Stand with Rand 2016: A Dashboard Analysis of a Predecessor's Success and a Current Candidate's Road to Victory

Robin Spielberger

University of Memphis

Stand with Rand 2016: A Dashboard Analysis of a Predecessor's Success and a Current Candidate's Road to Victory

This dashboard analysis is an overview of Ron Paul's 2012 Republican Presidential Primary campaign, focusing on the Iowa Caucus and the New Hampshire Primary, for providing insight into important media trends and voter characteristics. This overview is designed to give 2016 Republican candidate Rand Paul an idea of the challenges he may face on the road to the White House and will demonstrate specific areas of success for his father, Ron Paul. It also illustrates how Rand Paul could capitalize on the progress of the grassroots Liberty Movement by understanding the issues that drive its members.

The Republican Party, also commonly called the GOP (for "Grand Old Party"), is one of the two major political parties in the United States, which is based on a two-party system (Schmidt, Shelley, & Bardes, 2010). A two-party political system is one where two major political parties dominate politics within a government and one of the two parties typically holds a majority in the legislature, referred to as the majority party while the other is the minority party (Schmidt et al., 2010; Black, 2012). In the United States, this system describes an arrangement in which nearly all elected officials belong to one of the two major parties, and the third parties rarely win seats in the legislature (Black, 2012). As reported in *The Guardian*, Harris (2011) proposed that American politics has been "stuck in a two-way fight between Republicans and Democrats since the Civil War, and that third-party runs had little meaningful success." Many members belong to a third party built around an ideology that truly represents their values and beliefs even when it is at odds with the majority mindset, not for purposes of winning elections but rather for personal, intellectual, or subjective reasons (Schmidt et al., 2008). America's third

largest and fastest growing political party, the Libertarian Party, was created in December of 1971 by citizens who believed that the politicians had disastrously deviated from America's original libertarian foundation ("America's Third Largest Party"). Their platform mirrors the vision of America's founders – "a world where individuals are free to follow their own dreams in their own ways, a world of peace, harmony, opportunity, and abundance" (Libertarian Party, 2013). One section of the Libertarian Party Platform states:

Governments throughout history have regularly operated on the opposite principle, that the State has the right to dispose of the lives of individuals and the fruits of their labor. Even within the United States, all political parties other than our own grant to government the right to regulate the lives of individuals and seize the fruits of their labor without their consent. (para. 8)

While chances for third party candidates to win major national elections are remote under the current circumstances, it is possible for groups and factions within the larger parties, or in opposition, to exert influence on party platforms, ideology, elections, state and local legislature, and congressional bills, (Schmidt et al, 2010) as shown through the campaigns and elections of Ron and Rand Paul, as well as through the growth of the "Liberty Movement."

The self-described "Liberty Movement" is a faction of American citizens, formed mostly by people under 40 and influenced by the 2008 and 2012 presidential candidacy and ideas of Ron Paul. Members of this movement have strong libertarian and conservative (classical republicanism) convictions, an understanding of economics, history, and the character of government power, reject partisan politics, the false left-right spectrum, and focus on a synthesis of sound economics and civil liberties (Walters, 2013). The message of the Liberty Movement

draws in those who may be turned off by either the Tea Party or the Occupiers due to their highly partisan nature, and presents a more principled, philosophically consistent alternative to create radical change in the direction of peace and individual liberty (Taylor, 2011). Taylor (2011) stated, "Although both the Occupy Movement and the Tea Party highlight legitimate grievances, both groups have obvious inconsistencies and shortcomings. The more principled and focused liberty movement will undoubtedly have the biggest effect on public debate and long-term political trends" (p.1). The Liberty Movement combines the philosophies of the Libertarian and the Republican Parties and includes fiscal conservatives, social conservatives, moderates, democrats, libertarians, anarcho-capitalists, minarchists, anarchists, and objectivists (Borowski, 2013). It advocates the historically republican philosophies of classical liberalism, paleoconservatism, anti-federalism, voluntaryism, and progressivism, as well as a strong belief that free markets and individual achievement are the primary factors behind economic prosperity (Walters, 2013; Borowski, 2013). The movement advocates in favor of laissez-faire economics, fiscal conservatism, and the elimination of government run welfare programs in favor of private sector nonprofits, and the encouragement of personal responsibility, as well as strict constructionism, the judicial philosophy that the Constitution should be interpreted narrowly and as close to the original intent as is practicable (Walters, 2013; Borowski, 2013).

Many believe that third parties do not affect American politics by winning elections, but often they "steal" votes from one of the two major parties (Black, 2012; "Why america is a two-party state"). Schmidt et al. (2010) explained that third parties typically act like barometers of change in the political mood since they push the two major parties to consider the issues most important to them. Lizza (2006) believed that third parties arose sporadically in the nineteenth century around single-issue movements such as abolition, women's suffrage, and the direct

election of senators. However, the Liberty Movement has had great success, as Ron and Rand Paul have shown in the past two Presidential elections and the 2010 Senate race respectively, by working within the Republican Party in order to enact change from the inside.

The Republican Party, founded by anti-slavery activists in 1854, dominated national politics from 1860 to 1932 ("The Origins of the Republican Party"). Abraham Lincoln elected in 1860, and serving from 1861 to 1865, was the first Republican President ("The Origins of the Republican Party"). The most recent was George W. Bush, serving from 2001 to 2009 ("Republican Party of the United States"). The party began as an impulsive grassroots protest against the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, which allowed slavery into western territories where it had been forbidden by earlier compromises ("The Origins of the Republican Party"). The creation of the new party, along with the death of the Whig Party, realigned American politics with new central issues of slavery, race, civil war and the reconstruction of the Union into a more powerful nation, and the balance of power in Congress ("The Origins of the Republican Party"). Currently the Republican Party's platform is loosely based upon American conservatism (Grigsby, 2008; Arnold, 2009; Levy, 2006). This is in contrast to the Democratic Party, whose members endorse more liberal and progressive policies (Arnold, 2009; Levy, 2006). The Republican Party's founding members chose its name in the mid-1850s as deference to the values of republicanism promoted by Thomas Jefferson's Republican party (Rutland, 1996). The idea for the name came from an editorial by Horace Greeley, founder of *The New York Tribune*, who called for, "some simple name like 'Republican' [that] would more fitly designate those who had united to restore the Union to its true mission of champion and promulgator of Liberty rather than propagandist of slavery" ("Horace Greeley," 2013). The name reflects the 1776 republican

values of civic virtue and opposition to aristocracy and corruption; in today's Republican Party, finding examples of this opposition proves troublesome ("The Origins of the Republican Party").

The Republican National Committee (RNC) is responsible for promoting Republican campaign activities as well as for developing and promoting the Republican political platform, and serving as fundraiser and election strategist ("Republican National Committee"). The Chairman of the RNC is chosen by the President when the President of the United States is a Republican or by the Republican Party's state committees when the President is a Democrat ("Republican National Committee"). Under direction of the Republican presidential candidate, the RNC is responsible for all aspects pertaining to the Republican National Convention and coordinates campaign strategy throughout the Republican Presidential Primary. The Republican House and Senate caucuses have separate fundraising and strategy committees that each raise over \$100 million per election cycle, and are responsible for recruiting ideal Republican State candidates ("Republican Party of the United States"). Meanwhile, the Republican Governors Association is currently chaired by Governor Chris Christie of New Jersey, another likely candidate for the 2016 Republican Presidential Primary in opposition of Rand Paul (Hohmann, 2013).

In the American electoral system, the Republican Primary election is one that determines the United States Presidential nominee for the Republican Party, who will then compete against the Democrat Presidential nominee, and hopefully one day, against a Libertarian nominee as well, in the general election ("Primary election"). A presidential caucus, such as the important Iowa Caucus, requires voters to meet face-to-face for several hours in order to select county delegates, who eventually pick the delegates to the national convention ("Primary election"). The United States is the only country to use primaries in this process; other countries choose their candidates

in party conventions. The primary system of elections, allows voters to pick between competing candidates of each political party, conceivably representing different factions ("Primary election"). For example, the Republican primary typically offers voters a choice between a field of candidates whose platforms range from moderately conservative to strongly conservative ("Primary election"). New Hampshire, according to the state constitution, must hold the first primary, a few days after Iowa holds the first caucus, giving these two states an immense advantage in the Presidential Primary election, as the candidates and the media exert the most attention there ("Primary election"). New Hampshire and Iowa receive close to half of all the media attention given to the Presidential primaries and have been instrumental in deciding which candidate will receive the national nomination. Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney edged out Texas Congressman Ron Paul, former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum, and the 58th Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich to clench the 2012 Republican Presidential nomination. Some believe his nomination was due to a Republican National Committee last minute rule change at the Republican National Convention, turning the tides in his favor. Despite Ron Paul's extremely close 2nd and 3rd place popular vote finishes in New Hampshire and Iowa, and plurality of delegates in the six states of Colorado, Minnesota, Maine, Nevada, Iowa and Virginia, he was only able to overcome one of the RNC's tactics to ensure Romney's nomination—the rule change only days prior to the 2012 Republican National Convention in Florida, which increased the plurality of delegates needed to be nominated from the floor, from five to ten. At the beginning of the convention, the RNC nefariously passed a rule change that would allow Romney to divest his opponents' delegates of their status and replace them with alternates of his choosing (Wolverton, 2012). On "RNC Sham 2012," Kevin Erikson, a delegate from Minnesota stated:

What this means is that the states no longer retain the right, under the new rules, to elect their delegates and have them stand. A presumptive nominee will now be able to unseat entire states' delegates if they don't like who is on the slate. Giving a presidential nominee veto power over a state's delegation means that future dissenters will not have a dissenting voice. We won't be able to bring motions and amendments to our platform, we won't be able to speak for people who believe differently. You're taking a broad tent and a grassroots party, and you're turning it into a dictatorship that will be run by a few people with a lot of money, and average people like myself will be out of luck and out of a voice. (at 2:50)

In turn, half of the Ron Paul delegates from Maine were replaced with delegates who would vote for Romney, giving Romney the plurality, which was factually held by Ron Paul (Wolverton, 2012). During the roll call at the Convention, the announcer did not repeat the votes called out for Ron Paul and only mentioned the number of votes that each state delegated to Romney, even in the three states that Ron Paul won –Nevada, Minnesota, and Iowa. Ron Paul ended up with 190 of the 202 non-Romney votes - just short of 10% of the overall delegates. This was a massive improvement from 2008, when he received only 15 delegate votes (Wolverton, 2012). When asked what he believed caused this expansion, Paul stated "Liberty is popular" (Ron Paul, Personal Communication, January 10, 2012).

Ron Paul's candidacy, in 2008 and 2012, drew a significant degree of support from grassroots movements and independent supporters worked alongside and apart from the official campaign or the GOP in order raise his public profile, secure votes and delegates, and bring in record breaking campaign donations, primarily through internet driven "money bombs." In February 2011, Paul asked supporters to donate to his Liberty Political Action Committee to

fund trips to Iowa and New Hampshire in order to explore a potential 2012 presidential candidacy. On February 21, a Presidents' Day money bomb raised around \$400,000 in 24 hours. Liberty PAC raised more than \$700,000 during February and by the end of March 2011, the Liberty PAC had raised more than \$1 million (Barr, 2011; Dance, 2011; Liberty PAC, 2011). These efforts have been described by supporters as the "Ron Paul Revolution," a nod to the American Revolution and Ron Paul's New York Times #1 Bestseller *The Revolution: A Manifesto*, based on notes from his 2008 campaign. Ron Paul Revolution frequently appears on handbills, buttons, stickers, and t-shirts at rallies (Stein, 2007; Nichols, 2007). The phrase now serves as a slogan for the official campaign and supporters use the letters "EVOL" ("love" reversed) to represent peace and hope (Young, 2007).

During Ron Paul's previous presidential campaign in 2008, supporters alleged there was a media blackout and suppression of coverage of Paul, and similar allegations arose in the 2012 campaig. This time, the allegations received some media coverage (Hagey, 2011; Ostrowski, 2008). *Politico* columnist Roger Simon noted on *CNN's* "Reliable Sources," that Ron Paul received considerably less coverage than Michele Bachmann, despite earning a close second to her at the Ames Straw Poll (Simon, 2011). Simon (2011) later opined in Politico that the media was treating Paul unfairly. Even comedian Jon Stewart complained about the Paul's lack of coverage, despite polling much better than the candidates who received coverage did. Stewart ended the speculation when he presented a montage of mainstream media clips that showed commentators ignoring Ron Paul, and two CNN correspondents openly admitting to withholding coverage (O'Connor, 2011; "Politico and CNN"). In an interview on *Fox News*, Paul was asked, "What are they [the media] afraid of?" He answered, "They don't want to discuss my views, because I think they're frightened by me challenging the status quo and the establishment." On

Piers Morgan Tonight: "They don't want my views out there—they're too dangerous ... We want freedom, and we're challenging the status quo. We want to end the war, we want a gold standard, and their view is that people just can't handle all this freedom ("Newsmax Wires"). Next, the CBS/National Journal campaign debate joined the media blackout by only allowing Ron Paul to speak for a total of 90 seconds, in the November 2012 debate (Jaffe, 2011).

It became apparent that Ron Paul's support was not from the mainstream media but from the swarms of followers on college campuses, in the military, and online ("Ron Paul's Robust Online Presence," 2007). In 2007, it was already obvious that Ron Paul was going to garner the most support through an online presence. His name was the most searched term in places like *technorati* and *Digg* and his Facebook, YouTube, and MySpace numbers were well beyond the more mainstream candidates ("Ron Paul's Robust Online Presence," 2007). In June 2011, online publisher Robin Koerner coined the term "Blue Republican" to refer to voters who consider themselves liberal or progressive and who generally vote Democratic but planned to register as Republicans in order to vote in the U.S. 2012 Republican presidential primaries for Ron Paul (Koerner (a), 2011). The term "Blue Republican" quickly spread. Social media entrepreneur Israel Anderson promoted the term on Facebook gaining 11,000 shares by the time Koerner published a follow-up article on the term's popularity just five days later (Koerner (b), 2011).

The 2016 Rand Campaign

Considering all these contributions to the Liberty movement from Ron Paul and his grassroots supporters, the Rand Paul 2016 Campaign Manager, decided in late-2013 that the campaign should actively target this group of supporters in order to capitalize on the active and knowledgeable volunteer and voter base of his father. However, the location of the thousand of

voters not currently on the Ron Paul 2012 email list was information the campaign needed to obtain. Once these voters were located, the campaign needed knowledge of the issues important to them and how best to garner their support for Rand Paul. Many supporters of Ron Paul 2012 have not come to terms with the fact that Rand "is not his father" (Cantanese, 2013). Although the two libertarian leaning conservative Republicans are both adherent to the United States Constitution and share many of the same values and platforms, their methods are quite different. This creates a divide in the Liberty Movement. This portion of the Movement is comprised of educated, strong-willed Libertarian supporters who believe that Rand is not a libertarian and is merely paying lip service to the cause and ideology. He plays too well with the establishment Republicans for their taste and this causes them to believe that he is an extremely different candidate from his father. However, this is not the case. Ron Paul is an extremely principled man who believed that America needed an awakening. He said many times throughout the 2012 Campaign that he never expected to win the Republican nomination and the mission of the campaign was to primarily spread the message of liberty. Now, a large faction of the United States has awakened to Ron Paul's platform, ideology, and message. However, they fail to understand that now they must put their support behind someone "electable." It is unfortunate that in America, politics is a public relations game but it is fortunate for the Liberty Movement that Rand Paul knows how to play it quite well. Considering this, the Rand Campaign wants to identify the Ron Paul voters – paying special attention to Iowa and New Hampshire – in order to locate the channels these voters and supporters are using to express their preference for the 2016 primary. The rest of the supporters should follow suit if these two primary election states swing toward Rand Paul. The Rand Campaign is also interested to ascertain what issues are important to his father's supporters as well as to extrapolate what it will take to convince them that Rand

Paul is the best choice for America in 2016. He also wants to emphasize that although he is not his father, he is his father's son. He hopes to enhance his awareness among these voters as a Liberty Movement candidate and seeks to address any concerns they may have about his platforms and ideology.

While focusing on the location and characteristics of the Ron Paul supporters, the Rand Campaign also felt, they should gather data concerning the online strategies Ron Paul 2012 used in Iowa and New Hampshire. Rand planned to benefit from and build upon the online presence of the Ron Paul Campaign by repeating the strategies used in 2012, but had no factual evidence that his assumptions of success were indeed true. He also did not know which channels to primarily target. While conducting this research, Rand Paul felt that it would be advantageous to begin assessing the social media strategies that his Senatorial staff has put in place already in order to set a standard by which to measure his success over the next year and into the 2016 Campaign.

The social media strategies the Rand Campaign employs will be an integral component of the campaign's success in the 2016 Republican Primary; thus, it is extremely important to understand how effective the Ron Paul strategies were in achieving the goal of mass reach and key messaging.

Next, the Rand Campaign wanted to assess the potential challenges pertaining to the amount of exposure received in traditional and elite media, as well as through online sources. They fully expect to find examples of media bias and a significant lack attention while researching the 2012 Ron Paul Campaign. The supposition is based on the experiences during both the 2008 and 2012 Ron Paul Campaigns. The candidates, staff, volunteers, and supporters

know too well that Ron Paul experienced a virtual media blackout in 2012, after the media's ridicule in 2008 did not stop the growth of the Liberty Movement.

Finally, while in the exploratory phase, the Rand Campaign, decided that it would be in its best interest to discern and evaluate the overall issues important to his general potential supporters, as well as those important to the Republican Party and conservative voter base. This information will help Rand Paul confidently address issues of primary importance when speaking to the media and local groups along the campaign trail. By doing so he can increase the overall public opinion of him and garner the votes needed for the Republican nomination for President of the United States, and ultimately place him in the White House.

In support of these objectives, the Rand Campaign gathered data and researched the 2012 Ron Paul Campaign in order to obtain a complete understanding of the upcoming challenges and develop a plan to address them, as well as to indentify, locate, and understand the Liberty Movement voters and supporters. In this manner, the Rand Campaign hoped to better convey Rand Paul's platforms and improve his preference among those voters as the 2016 Presidential Candidate. The Rand Campaign also researched the social media strategy implemented by Ron Paul's Campaign staff to gain insight on to how to improve Rand Paul's current online strategies. The following dashboard analysis will provide details and results of the research conducted on Ron Paul's 2012 Republican Presidential Primary Campaign, focusing on media attention in the primary election states of Iowa and New Hampshire, and the sentiment behind the attention in comparison to the other candidates. It will also provide insight into Ron Paul's online relationships in order to determine whether repeating the Ron Paul 2012 Campaign social media and networking strategy is advantageous. It will further seek to address the characteristics of and issues important to Ron Paul supporters and voters to assist the 2016 Rand Campaign increase

support throughout the Liberty Movement. Finally, the dashboard analysis will show the results from the research conducted to identify issues important to Rand Paul's established Republican Party and conservative voter base and report the current position and visibility of Rand Paul's social media network.

As guided by the Rand Paul Campaign and with these objectives in mind, the remainder of this report will explain the specific goals of this campaign, the means used to fulfill the goals, the specific measurement devices employed and the items measured, a written discussion of all results, and a summation dashboard and infographic which will visually display those results. All of the activities discussed herein will be reflected in the dashboard.

The Steps to Measurement

Tasked with the responsibility of gathering the research and data, as well as conducting an analysis of it and supplying conclusions to the 2016 Rand Paul Campaign, I employed guidelines delineated by Paine (2011). All steps and terminology that proceed are attributable to Paine with regard to how I developed and implemented the measurement and research process. From the preliminary stages of defining specific goals to the analysis of the results, the steps that follow and the tools implemented, were drawn specifically from Paine's (2011) text, "Measure What Matters: Online Tools for Understanding Customers, Social Media, Engagement, and Key Relationships."

After doing further research, I found many different tools available to replace Google AdWords and decided to use a variety of applications in order to maximize my keywords. These included: the "Ninja Search Combination Tool" (used to develop a huge list of different search queries where each is then linked to a Google query), "MajesticSEO" (for keyword research),

"WordTracker" (which offers a free tool in addition to their commercial services), "Ubersuggest" (for keyword suggestion data and learning more about a topic), and "SEMRush," (a tool set that allows one to do any amount of research that is needed and is great for competitive research and individual keywords).

Once I optimized the keyword search techniques, I used "Social Mention," "Mention," and "Google Alerts" as well as "NetVibes," and "Alltop" to set different options for tracking what was being said in regards to Rand Paul, Ron Paul, the 2016 Presidential Campaign, and the 2012 Republican Primary and who was saying it. After sorting the results and discarding up to 70 % of them as they were duplicates or not relevant, I subscribed to the pertinent RSS feeds and set up an Excel spreadsheet in order to begin tracking the news and noteworthy items as they came in. I also made sure to include any references that discussed Rand Paul in relation to Ron Paul, the Libertarian Party, the Liberty Movement, libertarianism, constitutional conservatism, and any one of the Bill of Rights, as well as references pertaining to his voting record in the Senate. My plan is to follow this process for the next month in order to better understand the list of channels that most frequently mention Rand Paul, the relevant items pertaining to his Senatorial position or the upcoming 2016 Presidential campaign including both the Republican and Democrat Primaries, and the sentiment expressed. After a month of data has been collected, the Campaign can begin to sort and rank it in order of most importance by the conversion index and by prominence and dominance of the article or information. This will help the Rand Campaign better understand what the market thinks of Rand Paul as a person, a senator, and as a presidential hopeful along with identifying their biggest concerns. The Campaign will also be able to decipher if its key messages are reaching the publics and to what extent. The knowledge of all of these factors will become an enormous asset once campaigning begins.

Based on Paine's guidelines pertaining to the importance of a social media presence and its capability in garnering candidate knowledge, affinity, and engagement, I decided that through these new alert systems I should also gather data concerning Rand Paul's current social media strategy and begin setting benchmarks by which to measure his progress throughout the New Year and once the campaign commences. This data will help the Rand Campaign know what strategies are working and which ones are not working. It will also provide statistics concerning which factors play a significant role in the increase of followers on Twitter, likes and comments on Facebook, and subscriptions to YouTube. Once this information has accumulated, I will be able to provide the campaign with graphs showing Rand's percent increase over time and in relation to his competition and other senators. While conducting this research, I was also able to gather statistics regarding Ron Paul's current social media presence and fan accumulation in order provide some basic numbers for which the campaign could use to compare Ron and Rand Paul's ratio of likes, follows, clicks, subscriptions, comments, and posts to each others or to the competition.

Campaign Goals and Objectives

The next step in my process to execute the Campaign's interests was to firmly establish the Campaign's goals and to further define them into objectives. First, the Rand Campaign expressed a basic interest in capitalizing on Ron Paul's success in the Liberty Movement with very few suggestions as to how they preferred that to be accomplished. Based on my knowledge of political campaigns and the intimate knowledge of Ron Paul's 2012 Campaign and the Liberty Movement, I decided to predominantly focus my collection of data and measurement on the primary elections states of Iowa and New Hampshire. As indicated above, I felt that these two states were the most significant in articulating the characteristics of Ron Paul supporters as well

as the issues important to them. In addition, two states in which Ron Paul placed a close 3rd and 2nd respectively in 2012 are indicative of the challenges pertaining to media bias and attention due to their broad coverage across all mediums, as well as having an exceptional number of supporters expressing themselves and their support or lack thereof on various channels.

Next, the Rand Campaign indicated that they were expressly interested in proving the assumption that Ron Paul's social media strategy for the campaign was one of great success. In order to accomplish this goal, I felt that research and measurement should be conducted by comparing the number of followers, likes, comments, fans, shares, and total interactions, of the three major candidates in the 2012 Republican Primary for the weeks leading up to and after Iowa and New Hampshire, as well as data showing Ron Paul's reach for both Twitter and Facebook. In addition, while conducting this research, I would also gather the same measurements and information pertaining to Rand Paul and comparing it to other senators and potential 2016 Presidential hopefuls.

To address the Rand Campaign's desire to enhance the awareness and garner the votes of Ron Paul's Liberty Movement supporters, I felt that before moving forward with this goal, the campaign should first understand what issues were important to this group and determine if they were in alignment with Rand Paul's platform. At this point, in addition the Liberty movement voters, I would also measure the sentiment expressed towards Rand Paul by the conservative base and the Republican Party and gather information concerning their characteristics and the issues central to their garnering support.

To further specify the broad goals and based on these motivations, I consulted with the Campaign Manager and Rand Paul and collaborated to devise a series of objectives. Specifically these objectives were as follows:

 To capitalize on Ron Paul's success in the Liberty Movement by determining the characteristics of his Iowa and New Hampshire voter base, as well as the issues important to them,

- 2. To identify the sentiment expressed through social media towards Ron Paul, as well as to identify which channels yielded the most chatter in the weeks leading up to and immediately following the Iowa Caucus and New Hampshire Primary in 2012;
- 3. To determine if the Ron Paul 2012 Campaign's social media strategy was in fact a success and worth replicating;
- 4. To determine the potential challenges in regards to attention and share of voice in the traditional and elite mainstream media, as well sources found online;
- 5. To increase Rand Paul's awareness and preference as a Liberty Movement Candidate by targeting Ron Paul supporters through the newly determined channels and addressing the issues now known as important to this Ron Paul voter base;
- 6. To determine the issues pertinent to potential Rand Paul supporters in the general conservative voter base, as well as in the Republican Party and the Liberty Movement, and to increase the opinion held for Ron Paul in terms of trust, loyalty, and preference;
- 7. To set a benchmark for which Rand Paul can measure the success of his campaign in regards to growth of social media presence and media attention, and
- 8. To determine how much Ran Paul's base support has grown since January 1, 2013 and what factors were instrumental in this growth.

Criteria for Success

After having specified the goals and objectives and setting up the listening post and media monitoring system, I sought to determine the criteria by which to measure my success. Paine (2011) provided specific indicators of success pertaining to each campaign's objectives but because her book was written with profit based companies and non-profits, such as institutions of higher learning, in mind, I had to formulate my own criteria which I roughly based on the suggestions in Paine's text. The criteria for success in regards to objective 1- 6 are as follows:

- "Share of Voice" (Paine, 2011, p. 8-9, 39, 179, 228) for Ron Paul, compared to the other candidates running in the Republican Primary, focusing on the weeks leading up to the Iowa Caucus through the week following the New Hampshire Primary
- Percent of Positive and Negative Sentiment for Ron Paul, compared to the other
 candidates running in the Republican Primary, focusing on the weeks leading up to the
 Iowa Caucus through the week following the New Hampshire Primary(Paine, 2011, p.
 28-9, 93-4, 198-200)
- Percent of Online Chatter by Channel for Ron Paul, compared to the other candidates running in the Republican Primary, focusing on the weeks leading up to the Iowa Caucus through the week following the New Hampshire Primary (Paine, 2011, p. 89-91)
- Increase in online engagement with supporters and voters via social media for Ron Paul,
 compared to the other candidates running in the Republican Primary, focusing on the
 weeks leading up to the Iowa Caucus through the week following the New Hampshire
 Primary

 Ron Paul's Tone Over Time – Percentage of Statements in Mainstream Media from January 2012 through April 2012

- Tone of Select Candidates on Twitter, Blog, and Mainstream Media Percent of Coverage
- Percent of People talking on Social Media about Ron Paul versus Mitt Romney
- Comparison of the number of total fans for Ron Paul and Mitt Romney on Facebook
- Comparison of the Viral Reach of Ron Paul and Mitt Romney
- Comparison of the Total Posts and Comments by the Top 100 Most Active Users for Ron
 Paul and Mitt Romney on Facebook
- Attention to Political Candidates by Week
- Percentage of campaign coverage as significant figure in mainstream press
- Percent comparison of News Media Coverage for the Top 4 Republican Primary
 Candidates in Traditional and Elite Media Sources, as well as online sources
- Common Characteristics of Ron Paul Supporters
- Most Important Issues for Ron Paul Voters
- Common Characteristics of Rand Paul Supporters
- Party Affiliation and Ideology of Rand Paul Supporters
- Most Important Issues For Rand Paul Supporters

The criteria for success in regards to objective 7 and 8 are as follows:

 Comparison of the total number of followers, fans, and subscribers for Rand Paul and other 2016 Presidential Hopefuls on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube

- Per cent increase in Rand Paul's Twitter growth in comparison with other senators
- Rand Paul's twitter exposure, reach, activity level, and top contributors
- Rand Paul's Polling Trend and numbers in comparison with other 2016 Presidential hopefuls
- Overall opinions of public considering favorability of Rand Paul

As this explanation proceeds, I will detail the specific measurement tools used to evaluate these goals and objectives and the process for doing so.

Benchmarks

Paine (2011) states, "A key point to remember about any evaluation program is that measurement is a comparative tool; to decide if you are successful you compare your results to something else" (p. 37). Determining the benchmarks to use to measure the success of the above 8 objectives for the Rand Campaign was rather simple. Since Rand Paul is candidate for a government position in a "race" for the Republican nominations, as well as a Senator in the United States Congress, his "benchmarks" by which to measure are selected for him. In this case, we will compare Rand Paul's social media success to a mixture of the other 2016 Presidential hopefuls to include the following:

- Chris Christie;
- Ted Cruz;

• Marco Rubio;

• Paul Ryan;
• Jeb Bush;
• Bobby Jindal;
• Scott Walker;
Hilary Clinton.
In some cases, such as the measurements concerning Rand Paul's Twitter growth since the first
of the year, we will simply use the average senator's statistics as our benchmark.
The aforementioned benchmark selection process has also been chosen for the
measurements concerning the Ron Paul 2012 Campaign. We will compare Ron Paul's Share of
Voice, Sentiment, and Social Media presence to the other candidates who ran in the 2012
Republican Primary to include:
Mitt Romney;
Newt Gingrich;
Rick Santorum;
Rick Perry;
Michele Bachmann;
John Huntsman.

Measurement Tools and Specific Metrics

Following Paine's guidelines to manage and measure the data as delineated by the objectives and goals, I selected the various tools for measurement that I would implement in order to provide the Rand Campaign with the information they were seeking, as well as offer advice moving forward. I began by selecting three chapter's in Paine's book, in addition to "Chapter 6: How to Use Numbers to Get Closer to Your Customers" (Paine, 2011, p. 99-103) which supplied information on why it was important to set up a listening post to "hear" what was being said about Rand Paul in the marketplace, to further identify the steps needed for satisfying the objectives. The other three chapters were:

- "Chapter 5: How to Measure Marketing, Public Relations, and Advertising in a Social Media World" (Paine, 2011, p. 69-98).
- 2. "Chapter 9: Measuring Relationships with Your Local Community" (Paine, 2011, p. 137-148).
- 3. "Chapter 13: Measuring for Nonprofits" (Paine, 2011, p. 191-203).

These three chapters clearly defined the steps to take and tools to use in order to accomplish the aforementioned objectives.

Paine (2011) outlined the steps to "Measuring What You Can't Control" (p.84), beginning with defining your specific goals for success. I outlined some potential goals the Rand Campaign could be interested in, such as increasing voters, among under age 40, among those who support Ron Paul; improving relationships with current supporters and with the general publics; increasing website visitor engagement and social media engagement; and increasing political participation. Next, Paine (2011) suggests the important of further defining your

publics into specific publics and setting your benchmarks. I suggested that the Rand Campaign focus on obtaining better relationships with and increasing the votes cast from the under 40 age group and increasing support from the previous Ron Paul supporters. The benchmarks of other 2016 Presidential hopefuls stay the same throughout the process.

Then, as Paine (2011) suggested I made note of some specific KPI's that could be of interest to the Rand Campaign such as: (a) percent increase in website traffic, (b) per cent increase in Facebook likes, (c) per cent increase in Twitter followers, (d) percentage of messages Retweeted, (f) per cent of donations collected over time, (g) increase in trust, commitment, and satisfaction score, (h) per cent improvement in advocating for Rand Paul to friends (Net Promoter Score), and (i) gaining a better understanding of how involved people are with your brand – Rand Paul – are they "lurkers" or "loyalists" (Paine, 2011, p.80-3).

Now that specifics were clearly laid before me, It was time to choose the tools to employ. First, to measure the increase in website traffic and the number of people that click through to RandPaul2016.com from a blog, I would implement Google Analytics. In addition, I could correlate the activities performed by Rand Paul or his competition, in order to gain insight into the effects they cause on Twitter growth. That was one of the first measurements that I would employ. I decided to compare Rand Paul's Twitter growth and Facebook "likes" in comparison with those of other senators before and after his famous 13 hour Filibuster before the Senate in March of 2013. The results show a drastic increase in Twitter followers from 9490 followers added in the period of January 3, 2013 - March 5, 2013, to 21548 followers added in the period of March 3, 2013 to April 25, 2013. (See Appendix 4.)

Next, to measure the levels of awareness, preference, perception, loyalty, and trust, I was certain that a survey of supporters and potential supporters in the publics I previously defined

would be recommended. Paine (2011) recommended the traditional Grunig Relationship Survey and suggested that it is ideal to perform a benchmark study before moving forward with any social media strategies, and then to conduct a follow-up survey in six months to a year. On a campaign, time is not a luxury afforded to any candidate. When one campaign ends, another one begins, even if it is unofficial. I knew conducting a survey was pertinent to the objectives at hand and I would simply have to lessen the length of time between conducting the first and second survey. Therefore, I selected questions from the Grunig Survey pertaining to trust, commitment, satisfaction, communal and exchange relationships in order to tailor specific surveys for my objectives. I prepared the surveys to be emailed using SurveyMonkey's integration with MailChimp to several specific databases of contacts including the Ron Paul 2012 Campaign supporter list, the Mitt Romney and Republican Party lists of supporters and registered Republicans, and Rand Paul's current email database of his identified supporters. Due to the massive number of returns expected, the results of this measurement will not be included in this dashboard analysis but will be used by the Rand Campaign in order to discern the sentiment of his potential supporters regarding his reputation and their mutual relationship.

I realized that surveys were going to be an integral part of my measurement process in order to achieve objectives one, five, and six. I created several similar surveys and prepared them to be emailed to a random sampling of each of the aforementioned databases using SurveyMonkey's integration with MailChimp, and noted which participants could potentially receive the survey twice as to not harm my data.

In addition, I created opinion surveys with questions pertaining to Rand Paul's favorability among his voter base, Ron Paul supporters, members of the Liberty Movement, and

a general sampling of the American public. This favorability survey was delivered via telephone, which yielded the highest response rate, as Paine (2011, p.54) predicted. (See Appendix 4.)

Finally, I prepared a survey regarding political issues, to conduct telephone polling of Ron Paul supporters and members of the Liberty movement, focusing on the states of Iowa and New Hampshire, in order to ascertain what issues were important to them. Again, this form of surveying method yielded the highest response rate in the least amount of time, as well as produced the most accurate results. I was able to report on the characteristics of Rand Paul's voter base and supporters, the ideology and party affiliation that most supported Rand Paul, the percentage of Rand Paul supporters who also voted for Ron Paul; the common characteristics of Ron Paul supporters, and the issues of great importance to both Ron and Rand Paul supporters in order. (See Appendix 1; Appendix 3.)

Returning to Paine's guidelines in Chapter 5, she provides instructions for choosing the right tools and process involved in determining sentiment for your brand across channels on social media and in comparison to your benchmarks. This is the measurement tool and process needed to achieve success with objectives 2 and 3, regarding Ron Paul's sentiment expressed through traditional and social media sources, in the weeks leading up to the Iowa Caucus and following the New Hampshire Primary. In order to conduct the Content Analysis, I followed the steps delineated in Paine (2011, p.89-96).

First, as Paine (2011, p.91) suggested, I had to find the content. As mentioned earlier, I had already set up the Rand Campaign monitoring services through "Google Alerts," "Social Mention," "NetVibes," "Alltop," and "Mention.com" and the Excel Spreadsheet for documenting and tracking what was being said about Rand Paul and the Campaign. Now, as instructed, I began to sort the articles and enter the data into the spreadsheet, categorizing the

type of conversation taking place in accordance with Paine's 27 types of conservations (Paine, 2011, p.91, 52-3). Then, I noted if the conservation about Rand Paul or the Campaign was mentioned as the only subject, the main subject, a part of the subject, or a mere minimal mention (Paine, 2011, p.91-2). As instructed, I also took note of the location of the mention in the conversation – if the conversation was text based, was the mention in a Photo or caption, in the headline, in the first 20 percent of the conversation, or in the bottom 80 per cent. If the Rand Paul mention occurred in a video, what was its location - was it in the first 25 per cent of the, the middle 26 to 75 per cent, or in the final 76-100 per cent (Paine, 2011, p.93). Next, I determined if someone from the Rand Campaign staff, a volunteer, family member, or one of Rand's thought leaders in the community was mentioned in the conversation, and if so, were they able to convey a key message of the campaign or a position that would be portrayed as positive to the majority of voters? Finally, I was able to discern the Sentiment, or tone, of the conversation and coded each one as Positive, Negative, Neutral, or Balanced. In addition, I noted if any Rand Campaign messages were communicated and if so, coded them as "amplified" (Paine, 2011, p.94), complete, partial, incorrect, or negative. I also made note of the author in order to later identify their "authority" (Paine, 2011, p.95) or influence as a social media writer, by running the names through "Twitalyzer," "TweetReach," "TweetRank," and "Klout." Now that I was up to date with the coding of the conversations taking place concerning Rand Paul and the 2016 Rand Campaign, I realized that I still needed to address the sentiment expressed towards Ron Paul in comparison the other 2012 Republican Primary Candidates from over a year and a half ago.

In order to accomplish this goal, I realized from studying Paine's text in Chapter 4, "Yes, You Can Afford to Measure," in the section "Controlling the Cost of Media Content Analysis," that it is acceptable to measure only the articles with the greatest chance of being seen, with the

highest reach, or written by an influencer in your marketplace, or to measure a random sampling of articles by choosing 1 out of every 10 or 15 options (Paine, 2011, p. 63-4). Since I wanted to study the online content to gather data concerning sentiments expressed towards Ron Paul, I would be able to perform keyword searches for the most relevant information first, and then I could perform a random sampling keyword search. I searched for online articles using Boolean search terms and included quotations around the phrases, as well as the plus sign in-between words to maximize my search potential. The multiple combinations, with and without quotation marks surrounding the phrase, all included the words: (a) Ron+Paul, (b) 2012+Republican+Primary, (c) Presidential+Campaign, (d) Iowa+Caucus or New+Hampshire+Primary, combined with a different well-known news outlets such as: "The Huffington Post;" "InfoWars;" "Politico;" "Reason;" "The New Republic;" "Daily Kos;" "Wonkette;" "Esquire;" "RealClearPolitics;" "RedState;"

"The Media Research Center;"

```
"Instapundit;"

"Pew Research Center;"

"The Volokh Conspiracy;"

"Marbury;"

"FiveThirtyEight;

"Hot Air;"

"The Drudge Report;"

"The Humble Libertarian;" and
```

"Libertarian Republican."

In addition, I turned to data already collected by several well-known research groups who freely publish statistics online in order to supplement my media content analysis material that solely pertained to the online sentiments expressed in the weeks leading up to the Iowa Caucus and following the New Hampshire primary. This was also essential in compiling the statistics from Social Networking Sites in order to have a more comprehensive analysis and thereby, an accurate result to report to the Rand Campaign.

For the traditional media sentiments, I was able to follow the guidelines Paine (2011, p.198) urges nonprofits to employ in Chapter 13 and the overview of performing a media content analysis in Chapter 4 (Paine, 2011, p.48). The Ron Paul 2012 Campaign collected all news articles from the campaign trail but never did anything with them. Since I am a former Campaign staff member and now a part of Rand's Campaign, I was able to get a hold of the giant boxes containing the clippings. In addition, I also searched major television news networks such

as "CNN," "Fox News," "MSNBC," "ABC," "CBS," and "NBC," and major print news media networks such as "The New York Time," "The Washington Post," and "The Guardian," as well as local news outlets based in Iowa and New Hampshire for the online versions of their printed stories. The analysis consisted of 21,001 stories from the first five months of 2012, which was comprised of 1,847 newspaper stories, 3,351 online stories, 6,022 stories from network television, 7,143 stories on cable news, and 2,9903 stories from radio programs. The sample was designed to include an extensive range of channels, exemplifying but not absolutely representative of the media sphere. Choosing the sample of articles and news stories to include from the box of clippings and the Internet search involved the balancing of several factors. The mainstream or establishment U.S. news media was broken down into five sections: Network TV, News Newspapers, Online News Sites, Cable News, and Radio News. Luckily, I had several "freedom fighters" or willing youth volunteers to help with this undertaking. Once we decided on the top two tiers of news outlets for print, cable, network, and radio, we separated those from the rest of the clippings. These became known as the "elite" mainstream media because they have a higher reach and are the most well known channels. Once this was complete, we employed the same methods of coding as used earlier for the Content Analysis of current conversations pertaining to Rand Paul.

I also utilized other tools, such as Facebook "Insights," "URL Analyzer," "Google Analytics," "Topsy," "TrendPro," "TweetReach," "Retweet Rank, "Tweetails," "Klout," "Sprout Social," and "Socialbakers," to measure the RandPaul2016.com website, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube account statistics and by closely monitoring any "likes," comments, subscribers, shares, and #hashtag activity, I was able to chart current results and develop a basic analysis to demonstrate any increase or decrease with social media activity and mentions.

In addition, I followed the suggestion of Paine (2011, p. 148) and employed the tactics she discusses at the end of "Chapter 9: Measuring relationships with your local community" for government institutions, by creating shortened versions of the specifically tailored survey I sent to multiple email database lists in order to discern the issues important to Rand Paul's potential supporters. This new mini-survey was used a way to poll the supportive communities across the county in order to reinforce the trusting relationship Rand Paul holds with them, and ultimately garner more support at the polls.

Finally, I completed this representative dashboard in order to easily demonstrate the quantitative data figures and qualitative results to the Rand Campaign. This visual sampling of the major findings will also increase the Campaign's understanding of the measurement process and its importance, moving forward. (See Appendix 1-4.)

Analysis

This measurement process was a first of it's kind for the Rand Campaign. Tasked with the responsibility of discerning if the possibility to capitalize on the grassroots movement of Rand's father, Ron Paul, was feasible, I realized that in order to provide a definitive response to the Rand Campaign, multiple measurement techniques would need implementing. I first took the goal as directed by Rand Paul and further delineated it into smaller goals based on my experience, the Campaign's desired outcomes, and the resources available to me. Through collaboration with the Campaign Manager and Rand Paul, these smaller goals were further narrowed into eight clear objectives. I then utilized this opportunity to establish a listening post for the Rand Campaign in order to better monitor what the market had to say about Rand Paul and his 2016 run for the White House. Following the initial set up, I used this monitoring system

supporters and members of the Liberty movement in Iowa and New Hampshire, by online channel. I then analyzed the sentiment expressed through this array of media sources in order to compare the overall tone to that of Ron Paul's competitors. I found that Ron Paul's supporters in both Iowa and New Hampshire were most likely to use the micro-blogging service, Twitter, and other Social Networking Sites to express their support. In fact, his percentage of Twitter chatter was 20% higher than any other candidate's percentage in Iowa. (See Appendix 1.) The results also indicated that the sentiment expressed towards Ron Paul in all media, traditional and online, was significantly more positive than that expressed towards the other candidates in both Iowa and New Hampshire, as well as remained so for the duration of the campaign. (See Appendix 1.)

In order to address the next objective, the determination of general media bias throughout the campaign, I calculated the percentage of news stories both online and offline in which Ron Paul was a significant (25% of the story) component and compared that to the benchmarks. The results clearly showed that over the duration of the campaign, Ron Paul was merely a significant factor only 7% of the time, whereas the other candidates, Gingrich, Santorum, and Romney were significant factors 30%, 31%, and 59% respectively. (See Appendix 1.) In regards to Iowa and New Hampshire specifically, I calculated the Share of Voice for each candidate. The results appeared to be divided more evenly among the candidates in the 2012 Republican Primary, with Ron Paul garnering 31% in Iowa and 24% in New Hampshire. However, the Share of Voice did not seem appropriately balanced for these two early election states considering Ron Paul's placement in each election. (See Appendix 1.)

I also used several tools for measuring the social media strategies employed by the Ron Paul 2012 campaign and discovered that Ron Paul proved to be a formidable opponent in this

area. While mainstream media coverage was significantly lacking and guilty of discounting Ron Paul, an energized online force of followers emerged. By August of 2011, Ron Paul had reached over 1.2 million fans on Facebook, significantly more than any other candidate's had had at this time (See Appendix 1.) Through measurement, I was able to show in *Figure 1* that during the months of November and December in 2011, the number of visitors to Ron Paul's campaign website, ronpaul2012.com, surpassed those visiting the other Republican Primary candidates, as well as the incumbent, Barak Obama. (See Appendix 6.) I also concluded that Ron Paul's Facebook following significantly increased immediately following the Iowa Debate on December 13, 2011 as shown in *Figure 2*. (See Appendix 6.) Through these results, I was able to advise the Rand Campaign that moving forward in the decision to repeat and build upon the strategies implemented by the Ron Paul 2012 Campaign was advantageous.

To address the objectives regarding Rand Paul and establishing benchmarks for his social media reach and success, I calculated the exposure and reach, as well as the retweet and contributor activity and rank for his Twitter account. I also found that his number of followers significantly increased from 9490 between January 3, 2013 and March 5, 2013 to 21,548 between March 3, 2013 and April 25, 2013. This indicated that Rand Paul's famous 13-hour filibuster greatly improved his Twitter reach. (See Appendix 4.) I also calculated Rand Paul's number of YouTube subscribers and found that he had approximately 3 times the amount of any of the other 2016 Presidential hopefuls, to include Chris Christie and Ted Cruz. (See Appendix 4)

Finally, I calculated the responses from the multiple surveys and polls with the help of over 30 youth volunteers. Based on these responses we were able to include several statistics concerning issues important to Ron Paul voters and common characteristics of members of the

Liberty Movement, as well important issues and common characteristics of Rand Paul supporters and conservative voters, in this visual analysis. (See Appendix 1, 3, and 4.) This satisfied the majority of the objectives set before me, but the research for objectives 1, 5, and 6 is far from over and the goals have not been completed. These measurements need to be continuously conducted.

Based on this report and the attached appendices, I presented the Rand Campaign with a dashboard analysis that served as an overview of my findings. Based on my recommendation for the Rand Campaign to continue administering these measurement tools and metrics throughout the duration of the 2016 Campaign, we will be employing several Companies to conduct this and similar research for us. The companies will primarily monitor the website and social media accounts to report statistics concerning any increases or decreases in terms of reach, exposure, retweet activity, subscriber levels, fans, followers, shares, likes, comments, and unique views among other items, and will report all results compared to our predefined benchmarks. These services will also serve as a clipping service and perform media content analyses on a daily basis. They will be responsible for keeping the predefined databases current and coded. However, the Rand Campaign will also hire a new leadership position, the Director of Media Measurement, to oversee the commercial service companies, as well as serve as the human element in the measurement process. This person will be responsible for performing random sampling content analyses on a weekly basis in addition to reporting the commercial service findings. The Rand Campaign plans to hire two interns, starting next month, for the duration of the Campaign in order to assist the Director of Media Measurement. A budget has been set aside to hire a fourth position as the Assistant Director of Media Measurement if the workload proves to require doing so. These decisions, and my recommendations for them, were based on the fact that while

performing this analysis series, I was not able to report as in-depth findings as I had hoped due to time constraints. Deciding what and when to measure, along with how to measure it and developing the tools, such as a survey to effectively achieve the different objectives a campaign may have for a given month, in addition to the ongoing objectives is a full time job. It left very little time for the actual monitoring and coding of social and traditional media, formatting and emailing the surveys, selecting a telephone research company and conducting the actual survey, placing the polling surveys in online sources, coding the responses from all surveys, maintaining the email databases, or creating visual elements to display the results found.

In sum, the Rand Campaign was pleased with the conclusions reported in this dashboard analysis and decided to act upon my recommendations to proceed with a full time measurement position in order to help us fully accomplish the aforementioned objectives and others.

References

- America's Third Largest Party. (2013, May 25). Libertarian Party. Retrieved December 2, 2013, from http://www.lp.org/introduction/americas-third-largest-party
- Arnold, N. S. (2009). Imposing values: an essay on liberalism and regulation. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barr, A. (2011, March 3). Exclusive: Ron Paul's \$3M pot of gold. POLITICO. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0311/
- Black, E. (2012, October 07). Why the same two parties dominate our two-party system.

 Retrieved from http://www.minnpost.com/eric-black-ink/2012/10/why-same-two-parties-dominate-our-two-party-system
- Borowski, J. (2013, December 3). Frequently Asked Questions About Libertarians. Julie

 Borowski: Token Libertarian girl. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from

 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A2V61P7XeUM&feature=c4overview&list=UUzIjg

 5vIfBGcdyLWu6lhXxw
- Cantanese, D. (2013, June 29). Rand Paul: I'm not my dad. The Daily Beast. Retrieved

 December 4, 2013, from http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/06/29/rand-paul-i-m-not-my-dad.html
- Dance, G. (2011, February 23). Ron Paul money bomb raises over \$400,000. America20XY: Eternal vigilance is the price of freedom. Retrieved December 4, 2013, from http://america20xy.com/blog6/?p=20478
- Grigsby, E. (2009). Analyzing politics: an introduction to political science (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Grunig, L., Grunig, J., & Dozier, D. (2002). Excellent Public Relations and Effective

Organizations: A Study of Communication Management in Three Countries. Mahwah,

NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

- Hagey, K. (2011, August 15). Ron Paul supporters decry media neglect. POLITICO. Retrieved December 1, 2013, from http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0811/61430.html
- Harris, P. (2011, November 20). 'America is better than this': Paralysis at the top leaves voters desperate for change. The Observer. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/nov/20/paralysis-in-us-politics-extremism
- Hohmann, J. (2013, November 21). George W. Bush appears at Chris Christie's request.

 POLITICO. Retrieved December 10, 2013, from

 http://www.politico.com/story/2013/11/george-w-bush-chris-christie-republican-governors-association-100230.html
- "Horace Greeley." (2013, December 2). The New York Times. Retrieved December 2, 2013, from
 - $http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/g/horace_greeley/index.html$
- Jaffe, M. (2011, November 12). GOP Candidates Blast CBS News' for 'Disgraceful' Bias at South Carolina Debate. ABC News. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from http://abcnews.go.com/blogs/politics/2011/11/gop-candidates-blast-cbs-news-for-disgraceful-bias-at-south-carolina-debate/
- Koerner, R. (2011, July 7). If You Love Peace, Become a "Blue Republican" (Just for a Year).

 The Huffington Post. Retrieved December 2, 2013, from

 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robin-koerner/blue-republican_b_886650.html

Koerner, R. (2011, July 13). "Blue Republicans": an Idea Whose Time Has Come. The

Huffington Post. Retrieved December 2, 2013, from

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/robin-koerner/blue-republicans-an-idea-_b_897405.html

- Liberty PAC. (2011, February 22). Dr. Paul thanks grassroots for President's Day money bomb [Press release]. Retrieved November 29, 2013, from http://www.libertypac.com/2011/02/23/dr-paul-thanks-grassroots-for-president's-day-money-bomb/
- "Libertarian Party Platform." (2012, May 5). The Libertarian Party. Retrieved December 9, 2013, from http://www.lp.org/platform
- Lizza, R. (n.d.). But Is a Third Party Possible?. *New York Magazine*. Retrieved December 10, 2013, from http://nymag.com/news/politics/16743/
- Levy, J. D. (2006). The state after statism: new state activities in the age of liberalization.

 Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- "Newsmax Wires." (2011, August 17). Ron Paul: I Scare Mainstream Media. Newsmax.

 Retrieved November 29, 2013, from http://www.newsmax.com/Politics/RonPaul-media-campaign-president/2011/08/17/id/407701
- Nichols, J. (2007, December 18). The Real Ron Paul Revolution. CBSNews. Retrieved

 December 2, 2013, from http://www.cbsnews.com/news/the-real-ron-paul-revolution/
- O'Connor, P. (2012, August 16). Ron Paul: Media Are Frightened By Us. Washington Wire RSS.

 Retrieved November 29, 2013, from http://blogs.wsj.com/washwire/2011/08/16/ron-paul-media-are-frightened-by-us/

Ostrowski, J. (2008, January 26). Media urged to not ignore Ron Paul. Political class dismissed:

War room of the liberty movement. Retrieved December 2, 2013, from

http://politicalclassdismissed.com/?p=997

- Paine, K. (2011). Measure What Matters: Online Tools for Understanding Customers, Social Media, Engagement and Key Relationships. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Politico and CNN say Ron Paul can't win, and that they will ignore him. (n.d.).

 Transcriptsearch.com. Retrieved December 10, 2013, from

 http://www.transcriptsearch.com.es/id/rZ9aDpEKtOw
- Politico and CNN say Ron Paul can't win, and that they will ignore him. (2011, August 14).

 YouTube. Retrieved December 10, 2013, from

 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rZ9aDpEKtQw
- "Primary election." (2009, December 10). *Conservapedia*. Retrieved December 4, 2013, from http://conservapedia.com/Primary election
- "RNC Sham 2012." (2012, August 29). *YouTube*. Retrieved December 10, 2013, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B39W91O-rUg
- "Republican National Committee." (n.d.). Wikipedia. Retrieved December 5, 2013, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republican_National_Committee#cite_ref-1
- "Republican Party of the United States." (n.d.). Wikipedia. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republican_Party_(United_States)#cite_ref-rga-chair_1-1
- "Ron Paul's Robust Online Presence." (2007, May 22). The Political Inquirer. Retrieved

 December 2, 2013, from http://inquirer.wordpress.com/2007/05/22/ron-pauls-robustonline-presence/
- Rutland, RA (1996). The Republicans: From Lincoln to Bush. p. 2

Schmidt, S. W., Shelley, M. C., & Bardes, B. A. (2010). American government and politics today: 2008-2009. Boston, MA: Wadsworth Publishing Company

- Simon, R. (2011, August 15). Ron Paul remains media poison. POLITICO. Retrieved December 9, 2013, from http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0811/61412.html
- Stein, J. (2007, November 1). The Ron Paul Revolution. *TIME*. Retrieved December 2, 2013, from http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1680172,00.html
- Taylor, R. (2011, July 6). Ron Paul Liberty Movement Will Outlast the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street. *PolicyMic*. Retrieved December 2, 2013, from http://www.policymic.com/articles/10787/ron-paul-liberty-movement-will-outlast-the-tea-party-and-occupy-wall-street
- "The Origins of the Republican Party." (n.d.). ushistory.org. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from http://www.ushistory.org/gop/origins.htm
- Walters, D. (2013, July 3). What is the Liberty Movement?. Ron Paul Forums: Peace . Gold .

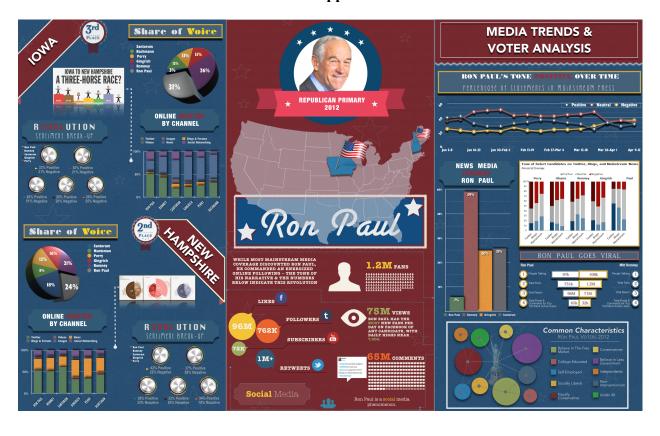
 LOVE. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from http://www.dailypaul.com/291321/what-is-the-liberty-movement
- Where do you fit? 2011 Pew Research Political Typography Quiz. (2011, August 27). Pew Research Center for the People and the Press RSS. Retrieved December 4, 2013, from http://www.people-press.org/typology/quiz/
- "Why america is a two-party state." (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/america_two_party.htm
- Wolverton, J. (2012, August 30). Republican Convention rules changes: How the establishment stole the GOP. *The New American*. Retrieved December 3, 2013, from

http://www.thenewamerican.com/usnews/politics/item/12660-republican-convention-rules-changes-how-the-establishment-stole-the-gop

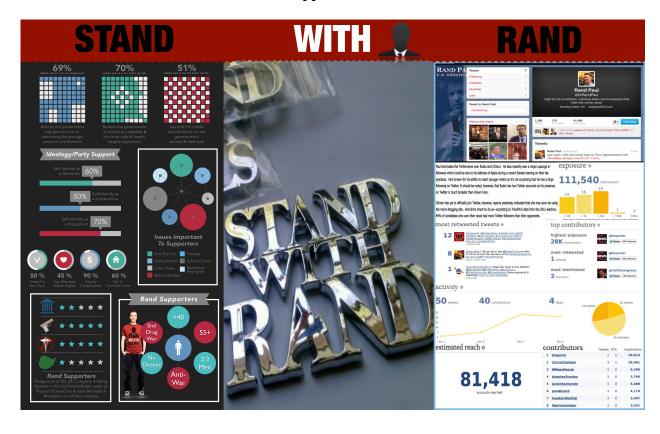
Young, C. (2007, September 1). A love revolution, Goldwater-style. Boston.com News.

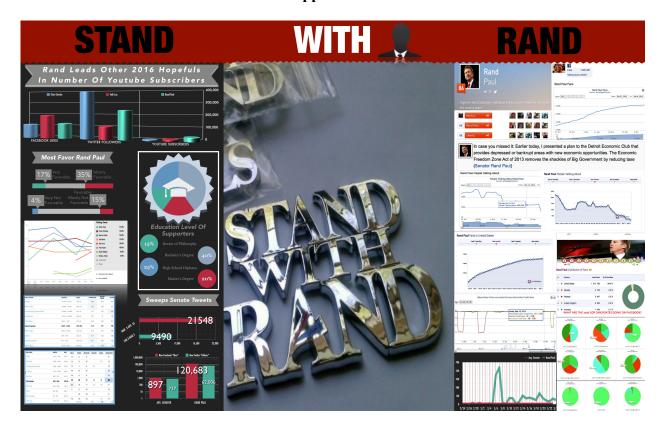
Retrieved December 2, 2013, from

http://www.boston.com/news/globe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles/2007/09/01/a_love_revolution_goldwater_style/









Appendix 5

The following questions from the Grunig Relationship Survey as included in Paine (2011) were used in the email surveys for the Rand Campaign in order to determine the levels of trust, satisfaction, commitment, awareness, and preference among several groups. The survey in several forms was administered by email to multiple databases of supporters, potential supporters, communities, voters, and thought-leaders. The original form of these questions used the term "company" or "organization;" however, the Rand Campaign changed those words to "Rand Paul" in order to more suitably achieve our goals.

Respondents were asked to answer on a 1 to 7 scale, where 1 = "strongly agree" and 7 = "strongly disagree."

- 1. I believe that Rand Paul takes the opinions of people like me into account when making decisions [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- 2. I feel very confident about Rand Paul's skills [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- Sound principles seem to guide Rand Paul's behavior [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- 4. Rand Paul does not mislead people like me [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- 5. I am very willing to let Rand Paul make decisions [in Congress/as President/as a Senator] for people like me.
- Rand Paul is known to be successful at the things he tries to do [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- 7. Rand Paul and people like me are attentive to what each other say.
- 8. Rand Paul believes the opinions of people like me are legitimate.

- 9. Rand Paul really listens to what people like me have to say.
- 10. I believe people like me have an influence on Rand Paul.
- 11. I feel that Rand Paul is trying to maintain a long-term relationship with people like me.
- 12. I would rather work together with Rand Paul than not.
- 13. I feel a sense of loyalty to Rand Paul.
- 14. I am happy with Rand Paul [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- 15. Both Rand Paul and people like me benefit from the relationship.
- 16. Generally speaking, I am pleased with the relationship Rand Paul has established with people like me.
- 17. Most people enjoy dealing with Rand Paul.
- 18. In general, I believe that nothing of importance has been accomplished between Rand Paul [in Congress/as a Senator] and people like me.
- 19. I don't consider Rand Paul to be a very helpful [Senator].
- 20. I feel that Rand Paul tries to get the upper hand [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- 21. Rand Paul helps people like me [in Congress/as President/as a Senator] without expecting anything in return.
- 22. Rand Paul will compromise with people like me when it knows that he will gain something [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- 23. Rand Paul takes care of people who are likely to reward him [in Congress/as President/as a Senator]
- 24. Rand Paul does not equally enjoy giving others aid [as a Senator].
- 25. Rand Paul is very concerned with the welfare of people like me [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].

- 26. I feel that Rand Paul takes advantage of people who are vulnerable (Reversed).
- 27. I think that Rand Paul succeeds by stepping on other people.
- 28. Rand Paul fails to satisfy the needs of people like me (Reversed).
- 29. I feel people like me are important to Rand Paul [in Congress/as President/as a Senator].
- 30. In general, I believe that nothing of value has been accomplished between Rand Paul [as a Senator] and people like me.
- 31. I can see Rand Paul wants to maintain a relationship with people like me.
- 32. There is a long-lasting bond between Rand Paul and people like me.
- 33. I could not care less about Rand Paul (Reversed).
- 34. I have no desire to have a relationship with Rand Paul [in Congress/as President/as a Senator] (Reversed)

Appendix 6 Traffic Rank Reach Pageviews Pageviews/User Time on Site Search % Bounce % Estimated percentage of global Daily Reach (percent) internet users who visit ronpaul2012.com newt.org ronpaul2012.com: mittromney.com barackobama.com Change Yesterday 0.063 +120% 4 0.04 7 day 0.032 +43% -0.02 1 month 0.0201 -11% -3 month 0.0206 +48% -Nov 21 Dec 12 Nov 28 Dec 5 Compare ronpaul2012.com to: Compare newt.org mittromney.com barackobama.com

Figure 1. Ron Paul's Daily Reach for ronpaul212.com from November 2011 through December 2011 in comparison to the Daily Reach of other candidate's campaign websites.

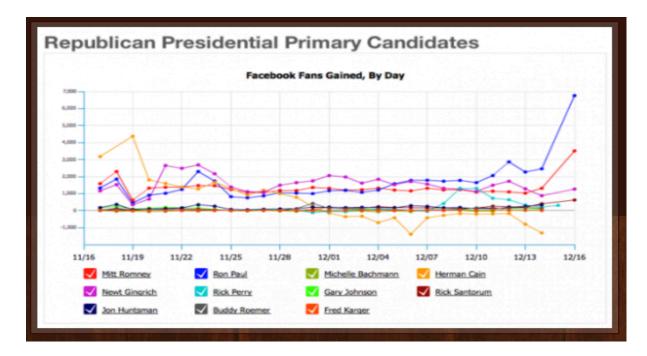


Figure 2. Ron Paul's Facebook Fans gained per day shows a significant increase immediately following the Iowa Republican Primary Debate on December 13, 2011.

Appendix 7

The following quiz was formatted for email surveys administered to multiple databases for the Rand Campaign, as one of the surveys used in to determine the common characteristics and issues important to members of the Liberty Movement, Republican Party, the Rand Paul voter base, a random sampling of the United States, and other groups

Each quiz included the following instructions:

To identify typology group, select one response from each of the paired statements below. Even if neither statement is exactly right, choose the response that comes closest to your views (Pew, 2011).

Statement One	Statement Two	
Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies	The largest companies do NOT have too much power	
I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation	
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	Government often does a better job than people give it credit for	
Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs housing and health care	
Homosexuality should be accepted by society	Homosexuality should be discouraged by society	
The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society	
Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition	
Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	
I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	Paying the bills is generally not a problem for me	

TT: 1 1 1 11 11 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	D 1 : 1 :1:, C 1 C .	
Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world	Relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism	
Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard	Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people	
This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment	This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment	
Business corporations make too much profit	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit	
Religion is a very important part of my life	Religion is not that important to me	
It IS NOT necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	It IS necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace	
Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites	Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	
The government should do more to help needy Americans even if it means going deeper into debt	The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	
Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return	Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	
Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost	

Age:				
Under 18	18 – 29	30 – 49	50 – 64	65+

Gender:	
Male	Female