MPC MAJOR RESEARCH PAPER

The First Prime Minister of the Instagram Age: The Visual Rhetoric and
Image Management of Justin Trudeau

Loren Dingwall

Dr. Eva Woyzbun, Supervisor

*The Major Research Paper is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Professional Communication.*

Ryerson University

Toronto, Ontario, Canada

August 10, 2017

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this Major Research Paper and the accompanying Research Poster. This is a true copy of the MRP and the research poster, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this major research paper and/or poster to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this MRP and/or poster by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I understand that my MRP and/or my MRP research poster may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

This research focuses on an analysis of the visual rhetoric and image management of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Instagram photographs. As Instagram has grown in popularity, politicians and celebrities alike have harnessed the platform to convey their stories, brands, and messages to audiences, thereby curating and controlling the images presented to a wider audience. In Trudeau's case, Instagram is employed as a strategic tool for image management. The literature review draws from key relevant subject areas: visual rhetoric and rhetorical studies, research on Instagram, political communication, and visual methodologies. Drawing on key elements from Hill (2006), Filimonov et al. (2016), and Kress and van Leeuwen's (Harrison, 2003) research, research questions focused on examining the use emotional appeals, image management strategies, and how Trudeau engages his audience. This research investigates how Trudeau's image is crafted using visual rhetoric and image management in his Instagram photos through a content analysis. The project involved coding fifty of Trudeau's Instagram images—through content analysis—systematically from October 19, 2015-March 2, 2017. Examining these images provides insight into the rhetoric and image management constructed through the visual images Trudeau presents on Instagram. Findings reveal that emotional appeals are a prominent factor in the images, that Instagram is used as a strategic tool for image management, and that Trudeau's images engage his audience by balancing personalization and professionalism while inviting users in on private personal and professional moments. This research highlights key techniques in strategic political communications with key tools for image management and building visual rhetoric through visual means on social media. The methods explored in this research can inform professional communicators' decisions regarding the images posted to social media (and Instagram in particular) and their content, their captions, and how they work to construct a narrative on social media that aligns with offline communications goals.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Eva Woyzbun, for her ongoing knowledge, support, and feedback throughout the process of this paper. It has been a pleasure to work with you. I also thank Dr. Carolyn Kane for her additional valuable insight and feedback.

I would also like to thank my parents, extended family, and Michael for their collective unwavering support and encouragement throughout this past year, which means everything.

Table of Contents

Author's Declaration.....	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
List of Appendices	vi
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vi
Introduction.....	1
Literature Review.....	8
Methodology	22
Findings and Discussion.....	30
Conclusion	44
References.....	48
Appendices.....	52
Appendix A: Photos for Analysis.....	52
Appendix B: RQ1 Analysis.....	77
Appendix C: RQ2 Analysis.....	88
Appendix D: RQ3 Analysis.....	98

List of Appendices

Appendix A.....	52
Appendix B.....	77
Appendix C.....	88
Appendix D.....	98

List of Tables

Table 1: Codebook.....	27
Table 2: RQ1 Analysis.....	77
Table 3: RQ2 Analysis.....	88
Table 4: RQ3 Analysis.....	98

List of Figures

Img 1.....	52
Img 2.....	52
Img 3.....	53
Img 4.....	53
Img 5.....	54
Img 6.....	54
Img 7.....	55
Img 8.....	55
Img 9.....	56
Img 10.....	56
Img 11.....	57
Img 12.....	57
Img 13.....	58
Img 14.....	58
Img 15.....	59
Img 16.....	59
Img 17.....	60
Img 18.....	60
Img 19.....	61

Img 20.....	61
Img 21.....	62
Img 22.....	62
Img 23.....	63
Img 24.....	63
Img 25.....	64
Img 26.....	64
Img 27.....	65
Img 28.....	65
Img 29.....	66
Img 30.....	66
Img 31.....	67
Img 32.....	67
Img 33.....	68
Img 34.....	68
Img 35.....	69
Img 36.....	69
Img 37.....	70
Img 38.....	70
Img 39.....	71
Img 40.....	71
Img 41.....	72
Img 42.....	72
Img 43.....	73
Img 44.....	73
Img 45.....	74
Img 46.....	74
Img 47.....	75
Img 48.....	75
Img 49.....	76
Img 50.....	76

Introduction

In an age of ubiquitous social media, the role of photo management and rhetoric in the lives of public figures has increased as their public visibility has become more pronounced. As writer Eric Andrew-Gee (2016) notes in *The Globe and Mail*, the growing ubiquity of both social and news media has meant that politicians in particular—in combination with increasingly sophisticated political strategy—are in a constant state of electioneering. In this role, politicians continuously craft and maintain key messages that promote their values and policies. Instagram—a social media platform focused on sharing photos and captions—has given rise to a new visual tool for the rapid dissemination of information and specifically, visual storytelling.

Rhetorician Bruce Gronbeck (2008) has noted that the realism of the photographic image in combination with journalism resulted in a “potent rhetorical combination”—the sense that photographic images are “materially or experientially grounded [make] them feel like transparent windows on the world” (p. xxiii). Instagram presents a new digital vehicle through which this potent rhetorical combination can be shared instantaneously with the site’s 700 million users (Instagram, 2017). Photographs like those found on Instagram will continue to shape and influence how we form opinions and perceive people, issues, and events. As Instagram has grown in popularity, politicians and celebrities alike have harnessed the platform to convey their stories, brands, and messages to audiences. It is a medium through which public figures can curate and control the image presented to a wider audience through their mobile devices, carefully crafting a visual rhetoric suited to their brands and communications strategies.

Justin Trudeau presents such an example as a Prime Minister who actively and strategically aims to portray himself favourably to the public via Instagram. As Andrew-Gee has noted, Trudeau has employed “that power, and that technology, to the hilt. He is the first prime

minister of the Instagram age” (2016). His charming and accessible persona has been the subject of international media attention, most recently in a *Rolling Stone* feature that noted Trudeau returned “optimistic ‘sunny ways’ to governing after the almost decade-long reign of the Dick Cheney-like Stephen Harper” and that he “is often photographed surprising everyday Canadians as he kayaks or jogs across his vast land...his official photographer always happens to be nearby” (Rodrick, 2017). The celebrity-like popularity of Trudeau and “the personality cult” speak to the “choreographed way [he] rose to power” (Rodrick, 2017).

Trudeau’s official photographer Adam Scotti has played an essential role behind this choreography and the framing of Trudeau’s image, making editorial decisions about how and when to capture Trudeau’s moments as Prime Minister to advance his goals. Trudeau advisor Gerald Butts has noted Scotti’s significant impact on Trudeau’s election campaign “that was told in pictures” (Raj, 2015). Butts has noted that Scotti’s eye for capturing the perfect image has helped the Liberal Party and Trudeau connect with Canadians in unique ways (Raj, 2015). Scotti says the best photos “are those that convey a story you’re trying to tell in a self-evident way,” and that Trudeau is not “any different in front of me than he is in front of other cameras” (Raj, 2015). Such media awareness of a Prime Minister is perhaps unique given that Trudeau, having grown up as the child of a former Prime Minister, has been covered by media for a significant portion of his life. This media-savvy and awareness gives Trudeau an advantage when it comes to conveying his visual brand, rhetoric, and narrative as a politician and Prime Minister.

Trudeau’s image and brand are meticulously portrayed through his strategic use of photos on Instagram. As such, Instagram is employed as a strategic tool for image management. As the first prime minister of the Instagram age, Trudeau’s use of the platform lies at the intersection of social media, rhetoric, visual communication, and political communication. While numerous

studies have addressed politicians' use of rhetoric in the rise of visual content on social media presents new dimensions to political rhetoric that warrant further investigation. Though social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter have been studied in political contexts and in studies of image management, Instagram's recent rise to prominence has meant that the study of literature on the subject in relation to rhetoric or image management has outpaced current trends in academic research.

Scholars have long noted the persuasive power of the photograph in political communication and in persuasion. Photos can be used to inform audiences, but it has been noted that political photos have long been "rooted in argument and persuasion" and are often "employed and beget to public opinion" (Gehrisch, 2015, p. 91). Such photos are used as part of a performance which become photo opportunities that "inform a collective understanding" of a leader (Gehrisch, 2015, p. 92). Images can thus be manipulated to elicit a desired response from audiences. Timothy Gleason and Sara Hansen (2017)'s research on the visual rhetoric of former U.S. President Barack Obama further echoed this assertion, where Obama was able to effectively harness the power of social media to convey his desired narrative and a well-cultivated image to a wide audience. Marketing scholar Staci Zavatarro's (2010) study on Obama, however, revealed that a change from platform-focused to image-focused political marketing has become an issue because it shifts focus from substance to image. The politician's visual brand and public face thus becomes more about the image management and less about the policies that helped elect them. My research focuses on how this public image is constructed, investigating how Trudeau's image has been crafted through the use of visual rhetoric and image management in his Instagram photos.

In analyzing these photos, three key methodologies and analytical lenses emerged: emotional appeals in visual rhetoric, image management via Instagram, and visual social semiotics as a way to examine how Trudeau aims to engage his audience.

The research questions—drawn from key scholarly research—to be addressed are as follows:

RQ1: *Are emotional appeals prevalent as rhetorical devices in Justin Trudeau's Instagram photos and in their corresponding captions?*

- *Is there a correlation between the popularity—expressed “in likes”—and the prevalence of emotional appeals in photographs?*

RQ2: *Is Trudeau's Instagram account managed strategically from an organizational standpoint, drawing from Filimonov et al.'s (2016) image management criteria:*

- *Privatization— is the photo's context professional (i.e., giving a speech) or private (i.e., Photos with family)?*
- *Personalization— is the image focused on Trudeau as an individual?*
- *VIPs— do the photos featured refer to individuals who carry representational meaning, for example, cabinet ministers, or celebrities?*
- *Collaboration—is Trudeau seen collaborating with others in the photo? With whom – VIPs or everyday Canadians?*

RQ3: *Following Kress and van Leeuwen's interpersonal metafunction perspective, how do Trudeau's Instagram photos engage his audience through image act and gaze, social distance and intimacy, horizontal angle and involvement, and the vertical angle and power?*

Specifically, my research will analyze fifty photos sampled systematically from the date Trudeau was elected (October 19, 2015) until March 2, 2017. This provides a range of approximately 1.5 years of posts. Photos will be examined through coding analysis, whereby photos are analyzed according to a predetermined set of a criteria informed by relevant literature.

Theoretical Background

While Trudeau's Instagram photos present a subject matter at the intersection of social media, rhetoric, visual communication, and political communication, key scholars in rhetoric, Instagram and political communication, and visual social semiotics have informed my research questions and analytical approach.

Photos have long been persuasive in large part because of their ability to elicit strong emotions from audiences. Emotional appeals are further a key element of rhetoric. Rhetoric scholar Charles Hill (2006) has studied visual rhetoric within theory of rhetorical studies and psychology. His research is essential for understanding the nature of visual rhetoric and how images affect their audiences. Hill's (2006) notes that rhetorical elements are not always obviously and explicitly persuasive. Trudeau's Instagram photos are such subjects, where they carry subtly persuasive messages. Making images salient and memorable is thus a key element of visual persuasion. Hill (2006) notes that strategic images employ a series of messages that work together to construct an overarching image that aims to convince audiences to take desired actions. Hill's (2006) work provides ample material that will inform an analysis of Trudeau's Instagram photographs, particularly when considering any emotional appeals that are employed. My research will apply Hill's (2006) ideas to a new, digital subject matter by analyzing emotional appeals of Trudeau's Instagram photos.

Kirill Filimonov, Uta Russman, and Jakob Svensson completed noteworthy research on politicians' use of Instagram in 2016 that will inform my approach to my second research question. The study focuses on the strategic use of Instagram and Filimonov et al. (2016) note that Instagram has been used in strategic political communication as a way "to broadcast election messages, to mobilize supporters, to manage the party's image, and to amplify and complement other campaign material" (p. 3). Filimonov et al. (2016) note that image management involves managing audience impressions to decrease psychological distance from voters by showcasing politicians' personalities (personalization), humanizing politicians by sharing private moments (privatization), and including celebrities as third-party endorsements (celebrities). Such criteria will be directly applied to Trudeau's photos, and is also expanded upon to include collaboration as a facet of image management.

Finally, the work of Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) on visual social semiotics—as noted by Claire Harrison (2003) will provide an additional theoretical angle from which to analyze Trudeau's photos. Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) model of visual social semiotics, which recognizes that photos perform three meta-semiotic tasks—which work together—to create meaning: representational metafunction, interpersonal metafunction, and compositional metafunction (p. 50). My analysis will examine the interpersonal metafunction, which comprises the actions among all the "participants involved in the production and viewing of an image... and answers the question "how does the picture engage the viewer?" and considers the image impact and gaze, social distance and intimacy, the vertical angle and power perspective, and the horizontal angle and involvement (Harrison, 2003, p. 53). The interpersonal metafunction specifically poses key questions about how Trudeau engages with his audience, which is an area of inquiry worthy of exploration given Trudeau's high-profile image and frequent posts on

Instagram—which signal attempts at engaging his audience. I will extend Kress and van Leeuwen’s framework by applying it to photos in the new setting of Instagram.

Overall, this research contributes to the limited existing literature on Instagram photos and particularly those in political contexts. This research is also unique in focusing on a Canadian political figure, differentiating this research from previous social media research done on American figures like Barack Obama. My analysis also applies three different yet interwoven facets of image and visual communications analysis by considering visual rhetoric, image management, and visual social semiotics to a fairly new subject matter to communication research. My research questions have also streamlined and adapted Filimonov et al.’s criteria of image management analysis to focus on key areas of inquiry, while investigating a key attribute of collaboration.

Literature Review

Literature from visual rhetoric and rhetorical studies, political communication, social media, and visual methodologies will be informative sources for analyzing Justin Trudeau's Instagram photographs. While rhetoric in written form has long been the subject of academic study, visual rhetoric emerged more recently as an area of study in the 1950s and has since been studied more rigorously due to the increasingly visual media landscape of the 1970s through the present (Olson et al., 2008). Since this MRP contributes to this developing academic field—while being informed by other subject areas—a thorough understanding of existing research and literature serves as a starting point for research.

Visual Rhetoric & Rhetorical Studies

Research in rhetorical studies serves as a solid foundation for an analysis of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Instagram photographs. Research by Foss (2005) notes the definition of visual rhetoric as “the social function that influences and manages meanings” (p. 142). She notes that scholars tend to study visual rhetoric focusing on one of three key areas: nature, which addresses components and qualities of visual artifacts; function, which notes visual rhetoric's effect on audiences; and evaluation, which assesses visual artifacts (Foss, 2004). The nature of visual artifacts is of particular interest with Trudeau's photos, because attention is given to presented elements (major features, colours, space) and suggested elements (what concepts, ideas, themes the viewer is likely to infer) (Foss, 2005). Foss (2005) notes that there is a need to study images (and their embedded symbols) and how they function rhetorically in contemporary culture. Studying Trudeau's Instagram photos will thus contribute to this area of study,

particularly regarding social media where photos are spread rapidly to millions of users in real-time.

Olson, Finnegan, and Hope (2008) note that the term “visual rhetoric” must be understood prior to investigating and/or studying the subject further. Olson et al. (2008) note that the word “visual” implies the practices of seeing and looking in addition to the artifacts produced in media. With the current permeation of visual media in our daily lives on and off-screen, photos are increasingly used in ways that persuade and elicit emotional responses. Many of these photos serve strategic purposes. In examining the word “rhetoric” Olson et al. (2008) note that rhetoric as practice and theory “concerns persuasive symbolic actions primarily. Rhetoric seeks and creates public audiences through symbolic identifications situated in historical times, places and contexts” (p. 3). In combining these two definitions, visual rhetoric ultimately refers to symbolic actions enacted through visual means, which are informed by culturally derived ways of seeing and influencing varied audiences (Olson et al., 2008).

Work by Birdsell and Groarke (1996) addresses the misconception that visuals are in some way “arbitrary, vague, and ambiguous” (p. 310). This misconception reflects the idea that rhetoric and argumentation cannot be fully articulated visually. Birdsell and Groarke articulate a theory of visual argument for deciphering and analyzing texts that present verbal and visual elements. The meaning of a visual claim, according to Birdsell and Groarke (2006), depends upon the nature of the complex relationship between interpreters and the image. Three kinds of contexts are considered important in the evaluation of visual arguments: “immediate visual context, immediate verbal context, and visual culture” (Birdsell & Groarke, 2006, p. 314). Immediate visual context refers to paying close attention to the visual cues beyond a single message source and examining the surrounding visual environment (Birdsell & Groarke, 2006).

The immediate verbal context adds another basis for the interpretation of visual images, which includes examining captions and accompanying verbal material (Birdsell & Groarke, 2006). This consideration will be especially pertinent since Instagram photos are frequently accompanied by captions. Finally, Birdsell and Groarke (2006) advocate considering the overall visual culture in analyzing photos, which refers to culture's influence on the production of visual meaning. Their research provides insight into relevant techniques for analyzing the rhetoric of Trudeau's Instagram photos, particularly considering contextual factors. These techniques include the analysis of photos' immediate visual contexts, immediate verbal contexts, and the visual culture (Birdsell & Groarke, 2006).

Prominent visual rhetoric scholar Hill (2006) has written about the psychological elements of rhetorical appeals in visuals to contextualize the practical approach of analyzing visual rhetoric within theory of rhetorical studies and psychology. This research is not only essential for understanding the nature of visual rhetoric, but also for understanding how images affect their audiences. Hill's (2006) research will provide useful insight into how Trudeau's Instagram photos work persuasively. Hill's (2006) reference to emotional appeals will be particularly important, since he notes that images are highly persuasive in part because of their ability to elicit strong emotions among audiences. One of Hill's (2006) key points is that rhetorical elements are not always obviously and explicitly persuasive. This is a key reason why Trudeau's Instagram photographs are an interesting subject matter for analysis. Hill (2006) notes that good rhetoricians will aim to direct audience attention toward elements that will most benefit the rhetor's case. Making photos salient and memorable to audiences is thus a key element of visual persuasion. This is a factor to note in analyzing Instagram photographs, since such texts are among hundreds that an individual may view in one day.

Vivid information is another key rhetorical element in visual persuasion. Vivid information is both emotionally interesting and concrete (Hill, 2006). Photos and “personal case stories” (built on personal narrative) have shown to be more persuasive than text alone or abstract information (Hill, 2006, p. 29). This detail will also be applicable when examining the context of Trudeau’s photos, and whether they embody a sense of personal narrative as a means of persuasion. Hill (2006) notes visual rhetoric’s link to politics and marketing, stating that they “exploit the linkage between emotions, values, and particular photos by creating associations between those photos and abstract values that the persuader wishes to make more present to the audience” (p. 35). These types of images are often used as part of a campaign or broader message. Hill (2006) notes that strategic images employ a series of messages that work together to construct an overarching image that aims to convince audiences to take desired actions. Hill’s (2006) work provides ample material that will inform an analysis of Trudeau’s Instagram photographs, particularly when considering any emotional appeals that are employed and if the photos contribute to a broader narrative.

Scholars of visual rhetoric have also drawn on classical rhetoric to inform their approach to analyzing photos. Kenney (2002) and others have applied Aristotle’s five canons of rhetoric—*invention, disposition, style, memory, and delivery*—to visual texts including advertisements (p. 324). Kenney argues that visuals can be rhetorical since choices are made as conscious decisions to produce certain effects on audiences. Kenney (2002) adds that visuals do in fact persuade by argument in that they “provide reasons for choosing one way over another...can counter other arguments...and can cause us to alter our beliefs or to act” (p. 326). He cites Burke’s symbolic perspective as important to visual rhetoric because “rhetoric considers how individuals use symbols to alter perceptions, to reinforce and channel belief, to initiate and maintain action, and

to foster or undermine a competing ideology” (Kenney, 2002, p. 332). Kenney’s argument is especially important when considering strategies behind Trudeau’s Instagram photos, because the photos may be employed in ways that either provide reasons for “choosing one act over another, counter opposing arguments, or aim to persuade viewers to alter their beliefs or act” (2002, p. 326). These argumentative functions may be valuable lenses through which to analyze Trudeau’s Instagram photos.

Research on Instagram Photos

Since Instagram is a fairly new social media platform, there is little research that specifically applies to the rhetoric of a world leader’s Instagram photos. However, there are relevant studies which have outlined ways of studying both organizations and photographs on Instagram. Zappavigna’s (2016) research on subjectivity in Instagram photos gave insight into the relationship between the sender and the viewer. Her research notes that each user’s stream of photos is “an unfolding construal of identity in which the particular phenomena photographed are a presentation of personal style” (2016, p. 273). This provides useful insight as to how a user’s stream as a whole constructs a personalized and particular “brand” image. It also suggests that in studying Instagram, research should consider the relationships between the user and audience—a consideration which has been further noted in research by Filimonov et al. (2016) and Russman and Svensson (2016).

When considering Trudeau as a sort of organization on Instagram—due to his bureaucratic position as prime minister—these research findings could be applied to future research. A recent study by Filimonov, Russman, and Svensson (2016) studied the Instagram activity of Swedish political parties during an election campaign. While the analysis of Trudeau’s Instagram photos does not pertain to a political party’s account or involve a specific

campaign, the researchers' framework for analyzing photos on Instagram will provide helpful insight into elements that can be studied on Instagram. The study focuses on the strategic use of Instagram, which is directly applicable to Trudeau's Instagram photos as a subject for analysis. They note that Instagram has been used in strategic political communication as a way "to broadcast election messages, to mobilize supporters, to manage the party's photo, and to amplify and complement other campaign material" (Filimonov et al., 2016, p. 3). Four factors were examined in the research: broadcasting, mobilization, image management, and hybridity (integration with other media campaigns) (Filimonov et al., 2016). This research also presents a relevant methodology for studying photos on Instagram. In the case of Trudeau, image management is of particular interest. Filimonov et al. (2016) note that image management involves managing audience impressions to decrease psychological distance from voters by showcasing politicians' personalities (personalization), humanizing politicians by sharing private moments (privatization), and including VIPs as third-party endorsements (celebrities). Such criteria could be directly applied to Trudeau's photos. The authors completed a content analysis and examined the pictures, captions, and comments of Instagram posts. The photos were coded and analyzed and the results found that broadcasting was the main purpose for using Instagram (Filimonov et al., 2016).

The study's authors note that especially in the political realm, "it is important for political actors to manage their mediated visibility carefully" (Filimonov et al., 2016, p. 2). This is particularly true with regard to Instagram since, individuals, such as politicians, may aim to make themselves visible to many; however, this visibility is strategic in aiming to control their image and message. Communication scholar Thompson (2005) echoes that concern by noting that in our networked society, it has become more difficult for those in power to control the

dissemination of symbolic content and to ensure that the photos distributed are those they want circulated. Thompson (2005) further notes that through this new kind of intimacy, politicians can present themselves as ordinary, personable human beings by strategically sharing certain aspects of their lives in conversational or even confessional ways. Though Thompson published his work before Instagram became a significant and socially relevant social media platform, we can now attest that Instagram has provided a new platform for negotiating this mediated visibility with audiences.

Research by Russman and Svensson (2016) has also revealed methods of inquiry for studying Instagram. Building from their research completed with Filimonov, Russman and Svensson (2016) were interested in how Instagram is used strategically in organizations. They note that photos like those found on Instagram “suggest reality and thus have the potential to build and/or restore trust and legitimacy with respect to the sender” (Russman and Svensson 2016, p. 3). Their methodological framework is similar to that of their previous study. It considers perception (perspective, broadcasting, mobilization), image management (personalization, privatization, celebrities), integration (hybridity, shared content, campaign references), and interactivity (Russman and Svensson, 2016, p. 4). These categories of analysis can be applied productively to studying Trudeau’s Instagram content and can be adapted and/or refined to reflect my MRP’s research questions directly.

Political Communication

While this MRP research will not focus on political communication, relevant literature from this academic field will help inform my analysis. Work with specific reference to both social media and visual rhetoric will provide a useful insight into the overlap between these areas in political contexts. Since Trudeau is a public political figure, literature can provide key

considerations and insights into analyzing such subject matter. Specifically, work examining the visual rhetoric of Barack Obama will be of useful reference in approaching my MRP research.

As noted by Gronbeck (2008), visual rhetoric has long been a part of politics. While visual rhetoric in the political field began with posters, the realism of the photographic image in combination with journalism resulted in what Gronbeck (2008) calls a “potent rhetorical combination”—the sense that photographic images are “materially or experientially grounded made them feel like transparent windows on the world” (p. xxiii). Today, politicians among other public figures employ visual rhetoric through their choices surrounding image management.

Research by Zavatarro (2010) warns that the branding of political leaders online—specifically analyzing Barack Obama—shifts the focus from substance to image. She notes that Obama’s strong personal brand of change and has negated the need for party-centered identity, making his image of utmost importance in portraying his brand (Zavatarro, 2010). This shift to image-focused political marketing is a consideration in analyzing Trudeau’s Instagram photographs, especially when considering the content of his photos. Substance versus image is a criterion that can be considered in an Instagram content analysis.

An analysis of Obama’s visual rhetoric further reveals the importance of managing public images through Instagram. Research by Gleason and Hansen (2016) analyzed Obama’s public image, noting that photographic images are used by elites to maintain control over representations of those in power. While their work focused on official photographs distributed by the White House, Trudeau’s Instagram photos are closely aligned in their official visual representation of the Prime Minister. Gleason and Hansen (2016) found that social media allowed Obama to establish a well-cultivated image by using symbols that conveyed his desired messages.

Gehrisch's (2015) work on Obama's visual rhetoric further examines the use of rhetoric within political contexts. Gehrisch (2015) notes that ultimately, "political images have an agenda rooted in argumentation and persuasion" and can be highly manipulated to elicit a particular message (p. 91). She argues that political performance fragments—like photographic images—work to inform a collective understanding and experience of leadership and of the particular individual (Gehrisch, 2015). However, the meaning derived from such photographs is inherently subjective since viewers' own beliefs and life experiences are brought into their understanding and interpretation of photos (Gehrisch, 2015). This consideration has been echoed in research by scholars of visual rhetoric, who note that meaning is also highly dependent on the photo's immediate social context.

Finally, Canadian political science scholar Alex Marland (2012; 2017) has done considerable research into political communication and image management in Canadian contexts. Aspects of his research are relevant to an analysis of Trudeau's Instagram photos. Marland acknowledges that social media has become a strategic tool to generate "favourable coverage, to influence public opinion, and to persuade citizens about a course of action, all of which improve the ability of political elites to pursue a policy agenda and secure re-election" (2017, p. 36). Marland (2017) mentions that image management has long been a part of governments as seen in recent United Kingdom and United States governments, and even notes that Trudeau's principal secretary Gerald Butts exerts considerable spin on Trudeau's social media. Comprehensive social media planning has further become important for governments, as there is an increasing interest in visuals that encompasses everything from clothing attire to logistical set-ups (Marland, 2017). Marland further echoes Andrew-Gee's assertion that governments have entered a state of constant campaigning in the age of social media, as he notes

for example that one Trudeau government department has a 19-step process for tweeting (Marland, 2017). If such planning and strategy is applied to other social media channels within strategic communications processes, one could assume that posts on the Prime Minister's Instagram account also involve a considerable degree of strategy and planning from an image management perspective. This may be especially pertinent when considering that social media planning is a significant part of contemporary political communications. Marland (2012) has also studied the political photography of the previous Harper government, and notes the prominence of pseudo-events—activities designed to attract media attention—as part of the need for “image bytes” in an era of social media and 24/7 news cycles. Marland (2012) cites evidence in Canadian contexts that PR personnel are using “image bytes” to “circumvent and influence the media” (p. 215). Trudeau's frequent posting of photos to Instagram contributes to this ongoing effort to control and manage a public image in an age of ongoing image consumption and frequent social media use. In a state of constant campaigning, the management and strategic manufacturing of these image bytes works to help sell policy “and it has an important endgame given that electors' evaluation of leaders is a key variable in vote choice” (Marland, 2012, p. 216). The use of photos in political marketing is what Marland (2012) calls a “low-cost, low-risk framing activity that may result in free and positive coverage of a controlled visual message” whereby the photos “prime the audience's point of view by suggesting particular benchmarks for evaluating issues, and in this case, which visual cues matter” (p. 218). With Instagram including captions in these photos, viewers are additionally told how they should interpret the photo with the inclusion of a caption. This helps control the message being disseminated to the public, as one Conservative communications official noted that photos give better chances to “cut through

the clutter” (Marland, 2012). Marland’s insights are informative when considering the strategies and context behind the actual photos themselves.

Visual Methodologies

Research on methodologies for analyzing visual texts will additionally inform my MRP research. Prior to Olson et al.’s (2007) work articulating the concept of visual rhetoric, Roland Barthes (1977) offers foundational work essential to understanding and studying the rhetorical impact of photos. Within an image, Barthes (1977) notes three messages: the linguistic message (text), the symbolic message (connoted image), and the literal image (denoted image) (p. 155). In the linguistic message, the text “directs the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him to avoid some and receive others; by means of an often subtle dispatching, it remote-controls him towards a meaning chosen in advance” (Barthes, 1977, p. 156). The linguistic message works as both anchorage and relay—it anchors meaning to a specific referent (signifier), and relays meaning alongside the photo to convey the desired meaning (Barthes, 1977). The denoted image “naturalizes the symbolic message, it innocents the semantic artifice of connotation” (Barthes, 1977, p. 159). Barthes here refers to what we see visually and to what is represented as a subject or object. The denoted image may not be coded, as it may seem natural and appear to have no deeper meaning. The connoted image presents a more complex problem for Barthes, because there is no universal way of expressing images’ underlying meanings. The connoted image deals with a “normal system whose signs are drawn from a cultural code” (Barthes, 1977, p. 160). The connoted meaning is thus dependent on cultural and ideological context. Barthes’ work is pertinent to both semiotics and rhetoric, because it examines the underlying meaning of visual texts and articulates a way of deriving meaning. Barthes’ semiotic perspective could be useful as a possible method of analyzing Trudeau’s photos, and his work provides key

elements—like the denoted and connoted images— to consider in my analysis. Barthes’ methodology and theory of the rhetoric of the image provide insight into ways of deriving meaning from what may initially appear as static photos. Like subsequent scholars—such as Olson et al. (2007) and Birdsell and Groarke (1996)—Barthes notes that cultural context plays a significant role in evaluating the rhetoric of the image. J. Anthony Blair (2015)—a notable scholar of rhetoric—has articulated a similar strategy in reading visual arguments. Blair (2015) notes that one must examine the implied conclusion, stated premise, and implied premise—these are noticeably similar to the connoted and denoted images that Barthes describes. Based on their similar approaches, it is clear that images must be analyzed not simply by what they explicitly portray, but also based on the underlying meanings behind them. Particularly in the case of Justin Trudeau, the photographs in question are certainly not chosen without care or strategy.

Rudolph Arnheim’s work outlining the functions of images will help inform an analysis of Trudeau’s photos. Like other scholars including Barthes (1977), Kenney (2002), and Olson et al. (2008), Arnheim (1969) notes that images can carry significant symbolic content and function as pictures, symbols, or signs. Pictures are images that “portray things located at a lower level of abstractness than they are themselves,” and they grasp qualities of the objects they represent (e.g., colour, shape) (Arnheim, 1969, p. 138). An image is a sign when it stands for “particular content without reflecting those characteristics visually” (Arnheim, 1969, p. 138). Arnheim’s methods for analyzing and categorizing images could be of use when considering which categories Trudeau’s photos fall into and if there is a pattern among the photos analyzed.

A key resource in developing methodology is Gillian Rose’s (2016) book on visual methodologies. Her work outlines various methods of analyzing visual culture, including content analysis, semiology, and discourse analysis. Rose (2016) notes that content analyses of visual

texts can involve qualitative elements, and that by including both quantitative and qualitative elements, results can be made more reliable. Rose (2016) also notes that content analyses can help avoid bias, because the researcher will be applying concrete rules in advance of the analysis. Her research outlines four steps to completing a content analysis with visuals: “finding your photos, creating coding categories, coding the photos, and analyzing the results” (Rose, 2016, p. 88). Her work outlining visual methodologies and their strengths and weaknesses will be essential to informing this MRP’s methodology.

In examining visual communication, Harrison (2003) notes Kress and van Leeuwen’s model of visual social semiotics, which recognizes that images perform three meta-semiotic tasks—which work together—to create meaning: representational metafunction, interpersonal metafunction, and compositional metafunction (p. 50). The representational metafunction considers what the image is about and analyzes its narrative and conceptual structures (Harrison, 2003, p. 51). The interpersonal metafunction comprises the “actions among all the participants involved in the production and viewing of an image... and answers the question ‘how does the picture engage the viewer?’” and considers the image impact and gaze, social distance and intimacy, the vertical angle and power perspective, and the horizontal angle and involvement (Harrison, 2003, p. 53). The compositional metafunction refers to how the aforementioned functions work together in creating meaning in the photo as a whole, and considers information value, salience, framing, and modality (Harrison, 2003). Harrison’s work highlights Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) key methodological framework for analyzing images according to three key metafunctions of the image. This framework is of interest for Trudeau’s Instagram photos, because analyzing these metafunctions may reveal interesting findings about the nature of the photos. The interpersonal metafunction specifically poses key questions about how Trudeau

engages with his audience, which is an area of inquiry worthy of exploration given Trudeau's high-profile image and frequent posts on Instagram—which signal attempts at engaging his audience.

Upon reviewing and synthesizing relevant research in visual rhetoric and rhetorical studies, research on Instagram photos, political communication, and visual methodologies, it is evident that my MRP topic intersects these areas and poses key questions drawing from the literature. Drawing on key elements from Hill (2006), Filimonov et al. (2016), and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2003) research, the research questions posed emerged as the focus of this research.

The categories of analysis for these research questions are clearly defined in Table 1. The descriptions for each category were derived directly from the research questions and their respective sources as indicated in the literature review. Observations based on initial reviewing of Trudeau's photos revealed key qualities for inclusion in coding categories as well. In construction coding categories, efforts were made to create categories that were as specific and objective as possible within the scope of the MRP.

Methodology

Data Collection

The dataset analyzed in this research project is a cross-section of Instagram photographs found on Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's official Instagram account, @justinpjtrudeau. While the account contains short video clips, I have limited my analysis to still photos. Videos present a more complex set of variables (e.g. dialogue, video length, analyzing motion) that are incompatible with the time scope and methodology of the MRP, and hence, are excluded. This reasoning also applies to photo collages (where multiple frames are combined), as they are also excluded from the analysis. Photos that are duplicates with French captions are also excluded (e.g., a quote with an identical photo posted separately in English and French) to focus on single photos.

Fifty photos were selected systematically and manually beginning on the date Trudeau was elected (October 19, 2015) to March 2, 2017. These dates range from the day of Trudeau's election until 2017, presenting a time frame of approximately 1.5 years.

Since @justinpjtrudeau's account contains 213 photos in the above date range that adhere to my sampling criteria at the time of writing, fifty photos present a sample that is reasonable in time and scope and can be used to draw conclusions and observations based on my research questions. Sampling began with the photo posted on October 20, 2015, and every fourth photo was sampled onward according to the chronological order photos were posted to represent a range of photos across the feed over the specified time frame.

This sample size has ensured that I was able to analyze the photos in depth and manageably document and discuss my results in the time frame of the MRP. The method is a probability sample since it uses random selection, where each element has a known likelihood of

being selected from the overall dataset that matches my criteria. This allows the sample findings to be generalized to the population, though it does not ultimately mean that the population has the exact same characteristics. This method has ensured that the photos examined are a cross-section of the Instagram account. It ensures that conclusions are not drawn from data from a small group of photos. It will also allow the research to examine whether there are any patterns in the examined photos over time, which will address both my primary research questions. Photos were screenshot as they appear on Instagram online, are were also saved as photographic files marked by image number prior to analysis.

Method of Analysis

The method of analysis involved a content analysis, as per research conducted by Rose (2016). The sampled photos were coded categorically according to a set of criteria that correspond with the elements each research questions. Bias was mitigated by undertaking a content analysis, which uses predetermined and concrete categories for analysis.

This research is both quantitative and qualitative, as the content analyses will not only count the frequency of emotional appeals and image management criteria but will do so based on qualitative yet well-defined categories of analysis. Rose (2016) notes that interpreting the results of a content analysis requires an understanding of “how the codes in an image connect to the wider context within which that image makes sense,” thus meaning that quantitative and qualitative skills are required (p. 99). This research approach follows the visual content analysis work by Lutz and Collins, who relied on “qualitative interpretations of the relations between their categories” (Rose, 2016, p. 99). Clearly articulating the codes by which to analyze the data involves a qualitative approach, since these categories will be visually descriptive and thus somewhat subjective. All coding categories were clearly and explicitly defined prior to

undertaking my analysis. This element of subjectivity is as a limitation of my research; however, the coding categories outlined were designed to be as objective and specific as possible in relation to the research topic. This research is deductive because the research questions draw on theory and ideas from the literature review and apply them directly to new subject matter, as noted above.

To answer RQ1, a coded content analysis involved coding both photos and their captions for emotional appeals in both the visual photo and text. Coding categories are as follows: emotive / neutral / ambivalent. Textual coding codes captions based on emotive words, specific to adjectives with emotional connotations. Coding accounts for the number of emotive words in the caption. The number of likes per photograph were also recorded to address whether more emotional posts gain more likes. I compared the frequency of emotional appeals in visuals and text for each photo and will determine whether a correlation exists, and I also compared results with the number of likes per photo.

To address RQ2, a coded content analysis was completed to answer whether Trudeau's Instagram account is managed strategically by employing image management criteria drawn from Filimonov et al. (2016): personalization, privatization, VIPs, and collaboration. Photos were coded based on these four criteria and similarly to Filimonov et al.'s (2016) research. For example, when assessing a photo for personalization the photo was either primarily of Trudeau as an individual (personalized), primarily of a group of people or without people (not personalized), or balanced/ambivalent. For this MRP, VIPs include celebrities, members of government (Canadian or otherwise), and other well-known and widely recognized public figures to Canadians at the time the photo was posted. This definition is derived from Filimonov et al.'s research and has been adapted to suit the data set. This method of analysis will answer

RQ2 and while revealing which image management elements are used more frequently than others.

RQ3 was addressed through the application of coding categories based on Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) elements of interpersonal metafunction: image impact and gaze, social distance and intimacy, horizontal angle and involvement, and vertical angle and power. The coding categories are derived directly from the work of Kress and van Leeuwen as per Harrison's (2002) research. By analyzing the findings of this research question, I was able to examine how Trudeau's Instagram photos engage his audience.

Codebook

The codes used in my analysis are drawn directly from key findings in the literature review, as noted above. Drawing from Hill's (2006) emotional elements of rhetoric, Filimonov et al.'s (2016) studies on political image management on Instagram, and Kress and van Leeuwen's (2002) work on visual social semiotics to reveal information about audience engagement through photos, the coding categories directly address the research questions and will reveal underlying qualities behind Trudeau's visual presence on Instagram. Though only Filimonov's work specifically addresses Instagram as a platform for image management and employment of rhetorical techniques, the application of Hill's emotional elements of rhetoric and Kress and van Leeuwen's analysis of visual social semiotics—specifically the interpersonal metafunction—to Instagram as a new online visual platform presents a novel way of analyzing the visual communication strategies of prominent figures like Trudeau. By combining these relevant analytical approaches by theorists and researchers, I will gain insight into the strategies employed in the construction of Trudeau's visual presence. I will also gain an understanding of the relationship between the image producer (Trudeau and his team) and his audience. The

codebook categories for RQs 1 & 2 contain “ambivalent” options to cover any gaps in the categories in relation to the photo being analyzed. While categories have been designed to be as specific and objective as possible, it is understandable that some elements of some photos may be difficult to determine with certainty. In such cases, the “ambivalent” category will be applied. RQ3’s categories are exhaustive since they draw directly on Kress and van Leeuwen’s coding scheme in their interpersonal metafunction analysis framework. The codebook is viewed in Table 1. In accordance with Kress and van Leeuwen’s research, “RPs” stands for represented participants within the photos for RQ3.

Table 1: Codebook

RQ	Category	Codes	Definition / Description
RQ1	images	emotive	image contains individuals whose expressions display recognizable emotions (e.g., excitement, joy, sadness, anger). The setting of the photo may also have an emotional connotation; for example, an individual at a funeral or memorial.
		neutral	the image contains individuals whose expressions display no recognizable emotions. The setting does not connote any clear emotions.
		ambivalent	it is indistinguishable as to whether the image subjects and/or individuals display emotions. Eg. the individuals' faces are obscured.
	text	emotive	text contains adjectives that convey emotion (e.g., thrilled, upset, privileged, happy, "looking forward to"); either positive or negative.
		neutral	the text does not contain words (adjectives) or phrases that convey emotions
		ambivalent	it is indistinguishable as to whether the text is conveying emotions
RQ2	personalization	personalized	image contains primarily Trudeau as a single individual of focus

		not personalized	image contains subjects that include several/many individuals; where Trudeau is not a focus; or those that do not show any people
		ambivalent	personalization in the image is indistinguishable
	privatization	professional context	the image focuses predominantly on Trudeau in a professional context (e.g., giving a speech, at a press conference)
		privatized context	the image focuses predominantly on Trudeau in a private context (e.g., with family, hobbies)
		ambivalent	the privatization of the image is indistinguishable
	VIPs	VIPs visible	an individual who is considered a VIP is clearly present in the image.
		VIPs not visible	there are no VIPs present in the image
		ambivalent	the presence of VIPs in the image is indistinguishable
	collaboration	collaboration visible	Trudeau is seen actively talking, engaging, and/or consulting with individuals
		collaboration not visible	Trudeau is not seen actively collaborating with any individuals in the image
		ambivalent	the collaboration in the image is indistinguishable
RQ3	image impact and gaze	demand	RP is looking directly at viewer
		offer	RP is looking outside the picture or at someone/something within the image
	social distance and intimacy	intimate distance	head and face only
		close personal distance	head and shoulders

		far personal distance	from waist up
		close social distance	the whole figure
		far social distance	the whole figure with space around it
		public distance	torsos of several people
	perspective: horizontal angle and involvement	frontal angle	when an RP is presented frontally to the viewer
		oblique angle	when an RP is presented obliquely to the viewer
	perspective: vertical angle and power	high angle	RP looking up from a high angle
		medium angle	RP looking horizontally
		low angle	RP looking up from a low angle

Findings and Discussion

Fifty photos that matched sampling criteria were sampled from the date range specified. Coding was completed for each research question. In the following sections, I will outline the findings for each research question and provide observations based on my analysis as well.

RQ1: Emotional Appeals

This question addresses the use of emotional appeals in both Trudeau's Instagram photos and in their corresponding captions. It also inquires as to whether emotive photos and captions are more popular in the form of "likes."

The use of emotional appeals in imagery has long been a part of politics, and creating persuasive messages may involve the use of emotional appeals to help achieve communications goals (Hill, 2006; Gronbeck, 2008). Whether in print or writing, an audience's emotional response to a piece of communication can certainly have an impact on their level of engagement with the subject matter and on how they form opinions and perceptions on the topic.

While one cannot confirm with full certainty what the goal of curating and maintaining an Instagram feed is for Trudeau, it is likely that this platform is used to manage, develop, and influence public perceptions of Trudeau as leader of the Liberal Party. This is especially noteworthy since the analyzed photos range in date from the day he was elected as Prime Minister to approximately 1.5 years later, because though Trudeau won the election, his new role as Prime Minister is likely to have prompted a more controlled and strategically managed public image. As in his campaign, Trudeau must sell his image and persona as a Prime Minister to Canadians—which is done largely through persuasion. Instagram offers politicians and public figures like Trudeau a direct line of communication to their publics that focuses on visual photos. Part of Trudeau's selling of his image as Prime Minister works through Instagram.

Upon analyzing fifty photos from Trudeau's Instagram feed, responses to RQ1 emerged. In assessing whether emotional appeals are prevalent as rhetorical devices in Trudeau's Instagram photos and their corresponding captions, it appears that emotional appeals are used modestly in both Trudeau's Instagram photos and text. Of the fifty photos, 60% were categorized as emotive. When assessing images' captions for emotive language in the form of adjectives, slightly more captions used emotional appeals: 62%. Sixteen of the fifty photos contain both emotive appeals in both their imagery and in their captions.

These observations upon analysis reveal interesting details about how Trudeau conveys his desired messages and narratives on Instagram. While the positivity and/or negativity of photos were not recorded on any kind of scale, 60% of the photos did display emotive qualities, whereby the places and/or individuals in the photo expressed visible emotions. The captions of the sampled photos were emotive 62% of the time, which is slightly more than the photos. However, not all of the emotive photos are accompanied by emotive captions; in fact, emotive photos and emotive captions were paired together 32% of the time. The specific criteria can be viewed in Table 1. Observations in my analysis did reveal that many of the emotive photos contained children (occasionally Trudeau's own), government announcements, and public appearances. This would likely be intended to help promote the perception that Trudeau is getting many things done in government, as seen in the enthusiastic and happy expressions of image subjects; that Trudeau is both family-friendly and a family man, as seen in his photos including his interactions with his own and others' children; and that he is happy and enthusiastic about being a highly productive prime minister, as seen in his excitement about various government announcements and public appearances. Another interesting quality about the photos being largely emotive is that may indicate that those who manage Trudeau's image may have

wanted to strike a balance between Trudeau's charisma and charm—which he displayed and promoted through his election campaign—and the fact that he is ready for the job of prime minister. The Conservative Party ran their 2015 election campaign with steady messaging stating that Trudeau was “just not ready” for the job of prime minister; therefore, this near balance between emotive photos that draw public attention and interest with the neutral and occasionally serious photos of Trudeau may aim to act as a response to the negative criticism. Further, Trudeau's use of emotive imagery may further work to publicly differentiate himself as a leader from his predecessor, Stephen Harper, who was commonly more guarded in public appearances and was not as expressive in his photos.

In addressing the second part of RQ1, it appears that emotive photos do result in a higher number of likes in the case of Trudeau's Instagram photos. The top ten most liked photos were largely emotive in their imagery (70%), and the top two had both emotive photos and captions. 50% of the top ten most liked photos had emotive captions. Only one of the top ten most liked photos did not have an emotive imagery or a caption. Conversely, the ten least liked photos largely contained 60% emotive captions, but only 30% emotive imagery. Only one of these least liked photos contained both an emotive image in combination with an emotive caption. This analysis indicates—while there may certainly be other factors at play influencing the popularity of the photos—that the emotive photos in Trudeau's feed are more popular among followers than those with only emotive captions or those without emotive imagery.

The findings of RQ1 are in alignment with Hill's (2006) research on emotional appeals in rhetoric, especially pertaining to politics. Hill notes that photos by nature “tend to elicit more emotional responses” (2006, p. 31). Trudeau's use of Instagram provides him with a primarily visual outlet from which he can aim to persuade followers through emotive visual appeals. Hill's

(2006) notion that vivid information—that which is emotionally interesting is most persuasive—may be a factor in 60% of Trudeau’s photos being emotive. This could be because Trudeau aims to create emotional engagement with his audience and thus the use of emotive imagery gains popularity in the form of “likes,” which indicates that a user has engaged with the image in a positive way. However, it is important to note that being emotionally engaged with an Instagram photo does not indicate followers’ overall support of Trudeau or his policies. Users’ engagement and potential emotional involvement with Trudeau’s photos may work to attract general attention however and expose the general public and followers to Trudeau’s highly curated and constructed public photo—whether or not users “like” the photos or Trudeau and his policies. Further, Trudeau’s use of emotional appeals in his photos—balanced with neutral photos 40% of the time—are likely part of what Hill describes as “a series of messages that will work together, constructing an overall photo and set of schematic relations that will convince the audience member to take the desired action” (2006, p. 36). Based on my analysis, emotional appeals are present in over half of Trudeau’s photos sampled, and my results indicate that the presence of emotional imagery results in more popularity in “likes” among users. This research also extends Hill’s (2006) findings by applying it to Instagram, a new communication platform.

RQ2: Strategic Image Management

RQ2 investigates whether Trudeau’s Instagram feed is used as a tool for strategic image management and unveils how Trudeau’s image is crafted through four specific elements: personalization, privatization, VIPs, and collaboration. Detailed descriptions of these categories can be viewed in Table 1.

Filimonov et al. (2016)’s research on politicians’ use of Instagram in campaigns provided the theoretical background for this analysis. All fifty sampled photos were coded according to

the criteria outlined in Table 1. This analysis focuses specifically on Filimonov et al.'s research on image management, and they note that image management involves managing audience impressions to decrease psychological distance from voters by showcasing politicians' personalities (personalization), humanizing politicians by sharing private moments (privatization), and including celebrities as third-party endorsements (celebrities). I am extending Filimonov et al.'s work by modifying their criteria (developing VIP criteria definition and adding the collaboration category) and applying them to a new subject who is a recently elected Prime Minister at the beginning of the sample photos.

Following analysis of the fifty sampled photos, it is clear that Instagram is used as a strategic tool for image management since it is easily identifiable how Trudeau's photos fall into Filimonov et al.'s categories for image management. In addressing the personalization of Trudeau's photos, 48% of them are not personalized and 44% were personalized. Four percent of the photos were categorized as ambivalent where it was not discernable as to whether the photos were personalized. This close 50/50 split between personalization and not-personalized images may suggest that Trudeau is aiming to strike a balance between showcasing himself as not only both competent and likable, but also as a Prime Minister keen on highlighting others' accomplishments and events.

In analyzing the privatization of Trudeau's photos, 72% of the sample contained professional photos where Trudeau was featured in a visibly professional way. Only 4% of Trudeau's photos were privatized, meaning only two of fifty photos were those that featured Trudeau's personal and/or private family life. Interestingly, 24% of the sampled photos were categorized as ambivalent in this category. This finding specifically reveals that Trudeau's photos tend to blur the lines with regard to what is professional or privatized in his public image

on Instagram. Though the majority of the photos were clearly professional, a quarter blurred lines between what was considered Trudeau acting in a professional context and those that were Trudeau acting in a privatized context. Such an example is seen in Img. 5, where Trudeau is seen holding his sleeping son in what appears to be an elevator. Though this could be considered a private moment, Trudeau and his son are in London, are accompanied by staff, and Trudeau is wearing a suit. Both of privatized and professional elements are represented in this image, blurring the lines between both categories. This finding suggests that Trudeau's image management strategy may be to present himself as both very professional in his role as Prime Minister, but also as very fun, family-friendly, and personable—but not necessarily just in his private life.

Regarding Trudeau's use of VIPs in the sampled photos, Trudeau's photos were fairly balanced, where 48% of the photos contained VIPs and 50% of the photos contained no VIPs. 2% of the photos were ambivalent for this category. These findings suggest that Trudeau's image management strategy in this category is to balance his image, where he has what appears to be third party endorsement from VIPs approximately half the time but also not relying heavily on them. In some photos without VIPs, Trudeau is seen to be collaborating with average Canadians. This may serve to promote the image of Trudeau as popular among VIP circles—diplomatic and government official and celebrities alike— but also among those who are not VIPs.

With respect to collaboration in Trudeau's photos, it was visible 46% of the time in the sample photos. It was not visible 54% of the time. Of the time that collaboration was visible, Trudeau was seen collaborating with Canadians 20% of the time and with VIPs 26% of the time. While collaboration with Canadians was a key part of Trudeau's election campaign, he did not make it a key element of his Instagram photos. By portraying a near balance of collaboration

between VIPs and everyday Canadians, Trudeau casts himself favourably in both circles. However, by not making collaboration visible 54% of the time, Trudeau may intend to shift his focus onto other subjects rather than of him consulting and collaborating with others. Frequent images of Trudeau collaborating with everyday Canadians and VIPs may also give his audience the impression that he is consistently hard at work delivering on promised policies and building productive relationships with stakeholders.

In relation to the results of Filimonov et al. (2016)'s research, the analysis of Trudeau's Instagram differs slightly. It is key to note that my analysis and Filimonov et al. (2016)'s research is different in that their research pertained to a select group of political party candidates during an election campaign; as such, there are circumstantial differences between the subjects of study. Common aspects between both analyses however did reveal that the political figures were "displayed in a political/professional context, but leaving an impression that the photos were taken spontaneously" (Filimonov et al., 2016, p. 8). A difference is that despite that Filimonov et al. (2016) found in their results that personalization was strong, Trudeau's photos were only 44% personalized, making it not a key feature of the photos. Trudeau, like the candidates studied in Filimonov et al.'s (2016) work, "hardly presented any aspects of their personal life, although such photos can make the candidate seem more authentic and more accessible to the voter" (p. 9). Overall, this study Trudeau's images align with some aspects of Filimonov et al.'s (2016) work while differing slightly with regard to personalization. Trudeau may seek to have his image pertain exclusively to himself, thus aiming to balance the focus of his Instagram photos.

RQ3: Audience Engagement

This research question inquires as to how Trudeau's Instagram photos engage his audience, specifically through coding photos according to Kress and van Leeuwen's (2002)

interpersonal metafunction perspective. Coding of fifty photos according to their criteria revealed key ways that the photos worked to engage Trudeau's followers.

Through analyzing the photo impact and gaze of the sampled photos, it is clear that there is an emphasis on "offer." The photos sampled were characterized as displaying offer 96% of the time, with only 2% as demand and 2% as ambivalent. This means that the vast majority of the photos contained participants that were looking outside the frame or at something or someone within the photo. By prominently employing this visual characteristic, the represented participant becomes an object of contemplation for the viewer, which creates less engagement than if the represented participant were looking directly at the viewer.

The social distance and intimacy portrayed in the photos varied across all fifty photos; however, 48% of the photos were categorized as far personal distance. By making this the most prominent feature of social distance, Trudeau draws his audience in by frequently reducing the psychological distance between himself—as represented in the photos—and the viewer. Far personal distance, as per Kress and van Leeuwen, is characterized as being portrayed from the waist up (Harrison, 2003, p. 54). While the relationship between the represented participants and is imaginary, the close distance portrayed between Trudeau and his audience is "as though they are friends" (Harrison, 2003, p. 55). By aiming to invoke this closeness between Trudeau and his audience, he may be attempting to create a sense of transparency and openness. By prominently featuring far personal distance, Trudeau additionally gives the impression that he is letting his audience in on private or special moments, which may further create a sense of closeness. However, being a public figure in a professional context, Trudeau largely keeps some distance from his audience. This may be to maintain a professional rather than personal or private relationship with his audience. The remainder of the sampled photos featured 6% close personal

distance, 10% close social distance, 12% far social distance, and 22% public distance. By keeping the majority of photos at a professional and far personal distance, Trudeau maintains a friendly and approachable photo that invites his audience in while keeping a distance to maintain professionalism. He does include some photos with a close personal distance, but those only account for 6% of the photos. Including such photos gives a glimpse into a personal and/or private life which humanizes Trudeau. The photos at a public distance also allow Trudeau to showcase himself at key announcements and other diplomatic events as a new Prime Minister. By reducing the psychological distance between himself and his audience, Trudeau also works to differentiate himself from his predecessor Conservative Party Leader Stephen Harper, who was characterized in his images as largely “distant, very removed from the person... these [images] are just official records of events” (Leblanc, 2015). Trudeau works to craft an image that is distinctly oppositional to Harper’s—aligning with their policy differences—and “comes across as a much more sincere, caring candidate and human” (Leblanc, 2015).

On horizontal angle and perspective, Trudeau’s photos used the oblique angle 92% of the time. The frontal angle was used only 6% of the time and 2% of photos were ambivalent. The prominent use of this oblique angle creates greater detachment, as if the represented participant is “one of them” (Harrison, 2003, p. 53). This feature is interesting as it works in contrast to the engagement of the social distance and intimacy created by the prominent use of far personal distance. Though Kress and van Leeuwen note that the oblique angle creates detachment, in this case, Trudeau may be furthering the idea that he is sharing spontaneous glimpses of his life with the audience. A frontal angle would suggest a planned image, so his use of the oblique angle again reaffirms his intention to let viewers in on moments of his time as Prime Minister. This

allows users to feel as though they are witnesses to Trudeau's key public and private moments as prime minister rather than simply an audience.

Finally, Trudeau used the medium angle 92% of the time among the sample photos. The medium angle's prominent use suggests that Trudeau seeks to portray himself as equal to others in the photo and equal to those viewing the photo (Harrison, 2003, p. 53). Placing himself in this position is advantageous as it affirms Trudeau's statements citing himself as a champion for middle class Canadians (*The Globe and Mail*). By placing himself at an equal vertical angle, he notes himself as not more important than others and others as no less important. Trudeau places the power of the vertical angle horizontally, portraying himself as equal.

Overall, coding the sample photos according to Kress and van Leeuwen's interpersonal metafunction features revealed that Trudeau's photos are largely feature offer, far personal distance and public distance, oblique horizontal angle, and medium vertical angles.

Political Communication & The Rise of Instagram

It is clear in research that social media fits into standard political communication practices in today's media environment (Marland, 2012, 2017; Gronbeck, 2008; Zavatarro, 2008; Gleason and Hansen, 2016). In political imagery—and including Trudeau's Instagram photos as a new form of this medium—photos cut through the noise of our busy media environment (Marland, 2012). Particularly in a social media setting that is largely focused on entertainment rather than information, strategic imagery on Instagram does not require nor include journalistic or editorial investigation for dissemination, and the captions direct audiences as to how they should interpret the photo. Instagram presents an opportunity for Trudeau to reach a specific audience that regularly consumes images as entertainment, and to achieve his image

management and rhetorical goals while subtly persuading the audience of his policies and ability to be a successful prime minister.

With the rise of Instagram, it is no longer simply about disseminating an unmediated photo (Thompson, 2005) alone. Instagram's platform allows political and public figures to disseminate highly mediated, strategic imagery that is disguised as entertainment and consumed as such by allowing only approval ("likes") and comments. Many of the photos found on Instagram are designed to appear as authentic and spontaneous snapshots of one's life. However, as is seen in other many areas of Instagram—like "fitspiration" imagery or the profiles of "influencers" who amass legions of followers with their luxury lifestyles—authenticity and spontaneity have given way to curated, controlled, and stylized photo feeds. Whether Instagram users—and Trudeau's followers—ever saw the political public sphere as authentic and spontaneous in the first place is unclear. Trudeau does however display photos that aim to give such an impression of spontaneity and authenticity.

A possible limitation to this strategy, however, is that the authenticity and genuineness of visual content may be at risk in some cases. Because audiences expect a constant stream of images on Instagram—among other social media platforms—their authenticity may be called into question for some viewers. While this research suggests that the images are highly managed and mediated, the viewers that are cognizant of that reality may find the images and/or profile to be highly superficial and perhaps phony. Some viewers may find this steady stream to be a caricature, and/or the fetishization of a politician turned celebrity transmitting style over substance. Despite efforts to convey an authentic and spontaneous image, there may be a fine line between a stylized yet accessible image stream and one that reduces credibility and potentially alienating viewers by appearing too superficial.

For political communications professionals—and those in the Liberal Party and among Trudeau’s staff—Instagram offers the ideal platform to convey image management and policy objectives on a platform whose many users and content producers’ primary use is entertainment. In such a context, political imagery under the guise of entertainment offers a key opportunity to convey highly strategic messaging among an array of glossy, stylized images intended as entertainment; and perhaps in a context where many users are not critically examining the content they consume or its broader context. What Instagram offers political actors like Trudeau is the opportunity to appear as though they are participating in a cool, contemporary mode of sharing their professional and sometimes personal lives with the public. However, as revealed by key trends in how Trudeau’s photos are composed and engage viewers—like the use of medium angles to signal equality, consistent far personal distance, oblique angles to assume a glimpse into a private moment—his Instagram feed is reflective of the effort, planning, and strategy that goes into all political communications (Marland, 2012; 2017). The prominent qualities in Trudeau’s photos reveal what qualities and values he wishes to emulate through a visual medium. These strategies would vary among the individual communications goals of political actors; for example, the new leaders of the NDP or Conservative parties. Because Instagram is also popular among a younger age demographic, Trudeau can direct photos and their accompanying messaging to this specific audience, thereby appealing to their desire for visual engagement.

Contrasting Harper’s Imagery & Brand

As noted, Trudeau’s image management and rhetorical strategy may be distinctly used to differentiate himself from his predecessor, Conservative Party leader Stephen Harper. Harper was the first Prime Minister to establish image management as a key function and priority of the

Prime Minister's Office (PMO), having blurred the lines between the government and party branding when it came to images (Marland, 2012). As visual media gained prominence in society during Harper's time as Prime Minister—with the rise of social media—the need for a cohesive visual brand grew more essential for Harper as a leader, with photos conveying Harper's personal brand as a leader and that of the Conservative Party. This assertion is noted by Marland (2015), who examined Harper's official photographs and found that not only did “the framing of Harper's personal brand [take] precedence,” but also that Harper's dominant image themes were in unison with Conservative Party communication goals (p. 62). In Harper's case, the controlled images not only work to reinforce the brand of the Conservative Party, but also to “humanize a prime minister who has been popularly depicted as animatronic and [are] intended to counter his lack of charisma” (Marland, 2015, p. 65).

Marland's (2015) study of Harper's official images and image management highlights the changing nature of photographs in an age of digital media, where official images not only function as official records of events but as branding material for both the Prime Minister and their party on multiple communications platforms. Trudeau's Instagram images work to craft a rhetoric in alignment with Liberal Party values, just as Harper did for the Conservative Party (Marland, 2015). The images of both leaders work to subliminally reinforce their party values and personal brands to their audience. This centralized image control from the PMO also works to consistently reinforce and convey party messaging in a political climate of constant campaigning and as a tool of identity negotiation (Marland, 2012; Svensson, 2012; Andrew-Gee, 2016). The end goal of such rhetoric and visual communication is arguably to achieve re-election. The rhetoric and narrative that Trudeau has built through his Instagram photos is inextricably tied to his brand and that of Liberal Party, both of which helped to win the 2015

election that rebuilt the party from its third-party position in 2011. By rebuilding the Liberal Party as a young, progressive party with Trudeau as leader, Trudeau entangled his own brand and that of the Liberal Party together to offer an antithesis to Harper and the Conservative Party. Positioning himself this way during the 2015 election may have played a significant role in winning the election; thus, making it advantageous to continue this oppositional visual brand and image that was widely popular. Moving forward, it appears that future Prime Ministers' visual brands and rhetorics may continue to be inseparable from that of their party— not only further blurring lines between the professional and the personal, but also “between government and party priorities” (Marland et al., 2017, p. 138).

As Marland (2012, 2017) and Andrew-Gee (2016) have noted, contemporary politics involve a near-constant state of campaigning. Instagram photos—supported by rhetorical strategy, image management, and strategies involving visual social semiotics—afford politicians including Trudeau the opportunity to reach a youthful audience in a digital space dominated by photos that are designed to appear spontaneous and authentic. As such, they can use strategic imagery to convey policy and other government messages through photos that blur the lines between the personal and the professional to create favourable impressions of Trudeau and his leadership to a young audience.

Conclusion

Summary of Analysis

This study analyzing Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Instagram images reveals key qualities of the images themselves and highlights the strategies used in crafting Trudeau's image and visual rhetoric.

When investigating RQ1 regarding the use of emotional appeals in visual and textual content, this analysis shows that emotional appeals in Trudeau's images were prominent and that emotional imagery correlated with a higher number of "likes" from users. This finding is aligned with Hill's (2004) research into emotional appeals in visual rhetoric and in their application to political marketing.

RQ found that Instagram is employed by Trudeau and his team as a strategic tool for image management according to Filimonov et al.'s (2016) criteria. The images analyzed were 48% personalized, 72% professional, included VIPs close to 50% of the time, and did not include collaboration 54% of the time. Among the image featuring collaboration, 26% of them featured VIPs.

In addressing how Trudeau's images worked to engage his audience, RQ3 found that images featured offer 96% of the time, making the image subject an object of contemplation; featured far personal distance 48% of the time, creating a sense of personal engagement; featured the oblique angle 92% of the time, creating some detachment; and using the medium angle 92% of the time to present himself as equal to both viewers and subjects in the image.

Overall, the results suggest that Trudeau's Instagram images are strategically crafted to position him as a competent and likeable prime minister while balancing a sense of personality and professionalism to make his audience feel as though they are given glimpses of private

and/or special moments. By blurring the lines between the personal and the professional, and the partisan and government, Trudeau has inextricably tied the Liberal Party's brand to his own. For example, Trudeau's Instagram images highlighted key Liberal values including feminism and gender equality, climate change action, Indigenous issues, youth issues, multiculturalism, and the welcoming of refugees. Trudeau's image also contrasts with his predecessor Stephen Harper's image, as Trudeau is portrayed as more personable and charismatic. Trudeau's image management and rhetorical strategy—played out on Instagram and other social media—not only positions himself and the Liberal Party in a favourable light for re-election, but also subtly conveys policy and communications messages to the young audience of voters who helped him win the 2015 election. The steady stream of Instagram images also allows for a favourable international following to bolster Trudeau and Canada's brand internationally in addition to among Canadians. A full-time photographer attentive to key moments and messaging in combination with a media-savvy Prime Minister has given rise to new strategic communications tools available to not only the PMO but also to the Liberal Party. As the capabilities of new Instagram features expand, the role of Instagram in strategic political communications will also rise in prominence.

Limitations

While this research project uncovers interesting details about how Trudeau constructs and maintains his image through the use of image management and rhetoric on Instagram, the project has inherent limitations to be acknowledged. Instagram as a social media platform does have a younger demographic of users, and Trudeau's team may have specifically targeted these images to a young demographic native to social media. Pew Research Centre notes that as of January 2017, approximately 59% of Instagram users (in the United States) are between the ages of 18

and 29 (Social Media Fact Sheet). Female internet users were also more likely to use Instagram than males (Greenwood, Perrin, and Duggan). While these statistics are from US research, these trends are likely very similar to Canadian Instagram and internet users. Access to Instagram is also limited to those of a certain socio-economic status, so Trudeau could also be tailoring certain images and messages to an audience with the means to regularly access Instagram.

My research also does not address recently added features to Instagram, like the slideshow feature which allows users to post sequences of photos in a single post. Trudeau has recently posted these slideshows, and it appears he will continue to use them regularly. An analysis of these posts could be pursued in future study. Instagram now also allows for “stories,” which are short, temporary videos sent to all followers. With these recent additions to Instagram, future analysis of Trudeau’s Instagram would require a methodology to address the unique capabilities of each new feature. However, these features were added following this MRP’s inception and are thus not addressed in this research. Their analysis however would be an area for future research in image management and visual rhetoric on Instagram.

This MRP could only examine a limited number of photos from a pool of images that is constantly growing. In a future analysis, more images could be sampled to reflect an even fuller picture of the images present and their qualities. Future analysis could examine more images, examined over the course of his leadership role, and examine how Trudeau adapts or modifies his image as social media platforms and the Canadian political climate evolve.

Further Study

While key elements of research from Hill (2004), Filimonov et al. (2016), and Kress and van Leeuwen (Harrison, 2003) were successfully applied to a new medium and subject matter, there is certainly additional research to be explored regarding this MRP’s subject matter.

While this research focused on the interpersonal metafunction of Trudeau's images, a comprehensive review of his images would provide a full spectrum of analysis regarding visual social semiotics. Further research applying all of Filimonov et al.'s (2016) criteria to Trudeau's images could be productive as well.

Regarding Instagram, future studies could consider how public figures including Trudeau are harnessing the power of the slideshow feature and story feature of Instagram to further engage their followers. This methodology could also be adapted in future to address key questions regarding the Instagram activity of public figures other than politicians (e.g., celebrities, activists).

Relevancy of Research

This research presents a relevant study examining how a public figure uses Instagram to build visual rhetoric and for strategic image management. It can provide professional communicators with key tools for image management and building visual rhetoric through visual means on social media. The methods explored in this research can inform professional communicators' decisions regarding the images posted to social media (and Instagram, in particular), their content, and their captions; and how they work to construct a narrative on social media that aligns with offline communications goals. The visual social semiotic methodology provides a guide for key considerations in audience engagement when it comes to visual imagery on social media. This study also sheds light onto the constant electioneering of modern politics in an age of social media and 24/7 news coverage. Especially in politics, communication strategies will continue to focus on engagement including in visual contexts. Such efforts will continue to progress as social media platforms like Instagram provide ever-evolving opportunities for narratives and visual rhetoric.

References

- @justinptrudeau. (n.d.). Justin Trudeau. Retrieved May 16, 2017, from <http://www.instagram.com/justinptrudeau/>
- About Us. (n.d.). Retrieved June 05, 2017, from <https://www.instagram.com/about/us>
- Arnheim, R. (1969). Pictures, Symbols, Signs. In C. Handa (Ed.), *Visual rhetoric in a digital world: a critical sourcebook* (pp. 137–151). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Andrew-Gee, Eric. (2016, August 13). In this social media age, Trudeau's photographer is a power player. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from theglobeandmail.com
- Barthes, R. (1977). Rhetoric of the Photo. In C. Handa (Ed.), *Visual rhetoric in a digital world: a critical sourcebook* (pp. 152–163). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Birdsell, D., & Groarke, L. (1996). Toward a Theory of Visual Argument. In C. Handa (Ed.), *Visual rhetoric in a digital world: a critical sourcebook* (pp. 309–320). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Blair, J. A. (2015). Probative Norms for Multimodal Visual Arguments. *Argumentation*, 29, 217–233.
- Filimonov, K., Russman, U., & Svensson, J. (2016). Picturing the Party: Instagram and Party Campaigning in the 2014 Swedish Elections. *Social Media + Society*, 1, 1–11.
- Foss, S. K. (2004). Framing the Study of Visual Rhetoric: Toward a Transformation of Rhetorical Theory. In C. Hill & M. Helmers (Eds.), *Defining visual rhetorics* (pp. 303–313). Mahwah, N.J: L. Erlbaum.
- Foss, S. K. (2005). Theory of visual rhetoric. In K. Smith (Ed.), *Handbook of visual rhetoric: theory, methods, and media* (pp. 141–152). Mahwah, N.J: L. Erlbaum.
- Gehrisch, J. (2015). Are You Cup of Joking?: The “Latte Salute”, American President Barack

- Obama's Visual Rhetoric. *Journal of Media Critiques*, 1(1), 91–101.
- Gleason, T., & Hansen, S. (2016). Photo Control: The Visual Rhetoric of President Obama. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 28(1), 55–71.
- Greenwood, S., Perrin, A. & Duggan, M. (2016, November 11). Social Media Update 2016. Retrieved from June 20, 2017 from <http://www.pewinternet.org/2016/11/11/social-media-update-2016/>
- Gronbeck, B. (2008). Visual Rhetorical Studies: Traces Through Time and Space. In L. Olson, C. Finnegan, & D. Hope (Eds.), *Visual rhetoric: a reader in communication and American culture* (pp. xxi–xxvi). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Harrison, C. (2003). *Visual social semiotics: understanding how still images make meaning*. Technical Communication. 50(1), 46-60.
- Hill, C. (2004). The Psychology of Rhetorical Photos. In C. Hill & M. Helmers (Eds.), *Defining Visual Rhetorics* (pp. 25–40). Mahwah, N.J: L. Erlbaum.
- Kenney, K. (2002). Building Visual Communication Theory by Borrowing from Rhetoric. In C. Handa (Ed.), *Visual rhetoric in a digital world: a critical sourcebook* (pp. 321–343). Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's.
- Leblanc, Daniel. (2015, June 12). A snapshot of how political leaders frame their image. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from www.theglobeandmail.com
- Marland, A. (2012). Political Photography, Journalism, and Framing in the Digital Age. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 17(2), 214-233.
- Marland, A. (2015). The Branding of a Prime Minister: Digital Information Subsidies and the Image Management of Stephen Harper. In T. Giasson, T. Small & A. Marland

- (Eds.), *Political Communication in Canada: Meet the Press and Tweet the Rest* (pp. 55-73). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Marland, A. (2017). Strategic Management of Media Relations: Communications Centralization and Spin in the Government of Canada. *Canadian Public Policy*, 43(1), 36-49.
- Marland, A., Lewis, J.P., and Tom Flanagan (2017). Governance in the Age of Digital Media and Branding. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions*. 30(1), 125-141.
- Olson, L., Finnegan, C., & Hope, D. (2008). Visual Rhetoric in Communication: Continuing Questions and Contemporary Issues. In L. Olson, C. Finnegan, & D. Hope (Eds.), *Visual rhetoric: a reader in communication and American culture* (pp. 1–11). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Raj, Althia. (2015, December 23). Adam Scotti, Trudeau's Photographer, Captures the PM Like No One Else. *Huffington Post Canada*. Retrieved from www.huffingtonpost.ca
- Rodrick, S. (2017, July 26). Justin Trudeau: The North Star. *Rolling Stone*. Retrieved from www.rollingstone.com
- Rose, G. (2016). *Visual methodologies* (4th ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Russman, U., & Svensson, J. (2016). Studying Organizations on Instagram. *Information*, 15(6), 1–12.
- Social Media Fact Sheet. (2017, January 12). Retrieved June 20, 2017, from <http://www.pewinternet.org/fact-sheet/social-media/>
- Svensson, J. (2012). Negotiating the Political Self on Social Media Platforms. *JeDem eJournal of Democracy*, 4(2). 183-197.
- Trudeau's hope and hubris. (2015, December 26). *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from

www.theglobeandmail.com

Thompson, J. (2005). The New Visibility. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 22(6), 31–51.

Zappavigna, M. (2016). Social Media Photography: Constructing Subjectivity in Instagram Photos. *Visual Communication*, 15(3), 271–292.

Zavattaro, S. (2010). Brand Obama. *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 32(1), 123–128.

Appendix A: Photos for Analysis

Img 1

Img 2

Img 3

Img 4

Img 5

Img 6

Img 7

Img 8

Img 9

Img 10

Img 11

Img 12

Img 13

Img 14

Img 15

Img 16

11,281 likes

53w

justinpjtrudeau Great to welcome our Ukrainian Parliamentary interns in traditional style. Welcome to the Hill. Enchanté de voir nos stagiaires parlementaires ukrainiens, vêtus à la mode traditionnelle. Bienvenue sur la Colline.

[load more comments](#)

lincolnwelder74 @screamingcacti no l

Add a comment...

...

Img 17

25,791 likes

52w

justinpjtrudeau Among friends tonight after a busy first day. #G7

Entre amis ce soir après une première journée chargée. #G7

[load more comments](#)

father_richardm Inside joke

gurpreetdwaal @jaskirenpanther how cute is this

marco98bruni Looool the most powerful squad

hannah379banana @_jakexbrown_

Add a comment...

...

Img 18

Img 19

Img 20

Img 21

Img 22

Img 23

Img 24

Img 25

Img 26

Img 27

Img 28

Img 29

Img 30

Img 31

Img 32

Img 33

Img 34

Img 35

Img 36

Img 37

Img 38

justinpjtrudeau

Parliament Hill

Following

32,078 likes26w

justinpjtrudeau

It's beginning to look a lot like Christmas on the Hill... 🌲
Mon beau sapin, roi des forêts, que j'aime ton allure sur la Colline...

load more comments

spencerbutts

SAY NO TO KINDER MORGAN PIPELINE! @justinpjtrudeau

spencerbutts

SAY NO TO KINDER MORGAN PIPELINE! @justinpjtrudeau

spencerbutts

IF YOU CARE ABOUT THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS CANADIANS AND ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE FUTURE OF OUR PLANET THE WAY THAT YOU PUBLICLY CLAIM YOU WILL SAY NO TO KINDER MORGAN PIPELINE! @justinpjtrudeau

spencerbutts

IF YOU CARE ABOUT THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS CANADIANS AND ABOUT THE ENVIRONMENT AND

♡

Add a comment...

...

Img 39

justinpjtrudeau

Following

19,102 likes25w

justinpjtrudeau

Today, we announce decisions on major energy projects that will create thousands of good, middle-class jobs, while following strict environmental standards: We've approved the Trans Mountain and Line 3 projects, and rejected the Northern Gateway project. As well, we're keeping our commitment to impose a moratorium on crude oil tanker traffic on BC's North Coast. Our challenge is to use today's wealth to create tomorrow's opportunity – safely, responsibly and in the interest of Canadians. Full details here: bit.ly/2fOc46C 🇨🇦
Aujourd'hui, nous annonçons des décisions au sujet de grands projets énergétiques qui permettront de créer des milliers de bons emplois pour la classe moyenne, tout en respectant des normes environnementales rigoureuses

♡

Add a comment...

...

Img 40

Img 41

Img 42

justinpjtrudeau Following

12,398 likes 23w

justinpjtrudeau Exactly one year after the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was released, we are announcing positive steps along the road to true reconciliation: annual meetings with Indigenous leaders, the creation of a National Council for Reconciliation, and additional funding for the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. 🇨🇦

Un an jour pour jour après la publication du rapport final de la Commission de vérité et réconciliation, nous annonçons des mesures positives qui favoriseront une véritable réconciliation : la tenue de rencontres avec les dirigeants autochtones, la création d'un Conseil national de réconciliation et l'octroi d'un financement supplémentaire au Centre national pour la vérité et réconciliation.

♡ Add a comment... ⋮

Img 43

justinpjtrudeau Ottawa, Ontario Following

24,602 likes 19w

justinpjtrudeau Today I announced changes to the Canadian Ministry, and I look forward to welcoming the new Ministers at the next Cabinet meeting – working with them to fulfill our commitments to Canadians. Check out my story for some behind-the-scenes photos from today's swearing in. 🇨🇦

Aujourd'hui, j'ai annoncé des changements au Conseil des ministres du Canada, et j'ai hâte d'accueillir les nouveaux ministres lors de la prochaine réunion du Cabinet afin de travailler avec eux à accomplir les engagements que nous avons pris envers les Canadiens. Regardez mon actualité pour voir des photos en coulisse de l'assermentation d'aujourd'hui.

load more comments

♡ Add a comment... ⋮

Img 44

Img 45

Img 46

Img 47

Img 48

Img 49

Img 50

Appendix B: Table 2 - RQ 1 Analysis

Image ID				RQ1: Images			RQ1: Words		
Post ID	Date	# of Likes	Caption	emotive	neutral	ambivalent	emotive words in caption / y/n	# of adjectives	which adjectives
1	20-Oct-15	21 201	Ready.	x			Y	1	ready
2	11-Nov-15	20 986	I was honoured to attend Remembrance Day ceremonies today at the National War Memorial #LestWeForget	x			Y	1	honoured
3	18-Dec-15	18 029	Watched #TheForceAwakens with friends from The Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario earlier this week. Spoiler: It was amazing!	x			Y	1	amazing
4	06-Feb-16	8 370	Looking back at the #first100 days: First caucus meeting as Prime Minister, Thursday, November 5, 2015	x			N		
5	10-Feb-16	13 180	Looking back on the #first100 days: a moment with Hadrien in London	x			N		
6	23-Feb-16	11 086	Thanks to Finance Minister Bill Morneau for the budget prep session today. On March 22, we'll be presenting our plan to strengthen Canada's middle class.		x		N		
7	03-Mar-16	8 299	We're underway at the First Ministers' Meeting in Vancouver. Busy day ahead.		x		Y	1	busy

8	09-Mar-16	21 930	Great to be in Washington, DC! Looking forward to meeting with @barackobama & strengthening ties between our countries	x			Y	2	great, strengthening
9	10-Mar-16	46 295	Arrival at tonight's state dinner.	x			N		
10	22-Mar-16	15 667	#Budget2016 is a long-term plan to strengthen the heart of Canada's economy - the middle class: budget.gc.ca	x			Y	1	long-term
11	01-Apr-16	12 568	Great to see Indian PM @narendramodi again today at #NSS2016, discussing their nuclear security & economic growth.	x			Y	1	great
12	14-Apr-16	21 438	#tbt to the Liberal Leadership Convention on April 14th, 2013. It's been an incredible three years. I'm proud of the work we've done together.	x			Y	2	incredible, proud

13	19-Apr-16	12 206	<p>"My lifelong dream is to travel to space, and my education in mechanical and aerospace engineering has helped me pursue it. During my undergrad I helped design and build a solar-powered car that I raced across North America. I learned how to fly, experimented with flame in simulated microgravity in grad school, and interned at NASA. Now I work with space robots. My hope is that my stories will help fight outdated stereotypes about women in STEM, and inspire young women to pursue their own ambitious careers where the sky is not the limit"</p> <p>@natalie_pane Education on the cutting edge is vital to Canada - and our young people's futures. That's why Budget 2016 invests \$2 billion over three years to improve labs and buildings on campuses across the country. Click the link in my bio to find out more #EducationCan</p>		x		Y		lifelong,
14	22-Apr-16	20 961	<p>Canada has officially signed the Paris Agreement on #ClimateChange!</p>		x		Y	1	officially

15	25-Apr-16	7 280	"My education has been instrumental in fueling my career and success. From SciTech and IBT programs in middle school, AP classes and financial aid at the Bishop Strachan School in Toronto, to co-op terms and scholarships at Dalhousie University, schooling was how I put down roots for my future path. In 2015 I was hired full-time as an educator at Microsoft, and through support from Microsoft and Dal's incredible Faculty of Computer Science I have been able to kickstart my career while I finish my undergrad. I am so grateful to have been able to take advantage of the amazing programs our education systems provide." - Sage French, @thetrendytechie In #Budget2016, we committed to strengthening the middle class and those working hard to join it - because making sure young Canadians have access to education, jobs, and training is key to building the economy of the future. To read the full budget or to get the highlights, click the link in my bio. #EducationCan	x			Y	1	grateful,
----	-----------	-------	---	---	--	--	---	---	-----------

16	03-May-16	13 189	Prince Harry and I joined Team Canada members yesterday to announce 2017 @InvictusToronto Games. The Games are a reflection of his commitment to our veterans.	x			N		
17	20-May-16	11 281	Great to welcome our Ukrainian Parliamentary interns in traditional style. Welcome to the hill.		x		Y	1	great
18	25-May-16	25 791	Among friends tonight after a busy first day. #G7	x			N		
19	06-Jun-16	17 320	Big things ahead this summer for the women's national team. Good luck and thanks for the jersey @canadasoccer!	x			Y	2	big, good
20	17-Jun-16	14 428	Proud to see @MicrosoftCanada investing in Canadian talent and innovation - creating 350 development jobs here in Vancouver.	x			Y	1	proud
21	27-Jun-16	12 915	We're ready to welcome Mexican and US Presidents @penanieto and @barackobama to Ottawa this week for the North American Leaders' Summit!		x		Y	1	ready
22	29-Jun-16	28 980	Thank you, Barack, for your steadfast & inspiring address tonight. It was our honour to host you in Parliament.	x			Y	1	inspiring, steadfast

23	08-Jul-16	25 056	At this week's NATO summit, Canada announces its largest sustained military presence in Europe in more than a decade. Details: bit.ly/29zULSJ		x		Y	1	largest
24	15-Jul-16	26 574	Great to be at @calgarystampede today. Western hospitality always beats the rain!	x			Y	1	great
25	26-Jul-16	16 932	Now's the time! We're accepting applications to join the PM's Youth Council. Apply to join and advise me directly on the issues facing young Canadians. Click the link in my bio to apply online today. Deadline is August 12.		x		N		
26	09-Aug-16	24 119	For @UN's #WeAreIndigenousDay, we celebrate the contributions of First Nations, Metis, & Inuit in shaping Canada.	x			N		
27	16-Aug-16	22 618	We're investing in town and cities across Canada so that all Canadians have better, healthier, & safer places to live and work. Today, we announced \$119 M in funding for clean water and better public transit in Nova Scotia.	x			Y	4	better, healthier, safer, clean
28	20-Aug-16	24 687	Serving up a Taste of Manila with Toronto's Filipino community today. Mabuhay!	x			N		

29	30-Aug-16	17 975	Building our relationship with China is essential to creating opportunities for Canadians. My thanks for the warm welcome in Beijing today at the start of our 6-day visit to China and the G20 Summit.	x			Y	2	essential, warm
30	02-Sep-16	10 728	When women succeed in the private sector, everyone benefits. Great discussion with entrepreneurs in Shanghai today.		x		Y	1	great
31	13-Sep-16	16 556	Creating opportunity for Canadians takes cooperation. Thanks to @the_imf's Christine Lagarde for the meeting today.		x		N		
32	21-Sep-16	37 265	Canada's official welcome for Chinese Premier Li Keqiang is tomorrow. Unofficial welcome from Xavier tonight.		x		Y	2	official, unofficial
33	28-Sep-16	76 397	w@Emma Watson is a champion for gender equality worldwide. It's a pleasure welcoming you to Ottawa ahead of the @OneYoungWorld summit #heforshe	x			N		
34	13-Oct-16	34 961	I was honoured to welcome French PM Manuel Valls today as we strengthen the partnership & friendship between Canada and France.		x		Y	1	honoured

35	21-Oct-16	17 026	It's nice to feel like a regular at this family-owned business - a pillar in the Dundas community since 1915. #SBW2016	x			Y	1	nice
36	01-Nov-16	16 676	What a performance from @bboylazylegz at the National Youth Forum on Accessibility today! I was glad to take questions & hear ideas as we work to build an #AccessibleCanada.		x		Y	1	glad
37	09-Nov-16	47 688	I always feel inspired speaking with so many motivated young Canadians at #WeDay. Thanks for having me back! #LeadersToday	x			N	1	inspired, motivated
38	17-Nov-16	31 927	Good friendships make close partnerships - Canada & Argentina have both. I'm looking forward to working with President @mauriciomacri to create opportunities for innovation, trade and growth in both our countries.	x			N		
39	23-Nov-16	32 077	It's beginning to look a lot like Christmas on the Hill...		x		N		

40	29-Nov-16	19 102	Today, we announce decisions on major energy projects that will create thousands of good, middle-class jobs, while following strict environmental standards: We've approved the Trans Mountain and Line 3 Gateway Project. As well, we're keeping our commitment to impose a moratorium on crude oil tanker traffic on BC's North Coast. Our challenge is to use today's wealth to create tomorrow's opportunity - safely, responsibly and in the interest of Canadians. Full details here: bit.ly/2fOc46C		x		Y		major, strict, safely, responsibly
41	06-Dec-16	33 553	I was deeply moved to witness Gord Downie being honoured for his work on reconciliation today at the Assembly of First Nations Special Chiefs Assembly.	x			Y	1	deeply
42	10-Dec-16	42 997	One year ago today, we welcomed the first Syrian refugees to their new home in Canada.	x			N		
43	15-Dec-16	12 398	Exactly one year after the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was released, we are announcing positive steps along the road to reconciliation: annual meetings with Indigenous leaders, the creation of a National Council for		x		N		

			Reconciliation, and additional funding for the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.						
44	10-Jan-17	24 602	Today I announced changes to the Canadian Ministry, and I look forward to welcoming the new Ministers at the next Cabinet meeting - working with them to fulfill our commitments to Canadians. Check out my story for some behind the scenes photos from today's swearing in.	x			N		
45	12-Jan-17	15 296	Great discussions in Belleville tonight. My thanks to everyone who came to share their thoughts, ideas, and concerns.		x		Y	1	great
46	16-Jan-17	18 200	Great to be in Nova Scotia today, talking to people in Halifax and Dartmouth about what matters to them.		x		Y	1	great
47	18-Jan-17	14 807	My thanks to @ubishops students for their warm welcome and thoughtful questions today!		x		Y	2	warm, thoughtful
48	03-Feb-17	23 141	New Brunswick was hit by a terrible ice storm last week. Today, I thanked first responders & volunteers for helping people stay safe and warm.		x		Y	3	terrible, safe, warm
49	14-Feb-17	76 259	No one I'd rather be on this journey with. Happy Valentine's Day, mon amour.	x			Y	1	happy

50	22-Feb-17	48 450	Throwback to warmer days, paddling the Rouge River. Today, the House voted to expand & better protect @RougePark. C-18 now off to the Senate.	x			Y	2	warmer, better
----	-----------	--------	---	---	--	--	---	---	----------------

Appendix C: Table 3 - RQ 2 Analysis

Image ID				RQ2			
Post ID	Date	# of Likes	Caption	personalization	privatization	VIPs	collaboration
1	20-Oct-15	21 201	Ready.	ambivalent	professional	ambivalent	not visible
2	11-Nov-15	20 986	I was honoured to attend Remembrance Day ceremonies today at the National War Memorial #LestWeForget	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	not visible
3	18-Dec-15	18 029	Watched #TheForceAwakens with friends from The Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario earlier this week. Spoiler: It was amazing!	not personalized	ambivalent	no VIPs	not visible
4	06-Feb-16	8 370	Looking back at the #first100 days: First caucus meeting as Prime Minister, Thursday, November 5, 2015	personalized	professional	no VIPs	collaboration, with VIPs
5	10-Feb-16	13 180	Looking back on the #first100 days: a moment with Hadrien in London	personalized	ambivalent	no VIPs	not visible
6	23-Feb-16	11 086	Thanks to Finance Minister Bill Morneau for the budget prep session today. On March 22, we'll be presenting our plan to strengthen Canada's middle class.	not personalized	professional	VIPs	collaboration, with VIPs
7	03-Mar-16	8 299	We're underway at the First Ministers' Meeting in Vancouver. Busy day ahead.	not personalized	professional	VIPs	collaboration, with VIPs
8	09-Mar-16	21 930	Great to be in Washington, DC! Looking forward to meeting with @barackobama & strengthening ties between our countries	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	not visible

9	10-Mar-16	46 295	Arrival at tonight's state dinner.	not personalized	professional	VIPs	not visible
10	22-Mar-16	15 667	#Budget2016 is a long-term plan to strengthen the heart of Canada's economy - the middle class: budget.gc.ca	ambivalent	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
11	01-Apr-16	12 568	Great to see Indian PM @narendramodi again today at #NSS2016, discussing their nuclear security & economic growth.	not personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
12	14-Apr-16	21 438	#tbt to the Liberal Leadership Convention on April 14th, 2013. It's been an incredible three years. I'm proud of the work we've done together.	personalized	professional	no VIPs	not visible

13	19-Apr-16	12 206	"My lifelong dream is to travel to space, and my education in mechanical and aerospace engineering has helped me pursue it. During my undergrad I helped design and build a solar-powered car that I raced across North America. I learned how to fly, experimented with flame in simulated microgravity in grad school, and interned at NASA. Now I work with space robots. My hope is that my stories will help fight outdated stereotypes about women in STEM, and inspire young women to pursue their own ambitious careers where the sky is not the limit" @natalie_pane Education on the cutting edge is vital to Canada - and our young people's futures. That's why Budget 2016 invests \$2 billion over three years to improve labs and buildings on campuses across the country. Click the link in my bio to find out more #EducationCan	not personalized	ambivalent	no VIPs	not visible
14	22-Apr-16	20 961	Canada has officially signed the Paris Agreement on #ClimateChange!	personalized	professional	VIPs	not visible

15	25-Apr-16	7 280	<p>"My education has been instrumental in fueling my career and success. From SciTech and IBT programs in middle school, AP classes and financial aid at the Bishop Strachan School in Toronto, to co-op terms and scholarships at Dalhousie University, schooling was how I put down roots for my future path. In 2015 I was hired full-time as an educator at Microsoft, and through support from Microsoft and Dal's incredible Faculty of Computer Science I have been able to kickstart my career while I finish my undergrad. I am so grateful to have been able to take advantage of the amazing programs our education systems provide." - Sage French, @thetrendytechie In #Budget2016, we committed to strengthening the middle class and those working hard to join it - because making sure young Canadians have access to education, jobs, and training is key to building the economy of the future. To read the full budget or to get the highlights, click the link in my bio. #EducationCan</p>	not personalized	ambivalent	no VIPs	not visible
----	-----------	-------	--	------------------	------------	---------	-------------

16	03-May-16	13 189	Prince Harry and I joined Team Canada members yesterday to announce 2017 @InvictusToronto Games. The Games are a reflection of his commitment to our veterans.	not personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with Canadians
17	20-May-16	11 281	Great to welcome our Ukrainian Parliamentary interns in traditional style. Welcome to the hill.	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	not visible
18	25-May-16	25 791	Among friends tonight after a busy first day. #G7	not personalized	professional	VIPs	not visible
19	06-Jun-16	17 320	Big things ahead this summer for the women's national team. Good luck and thanks for the jersey @canadasoccer!	personalized	professional	VIPs	not visible
20	17-Jun-16	14 428	Proud to see @MicrosoftCanada investing in Canadian talent and innovation - creating 350 development jobs here in Vancouver.	personalized	professional	VIPs	not visible
21	27-Jun-16	12 915	We're ready to welcome Mexican and US Presidents @penanieto and @barackobama to Ottawa this week for the North American Leaders' Summit!	not personalized	ambivalent	no VIPs	not visible
22	29-Jun-16	28 980	Thank you, Barack, for your steadfast & inspiring address tonight. It was our honour to host you in Parliament.	not personalized	professional	VIPs	not visible

23	08-Jul-16	25 056	At this week's NATO summit, Canada announces its largest sustained military presence in Europe in more than a decade. Details: bit.ly/29zULSJ	personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
24	15-Jul-16	26 574	Great to be at @calgarystampede today. Western hospitality always beats the rain!	personalized	ambivalent	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
25	26-Jul-16	16 932	Now's the time! We're accepting applications to join the PM's Youth Council. Apply to join and advise me directly on the issues facing young Canadians. Click the link in my bio to apply online today. Deadline is August 12.	personalized	professional	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
26	09-Aug-16	24 119	For @UN's #WeAreIndigenousDay, we celebrate the contributions of First Nations, Metis, & Inuit in shaping Canada.	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
27	16-Aug-16	22 618	We're investing in town and cities across Canada so that all Canadians have better, healthier, & safer places to live and work. Today, we announced \$119 M in funding for clean water and better public transit in Nova Scotia.	personalized	professional	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
28	20-Aug-16	24 687	Serving up a Taste of Manila with Toronto's Filipino community today. Mabuhay!	personalized	ambivalent	no VIPs	not visible

29	30-Aug-16	17 975	Building our relationship with China is essential to creating opportunities for Canadians. My thanks for the warm welcome in Beijing today at the start of our 6-day visit to China and the G20 Summit.	personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
30	02-Sep-16	10 728	When women succeed in the private sector, everyone benefits. Great discussion with entrepreneurs in Shanghai today.	not personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
31	13-Sep-16	16 556	Creating opportunity for Canadians takes cooperation. Thanks to @the_imf's Christine Lagarde for the meeting today.	personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
32	21-Sep-16	37 265	Canada's official welcome for Chinese Premier Li Keqiang is tomorrow. Unofficial welcome from Xavier tonight.	personalized	ambivalent	VIPs	not visible
33	28-Sep-16	76 397	w@Emma Watson is a champion for gender equality worldwide. It's a pleasure welcoming you to Ottawa ahead of the @OneYoungWorld summit #heforshe	personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
34	13-Oct-16	34 961	I was honoured to welcome French PM Manuel Valls today as we strengthen the partnership & friendship between Canada and France.	ambivalent	professional	VIPs	not visible

35	21-Oct-16	17 026	It's nice to feel like a regular at this family-owned business - a pillar in the Dundas community since 1915. #SBW2016	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
36	01-Nov-16	16 676	What a performance from @bboylazylegz at the National Youth Forum on Accessibility today! I was glad to take questions & hear ideas as we work to build an #AccessibleCanada.	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	not visible
37	09-Nov-16	47 688	I always feel inspired speaking with so many motivated young Canadians at #WeDay. Thanks for having me back! #LeadersToday	personalized	ambivalent	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
38	17-Nov-16	31 927	Good friendships make close partnerships - Canada & Argentina have both. I'm looking forward to working with President @mauriciomacri to create opportunities for innovation, trade and growth in both our countries.	personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs
39	23-Nov-16	32 077	It's beginning to look a lot like Christmas on the Hill...	-	ambivalent	no VIPs	not visible

40	29-Nov-16	19 102	Today, we announce decisions on major energy projects that will create thousands of good, middle-class jobs, while following strict environmental standards: We've approved the Trans Mountain and Line 3 Gateway Project. As well, we're keeping our commitment to impose a moratorium on crude oil tanker traffic on BC's North Coast. Our challenge is to use today's wealth to create tomorrow's opportunity - safely, responsibly and in the interest of Canadians. Full details here: bit.ly/2fOc46C	not personalized	professional	VIPs	not visible
41	06-Dec-16	33 553	I was deeply moved to witness Gord Downie being honoured for his work on reconciliation today at the Assembly of First Nations Special Chiefs Assembly.	not personalized	ambivalent	VIPs	not visible
42	10-Dec-16	42 997	One year ago today, we welcomed the first Syrian refugees to their new home in Canada.	personalized	ambivalent	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
43	15-Dec-16	12 398	Exactly one year after the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was released, we are announcing positive steps along the road to reconciliation: annual meetings with Indigenous leaders, the creation of a National Council for Reconciliation, and additional funding for the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.	not personalized	professional	VIPs	visible; with VIPs

44	10-Jan-17	24 602	Today I announced changes to the Canadian Ministry, and I look forward to welcoming the new Ministers at the next Cabinet meeting - working with them to fulfill our commitments to Canadians. Check out my story for some behind the scenes photos from today's swearing in.	personalized	professional	VIPs	not visible
45	12-Jan-17	15 296	Great discussions in Belleville tonight. My thanks to everyone who came to share their thoughts, ideas, and concerns.	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	not visible
46	16-Jan-17	18 200	Great to be in Nova Scotia today, talking to people in Halifax and Dartmouth about what matters to them.	personalized	professional	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
47	18-Jan-17	14 807	My thanks to @ubishops students for their warm welcome and thoughtful questions today!	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
48	03-Feb-17	23 141	New Brunswick was hit by a terrible ice storm last week. Today, I thanked first responders & volunteers for helping people stay safe and warm.	not personalized	professional	no VIPs	visible; with Canadians
49	14-Feb-17	76 259	No one I'd rather be on this journey with. Happy Valentine's Day, mon amour.	personalized	privatized	no VIPs	not visible
50	22-Feb-17	48 450	Throwback to warmer days, paddling the Rouge River. Today, the House voted to expand & better protect @RougePark. C-18 now off to the Senate.	personalized	privatized	no VIPs	not visible

Appendix D: Table 4 - RQ 3 Analysis

Image ID				RQ3			
Post ID	Date	# of Likes	Caption	image impact and gaze	social distance and intimacy	perspective: horizontal angle and involvement	perspective: vertical angle and power
1	20-Oct-15	21 201	Ready.	offer	public distance	oblique	ambivalent
2	11-Nov-15	20 986	I was honoured to attend Remembrance Day ceremonies today at the National War Memorial #LestWeForget	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
3	18-Dec-15	18 029	Watched #TheForceAwakens with friends from The Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario earlier this week. Spoiler: It was amazing!	demand	far social distance	frontal	medium angle
4	06-Feb-16	8 370	Looking back at the #first100 days: First caucus meeting as Prime Minister, Thursday, November 5, 2015	offer	public distance	oblique	medium angle
5	10-Feb-16	13 180	Looking back on the #first100 days: a moment with Hadrien in London	offer	close social distance	oblique	medium angle
6	23-Feb-16	11 086	Thanks to Finance Minister Bill Morneau for the budget prep session today. On March 22, we'll be presenting our plan to strengthen Canada's middle class.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
7	03-Mar-16	8 299	We're underway at the First Ministers' Meeting in Vancouver. Busy day ahead.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
8	09-Mar-16	21 930	Great to be in Washington, DC! Looking forward to meeting with @barackobama & strengthening ties between our countries	offer	public distance	oblique	medium angle

9	10-Mar-16	46 295	Arrival at tonight's state dinner.	offer	public distance	oblique	medium angle
10	22-Mar-16	15 667	#Budget2016 is a long-term plan to strengthen the heart of Canada's economy - the middle class: budget.gc.ca	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
11	01-Apr-16	12 568	Great to see Indian PM @narendramodi again today at #NSS2016, discussing their nuclear security & economic growth.	offer	far social distance	oblique	medium angle
12	14-Apr-16	21 438	#tbt to the Liberal Leadership Convention on April 14th, 2013. It's been an incredible three years. I'm proud of the work we've done together.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	low angle

13	19-Apr-16	12 206	"My lifelong dream is to travel to space, and my education in mechanical and aerospace engineering has helped me pursue it. During my undergrad I helped design and build a solar-powered car that I raced across North America. I learned how to fly, experimented with flame in simulated microgravity in grad school, and interned at NASA. Now I work with space robots. My hope is that my stories will help fight outdated stereotypes about women in STEM, and inspire young women to pursue their own ambitious careers where the sky is not the limit" @natalie_pane Education on the cutting edge is vital to Canada - and our young people's futures. That's why Budget 2016 invests \$2 billion over three years to improve labs and buildings on campuses across the country. Click the link in my bio to find out more #EducationCan	offer	close social distance	oblique	medium angle
14	22-Apr-16	20 961	Canada has officially signed the Paris Agreement on #ClimateChange!	offer	public distance	oblique	medium angle

15	25-Apr-16	7 280	"My education has been instrumental in fueling my career and success. From SciTech and IBT programs in middle school, AP classes and financial aid at the Bishop Strachan School in Toronto, to co-op terms and scholarships at Dalhousie University, schooling was how I put down roots for my future path. In 2015 I was hired full-time as an educator at Microsoft, and through support from Microsoft and Dal's incredible Faculty of Computer Science I have been able to kickstart my career while I finish my undergrad. I am so grateful to have been able to take advantage of the amazing programs our education systems provide." - Sage French, @thetrendytechie In #Budget2016, we committed to strengthening the middle class and those working hard to join it - because making sure young Canadians have access to education, jobs, and training is key to building the economy of the future. To read the full budget or to get the highlights, click the link in my bio. #EducationCan	demand	far personal distance	frontal	medium angle
----	-----------	-------	---	--------	-----------------------	---------	--------------

16	03-May-16	13 189	Prince Harry and I joined Team Canada members yesterday to announce 2017 @InvictusToronto Games. The Games are a reflection of his commitment to our veterans.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
17	20-May-16	11 281	Great to welcome our Ukrainian Parliamentary interns in traditional style. Welcome to the hill.	offer	public distance	frontal	medium angle
18	25-May-16	25 791	Among friends tonight after a busy first day. #G7	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
19	06-Jun-16	17 320	Big things ahead this summer for the women's national team. Good luck and thanks for the jersey @canadasoccer!	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
20	17-Jun-16	14 428	Proud to see @MicrosoftCanada investing in Canadian talent and innovation - creating 350 development jobs here in Vancouver.	offer	close social distance	oblique	medium angle
21	27-Jun-16	12 915	We're ready to welcome Mexican and US Presidents @penanieto and @barackobama to Ottawa this week for the North American Leaders' Summit!	offer	public distance	oblique	medium angle
22	29-Jun-16	28 980	Thank you, Barack, for your steadfast & inspiring address tonight. It was our honour to host you in Parliament.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
23	08-Jul-16	25 056	At this week's NATO summit, Canada announces its largest sustained military presence in Europe in more than a decade. Details: bit.ly/29zULSJ	offer	far social distance	oblique	medium angle

24	15-Jul-16	26 574	Great to be at @calgarystampede today. Western hospitality always beats the rain!	offer	far social distance	oblique	medium angle
25	26-Jul-16	16 932	Now's the time! We're accepting applications to join the PM's Youth Council. Apply to join and advise me directly on the issues facing young Canadians. Click the link in my bio to apply online today. Deadline is August 12.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
26	09-Aug-16	24 119	For @UN's #WeAreIndigenousDay, we celebrate the contributions of First Nations, Metis, & Inuit in shaping Canada.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
27	16-Aug-16	22 618	We're investing in town and cities across Canada so that all Canadians have better, healthier, & safer places to live and work. Today, we announced \$119 M in funding for clean water and better public transit in Nova Scotia.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
28	20-Aug-16	24 687	Serving up a Taste of Manila with Toronto's Filipino community today. Mabuhay!	offer	close social distance	oblique	medium angle
29	30-Aug-16	17 975	Building our relationship with China is essential to creating opportunities for Canadians. My thanks for the warm welcome in Beijing today at the start of our 6-day visit to China and the G20 Summit.	offer	public distance	oblique	medium angle
30	02-Sep-16	10 728	When women succeed in the private sector, everyone benefits. Great discussion with entrepreneurs in Shanghai today.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
31	13-Sep-16	16 556	Creating opportunity for Canadians takes cooperation. Thanks to @the_imf's Christine Lagarde for the meeting today.	offer	far social distance	oblique	medium angle

32	21-Sep-16	37 265	Canada's official welcome for Chinese Premier Li Keqiang is tomorrow. Unofficial welcome from Xavier tonight.	offer	close social distance	oblique	medium angle
33	28-Sep-16	76 397	@Emma Watson is a champion for gender equality worldwide. It's a pleasure welcoming you to Ottawa ahead of the @OneYoungWorld summit #heforshe	offer	far social distance	oblique	medium angle
34	13-Oct-16	34 961	I was honoured to welcome French PM Manuel Valls today as we strengthen the partnership & friendship between Canada and France.	offer	close personal distance	oblique	medium angle
35	21-Oct-16	17 026	It's nice to feel like a regular at this family-owned business - a pillar in the Dundas community since 1915. #SBW2016	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
36	01-Nov-16	16 676	What a performance from @bboylazylegz at the National Youth Forum on Accessibility today! I was glad to take questions & hear ideas as we work to build an #AccessibleCanada.	offer	public distance	oblique	medium angle
37	09-Nov-16	47 688	I always feel inspired speaking with so many motivated young Canadians at #WeDay. Thanks for having me back! #LeadersToday	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
38	17-Nov-16	31 927	Good friendships make close partnerships - Canada & Argentina have both. I'm looking forward to working with President @mauriciomacri to create opportunities for innovation, trade and growth in both our countries.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
39	23-Nov-16	32 077	It's beginning to look a lot like Christmas on the Hill...	-	-	-	low angle

40	29-Nov-16	19 102	Today, we announce decisions on major energy projects that will create thousands of good, middle-class jobs, while following strict environmental standards: We've approved the Trans Mountain and Line 3 Gateway Project. As well, we're keeping our commitment to impose a moratorium on crude oil tanker traffic on BC's North Coast. Our challenge is to use today's wealth to create tomorrow's opportunity - safely, responsibly and in the interest of Canadians. Full details here: bit.ly/2fOc46C	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
41	06-Dec-16	33 553	I was deeply moved to witness Gord Downie being honoured for his work on reconciliation today at the Assembly of First Nations Special Chiefs Assembly.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
42	10-Dec-16	42 997	One year ago today, we welcomed the first Syrian refugees to their new home in Canada.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
43	15-Dec-16	12 398	Exactly one year after the final report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was released, we are announcing positive steps along the road to reconciliation: annual meetings with Indigenous leaders, the creation of a National Council for Reconciliation, and additional funding for the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.	offer	public distance	oblique	medium angle
44	10-Jan-17	24 602	Today I announced changes to the Canadian Ministry, and I look forward to welcoming the new Ministers at the next Cabinet meeting - working with them to fulfill our commitments to Canadians. Check out my	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle

			story for some behind the scenes photos from today's swearing in.				
45	12-Jan-17	15 296	Great discussions in Belleville tonight. My thanks to everyone who came to share their thoughts, ideas, and concerns.	offer	public distance	oblique	low angle
46	16-Jan-17	18 200	Great to be in Nova Scotia today, talking to people in Halifax and Dartmouth about what matters to them.	offer	close personal distance	oblique	medium angle
47	18-Jan-17	14 807	My thanks to @ubishops students for their warm welcome and thoughtful questions today!	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
48	03-Feb-17	23 141	New Brunswick was hit by a terrible ice storm last week. Today, I thanked first responders & volunteers for helping people stay safe and warm.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle
49	14-Feb-17	76 259	No one I'd rather be on this journey with. Happy Valentine's Day, mon amour.	offer	close personal distance	oblique	medium angle
50	22-Feb-17	48 450	Throwback to warmer days, paddling the Rouge River. Today, the House voted to expand & better protect @RougePark. C-18 now off to the Senate.	offer	far personal distance	oblique	medium angle