A Portrait of a Transformational Leader: An Analysis of Text and Image on BarackObama.com

David E. Gliem & James A. Janack

Keywords: Visual Rhetoric, Internet, Barack Obama, Political Communication

Though television is still the dominant medium for campaign discourse, the World Wide Web is becoming more prominent. Indeed, the sophistication of the Internet grew exponentially since the early 1990s and political campaigns exploited many of its rapidly evolving capabilities. The use of the Internet for political purposes has changed dramatically since the Clinton campaign first launched a rudimentary, text-based website during the 1992 presidential election (Bimber and Davis 23). For example, "TechPresident," an online group blog, stated that for the week of June 28, 2008, Barack Obama's website drew 883,980 hits ("Compete"). And a July 12 article in the *National Post* reported that "Mr. Obama has smashed all records for presidential fund raising, bringing in $287 US-million during the campaign, partly because of his success in using the Internet to bring in contributions from small donors" (Parsons). Undoubtedly, today's political campaign websites are multifaceted, multifunctional, and richly multimediated and draw large numbers of visitors interested in seeing and learning more about a candidate, donating funds, volunteering, and even offering advice and opinions through blogs and chat rooms.

Today's campaign websites are professionally designed and managed and present both textual and visual information in a clear, organized, and coherent manner. Though information unfolds in a non-linear as opposed to a linear way, texts and images are prudently coordinated to advance a well-crafted persona of the candidate. Like most campaign websites, Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign website constructs a particular image of the candidate. This essay will show that BarackObama.com defines Obama as a transformational leader through both textual and visual strategies of association with John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr.

For this essay BarackObama.com was studied during the period from September 2007 to July 2008. During this period the campaign made minor modifications to the website's content,

design and functionality. The modifications made to the website expanded its capabilities and content but did not alter its underlying rhetorical strategy.

Description of BarackObama.com

A visitor to the main site is greeted by a banner at the top with an image of Obama on the left, an Obama quotation in the middle, and, to the right, a field to sign up for email updates. Below this header is the primary navigational menu with the links: Learn, Issues, Media, Action, People, States, Blog, and Store. The texts and photographs, the focus of this study, can be found in the primary navigational menu. Under the Learn menu are the submenus: Meet the Candidate, Meet the Obamas, In the News, Know the facts, and Results Center. The Issues menu provides links to particular position statements on issues such as: Civil Rights, Disabilities, Economy, Education, etc. Under the Media menu are the submenus: BarackTV, Photos, Downloads, and Mobile. The photographs are organized by album: On the Trail, Barack Obama, Michelle Obama, and The Obamas. Visitors can see the photographs using a slide show viewer to scroll through each album. The Action menu contains links to sign up to volunteer, donate, join an email list, and register to vote. The People menu has submenus that direct visitors to appeals devoted to different demographic groups (e.g. Asian Americans, African Americans, Veterans, etc.). The States menu has news and information for state campaign headquarters. The Blog link leads visitors to postings of news articles and viewer responses and comments. Finally, the Store link leads to an online retail section where visitors can purchase campaign merchandise.

Parallel Strategies in Text and Image

Texts and images on websites do not exist or function rhetorically in isolation. In their recent book on iconic photographs, Robert Hariman and John Louis Lucaites have noted that the World Wide Web, among other media, leaves little "doubt that social actors are more and more likely to be thinking, feeling, and acting on the basis of what they have seen rather than only heard or read. Of course, these modalities are not so neatly separated in practice, so there is good reason to move beyond the question of which mode is dominant and consider more complicated relationships" (5). Given the number and types of modes and relationships made possible on a website, this essay does not propose to provide a methodology for a comprehensive analysis of websites, rather it critiques one key relationship within the rhetorical space of the website, that between texts and photographs. This section will identify four rhetorical qualities in both photography and texts and discuss how they operate in a similar persuasive fashion. This interdisciplinary comparative methodology will then form the basis of an analysis of the use of texts and photographs on BarackObama.com.

Both texts and photographs operate rhetorically by means of their subject matter and content. Subject matter is what an image literally depicts. Content is what an image is *about*, the meaning that lies below the surface of subject. Content arises in a photograph through the complex interrelationships between its subject, composition, metaphor and symbolism, and association with other historical and contemporary texts (verbal and written) and images. As with all artifacts, the content of a photograph is dependent upon the visual and cultural literacy of the observer. This distinction between subject matter and content in imagery is similar to the difference between denotative meaning and connotative meaning in verbal and written texts.

Subject matter is like denotative meaning in that it offers a relatively straightforward sense. The denotative meaning is the armature of the text, the foundation upon which the connotative elements of the text are built. The connotative meaning of a text functions like content in imagery. It is shaped by the denotative meaning, but is further informed by the cultural, social, and historical associations that have accumulated in the viewer/listener.

Speakers can influence connotative meaning through the selection of what Kenneth Burke called terministic screens. As Burke explained, "even if any given terminology is a *reflection* of reality, by its very nature as a terminology it must be a *selection* of reality; and to this extent it must function also as a *deflection* of reality (45)." Terministic screens are at work any time one expresses oneself linguistically. In his speech on October 2, 2002, Obama's reference to the "invasion of Iraq," (as opposed to the "liberation of Iraq") offers a clear example of selecting a very particular reality of that conflict ("Remarks of Illinois State Sen."). Interestingly enough, in Burke's elaboration on terministic screens, he explained the concept in terms of photography. He wrote, "I have in mind some photographs I once saw. They were different photographs of the same objects, the difference being that they were made with different color filters. Here something so 'factual' as a photograph revealed notable distinctions in texture, and even in form, depending upon which color filter was used for the documentary description of the event being recorded" (45).

Burke's calling into question the "factuality" of the photograph is critical because, as John Szarkowski wrote, "more convincingly than any other kind of picture, a photograph evokes the tangible presence of reality. Its most fundamental use and its broadest acceptance has been as a substitute for the subject itself—a simpler, more permanent, more clearly visible version of the plain fact" (12). Because of the direct and implicit relationship between a photograph and its referent, what Roland Barthes called photography's "analogic" character, photography can act as a compelling substitute for real experience. However, it is important to remember that photographs are constructed representations of reality. One must be on guard against the perfidy of these kinds of images.

In addition to filters, as Burke described above, other compositional elements can be manipulated to develop content in an image. The most fundamental to photography is framing. Simply put, framing is bracketing a selected view from within a larger visual field. Framing implies that whatever is contained within the boundaries of the photograph is somehow special or deserving of attention. Framing also creates relationships between the objects or figures represented that had not existed before. For instance, among the photographs on BarackObama.com are a few that feature Obama and another person isolated from within a crowd. One such image shows Obama and a soldier (Figure 1).

Figure 1 (photograph #11 from the Photos webpage on BarackObama.com; archived September 7, 2007)

Here the visual field is severely delimited in order to focus the viewer's attention on the interaction between the two men. With the top, bottom, left and right spaces radically cropped out of view, the larger context of the scene is deemphasized. One only gets a sense of this larger space in the blurred images of two soldiers in the middle ground and the fragment of a soldier's left shoulder along the right edge. At the center of the photograph one sees Obama's extended left arm resting on the soldier's right shoulder. The implied lines of their gazes reinforce this physical unity. By compressing the space and concentrating on the two men, the physical and psychological relationships between Obama and the solider are magnified by means of the frame. Thus, a seemingly random event is isolated and given profound emphasis by framing the scene in this way.

One can also relate Burke's notion of the terministic screen to the use of point of view, which is the observer's orientation with regard to the subject of the photograph. Point of view works in concert with perspective, the illusion of depth or, by contrast, flatness of an image. The viewer can be placed above the subject, looking down, or below, looking up. One's point of view can be skewed or natural, up close or far from the subject. Point of view and perspective can create a sense of psychological and physical intimacy or distance, establish hierarchical relationships, and present the world as stable and normal or unstable and surreal, even abstracted. A stable or normal point of view, one that mirrors the way one usually relates to the world, can

convey a sense of the image as innocent and transparent, that "what you see is what you get." A skewed, artfully contrived or unnatural point of view might suggest the opposite to a viewer, that there is "more than what meets the eye." In the aforementioned photograph of Obama and the soldier, the point of view is a natural one. The viewer is placed near to and at eye-level with the subject and is, therefore, brought into an intimate relationship with the subject. All of these techniques work, as Burke wrote of terministic screens, to direct the attention and shape the range of a viewer's observations (50).

Textually, point of view and perspective are manifest in the grammatical construction of sentences. Authors and speakers construct sentences with first-person, second-person, or third-person subjects. In the case of the Obama website, first-person construction predominates in the transcripts of the speeches. For example, on the night of his victory in the Iowa caucuses Obama declared "I'll be a President who finally makes health care affordable…. I'll be a President who ends the tax breaks for companies that ship our jobs overseas…. And I'll be a President who ends this war in Iraq" ("Remarks of Sen. Barack Obama: Iowa Caucus Night"). In contrast to the predominance of first-person construction in his speeches, other texts on the website, such as the biographies, the position statements on issues, and the constituency appeals (under the "People" menu) offer third-person construction of sentences: "Obama will ban racial profiling by federal law enforcement agencies…. Obama will provide job training…. Obama has worked to promote civil rights and fairness in the criminal justice system throughout his career" ("Civil Rights"). Whereas first-person construction tends to direct the attention of the audience to the power of the rhetor, third-person construction rhetorically creates distance between the author and the subject, potentially promoting a greater sense of objectivity.

Where point of view and perspective in images and person in texts promote a sense of physical and/or psychological proximity or distance between the viewer/reader and the subject, the perception of time in imagery and the exploitation of kairos in texts bring about an awareness of the significance of a particular historical moment. On the element of time in photography, Szarkowski wrote that "[u]niquely in the history of pictures, a photograph describes only that period of time in which it was made." (n.p.). By immobilizing thin slices of time, a photograph freezes the visible world into patterns of lines and shapes. These forms, which are fixed in time and space within the defined limits of the frame, work in concert with the subject matter to create and magnify relationships and engender meaning and content previously concealed within the flux of movement. The ability of photographs to exalt what photographer Cartier-Bresson called "the decisive moment" calls to mind the significance of timing in the rhetorical process. This is commonly referred to as kairos. The kairotic moment is the most significant in the rhetorical act, it is the moment at which discourse can make the most difference or have the most influence. Certainly, the identification of the kairotic moment is the fulcrum upon which the rhetorical act rests.

Lastly, both texts and images operate intertextually. In her book, *Rhetoric Online*, Barbara Warnick noted that "[i]ntertextuality occurs when one text is in some way connected in a work to other texts in the social and textual matrix" (95). Not only do texts and images within a website interrelate to complement each other, but they can also connect to texts and images outside the rhetorical space of the website.

BarackObama.com: An Analysis

One important function of a campaign website is to define the candidate. As Bruce Bimber and Richard Davis explained in their analysis of online campaigning, "understanding these candidate presentations of self becomes particularly critical since American elections have become so highly candidate-centric…. This means that how candidates present themselves as individuals to their audiences is a vitally important part of campaigning, in the worlds of both new and old media" (73). The photographs and the texts on the Obama campaign site do the work of self-definition. One conclusion that can be drawn from an analysis of the speeches and the photographs is that the visuals, married with texts, complement each other to create an image of Obama as a transformational leader by associating him with other transformational leaders of the past, such as Martin Luther King, Jr. and John F. Kennedy. It is no surprise that a presidential candidate would attempt to construct such an image. Nevertheless, what this section of the essay hopes to do is offer an illustration of a methodology for analyzing how visual imagery and textual discourse work together within a defined rhetorical space to construct a persuasive message.

There are numerous definitions of transformational leadership. Among the better known are those by Bernard M. Bass and Bruce J Avolio, and Noel M. Tichy and Mary Anne Devanna. According to Bass and Avolio, transformational leaders "behave in ways to achieve superior results by… being role models for their followers, by… motivat[ing] and inspir[ing] those around them by providing meaning and challenge to their followers' work…, by stimulat[ing] their followers' efforts to be innovative and creative by questioning assumptions, reframing problems, and approaching old situations in new ways[,]" and lastly by "pay[ing] special attention to each individual's needs for achievement and growth by acting as coach or mentor" (3). Tichy and Devanna have defined transformational leaders as "individuals out to create new approaches and imagine new areas to explore; they relate to people in more intuitive and empathetic ways, seek risk where opportunity and reward are high, and project ideas into images to excite people" (1990, xiii). In an earlier work Tichy and Devanna described a transformational leader as one who recognizes the need for revitalization, creates a new vision, and institutionalizes change (1986, 29). Janet V. Denhardt and Kelly B. Campbell have argued that transformational leadership in the public sector ought to consider not only the accomplishment of change, but also questions of "self-interest versus public interest, the nature and role of citizenship, and the realization of democratic ideals" (569).

Among the most well known transformational political leaders are John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. Tichy and Devanna cite JFK's role in the space race as exemplifying his transformational leadership (1986, 156). David McGuire's and Kate Hutchings' study of MLK, Jr. offered a portrait of the civil rights icon as a transformational leader through an application of Bass' and Avolio's four characteristics, mentioned above.

One of the first things a visitor to BarackObama.com will see is a banner at the top of the page. (The banner remains at the top of every page of the website.) The banner reads, "I'm asking you to believe. Not just in my ability to bring about real change in Washington… I'm asking you to believe in yours." This phrase originated from a 60-second television commercial that first aired in Iowa on September 19, 2007 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IpKcHSdd0MA&feature=email). In this phrase, one is

likely to hear the echo of John F. Kennedy's famous admonition from his inaugural address, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." In this case, the terministic screen creates an association between Obama and Kennedy, a transformational leader and an icon of the Democratic Party. Initially and consistently, the website's visitors are faced with an allusion to the rhetoric of John F. Kennedy. Kathleen Hall Jamieson has noted that presidents and presidential candidates often "redefine grounding premises in the rhetorical legacy to encompass contemporary needs" (97). In this case, Obama has reworked Kennedy's famous call for sacrifice into a slogan that articulates his campaign's stated mission to alter the political culture in the country.

The stylistic similarity between these two quotations is not the only intertextual reference to JFK that the Obama campaign makes. This association has been reinforced by the prominent role played by Ted Sorensen, JFK's speechwriter and advisor, early in the campaign (Feals; McCormick; Obama, "Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: A New Beginning;" Sorensen). Similarly, the campaign staged a high-profile event at which Ted Kennedy and Caroline Kennedy endorsed Obama and described him as a "worthy heir" to JFK (Espo; Obama, "Remarks for Senator Barack Obama: Kennedy Endorsement Event").

The photographs on the website also make associations between Obama and the Kennedy mythos. For instance, many of the photographs celebrate Obama as embodying the same characteristics as John F. Kennedy. These images capture his youthful vigor, thoughtfulness

(Figure 2),
Figure 2 (from the "Barack Obama" album; archived July 17, 2008)

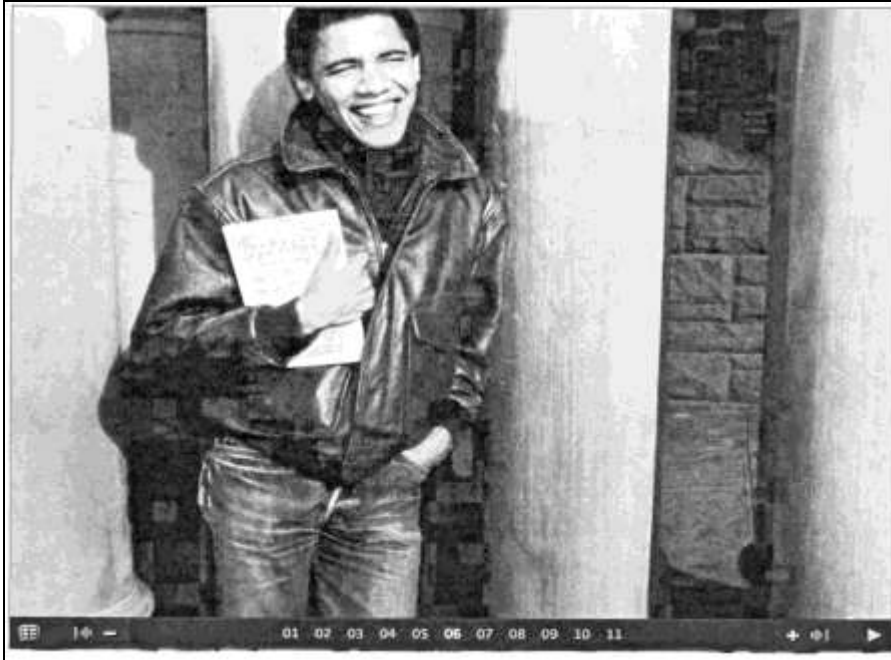intelligence and education ([Figure 3](#)),

Figure 3 (photograph #6 from the Photos webpage on BarackObama.com; archived September 7, 2007)

perhaps in an attempt to combat criticism of his lack of experience, the same kinds of attacks levied at JFK during his run for the presidency. One finds related photographs in the "The Obamas" album ([Figure 4](#)).

 Here a visitor sees candid photos of Barack, Michelle and their two daughters that call to mind the famous pictures of the Kennedy family published in *Life*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Redbook*, and *Vogue* ([Shaw](#)). In many of these photos, Michelle is pictured looking like, in dress and hairstyle, a young Jackie Kennedy, likely evoking Camelot in the mind of the viewer

([Figure 5](#)). The use of black and white for some of these photographs gives them a historiated quality, further reinforcing the link to the iconic family photos of the Kennedy clan.

Kennedy is not the only icon of the 1960s progressive movement that the Obama website evokes. The site makes both textual and visual allusions to Martin Luther King, Jr., another transformational leader, both overtly and more subtly ([McGuire and Hutchings](#)). One of the more overt strategies is the intertextual allusion in some of the speeches posted on the website to King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech. The memorable phrase from King's speech, "the fierce urgency of now," is the terministic screen presented in Obama's speech to explain his decision to run for the presidency. Obama stated in South Carolina on November 3, 2007, "I am running because of what Dr. King called 'the fierce urgency of now.' I am running because I do believe there's such a thing as being too late. And that hour is almost here" [("Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: A Change We Can Believe In")](#). Obama's speeches also made a more subtle stylistic reference to King's famous speech, specifically the presence of anaphora.

Anaphora, the repetition of the same word or words at the beginnings of successive sentences or paragraphs, is the signature scheme in "I Have a Dream," and Obama's speeches also made frequent use of this figure. For example, in Des Moines, IA on December 27, 2007, Obama claimed that "at this defining moment, we cannot wait any longer for universal health care. We cannot wait to fix our schools. We cannot wait for good jobs, and living wages, and pensions we can count on. We cannot wait to halt global warming, and we cannot wait to end this war in Iraq" ("Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Our Moment Is Now"). In addition to creating a stylistic association with King, Obama's emphasis on "the fierce urgency of now," and his repeated insistence that "we cannot wait" make explicit the identification of the kairotic moment. Furthermore, the use of anaphora has its complement in the photographs. Here a visual cadence is created by the use of repeated compositions, such as the closely cropped photographs featuring Obama and another person who represents a particular constituency (Figures 1, 6, 7, 8, 9).

Intertextual references to MLK, Jr. extend to the photographs and heighten the viewer's awareness of time and Obama's relation to it. In the "The Obamas" album are photographs of Barack and Michelle in motion in front of a crowd of onlookers. The photos are taken with a slow shutter speed so that though Barack and Michelle are mostly in focus the objects and spaces around and behind the couple are blurred. (Figures 10, 11). Given the transformational leader leitmotif of the website, two possible interpretations come to mind. First, the images may posit Barack and Michelle as the cause of the visual disruption around them, as agents of change. This interpretation relates to Tichy and Devanna's definition of a transformational leader as someone who "institutionalizes change." Alternatively, one might view the couple as an element of stability in an unstable environment. They represent a new, clear vision and course for a country that has lost its focus. Another photograph suggests Obama as a transformative force by using a passing rainstorm and a rainbow as a metaphor for change and hope (Figure 12). Art scholars call this kind of symbolic landscape a *paysage moralize*, or moralizing landscape. Here the rejuvenating powers of natural phenomena are related to political and social renewal (one might also read intertextual connections to Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition in the use of the rainbow here).

The urgency of this historical moment and the immediate need for political and social change identified by Obama is also reflected in photographs that show the candidate from a skewed perspective and point of view. Here space, not time, is altered to create a sense of the urgency of the moment. For example, one photograph shows Obama in the middle ground standing on a stage silhouetted against the bright sky (Figure 13). The sun, its intense light slightly softened by clouds, can be seen directly to the candidate's right and behind an American flag fluttering in the foreground. Here Obama is overtly associated not only with the flag but also with the sun, a cosmic force of renewal and rebirth, a source of energy, a symbol of enlightenment, goodness and warmth. The sun appears to transform the physicality of the flag, a symbol of America, its rays rendering it nearly transparent. This dual juxtaposition, Obama with the flag and the sun, seems to speak to both his patriotism and transformative powers. In addition, the point of view is skewed so that the viewer is looking slightly upward with the space tilted awkwardly down and to the left. This akimbo point of view is used in other photographs on the website (Figures 14, 15, 16) and are among the more compositionally striking images on the website. In these images, the distorted space might be viewed, metaphorically, as a world in need of righting with Obama as the influence required to bring stability back to the world. Or

one might interpret Obama as a force of disruption, of transformation, one who is capable of shaking things up and bringing about a new order. This interpretation can also be applied to another photograph of the candidate (Figure 17) captured mid-gesture giving a speech. Into the static "stay the course" space of the picture, a dynamic Obama emerges from the bottom right corner of the composition, a catalyst of disruption and change. Whether one sees Obama as an element of stability in an unstable world or as a cause of disturbance in order to bring about change, both point to the same constructed persona: Obama as a transformative figure.

This embodiment as a force for change was also promulgated by MLK via his unwavering moral principles and reputation as an orator. Accepted as one of America's greatest speakers, his eloquence combined with his fierce expressions and animated gestures communicated to his audience the significance of the moment. On BarackObama.com there are a plethora of photographs that feature Obama as a powerful and compelling orator (Figure 18). The more obvious references to MLK in Obama's speeches act as warrants for the photographs of Obama speechifying, potentially evoking familiar images of King before crowds in the mind of the viewer.

Light and dark are consistently used symbols and metaphors found within the photographs on the website. The aforementioned photograph of Obama on stage with the sun and American flag to his right is one such example. Another example already discussed is the photograph of the rainbow against a darkened sky and behind an archway of Obama campaign posters reading "HOPE" in the foreground. Here the rainbow, formally associated with the campaign signs, is a symbol of light and hope within the darkness of the storm, itself perhaps a metaphor for today's turbulent times. In other photographs of Obama, light is used as a symbol of enlightenment. In one example, Obama is shown on stage, a bright spotlight illuminates his form against a large area of blackness to his left (Figure 19). Another photograph captures the candidate up close in profile facing to the left, his form nearly filling the entire frame (Figure 20). His eyes are downcast as if caught in a state of deep meditation. A soft light comes from the left and gently illuminates his face and torso. Those familiar with art history might associate this kind of image with paintings by the Baroque masters Vermeer and Caravaggio, who used light in ordinary and extraordinary settings to indicate the presence of the divine or to suggest divine inspiration.

The symbolic and metaphoric use of light and dark can also be found in speeches by both MLK and Obama, both of whom use image-laden language. This is not surprising given the candidate's consistent use of MLK's oratorical stylings (e.g. anaphora) and borrowing of well-known phrasing. For instance, MLK famously used light and dark metaphors in his "I Have a Dream" speech: "Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice." In a speech given May 6, 2008 in Raleigh, North Carolina, Obama said, "It is the light of opportunity that led my father across an ocean…. It's the simple truth I learned all those years ago when I worked in the shadows of a shuttered steel mill on the South Side of Chicago – that in this country, justice can be won against the greatest of odds; hope can find its way back to the darkest of corners; and when we are told that we cannot bring about the change that we seek, we answer with one voice – yes we can" ("Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Primary Night"). Thus, the photographs and the speeches work in concert to create a link between Obama and MLK, a prototypical transformational leader.

Conclusion

In January 2008, Barack Obama's rivals, Hillary Clinton and John Edwards, criticized him for comments he made to the *Reno Gazette-Journal* that sounded like admiration for Ronald Reagan's leadership skills, if not for his policies. Though his remarks elicited some controversy at the time, his apparent admiration was not necessarily at odds with his campaign strategy. In a televised debate on January 21, 2008, Obama defended his remarks by stating "what I said is that Ronald Reagan was a transformative political figure because he was able to get Democrats to vote against their economic interests to form a majority to push through their agenda, an agenda that I objected to..." (qtd. in O'Sullivan). This analysis has shown that Obama's website has sought to portray Obama as a "transformative political figure" himself, through textual and visual allusions to the qualities of transformational leadership and to specific transformational political leaders of the past.

Beyond making an argument about the specific strategies of the Obama campaign, this essay has also proposed a practical approach by which to interpret a website by performing a close reading that coordinates the rhetorical strategies of both text and image. Though in isolation the texts and images can work to promote Obama as a transformational leader, they can also work together in a coordinated fashion to contribute to Obama's self-definition. This essay has not tried to argue that Obama is, is not, or will be a transformational political figure. Rather, it proposes that scholars and voters ought to consider the interaction of text and image on political websites. By doing so one can understand the persuasive strategies effected by the images and texts and potential voters can accept or reject that argument. Though this study represents a preliminary investigation into the complexity of web based public discourse, it signals the importance of using an interdisciplinary approach to understanding the rhetorical space of the website.

References

Barthes, Roland. *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*. Trans by Richard Howard. Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of CA P, 1994.

Bass, Bernard M., and Avolio, Bruce J (eds.). *Improving Organizational Effectiveness Through Transformational Leadership*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1994.

Bimber, Bruce and Richard Davis. *Campaigning Online: The Internet in U.S. Elections*. New York: Oxford UP, 2003.

Burke, Kenneth. *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*. Berkeley, CA: U of CA P, 1966.

Cartier-Bresson, Henri. *The Decisive Moment*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952.

"Civil Rights." *Obama '08*. 16 Jun. 2008. 16 Jun. 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/issues/civilrights/>.

"Compete Weekly Traffic." *techPresident*. 16 Jul. 2008. 16 Jul. 2008
    <http://www.techpresident.com/scrape_plot/compete>.

Denhardt, Janet V. and Kelly B. Campbell. "The Role of Democratic Values in
    Transformational Leadership." *Administration and Society* 38 (2006): 556-572.

Espo, David. "Sen. Kennedy Backs Obama for President." *Obama '08*. 28 Jan. 2008. 16 Jun.
    2008
    <http://www.barackobama.com/2008/01/28/sen_kennedy_backs_obama_for_pr.php>.

Feals, Jennifer. "JFK Advisor Stumps for Obama in Exeter." *Obama '08*. 21 Sep. 2007. 16 Jun.
    2008
    <http://www.barackobama.com/2007/09/21/jfk_adviser_stumps_for_obama_i.php>.

Hall Jamieson, Kathleen. *Eloquence in an Electronic Age: The Transformation of Political
    Speechmaking*. New York: Oxford U P, 1988.

Hariman, Robert and John Louis Lucaites. *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public
    Culture, and Liberal Democracy*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2007.

"Internet's Broader Role in Campaign 2008: Social Networking and Online Videos Take Off."
    The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. 11 Jan. 2008. 16 Jul. 2008
    <http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=384>.

King, Jr., Martin Luther. "I Have a Dream." *AmericanRhetoric.com*. 2008. 16 Jul. 2008
    <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihaveadream.htm>

McCormick, John. "Ted Sorensen to Join Obama in Iowa." *Obama '08*. 1 Oct. 2007. 16 Jun.
    2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/2007/10/01/ted_sorensen_to_join_obama_in.php>.

McGuire, David, and Kate Hutchings. "Portrait of a Transformational Leader: The Legacy of
    Dr. Martin Luther King Jr." *Leadership and Organization Development Journal* 28
    (2007): 154-166.

Obama, Barack. "Remarks of Illinois State Sen. Barack Obama Against Going to War With
    Iraq." *Obama '08*. 2 Oct. 2002. 10 Jun. 2008
    <http://www.barackobama.com/2002/10/02/remarks_of_illinois_state_sen.php>.

Obama, Barack. "Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: A Change We Can Believe In." *Obama
    '08*. 3 Nov. 2007. 14 Jul. 2008
    <http://www.barackobama.com/2007/11/03/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_30.php>.

Obama, Barack. "Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: A New Beginning." *Obama '08*. 2 Oct.
    2007. 16 Jun. 2008
    <http://www.barackobama.com/2007/10/02/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_27.php>.

Obama, Barack. "Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Iowa Caucus Night." *Obama '08*. 3 Jan. 2007. 16 Jun. 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/2007/10/02/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_27.php>.

Obama, Barack. "Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Primary Night." *Obama '08*. 6 May 2008. 16 Jul. 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/2008/05/06/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_62.php>.

Obama, Barack. "Remarks of Senator Barack Obama: Our Moment Is Now." *Obama '08*. 27 Dec. 2007. 14 Jul. 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/2007/12/27/remarks_of_senator_barack_obam_38.php>.

Obama, Barack. "Remarks for Senator Barack Obama: Kennedy Endorsement Event." *Obama '08*. 28 Jan. 2008. 16 Jun. 2008 <http://www.barackobama.com/2008/01/28/remarks_for_senator_barack_oba.php>.

O'Sullivan, John. "Obama and the Gipper: Two Agents of Change." *The Globe and Mail* (24 Jan. 2008). LexisNexis. 16 Jul. 2008.

Parsons, Claudia. "Obama Raises at Least $30-million in June; Outpaces Rival; Communications Directors Says Figure is Low." *National Post* (12 Jul. 2008). *LexisNexis*. 16 Jul. 2008.

Shaw, Mark. *The John F. Kennedys: A Family Album*. New York: Farrar, Straus, 1964.

Sorensen, Ted. "A Conversation with Ted Sorensen." Interview. *Charlie Rose*. 31 Aug. 2007. 16 Jun. 2008 <http://www.charlierose.com/shows/2007/08/31/1/a-conversation-with-ted-sorensen>.

Szarkowski, John. *The Photographer's Eye*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966.

Tichy, Noel M., and Devanna, Mary Anne. *The Transformational Leader*. New York: Wiley, 1986.

Tichy, Noel M., and Devanna, Mary Anne. *The Transformational Leader* (with updated preface). New York: Wiley, 1990.

Warnick, Barabara. *Rhetoric Online: Persuasion and Politics on the World Wide Web*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007.

Figure 2 (from the "Barack Obama" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 4 (from "The Obamas" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 5 (from "The Obamas" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 6 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 7 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 8 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 9 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 10 (from "The Obamas" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 11 (from "The Obamas" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 12 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 13 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 14 (from the "Barack Obama" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 15 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 16 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 17 (from the "Barack Obama" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 18 (from the "On the Trail" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 19 (from the "Barack Obama" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT

Figure 20 (from the "Barack Obama" album; archived July 17, 2008)

BACK TO TEXT