

Voters versus the Corpus of Fictional POTUS

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ABSTRACT

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

Specifically, we looked at two separate sets of data, both relating to the President of the United States (i.e. ‘POTUS’). On the one hand, we looked at how fictional Republican and Democrat POTUSes have been portrayed differently in mainstream best-selling American novels, Hollywood movies and popular TV dramas within the last 50 years¹. An ‘action corpus’ is constructed to help understand what kind of message(s) the media are sending to the public about these fictional POTUSes. On the other hand, a corpus of how people responded four years after they last voted for their ‘once favorite candidate’ is constructed using the Corpus of Contemporary American English² (COCA). Concordance lines containing the core term ‘voted for (*someone*, e.g. Clinton or Bush)’ was gathered. The corpus covers voter responses found in COCA right before five consecutive U.S. presidential elections from 1992 through 2008. The results obtained from the two data sets were then compared and contrasted.

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

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

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

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

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

MESSAGE FROM THE FICTIONAL POTUSES

First, to understand how fictional Republican and Democrat POTUSES are being portrayed differently in mainstream media, over 500 mainstream American movies, novels and TV dramas have been reviewed³. Among these, 119 fictional POTUSES (or f-POTUSES) have been identified showing recognisable political affiliations i.e. either a Republican or a Democrat (see Table 1). These have been shortlisted and the descriptions of the characters were combined to form an ‘action corpus’ – a corpus based on the actions of the f-POTUSES. A full list of the sources of these f-POTUSES is given in Appendix I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fictional DEMOCRAT POTUS	Fictional REPUBLICAN POTUS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • took over as acting President due to President’s failing health under the 25th Amendment¹¹ • assumed the reins of power as acting President, as per the 25th Amendment, after his predecessor went on leave of absence due to deep depression 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • took office after POTUS died from wounds received in terrorist bombing of US Senate • used the nuclear destruction of Metropolis as an issue to win the presidency • became president after slipping poison into his predecessor’s coffee, under orders from the leader of the extraterrestrials • elected after a nuclear exchange sparked by the Cuban Missile Crisis

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

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

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

TABLE 2d
Action Corpus of f-POTUSes – What Happened During His/Her Term?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What kind of presidents were they?

A close study of the above f-POTUS action corpora revealed that Democrat f-POTUSes, when compared to their Republican counterparts, were often portrayed by the popular media to be more accepting and open to new ideas. For instance, the first Hispanic-American president, the first Japanese-American president and the oldest elected president are all depicted to be Democrats (see Table 2a). In reality, however, other than the fact that Barack Obama is indeed the first African-American president and is a Democrat, both the youngest and the oldest presidents at time of their inauguration, as well as the longest living presidents were in fact all Republicans⁴. Even the first black female Haitian-American to be elected Congresswoman in Utah (where the black is

the absolute minority) is also a Republican⁵. Other than being portrayed to be more open and accepting, Democrat f-POTUSes were also depicted to be more charming, philandering yet rather mediocre leaders who choose to enjoy their lives (see Table 2c). They differed from the Republican f-POTUSes in the sense that Republican f-POTUSes showed a strong stance against anti-American values (e.g. Communism) and were often decorated veterans, jet-fighter pilots or war generals, and were generally devious, a grasper of power and even, in one case, slightly paranoid (see Table 2c). Yet when it came to how they rose to power, Democrat f-POTUSes were in general, legitimate successors of an outgoing or recently deceased president whereas Republican f-POTUSes would use

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

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

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

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

the goodwill of allies while at the same time could also start a self-devastating second civil war. Just as they would order the conscription of all 18 to 24 year-olds or nominate a Democrat as their running mate, Republican f-POTUSes made shocking, surprising and even unwelcome decisions. Yet in reality, it is an open secret that the Chinese Communists actually preferred to work with the Republicans and not the Democrats⁶ due to various reasons including their difference of stance on human rights issues. In fact, US President Obama’s recent pivot to Asia has also been criticised by the Chinese to have heightened disputes in the region⁷, a phenomenon not seen during the days when a Republican president was in office.

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

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

What was worst about these presidents?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSION: A MAN OR A PLAN?

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

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

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

TABLE 3
Top 10 American Presidential Scandals 1810-2010

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

Source: Presidential Scandals by Martin Kelly http://americanhistory.about.com/od/uspresidents/tp/presidential_scandals.htm

Indeed, by comparing popular cultural fantasy taken from novels, movies, TV dramas with COCA excerpts, we could see why even when the media were in part misrepresenting the reality of the POTUS, the kind of long-lasting American sentimental loyalty and attachment to the two main parties, in terms of either ‘a man or a plan’, could still be reinforced (Campbell *et al.*, 1960, p.121). Such sentiments effectively reduced the other more reasonable factors in importance when it came to making voting decisions⁸ (Campbell & Miller, 1957; Campbell *et al.*, 1960; 1966). When party loyalties and social characteristics, which are relatively inert through time, are bombarded with new, collaborative, uncensored and open forms of continuous assessment of the candidates over the new battlefield of social media, traditional political parties will have to move quickly into this new arena of political discourse (Shamma *et al.*, 2010), if not merely to make up for lost time during election campaigns⁹. Despite the fact that social media platforms are used ‘mainly as a way to push messages out’ (Pew Foundation, 2012) and are considered cross-ideological (Yardi & Boyd, 2010), polarisation of similar political views can be

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

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

lightning fast (Conover *et al.*, 2011) through natural homophily¹⁰ patterns (McPherson *et al.*, 2001). These patterns of polarisation, adding to the fact that it is often the average (non-elite) user who eventually controls distribution (Parnell *et al.*, 2012), makes social media a substantial component in the final vote swing. For the election campaign strategists, this would translate into the sad fact that it would be easier to anticipate immediate success for a new, young conservative star (who would rely heavily upon the attached loyalties to his/her party) than to maintain votes for an experienced, heartfelt politician who has really dedicated his/her life to the people. The media subconsciously warned the people of this long ago; they just failed to realise it.

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

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Appendix I. Full Listing of Fictional POTUS Sources

List of 58 fictional Republican POTUSes and their sources:

NOVELS

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

TV SERIES

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

MOVIES

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

List of 61 fictional Democrat POTUSes and their sources:

TV SERIES

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

MOVIES

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

President Jack Stanton	“Primary Colors” (1996 novel, 1998 film) by Joe Klein
President Jackson Evans	“The Contender” (film, 2000)
President Paul L. Greene	“The Last Debate” by Jim Lehrer (2000)
President Lisa Simpson	The Simpsons: “Bart to the Future” episode
President Monroe “Eagle” Cole	“Welcome to Mooseport” (film, 2004)
President Gerald Fitzhugh	“Left Behind: World at War” (film, 2005)
President Eugene Lorio	“Jack & Bobby” (film, 2005)
President James Stanford	“In xXx: State of the Union” (film, 2005)

NOVELS

President Mark Hollenbach	Fletcher Knebel’s novel “Night at Camp David” (1965)
President Kenneth Saxon	“Missing!” by Michael Avallone (1969 novel)
President Howard Brewster	Brian Garfield’s 1972 novel “Line of Succession”
President Tommy Owens	“The Essential Man” by Al Morgan (1977)
President Andrew Bradford	“The Second Lady” (novel) by Irving Wallace (1981)
President Florentyna Kane	“The Prodigal Daughter” by Jeffrey Archer (1986)
President Hawley Briggs	“The Red President” by Martin Gross (1988)
President Joseph Armando	“Mars” by Ben Bova (1993)
President Bedford Forrest Lockwood	Charles McCarry’s novels: “Better Angels” (1979) and “Shelley’s Heart” (1995)
President Pete Parkin	“The Prodigal Daughter” by Jeffrey Archer (1986)
President Tucker Attenborough	“Shelley’s Heart”, a 1995 novel by Charles McCarry
Acting President Sam Clark	“Shelley’s Heart”, a 1995 Novel by Charles McCarry
President Roger Durling	Tom Clancy novel, “Debt of Honor” (1995)
President Thomas Nelson Tucker	“The White House Mess” (1995) by Christopher Buckley
President Thomas Edison (Shy)	“Garland Father’s Day” by John Calvin Batchelor (1996)
President William Ballard	Tom Clancy’s “Politika” (1997)
President Andrew Y. Culpepper	“Moonfall” by Jack McDevitt (1998)
President Charles Haskell	“Moonfall” by Jack McDevitt (1998)
President Henry Kolladner	“Moonfall” by Jack McDevitt (1998)
President Benjamin Knight	“The Lucky Ones” by Doris Mortman (1998)
President Clark Kent	Action Comics Annual #3 (1991)
President Walter N. Livingston	“Arc Light” by Eric L. Harry (1994)
President Kenneth Yamaoka	“Eagle” by Kaiji Kawaguchi (2000)
President Ed Kealty	“The Teeth of the Tiger” by Tom Clancy (2002)
President Kerry Francis Kilcannon	Richard North Patterson’s novel “Protect and Defend” (2001) and “Balance of Power” (2003)
President Kathy Alton	“The Illuminati” by Larry Burkett (2004)
President Mark Hunt	“The Illuminati” by Larry Burkett (2004)
President Donald Kilbourne	“The Illuminati” by Larry Burkett (2004)
President Andrew Tyler	“Fourteen Points” (2004) by Emily McCormack
President Robert Hayes	“Transfer of Power”, novel by Vince Flynn (2005)
President Eve Carol Larsen	Quantico by Greg Bear (2008)
President Katherine Powers	Ellen Emerson White’s “President’s Daughter” (2008)
President Noah Daniels	“24” (TV series)(2009)
President Charles McBride	“Scimitar SL-2” by Patrick Robinson (2009)
President Warrick	John Ringo’s novel “The Last Centurion” (2009)
President Matthew Bernstein	“2030: The real story of what happens to America”, novel by Albert Brooks (2011)
President Jeff Warnock	“Lockout” (film, 2012)

Appendix II. Concordance Lines of 'Voted for (Someone)'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

