

Analysis of Video Filmed Speeches Published on the Internet in the American Democratic Party Primary Election

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This article study the usage and the content of online videos during the US primary elections year 2008. In the first part of the article the author scrutinizes the content of videos about Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama on YouTube, and compare these to videos on the official web pages of the candidates. In the second part of the study, an in-depth analysis of a limited selection of videos is made. Here the main focus is body language and the occurrence of rhetorical figures in YouTube videos.

The significance and characteristics of the Internet

A characteristic of the American primary election 2008 has been the systematic use of the Internet by both candidates of the Democratic Party. The 20th of January 2007 Hillary Clinton announced that she was going to participate as the candidate for the Democratic Party in the 2008 presidential election. The announcement was made by posting a short video on her official homepage. Sitting alone in a comfortable couch in her living room she declared with a decisive and calm voice: "I'm in and I'm in to win". Barack Obama had a little earlier also chosen to announce his candidature through the Internet (Åsard, 2008).

The number of Internet users has increased rapidly in the last years (Nord, 2002). In June 2008 there existed totally 1.4 billion Internet users in the world. Of these, 220.1 million were Americans, which means that the majority, 72.5 % of the American population were Internet users (Internet World Statistics, 2008)

The unique advantage which the Internet has for parties and politicians is that they distribute unfiltered information to the citizens without having to pass the needle eye of journalists and editors. (Nord, 2002).

The possibility of interactive dialogue through the Internet is another unique advantage of this medium. Mc Quail defines the term interactivity as the capacity for reciprocal two-way communication. The more interactive media are those that allow continuing motivated choice and response from users (McQuail, 2005).

The new media has shifted the power balance from the media houses to "the public" in the meaning that there are more choices to pick from and more ways for the users to select among the available media content (McQuail, 2005). Internet also allows a higher degree of user manipulation of the content (McQuail, 2005). Media opens up alternative forms of publication. It is possible for ordinary individuals to publish political content (McQuail, 2005). Lars Nord mentions that Internet many times becomes another arena for the marketing of the candidates of a party (Nord, 2002).

The medialization of politics

Most individuals have no personal contact with politicians resulting in media descriptions becoming the main source of information for them. This results in the fact that it is very important for politicians to receive media attention. Political news is packaged in a way that is suitable for the media, an example is that politicians generally choose to focus on delivering a positive image of their personality instead of discussing factual matter (Nord, 2002). The political system is adjusting to the current media conditions (Bengtsson, 2001). The politics no longer govern the media. The politics has been medialised through simplified messages and an increased level of personification that fits the way the media work (Nord, 2002).

YouTube: the arena of the people

YouTube is one of the most popular sites on the Internet. In January 2008 YouTube had 74 million users. The users had then viewed 3 billion videos during only one month (New York Times, 2008). YouTube makes it possible for individuals from all the countries in the world to publish their own videos for other persons who visit the webpage to view.

YouTube can be defined as "the arena of the people." where the private experiences of individuals and opinions in visual form is given a new form of Internet based publicity.

There exist a great number of videos with political material about the American primaries on

YouTube. The majority of these are recorded by ordinary citizens of the society.

Rhetoric

Rhetoric deal with how the language can be used as a means of convincing the citizens of a society (Hägg, 1998). Aristoteles defined the rhetoric as: the art that whatever it regards find the thing that is best suited for persuasion (Johannesson, 1998).

Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton were aware of the fact that their speeches would be recorded and distributed on youtube which makes it interesting to study a selection of such speeches from a rhetorical perspective. The ability to use the spoken word to convince the American citizens of their superior competence becomes a determining factor for winning new votes. Politicians get the power they have because they can make convincing speeches (Bengtsson, 2001).

In my investigation the occurrence of rhetorical figures were charted. There are three groups of rhetorical figures: tropes, word figures and thought figures. Trope is when we create a beautiful euphemism (Lundström, 2000). It is a pictorial, a linguistic image (Hägg, 1998). You depict one thing as another and the aim is that the spectators should see things from a new point of view (Haraldsson, 2002). With the help of tropes, a language that is more concrete is created (Johannesson, 1998).

The application of word figures makes it possible to form the sentences so that they reach a new level of tension and increased clarity (Haraldsson, 2002). The word figures show how you can assemble the words so that the language gets a new rhythm. Many of the word figures are built upon the principle of reputation (Johannesson, 1998).

The thought figures deal with how the speaker can create a tension between him or herself and the spectators and awaken the interest in the audience for the subject (Johannesson, 1998).

Body language

Common body language semantics described in the literature are described in the table below:

Gesture	Significance according to the literature	Reference
Turning the head against someone	a sign of unity and the opposite is a sign of insecurity and disagreement	Cooper, 1979
A straight body carriage	indicates a positive attitude and provide a signal of confidence	Haraldsson, 2002
A shrunk up body carriage	a sign of insecurity	Juhlin, 1999
Closed body-center by for example crossing the arms	a sign of a negative attitude	Cooper, 1979
An open body-centre created by standing straight against the person spoken to	a sign of a positive attitude	Cooper, 1979
An inclined body position	a sign of submission and insecurity	Cooper, 1979
Keeping your arms	a sign of negative attitude and	Haraldsson,

folded	insecurity	2002
<i>"The John Wayne barrier"</i> is created when an individual stands with his or her hands strategically placed on the hips	a provocative sign and the speaker is perceived as rude	Lundström, 2000
<i>"The Jeltsin gesture"</i> is when a speaker holds his or her hands folded in front of the central, intimate parts of the body	a distracting sign	Lundström, 2000
Keeping your arms at the back	a sign of passivity and a wish not to act	
Lifting one's hands violently	indicates that an individual wants to keep something away from the audience because the sensory expression that the incident, thing or phenomenon arouse is too strong	Molcho, 1991
Clenching one's hand	a sign of aggression	Molcho, 1991
Touching one's face	expresses a need to hide intentions, insecurity and is a sign of a person not telling the truth	
Scratching gestures	an expression of insecurity	Haraldsson, 2002
Pressing the palms diagonally against each other	is perceived as calming and supporting	Molcho, 1991
Touching the chin	indicates that an individual is in the process of making a decision	Haraldsson, 2002
Rubbing one's hands	indicates satisfaction and that a person have made a decision and are prepared to carry it through	Molcho, 1991
Folding one's hands	indicates that a person tries to hold back a negative attitude	
<i>"The thorn gesture"</i> is when a person holds the hands like a triangle in front of them	a sign of confidence	Haraldsson, 2002
Fore finger gestures	signal precision and exact knowledge. It is a way of punishing lack of knowledge	Molcho, 1991

Research methodology

Why was quantitative content analysis chosen as method?

Essaiasson mentions that quantitative content analysis is a useful tool when you want to generate answers about the occurrence of different content categories in a material which is my ambition (Essaiasson, 2007). Quantitative content analysis is an advantageous method when the objective is to make a larger material available for analyses which are in line with my ambition to draw conclusions about a larger material (Ekström&Larsson, 2000). The different content categories were created during the observation of the videos.

Why were YouTube and the candidates' official web pages chosen as the bases for study?

To start out from the people's viewpoint is a motive for selecting YouTube as the base of study. Through studies of the videos on the candidates official web pages are perceptions about how politicians use the Internet created and this is a motive for my choice to study them.

Choice criterion for the extensive study

There is only one selection criteria used for the extensive study on YouTube and for the official web pages and it is that the videos shall be recorded before the presidential election.

Choice criterion for the intensive study and speeches chosen

1) *The outcome of the election must be uncertain in the federal states that the videos are taken from.* Effective rhetoric becomes a very determining factor in a situation where it is unsure who is going to win the election and an important way to win over uncertain voters which is the reason for the existence of this selection criteria.

2) *The video shall be recorded before it was decided which of the both candidates who had won the election.* To study speeches that have been recorded after it was decided who won the election is not interesting because of the first choice criterion.

3) *The speeches that are included in my survey shall have been carried through as close to the outcome of the election as possible.* This selection criterion exists because the struggle for winning voters becomes more intensive when you get closer to the day of the election.

4) *The quality of the material.* Videos with low image and sound quality were excluded.

5) *Two video recordings, one from respective candidate's speech, in each of the federal states are included.* This selection criteria results in the candidates being surrounded by a similar environment which reduces the risk for differences in the way of speech being caused by environmental factors. This facilitates the possibilities to make a rhetoric comparison of speeches.

The speeches chosen from these criteria were videos from New Mexico, California, Texas and Nevada. The total amount of time for each one of the speakers in the videos are 34 minutes and 30 seconds. Below you can see two YouTube video speeches by Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama from Las Vegas respectively Santa Fe.

Link to: Hillary Clinton speech in Las Vegas
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wAcTtjXjy_U

Link to: Barack Obama in Santa Fe
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cp5MIqpyIbo>

Choice of rhetorical aspects

All types of rhetoric figures have not been included in the study because it exist very many. There are definitions of some rhetoric figures that are very similar and difficult to differentiate from each other which have resulted in the decision to exclude some of them.

Choice of body language

The types of body language that is most common and easy to observe in the videos have been included. Facial expressions are excluded because they are difficult to observe.

Research findings and discussion

Videos from the official web pages of the two candidates

Five content categories were identified:

1) *Personal background*, which includes videos about the candidates childhood or personal life experiences from earlier years in life

2) *Praise by other people*, which includes videos where other persons praise the candidate and videos that in other ways mediate positive messages about the candidate.

3) *Interviews*, which includes videos where one or more individuals ask questions to the candidate.

4) *Speech*, which includes videos where the candidate gives a monologue.

5) *Others* which include videos that can not be categorized in any special category.

Video content category	Official Web page of Hillary Clinton	Official web page of Barack Obama
<i>Personal background</i>	2	2
<i>Praise by other people</i>	47	11
<i>Interview</i>	-	2
<i>Speech</i>	-	15
<i>Others</i>	-	2

Results from the study of videos on YouTube.

The following content categories were identified when Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton where used as search words on YouTube.

1) *Humour* which includes videos that mainly consists of jokes in the form of humoristic pictures or statements.

2) *Praise by other people*

3) *Criticism against candidate* which includes videos that in someway mainly expresses negativity against the candidate.

4) *Criticism from candidate* which includes videos where a candidate expresses negativity against any other individual.

5) *Interview*

6) *Speech*

7) *Debate* which includes videos that consists of discussions between several persons.

8) *Others*

Content category	Hillary Clinton videos on Youtube	Barack Obama videos on Youtube
<i>Humour</i>	7	3
<i>Praise by other people</i>	2	8
<i>Criticism against candidate</i>	7	3
<i>Criticism from candidate</i>	1	2
<i>Interview</i>	2	4
<i>Speech</i>	5	10
<i>Debate</i>	2	-
<i>Others</i>	3	-
<i>Personal background</i>	2	-

Analyzes and discussion of results from the study of official web pages and YouTube

There exists a larger supply of different types of categories when you search for the word Hillary Clinton on YouTube than it does when you search for the word Barack Obama and the relationship is the opposite on their official homepages.

Four of the speeches that come up when you search for the word Barack Obama on YouTube also exists on the official homepage and this is the only case when the same videos exists both on the official web pages and on YouTube.

Hillary Clinton's and Barack Obama's ability to distribute exactly the information they want on their official web pages takes expression in form of videos with only positive information.

There are considerably more videos that belong to the category *Praise by other people* on Hillary Clinton's homepage than on Barack Obama's. At the same time the category *Praise by other people* is the second most frequent category on Barack Obama's homepage which means that he also uses this technique.

The possibility to publish unfiltered information shows up on the webpage of Hillary Clintons in the form of videos where friends and working colleagues expresses positive opinions about her whereas this possibility mainly takes expression in a high number of videos with speeches on Barack Obama's homepage. He is portrayed as a caring individual in the speeches. Speeches doesn't exist on Hillary Clintons homepages. The selection of the videos on the official homepages can be seen as aspects of the candidates marketing strategy.

The medialisation of politics becomes visible in the clear focus in the videos of a positive personality of both of the candidates. This is more visible on Hillary Clinton's homepage in

comparison with Barack Obama's homepage because there are more videos on her homepage which involves the praising of her personal characteristics.

The special characteristics of the Internet as a media become highly visible in the videos on YouTube. YouTube users have great opportunities to create video content in an active way. Videos where individuals dress up as Hillary Clinton and then add amusing lines are one example of how the users in an active way has created a humoristic interpretation of Hillary Clinton. Another example of users active creation of video content are music videos where users have transformed a well recognized song by combining an old melody with a new text which results in a new message being mediated. One example of an online music video praising Obama on YouTube is "I Got A Crush...On Obama" by Obama Girl.

Link to Obama Girl video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wKsoXHYICqU>

Another example of a YouTube video, this time with ironic humour, is "Young Hillary Clinton".

Link to Young Hillary Clinton video: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZAu39I5QOUc>

In contrast to the official web pages of the candidates there also exists alternative forms of publishing on YouTube in the form of critique. The users create more humoristic and negative information about Hillary Clinton and more positive messages about Barack Obama in a comparing perspective. When Hillary Clinton is used as the search word it is more common that the political messages consist of humour or critique against her. When Barack Obama's is used as a search word it is instead videos of the category speeches that show up, where the users have not actively created the content themselves. This means that there is a higher degree of users that actively create videos when Hillary Clinton is used as a search word than when Barack Obama is the search word.

One example of users' new power through media is the videos with critique against candidates on YouTube. The users of YouTube get the chance to mediate alternative images of the reality which can be influential because many individuals watch these videos.

Many of the videos that come up when Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton is used as the search word express a high degree of interactivity. Interactivity here takes expression in form of original news messages being distorted by being cut and pasted in a humoristic way or by adding critical statements to an original video, which results in an opposing message being created.

The degree of interactivity is much higher on YouTube in comparison with that of the official web pages of the candidates.

Results and discussion of the use of rhetorical figures

Eight videos were selected for the rhetorical analysis. The results are presented in the table below:

Rhetorical figure	Speeches by Hillary Clinton	Speeches by Barack Obama
total number of rhetoric figures	334	458
word figures	210	259
tropes	74	138
figures of thought	50	61

The total number of rhetoric figures that occur in Clintons and Obama's speeches were 458 and 334 respectively. There exist a remarkable high number of rhetoric figures in their speeches. The result shows that Obama uses rhetorical figures as a mean to persuade in a considerably higher degree than Clinton.

Results and discussion of the use of body language

Both speakers have a high degree of positive body language and signs of these are the following factors:

1) Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton most of the time have a straight body carriage which is a sign of confidence.

2) Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton both try to turn their head against many different people during the speech which is a sign of unity.

3) An open centre dominates which is an indication of a positive attitude.

4) They seldom touch the face, scratches themselves. Only Hillary Clinton makes the Jeltsin gesture one time.

Both Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton have an aggressive body language, showed by the fact that clenching one's hand is the most frequent occurring gesture. Barack Obama clenched his hand 1035 times and Hillary Clinton 515 times. Barack Obama has a more aggressive body language.

Pointing with the forefinger is the next most common category and occurs 571 times in Barack Obama's speeches and 403 times in Hillary Clinton's speeches which shows that they often want to signal precision and exact knowledge, in a way of punishing lack of knowledge. The gesture is often combined with a clenched hand which is a sign of aggression.

Hillary Clinton lifts her arms violently 168 times and Barack Obama 60 times. This shows that both speakers often want to keep something away from them because the sensory expression that the incident, thing or phenomenon arouse is too strong.

Barack Obama sends out more negative body language signals than Hillary Clinton which is

showed by:

1) Barack Obama has a closed centre 147 times in his speeches and Hillary Clinton 70 times. Barack Obama has a submissive centre 14 times in his speeches and Hillary Clinton two times.

2) He has a shrunk up posture 14 times in his speeches and Hillary Clinton only two times.

3) He touches his face more often, ten times. Hillary Clinton only does this three times which indicates Obama's need to sometimes hide intentions and insecurity.

Four out of seven gestures that never were used have negative meanings. These gestures are keeping your arms folded, the John Wayne barrier, keeping your arms at the back and folding one's hands.

It is negative that the speakers don't use the gesture where the palms of the hand are pressed diagonally against each other, the thorn gesture or never rub their hands because these gestures are positive.

Conclusions and Discussion

The existence of only positive information on the official web pages of the two candidates results in the conclusion that they are trying to use videos as a marketing strategy. Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton use the opportunity to spread exactly the information they want with the intention of trying to create a new form of marketing strategy where the essence is to exclude all negative information on their homepages.

A conclusion from the fact that on YouTube not only positive videos exists but also negative information is that YouTube provide alternative forms of publishing and a greater variety of opinions than on the official web pages.

A conclusion is that a high degree of interactivity is realized on You Tube which not is the case on the official web pages of the candidates. An example is that a news message that originally has been made by traditional media can get a different meaning by combining an utterance with another utterance that contradicts the first one. In this way two-way communication is manifested.

It is likely that the great difference regarding the interactivity between the official web pages and the videos on YouTube is caused by the differences in motives of politicians (the candidates) and the YouTube users. Barack Obama's and Hillary Clintons objective to win the election motivates a shunning of negative publicity, this makes a high degree of interactivity unwanted which is a motive for minimizing the level of interactivity in the homepages.

Users on YouTube probably have many individual motives for uploading videos on YouTube which results in a high level of interactivity on YouTube. If they have a positive image of a candidate the motive can be positive support. YouTube users with negative opinions against a candidate might see the opportunity to upload videos on YouTube as a way of mediating negative opinions to other users. Such motives lead to the exploitation of two-way communication in the form of negative videos.

A conclusion that can be made from the fact that more positive videos about Barack Obama exists on Youtube in comparison with Hillary Clinton is that users of YouTube are more positive to Barack Obama.

Regarding Hillary Clinton there exists a powerful wave of interactivity with negative

utterances or jokes about her. Many individuals have gotten the opportunity to express a negative image of Hillary Clinton which may be the reason for why she finally lost in the primary election. The low level of interactivity in the form of negative critique against Barack Obama and the high level of interactivity in the form of videos with positive content about Barack Obama might have been a reason for why he finally won the election.

One conclusion is that both Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton use rhetorical techniques frequently in their speeches to increase their possibility to convince the audience that they are the best candidate in the primary election.

A conclusion is that Barack Obama use rhetoric in a considerably higher degree than Hillary Clinton. The fact is that all types of tropes are more frequently occurring in Barack Obama's speeches. A conclusion that can be drawn from this is that Barack Obama in a higher degree than Hillary Clinton use linguistic images have a higher degree of innovativeness and that his speeches are more pedagogical because he creates a concrete language with the help of tropes. These are also prominent features in Hillary Clintons speeches because she also uses many tropes, even if not as frequently as Obama.

Another conclusion that can be drawn from the fact that word figures occur more frequently in Barack Obama's speeches in comparison with Hillary Clintons is that he in a higher degree than Hillary Clinton uses the technique of trying to convince people by putting together the words so that the language get a rhythm, by creating a new tone in the language and by repeating words. To use word figures is most frequently occurring in both the candidates speeches and thereby more significant than the innovative and pedagogical aspects created by tropes. It is therefore a prominent feature also in Hillary Clinton's speeches.

A conclusion from the fact that thought figures occurs less frequently is that the creation of tension and interest between the both candidates and the audience have been a persuasion tool of lower priority in comparison with creating a new tone in language, and to be innovative and pedagogical. The fact that thought figures at all exists in a not insignificant degree indicates that the creation of tension and interest between the candidates and the audience have been a means of winning new votes.

Another conclusion drawn from the fact that thought figures occur more frequently in Barack Obama's speeches than in Hillary Clintons speeches is that he in a higher degree have tried to convince the people by trying to create an interest and tension between him and his audience.

A conclusion that can be drawn from the speakers' high degree of avoidance of negative gestures is that they use the body language as a means of convincing the audience.

Of the results that shows that Hillary Clinton more frequently than Barack Obama use an open centre, a upright posture and avoids negative gestures as for example touching the face it is possible to draw the conclusion that she is better on using the body as an instrument for persuasion than Barack Obama because she sends out more positive signals to the audience through her body language than Obama does.

In the art of persuasion, Barack Obama has an advantage in the fact that he uses more rhetorical figures than Hillary Clinton while she instead has an advantage in terms of a positive body language.

