rap artist Queen Latifah recalls the sacrifices of those fighting for civil rights in the 1960s. Latifah advises "[vote] or all of that sacrifice means nothing," and the spot ends with a clip from Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech.

Both of the above Rock the Vote spots appeal to sense of duty, which is the most constant appeal made throughout the campaign. Sense of duty is also the most recurring appeal in the Advertising Council and Texas campaigns. One reason sense of duty is a common argument among all three campaigns is its potential rhetorical impact on behavior. The primary purpose of voter enhancement campaigns is not to change attitudes-most people agree that voting is something that should be done. Rather, influencing the behavior of groups or individuals is the ultimate goal. Arguments advocating the act of voting based on sense of duty reinforce positive attitudes while encouraging the audience to continue the fight for democracy by casting their vote. Not voting would be the equivalent of dropping the baton in a relay race, nullifying the efforts of those that came before.

The second most frequent appeal in the Rock the Vote campaign is to perceived effect on the election's outcome. For example, one spot depicts a political candidate discussing political strategy with an advisor. The two are deciding which demographic groups of voters to target in their campaign. After identifying several groups, the politician discounts young voters by exclaiming, "young people don't vote, they don't even register." Several other Rock the Vote PSAs are built around the campaign's theme, "GET LOUD, rock the vote." Both of these examples identify young voters as a demographic group whose political voice is soft and, to date, unheard. However, as the

commonly recurring "GET LOUD" phrase implies, young voters' voices can be heard if the voters make an effort as a group.

From a rhetorical standpoint, the phrase "GET LOUD, rock the vote" is very important. It is the centerpiece of the Rock the Vote campaign and most of the PSAs end with this phrase displayed on the television screen. With a single phrase, all young people are brought together as a collective whole. This bringing together of a large demographic group rhetorically transforms the powerless few into the powerful many. Additionally, the phrase reinforces the common bond shared by MTV and its viewers-music. Young people often find pleasure in playing music at high volumes"GET LOUD." And the term "rock" in "Rock the Vote" provides a dual meaning of physical movement and the energetic persona of a popular music genre. Finally, the phrase unifies young people by calling for a shaking of, rebellion against, or disruption of the status quo-common themes in popular music (Bleich, Zillman, & Weaver, 1991).

The discursive arguments advanced in all three campaigns appeal to the same motivating factors in an attempt to persuade individuals to vote. All of the Advertising Council's and the state of Texas' PSAs (100%) employ an appeal to either sense of duty or perceived effect on the election's outcome, while 81% of MTV's PSAs appeal to the same motivating factors.[6] Consequently, discursive appeals alone cannot discriminate between the three campaigns and cannot account for Rock the Vote's apparent success in targeting young voters.

RHETORICAL REDUPLICATION AND PRESENTATIONAL FORM

Comparison of the three campaigns in terms of discursive characteristics yields few differences. This would seem to suggest that one ought to look elsewhere-perhaps to the presentational form of the Rock the Vote campaign-for an explanation of the campaign's apparent appeal to young voters. Suzanne Langer (1942, p. 89) distinguishes between discursive and presentational symbolic forms when she notes:

The meanings given through language are successively understood, and gathered into a whole by the process called discourse; the meanings of all other symbolic elements that compose a larger, articulate symbol are understood only through the meaning of the whole, through their relations within the total structure. Their very function as symbols depends on the fact that they are involved in a simultaneous, integral presentation.

Contemporary research further develops the distinction between discursive and presentational forms of argument. For example, Sellnow and Sellnow (1993) argue that John Corigliano's "Symphony No. 1" functions as an enthymeme on the AIDS crisis despite the lack of lyrical (discursive) content. Rasmussen (1994) combines discursive (poetry) and presentational (music and structure) forms to analyze persuasive content in Leonard Berstein's "Kaddish Symphony." Arguments can also be presented visually in the form of drawings, photographs, film or video images, or sculptures (Blair, 1996). These types of presentational arguments can either work independently of discursive

arguments (Shelly, 1996) or in concert with discursive arguments (Medhurst & DeSousa, 1981).

No symbolic form offers a better example of the presentational mode than music videos. Music videos create "a visual universe . . . where mood and image are more important than narrative and dialogue" (Schultze, Anker, Bratt, Romanowski, Worst, & Zuidervaart, 1991, p. 182). It is the relations between and among the various symbolic elements-music, dress, gestures, lighting, color, set design, camera angle, spatial relations, etc.-from which the meaning is apprehended. The producers of the Rock the Vote campaign utilized all of these symbolic elements to create an appetite in the minds of the viewers. The symbolic creation and satisfaction of this appetite is what Kenneth Burke calls the appeal of form. Burke (1968, p. 31) notes:

If, in a work of art, the poet says something, let us say, about a meeting, writes in such a way that we desire to observe that meeting, and then, if he places that meeting before us-that is form. While obviously, that is also the psychology of the audience, since it involves desires and their appeasement.

This is precisely what happens in the Rock the Vote videos. The topic of voting is introduced, the act of voting is then symbolically identified with other desirable but somewhat taboo activities (sex, violence, social protest, etc.), then the opportunity to experience the pleasures of those forbidden activities is symbolically transferred to the act of voting, now seen as, itself, a mode of defiance or subversion-a way to "rock" the establishment.

Three aspects of presentational form are particularly useful in helping to explain the appeal of the Rock the Vote campaign to young voters: video and audio rhythm, issue and image familiarity, and stylistic repetition.

Video and Audio Rhythm

Music videos are designed to sell a product by associating performers and songs with carefully crafted images (Gow, 1993). Communication studies have classified music videos as a mixture of rock music and film imagery (Baxter, De Riemer, Landini, Leslie, & Singletary, 1985), television drama and commercials (Fry & Fry, 1987), and a complex fusion of many genres, including film, television trailers, advertisements, and Hollywood musicals (Morse, 1991). Through this mixture of entertainment and advertisements music videos have blurred the distinction between the commercial and the programming (Aufderheide, 1986). As Schultze et al. (1991, p. 192) note, the sales pitch of commercials on MTV become "part of the flow of entertainment on the channel."

This erosion of the boundaries between commercials and programming is an important one. When commercials blend in with the surrounding programming, products and ideas can be marketed within the context of the programming. The Rock the Vote PSAs are not only similar to their surrounding programming, but in many cases are difficult to distinguish from it. The degree to which each Rock the Vote PSA blends in with the

rhythm of MTV's programming varies. At one extreme, some Rock the Vote PSAs not only resemble music videos, but are themselves full-length or miniature videos.

REM's (the popular music group) PSA is a full-length video featuring lyrical variations of a popular song. Only by paying close attention to the lyrics would the audience perceive this as a Rock the Vote PSA. Additionally, the music band deee-lite has a 15-second spot that is a miniature video, En Vogue sings an a cappella version of a popular hit, and the Red Hot Chili Peppers mix music video with a spoken message from the band's lead singer about the importance of voting. All of the miniature video look-alike PSAs end with the Rock the Vote symbol. With the exception of the Red Hot Chili Peppers' spot, these PSAs cannot be easily distinguished from the actual programming of music videos on MTV until the Rock the Vote symbol appears at the end.

Some Rock the Vote PSAs borrow from the content of music videos. Several studies cite sex as the primary theme in music videos (Baxter, De Riemer, Landini, Leslie, & Singletary, 1985; Sherman & Dominick, 1986; Zillman & Mundorf, 1987). Many of the Rock the Vote PSAs use sexual themes and images. For example, in a spot titled "phone sex," a young male calls a 900 number. When the young man reveals that he is not registered to vote, the woman at the other end hangs up on him. Aerosmith's spot includes a reference to oral sex and displays women in provocative poses. Madonna wears nothing but red bikini underwear and an American flag as she advocates the importance of voting. This sexual imagery has little to do with voting but much to do with blending in with MTV's music video programming.

Kaid, Chanslor, and Hovind (1992) found that matching commercial type with programming type in political advertising increases the likelihood of a vote for the endorsed candidate. Although no candidate is being endorsed in the Rock the Vote PSAs, the advertisements do call for the same kind of action-voting-and the campaign's message matches the surrounding programming to near perfection. In contrast the Advertising Council and State of Texas campaigns cannot foresee what the form of the surrounding programming will be and, consequently, cannot blend into the form of the programming. This is perhaps the greatest distinction between Rock the Vote and the other two campaigns.

Issue and Image Familiarity

The Rock the Vote campaign also incorporates familiarity in its PSAs, employing music, images, issues, and personalities that are familiar to its young audience. This is not the case with the Advertising Council's Phone Booth PSA, which directly targets young voters. In fact, the Advertising Council's Phone Booth PSA uses music, visual quality, personalities, and examples that are distant from the experiences of today's youth.

To begin, the music of the Phone Booth spot is jazz from the 1920s. When compared to the heaviness of today's rock and rap, the lightness of the 1920s jazz seems out of place in a PSA aimed at young people. By comparison, Rock the Vote PSAs use the popular music of today, from rock and rap to alternative and grunge.

Visually, the graininess of the Phone Booth PSA also makes the spot seem antiquated rather than current, with the visual quality of a 1950s home movie. Whether the footage is an old home movie or simply filmed to appear that way, the result is the same: a persuasive message that fails to utilize the visual form that has proven successful with its target audience.

Rock the Vote PSAs, on the other hand, use modern film techniques. The Rock the Vote PSA titled "200 years," for example, uses advanced video technology to follow the generational progression of an average American family from approximately 1929 to 2029. Other Rock the Vote PSAs use nontraditional camera angles-such as shots from the ground looking up, or extreme close-ups-and modern film techniques, such as computer-generated graphics and special effects. In short, the visual quality of the Rock the Vote campaign conforms to what has been both experienced and accepted by young people; the Advertising Council's Phone Booth PSA does not. The Advertising Council's Flag PSA and all of the State of Texas' PSAs use very traditional cinematic techniques.

Beyond conforming to the visual and audio form that young people find appealing, the Rock the Vote campaign utilizes personalities that are familiar and gratifying to its audience. Among the actors to appear in Rock the Vote spots are Danny DeVito, Diane Keaton, and Holly Robinson. Music personalities include Marky Mark, Iggy Pop, and Dwight Yoakam. Poison, Sonic Youth, and Megadeath are among the many music bands featured. The only familiar personality to appear in any of the Advertising Council or State of Texas campaigns is actor Jason Robards, and then only as a voice-over in the Flag PSA-a personality more likely to appeal to those who enjoy 1920s jazz than today's youth.

The Rock the Vote campaign also does a better job of incorporating activities familiar and appealing to today's youth. One Rock the Vote PSA, for example, takes place on a basketball court. When one of the players wants to leave the game to go vote, an argument ensues. The spot then juxtaposes single pictures of the civil rights movement with the ongoing argument between the players. The PSA ends with the statement, "if you don't vote, what was it all for?" This PSA brings the issue of voting into a frame of reference which is common to many young people and provides a distinct appeal to minority youth. The basketball game acts as a bridge to connect today's young people to events that happened to the people and in the cities of their country's past. This is in sharp contrast to the familiarity of the activity occurring in the Advertising Council's Phone Booth PSA. When was the last time the average young person attempted to squeeze into a phone booth with nine others? The Advertising Council's PSA employs an antiquated frame of reference.

Finally, regarding the issue of familiarity, the Rock the Vote campaign is gender and race inclusive. Today's young people have grown up with the "politically correct" inclusion of gender and race in a variety of social and professional settings. Yet, of the approximately ten students in the Advertising Council's Phone Booth PSA, all were male and only one a minority. Additionally, the voice-overs in both of the Advertising Council's and all of the State of Texas' PSAs are male. The Rock the Vote campaign, on the other

hand, uses an ethnically diverse cast of spokespersons-including Spike Lee, Rosie Perez, and even March Fong Eu (Secretary of State in California). Women, including Katy Sagall, Holly Robinson, and rapper M C Lyte, are used with the same frequency as male personalities.

Stylistic Repetition

The final way in which Rock the Vote PSAs duplicate their surrounding programming is with the use of repetition. Like radio programming, music video programming is extremely repetitive. New and popular songs generally receive several slots of air-time a day. Likewise, a new or popular music video will be shown on MTV several times a day.

For approximately six months preceding the 1992 presidential election, Rock the Vote PSAs were seen at nearly every commercial break on MTV.[7] The variety of Rock the Vote PSAs available to show during commercial air-time enabled MTV to air campaign spots constantly. Although only a handful of Rock the Vote PSAs would be shown more than once a day, MTV's practice of repeating popular videos several times a day makes its audience accustomed to repeat programming. Rock the Vote was able to develop so many PSAs because of the variety and depth of music personalities, actors, music bands, and production companiess interested in donating their time to the campaign. Rock the Vote's 75+ PSAs enjoyed an unlimited amount of air-time at peak hours during programming aimed at its target audience. The Advertising Council's and the State of Texas' PSAs were not as fortunate.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The discursive appeals advanced in voter enhancement campaigns appear to be constant across campaigns regardless of target audience. All three campaigns examined in this study relied exclusively or primarily on arguments heightening an individual's sense of duty to vote or the perceived effect on the election's outcome of voting as part of a group. Therefore, analyzing the discursive arguments alone cannot distinguish between voter enhancement campaigns. What is distinguishing between MTV's campaign and those of the Advertising Council and state of Texas is the nondiscursive rhetorical form of the individual PSAs. The Rock the Vote campaign utilizes form as argument. This complements Marshall McLuhan's idea of the medium being the message. McLuhan (1964) argues that meaning resides not in the content of a message but rather in the medium the message uses. In MTV's Rock the Vote campaign, the form becomes the message. Some Rock the Vote PSAs never advance an argument for the act of voting. Instead, the PSAs simply couple the issue of voting with the form of music videos. As Gow (1994, p. 260) notes, music videos "deal more in moods and impressions than messages and ideals." Schultze et al. (1991, p. 191) add that commercial advertisements on MTV "communicate feelings and moods more than rational or discursive messages."

Our analysis clearly indicates that messages based on presentational form are highly appealing to young audiences. Whether this success can be duplicated in other contexts

is an open question. Whether MTV's success should be duplicated is an even more complex matter when one pauses to consider this paradox: The MTV campaign uses a nondiscursive rhetorical form to advocate a behavior that must occur in a very discursive environment-voting. If highly nondiscursive messages appeal to younger audiences, we must ask what impact this has on their interest and ability to interact in the discursive world of electoral politics. In the process of becoming a responsible voter, one must deal with discursive rhetoric in order to cast an informed vote. This involves the arguments presented by opposing sides, the speeches given, the newspaper stories, and even the voter handbook. If young people are truly persuaded more by presentation forms, does this imply a reduction in their ability to consume, critically evaluate, and participate in highly discursive processes? If young people are not fully functional in the discursive world, then is higher voter turnout among young people really such a good thing? Is higher voter turnout desirable among any demographic group that is not fully functional in the discursive world? These questions deserve further investigation.

Finally, the rhetorical uniqueness of MTV's Rock the Vote campaign resided in its ability to erode the distinction between the PSAs and the surrounding programming. This highlights the importance of analyzing the surrounding programming in any critical analysis of public service campaigns or commercial advertising in general. Kaid et al. (1992) have noted the importance of analyzing how political advertisements match their surrounding programming. This study reinforces the rhetorical impact of the programming surrounding political advertising and extends that importance to all types of advertising-including public service advertising. The goal of any public service campaign is to disseminate important information on an issue of social significance. A campaign's ability to predict and match surrounding programming while directly targeting a specific audience may greatly increase the odds of inducing positive social change. How public service campaigns achieve this goal is an area that warrants further investigation.

NOTES

[1]According to a Census Bureau report, turnout among eligible young voters aged 18-24 has been recorded as the following: 50.9% in 1964, 50.4% in 1968, 49.6% in 1972, 42.2% in 1976, 39.0% in 1980, 40.8% in 1984, 36.2% in 1988, and 42.8% in 1992.

[2]Copies of the Advertising Council's Vote PSAs were provided by the Federal Voting Assistance Program: (800) 438-VOTE.

[3] A compilation of the state of Texas' PSAs was provided by Kim Sutton at the Elections Division of the Secretary of State, TX-P. O. Box 12060 Capital Station Austin, TX 78711 2060: (800) 252-8683.

[4]Because multiple producers created spots for the Rock the Vote campaign, MTV did not keep track of exactly how many individual spots were made. For this study, 78 different PSAs were sent by the Office of Rock the Vote.

[5]A compilation of the Rock the Vote PSAs was provided by Cinnamon Muhlbauer at the Office of Rock the Vote-P. O. Box 5434, Beverly Hills, CA 90209: (213) 276-9470.

[6]13.5% of the Rock the Vote PSAs have no discursive appeal, 4.5o appeal to concern over the election's outcome, and 1% appeal to perceived benefit from the election's outcome.

[7]The actual amount of air-time that Rock the Vote PSAs received is unknown. MTV did not keep track of when or how often their PSAs were shown.

"Among the producers involved in the Rock the Vote campaign were Double L Ranch, FM Productions, Highlights Commercials, The Talent Network, Moxie Productions, Atavistic Video, Gun for Hire Film & Tape, Pinnacle Post, Swell Picture Inc., and Big Sky Productions

REFERENCES

Ansolabehere, S. A., Iyengar, S., Simon, A., & Valentino, N. (1994). Does attack advertising demobilize the electorate? American Political Science Review, 88, 829-838.

Ashenfelter, O., & Kelly, Jr. S. (1975). Determinant of participation in presidential elections. Journal of Law and Economics, 18, 395-433.

Aufderheide, P. (1986). Music videos: The look of sound. Journal of Communication, 36, 57-78. Baxter, R. L., De Riemer, C., Landini, A., Leslie, L., & Singletary, M. W. (1985). A content analysis of music videos. Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 29, 333-340.

Blair, J. A. (1996). The possibility and actuality of visual argument. Argumentation and Advocacy, 33, 323-339. Bleich, S., Zillman, D., & Weaver, J. (1991). Enjoyment and consumption of defiant rock music as a function of adolescent rebelliousness.Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 35, 351-366. Burke, K. (1968). Counter-statement. Berkley, CA: University of California Press. Campbell, A., Converse, P. E., Miller, W. E., & Stokes, D. E. (1960). The American voter. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cassel, C. A., & Hill, D. B. (1981). Explanation of turnout decline: A multivariate test. American Politics Quarterly, 9, 181-195.

Filer, J. E., Kenny, L. W., & Morton, R. B. (1993). Redistribution, income, and voting. American Journal of Political Science, 37, 63-87.

Fry, D., & Fry, V. (1987). Some structural characteristics of music videos. Southern Speech CommunicationJournal 52, 151-172.

Gant, M. M., & Lyons, W. (1993). Democratic theory, nonvoting, and public policy. American Politics Quarterly, 21, 185-204.

Gow, J. (1993). Music video as persuasive form: The case of the pseudo-reflexive strategy. Communication Quarterly, 41, 318-327.

Gow, J. (1994). Mood and meaning in music video: The dynamics of audio visual synergy. Southern Communication Journal, 59, 255-261.

Jackson, J. E. (1983). Election night reporting and voter turnout. AmericanJournal of Political Science, 27, 615-635. Jennings,J. T. (1992). Voting and registration in the election of November 1992 (Publication No. P20-466). Washington D.C.: Bureau of the Census.

Kaid, L. L., Chanslor, M., & Hovind, M. (1992). The influence of program and commercial type on political advertising effectiveness.Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 36, 303-320. Langer, S. K. (1942). Philosophy in a new key:A study in the symbolism of reason, rite, and art. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lucas, S. E. (1981). The schism in rhetorical scholarship. Quarterly journal of Speech, 67, 1-20. McLuhan, M. (1964). Understanding media: The extension of man. New York: McGraw-Hill. Medhurst, M.J., & DeSousa, M. A. (1981). Political cartoons as rhetorical form: A taxonomy of graphic discourse. Communication Monographs, 48, 197-236.

Morse, M. (1991). Postsynchronizing rock music and television. In L. R. Vande Berg & L. E. Wenner (Eds.), Television criticism:Approaches and applications (pp. 289-310) New York: Longman. Morton, R. B. (1991). Groups in rational turnout models. AmericanJournal of Political Science, 35, 758-776. Rasmussen, K.

(1994). Transcendence in Leonard Berstein's "Kaddish Symphony." Quarterly Journal of Speech, 80, 150-173.

Rosenstone, S. J., & Wolfinger, R. E. (1978). The effect of registration laws on voter turnout. American Political Science Review, 75, 22-45.

Schultze, Q.J., Anker, R. M., Bratt,J. D., Romanowski, W. D., Worst,J. W., & Zuidervaart, L. (1991). Dancing in the dark: Youth, popular culture, and the electronic media. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Sellnow, D. D., & Sellnow, T. L. (1993).John Corigliano's "Symphony No. 1" as a communicative medium for the AIDS crisis. Communication Studies, 44, 87-101.

Shelly, C. (1996). Rhetorical and demonstrative modes of visual argument: Looking at images of human evolution. Argumentation and Advocacy, 33, 53-68.

Shermman, B. L., & Dominick, J. R. (1986). Violence and sex in music videos: TV and rock 'n' roll. Journal of Communication, 36, 79-93.

Zillman, D., & Mundorf, N. (1987). Image effects on the appreciation of video rock. Communication Research, 74, 316-334.

John H. Tindell (M.A., Texas A EM University) is a visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Communications, Wilkes University, Wilkes-Barre, PA 18766. Martin J. Medhurst (PhD.,Pennsylvania State University) is Professor and Coordinator of the Program in Presidential Rhetoric, Department of Speech Communication, Texas A EM University, College Station, TX 77843-4234. This manuscript has been drawn from a thesis written at Texas A eM University under the direction of Martin J. Medhurst. An earlier version of this manuscript was presented as a paper at the 1994 Speech Communication Association, New Orlean, LA.

RELEVANT CALIFORNIA LAWS

State Statutes Governing Voter Education and Outreach Activities

Elections Code

Section 2103 (b): It is . . .the intent of the Legislature that county elections officials, in order to promote and encourage voter registrations, shall enlist the support and cooperation of interested citizens and organizations, and shall deputize as registrars qualified citizens in such a way as to reach most effectively every resident of the county.

Section 2105. It is the intent of the Legislature that voter registration be maintained at the highest possible level. The Secretary of State shall adopt regulations requiring each county to design and implement programs intended to identify qualified electors who are not registered voters, and to register those persons to vote. The Secretary of State shall adopt regulations prescribing minimum requirements for those programs. If the Secretary of State finds that a county has not designed and implemented a program meeting the prescribed minimum requirements, the Secretary of State shall design a program for the county and report the violation to the Attorney General.

Section 2131. The Secretary of State may provide grants to local elections officials, nonprofit corporations, and unincorporated associations for the following purposes:
  (a) To conduct voter outreach and voter education programs, in accordance with the requirements of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (P.L. 107-252), using funds provided to the state by Sections 101 and 251 of that act.
  (b) To increase accessibility for eligible voters with disabilities, in accordance with the requirements of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (P.L. 107-252), using funds provided to the state by Section 261 of that act.

Section 9081. There shall be a state ballot pamphlet, that the Secretary of State shall prepare.

Section 9084. The ballot pamphlet shall contain all of the following:
  (a) A complete copy of each state measure.
  (b) A copy of the specific constitutional or statutory provision, if any, that each state measure would repeal or revise.
  (c) A copy of the arguments and rebuttals for and against each state measure.
  (d) A copy of the analysis of each state measure.
  (e) Tables of contents, indexes, art work, graphics, and other materials that the Secretary of State determines will make the ballot pamphlet easier to understand or more useful for the average voter.
  (f) A notice, conspicuously printed on the cover of the ballot pamphlet, indicating that additional copies of the ballot pamphlet will be mailed by the county elections official upon request.
  (g) A written explanation of the judicial retention procedure as required by Section 9083.
  (h) The Voter Bill of Rights pursuant to Section 2300.

State Regulations Governing Voter Education and Outreach Activities

California Administrative Code, Title 2

Section 20000. All counties shall design and implement programs intended to identify qualified electors who are not registered voters, and to register such persons to vote, hereinafter referred to as outreach programs.

Section 20001. As a minimum, each county's outreach program shall contain the following components which shall be described in an outreach program plan:

(a) Consultation. Each program shall include systematic effort by the clerk to consult on a continuing basis all persons who exhibit interest and special knowledge in any outreach methods contemplated by the clerk. This effort shall include, but not be limited to, a gathering of source lists of persons whose interest, knowledge, or experience suggests the potential for meaningful contribution to increased voter registrations in the county.

(b) Publicity. Each program shall make specific provision for publicity on all phases of voter registration, including the training and deputizing of registrars.

(c) Focus; Balance. Each program shall establish priorities for the direction of its outreach efforts. These priorities shall reflect the clerk's assessment as to which specific outreach methods will be the most cost-effective in the county. Each plan shall be reasonably balanced in the allocation of outreach efforts and resources among the major pools of unregistered voters.

(d) Budget. Each program shall include a budget with sections for personnel, equipment and materials for each outreach effort proposed.

(e) Schedule. Each program shall contain a schedule of critical dates and deadlines associated with each outreach effort proposed. This schedule shall be supported by contractual and voluntary commitments, if any, from those responsible for providing products or services to meet these dates.

(f) Solicitation of Local Assistance. Each program shall provide for the solicitation of assistance from local offices of all levels of government and of private entities in providing the incidental use of their premises and/or personnel for the purpose of outreach. The offices and entities whose assistance is solicited shall include those which, in the opinion of the county clerk, come into frequent contact with unregistered electors who would be least likely to register under county registration practices in effect prior to July 1, 1976.

(g) Distribution Controls. Each program shall establish orderly limits upon bulk distributions of registration affidavit forms. Such controls should include, but not be limited to, record keeping, training, and contingency plans for form allocation in the event that supplies become depleted.

All requests for more than 50 registration forms shall be accompanied by a brief statement of distribution plans, which shall be a necessary condition to issuance of the voter registration

cards. This statement shall designate the name and address of the person or persons proposing such a distribution plan. This statement shall contain declarations executed under penalty of perjury that reasonable steps will be taken to insure that:

(1) The person or persons distributing such cards to potential registrants will not neglect or refuse to give a voter registration card to any elector requesting one for the purpose of registering to vote; and

(2) The voter registration cards issued will not be altered, defaced, or changed in any way, other than by the insertion of a mailing address and the affixing of postage, if mailed, or as otherwise specifically authorized by the Secretary of State, prior to distribution to prospective registrants and that the affidavit portion of the voter registration cards will not be marked, stamped, or partially or fully completed by anyone other than an elector attempting to register to vote or by another person assisting such elector after being requested by such elector to assist in completing the affidavit.

A copy of all statements for requests exceeding 2000 forms shall be sent to the Secretary of State.

Section 20002. Each outreach program shall stress the solicitation of voter registrations by persons whose daily activities place them in frequent contact with potential registrants. Selection of outreach methods shall consider maximum cost-effectiveness in view of the population of unregistered electors intended to be reached. Selection of methodology shall consider not only the level of effort expended, but also the likelihood of actual registrations obtained thereby.

Nothing in these regulations shall be construed to limit the use of deputy registrars of voters, including bilingual registrars, pursuant to Sections 302 and 303 of the Elections Code. Outreach programs adopted pursuant to these regulations shall provide for the continued use of deputy registrars when a population of unregistered electors requires personal assistance in registration and the continued use of deputy registrars is therefore reasonably appropriate.
Each county shall provide for the solicitation of registrations by personnel of state agencies, to the extent that the state agency has made its personnel available for an outreach program.