

# POLITICAL DISPLAY: ANALYSIS OF POLITICIANS' LEVELS OF PERSONALIZATION AND SELF-PRESENTATION ON FACEBOOK

## NIR NOON NAVE, IFAT MAOZ

Nir Noon Nave, Phd student, The Department of Communication and Journalism, The Hebrew University;  
Prof. Ifat Maoz, Head of the Department of Communication and Journalism, The Hebrew University;

### ABSTRACT

This study examines six Israeli politicians' Facebook profiles and the levels of self-presentation as they are expressed through the posts they publish, to what extent they display themselves as representatives of their respective political party or faction, to what extent they promote themselves as independent politicians, as well as how much personal information they tend to reveal in these posts and whether any difference could be identified in those regards between right-wing and left-wing politicians. Findings show a high level of personalization in these posts, and in more than 80 percent of them the writers explicitly referred to themselves rather than just to their party, organization or faction. Among representatives of the left a higher number of posts contained elements of personalization, although the difference was not significant. The study also shows that where the post's writers portrayed themselves both as representing themselves and as representing a group – right-wing politicians present themselves as representatives of very large groups and even as representatives of the whole nation. On the opposing side, left-wing politicians tend to present themselves as representatives of much smaller groups, and sometimes even elitist ones.

Keywords: social media; facebook; self-presentation; Political personalization; political personality

### INTRODUCTION

The political aspects of the Web 2.0 era, specifically the wide use of social media such as Facebook and twitter, are gaining momentum and are receiving a lot of attention. Through the various mass protests around the world in recent years, including "occupy Wall Street", the Arab Spring and Israel's social protest during the summer of 2011, were all instigated through social media, and in Israel mostly through Facebook. Politicians are also making wide use of social media: Obama's 2008 US election campaign staff made unprecedented extensive use of social media, and Israeli politicians have also taken to Facebook as a means of direct communication with voters, especially since the 2013 election.

Politician's wide use of Facebook as an independent means of communication allows for an examination of how they choose to portray themselves in public, without the mediation of journalists, speakers, editors, party representatives or other mediums of communication. This study aims to examine politicians' self-presentation as expressed through Facebook posts, to what extent they express themselves by representing their political parties or factions as well as the way they portray themselves as independent politicians, the level of personal and emotional exposure expressed in their post and whether differences in these elements exist between right-leaning and left-leaning politicians.

### OVERVIEW

#### A. Facebook and politics

Facebook is the most successful online social network of recent years, and a decade after its founding it is the undoubted champion of all social media websites. As of August 2015, Facebook has 1.49 billion active users, with more than 968 million users who engage with it daily, and around 1.3 billion users making use of Facebook's mobile application (Statista, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). In the US alone, as of September 2014, 71 percent of adults were frequent users of Facebook and out of those around 70 percent engaged with the website at least once a day (Duggan, Ellison, Lampe, Lenhart, & Madden, 2015).

Facebook doesn't frequently publish statistics about its user base segmented by country, but according to statistics published in previous years Israel is among the leading countries in adopting and using the social media site. For example, according to user statistics published in February 2011, 89.8 percent of Israeli Internet users frequently used Facebook, the second highest rate worldwide (Lella, 2011b) and in April of the same year, Israeli users were ranked first in the world (Lella, 2011a). In 2013, statistics show that the site had at the time 4 million frequent users in Israel (Epstein, 2013) and 5.2 million Israelis were internet users (Goldenberg, 2013) – implying approximately around 77 percent of Israeli internet users were frequent users of Facebook at the time.

Many studies have dealt with the effect of political messages through Facebook on political knowledge, and on political activism and involvement. In this context the central role of social media in elections of recent years was examined, and it was found that more than 1.5 million US Facebook users joined candidate pages or political groups during the 2006 congressional elections (Schacter, 2009), and during the 2008 presidential election Facebook became a central platform of activity both for campaigning candidates and for active discussions in many political groups created for that purpose (Ibid, p. 659).

#### B. Self-presentation and motives for Facebook activity

Facebook activities can be divided into four categories: interaction with friends, following others, self-presentation and games (Yang & Brown, 2013). The motives behind sharing links on Facebook include sharing of information (about the user as part of his self-presentation, or information that would be beneficial or entertaining to others), convenience (communication with friends and family) and entertainment, passing time, interpersonal benefits (finding other users with similar backgrounds and interests), control (directing others) and professional promotion (of a work place or of personal skills) (Baek, Holton, Harp, & Yaschur, 2011). Macafee (2013) examined the motives of Facebook users' online political involvement, and found that the most prominent motives for writing a political post, sharing links to news items and "liking" a politician's page were information gathering, social interactions, self-presentation and entertainment.

As can be noticed, self-presentation is one of the main motivations for using Facebook, for personal as well as for political purposes. The statement at the heart of the self-presentation concept is that each individual displays a certain role while in public. Goffman (1959) described it as ways in which the individual manages the impression of himself created in his audience – meaning that a person conducts his self-presentation as an "actor" would play a role in a play, on stage, managing and controlling the audience's perception of him.

#### C. Online self-presentation

The internet's increasingly extensive daily use has made it a pivotal tool for constructing desired impressions and self-presentation. Studies have shown that an online environment could affect the nature of self-presentation, in that an individual tends to reveal more information about himself than he would through other platforms (Christofides, Muise, & Desmarais, 2009; Gibbs, Ellison, & Heino, 2006).

It was thus found that blogs constitute an intimate, individualistic means of self-expression and that bloggers revealed significant information about their offline identities, and that blogs act as a means to express a blogger's subjective, usually intimate, perception of his subjects of interest (Herring, Scheidt, Bonus, & Wright, 2004).

Research on the way Facebook is used has also shown that the extent of a user's self-exposure grew the more he/she viewed the platform as a means of self-presentation and decreased the more his/her profile was used solely for professional needs (DiMicco & Millen, 2007), but in most cases, despite users' tendency to "stretch" the facts with their online self-presentation, identities formed online tend to stay realistic and reliable on social media websites such as Facebook (Hew, 2011).

#### D. Political personalization

While discussing self-presentation in the political context, another well studied phenomenon cannot be ignored – the personalization of politics. This refers to the politicians themselves becoming increasingly important and prominent, at the expense of political parties and ideological identities (Karvonen, 2007). A common definition for this political personalization is that of Rahat and Sheaher (2007), who defined it as a process of the political weight of the individual actor increasing over time, while the centrality of the political group declines.

Traditional politics and social organizations are viewed by the public as structurally divided, and are thus not identified with by the people. Loyalties to parties and ideologies based on such division have decreased and focus shifted to specific issues and individual politicians, with public perception of politics identifying it more as a contest

between politicians than a struggle of collectively organized interests (Karvonen, 2007). Political personalization has become wide-spread in the western world. It is as a process in which individual politicians are focused on the need to stand out and distinguish themselves – through an emphasis on the way they self-display themselves to potential voters.

Political personalization has not spared Israel – since the seventies Israel's political system has changed significantly, with political parties' power decreasing and individual politicians' power and importance growing. This trend that was even more prominent during the nineties, when many parties started electing Knesset (parliament) candidates through primary elections (Livak, Lev-On, & Doron, 2011), with long-term analysis showing all types of personalization present and growing in Israel (Rahat & Sheaffer, 2007).

One of the characterizations of personalization in the western world in recent years has been politicians' increasing use of online media that allows direct contact, unmediated by establishments or parties, with citizens (Van Santen & Van Zoonen, 2010). Such contact with a politician, rather than a body he/she belongs to, allows voters to develop a clear image of the politician and even create a sense of intimacy and emotional presence with him/her (Lee & Oh, 2012).

#### E. Right-wing personality and left-wing personality

Studies examining political stances and voting patterns of individuals and their correlation with values and characteristics have found differences between right leaning and left leaning individuals. For example, universality and agreeableness are values more characteristic of the left leaning, whereas power, confidence, tradition and ambitiousness are values of those leaning to the right (Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchione, & Barbaranelli, 2006).

The "Big Five" model (Five Factor Model of personality traits, or FFM) defines five central traits, on the basis of which an individual's personality can be characterized: openness, extraversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness and neuroticism (John & Srivastara, 1999). The level of extraversion is measured by how active, vigorous, outgoing and competitive a person is; openness is measured by how open to new things, drawn to new experiences, tolerant to others and inquisitive towards them a person is; conscientiousness is measured by how organized, consistent and driven, both to initiate and to restrain himself, a person is; agreeableness is measured by how well-oriented a person is to interpersonal interactions on a spectrum between compassion and antagonism, as well as how empathic he is to others as expressed through his thoughts, emotions and actions; neuroticism is measured by how well a person adjusts and controls his emotional responses in the face of emotional instability. Studies done both in the US and in Italy found that openness and agreeableness are more characteristic of left-leaning voters, whereas conscientiousness is more of a characteristic of right-leaning voters (Caprara et al., 2006; Jost, 2006).

A similar study on politicians found differences in character traits between politicians and the general public in Italy (Caprara, Barbaranelli, Consiglio, Picconi, & Zimbardo, 2003), with politicians scoring higher on extraversion and agreeableness. In addition, right-wing politicians score higher on extraversion and conscientiousness, while left-wing politicians scored higher on openness.

### **RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

Due to Facebook's great importance for politicians as a tool for communicating their messages and also, in no small part, in managing their desired impression, unmediated by newspapers or any other media - this study aims to examine the characteristics of Israeli politicians' self-presentation and the differences, if there are any, between characteristics of right-wing politicians' self-presentation and characteristics of left-wing politicians' self-presentation, as they are expressed in their posts to social media.

The research hypothesis is that in light of the differences in personality traits found between right-wing and left-wing politicians, as well as between right-wing and left-wing voters – who constitute most of the target demographic of posts by the examined profiles – differences would also be found between the levels of personalization and personal revelation displayed by politicians examined in this study, although the extent of such differences is hard to predict. In light of Israel's characterization both as having a high rate of adoption and use of Facebook, and as showing prominent signs of personalized politics, it constitutes fertile grounds for an analysis of politicians' self-presentation on social media.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to examine the most significant characteristics of self-presentation, it was decided to examine the most successful posts of each politician - those whose levels of exposure were the highest among the target public, and those who gained the greatest sympathy. Therefore, the posts which were selected were the posts which had the largest number of likes, in the framework of the politician's profile.

A number of measures exist which can point to the amount of success of a post on Facebook: likes, comments and shares, but this study focuses on one measure- the number of likes which the post received. Giving a like has significant influence on the post for which it is given- anyone who can see the post can see who liked it, the publisher is notified that the post received a like, and above all- the same content item will appear on the timeline of the one who gave it a like, and following this on the newsfeed of all his friends and even of their friends- according to the individual privacy settings of his profile, and any like which is given to that item increases its circulation on the social network (Facebook; Worley, 2013).

A simple action of clicking on the like button produces a network of support and belonging and leads to several implications: likes constitute a way of distributing information, they increase the trust in campaigns, and exert pressure on networks (Crivellaro, Comber, Bowers, Wright, & Olivier, 2014). The architecture which is hidden within the likes, their vague and polysemic meaning, enables us to use them with rhetorical signification. A large part of the meaning relies on the individual interpretation and implication in a way that a story is built through the published post, the user profile and the likes, and the last ones are interwoven in the meanings, declarations and opinions presented on the Facebook page on which the post is published (*Ibid.*, p.8).

Giving a like is the most widespread active action on Facebook, when 44 percent of the American users give a like at least once a day to content which their friends posted, and 29 percent do it a number of times a day (Smith, 2014). In the political context as well the most widespread action for expression of a political opinion among the social network users in the USA is giving a like, when 38 percent of all the users use the like button in order to express support or to promote political or social contents (Rainie, Smith, Schlozman, Brady, & Verba, 2012).

Therefore, giving a like is an active action expressing liking of the published content, which does not require much investment on the one hand, but transmits a clear message by itself on the other hand, and constitutes the most widespread action on Facebook, both generally and in the political aspect, and therefore it can constitute as an indicator of the success of the post and of the levels of exposure and liking which it gained.

## THE SAMPLE OF PROFILES AND POSTS

Facebook is designed in a way in which every member is exposed to actions and posts only within his social network, a fact which makes it difficult to use it as a sampling tool in order to find the profiles from which the corpus of posts will be built, as the possibility of being exposed to a post of a person who is not a member of our social network is very limited. In order to build a reliable and objective process of sampling, one should find a way which will enable free approach to all politicians' profiles on Facebook without being limited to a specific population. For this sake this research made use of the advanced search tool by Google, so a search was made which is not personally adapted, limited to the results coming from Facebook pages alone, in a defined time span which was chosen randomly (12.20.2014-1.31.2015), and by means of clear political search words: "elections", "politics", and the names of the leaders of most Israeli parties relevant to the 2015 elections: "Bibi", "Netanyahu", "Herzog", "Bouji", "Livni", "Gal-On", "Bennett", "Lieberman", "Kahlon", "Lapid", "Yishai".

Out of the search results six profiles of politicians were selected, according to their order of appearance. Four profiles belonged to experienced politicians - Avigdor Lieberman, head of the right wing "Israel Beiteinu" Party; Naphtali Bennett, head of the right wing "Habait Hayehudi" party; Zahava Gal-On, head of the left wing "Meretz" Party, and Tzipi Livni, number two in the left wing "Zionist Union" party. In addition two profiles of figures who are not experienced politicians and had limited experience in the political world were selected, but they constitute figures with a clear political identity and with political ambitions: Yuval Diskin from the left side of the political map - former head of the General Security Services (Shabak), a sharp opponent of Netanyahu, who in the last election expressed support for Herzog and his name was raised a number of times as somebody who was expected to join the Labor Party; and Ronnen Shuval from the right side of the political map - who is the founder and head of the right wing movement "Im Tirzu", and ran as number 16th in the right wing party "Habayit Hayehudi" in the 2015 elections.

The period of time prior to the election day was chosen for sampling of the posts - starting from the beginning of December 2014 until the middle of the month of March 2015 - a turbulent time from a political point of view and

one which brought a lot of activity from the politicians on Facebook. All the political posts published during that time were taken from each profile along with the number of likes for every post, and from each profile the ten posts with the highest number of likes were chosen- and these sixty posts constituted the corpus of the study.

### THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The analysis of the posts was done by means of examining whether the content of the post characterizes personalization, i.e., whether the post writer represented himself personally in the post or spoke on behalf of the party, the organization or the political faction to which he is affiliated with, and if the post was indeed characterized by personalization- what level of personalization it presented.

Hermann & Vergeer (2013) examined the strategy of personalization of the candidates for the European Parliament in the elections of 2009 in 17 states, and executed a distinction between three levels of personalization: the candidate as a professional - when the candidate supplies factual information of his professional identity; a candidate as an individual (home and family) - when the candidate supplies information on himself and his family life; and personal identity (personal preferences) - when the candidate exposes information concerning more varied subjects, like preference in various fields, and deals with his personal identity.

In this study such a pattern of analysis was adopted, but it needed to be adjusted to the attributes of the medium, since posts on Facebook are much more dynamic than websites, and factual information such as a politician's professional identity is not expected to be mentioned in every post. Therefore the analysis will be executed in the following way: first, we will check whether the writer published the post under his own name, i.e., expressed a position or opinion of his own, or expresses a general position or opinion on behalf of the party or faction he is affiliated with.

When the post's content deals with its writer, we will examine whether use of the first person was made in the text - constituting a clear expression of personalization (Balmas, Rahat, Sheaffer, & Shenhav, 2014). In addition we will examine whether the content of the post tries to present its writer as a professional (whether he reports on his political activity, or whether he provides analysis of a specific case or a political situation, and as a result he is perceived as a politician having clear positions). Next we will determine whether the content of the post represents the writer as an individual, either by exposing information of his family life or from events in his past (whether it's from his student years, childhood or a family trip on the weekend). Finally we will examine the personal aspect, which is defined as the degree of which the writer exposes personal information about himself (the information reveals his preferences in various matters, or contains exposure of his feelings, either directly or indirectly).

### FINDINGS

The findings of the analysis, as shown in table 1, show the number of posts for each one of the profiles where the examined characteristics were found: posts indicating personalization, and out of them - posts which show characteristics by which the writer is presented as a professional, posts that make use of the first person, posts where the writer is presented as an individual and posts containing personal exposure, according to the chosen method of analysis.

Politician	Personal-ization	Profession-ional	First person	Indi-vidual	Personal
Shuval (right)	8	8	3	0	0
Lieberman (right)	9	8	7	0	0
Bennett (right)	8	7	6	1	5
Livni (left)	8	7	4	0	1
Gal-on (left)	10	10	8	1	4
Diskin (left)	10	10	7	1	4

Table 1- Segmentation of the dimensions of personalization according to profile

The findings show that indeed a high level of personalization exists, and across all of the profiles which were sampled there were at least eight posts, out of the ten, in which the writer referred clearly to himself - and not only to the party, the organization or the faction to which he is affiliated with.

It is possible to see that among the leftists a greater number of posts contained aspects of personalization, but the differences are not significant enough to be ascribed to a certain tendency, and this is also the case with posts which include use of the first person.

In most of cases in which aspects of personalization were found, the post's publisher is presented as a professional, speaks about himself and about his activity as a politician, or provide analyses of a political situation and presents "a specialist" position. Here as well more cases were found among the leftists, but not significantly.

Certain differences were found between rightists and leftists where personalization at the "personal" level is concerned - representing more exposure of the writer. In examining posts in which the writer presents himself as an individual, a surprising finding is that among the two groups almost no posts with such characteristics were found.

As mentioned before, the differences were more essential between the two groups in posts where personal aspect was found. Among the rightists this aspect is hardly expressed, apart from Bennett, whilst among the leftists, the personal aspect was found in all three profiles. In a significant part of cases where the personal aspect is expressed in feelings which the writer demonstrates, those feelings are mostly assimilated, i.e., they were not explicitly noted but it is possible to assert them from the emotional wording of the text.

In all five of Bennett's posts in which the personal aspect was found, he expressed himself by means of assimilated emotions, when at least one of the emotions expressed in each post was anger. For example, in a post from Dec 13th, Bennett came out strongly against an article by Nahum Barnea (one of the leading journalists and commentators in Israel) which was published in Yediot Achronot newspaper, an article which Bennett called "slandorous", and described as "words which are not worth to be printed, [deriving from] a desire to silence a majority of the people, to insult them, to humiliate them, to call them disgraceful names". This post was characterized by high levels of emotion, as Bennett's called Barnea "to be ashamed of himself", and warned him that "the time when you could spit letters of incitement on the pages of a newspaper, and nobody would open their mouth, is over"- words which clearly express anger.

Another example can be found in a post which Bennett posted on Feb 19th 2015, where he came out against the double standard, as he called it, of the media and of Itzhak Herzog, concerning their attitudes to what he claims were "riots", "violence" and "incitement" against him. The anger in the post is expressed in emotional and enraged language, including expressions like "the writing on the wall", "you must not maintain the right of silence", and claimed that if violent rightwing activists were concerned "apparently the media would be angered". Bennett ended the angry post with a dramatic declaration "nobody will silence us. Nobody".

Similarly, all of Bennetts' posts which included the personal aspect were expressed by assimilated emotions (when anger was the prominent expression), and such assimilated emotions constitute the personal expression among leftists as well: Livni's relevant post contained assimilated emotions expressing excitement and enthusiasm; one post by Gal-On also including an expression of anger, while another post of hers implied distress and fear; and one post by Diskin in which the personal aspect is expressed by assimilated emotion expressing contempt.

The rest of the relevant posts among the leftists provide more layers and include further information on the writer, be it demonstration of their positions, preferences and opinions on various subjects, be it their explicit feelings expressed openly. For example, in a post by Gal-On from Feb. 24th, she casually revealed the fact that she is a fan of Hapoel Petach Tiqva football team, and in her post from Feb. 20th she revealed personal information and some positions and opinions on various issues, such as the fact that while she does not believe in God she respects other people convictions, and added that she is a feminist, she is secular, she commutes on the Sabbath, she is proud of her Jewish identity, and more.

A further example is Diskin who, in a post from March 9th, comes to the defense of Meir Dagan (former Director of the Mossad), and shade light on the nature of their relationship, as well as his respect for him: "I am a very close friend of Meir Dagan and love him deeply. The bond and trust between us withstood the test of time after many years of joint activity in a various of operational issues, and such".

In conclusion, it is possible to see that the personal aspect is not only expressed to a wider extent among leftists, but that exposure of detailed information is used intentionally by them, and that they do not limit their expression of emotions to an assimilated manner. Interestingly a further aspect was discovered during the analysis, which seems to distinguish very significantly between the posts of rightists and those of leftists: the way they describe their constituents, if at all.

Even though characteristics of personality and self- presentation were found in the absolute majority of posts, a significant portion of them dealt with the writer constituents in a way that includes characteristics of

personalization such that the politicians place emphasis on self-presentation as independent politicians, but does not abandon the group which they represent, or who they are interested in being perceived as representing. Out of a total of 60 posts in the sample, whether they include personalization or not, 12 posts were found among the rightists in which the writer presented himself as representative of a certain group, whilst among the leftists 17 such posts were found - most of which in combination with traits of personalization (combined posts). An examination of the groups which the politicians claim to represent exposes differences more significant than discussed earlier.

As seen in table 2, when the post is not personal, rightists tend to present themselves as representatives of the party, but when combined posts are concerned - the politicians from the right present themselves as representatives of large populations (the national public, religious Zionism), and even as representatives of the entire population (the Jewish people, the chosen people, the nation). On the contrary, when politicians from the left are concerned, it is possible to see that whether in posts including personalization or not are, they present themselves as representatives of much smaller groups, and often even amorphous ones.

For example, Livni presented herself as part of "the new politics", part of the Ministry of Justice or part of a responsible leadership. Indeed she presented herself also as a representative of women, but this was done in combination with her being a representative of the party, as she was presenting other women in the Zionist Union. Diskin also presented himself as part of "the center- left", but many times he placed an emphasis on him being part of Homeland Security, whereas Gal-On presented herself in all posts in which combined representation was found, as a representative of the Meretz party, and it alone.

politician	Posts without personalization	Combined posts
Shuval	Party-Habayit Hayehudi	The Jewish people, the chosen people
Lieberman	Party/government ("we")	The nation
Bennett	Party- Bayit Yehudi	Party- Habayit Hayehudi, the national public; our public; religious Zionism;
Livni	Without representation- "new politics"	The Ministry of Justice; Women + Zionist Union; responsible leadership; the Zionist Center; "The party"
Gal-On		Party- Meretz
Diskin		Center left block; "security experts "; Homeland Security

Table 2 – the groups which the politicians describe themselves as representatives

It is noticeable that personas from the right tend to present themselves as representatives of the whole public, or extensive parts of it, whilst personas from the left tend to present themselves as representatives of much smaller groups, often even elitist ones (the Ministry of Justice, the security experts).

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this study present a wide use of personalization in Facebook posts by Israeli politicians, and reinforce the studies which found that Israeli politics is characterized by personalization in high levels (Rahat & Sheaffer, 2007). The study did not find significant differences between politicians from the right and those from the left in the scope of personalization, and it seems that among both blocks there exists a tendency of the politicians to present themselves as professionals and to make use of the first person in the text.

However, certain differences were found between representatives from the right and from the left, when higher personal exposure was concerned, including personal information, preferences and emotions. Among the leftists more cases were found of personal exposure than among the rightists, as well as more explicitly and prominently. These results corroborate the study conjecture about differences which are expected to be found in the characteristics of personalization between politicians from the right and those from the left.

But it seems that the most significant finding of this study is the way in which politicians from right and left present themselves as representing different publics. Rightists tend to present themselves as representatives of extensive publics, and even of the whole nation, whilst the leftists tend to present themselves as representatives of smaller and more definite publics, whether as representatives of the party alone or as representatives of particularly small groups, such as Homeland Security or the Ministry of Justice.

It is difficult to explain, by means of this study, the origin of the differences between the two groups, but they may be attributed to the different values of voters in either block, voters constitute the target of the various posts. Values such as power, security and ambition characterizing mostly rightwing voters (Caprara et al., 2006), can explain both the lower amount of personal exposure among rightists, as well as many cases in which personal aspect is expressed by assimilated emotions, mainly anger, which can convey aggression and ambition.

The fact that politicians from the right tend to appropriate more extensive parts of the public, while those from the left tend to define themselves in a more restricted way, can constitute a basis for more comprehensive research, which can examine the character of the self-representation of politicians in various expressions and posts.

This study was done on a limited corpus, and further studies will be able to examine the scope and levels of personalization of politicians on Facebook with a bigger sample of politicians and posts, and can examine their posts in calmer periods than the election period, as it may influence the characters of politicians' self-presentations.

## REFERENCES

- Baek, K., Holton, A., Harp, D., & Yaschur, C. (2011). The links that bind: Uncovering novel motivations for linking on Facebook. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 27(6), 2243-2248.
- Balmas, M., Rahat, G., Sheaffer, T., & Shenhav, S. R. (2014). Two routes to personalized politics Centralized and decentralized personalization. *Party Politics*, 20(1), 37-51.
- Caprara, G. V., Barbaranelli, C., Consiglio, C., Picconi, L., & Zimbardo, P. G. (2003). Personalities of politicians and voters: Unique and synergistic relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(4), 849.
- Caprara, G. V., Schwartz, S., Capanna, C., Vecchione, M., & Barbaranelli, C. (2006). Personality and politics: Values, traits, and political choice. *Political Psychology*, 27(1), 1-28.
- Christofides, E., Muise, A., & Desmarais, S. (2009). Information disclosure and control on Facebook: are they two sides of the same coin or two different processes? *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 12(3), 341-345.
- Crivellaro, C., Comber, R., Bowers, J., Wright, P. C., & Olivier, P. (2014). A pool of dreams: facebook, politics and the emergence of a social movement. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems.
- DiMicco, J. M., & Millen, D. R. (2007). Identity management: multiple presentations of self in facebook. 2007 international ACM conference, 383-386.
- Duggan, M., Ellison, N. B., Lampe, C., Lenhart, A., & Madden, M. (2015). Social Media Update 2014 Retrieved september 2015, from Pew Research Center <http://www.pewinternet.org/2015/01/09/social-media-update-2014/>
- Epstein, M. (2013). The israeli users keep flooding Facebook, followed by the advertisers money. *The Marker*. Retrieved from <http://www.themarker.com/technation/1.2025946>
- Facebook. Help Center Retrieved September, 2015, from Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/help/452446998120360/>
- Gibbs, J. L., Ellison, N. B., & Heino, R. D. (2006). Self-presentation in online personals the role of anticipated future interaction, self-disclosure, and perceived success in Internet dating. *Communication Research*, 33(2), 152-177.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday.
- Goldenberg, R. (2013). 2012 summary: 4 million daily internet users in Israel. *Globes*. Retrieved from <http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=1000815317>
- Hermans, L., & Vergeer, M. (2013). Personalization in e-campaigning: A cross-national comparison of personalization strategies used on candidate websites of 17 countries in EP elections 2009. *New Media & Society*, 15,72-92
- Herring, S. C., Scheidt, L. A., Bonus, S., & Wright, E. (2004). Bridging the gap- A genre analysis of weblogs. *System Sciences*, 2004.
- John, O. P., & Srivastava, S. (1999). The Big Five trait taxonomy: History, measurement, and theoretical perspectives. *Handbook of personality: Theory and research*, 2(1999), 102-138.
- Jost, J. T. (2006). The end of the end of ideology. *American Psychologist*, 61(7), 651.



- Karvonen, L. (2007). The Personalization of Politics. paper prepared for the 4th ECPR Conference, Pisa, 6-8 September 2007, Section: The Quality of European Political Elites.
- Lee, E. J & Oh, S. Y. (2012). To personalize or depersonalize? When and how politicians' personalized tweets affect the public's reactions. *Journal of Communication*, 62(6), 932-949.
- Lella, A. (2011a). Average Time Spent on Social Networking Sites Across Geographies . Retrieved September, 2015, from comscore <http://www.comscore.com/Insights/Data-Mine/Average-Time-Spent-on-Social-Networking-Sites-Across-Geographies>
- Lella, A. (2011b). Top Facebook Markets by Percent Reach Retrieved September, 2015, from comscore <http://www.comscore.com/Insights/Data-Mine/Top-Facebook-Markets-by-Percent-Reach>
- Livak, L., Lev-On, A., & Doron, G. (2011). MK websites and the personalization of Israeli politics. *Israel Affairs*, 17(3), 445-466.
- Macafee, T. (2013). Some of these things are not like the others: Examining motivations and political predispositions among political Facebook activity. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 29(6), 2766-2775.
- Rahat, G & Sheaffer, T. (2007). The Personalization(s) of Politics: Israel 1949-2003. *Political Communication*, 24(1), 65-80.
- Rainie, L., Smith, A., Schlozman, K. L., Brady, H., & Verba, S. (2012). Social media and political engagement . Retrieved september 2015, from Pew Research Center <http://www.pewinternet.org/2012/10/19/social-media-and-political-engagement/>
- Schacter, J. S. (2009). Digitally democratizing congress? Technonoly and political accountability. *BOSTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW*, 89, 641.
- Smith, A. (2014). 6 new facts about Facebook Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/02/03/6-new-facts-about-facebook>
- statista. (2015a). Leading social networks worldwide as of August 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.statista.com/statistics/272014/global-social-networks-ranked-by-number-of-users/>
- statista. (2015b). Number of daily active Facebook users worldwide. Retrieved from <http://www.statista.com/statistics/346167/facebook-global-dau/>
- statista. (2015c). Number of mobile monthly active Facebook users worldwide. Retrieved from <http://www.statista.com/statistics/277958/number-of-mobile-active-facebook-users-worldwide/>
- Van Santen, R., & Van Zoonen, L. (2010). The personal in political television biographies. *Biography*, 33(1), 46-67.
- Worley, B. (Producer). (2013, September, 2015). Facebook Scam Alert - What Really Happens When You "Like". Yahoo! news. Retrieved from <http://news.yahoo.com/blogs/upgrade-your-life/facebook-scam-alert---what-really-happens-when-you--like--150959399.html>
- Yang, C.-c., & Brown, B. B. (2013). Motives for using Facebook, patterns of Facebook activities, and late adolescents' social adjustment to college. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 42(3), 403-416.