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School of Education and Communication

Political communication and virality in the US presidential campaign

A CDA analysis of the 2016 US presidential candidates' discourses and performances in late night shows

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ABSTRACT

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The current study set out to shed light on the performances that 2016 US presidential candidates used during their interventions on the late-night comedy shows. Following the methodologies of Critical Discourse Analysis, the aim of the thesis was to uncover and, therefore, analyze, the type of discourses that candidates used in the shows and how they combined them. There was established a special focus on the rhetorical styles used by each candidate, as well as the emotional content of the discourses, unexpected situations and comedy performances, with the aim to find the elements which lead to virality. This study reveals the rhetorical strategies used by politicians through an analysis of the political and personal discourses they used in late-nigh comedy shows. According to the results, the political discourse is most prevalent during the interview than the personal, which is used to start conversations and evoke personalized emotions. The study provides insights upon the elements found in politicians' discourses on the late-night circuit that lead to achieve virality on social media.

Keywords: Political communication; late-night show; discourses; political rhetoric; virality; Critical Discourse Analysis; personalization; elections.

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1. Introduction

The scenario of late-night is changing because of the growth of social media platforms and the raise of digital consumption. Most people in the United States, especially those known as 'millennial' generation (people who were born between 80's and 00's), every day consume this genre through a segmented way. Audiences watch clips of the shows on You Tube when they want, instead of watching the full program on the TV at the scheduled time. Thereby, late-night comedy shows have moved forward to digital and streaming platforms such as You Tube, where the consumption of this genre has increased by 50% in 2016 (Zoglin, 2016). This trend has developed the phenomenon of virality in political content, which mostly affect to politicians' performances on talk shows, as the repetition of reproductions of the same video in a short period. The virality phenomenon towards politics is highly dependent of the emotional and unexpected content, and as this study will demonstrate, it has had an important effect during the 2016 US presidential election campaign. Both candidates, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, visited these shows during their campaigns and, consequently, some parts of their interviews became viral on the social networks achieving, in some cases, millions of views. According to Castillo (2015), when a clip goes viral, it can far exceed the television broadcast viewership. This study will analyze the performances of presidential candidates in the three popular late-night shows, with special focus on the discourses and rhetorical tools used by politicians. Furthermore, it will be identified the type of elements and patterns found in the most viewed videos, with the aim to determine what elements evoke virality. This study is relevant since late-nights have become a great arena for politicians, who pretend to personalize and boost their image through a soft media exposure, by portraying a comfortable and relatable appearance of themselves, but also with the purpose of reaching votes among the young audience.

Late-night talks offer the convergence of politics and humor and, thereby, emphasize how they need each other to become understandable by people outside the political sphere. Political humor is the basis of late-night and, therefore, is an effective tool for politicians to either make themselves more accessible to the public or their opponents less attractive (Stewart, 2011). Within this context, late-nights play an important role using the humor as the core of their shows when it comes to personalization of politicians through media. In fact, when politicians sit on the couch of late-nigh shows, they look forward to reach the major number of viewers, not only during the TV show, but also through social media, where the process of sharing becomes politicians' clips viral. For example, the moment when Jimmy Fallon messed up the Donald Trump's hair reached one million of visits on You Tube in less than 24 hours (Loiaconi, 2016).

1.1. Background of the problem

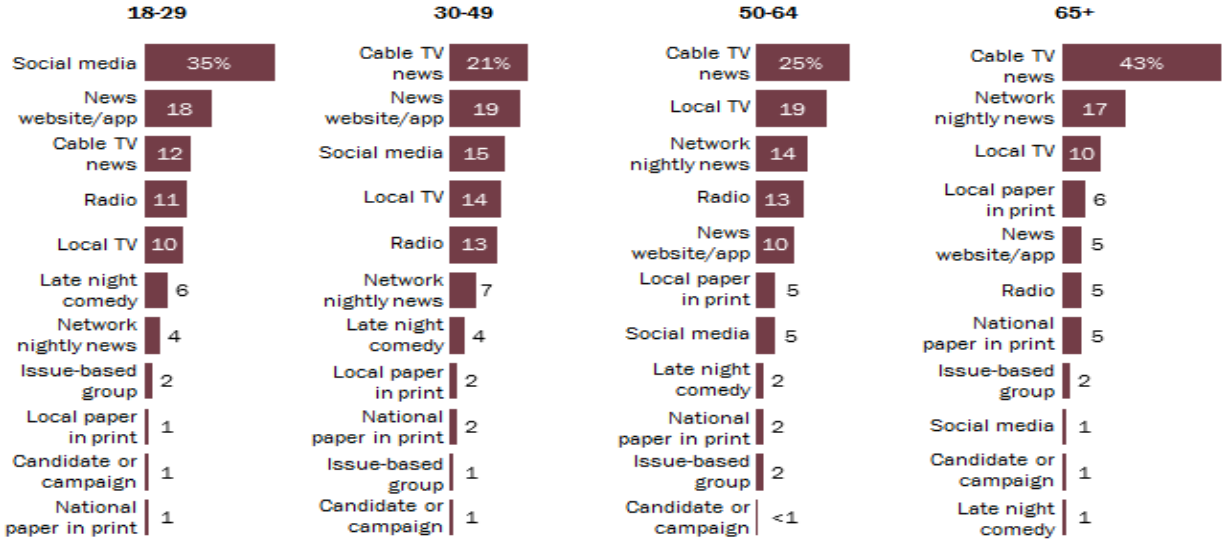
Every day, fewer people read newspapers or watch the nightly TV news. Instead, younger adults are turning to what is referred to as 'soft news' for information about public affairs (Lichter et al, 2015). Comedy and late-night shows can be tagged inside of this phenomenon, also known as 'infotainment' or what Mazzoleni refers as "popularization of politics". This concept analyzes the way in which TV has changed the nature of political processes, and how political actors have adapted to the logic of the visual medium and attempted to manipulate it, in order to pursue their own agendas (Archetti, 2010). Rephrased, the deploy of information in an entertaining manner. In the last years, late-night shows and political communication have walked closely towards political discourse, showing that the combination of political issues and humor have begun to have a real influence on the public's political knowledge and opinions (Kucera, 2015). In fact, as Molek-Kozakowska (2013) states, in the contemporary US political culture, what is increasingly appreciated is the candidate's emotional expressiveness, personal integrity and clearly articulated rhetoric. This statement leads us to think upon the contribution of media, and especially late-night genre, to the personalization of politics. In order to have a better understanding of the current scenario of late-night and the role that political communication plays on them, the background of the topic is divided in two groups: the social media, and the impact that politicians' exposure have on these shows. On the other hand, the reason of the growth of late night shows towards political content might be based on the critical perspectives that these programs are offering as an alternative way to the neutrality that journalism deploys, regarding political issues in the US.

1.1.1. Social Media

With the tremendous use of the Internet, the late-night talk show is fragmented in nature. In other words, young adults prefer to watch shorter clips of late-night shows when they have free time, than watch the program during its airtime. Another important factor is that sharing online content is an integral part of modern life (Berger & Milkman, 2011). For this reason, the achievement of virality content on the network seems to be the goal pursued by the new wave of late-night shows manager, to attract viewers. Younger audiences are more powerful, and if they like the content, they will share it, they will talk about it and they will interact with it more intimately (Castillo, 2015). As a survey from Pew Research Center (2016) shows, the raise of social media has changed the politicians' communication strategies, playing an increasingly large role in the way campaigns communicate with voters, especially young ones.

About a third of 18- to 29-year-olds name social media as most helpful type of source for learning about the 2016 presidential election

Among those who learned about the 2016 presidential election in the past week, % who say the most helpful type of source is ...



Source: Survey conducted Jan. 12-27, 2016

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As the chart from above shows, social media is the first source of information upon 2016 presidential elections in the 18-29-year-olds range, meanwhile, this group reported receiving more campaign information from late-night shows than any other age group. In fact, politicians benefit from appearing on late-night talk shows by reaching audience members who might not otherwise be interested in politics and by answering softball questions (Kenny, 2016). In the 2016 US presidential campaign, social media platforms have become the new place for more interactive engagement with citizens. According to a study from PRC (2016), one year before the elections, 44% of US adults reported having learned about the 2016 presidential election form social media. Thus, the convergence of candidates' performances in late-nights, together with the spread of political content through social media such as You Tube, Twitter or Facebook, became key figures in the presidential campaign.

1.1.2. The impact of politicians' exposure

Historically, there has been a relationship between late-night talks and the impact that political humor has had over the audience. Politicians have been appearing on late-night talk shows since John F. Kennedy ran for the presidency in 1960 (Martinez, 2015) and, actually, this fact is still present in the current times of American politics. The reality is that, since then, late-talks are now a commonplace for presidential candidates to appear on. In the 2008 campaign alone there were more than one hundred such appearances (Lichter, 2015). These statements demonstrate that nowadays, politicians use late-night comedy as an arena to communicate their political messages, but also to show a humanized image of themselves. On the other hand, it shows how political humor has matured in the American culture to the point that its contribution to the democratic process verges on a significance equal to politics itself (Smith & Voth, 2002:110)

As Lichter (2015) states, over the past decade, many political scientists and communication scholars have argued that political humor affects the political learning, knowledge, and participation of those who view it. Although the purpose of late-night shows is not to send any political message, regarding appearances by presidential candidates, one publicist of the Tonight Show commented "Of course ratings are a top priority... We are not sending a political message one way or another... If people get anything out of it, that's fine, but that's not why we're here. We're not 'Hardball'" (Baum, 2003: 273). This statement strengthens the idea of late-nights as powerful source of political information which can create political change among its viewers.

1.2. Purpose of the study

This study will analyze the discourses of the US presidential candidates in three different late-night shows during the 2016 election campaign. Consequently, the purpose will be to expose the ways in which candidates manage their political and personal discourses, as well as their language. Lately, the importance of social media to spread the late shows' political content regarding US elections campaign, will be considered. The next step will be to find out common elements on these performances that evoked the spread of viral content on candidates' performances.

Within a hyperconnected society, social media has become a key figure when it comes to draw a general picture of the politics world. Audiences are no longer watching television

programs during the scheduled original airtime. Instead, with time-shifting devices and the internet, viewers are able to control their own television consumption schedule (Genzer, 2012). That is the reason why, nowadays, late shows aid to generate accessible content for users in social media. Thus, this strategy will lead the program to gain visibility and popularity through viral content.

1.3. Aim and research questions

The current study aims to examine the discourses used by the US presidential candidates in three different American late-night shows. Politicians' performances in such shows and their use of humor is an important aspect of the personalization of politics. Through this study, the goal pursued is to gain a deeper knowledge of how personal and humorous performances and discourses are constructed in practice and how they connect to the "virality" of clips from the late-night shows analyzed.

The research questions of this study are:

RQ1. What kinds of discourses exist in the candidates' performances in the late-night shows?

RQ2. What kind of rhetorical means are deployed by the candidates' in their performances in late-night shows?

RQ3. What elements of virality exists in the performances of presidential candidates on late-night shows?

2. Previous research

The research review have been divided in three categories regarding the main concept analyzed. Political performances and discourse analysis in late-night shows, political effects through political communication in late-talk shows and the use of social media and virality in late-night shows.

2.1.1. Previous research on political performances and discourse analysis

Previous research on the field have examined the politicians' performances in TV talk shows (Van Zoonen & Holtz, 2014; Van Zoonen, 2005; Molek-Kozakowska, 2013; Baym, 2013; Abdul-Jabbar, 2013; Wang, 2010; Hutchby, 2016), as well as their appearance in public events (Ekstrom, 2009). The aim of these studies was to understand how politicians combine their type of language according to their discourses. The theories used in these research are mostly based on the rhetoric styles and discourses. An important pattern found within these research, are the concepts of sociability, influence in public opinion and the concept of power throught the legitimization of discourses. The qualitative content analysis, together with the CDA, were the methods used by the scholars to go deeper into the findings. By analyzing the insights provided by these studies, the goal of the current thesis is to contribute to previous research upon politicians' performances in Talk Shows.

Mats Ekstrom (2009), studied the roles and relations established in press conferences between George W. Bush and the journalists. He studied 19 press conferences with special focus on the jokes and interruptions made by the President, which strengthen the interactive power of the President, creating affiliations and, finally, questioning the expected neutrality of journalism. According to Molek-Kozakowska (2013), by attending to talk-shows, candidates implement their campaigns strategies as the performance of sociability, the management of impressions, the manufacture of authenticity and the tactical maneuvering between institutional and personal discourse.

The third chapter from the book Media Talk and Political Elections in Europe and America by Geoffrey Baym (2013), focuses on the case of Barack Obama's appearance in The Daily Show hosted by Jon Stewart, days before the congressional election of 2010. Within this context, Junling Wang (2010) and Farah Abdul-Jabbar (2013) studied, following a CDA, the Obama's political discourses with special focus to the concept of power as an influential tool.

Research by Ian Hutchby (2016) analyzes four types of political interviews (conventional, adversarial, hybrid and reflexive) within the contemporary environment of broadcast news, and discusses the concepts of hybridization, personalization and tribuneship in political interviewing. This research provides insights regarding the hybridization process of journalistic practices when it comes to the interview. The closeness on time was also considered to build the framework of the current thesis.

2.1.2. Previous research on political effects through political humor in late-talk shows

Other studies focused on the impact that late-night shows have had in the public opinion during elections campaigns (Young, 2004; Jones et al, 2012; Kucera, 2015; Parkin, 2010; Koloen & Peterson, 2001; Cutbirth, 2011; Stewart, 2012: Becker, 2012; Larris, 2005; Baum, 2005). The researchers of these studies were interested in how political communication in comedy shows, might have political effect in the viewers. The theoretical framework of these studies have special focus on the influence of public through the media, humor as a source of information. Furthermore, the question whether political humor is settled by a political agenda is raised. The methodology which prevail among these articles is the content analysis. The main pattern found in these studies is the importance of context and political knowledge as necessary elements to achieve influence. These articles contribute to the current study with insights of how political communication in comedy shows is being considered as source of information due to the impact that it has in the audience.

The 2010 Rally to Restore Sanity, Colbert's testimony before Congress and his on-going efforts to run a Super PAC that raises and spends money to influence the political process are all of examples of instances in which Jon Stewart and Stephen Colbert created political change (Jones et al., 2012). Dannagal G. Young (2004) examines the effects of exposure to late-night comedy on trait ratings of the candidates in 2000 Presidential election. The study includes a content analysis of late-night jokes and several tests of the relationship between late-night exposure and candidate trait ratings. Findings did suggest differential effects of exposure to late-night as a function of the partisanship and political knowledge of the viewer.

Research by Emily Kucera (2015) confirmed that watching political humor can change one's political opinion. She also states that late-night humor can have a political agenda, something that the audience need to understand.

Michael Parkin (2010), investigates whether late night interviews have particular features that can, at times, engage politically disinterested viewers. He begins his study about the candidate's personal image and how candidates' performances leave viewers uninformed.

Duerst, Koloen & Peterson, (2001) examined the content of monologues for the three most popular late-night talk show hosts (Leno, Conan O'Brien and Letterman) to see what political information was presented to the audience. They concluded that the average late-night viewer would be likely to be uninformed and generally negative given the information provided by the three hosts.

Jörg Matthes and Adrian Rauchfleisch (2013), found, after examining the effects of late-night political parody on competence evaluations of politicians in a Swiss late-night show, that exposure to a televised political parody decreased competence ratings of politicians only for individuals with a high knowledge in politics. Rephrased, viewers must have a background of current political affairs to "get the joke", otherwise the implications would be negative towards the parody.

Amy B. Becker (2012) compare the differential impact of viewing a video clip of John McCain's playful self-satire on Saturday Night Live with the effects of exposure to the more aggressive, judgmental, other-directed hostile humor of Stephen Colbert. In general terms, she assesses the effect of exposure to diverse comedy types.

Research by Joy Larris (2015) is based on the potential of late-talk shows to become important sources of news and wheter or not they are agenda setting for their audiences. Using two media consumption surveys, Larris constructed a political profile of the audience and then, through a statistical analysis of the guest list of the program, determined whether the audience's political viewpoint is correlated with the majority of the show's political guests. According to Cutbirth (2011), during the 2004 presidential elections, Jon Stewart's late-night show was "the fastest-growing source of information about the presidential campaign for most Americans, especially young voters" (p. 57). This study brings questions upon the role news media play in creating community.

"Specifically, there is an awareness that internet-based humor (Baumgartner, 2007, 2008) and late-night talk show humor (Compton, 2007; Moy, 2007; Niven, Lichter & Amundson, 2003), notably that of Comedy Central's The Daily Show (Morris & Baumgartner, 2007; Young, 2007), The Colbert Report (Baym, 2007; Fowler, 2008; LaMarre, Landreville & Beam, 2009), and the

long- running Saturday Night Live (Smith & Voth, 2002; Voth, 2007), affects the perceptions and actions of voters. Evidence from these studies shows a strong relationship between media portrayals of political candidates and how the public perceives them, and in turn public willingness to vote for or against candidates" (Stewart 2011: 202).

2.1.3. Previous research on the use of social media in late-night shows

The literature review concerning social media and virality (Genzer, 2015; Berger & Milkman, 2011) is limited due to its infancy yet. That is the reason this study seeks to extend the knowledge on this field. The main insights provided by these articles are the importance to consider social media as a platform of content and social transmission. However, it is key to highlight the relationship between emotions and virality which might have an influence in the achieve of popularity (shares) nowadays through social media. The aim of these articles is to shed light on why people share online content. The main contributions to the current study is to apply virality towards political content. Thereby, the purpose focuses in opening new assumptions on the establishment of a relationship between popularity on the digital field (virality) and the reality.

Research upon the use of social media by the television industry is in its beginning. Not much research have been done in the field of social media applied on TV and politics. Nevertheless, according to a study from Pew Research Center (2016), in the 2016 US presidential campaign, social media has been central to candidates' outreach to the public, changing the role and nature of the campaign. Candidates have prioritize social media instead their websites, as it was usual in the prior campaigns. Data provided by Nielsen (2011) shows that four out of five active Internet users use social media. Rephrased, the heavily use of social media in the recent years, together with the influence that these networks yield over people's lives, make this field a wide subject to investigate.

Research by Melissa Genzer (2015) analyzes how late-nigh shows combine the use of their social media accounts during the broadcast. Following a content analysis of the Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon and The Late Show with Craig Ferguson, she found that these programs reference to social media, but they do not verbally discuss their own accounts. Furthermore, late-night use social media to refer past episodes by using website link and embedded content.

2.2. Gap of research

After considering previous studies, this thesis seeks to cover the lack of analysis towards what kind of discourses politicians use in late-night shows. Thereby, this study is centered on the analysis of political and personal discourses and how politicians deal with humor content. Despite the discourses, it will be also analyzed the type of languages and rhetorical styles used, and the kind of viral elements found on their performances. Even though there are some studies done on the field, not much have been researched yet upon the influence of social media and what kind of elements become political content as viral. The background of this study is built upon the mediatization and personalization of politics and the growing impact that late-night shows are experimenting towards political communication throughout the production of viral contents in social media.

3. Theoretical frame and concepts

The goal of this chapter will be to ensure that a clear understanding is gained of the topic under research, and to do so, will review literature and theories relevant to the research topic. With the aim to examine the performances and discourses of presidential candidates in a context of TV show, the current study will be built upon the following theories from the media logic (Altheide & Snow, 1979:10) and how the format, understood as the framework to interpret phenomena, -in this case, late-night comedy shows- is used by media to organize the material or the style. It will continue with related concepts such as popularization of politics, understood as the way journalism has set its focus away from hard news and serious information towards soft news and entertainment (Chandler & Munday, 2011). Firstly, theories about mediatization of politics (Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999; Schulz, 2004; Strömbäck, 2008) will be considered, due to the dependency that media, and specifically the genre of late-nights, is increasingly gaining in political processes. Secondly, as late-night genre leads to the personalization of politicians throughout personalized interviews, it will be interesting to analyze concepts of legitimization and power in their discourses, in connection with the late-night shows' background, as well as the presence of polarization and differences with "the Others" that politicians do in their discourses. For example, when "We" is represented positively and "They" come out negatively (Van Dijk, 1998:69). Finally, an important part of this study is to investigate what kind of elements exist during the politicians' performances which allow to produce viral content.

3.1. Mediatization of politics

The 2016 presidential campaign is of interest regarding the performances that candidates deployed on different late-night shows. The theories applied on this study embed with the convergence that politicians have towards media and how political affairs have changed their coverage under the conditions of mediatization (Strömbäck & Esser, 2014). One of the most significant results, according to Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999), is that politicians who wish to address the public must negotiate with media's formats, language and even the content of the politicians' communication. Addressing this statement to the late-night scenario, it is possible to observe the convergence that both, politicians and late-night genre, have experimented during the last years. For example, the presence of presidential candidates on late-night shows has become a must for every candidate during the elections' campaign. Politicians need from the media to legitimize their discourses in order to spread their messages, persuade and justify their actions. According to Van Dijk, the legitimation of discourses presupposes norms and values to justify ideologies. Ideologies are group based, and hence, feature propositions that are contrary to the interest of the other group may conflict and be polarized and defined as "Others". Consequently, the deslegitimation of different ideologies -the others-, is pursued in the political discourse. The power of the discourse seeks to domain the other ideology by following strategies that are geared towards the deligitimation of the outside competitor (Van Dijk, 1998: 256-258). Nowadays, more than ever, politics cannot exist without communication (Mazoleni & Schulz, 1999). However, it can be added, that the media logic is changing in the sense that politics neither exist without the new scenario of social media and Internet. Schulz (2004), talks about mediatization of politics when political actors adapt to the rules of the media system, trying to increase their publicity and, at the same time, accepting a loss of autonomy. Strömbäck (2008:241), however, addresses the question of Internet, adding that (Internet) is not guided by any one logic and, thereby, has changed the dynamics of political communication and the process of mediatization.

3.2. Concept of Personalization

Personal qualities of politicians play an important role in present-day politics. This trend is usually defined as 'personalization'. Liesbet Van Zoonen and Christina Holtz-Bacha (2014) focused on the personalization as a main concept to develop their research. According to Toonen (1992), personalization is often considered to cover the increased, systematic and instrumental focus on personal characteristics, qualities and capacities of political leaders in the political process. Following this line, Hutchby (2016) who studied four different types of political interviews, shows personalization as a common factor in the way personal feelings or experiences can be brought into play in the expressly public sphere of the television interview. These definitions of personalization are strengthened in late-night shows, where throughout the interviews of politicians, the personal aspects are highlighted and combined with political affairs. Throughout the late-night shows, politicians have the opportunity to performance and deploy its humanistic side by using emotional resources that would be difficult to show in other TV's genre. Thus, the more that politicians are expose to new programming that talks about particular issues, the more the audience is going to evaluate these political leaders based on their performances. Therefore, nowadays politicians are encouraged to combine their rational (political) and emotional (personal) discourses to success in their late-night shows' appearances. Through the personalization process, the audience of late-night shows seek to know as much of personal details as possible from the candidates. For instance, during a talk show episode, a candidate is likely to share information about personal habits, daily routines, family relationships or likes and dislikes. In the same vein, talk show hosts' questions are conventionally designed to provoke self-disclosure and facilitate sharing feelings, expectations and intentions, rather than to communicate positions on public issues (Moles-Kozakowska, 2013). The gender question is also suggested by Van Zoonen (2005) as an important aspect in the process of personalization and the portray of politicians. Usually, the male politician is viewed as sacrificing his family life for a life of public service, whereas the female politician is neglecting her family for the sake of her own ambition.

3.3. Discourses

The personalization process can be analyzed from two different dimensions of language, regarding the discourse used by politicians in late-night comedy shows. As Kress (1986) states, politicians' language can be examined by using a distinction between public and private language. Public language is considered the language of political institutions and processes and usually is identified when politicians use the pronoun "we", "us". By contrast, private language is considered the language of private life, and it is identified when politicians use the first person "I" to describe experiences and perspectives. In this line, Van Dijk (1998:69) brings the polarization concept, which is linked to the use of language and ideology, with the aim to differentiate group conflicts between the words "us" and "them". Positive self-representation and negative other-representation are, therefore, often connected to each other.

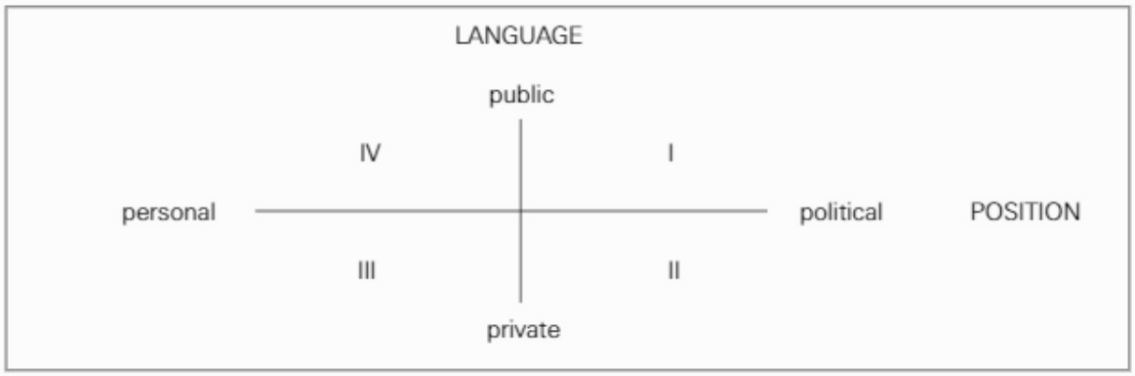

Figure 1: Forms and degrees of personalization

Furthermore, Van Zoonen and Holtz-Bacha (2014) exposes four different political discourses with the aim to analyze the degrees and forms of personalization which arises from the combination of the position from which politicians talk and the type of language they use. She differentiates among: (a) *Political discourse*, where politician is seen to speak from a political position using formal words. (b) *Personalized political discourse*, seen as the way politicians speak from a political position and use the language in private sphere. i.e, when presenting a piece of legislation as the sole result of their own initiatives. (c) *Personal discourse*, with high content of personalization. Politicians speak as a private person in the language of the private sphere about their personal life. (d) *Personal objectified discourse*, which is seen when politicians speak about themselves by using the third person.

Humor can serve as a powerful rhetorical tool when employed by political officials (Levasseur, 1996; Meyer, 1990; Speier, 1998). For that reason, according to Smith and Voth (2002:121), strategist in the political arena began to take notice that more potential voters could be reached by politicians appearing on entertainment and talk shows, rather than traditional media shows. Nowadays, the political discourse is driven to persuade and convince following different rhetorical styles such as personalization, nominalization, irony. Consequently, as Christian Salmon (2013) argues, this tendency is leading to the dramatization of politics. Instead of communicate political messages or being portrayed as authority figures, politicians are portrayed as products to consume for the audiences. Thus, politicians are becoming actors and pop idols who are ready to show their skills by dancing, joking or singing in the late-night shows. Nevertheless, a lot of the rhetoric strategies of convincing people lie within the body language, intonation, stress, and the power of voice and tempo (Lagerholm, 2008)

3.4. Concept of Virality

In their investigation upon virality on online content, Berger and Milkman (2011) examined the causes that evoke people to share stories, news and information. The findings suggested that emotionally evocative content may be particularly viral. Some of the reasons people share content is to generate reciprocity, make sense of their experiences, as a mode of self-presentation or to communicate an identity. Therefore, results indicated that content is more likely to become viral the more positive it is (Berger & Milkman, 2011:5). Virality then, even though is a concept often used in the digital marketing field, it can be defined as a consequence of the social transmission and interpersonal communication. In other words, it represents the digital version of the traditional transmission form, generally known as 'word of mouth'. However, the description of virality that Nalty (2010) explains can be also applied in the current study to understand the viral phenomena in the US presidential campaign. According to Nalty, a video can be defined as going viral if it is shared significantly, and that bar keeps rising. For example, if a video is seen 5 to 10 million times in a one-week period, and receives significant media and social-media coverage, it's fair to call it viral. Nobody can predict what becomes viral. Some commonalities of viral videos are short, funny, engaging, captivating introduction, surprise twist, sexy, unexpected, mistakes or "fails," candid moments, shock (Nalty, 2010). Some scholars argue that virality is a random phenomenon (e.g., Cashmore 2009), however, according to Berger and Milkman, it depends on the arousal (level of activation of an emotion) that surrounds the content, to determine what becomes viral. For example, not every positive emotion become viral, and not every negative emotion is less viral.

Sadness, anger and anxiety are all negative emotions, but while sadder content is less viral, content that evokes more anxiety or anger is, actually, more viral (Berger & Milkman, 2011).

3.5. Theories of Political humor.

In general terms, paraphrasing Darío Adanti (2017), humor is understood as the result of unexpected emotions which produce a feeling of pleasure in the receiver's brain. Social theories of humor are applied in this study with the aim to explain the core of late-night shows and its closeness to political humor. Our current political media environment contains a multitude of outlets where people can find humorous presentations of politicians and political issues (Holbert et al, 2011). However, for this study, is necessary to set a definition of political humor that can be adapted to the late-night framework. Contemporary scholars refer to humor as an umbrella term used to describe all forms of funny, amusing, or laughter-evoking phenomena. These include not only performances such as sitcoms, stand-up comedy, and joke-telling, but also the funny things that arise – both intentionally and unintentionally – in everyday conversations, such as amusing anecdotes, conversational banter, as well as humorous non-verbal pratfalls (Martin, 2014: 583). The focus of the sociology theories of humor is on the social and cultural context and how jokes are contextually interpreted. In fact, studies of humor and jokes can offer insights in a culture and reveal aspects of this culture that would otherwise not be observed (Mulder & Nijholt, 2002).

Since political communication is an important content featured in late-night shows, several research findings point to entertainment-based media messages having an important set of effects on democratic outcomes (Holbert, 2011). The raise of social media use, as well as the share and spread of humoristic politicians' content through the network, makes political communication to be the core of this study, due to the likely impact that these exposures can have in the audiences and viewers. To sum up, the theory of political humor is needed to frame the context of late-night, as well as the performance of sociability that, as Moles-Kozakowska (2013) argues, it is also enabled by conversational story-telling, which is one of the basic structures of the talk show genre for the reproduction of ideologies.

4. Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology used in this study to choose and collect data from the three most popular late-night shows in the US, which interviewed both presidential candidates. The candidate's discourses, performances and exposures were analyzed to look at how Trump and Clinton combined their discourses and modes of speaking with political humor, in order to achieve an impact in the viewers through viral content on social media.

4.1. Methodological approach

The current study has been designed to analyze the performance of each candidate and look at how they combined their personal and political discourse and modes of speaking with the aim of having an impact in the viewers. The analysis was driven in order to answer the research questions by following a qualitative research, which seeks to accumulate information through a critical perspective. The current study has been carried out through a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Through this method, the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of the candidates' performance during the interviews on the different late-night shows, have been analyzed and interpreted. Some points which encouraged the use of CDA, attending to the three-dimensional model of Fairclough (2001:21), were the focus on the experimental, relational and expressive values of words (Fairclough, 2001:94-98). Hence, one of the goals of using CDA was to study the social relations that politicians apply throughout their discourses in late-night comedy shows. This was analyzed by focusing on frames made by Clinton or Trump, for example whether they talk from a political or personal position and which language do they use in a given situation. The expressive meaning of words, are also analyzed by attending the use of key words, adjectives and modes of speaking, with the aim to look at their persuasive strategies. Finally, the viral elements are investigated following the study of Berger and Milkman (2011) and, thereby, considering the arousal of the emotional words, but also by considering the visual performances such as face expressions or body language, and how these facts are used by the audience to become viral.

4.2. Selection of data

The data collection for the current study was strategically selected from video clips posted on You Tube by the social media accounts of the three late-night shows examined. The selection was based by a total of six interviews with the 2016 US presidential candidates, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Due to both candidates visited the same show several times, it has been chosen the last appearances in each show, just before the general elections of November 2016. The data collection involves videos and transcripts of the interviews. The

sample was gathered with the intention of looking at the candidates' performances in different late-night shows before the elections.

Hence, three American late-night shows have provided data for this study. The analysis has followed a chronological order of presidential candidates' appearance in late-night comedy shows. Furthermore, it was additionally important in this research to choose three late-night shows which had had both presidential candidates as guests. Accordingly, it was key criteria point that these programs must have posted those interviews on their You Tube's channel. These requirements were needed in order to answer the three research questions raised in this study, concerning the political discourses, the rhetorical means of the discourses, as well as upon the elements that evoke virality in the politicians' performances. Therefore, the interviews have been transcribed manually and are also enclosed in the thesis as appendices.

4.2.1. The Tonight Show starred Jimmy Fallon

One of the late-night shows audited was The Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon (aired weeknights on NBC network from 11:35 pm to 12:35 am), due its high popularity and audience ratings. Fallon's show is defined as a show that consistently garners attention for viral videos, audience games and prominent guests. Since its broadcast debut on March 2, 2009, Late Night with Jimmy Fallon has created a huge online presence for itself with many of its popular segments, celebrity sketches and musical performances becoming viral hits (Genzer, 2015). According to the data provided by Shavit (2015) on Jumpshot, the NBC's late show posts the 91% of its content on You Tube. Despite of it is a show which often have celebrities and artist among its guests instead politicians, it was considered for this study because it played an important role during the 2016 presidential campaign by interviewing [1]Hillary Clinton and [2]Donald Trump just two month before the general elections, and, consequently, achieving a great impact on social media.

[1] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CAzwZNZdHSk (Clinton, 2016, September 20th)

[2] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vARcHv-nZ-c (Trump, 2016, September 16th)

4.2.2. The Late Show with Stephen Colbert

Both candidates were also interviewed in [3]The Late Show with Stephen Colbert which is broadcasted weeknights on the CBS TV Network from 11:35 pm to 12:35 am. The Colbert's show was audited due to its growing popularity and high content regarding political humor, its closeness on date between both candidates' interviews and his ability to deal with political humor. Colbert's You Tube channel posts 77% of the show's content (Shavit, 2015).

4.2.3. Jimmy Kimmel Live!

The [4]Jimmy Kimmel's Live! show (broadcasted on ABC Network from Tuesday to Saturday at 11:35 am to 12:35 am) will follow the analysis since both presidential candidates' performances in this show overcame one million of views on You Tube. In addition, according to Jumpshot, Kimmel's comedy show is the most followed by young adults and millennials (18 to 29-years-old). Additionally, Kimmel's show shares the 97% of its content through its own You Tube channel (Shavit, 2015).

4.3. Validity

The sample size of this study was rather small since only three late-night shows were examined. The US' late-night scenario is made by more than ten comedy shows and, therefore, it would be interesting to analyze how these shows managed their political content during the 2016 elections campaign. Nevertheless, the three shows chosen were the only which interviewed both candidates. Another point that set a boundary for this study was the lack of analysis of the comments from the videos on You Tube from the candidates' interviews. Late-night shows are becoming source of information and, so forth, in future research, it would be interesting to examine the impact that humor has in the political information. Indeed, according to the gender question, it would be interesting to examine the differences of questions and treats in late-nights between women and male's candidates. As a future proposal, communication departments of politicians may invest on the tendency to apply viral content in the political agenda during election processes and consider its professionalization.

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[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ns7ocpRhDD8&t=4s (Trump, 2015 September 23rd)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_9ThARis10 (Clinton, 2015 September 28th)

[4] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcOX7gWjghk (Trump, 2016 May 26th)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H5SkoqqtW6s&t=38s (Clinton, 2016 August 23rd)

Thereby, the virality phenomenon would be optimized according to its fragmentation and self-driven to virality. It could be interesting to go deeper in this hypothesis in future research.

5. Analysis

Briefly explained, this chapter analyzes the sample taken in this study which includes six presidential candidates' interviews provided from the You Tube channels of the three shows audited. They are analyzed in a chronological order. With the aim of answer the research questions in the most efficient way, this analysis has been divided in three major sections: one analyzes the political discourses of each candidate and the second analyzes the personal discourses. These two sections will come up with the rhetorical means used for both candidates. Then, the third analysis will seek viral elements by examining the content of the discourses and the implicit body language as well.

5.1. Political discourse

Following the arguments given by Van Zoonen and Holtz-Bach (2014) which are applied to this study, political discourse is identified when a politician speaks from a political position. Rephrased, when a politician uses its authority and power to communicate as a representative of the public sphere. Here, the politician uses what Van Zoonen describes as public language, this means that the use of formal words and pronouns such as "we", "us", "they" are very often to be found throughout this type of discourse.

5.2. Political discourse of Donald Trump

The political discourse used by Donald Trump can be generally described through his comfortable appearances in TV shows. In current times, where everything is very fragmented and talking points are repeated, he has taken advantage of his airtime on media to show the strengths of his discourse. Most of the times, he acts like a comedian in the way he uses humor as a rhetorical tool. He barely establishes eye contact, instead, he tries to look for the camera/spectators when he is talking. His background as a showman in the TV show "The Apprentice" might give him these skills. His language is aggressive and negative when he refers the 'others'. The way he answers is always with short phrases and careless of political content, however, his discourse is filled with emotions and rhetorical tools with the aim to move the viewer.

5.2.1. Political discourse: The Late Show

In September 2015, Donald Trump appeared in Colbert's Show once the Republican candidate presented his intentions to run as President in June 2015. It was the first appearance as a Republican candidate in a late-night comedy show.

> *SC: Let's talk about immigration for just a second. I know you believe all illegal immigrants should be deported, true?*
>
> *DT: That is true. We have to bring people, look…We have a country, we have borders. We have no borders right now. We don't have a country. We have to create… Number 1: We are going to build a wall. Number 2… (The crowd break the speech of DT with an applause) Oh, listen to this, even with your crowd…*
>
> *SC: They love the wall… People love the wall.*
>
> *DT: We have to have a wall. We have to have a border. And in that wall, we are going to have a beautiful, big, fat door where people can…they come into the country… And they come in…Listen to me…. A beautiful door where people can come into the country. But they have to come in legally. That is what a country is all about…*

One of the key points in Trump's campaign, was focused on the immigration laws and border controls through the rise of a wall between the US and Mexico. This intention attracted the focus of the media and it was brought up in the Colbert's show. The political discourse is identified through the use of public language by Donald Trump. He constantly talks from a political perspective when talking about abstract processes and intentions, such as "we have to have a wall", "we have to have a border". On the other hand, Trump uses the differentiation with the others, by using "they", referring to immigrants, for example "they come into the country", "they have to come legally". One important part of the political discourse deployed by Trump in Colbert's show is the use of face expressions and body language as rhetorical tools. He barely establishes eye contact with Stephen Colbert, however he is constantly looking at the spectators or cameras. Using words like "beautiful, big, fat door", together with comic face expressions, looks to the audience and sets up the rhythm of his speech. When talking about the wall, he tries to legitimize his discourse by adding some humor to his performance and, therefore, keep the attention of the audience using a persuasive style.

> *DT: You know, 2000 years ago, you had the great wall of China, 13.000 miles long…*
>
> *SC: Jesus helped build that…*
>
> *DT: You are right. You are right… But here you are talking about 1.000 miles, because there are 2.000 but you need it in 1000 miles. We can have a great and beautiful wall. It will be up. It will stop. We will have our border and guess what? Nobody comes in, unless they have their papers, and they come in legally. And we stop crime and we stop problems and we stop drug trade, which is massive. You know, we have so much drug trade. The Cartels are pouring through, just like there is nothing pouring through Chicago, NY, LA, the money goes out, the drugs come in. We are going to stop it.*

During the interview, the name of Mexico is brought by Stephen Colbert through a parody. This fact aims Trump to keep going with his public discourse towards immigration controls and justifying the construction of a wall bringing the example of 'The Great Wall of China'. Here, Trump draws negative and xenophobic stereotypes against Mexico by attributing the nouns "crime", "problems" and "drug trade". The use of adjectives like "massive", embedded to these negative conceptualizations, serve to strengthened his pejorative presuppositions towards immigrants. The polarization between the threatened part "we", "our", meaning the American citizens, and the immigrants "they", is presented as hard facts. The stamen made by Trump "the money goes out, the drugs come in" is the rhetorical way used to justify the economic relations with Mexico, which is conceptualized within the category of criminals and thieves.

5.2.2. Political discourse: Jimmy Kimmel Live!

Donald Trump visited the Jimmy Kimmel's show in May 2016. He was asked mostly upon his rivals and his opinion about social policies such as the transgender community.

> *JK: Who do you like more, Bernie Sanders or Hillary Clinton?*
>
> *DT: Well, I actually think that Bernie would be easy to beat. Even though he shows up a little bit better in the polls and I might be wrong but what I do like about Bernie is when he loses because the system is rigged against him, totally. Just like it was rigged against me. The system is rigged.*

Here, the Republican candidate shows his preferences towards Bernie Sanders as a Democrat candidate for the presidency. He uses the verb "beat" which is presented as an aggressive language, giving emotion to his statemen using the private language. Another key point on this quote is the use of the word "rigged" for three times, to describe unfair advantages which are given to somebody in a conflict. The use of colloquial language from Donald Trump is often identified in his political discourses when using private language, for example, "it was rigged against me". The use of colloquial language is a strategy to get closer to the language that people use in their daily life. He uses the repetition to emphasize his statement and to associate them to his narrative as a victim of the system.

> *JK: So, at this dinner tonight, are they famous people going who don't want to be identified?*
>
> *DT: Very rich people and very successful people and, in many cases, very liberal people and they are all voting for me. I think people are going to be very surprised, you know? I am going to make a heavy play for California. No other Republican candidate, for years, would even waste time in California, and tonight we are trying to get, you know… win the state. I think I can win, we were in, just recently I was here 31.000 people showed up for a speech on one day's notice I think we can do great in California. I think we can win California and I am going to put in a heavy play I own a property in California…*

The polarization is a rhetoric tool used by Trump in most of his interventions which aim to distance an ingroup from others. The establishment of labels is a recurrent resource which is linked with the nominalization, understood as the way participants can be nominated in terms of who they are (Machin & Mayr, 2012:81). When Trump mentions words such as "rich people" "successful people" he is showing sort of power with his discourse and he emphasizes it with the use of private language "I am going to make". He highlights his achievements in California and he is trying to convince that a change is needed in this state. However, Trump uses an empty political discourse that can be also identified as populist. Consequently, his words are full emotional content when he says "I am going to make a heavy play for California" or "No other Republican, would even waste time in California". He distinguishes himself from his party's colleagues and evokes his self-esteem to underlay his efforts with the aim of persuade the listener and focus the attention on his figure with positive messages such as "win the state", "I can win", "we can do great".

5.2.3. Political discourse: The Tonight Show

Two months before the elections, Donald Trump was the guest of 'The Tonight Show starred Jimmy Fallon'. The main political content of this interview focused on Trump's intentions as a President, as well as the relationship with Russia.

> *JF: There is probably kids watching you right now, if they are at home watching. They do stay up late and watch our show. Why should they want to grow up and be president?*
>
> *DT: Well, I think you want to grow up and be president because you want to help people. And you want to help people because there are tremendous problems that people in this country have, and all over the world. And if you want to help people, there is no better position to do it from than the presidency. So, we can do a lot of good.*

The way Trump responds to the question is interesting for its simplicity to build sentences, such as "you want to help people", or "we can do a lot of good". The use of the pronoun "you" instead of "I" is a construction of an abstract self. The word "people" is mentioned four times in a short intervention. He built a narrative of himself as authoritarian body, being the representative of the problems that people have. It is very common in his interventions the use of words like "tremendous" and "problems" to draw a dramatic scenario where he seems to be the solution that the country needs. His skills as a businessman are identified when repeating and using words that are easy to remember for the audience.

Jimmy Fallon brought up the theme about Russia and the relationship between Trump and Vladimir Putin.

> *JF: Everyone's saying: "Oh, is there is a romance between Vladimir Putin…" […] You said, "If he says great things about me, I will say great things about him…"*
>
> *DT: Well, look, I don't know him and I know nothing about him, really. I just think if we got along with Russia, that is not a bad thing and you know, getting along with other countries. The Democrats are trying to say I like him somehow. I do not like him I do not dislike him. I do not have any feelings, one way or the other, and it is not going to matter what he says about me. If he says good things or bad things about me… I am going to make great deals for our country. I am interested in our country. I am interested in the success of our country and right now, I mean, you see what is happening. You see what is happening just generally speaking and we have a long way to go. But they do try and pin me into this and I am saying to myself, "I do not even know him!". All of a sudden, you know they make it like he is my best friend. I do not know him. What I want is what is right for the country. That is all that matters to me.*

In this point, Donald Trump is trying to avoid the rumors that link him with Vladimir Putin. The use of the first person "I", is often used in his political discourse as he is talking about something that evolve his figure. By using private language, he is excluding the others from a powerful position of himself, represented as an authoritarian body. On one hand, he uses the polarization to accuse Democrats about those rumors "The Democrats are trying to say I like him somehow", "they do try and pin me into this" or "they make it like is my best friend". On the other hand, he repeats the word "country" for four times, with the intention of accentuate the feeling of patriotism and make people aware that he only cares about America.

5.3. Political discourse of Hillary Clinton

The Clinton's political discourse can be summed as based on her experience as a politician. This fact strengths her arguments from a political position. By using a more neutral language, she embraces a larger audience such as women, immigrants and LGTB communities through her discourse. The prosperity and familiar frames are often present on her interventions, as well as her main target group, which is the middle class. When she refers the 'others,' she points to the Republican party.

5.3.1. Political discourse: The Late Show

Hillary Clinton visited Stephen Colbert in October 2015, where the Democrat candidate was asked for her intentions to become the next President of the US.

> *SC: Why do you want to be President of the US?*
>
> *HC: I want to be President because I want to build on the progress that we have been making and make it possible for more people in our country, particularly young people, to live up to their own god-given potential. (HC touch SC's table and make hands parallel and look at SC as a target). And that means we have got to get back to providing opportunities. We have got to get back to making the economy work for*

everybody and we have to defend the progress we have made in women's rights and gay rights and we have to protect voting rights and immigrants' rights and everything else (HC moves her hands while enumerating the facts and is louder to make emphasis in some key words like women and gay)

Hillary's answer upon explaining her reasons is filled with interesting aspects to consider. First, she makes a proposition of continuity with the same policies established by the former President, Obama. Then, she uses the prosperity frame by referring "young people", "opportunities" with the intention of become closer towards American's young population. Clinton is using battle grammar to explain her fight, and her party's fight, against the Republicans. She uses words such as "defend", "protect" with the aim of build a feeling of patriotism and togetherness. Furthermore, she also positions herself as the solution for keeping the support towards women, LGTB community and immigrants' rights. The rhetoric elements used by Clinton are identified using repetitions to emphasize her discourse, as well as the pronoun 'we', with the aim of connect with the viewer as part of her motivations and achievements.

SC: In the debate with senator Sanders, you said the US is not Denmark. Denmark has those things with high taxes on the middle class. How would we achieve them in the US, aside from the political paralysis of Washington? How do get those things? (HC is looking at SC with attention and assuming with her head)

HC: Well, first of all. We have got to get back to putting the middle class at the center of our politics and we have got to make it clear that what has been tried by the Republicans every time they get a chance, cutting taxes, getting out of the way of corporations… does not create broad based prosperity. It creates more inequality. And I believe, and I think the evidence supports this, that the economy does better when we have a Democrat in the White House […] The middle class is one of the great inventions of our country. I came out of the middle class.

Hillary Clinton draws her economic priority if she becomes President. The concept of "the middle class" is brought with the aim of make a difference with the Republicans goals. She reinforces her argument using the word 'prosperity' as trying to evoke what is she able to achieve that republicans don't. One can identify how Clinton uses clear statements such as "the economy does better when we have a Democrat in the White House" to make sure that the audience can follow her arguments easily and identify herself as everybody else with the use of "we". She also uses private language from a political position with the aim to show empathy, experience and common sense, for instance "I came out of the middle class", "I think the evidence support this"

HC. So, I am going to go back and do what I know works. Build on what President Obama did, because, look at the mess he inherited… You know, I love it when you have Republicans on here, and they act like we all have amnesia. I mean, we had the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. And my husband handed over 23 million new jobs, incomes rising for everybody, a balanced budget and a surplus, and President Obama got the worst economy, where we were losing 800.000 jobs a month. So, we have got to get back to making the middle class the center of our politics, raising incomes, and giving kids a better shot.

One aspect that Clinton wants to highlight over her opponent, is her experience in politics as First Lady, Senator and Secretary of State. In this quote, where she is using private language from a political position, she mentions "I am going to do what I know works" to rely on her legitimate and expert knowledge, showing a persuasive way from her bases of power. This indicates that, due to her previous experience, combining her personality with her authority could help her to achieve her goals. She shows a sense of irony saying "I love it when you have Republicans on here" as she then uses the metaphor "they act like we all have amnesia" to make distance with 'the others'. She also makes a clear differentiation between "they" (Republicans) and "we" (her party) and reinforces the gap by highlighting the achievements made by Obama and Bill Clinton after the Republican governments. The sense of belonging when saying "our politics", gives a feeling of personalization and emphasize with the listener. Finally, she uses informal language due to the context of her speech, which is a late-night comedy show.

> *SC: It is not the Clinton administration 2.0?*
>
> *HC: No! No!*
>
> *SC: You are a different person…*
>
> *HC: I am not running for my husband's third term. I am not running for President Obama's third term. I am running to my first term. But I am going to do what works. And we have an understanding of what works. And you know, the wealthy need to pay more. I am sorry to break it to you…*
>
> *SC: I am conflicted recently…*
>
> *HC: Yes I know, I understand. And we have to raise the minimum wage. It is a poverty wage now. It is disgraceful that people are working full time and can-not get out of poverty. We need to incentivize more profit sharing. We need to continue to rein in the abuses in the financial system, and in particularly on the Wall Street because it did contribute to the problems we had in the economy. So, all of those have to be done.*

Furthermore, Clinton keeps emphasizing her differences towards her husband and Obamas' policies. She mentions twice the word "poverty" and negative adjectives such as "disgraceful", with the aim to justify and strengthen her arguments in the financial field. Is usual in Clinton's political discourse the combination of her language, using the private one to strengthen her emotional message "I am going to do what works", meaning that she is carrying out with the responsibility and transmitting a message to her listener to trust her. Humor is included in her political message, when joking with Stephen Colbert upon the raise of taxes for the wealthy class "I am sorry to break it to you...".

5.3.2. Political discourse: Jimmy Kimmel Live!

Hillary Clinton visited the Californian' late-night show in August. It was the first time Clinton visited a late-night after defeat Bernie Sanders in the primaries of the Democrat party. The discourse of Clinton was fulfilled with humor content and, therefore, Clinton speaks from a political position using private language to share her emotions and explain how political issues interfered with her private life. The main theme was the Clinton's illness, as well as a word game where Hillary Clinton read Donald Trump's quotes in a serious attitude.

> *JK: The new rumors are that you are unhealthy, that you had a concussion… On the FOX news they said that you looked sick, tired, etc. Are you in good health?*
>
> *HC: Well… This has become one of the themes. Take my pulse while I am talking to you (laughs) Make sure I am alive…*
>
> *JK: Oh my god, there is nothing there…!!*
>
> *HC: Back in October, the National Quire said I will be dead in six months…*
>
> *JK: Oh!*
>
> *HC: So, with every breath I take, I feel alive… I don't know why they are saying this. On the one hand it is part of the other's strategy and maybe you can have some people who believe that… On the other hand, just absolutely makes no sense. I don't go around questioning Donald Trump health. As far as I can tell he's healthy like a horse, you know?*

Clinton is aware of the jokes about her health and she shows her sense of humor to proof that she has overcome her health issues. She uses polarization to conclude that it is part of a strategy against her organized by "the others" and "some people who believe that". In this quote, the humor is used by Clinton within her political discourse to humanize her image as politician.

5.3.3. Political discourse: The Tonight Show

Hillary Clinton visited 'The Tonight Show starred Jimmy Fallon' three days after Donald Trump. She explained her reasons to become President from a political position by using a public language.

> *JF: We have little boys and girls watching our show. They watch us, and then, they want to see you. Why should they grow up to be president? Why should they want to be President?*
>
> *HC: Well, they should want to be what they want to be. They should follow their dreams, but they shouldn't feel that they bump up against a hard glass ceiling or that because of who they are, where they were born, who their parents are, any other circumstance, that somehow the American Dream is not big enough for them? You know, we have to decide in this election what kind of country we want. You know, are we going to be a country that comes together, that respect each other, that celebrates our diversity, which I think is one of our great strengths, or are we going to be pitted against each other and be divided and have all this bigotry and bullying that is going on? Are we going to get the economy working for everybody not just people at the top? And are we going to keep the world safe and work with people whose values we share? I think these are consequential questions but they are also really, at the root of who we are as a country and what values we have.*

In this quote, Clinton uses metaphorical concepts to make sense of things, for example, to develop her view upon a country based on the family structure. As it has been identified in previous quotes, the family model and concepts linked to it, such as "kids", "parents", are central in Clinton's political discourse. The use of rhetorical questions such as "are we going to..." seek to strengthen her political position. The interesting point in her stamen is how she appeals people to think about the elections by including herself in this decision, with expressions like "we have to decide...". However, through these stamens, Clinton creates certain distance with the Republicans (the Others) who represent the contrary. She also tries to trigger effect among the audience with positive words that she wants to associate to her narrative and image as politician, such as "respect" or "diversity".

> *HC: We will protect our country and keep it safe (lost eye contact and arms on the legs) and do some good things, set some big goals…*
>
> *JF: I mean, yes. But is that a tricky balance to do?*
>
> *HC: It is especially tricky for women…*

One important thing that Hillary Clinton focuses on her political campaign is on changing the traditional narrative which portrayswhich the male politician as a person who is sacrificing his family life whereas the female politician is neglecting her family for the sake of her own ambition. In this sense, during her experienced politician career, Clinton has developed an image of herself that combines both: a strong political leader, able to serve her country; as well as protect her family. Thus, instead of using a feminist approach, Clinton applies a corporative and neutral language to talk about safety, "we will protect" and patriotism, "our country". Finally, she ironically, argues the need to enhance the access of women in politics "especially tricky for women...".

5.4. Personal discourse

According to Van Zoonen (2014) the positions politicians speak from and the language they often use in late-night shows, produce an integrated discourse which is more or less personalized. Personal discourse is an important point to consider for politicians because it is a type of position where they are not used to talk from. Thereby, people and audience can build a personalized image of them depending on their answers, performances and interaction with the host. Late-night shows offer the opportunity to politicians to speak much longer than in traditional news contexts about random topics, show a closer and humanized perception of themselves and, therefore, behave in a more emotional way rather than rational.

5.5. Personal discourse of Donald Trump

The personal position of Trump is very limited and he tries to avoid questions which require to talk about his personal life. He uses positive adjectives to describe his family that, in fact, can also be found in his political discourse, such as “success”, “win”, “lovely”. However, he transmits a feeling of lack of confidence and uses humor to skip emotional questions that might portray and image of weakness on him.

5.5.1. Personal discourse: The Late Show

In the fragment of interview uploaded by the Colbert’s account, it was not possible to identify any personal discourse. At the date of the interview, September 2015, the questions were centered on his political discourses within themes such as immigration, which raised controversy among the public opinion. In this case, Stephen Colbert does not introduce any question towards Trump’s personal life. However, the clip overcome 10 million of plays, and therefore, it will be further analyzed in the virality section, (5.3).

5.5.2. Personal discourse: Jimmy Kimmel Live!

Donald Trump’s personal discourse is very limited and few times he speaks about his family affairs and when he does, he gives small details.

DT: He is a good boy (Baron, his son)

JK: Do you drive him to the school and do those kinds of things?

DT: I have, I have. I love doing it.

JK: Do you play games with him?

DT: I play games all the time.

JK: You ever let him win on these games?

DT: No, I am trying to defeat him (laughs) I want him to win. They are doing very well. I have great children and five great children and I want them to be successful. I want them to do really well. I mean, that is the whole deal with your children

The personal face of Donald Trump is not such open as his political one. He uses short sentences “He is a good boy”, and what he always highlights is positive aspects, which are similar to his political discourse, for instance: “win”, “very well”, “successful”. These words show an unusual lack of confidence in Trump when talking about personal affairs. He is not as comfortable and powerful as when using the private language from a political position.

5.5.3. Personal discourse: The Tonight Show

The personal side of Donald Trump is not very known. As it has been argued before, he refuses to talk about his private life, and when he does, he seems shy and without the emphasis that it is common in his political discourse. However, in Jimmy Fallon's show, he showed some of his personal feelings when the host brought back some memories from Trump's childhood.

JF: That is your house?

DT: That is where I was born…

JF: Any fun memories from this house?

DT: Well, I had great parents and I had great brothers and sisters. I had really good childhood. Oh, that is sad to look at that. I want to buy it (looking at the audience with open hands)

DT: I want to buy it…

JF: You have very good memories?

DT: Oh, I love it!

JF: Did you get in any trouble there? Were you a troublemaker?

DT: Not too much, no. My parents were very strict and good and loving. They were fantastic parents. Ohhh, how cute!

JF: Oh, sorry. I am making you wistful…

The purpose of Jimmy Fallon was to humanize Donald Trump. However, he seems that those memories do not have any emotional effect on him, by keeping a straight posture and answering with short sentences, as trying to avoid talking about his childhood. Then, he shows his feelings when talking about his family with adjectives such as "loving", great" or "cute" when remembering his childhood. These gestures help the audience to build a naturalized image of Trump. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note the Trump's abilities to comedy within his personal discourse. Due to his most known narrative as a strong, impenetrable and powerful businessman, it sometimes turns funny when he talks from his personal position. As an example, can be used when he states "I want to buy it..." regarding his childhood's house. He might be being honest, however, due to the strong narrative built around his persona as a successful businessman, when it appears in his personal discourse, it becomes into a funny moment for the audience.

5.6. Personal discourse of Hillary Clinton

The way Hillary Clinton speaks by using a personal position can be described as natural. She does not hide her preferences and hobbies. Furthermore, she tries to normalize her personal narrative by talking about her family and highlighting the positive aspects of her private life. Another important aspect which are common on her, is the way she builds her own narrative as a hard worker and powerful woman. However, she also measures her personal discourse by using humor to avoid giving details about her personal affairs.

5.6.1. Personal discourse: The Late Show

Personal discourse is often use in late-night's interview to start conversations. In this case, Colbert begins the interview by wishing happy birthday to Hillary Clinton. Through this informal introduction, Clinton speaks about her private experiences from a personal position, which allows the audience to get insights about her and to show them she is a normal person.

> *SC: And I want to start off by saying happy birthday. I know yesterday was your birthday.*
>
> *HC: It was. Absolutely.*
>
> *SC: Did you do anything special like have a celebration for 11 hours?*
>
> *HC: Well, let's see, I slept late That was pretty celebratory. […] I had to make some phone calls. […] It was just really nice because it was a beautiful day and I got to see my granddaughter over the weekend and my daughter and everybody was in good spirits and good health. You can't ask for any more than that. And then I just sort of hung around, watched bad TV… […] You know… a little binge watching here and there…*
>
> *SC: What do you binge watch?*
>
> *HC: We have a lot of them and we finally finished "House of Cards" It took a while because we were slow going.*

In this quote, Clinton shows her personal side, enumerating a sort of quotidian facts that humanize her such as "slept late", "make some phone calls" or "watch bad TV". She also demonstrates her sentimental character when talking about her family "granddaughter", "daughter". In addition, she also uncovers her personal preferences about her hobbies such as TV movies, even naming some of them like "House of Cards" or "The Good Wife". These details about her personal life help the spectator to build an accurate image of Hillary Clinton, besides her figure as presidential candidate.

5.6.2. Personal discourse: Jimmy Kimmel Live!

Similar to what happened with Trump in Colbert's show, Hillary Clinton did not use personal discourse in Kimmel's show. Although the host introduced it, Clinton remained a political position to explain, for example, the process of her disease (see Appendix E).

5.6.3. Personal discourse: The Tonight Show

Personal discourse is used, as it has been mentioned before, to 'break the ice' in a conversation. Generally, the host comes up with a topic related to some experience towards the guest. In the following case, Jimmy Fallon made a specific performance to highlight the health problems that Clinton went through.

> *JF: You are feeling much better, is that correct?*
>
> *HC: Oh yes. Absolutely. Nothing like a little rest when your doctor tells you to, and you don't do it…*
>
> *JF: How is that for you? Because that would have driven me crazy…*
>
> *HC: It was crazy for me, because, you know, I am used to just kind of getting up and powering through it. And that is what I thought I could do but it turned out I couldn't. So, I took a few days off, and actually, I think it was good. I got a chance to sort of reflect on this crazy campaign that we are involved in and decided that, you know, I am going talk about what I think needs to happen to help people and try to stay away from lot of negative insult stuff that goes back and forth.*

In this case, Clinton explains the process of her sickness from a private perspective. She uses her experience as seeking to send messages to people who can be identified with her "when your doctor tells you to (stop), and you don't". Furthermore, Clinton shows an image of herself as a strong and proactive woman "I am used to getting up and powering though..." By handling personal discourse, she seeks to influence the audience's narrative built about her, as hard worker and strong woman besides politics.

> *JF: Is Bill (Clinton) a good nurse?*
>
> *HC: You know, he is very solicitous…Yes, he was really very sweet, actually … My dogs were great too!*

Humor plays an important role in the personal discourse as a strategy for political engagement. When Jimmy Fallon asks her about the role of Bill Clinton as a nurse, Hillary responds in a charm and familiar way, but she uses the joke about her dogs, in order to adapt herself to the humoristic pace of the show. By doing this, Clinton shows her sense of humor from a personal position as a rhetorical tool to connect with the audience, but also to skip go deep into details.

5.7. Viral elements

The goal of this section has been to found patterns and elements among the most shared and viewed late-night's clips during the election campaign. The results address a determinate profile of elements that evoke virality in political humor and the late-night genre. The aim, therefore, is to highlight elements such as emotional words, gestures and performances that viewers consider interesting to share through their social media environment.

5.8. Viral elements in Trump's discourse

During the presidential campaign, Donald Trump achieved the most number of views and shares through his performances in the late-night show circuit. These data demonstrate the effect that performances can achieve further than the audience of the program, when something surprises the viewer or evokes an emotion. Nevertheless, it is important to mention the relevant figure of the host, who within the late-night format, it is the responsible to led the interview and contribute to create a comfortable atmosphere ready to joke. For example, when Jimmy Fallon stirred Trump's hair, the clip uploaded in You Tube by The Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon's account, reached more than one million of hits within the first 24 hours. Trump's reaction to Fallon's proposal could be tagged within the personal discourse of Trump, because the context of the fact is settled upon the funny and controversial discussion among some part of the public opinion, about whether Trump is wearing wig. The action is identified as a funny and unexpected moment that allowed the Republican candidate to show an intimate, humanized part of him, as well as demonstrate his sense of humor, which also play an important role in his rhetorical narrative. Donald Trump's political discourse in Colbert show is full of emotional elements. Moreover, to describe the current situation of the country, he combines anger face expressions and an aggressive tone of voice with negative emotional words such as "we have no borders, we don't have a country", "we have been abused for a long time", "we have a trade deficit", "this will be a serious wall", "we stop crime, drug trade", "money goes out, drugs come in", "I talk about our veterans being horribly treated". Here, Trump exercises the power by using negative language and emotions. Then, the strategy followed by Trump is to change his emotional narrative with the aim to draw a prosperity future where he includes his proposals, so the final feeling of his discourse is positive for the recipient. To do this, he uses words such as "we can have a beautiful wall", "but they have to come legally", "that is what a country is all about", "(the wall) is very easy to build", "we are going to stop it". During his performance on Kimmel Live! Show, Donald Trump showed his disappointment and anger towards the political system claiming that "the system is rigged against me" or "it is an unfair system". Following the same strategy from Colbert's show, Trump combines two

narratives with emotional content and face expressions. First, he emphasizes the negative and dramatic aspects, in order to finish his discourse highlighting his positive insights.

5.9. Viral elements in Clinton's discourse

As Trump, Hillary Clinton focuses her political discourse on an emotional narrative. However, her narrative is different to Trump's, since Clinton uses a different choice of grammar words which can be described as neutral. Generally, Clinton uses softer content and is more centered towards a formal discourse. This is one of the reasons why Clinton's presence through the late-night circuit in the US achieved less views than Trump and, therefore, less shared content. Nevertheless, the Democrat candidate's discourse was more viewed in Jimmy Kimmel's show, where her appearance, in total, reached more views than Trump's. The viral elements identified in Clinton's performance with Kimmel's shows are based on the personal position of the candidate. Clinton's health explanation was the most interesting for viewers. She used a humoristic performance, introduced by Jimmy Kimmel, to demonstrate that she was recovered. Here, Clinton's performance is what makes the clip unexpected for the viewer, who is able to see the politician joking about herself. For example, when she gives her arm to Kimmel and says "Make sure I am alive...". Furthermore, another surprising moment is when Clinton opens a can of peppers that Kimmel gives to her. The fact of seeing a politician like Clinton doing an ordinary and non-common action, awakes in the audience a sense of curiosity which it is embedded with the viral phenomena. In the same show, Clinton read Trump's quotes. The intention of this game is based on look at Clinton's reaction, as well as the morbid content of seeing a politician reading quotes of its opposite. The emotional content of the quotes read by Clinton crashed with Clinton's narrative, who even refuses to read the last quote. Some examples of the quotes included disrespectful attitudes towards women. Throughout her straight expression, Clinton shows anger and disappointment as the main emotional elements which evoke virality. The most viewed clip of Clinton before the election occurred in the last part of Jimmy Fallon's show, where the host read kid letters to her. The Hillary's role is overlapped by Fallon, however, the letter's content evokes emotional feelings on Clinton which frame her as a caring woman.

6. Discussion

In this chapter, there will be exposed the main aspects of the thesis with a precise attention to the discourses and viral elements that were exposed throughout the research questions. Furthermore, some of the insights found will be compared and discussed from the analysis elaborated.

Through the current study, it has been demonstrated how important is for politicians the fact of being present along the late-night comedy show circuit on their road to the presidency. Politicians' strategies when visiting these shows are relevant regarding the discourse they use. In the case of late-night, the personalization plays an important role, due to the main characteristics of the show, which focus its content in the interviews. However, it has been possible to observe how politicians mainly use two kinds of languages within their discourses, depending on the position they talk. Moreover, this study demonstrates that the clips, which evoke deeper emotions in the viewer (such as anger, fun or surprise) are those which are easier to share through social media and, therefore, are more likely to have an impact in the audience.

Political discourse is the position where politicians seem more confident in the interviews. A pattern identified during the analysis, has been the way they use the polarization of the Othering, with the aim to demarcating an out-group and thereby, reaffirming in-group membership (Tope et al, 2014). In the case of Donald Trump, he mainly uses Othering to refer immigrants and Democrats as an out-group that potentially threats his political program. The portray of Mexicans with stereotypes as criminals and drug dealers is common in the political discourse of the Republican candidate. Meanwhile, the picture of the Democrat party that he does, usually turns around drawing a dramatic scenario made by the Democrats, where he emerges as the solution. Another aspect of Othering, identified in Trump's discourse, is the language he uses to make differences towards members of his party. As a politician, Trump uses private language instead of public, to highlight his personal abilities and give them more value. By using this style, he is detracting previous members of his party. However, his personal discourse is limited and seems uncomfortable when he talks from a closer position to his personal life.

In the case of Hillary Clinton, she shows a more experienced knowledge towards politics, and this is identified in the way she speaks. Clinton's political discourse can be described as a neutral and politically correct, meaning that she uses the public language to explain her plans to become President and defend the policies of her party. Nevertheless, by using private language from a political position, she pretends to legitimize her power as politician, gained

from her experience as Secretary, First Lady and Senator. Regarding to her personal discourse, she shows to be more open and, indeed, her performance is more naturalized than Trumps. She also uses humor to deal with her personal issues, something that Trump only does through his political discourse. Clinton uses the 'othering' against the Republicans, being politically correct and respectful talking about social groups such as, women, LGTB community or immigrants.

One of the points raised in this study depends on the question upon what elements found in a politician discourse evoke virality for the audience, during their exposure in late-night comedy shows. Considering the discourse analysis, it is interesting to look at the rhetorical strategies used by politicians and how they deal with humor content. Furthermore, both (rhetoric and virality) share the same patterns, which is the use of humor as a strategy for political engagement and the transmission of emotional elements. Thereby, the goal is to move the spectator throughout awakening emotions. In the current study, both candidates started their discourses by drawing a pessimist background. Trump's rhetorical style addresses a narrative of fear and hate against immigrants as a resource, with the purpose of generating a surprising narrative, which it will bring a positive feeling at the end, based on the hope and prosperity. On the other hand, Clinton's rhetorical style is addressed with the goal of creating a feeling of threat against the Republican's option. Her emotional discourse also leads to transmit a positive feeling of liberation, happiness and victory against Trump.

7. Conclusion

The current study set out to shed light on the performances that 2016 US presidential candidates used during their interventions on the late-night comedy shows. The goal of the thesis was to uncover and, therefore analyze, following the methodologies of Critical Discourse Analysis, the type of discourses that candidates used in the shows and how they combined them. There was established a special focus on the rhetorical styles used by each candidate, as well as the emotional content of the discourses, unexpected situations and comedy performances, with the aim to find the elements which lead to virality.

Regarding to the discourses that exists in the candidate's interventions in the late-night shows analyzed, the study revealed that there are two types of positions from which politicians speak in these shows: political and personal. The political discourse is mainly used by both candidates when they are depicted as public figures and representative authorities of the society.

Meanwhile, the personal position is less frequent on their speech, however, it is full of emotional content. Furthermore, the personalization of politicians is one of the aspects highlighted by late-night shows due to the individualized interviews and the informal atmosphere created by the shows, which seek to humanize its guests. Therefore, the language used by politicians can be defined as private and public. The private language can be identified when politicians' interventions are based on the experience, whereas the public language is considered as the language of the political institutions, when the one who uses represent a group, instead of an individual person.

In relation to the use of persuasive techniques and rhetoric tools such as repetition, polarization or nominalization, the use of language has been examined as a key characteristic. The main purpose of using rhetoric tools leads to emphasize with politicians' target groups and, thereby, reach the largest part of the audience as possible. In the case of Trump, he seeks to gain legitimization for his discourse, which is mainly based on the difference towards immigrants and enhance the borders, as well as strengthen and distinguish his figure. In the case of Clinton, her domain of language is focused on the differentiation against the others, which represent the Republican party and the threat which they represent for the stability of the country. Clinton's use of language is more neutral and lead to social inclusion, whereas Trump's discourse is characterized by his aggressiveness and use of negative moral evaluation that evoke the raise of fear and xenophobia.

The raise of social media platforms as a new form to spread content through the process of sharing political content was one of the main points of this study. The search of elements in the video performances of the candidates that evoke emotions, interest or unexpected situations, was identified as the elements that audiences look for in the politician performances and, thereby, the video become viral. However, the level of activation of emotions, known as arousal, determines the impact that the content makes in the viewer. In the case of politicians in late-night shows, this study demonstrates the popularity Donald Trump reached due to his high level of arousal in his discourse, but also throughout his more likely ability to surprise with his performance. On the other hand, Hillary Clinton was established in a lower step in terms of virality achievements during her presidential campaign. Despite of her positive and conciliatory discourse, Clinton was not able to reach a high level of emotions in her discourse, as Trump did. Another aspect that penalized Clinton's achievement of virality was her lower capacity to awake interest and surprise within her performance.

All in up, throughout this study has become clear that political communication, and late-night shows to be exact, is turning to political information and a mandatory stop for candidates on their road to the White House. The importance that late-night show had during the 2016 US presidential election campaign was demonstrated throughout politicians' performance and their impact in social media. The personalization of politicians and the deal with political and personal discourses is seen as a key part of the campaign. In connection with this, it can be concluded that comedy allows to humanize politicians. On the other hand, it can be stated that the deal with a high arousal of emotions and unexpected funny moments, are easier to become shared and reachable for people and, therefore, easier to become viral. Finally, as Lichter et al. (2010) argue, as long as voters continue to look to a candidate's personal qualities for voting cues, candidates will attempt to exploit the late-night venue to their benefit.

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8.1. References Videos

8.1.1. Donald Trump's clips:

· The Late Show with Stephen Colbert (*Transcription in Appendix A***)**

Donald Trump Has Nothing To Apologize For [Video file]. (2015, September 23rd). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ns7ocpRhDD8

· Jimmy Kimmel Live! (*Transcriptions in Appendix B***)**

Donald Trump Talks About Supporting Hillary Clinton [Video file]. (2016, May 26th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcOX7gWjghk

Donald Trump is Willing to Debate Bernie Sanders [Video file]. (2016, May 26th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vzO-JYjEcHE

Donald Trump Denies PR Spokesman Tapes Were Him [Video file]. (2016, May 26th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWd25HFI_sU

Donald Trump on Creating Insulting Nicknames [Video file]. (2016, May 26th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Ub98YouVmE

Donald Trump's Response to Transgender Bathroom Laws [Video file]. (2016, May 26th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gal-QReSdy4

Donald Trump on Fundraising and Celebrity Endorsements [Video file]. (2016, May 26th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ffhVJGqeGKo

Donald Trump Talks About VP Selection [Video file]. (2016, May 26th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=maLmIuaI_MM

· The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon (*Transcriptions in Appendix C***)**

Donald Trump Talks Media Coverage, Polls and His Vocal Transformation [Video file]. (2016, September 16th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SPh_raqO_A0

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Donald Trump Clarifies His Relationship with Vladimir Putin [Video file]. (2016, September 16th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFS5CSP5fRM&t=6s

Donald Trump Lets Jimmy Fallon Mess Up His Hair [Video file]. (2016, September 15th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u0BYqzdiuJc

8.1.2. Hillary Clinton's Clips

· The Late Show with Stephen Colbert (*Transcriptions in Appendix D***)**

Hillary Clinton Binge-Watches "The Good Wife" [Video file]. (2015, October 28th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_by4NUtNARY

Hillary Clinton Isn't Running For Anyone Else's Third Term [Video file]. (2015, October 28th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_9ThARis10

· **Jimmy Kimmel Live! (***Transcriptions in Appendix E***)**

Hillary Clinton Proves She's in Good Health [Video file]. (2016, August 22nd). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kt22Y9-dfNk&list=RD0BmIMbSmMNo&index=2

Hillary Clinton Tries to Read Donald Trump Quotes with a Straight Face [Video file]. (2016, August 22nd). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H5SkoqqtW6s&index=3&list=RD0BmIMbSmMNo

Hillary Clinton on a Jimmy Kimmel Vice Presidency [Video file]. (2016, August 22nd). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0BmIMbSmMNo&t=8s

· **The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon (***Transcriptions in Appendix F***)**

Hillary Clinton on Her Health and Recovery from Pneumonia [Video file]. (2016, September 20th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CAzwZNZdHSk&t=4s

Hillary Clinton on Breaking Barriers, Fighting Bigotry and Debating Trump [Video file]. (2016, September 20th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=leoVY0r4Np8

Hillary Clinton on Balancing Seriousness with Positivity as a Woman [Video file]. (2016, September 20th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdPX4MwsVvM3

Kid Letters with Hillary Clinton [Video file]. (2016, September 20th). Retrieved 2017, May 11th, from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K818ZgIcoWE&t=5s

9. Appendices

9.1. Appendix A

Donald Trump Has Nothing To Apologize For (4:19)

2015, September 23rd

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 10.402.693 plays

Stephen apologizes to Donald Trump for the mean things he's said about him over the years, and gives him the opportunity to apologize as well. Nope.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ns7ocpRhDD8

SC: I also want to apologize to you because I said a few things about you over the years that are, you know, in polite company perhaps are unforgivable.

DT: Almost

SC: Almost unforgivable

DT: And some nice things, not too many.

SC: I don't remember, I don't remember saying anything nice. But, anyway, I hope you will accept my apology...

DT: Accepted

SC: I just want to give you the opportunity, is there anybody you would like to apologize to yourself?

DT: Ah, no

SC: No? No one?

DT: Maybe the audience... How about the audience? No, no apologies.

SC: Okay. Let's talk about immigration for just a second.

DT: Okay.

SC: I know you believe all illegal immigrants should be deported, true?

DT: That is true. We have to bring people, look... We have a country, we have borders. We have no borders right now. We don't have a country. We have to create... Number 1: We are going to build a wall. Number 2... (*The crowd break the speech of DT with an applause*) Oh, listen to this...!! even with your crowd...

[*laughter*]

SC: They love the wall... People love the wall.

DT: We have to have a wall. We have to have a border. And in that wall, we are going to have a beautiful, big, fat door where people can...they come into the country. And they come in...Listen to me.... A beautiful door where people can come into the country. But they have to come in legally. That is what a country is all about...

SC: Okay. I understand that.... You said that Mexico will pay for this...

DT. That is correct.

SC: How do you know "art of the deal" and all that... How do you get the Mexicans to do this? Let's do a role-playing, you are you (US President), I am the President of Mexico. You call me up, okay?

DT: Sure

SC: Donald! Amigo, cómo estás?

DT: Are you ready? We are going to build the wall. You are going to pay for the wall. We have been abused for a long time at the border.

SC: Oh... mi corazón!

DT: Wait a minute, wait a minute. You show you understand. The wall itself, we owe... Do you know that we have a trade deficit with Mexico and I will call you now Steven, as supposed to where we going... Listen to this, Steven.

SC: Who is this Steven?

[*laughter*]

DT: You are right. Almost 45 billion dollars, a trade deficit. The wall you are talking about 5 billion to 7 billion. That is something that actually is very easy to build. It will be not a penetrable wall, this will be a serious wall

SC: Can I suggest something?

DT: Yes. Go ahead...

SC: How about... two walls, okay?

DT: Connected...?

SC: No, no. Not connected. Two walls. One here, one there, in between a moat...

DT: And a nice resort...

SC: Filled with fire

DT: Oh, yes...

SC: And fireproof crocodiles. It is that enough?

DT: You know, 2000 years ago, you had the great wall of China, 13.000 miles long...

SC: Jesus helped build that...

DT: You are right. You are right. But here you are talking about 1.000 miles, because there are 2.000 but you need it in 1000 miles. We can have a great and beautiful wall. It will be up. It will stop. We will have our border and guess what? Nobody comes in, unless they have their papers, and they come in legally. And we stop crime and we stop problems and we stop drug trade, which is massive. You know, we have so much drug trade, the Cartels are pouring through, just like there is nothing pouring through Chicago, NY, LA, the money goes out, the drugs come in. We are going to stop it!

SC: Okay. Well, that would be good, that would be...

DT: I think so...

SC: All right, I am going to throw you a big, fat, meat ball for you to hit out of the park right now.

DT: Ok. I like it.

SC: Good. This is the last time you ever have to address this question if you hit the ball. There is like, sauce all over my hands, this meated...

DT: I want to hear this one.

SC: Barack Obama born in the US. It is a meatball!

DT: *I know!*

SC: It is hanging out there!

DT: I don't talk about it anymore. I talk about jobs. I talk about our veterans being horribly treated. I don't talk about this anymore.

SC: That meatball is now being dragged down the step save subway by a rat.

9.2. Appendix B

Donald Trump Talks About Supporting Hillary Clinton (2:13 mins)

2016, May 26th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 244.395 plays

Donald Trump explains why he has made positive comments about Hillary Clinton in the past.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CcOX7gWjghk

JK: So much has happened since the last time you were here...

DT: It is true, a lot...

JK: You got more votes than any Republican candidate ever...

DT: Ever, ever in history.

JK: Never in history, you are the presumptive nominee which enough with the presumptive already. You taught the world about your 'Taco balls'... But when you started all this, I just have to believe that you thought now this will be fun and it will be a four-month thing and you never imagined it would go this far, is that true?

DT: Well, you know, I have been asked that question on occasion and I will say you never know what is going to happen and I wanted to do it, we have such potential in the country and I had no idea, maybe it would go this quickly. I was supposed to be working, as you know, until August. They were thinking would need a second convention even. You know, you have a convention in July, then they said would need another one in August and in the end Indiana was so good to me, NY, Pennsylvania... I mean, all of them. They were so great and the victory was so big that I am now here and I am watching Hillary. It was supposed to be the other way around, and I enjoy watching her.

JK: Are you enjoying the Hillary vs Bernie struggle that is happening right now?

DT: Well, I do. It is getting nasty. I had no idea it was going to be so nasty...

JK: In 2008, I wanted to get this... You said you thought Hillary would make an excellent President and, recently, in 2012 you said you thought she was terrific. What did she do?

DT: Well, I am happy just explaining to you. I will tell you. When I am a businessman, I had a beautiful story recently where they said Trump is a world-class businessman. All over the world we are doing jobs, I speak well of everybody. If people ask me about politicians, I speak well. So, when they asked me about Hillary, she is wonderful, the House... everybody is wonderful and that is the way it is, and including contributions. They asked me for contributions, I give contributions...

Donald Trump is Willing to Debate Bernie Sanders

2016, May 26th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 1.695.311 plays

Donald Trump shares his opinion on the race between Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton and agrees to debate Sanders under one condition.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vzO-JYjEcHE

JK: Who do you like more, Bernie Sanders or Hillary Clinton?

DT: Well, I actually think that Bernie would be easy to beat. Even though he shows up a little bit better in the polls and I might be wrong but what I do like about Bernie is when he loses because the system is rigged against him, totally. Just like it was rigged against me. The system is rigged.

JK: Do you understand how it works? because I don't...

DT: Nobody understand it... But it is an unfair system. I understand that the bosses hand out delegates and whoever get the most super delegates is a good advantage but, it is unfair. I don't like what is happening and I watched and we had it too. The Republicans most sophisticated way because super delegates is so obvious. The Republican system is also, and I came up, I think, I came up with the word rigged because I was going around three four months saying "the system is rigged..." then I started winning by so much and it didn't matter what the matter is rigged... But Bernie Sanders...I think is unfair what is happening with Bernie Sanders, actually. I it is a system that is not a good system...

JK: I ask Bernie Sander because he is going to be here tomorrow... Have you ever met Bernie?

DT: I've never had the privilege.

JK: I see. So, here is the question for Bernie Sanders... Hillary Clinton made an agreement to debate me in California before the June 7th primaries, are you prepare to debate the major issues facing our larger state and the country before the California primary? Yes or No. He wants to know if you would debate...

DT: Yes, I am. How much is he going to pay me...?

JK: You would do it for a price?

DT: Yes, because the way debate him we will have such a high ratings and I think I should give... Take that money and give it to some charity

JK: Would you really do that?

DT: I would love to do that.

JK: What if the Network put money and you guys came in...

DT: It could happen also. You know, when we do the Republicans debates the Fox at 24 million people, the largest of the history of campaign in cable TV. CNN, three weeks later had 23 million people, the largest of the history of CNN. Think of it, CNN with all the wars and all the things they cover. It is the largest audience they ever had. The largest audience ever in cable was FOX a couple of weeks before. And I must say, you know, I think I had a lot to do with that...But I said, "Why are we getting paid for this? And give the money to charity..." And I actually, as you know, I have been saying this for a long time "Get paid, give the money to charity".

Donald Trump Denies PR Spokesman Tapes Were Him

2016, May 26th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 136.853 plays

Jimmy presses Donald Trump on his opinion of transgender bathroom laws.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DWd25HFI_sU

JK: I don't think you are taking credit for this and this is something brilliant. I know what is your official position on this, but let's, you know, just forget them for a second. That call with people magazine reporter, that guy who sounded like you calling and going and drop...

DT: It didn't sound like me though, really. You know, you think that is out there like...

JK: Yes.

DT: I don't.

JK: You know how people give their voice and they don't think their voice sounds like a voice...

DT: You know, it was funny and the reporter came back and said "I think Trump gave out the tape" give me a break from 28 years...

JK: Why would you give out that tape, although it was funny...

DT: I felt that it wasn't my voice and they didn't want to have the liability. But you know, honestly I discussed this the other night on a show and it was really a very good discussion and, check it out. But I will say this. To me, that didn't sound like my voice.

JK: Yes. Well, nobody sounds like themselves when they hear themselves. But to me it sounded just like you...

DT: Really?

JK: Yes. And if it was you, I think it was a very funny thing to do. To call a guy and take him through.

DT: Over the years, I have used alias and when I am in real estate and especially when I was out in Brooklyn with my father and I would want to buy something and honestly, nobody knew who Trump was at that time. Nobody knew me, so it wasn't so much so important. But I would never want to use my name because you had to pay more money for the land. If you are trying to buy land, you use different names...

JK: What names do you use?

DT: I actually used the name Baron. And I entered using my son's because I made a very good deal using that name. I used an alias in terms of setting up a meeting with Mr. Donald Trump and it many people in the real estate business do that you use alias and you have to, follow me. Otherwise they find out at you and they charge you more money, and nobody wants to pay more money

JK: When you name your kid Baron, does that put a lot of pressure on him to become a baron?

DT: Well, he is a little baron. That one is a little barren will tell you.

JK: Is he really?

DT: He is a good boy

JK: Do you drive him to the school and do those kind of things?

DT: I have, I have. I love doing it.

JK: Do you play games with him?

DT: I play games all the time.

JK: You ever let him win on these games?

DT: No, I am trying to defeat him. I want him to win. They are doing very well. I have great children and five great children and I want them to be successful. I want them to do really well. I mean, that is the whole deal with your children. I have friend that are very successful and they don't like seeing their son or daughter do better than them... What happens? Well, they are not very good fathers, but I have seen many people that they are so competitive with their children.

JK: If one of your children run against you for President, would you crush them?

DT: I would try...

Donald Trump on Creating Insulting Nicknames

2016, May 26th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 189.318 plays

Donald Trump talks about his self-esteem and where the nicknames he uses for other politicians come from.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Ub98YouVmE

JK: You have so much self-esteem. Where does it come from? Is that from your parents, is it just in born.

DT: I feel good about myself. I feel like I know what I am doing. I think that this is something I have never, I have only been doing this for nine months.

JK: Have you ever been to a psychiatrist?

DT: No. I haven't. I don't have time. You know, the answer is keep yourself nice and busy...

JK: When you come up with these nicknames for these guys, Lying Ted, Crazy Bernie, Crooked Hillary... You have a team of people at work with you doing brainstorms or is it just you come up with it the night before...

DT: The team is right there.

JK: And then you just go right on Twitter with it?

DT: I get rid of them, because I don't want to be calling him Lying Ted anymore, or Taco or names I came up...

JK: You should come up one for Bill Clinton, it seems like you haven't come up with that.

DT: I don't want to do anything like that. But I have come up with Crooked Hillary and you know what is going on, she Is very crooked. They had a bad report today and it is a rough report. That is a sad report.

Donald Trump's Response to Transgender Bathroom Laws (1:20 mins)

2016, May 26th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 492.990 plays

Jimmy presses Donald Trump on his opinion of transgender bathroom laws.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gal-QReSdy4

JK: I thought this is very interesting. You believe that transgender people should be able to use whatever bathroom they want to, which is contrary to what a lot of people, most of people in your party, believe. What do you think people are focus on that?

DT: What I am really saying is, and I think it is pretty simple. Let the state decide and you know, we have to protect everybody. It is a very, very small group. Right now, it is a very small group program.

JK: But would you say though if you were voting personally. Remember in NY state that you would vote, for that right?

DT: Well, the party generally believes that whatever you are born, that is the bathroom you use.

JK: But, what about you?

DT: Me, I say. Let the state decide.

JK: Do you personally support it?

DT: I think what I support is let the state decide. I hope the state will do, hopefully, the right thing.

JK: And what is the right thing?

DT: I don't know yet. Let the state decide...

JK: Ok. I will give you an N/A on that question.

Donald Trump on Fundraising and Celebrity Endorsements (3:22 mins)

2016, May 26th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 111.675 plays

Donald Trump talks about a Republican fundraiser he was going to after our show.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ffhVJGqeGKo

JK: You are going to a big fundraiser later on tonight...

DT: Right. Rising money for the Republican party.

JK: But part of the money goes to you and then the rest...most goes to the Republican party?

DT: Much of it goes to the Republican party. Senators and congressmen... We want to keep it the way it is and hopefully if I am President we will have the Senate, will have Congress, will get things passed and will reduce taxes... Would you like to have a tax reduction? And many other things...

[*cheers and applauses*]

JK: When you go to an event like this where people, obviously, everyone know you are a billionaire, many times over and you ask these people for money... Is it like, I mean, did they go like, why you asking somebody's it like Papa John taking up a collection for a pizza delivery?

DT: It is true, that is not a crazy thing! I ran in the primaries and I said, I don't want anybody's money and I didn't want. And I put in about 55 million dollars of my own money and I did well. It sounds like a lot of money, but that is, practically less than other people who spent two hundred and some odd million. They were like in ninth place. So, I spent less money and I had the best result which is what we want for a President, right? So, now we are going to raise about a billion dollar for the Senate, for Congress, for everything...

JK: But, do you get like the 54 hundred dollars, which is nothing. I just don't even want to be President. Do you know how much the President makes? Do you know what the salary is?

DT: I am going to make one dollar, because I am giving it all back.

JK: It is 400.000 dollars and the first lady makes 10.000 dollars a year...

DT: That is not fair. This is very discriminatory. Hey! Tomorrow a lawsuit will be filled by...

JK: It is anti-female... So, at this dinner tonight, are they famous people going who don't want to be identified?

DT: Very rich people and very successful people and, in many cases, very liberal people and they are all voting for me. I think people are going to be very surprised, you know? I am going to make a heavy play for California. No other Republican candidate, for years, would even waste time in California, and tonight trying to get, you know? win the state. I think I can win, we were in, just recently I was here 31.000 people showed up for a speech on one day's notice I think we can do great in California. I think we can win California and I am going to put in a heavy play I own a property in California...

JK: Are you afraid of evict us (Californians) if we don't...

DT: Yes. I think we can do great in California but I am going to make a play for NY also.

JK: People like Dennis Rodman like Gary Busey at Tila Tequila. When they endorse you, do you will had me “I don’t need you know, thanks!” but mmm maybe...

DT: No. honestly I have had great endorsements and well, Myke Tyson endorsed me, you saw that...

JK: I did see

DT: But I have had great endorsements. One of the great endorsements and I think one of that really had a big impact, was in Indiana. Bobby Knight came and he said “Trumps is what we want”

JK: I saw that, yes...

DT: And Bobby Knight won 900 games, 3 national championships, he had the last undefeated college team and in Indiana and everywhere else, I mean, he is like a legendary coach and he came out and he said “I want Trump”.

Donald Trump Talks About VP Selection Process (1:39 mins)

2016, May 26th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 209.318 plays

Donald Trump talks about his hunt for a running mate and Jimmy gives him a suggestion on how to do it.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=maLmIuaI_MM

JK: Did you fire Ben Carson from your vice-presidential team?

DT: Ben Carson is a great person...

JK: Is he? Because he seems like he has half out of it all the time.

DT: No. He is very smart. He is a very fine person. I have been, and everybody, looking. I have a lot of different people looking. Ultimately will make a decision and I will make the decision. And we have some very good candidates, we have so wonderful people. I know you are sort of indeed...

JK: Yes, absolutely I would like to be considered, yes.

[cheers and applause]

JK: When you put a guy in charge, when you say, Ben will you help me find a vice president... Is that a nice way of saying Ben, you are not going to be my vice president.

DT: Well, Ben will be involved. I tell you he did very well and he did a really good job and...

JK: And then you steam rolled him...

DT: No, I think look, I didn’t want to steam roll anybody, frankly. We have some very good people up on that stage...

JK: You don't want to steam roll, Ted Cruz?

DT: No, Ted and I had some problems...

JK: Can I make a suggestion about this vice-presidential thing?

DT: Go ahead...

JK: Why don't you do this just like celebrity apprentice? Why don't you get these guys all in a room, whatever you have and then each it would be the highest rated show in the history of TV. You eliminate one person and they go back to wherever the hell that came from...

DT: All right...

JK: You see. This is why I would be your best vice president!

9.3. Appendix C

Donald Trump Talks Media Coverage, Polls and His Vocal Transformation (4:56 mins)

2016, September 16th

To the date of analysis (2017, May 11th): 2.479.420 plays

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump gets real with Jimmy about how things have changed since becoming the Republican presidential nominee.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SPh_raqO_A0

JF: Donald, this is getting real...

DT: Yes, it is getting real. I Agree.

JF: You still have time, Do you still want to do this? I mean, there is time...

DT: We are doing well. It has been really a lot of fun and it is an amazing movement all over the country. It has been incredible, so, no, it has been an honor for me I have to say.

JF: There is probably kids watching you right now, if they are at home watching. They do stay up late and watch our show. Why should they want to grow up and be president?

DT: Well, I think you want to grow up and be president because you want to help people. And you want to help people. There is a tremendous problems that people in this country have and all over the world. And if you want to help people, there is no better position to do it from than the presidency. So we can do a lot of good

[Cheers and applause]

JF: Did you always see yourself getting into politics

DT: I really never did. I probably would not have done many of the shows that I have done over the years if I ever thought. But I never thought this would happen. Four years ago, I really, seriously considered

it. And they renewed as you know, they wanted me to stay and do "The Apprentice" and I was doing all of these jobs and...But I really wanted to do it and ultimately I decided I would wait. Let's see how things go with the country and things only got worse, and I decided to do it. And you know, I gave up a lot by doing this. This is a tough thing, there is nothing easy about it. I have always heard doing this is very, very difficult thing but nobody knows how tough it is.

JF: It is, right? I mean, it has been a long...

DT: It is grueling. It is grueling and... But at the same time, very satisfying. You know? You see what is happening and you see what is going on, so it is very satisfying. But is is grueling process...

JF: Do you think your business background helps you with campaigning? Like if you have to target, like... say you need women from 25 to 40 you need that age group, do you target that?

DT: Well, I think where it helps...

JF: That is good, right? Is that too business?

DT: I am trying to figure that one out

JF: I am reading... I am halfway through your book. It is pretty good. It is pretty good.

DT: We are going to get that one soon. But, you know, yes, I think business will always help. It helps from a country standpoint. But you know, *it is interesting when I was doing the primaries. I* spent less money than other people and I did better than other people. And that is what we want to do for the country. We want to spend less money and do better. And I think we can do that. I think we can do that.

JF: We were talking about how long and grueling it is. What has changed from when you first started running to now?

DT: Well, I think the press has become more and more vicious. I think, you know, it was interesting. *We started off with 17 people and you had some of them in here* and one by one by one...

JF: We had about 15 (Republican politicians) on here...

DT: You had 15, maybe not all 17, but you had a lot of them. But we had 17 people and as it got down, you know, I do notice there is a big difference with the media. I also say, though, there is even more love out there the people want this to happen. They really want it to happen. And you see what is going on, even today with the polls where the polls are so good. We just got a great poll from Colorado. Normally, a Republican would not do particularly well there, and we are leading in Colorado and we are leading in Iowa, we are leading in Ohio and Florida. We are leading all over, and it has been amazing. It has been really amazing.

JF: Do you pay attention to the polls?

DT: Oh. I love polls!

JF: You do?

DT: But I do not pay attention if I am losing or lagging. I would never mention polls. Believe me! Only when I am winning!

JF: I have noticed that, little changes, I think your voice has changed a little bit. Because I have done... I hate to break it to you, but I have done an impression of you once or twice on this show...

DT: You have...

JF: Thank you for letting me do that.

DT: And a very good impression, though!

JF: Thank you. But when you first started running... you were very high-voiced, your voice was very high. China...You would say "China" ... A lot of pointing...very high. And then you got into a stage where you were just yelling. You were yelling into the microphone at people and you are yelling at everyone! And like, you do not even need the mic... And now, you are more of, like, a smoky, silky...

[people cheers and applause]

JF: Like a Donald Trump/Alec Baldwin impression type of voice. Yes, that is what I see you are doing. And I got to kindly thank you for giving us the material that we are doing. It has been amazing to follow and exciting, because you say some shocking things. I can't even believe...

DT: But I am trying not to anymore...

JF: Oh, yes! I see, that is changing. Yes. That is what I am talking about, so, yes.

Donald Trump Returns for Another Mock Job Interview for President (2:33 mins)

2016, September 16th

To the date of analysis (2017, May 11th): 966.906 plays

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump gets wistful discussing his childhood home in Queens before tackling a list of standard job interview questions to help Jimmy evaluate his qualifications for POTUS.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hI14958GL0Q&t=13s

JF: You are from Queens.

DT: I am. I am from Queens.

JF: And I just saw your childhood home is for sale...

DT: Oh, wooow. I want to see that

JF: Yes. There it is.

DT: That is it.

JF: That is your house?

DT: That is where I was born...

JF: Any fun memories from this house?

DT: Well, I had great parents and I had great brothers and sisters. I had really good childhood. Oh, that is sad to look at that! I want to buy it! I want to buy it...

JF: You have very good memories?

DT: Oh, I love it!

JF: Did you get in any trouble there? Were you a troublemaker?

DT: Not too much, no. My parents were very strict and good and loving. They were fantastic parents. Ohhh how cute...

JF: Oh, sorry. I am making you wistful... Yes. Sorry for that, buddy. Choking me up a little bit...Last time you were here, we did a mock job interview because this is the biggest job in the world, the President of the US. Can we continue that interview and finish it?

DT: Sure.

JF: Because now we are only down to two candidates...

DT: Okay.

JF: Get my clipboard here...

DT: I do not know if I like this...

JF: Why would you excel at this job?

DT: Because I love people and I want to do right for people.

JF: Okay. How would your co-workers, peers describe you?

DT: As somebody who never gives up. We never give up. We can never give up, right? Never!

JF: What do you like to do outside of work? Do you have any hobbies?

DT: I do not have any time. I have been doing this...this has been very...I really don't have much time... No, honestly, this has been, like, 24 hours a day. We have just gone all-out. You have to love your family and all of those things but we have very little time. Amazing.

JF: Why do you want to leave your current job?

DT: Because I am sort of looking to make a lot less money... A lot!

JF: You are going to have to take a pay cut, I am sorry, yes. Finally, what will you do if you don't get this position?

DT: You know, I think I want to, more than anything ever I want to take over "The Tonight Show"

JF: No that is not available...

DT: That is never going to happen.

Donald Trump on Board Games, His Health and Fast Food Habit (2:35 mins)

2016, September 16th

To the date of analysis (2017, May 11th): 1.160.095 plays

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump talks about avoiding illness despite a grueling campaign schedule and why he prefers fast food on the road.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vARcHv-nZ-c&t=1s

JF: You have said in a show before that you have never really apologize until, unless you really feel the need to apologize.

DT: Well, I do not love apologizing. I am not... I am not thrilled about apologizing. But I will apologize if I am wrong about something.

JF: Yes. Have you ever play the board game, "Sorry"?

DT: No, I sort of like Monopoly better than Sorry.

JF: Absolutely! I see that, yes. What is your go-to properties?

DT: Well, I do not know. I think maybe...maybe Fifth Avenue...

JF: Oh, yes! Is there a Fifth Avenue?

DT: No, but, there is going to be.

JF: In real life... You are playing Monopoly in real life. Yes, we play different Monopolies, yes... Hillary is getting sick. You handled that very well saying: "I hope she gets better". Have you gotten close to getting sick through this whole campaign?

DT: Is this wood or is it Formica?

JF: It is wood, yes. No it's veneer...

DT: I know this is wood. No, I haven't. I have been...We are going... In fact, right after this, I am going up to New Hampshire. We are making a speech up in New Hampshire. We have a big crowd. And I just got back from Ohio and we were in Pennsylvania and Florida. We are all over.

JF: How do you not get sick from shaking all those hands?

DT: I don't know. By not thinking about it. I don't even want to...

JF: Sorry about that. Sorry to bring it up. I don't want it to happen...

DT: I just don't think about it.

JF: I don't get sick, either, doing this show, but usually on vacation, I get sick...

DT: When you take it easy. It is not so good. No, I haven't. I have had...We have had a very grueling schedule. We have had an amazing schedule from one state to the next. Sometimes three or four a day. And, so far, I am, you know? Staying strong.

JF: And it is not true, right, that I have read that you just eat fast food all the time?

DT: Well, I eat it a little bit when we are traveling because we will be on the plane and I...you know, they have a big thing to preserve. They have a name, whether it is McDonald's or Wendy's or any of them. And at least you know what you are getting. I don't want to go into a restaurant and say "Mr.Trump would like a hamburger to go". I don't know what they are going to do to that hamburger. If they like me, I am happy... If they don't like me...

JF: They are going to spit in the burger, yes! Exactly, yes. I didn't even think about that...

DT: I am better off with fast food.

Donald Trump Clarifies His Relationship with Vladimir Putin (3:23 mins)

2016, September 16th

To the date of analysis (2017, May 11th): 1.404.104 plays

Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump clears up his relationship with Vladimir Putin and gets critical of the media for "gaming the system" to slant debates against him.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IFS5CSP5fRM&t=6s

JF: Everyone's saying: "Oh, is there is a romance between Vladimir Putin" and all this stuff, and what is the celebrity nickname for you guys? And I thought of Vlump. Vlump, I thought was good. You said, "If he says great things about me, I will say great things about him"...

DT: Well, look, I don't know him and I know nothing about him, really. I just think if we got along with Russia, that is not a bad thing and you know, getting along with other countries. The Democrats are trying to say I like him somehow. I do not like him I do not dislike him. I do not have any feelings one way or the other and it is not going to matter what he says about me. If he says good things or bad things about me, I am going to make great deals for our country. I am interested in our country. I am interested in the success of our country and right now, I mean, you see what is happening. You see what is happening just generally speaking and we have a long way to go. But they do try and pin me into this and I am saying to myself, "I do not even know him". All of a suden, you know they make it like he is my best friend. I do not him. What I want is what is right for the country. That is all that matters to me.

JF: First debate is September 26th at Hofstra University, Lester Holt is moderating. You say you do not traditionally prepare for the debate...

DT: Well, I prepare. I mean, I certainly prepare. I never debated before the other 11 debates. I was in 11 debates, you know, in the primary system and I loved it. I really liked doing it. But I never debated professionally or from a political standpoint before, but I enjoyed that process. And I look forward to the next debate and Lester is the moderator. I think it is very tough for Lester, because, frankly, I thought Matt Lauer did a fantastic job. And they are trying to game the system but saying that Trump won the debate because Matt Lauer wasn't as tough on Trump as he was on Hillary Clinton and that wasn't it. I mean he was very tough on me and he was tough on her. But they are trying to make it so that Lester is going to come out and really be tough on me. And I think it is unfair. I mean, they are trying to game the system. So, I said, "Let's not have a moderator". Remember the famous... You wouldn't remember this of course. Abraham Lincoln-Douglas. Remember the Lincoln-Douglas debates?

JF: Are you kidding me? I watch it all the time on YouTube...

DT: No moderator...

JF: It has got 3 million hits on YouTube!

DT: I would have liked to have seen that. That was supposed to be quite the debate.

JF: But who would go first? Who would talk first?

DT: Well, I don't know

JF: Flip a coin? Do you know what a coin is, by the way? A coin is a tiny...It is a beautiful thing...I got to show you... I will give you a coin backstage. You are going to forget all... You will love them, yes.

DT: No, but the concept of having us both sitting on stage or standing on stage. I like standing much better. But standing on stage and just debating, you know, they used to do debates that way. I think would be fascinating for people. I think it would be fascinating. But I think there is a lot of outside pressure being placed on Lester that is unfair. But I think it is unfair to me, but that is ok. But I think it is unfair to Lester.

JF: Yes. Because he has got to really just overprepare, I guess.

DT: Well, he has got to hammer me and I think that is not the right thing to do.

JF: Right

DT: But Matt... I have to say, I thought Matt Lauer did a fantastic job in that debate.

JF: We love him. We love Matt Lauer. We are fan of Matt Lauer here, too.

Donald Trump Lets Jimmy Fallon Mess Up His Hair (1:13 mins)

2016, September 15th

To the date of analysis (2017, May 11th): 11.390.117 plays

Jimmy asks if he can tussle Donald Trump's famously controversial hair while the Republican presidential nominee is still a civilian.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u0BYqzdiuJc

JF: Donald, I want to ask you because the next time I see you, you could be the President of the US. I just wanted to know if there is something we could do that is not presidential really, or something that we can do now that we are just both civilians, like...

DT: Like what? This is... I am not liking the sound of this... Go ahead!

JF: Can I mess your hair up?

DT: As long.... The answer is yes, but the people in New Hampshire, where I am going to be in about an hour from now, I hope they are going to understand, okay?

JF: Did you say yes?

DT: Go ahead! With my hairspray...

JF: Yes!! Donald Trump, everybody!! I will do it as well! Donald Trump, everybody!!

9.4. Appendix D

Hillary Clinton Binge-Watches "The Good Wife"

2015, October 28th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 229.558 plays

In honor of her birthday, Hillary Clinton took a little time to catch up on some binge-watching.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_by4NUtNARY

SC: And I want to start off by saying happy birthday. I know yesterday was your birthday.

HC: It was. Absolutely.

SC: Did you do anything special like have a celebration for 11 hours?

HC: Well, let's see, I slept late. That was pretty celebratory. I got to do as little as I could away with. That was good. I had some...

SC: What is the least you can get away with right now?

HC: You know, I had to make some phone calls. And I had to watch the 11 hours all over again... Not at all, you know? It was just really nice because it was a beautiful day and I got to see my granddaughter over the weekend and my daughter and everybody was in good spirits and good health. You can't ask for any more than that. And then I just sort of hung around, watched bad TV...

SC: Not this show...

HC: No! No! By definition not this show...

SC: Of course, of course

HC: You know... a little binge watching here and there...

SC: What do you binge watch?

HC: We have a lot of them and we finally finished "House of Cards" It took a while because we were slow going.

SC: Do you watch that show and every yawn go, this ... so old hat

HC: Another murder.... And we did... I do like "Madam secretary"

SC: Oh, really?

HC: I do, actually, I do!

SC: Don't just say that, because it is a CBS show...

HC: No, because I watch "Madame secretary" and I watch "Good Wife". But you know, we watch a lot of different odds and ends, we have a good time...

SC: Do you ever call them up and say where is my residual check? Where is my royalty?

HC: No, but Madeleine Albright was in an episode a couple of weeks ago.

SC: She was?

HC: She was playing herself.

SC: Are you jealous?

HC: A little...

SC: Do you want me to call somebody? I know people over there...

HC: I think I would have to wait to do it later.

SC: Maybe after November...

HC: Yes. Maybe after November.

Hillary Clinton Isn't Running For Anyone Else's Third Term (7:33 mins)

2015, October 28th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 527.845 plays

Hillary Clinton stopped by to talk about what her campaign is about and why she wants to be president.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c_9ThARis10

SC: You look in the last couple of weeks that you are having fun.

HC: Right, right

SC: Is it fun to run for President of the US?

HC: Some days... Some days, yes. It really is fun. Some days it is just very hard work, and you do so many events. You do kind of lose track of where you are. But most days, something happens during the day that really makes you feel like, yes, I know why I am doing this. I am so committed. And it is because somebody said something to me on a rope line...

SC: That leads me to my next question, why are you doing this? Why do you want...this is the question that Kennedy could not answer in 1979. Why do you want to be President of the US?

HC: I want to be President because I want to build on the progress that we have been making and make it possible for more people in our country, particularly young people, to live up to their own God-given potential. And that means we have got to get back to providing opportunities. We have got to get back to making the economy work for everybody and we have to defend the progress we have made in women's rights and gay rights and we have to protect voting rights and immigrants' rights and everything else

SC: But how do we do that? Those are, you know, those are noble goals and you are the fifth presidential candidate I have had on the show so far, and Bernie Sanders was sitting there and he said many of the same things. And his answers are a democratic socialist's answer. And in the debate with senator Sanders, you said the US is not Denmark. Denmark has those things with high taxes on the middle class and, How would we achieve them in the US, aside from the political paralysis of Washington, How do get those things?

HC: Well, first of all. We have got to get back to putting the middle class at the center of our politics and we have got to make it clear that what has been tried by the Republicans every time they get a chance, cutting taxes on the Super Wealthy, getting out of the way of corporations... doesn't create broad based prosperity. It creates more inequality. And I believe, and I think the evidence supports this, that the economy does better when we have a democrat in the White House because you do have to work against some pretty powerful forces, but at least you are there. You are pushing back all the time. The middle class is one of the great inventions of our country. I came out of the middle class. My grandfather was a factory worker but my dad became small businessman, and I know this is possible and must exist if people are going to believe that this country is as great as I think it is. So, I am going to go back and do what I know works, build on what President Obama did, because, look at he mess he inherited. You know, I love it when you have Republicans on here, and they act like we all have amnesia. I mean, we had the worst financial crisis since the great depression. And my husband handed over 23 million new jobs, incomes rising for everybody, a balanced budget and a surplus and President Obama got the worst economy where we were losing 800.000 jobs a month. So, we have got to get back to making the middle class the center of our politics, raising incomes, and giving kids a better shot.

SC: That is a cheap trick saying things people like...

HC: Well, it was the way I was raise...

SC: You said 23 million jobs were handed over.... created under your husband's administration. The implication of that is we get 90s back again if you are President of the US?

HC: No

SC: Do I have to wear parachute pants and slap bracelets

HC: Well, You would look pretty good in parachute pants...

SC. Thank you very much. I have the hips for it.

HC: I saw you out here dancing, Yes, he is good. I really think so...

SC: It is not the Clinton administration 2.0?

HC: No! No!

SC: You are a different person...

HC: I am not running for my husband's third term. I am not running for President Obama's third term. I am running to my first term. But I am going to do what works. And we have an understanding of what works. And you know, the wealthy need to pay more... I am sorry to break it to you and, yes, I mean

SC: I am conflicted recently...

HC: Yes I know, I understand. And we have to raise the minimum wage. It is a poverty wage now. It is disgraceful that people are working full time and can-not get out of poverty. We need to incentivize more profit sharing. We need to continue to rein in the abuses in the financial system, and in particularly on the Wall Street because it did contribute to the problems we had in the economy. So, all of those have to be done.

SC: You have a plan. You put forth a plan. For reforming Wall street, and Wall Street embraced, is that a good sign?

HC: Well, I am not sure who you are talking about because I certainly didn't get that message if they did. Paul Krugman, you know the columnist for The New York Times?

SC: Sure

HC: A Nobel prize winning economist said I came out with a tough, comprehensive, effective plan because what I did, which is really looking at the problems that we have and trying to preempt the problems of the future is to recognize that, you know, we don't just have big banks in our economy that pull a lot of strings and make a lot of decisions. Look at what happened in 2008. We had a big insurance company that had to be bailed out, we had an investment bank, Lehman Brothers, that failed. We have to look at the whole financial system and my plan does that.

SC: So, if you are President... and the banks and the banks are failing, do we let them fail this time?

HC: Yes, yes.

SC: We let them fail this time?

HC: Yes, yes, yes, yes

SC: Waaaw...

HC: First of all, under Dodd-Frank, that is what will happen, because we now have stress tests and I am going to impose a risk fee on the big bank if they... If they engage in what... risk behavior. But they have to know, their shareholders have to know that that yes, they will fail. And if they are too big to fail, then under my plan... and others that have been proposed... may have to be broken up because if you can't manage it, then it is more likely to fail.

SC: Can you at least just get back from them the 3 dollars they charge us to take 20 dollars out of an ATM machine?

HC: You know. We need to go after that too, don't you think?

SC: Yes, I do, I do...

HC: Yes. That is usurious.

SC: Who would you rather run against, Donald Trump or Ben Carson?

HC: I am going to leave that to the Republicans, you think?

SC: The likely choice is those two guys...

HC: But if I say one or the other it might influence some people and I don't want to have any influence on it. I want them to go through whatever their process is Because if I am fortunate enough to be the nominee, I want to run hard against whichever Republican is up there.

SC: But you can picture either one of them in the office, right? You can picture wither one of those guys in the office?

HC: Well, I can picture them in some office...

9.5. Appendix E

Hillary Clinton Proves She's in Good Health (1:36 mins)

2016, August 22nd

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 1.700.435 plays

Secretary Hillary Clinton demonstrates her good health.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kt22Y9-dfNk&list=RD0BmIMbSmMNo&index=2

JK: The new rumors are that you are unhealthy, that you had a concussion... On the FOX news they said that you looked sick, tired, etc. Are you in good health?

HC: Well...This has become one of the themes. Take my pulse while I am talking to you. Make sure I am alive...

JK: Oh my god, there is nothing there...!!

HC: Back in October the National Quire said I will be dead in six months.

JK: Oh!

HC: So, with every breath I take I feel alive... I don't know why they are saying this. On the one hand it is part of the other's strategy and maybe you can have some people who believe that... On the other hand, just absolutely makes no sense. I don't go around questioning Donald Trump health. As far as I can tell he's healthy like a horse, you know?

JK: You said he has the best health that a better man under examination in the human being can have...

HC: Yes, yes. I saw that.

JK: Can you open this can of peppers?

Hillary Clinton Tries to Read Donald Trump Quotes with a Straight Face (2:25 mins)

2016, August 23rd

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th) 1.341.856 plays

Secretary Hillary Clinton reads real quotes from Donald Trump while trying to keep a straight face.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H5SkoqqtW6s&index=3&list=RD0BmIMbSmMNo

JK: I would like to give you an opportunity. We have “facebowl” and it is got real quotes from Donald Trump, ok?

HC: Okay

JK: And my challenge to you is, can you read this without cracking a smile? With straight face? This actual quotes you will select them randomly from this bowl... If you are able to read them, without laughing, you get to kick the bowl...

HC: I get kick the bowl?

JK: Go ahead...

HC: Oh, that is kind of creepy...

JK: Yes, it is like a Halloween party or something...

HC: “I think apologize is a great thing, but you have to be wrong. I will absolutely apologize sometime in the hopefully distance future if I am ever wrong”

JK: All right. Well done.

HC: Let’s profound... “Number 1, I have a great respect for women. I was the one that really broke the glass sullying and behave a women, more than anybody in the construction industry”.

JK: You think did he saw the actual glass that he broken or...??

HC: Well, I think some of these places have glass, so who knows...? Ok, let me see... “If I were running the view I fired Rocio Donald, I mean, I look at her right in that fat ugly face of hers... I said: Roxy, you are fired”. That is not funny!

JK: Read one more...!

HC: But that is the whole deal. I mean, do you want to fire President or your hired President...?

JK: Like a combination of each...

HC: Ok... Oh, I can’t read this...

JK: Is it so bad?

HC: I can’t read it...

JK: Let me see “I have said if Ivanka weren’t my daughter perhaps I will be dating her”. Ok do you want still to keep the bowl? you can still filling it up with candies...

Hillary Clinton on a Jimmy Kimmel Vice Presidency (3:22 mins)

2016, August 22nd

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 226.214 plays

Secretary Hillary Clinton debates her pick for Vice President with Vice Presidential candidate Jimmy Kimmel.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0BmIMbSmMNo&t=8s

JK: I assume you are aware of my historical record for vice president of the US...

HC: I am aware of that.

JK: So, when you were deciding who you run in May. At any point, anyone mentioned my name?

HC: We took you very seriously.

JK: Did you really?

HC: Yes. You were on the list.

JK: I don't believe. Because you picked team Cain, would you looking for somebody who looks like a fan in the front row at the Jimmy Boeffy concert? Was that what you wanted?

HC: I was looking for somebody whose was a successful major, a governor a senator, never lost in the election, with a good record...

JK: It is not too late to dump to me and... get Jimmy on... Do you know what I mean?

HC: Yes... One of the advantages of that is that we have to change the first letter of the name... I was really impressed that he plays the harmonica so well.

JK: You know what? I play the harmonica... Just as badly as he does

HC: No, no, I don't believe you. I have never seen you playing the harmonica.

JK: Well, I am doing it in my car... Let's make a list of pros and cons.... I will come up with the cons, and you come up with the pros. At the end you will see that I am the better choice, all right? Number 1. Cons: He signs like a kind of guy who has a belt clip for his phone...

HC: Well. He is the kind of guy who is incredibly well regarded and respected and successful. And however he careless his cellphone is fine with me...

JK: He will definitely do the Macarena at your inauguration...

HC: I will do it with him...

JK: I have the feeling he will show up wearing crocks and some kind of the state apartment dinner...

HC: Well.... Have you worn crocks?

JK: No.

HC: You see, I have... and they can be quite comfortable.

JK: He probably has a funny song at his voice mail.

HC: Everybody have a funny song.

JK: He probably has some of those hats with ear bear attached on the side...

HC: No, we made of get rid of that.

JK: All concern that he will be greed far dignitary by asking his to pull his finger...

HC: That was never raised.

JK: With all the respect. I think the choice is clear that I accept your unspoken but obvious invitation...

HC: I am really sorry, but we kind of move down. But here is where I would like to offer... We could have like a Vice-Vice President...

JK: For real? I would love to do. Vice-vice president. I accept your offer! Thank you Secretary Clinton! I am going to be the next Vice-Vice President of the US!

9.6. Appendix F

Hillary Clinton on Her Health and Recovery from Pneumonia (1:48)

2016, September 20th

To the date of analysis (2017, May 11th): 741.526 plays

Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton talks to Jimmy about how she tried and failed to power through getting sick and the perspective she gained from taking a break from her campaign.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CAzwZNZdHSk&t=4s

JF: Welcome! Welcome! Welcome Thank you so much! It is great to have you here. Let's talk about... Let's talk about everything...Thank you so much for being here!

HC: You are so welcome! I am not contagious!

JF: You are not?

HC: Just for your information.

JF: You are feeling much better, is that correct?

HC: Oh yes. Absolutely. Nothing like a little rest when your doctor tells you to, and you don't do it.

JF: How is that for you? Because that would have driven me crazy...

HC: It was crazy for me because, you know, I am used to just kind of getting up and powering through it. And that is what I thought I could do but it turned out I couldn't. So, I took a few days off, and actually, I think it was good. I got a chance to sort of reflect on this crazy campaign that we are involved in and decided that, you know, I am going talk about what I think needs to happen to help people and try to stay away from lot of negative insult stuff that goes back and forth.

HC: And I feel really good about that because, you know, this is a really consequential election. Just in case you were wondering

JF: Thank you, yes. No, I know, I know, yes... Did you hydrate, and did you with soups and...

HC: Oh, hydrate, soups, yes.

JF: Is Bill (*Clinton*) a good nurse?

HC: You know, he is very solicitous. Yes, he was really very sweet, actually... My dogs were great too!

Hillary Clinton on Breaking Barriers, Fighting Bigotry and Debating Trump (4:02)

2016, September 20th

To the date of analysis (2017, May 11th): 297.804 plays

Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton lays out her vision for a unified American future and explains why no one should forget what Donald Trump has said in the past.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=leoVY0r4Np8

JF: When you were a little girl, did you dream of being president?

HC: No...

JF: You couldn't dream of that?

HC: No. No, I mean, it wasn't even within the realm of the possible for little girl back then... That is what is so exciting about this campaign because we have slowly, but steadily, knocked down all the barriers. And it is important. And look, some people are not happy about the barriers being knocked down. Your former guest, Donald Trump. You know, -he- has refused to actually admit that President Obama is an American, born in America. And for five years, he has been hammering in this so-called "birther movement" which I think is so sickening. And then, he went after a distinguished federal judge because he was born in Indiana, of Mexican heritage, called him a Mexican. He went after the Gold Star family whose son was heroically lost in Iraq because they are Muslims. And I mean, you just have to take a deep breath and say to yourself, "What kind of country do we really want?" And I want a country where barriers are knocked down and little girls and little boys can feel like they can go as far as their hard work will take them without regard to race and ethnicity and religion and gender and sexual orientation and all of that.

JF: I have two little girls...

HC: I know you do. Yes.

JF: And I know they are going to be so psyched that I interviewed you. One day, they are going to be asking me about you. So, this is a historic night for me to have you here. It is pretty cool.

HC: Well, you know, I know you have got two little girls and, you know I love kids. I started my professional life working for the Children Defense Fund. And so, for me, figuring out how not just your kids or my grandkids, but all kids get everything they need to go as far as their work and talent will take them. Is really what we should be focused on in our country. And that is what I intend to work on.

JF: We have little boys and girls watching our show. They watch us, and then, they want to see you. Why should they grow up to be president? Why should they want to be President?

HC: Well, they should want to be what they want to be. They should follow their dreams, but they shouldn't feel that they bump up against a hard glass ceiling or that because of who they are, where they were born, who their parents are, any other circumstance, that somehow the American Dream is not big enough for them? You know, we have to decide in this election what kind of country we want. You know, are we going to be a country that comes together, that respect each other, that celebrates our diversity, which I think is one of our great strengths, or are we going to be pitted against each other and be divided and have all this bigotry and bullying that is going on? Are we going to get the economy working for everybody not just people at the top? And are we going to keep the world safe and work with people

whose values we share? I think these are consequential questions but they are also really, at the root of who we are as a country and what values we have.

JF: Speaking of pitting against each other, the debate is coming up.

HC: Yes, yes, it is

JF: September 26th we have Lester Holt moderating, Which Trump are you going to get? Do you have any idea? Because he seems to be changing a bit.

HC: Well, look. He is trying to somehow convince people to forget everything he has said and done, you know. And I don't think that he is going to get away with that. At least, you know, judge us on who we are, what we have done, what we have stood for. And Maya Angelou has this great line. You know, I admire her so much. I was fortunate enough to get to know her. She said "When someone shows you who he is, believe him the first time" Right...?

JF: That is good. She is amazing.

Hillary Clinton on Balancing Seriousness with Positivity as a Woman (1:58 mins)

2016, September 20th

To the date of analysis (2017, May 11th): 189.040 plays

Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton discusses the balancing act she faces speaking on serious political issues while trying to project positive energy.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sdPX4MwsVvM

JF: I want to talk about campaign, because, when you campaign, I feel like it is so tricky because you have to go and you have to say "hi!" to everybody and be happy and... you do. But also, people kind of want to see this Hillary which is the bad-ass Hillary...

JF: Yes. And the serious Hillary. And so, you have to laugh, but you also... people want to see this. They want to see someone whose going to protect us and be strong and tough... Because you have the reputation...

HC: Right, well and I will, too. Oh, trust me!

JF: Yes. I do not mess with you. Yes, yes.

HC: We will protect our country and keep it safe and do some good things, set some big goals...

JF: I mean, yes. But is that a tricky balance to do?

HC: It is especially tricky for women.

JF: Yes...

HC: It just is because, you know, there is a lot of serious things. The other night, I was on a show and being asked about ISIS and Iran, and I was serious. These are important issues that the country needs

to talk about. And the Republicans were saying “Oh, she looks so serious” Well, you don’t talk about ISIS with a big grin on your face. They are a barbaric, evil group that we have to defeat and wipe out. But it is a constant balancing act... You know, how do you kind of keep the energy and the positive spirit while taking seriously what you need to...

JF: Because this campaign... I have never seen anything like this...

HC: I don’t think there has been anything like it.

JF: *I mean, it’s long and long and long….*

HC: *It is so long...*

JF: And you are everywhere... I just don’t know...

HC: I mean, most other countries. I don’t know if anybody is here from other countries, but other democracies...do not take forever to choose their leaders. They are much more focused and the time period is compressed. And I just think it drags it out for people. And it is hard to maintain the attention of the public when you have been going out for 18 months or two years, whatever it takes.

Kid Letters with Hillary Clinton (3:28)

2016, September 20th

To the date of the analysis (2017, May 11th): 943.892 plays

Jimmy reads letters elementary school children wrote to Hillary Clinton suggesting ways to improve her presidential campaign, including advice to return to a '90s hairstyle.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K818ZgIcoWE&t=5s

JF: I know you have Tumblr, called “Letters to Hillary”, where kids write you letters. Some are admiring, some funny, some even a little bit critical. We do a bit on our show called “Kid Letters” and it is kind of the same thing where kids write to me with advice about how to improve “The Tonight Show”

HC: Do you listen to them?

JF: Yes

HC: Good

JF: For the most part, I do listen. I have a few... I have an example here. This one here is from Mason, who is age 5. So, I do not think he or she is awake right now, Mason said, “Dear Jimmy, I am 5, I like your show. You need science on your show. I like Ellen’s show. She has science. You don’t. Ellen wins. It is me, Mason”.

JF: Ellen wins. Thank you, Mason. I appreciate that .

HC: Well, I think that is good advice.

JF: I do have science on the show, Mason! Watch the show more, yes!. We do have.... There are a few kid letters that we got. These are actual letters from kids submitted to “Letters to Hillary”...

HC: Right

JF: And I would like to read a few to you.

HC: OK, good. I would like that.

JF: This first one says: “Here is some friendly advice for you...”. Advice number 1. Post less on Instagram. 200 post in a month. That is a lot.

HC: Who is that from?

JF: It is anonymous. They are just giving you straight advice...

HC: Okay, good.

JF: Advice number 2, they said, “Post more on Snapchat, which is very interesting” They don’t want Instagram. They want more on Snapchat.

HC: Okay

JF: Advice number 3 says: “Cut your hair now...LOL. Best hairstyles were when you were a senator and in November 1994”

HC: This is a very sophisticated, mature child.

JF: How do they know all these facts?

HC: Oh my gosh. That is what the Internet does. I mean, they can look up pictures from 1994.

JF: I do not think this is the candidate. You have to worry about hair...

HC: Yes. Well, that is one of my constant themes.

JF: This one is Abby. She signed this one. She is 9 years old. She says: “Dear Hillary, I am 9 years old. I really want you to try your very best to become the President of the US. Let Trump know that he is getting a letter from my cousin Hailey”. “We come from Wisconsin”. Yes.

HC: Go, Hailey! I like that a lot!

JF: Hailey and Abby, yes.

HC: Good.

JF: This is the last one from Brijani Ellis, age 12. She said, “Dear Hillary Clinton, my name is Brijani Ellis. I would love for you to become President. But there is a wall called Donald Trump trying to stop you. But no, us, women, will not stand for it. It is our job, to gear up and knock down this wall and show that women have a place in this world”

HC: Yes, Brijani!

JF: “Sincerely, Brijani Ellis. And it says, “PS: I am 12, and I approve this message” Well, thank you so much for visiting us! Best of luck and please, come back and see us!

HC: I would like that. Thank you very much!

JF: Our guest is Hillary Clinton!