COMMUNICATION AND THE BODY POLITIC: HILLARY CLINTON'S 2016 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN IN PHILADELPHIA'S LATINO COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation contains a qualitative case study of how Hillary Clinton, the Democratic candidate, and her staff, created communication systems to contact Latinos during the 2016 presidential campaign and how these systems operated in Northeast Philadelphia. Three research questions guided these observations: How was political communication produced, disseminated, and decoded through interpersonal, mass, and digital communication by the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents during the 2016 presidential campaign? What were the functions, norms, and values that structured the political communication systems among the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents? What were the power relations that informed the interactions between the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents in the political communication system?

The dissertation employs the Political Communication Systems Model, a toolkit to observe and theorize on political communication. Under the grounded theory umbrella, two methods were used to collect data. First, Clinton's mediated campaign communication was monitored. Second, I worked as a volunteer in a field operations office that Clinton opened in Philadelphia and performed a participant observation.

Clinton built a political communication machine to produce a campaign that used a hybrid media system. She hired a large staff to design and execute an air war (i.e., radio and TV ads and journalistic coverage), a digital campaign (i.e., distribution of information through websites, blogs, social media, newsletters and text messages), and a ground game (i.e., canvassing, phone banking, and online messaging). The Latino

campaign was designed to promote liberal values such as globalism, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and diversity, values that shaped her economic and political proposals.

The ground game had three main objectives in Northeast Philadelphia: register new voters, create strategies to persuade undecided voters to support Hillary Clinton, and organize the "Get Out the Vote" (GOTV), which consists of convincing people to get out their houses, go to the polling station, and vote.

A substantial part of the dissertation focuses on describing and analyzing the ground game in Northeast Philadelphia and offers two significant findings. First, political communication systems need material infrastructures operate. Clinton built a material infrastructure to communicate with residents. This infrastructure was made, primarily, of human bodies that were able to move around the territory and use other communicative technologies smartphones, tablets, and computers. Second, human bodies were also used as symbolic devices. Clinton recruited staffers and volunteers whose bodies embodied values such as diversity, multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, and globalism. The biographies and trajectories of these individuals projected these values, because they were persons from different parts of Latin America, with diverse cultural and educational backgrounds, and with different experiences of being a U.S. citizen or resident.

Finally, the dissertation offers two main contributions. On the one hand, the dissertation expands the Political Communication Systems Model and suggests that the human body is the primary material unit in political communication infrastructures. On the other, this work illustrates how qualitative research can be employed for researching political communication in general, and presidential campaigns in particular.

Para Lupita, coautora de vida.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As a scholar, I believe that the construction of knowledge is a collective endeavor (Goldman, 2010). Therefore, this dissertation is the outcome of my effort, which is embedded and intertwined in larger epistemological systems integrated by institutions, peer scholars, and personal relations.

Regarding the institutional level, I would like to thank Temple University, the Fulbright-Garcia Robles Program, the Consejo National de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACYT), and the Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP). These institutions provided the economic resources to complete the doctoral program.

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Finally, I would like to thank all the staffers and organizers of Clinton's campaign, as well as Northeast Philadelphia residents, who allowed me to spend time with them during the presidential elections. In the end, we all are fighting to understand and construct the democracies that will operate during the twenty-first-century.

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“That is where the story begins, in your body, and everything will end in the body as well.”
Winter Journal, Paul Auster (2013, p. 12)

“The central illusion of a Presidential campaign is that a candidate can, through constant motion and boundless energy, meet countless people and, in the end, give voice to the experience of the country.” / “The Dream Deferred,” Benjamin Wallace-Wells (2017, p. 30)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Imagine that you have the possibility of taking a plane to look at the United States from above. Then imagine that you can see, on a three-dimensional map, all the communicative practices that occur within this nation. Imagine that you can see all the highways, roads, and streets where trucks, buses, and automobiles move human bodies and goods from one point to another; television and radio networks that convey audiovisual messages; newspapers, magazines, and letters which carry printed messages; internet servers and social media platforms that enable the circulation of information through computers interconnected by a massive digital network; and millions of conversations that allow interpersonal communications among bodies. Now imagine that you can isolate all the communicative processes related to the political realm: press conferences and journalistic interviews with politicians; speeches in rallies and people participating in demonstrations; the creation, dissemination, and consumption of political news through mass and digital media; deliberations in federal and local congresses and in civic associations; political conversations in workplaces, schools, and bedrooms.

Now imagine that after isolating the communications in the political realm, you have the power to separate all the communication processes that occur during a presidential campaign: candidates and their staff crafting a detailed and enormous strategy for communicating through radio and television, Facebook and Twitter, email and regular mail; professionals of public relations who analyze, recraft, and mediate the messages produced by the candidates and their staff; people who join the campaign as volunteers and who go house by house registering voters and trying to persuade them to vote for a political project; people discussing during lunch about

the electoral campaigns and individuals making memes using the messages produced by the political parties on the Internet.

Take one step further and imagine that you can extract the communicative processes between a presidential candidate and residents who pertain to a subset of a city, such as the Latino community of Northeast Philadelphia. Imagine professionals producing political messages in Spanish and English, which then are distributed to local newspapers, radio stations, TV channels, and digital media. Imagine field operators recruiting people to volunteer for a bilingual campaign. Imagine hundreds of volunteers that make phone calls and knock on doors of Latino residents in order to convey a political message. Finally, imagine people learning about the candidate through different mass media and digital platforms; people attending public events to support or criticize the candidates; people talking in English and Spanish about the presidential campaigns.

The exercise of imagining an aerial and three-dimensional view of the United States political communication system is, in a nutshell, the main idea that drove this dissertation. Naturally, I am aware of the impossibility of actually being able to identify, extract and analyze *all* the communicative processes that occur during an electoral campaign. However, the exercise is useful because it depicts the gist of the research that I present in this document: the understanding of political communication as human practices informed by the actions of thousands, and sometimes, millions of people; political communication as processes that are part of the historical development of societies; political communication as a set of multi-spatial (i.e., local, national, global), multidimensional (i.e., political, economic, cultural), and multilevel (i.e., interpersonal, mass, and digital-networked communication) processes that structure the production and reproduction of political power.

Drawing from the previous ideas, the general objective of this research was to observe, describe, and analyze the communicative actions and practices that informed the United States' political communication system during the 2016 presidential campaigns, in order to examine a system that organizes a large-scale political process. In particular, I immersed myself in a fraction of a local communication system to observe how individuals produced and experienced political communication during the general elections. In short, this dissertation is about how Hillary Clinton, the Democratic presidential candidate, and her staff, created communication systems to contact Latinos during the campaign and, specifically, how these systems operated in Northeast Philadelphia, a heavy Latino populated area.

Throughout this introduction, I explain the primary structure of the dissertation, as well as a summary of each of its chapters.

The Political Communication Systems Model

The dissertation opens with a chapter that situates the investigation within the political communication research field. I begin with a summary of the historical characteristics of political communication research in the United States. I argue, as other scholars have claimed, that the field has been dominated by theoretical perspectives emanated from political science, social psychology, and mass communication research, and methodological approaches that privilege quantifying than interpreting political communication practices (e.g., Barnhurst, 2011; Karpf, Kreiss, Nielsen, & Powers, 2015; Nielsen, 2014; D. M. Ryfe, 2001). This order of things offered the opportunity for expanding the field and observing political communication from other theoretical and methodological perspectives.

Drawing from the previous reflections about the research field, I present the Political Communication Systems Model, which is a toolkit informed by analytical concepts that offers a

scaffold to observe, deconstruct, analyze, and theorize on political communication. The model suggests studying this matter from cultural and sociological perspectives that seek to interpret and understand political communication as a set of actions and practices that structure the distribution and allocation of power in human societies. This model does not predict the effects and outcomes of political communication, nor seek to quantify its attributes. Instead, the Political Communication Systems Model points which elements of political communication could be studied from qualitative and interpretative perspectives.

This model is the outcome of more than ten years of studying political communication in Mexico (Larrosa-Fuentes, 2006, 2014, 2016b, 2016c, 2016d; Larrosa-Fuentes & Paláu Cardona, 2013) and now in the United States. Since 2006 I have been examining how communication structures electoral cycles. In this process, I have dealt with the difficulty of doing interpretative research in a field that is dominated by theories and methods that are not appropriate for this purpose. Hence, the Political Communication Systems Model is a proposal that joins recent efforts for filling the vacuum that exists in the scholarly understanding of political communication outside the dominant social science's paradigm. This project is not reinventing the wheel. Rather, the Political Communication Systems Model is a creative synthesis (Sánchez Ruiz, 1992, p. 57) of previous ideas for studying (political) communication, as well as social and political systems at large. In particular, the proposal is based on the work of Alexander (2011) Chadwick (2017), Clarke (2005) Craig (1999), Habermas (2006) and Martín Serrano (1994). Therefore, it is the combination of various authors' ideas, plus my inputs on how to study this matter.

The model defines political communication as a human practice, historically situated, in which two or more individuals exchange symbolic forms in order to structure the production,

reproduction, and control of political power. Then it moves on to explain that communication, as a practice, is informed by human actions. These practices build systems of relations, which structure political worlds. In these relations, individuals have different and asymmetrical levels of power for using and controlling political communication. Thus, the model proposes to focus on how humans perform actions and practices that structure the production and reproduction of political power. The second half of chapter 2 is dedicated to explaining and unpacking the specific characteristics of the model.

Research Grammar: Time, Space, and Community

As can be observed, contrary to other approaches, the Political Communication Systems Model is concentrated in examining the human actions and practices that, in concert, create political communication systems. In this sense, I found that a presidential campaign was an exciting spot for testing the model and its central ideas. However, given my capacities and economic resources as a doctoral student, I was not able to create a national project on the matter—even if the focus was only in the part of the presidential campaigns devoted to outreaching Latinos. For these reasons, I decided to observe, from Philadelphia, the development of Hillary Clinton's strategies to contact the Latino community.

When I started the research, I soon realized that the presidential Democratic campaign was concentrated on contacting Latinos who lived in the Northeast region of Philadelphia. In 2016, this territory was populated by 290,000 inhabitants of which 28% were Latinos (Simply Analytics, 2017). This situation was beneficial for my research design because it helped to delimit, with more precision, the boundaries of the study. Northeast Philadelphia became the physical space where I spent five months observing the development of the presidential campaign and analyzing how people participated and experienced this electoral process.

With the former ideas in mind, I developed three research questions:

RQ1. How was political communication produced, disseminated, and decoded through interpersonal, mass, and digital communication by the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents during the 2016 presidential campaign?

RQ2. What were the functions, norms, and values that structured the political communication systems among the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents during the 2016 presidential campaign?

RQ3. What were the power relations that informed the interactions between the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents in the political communication system during the 2016 presidential campaign?

Grounded Theory, Live Ethnography, and Participant Observation

The second chapter of the dissertation deals with the methods for answering the research questions. The research design was built on qualitative and interpretative terrains, and I chose grounded theory as a general method for conducting the investigation. Grounded theory was an appropriate choice because, contrary to the traditional route of the scientific method, the researcher is allowed to go to the fieldwork, collect data, and then theorize on the phenomenon at hand (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001; Clarke, 2005; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). The Political Communication Systems Model it is not a finished work, and grounded theory was helpful for expanding its theoretical and practical horizons through the analysis of the observations that I performed during the presidential elections in Northeast Philadelphia.

The Political Communication Systems Model is not finished in terms of the beginning and ending of an intellectual work: I believe that the model still needs to be tested, adjusted, and

expanded. However, its incompleteness also speaks to an epistemological stand, which is aligned to postmodern and constructivist versions of grounded theory. The model does not seek to render or find a unique, ultimate and universal truth about political communication. As Clarke suggests, these kinds of investigations explicitly abandon hopes of "complete (macro or other) theoretical explanations, universal cures, transhistorical solutions" (2005, p. 18).

Under the grounded theory umbrella, I used two methods to collect data from Clinton's national and local presidential campaigns. First, I made use of "live ethnography" (Chadwick, 2013; Elmer, 2013) which is a hybrid method for observing political campaigns. Doing live ethnography entails following media events in real time and collecting information such as TV and radio shows, audiovisual advertisements, newspaper articles, blog posts, social media publications and more. Throughout the general elections, I gathered information about the Democratic candidate and her campaign acts, which allowed me to reconstruct the main characteristics of her national Latino outreach.

Second, the central part of the research is based on participant observation. From August to November of 2017, I worked as a volunteer in one of the field operations offices that Clinton opened in Philadelphia. During that time, I observed how paid staffers, volunteers, and residents produced and experienced the local campaign. These observations included interviews with these individuals, as well as collecting textual materials such as literature from Clinton's camp, signs, brochures, manuals, among many other things. Both methods, the live ethnography and participant observation, are thoroughly explained in chapter 3.

The Historical Context of the 2016 Elections

Political communication systems are in constant change and are influenced by the historical context where they are embedded. Thus, the fourth chapter seeks to provide a historical context for the empirical observations that I performed in Northeast Philadelphia.

The 2016 presidential campaign took place in a time of an increasing stratification of media outlets and fragmentation of audiences (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008). In few decades, the United States media system changed from being sustained by few national media outlets and hundreds of local newspapers, to one informed by thousands of media outlets with the capacity of reaching local, national, and global audiences. The former stratification process occurred while media audiences fragmented. With the possibility of having more options for media consumption, the twentieth-century mass public became scattered across a stratified media system. Furthermore, and crucially, the 2016 electoral cycle was developed amidst a polarized electorate regarding party affiliation and identity (Jacobson, 2016; Kreiss, 2017; Prior, 2013a).

In this context, the general elections were characterized by the clash of two candidates who wanted to pitch, and in some cases, impose their political values. As I explain in chapter 4, much of the disputes that we saw during the electoral cycle were about American values and identity. Both candidates vehemently expressed their views of who could be a citizen, which were the values that defined the nation, and which were the characteristics of the American Dream. Thus, in this chapter, I concentrate on these axiological disputes during the electoral cycle and explain how Clinton's campaign was designed to support and praise liberal values such as globalism, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and diversity, values that shaped many of her most important economic and political proposals.

In particular, the analysis is focused on Clinton's Latino national campaign. I suggest that, by and large, the messages that the Democratic candidate created for the Latino community contained many of the general values that she supported during the election. Through a hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013), Clinton became a candidate that sought to defend the Latino community from Trump's anti-immigration rhetoric. Moreover, by protecting this community, she promoted values that included a cosmopolitan view of immigration and a multicultural understanding of the United States society.

Ground Game as a Key Strategy of Presidential Campaigns

After analyzing Clinton's national campaign to contact the Latino community, I zoom in to explore how this campaign took place in Northeast Philadelphia. Since 2004 and in the context of presidential campaigns in the United States, the ground game has reemerged as a strategy for contacting local communities. Clinton's 2016 campaign was not the exception and, in Northeast Philadelphia, she opened a field operations office where paid staffers and volunteers worked during the general elections to contact thousands of individuals through online messages, phone calls, and face-to-face conversations. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 offer the results of a participant observation of the Northeast Philadelphia ground game operation.

The ground game, as a political communication strategy, is old. Grassroots party contacts were very popular during the first part of the twentieth-century in the United States. In a pre-broadcast era, political campaigns relied on public meetings where candidates gathered with their supporters and also recruited local volunteers for field operations (Stromer-Galley, 2014, p. 12). In other words, face-to-face encounters shaped political communication systems at that time. Gradually, the campaigns became dominated by mass media—especially by television—and party contacts declined (Beck & Heidemann, 2014; Read, 2008, p. 170). However, in recent

electoral cycles (2004, 2008, 2012), grassroots organization and mobilization have become, again, an essential element within the United States Presidential elections (Darr & Levendusky, 2014): now parties and politicians have more informational resources to organize, with greater precision, their field operations and their campaigns in general.

There are at least three main differences between twentieth-century grassroots party contacts and the twentieth first-century ground game. First, field operations went from a local to a national organization system. In the twentieth-century, grassroots party contacts were organized by local parties and laypersons that wanted to be volunteers for the campaign. As time went by, national parties took control of these activities (Beck & Heidemann, 2014). Second, the twentieth-century ground game was designed and executed by laypersons working as volunteers. In the most recent elections, this strategy has been developed and produced by professional agents of the electoral arena such as political consultants and marketing firms (Gerber & Green, 2000, p. 1). Volunteers are still an essential element, but they are only one part of this organization. Third, and this is related to the previous points, the old ground game was a strategy developed by the practical sense and resources of local political operators. Recent ground games have been data-driven, which means that campaigns can buy and construct massive databases that contain personal, commercial, psychological and political information about voters (Howard, 2005). This info allows designing a general strategy that can be controlled by a central node and tailor specific elements of the ground game depending on the characteristics of a particular community (Nielsen, 2012, pp. 137–158).

The contemporary ground game is a political communication strategy that has the primary objective of outreaching the population in their own houses through canvassing, phone calls, mailing, public meetings, and online messages. Candidates and political parties use this

strategy to establish direct communication with the people and provide them information about the electoral process, persuade them to vote for or against a candidate or idea, and mobilize them to vote. In small elections, political candidates make phone calls and knock on the doors of their potential voters (e.g., Read, 2008). However, in larger elections, especially presidential ones, candidates cannot do the ground game by themselves. They cannot move around all the country and knock on all the doors of the persons who live in the United States or to call them by telephone. Therefore, campaigns open offices around the country, hire staff and recruit volunteers to represent candidates and speak with members of a local community.

Social Science Research on Ground Game

Because the ground game was a dormant political strategy in the second part of the twentieth century, there is not much research devoted to studying this form of political communication when compared, for example, to the substantial body of research on mass communication and elections. Nevertheless, since the late 1990s, there has been a growing group of researchers that have shown interest in field operations. Most of the knowledge that exists about the ground game has been produced by scholars who have performed experiments to test the effects of personalized communication and to find the best practices for winning an election. In this tradition of research, stands out the work conducted by Donald Green and Allan Gerber (2015), who has become a model for other scholars (e.g., Gerber & Green, 2000; John & Brannan, 2008; Mann & Klofstad, 2015; Panagopoulos, 2009; R. Ramírez, 2005). This body of research shows that canvassing is, by far, the most efficient way of mobilizing people to vote, followed by telephone calls, and mailing, which present modest effects. Among their most significant findings is that a competent ground game helps to increase in one or two points the percentage of voters for one candidate which, in a tight competition, could be meaningful to win

an election (Darr & Levendusky, 2014; Masket, 2009). In short, this research studies ground game's effects.

In contrast, few investigations study the ground game from an interpretative perspective, which opens the possibility of observing political campaigns and communication from a different angle. In this sense, chapters 5, 6 and 7 seek to expand the incipient qualitative research on field operations (García Bedolla & Michelson, 2012; Nielsen, 2012; Read, 2008) and to render a new analysis of the participation of Latinos during the election—an analysis that is not anchored to the experimental research tradition (Abrajano & Panagopoulos, 2011; Collingwood, Barreto, & Garcia-Rios, 2014; Martinez, 2010; R. Ramírez, 2005; Soto & Merolla, 2006).

Furthermore, these chapters seek to contribute to understanding the ground game from a communicational perspective. Most of the research previously reviewed comes from the areas of political and cognitive sciences, and few communication scholars have studied this topic. For example, at the moment of writing these lines, in *Political Communication*, the flagship journal of the field, there were only two articles that explicitly studied the ground game in electoral campaigns and both of the studies emanated from the political science field (Masket, Sides, & Vavreck, 2016; Sinclair, McConnell, & Michelson, 2013). Therefore, there is plenty of space for researching ground game operations from communicative and interpretative perspectives.

Clinton's Ground Game in Northeast Philadelphia

The Democratic field operations campaign had three primary objectives at the national level. In the first part of the electoral cycle, which ran from July to mid-October, the first goal was to register three million of new voters across the country (Clinton, 2016h). The second goal was to create strategies to persuade undecided voters to support Hillary Clinton. Finally, the third objective was to "Get Out the Vote" (GOTV), which consists of convincing people to get out

their houses, go to the polling station, and vote for the Democratic candidate. The development of these strategies in Northeast Philadelphia are explained and analyzed in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

On her website, Hillary Clinton had, in English and Spanish, a micro-site dedicated to explaining her ground game and how to participate in it. An essential element of the website was an explanation of how to become a volunteer. In a video, Jessica Morales-Rocketto, the general Digital Organizing Director, described that one of the best ways of helping Clinton was becoming a volunteer and joining the campaign. In that video, Morales-Rocketto detailed the main elements that composed the ground game and thus, the activities in which people could get involved. The first and most extensive procedure to outreach individuals was making phone calls, which in the campaign jargon is called phone banking. The main idea is that volunteers can call persons around the country and persuade people to vote for the Democratic candidate. In Northeast Philadelphia, phone banking was the most crucial strategy for contacting Latinos. Staffers and volunteers used landlines and mobile phones to communicate with people in order to convince them to participate in the campaign and take part of the organization of public events, phone banks, and canvassing sessions. Furthermore, during the days previous to the election, phone calls were used to contact people, remember them that the election was close, and convince them to “Get Out the Vote.”

The second strategy of the ground game was organizing local events. The campaign hosted events to talk about the elections and help Clinton's candidacy. In these events, people gathered to discuss the elections and the candidates; watched the presidential debates; made phone calls; and organized grassroots fundraising parties to collect money for the campaign. During my participant observation, I was able to be part of some events. For example, the campaign organized a debate party at a restaurant called "Tierra Colombiana,” where a group of

thirty persons, most of them Latinos, watched the second presidential debate. Moreover, during the general elections, there were phone banking parties where Latinos were summoned to make calls to their neighbors, and voter registration drives on the streets, supermarkets, and churches. Sometimes, in these events, politicians and celebrities appeared at the office to cheer the volunteers. In one occasion, Maria Quiñonez, a Puerto Rican councilwoman gave a short speech and, on a different day, the Colombian actor John Leguizamo swung by the office.

Canvassing was the third ground game strategy. In a video published on Clinton's website, a volunteer defined the activity as "the art of good old-fashioned knocking on doors and convincing people to vote." As the social science literature explains, canvassing is the most expensive strategy for changing people's minds and hearts and mobilizing them on election day, but it is also the most effective: according to hundreds of experiments, canvassing is the best form to mobilize voters (Gerber & Green, 2000; Green & Gerber, 2015, p. 17). For achieving this goal, Clinton's campaign had to recruit millions of volunteers across the country and train them to contact people in their homes to deliver specific messages. In Northeast Philadelphia, staffers and volunteers had the mission of knocking on the doors of thousands of the residents in the area.

The fourth strategy entailed using diverse digital platforms to outreach individuals through emails, social media, and text messages (Aldrich, Gibson, Cantijoch, & Konitzer, 2016). The primary source of information of this part of the campaign was Clinton's website (www.hillaryclinton.com), where people could register and receive news about the national campaigns, as well as personalized information of local events. After the subscription, people would receive phone calls from the local campaign to participate organizing events and as canvassers and phone bankers. On top of this, the local office opened social media accounts on

Facebook and Twitter. In these social media platforms, campaign staffers published pictures, videos, and information about local activities and distributed information of scheduled registration drives, rallies, and other local events.

Human Bodies as Basic Material Elements of Political Communication Systems

Although I began the fieldwork guided by the research design explained in previous sections, I was seeking that the empirical data, as the grounded theory method suggests, could help me to open new paths for analyzing Clinton's ground game and political communication at large. By the middle of the campaign, in October of 2016, I had an encounter that opened the path that I was looking for. The encounter was an interview with Carmen Rodriguez, an elderly Puerto Rican woman who wanted to participate as a volunteer in the campaign. In the following narration, I describe the meeting with Carmen—whose real name was changed to maintain her confidentiality. Then I proceed to explain how and why this encounter was so influential in the whole argument of this dissertation.[1]

Scene 1. "As You Can See, I Can't Move"

It was the second week of October. That afternoon I was the only volunteer that was phone banking in the office, along with three organizers who also were making phone calls. The goal of that day was to recruit persons to volunteer for the campaign. The last stretch of the cycle was close, and we needed dozens of individuals that wanted to help us to persuade people to "Get Out the Vote" for Clinton. The task of making phone calls was tedious. In most of the cases people did not respond, and when they answered, they were reluctant to take part in the campaign.

[1] From this point, some of my field observations are organized and presented as "scenes." These scenes are the narrations of what I saw and experienced throughout my fieldwork. For a detail explanation of this methodological decision, see chapter 4.

One of the last persons that I had to call that afternoon was Carmen Rodriguez. I dialed her phone number, and she answered. Carmen was friendly, and speaking in Spanish told me that she was not able to volunteer for the campaign because she could not move from her wheelchair. “But if you want to,” she said, “I can persuade my neighbors to volunteer for the campaign. But I need signs, flyers, and flags for my windows, so people can know that I have information.” “Sure,” I replied, “I can get you some stuff.” After that, we talked a few more things about the campaign and ended the conversation. That day, when I was leaving the office, I asked Carlos, my supervisor, if it was a good idea to bring materials to Carmen. Carlos looked at me, shrugged, and said, “yup, no problem: there is a lot of things to do here, but if you have time, go ahead.”

One week later, I took a bus that ran through Frankford Street, under the rails of the “el,” the elevated train that crosses Philadelphia from West to East and that then turns to North. I jumped off the train at the intersection of Ontario Street and Frankford Avenue. A few blocks later, I arrived at Carmen's place, a two-story row house, with a black door at the front.

After ringing the bell, I heard Carmen's voice from the inside. "*Está abierto, pasa,*” she told me in Spanish, asking me to come in. She was sitting in her living room, talking with a young woman who was saying goodbye. The television, a 1990s Sony, was on, broadcasting “La Rosa de Guadalupe,” a Mexican soap opera. Carmen was a 67 years old Puerto Rican woman, who had lived in Philly since she was 16. Widowed and with two grown-up sons, she told me that she was retired after living her life as a nurse. Two weeks before she had surgery on her knees and wasn't able to walk.

“I am a Democrat and I participated many times in political campaigns, but not anymore. As you can see, I can’t move, and because of my arthritis I can't dial a phone or use a

computer," Carmen said with a resigned smile, while she showed me her hands, deformed because of her arthritis.

Despite her physical impediments, Carmen was willing to talk to her neighbors and spread the word about Hillary Clinton's candidacy. I gave her a bunch of signs and posters and asked if she had someone who could take her to the polling station on the election day. She told me that one of her neighbors would help her.

Before leaving her house, she asked me to cut one rose bush of her garden and take it to the office. "These flowers will give you good luck to win the election: these are roses from the Virgin [Mary]," she said. Although it was the first time that we met, Carmen extended her arms to hug me and said goodbye.

The encounter with Carmen was a crucial moment in the research process and revealed a promising path for interpreting the results of my observations. After the interview, I understood that human bodies were used as the basic material elements of an infrastructure that supported the political communication system that Clinton built during the campaign. As some scholars have argued, infrastructures tend to be imperceptible until the point when they present a problem or stop functioning: "The normally invisible quality of working infrastructure becomes visible when it breaks: the server is down, the bridge washes out, there is a power blackout" (Star, 1999, p. 382). Carmen was very enthusiastic about Clinton and promised to vote for her. However, she was not able to move from her house. The impossibility of transporting her body to the office to make phone calls and participating in the canvassing sessions was an obstacle to her participation in the communication system. Furthermore, she was not able to take action from home because her fingers were deformed, in pain, and were not in shape to dial a phone or type on a keyboard to send electronic messages. When Carmen told me that *she was willing* to participate, but she

was not able to volunteer due to physical constraints, it was clear that her body was a limitation to plug into a communication system. Carmen's story offered me new ideas to penetrate, with more analytical power, in the political communication system that I was observing.

Drawing from the insight provided by the encounter, I started to pay more attention to human bodies and their role in political communication. Moreover, when I was in the process of analyzing the fieldwork observations, I consciously decided to focus my analytical efforts to unpack this issue. Therefore, chapters 5, 6 and 7 contain not only a description of the ground game but an interpretation of this communicative strategy in the light of what I learned during the interview with Carmen. In chapter 5, I focus the attention to describe the material units of any political communication system, which are human bodies. This section offers a reconstruction of the organizational structure of the Northeast Philadelphia office and the paid staffers and volunteers—with special emphasis on Latinos. In chapter 6, I analyze how organizers and volunteers were devoted to registering voters in Northeast Philadelphia. In national and local levels, Clinton's voter registration was framed under the idea "your vote is your voice." Thus, in this chapter, I analyze the symbolic nature of human bodies within an electoral system that aggregates the "voices" of those who are allowed to vote. Finally, chapter 7 contains a description of the GOTV organization. In this section, I narrate how the campaign trained volunteers to communicate with Northeast Philadelphia Latinos through online messaging, phone banking, and canvassing.

Finally, in the last part of the dissertation are the conclusions, where I seek to answer the research questions. By and large, I claim that Hillary Clinton built a hybrid political communication system to communicate with Northeast Philadelphian Latinos. The system, which was built to inform, persuade, and mobilize voters, and ultimately, win the election, was

controlled by a national team of consultants, coordinated by hired staffers, and performed by volunteers. In Northeast Philadelphia, the Democratic campaign developed a bilingual ground game for contacting Latinos. Moreover, the local campaign embraced the values that Hillary Clinton was supporting at a national level and that acted as a counter discourse to the anti-immigrant and anti-Latino rhetoric promoted by Donald Trump.

In theoretical terms, the dissertation expands the Political Communication Systems Model and suggests that the human body is the primary material unit in political communication infrastructures. These infrastructures, which can be as small as two persons and as large as many human bodies exist, support the operation of political communication systems. Additionally, it offers evidence to argue that, contrary to a well-established academic and political belief, political campaigns have other functions than winning an election. In the case at hand, the evidence suggests that a presidential campaign generates political knowledge, distributes information about the political system's rules of operation, and mobilize people in order to perform political practices. These activities contribute to the social, political and cultural reproduction of human communities.

CHAPTER 2

THE POLITICAL COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS MODEL

In contemporary democracies, presidential elections are complex processes that define the political organization of a whole country. These processes, as I will explain throughout this chapter, are structured by communication. Political campaigns are informed by audiovisual advertisements that are broadcast through radio, TV, and cable systems; by journalistic coverage of media institutions; by rallies where candidates speak directly to their supporters; by thousands of digital messages that run through the Internet and platforms such as email services, social media like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube; and so forth. In short, as Stromer-Galley suggests, "political campaigns are inherently communication campaigns" (2014, p. 12).

In this sense, this chapter presents a general description and analysis of how political campaigns have been observed, studied, measured, and interpreted by the United States academic community. Thus, the first two sections of this chapter explore the history and main traditions of the political communication research developed in the United States in the last eight decades with an emphasis on the study of political campaigns.

After reviewing the genealogy of political communication research and some of is most relevant academic achievements, I concluded that, by and large, political communication investigations lack epistemological and methodological diversity. This gap in the scholarship constitutes a window of opportunity for doing political communication research grounded in constructivist and critical approaches and driven by qualitative inquiry methods. Therefore, in the fourth section, I render the Political Communication Systems Model, a proposal that seeks to push political communication research to the interpretive and qualitative realm.

Finally, in the fifth section are the conclusions and final remarks where I explain that, in recent times, there has been an incipient emergence of interpretative political communication scholarship. This dissertation is an effort to contribute to that emergence, through the analysis and interpretation of how a presidential candidate, as Hillary Clinton, developed a political campaign (i.e., a myriad of communication processes) to communicate with the Latino community across the United States and, particularly, with those who lived in the Northeast region of Philadelphia.

Political Communication's History as an Academic Field

Three identifiable traditions inform political communication research in the United States (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; Blumler, 2015; Nielsen, 2014; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). The first tradition was developed before and during the World Wars. Some authors, such as Scheufele and Tewksbury observe this period with disdain and suggest that it was the pre-historic period of political communication when scholars had little theoretical and methodological experience and created explanations such as the magic bullet and the hypodermic needle (2007, p. 10). However, other authors consider that this was a prolific period and scholars developed interesting approaches to communication and politics (Karpf et al., 2015, p. 1893). Notable within this tradition is the work of Walter Lippmann (1922), Robert E. Park, (1922), and Harold D. Laswell (1948, 2013), researchers who investigated the concepts of public opinion, the role of media in industrial society, and the characteristics of political propaganda. Although they did not consider themselves as political communication scholars, their work influenced the research produced in the following decades. In general terms, this tradition suggested that mass media were powerful institutions and that its messages had substantial effects on the population.

The second tradition of political communication was born after the World Wars when American and European scholars started to develop new research programs throughout the United States. Among these researchers, the work and oeuvre of the sociologist Paul Felix Lazarsfeld stand out from others. In particular, Lazarsfeld was interested in understanding how people make choices and how mass communication had an effect on those decisions. *Personal Influence* (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955), the most prominent book of this scholar, inaugurated what has been called the limited-effects model. This model states that contrary to the ideas of the first tradition of political communication, mass media did not present a strong effect on people's opinions and choices. While news coverage may influence an issue's salience for an audience, it lacks the power to change the audience's opinion about the different sides of an issue. Media may affect attention under the limited effects model, but they can seldom persuade the change of personal attitudes.

The limited effects tradition guided most of the mainstream (political) communication research until it was contested in the 1970s by a new set of investigations that suggested, again, that mass media had strong effects on audiences. The most prominent and influential of these studies had its origin in the 1968 “Chapel Hill study” (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). In this study, McCombs and Shaw found a correlation between what Chapel Hill voters named as the most important "issues of the day" and the most important issues in five different local newspapers (McCombs et al., 2013, p. 384). This correlation was named the agenda-setting effect and was defined as a process where public issues can be transferred from media outlets to peoples’ minds (Vu, Guo, & McCombs, 2014, p. 670). The agenda-setting theory influenced two other theories that suggest strong effects and that have influenced political communication research to this day (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 10). The first, media priming, refers to the effect that a mass-

mediated message has in the judgments and behavior of an individual (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, & Dillman Carpentier, 2008). The second, framing, refers to a process where an agent (individual or collective) that produces or receives a message makes salient some aspects of reality instead of others and, as a result, have certain control over the communication processes (Scheufele, 1999).

Political Communication Research and Electoral Campaigns

The three traditions briefly described in the last section do not contain or represent all the political communication research that has been done in the United States since the twentieth century. However, according to different authors (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; Blumler, 2015; Nielsen, 2014; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), these traditions have proved to be the most influential within a field that acquired its professional institutionalization in 1970s through the creation of special groups and divisions in the International Communication Association (ICA) and the political communication section of the American Political Science Association (APSA) (Nielsen, 2014, p. 55; D. M. Ryfe, 2001, p. 408).

Although the traditions have various understandings of the communication phenomena, they are united by the idea that the primary purpose of this research field should be finding the *effects* of interpersonal and mass communication in the political opinions, expressions, and behaviors of individuals (McLeod, Kosicki, & McLeod, 2008, pp. 228–229; Nielsen, 2014, p. 11). In short, these traditions have agreed that political communication scholars should keep researching the media effects paradigm, which is aligned with what Robert Merton (1962) coined as "theories of middle range." According to this author, social sciences require theorizations that lie between theories that try to explain the whole social system and those observations that cannot offer sociological generalizations of human behavior. In the middle, Merton argues, social

scientists have real possibilities of creating hypotheses about human behavior and testing them through empirical evidence (Merton, 1962, p. 6).

Throughout the last century, but especially in the last forty years, political communication scholarship has been growing at an accelerated pace, and the outcome is a robust corpus of knowledge that is placed in multiple academic venues, especially in journals such as *Political Communication*, *The International Press/Politics Journal*, and *Journal of Communication*. These and other publications convey valuable knowledge that political communication scholars have created around different phenomena, such as political campaigns and electoral processes.

For example, political communication scholarship has demonstrated that advertisements have strong effects, depending on the time of exposure, on individuals' attitudes and political behaviors (Ridout, Franz, & Fowler, 2014); that opinion-congruent advertisements increase citizens' political participation (Matthes & Marquart, 2015); that political ads that portray negative views of minorities can enhance negative emotions and reactions (Schemer, 2012); that there are ways to avoid negative campaigns and strategies to diminish the negative frames that are created in potential voters (S. Craig, Rippere, & Grayson, 2014); and that people tend to pay more attention to positive campaigns during elections (Claibourn, 2012).

Moreover, we know that presidential debates have effects such as issue knowledge, issue salience, issue preference, agenda setting, candidate preference, and vote preference (Benoit, Hansen, & Verser, 2003); and that people watch debates while they perform other media operations, such as multitasking and double screening (Gottfried, Hardy, Holbert, Winneg, & Jamieson, 2016).

Different researchers on media and journalism have shown that that mass media has an influence on the public agenda during elections and that voters learn about politics through

media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, p. 184); that during an election people use cable systems and online media to fetch information about important political events (Tewksbury, 2006); that people that watch late-night comedy are more prone to follow presidential campaigns through national networks and cable systems (Feldman & Young, 2008); that presidential candidates have more positive news coverage if they speak about their "own" topics, that is, about the themes that the public associates with the candidates' parties (Hayes, 2008); that a diverse and partisan media system with fragmented audiences, such as the United States' could be one of the causes of political polarization (Prior, 2013a); and that in this complex communicative environment people have learned to consume information through processes such as selective approach and selective avoidance to news (Garrett & Stroud, 2014).

Furthermore, we know that interpersonal communication during electoral campaigns is also essential for persuading people to vote for a particular candidate and to mobilize voters during the election day. Experimental research has found that canvassing (i.e., knocking on doors to have face-to-face interactions with people) is the most robust strategy, when compared with phone banking, and mailing (Gerber & Green, 2000; Green & Gerber, 2015, p. 17), and that canvassing have stronger effects on partisan voters (Chung & Lingling, 2014).

Naturally, the aforementioned research results constitute only a small sample of political communication knowledge that has been created under the media effects paradigm and does not intend to include all the scholarship about this topic. The enumeration of these achievements has the intention to demonstrate the academic solidity and institutional robustness of the political communication research field in the United States, with an emphasis on electoral campaigns.

Mainstream Political Communication Research

Despite all the knowledge that has been created within the main traditions of political communication research, this academic field still has room for expanding its horizons. In recent times, political communication scholarship has been criticized for its positivistic roots and lack of academic imagination and innovation (Barnhurst, 2011); for stubbornly sticking to the theories that inform the third tradition of political communication and overlooking the social and technological changes of the last fifty years (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008); and for relying almost exclusively on quantitative research methods (Karpf et al., 2015; Kreiss, Barker, & Zenner, 2017; Nielsen, 2014).

The Epistemological Uniformity of Political Communication Research

The philosophical roots of political communication have clear linkages with general theories of democracy and with sociological and economic understandings of human beings (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 9). In a Hobbesian view, the philosophical foundations of mainstream political communication research explain that humans are individuals moved by desires and passions who make rational choices to survive. Thus, the intellectual genealogy and influences of political communication research are located in the realm of political science, social psychology, and mass communication research (Karpf et al., 2015, p. 1891; Nielsen, 2014, p. 9; D. M. Ryfe, 2001, pp. 408–409).

The *political* of political communication comes from political science. Its primary interest has been to research governmental processes and elections. Political scientists have observed communication as part of politics, but not as central processes for power reproduction. Social psychology also has a definite ascendancy in the field and scholars have been devoted to investigating how people make decisions, the mechanisms for making those decisions, and how

these mechanisms can be manipulated within a political context. Finally, mass communication research has blended the orientations of political science and social psychology and has focused on understanding the effects of mass communication and digital media on people's opinions, attitudes, and actions during electoral campaigns and as part of the quotidian governmental processes in contemporary political systems.

As can be observed, the philosophical and theoretical orientations of political communication lack the diversity that can be found in the range of possibilities that the social sciences and humanities offer. The shortage of diversity within the political communication field can be demonstrated, from a communicational perspective, using the constitutive metamodel of communication theories (R. Craig, 1999), which is a tool for analyzing the theories that inform the communication research field. This tool was constructed over three main ideas: 1) communication theories address communication as their primary epistemic concern; 2) communication theories try to explain communication as an essential human practice; 3) communication theories understand that communicative practices are the basis of all social processes; and 4) communication theories are discourses about communication phenomena. Drawing from these ideas, Craig classified communication theories according to seven research traditions: rhetorical, semiotic, phenomenological, cybernetic, socio-psychological, sociocultural, and critical. This classification led him to create a matrix for categorizing these traditions and discourses in order to organize the field through a model of models, that is, a metamodel.

The constitutive metamodel suggests a matrix for observing and analyzing the traditions involved in the efforts for theorizing communication (R. Craig, 1999, pp. 133–134). The matrix facilitates the process of finding connections between the seven theoretical traditions, topics, and levels of communication, epistemological and ontological stands, authors and schools of thought.

If the matrix is used to evaluate the epistemological diversity of political communication scholarship as part of the communication field, the results suggest that mainstream political communication is mostly located within the sociopsychological tradition, which is only one of the seven traditions of the metamodel.

According to Craig (1999), the sociopsychological tradition relies on experimental psychology and understands communication as "processes by which individuals interact and influence each other" (p. 143). Thus, from this perspective, communication "explains the causes and effects of social behavior and cultivates practices that attempt to exert intentional control over those behavioral causes and effects" (R. Craig, 1999, p. 143). These characteristics describe, in a general way, the main elements of political communication research explained in the previous section: the way in which interpersonal, group, mass, and networked communication have an effect on people's opinions, expressions, and behaviors; for example: the way in which political messages change or not, people's opinions about politicians and governmental institutions; public expressions about politics; and crucially, the ways in which people take political action, such as voting.

Before concluding this section, I would like to stress that, from this point, all my analytical and empirical investigations about political communication in this dissertation are located in the communication field and draw from a communicative dimension.

The Methodological Homogeneity of Political Communication Research

Since the advent of social sciences, positivism has been a dominant paradigm for creating research (Connell, 2007)—a situation which is also true for communication studies (Hardt, 2007). In the nineteenth century, an idea prevailed: that anthropology and sociology ought to follow the methods of the natural sciences, which were based on the positivistic paradigm.

Driven by these viewpoints, social scientists began to research in the same way that physicists and biologists work. Generally speaking, a positivist epistemology draws from the idea that there is an objective reality that is independent of the subjects. This fact can be observed and described through the scientific method, and the task of social scientists is to understand this reality, find its patterns, and eventually recognize the laws that govern social life. Throughout this inquiry, the social scientist is meant to be an objective observer who has the ethical and moral obligations of researching in order to find the truth about a particular phenomenon. At the bottom of this reasoning, social science is conceptualized as a tool for predicting and controlling reality.

As explained in a previous section, political communication research has been dominated by political science, social psychology, and mass communication, disciplines that, in general terms, have philosophical roots in the positivistic paradigm. Despite the fact that disciplines like sociology and anthropology have incorporated new research paradigms without eliminating the dominant and traditional ones, the majority of political communication scholars have not been compelled by post-modern intellectual movements such as the linguistic turn and the reemergence of qualitative methods for doing social research.

The positivist characteristics of political communication scholarship can be observed in the different handbooks and compilations on this topic (Bucy & Holbert, 2013; Donsbach & Traugott, 2008; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2008; Kenski & Jamieson, 2014; Lee Kaid, 2004; Semetko & Scammell, 2012). For example, as Karpf et al. explain (2015, p. 1898), the very foundations of the political communication research field in the United States demonstrate the lack of interest of incorporating history as a theoretical and methodological tool for investigating communication. In the first *Handbook of Political Communication* (Nimmo & Sanders, 1981), the editors described the origins of political communication as located in the behavioral studies produced in

the 1950s, leaving out all the scholarship produced before the twentieth century in the United States and any other countries: if Lippmann, Lazarsfeld, and Park were considered as part of the prehistory of political communication, there was no place for Hobbes, Machiavelli, Plato, and Aristotle, just to mention a few. This order of things is also present, for example, in the pages of *Political Communication*, which is the most influential journal in the field. As an illustration, a recent content analysis demonstrates that of 258 articles published in this flagship journal from 2003 to 2015, only "21 articles (8.1% of the total) present at least some primary data produced through qualitative fieldwork" (Karpf et al., 2015, p. 1891). Furthermore, the work of scholars who research political communication outside of the United States, or that is not published in English, is absent from the field (e.g., Demers & Lavigne, 2007; Gaurthier, Gosselin, & Mouchon, 1998; Habermas, 1985a, 1985b, Martín Serrano, 1994, 2008).

Political communication research has relied on content analysis, surveys, and experiments, avoiding qualitative methods such as historical approaches, critical analysis, interviews, case studies and field observations. The methods offered by quantitative scholarship are insufficient for investigating communication processes that have multiple spaces (i.e., local, national, regional, global), dimensions (i.e., historical, political, economic, cultural, social, technological), and levels (i.e., interpersonal, group, mass, and networked). Political communication scholarship is informed by studies that do not take into account the historical, structural, and cultural specificities of political communication processes (D. M. Ryfe, 2001). Researchers assume that a communication process will be the same in the 1980s as in the 2010s, in Argentina as in Korea, and operate in the same fashion when the protagonists are rich or poor. The predetermined categories of content analysis cannot grasp the nuances and complexities of political texts. Surveys tend to aggregate the individual opinions of thousands of people in order

to generalize public opinion (Barnhurst, 2011, p. 580), leaving out minorities and political dissent. Moreover, in recent times, even quantitative scholars have questioned the validity of surveys for measuring media consumption in general, and during electoral periods in particular (Prior, 2009, 2012, 2013b).

The Political Communication Systems Model: A Proposal

Drawing from the characterization of the political communication field contained in the previous sections, I would like to present a model for analyzing political communication in contemporary societies. This model seeks to expand political communication towards theoretical and methodological diversity and, in particular, "push" political communication to the "postmodern turn" (Clarke, 2005). This proposal, which is called the Political Communication Systems Model, pursues three main objectives. First, to provide a theoretical frame to study political communication from a communicative dimension. As explained before, political communication has been observed, mainly, from political science and psychology. Of course, there is nothing wrong with this order of things. However, as I have argued, the field would gain great insights if we also study political communication from other perspectives.

Second, to widen the scope of research that has been developed by mass communication scholars. Indeed, there are investigations of political communication from a communicative dimension. However, most of them, have been performed in the frame of mass communication research. The Political Communication Systems Model seeks to deconstruct political communication processes as hybrid systems. These systems can occur through mass communication but also in other communicative levels, such as interpersonal and digital communication, and through a myriad of communication systems that go beyond newspapers, radio, television, or cable.

The third objective is to push political communication to have an interpretative turn. Scholars have been interested in finding the effects of political communication in order to predict and control these processes. On the contrary, an interpretative understanding of political communication, such as the one that guides this dissertation, could be useful to explain how humans communicate in contemporary societies, which are the mechanisms of political communication, and what is the meaning and consequences of the ways in which we, as a society, develop political communication processes.

In the following sections, I sketch the main elements of the Political Communication Systems Model, which constitutes the theoretical scaffold of this doctoral study.

Defining Communication and Political Communication

The first step to present a model that seeks to analyze a phenomenon form a communicative dimension is defining the concept of communication. Drawing from Craig's (1999) metamodel, I suggest that communication is a human practice in which two or more individuals exchange symbolic forms and as a result, produce shared meanings. This practice is informed by three basic phases: the production and reproduction of the symbolic forms; the dissemination of the symbolic forms; and the reception and decoding of the symbolic forms.

In his metamodel, Craig (1999) also suggests that, by and large, communication theories understand that communicative practices are the basis of social processes, including those that occur in the political realm. In this sense, communication has always been one of the fundamental mechanisms for organizing human groups. Since ancient times, human beings have lived in communities as a means of self-preservation. These communities have adopted different forms of political organization that enable the distribution of social power, the allocation of goods that are scarce, the regulation of the use of violence, and others. Humans have used

communication, among other methods, to achieve political organization. Thus, every political organization, from the simplest to the most complex, has used communication as a mechanism through which political organization occurs and becomes possible. In this sense, I define political communication as a human practice in which two or more individuals exchange symbolic forms in order to structure the production, reproduction, and control of political power.

As can be observed, communication is a vital element that sustains social and political orders. In other words, political communication is a mechanism that allows social reproduction, which means the "perpetuation of a community" (Martín Serrano, 1994, p. 5).

The Practical and Symbolic Functions of Political Communication

Practices, as is the case of political communication, are informed by human actions, which are performed to achieve certain objectives. Put differently, political communication is always used to achieve goals in the realm of politics. An important set of questions to ask is related to the uses of political communication, that is, the functions of this human practice. Throughout this dissertation, I understand function as the way in which political communication is used. The Political Communication Systems Model suggests studying the communicative actions and practices of individuals who take part in political communication processes.

As noted by different scholars, social actions have practical and symbolic dimensions. In the sociological realm, Robert Merton explains that human actions have two distinct functions. Manifest functions are those actions that have clear and specific goals. For example, if someone says hello to another person, that person would expect a greeting in exchange. On the contrary, latent functions refer to actions that have specific goals but also contain unexpected or hidden purposes. Merton illustrates this case with a Hopi ceremonial which is meant to bring rain and, at

the same time, the ceremonial is a set of actions that have the function of reproducing the identity of the Hopi community (Merton, 1962, p. 118).

In the anthropological realm, Clifford Geertz (1973) makes a similar argument when explaining his idea of thick description. This author explicates that a human action can have different meanings according to the intention of those who perform the actions, the context of the action, and the characteristics of those who interpret the actions. Thus, he explains that an action such as opening and closing eyelids (i.e., blinking) could have different meanings, that range from an involuntary biological movement, to a sign of a conspiratorial relation between two persons.

Political communication scholars have also made a case for this distinction. For example, Stromer-Galley, in her book *Presidential Campaigns in the Internet Age*, narrowly explains that her analysis is based upon the distinction of the practical and symbolic elements of political campaigns (2014, p. 3). Likewise, Denton and Woodward use a Mertonian approach and suggest that the manifest functions of political communication "are objectives that are intended to achieve clearly understood ends," and the latent objectives, on the contrary, are "based on the psyche and its inner logic—a *psycho-logic*—rather than on the idealized rhetorical logic of the public forum" (Denton & Woodward, 1985, p. 18). And Alexander (2011) goes one step further and argues that political communication, indeed has practical and instrumental functions, but the crucial matter of study is concentrated on the cultural realm where symbolic struggles are always taking place.

Most of political communication research has focused on its practical functions. By and large, it is safe to say that, in order to achieve the perpetuation of a community, political

communication has been used in three instrumental ways. First, political communication has an epistemic function:

> Through communicative actions, individuals generate knowledge about the rules of operation, common goals, and values of a political system. Thus, political communication operates as a mechanism for producing political knowledge (Habermas, 2006; Martín Serrano, 1994). Second, political communication has the function of disseminating political knowledge among all the individuals who integrate a political system. In other words, political communication systems disseminate the political knowledge that people need for living according to the norms, laws, common goals, and values of a political community. Third, political communication function as a mechanism for organizing the collective decisions and actions that pursue the goals and values of a political community (Martín Serrano, 1994). (Larrosa-Fuentes, 2016b).

Obviously, there can be other forms of naming and organizing these functions; there can be other ways in which political communication has been used; and even more, the previous general functions could be unpacked in sub-functions. Political communication functions are not natural, but human created; they are not permanent, but contingent; they are not static but in flux. Furthermore, there is not a correct or incorrect way, per se, of using political communication. This is relevant because, from the Political Communication Systems Model perspective, it is futile to seek to uncover the universal functions of political communication. It is the task of researchers to play with these concepts, and refine and expand them.

In contrast, identifying the symbolic functions of political communication is more complicated, since, as Merton explains, they are not overt and manifest. Take the case of a Congress, where deputies deliberate about a new bill. The communication system is integrated by all the representatives that deliberate using a very structured way of communicating, where each of them has specific protocols for addressing each other. Here we are before communicative practices that are used to create political knowledge, such as a new bill (i.e., epistemic function). As researchers, we could study all the instrumental ways in which communication is used to

construct a bill. However, this communication system also has a symbolic dimension. For example, what is the role that space plays during deliberation? What does it mean that the physical space of a Congress is built in certain ways, where some of the representatives have more notoriety than others, or a Congress where all the representatives have the same chair and physical location? Moreover, what does it mean that the discussion of a bill takes place on a specific day and time? Are representatives wearing a particular uniform or dress code? What does it mean that representatives bow their heads to a political figure or leader during the discussions? These questions illustrate how political communication has a symbolic function, which is much more contingent than the practical functions previously discussed.

Typically, political communication research has been more concerned with understanding the instrumental uses of communication. One way of interpreting this situation is that contemporary scholars have been captive by a modern narrative that suggests that contemporary societies are politically organized upon rational thinking (e.g., Habermas, 1962), contrary to traditional societies, where symbolic communication was the backbone that structured communities—such as the Hopi example previously discussed. However, as Jeffrey Alexander explains, there is not a radical break between traditional and modern societies: "Moderns still have their myths and meanings; they are still sustained by narratives that move toward an idealized telos, that motivate rather than simply determine, that inspire and not only cause" (2011, p. 2). The political struggle, he explains, takes place in the production, reproduction, and control of the symbolic meanings, and "culture structures are as forceful, organized, and independent as social structures of a more material kind" (Alexander, 2011, p. 98). These structures structure, for example, how a political community allows and restricts, symbolically, the political participation of certain individuals according to their gender and race.

Thus, I would argue that drawing form Political Communication Systems Model, scholars could investigate the practical and symbolic functions of political communication at the same time—or at least, consider the existence of both categories. It is not enough to study the human actions and practices per se. It is also relevant to understand who performs those practices and in which context to grasp not only the instrumental uses of communication but its symbolic dimension.

Incorporating the Concept of System to the Model

Traditionally, the concept of system has been related to functionalist, neofunctionalist (e.g., Bertalanffy, 1969; Luhmann, 2000; Parsons, 1971), and even critical approaches (e.g., Habermas, 1985b, 1985a) to the study of communication. These bodies of research have been interested in finding or unveiling the characteristics of the system that drive human practices, including communication. These are considered macro-sociological theories that seek to render universal and general explanations of how humans behave and interact in the context of society. In this dissertation, I would like to depart from the previous understandings and move to a conceptualization of system as an analytical tool for interpreting the practices and structures that inform political communication.

In order to explain the concept of system, I heavily rely on the book *Hybrid Media Systems* (Chadwick, 2013), which contains a proposal for studying mediated political communication. According to Chadwick, systems are sets of relations and interactions among social actors, who are fighting for communicative power and resources. These relations and interactions are composed of human actions and practices—that is, people communicating with each other. These actions and practices, which are enacted and reenacted, build, over time, patterns, norms, and values that enable the system's operation (Chadwick, 2013, Chapter 1).

Although systems need certain stability, they are also a flexible, malleable, and messy set of relations that are constantly changing and taking new shapes. In this sense, one of the most important contributions of Chadwick's book is proposing the concept of hybridity for analyzing media systems. In Chadwick's words,

> hybridity offers a powerful mode of thinking about media and politics because it foregrounds complexity, interdependence, and transition. Hybrid thinking rejects simple dichotomies, nudging us away from 'either/or' patterns of thought and toward 'not only, but also' patterns of thought. It draws attention to flux, in-betweenness, the interstitial, and the liminal. It reveals how older and newer media logics in the fields of media and politics blend, overlap, intermesh, and coevolve. (2013, p. 8)

Political communication systems are organized sets of relations among actors, who are trying to achieve specific goals regarding the distribution of political power. These goals could be as simple as deciding who can speak during a debate, or as complex as organizing a contemporary electoral process.

Drawing from the previous ideas, the Political Communication Systems Model understands a system as an analytic and heuristic category that is useful to capture the communicative actions and practices of two or more actors, in which could be involved, or not, technological elements. An important distinction is that, in this model, systems are not real. In other words, a system is an analytical category to analyze political communication, not an ontological truth. Systems are not natural forms that communication actions and practices take. As Alexander explains, theories are "just a convenient analytic distinction that facilitates *communication*" (Abend, 2008, p. 190) and communication theories are communications about communication, discourses about discourses (i.e., a metadiscourse Littlejohn & Foss, 2004, p. 11). Thus, from an epistemological point of view, the Political Communication Systems Model is a *discourse* about how political communication could be unpacked, described, and analyzed.

The Political Communication Systems Model differs from the Hybrid Media Systems proposal in one substantial element. According to Chadwick [emphasis added], "the media system is understood as the socially constructed outcome of ongoing interactions and struggles between social actors, in which *media technologies are always implicated*" (2013, p. 5). Although media technologies are essential, I want to stress that, when studying political communication, we are before a set of actions and practices operated and performed by human beings. There cannot be political communication without individuals who live and communicate in groups, communities, cities, countries and now, in the entire world. Individuals are always communicating with each other to reproduce the political structures that organize a community. These processes require, no doubt, different communication technologies—especially in contemporary societies that need tools to organize large-scale processes such a presidential election. Thus, Hybrid Media Systems is a useful proposal to study indeed, media systems, but not all the range of possibilities that entail political communication, which cannot be constrained to communication systems where "media technologies are always implicated." In other words, the Hybrid Media Systems proposal is focused in the technological mediation and change within political communication, whereas the Political Communication Systems Model, suggest to first concentrate in the individuals and then in the technological mediations.

The Political Communication Systems Model suggests four elements for analyzing political communication. First, political communication systems are historical. These systems are not natural, and there is not a universal way of using communication for the distribution of power. These systems have been growing and gaining complexity over time and, as Chadwick (2013) explains, these communicative systems are born from previous systems and develop in hybrid forms. Moreover, the historical nature of these systems is related to the fact that human

actions and practices take place at a given moment. This means that a political communication system in the Middle Ages is different from one of the twentieth-first century and that the political communication systems during a democratic election are not the same in France as in the United States. Therefore, political communication systems are the result of previous systems and their present development occurs within a historical context that influences their operation. It is important to state that communication systems can be observed in all kinds of societies and political regimes and are not restricted to contemporary democracies.

Second, political communication systems can be observed in different social scales for doing micro, meso and macro sociological analysis (Sánchez Ruiz, 1991, pp. 33–34). This analytical tool operates as Matryoshka, the Russian dolls made of wood, of decreasing size that can be placed one inside of the other, from the smallest to the largest one. Political communication systems could be small as an assembly constituted by a couple of persons discussing political matters of an indigenous community, and as big as a large-scale process such as the presidential elections of a country that has more than 300 million inhabitants. Both systems could be observed using this model. Furthermore, both systems could be deconstructed in smaller systems in order to analyze them. Thus, the scale is useful for delineating the limits of the system that the researcher wants to observe.

Third, political communication systems are enacted by actors that seek to use and control these systems. The concept of a system is valuable to study political communication because a system is built upon the relations that are created among individuals and between individuals and technology. In these systems, individuals have different and asymmetrical communicative powers. Power is defined as the capacity of an individual to influence the order of things in the social world (Fricker, 2009, p. 9) and in this case, a political communication system. Therefore,

the Political Communication Systems Model proposes to investigate political communication as interactions where individuals have different levels of communicative power.

Fourth, political communication systems are hybrid, complex, and constantly changing (Chadwick, 2013). Systems are like rivers, which are flowing all the time. Thus, the primary objective of researching political communication systems is finding ways to catch, as much as possible, the elements and complexity of these objects in flux, which are constituted, as previously explained, by practical and symbolic human actions. One way of analyzing this flux is looking for critical junctures when systems tend to be more active. Traditionally, in contemporary societies, electoral cycles are critical junctures when political communication systems present bigger complexities, but not only. Other conjunctures could be media events, terrorist attacks, or a legislative process.

A Brief Summary of the Model

Political communication is defined as any practice in which two or more individuals exchange symbolic forms in order to structure the production, reproduction, and control of political power. These relations are informed by actions that are performed to archive certain objectives. These actions and practices have practical and symbolic functions that, by and large, allow the perpetuation of a community through the creation and dissemination of political knowledge and the organization of collective decisions and actions of a political community.

The model proposes to observe political communication as systems informed by relations of various individuals and, in some cases, mediated by technological elements. In these social relations, individuals have different and asymmetrical communicative powers. Systems always occur in particular historical, cultural, social and economic contexts, have different scales (i.e.,

macro, meso, micro), and are in constant change. Finally, the model suggests that researchers should observe the practical and symbolic practices that inform political communication systems.

Conclusion: The Emergence of New Perspectives on Political Communication Research

There is no doubt that mainstream political communication research has produced valuable scholarship. However, the dominance of studies that are rooted in positivist and neo-positivist paradigms and the sociopsychological tradition of communication research undermine other epistemological and methodological orientations. As Craig (1999) explains, there are many ways of theorizing communication, and each way has strengths and weaknesses, bright and dark sides, achievements and failures. The same is true in the methodological discussion. However, working with only one theoretical and methodological tradition weakens the potential of having a complex, nuanced, and diverse understanding of what political communication is.

The lack of epistemological and methodological diversity is a window of opportunity for doing new and innovative investigations. This window has been opened by various scholars who have pushed for a qualitative and interpretative turn of political communication scholarship in the United States and some other places of the globe (e.g., Alexander, 2011; Chadwick, 2013; Demers & Lavigne, 2007; Karpf et al., 2015; Luhtakallio & Eliasoph, 2017; Nielsen, 2012; D. M. Ryfe, 2001; Spitulnik Vidali & Peterson, 2012; Stromer-Galley, 2014; Wolton, 1998). This body of research has been characterized for departing from the ideas that political communication processes could be predicted and thus controlled; that the primary goal of researchers is to find universal mechanisms in which communication operates; and that the only way of researching is through methods such as experiments, surveys, and quantitative content analysis. Moreover, this body of research suggests that political communication scholars should be open to understanding that communication occurs within historical structures; that political

communication can be theorized as a form of power reproduction and not as a standard communication process; and that the search for universal laws that predict and control the mechanisms of communication has not been a successful path. These new approaches do not suggest abandoning past traditions of studying political communication. Rather, the idea is to expand the field by adding new epistemologies, ontologies, methodologies, and normative proposals.

In the light of the debates that frame the field of political communication research, the Political Communication Systems Model seeks to contribute to the enlargement of this academic field. This model does not predict any communicative phenomena, nor explain the particular ways in which political communication functions. Rather, the Political Communication Systems Model is a toolkit informed by a set of analytical concepts, which draw from previous scholarly conceptualizations on this matter, that offer an entry point and a general scaffold to observe, reflect, and theorize on political communication.

The next chapter is devoted to unpacking the methodological coordinates of this doctoral dissertation and how the Political Communication Systems Model could be coupled with a qualitative approach to the study of an electoral campaign.

CHAPTER 3

GROUNDING POLITICAL COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS

This chapter offers the methodological coordinates that guide the dissertation. The first part contains a brief examination of the origins of this research and the personal and sociocultural standpoint from where I did this study. In the second section, I argue why it is relevant to study a presidential campaign such as Clinton's efforts to court Latinos. Later on, I explain how I decided to study one of Clinton's field offices in Northeast Philadelphia, an office devoted to Latino outreach. In the next section are the research questions and an explanation of why I chose grounded theory to study the 2016 presidential elections from a local community on the East Coast. Finally, in the last part of the chapter, there is a description of how I collected the data using live ethnography and participant observation, as well as an explanation of Situation Analysis, the set of tools that I employed to analyze the empirical evidence emanated from the fieldwork.

The Origins of this Doctoral Research as a Standpoint

My interest in observing and analyzing political communication can be traced to 2006 when I participated in a research process to study the Mexican presidential elections. Since that time, I have been researching different electoral cycles, not only about presidential campaigns but also local races. These experiences led me to investigate and reflect on topics such as public deliberation, the use of technology during elections, journalistic labor and its relation to political communication and, on a theoretical level, new paths for understanding political communication systems.

In 2013, I began my doctoral studies at Temple University. In the third year of the program, I started to think about possible topics for my dissertation. I wanted to keep pursuing

my interest in political communication and electoral campaigns, but I was not sure how to proceed. This situation changed in September of 2015 when I learned, through a newspaper article, that Jorge Silva, a Latino lawyer and activist, was hired by Hillary Clinton to be in charge of her Hispanic media team (Ramírez Gallo, 2015). Silva is Mexican American and attended Law School at ITESO, the same university where I did my undergraduate studies in Mexico and where I conducted most of my previous research. At that moment, given our shared past, I thought that it could be possible to contact Silva and design a research project to analyze Clinton's Latino campaign.

The idea of observing and analyzing a presidential campaign in a foreign country was exciting for me because it would expand my experience on political communication and electoral campaigns. Researching political communication in the United States was a challenge: it meant getting out of my comfort zone and learning the characteristics of a different political (communication) system. Moreover, the Latino issue attracted me. On the one hand, I understood that being myself a Latino was an opportunity to enter into a social field that had cultural restrictions for some researchers who are not familiar with this community. Speaking Spanish and the awareness of the general norms and values of the Latino culture are embedded in me. On the other hand, the topic attracted me because the Latino issue speaks about a minority that is struggling to gain a place in the United States and as a Latino immigrant, I felt compelled to contribute to understanding this reality.

These personal notes explain the origins of this research project and the reasons why Clinton's Latino outreach was relevant for me as a communication scholar and as a Latino international student. Researchers, like any other person, have "multiple selves." That is, we, as researchers, are defined by different sociocultural taxonomies such as our age, nationality, race,

gender, social class, and so forth. All of these characteristics influence how we conduct our work and how we observe and interpret the world (Darling-Wolf, 2003). Recognizing this standpoint (Harding, 2004) is a vital epistemological task when doing qualitative research. Therefore, these notes explain some of the personal characteristics that shaped my observations within this dissertation.

In the end, Silva did not become, as I had expected, the person who gave me access to the campaign. Moreover, very soon I realized the enormous amount of human and economic resources that would entail the research of a national presidential campaign—resources that I did not have. However, in the process of studying the electoral system and observing Clinton's campaign, I realized that there was plenty of room to design a case study to understand how a national campaign was deployed in a local community and how that community got involved in the campaign.

A Powerful Political Communication Machine for Reaching Latinos

In the last twenty years, Democrats have invested a lot of money and resources in developing presidential campaigns, and Hillary Clinton's was not the exception. This substantial investment rendered sophisticated and innovative campaigns that modified how contemporary political communication operates (Howard, 2005; Kreiss, 2012; Nielsen, 2012; Stromer-Galley, 2014). Moreover, Hillary Clinton is an experienced politician with a strong campaigning history. In 2008, she ran for the first time and competed for the Democratic presidential nomination which she lost to Barack Obama. Eight years later, Clinton ran again and got the Democratic party nomination after a fierce battle in the primaries with Bernie Sanders. Hillary also had an essential role during the presidential campaigns of her husband, Bill Clinton, who won the presidency in 1992 and was reelected in 1996. This backdrop, constituted by a party interested in

developing innovative presidential campaigns and a candidate with a long trajectory of campaigning is, no doubt, relevant for studying political communication.

In the 2016 elections, Hillary Clinton was able to build a gigantic communication machine composed of thousands of staffers and volunteers across the country. This machine, as I detail in the next chapters, was used to produce and disseminate a campaign integrated by advertisements in newspapers, radio, television, and cable; rallies, town halls, roundtables, and meetings across the United States; messages and ads spread through emails, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, and more; and a ground operation that sought to contact millions of residents in their homes through canvassing and phone banking (Allen & Parnes, 2017; Clinton, 2017). It is difficult to find a quantitative measure to ponder Clinton's presidential campaign, but it is one of the biggest ephemeral communicative machines ever built.

During the general election, Clinton was the candidate who presented a specific campaign and message to communicate with Latinos. Donald Trump did not have a team and strategy for outreach to this community. As I explain in the following chapter, he dedicated his communicative efforts to attack and denigrate this community. Trump's campaign was the first one in the last two decades, either Democrat or Republican, that did not publish any message in Spanish and did not have a specific team dedicated to contact Latinos (Goldmacher, 2016). In contrast, and as I describe and analyze throughout this dissertation, Clinton planned, produced, and deployed a bilingual campaign for Latinos through various communicative strategies (Larrosa-Fuentes, 2016a).

The Latino community, as a relevant case study within the political and cultural arenas, has been present well before the 2016 election. The concept of Latino and Hispanic began to acquire notoriety in the United States in the second half of the twentieth-century when there was

significant growth in the migration flux from Latin America to North America. As a result, when this population started to increase in the United States, Federal agencies generalized the concept of Hispanic including it as a category in the census. Since then, Hispanic and Latino became words to identify a population in demographic terms, but also as a culture that was susceptible to be integrated into the economy (Dávila, 2012).

In its origin, the concept of Latino used to mark and differentiate the place of birth of a person who was not born in the United States or who had ancestors from Latin America—ancestors who are not Anglo. Moreover, the concept of Latino is problematic because on top of "othering" a population, at the same time it encapsulates a heterogeneous group of people under the same conceptual umbrella (Dávila, 2012; Morris, Gilpin, Lenos, & Hobbs, 2011). As I document in the dissertation, the "Latino community" is composed of citizens and irregular immigrants, working class and wealthy people, "dreamers" and top Ivy-league students, immigrants who have twenty years living in this country and individuals who are the third generation of a Latino family, people who speak fluent Spanish and those who cannot speak the language (Davila, 2008). Furthermore, Latin America encompasses, at the moment of writing these lines, 20 countries and 13 territories that depended on form another country; as well as a linguistic diversity that includes Spanish, Portuguese, French and hundreds of indigenous languages. Therefore, the background of Hispanos/Latinos in the United States is diverse and multicultural.

The U.S. Latino community has been growing at a fast pace in the last two decades. According to a Pew Research Study, Latinos will be the most significant minority in the United States by the middle of this century (Taylor, 2016). In 1960 the Latino community represented 3.5% of the population, in 2015 it had grown to 17.6% and it is expected that in 2065 it will

reach 24% (Flores, 2017). This growth has brought fear and anxiety among some chunks of the population, who see in the Latino community, and other minorities, a threat to the American culture. These feelings have polarized societal views about how immigration should be handled, divided between those who seek to strengthen the control over irregular immigrants and those who embrace diversity and cosmopolitanism as values that should guide policies on this topic. For example, when writing these lines, 84% of Democrats thought that immigration was a strength for the country while 44% of Republicans thought the opposite (Pew Research Center, 2017, p. 2).

In the electoral arena, the Latino community has also been growing during the last twenty-five years. In 1992 there were 8.8 million eligible voters, and in the 2016 elections, the number increased to 26.6 million, which represents 11.9% of U.S. eligible voters (Bergad, 2017). Thus, Latinos have been considered as a "sleeping giant" (Doval & Garza, 2016; Valdes, 2016). This expression has meant that the Latino community is big enough to shape an electoral result—this is where the “giant” comes from. However, Latinos compose a dormant community because millions of irregular immigrants cannot vote, almost half of the eligible voters are not registered to vote, and few of those who are registered cast a ballot (Bergad, 2017). For example, in the 2016 elections, only 47.6% of Latinos voted, which meant that 14 million eligible Latino voters did not vote (Krogstad & Lopez, 2017). Thus, in the last two decades, in every electoral cycle, political parties and elites have spent resources to awaken the giant that could help them to win the election.

On balance, the Latino community plays different roles during elections in the United States. On the one hand, Latinos represent a group of people that have the potential of offering millions of votes. That is, from an instrumental and transactional point of view, this community

is an electoral treasure that needs to be unearthed and polished. On the other hand, at the same time, this community represents a seed of cultural change for the country, a transformation that is rejected by an essential sector of the population which has created narratives where

> minorities, especially immigrants, are 'taking over' and thus diminishing the values and morals upon which the nation was founded […] This script has historically helped to shore up Republican Party support: President Donald Trump's campaign rhetoric that Mexican immigration brings in 'criminals' and 'bad hombres' is a case in point. Such nativist resentment is fueled in part by a sense that the country is no longer majority Anglo (Mora & Rodríguez-Muñiz, 2017, p. 45).

In the 2016 elections, there was a great expectation of the role that the "sleeping giant" could play in the final result of the competition and many journalists, pundits, scholars, and commentators predicted that Latinos could decide the election (e.g., Cohn, 2016). However, in the end, Latinos, as an aggregate, did not show up to the polls as many expected and the community presented the same levels of voter registration and voter turnout as in previous elections:

> The Latino voter turnout rate held steady at 47.6% in 2016, compared with 48.0% in 2012. Overall turnout remained flat despite expectations heading into Election Day of a long-awaited, historical surge in Latino voters. Due largely to demographic growth, the number of Latino voters grew to a record 12.7 million in 2016, up from 11.2 million in 2012. Even so, the number of Latino nonvoters – those eligible to vote who do not cast a ballot or 14 million in 2016 – was larger than the number of Latino voters, a trend that extends back to each presidential election since 1996 (Krogstad & Lopez, 2017).

In the end, Hillary Clinton received 62% of the Latino vote and Donald Trump 29%, and the Latino community did not have a decisive influence on the final result.

The context described in this section offers significant opportunities for observing political communication systems. This background is informed by a society that is diverse, fragmented, and polarized, and political campaigns that seek to build communicative strategies to gain votes. Sophisticated assemblages of actors, institutions, and technologies inform these political campaigns that operate at national, regional, and local levels, that employ interpersonal, group, mass, and digital communication, and that use all sort of technological mediations at hand (Chadwick, 2013, p. 63; Nielsen, 2012, p. 7). Hillary Clinton's Latino campaign epitomizes this complex context, and through the observation and analysis of her campaign, it is possible to gain knowledge about how political communication operates in the United States.

Before closing this section, I want to make a final note about the relevance of studying this campaign. On multiple occasions, I have been questioned about the utility of investigating the campaign of the candidate who lost the election. One way of answering this question is arguing that Clinton's campaign was successful: she won the national vote, and she received 62% of the Latino vote (Krogstad & Lopez, 2016). The Republican candidate did not win by a landslide and lost most of the Latino support. However, the main argument is that, from the Political Communication Systems Model, this research seeks to contribute to the interpretation of the complex political communication systems that structure a large-scale political process such as a presidential election and how political communication is one of the primary mechanisms for societal reproduction. In this sense, political campaigns, as I suggest in the following chapters, are much more than endeavors for winning an election. Political campaigns produce and

reproduce some of the norms, values, and structures that organize the social and political life of this country. Hence, from this perspective, although significant, the fact of winning or losing an election does not constitute a primary concern.

From a National to a Local Communication System: Latinos in Northeast Philadelphia

The task of pushing political communication to the interpretative realm entails observing political communication from a qualitative paradigm. Qualitative researchers analyze social structures and institutions, study the emergence and reproduction of social and cultural formations, describe how people live in their respective local and global communities, and interpret the meanings that individuals give to their historical, political, and sociocultural practices (Brennen, 2012, p. 4). Notably, one of the leading characteristics of qualitative research is that it puts individuals and their experiences at the center of social inquiry (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010, p. 33).The Political Communication Systems Model is built upon the former arguments and seeks to understand political communication as human actions and practices that allow the reproduction of political power. Thus, one of the challenges that this model proposes is to observe local practices in the frame of state, regional, national, and even global political communication systems. In this sense, this investigation pursued to observe and interpret how presidential candidate Hillary Clinton built various communication systems to interact with Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents and how this local community participated in her political campaign through communicative actions and practices.

The political communication systems that I studied were located in Pennsylvania, a state that was considered as "battleground" during the 2016 campaigns. It was a battleground because before the campaigns began, it was not clear who was going to win the state. In Pennsylvania, both candidates had the chance of winning the electoral votes, and this is the reason the

campaigns spent a lot of communicative resources. For instance, in the Philadelphia-Pennsylvania market 32,332 ads were broadcast during the general elections, only behind Las Vegas-Nevada market where 35,233 ads were broadcast (Political TV Ad Archive, 2016). Presidential candidates had 54 public events in Pennsylvania, only behind North Carolina (55 events) and Florida (71 events) (National Popular Vote, 2016). Clinton described this situation in her post-election book:

> In Pennsylvania, where public and private polls showed a competitive race similar to 2012, we had nearly 500 staff on the ground, 120 more than the Obama campaign deployed four years before. We spent 211 percent more on television ads in the state. And I held more than twenty-five campaign events there during the general election. We also blanketed Pennsylvania with high-profile surrogates like President Obama and Vice President Biden […] I campaigned heavily across Pennsylvania, had an aggressive ground game and lots of advertising. (Clinton, 2017, p. 394)

From all of the communicative processes that occurred in Pennsylvania, I narrowed my observations to the communicative efforts that the Democratic candidate deployed in Northeast Philadelphia, home of a large population of Latino residents. Philadelphia is the largest city in Pennsylvania and has a population of 1.5 million inhabitants. Historically, Puerto Ricans have been the most significant Latino population, and in recent decades they have settled in the North and Northeast neighborhoods of the city (Morris et al., 2011). Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Cubans can be found near Hunting Park—around 19th Street and Lycoming Street—and in what the community has called "The Golden Block" located at the intersection of 5th Street and Lehigh Avenue (Casellas, 2007). The second largest Latino group, Mexicans, and Central Americans have established in South Philadelphia, especially in the perimeter that is informed by Washington and Oregon Avenues and Front and 18th Streets. These two Latino enclaves are not wealthy sections of the city and, on the contrary, many of them are marginal areas. Almost 30%

of Latinos in Philadelphia live in poverty, and 17% do not have citizenship (Pew Research Center, 2016c).

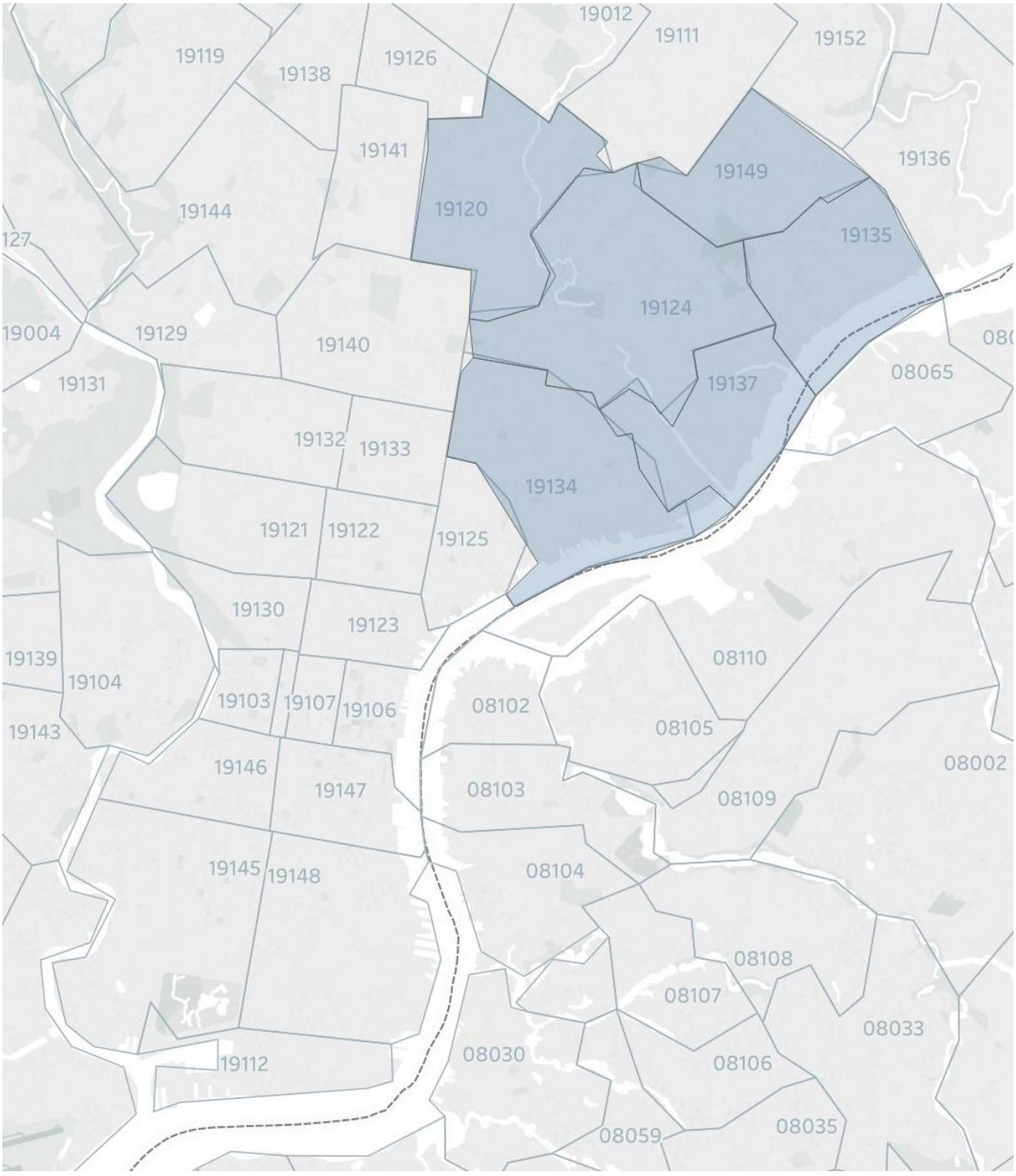
By the beginning of the presidential campaigns, I learned that Clinton opened seven field offices in Philadelphia, plus a local headquarters which was in Center City. I contacted the field offices that were in Latino enclaves to negotiate access for doing research. I expected that Clinton would open offices in the two enclaves where Latinos have been living in recent times (i.e., Northeast and South Philadelphia). However, the Democratic campaign inaugurated only one field office with staff and resources to outreach Latinos in Northeast Philadelphia. This office was in charge of making contact with people who lived in the area, particularly in the zip codes 19120, 19124, 19134, 19135, 19137, and 19149 (see map 1). Table 1 shows the number of residents in this zone, which in total was composed in 2016 by 292,205 persons of whom 28% were Latinos. This percentage was higher than the overall share of Latinos in Philadelphia, which was 8.9% (Pew Research Center, 2016c). This spatial and demographic reality explains why I chose to focus on studying Clinton's Latino campaign in Northeast Philadelphia.

Table 1. Hispanic Population in Northeast Philadelphia

Zip Code	Population	Non-Hispanic	Hispanic	% Hispanic	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Dominican	Other Central American Countries	Costa Rican
19120	68104	49181	18923	27.8	1196	12065	264	2178	1149	64
19124	66691	44522	22169	33.2	597	15827	259	283	873	110
19134	60675	34078	26597	43.8	621	21465	228	2265	528	33
19135	33091	27743	5348	16.2	186	3743	87	442	185	34
19137	8638	8062	576	6.7	18	427	21	34	16	1
19149	55006	45622	9384	17.1	492	5029	165	980	594	143
Total	292205	209208	82997		3110	58556	1024	6182	3345	385

Source: Simply Analytics, 2017, with information of the United States Census

Map 1. Clinton's Northeast Philadelphia Outreach by Zip Codes



Research Questions for Investigating a Local Political Communication System

The primary objective of this doctoral dissertation is to render a description and interpretation of the political communication systems that Hillary Clinton and her staff built to communicate with the Latino population in Northeast Philadelphia during the 2016 presidential campaigns.

In the previous chapter, I provided the main elements of the Political Communication Systems Model. Drawing from this model, I crafted three research questions that guided my observations:

RQ1. How was communication produced, disseminated, and decoded through interpersonal, mass, and digital communication by the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Philadelphia Latino residents during the 2016 presidential campaign?

RQ2. What were the functions, norms and values that structured the political communication systems among the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Philadelphia Latino residents during the 2016 presidential campaign?

RQ3. What were the power relations that informed the interactions between the Democratic candidate, her Latino communication staff, and Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents in the political communication system during the 2016 presidential campaign?

The first research question brought communication upfront and sought to investigate how political communication occurred during the election. The Political Communication Systems Model explains that political communication is a practice where two or more individuals exchange symbolic forms to structure the production, reproduction, and control of political power. The enactment of these practices informs political communication systems. Thus, this first question helped me to observe political communication systems as a set of actions that had

practical functions. For example, during the election, the campaign organized volunteers to make phone calls to Philadelphia's Latino residents. Each phone call, as a practice, had the purpose of spreading information about Hillary Clinton and some electoral procedures.

At the same time, the first question helped me to examine the hybrid nature of contemporary political communication systems. By studying the different levels in which communication was produced and consumed, and the various technologies used in these processes, I was able to observe how, for example, interpersonal communication systems were imbricated with mass and digital systems. Take the case of an ad that was broadcast through cable TV and, at the same time was reproduced via YouTube and used to train volunteers in North Philadelphia.

The second question moves from the action realm to the symbolic world. A crucial distinction of the Political Communication Systems Model is that political communication accomplishes, at the same time, practical and symbolic functions. In this sense, the second question sought to understand how communication was structured by cultural elements, such as the norms, values, and symbols used during Clinton's campaign in Northeast Philadelphia. For example, in the field office where I performed my investigation, many of the volunteers asked for stickers and pins. The practical function of wearing a pin for the Democratic candidate was communicating to other people that they were part of the campaign. However, wearing this pin also had a symbolic function. Many of the volunteers told me that their pins and stickers also communicated that they were in favor of the rights of minorities such as women and immigrants. Although the pins and stickers did not have an explicit reference to these topics, Clinton's campaign represented some of these values in the United States political spectrum.

The third question is focused on studying power relations and thus, offers texture to the description, analysis, and interpretation of political communication processes. The study of power acquires particular relevance in the political realm because politics deal with the distribution and allocation of resources of any kind. The processes for distribution and allocation of these resources, including communication, are not natural and, on the contrary, are regulated by individuals and institutions. If political communication has practical and symbolic functions, a question emerges: Who creates and is in control of those functions? Thus, the third research question pulls the dissertation into a critical tradition, which seeks to explore who controls communication and through which mechanisms. Thereupon, this research investigated political communication as actions and practices where individuals have different and asymmetrical communicative powers.

Grounded Theory and the Political Communication Systems Model

A rich source of intellectual and methodological inspiration for the Political Systems Model and this dissertation is Adele Clarke's *Situational Analysis* (2005). By and large, in this book, Clarke seeks to expand grounded theory and "push" it to a "postmodern turn." After reading this book, it became clear to me that the political communication research field had the opportunity of being pushed to the qualitative and interpretative realm through grounded theory. Moreover, Situational Analysis is an attractive proposal for examining political communication systems. Therefore, an essential part of the methodological design of this research is based on Clarke's understanding of grounded theory (Apramian, Cristancho, Watling, & Lingard, 2017)

According to Clarke, grounded theory can be conceptualized as "theory and methods package" (2005, p. 2). This method offers a theoretical lens to study the social world, and its roots can be traced to the epistemological and ontological bases of symbolic interactionism

(Clarke, 2005, p. 37). Herbert Blumer, one of the leading exponents of symbolic interactionism, explains that: 1) human beings relate with each other and with reality through the meanings that they are constructing; 2) meanings are the result of the interaction between human beings, and 3) that the construction of meanings is a social and interpretative process (1972, p. 401).

As can be observed, symbolic interactionism is a sociological theory that studies and reflects on human actions that create communication. Symbolic interactionism can be expanded to explain the whole social world, which is constituted by the "actions" performed by individuals. These actions are the essential elements that inform any social process. Through their actions, individuals, collectively, build symbolic worlds, which then take the form of social relations, political institutions, cultural traditions, and so forth. Grounded theory seeks to study sets of human actions (i.e., systems) that operate as discursive mechanisms for the construction of social meanings (Clarke, 2005, p. 6). Thus, from a methodological perspective, Clarke's Situational Analysis is the basis of the Political Communication Systems Models that proposes to study the practical and symbolic functions (which are informed by human actions) of political communication.

Now let's turn to the "methods" part of the package offered by grounded theory. Regarding method, the most salient characteristic of ground theory lays in an epistemological level. In order to gain knowledge of the world, the researcher has to build theory from data. From this perspective, the researcher goes to the field, collects data on a specific problem or phenomenon, analyzes the data and then builds theory from the analysis. In this process, which is open-ended, the researcher could also use previous theoretical and empirical knowledge to guide his data collection and analysis. For example, a political communication researcher could study how a community observes political debates during an election. If she uses grounded theory, she

wants to observe the media consumption of this community, interview and have conversations with these individuals, and analyze the characteristics of the electoral debates. She could also read previous studies and learn what researchers have found about the topic. Finally, she would analyze the data and theorize about how that specific community watches the presidential debates.

As a method, grounded theory became an attractive path for implementing the Political Communication Systems Model in this dissertation. In the previous chapter, I described and analyzed what I called the mainstream political communication research. This body of knowledge is based on what Craig (1999) define as a "sociopsychological tradition" and has been produced, mainly, through a positivist paradigm that has privileged quantitative methods such as experiments, surveys, and content analysis. From a methodological perspective, I employed participant observation in the frame of grounded theory to study how humans communicated during an election and how people experienced these communicative processes. Participant observation allowed me to explore how communication was the scaffold that let a group of people organize a political campaign in a local community and how the Latino neighbors of Northeast Philadelphia participated and experienced a presidential campaign.

Moreover, given the fact that the Political Communication Systems Model is not a finished theoretical model, I needed a method, such as grounded theory, that offered the tools and the freedom to theorize from empirical data and not to follow previous theoretical constructions. Grounded theory, as I suggest in the rest of the dissertation, provided me the structure for expanding the Political Communication Systems Model. As I have explained in the Introduction, and as I develop in the following chapters, one of the central contributions of this research is to explore and theorize on the role of the human body as a basic material infrastructure that enables

the operation of political communication systems. Thus, an example that illustrates the power of grounded theory in this dissertation is narrated in Scene 1 (Introduction), when I met Carmen Rodriguez, an elderly Puerto Rican woman who wanted to volunteer for the campaign but was not able to participate in the ground game because she could not move without a wheelchair and her arthritis was an impediment to dial telephones and use keyboards. This encounter suggested one of the most important research paths of the dissertation, which was to understand the centrality of human bodies within political communication systems. The flexibility of grounded theory permitted me to reflect on Carmen's case, to collect more evidence of the material uses of human bodies during an election and, finally, to expand the Political Communication Systems Model. In a quantitative approach to political communication, Carmen's case would be treated, in the best scenario, as an anomaly or as an outlier and the main theme of this study would be lost.

Collecting Data to Analyze Political Communication Systems

There are many ways of collecting data when using grounded theory. This section contains a description of the methods that I used to collect the data.

Live Ethnography: An Immersion into a National Political Communication System

The practice of observing human and nonhuman practices on the internet has received different names such as online ethnography, digital ethnography and others (e.g., Beneito-Montagut, 2011; Bengtsson, 2014; Postill & Pink, 2012). In recent times, political communication scholars who use qualitative methods, have coined the term "live ethnography" (Chadwick, 2013; Elmer, 2013), to designate a method for observing, in real time, how political communication systems and events unfold. Live ethnography is not only concerned with collecting and analyzing texts from the internet and other media platforms, but to capture the

relations and connections among actors, institutions and technology, and the fluidity of political communication of media events such as a political campaign, a presidential debate, or an election day. In Chadwick's words, live ethnography is defined as “close, real-time, observation and logging of a wide range of newspaper, broadcast, and online material, including citizen opinion expressed and coordinated through online social network sites” (2013, p. 61). The concept of live ethnography captures the kind of activity that I performed to collect part of the data for this research. I intended to immerse and experience the 2016 presidential elections in order to observe and analyze the various political communication systems that operated during this process. In other words, I understood Clinton’s Latino campaign as a media event, which I analyzed at the same time that it was been produced, disseminated and appropriated by the public.

From January to December of 2016 I observed Hillary Clinton's campaign, with an emphasis on all the communicative processes and products directed to the Latino community. I followed the national campaign from Philadelphia, using my laptop and other communicative devices such as a radio and television. The main idea of this research strategy was to experience a national campaign from a local territory. To achieve this goal, I tried to read, collect and analyze all the information available during the campaign.

Most of my experience of the national campaign occurred through the internet, medium and platform that aggregated most of the contents and interactions of the 2016 campaigns. Therefore, my first action was to study Clinton’s website, in particular, the Spanish version dedicated to the Latino community. After reviewing the web page, I registered as someone interested in receiving information and becoming a volunteer for the campaign. I submitted to the website my full name, two different emails, my home’s zip code, and my cell phone number.

I liked Clinton's Facebook Fan page, subscribed to her YouTube channel, followed her English and Spanish Twitter handles, and continuously monitored her Medium, Instagram and LinkedIn accounts. I downloaded her app and subscribed to "I am with her," the "official podcast of the campaign trail." In short, I tried, as a spectator of the election, to be plugged into all the communicative channels that Clinton created for communicating with her Latino supporters.

This first strategy rendered results. Throughout all the electoral cycle I received three to four emails every week, which contained information about the national campaign and events in Philadelphia. Moreover, I received one to two text messages every week where the campaign invited me to donate money to support the candidate and, on a few occasions, they sent me information about campaign events and logistics. Some of these emails and texts messages were in Spanish and tailored for a Latino audience but, in general, they were generic messages for a broader audience. During the campaign, I received various phone calls from local and national volunteers. In these conversations, the staffers and volunteers gave me information about the candidate, invited me to volunteer for the campaign, and tried to persuade me to donate money and vote for Hillary Clinton. I collected all of the emails and text messages and stored them for subsequent analysis. Additionally, as part of my field notes, I wrote texts describing the phone calls.

The strategy of subscribing to the campaign was not enough. The campaign "pushed" messages towards me, but I also need to "pull" contents and information. Therefore, following Clinton's campaign became a permanent task and I was continuously monitoring her website and her social media platforms, seven days a week, and around 14 hours during a typical day. However, I thought that I needed a more systematic method for monitoring the campaign. Thus, I performed online observations every Tuesday at 9:00 am for three to four hours. Every week I

looked for new content on Clinton's webpage as well as on her Facebook and Twitter accounts. These observations consisted in examining the messages written in Spanish and in English that spoke about Latino communities. I observed only publicly-available online content and did not follow any private online settings such as Facebook private and semi-private groups, or interpersonal communications through any social media. I took notes and screenshots of those messages that were relevant to my research. I downloaded articles, images, and videos and archived them for analysis. Furthermore, at the end of the campaign I collected, by hand, all the blog posts that Clinton published in her Spanish website, and all the tweets available on her Spanish Twitter account. In addition to these messages, I downloaded from the Illuminating Project, all the messages in Spanish that Clinton published on Facebook (Stromer-Galley et al., 2016).

During this research process, I took systematic notes of my observations. I created a template that guided this task (see appendixes A, B, C, D). I tried to develop thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the online content and the interactions that I was observing during the campaign, which included depicting those who took part in these communicative processes and the goals, norms, and values that were embedded in the messages and interactions. Then, I transcribed and organized my field notes in a diary. In this journal, I wrote my observations, analysis, and theorizations about Clinton's Latino communication strategy. By the end of the campaign, I had more than one hundred pages containing my observations, and more than 1,800 digital items to analyze, including text, images, and videos from all of Clinton's digital platforms and communication channels.

In the same fashion, I designed a strategy for following the journalistic coverage of Clinton's Latino campaign. I programmed news alerts using the services provided by Google

News and Apple News, which sent me notifications every time that a news item related to "Hillary Clinton," "Latinos," and "Hispanics" appeared in their systems. Moreover, I became a regular consumer of information from Latino outlets such as TV networks Univision and Telemundo at the national level, and the newspapers Al Día, El Sol Latino, Latin News, and El Hispano in Philadelphia. During my observations, I collected all the news items related to the main topic of this dissertation and took notes that I later incorporated into my field journal. When I finished the gathering of these materials, I had a collection of more than 1,500 news stories, including texts, audios, pictures, and videos.

The data collection that emerged after the live ethnography helped me to write the fourth chapter which, by and large, analyzes two important elements. First, it renders a description of the political communication machine that Clinton built for the election. Through news articles, I was able to reconstruct the main characteristics of the team and infrastructure that drove the Democratic campaign, including the Latino outreach. Second, it offers an interpretation of which were the main symbolic elements of Clinton's Latino campaign. The blog and social media posts, as well as the radio and TV ads produced by the Democratic candidate, are messages that contain an essential part of the functions, norms, and values of Clinton's campaign.

The live ethnography was especially useful to answer research question one, which was designed to observe the various levels of the political communication system. Watching the Democratic Convention, the Presidential Debates, Clinton's live rallies across the country, her social media accounts flow, TV ads, and the Hispanic political press, allowed me to observe and deconstruct a national communication campaign that was built upon interpersonal, group, mass, and digital communication.

Participant Observation: Studying a Local Political Communication System

As Spitulnik and Paterson (2012) have documented, ethnography and participant observation, as research methods, are not common in the political communication research field. The scarcity of qualitative political communication has its roots in the fact that the field has been structured by researchers that employ quantitative methods such as experiments, surveys, and content analysis. However, there are other reasons. On the one hand, funding ethnographies are difficult, because researchers have to spend long periods of time in the field to gain knowledge about communities and cultures (Murphy & Kraidy, 2003, p. 171). On the other hand, if funding is not an issue, it has been difficult to square the requirements of the traditional ethnographic method, with the ephemeral nature of political campaigns. Political communication scholars have been able to study newsrooms because, among other reasons, they are stable organizations that have been operating for decades in contemporary societies (e.g., Gans, 1979; D. Ryfe, 2012; Tuchman, 1980; Usher, 2014). Nevertheless, political communication processes and events, such as political campaigns, conventions, debates and media events, in general, are ephemeral and, in some cases, they appear spontaneously. Singularly, political campaigns are temporary organizations that have a brief life of months and in few cases, of years. Therefore, it is challenging to spend long periods of time examining an assemblage of this nature. For these reasons, political communication scholars have created hybrid versions of the ethnographic approach to studying how campaigns use technology (Chadwick, 2013; Howard, 2005; Kreiss, 2012) and organize their field operations and ground game (Nielsen, 2011, 2012). Drawing from this incipient research tradition, this dissertation relayed on an ethnographic approach to study how a national presidential campaign was deployed in the local community of Northeast Philadelphia.

The ethnographic approach to the study of political communication is based on the direct observation of how humans communicate for distributing power. Through the observation, description, analysis, and theorization of these human actions and practices, scholars have been able to render interpretations of the complex structures that structure political campaigns, grassroots organizations, the journalistic coverage of politics, the use of technology as a means for gaining political knowledge, and more. The value of participant observation in the frame of grounded theory is that it allows researchers to witness what people are doing and how people do those things collectively (Howell, 2013, p. 135). As Clarke explains when talking about symbolic interactionism, this kind of qualitative research is valuable because it is concerned with observing [emphasis added], "meaning-making social groups—collectivities of various sorts—and collective action— '*people doing things together*' (Becker 1986)" (2005, p. 109). In this sense, in this dissertation, I was interested in observing and theorizing how Clinton, her staff, and Latino Northeast Philadelphians were *doing political communication together*, in the context of the national presidential political campaigns. This kind of research would not be possible using other methods such as surveys and interviews, which capture what people *say* they *did*; content analysis that *infer* what people *did*; and experiments where researchers can observe what people do but under a *controlled* environment that misses the complexity and peculiarity that characterize each political communication system.

Throughout the elections, I sought to experience the presidential campaigns in Philadelphia and participate in the organization of Hillary Clinton's ground game in the Northeast section of the city. Since the beginning of 2016, and as I have explained in the previous section, I subscribed to all Clinton's media channels and platforms, which pushed me information about the national campaign, as well as those activities that were taken place in

Philadelphia. From February to November of this year, I went to all the nine rallies that Hillary Clinton and her supporters had in Philadelphia and to the many of voter registration events that the Democratic party organized in the city. In August, I began to work as a volunteer for Clinton in Northeast Philadelphia, and finished this activity on November 8, election day, completing three and half months of participant observant in one of her field offices. Furthermore, I watched the Democratic Convention, which was held in Philadelphia, and the three Presidential debates, with different Latino families and groups. Also, during my fieldwork, I interviewed thirty-two individuals, including persons that were hired by Clinton's campaign, volunteers that participated in various ways, Latinos that lived in North Philadelphia and Latino journalists that covered the national elections from a local perspective. The majority of these interviews occurred in the frame of my participant observation and as part of my interaction with many of those persons who were involved in the campaign. To sum up, the data collection of this research was based on participant observation of rallies, voter registration drives, phone banks, canvassing sessions, and interviews with individuals who worked and volunteered for Clinton in the Northeast Philadelphia area, as well as Latino journalists and residents.

A vital question regarding observation is what to observe. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I designed protocols for observing different communication situations and systems (see appendices 1, 2, 3 & 4). These protocols were constructed based on an early version of the Political Communication Systems Model, which explains that political communication systems are informed by millions of human communicative acts. This ontological reality makes incredibly complex to observe these acts as isolated empirical data. Thus, a way to "gain empirical access" and observe these communicative acts is by "inspecting events" as Geertz (1973, p. 17) explains, or inspecting situations, as Clarke (2005, pp. 21–22) suggests. Therefore,

I designed protocols for observing four main elements. First, to describe the communicative situation that I was witnessing, which could be a rally, a phone bank, etc. In these exercises, I paid particular attention to the characteristics of the spaces where these situations took place and the communicative materials that individuals used to produce and disseminate political messages. Second, to describe the actions that informed the communicative situation. As the Political Communication Systems Model proposes, actions and practices are the basis of any communicative system. Hence, I spent time depicting these actions and practices and the sequence of activities through which the communicative situation unfolded. Third, I focused my attention on those persons who were taking part in the communicative event. I described who they were, which was they physical outlook and the cues that marked that person as Latino or Latina—if it was the case. Fourth, after describing the previous elements, I sought to observe which were the ends and goals of the communitive situation, and which were the norms and values that shaped these practices.

In all of the communicative situations that I observed, I took notes on a small pad, which was my field diary. In addition to these notes, I took pictures and recorded audios and videos of all the things and persons that recalled my attention. During my fieldwork in Clinton's office, I also collected diverse materials such as posters, placards, pins, bump sticks, flags and literature produced by the Democratic Party. After the field work sessions, I downloaded all the multimedia elements to my computer and classified them. Also, I transcribed the field notes into Word documents, following the protocols previously described. In these documents are embedded pictures and videos that complemented and expanded my observations. By the end of the campaign, I had 81 Word files that contained all my field notes through 287 pages, as well as hundreds of pictures, videos, and documents created by the campaign.

Participant observation, as a method, became the most important source of empirical access to observe, deconstruct and analyze political communication systems and answer the research questions. Participant observation was valuable to examine how the campaign utilized multiple forms and levels of communication to interact with the Northeast Philadelphia Latino community (i.e., research question one). Moreover, by observing these interactions, I was able to have thick descriptions of diverse communicative situations. These reports were the base to work with research question two, which deals with the practical and symbolic functions of political communication. Finally, observing how people were "doing" political communication together, offered me a privileged spot to scrutinize the power relations in a political communication system (i.e., research question three).

To conclude this section, I would like to explain how I gained access to Clinton's local campaign. On Clinton's website, I found who were the top Latino officials working for the Democratic campaign and their emails and Twitter handles. Then, I sent emails and tweets to these officials and asked them the path for contacting the Latino campaign in Philadelphia. In few hours, I was reached by Clinton's staff, and they provided me with an email to contact Philadelphia's field operators. I sent an email to this account, and two days later I received the contact information of those who were working in Northeast Philadelphia. In early August, I contacted the organizer of the local Latino campaign—who I will call Carlos to protect his confidentiality. We agreed to meet and have a face-to-face conversation. In that meeting, I introduced myself to Carlos and explained my intentions to join the campaign as a volunteer and make observations for a doctoral dissertation. He told me that he needed to ask for permission from his supervisors, a consent granted one week later. (This brief story, not only describes how I gained access to Clinton's campaign; it also illustrates the operation of a hybrid media system

composed of social media platforms, email servers, mobile phones, primary, and face-to-face interactions.)

Grounded Theory Analysis

When the presidential campaigns were over, I had a rich collection of data composed of texts, interviews, and field observations. From all of this collection, I used most of the data that I gathered through the live ethnography and the data that emerged during my participation as a volunteer in Clinton's campaign. All the field work that I performed during the rallies and the observations of Latinos during media events are not part of the discussion and conclusions of this dissertation. I discarded the data related to the rallies because I did not find any direct message from Clinton to the Latino community during these events in Philadelphia and I did not observe that Latinos, in general, were interested in the rallies. I also put aside the data related to media consumption because I only had time to observe how families used television and other media to watch the Convention and the presidential debates. The sample was too small. In order to present a robust interpretation of how people use technology to gain knowledge during a presidential election, I would have had to spend more time doing these kinds of observations. However, both cases (i.e., people attending rallies and people using technology to follow media events) offer promising paths to work participant observations and ethnographies of "media reception" and "media use" (Murphy, 2011, p. 385) in the context of political campaigns.

The process of analyzing data in the frame of grounded theory occurs from day one of research. Given the fact that grounded theory is a method that builds theory from data, researchers have to be analyzing, over and over, the data that they are generating through their fieldwork. In short, data analysis using grounded theory is an open-ended and messy process where the researcher goes to the field, collects data, returns to their office, and analyses data.

Then, the process restarts again and again. During the crafting of this dissertation, I performed four operations for analyzing the data: 1) observing, 2) memoing, 3) coding, and 4) mapping. These processes, which I will describe in the following paragraphs, had a sequential order. For example, mapping the data was always the last process of my analysis, and by the time I was writing the dissertation, I stopped observing and memoing. Nevertheless, at the same time, many of these analytical processes overlapped and were performed in a messy order.

The first level of analysis was using the protocols previously described. Qualitative scholars seek to interpret social phenomena and not to create objective descriptions, analysis, and predictions as the quantitative paradigm suggests. A critical understanding of the epistemological processes that entail human research acknowledges that social scientists will never be able to acquire an objective knowledge of the social world. When observing-describing, researchers decide what to observe and thus select and dismiss elements from reality. Hence, this subjective observing-describing becomes also analysis and interpretation. At the same time that researchers are observing, they are also "sorting out" the symbolic structures of a community and, therefore, analyzing (Geertz, 1973, p. 9). In this dissertation, my subjectivity described in the section "The Origins of this Doctoral Research" and the Political Communication Systems Model, shaped the first level of analysis of my observations.

During the field work and while I was writing my observations, I wrote memos about the data that I was collecting. Writing memos is a vital part of the research process under the grounded theory scaffold (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p. 163). This activity constituted the second level of my analysis.

> Essentially memos are ideas which have been noted during the data collection process and which help to reorient the researcher at a later date. However, ideas can also occur away from the data and should be written down as the ideas strike. (Goulding, 2002, p. 65).

Within the observation protocols (see appendices 1, 2, 3 & 4), I designed two spaces for creating memos. There were two sections for analyzing and reflecting when collecting the data. Then, when I transcribed my notes, and throughout all the process of analysis, I regularly wrote theoretical interpretations and ideas of what I was observing during the field work and analysis. These memos were texts in constant expansion and changed during the analysis. Finally, these memos, in many cases, were the base for writing the final chapters of the dissertation.

Once I finished collecting the data, which was in December of 2016, I converted all the material into digital files. The digital files allowed me to use Atlas Ti, specialized software for doing qualitative analysis. This software does not analyze the data by itself; instead, it is useful for organizing all the information in one platform and for coding large amounts of text.

The activity of coding entails reading the material several times, line by line, paragraph by paragraph, and document by document, then highlighting some aspects of the data and finally giving names to such highlights (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p. 156). During the coding process, I performed two different forms of analysis. Frist, I sought to find patterns throughout the data and found which were the regularities and ruptures in the actions, practices, and discourses that I was analyzing. While doing this pattern recognition, I wrote a lot of memos, trying to describe and interpret those elements of my data collection that emerged as essential but also those things that remained residual. For example, by the middle of the campaign, it became clear to me that the concept of "body" appeared in many of my observations as a recurrent pattern. This concept turned out to be one of the most important findings in this research. The second form of analysis was building categories to organize my observations and the names (i.e., codes) that I was giving to the chunks of text that I was highlighting. For example, I created the category of “campaign themes” to put together all the codes that were related to the narratives of

Latino campaign, such as advocating for immigration reform and for having a fair health care system.

The fourth technique that I used to analyze the data was creating maps using Situational Analysis. This kind of analysis was proposed by Clarke (2005) to gain analytical power during research processes guided by grounded theory. In this proposal, Clarke renders tools for analyzing the data, of which I used two: situational maps and social worlds/arenas maps (Clarke, 2005, pp. 83–140).

Clarke developed what she calls “situational maps,” which are useful for analyzing “situations.” Within these situations, researchers can observe the actions and practices that constitute social life, such as the actions and practices that I studied during the presidential campaign. Clarke suggests doing an extensive memo of each situation analyzed, and she renders some questions that can trigger the analysis, such as "Who and what are in this situation? Who and what matters in this situation? And what elements ‘make a difference in this situation?’”(Clarke, 2005, p. 87) After writing the memo, the next task is to deconstruct the situation into its primary elements and make a list of the actors, nonhuman elements, and symbolic features that are present in the situation. This list has to be organized through what the author calls “ordered situational map matrix” (see appendix E). Then, those elements have to be “thrown” onto a sheet of paper, in a messy order, as if they were floating in the air (see appendix F for a visual example).

The next step, which is the most powerful analytical process of the “situational maps,” is to do the exercise of comparing each element with each other and establishing the relations among all the elements. In this process, the comparative method means comparing “data with data, data with code, and code with code, to find similarities and differences” (Glaser and

Strauss, cited in Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p. 158). This exercise is beneficial to make explicit many of the relations that are present in a situation and that are not evident for the researcher. For example, situational maps helped me to detect that many non-digital communication technologies were still essential for organizing the local campaign. Staffers and volunteers extensively used pen, pencils, pads, and landlines during the campaign. However, without the Situational Analysis is highly probable that I would not have noticed this trend because I was inoculated by the academic obsession of only studying the avant-garde technological developments in political communication (i.e., the internet and social media).

The "social worlds/arenas" maps are also part of Situational Analysis toolkit. The main objective of these maps consists in providing a critical context for the situations that the researcher is analyzing. Situational Analysis, Clarke explains, seeks "to analyze a particular situation of interest through the specification, re-representation, and subsequent examination of the most salient elements in that situation and their relations. Some of these elements have traditionally been discussed as 'context'" (2005, p. 29).

The production of a map of this kind entails defining which are the social worlds and/or arenas where the situation took place and which are the social worlds and/or arenas that are embedded in the situation. The first concept, social worlds, is defined as "universes of discourse" produced by those actors who implicitly and explicitly participate in the situation. These "universes of discourse" take place in specific sites, which are "arenas" where actors struggle for controlling discourses. Thus, the researcher has to find social worlds and arenas of the situations in questions and create a visual map with these elements (see appendix G for a visual example). Then these social worlds and arenas have to be described and analyzed in the form of a memo, answering questions such as,

> what is the work of each world? How does the world describe itself—present itself—in its discourse(s)? What technologies are used and implicated? Are there particular sites where the action is organized? What is the focus of this arena? What social worlds are present and active? What social worlds are present and implicated or not present and implicated? What else seems important about this arena? (Clarke, 2005, p. 115)

The elaboration of these maps helped me to understand how different social worlds (i.e., discourses) intersected in the organization of a local campaign. This campaign comprised people that worked form the Democratic party at national and local levels, staffers that came from different states of the country, and volunteers from various areas of Philadelphia. Their motivations for participating in the campaign were different and therefore, their actions and practices in this situation varied from actor to actor.

Writing the Dissertation

In May of 2017, I concluded collecting materials from Clinton's campaign. Furthermore, I finished the labor of organizing a vast digital archive composed of more than 4,000 items. At that moment, I was ready to develop the final draft, and from May to December, I devoted most of my time to writing activities.

As I explained in the introduction, my encounter with Carmen Rodríguez (see scene 1, chapter 1) had a massive impact on the investigation because, from that moment, I began to be interested in the role of human bodies within political communication systems and political communication at large. When I started to write the dissertation, I was before a sea of data, and I spent several weeks thinking how to dive into this sea. Returning to my encounter with Carmen was helpful because it offered me a path to penetrate the data and figure out how to write the dissertation. From that moment, I decided to structure the analysis and, consequently, the writing, around the concept of body in the frame of political communication systems. In particular, the

reader will find that chapters 5, 6 and 7, which are based on the participant observation data, analyze how bodies are the basic units of political communication systems.

In a previous section of this chapter, I explained that "a way to gain empirical access and observe" communicative act is by inspecting an event or a situation (Clarke, 2005, pp. 21–22; Geertz, 1973, p. 17). To give the reader a sense of these communicative events and situations that I witnessed, I opted to write some parts of the observations as "scenes"—an idea that I took from the work of Nielsen (2012) and Mahler (2011), scholars who have written ethnographies about political campaigns. These scenes are narrations and snapshots of specific moments of the political communication system's operation and anecdotes that encapsulate how people communicated during the 2016 presidential campaigns. In these descriptions, I changed people's names to maintain the confidentiality of my informants.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 have, more or less, the same structure. After a brief introduction, there is a long section that contains the scenes, and narrations in general, of the presidential campaign in Northeast Philadelphia. These narratives have, or at least attempt to have, low dosages of analysis. The idea behind this decision is to offer the reader an account of what I saw. Then, the last part of the chapters closes with an analytical section where I explore the observations using the Political Communication Systems Model and new analytical elements for expanding the model.

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter contains, describes, and analyzes a variety of elements of the methodological decisions that I made to complete this dissertation. Three main elements summarize the ideas contained in this chapter. First, as a qualitative and critical scholar, I find essential to reveal to the reader who I am and which are the personal elements that shape my

observations. This dissertation, performed by a Mexican scholar studying in a doctoral program in the United States, would be completely different if it was done by any other person, even if the research design was the same. My personal characteristics and motivations led me to propose an alternative theoretical model to study political communication and to engage with a community that has struggled to gain recognition within the contemporary United States political arena.

Second, the chapter argues that studying Clinton's Latino outreach is valuable for many reasons. Although Clinton lost the election, she was a candidate who spent an enormous amount of political, economic, and cultural resources to build a gigantic political communication machine to contact with a diverse, fragmented and polarized population. One part of this machine was devoted to communicating with Latinos, a community that exemplifies part of the diversity, fragmentation, and polarization in the United States. These characteristics offer a remarkable opportunity to understand how political elites are producing and reproducing the norms and values of a political system, and how a specific community participate (or not) in these cultural and political processes.

Third, the chapter explains grounded theory—the method that guided this dissertation. Grounded theory offers one path, among others, to think and reflect in fresh ways about political communication because it allows the researcher to build theory from data. This characteristic is the main reason why I chose this method. Although I draw from the general assumptions provided by the Political Communication Systems Model, the analytical work in this dissertation is based on the data that I collected during the elections using live ethnography and participant observation and analyzed through Clarke's Situational Analysis proposal. In the following chapters, the reader will find the results and discussions of the research informed by the methodological scaffold presented in the previous pages.

CHAPTER 4

A PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATE DEFENDING THE STATUS QUO: CLINTON'S LATINO NATIONAL OUTREACH AND THE AXIOLOGICAL BATTLES DURING THE 2016 ELECTIONS

In terms of discourse, Hillary Clinton's campaign to court Latinos during the 2016 Presidential elections began on June 16 of 2015 in New York, when Donald Trump announced his intention to become the Republican candidate. In that speech, Donald Trump set the tone of his campaign and made it very clear that his fight was more about political and cultural values than policies. In that first speech, Trump explained that he wanted to return the clock to the days when globalization and multiculturalism were not part of the United States' daily discourses. In his view, financial globalization and immigration were harmful to the American economy and cultural development. He said that irregular immigrants were taking American jobs. That day he proposed to build a wall on the Southern border to stop people coming from Latin America and an immigration ban from some Muslim countries.

In contrast, Hillary Clinton and her team dedicated a significant part of the campaign to fighting Trump's rhetoric. As she and her allies explained several times, the Presidential election was a cultural struggle and about the values of the American electorate. For example, on September 15 of 2016, in a speech addressed to the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Clinton framed the election as an ontological decision [emphasis added], "we need to decide *who we are. […]* We need to stand up and repudiate this [Trump's] divisive rhetoric," (Clinton, 2016h) she exclaimed. In Clinton's view, the United States had to be a country that embraced the American Dream, a dream composed of values such as family union, hard work, globalism, multiculturalism, and diversity, as she suggested at the National Conference of Latino Elected

Officials [emphasis added], “We are blessed to live in a *tolerant* and *generous* nation, we should celebrate those *values* and *model them* in our own lives, and in our politics” (Clinton, 2016c).

As can be observed, a significant, but not exclusive, component of the Presidential campaigns occurred in the axiological and cultural realms. Candidates tended to discuss political values such as who could be considered an American citizen, which are the characteristics that these citizens had to have, and thus, which values should be pursued to build a country for this kind of citizens. Molly Ball, a reporter who covered the presidential elections for *The Atlantic*, explains that the election was not about a contest of ideas. This election, she says, “was about issues of identity and tribe and people’s sense of where the interests of their group lie and who they identify with” (Klein, 2016). Thus, I suggest that Clinton's Latino outreach messages for the 2016 election, is a strategic place to study and capture the nature of these cultural and axiological struggles because in those messages there is a celebration of liberal values and a clear rebuttal to the conservative ideas promoted by Donald Trump.

Accordingly, this chapter renders an analysis of the messages that Hillary Clinton and her staff created for outreaching Latinos during the 2016 Presidential elections. The study of Clinton's Latino outreach is valuable because sheds lights on how the discourses of a particular cultural group were constructed during the election by a specific political actor, but also because a significant part of the electoral process and public debates were about the role of minorities within the United States society and the political, economic, cultural, and philosophical benefits and perils of a diverse society and multicultural policies. Within the texts that Clinton created to communicate with Latinos are crystallized how she understood Trump's campaign, how she projected her symbolic self to Latinos, and how she interpreted Latinos and their ideal role in the

United States. Understanding these discourse struggles offers valuable insights for unpacking the political and cultural meanings of the 2016 Presidential elections.

Four sections comprise this chapter. In the first part, I discuss the theoretical orientations that guided the main argument, which explain that we live in a time when sophisticated, hybrid and stratified media systems are in operation and shaping fragmented audiences which are, at the same time, polarized in their political culture and opinions.

Second, I render a description and analysis of the critical features of the organization that developed the Democratic campaign, with a particular emphasis on the team that was in charge of the Latino outreach. I argue that the political communication machine that Clinton built during the election is an illustration of how communication systems have been gaining complexity over time. Furthermore, this section explains the characteristics of a political communication machine that operated at a national level.

Third, and this constitutes the central part of the chapter, I present the results of a narrative analysis of Clinton's Latino outreach. This campaign had an ambivalent role. On the one hand, I suggest that the Latino campaign was an effort to combat Trump's discourse regarding political culture and immigration. The Democratic candidate built a discourse praising liberal values such as cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, globalism, and diversity. In particular, she defended immigrants, including Latinos; supported an immigration reform; and opened the American Dream to foreign cultures. On the other hand, while Clinton embraced liberal and progressive values, ironically, she rooted for maintaining the status quo. In particular, her campaign failed to address broad and significant discussions about globalization and immigration because she was not able to break with past Democratic administrations where she worked as First Lady and Secretary of State. For example, during Bill Clinton's tenure was built

a wall in some parts of the Southern border and Obama was called the “deporter in chief” due to the fact that he was the president who deported more immigrants in recent history. This situation left Clinton in a vulnerable position when talking to Latinos about some of the most significant topics for this community.

Finally, the fourth section contains the conclusions, which explain that, within the texts that Clinton and her campaign produced for Latino communities are part of the axiological battles that occurred during the 2016 election.

2016 Elections as a Critical Juncture for Studying Political Communication

After the presidential campaigns were over many scholars, journalists, pundits, and laypersons have been trying to understand and explain an extraordinary and unpredicted election. Why did Donald Trump, a capitalist entrepreneur with no political experience, win the elections to Hillary Clinton, a longtime political insider? There are many explanations and, in general, as I have explained elsewhere, the outcome of the election can be described as a "perfect storm" (Larrosa-Fuentes, 2017). This concept means that many political, economic, social, cultural, and technological factors can offer plausible explanations for the outcome of this election. In other words, it is impossible to establish the one real cause for this electoral result. Accordingly, in this chapter, I suggest that an important key to understanding this phenomenon rests in the axiological and cultural realms. This election cycle was about identity, and both candidates fought in the symbolic arena to define, shape, and control the meanings of the American dream(s), identities, and values. The cultural dispute is relevant because, in the end, it becomes a significant element that shapes politics and how a country is managed.

The axiological struggle is not unique to the United States. According to a recent analysis of the results of the World Value Survey, there is a clear pattern that shows that Western societies

have tended to cultivate and praise liberal values (Inglehart & Norris, 2016). Over the last few decades, Western countries have embraced values such as cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, gender equality, sexual diversity, and concern for the environment. These values are popular among young people, middle classes and well-educated chunks of the population. However, there is also another clear trend that shows that old people, working classes, and individuals with less formal education have tended to reject progressive values and favor a conservative understanding of the world (Inglehart & Norris, 2016). The United States elections illustrate these arguments. Donald Trump won the Electoral College by promoting a conservative agenda that included a backlash against free global trade, immigration, and the scientific consensus regarding global warming. In contrast, Hillary Clinton, who won the popular vote, supporting globalism, cosmopolitanism, and the development of clean energy, just to name a few. However, the axiological fight also took place in other parts of the world. In September of 2016, citizens of the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union, which has been interpreted as an explicit rejection against globalization and in June of 2017, an important part of the French electorate voted in favor of Marine Le Pen, a right-wing candidate who didn't win the election, but the results showed that a significant part of the population supported her conservative proposals, such as a radical cut of immigration flows from African nations.

The 2016 Presidential elections can be understood as a critical juncture that encapsulates a long process that explains the transformation of the political culture and values of important parts of the population within Western democracies. Critical junctures are processes of historical change and break with the past, when “status quo relationships are jolted” (Pickard, 2014, p. 2). According to Stuart Hall (1978), these processes are the outcome of an “arc of historical development” and occur when "everything fuses together and becomes a rupture” (Jhally, 2012),

which then produces a turning point in history. The 2016 election cycle constitutes a critical juncture that allows observing how, over the recent decades, a slow transformation of political and cultural values in the United States occurred. This arc of development crashed a *status quo* supported by liberal values and opened the door for a reemergence of a conservative understanding of politics. Some of the most relevant characteristics of this critical juncture are crystallized in the texts that Hillary Clinton and her team produced for communicating with the Latino community. As I suggest throughout this chapter, Clinton's campaign was built in opposition to Donald Trump's anti-globalization, cosmopolitanism, and multiculturalism rhetoric and therefore contains discourses about some of the main axiological disputes during this electoral cycle. In those texts are part of the discussions, negotiations, and contradictions of a society that struggles to make sense of its own political and cultural identity.

In the light of this contextualization, this chapter has two primary objectives. The first is to offer a historical and contextual basis for the dissertation. The Political Communication Systems suggests that political communication processes do not occur in a vacuum of time and space. The observations and analyses that inform the rest of the chapters of this dissertation are embedded in historical and global processes, such as the axiological struggle that is taking place in different countries around the world. The 2016 elections, and Clinton's Latino outreach, in particular, are framed in a time when liberal values are being contested, and when the American electorate has become highly polarized. Both trends framed all communicative and political local practices. This historical contextualization is part of the "strategic environment" (Denton, 1998, p. 2) that shaped the 2016 elections.

In addition to the historical framing for the dissertation, the analysis of the national Latino outreach works as an umbrella for grounding the empirical observations of how the

Democratic campaign was deployed in Northeast Philadelphia, and how local Latino residents understood Clinton's political communication. Throughout the general campaigns, which ran from the end of July to Election Day on November 8, I followed the campaign from Philadelphia and using my personal computer. Therefore, all the content analyzed in this chapter had the potential of being read, listened and watched by Latinos in this East Coast metropolis. Obviously, I am not claiming that *all* Latino Philadelphians were exposed to *all* of this content. However, the messages were out there, stored on the internet, and those with access to the net had the opportunity of being in touch with these texts. This symbolic umbrella is relevant because Clinton and her team built a national campaign for Latino communities that permeated the local political communication practices: while using local political communication systems, Latinos in Northeast Philadelphia were also plugged into national communication systems.

The second objective, which is the heart of the chapter, is to render an interpretation of the practical and symbolic functions of the Democratic Latino national outreach. In the realm of the practical functions of political communication, I describe and analyze the communication machine created by the Democratic candidate. Clinton's campaign crafted one of the biggest and most sophisticated communication machines in recent history. She hired hundreds of communication experts, technicians, public relation professionals, computer scientists and spent millions of dollars to communicate with the American electorate. Through a data-driven campaign, the machine was able to communicate using different levels of communication (i.e., interpersonal, group, mass, and digital communication), formats (i.e., advertisements, and campaign and journalistic information), mediums (i.e., press, radio, television, cable, digital media) and platforms (e.g., social media, but not only). A subset of this communication machine was devoted to outreach to Latino communities by accomplishing three specific functions:

distributing information about the campaign and the electoral process, organizing Clinton supporters to volunteer for the campaign, and persuading citizens to vote for Clinton.

Political communication was also used as a vehicle to transport symbolic meanings. A politician, such as Clinton, is a collective representation informed by signs, symbols, and values, which are produced, disseminated and interpreted through symbolic communication (Alexander, 2011). Throughout the cycle, the campaign pursued to craft and control the "image" (Alexander, 2011, p. 122; Denton, 1998, pp. 6–7) of Clinton as a candidate. One way of achieving this goal was the creation of symbolic narratives that depicted her as a successful politician and as someone who could be trusted to guide the nation. At the same time, in the very same messages that constructed Clinton's image, the campaign produced discourses about Latino communities, who were present in the messages as an imaginary audience of someone who wanted to become the President of the United States. In these texts are some of the keys to interpret and understand the cultural battle between conservative and progressive values in Western democracies because the campaign sought to build a symbolic communication system that encouraged liberal values, such as a cosmopolitan understanding of immigration, multicultural policies, and the defense of minorities. Thus, drawing from a situated analysis (Clarke, 2005) of the multimedia texts produced by the Democratic campaign, I present an examination of the narratives that informed Clinton's Latino outreach.

Practical Functions of a Political Communication Machine for Outreach to Latinos

The Democratic candidate built one of the biggest and most sophisticated electoral political communication machines ever created. The size and complexity of this communication mechanism is an eloquent example of how political communication has been changing in modern times. Since the 1980s, the material infrastructure that supports contemporary political

communication systems in the United States has grown exponentially due to the expansion of cable, Internet news outlets, and social media platforms. The outcome of this stratification of media institutions and messages has led to an inexorable fragmentation of the audiences (Shehata & Strömbäck, 2013, p. 236). Audiences are not, anymore, the ones that informed the twentieth-century mass culture that watched the very same national TV shows. In the new environment, laypersons have the possibility of getting information from various media outlets. This phenomenon has been labeled in the communication studies field as “stratamentation” (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008, p. 717). A century ago, in a pre-broadcast political communication era, political campaigns were based on public meetings between the candidate and citizens in rallies and parades. In the broadcast era, campaigns centered their efforts on communicating via mass media—, especially through television and cable. In the digital and “stratamented” era, such as the 2016 elections, candidates had to engage in public meetings, broadcast messages through mass media, and produce a myriad of texts for digital platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Snapchat, and more (Stromer-Galley, 2014, p. 12).

Hillary Clinton’s political communication machine was tailored to work in this complex environment and, since 2015, she began to put together a team that was composed of speechwriters, pollsters, data scientists, journalists, public relation professionals, and much more. The heart of this machine was in Brooklyn, where was located the headquarters. From that office, the staff organized a national campaign that included three different strategies. The first one was the “ground game,” which refers to how a political campaign establishes direct communication with voters and lay persons in general. This form of "personalized communication" (Nielsen, 2012) includes canvassing, phone banking, digital media messaging, and advertising sent via postal mail. This communication is direct because in small elections

candidates can knock on doors, make phone calls and send letters and emails to their potential voters. However, in a Presidential campaign, this form of communication is impossible because of time and space constraints. Therefore, candidates and parties organize volunteers to communicate with voters through personalized communication. The Democratic campaign opened 537 offices, which included at least one field office in all of the 50 states and, in some cases, more than one—for example, there were 57 field offices in Pennsylvania (Darr, 2016, 2017). In chapters 5, 6 and 7 I present a thorough examination of how the ground game developed in Northeast Philadelphia.

The second and third strategies consisted in manufacturing an "air war" as well as a digital communication plan. The messages that were produced to create these strategies are the primary focus of inquiry of this chapter. On the one hand, the "air war" is the most traditional way of campaigning and consists in broadcasting messages via the mass media system, which includes radio, television, and cable (Powell & Cowart, 2003, p. 89). Clinton's campaign bought air time to program radio and TV advertisements through a strategy that is known as paid media. As an illustration, during the campaign, the Democratic candidate aired 402,344 ads on television with an estimated cost of 257 million dollars (Franklin, Ridout, & Franz, 2017, p. 451). Moreover, the campaign sought to persuade media outlets to cover Clinton's activities and statements. This media coverage is named "earned media" or "free media," which means that a candidate gets media exposure without paying for it (Powell & Cowart, 2003, p. 206).

On the other hand, the campaign produced messages for digital media. In the headquarters and some of the field offices across the country, there were teams in charge of creating digital contents such as articles about the campaign trail, videos depicting Hillary Clinton, a podcast where the candidate and her staff were interviewed, an app to communicate

with people who liked video games, and so forth. Other teams had the mission of distributing the digital content through a website, newsletters, texts messages, digital radio ads, and informative and commercial content for Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, pictures for Instagram, and more.

From these strategies, the primary functions of the political communication machine can be deduced. In the first place, the machine had an epistemic function. The campaign used political communication to create knowledge and information about Hillary Clinton and the American electorate. As already explained, the campaign produced information about the candidate and the electoral process in itself. A set of professionals, such as lawyers, policy makers, filmmakers, journalists, and editors, was in charge of producing information about Clinton's proposals and experience as a politician.

The epistemic function can also be observed in the way in which the campaign generated knowledge about American citizens. Digital technologies were used to perform a data-driven campaign (Stromer-Galley, 2014, p. 140). Clinton's staff collected massive amounts of data through the purchase of commercial databases, the conducting of surveys and experiments, analysis of data provided by digital platforms like Google, Facebook and Twitter, and the work of thousands of volunteers who participated in the ground game. This information was analyzed by data scientists to determine when, where, and how to allocate the communicative resources of the campaign. Thus, data helped staffers to make decision about which media markets needed more television advertisements, where Clinton should hold a rally, in which states the campaign required more field offices than others, and so forth (Allen & Parnes, 2017, pp. 338–339; Clinton, 2017, p. 75; Wagner, 2016).

The political communication machine was used for disseminating information. The campaign used the ground game, the air war, and digital communication to get in touch with the

American electorate and to distribute the political knowledge and information created by Clinton's staff. The communicative products that were manufactured by the communication machine conveyed information about Hillary Clinton, such as her personal and political biography and her policy proposal.

The machine was also utilized to socialize the norms and rules of the political system. Through blog and social media articles, advertisements, videos, and infographics the campaign distributed information about primary electoral procedures. For example, they disseminated information about the procedures for voter registration and details on how to vote. During the last weeks of the electoral cycle, they published a series of articles that illustrate this point. On October 14, the blog post "How to vote in Pennsylvania?" appeared. The article explained the procedures for voting registration, the process of getting an absentee ballot, the voting rights for Puerto Ricans living in this state, and necessary information about the election day.

The distribution of political knowledge and information occurred within a hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013), where convergence and transmedia communication processes were the norms. Transmedia is the process in which a message is distributed as a whole or in parts, through different communication levels, formats, mediums, and platforms. In this process, audiences receive a message in various communicative situations and, in some cases, they also contribute to the dissemination of the political messages through interpersonal and digital communication (Scolari, 2013, p. 46). Thus, the political campaign had central messages, which were distributed through the different outputs. For example, in her public speeches, Clinton continually expressed that immigrants are an asset to the American economy. This idea resonated in the motto "Stronger together"—meaning that society is stronger if it incorporates all of its

members. The motto also was broadcast in TV advertisements, published Facebook posts, disseminated in Twitter hashtags, printed on signs, and so forth.

On the side of the audiences, the campaign was hybrid and transmedia because people had to use different platforms to get specific messages. The website was useful for finding information about Clinton's bio, the transcripts of her speeches, and all the public policy proposals, whereas Facebook and Twitter were used as platforms for distributing videos about the campaign, information about upcoming rallies, and more. Messages were fragmented and, at the same time, linked among them. Therefore, audiences had to use different platforms to have a complete message. For instance, a tweet about immigration could have a link to an article on the website that explained Clinton's proposals regarding a reform on the topic. Furthermore, audiences had to use different platforms to engage with the campaign. Take the case of a rally, where the candidate delivered a speech and at the end asked the public to take out their smartphones and send a text message to receive notifications of the campaign trail. Then, some of them sent the message and received a new message that asked them to reregister in the central website to become a volunteer.

The digital component of the political communication machine transcended the production and dissemination of messages. In the era of digital communication, individuals have also used the internet to organize political tasks (Nielsen, 2011; Stromer-Galley, 2014) and Clinton's campaign was no exception. Thus, the third function of the political communication machine was to organize the campaign. As I detail in chapter 6, in the first stage of the process, the goal was to register citizens to vote. The campaign created a web page where people were able to learn if they were registered, to modify their information, and to register in case that they weren't. Furthermore, volunteers made phone calls and knocked on doors to encourage people to

register and to explain to them how and where they could do this. When the voter registration period was over, the campaign initiated a second stage where the objective was to recruit people to volunteer for Hillary Clinton—a process which I analyze in chapter 7. In the same fashion, the ground game and a digital outreach were used to attract volunteers to the organization.

The primary goal of political campaigns in the United States is to win the election. Therefore, the fourth function of Clinton's political communication machine was to persuade people to perform actions. The campaign provided the information and infrastructure to participate in the election but also needed people who agree to participate. In this sense, the campaign used all the machinery to persuade individuals to register to vote, to volunteer for the campaign, to "Get Out the Vote" and support Clinton on the election day. Volunteers knocked on doors and made phone calls not only to provide information about how to register to vote and when and where to vote but also to convince citizens actually to do it. In her rallies, Clinton motivated audiences to participate in the campaign. In the internet, circulated videos where Barack Obama and Joe Biden persuaded citizens to make a plan to vote and support Hillary Clinton. On the television and cable, there were ads where the campaign used emotional appeals to convince the electorate to vote for Hillary Clinton.

The data-driven model was the base for creating Clinton's political communication strategy. Clinton's team decided to craft a super controlled communication environment, where the candidate prepped in advance all her public appearances and left little spontaneity. For instance, she was criticized for offering few press conferences, she prepped with a significant detail for each of the Presidential debates, and she tried to be "on message" during journalistic interviews. Moreover, Clinton and her team decided to avoid, as much as possible, interacting with the public. An obvious example of this feature was the use of digital media. All the articles,

audios, and videos on her website were produced in-house. The campaign hired professional filmmakers, journalists and editors to create contents. According to different studies (Enli, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2016b) and corroborated by my ethnographic observations, the interactivity was minimal on her website and social media platforms. On Facebook, she only posted content produced by her campaign, and on Twitter, she just retweeted messages from politicians, celebrities, and her staff (Pew Research Center, 2016b). The "controlled interactivity" is a typical feature of United States presidential campaigns (Stromer-Galley, 2014). However, Clinton faced an atypical opponent who had more interaction with the public, who was not "on message," and who played an unscripted and spontaneous campaign.

A subset of this large, complex and sophisticated political communication machine had the objective to outreach the Latino communities. For the most part, this subset had the same characteristics of the general machine described in the previous paragraphs. However, some differences are important to highlight. The Latino team had the mission of reaching a particular audience, which is composed of 57 million persons and, specifically, 27 million potential voters (Pew Research Center, 2016a). Latino audiences have some common characteristics among them, like having a cultural heritage from Latin America and speaking Spanish. Yet, the Latino community is a diverse chunk of the population composed of evangelical conservatives to Catholic liberals, left-wing millennials to youngsters raised in traditional Latin American cultures, irregular immigrants[2] to third-generation Americans, peasants to high profile

[2] I use the term "irregular immigrants" to refer to those persons who have immigrated to the United States and who do not have permission from the Federal Government to stay in the country (Moreno et al., 2017). Traditionally, "irregular immigrants" have been called "undocumented" and "illegals." Using the term "irregular immigrants" highlights three important issues. First, "irregular immigration" is not a natural phenomenon. On the contrary, this is the outcome of political, legal, and discursive structures that have the objective of conditioning the freedom of movement of individuals from one territory to another. In this sense, irregular immigrant opposes to the naturalization of “undocumented” “illegal.” Second, a person cannot be "illegal" or "undocumented." This classification is an ontological aberration because no one can cancel (even in legal terms) the existence of a person. Third, “irregular immigration” highlights the regulatory contradictions created by democratic States that have signed

executives. Therefore, the Latino subset of the political communication machine faced the challenge to interact with a particular, broad, and diverse community. The Latino political communication machine was used in the ground game, participated in the air war, and targeted voters using digital communication tools.

Another important distinction was that the machine used a different code for communicating, and most of the messages were produced in Spanish (Larrosa-Fuentes, 2016a). Until the Democratic Convention, which was celebrated at the end of July of 2016 in Philadelphia, Clinton's Latino outreach was mostly in English and with some messages in Spanish (Pew Research Center, 2016b). However, after the Convention, Clinton began an aggressive strategy for communicating with Latinos. This plan was based on a bilingual campaign that included opening Spanish-speaking offices in key states such as Florida and Nevada, producing radio and television advertisements in Spanish, creating a digital strategy that integrated a bilingual version of her website, and releasing a Twitter account that was written in Spanish. Also, Tim Kaine, Clinton's running mate, was fluent in Spanish and he used it to deliver several messages to the Latino community.

On August 5 of 2016, Hillary Clinton gave a speech at the National Association of Black Journalists and National Association of Hispanic Journalists' Joint Conference in Washington, D.C. That day she explained that her campaign,

> just launched an all-Spanish Twitter account because we want to bring as many Americans as possible into this conversation. We've opened offices in every state because

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the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The article 13 of this document explains that: "(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State and (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country".

> we want to compete everywhere – we want to bring our message and our vision to all corners of our country, (Clinton, 2016e)

The very same message was released in a bilingual article posted on her website and then spread through Facebook and Twitter—another example of the hybrid and transmedia nature of this campaign. Regarding the practical uses of political communication, incorporating new codes (i.e., languages) implies widening a political communication system. In the case of this campaign, using the Spanish language signified that Clinton opened the political communication system to 40 million of Spanish speakers in the United States and other regions of the world, such as Latin America.[3] Language is an inclusion-exclusion mechanism in a political communication system: those who cannot encode and decode the messages are marginalized from the communicative dynamic.

Finally, another essential element of the Latino communication machine is that it was informed by members of this community. In political terms, Amanda Renteria became the highest ranked Latina in Clinton's team and held the position of "Political Director." Then, the Latino outreach was operated by Lorella Praeli, who was in charge of the National Latino Vote. Praeli, a Peruvian-American, had a team composed by Jason Rodriguez, Keylin Rivera, and Sara Valenzuela. This team was in charge of creating all the strategies for being in touch with the community and persuading them to vote for Clinton. Furthermore, there was another group that was devoted to producing the air war and digital communication with Latinos. This group was composed of three principal positions: Sylvia Ruiz, who was in charge of the air war and had the responsibility of managing the Hispanic paid media strategy. Jorge Silva, a Mexican-American lawyer and communication expert, held the position of Hispanic Media Director. Throughout the

[3] Throughout my online observations, I was able to observe that this campaign reached not only residents in the United States but individuals from other parts of the world. This campaign was transnational.

electoral process, he was in charge of gaining access to Hispanic Media (i.e., earned/free media), such as Univision, Telemundo and hundreds of local Latino newspapers and radio stations. And, Jessica Morales Rocketo, the digital organizing director, who had the responsibility of outreach to Latinos through digital platforms.

Up to this point, I have described the main features of Clinton's political communication machine and Latino outreach and analyzed the functions of the campaign. In the next section, I examine the meaning of putting together such a communicative machinery and using Spanish for interacting with Latinos. Moreover, I render an analysis of the narratives that Clinton and her team used to fight the Republican candidate in the symbolic realm.

Symbolic Functions of Clinton's Latino Outreach

The Political Communication Systems Model proposes that political communication has practical and symbolical functions. As Alexander explains, in the context of contemporary democracies, "To become a representative of the civil sphere is less a matter of rational deliberation than of symbolic representation. Politicians must become collective representations, textured and tactile images that inspire devotion, stimulate communication, and trigger interaction" (Alexander, 2011, p. 135). One way to penetrate the symbolic realm of political communication is analyzing the narratives produced by social and political actors. In these stories are embedded the aspirations of a society, their values, and collective goals. Hence, the main argument for this section of the chapter, is that within the messages that the political communication machine produced for Latinos, are embedded the images that Hillary Clinton wanted to project to this audience, the narratives that she and her staff created to represent this community and, ultimately, part of the cultural and axiological struggles around topics such as globalization, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and American values.

The use of narratives during a political campaign is not unconscious. Political organizers tend to rely on scientific knowledge to find the most efficient ways of communicating with the audience. This was the case of Clinton's campaign, where staffers draw from the idea that, by and large, audiences tend to have a better reception of political communication when narratives are used as a way of structuring messages. For example, in an interview for the campaign's podcast "With Her," Megan Rooney, deputy director of speechwriting explained that when writing a speech for Clinton, using narratives was a useful tool to convey political messages:

> Stories make a big difference. There is analysis of what people remember when they leave the speech. They tend not to remember the good line; they tend not to remember the striking fact; they remember stories. So, if you want someone to remember something, you should use a story. [During the campaign] we tell story from her [Clinton's] life, and we tell stories of the people she has met" (Linsky, n.d.).

Therefore, studying narratives is relevant because they are rhetoric and symbolic devices through which political communication operates.

The universe of the narrative analysis is constituted by all the messages produced by Hillary Clinton and her team (including the Democratic Party super PACs) to outreach Latino communities during the election. In particular, the sample of the study is focused on observing all the Spanish language content. In Table 2 are listed the platforms, number of texts, and sources that inform the sample. I collected these messages by hand, except from the Facebook posts, which were supplied by the Illuminating 2016 Project (Stromer-Galley et al., 2016). For collecting the radio and television advertisements, I relied on information provided by the Political Archive (https://politicaladarchive.org) and the Democracy in Action's ad collection (http://www.p2016.org/adsg/adsgeneral.html). To my best knowledge, I have all the Spanish messages that were published on Clinton's website and Facebook and Twitter accounts, as well as all the national television advertisements. The sample is also informed by messages in

English, such as newsletters, text messages, transcripts of Clinton's speeches, and multimedia texts that also pertain to the Latino outreach, but that were not produced in Spanish.

Table 2. Spanish Messages Produced by Clinton's Campaign for Latino outreach

Table 3. *Spanish messages produced by Clinton's campaign for Latino outreach*		
Platform	Number of texts	Account
Website	46 multimedia blog posts	https://www.hillaryclinton.com/es/
Facebook	248 multimedia posts	www.facebook.com/hillaryclinton/
Twitter	692 multimedia tweets	@Hillary_esp
Television Ads	19 videos	goo.gl/vuUnLz (YouTube)
Radio Ads	8 audios	goo.gl/AaYmYJ (Sound Cloud)

"I Will Build a Great, Great Wall on our Southern Border": The Original Discourse

After an analysis of the symbolic uses of the messages produced by Hillary Clinton's team, it is clear that her campaign was built to counterattack Donald Trump as a candidate and his rhetoric regarding the American Dream and values. The presence of Donald Trump and his rhetoric within Clinton's messages is pervasive. For example, in the Spanish messages that she published on her website and Facebook and Twitter accounts, the name of Donald Trump appeared more times than Clinton's, except on Twitter (see Table 3). According to the Illuminating project (Stromer-Galley et al., 2016), Clinton used 19% of her English messages on Facebook and Twitter to attack Donald Trump—the highest percentage over the rest of categories. When analyzing all the television advertisements produced by the Democratic candidate, researchers found that she devoted most of her time to attacking Donald Trump (Franklin et al., 2017, p. 468).

Table 3. Frequency of Candidates' Name Mentioned in Clinton's Digital Accounts

Table 3. *Frequency of candidates' name mentioned in Clinton's digital accounts*		
Digital Platform	Clinton	Trump
Facebook	55	62
Twitter	182	156
Blog	178	196
Total	415	414
Source: Data collected by the researcher, except the Facebook posts, which were provided by the Illuminating project (Stromer-Galley et al., 2016).		

Hillary Clinton attacked the Republican candidate on different fronts such as his lack of experience in office, his misogynist attacks on women, his massive loss of money when doing business, and so forth. Many of these attacks were ad hominem. However, there were also attacks that were not only concerning Trump per se but about his political and cultural ideas. In particular, it stands out that Clinton was critical of Trump's opinions on immigration, jobs creation, and international relations. In her view, the Republican candidate was rooting for values that were incompatible with the Democratic version of the American Dream, such as the benefits of free trade in the era of globalization, a cosmopolitan view of commerce and immigration, and multiculturalism as a lighthouse that guides the creation of public policies. Thus, Clinton played most of her campaign in a "defense mode." In other words, Clinton defended the liberal status quo from a political outsider who threatened the Democratic Party legacy.

Most of the ideas that Trump expressed throughout his campaign can be found in the speech that he delivered for announcing his intention to run for the nomination. The gist of that speech became a text that was the center of Trump's discourse, and it also became the primary target of Clinton's campaign—, especially for Latino outreach. In his first speech, Trump exposed an analysis of contemporary United States and suggested that the American Dream was dead. He did not offer a straightforward definition of this concept. However, he explained what

was wrong with it. Americans, he said, "do not have victories anymore" and many countries, such as China and Mexico, "are killing us—economically." Trump explained that foreign countries were taking away the United States prosperity and economic growth. He identified the origins of the American Dream's failure and blamed policies that allowed immigrants to come from Muslim and Latin America countries. Trump depicted Muslims as a threat to national security and Latinos were characterized as people taking jobs away from Americans. Moreover, he explained that these immigrants were creating problems to the United States, "they are bringing drugs, crime, and rapists." In his speech, Trump proposed three measures to stop this kind of immigrants coming to the United States: create an executive order to ban immigration from Muslim countries, revert Obama's executive orders on immigration, and build a "great wall in the Southern border" to stop people coming from Latin America. These measures had the objective of expelling irregular immigrants from the United States, banning the entrance to a group of individuals because of ideological and religious arguments, and restricting the free flow of people and things from the Southern border. Trump closed his speech with a nostalgic message: "make America great again."

Hillary Clinton dedicated a significant part of her general campaign, and Latino outreach in particular, to oppose Trump's rhetoric against immigrants and foreign cultures. Thus, I suggest that, in discursive terms, Hillary Clinton's Latino campaign has its origins in the speech when Trump announced that he was running for the presidential candidacy of the Republican Party. The impact of that statement within Clinton's messages to the Latino community is high. For example, throughout all the material examined for this textual analysis (see Tables 2 and 3), the idea of "building a wall" between Mexico and the United States was mentioned 22 times, the

words "muralla" and "muros" (two ways for referring to "walls" in Spanish) appeared on 64 occasions, and Trump's saying that Mexicans are criminals and rapists emerged in 24 cases.

Trump's messages became, what I have called elsewhere, an "original speech" (Acosta García, Larrosa-Fuentes, & Paláu Cardona, 2014), which is a set of arguments that are made public and which become an informative and symbolic reference for a further public discussion, deliberation, and/or debate, such as the struggles that presidential candidates had from August to November of 2016. As I demonstrate in the next sections, the discourse emanated from Trump's first speech set an important part of the general election campaign and Clinton's Latino outreach. Trump speeches was so embedded in Clinton's campaign that a layperson could learn about the main ideas of the Republican candidate by only studying the Democratic campaign. This situation led Clinton to play all the cycle in a "defense mode." She defended Muslims, Latinos, women, LGBT communities, and minorities in general. However, her primary defense was devoted to preserving the liberal status quo and former Democratic administrations legacies. In the following sections, I offer an analysis of which were the main narratives that informed this political communication strategy where Trump became the insurgent candidate and Clinton, the defender of the status quo.

"Bring them Out from the Shadows": The Economic Dimension of Immigration

The most influential element of Trump's rhetoric was, no doubt, the idea of building a wall on the Southern border. This idea captured the national conversation, the public imagination, and Clinton's campaign. The construction of a wall was related, since the beginning, to the topics of globalization and immigration. According to Trump's argumentation, the barrier would be useful as a physical device for not letting individuals and things coming into the United States. In particular, the wall would stop people from Latin America immigrating to the North

and also would make easier to control the free movement of things such as arms and drugs. The wall would be supplemented with other political measures, such as renegotiating or even canceling the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). These actions intended, among other things, to prevent immigrants from taking American jobs, and to recuperate the investments and employments that moved to other countries. In short, Donald Trump was arguing against free trade and human mobility in the frame of globalization.

The political agenda of liberal elites supports free movement of goods and persons among the nations of the world. Aligned with these ideas, Clinton articulated an answer to Trump's backlash against globalization and immigration. The key narrative in this articulation was that immigration is an asset for economic development and, in consequence, she was to continue Obama's executive orders and to promote reform on this matter. The message of the campaign was transmedia, and it resonated in Clinton's speeches, tweets, TV ads, and digital videos. For example, on September 15, during a speech at the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, the candidate explained that immigration brings people and money to the country, which is good for the economy and for maintaining the American Dream [emphasis added]

> So here's the bottom line. Comprehensive immigration reform will not only be *the right thing to do*, but it will add $700 billion to our economy and enable America to be what it's always been – a place where people from around the world can come to reunite with family, start new businesses, pursue their dreams, apply their talents to American growth and innovation. (Clinton, 2016h)

Thus, Clinton related globalization and immigration to values such as economic growth, innovation, and freedom of acting and pursuing happiness.

The economic benefits of globalization and immigration crystallized in various messages produced by the campaign, but it is especially salient in the story of Luisa Santos. On June, the campaign released the TV advertisement *Nuestra Historia* (Our Story) which was nationally

broadcast through Univision during the Copa America, a continental soccer tournament that was played in different cities in the United States. The video begins with a segment where Donald Trump says to reporters "We have to do what we have to do" and then, one reporter asks, "Are you going to have a massive deportation force?" The candidate answers, “Yes, we are going to have a deportation force.” Then the video presents, in Spanish, the story of three Latinos. Amadina Sinfuentes explains that her family has been in the country before the "United States was the United States." Lawrence Ramos narrates how he enrolled in the US Army and fought in the Korean war. Afterward appears Luisa Santos, who says that "At eight years old we moved to the United States. My mom left everything behind to give my sister and I a new opportunity." Finally, the voice of Clinton appears and says: "As I look at American history, I see that this has always been a country of we, not me. We stand together because we are stronger together."

Later on, in another example of transmedia narrative, the campaign produced a video that unfolded Luisa Santos’ story and showed the economic benefits of immigration. The video begins with Luisa saying in English that growing as an “undocumented immigrant” in the United States “basically meant living a life with fear.” Then she sits in a chair and speaking in Spanish tells the audience that she became the owner of Lulu's, an ice cream shop that sells the "best organic and natural ice creams in Miami." She is proud to say that she employs high school and college students. Next, she recalls her personal story and explains that her mother left her job as a professor in Colombia seeking better opportunities. Her mother worked cleaning houses to pay for the school tuitions of Luisa and her sister. Luisa switches again to English and explains that in recent months she became a citizen of the United States. She continues her message saying that immigration reform is a “tremendous economic opportunity” for the United States, “on top is the right thing to do"—this last phrase is the same that Clinton uttered in her address to the

Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute (citation). Finally, she says that immigrants are vital to the economy because they have an entrepreneur spirit, a spirit that constitutes the foundational basis of the country. That spirit, she concludes in Spanish, has contributed to the economic growth of the nation and the creation of a real "global country" (sic).

Drawing from the narratives that describe immigrants as vital elements for the economic machinery for the United States, Clinton moved to suggest that, in case of winning the election, she was going to support immigration reform. In one of her speeches, she explained that [emphasis added]

> in my first 100 days, I'm going to introduce legislation for comprehensive immigration reform with a path to citizenship – *that's not only the right thing to do*. Every independent analysis shows it will add hundreds of billions of dollars to our economy. It will also keep families together. We need to bring hard-working people *out of the shadows*. America has always been a place where people from around the world work hard and apply their talents to American growth and innovation in pursuit of their own dreams. So we're going to do everything we can to get this done. (Clinton, 2016e)

In this speech, another narrative appeared that depicts irregular immigrants as individuals that "live in the shadows," as persons that do not have rights, as people who are not allowed to have a public life. To stop this order of things, Clinton proposed immigration reform to incorporate to the labor force those individuals who live in the shadows:

> Do we want to round up millions of people who are here working, raising their families, as he has suggested he will do? I don't think so. I think what we want is to bring them out of the shadows so that they can't be exploited by employers like Donald Trump, who refused to hire Americans and hired undocumented workers so he could pay them less. (Clinton, 2016i)

In these narratives, it is evident that the Democratic campaign justified immigration as a process that benefits American economy. In "Nuestra Historia," the campaign highlights how Latinos have been part of the United States history, and how they contributed to the development

of the country. Later on, the Luisa Santos' story shows how an irregular immigrant can become, after years of hard working, an exemplary American citizen. Luisa and her family left Colombia to pursue happiness and a better future. After decades of living in fear of being deported, Luisa's mom worked cleaning houses while she was studying. Many years later, Luisa became an entrepreneur, who is helping high school and college students and "applying her talents to American growth and innovation." This narrative presents the way in which Democrats conceive acceptable immigration and the satisfactory profile of a Latino immigrant.

However, it is intriguing that the campaign did not describe, "those who are in the shadows," who, indeed, remained in the shadows within the texts under analysis. Irregular immigrants had a discrete—almost nonexistent—visibility in the campaign. The Latino outreach privileged reproducing stories about successful entrepreneurs like Luisa Santos and major celebrities such as Salma Hayek, Jennifer Lopez, and Mark Anthony, just to name a few. The campaign also showed more interest in taking about young Latinos who feared they could be expelled in the case that the next President terminated programs such DACA. Yet the campaign barely showed and referred to all those Latino immigrants who perform tough jobs such as cleaning houses, building highways, cultivating food, serving in restaurants, and so forth. Clinton publicized the economic virtues of immigration by showing the numbers that support this assertion, but failed to offer narratives of which would be the specific roles of immigrants in her vision of America's future economy. Furthermore, when talking about an immigration reform, Clinton explained what she had in mind for those who were irregular immigrants in the United States, but did not discussed which were going to be her values and policies regarding future flows of immigrants.

The Internal (and Symbolic) Walls: **"Donald Trump quiere vernos desaparecer"**

On September 28 of 2016, "Priorities USA," a Democratic Party super PAC released a Spanish language ad, named "*Desaparecer*" (Disappear) (Priorities USA, 2016b). This announcement followed a structure that entails a superposition of audio from one source and a video from another. The 30 second piece opened with a scene where a Latino family are eating breakfast. At the same time, we can hear audio where Donald Trump says, "This is a country where we speak English, not Spanish."[4] When Trump utters the word "English," the Latino family disappears from the dining room, and we can only see a table with dishes, cereal, and milk, but with no persons. Next, a female narrator says in Spanish: "*Donald Trump quiere vernos desaparecer*" (Donald Trump wants us to disappear). In the press release, the super PAC expressed that,

> Priorities USA is releasing a new Spanish language television ad […] because if it were up to Donald Trump, most Hispanic Americans would simply disappear from this country. […] Donald Trump's ideal America appears to be full of people who look, sound, and act like him. But that's not the America we live in, and it's not what this country is all about.

This ad contains one of the major cultural disputes during the Presidential campaigns: a debate about cultural diversity in the United States.

The idea of building a wall on the Southern border became a metaphor for encapsulating Trump's political agenda but also operated in the symbolic realm. The Republican candidate sought to produce a cultural discourse that celebrated the purity and unity of the United States. One measure for achieving this ideal was, indeed, building a wall for stopping migration flows from Latin America. However, according to Trump, a barrier should also operate inside the

[4] This audio was recorded during the Republican primaries, in a debate that was held on September 16 of 2015 in Simi Valley, California, where Trump expressed this idea.

United States to protect American cultural heritage. The idea that lays behind this political program is that other cultures should integrate into the country, contrary to the notion of developing a multicultural society. To prevent multiculturalism, Trump proposed to build symbolic barriers. One way for beginning the erection of these cultural walls was by creating linguistic obstruction. As the Democratic ad depicted, Trump wanted to disappear foreign cultures from the United States, and one way of doing that was enhancing a monolingual society. This idea became a powerful device to express his political views on immigration and multiculturalism.

The Democratic campaign decided that it was relevant to fight the Republican candidate not only in his attacks on globalization and free trade but also on his strikes on the cultural dimension of immigration. For these reasons, the decision of using the Spanish language was not only about opening the political communication system to more audiences (i.e., the practical functions described in previous sections) but about creating a cultural marker to differentiate from the Republicans. The campaign opted to fight Donald Trump on Twitter, one of his privileged spaces for communicating with his supporters. The day that the Twitter Spanish account was opened, the campaign explained in a bilingual blog post that [emphasis added],

> Spanish is the language of more than 40 million Americans in the United States, and here at Hillary for America, we believe that broadening our communication in an effort to reach more audiences is essential to Hillary's goal of *breaking down barriers* for all Americans. Over the course of the past year, we've seen divisive, offensive, and hateful language aimed at many of us who happen to speak Spanish, and many of us who do not. Our voices will not be silenced, whether they be in English, Spanish, or any other language, and this account is a reminder that no matter what language you speak—the values that unite us as Americans transcend narrow-minded ideas on who we are or what we should sound like. (Luisi & Nemir Olivares, 2016)

Thus, using the Spanish language was a way of expressing, symbolically, a support for liberal values. The Democratic campaign contrasted two philosophical viewpoints of how

American society should be developed, from nativism, assimilation, and integration, to cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and diversity.

The blog post for releasing the Twitter account contains another of the narratives of the Democratic campaign. If Trump proposed building physical and cultural walls, Clinton offered "breaking down barriers for all Americans" (Luisi & Nemir Olivares, 2016). The image of Clinton as a barrier-breaker appeared several times in the texts that her staff produced during the election. For example, Priorities USA released an ad that encapsulates a narrative where Clinton seeks to be observed as the candidate who will destroy the internal barriers of country. The ad, named "Barriers" (Priorities USA, 2016a), opens with an image of a wall with a projection of a video of Donald Trump chanting, "build the wall, build the wall." Then, a voiceover in Spanish utters that "Donald Trump wants to build walls, reduce taxes for millionaires, and cut education budgets." Suddenly, the wall is demolished, and the narrator explains that Hillary Clinton will eliminate the barriers for Latinos. Throughout the campaign, Clinton associated this narrative with specific policy proposals such as removing administrative obstacles for getting the United States naturalization, eliminating laws that inhibit Latinos from voting and offering English classes for workers to have better chances of getting a job.

In the article "*Qué se siente vivir con miedo de ser deportado y recibir alivio temporal*" (How it feels to fear deportation and get some temporary relief), Paola Luisi (2016), who was part of Clinton's staff in Brooklyn, interviewed four young irregular immigrants who were studying in the United States and got temporary permission to stay thanks to DACA program. Jorge Gallegos, one of the interviewees, explained that despite having a college degree, during many years he had to work in a corn field because he was an irregular immigrant. However, DACA allowed him to have a permit to work. In his words [emphasis added], "when DACA was

enacted I felt that a *barrier* was eliminated." These kinds of texts helped Clinton to be portrayed as a politician that would help young immigrants, especially students, by honoring the work of Barack Obama, a President who also was committed to knocking down barriers. In a letter that Clinton wrote to irregular young immigrants, she explained that [emphasis added], "In America, the place of your birth should never be a *barrier* that stops you from reaching your God-given potential—that's what makes our country great, and that's the promise I'm going to fight to fulfill" (Clinton, 2016g)—this letter was also published in a Spanish translation (Clinton, 2016f).

The particular emphasis on young irregular immigrants activated another narrative where the campaign depicted Latinos as powerless individuals that have to be protected. In this narrative, Clinton became the candidate that defends those American children who have parents that are irregular immigrants and who protects young Dreamers. A clear illustration of this narrative is the story of Karla Ortiz, who was one of the most prominent figures of the campaign. Ortiz was, at the time of the campaign, an 11-year-old American girl, daughter of irregular immigrants. On February of 2016, Clinton met Karla during a roundtable in Las Vegas. In that event, Karla told Clinton that her parents had a letter of deportation and suddenly she started crying. Clinton told Karla that,

> I'm going to do everything I can so you don't have to be scared. And you don't have to worry about what happens to your mom, or your dad or somebody else in your family. […] Let me do the worrying. (Clinton, 2016a)

The campaign recorded this encounter, and this footage became the central narrative of the TV ad "Brave" (Clinton, 2016a). After the release of this ad, Karla Ortiz became a central figure in the campaign and joined Clinton in several events and, for instance, addressed the public during the Democratic Convention in July of 2016. This narrative of Clinton as a mother who takes care of children and young people was connected to one of the master narratives of the

general campaign, which highlighted the candidate's role as mother of Chelsea Clinton, but especially her long trajectory as a public servant who focused on helping children.

As these narratives depict, Clinton wanted to build an image of a politician who had sympathy for American cultural diversity and that was willing to create a Presidential administration based on multicultural policies. Although Clinton is monolingual, she praised in different occasions the cognitive and cultural benefits of speaking foreign languages, and she proposed developing bilingual education programs. Moreover, she showed interest in helping children and young Latino Americans by becoming the "barrier-breaker:"

> I am running this campaign to knock down *all the barriers* that stand in the way of people getting ahead and staying ahead, and I want to do that when it comes to naturalization. I will work to expand fee waivers so that those seeking naturalization can get a break on the costs. I will step up our outward outreach and education, so more people know their options. (Clinton, 2016d)

These narratives failed to present a deeper and more sophisticated understanding of the values of diversity and multiculturalism, not only as values that had to be defended but as values that have to be cultivated in the future. Clinton tried to be depicted as a "barrier-breaker" who would help people to have easier paths to become a citizen, more opportunities to learn English and temporary relief for not being deported. However, Clinton and her narratives failed to present an image and narratives of what would be the new scenario after imploding all the "physical and psychological walls." Would the United States follow the multicultural approaches of the European Union, Canada, Australia or Bolivia? Which would be the new faces of public policies that draw from a multicultural understanding of the world? Would any language and traditions be as important as English and protestant values? The future did not exist in Clinton's Latino outreach, because she was not proposing something new, but continuing the current order of things.

“The American Dream is Big Enough for Everyone:” Clinton

In his first speech, Donald Trump declared that the American Dream was dead and then he threw his famous motto, “make America great again.” The Democratic campaign counterattacked and defended the idea that the American Dream was alive. The defense of this system of ideas transcended the Democratic candidate and was part of the discourse of many political actors. For example, during the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, Michelle Obama dedicated part of her speech to address these concerns: “Don't let anyone ever tell you that this country is not great. That somehow, we need to make it great again. Because this right now is the greatest country on Earth.”

In the realm of the Latino outreach, the campaign told stories about successful members of the Latino community and how they contributed to support the idea of the American Dream as a political project which is still alive and working. The Latino staff that Clinton hired to run the campaign helped her to accomplish the practical functions of political communication and also, they became part of the symbolic messages. The most salient example of the symbolic participation of Clinton’s staff is the story of Lorella Praeli. On June of 2016, Clinton’s team released the following tweet: “*El emocionante momento cuando la 'dreamer' Lorella Praeli tuvo la oportunidad de votar por primera vez*.” (The thrilling moment when the “dreamer” Lorella Praeli voted for the first time.) The tweet contained a video that depicted Lorella transformation from being a Peruvian irregular immigrant to an American citizen hired by the Democratic candidate to coordinate the Latino outreach.

The video has three narrators: Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, and Praeli herself. In the first part of the narration, we can see and hear a speech that Clinton has at the National

Immigrant Integration Conference in Brooklyn. In that speech, she shared Praeli's story and explained that [emphasis added]

> […] she went to college anyway because her grades got her a full scholarship. She decided she didn't want to live in *fear or secrecy* like so many undocumented immigrants feel they must do. She was convinced that this was her country and that she had something special to offer. So, she came forward, *publicly*, as undocumented. She joined the United We Dream movement, advocating for all the young people brought here as children. (Clinton, 2015)

Then Clinton moves to explain that Lorella was working with her and that "tomorrow, President Obama will swear her in as a citizen of the United States of America." We keep hearing Clinton, who says that Lorella "reminds us who we are as people," while we see footage from the day when Obama swore Praeli as citizen. Then, Lorella appears in an automobile speaking with her mother in Spanish. Lorella is crying while telling her mom that she was on her way to vote for the first time. Finally, we see Lorella voting and arriving at Clinton's headquarters in Brooklyn, while Barack Obama in voiceover says, "what a remarkable journey all of you have experienced, and as of today your story is interwoven with the story of this nation." The video closes with Clinton's logo and the phrase "fighting for you."

The story of Lorella highlights how the same person can accomplish practical and symbolic functions in a political communication system. This person was in charge of organizing a team to outreach Latinos across the United States and, at the same time, she became one of the symbols of the campaign. Lorella Praeli's story, as well as others such as Luisa Santos', is the vivid example of the Democratic version of the American Dream, which highlights values likes hard working, love for family and education, perseverance, and social mobility, expressed in the belief that there is a place for everyone in a diverse and multicultural United States. In her speech, Clinton clearly explains that Lorella is a symbol of "who we are" (i.e., "we" representing

Americans and ultimately, Democratic supporters), and then proceeds to mark a difference with Trump's values,

> We are a big country, and we should never forget that, and we shouldn't let anybody on the public stage say that we are mean spirited, that we are going to build walls, mentally and physically, or that we are going to shut doors. (Clinton, 2015)

During the summer of 2016 another emblematic example of how Latinos are part of the American Dream appeared. The protagonist, in this occasion, was not an entrepreneur such as Luisa Santos, or an activist, such as Lorella Praeli. The focus was now switched to sports field within the frame of the Olympic Games celebrated in Brazil. The Democratic campaign used the stories of different athletes to reflect the values of Hillary Clinton and the American Dream that she was promoting. Laurie Hernandez, a Puerto Rican gymnast, agreed to participate in Clinton's campaign and her image was used to portray a successful Latina who won several medals during the Olympics. Her picture appeared in different infographics on Facebook and Twitter. The text of this infographic narrated the following story: "My mother was in the Army Reserve… She taught me the importance of following the rules, finishing what I start, never giving up, leadership skills, teamwork, staying positive, motivated and how to pack the military way when I'm traveling!" Hernandez represented another successful Latina, in this case, Puerto Rican, who learned how to be a good citizen and athlete (i.e., following the rules) and achieved great success practicing emblematic American values like hard work, discipline, teamwork, and staying positive.

Among all these values, the idea of "working hard" stands out. This value can be found in Clinton's discourses and not only within the Latino outreach efforts. On a speech called "Remarks on American Values," delivered in Illinois on July 13 of 2016, Clinton remembered that Lincoln believed that

> everyone deserved – in his words – ‘a fair chance in the race of life.' He saw it as a defining feature of the United States and believed it was vital that hardworking people be free to enjoy the fruits of their own labor. […] If you work hard, if you love this country, if you contribute to it, and want nothing more than to build a good future for yourselves and your children, we should give you a way to come forward and become a citizen. (Clinton, 2015)

In the context of the Latino outreach, the narratives that depicted the vitality and strength of the American Dream accomplished two important objectives. First, these narratives that Latinos are active contributors to the economic wealth of the United States and, in a secondary level, to the multicultural formation of this society. In these narratives, Latinos are young entrepreneurs, innovators, and students who put their talents to increase American economic power. Luisa Santos has her own business in Florida, Praeli is the director of Clinton's Latino outreach, and Salma Hayek and Alicia Machado are celebrities that have good jobs in the America cultural industries. Second, these narratives also show which is the "good" Latino immigrant. In symbolic terms, the campaign suggests that young Latinos that work hard, that innovate and love the country are welcome in the United States. In this role modeling, old people, middle age men, and individuals who do not fit with the previous description are erased from the image that Clinton is evoking when defending the American Dream.

The campaign cherry-picked cases of successful Latinos such as Lorella Praeli and Luisa Santos, who were able to succeed in the United States after being irregular immigrants for many years. These actors and narratives showed and condensed some of the essential ontological elements of Latinos reality in the United States. Nevertheless, it is clear that these stories obliterated other stories, and more important, in some cases they failed to portray a more complex and bigger picture of the contemporary Latino landscape. It is evident, for example, that

irregular immigrants had a very low visibility in the campaign. The cherry-picked cases erased irregular immigrants and the heterogeneity of the Latino community.

Conclusions: Axiological Battles in Complex, Stratamented and Hybrid Media Systems

As I have shown throughout this chapter, Clinton's campaign was produced by a complex and extensive communication machine that had the mission of operating for and within a stratamented and hybrid media system. Clinton's Latino outreach is a pristine example of how contemporary campaigns have tended to create political communication strategies to reach specific chunks of the population, which in many cases, are divided by demographic and identity variables. Campaigns tend to target groups that are salient because of their party affiliation, religious beliefs, ethnic origins, and identity markers in general. In this sense, the Democratic campaign developed a strategy to communicate with Latinos, which had a double objective. On the one hand, they wanted to inform, organize and persuade this community to work for Clinton's campaign and cast a vote for her. On the other hand, the Latino outreach became a significant element of the general campaign because it was based on a counterattack to Trump's rhetoric against minorities and Latinos in particular.

The Democratic campaign did not innovate regarding minority outreach. The first efforts of outreach Latinos during a United States presidential election goes back to 1960 when John F. Kennedy sought to organize some Mexican American Latino communities. Furthermore, Jacqueline Kennedy, who was proficient in Spanish, recorded the first TV ad in that language that was broadcasted during a presidential race (Abrajano, 2010, pp. 32–33). After that, many other campaigns, from both major parties, have been in touch with Latinos. As an illustration, since 2000, all the presidential candidates have had a Spanish version of their website—the first exception was Donald Trump in 2016. Moreover, it could be argued that Clinton's outreach was a

step behind when compared to Obama's previous campaigns. Obama deployed an ambitious and massive organization that reached various minority groups in the United States in what has been called "the Obama coalition." In contrast, Clinton invested less money and resources in creating strategies for outreaching minority groups. For instance, her campaign aired fewer TV ads for Latinos than in previous elections (Florido, 2016).

Nevertheless, the 2016 Latino outreach became significant because of its symbolic functions. As I have suggested in earlier sections, one of the most salient elements of the campaign was the relevance acquired by the confrontation between two candidates that supported different axiological understandings of the world, and that illustrates the increase in political polarization within Western democracies. Donald Trump wanted to return to an imaginary time that predated globalization, to stop immigrants coming from other parts of the world, and to promote and celebrate European and Protestant cultures. Hillary Clinton, on the other side, wanted to continue with a liberal discourse that supports globalization, cosmopolitanism, and multiculturalism. The message of her campaign was clear: "this is an election of who we are," she said several times and, consequently, people had to vote in accordance with their political values, as Tim Kaine declared during a speech in a Hispanic church in Florida, and which was broadcasted through Clinton's Twitter account: "Tenemos la responsabilidad de participar y votar en acuerdo con nuestros valores." The defense of political values became a significant driver even at the end of the campaigns, when Clinton uttered her concession speech: "This is not the outcome we wanted, or we worked so hard for, and I'm sorry we did not win this election for the values we share and the vision we hold for our country." However, she explained,

> Our constitutional democracy demands our participation, not just every four years, but all the time. So let's do all we can to keep advancing the causes and values we all hold dear:

> making our economy work for everyone, not just those at the top; protecting our country and protecting our planet; and breaking down all the barriers that hold anyone back from achieving their dreams. (Clinton, 2016j)

One of the biggest problems that Clinton's campaign faced in the discursive arena was her strong political connections with past presidential administrations. This was detrimental to her campaign because she was not able to criticize the past and be framed as a new political alternative, as was, for example, Barack Obama in 2009. Most of the narratives for Latino outreach lacked historical context because Donald Trump was overtly fighting against the legacies of previous Democratic presidents. When discussing the wall, Hillary Clinton did not use historical examples to show why a physical division could be devastating in political, economic, and environmental terms. These possible arguments had the potential to be a powerful rhetoric device to counterattack Trump's proposal of building a wall. However, this rhetoric would call into question the fact that there are certain parts of the Southern border where barriers exist, barriers that were created during Bill Clinton's administration. When discussing free trade in the era of globalization, Hillary was not able to speak critically about this topic, because, again, her husband was who signed several international trade agreements, including NAFTA. Moreover, when discussing immigration, she was in a tough spot because she had an adverse opinion and reaction during the humanitarian crisis of Central American infants crossing the border and because she was Secretary of State during Barack Obama's administration, who was named by some Latino activists as the "deporter in chief," because he was the president who expelled more immigrants in the last decades (Gonzalez-Barrera & Krogstad, 2016). Ironically, Hillary Clinton, the candidate who based the campaign on the promotion of liberal and progressive values, became a conservative politician who wanted to *conserve* the status quo when talking about international relations, free trade, and immigration.

The axiological confrontations during the presidential election matter because, as Jeffrey Alexander explains, "politicians do things with words. Candidates are less describing the world than wanting to bring that world into being in the imaginations of their listeners" (Alexander, 2011, p. 102). The Latino outreach was crystallized in a textual universe that contains the values, collective goals, and aspirations of a society that holds polarized predilections when talking about political values.

To conclude, let me include a final thought about the relevance of this chapter for the rest of the dissertation. Political communication systems could be as simple as a group composed of few individuals that are discussing how to allocate and distribute political and economic resources, and as complex as a communicative network integrated by complex material and symbolic infrastructures that communicate to more than 325 million persons, as was the case during the 2016 elections. The primary goal of this dissertation is to observe how a segment of the massive United States communication system operated in a local community of Northeast Philadelphia. As I will explain in the following chapters, this local political communication system was constructed within the midst of the national communication system. That is, Latinos in Philadelphia were able to experience Clinton's campaign from a local perspective in the frame of the national Latino outreach. The axiological struggle that occurred in the national political communication system had impacts in how the campaign was developed in Philadelphia and how people experience the campaign from Philadelphia.

CHAPTER 5

HILLARY CLINTON, ORGANIZERS AND VOLUNTEERS: THE BODY AS THE BASIC UNIT OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS

In the last chapter, I rendered an analysis of the messages that Hillary Clinton and the Democratic party crafted to outreach Latinos during the 2016 elections. That analysis offered an interpretation of the historical moment that framed the electoral cycle and the characteristics of Clinton's national Latino political communication machine. On top of all the communication processes described in the previous chapter, campaigns developed local communication systems to contact thousands of communities across the country. This chapter and the following, examine not only the complexity of the messages produced during the election but the political communication systems that were built by the Democratic campaign to communicate with the Northeast Philadelphia Latino community. In this sense, chapters 5, 6, and 7 work as an illustration of the multiple political communication systems that inform a sophisticated large-scale mechanism for the production and reproduction of a democratic society.

As explained in chapter 2, the Political Communication Systems Model suggests that political communication can be observed in different social scales for doing micro, meso, and macro analysis. The macro lens reveals a national campaign where the candidates built systems that had the capacity, or at least the intention, of reaching all the residents of the country. In the last chapter, I used the macro lens and analyzed Clinton's Latino national campaign. Those Latinos who lived in Philadelphia and that had access to the Internet and cable had the chance to learn about the elections through the national campaigns. These assemblages included TV and radio advertisements, journalistic coverage, and a strategy in digital platforms supported by the

distribution of information through web pages, social media platforms, apps, video games, books, and more.

The meso lens is useful for observing how individuals and institutions, through political communication actions and practices, organized and executed a large-scale process, such as a Presidential election.

> The meso level is the level of social action—not an aggregate of individuals, but where the individuals become social beings again and again through their action of commitment to social worlds and their participation in those worlds' activities, simultaneously creating and being constituted through discourses… [At the meso level], we can 'see' collective action directly, empirically. (Clarke, 2005, p. 5)

In this sense, observing how political communication is used to deploy a Presidential campaign in a local community, such as Northeast Philadelphia, allowed me to analyze how individuals worked collectively to construct political communication systems.

In Philadelphia, the Democratic campaign used various techniques to microtarget Latinos. In Brooklyn, where Clinton's national headquarters was located, teams of consultants, technicians, and journalists designed strategies to get in touch with the local population through semi-personalized text messages, emails, as well as Facebook and Twitter advertisements (e.g., Swalec, 2016). Moreover, the campaign aired in Philadelphia the TV ad called "*Una Bandera*" (One flag) and a 60-second radio ad titled "*Diversidad*" (Diversity) (Clinton, 2016b; Political TV Ad Archive, 2016). However, the most significant effort to contact Latinos occurred through the ground game. Of the seven field offices that Clinton opened in Philadelphia, one was located in a densely Latino populated area on the Northeast side of the city. This team had to, among other things, register Latino voters, persuade them to vote for Clinton, and mobilize them on the election day.

Throughout this and the next two chapters, I offer an account of how Hillary Clinton and her staff deployed a ground game strategy to contact Latinos. Through August until the end of the campaigns in November of 2016, I worked as a volunteer for the Democratic candidate. During that time, I performed a participant observation of a local campaign that communicated with Latinos through a bilingual strategy that included canvassing, phone banking, online messaging, and organizing public events. Therefore, this chapter renders an interpretation of the main characteristics of a twentieth-first century ground game operation, framed by the political and cultural context described in chapter 4.

The analysis of Clinton's Latino ground game goes one step forward and focuses on how human bodies were used, in practical and symbolic ways, to create the communication systems between the Democratic candidate and the Latino residents in Northeast Philadelphia. The Political Communication System Model defines political communication as any practice in which two or more individuals exchange symbolic forms to structure the production, reproduction, and control of political power. As can be observed, the model emphasizes the role that individuals play in any process of political communication. Thus, if individuals are the basis of political communication, then individuals require a body to communicate. In the frame of this idea, this chapter explores and theorizes on the relevance of the human body as a sine qua non material element for building political communication systems.

In ontological terms, human bodies exist in spaces. Bodies occupy a space and move through spaces. In these spaces, human bodies, through actions and practices, communicate with other bodies. Therefore, the first section of the chapter is devoted to describing which were the places where the ground game occurred. In particular, I render a description of Northeast Philadelphia, where the ground game office was located, and a depiction of the interior of this

facility. Then, in the following sections, I portray the individuals that participated in the campaign, with an emphasis on how human bodies were essential elements to understand the communicative actions and practices during a political campaign. In the third section, I employ the Political Communication Systems Model to analyze the practical and symbolic functions of human bodies in the daily ground game operations of a presidential campaign. Finally, in the last section, I present a conclusion and a summary of the findings.

Northeast Philadelphia: A Cosmopolitan Community

Northeast Philadelphia is a cosmopolitan city. In this case, "cosmopolitan" does not refer to the modern, aseptic, and global metropolis displayed in Center City Philadelphia, where skyscrapers shape the landscape, where CEOs and executives from all over the world labor, and where global brands of food, clothes, and services populate the streets. In this case, the term cosmopolitan describes a section of a city where cultures from different parts of the world coexist in the same spaces in what has been labeled as "vernacular cosmopolitanism" (Georgiou, 2013, p. 40). Walking down the streets of North Philadelphia it is possible to hear people speaking in English, Spanish, Korean, and Arabic. On Frankford Avenue, where Hillary Clinton's ground game office operated, are Indian grocery stores, Chinese restaurants, Puerto Rican super markets, Colombian furniture warehouses, and a multiplicity of churches.

One of the most significant minorities in Northeast Philadelphia is the Latino community. In 2016 Latinos represented 28% of the inhabitants of the area (see Table 1 in Chapter 3 for more detailed information). In the streets of Northeast Philadelphia, people listen to salsa, cumbias, and other Latin American genres. In Hunting Park, most of the people speak a combination of English and Spanish, and many churches in the area offer bilingual services. Furthermore, in this

section of the city are located some of the best restaurants that serve Puerto Rican, Mexican, Colombian, Peruvian and Cuban food.

The Democratic presidential campaign placed an office in the midst of this cosmopolitan city. The main entrance of the office faced Frankford Avenue, a street with four lanes. Over the road, the elevated train circulates most of the day bringing people back and forth from North Philadelphia to Center City, and from Center City to West Philadelphia. The gigantic structure that supports “the el” marks the visual landscape, and the sound of the train imprints the aural environment. From the platforms of the train, riders can observe, from the distance, Philadelphia's skyline and, at the same time, the old row houses in the area, some of which are abandoned and deteriorated.

On the right side of the office is a parking lot that has space for around twenty cars. On one of the walls that delimit the parking lot, which belongs to the construction that housed Clinton's office, there is a huge mural created by the Mexican-American artist, Cesar Viveros. In the painting, which pertains to the “Imagining Frankford Community Series,” two girls are playing at the foot of what appears to be a church. In the background, there is a group of fifteen local activists who, smiling, watch the girls play. The next building after the parking lot is an old church. In that church was placed a voting station during the election day.

The interior of the office is a long rectangle with two divisions that form three main sections. In the first part, there is an old counter of what it used to be a construction store. The bar is full of stationery materials, such as pens, pencils, clips, markers, and campaign literature. On the top of the counter, there are various flags and flyers with political information. Behind is a prominent American flag. In the upper part of the wall that is in front of the counter, there are nine handmade letters, which say, “I am with her”—one of the most salient campaign slogans.

Below this sign, there is a blackboard where volunteers wrote the reasons of why they decided to work for the campaign. The board contains ideas such as, “I am with her” because “Hillary Clinton is for all of us," "Woman's rights!", "Immigration reform," "Black Lives Matter,” “Love is love,” and more.

The next section is a long room with a brown carpet. Signs, placards, and pictures of Hillary Clinton cover the walls. Each of the posters has a message that expresses some of the central themes of the campaign and memorable quotations of the candidate, such as "*Juntos se puede*" (we can do it together), "change maker," "rise together", "sign, engage with purpose, organize with heart, and win every day." On the left side of the room are three white and long folding tables where phone bankers used to work. On the right side, there is a shelf that contains a microwave, napkins, disposable plates, forks, and spoons, bottles of water, as well as bags of sugar, coffee, and tea. Near to the shelf, there is a small fridge of 35 inches high. Then, there is a television screen and an old couch. At the end of this section, there are four working stations, composed of small folding tables, second-hand desks, and chairs. The organizers' counters have laptops and a sea of papers. The wall that separates this section from the last one is entirely blue and has an enormous white H with an arrow—the official logo of the campaign.

The third section seems to be like a big garage. This space was the formerly office of a Democrat who ran for a place at the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and lost to the Republican candidate. This room has three desks with computers, a blackboard, and dozens of boxes that contain stationary and advertisements. This office does not have air conditioned and heat. In the last part of the summer the space was very hot and by the end of the fall very cold. In this section of the building is the only bathroom for both, the national and local campaigns.

The office, as a social space, was created by those persons who worked for the Democratic campaign. Therefore, an entry point to study the political communication system that was built in Northeast Philadelphia is by describing and analyzing the units of the system, which are those persons who participated in the local organization. The Northeast Philadelphia office housed seven paid staffers and hundreds of volunteers that offered their free labor to help in the ground game. This ground game, as a political communication system, was composed by an enormous amount of communicative actions and practices, performed by those who supported Clinton. The following sections contain a description and analysis of those persons that participated in the campaign. These persons filled and created the office (i.e., space) with their bodies, bodies that were necessary to perform a myriad of communicative processes.

The Candidate

The first body that I want to place in the office is Hillary Clinton's—the body of a 69-year old woman, a body where was embedded a political trajectory that includes being the First Lady, Senator from New York, and Secretary of State. Although she was never in Northeast Philadelphia during the general elections, Clinton's body was present as a discourse mediatized through various communicative processes.

As all presidential campaigns, this was a "candidate campaign," "defined by a leader who endogenously generates a normative order that becomes a source of identity for staff members" (Howard, 2005, p. 145). As I explained and analyzed in chapter 4, the image of Hillary Clinton represented values and created narratives to describe the political world that she wanted to enact. As a physical and symbolical object, Clinton's body contained and projected values and narrations that informed the actions and practices of those who participated in the ground game operation.

The staffers and volunteers of the Northeast Philadelphia campaign followed the instructions of a national organization led by Hillary Clinton. The local staff described that the office's operation was planned in "H.Q." (i.e., Clinton's national headquarters in Brooklyn), coordinated in Center City (i.e., Clinton's local headquarters in Philadelphia), and executed in Northeast Philadelphia. This model, where a national team is in charge of local campaigns, has been structuring most of the presidential campaigns in the United States since 2000 (Beck & Heidemann, 2014, p. 262). For example, the local staffers and volunteers did not decide which colors were the best for promoting the candidate, or which was the picture where she looked better—for an expansion of this idea see scene 14 in chapter 7. The national campaign carefully designed the “image” of the candidate (Alexander, 2011, p. 123). This strategy created the sense that all of the offices across the country were more or less the same and that all of them had the same objective of supporting Clinton. The motto "I am with her" was the same in Nebraska and Pennsylvania, and the idea of "sign, engage with purpose, organize with heart, and win every day" appeared in California and Florida. This is how the candidate developed a sense of unity in a campaign that had to be in 50 states and to communicate with 350 million people. Clinton’s body and ideas had a national presence.

When Clinton was in Philadelphia, staffers and volunteers had the chance to meet the candidate, shake her hand and make a selfie. In her post-election book, Clinton recognized that, although she did not like it, the selfie was one of the most crucial ways of bonding with the public, to the point that, in her opinion, autographs are now obsolete (Clinton, 2017, p. 96). During the summer, Carlos, one of Clinton’s Latino staff in Philadelphia, was able to attend the rallies of the presidential candidate as part of his duties as a local organizer. In one of those occasions, he met Clinton, talked to her, and made a selfie. According to Carlos, that was one of

his most significant life experiences. That selfie became his profile picture on Facebook and the wallpaper of his smartphone and laptop. Some of the other organizers and volunteers also collected Clinton's images as treasures for their digital archives.

Although selfies were significant, according to Clinton's local staff, the most notable experience was being near to (the body of) Hillary Clinton, to interact with her, and to share the same space. One day before the election day, the candidate held a rally at Independence Mall in Philadelphia. The perimeter for the event was small, and many people were not able to enter to the rally—which was my case: I spent three hours in line and could not attend this final event. The next day, volunteers in the office talked about the rally with great enthusiasm. Those who participated in the rally were eager to learn who was closer to Clinton and other political figures like the Obamas and celebrities like Bruce Springsteen and Jon Bon Jovi, who interpreted a few songs to celebrate the presidential candidate. Thus, for local staffers and volunteers being near to a powerful body was a vital experience.

The Democratic candidate's image was reproduced over and over in the screens of digital devices. The first presidential debate was projected in one of the walls of the field operations office. In that occasion, Clinton's body appeared in full size speaking to the spectators. In multiple times, staffers and volunteers used the TV that was in the office to get news about Clinton and the campaign. While working, staffers employed their cellphones and laptops to follow Clinton's speeches in events and rallies in remote spaces. Clinton's face appeared, smiling, on Twitter and Facebook, Snapchat and LinkedIn, Instagram and YouTube. Every time that staffers and volunteers used the former digital platforms, Clinton's body emerged on their screens. Towards the end of the campaign, Eloise, a volunteer from New York, told me about a "secret" Facebook group called "Pantsuit Nation," where users celebrated the candidate. In this

group, where most of the staffers and volunteers were enrolled, the body of Clinton and her outfit (i.e., pantsuits) were central parts of the discourse that supported this online community (Correal, 2016).

Clinton's physical and symbolic body was also present in the office through various printed materials. Her face was reproduced in the ads that the campaign used to decorate the walls of the facility. Her name was written in thousands of brochures, posters, and signs that were distributed through the area and that were used to decorate the office. The H with an arrow, the logo of the campaign, was a visual signed reproduced in the walls, laptops, desks, and chairs of the office. In the weeks previous to the election day, and when the office was crowded of volunteers from Washington, New York, and New Jersey, I was asked, several times, to take pictures of individuals and groups of people that wanted to have a memory of their work. On multiple occasions, these persons asked me to take the picture and capture, at the same time, a backdrop that contained the face, body, or an idea of Hillary Clinton. Mica, a New Yorker, asked me to take a picture before she returned home after working a whole Sunday in Northeast Philadelphia. She was holding a sign that said "*Mujeres por Hillary*" (Women for Hillary), and she placed her body in front of the blackboard where people wrote messages of why they were participating in the campaign.

At least in Philadelphia, and regarding the ground game, Clinton did not offer a particular version of her campaign for the Latino community. Some of the ads were printed in Spanish as the literal translations of the original texts in English. Clinton struggled to tailor a specific image for the Latino community. At the end of 2015 and beginning of 2016, she was criticized for one of her strategies, where she was depicted as the *abuela* (grandmother) of Latinos. This initiative received strong attacks by Latino activists on social media, accusing Clinton of "hispandering"

(Latino Rebels, 2015). Since that moment, the campaign focused more on translating information from English to Spanish, than trying to craft a unique image for this community. In Northeast Philadelphia, Clinton's physical and symbolic body was the same for all the public.

A Captain and Six Organizers

The first persons that inhabited the Northeast Philadelphia office were the paid staffers that Clinton hired during the election. In the campaign organization chart (see Figure 1), those who were in charge of a local office were named as captains and Kimberly, a New Yorker in her early thirties, became the Northeast Philadelphia leader. Her firsts missions were to open one of the seven field operations offices for the Democratic presidential candidate in the city and to coordinate a group of organizers who were hired to be working on the ground. Kimberly and her new team cleaned the old facility where Clinton's office was located, brought some desks and chairs, and decorated the walls with placards, signs, and photos of the presidential candidate.

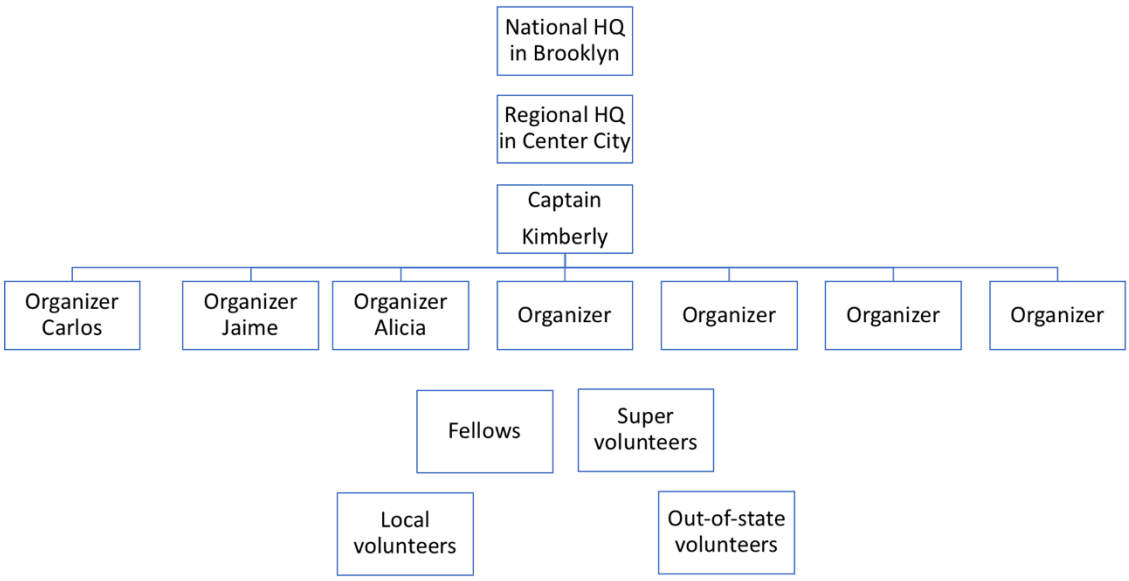

Figure 1. Northeast Philadelphia Office Organization Chart

In August, when the Democratic Convention was over, the office was operating with seven paid staffers and some volunteers. These persons were in charge of registering voters, persuading people to join the campaign as volunteers, and performing ground game tasks such as phone banking, online messaging, organizing events, and canvassing. From this group of people, there were three Latinos who participated in the outreach of this community.

As I explained in chapter 3, my first contact in the campaign was with Carlos, a young Californian man, in his late twenties, who studied at UCLA and became my primary informant. He decided to enroll in the campaign after hearing Donald Trump's rhetoric, mainly because of his attacks on the Latino community. Carlos, who considers himself as a Latino, has many connections to this community. His parents are from Spain, and a nanny from Honduras raised him and taught him to speak Spanish. The anti-Latino environment that was created by the Republican candidate triggered his intentions to support Clinton.

Carlos drove from the West Coast to Philadelphia, and a Democratic family received him in Mount Airy, where he had a bedroom and a bathroom from July to the middle of November. He said that it was a lovely family. However, they did not offer him food, as other families did with other organizers. He brought his car to the city, as well as his laptop and smartphone: three elements that were extremely useful during the campaign. Carlos was able to transport people and materials in his car. Moreover, the laptop and smartphone were indispensable elements for the daily ground game labor, which entailed making phone calls, sending emails and text messages, tweeting, posting messages on Facebook, having video-calls and more.

Among other duties, Carlos had the mission of outreaching Latinos in Northeast Philadelphia. The campaign did not give him special instructions other than to contact the community. In the beginning, Carlos had to make contact with Latinos using his own means. He

walked the area and started to interact with churches and business, where he found support from the local residents. As time went by, politicians from the local Democratic party arrived in the office and started to work for the campaign, and the national headquarters began to send information of which were the telephones and addresses of those Northeast Philadelphians that sympathized with Clinton—a process explained in more detail in the next chapter.

Jaime, a Colombian young man in his early twenties who spoke fluent Spanish, helped Carlos contacting Latinos. Jaime arrived in the United States in the 1990s when he was a little child. His parents were persecuted in Colombia due to political reasons, and they fled the country. He spent his childhood in New York City, and his parents benefited from Bill Clinton's policies of accepting Colombian refugees. However, in his own words, he grew as an "illegal, " and in recent times he had some relief because of Obama's "Consideration of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals" (DACA) program. Jaime, who was a "dreamer," was not allowed to vote. Nevertheless, his own story as an irregular immigrant was the main reason of why he decided to participate in Clinton's campaign. Jaime stayed in the house of a family of Clinton's supporters in North Philadelphia, who offered him a bed, a bathroom, as well as breakfast and dinner.

In late October, Jaime was sent to work at a near staging location,[5] and I stopped seeing him around the office. At that moment, the national campaign started to distribute its human resources around the city and the state. Some organizers left the post, but others arrived, as was the case of Alicia, who worked in Philadelphia's headquarters during most of the campaign and then she was "deployed" to the Northeast where she worked as an organizer, phone banker, and canvasser within the team commanded by Kimberly. Although she was not instructed to help in the Latino outreach, Alicia participated in various efforts to contact this community (see, for

[5] According to the manual of the campaign, which its title is "Staging Location," "A staging location is the space where volunteers will pick up their walk packet and get trained before they go and talk to voters."

example, scene 7 in chapter 6). Also, her dad became an active volunteer for the Get Out the Vote (GOTV) strategy during the two previous weeks to the election day.

Alicia was a young woman, in her early twenties, who was born in the United States and raised in Pennsylvania and New York. Although she had Mexican parents, Alicia was not able to speak fluent Spanish. She studied Political Science at a prestigious university on the East Coast. This electoral cycle marked the third occasion in which she worked for a Democratic campaign. She considered herself a "fan" of Hillary Clinton, and it was a simple choice to start working for the candidate in July of 2016 as a digital strategist.

During July, August, and September, Alicia worked in Philadelphia's headquarters in Center City. In that period, she traveled across Pennsylvania and created digital content for Clinton's website and social media platforms. This material had to be sent to the national headquarters in Brooklyn, where it was vetted and potentially approved for publication. Furthermore, Alicia was in charge of creating local pages and groups on social media. For example, she generated the Facebook page, and Twitter accounts for the Northeast Philadelphia office.

Days after the election, Alicia published a photo on Facebook. In that picture, she was with her father, and both of them were smiling. Her father, who wore a blue t-shirt with the big H that symbolized the Democratic campaign, was showing a bunch of stickers that said, “Election Notice” and which were used to remind the neighbors about the election day. A text in English accompanied the photo. She recalled that during the campaign, she was encouraged to tell voters the story of why she was supporting Clinton. Her post was a recount of that story. She began recalling Donald Trump’s original speech. When Trump referred to immigrants as rapists and criminals, he was talking about people like her father. Twenty-five years ago, her dad crossed the

Southern border illegally and started living in the United States since then. He spent a long time working in restaurants and construction. Years later he was benefited by Regan's amnesty program. After that, he bought a house, raised his children, and sent them to college. At the end of her message, Alicia wrote that she joined Clinton's campaign because wanted to contribute to the defense of the 11 million irregular immigrants in the United States who deserve a chance, as her father had, to remain in the country.

Volunteers

The third group of people that populated the Northeast Philadelphia office was composed of volunteers, who were persons that worked for Hillary Clinton, but who did not receive payment for their labor. In Northeast Philadelphia, there were three different types of volunteers, described and analyzed in the following sections.

Super Volunteers

This type of volunteer is defined as "someone whom [paid staffers] can depend on to show up when promised and who will 'do the work' without too much goofing" (Nielsen, 2012, p. 31). In the context of the case at hand, this type of volunteers had two additional characteristics: they lived in Philadelphia and spent more than one week working for the campaign. These individuals showed a serious commitment during the electoral cycle and performed a substantial role within the ground game strategy. Scene 2 offers a snapshot of some of the local super volunteers that worked in the office.

Scene 2. A Multicultural Group of Super Volunteers

On October 19, the Northeast Philadelphia office summoned all the volunteers to have an intensive training to participate in the "Get Out the Vote" (GOTV) strategy. At that point, the campaign was in its climax: that night was the third presidential debate, and everyone was

excited and anxious about the horserace. One week before, all the paid staffers from the office went to Harrisburg to have a special preparation for training volunteers. Now, they had the mission of preparing volunteers for deploying the GOTV.

The main room of the office was set for the training session: chairs and tables were forming a U, and a screen was ready for projecting videos and presentations. Besides the captain and organizers, there were 15 persons in the room, including me.

Jaime coordinated the event. At the end of his presentation, he asked all of us to introduce ourselves. “Tell us who you are, where do you live, which are your hobbies, but mainly, tell us *why you are with her*,” he said. People started to introduce themselves in a random order. The first person to participate was a middle-aged white woman and explained that she was in the campaign as someone who wanted to help another woman to be elected president. The next one was Oliver, an experienced volunteer who had participated in local and federal campaigns in Philadelphia during the last twenty years. Donald Trump's position on climate change concerned him. He considered that Clinton would be someone who would make efforts to have a better environment.

A man from Cambodia told that his daughter owed 50,000 dollars because of college debt and that he was supporting the Democratic campaign after the day when Hillary embraced Bernie Sanders’ plan for free education. “I cannot vote,” he said, “but I am here to help.” George was an English citizen in his early twenties. He explained that he didn't vote in the recent referendum when the UK decided to exit the European Union and now he was feeling guilty. “I don't want that a populist win again,” he said. Roberto presented himself as an Italian, Latino, and gay United States citizen. “I am here because I can’t tolerate the hate speech against Latinos and the LGTBIQ community,” he expressed.

There were three Latinos among the super volunteers that worked in the office. Roberto, who appeared in Scene 2, was born and raised in Philadelphia, moved to California to get a college degree and then returned to Pennsylvania. In previous years to the election, he worked in different restaurants in Center City and lived in South Philadelphia. As many other organizers and volunteers, Roberto enrolled in the campaign after listening to Trump's original speech. In different occasions, he commented that he was going to do all of what was in his hands to stop the Republican candidate and his ideas. “My parents are Republicans,” he once said, “and now I can't have a political conversation with them without fighting.” He considered himself as a Latino because some of his relatives were from Latin America.

Like Carlos, Jaime, and Alicia, Roberto was young, in his early thirties, and was willing to use his smartphone and laptop for Clinton's campaign. However, he did not speak Spanish. At some point, Roberto was enrolled in the campaign as a fellow, which had some differences with traditional volunteers. Fellows had to commit to work 15-40 hours a week and, in return, they would receive an official recognition of their participation at the end of the campaign. In the last weeks of October, he was named as a "canvass captain," which meant that he was in charge of coordinating all the volunteers that knocked on doors during the GOTV.

In addition to Roberto, there were two other local super volunteers with Latino origins. I met both of them during phone banking sessions. The first one was Margarita, a seventy-year-old Puerto Rican woman with white hair. Margarita had more than thirty years living in Philadelphia and was a local activist. From all the organizers and volunteers that I talked to, Margarita was the only one that did not claim to be working for the campaign because of Trump's original speech. “¡Uy, no! Él sí es malo, pero de esos hay muchos, ya estoy muy vieja para asustarme por eso,”

she told me one day. (Bah! He is really bad, but there are many men like him. I am too old to be frighten for a guy like him.)

Margarita, who had worked for various Puerto Rican politicians in Center City, did not speak English. She used to go to the office around 5 to 9 pm and made hundreds of phone calls with a lot of success—which meant that she was able to contact and speak with more Latino residents than the average phone banker. On various occasions, when she was about to go, she asked me to help her to use her smartphone because she did not know how to use the device. “No sé cómo hacer funcionar a este aparato,” she said. Her phone had a sticker with the name and number of one of her daughters. “Por favor, ayúdame a marcar este número que es el de mi hija,” she asked. (Please, help me to unlock my pone and dial to my daughter.) Then, I unlocked the phone, dialed the number and communicated Margarita’s relative (see also scene 9).

The second super volunteer that arrived in the office was Claudia, a Peruvian-American in her early fifties. She was born in Peru and moved to the United States at the end of the 1980s. For many years she was an irregular immigrant, until she was able to obtain residency and, in recent years, citizenship. Since the beginning, she lived in Juaniata Park, a neighborhood in the North of the city that has become a Latino enclave.

Claudia is a well-versed citizen in political matters, and since she arrived in Philadelphia, she got involved in local politics. Every presidential election she sent money through the postal service to the Democratic candidate. Clinton's campaign was not the exception. “I sent her a check with a note that said, ‘don't forget about Latinos,’” Claudia told me. As a response, she consistently received letters and pamphlets from the party. One of her treasures is a picture of the Clinton's, a photograph that she has in her studio.

When the electoral cycle began, she went to the offices of the Democratic party in Philadelphia and asked for voter registration forms. During the summer, she registered people in Juaniata Park. “Every day, when I returned from work, I took all my stuff and spent two or three hours registering voters,” she told me. She even made visits to people who were sick or who couldn't move to register them in their houses. By the end of September, Claudia received a phone call from the Northeast Philadelphia office, inviting her to become a volunteer. Since that moment, she spent her evenings in the office making phone calls and reaching the Latino community.

Volunteers

The office received persons who wanted to participate as volunteers for the campaign. The majority of these volunteers were contacted by the organizers, who called those people that appeared in the Democratic party lists of supporters. Also, some of these volunteers were friends or relatives of the super volunteers, who convinced them to spend a couple of hours in the office making phone calls or knocking on doors.

However, the Clinton campaign did not arouse much interest among the local community. There were not many persons interested in participating in the phone banks, voter registration drives, and special events. This situation included local Latinos, who had a discrete participation as volunteers. By and large, the bulk of sporadic Latino volunteers were women in their forties and fifties who, after their working day, arrived in the office to make some phone calls, as Scene 3 narrates.

Scene 3. I Will Have to Tattoo my Passport on my Arm!

On September 25, I spent the afternoon and evening in the office making phone calls. At 5 pm began an activity called "*Mujeres por Hillary*" (Women for Hillary). The idea was to

summon Latina women from local neighborhoods to have a phone bank session. Women started to arrive in the office and, at some point, the office was occupied by nine Latino women. All of them, except one, were around 40 to 60 years old. One of the organizers explained them the basic mechanics of phone banking and then they started calling neighbors. Most of the women were bilingual, and they tended to talk mixing English and Spanish during their conversations.

Next to me was Karla, a Puerto Rican woman in her early forties and her daughter, Dalia, who was a teenager. The mother asked for phone call list in Spanish; the daughter preferred making phone calls in English. Karla told me that she was tired after a long day of work. When I asked why she was in the office, she answered me in Spanish. "Seriously?! Look at us—she was referring to Dalia and her—we look like Puerto Ricans, and we are Puerto Ricans. The problem is that many people in this country don't know that we are Americans too. If Trump gets elected, I will have to tattoo my passport on my arm!"

Karla and Dalia spent two hours making phone calls, and I never saw them again.

Out-of-State Volunteers

Throughout the campaign, people from Washington, New York, and New Jersey traveled to Philadelphia to work as volunteers for one or two days. They wanted to put their energies and use their bodies in a place where their efforts could impact the electoral result, given the fact that in their hometowns the election was expected to favor Democrats. In most cases, these volunteers learned, through Clinton's website, that the campaign needed help in specific areas, especially in battleground and swing states. Thus, people could sign up and travel to a territory where their assistance was required.

By and large, the out-of-state volunteers that arrived in the office were people in their twenties, thirties, and forties, white, and with the economic resources to travel to Philadelphia and spend one day or a weekend away from their homes. Most of the times these volunteers organized a bus to move from one city to another in groups of twenty to fifty persons. However, there were cases in which people traveled alone or in small groups of families. The out-of-state volunteers were, by far, the most significant workforce for the campaign because they were the most numerous group. The following scene exemplifies how out-of-state volunteers worked for Clinton's campaign.

Scene 4. Speaking English in a Latino Neighborhood

On October 23, 16 days before the election day, a bus full of students arrived at noon. The students, who lived in Washington D.C., traveled to Philadelphia to work for five hours as canvassers for Hillary Clinton. We, as staffers and volunteers, had to teach 30 youngsters the concept of canvassing and train them to knock on the doors around the neighborhood.

The group was composed of thirty high school students and three teachers. There were no Latinos, and none of them knew how to speak Spanish. During the training, Roberto explained them the primary activities of canvassing, which consisted of walking through the neighborhood, knocking on the doors of some houses, talking to people, informing them about the election day and its procedures, and persuading them to vote for Hillary Clinton.

After the training session, students grabbed a folder that contained a script for canvassing and maps that signaled which doors they had to knock. Then, in groups of three, they spent the rest of the day walking down the streets and talking with people. Most of the students were equipped with smartphones, which used to find maps of the city, to send text

messages, and to post contents to social media platforms. Three students stayed in the office to do phone banking because they had some physical impediment to work as canvassers.

After the canvassing session, which was from noon until 5 pm, there was a debriefing session, where organizers and local super volunteers asked them about their experience and achievements. I talked to a group of eight students, who were exhausted after a long day of walking. One student told me that, in her canvassing team, they had difficulties to talk to the people because most of them spoke Spanish. She lamented that her Spanish was not in good shape. My Spanish sucks, she said. The student explained that she got frustrated because was not able to have conversations with these families.

After the debriefing session, we offered snacks to the students. Neighbors of the area donated the bottles of water, sodas, and chips. The volunteers rested on the floor while eating and drinking the refreshments. A few minutes before their bus arrived, one of the professors asked the group to post their experiences to Facebook and Twitter.

Various Latinos arrived in the office to work as out-of-state volunteers. These individuals were used for canvassing only-Spanish speaking neighborhoods. However, most of them arrived with their families and not in the trips organized by larger groups. For example, I met with Josue's family, composed of her wife and two teenagers. They lived in New York and traveled to Philadelphia during the previous weekend to the election. They didn't know how to speak English and canvassed in neighborhoods where the majority of persons spoke Spanish. For more examples see scenes 11, 12, 13 and 14,

Ground Game and Human Bodies in Northeast Philadelphia

This chapter presents a description and analysis of the spaces where the ground game took place and the bodies that constructed and used these spaces. Due to analytical purposes, in this section of conclusions, I concentrate the discussion around the pragmatic and symbolic functions of human bodies in the realm of political communication. In the next chapter, I retrieve the concept of space, as a vital element for understanding the role of human bodies within the frame of the Political Communication Systems Model.

According to the Political Communication Systems Model, individuals are the basic units of political communication systems. For a system to exist, there has to contain, at least, two persons who are exchanging symbolic forms with the final goal of distributing political power. Therefore, I claim that human bodies are a material precondition for any political communication system. Individuals need their bodies to produce, reproduce, and decode the symbolic forms. Hence, I propose that an entry point for analyzing political communication systems is studying who are those involved in these communicate endeavors.

The participant observation of Clinton's campaign in Northeast Philadelphia, allowed me to pay attention to who were the individuals that participated in the communication systems and the role that their bodies played during the campaign. One of the primary objectives of this dissertation is to push political communication scholarship to the interpretative turn. Focusing on which were the ontological and cultural characteristics of those who participated in political communication systems is one path for achieving this goal. One of the underlying ideas of this endeavor is to offer empirical evidence that political communication systems could not only be analyzed as a statistical aggregation of individuals that participate in the system but also as heterogeneous groups of people who with their actions and practices, weave political

communication systems. To sum up, in this chapter the units of the system are presented and described, with an especial emphasis on their bodies, as a sine qua non materiality for communication.

Bodies and the Practical Functions of Political Communication

The Northeast Philadelphia ground game reveals that human bodies and Latinos in particular presented various practical functions. First, they were used for locomotion. Those who participated in the campaign moved around the office to be in contact with other persons who also were in the campaign. Moreover, locomotion was a fundamental element for canvassing, because organizers and volunteers had to walk the streets of the city in order to knock on residents' doors. In this case, the counterexamples reveal these functions. In scene 1, Carmen Rodriguez explained that she was not able to participate in the ground game because she had recently had knee and thus, could not move from her house. Scene 4 showed that three students were not able to take part of a canvassing session due to physical problems.

Second, bodies were utilized for face-to-face communication. All the activities of the ground game are based on different forms of interpersonal communication. Among all of these forms, face-to-face communication was an extended practice. For example, canvassing implied the construction of communicative relations between organizers, volunteers, and residents, where face-to-face communication was the norm. Inside the Northeast Philadelphia office, most of the interactions took the form of face-to-face communication. This type of communication informed voter registration drives (see scenes 6 and 7 in chapter 6) and public events. For all these activities, organizers, volunteers, and residents needed mouths, tongs, and ears for communicating.

Third, another way in which bodies were employed, was through mediated interpersonal communication. Phone banking was the most extended practice during the campaign, an activity where organizers and volunteers had to use telephones to call residents (see for example Scene 5 in chapter 6). Online messaging, another leg of the ground game, included interactions between members of the campaign and residents through Facebook, Twitter, emails, and text messages. Moreover, all of these technologies mediated thousands of communicative relations among members of the campaign, who used smartphones and computers for mediated interpersonal communication. In this function, it is salient that bodies needed external material elements to accomplish the communicative labor.

Fourth, another function of the bodies was to connect them to multilingual communication systems. Given the cosmopolitan characteristics of Northeast Philadelphia, the campaign needed bodies that were able to communicate in different languages (i.e., codes). Some of those who participated in the campaign knew how to speak another language—which is Spanish in the case of Latinos. The campaign, as a communication machine, made use of these bodies to communicate with those bodies who only speak Spanish. Here, again, a counterexample illustrates the point. In Scene 4, one of the students from Washington was frustrated because she was not able to communicate with those residents who only spoke Spanish. Thus, a successful ground game needed individuals that were able to speak English, Spanish, and all the many other languages that people used in this section of the city.

In order to perform all of these functions, individuals and their bodies needed various elements. Since most of the volunteers did not live in Philadelphia, the national campaign had to provide the economic means to transport bodies from one state to another. When the members of the staff arrived in the city, they also needed housing for sleep and food, which were provided by

local families that were members or sympathized with the Democratic party. Volunteers' bodies also needed transportation, housing, and food. However, the campaign did not provide these elements for volunteers. For example, most of the out-of-state volunteers rented buses from New York, New Jersey, and Washington to travel to Northeast Philadelphia (see for example Scene 4).

Furthermore, the ground game operation needed bodies in possession of material tools that enhanced communication, as well as the skills to use these tools. During the campaign organizers and volunteers required to move their bodies around the city. In many cases, they used their legs to walk and in others, public transportation such as buses, trolleys, and trains. However, organizers like Carlos used their car during the campaign to move bodies during the campaign. Also, bodies needed technological tools such as mobile phones, smartphones, and laptops to communicate with them and with residents (see for example scene 5 in chapter 6). The campaign provided mobile phones for phone banking. In the rest of the cases, organizers and volunteers had their own technological tools, which were not given by the campaign.

The order of things previously described in the realm of practical functions of political communication generated asymmetrical power relations where some bodies were more valuable than others. The ground game in Northeast Philadelphia needed bodies capable of moving around the city and working long periods of time. In this sense, the Latinos hired by Clinton (i.e., Carlos, Jaime, and Alicia) and the super volunteer Roberto, were young persons, capable of supporting the burden and fatigue of a four months campaign that, at some moments, required daily shifts of 15 to 20 hours. They were able to walk long distances within North Philadelphia during the canvassing sessions. In contrast, those bodies with limited locomotion were not functional for walking down the streets and knocking on doors, as was the case of Carmen and

Margarita, who were very enthusiastic but did not have the physical conditions to perform some of the activities.

The possession of material technologies for doing communicative labor was another distinction of those who worked in Clinton's camp. In this case, these technologies are understood as extensions of human bodies (McLuhan, 2003), which allowed volunteers to move around the city through automobiles, have interpersonal communication exchanges through emails phone calls, text messages, and video conferences, and produce, send and retrieve information from the Internet. Carlos brought his car from California, which allowed him to move in Philadelphia and to use his car to transport campaign materials from one place to another and to transport staffers, volunteers, and voters around the city. The three Latino organizers and the fellow had laptops and smartphones and knew how to use them.

Alicia, for example, had skills for producing and editing audio and video and for managing social media accounts and the three of them had accounts on Facebook and Twitter, and continuously used informational platforms such as Google Docs, cloud services like Dropbox, and communication tools such as Google Hangouts, Skype, phone calls and text messages. On the contrary, volunteers such as Margarita and Claudia did not have the technological tools required for the campaign, nor the knowledge to use it. As I depicted in the section "super volunteers," Margarita did have a smartphone, but she did not know how to use it (see also scene 9). Therefore, some bodies were more powerful during the ground game because of their economic capital for acquiring technological tools and learning how to use them.

However, it was not only an economic and technological matter. The communicative culture embedded in the bodies that participate in the campaign was also relevant. Carlos, Jaime, Alicia, and Roberto, who were young persons in their twenties and early thirties, were used to

operating digital technologies, whereas older volunteers were not. Take the cases of Carmen, who listened to the radio and watched Telemundo to acquire political knowledge, and Claudia, who sent checks and letters to the presidential candidate through the postal service and who, in return, received political advertisements of the Democratic party by the same communication system. Thus, according to their communicative culture, each body was able and used to plug into different communication systems.

Regarding the fourth function, bodies gain or lose power according to their capacities for speaking other languages than English. In Northeast, Philadelphia Latinos were able to speak English and Spanish, but some of them were monolinguals and only spoke Spanish. In order to plug to a political communication system, individuals need to know the code (i.e., language) of the system. Therefore, those organizers and volunteers who spoke fluent Spanish, such as Carlos, Jaime, Margarita and Claudia, were able to interact and communicate Latinos and those who did not know the code were not able to interact with monolingual Spanish speakers—a phenomenon that has been previously observed by experimental researchers (Abrajano & Panagopoulos, 2011, p. 644).

Bodies and the Symbolic Functions of Political Communication

The bodies that participated in the campaign also were used to achieve symbolic functions. The most salient body was, no doubt, Hillary Clinton's. Although she was several times in Philadelphia for the Democratic Convention and in various rallies, she never visited the office. Nevertheless, she was always present. Her body and name were mediatized and reproduced in multiple communicative supports to have a constant presence in local space, such as the office in Northeast Philadelphia. Clinton's symbolic body was captured, registered, manipulated, projected and reproduced throughout all the campaign through the screens of

smartphones and tablets, cable television, pins, and stickers, printed brochures and billboards. In short, her body transcended the limits of time and space (Thompson, 1995) and was projected into physical and symbolic dimensions (Vizer & Carvalho, 2015).

Hillary Clinton's mediatized body became an inspiration and a moral guide for organizing the local campaign and generated a "normative order" that informed the identity of all staffers and volunteers (Howard, 2005, p. 145). As Alexander explained, politicians are "collective representations" that should "inspire devotion, stimulate communication and trigger interaction" (2011, p. 2581 Kinde Location). Staffers and volunteers wanted to be near her and have a selfie for their digital records. On the blackboard that was at the entrance of the Northeast Philadelphia office, people liked to write and express with they were supporting the candidate, and they replicated some of the values and ideas that Clinton expressed during her campaign. Clinton, as a candidate, was a symbolic construction informed by political norms and values, such as the ones discussed in chapter 4. These norms and values were the symbolic structure that organized the communicative efforts during the elections.

Most of the Latinos that I observed in the Northeast Philadelphia office told me that they decided to enroll in Clinton's campaign because of Trump's original discourse discussed in chapter 4—a discourse where proposed building a wall on the southern border and where he referred to Mexicans as rapists and criminals. In the bodies of Latinos were embedded their life trajectories, which included being born in a Latin American country, as Jaime and Claudia who were from Colombia and Peru; having familiar and cultural bonds to this region of the world, like Alicia, whose father was Mexican and Carlos, who was raised by a nanny from Honduras; possessing the linguistic skills for speaking the language that is used to communicate in these

countries; and owing a body that looked like a “Latina”, as Karla described in Scene 3. Their bodies contained some of the elements that Trump’s original speech rejected.

In this frame, Clinton’s political discourse shaped by ideas and values such as cosmopolitanism, diversity, globalism became attractive to most of the Latinos who worked for the campaign. Clinton’s ideas and values attracted them and motivated them to achieve the political telos that she was promoting. Thus, they were the perfect recruits for the campaign because they did not need any form of persuasion to work for her. Moreover, the bodies of the Latino organizers and volunteers became for the campaign what I call "value projector." Their bodies were used to communicate and spread the values of the campaign because their bodies represented those values. For example, Scene 2 reveals a multicultural campaign composed of people from Cambodia, Colombia, the United Kingdom and from multiple regions of the United States. Likewise, the personal trajectories of Carlos, Jaime and Alicia were very similar to the stories that informed the national Latino campaign and that were depicted in chapter 4. Carlos was a cosmopolitan man who lived in a diverse city like Los Angeles and who had cultural bonds with Europe and Central America. Jaime was a "dreamer" who was trying to follow all the rules to become a United States citizen. And Alicia was the daughter of a man who, during many years was an irregular immigrant but who, ultimately became a citizen, played by the rules, and built a successful life.

The stories resonated with the national campaign, which was built through narratives that presented the stories of young Latinos that strived to gain a place in the United States and that fit in what a good Latino should be: an individual interested in pursuing the American Dream, an American Dream that seeks hardworking people who want to strengthen the country's economy. In this sense, the stories of these Latinos, which were embedded in their bodies, worked as a

symbolic representation for the campaign. Every time that they walked Northeast Philadelphia and knocked on doors, every time that they were present in a voter registering drive, every time that they were mobilizing people on the election day, their bodies were accomplishing, at the same time the practical and symbolic functions.

Conclusion: Symbolic Bodies in Movement

This chapter presents an overview of those persons who integrated the political communication system that the Democratic campaign built in Northeast Philadelphia to communicate with Latino residents during the 2016 elections. In particular, this section of the dissertation focuses on the role that human bodies play in political communication.

Following the Political Communication Systems Model distinction between the practical and symbolic functions of political communication, I suggest that during the ground game in Northeast Philadelphia, human bodies were used to move around the office and the city (i.e., locomotion), to held face-to-face and mediated interpersonal interactions among Clinton's staff and between the staff and Latino residents, and to communicate with a diverse population that spoke different languages such as English, Spanish, and many others.

In addition to the previous practical functions, bodies operated in the symbolic realm. On the one hand, Hillary Clinton's body was used as axiological organizer of the campaign. The mediatized body of the candidate symbolized the values that the Democratic campaign was promoting. On the other hand, bodies of organizers and volunteers, as material objects, had embedded those political values that Clinton was promoting. Therefore, their bodies became communicative symbols that represented the ideas and values of the campaign.

CHAPTER 6

YOUR VOTE IS YOUR VOICE: GROUND GAME AND VOTER REGISTRATION IN NORTHEAST PHILADELPHIA

After primaries and conventions were over, the general elections began in the last week of July of 2016 and Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump became the two major candidates competing for the United States presidency. After a long process of fighting for their candidacies, Clinton and Trump began a new moment in their campaigns. For the Democratic party and candidate, registering new voters was one of their primary objectives, and from August to middle October, the campaign spent many resources trying to increase the number of people registered to vote. In particular, this outreach was critical for the Latino community, which historically has presented low rates of registration (Pew Research Center, 2016a).

In this chapter, I present a description and analysis of Clinton's voter registration campaign. In particular, this text focuses on how the Northeast Philadelphia team utilized different ground game communication tools. From August to October of 2016, the local campaign used a hybrid political communication system to interact with Latino residents and assist them in the process of registering as voters. This political communication system enabled hundreds of citizens to enroll in Philadelphia.

However, as I suggest in the conclusions, the voter registration campaign also contributed to the reproduction of the political system and the society in general. Through practical and symbolic uses of political communication, Clinton’s campaign communicated and taught the rules of operation of the electoral system and, at the same time, which are the bodies that have the right to vote and express their opinion on how political power should be distributed and allocated during a presidential election.

Registering Voters During the 2016 Election

In her rallies, Hillary Clinton encouraged the public to register. For example, on September 15, she addressed to the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute and explained that the campaign had [emphasis added]

> set an ambitious goal of registering and committing 3 million people to vote in this election that would not have otherwise voted, and we can't do it without you. Nearly half of Latinos in America are under 35, and we need you to show up and *make your voices heard* in this election. (Clinton, 2016h)

At the end of the rallies, Clinton and Time Kaine asked the public to take out their phone and visit the website www.iwillvote.com, to find out if they were registered. The "air war" was informed by ads that invited people to register to vote and that showed the "I will vote" URL. Through Facebook, Twitter, and phone text messages, the campaign sent information to help people to learn if they were registered and sign up if they were not. For example, after giving her speech at the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Clinton published a message on Facebook, persuading Latinos to register, which was a Spanish translation of some parts of the speech. At the end of the post, there was a link to the online registration site.

In Northeast Philadelphia, phone banking was the primary way in which the campaign contacted Latinos during the voter registration period. Every day, each of the organizers and volunteers had to call hundreds of persons in the area and explain them the importance of voter registration, ask them if they were registered, and teach them how to enroll. For example, Carlos had to log into the system and print the list of the people that he had to call every day. This list would have rows with the name of residents, their address, and phone numbers. In columns, the list had options to report if Carlos—or any staffer or volunteer—was able or not to talk to the resident, if the resident was registered, and if the resident was willing to vote for Clinton. At the

end of the day, Carlos had to upload the data into the system and report how many people he was able to contact and how many of those persons said to be registered. With this information, the system was programmed for constructing new lists, composed of two types of persons. First, by all those individuals that at that moment had not been reached by the campaign. Second, by those persons that the campaign contacted, but that reported that were not registered. In these cases, staffers and volunteers had to call several times to persuade people to enlist.

Throughout August and September, my job as a volunteer was to make phone calls to Latinos and aid them to register to vote. In this process, Carlos prepared individual lists that contained data of Latino residents. He was able to recognize those residents because the database had information that identified people who spoke Spanish. The list was not accurate because many people spoke Spanish and were not identified on the list. However, this was one clue for finding Latinos. The other evidence was to identify Latinos by their names. Carlos chose those Hispanic names that appeared in the database. Then, he printed the lists, and I would start doing phone calls with a cell phone provided by the campaign.

In a three-hour phone bank, I was able to make, roughly, one hundred calls and I would contact around ten to fifteen people. By and large, people were not at their homes, or they did not answer the phone calls. From the people that I talked to, many of them were women above forty years, who were registered to vote and were inclined to vote for Clinton. However, most of them were not willing to volunteer because they had work to do. The older ones, like Carmen, were not able to volunteer because they were too old (see scene 1 in chapter 1). Furthermore, I found many young men and women who did not know if they were able to vote and after learning the political rules, they found out that did not meet the requirements to register. In other words, there were many irregular immigrants within the database. In the rest of the cases, I was able to talk to

residents and explain them how to learn if they were registered, how to change their registration address, and how to register in the case they were not. As an illustration, scene 5 contains a transcript of my field notes, where I narrate a standard conversation during the phone banks.

Scene 5. Telephone Conversation with Kasandra

I spent the last Thursday of September doing phone baking at the office. Carlos gave me a list of more than 100 hundred names of Latinos who had to be called. The campaign wanted to talk to residents to provide them with information about voter registration procedures and deadlines. They also wanted to know who was registered and in the case of those who were not enrolled, our goal was to persuade them to do it. That day I had a conversation with Kasandra, a Latina who lived in Northeast Philadelphia. We began our talk in English, but then switched to Spanish:

—Hi, my name is Juan Larrosa, I am a volunteer for Hillary Clinton's campaign. How are you doing today?

—OK.

—Kassandra, I am calling you because the Presidential election is going to be on November 8. Do you know that for being able to vote you need to be registered?

—Yes.

—Are you registered?

—I don't know… the other day I was trying to find my voting card, but I think I lost it.

—Ok, no problem, you can learn if you are registered on the web page www.voyavotar2016.com.

Then, Kassandra asked me if I could wait on the line. After one or two minutes, she came back and told me that she brought her laptop to register online. Then I helped her to

navigate the system. By the end of the conversation she was able to change her voter registration address, and she learned how to get a new registration card. She also told me that was planning to vote for Clinton, but that she was not interested in volunteering.

When I finished the conversation, I registered this activity on the log that Carlos gave me. That list allowed me to report that Kasandra's information contact was correct and that she was registered to vote.

Another way of registering voters was through face-to-face interactions with residents. One way of doing this was using the canvasing technique. Clinton's staffers were deployed to knock on doors in Northeast Philadelphia and register people to vote. However, I was not able to take part in these activities, because they were mainly conducted in the morning and my volunteer schedules were in the afternoon.

The other way was finding public or semi-public places were Latinos gathered. In those areas, the campaign organized a team of staffers and volunteers who mobilized to the site and interact with residents. This strategy was used several times and proved to be useful because the campaign was able to communicate with groups of people that were gathered in the same place, contrary to phone banking, which entailed to call on person at a time. Also, and more critical, face-to-face interactions allowed us to help people to register. In the phone calls, people could express that they had understood the mechanics, and they could even promise to register. However, we were not able to corroborate that they did get the information and complete the registration. Thus, the campaign deployed thousands of staffers and organizers around the country to have face-to-face interactions to increase the number of persons that were able to vote

in the presidential election. Scene 6 and 7 illustrate two examples of voter registration drives in Latino territories of Northeast Philadelphia.

Scene 6. Registering Voters at Parroquia de Santa Juana de Arco

The first Sunday morning of October we went to North Philadelphia to have a voter registration session at the Parroquia de Santa Juana de Arco. This church is small, clean and it is devoted to working with the Hispanic community. The mass, which was in Spanish, began at 11:30 and there were, more or less, one hundred persons—predominantly women and children. At the end of the mass, while interacting with the attendants, I realized that most of them were from Puerto Rico, Mexico, Guatemala, Dominican Republic and Honduras. One night before, the minister of the church called Carlos and told him that he was allowed to go the church and register people.

At the end of the mass, the priest explained the audience about the voter registration. He was emphatic expressing that the Dioceses did not support any candidate. “However,” he said, “it is essential for you to vote. Some of you cannot vote but there are others who can vote, and if you can vote, you have to remember that voting is one of your rights as a United States citizen.” Then, the priest asked Jaime to deliver a short speech. Jaime explained, in Spanish, that we were part of Hillary Clinton's campaign and that we were in the church to register voters. Jaime said that registering to vote was vital because that was the only way in which "*our voices can be heard*."

While Jaime was giving his allocution, Carlos was working with two volunteers that came from New York and me. He explained to us that the primary goal was to register as many voters as we could and then proceeded to show us how to fill the registration forms. “Most of these people speak Spanish, so begin with Spanish and later, if necessary, switch to English,”

Carlos said. Finally, he gave us pads, pens, and a bunch of registration forms and reminded us that we had to be cautious in our support for Hillary Clinton because the members of the church did not want to seem biased towards one candidate.

Suddenly, people started to walk toward the main door of the church, and the voter registration began. I tried to approach to the first wave of people that were leaving the mass. Most of them were not allowed to vote, and others were not interested. After the first wave, a group of people was waiting to register. The majority of individuals were able to enlist themselves. They filled out the forms and gave them to us.

Other persons needed assistance. I was able to work with four voters. People were enthusiastic. "We are going to win!" an old lady said in Spanish after her registration. One young man, from the Dominican Republic, was very proud because it was going to be the first time that he was allowed to vote. “Now, I am in!” he told me smiling. A Puerto Rican woman put her finger in her mouth and said, "Hush! I will vote for Clinton, but don't tell anyone here!"

At the end of the activity, we were able to register more than thirty voters. Carlos was more than pleased with this achievement.

Scene 7. Voter Registration at Cousin’s Supermarket

On October 8 Saturday morning, I was monitoring social and digital media and discovered that Pedro, Clinton’s Pennsylvania Latino Director, was tweeting an invitation for participating in “the last voter registration” in North Philadelphia, which was going to be held on Sunday. I looked for more information on Clinton’s web page and, indeed, there was a message in English that said: "Join us and register voters this Sunday! It is the last weekend to

register people to vote! Bring a friend!" After reading the details of the event, I became more interested because the voter registration was set to be at “Cousins,” a supermarket in North Philadelphia where the Latino community do their shopping.

The next day, October 9, I traveled in the morning from my house to Cousins Supermarket. When riding the bus, I received a text message from Clinton's National Campaign: "¡Hola, es Paola L. de la campaña de Hillary! Asegúrate de visitar voyavotar2016.com hoy para registrarte y diles a tus amigos y familiares también." Since the beginning of the general elections, I subscribed to the campaign's text messages alerts. In this message, Paola Luisi, one of Clinton's Latino staffers in the national headquarters, sent information about the deadline for voter registration.

When I arrived at the supermarket, Carlos was surprised to see me. “I just learned about this event a few hours ago, how did you know about this event?” he asked me. I told him that one of my regular research activities was monitoring the internet, including Clinton's website and social media accounts. “Wow,” he exclaimed, “you know more about the campaign than I do,” and then we both laughed.

The morning was cold and rainy. At 10 o'clock, Pedro explained to all of us that the main idea of the event was to register voters. “It is the final push,” he said. The crew was integrated by Carlos, Jaime, and Alicia, organizers of Clinton's campaign; two local members of the local Democratic Party; and Alicia's father and me, who participated as volunteers. The campaign organizers were drinking coffee. They were sleep deprived due to their intense daily work. They were fatigued, bad humored, almost burned out.

At noon, Pedro gathered all the staff and concluded the event. Before leaving, he introduced us to one of the members of the Local Democratic Party who gave a mini-speech in

English. Pedro thanked the volunteers for showing up at the voter registration event. Then he introduced, Oscar, a local Puerto Rican social leader, who was wearing a cap with the name of the Democratic presidential candidate. In Spanish, Oscar invited us to watch the next presidential debate and urged us to not vote for Donald Trump, because, he said, “this Republican is a racist that doesn't like Hispanics." Pedro recorded both mini-speeches with his smartphone and hours later posted the videos on Twitter, as well as the URL where people could register to vote.

That morning we were able to register only five voters.

By and large, the ground game was not an exciting process for the local press. Throughout the campaign, few reporters were interested in the field operations of the Northeast Philadelphia office. One of the exceptions to this trend was the interest that Telemundo showed on reporting the campaign efforts to register citizens. Scene 8 narrates how the local branch of Telemundo crafted a journalistic piece to describe the voter registration process in this city.

Scene 8. Connecting the Ground Game to the Local Mass Media System

Early in the morning of October 12, I received a text message from Carlos: “Please communicate ASAP.” When I called him, he told me that “the campaign” wanted to do a press conference in City Hall to inform about the voter registration process in Philadelphia. Moreover, "the campaign" wanted to ask me if I could go to City Hall, submit the voter registration forms, and appear in the press conference to communicate the achievements. I meditated about the convenience of doing this for the campaign because I didn't feel comfortable performing on television and talking about the elections. However, I accepted because I wanted to observe how the campaign was relating to journalists and media outlets.

I arrived at City Hall around 10:50, ten minutes before the time I was supposed to meet with George, who was an organizer in the Northeast Philadelphia office. However, nobody was there. A bureaucrat told me that there was not scheduled a press conference for that day. I texted Carlos several messages, and he asked me to wait. George called me at 11:50 and apologized for the delay, and he ended arriving at noon, carrying 717 registration forms.

Ten minutes later Carolina Cardona, a Telemundo reporter, and a cameraman appeared. "Do you work for Clinton's campaign?" she asked. "Yes, we work for the campaign," George said, "we brought these registration forms," and then he showed a bunch of papers. "Perfect," Cardona said, "could you appear in camera speaking in Spanish?" "No, I can't," said George, "but Juan knows how to speak Spanish, and he will do it."

The cameraman asked me to grab the bunch of registration forms, walk through the corridors of City Hall and submit the forms to the voter registration office. George also took some photos. Subsequently, I held a brief conversation with Cardona. She asked me about the registration process, and I told her that the campaign was registering voters through phone banking, canvassing and special events.

Minutes later, George sent to the Northeast Philadelphia office pictures of the moments when I was being interviewed. Marla, an organizer in the office, received the photos and published a tweet where I was submitting the registration forms.

In the evening, Cardona broadcasted a journalistic piece by Telemundo 62 where I appeared delivering the forms in City Hall ("A punto de vencer plazo de inscripción electoral," 2016). At the end of the piece, Cardona invited people to vote and said that "*recuerden que su voto es su voz, por lo que es muy importante que se registren para votar.*" (Remember that your vote is your voice and that is why is so important registering to vote.)

A Hybrid Media System for Registering Latino Voters

During the first part of the general elections, one of the primary goals of Clinton's campaign was to register as many voters as possible. For archiving this purpose, the campaign produced a communication strategy using a hybrid media system.

As I have described in this chapter, the efforts to increase the number of voters were deployed through many communicative strategies. At the end of her TV ads, the candidate invited people to register using the website www.iwillvote.com. In the last part of her rallies, she asked the attendees to take out their phones, navigate in the official website and review if they were registered. On Twitter and Facebook, the digital team "generated hundreds of millions of social media impressions for National Voter Registration Day" (Morales Rocketto, 2017). The efforts for registering voters were also part of the ground game. In Northeast Philadelphia, the voter registration occurred through phone calls to residents and face-to-face conversations between volunteers and citizens through voter registration drives and canvassing.

In this context, Latino voters had multiple chances of being contacted by the campaign. They could be exposed to these messages through the air war and watch and listen to TV and radio ads that spread information about voter registration, or to the messages that were pushed through emails, text messages, and social media. They could learn about this topic during Hillary Clinton's rallies, or they could pull information from her website and Facebook and Twitter accounts, which offered bilingual information for this community. Finally, they could be targeted by the campaign in their homes and received phone calls or the visit of a volunteer that would assist them in the process of registering to vote. From this point of view, Latinos, and citizens, in

general, had the potential of being contacted by the Democratic campaign and receive informative and persuasive messages to register to vote.

The observations that I rendered in this chapter show how a hybrid political communication system operated during a presidential campaign. As Chadwick (2013) explains, these hybrid systems are "built upon interactions among older and newer media logics" (p. 4) and through practices where "antecedents' characteristics are always in the process of being selectively recombined in new ways" (p. 14). The ground game, as a method for registering voters, presented a recombination and a mix of various communication strategies to interact with voters. One of the main characteristics of the ground game is that operates through interpersonal communication—the oldest form of political communication. However, the ground game has changed, and now is not a *pure* method based on face-to-face conversations as it was at the beginning of the twentieth century (Beck & Heidemann, 2014; Nielsen, 2012). In 2016, this strategy included face-to-face conversations and interpersonal communication mediated by landline telephones, cell phones, smartphones, and computers that offered the possibility of interacting through phone calls, text messages, emails, tweets, Facebook posts, and more.

Two examples that illustrate the hybrid nature of the ground game are located in scenes 7 and 8. In those communicative situations, registering voters became an act that could be broadcasted through other communication systems. In scene 7, Pedro, Clinton's Latino Outreach Director in Pennsylvania, recorded a message of a local activist during a voter registration drive in North Philadelphia. This video was then distributed through a tweet that included the URL where people could register to vote. In scene 8, Carolina Cardona created a journalistic story about the voter registration process in Philadelphia. This piece was broadcast, locally, via Telemundo 62—one of the two TV Latino channels in the city. In both examples, the

communicative actions provided information about the voter registration processes and, at the same time, worked as messages for persuading voters to take action and register.

Amidst this hybrid political communication system, individuals and human bodies were at the center of the ground game. Persons had to move their bodies through Northeast Philadelphia to encounter residents in their homes and public registration drives. In those situations, face-to-face interactions were the norm, and people needed their bodies to establish communication among their peers. In scene 6, I narrate various examples of this type of communication: a priest communicating to worshippers that voting is a right of American citizens, Jaime explaining the procedures of voter registration, and Carlos, the two volunteers from New York, and me, assisting people on how to fill the registration forms. All of these face-to-face interactions were part of an extensive national political communication system, where human bodies were used to perform similar tasks across the United States.

During the voter registration period, bodies were able to use technologies and infrastructures to amplify their communicative power and control time and space. Scene 5 illustrates the former argument. In that occasion, I had a conversation with Kassandra and helped her to register to vote. I used a cell phone provided by the campaign and called Kassandra, who answered the phone call, which allowed me to learn if she was registered. Since she was not registered, I provided her information about the procedures to enroll in this system and told her that she could register online. Kasandra, who was using her body and a telephone to communicate with me, plugged into the internet and, following my instructions, was able to complete her registration. In short, this micro-political communication system was built upon three material technologies (i.e., bodies, telephones, and computer) and infrastructures (i.e., telephone grid and the Internet).

Voter Registration and Body: Your Vote is Your Voice

The overall goal of Presidential campaigns in the United States is to win elections (Stromer-Galley, 2014, p. 12). In the case at hand, the Democratic campaign designed a strategy to register new voters. This goal was aligned with one of the central campaign rationales, which stated that if a majority of voters turn out, Clinton will increase her chances of winning the election. The first condition for having a high turnout was to have a robust voter registration. Therefore, the campaign established that one of its main strategies for winning the election was to register as many possible voters that sympathized with the candidate.

The campaign, and specifically the ground game, accomplished three practical functions. First, political communication was used to inform Latinos (and people in general), about the rules of operation of the political system. These rules explained that those persons who met specific requirements were allowed to vote. Those who satisfied the criteria had to register in an official list and provide personal information such as their name, address, telephone number and other data that varies according to the local laws. Second, political communication was used to persuade citizens. The campaign crafted messages to encourage citizens to register to vote. Third, political communication was used as a structure for political action and mobilization. The campaign spread information about the process and mechanisms to register to vote and, at the same time, they provided the mechanisms by registering people during public events and through a bilingual digital platform (i.e., www.iwillvote.com).

In the symbolic realm, political communication also contributed to producing and reproducing the rules of operation of the political system but in more subtle ways. The strategies devoted to outreach Latinos (i.e., air war, digital, rallies, and ground game) were crossed by many discourses. One of these transmedial discourses was based on a pervasive idea: in a

democracy, voting is a synonym of having a voice. In other words, only those who can vote the right to speak. For example, in the national campaign, when delivering a speech to the Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute, Clinton explicitly urged Latinos to “make your voices heard in this election” (Clinton, 2016h). In a video that was distributed through digital media, Salma Hayek, a Mexican American actress, persuaded Latinos to vote and suggested that "those of us who can vote owe it to the undocumented immigrants who don't have a voice," (sic). On social media, the campaign created tweets that contained videos that showed young Latinos registering to vote accompanied by messages in Spanish that said, "My voice is going to count for the first time: I am going to vote for the first time."

In the Northeast Philadelphia ground game, when Jaime addressed the public in the church, he expressed that voting was the only way in which “our voices can be heard” (see scene 6). An email that the local campaign sent to attract volunteers stated that "We're really counting on you to help make sure every voter in Pennsylvania gets out to the polls and makes their voice heard.” After I submitted the voter registration forms in City Hall, the Telemundo reporter who witnessed this act created a journalistic piece in which she said, “remember that your vote is your voice and that is why it is so important to register to vote” (see scene 8).

Here we can observe that the concept of body emerges again. In this context, voting can be conceptualized as a communicative act: when someone votes for someone or something, that person is communicating her support for an individual and/or an idea. Thus, from this perspective, an election is a communication system composed of those individuals who have a voice and who can influence a decision for the allocation and distribution of political power in a democratic community. These voices emanate from those bodies allowed to participate in the communication system.

The voice-is-your-vote metaphor was particularly salient in the messages directed to the Latino community. This idea is related to some of the discourses that shaped the concept of immigration in the national campaign and that I discussed in chapter 4. During the campaign, political elites engaged in the mission of giving a voice to those bodies which, as Clinton explained in her discourses, "live in the shadows" (i.e., irregular immigrants). Thus, it is clear that those who live in the shadows do not have a voice for participating in the process of collective decision-making during an election. In this sense, the Latino campaign was framed as a path for fighting for a right of expression and as a way for "gaining a voice" in the political (communication) system.

Conclusion: The Voter Registration Campaign as a System for Social Reproduction

The voter registration campaign offers an exceptional spot for observing contemporary political communication systems. Within these systems, it is possible to observe the distinction of the practical and symbolic functions of political communication.

In this chapter, I suggest that a hybrid political communication system was used to communicate the institutional rules of operation of the political institutions (i.e., practical function) and to explain, through discourses (i.e., symbolic function), which were those bodies that could have a voice during a presidential election. These were the practical functions of political communication.

Moreover, I argue that voting was considered a communicative act. From this perspective, it was clear that only certain bodies had the right to communicate and thus vote. This right was determined by the place where a body was born, by its age, and its legal status. Some bodies were not allowed to register and vote, such as children and youngsters, criminals, and irregular immigrants. Thus, being registered to vote was an inclusion-exclusion marker in the

2016 electoral system: those who were not registered were not allowed to aggregate their voices into the national choir.

Thus, the voter registration campaign was a symbolic reminder of who is, who could be, and who is not an individual with a "political voice" in the United States. These rules of exclusion are salient in the case at hand because many Latinos do not meet the requirements for having a voice. Therefore, many members of this community were excluded from this system. This exclusion reflects their condition of an underrepresented minority in the United States.

As can be observed, political communication systems go much further than allowing, or not, to win a competitive campaign. In practical and symbolic ways, the campaign taught Latinos which were the norms of the political system. In this system, some bodies had the political and communicative privilege of voting, and some others had institutional and cultural restrictions for having a voice. Ultimately, political communication systems were mechanisms that enabled the production and reproduction of the political organization of a society composed of more than 350 million inhabitants.

CHAPTER 7

BUILDING A POLITICAL COMMUNICATION INFRASTRUCTURE OF HUMAN BODIES: NORTHEAST PHILADELPHIA GOTV

When the voter registration period was over on October 11, the ground game moved towards the last and most important process of the campaign, which was convincing people to support and vote for the presidential candidate. By using all the strategies of the ground game, the campaign wanted to contact Hillary Clinton supporters, confirm that they were going to vote for her, and especially, to remember and persuade them to go out and vote on November 8. This strategy is known as "Get Out the Vote" and in the daily jargon of campaigning people refer to it as the "GOTV." For making the GOTV possible, the campaign had to do thousands of phone calls and door knocks in the three weeks before election day. These tasks, which require thousands of hours of human work, could not be done solely by the staff hired by the campaign. Therefore, on top of doing phone calls, knocking on doors, sending emails, and organizing events, the organizers had recruit and train volunteers for this process.

The GOTV entailed a complex and ephemeral political communication system that supported the interaction between Hillary Clinton and the Northeast Philadelphia residents. This system was built upon a material infrastructure composed of the bodies of the organizers and volunteers that worked in the field operation office during the ground game—bodies that I described in chapter 5. Thus, in the first section, I present a series of narrations about the planning and rehearsal of the Get Out to Vote strategy, which occurred in the two last weeks of October of 2016. The second section contains an analysis of the material infrastructure that supported Clinton's communicative efforts in the local ground game realm. Drawing from an anthropological conceptualization of the concept of infrastructure, I explain how the campaign

built this material artifact and which were its uses along the electoral cycle. In the third section are the conclusions which state that, from a theoretical point of view, the analysis presented in this chapter illustrates the distinction between the analytical concepts of "political communication infrastructure" and "political communication system," and explains that the former is the material basis of the latter.

Get Out the Vote in Northeast Philadelphia

This long section, composed of three subsections, contains a narration that describes and analyzes the process of planning the GOTV strategy in Northeast Philadelphia. The first part depicts the process when the organizers trained volunteers to participate in the ground game. The second and third sections illustrate the two rehearsals of the GOTV.

Planning the GOTV

In Northeast Philadelphia, the organization of the GOTV began in the first week of October. Kimberly, the captain of the office, and the six organizers hired by the campaign, including Carlos and Jaime, were summoned to Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, to have specialized training. In that session, they received manuals that explained how to develop and organize the ground game during the last three weeks of the electoral cycle. One of those documents, "The GOTV training" explained that the GOTV occurs in the last four days before the election. During these days, "we'll knock on doors and make phone calls to our supporters. We will operate out of staging locations in our local community. That way we're close to the voters we need to talk to." Moreover, in that session, they were taught how to recruit volunteers for the campaign and how to manage large groups of persons that would phone bank and canvass for Hillary Clinton.

The primary objective of the GOTV was to mobilize people to vote on the election day. The rationale was that Clinton had enough supporters to win the election. Therefore, the task was persuading people to transport their bodies from their homes, workstations, or any other place, to the polling stations and cast a vote on November 8. Aligned with the previous idea, the national campaign designed manuals for the GOTV that explained that the primary function of the ground game was mobilizing Clinton's supporters and not persuading Republican and Independent voters to vote for the Democratic candidate. For example, the document, "Canvassing, the basics," explained that "Most people we're talking to will be supporters! If you get someone who is unsure, you can tell them why you're supporting Hillary, and if you get a Trump supporter, that's ok just move to the next door. But most people will be supporters!"

After returning to Philadelphia, Kimberly and the organizers called all the super volunteers of the Northeast and shared their knowledge about the GOTV. In that meeting, which occurred on October 19 and which is partially narrated in scene 2, the super volunteers, including me, received a similar training to learn the basics of the ground game and the GOTV. Jaime was in charge of the practice, and he began projecting a biographical video of Hillary Clinton. The video was a ten-minute piece, containing some of her chief political achievements and a summary of the Democratic Convention. The video had the format and the tone of a long political advertisement, and by the end of it, some people in the room clapped.

In the second part of his presentation, Jaime explained that the campaign had recruited thousands of volunteers across the country and that, only in Pennsylvania, Democrats registered 106,000 people, knocked on 670,000 doors and made 5 million phone calls. The goal was to multiply these efforts and follow a two-step plan. In the first moment, the campaign had to perform two dry runs. Each dry run should be a rehearsal of the GOTV. This preparation was

essential for making all the necessary adjustments for the election day. The second moment was the most relevant part of the campaign: deploying the GOTV during the three days before the election day and on the election day. The dry runs had two other purposes. On the one hand, organizers and super volunteers had to recruit more volunteers to work for the ground game. On the other hand, through phone banks and canvassing, the campaign had to remind people that the election day was coming and, also, persuade them to "get out the vote."

Someone asked Jaime how to find and locate voters. "Well," Jaime, explained, "the Democratic Party has a data bank that is updated every election. This data bank contains the names, phones, and addresses of all those persons who live in Northeast Philadelphia and who have voted for Democrats in past elections. The volunteers that want to do phone banking will have lists with the names and phone numbers of the persons who should be called. Those who wish to do canvassing will have lists with the addressees of the doors that you will have to knock. Plus, the campaign will offer mobile phones to do the calls", Jaime explained. "Remember, our job is to turn out voters: if we turn out our voters, we will win, and we will win because we work together and we are stronger together," finalized Jaime—repeating one of the transmediatic slogans of the campaign (i.e., "we are stronger together").

First Dry Run

The first rehearsal of the GOTV took place during the third weekend of October. Captains, organizers, fellows and super volunteers worked Saturday and Sunday from 8 in the morning to midnight. During these days, local and out-of-state volunteers started to arrive in the office for doing labors of canvassing and phone banking. Our job was to organize the local and out-of-state volunteers, train them in the basics of doing phone calls and canvassing, and uploading reports of these activities into the campaign's system.

The labor on Saturday was calm. We spent most of the time organizing the materials for phone bankers and canvassers. In the first case, the packages consisted on lists with names and telephones of hundreds of residents that had to be contacted, which also included formats for reporting if the phone call was successful or not and if the person was willing to become a volunteer. In the second case, the packages were more complicated. Canvassers received a folder that contained a list of the names and addresses of the doors that had to be knocked and a map that indicated how to get to those addresses from the office. These lists also had a space to report if the person was available and if the canvasser was able to have a conversation with the resident. Furthermore, the folder contained a script that instructed canvassers how to talk to people.

In addition to the previous activity, Carlos asked me to started calling residents that had previously expressed their intentions to volunteer. Carlos explained to me that Clinton's supporters registered on the website to participate and our job was to call and recruit them to work for the ground game. I spent the rest of the day making phone calls. However, by and large, the people I was talking to were not interested in becoming volunteers. Many of them were Clinton's supporters, but they expressed that they had too much work to do and were not willing to volunteer for the Democratic candidate.

The next day was different. On Sunday morning, organizers and super volunteers kept doing phone calls and organizing packages. For example, Claudia, Margarita and I spent several hours calling people. Moreover, during the morning, eight local volunteers arrived in the office to start knocking on doors. Roberto trained and sent them to the streets. At that moment, there was a feeling that nothing much was going on and that we lacked the human resources to deploy an effective ground game. However, at noon, everything changed with the arrival of a bus that was transporting high school students from Washington who, in a matter of seconds, packed the

office with their bodies, conversations, and laughter. In other words, the office received communicative resources composed of more than thirty young persons from Washington DC who were transported to Philadelphia to interact and communicate with residents that lived in Northeast neighborhoods of the city. The organizers and super volunteers of the office, including me, spent the rest of the day directing the communicative labor of the high school students. At the end of the day, we had to upload all the information that the students generated after knocking on hundreds of doors. The following scene describes this activity.

Scene 9. Uploading Information into the System

By the end of the day of the first dry run on October 23, the Northeast Philadelphia office was a mess. There were pizza boxes on the table, the garbage bin was overloaded, there were bottles of water everywhere, and people were eating and resting on the floor. Carlos was walking around the office with his always-glued laptop. Alicia was listening to music with her headphones and working on a smartphone. Claudia and Margarita were doing the last phone calls, and the rest of the organizers and super volunteers were working at their desks, with their faces illuminated by the screens of the computers.

That day was the first time that the office received a large batch of volunteers. The group was composed of thirty-four high school students and three teachers who came from Washington to participate in the Northeast Philadelphia ground game. Most of them spent the day walking down the streets of this part of the city, knocking on the door of Clinton's supporters, and having conversations with them. In total, the students hit almost 800 doors. After the canvassing session, which went from noon until 5 pm, the students returned to the office and had a debriefing where they discussed their experience (see Scene 4). Moreover, the students had to complete reports that contained information such as how many doors they

knocked on, how many persons opened the doors, and how many conversations they were able to have.

When the students were gone, we had to start uploading information into the system. Every time that a door was knocked, the process had to be registered. Each student was given a folder that contained a list of names and addresses of the houses where they had to contact citizens. The sheets included space to register if the address was correct, if they were able to find the resident, if they were able to have a conversation and, more important, if the person was planning to vote on the election day. This information had to be uploaded into the campaign's system, information that then was analyzed in Brooklyn—the national headquarters. Then, a team processed the data and created new lists of homes that had to be visited by local canvassers. I spent around 45 minutes uploading information into the system. By the end of the night, the Northeast Philadelphia office was able to report the number of volunteers that worked during the day as phone bankers and canvassers, as well as the number of dials made and doors knocked.

When I finished the task, around 9 pm, Carlos dismissed me. “It is time to go,” he said. He seemed to be tired and troubled. “We did a good job today,” I told him. “Not really,” he said, “people in Center City and Brooklyn are upset.” Then he explained that we were far from achieving the ideal pace of operation. “We did an excellent job after receiving all these persons and put them to work, but we failed to generate information in real time of what was happening on the ground: the information that we just uploaded should have been in the system four hours ago,” Carlos said. Then he smiled and shrugged. “I’ll see you next week for the second dry run,” he said.

I walked towards the main door and saw Margarita cleaning the office. She was sweeping the floor and collecting trash. “It is time to go home,” I said to Margarita. She approached me and gave me her smartphone. “Could you help me to dial this number?” she asked me in Spanish. “Sure,” I said. The smartphone had a yellow sticker with a name, a phone number, and some instructions. “My daughter gave me this phone as a birthday gift, but I don't know how to use it, I guess I am just too old to use these devices,” she said. I followed the instructions, unlocked the phone and called to Margarita's daughter, who said that she would drive to the office to bring Margarita home.

Then I took out my smartphone and called for an Uber. It was dark outside, and we were advised that it was not safe to walk down the streets of Northeast Philadelphia at night.

Second Dry Run

The second rehearsal took place on October 29 and 30, ten days before the election day. Little by little, the ground game strategy started to have a better shape and organizers and volunteers began to make sense of the system.

On Saturday, I arrived at the office at 8 am, and all the organizers were working on their computers. Carlos told me that, from that day, I would be working under the supervision of Roberto, who was named the canvassing captain, which meant that he would be responsible for all the canvassing operation. Roberto asked me to start making confirmation phone calls because the phone bankers had not arrived yet. The task was to call to all the persons who previously had signed up for canvassing during the second dry run. I called to the volunteers that signed up to work from 9 to 11 am and reminded them of the appointment. It was a list of ten persons, from which only four answered my call. After making the calls, I had to fill a Google Docs

spreadsheet where I wrote the names of the persons that I called and if I was able to contact them. Then, Roberto retrieved this information and uploaded it to the campaign's system. In the next shift, another phone banker took my place.

After doing the phone calls, Roberto told me that I was going to be in charge of welcoming the new volunteers. Thus, I moved to the counter that was at the main entrance of the office and started the new assignment. My job was to greet volunteers and solicit them to register on a form that asked their names, phone number, address, and email. Then I had to ask them what activity they were willing to do. If they told me that they wanted to do phone calls, I would send them to the team of phone banking. If they said that they desired to knock on doors, I would give them a bunch of canvassing materials and send them to Peter, a volunteer who was in charge of training the new canvassers. The following scene narrates one of those training sessions.

Scene 10. Training the "Face" of the Campaign

Peter was a 38-year old man from New Zealand, who lived in Manhattan and worked for a global company. As a foreigner, he could not vote. However, he wanted to volunteer to change the political order of things of a country where he was planning to stay and become a citizen. Like many New Yorkers, Peter explained to me that it was not worth to volunteer in New York, where a Democratic win was expected. He told me that in the last election he volunteered in Philadelphia for Barack Obama. Peter was not Hillary's fan. However, he was concerned that Donald Trump could reach the presidency. I spent most of the following days working with Peter.

From my workplace, the counter, I was able to watch the first training session of the day. The group of people that Roberto and Peter were training was composed of six persons—four women and two men. They were in a circle, listening to Roberto and Peter, who explained

that the primary task of a canvasser was to engage with voters and persuade them to get out to vote on November 8. The volunteers received a folder that contained a list of the names and addresses of the people that they had to visit, as well as a map to locate the blocks where these individuals live. Moreover, the folders had a script to engage and talk with the voters.

"Canvassing is fun," Peter said, "because you will be talking to people in their homes. However, canvassing also entails a great responsibility," he continued, "because *you are the face of the campaign, you are representing a party, you are talking on behalf of Hillary Clinton*."

Peter explained that one of the primary objectives of canvassing was to convince Clinton's supporters to make a plan for voting. He suggested that they could ask some questions to the residents such as, do you know where the polling station is? At what time are you going to vote? How are you going to get there? Are you going to walk or use public transportation? Are you going alone?

Then Roberto jumped into the conversation and explained which was the content of the packages. "You have a map that marks how to get from here [i.e., Northeast Philadelphia office] to the blocks where you have to work," he said. "There is another map in the folder," he continued, "this map marks each of the houses that you have to visit and you also have a list of the addresses of those houses." Roberto remarked several times that canvassers should only knock on the doors contained on the list. "Remember," he said, "we are just talking to Clinton's supporters."

One of the volunteers, a woman in her early twenties, asked if they were allowed to talk to undecided voters. "Yes," said Roberto, "These people are important too, and you want to speak to them and persuade them to vote for Hillary. A good way for doing this, he said, is

telling why you are volunteering and voting for her: tell voters your story, and you will have productive conversations. However, remember, the most important persons are those who are rooting for Clinton, if they turn out, we will win the election." At the end of his discourse, Roberto gave them signs and stickers to share with the residents.

The new volunteers seemed to understand the basics of canvassing. They did not ask more questions, and a couple of minutes later they were on the streets trying to reach and talk to Northeast Philadelphians.

The next day, on Sunday, I was in charge, again, of welcoming and registering new people. That day, we received 484 volunteers from Philadelphia and states like New York and New Jersey. Most of these volunteers worked as canvassers, and a minority decided to work as phone bankers.

Also, I was required to be in charge of the Latinos who were arriving in the office and who only spoke Spanish. If they wanted to do phone calls I had to send them to Margarita, and she would explain them the main elements of this activity. If they wanted to knock on doors, I had to train and send them to the streets. The ensuing scenes narrate my encounters with these Latinos.

Scene 11. What Happens After the Election?

At noon two buses from New York arrived with almost 70 persons that wanted to participate in the ground game. The office was packed, and I was registering people as fast as I could. At some point, Carlos approached me and told me that there was one person that wanted to volunteer for the campaign who did not speak English. "Please talk to him," Carlos said, and then he walked towards his workstation and disappeared into the crowded room.

When I finished registering people I sought to find this guy, whose name was Antonio. He was a middle-aged local activist who wanted to participate as a volunteer. “Welcome, Antonio!” I told him. “What do you want to do, phone banking or canvassing?” I said in Spanish. “I would like to knock on doors and talk to people,” he said. “Great, let me give you a package with all the information, and then you will have to do a brief training,” I explained. “Ok, but first I would like to know what is going to happen after the campaign,” he said. “If Clinton wins, then what?” he asked me, “I want to know what is going to happen with all of these volunteers and with our local demands.” I stared at him without an answer. “Could you wait here to talk with one of the organizers?” I said. “Ok, I will wait here,” he said.

Half an hour later, the office was empty, and all the out-of-state volunteers were canvassing on the streets. I tried to find Antonio and introduce him to Carlos. However, when I returned, he was not in the office anymore.

Scene 12. ***Las Mujeres Vamos a Hacer la Diferencia en Estas Elecciones***

A bus from New Jersey arrived in Northeast Philadelphia with twenty volunteers who wanted to participate as canvassers. Within that group, there were three women from Colombia; two of them did not speak English. After registering all the volunteers, I went with Peter and asked him to give me canvassing packages for Spanish speaking turfs. Then, I had a training session with these women.

In the first part of the training, I asked the volunteers to tell a brief story of why they were supporting Hillary. The first woman began: “Hi, I am Laura, I am from Colombia and I have been living in New Jersey since 2000. I am here because New Jersey is going to be for the Democrats and Pennsylvania is still a battleground state. I can't vote,” she said, “but I am

here so support Hillary as a woman: I believe that women and Latinos are going to make a difference in this election," Laura concluded in Spanish.

Karla said that she also was an irregular immigrant from Colombia who had been living in New Jersey for more than twenty years and only spoke Spanish. That was the first time that she met Laura, and she was happy to get to know a person like her. Karla's daughter, Jimena, was a bilingual United States citizen. Karla and Jimena were very concerned about Trump's rhetoric regarding the Latino community. As in many other cases, Trump, and not Clinton, was the main reason for why they were involved in the campaign.

I explained them the primary objectives of canvassing and in no more than ten minutes, they were ready to knock on doors of Latino neighborhoods. Before they were leaving, they asked me if they could take lawn signs for the residents. "Sure, take as many as you want, you can also take stickers and placards," I said. Then, I gave them the materials. "Don't you have materials in Spanish?" Laura asked; she seemed disappointed. "Sorry, we only have in English," I said. Carlos was passing by, heard the conversation and said, "I have been asking for materials in Spanish, but people in HQ haven't sent anything." "Well, we are going to take some stuff anyway, let's see if some people like it," said Jimena.

Karla and Jimena returned the next week and volunteered during the four days of the GOTV.

Scene 13. "We Don't Produce the Show"

Jose arrived at the office around 5 pm, and Carlos asked me to talk to him. He was a 50-year old man from Puerto Rico. Jose did not speak English for political reasons: "I want to preserve my culture and my language," he told me. Moreover, he presented himself as an

expert in electoral processes. Jose had worked for more than ten years in electoral campaigns in Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, and Haiti.

"I am here to help the campaign," he said at the end of his biographical narration. "Great," I told him, "you can help us to do some phone calls or to knock on people's doors, what do you want to do?" I said. "No, you do not understand me, I want to work crafting the messages for the campaign of Hillary Clinton," he said. I explained to him that all the campaign was designed and produced in Brooklyn and that in Northeast Philadelphia we could not change the messages or tailor a different strategy. "If that is the case, I guess that you don't need a guy like me," he said. Then he walked out from the office.

I told Carlos about this experience, and he said, "yea, it is the third time that this guy comes to the office: he doesn't understand that we don't produce the show."

Scene 14. Learning the Rules of Operation of the Political (Communication) System

It was around 8 pm when Ramiro knocked on the office door. I was at the counter, uploading information into the Google Spreadsheets. At night, we had to close the main entrance of the office because in September two persons got inside to rob the volunteers that were working at that time. The thieves soon realized that there was not much to steal and they left the office. However, since that day, we tried to lock the door after dark.

Ramiro told me that he was a 25-year old Guatemalan, father of two daughters that were born in the United States. "I want to know how to vote," he said. Then I explained to him that he had to be registered to vote, then he had to find which was his polling station and later, he would be able to vote on November 8. Very soon I learned that he was an irregular immigrant. I explained to him that if he was not a citizen, he was not allowed to vote. He was

disappointed, and there was a long silence while he was making an ocular inspection of the office.

I invited him to participate in the campaign. "There are no more canvassing shifts after 8 pm," I said, "but you can do some phone calls." He accepted and spent the next hour working with Claudia.

Human Bodies as the Main Element of the Political Communication Infrastructure

Drawing from the Political Communication Systems Model, I suggest that a precondition for the operation of any political communication system is the existence of a material infrastructure that supports the system. The minimal infrastructure of a political communication system is two human bodies that interact with each other. From this point, systems can grow, potentially, as many bodies exist in the world. However, at a certain point, bodies need other external infrastructures that permit them to surpass time and space constrictions. These infrastructures, composed of human bodies and many other material artifacts, are the basis for the operation of large-scale political communication systems, such as the ones that operate during a presidential election.

The empirical observations narrated in this chapter, and the previous two, allowed me to unpack the material infrastructure that Hillary assembled. This infrastructure supported the political communication system to outreach the Latino Community in Northeast Philadelphia. For doing this analytical investigation, I relied on an anthropological conceptualization of the term infrastructure. Although it can be argued the existence of symbolic infrastructures (e.g., Alexander, 2011; Geertz, 1973), in this case, for the sake of argument, I would like to focus on physical infrastructures that support political communication systems. In this sense,

infrastructures are "extended material assemblages" (Harvey, Bruun Jensen, & Morita, 2016, p. 5) that “facilitate the flow of goods, people, or ideas and allow for their exchange over space” (Larkin, 2013, p. 328). These flows mediate and transform “spatially and temporally distributed practices” (Jensen & Morita, 2017, p. 618). Overall, infrastructures are relevant because they structure social relations and, more broadly, “provide the undergirding of modern societies” (Larkin, 2013, p. 328).

An essential characteristic of infrastructures lays on their ontological being as physical “things” (Larkin, 2013, p. 329). Hence, after observing Clinton’s ground game, the question was, which was the materiality of the infrastructure that she built to enable a political communication system with Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents? The materiality was composed of the human bodies of the captain, organizers, super volunteers, out-of-state volunteers, and local volunteers that worked in Clinton’s office (see chapter 5). This infrastructure was not only built in Northeast Philadelphia but in 537 field operation offices in all the fifty states of the Union (Darr, 2017). In short, these bodies, as infrastructure, became a “thing” which provided the basis for the operation of a political communication system.

These bodies informed an infrastructure that allowed the movement and exchange of goods and information. Volunteers transported voter registration forms, posters, lawn signs, and stickers from the office, to the Northeast Philadelphia neighborhoods. An illustration of these actions is present in scene 12, where three women took lawn signs for their canvassing session. Also, through interpersonal communication, these bodies delivered messages to the residents, such as information related to electoral procedures and the values and proposals of the Democratic candidate. These interactions are extensively narrated in chapters 5, 6 and 7 and illustrate how volunteers moved ideas and things in the Northeast Philadelphia area.

Every time that these bodies were in contact with residents, they extracted and collected information from these communicative interactions. Then, they took this information to the local office, where other bodies (i.e., organizers and super volunteers) were in charge of sending this information to the regional headquarters in Philadelphia's Center City and the national HQ in Brooklyn, New York. In some cases, organizers physically moved information to Center City and other places in Philadelphia. For example, in scene 8, an organizer transported the voter registration forms from the office to City Hall. However, in many other cases, these bodies sent information through telephone and internet services to Center City and to the national headquarters in Brooklyn, which was, roughly, 100 miles from Philadelphia. Scene 9 narrates the process of uploading information into the system, which meant moving data from the office to Brooklyn's HQ.

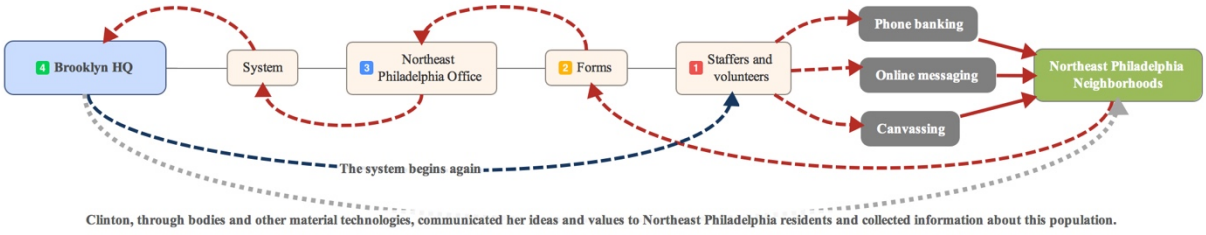

Figure 2. Political Communication System that Connected Clinton and Northeast Philadelphia Residents

Figure 2 summarizes the material infrastructure and the political communication system that the Democratic campaign built to communicate with Northeast Philadelphia residents. The system that was enacted and reenacted from August to November of 2016 stared when (1) staffers and volunteers had interpersonal interactions with Northeast Philadelphia neighbors through face-to-face conversations and mediated by phones and internet-based systems. (2) After these communicative actions, staffers and volunteers registered the communications on paper-based forms provided by the campaigns. (3) In the Northeast Philadelphia office, staffers

transcribed the information contained in the paper-based forms into the campaign's system. For doing these transcriptions, staffers used computers, laptops, tablets, and smartphones. (4) Using computers (and other devices), staffers in Brooklyn retrieved the information. After analyzing the data, staffers in Brooklyn would send new instructions to the Northeast Philadelphia team, who had to organize and perform new interpersonal encounters with residents of the area. This political communication system, sustained by a material infrastructure composed of bodies and other material technologies, allowed Clinton to communicate her ideas and values to Northeast Philadelphia residents and to collect information about this population.

The "thing" that Clinton built—a thing composed of human bodies—allowed coordination of political communication actions and practices in four spaces: Northeast Philadelphia as an urban area, the Northeast Philadelphia office, the regional headquarters in Center City, and the national HQ in New York. This infrastructure not only mediated the actions and practices between four spaces but transformed them. Even more, it could be argued that this infrastructure created a new space where people were able to interact through face-to-face conversations and through the mediation of different technologies such as telephones, computers, tablets, and smartphones. This process, which entails creating new spaces through communicative infrastructures, has been named by geographers and political economy researchers, as spatialization. This term refers to the processes of creating new spaces by "overcoming the constraints of space and time in social life," using communicative infrastructures (Lefebvre, 1991; Mosco, 2009, p. 157). In the case at hand, Clinton's campaign was able to spatialize the political communication practices of the ground game—practices that occurred in different times and spaces and through an infrastructure composed of human bodies.

Obviously, the material infrastructure that Clinton used to create political communication systems was not only composed of human bodies. Typically, infrastructures are “embedded” in other infrastructures, which means that in most of the cases, infrastructures need other infrastructures to operate (Star, 1999, p. 381). For example, “a kitchen pipe is usually background for those who cook dinner but foreground for plumbers and architects” (Jensen & Morita, 2017, pp. 618–619). In the same way, infrastructures that enable political communication systems, also use other infrastructures to complete their work. The central infrastructure of Clinton's ground game, which was made of human bodies, needed other infrastructures to function. Organizers and volunteers relied on streets and sidewalks (i.e., urban infrastructure) to walk around the city, public buses and trains to move from one point to another, the electric grid to use electronic devices, the infrastructure of landlines, antennas and satellites for doing phone calls, and so forth.

Among all the infrastructures embedded in the ground game infrastructure, the internet was crucially relevant. The Internet, as a material thing (i.e., servers, cables, fiber optics, etc.), supported Hillary Clinton’s website and social media platforms, which the campaign used to recruit volunteers. Through the internet circulated the information that organizers and volunteers collected in Northeast Philadelphia and sent to Center City and Brooklyn. In the Northeast Philadelphia office, organizers and volunteers were always communicating through face-to-face interactions, but they also used emails, text messages, social media platforms, and video conferences.

Highlighting the role of the internet in the ground game does not intend to render a reductionist analysis of infrastructures and technologies during an electoral campaign, and dismiss other "mundane technologies" (Nielsen, 2011) that enable political communication

systems. However, in this case, the internet influenced how the ground game infrastructure was built. As I depicted and analyzed in chapter 5, the captain and organizers of the Northeast Philadelphia office were young men and women, who owned laptops, smartphones, and tablets. Moreover, they knew how to navigate the internet and were able to use email and social media services and collaborative platforms such as Dropbox and Google Docs. Thus, it was clear that the campaign, at least in Northeast Philadelphia, needed the labor of bodies who had the economic and cultural means to own the material devices to connect to the internet, as well as the experience and knowledge of using it. On the contrary, those bodies who did not have the material devices and the knowledge to navigate the internet were not selected to work as organizers and were assigned to do phone banking and canvassing.

However, the campaign also sought to incorporate those bodies who knew the languages that people speak in the cosmopolitan area of Northeast Philadelphia. Those bodies that knew Spanish were crucial for an infrastructure that operated in a territory where some of the inhabitants did not speak English. Individuals such as Claudia, Margarita, Laura, and Karla (see scene 12), who lacked the knowledge and experience of using communication technologies were, at the same time, valuable pieces of an infrastructure that needed bodies that could communicate in various languages. Thus, we can observe an infrastructure that required different kinds of bodies for different types of communicative actions and practices.

Before moving to the conclusions, I would like to turn your attention to chapter 6, where I narrated and analyzed how Clinton's campaign promoted voter registration. In that chapter, I suggested that the voting system, a fundamental institution of contemporary democracies, could be examined form a communicative dimension. From this point of view, voting could be considered as a communicative system where individuals express their opinions on how to

distribute and allocate the political power. In the present chapter, I have argued that communication systems need physical infrastructures to operate. Voting is not an exception and, as a political communication system also requires a material infrastructure to function. This material infrastructure is composed of all the bodies that meet the legal requirements to express their opinions and that are registered to vote. When this infrastructure is used, the communication system (i.e., voting) is enacted. Hence, the primary objective of the voter registration campaign was to expand a material communicative infrastructure composed of those bodies that could vote.

At this point, it is worth to mention a contradiction that emerges after this infrastructural analysis. In order to deploy the ground game, the campaign used a material infrastructure composed of Clinton's staffers and volunteers. As many scenes depict, this infrastructure was informed by persons that owned bodies that were not allowed to be part of the political communication infrastructure of voting. These bodies were not able to vote because they did not meet the age to vote, because they were not registered, because they were born in other parts of the world, or because their bodies were cataloged as irregular immigrants and lacked some political rights—which was the case of many Latinos. It is ironic that a democratic communication infrastructure was built upon the work of many of those persons who are not permitted to participate in the elections.

Conclusion: Material Infrastructures that Support Political Communication Systems

Clinton’s ground game strategy developed a national and ephemeral infrastructure that supported the operation of 534 field offices where paid staffers and volunteers informed, persuaded, and mobilized residents across the country. In particular, the Democratic campaign

built a material infrastructure that facilitated a communication flow between the presidential and the Latino population in Northeast Philadelphia.

The material infrastructure for the ground game, as a thing, was composed of human bodies that were able to walk around the city and communicate with other bodies using various languages such as English and Spanish. Moreover, these bodies had material devices for plugin into other communicative infrastructures such as the internet and the telephone grid.

This local infrastructure allowed to develop a political communication system that connected Hillary Clinton and her values and proposals, to the residents of Northeast Philadelphia. Through this infrastructure, the campaign moved goods and ideas and coordinated the actions and practices of individuals that were working, at the same time, in different spaces: Northeast Philadelphia, Center City, and Brooklyn.

In a macro scale, this material infrastructure was employed to expand a permanent infrastructure of voters, an infrastructure that permits the operation of the voting system. Through this infrastructure, and as I explained in previous chapters, Clinton was able to circulate the rules of operation of the political system and the specific values that she supported. To sum up: this material infrastructure became a crucial element for the maintenance of the United States political system and the reproduction of its society.

Finally, from a theoretical perspective, this chapter offers elements for advancing the Political Communication Systems Model. The empirical observations in Northeast Philadelphia led me to suggest that political communication systems need material infrastructures to operate. I contend that the concept of infrastructure could be useful to make clear distinctions between the material elements of a political communication system (i.e., infrastructure) and the actions and practices that occur through this infrastructure, actions, and practices that *are* the political

communication systems. The distinction is relevant because it allows studying two different concepts that are imbricated when political communication takes place.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

After months of preparation and daily work, the election day arrived. On November 8 of 2016, I woke up at 6 am, took a shower, brewed some coffee and called an Uber. Three days before, Roberto and Carlos asked me if I could be in charge of opening the office. As a canvassing coordinator, Roberto was responsible of that task. However, he had to vote in a polling station that was in a county outside Philadelphia. Roberto wanted to vote first thing in the morning and then dedicate the rest of the day to work for the GOTV. The previous night to the election day, in the middle of a chaotic but energized environment, Carlos gave me the keys and said, "I'll be here at eight."

The Uber driver tuned NPR's special edition of the election, and soon we began talking about the campaigns. He was not sure if he was going to vote. “I really don't think it makes a difference,” he said. Moreover, it was going to be a busy day, because Uber was expecting that many people would need rides to the polling stations. The driver explained that there was a non-profit organization offering free rides to people that needed transportation to cast a ballot (Henninger, 2016), and this association was paying Uber and Lyft for the rides. A few hours later, in the office, we received a code from headquarters, which people could use to pay for Uber trips to the polling stations. It was clear that during the election day, one of the priorities was moving bodies to places where they could cast a ballot and communicate their opinion of who should be the next president of the United States.

In chapter 1, the Introduction of this dissertation, I asked you, as a reader, to imagine an aerial snapshot of the national political communication systems during a presidential election:

> Imagine that you have the possibility of taking a plane to look at the United States from above. Then imagine that you can see, on a three-dimensional map, all the

> communicative practices that occur within this nation. Imagine that you can see all the highways, roads, and streets where trucks, buses, and automobiles move people and goods from one point to another; television and radio networks that convey audiovisual messages; newspapers, magazines, and letters which carry printed messages for many individuals; internet servers and social media platforms that enable the circulation of information through computers interconnected by a massive digital network; and millions of conversations that allow interpersonal communications among the people that live in this country.

If we repeat that analytical exercise, we can understand that the drive from my home to the office, became part of that massive communication system, as well as all of the communicative practices that the Democratic campaign and its members performed in Northeast Philadelphia during the presidential campaigns. I moved to Northeast Philadelphia to aggregate my body to the national infrastructure of volunteers that Clinton created; the driver and I received political information while listening to the radio; and we held an interpersonal conversation where we exchanged information and opinions about the political process. As I wrote in the introduction, this is, in a nutshell, a snapshot that depicts the spirit of this dissertation: the effort to understand political communication as a set of historically situated human practices which, in coordinated systems, allow the distribution of political power and, ultimately, the reproduction of human societies.

Incorporating "Body-As-Infrastructure" to the Political Communication Systems Model

One of the key findings of the dissertation is the understanding of human bodies as essential material pieces for political communication infrastructures. As explained in the Introduction, I started to think about bodies and its materiality after an encounter with Carmen Rodriguez, an elderly Puerto Rican woman who lived in Northeast Philadelphia (see scene 1, Introduction). In that interview, Carmen expressed her desire to engage in the ground game. Nevertheless, she was not able to participate due to physical constraints: she recently had knee

surgery, and arthritis atrophied her hands and fingers. In short, she was not able to aggregate her body to the ground game's physical infrastructure because of physical reasons.

The encounter with Carmen Rodriguez was serendipitous in the sense that it opened the door to investigating communication from an infrastructural dimension. However, it is essential to explain that the encounter occurred within the boundaries of a particular research design, grounded on a constructivist epistemology and using qualitative and interpretative methods. The meeting with Carmen *marked* my observations during the campaign and *shaped* the way in which I wrote a dissertation. These findings were the outcome of a qualitative and interpretative study, guided by grounded theory and participant observation. In particular, grounded theory is a method that allowed me to theorize after doing empirical observations which, in this case, meant theorizing about human bodies after the interview with Carmen Rodriguez and subsequent observations during the campaign.

If this research had been grounded in other paradigms and using different methods, the encounter with Carmen Rodriguez might not be significant. For example, the positivist and neo-positivist paradigms are based on finding the "normal curve" of a social phenomenon. In a normal curve graph, Carmen Rodriguez's case would have been invisible or treated as an outlier in the best case. However, the qualitative paradigm, and especially the Situational Analysis, encouraged me to find, indeed, patterns on the empirical data, but also to look into the ruptures, abnormalities, and "negative cases" (Clarke, 2005, pp. 23–25). In the case at hand, a rupture in the system allowed me to think about political communication systems from another perspective and to begin a theorization about the role of the human bodies in political communication processes. Again, it is not my intention to disqualify quantitative research or positivist paradigms. Rather, the idea is to adopt a theoretical and methodological pluralism. In

Chadwick´s (2013) hybrid spirit, this means to avoid the "modes of either/or thinking," and, on the contrary, to expand political communication toward "not only, but also" thinking.

After this brief methodological reflection, I would like to move to expand the Political Communication Systems Model, offering a theoretical conceptualization of the role that human bodies play in the structuration of political communication systems. In this model, a political communication system is composed of at least two individuals who exchange symbolic forms for contributing to the structuration of the production, reproduction, and control of political power. In order to operate, the system needs a material infrastructure which in the simplest case is composed of two human bodies. Within this context, human bodies constitute the primary material infrastructure of any political communication process.

A precondition for political communication is the possibility that a body could meet or be in touch with another body, which means that bodies have to share time and space. In other words, bodies need to be near each other. For this reason, locomotion is an essential precondition for political communication. Bodies have legs and arms to move around a territory to meet with other bodies. Once they are near each other, bodies have biological organs that allow communication with other bodies, such as mouths, tongues, and ears to interact through language as well as arms, hands, and faces to communicate through body language.

In small communities, people can quickly move their bodies around territories to have face-to-face interactions. However, in larger communities, communication presents challenges. As the number of persons that integrate a community increase, it becomes more difficult for one individual to get in touch with all the members of the community. In other words, it turns to be harder for one person to move her body through bigger and remote territories and meet with larger numbers of bodies. Therefore, humans have relied on material technologies and

infrastructures that allow their bodies to surmount time and space constraints and, consequently, to create larger political communication systems. These material technologies and infrastructures work as an amplifier of the image, voice, ideas, and values of the person who owns that body. These "things" increase bodies' communicative capabilities and, as a consequence, their communicative power. Put differently, and recalling McLuhan (2003), these communicative technologies and infrastructures are extensions of human bodies that allow surmounting time and space constraints (Thompson, 1995, p. 31).

Thus, in the context of contemporary political campaigns, there are three types of material technologies and infrastructures that humans use to expand and increase their political communication power. First, individuals use "locomotion technologies," which are material devices that allow bodies to move through space. Illustrations of this type are animals, cars, trains, and boats: material devices that individuals can use to move their bodies from one point to another. Second, individuals can use other bodies to represent and convey their ideas. An example of "bodies-representing-bodies" occurs when someone asks another to meet with a third person and deliver a message. Third, individuals can employ material technologies and infrastructures that have the capacity of reproducing their voice, image, ideas, and values. Many examples illustrate this type of material device: books, microphones, radio and TV systems, the internet, etc. In the following sections, I explain how these types of material elements were used during a presidential campaign.

Moving and Mediatizing a Powerful Body Throughout a Country

In one of the epigraphs at the beginning of this dissertation, Benjamin Wallace-Wells (2017), suggests that, "the central illusion of a Presidential campaign is that a candidate can, through constant motion and boundless energy, meet countless people and, in the end, give voice

to the experience of the country." If this idea is framed using the previous reflections on the role of bodies in political communication systems, it can be said that presidential elections are processes where candidates and their bodies have to be moving around the United States and developing strategies to amplify their messages using various material technologies and infrastructures.

Hillary Clinton, as a presidential candidate, had the economic resources to lease an airplane for transporting her body, her staff and journalists. She also employed other locomotion technologies such as buses and cars, which allowed her to be moving during the presidential campaign. In her post-election book, she depicts that an essential element of the campaign was the perpetual motion: "Every day on the trail was packed with events: rallies, roundtables, interviews, fund-raisers, OTRs ("off-the-records," or unannounced visits to shops, parks, libraries, schools, hospitals—really anywhere). When we landed in a city, we'd jump from event to event" (Clinton, 2017, p. 94).

Clinton had the possibility of meeting with thousands of persons by moving her body through the vast territory of the United States. However, and as Wallace-Wells (2017) suggests, this frenetic locomotion only generates an "illusion" because even with massive economic resources, Hillary Clinton, as a one-body-person was able to hold interpersonal and group interactions with only a small portion of the population. Even if she would self-impose the task of meeting all the voters in person, the job would be impossible to carry out in only four months.

To surmount the impossibility of interacting with millions of people, Clinton used various technologies and infrastructures for reproducing her image, voice, ideas, and values. Thus, as I described in chapter 4, the Democratic candidate hired a team that was in charge of coordinating a campaign to amplify Clinton's communicative power. This group designed an air war for

circulating paid advertisements through newspapers radio, television, and cable, as well as strategies to get free media coverage in the journalistic agenda. Moreover, the team used digital technologies and infrastructures to spread messages about Clinton's political proposals and values.

The material infrastructures and technologies that allowed Clinton's body to gain political communication power were not used separately. In many cases, the candidate employed various external material infrastructures at the same time, as Chadwick's (2017) hybrid communication theory explains. For example, in February of 2016, Clinton traveled to Las Vegas where she had a roundtable with her supporters. In that event, she met Karla Ortiz, daughter of two irregular immigrants. Clinton's team recorded the interactions and captured the moment when the candidate sat Karla in her lap. Then Clinton and told Karla that she was going to find a way to help her parents. The footage of this encounter was the base for creating an ad named "Brave" (Clinton, 2016a), which was broadcast on TV, cable, and social media. This example shows that the candidate employed (presumably) an airplane and a car to move her body from her home to Las Vegas. Then she used a device to record her body having face-to-face interactions with other bodies. And, finally, she employed the TV, cable and Internet material infrastructures to disseminate the recording.

The former example helps to create an imaginary picture that includes all the material infrastructures that helped Clinton's body to gain political communication power. This "hybrid thing" (i.e., infrastructure), made of various things (i.e., human bodies, airplane, car, a device for recording, and TV, cable, and internet infrastructures), was the material infrastructure that supported a political communication system informed by the actions and practices of different political actors and laypersons. This finding speaks to the first research question that sought to

understand how Clinton embedded her campaign in a hybrid national political communication system that included interpersonal, group, mass, and digital communicative practice with the capacity of reproducing their voice, image, ideas, and values. This system, which operated using a material infrastructure previously described, allowed her to connect with millions of people and thus to surpass time and space constraints.

Laypersons' Bodies Representing a Powerful Body

The Democratic candidate also used other bodies as infrastructures for expanding the political power of her body (i.e., bodies-representing-bodies). Political elites and celebrities employed their bodies to speak on behalf of Hillary Clinton as official surrogates of the campaign. In Philadelphia, Barack Obama, Michelle Obama, Elizabeth Warren, and Bernie Sanders held rallies to support Clinton's candidacy. Moreover, singers such as Katy Perry, Stevie Wonder, Jon Bon Jovi, and Bruce Springsteen, had concerts in the city as part of the campaign. All of these political elites and celebrities moved their bodies to Philadelphia and used them to communicate with thousands of people. In those communicative acts, they talked about Hillary Clinton and her political arguments and values. They used their bodies to reproduce key messages like "I am with her" and "We are stronger together," as well as to show their support for a political project.

The bodies-representing-bodies infrastructure was the basis for the ground game. As I have shown in chapters 5, 6 and 7, the Democratic campaign created a national infrastructure that supported this communication strategy. Clinton hired peopled and recruited volunteers to work in 537 field operation offices across the country. The empirical observation, allowed me to observe how people were "doing things together (Becker 1986)" (Clarke, 2005, p. 109) and, specifically how Northeast Philadelphia staffers and volunteers used their bodies to communicate

with members of the local community through face-to-face communication. These bodies plugged into other material infrastructures like the landline system, the cellular phone network, and the internet. This material infrastructure supported an ephemeral political communication system, which was informed by all the communicative actions and practices of organizers, volunteers, and Clinton's staff in general. Through this system circulated goods, ideas, and information between the Democratic candidate and a local community.

The ground game is a clear example of how a presidential candidate used a material infrastructure composed of bodies to disseminate political information and values. Those persons who participated in field operation offices also spoke in behalf of Hillary Clinton and transmitted information to Northeast Philadelphia residents. During the training sessions in the Northeast Philadelphia office, the campaign explicitly explained that volunteers were the "face" of the campaign (see scene 10). In this metaphor, the campaign, as an assemblage of actors, institutions, and technology, was a body, and volunteers who canvassed for Clinton were the face of this body. However, this was also true in the practical realm. Clinton and the Democratic party hired and recruited individuals to work as media (Nielsen, 2012, p. 13) for transmitting political information to the Northeast population.

Thus, in a time when political communication and the discourses that shape this practice have been transformed and "disrupted" by digital technologies, the ground game shows the primary role that human bodies have in the construction of the material infrastructures that support political communication systems. In the case at hand, the bodies of staffers and volunteers became part of a hybrid infrastructure for expanding and multiplying Clinton's political body image, voice, ideas, and values. These findings answer the first research question of the dissertation, which sought to understand how political communication was produced and

disseminated through the system composed of the presidential candidate, her staff, and Northeast Philadelphia residents.

Practical Functions of Political Communication

The ground game is a strategy that consists of reaching residents in public spaces and their homes through interpersonal communication. Staffers and volunteers knocked on the doors of Northeast Philadelphians' houses and contacted them in public squares and supermarkets to hold face-to-face conversations; they called them by phone and sent them messages through emails, voicemails, and social media platforms.

The second research question asks about, among other things, which were the functions that political communication had during the campaign in Northeast Philadelphia. Grounded theory, again, was helpful to study political communication functions, because it allowed me to observe the actions that staffers, volunteers, and residents performed during the electoral cycle. These communicative actions were goal-oriented, which means that every action had a purpose and served to achieve a specific goal.

By and large, the ground game had various practical functions. First, the communication system created political knowledge, which is an epistemic function. Through the labor of staffers and volunteers, the system produced information about the persons who inhabited the country, as well as their political opinions. In Northeast Philadelphia, through phone banking and canvassing, volunteers collected information about who was registered to vote and not, as well as who as willing to vote for Clinton. Then, this data was processed at the national headquarters and transformed into information that depicted local communities.

Second, the campaign disseminated political information to the Northeast Philadelphia inhabitants. For example, the ground game, as well as the air war and the digital strategy, spread

information about who was the Democratic candidate, which were her primary proposals and political values, as well as information related to campaign events such as rallies, debate parties, voter registration drives and more. Moreover, the campaign informed about the rules of operation of the political system, such as the requisites for registering to vote, the diverse forms of voting, when was the election day, and where were the polling stations located.

Third, the campaign created strategies for persuading and helping people to perform actions. Throughout the electoral cycle, Clinton convinced people to register to vote and provided the means for doing this action (i.e., a website for registering and events where volunteers could help in the process). She asked people to join her campaign and work as volunteers. And she persuaded people to get out of their houses and jobs, or wherever they were, move to the polling station and vote.

The arguments encompassed in this section provide answers to the second research question, which was focused on studying the functions of political communication during the electoral campaign.

The Symbolic Dimension of Political Communication

The Political Communication Systems Model suggests that political communication has practical and symbolic functions. In the previous section are described the practical functions of Clinton's ground game. The practical dimension of political communication can be found in the actions that inform a political communication system, which has overt and specific goals such as creating knowledge, disseminating information, persuading, and organizing. The other side of the coin is informed by the symbolic dimension of political communication. In this case, the central question to answer is, what do the political communication practices mean?

As explained by the Political Communication Systems Model, an essential element to study the symbolic nature of a political communication system is to understand its historical context. Making a phone call, such as the ones that structure phone banking as a practice, can be described as a goal-oriented action. It can be said that each phone call has general functions, such as sending and receiving information. However, each phone call, as a practice, has different meanings according to the context where the practice is performed. A phone call of someone who is trying to contact her boyfriend in the 1960s is completely different from a phone call of someone who is trying to convince a Latino to vote during the 2016 presidential elections. This historical contextualization offers the elements to understand the symbolic nature of communication, elements that only can be grasped by an interpretative account of the social world.

Chapter 4 contains a contextualization of Clinton's Latino outreach and explains that the presidential campaigns were marked by the development of an anti-Latino campaign. In the speech where the Republican candidate announced his intentions to run for the presidency, Donald Trump proposed building a wall on the southern border to stop the flow of immigrants from Latin America and deporting all the irregular immigrants who lived in the United States. This original speech, as I have shown in the dissertation, had two consequences for the campaign. On the one hand, Trump's speech shaped Clinton's campaign, who presented herself as a defender of the Latino community. On the other hand, Latinos in Northeast Philadelphia joined the Democratic campaign fearing and rejecting Trump's rhetoric against the community, and not because they were fans or strong supporters of Hillary Clinton. Latinos were moved by fear, and not by hope.

The presidential campaigns became an axiological struggle about existential and political questions such as who can be considered an American? What is the American Dream? And, who can have a voice in the debates that seek to answer these questions? At a national level, Clinton promoted different values such as globalism, cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, and diversity. She associated the debate about immigration to the economic development of the country and argued that immigrants were external elements who had the power of expanding the economy. Here are some of the most important values that circulated within the systems that Clinton built during the campaign—these findings are related to the second research question, which sought to study the values that were developed throughout the Latino outreach.

In this context, human bodies became, again, relevant elements of the political communication system. From a practical dimension, bodies were the basic material infrastructure that supported political communication. From a symbolic perspective, these very same bodies were the material and sociocultural containers of those actors who, through their actions and practices, built the political communication system that gave life to Clinton's national campaign and, specifically, to the ground game in Northeast Philadelphia.

The bodies that participated in the campaign had physical characteristics and embedded trajectories that shaped, ontologically speaking, the political life of the actors that owned those bodies. In this electoral campaign, the place where the body was conceived and born was relevant, as well as its age, gender, and skin color. The environment where the body was raised, the education received, its technical abilities, political affiliations, and values also mattered. The most eloquent example to depict this ontological characteristic occurred when Karla, a Puerto Rican woman, explained to me that she was participating in the ground game because of the fear that she had of Trump becoming president. She feared because her body did not have the

appearance of the body of a United States citizen: “If Trump gets elected, I will have to tattoo my passport on my arm!".

The Democratic campaign used the bodies of their staffers and volunteers to communicate its support to the Latino community and, at the same time, to design the acceptable profile of Latinos. In the national headquarters, those Latinos who were hired by Clinton were publicly framed as an example of how this community was integrated into the political system (Foresto, 2016; M. Ramírez, 2016; Univisión, 2016). These staffers, volunteers, and campaign participants were conceived as “good” immigrants: children and young people who like studying, working hard and innovating. Clinton did not hire a woman who worked cleaning hotels in Las Vegas. Instead, she hired Lorella Praeli to work as her National Latino Vote Director. Praeli, after a complicated life due to health issues and her legal status of irregular immigrant, was able to succeed in the United States. In 2015, one year before the election, she was granted citizenship by Barack Obama. Praeli’s story epitomized the American Dream for Latinos, a narration that appeared in several videos during the campaign.

This order of things also operated at a local level. As I showed in the ethnographical descriptions of the campaign in Northeast Philadelphia, the organizers and volunteers were part of a multicultural and diverse team composed of people from different states of the country and foreign nation. In particular, there were Latinos who were “good” immigrants in the eyes of the campaign. Take the cases of Carlos, the cosmopolitan Latino who traveled from the West Coast to help the campaign in Philadelphia; Jaime, who was a young irregular immigrant, in college and framed as a dreamer; or Alicia, a second-generation Mexican-American, who studied political science and was interested in finding solutions to the new immigration flows in the United States. Their bodies and their trajectories represented some of the most important political

values supported by Clinton, such as a cosmopolitan understanding of immigration, the aim for developing multicultural policies, and the acceptance of culturally diverse communities. In short, these bodies were used as “value projectors” because they displayed and communicated the axiological project of the Democratic candidate.

Power Relations within a Local Political Communication System

The third research question sought to study the power relations that informed the interactions between the Democratic candidate, her staff, and Northeast Philadelphia Latino residents. According to the Political Communication Systems Model, which draws and follows Chadwick (2017) and Fricker (2009), political communication systems are informed by the relational set of actions and practices of those actors who participate in the system. These communicative relations are always asymmetrical because individuals have different capacities for influencing the development of the system.

The Democratic campaign was a “candidate campaign” (Howard, 2005, p. 145,) where the candidate had an enormous influence on the organization and execution of the campaign. This means that Hillary Clinton was the most powerful actor in the political communication system. This reality was clear for those who worked and volunteered for the candidate in Northeast Philadelphia. As Carlos eloquently expressed, organizers and volunteers were not in charge of "producing the show" (see scene 13, chapter 7). In the ground game process, staffers and volunteers had limited power to control the communication system, and they followed the instructions and scripts produced by the national campaign. Organizers and volunteers were not able to change the objectives of the ground game, nor its messages, nor its system for data collection.

Stromer-Galley has explained that "political campaigns in the United States, and in contemporary democracies in general, are communication strategies that have the primary objective of winning an election" (2014, p. 12). We are before what I call, "the-winning-the-elections-telos," a concept that refers to the idea that the primary value of an electoral campaign is to win an election and, consequently, any other goals or values are less important than achieving an electoral victory. Thus, the ground game, at least in Northeast Philadelphia was designed as an instrument for winning the election. In this design, local politics were not relevant. The ground game, as a physical infrastructure and political communication system, was ephemeral and was not planned to endure after the presidential election. Most of the staff hired to work in the city did not live in Philadelphia, and when the campaign was over, all of them returned to their hometowns. The ground game was a disposable infrastructure. After the campaign, the communicative machine was dismantled.

The campaign operated in an "extractive mode," as miners do with minerals. In July of 2016, they hired organizers to work in Northeast Philadelphia, who were in charge of recruiting and training volunteers. Throughout three months, organizers and volunteers contacted residents and extracted information from them. This information was sent to the presidential candidate and Democratic party database. In the end, the campaign closed the office and did not offer anything in return to the local community. This situation is illustrated in scene 11 when a local Latino leader asked me what was going to happen after the election. He wanted to know how the campaign would help the local politics and there was no answer because the main objective was winning the presidential election.

At the same time, the ground game became a political communication system where laypersons could have active participation in the elections. The campaign offered a space for

political participation in which people had the possibility of working to shape an electoral outcome. The ground game "actively encouraged participation and generated higher turnout, and that is a good thing for a democracy plagued by widespread indifference and a sense of disconnect between people and politics" (Nielsen, 2012, p. 8). Those who worked and volunteered for Clinton contributed to a political campaign and, in the broader system, to the reproduction and perpetuation of a political community.

In the same fashion, the campaign opened its doors for anyone who wanted to participate in the election. In Northeast Philadelphia, many organizers and volunteers were not American citizens, and in some cases, they were irregular immigrants. This meant that many of them were not allowed to vote but had the chance to participate in the campaign. Of course, this was a painful irony because, on the one hand, they found a space for political participation and in the other, they worked to build a communication system from which they were excluded.

Macro Functions of Political Communication: Perpetuation of a Political Community

According to Martín-Serrano (1994), political communication, which he calls "public communication," provides information that refers to the interests and desires shared by a whole community. This information—and I would argue, the whole communicative process that produces this kind of information—"enables social reproduction" (Martín Serrano, 1994, p. 1). Martín-Serrano makes an important argument when he explains that in the end, communication is the scaffold that allows the political organization of a community. Individuals act collectively, Martín-Serrano (1994) explains, only when they share common representations of the political world and common goals to act as social groups. This is a macro function of political communication because, in this context, communication enables sharing common representations and goals and, at the same time, the perpetuation of human communities and

organizations. This "perpetuation" occurs in multiple ways and varies according to the size of the community and its historical and cultural contexts. However, what it is important to stress here, is that communication is the scaffold that allows this perpetuation and this is why is relevant to study how different cultures and under different circumstances, use communication to achieve social reproduction.

In the previous sections, I analyzed the practical and symbolic functions of political communication of Hillary Clinton's campaign. There is no doubt that the communicative actions and practices that enabled the political communication system built by the Democratic presidential candidate were guided by the winning-the-election-telos. However, one of the key findings of the dissertation is that political campaigns, and political communication in general, have other functions than only winning the election. These functions could be unintended. Nevertheless, they exist. In the case at hand, political communication accomplished more objectives than trying to defeat the Republican candidate.

Through the electoral cycle, Clinton and her staff used political communication to inform the Northeast Philadelphia population about the rules of operation the political system. They created messages that explained the reasons of why people should register to vote, the requirements for getting registered and a mechanism for getting registered. They informed about when was the election day, the location of the polling stations, and assisted in moving bodies to cast a ballot. Using information, symbols and, notoriously for this research, bodies, they reproduced the political values that structure the American Dream from the perspective of the Democratic Party. By creating narratives of the "good" immigrant, they taught Latinos how they should behave in this society. In other words, through the campaign, people learned the elements that structure the political organization of a country and its political values.

As can be observed, political parties, candidates, and campaigns accomplish more functions than only "winning the election." The communicative labor of the campaign allowed the distribution of power (i.e., figuring out who was going to be the next president) as well as the production and reproduction of the collective goals and values of the United States—even in a polarized environment such as de 2016 elections. In the long run, I would argue, those "other functions" are much more important than the single result of a presidential election. For example, the campaign registered millions of voters, and by registering them, the campaign contributed to the perpetuation of voting as one of the quintessential institutions of contemporary democracies.

In this sense, this research offers a description and interpretation of how political communication was used for the reproduction of the United States society. The observations in Northeast Philadelphia provide insights to understand the internal mechanisms of a democratic political system that uses communication as a scaffold to operate. Although it is not possible to generalize that all the political communication system worked as it happened in Northeast Philadelphia, the research offers clues to understand and decipher larger trends of how political communication occurred during a presidential election and, mainly, how political communication organized the distribution of power in a human community that lived in the twentieth-first century.

Epilogue

Around 9 pm, Peter looked at the screen of his smartphone for the last time. "This is terrible, man," he lamented. We were outside the main entrance of the Northeast Philadelphia office. The street was quiet and dark and suddenly the "el" passed making its loud but brief noise. "This is terrible," he said again.

Six hours before, Peter started to obsessively check the status of the election through the *New York Times* website and the FiveThirtyEight blog. “This is not going well, Juan,” he said to me that first time. “Don’t worry Peter, Clinton was way ahead in all the polls, let’s keep working,” I told him. At that moment, we were organizing the last packages for a group of canvassers that arrived from New Jersey.

During the GOTV effort, which occurred on November 5, 6, 7 and 8, we had to reach all Hillary supporters of Northeast Philadelphia and knock on their doors at least three times. Organizers and volunteers had to persuade people to make a plan to vote and convince them to get out the vote. This final effort included helping people to find the exact location of their polling stations and, in some cases, transporting them to cast their ballot. Many other volunteers offered their cars and vans to move people around the city.

The communication system did not only entail delivering messages to the Northeast Philadelphia residents. Also, the system was built to collect information for describing the ground game in real time. Every phone call and door knock had to be registered and then reported. In Brooklyn, Clinton's national headquarters, data scientists, and engineers had information that depicted what was happening on the ground in all of those territories of the country were a local office and team was in operation.

On November 7, one day before the election day, Roy, a data scientist that worked in Brooklyn HQ during most part of the election, and who was deployed to Philadelphia for canvassing, told me that the Northeast Philadelphia team had been able to knock on 250,000 doors in the 72 hours previous to the election day. He was euphoric: that number represented two times the universe of households that organizers and volunteers had to contact. I was amazed too:

Kimberly and her staff were capable of building a sophisticated communication system in only three months.

Near 6 pm on November 8, the Northeast Philadelphia team completed the goal of reaching at least three times to all Clinton's supporters in the area. After that, phone bankers spent two more hours making phone calls, and some of the organizers and volunteers kept uploading information into the system. At that point, the information about the final results started to arrive. Very soon we learned that Clinton won most of the precincts in Philadelphia, including all of those that were in the zip codes assigned to the office. However, results from the rest of the state and other parts of the country were not aligned with the expectations of a comfortable win.

Peter put his smartphone in one of his jeans pockets and then said goodbye. “This is it, man, it was very nice meeting you,” he said. He was returning to New York with other outstate volunteers. Inside of the office, the organizers were glued to their computers and telephones, trying to find more information about the results. The group was divided, some of them were planning to go to Center City to the victory party at a luxurious hotel. Others were skeptical because of the results. I just wanted to go home and have some rest.

Before arriving home, I swung by a local bar to drink a beer. The TV was on and broadcasting CNN. The bar was crowded, and some of the people were talking about the election, others seemed to be in a typical day. In my phone, I was receiving WhatsApp and text messages from friends and colleagues commenting on the election. Around eleven it was clear that Clinton had lost. I paid the check and walked home. Before getting into bed, I turned off the smartphone. For the first time in almost six months, I was unplugged from the political communication system. Suddenly, I disappeared from the aerial and imaginary snapshot.

GLOSSARY

Communication is a human practice in which two or more individuals exchange symbolic forms and as a result, produce shared meanings. This practice is informed by three basic phases: the production and reproduction of the symbolic forms, the dissemination of the symbolic forms; and the reception and decoding of the symbolic forms. Human communication has three different levels: interpersonal, mass, and digital-networked communication.

Democratic candidate refers to Hillary Clinton, who is the presidential candidate for the Democratic Party.

Function is the way in which something is used. The ways in which this something is used is not natural, but human created; it is not permanent, but contingent. In this case, I understand political communication functions as the ways in which human communities use communication for developing political processes, that is, the distribution of political power.

Norms "are ideas or rules about how people should behave in particular situations or toward certain other people—what is considered 'normal` and appropriate behavior" (Guest, 2016, pp. 68–69). Some norms are implicit (i.e., assumed), and others are explicit (i.e., written rules, laws, ethic codes, and so forth).

Political Communication is defined as a human practice in which two or more individuals exchange symbolic forms in order to structure the production, reproduction, and control of political power. As a result, the outcome of political communication is the creation of political knowledge, the diffusion of political knowledge, and/or the organization of collective decisions and actions of a political community. In the creation of these practices, individuals have different and asymmetrical communicative powers. These practices can take place in a

variety of spaces (i.e., local, national, global) and levels (i.e., interpersonal, mass, and networked communication)

Political communication systems are an organized set of political communication social relations in order to achieve a specific goal regarding the distribution of political power. This goal could be as simple as deciding who can speak during a debate, or as complex as organizing a contemporary electoral process.

Power is defined as the capacity of an individual to influence the order of things in the social world (Fricker, 2009, p. 9) and in this case, the political communication system.

Presidential Electoral Campaign is defined as the process where political parties use communication to inform the public about a political candidate, to persuade the public to support and vote for a political candidate, and organize the public in order to participate in the electoral campaign.

Residents are defined as the people who live in a certain community, such as the city of Philadelphia. This category is important because I am intentionally avoiding the concept of citizen. I suggest that all the people that live in a political territory such as the United States and Philadelphia are part of a political communication system. Traditionally, political communication scholars have focused their investigations only on those individuals that have the right to vote. However, as I will try to demonstrate, those who cannot vote (i.e., children, prisoners, individuals that are not registered to vote, and undocumented residents) are part of the political communication system during an election.

Role is a "part performed especially in a particular operation or process" ("Role," n.d.). I will investigate the roles of individuals in the political communication system.

Values are “fundamental beliefs about what is important, what makes a good life, and what is true, right, and beautiful. Values reflect shared ultimate standards that should guide people’s behavior, as well as goals that people feel are important for themselves, their families, and their community” (Guest, 2016, p. 70).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. PROTOCOL FOR OBSERVING INTERPERSONAL POLITICAL COMMUNICATION[6]

(Date and place)

Describe the communicative situation (e.g., canvasing, phone banking, etc.)

Describe the actions and the sequence of activities through which the event unfolds

Describe those actions that people don't do, the persons who are not in the situation, and the objects that do not appear on scene

Describe the ends and goals of the communicative situation

Describe the norms during the communicative situation

Describe the individual and/or group of individuals that participate in the situation; emphasis on their "Latinidad" (or not).

[6] The protocols for participant observation draw from two sources. Frist, from Laura Gibson's (2013) field notes template. Second, from Dell Hymes' methodology for doing ethnography of communication, which is summarized in the acronym SPEAKING: "Setting (the physical situation and the cultural definition of the event); Participants (those physically present, as well as absent audiences and people on whose behalf someone else may be speaking); Ends (goals and outcomes); Acts (the sequence of activities through which the event unfolds); Keys (tone, mood, or spirit of particular acts); Instrumentalities (the medium of communication, including language variety, style, register, and channel (e.g. voice, print, face-to-face, television, or Internet); Norms; and Genres" (Spitulnik Vidali & Peterson, 2012, p. 268).

Describe the reactions to the political messages.

Describe the space (e.g., HC's office, street, bar, etc.)

Describe the communication infrastructure (e.g., telephone, smartphone, bodies) and the communicative devices for producing political messages

Reflections

Here is the place to perform analysis, to think about the causes of what happened during the day, and of a self-reflexive (auto-ethnography) of my work.

Emerging questions/analyses

Here I note questions I might ask, potential lines of inquiry, and theories that might be useful. Here is where I start to do some analytical work.

APPENDIX B. PROTOCOL FOR OBSERVING NEWS COVERAGE

(Date and place)

(Media outlets, i.e., Telemundo, Univision, Al Día, etc.)

Description of the journalistic pieces

Description of the topics, especially in Spanish and Hispanic/Latino-crafted messages.

Describe the participants (political elites and social media users)

Describe the ends (goals and outcomes)

Describe the acts (the sequence of activities through which the event unfolds)

Describe the tone of the journalistic pieces

Describe the norms and values

Describe the genres

Describe which topics are not present in the agenda and who are not protagonist in the news

Reflections

Here is the place to perform analysis, to think about the causes of what happened during the day, and of a self-reflexive (auto-ethnography) of my work.

Emerging questions/analyses

Here I note questions I might ask, potential lines of inquiry, and theories that might be useful. This is where I start to do some analytical work.

APPENDIX C. PROTOCOL FOR OBSERVING MEDIA DECODING & RECEPTION

(Date and place)

Description of the communicative situation (e.g., media event, rally, etc.)

Describe the ends and goals of the communicative situation

Description of the individual and/or group of individuals

Description of the space (e.g., living room, bar, cafe, public square.)

Description of communication infrastructure (e.g., television, Internet, smartphone, tablets)

Description of the actions that the individual and/or the family performed during the communicative situation

- Create a verbal snapshot of what happened.
- Describe the tone, mood, and spirit of the actions.
- Describe the norms of the individual and/or the family during the media event.
- Describe the values of the individual and/or the family during the media event.
- Describe the opinions of the individual and/or the family toward the media event.
- Describe their "Latinidad" (or not), while living the media event.
- Describe the reactions to the political messages.
- Describe the use of communicative devices for producing political messages.

Reflections

Here is the place to perform analysis, to think about the causes of what happened during the day, and of a self-reflexive (auto-ethnography) of my work.

Emerging questions/analyses

Here I note questions I might ask, potential lines of inquiry, and theories that might be useful. Here is where I start to do some analytical work.

APPENDIX D. PROTOCOL FOR OBSERVING ONLINE COMMUN ICATION

(Date)

(Platforms, i.e., web page, Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat)

Description of the communicative situation (e.g., press conference, speech, online activity)

Description of the individual and/or group of individuals

Description of statistics (e.g., number of followers, posts, retweets)

Describe those actions that people don't do, the persons who are not in the situation, and the objects that do not appear on scene

General Description of the Online Communicative Situations & Texts

- Description of what happened, especially in Spanish and Hispanic/Latino-crafted messages.
- Stick to the facts to create a verbal snapshot of what happened
- Describe the participants (political elites and social media users)
- Describe the content created and shared by social media political elites
- Describe the content created and shared by social media users
- Describe interactions and dialogues between political elites and citizens, between citizens and political elites
- Describe the ends (goals and outcomes)
- Describe the acts (the sequence of activities through which the event unfolds)
- Describe the keys (tone, mood, or spirit of particular acts)
- Describe the instrumentalities (the medium of communication, including language variety, style, register, and channel (e.g. voice, print, face-to-face, television, or Internet)
- Describe the norms
- Describe the genres.

Reflections

Here is the place to perform analysis, to think about the causes of what happened during the day, and of a self-reflexive (auto-ethnography) of my work.

Emerging questions/analyses

Here I note questions I might ask, potential lines of inquiry, and theories that might be useful. Here is where I start to do some analytical work.

APPENDIX E. ORDERED SITUATIONAL MAP MATRIX (EXAMPLE)

This matrix is based on Clarke's Ordered Situational Map Matrix (Clarke, 2005, p. 90).

Individual Human Elements/Actors	**Nonhuman Elements Actants**
Presidential Candidates Entertainers Journalists/reporters National politicians Local politicians Organizers Fellows Volunteers Latino North Philadelphia Residents	Internet infrastructure Social Media (Facebook, Twitter) Computers Mobile devices (Laptop and Smartphones) Digital services (phone, email, text messages, videoconferences) Pens, pencils, pads "The system" (uploading information) Canvassing literature Phone banking literature Data collection instruments and forms
Collective Human Elements/Actors	**Implicated/Silent Actors/Actants**
Hispanic Media Volunteers from New York "The campaign" in Brooklyn "The campaign" in Philadelphia Social Media (Facebook, Twitter, Google)	Latino North Philadelphia residents Individuals who cannot vote (undocumented, prisoners, children) Individuals who cannot move to participate in the campaign People speaking in Spanish and other non-English languages Latino residents Latino citizens Latino undocumented
Discursive Constructions of Individual and/or Collective Human Actors	**Discursive Constructions of Nonhuman Actants**
Women are the CEO of families Latinos speak Spanish Latinos are Catholic Latinos don't vote	Data driven campaign as the vanguard Campaigns supported by science Face-to-face communication as the best strategy for turnout Political campaigns should be multicultural
Political/Economic Elements	**Sociocultural/ Symbolic Elements**
Democratic Party Data Industries Social media industries An anti-Latino campaign /environment An anti-multiculturalism environment	Catholic religion Latino/Hispanic as a race marker Latino as a cultural marker Mujeres por Hillary Latinos por Hillary
Temporal Elements	**Spatial Elements**
Build the wall Trump visits Mexican president Debates	Northeast Philadelphia: poor region "The campaign": space between Frankford, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn Philadelphia Headquarters Brooklyn Headquarters

APPENDIX F. MESSY SITUATIONAL MAP (EXAMPLE)

APENDIX G. MAPPING SOCIAL WORLDS/ARENAS (EXAMPLE)